S. A. Govt. & Politics

1989 July



Mrs Sylvie Cedras, who has a terminal lung disease, and grandson Granville, 5, outside their shack in Varkensvlei Road.



Pictures: WILLIE de KLERK, Weekend Argus.

Mrs Wilhemina Willemse and nine-month-old Jonathan Julies await their turn to be moved to a new site in Philippi.

There's dry succour for sodden squatters

W/C ARGUS 1/7/89

307

By RUSSELL MICHAELS
Weekend Argus Reporter

SQUATTERS living in sodden misery in Philippi have been given new, dry sites by the authorities after Weekend Argus publicised their plight.

The 43 families living on two farms in Philippi were forced to squat when the health authorities compelled the farmers to provide toilets. Many people were forced off the land of those who had not complied.

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

Given blankets

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, Philippi police station commander Captain H L Watney said no one would be arrested. "I have spoken to the farmer and he was prepared to wait until Monday for the rain to stop and for the RSC transport."

Wanted work

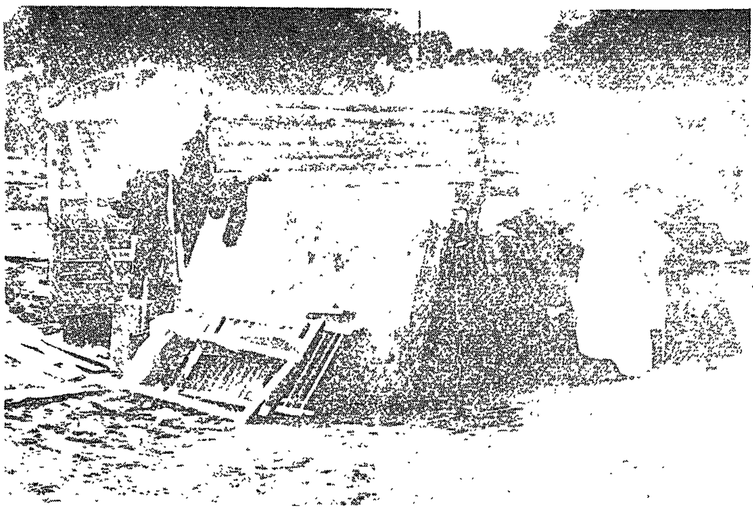
Some squatters showed a willingness to move, but were prepared to do so only when "the new place is properly prepared".

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

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



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



Johannes Smith was the first to put up a structure at the new squatter settlement at Heyn's Park, near Eisleben Road in Philippi.

NP's five-year plan a . . .

DAMP SQUIB

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

WHEN the National Party unveiled its much-vaunted five-year plan this week hopes began fading that it will be the magic wand for getting real negotiations for South Africa's constitutional future off the ground.

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

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

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

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

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

Yet, in spite of Mr De Klerk's new insights, the latest "safari" to Lusaka had to leave South Africa under the eyes of a government which still officially frowns on any talks with the ANC. The government's hardline attitude prevails after repeated condemnation of such talks by President P W Botha and some of his securocrat Ministers as "a defiance of state authority" and as a form of collaboration with the country's "enemies".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



NP leader F W de Klerk

BEFORE the departure of the 120-member South African delegation, a spokesman told Weekend Argus the talks were regarded as a way to "ease the climate" for the government to move into eventual negotiations with the ANC.

The conference programme shows that the talks focus on the very issues with which the government is now grappling in a kind of vacuum and which are virtually certain to be central topics at any future negotiations between the government and the ANC — if such negotiations should ever come about.

These are issues like constitutional negotiations involving all recognised leaders (including the ANC), sanctions, violence, and the economy.

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

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

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

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

TWO central issues on which the conference is focusing are:

- The role of whites in bringing about change "in the present circumstances of impasse in South Africa" and
- The participation of whites in a future non-racial South Africa.

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

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

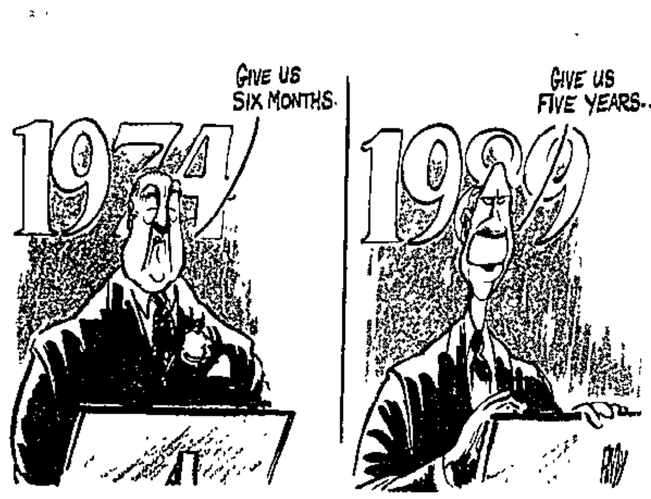
"If we are to be part of a common and peaceful future we need at least to understand each other. What I think we all have in common is a desire for a non-racial and democratic future.

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

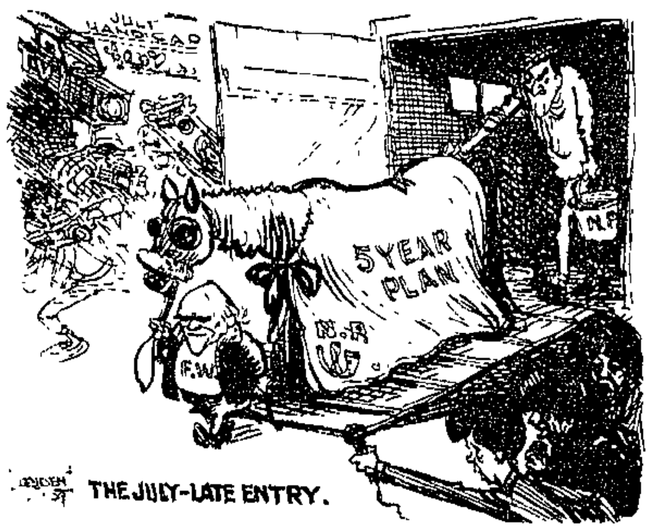
"Let me add that I believe security comes from being part of the process and from knowing that you are part of building the future.

"It does not come from assurances sought second-hand, nor from sitting on the fence."

HOW THE CARTOONISTS SAW IT



Andy of The Star



Leyden of The Daily News



Jo-Jo of the Sowetan

1/7/89

304A

'PLAN' SHOWS KINDER FACE OF APARTHEID

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Five areas had already been advertised for inquiries and this would soon be done with seven others and in all the Free Settlement Board had received 35 applications.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He left no doubt that he expected a tough election campaign with the Conservative Party spreading gossip about the plan and the Democratic Party trying to denigrate it.

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

Bekker moves to sue Nat Cabinet for treason

Star 11/7/89 (304A)

SUE OLSWANG

CONTROVERSIAL Johannesburg lobbyist Mrs Adele Marie Bekker has started legal proceedings to sue the entire National Party Cabinet for high treason.

"I have delivered a copy of a statement/affidavit to the Attorney General of the Witwatersrand, and I expect to receive his answer by Tuesday next week," said Mrs Bekker, who made headlines when she entered the South African political arena with the launch of the Universal Bond Party early last year.

In an exclusive interview with the Saturday Star, Mrs Bekker last night revealed the contents of her statement/affidavit, a copy of which has also been given to Colonel Walter Snowball at John Vorster Square.

"I will make world headlines with this," she said.

"Even George Bush, the President of the United States of America, will have to sit up and take notice."

In her statement/affidavit, Mrs Bekker states that she considers the "Act authorising Resolution 435 in the international peace treaty signed during December 1988 to be considered as being an act of high treason committed by the National Party Government of South Africa against the interests of the approximately 40 million persons living in the Republic of South Africa and the kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland and the Tswana nation and all other persons living in the land-region known as southern Africa."

Her statement requests that "this same charge of high treason be brought against each and every member of the Cabinet of the National Party Government of South Africa as a criminal charge of the gravest significance in the interests of the over or about 1 million persons who live in South Africa and who are represented by myself in my capacity as founder and president of the Southern-African Women's Foundation with its headquarters in Johannesburg."

Mrs Bekker, a former clothing designer and wife of advocate Attie Bekker, said the Attorney-General informed her that he would study the statement/affidavit and would give her his decision, whether or not to prosecute, by Tuesday next week.

"If the State declines to prosecute, I am automatically entitled to a *nuli prosequi*," Mrs Bekker said.

"It is the automatic right of every South African citizen to obtain a *nuli prosequi* certificate, which is the right for private prosecution in any criminal charge including suspected murder, rape, culpable homicide, fraud, treason or high treason."

wd book

Table 1: Wage Determination Revisions]

PERIOD	1984	1985
6	12	8
7 - 9	3	1
10 - 14	7	12
15 - 20	5	0
>20	9	2
TOTAL	36	23

The Wage Board administers 52 ar
period 1984 - 1988 there were a
Thus approximately half of the
closer look at the figures indi
- 14 bracket (37.01%). Howeve
period of more than 14 months.
had a period of more than 20 mo
figures as they stand seem to i
months.

Heunis goes private

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Heunis, 62, has not said what his plans are — although he will be taking a holiday in a game park.

NEWS



GENERAL ROGERS: Accept the inevitable.

'Top brass' going to war for DP say: All must talk to ANC

Star 1/7/89

WILLIAM MACLEAN

A CAREER among the very top ranks of the South African military is an unusual background for an anti-apartheid campaigner.

But General Wally Black is running for Parliament in the September 6 general elections with the message that apartheid is wrong and whites must negotiate a peaceful path towards black majority rule.

The 66-year-old former Director-General of Operations of the South African Defence Force (SADF) is one of three retired senior officers who have been nominated as general election candidates for the liberal Democratic Party.

The others are General Bob Rogers (67), Chief of the Air Force from 1974-79, and Colonel Hilda Burnett (59), commanding officer of the Army Women's Training College from 1973-78.

Ex-officers have run for liberal opposition parties in the past, but none held positions as senior as those of Black and Rogers, a decorated World War 2 and Korean War fighter pilot. All three are grandparents who say they want to bequeath a more stable, egalitarian and prosperous South Africa.

They want negotiations with the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela. Like most whites they want the ANC to suspend violence, a move it refuses to make prior to negotiations, but are adamant a solution is impossible without the group's participation.

"A future without the ANC giving some input is impossible," Colonel Burnett told Reuters. Black majority rule "is going to be inevitable", added General Black. These have been minority views among a conservative white electorate which for 40 years has plumped consistently for apartheid.

Security is of paramount importance in a country where the increasingly outnumbered white minority is fearful of the future.

The National Party rarely misses a chance to describe the Democratic Party as soft on security and the nomination of Black, Burnett and Rogers as DP candidates may help rebut the charge.

The three former officers said in telephone interviews they wanted strong military forces but said apartheid required heavy, economically damaging spending on defence and security.

"It's far better to get the co-operation of black people than hit them with a stick," said Col Burnett.

"You've got to deal with the security danger, but that's short term. You want people who are happy."

The National Party says it wants security for whites so they can negotiate politically with blacks from a position of strength. The far right Conservative Party, the main opposition, speaks of security only in terms of protection for whites.

Col Burnett is from the dominant Afrikaner community that is traditionally the backbone of National Party support. She left the National Party two years ago, but said persuading fellow Afrikaners to follow her would not be easy.

"To break with what is very well known to you is not easy. They are still a little afraid of a future they don't know," she said.

General Black was promoted to SADF director general of operations in July 1976 in the immediate aftermath of riots in Soweto. He retired in 1978.

He said his views had been shaped partly by those events. "(White) people didn't appreciate fully the conditions under which those people lived. There was a lack of everything, of basic facilities," he said.

He said there was a "fair sprinkling" of senior officers in the military who held similar views.

General Rogers said many officers knew the Government had to talk to credible black leaders about bringing blacks into government but "a lot of the voters just don't want to know that message".

"We must educate people to accept the inevitable, and not to accept it with a resigned sigh but to work together and make the most of it." — Reuter.



GENERAL BLACK: Soweto had impact.

Nat split halted council talks on Pageview, DP alleges

Star 1/7/87 (304A) (8)

A TOP-LEVEL National Party split over an application to declare Pageview a free settlement area has been alleged after the withdrawal of the item from the Johannesburg City Council's agenda yesterday.

The item was withdrawn during a special council meeting — called because of the forced adjournment of an earlier council meeting during which the council opposition staged a walkout over the withdrawal of an item on Mayfair.

Management Committee chairman Mr Jan Burger said during yesterday's meeting that he had "spoken to higher authorities" over the Pageview application and had been asked to make sure the item was withdrawn.

Democratic Party councillor Mr Paul Asherson ascribed this to a division in the National Party caucus, reflecting a disagreement between Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and Mr Chris Heunis, who resigned recently as Minister of Constitutional Development and

HELEN GRANGE

Planning.

Mr Asherson maintained Mr Meyer was not in favour of Pageview becoming a free settlement area, while Mr Heunis had had a "rethink" over the controversial election issue.

He said the split had caused a lack of concensus in the council's Nat caucus and he knew of at least four Nat councillors who had "examined their consciences" and may not support the Management Committee recommendation that Pageview be rejected as a free settlement area.

DP councillor Mr Cecil Bass said the council could not afford to evict the 300 Indian families living in Pageview. There would be a public outcry and it would damage the NP during the coming election.

He added that the DP was tired of the council being controlled by directives from Cabinet Ministers and that political direction in Johannesburg should be determined by the council alone.

Mr Jan Burger, chairman of the Management Committee, denied there was a Nat split over the Pageview application, but admitted that the decision to withdraw the item had nothing to do with the council.

The withdrawal of the Pageview item gives the issue a breather as the Supreme Court case to decide on the Indian residents' future is scheduled to go ahead only once the council has made a decision.

No date set for FW's visit to US

Star 1/13/89

304A

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

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

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

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

LITTLE ENTHUSIASM

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

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

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

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

Senior advisers have apparently cautioned that President Bush stands little to gain from a meeting with Mr de Klerk.

SAP to take over

DP deadlock

CAPE TIMES 1/7/89 Political Staff 3044

THE Democratic Party is deadlocked over whether to participate in the elections for the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives.

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

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

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

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

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

Parliaments for all plan

W/C ARGUS 11/7/89

3044

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

One such clue is said to be a speech by Mr de Klerk in Zurich in 1986 when he gave one of the clearest expositions so far provided of the kind of constitutional system the government has in mind for the future.

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

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

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

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

No problem

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

● See Page 14.

Slovo, Tambo and Hein Grosskopf will join in stand on negotiation demands

Razor debate with ANC

NATIONAL negotiations will be a key topic in discussions by the 115-member South African delegation meeting the ANC in Lusaka this weekend.

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

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

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

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

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

The group will meet a delegation of 40 ANC members, including leader Mr Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, and one of the most wanted men in South Africa, Mr Hein Grosskopf — who allegedly planted the Krugersdorp bomb.

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

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

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

Mood of enthusiasm

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

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

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

It is unlikely that major policy decisions will



ANYONE FOR A LAUGH?: The National Party leadership has been intent on projecting a serious and resolute image in order to win the election, but at Thursday's congress something Mr Pik Botha said obviously tickled Mr F W de Klerk's funnybone.

Vlok rapped for his R15 000 'racist' reward

MOST **Speakout!** callers felt Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok was wrong to offer a R15 000 reward to help

Speak Out! ON SATURDAY

and without thought of reward. If Mr Vlok wants to (give a reward) he should use his own money, not taxes"

Mulaudzi, South Hills: "I think it's disgraceful. It makes it look as if black children are unimportant. A child is a child, whatever his colour."

should be done for the black kids."

Mr Ned Pillay, Lenasia: "The Minister is insulting us badly. He is showing open racism."

be offered, irresp of their colour."

Mr Marks Tsh la, Joubert Pa would like Mr V offer the same re

Rushing in where brats fe to trea

ALAN ROBINS

LONDON — McEnroe went astr Wimbledon yest Friday ... and end in the lion's den.

Superbrat loves media like little adore castor oil. So he blundered into W ledon's press qua home to 500 scribes all over the world, t mosphere was el McEnroe, bag and ets in hand, wa parently heading f players' locker roon

Pressmen looke astonished as the u ed guest appear their midst. Ther brave enough to ventured: "Hey Joh don't want to be This is the press are

McEnroe's n twitched and his lip curled into a sr derision: "So that's smells," he spat



ecting a seri
ously tickled

5 00

uth Hills: "I
sgraceful. It
ok as if blacl
e unimportan
a child, wha
lour."
Mr Richard
le, Soweto
inister decide
reward for
ds, surely t

ng bla

e Kola (11) las
Tebogo Khoza
ing on Marc
e Mlangeni (11
n abducted on
of the miss
d a Concerne
and have u
lok to offer a
nation leading
heir missing c
Legong, an e
of the newl
a packed Atter
hall on Thurs
were concern
ter's decision
ward for inf

Nazul

NATIONAL negotiations will be a key topic in discussions by the 115-member South African delegation meeting the ANC in Lusaka this weekend.

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

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

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

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

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

The group will meet a delegation of 40 ANC members, including leader Mr Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, and one of the most wanted men in South Africa, Mr Hein Grosskopf — who allegedly planted the Krugersdorp bomb.

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

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

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

Mood of enthusiasm

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PRINTED by The Newspaper Printing Company for

Nats' action plan bears the mark of Broederbond

Star 11/7/89 (304A)

PATRICK LAURENCE

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

There are strong similarities between the NP Plan of Action — released at the NP's special pre-election federal congress in Pretoria on Thursday — and a confidential Broederbond document dated June 1989.

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

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

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

They include proposals to:

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

● TO PAGE 2.

Nat plan has Broeder touch

(304A)

Star 11/7/89

● FROM PAGE 1.

group, in accordance with the "concurrent majority" concept outlined in Saturday Star last week.

The Broederbond document uses the somewhat ambiguous Afrikaans word "deeleenheid," meaning "participating unit." But it later makes it clear that notion embraces the four races — whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks — as well as the voluntary non-racial group, about which the NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk has been talking.

On the presidency it is pertinent to recall the reasoning of the first Broederbond working paper; it concludes that the President need not be white but stresses presidential power must be restricted to avoid domination of one group by another.

Unsurprisingly the NP Plan of Action calls for a re-assessment of the functions of the head of state in the envisaged new constitutional system and the manner in which he is elected.

At present, of course, South Africa has an executive presidency; it places vast powers in the hands of one man, as the "imperial presidency" of Mr Botha has shown.

The June 1989 Broederbond document moots the idea of a non-executive President as a symbol of national unity, linking it with the notion of rotating the office between the various groups.

Rotation

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

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

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

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

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

Thus Broeders are asked to consider whether a race-based constitution will be acceptable nationally and internationally.

Sad farewell from Botha to SADF

Argus 11/7/89 30A

By HENRI du PLESSIS
Weekend Argus Defence Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Picture: DION TROMP, Weekend Argus.

President Botha stands silently to attention as he returns the salute for the last time to soldiers marching past.

WHY THE RIGHTWING CAN'T SEE EYE TO EYE

S | Times 21/7/87

by Dries van Heerden (304A)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Influence

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

Even Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, symbol of NP intransigence, was considered by some Afrikaners to be a "dangerous liberal" and two parties broke away in the '60s — the Republican Party and Dr Cor du Preez's Democratic National Party.

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

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

They are still smarting over the inclusion of Maoris in the 1970 All Black rugby team and are still determined to reimpose petty apartheid in lifts, hotels and post offices.

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

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

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

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

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

Mixed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Somewhere, wedged between these opposing political views, are a number of rightwing think-tanks with their own visions of Boerestate and Afrikaner Shangri-Las.

Purists

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

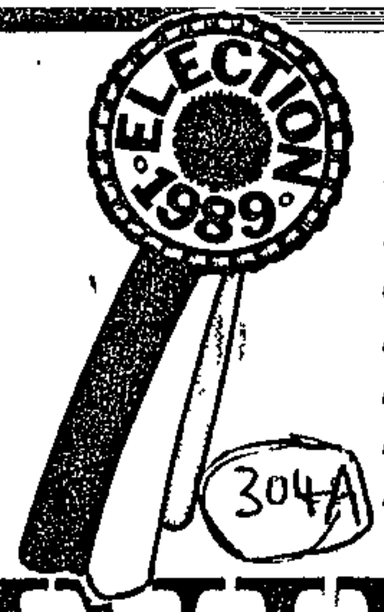
And the fractiousness continues: The AWB's short existence has already seen at least three major breakaways, caused by both Mr Terre Blanche's personal indiscretions and his parliamentary ambitions, which are seen by AWB purists as contrary to the movement's aims of a one-party State.

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

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

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

Hence Mr Terre Blanche's obvious disgust with what he perceives to be Dr Treurnicht's limp-wristed conservatism. His followers want action and they want it now. And if the CP can't oblige, they will go it alone.



***THE SUNDAY TIMES** has commissioned the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand to monitor trends leading up to the September 6 election. This article introduces a series which will culminate in a broad prediction of the election results, to be based on intensive studies in five specially selected barometer constituencies...*

S/Times 27/8/89.

SO WILL THE NP PULL IT OFF AGAIN?

by Lawrence Schlemmer, Richard Humphries and Louise Stack

THE taken-for-granted predominance of the National Party over the past three decades has been a cause of both comfort and despair in South African politics.

Recent observations by Hermann Giliomee and that very experienced election analyst Harry Laurie have challenged the automatic assumption of an overall NP majority in September. Could DP and CP expectations of a hung Parliament be vindicated?

Party divisions along lines of language are long past. Even the total onslaught is in abeyance. In the coming election political convictions around race policy and economics will be definitive.

The spectrum of convictions which will structure the outcome is wide and complex, but with only a little over-simplification, appears as follows:

- **RACE SEPARATISM:** Ranging from radical partition to traditional segregation, this viewpoint coincides largely with lesser affluence and marked economic grievances;
- **CAUTIOUS REFORM:** Mainly concerned with avoiding threats to the way society operates, or fearful of the unknown consequences of change, this position is pragmatically conservative;
- **SYSTEM RENEWAL:** A variety of viewpoints, including more rapid reform, fundamental power-sharing, concern with human rights and extending into social democracy and mild socialism. Economic growth and welfare is a major concern.

Triumph

Obviously CP support is clustered in category one and the DP draws its support from the third position in the spectrum. National Party support straddles all three categories. This is both its strength and its weakness.

In 1987 the NP attracted non-doctrinaire race separatists, most of the cautious reformers and a substantial number of whites willing to share power. If it can maintain this performance in the coming election, it will once again triumph

The penalty the NP pays in attempting to straddle the spectrum, however, is that its policy pronouncements have to be ambiguous and equivocal.

It also depends very substantially on its image of previous success, of practical experience in attempting to deal with our crisis-ridden political realities and of determination to safeguard white and minority interests, which is a concern across the whole spectrum Images, however, can evaporate very quickly.

In a situation in which the NP clearly cannot rely to the same extent as in the past on external pressure or radical activism to consolidate support for a strong, safe centre, it faces four major dangers. One is believability.

Stagnant

Will its segregationist support believe NP reassurances when the Group Areas system seems to be crumbling? Will its more fundamental reformers believe in its ability to begin negotiations with blacks when nothing concrete has happened since 1984, and when the new five-year policy guidelines are rejected by more celebrated black spokesmen?

The second danger is economics. Will the promise of mild tax relief outweigh what are felt to be staggering fuel price hikes or stagnant white incomes? Will the business community, so important to the NP's left, believe that external credit-worthiness and investor confidence can be restored?

Image

A third danger is that, while the conservative fringe of the NP may blanch at promises to share power with some blacks, its left-wing may feel that the most significant blacks will not co-operate, and hence lose faith in the five-year plan.

Finally, there is the problem of a dented image, due to the erratic behaviour of Mr P W Botha, a litany of recent instances of corruption, and resignations from the Cabinet and two municipal by-election defeats by the DP, all against a background of losses to the CP in the 1988 municipal elections.

While it is too early for predictions, the NP could lose support to both the CP and the DP. Furthermore, by putting up candidates in a large number of constituencies, the DP and CP could increase gains for each other.

To provide a framework for assessing prospects in the election we present two scenarios: One called "Reversal" and the second "Retreat".

REVERSAL: This scenario assumes that the CP maintains no more than the level of support that it gained in the 1988 municipal elections, which suggests that its share of the vote will shift from the roughly 30 percent which the rightwing gained in 1987 to about 33 percent (We assume that a possible HNP-AWB alliance will be a negligible factor.)

As regards the DP, we take indications from the most recent series of opinion polls by M & M, augmented slightly by the results of recent municipal by-elections, thereby assuming that roughly six percent of NP voters will swing to the liberal opposition.

Both swings are modest and very easily achievable. The outcome may be as follows (approximates): DP 25; NP 100; CP 41.

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

We also take account of its highest support levels in recent opinion polls. On this basis its share of the overall vote could easily increase to roughly 35 percent.

Rapid

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

Applying these assumptions, which are most certainly not unrealistic, to all results in the 1987 election, and allowing for opposition parties splitting the vote in constituencies they cannot win, yields the following scenario (also approximate): DP 41-42; NP 62-65; CP 59-62.

Under the Retreat scenario the outcome is very close and Parliament is well and truly hung. A further 13 NP seats will be marginal to within 500 votes, 10 to the CP and three to the DP.

Potential

For both opposition parties this is a potentially high-yield, but very high-risk, scenario.

Neither scenario may materialise. One should never underestimate the NP once its campaign starts to roll and obligingly supportive television coverage mounts.

The potential attraction of the new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, projecting sincerity and with a successful European tour to his credit, may roll back the advances of the opposition Whatever the case, the very fabric of white politics is in the balance.

THE FOUR
A NEWSPA



3044

NEWS FOCUS ON THE NATIONAL PARTY FEDERAL CONGRESS

THE NP STIRS TO LIFE BUT THE OLD SPHINX IS GUARDING ITS SECRETS

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN and LESTER VENTER

GIVE F W de Klerk his due. He sensed that his National Party had reached a historic moment and he stepped forward to grasp it.

At the party's federal congress on Thursday — where the old fervour, so absent from NP proceedings in recent years, seemed to return — the new leader laid the outlines of the society he will try to create in the five years of his administration that he hopes will follow September's election.

In doing so, he jolted the NP out of its two-year sleepwalk with the help of a slogan encapsulating the mood he wants to project: "New action."

Between now and September 6 white voters will have to decide whether the changes Mr De Klerk envisages are enough of a break with the root principles of the past — principles that both he and the party now coyly admit have become "problems".

MANIFESTO

Voters must judge whether the changes will be enough to make a difference and even whether they can be implemented at all.

For in laying out his policy, Mr De Klerk has given more clues than specifics about precisely what sort of society he wants to see emerge.

If the "Plan of Action", as it is called, is as much an election manifesto as a policy document, then it will serve the NP's election campaign well.

It will allow Mr De Klerk to make the run-up to September armed with praiseworthy intentions and language that stir hope in NP supporters and those who are merely resigned to NP rule alike — without many concrete undertakings against which subsequent failure can be measured.

The plan, and NP comment backing it up, is liberally salted with "coulds" and "shoulds"; it rests heavily on the successful outcome of negotiations with unspecified black South Africans; and senior NP men assert that basic race laws may ultimately be repealed — or replaced with "acceptable alternative methods".

What the plan distils into is that the proof of its intentions will be in the determination, muscle and spirit with which it is implemented *after* the election.

That means, in turn, that voters will have to assess the quality of Mr De Klerk's resolve *before* the election.

Significantly, the NP simply reissued its 1987 manifesto with the new plan grafted on to it.

The central issue is, as it has always been, the NP's concept of groups.

The plan acknowledges that the creation of groups according to race "for the purposes of political participation" creates many problems.

This must be "revised in a process of negotiation in order to establish a greater freedom of choice".

It goes on: "A person must be able to change to another group subject to the consent of the recipient group."

What this implies is that a black family that has developed a lifestyle and values similar to those of, say, the residents of a middle-class suburb like Orange Grove, Johannesburg, will be able to take up residence with, and identify with, the Orange Grovers.

But the Orange Grovers will retain the right to say "no".

Quite how these conflicting rights will be resolved is not clear. What is clear, however, is that the black children will not able to attend an Orange Grove school of their choice — because "own education" is to be maintained.

The black parents will not be able to vote for the same escalating levels of government, from local to national, as their fellow Orange Grovers — because "own affairs" administrations are to be maintained.

ABUSE

A reading of the plan suggests the way out will be for Orange Grove first to be designated a "free settlement area" with subsidised, private, nonracial schools before the black family can elect to become full Orange Grovers.

Before that happens, however, the present Orange Grovers will have the right not to have their suburb proclaimed a free settlement area.

How this last right is to be exercised is not clear. But to prevent its wholesale abuse, another South African group is to be created.

Qualification for membership will be SA citizenship, not race. This group will need its own "own affairs" administration, in addition to those existing for whites, coloureds and Indians — and another expected to be created for blacks.

NP theorists expect this non-ethnic group not to be very large, apparently discounting the likelihood that most black South Africans would choose not to be racially categorised.

Presumably, members of the non-ethnic group will have to live in free settlement areas in order to live out their chosen lifestyle. This is because the plan makes it clear that the Group Areas Act, albeit stripped of its punitive rough edges, will be maintained.

On the level of national government, the plan commits the NP to equal participation by all — without domination by any. It does not say how this can be done but suggests that designated experts undertake a study of all known models that may achieve this. These models will be presented to the Government for study and integration in the negotiating process.

On negotiation, there appears to be a shift in the qualification of those who may participate. So far the Government has excluded people who espouse violence. The plan now says the process will be open to those who are committed to peaceful solutions.

Whether this shift in emphasis has any practical consequences in bringing, for example, the African National Congress into negations, remains to be seen.

SOLACE

It would certainly put the United Democratic Front in a difficult spot.

The plan tackles the Government's tattered human rights image by committing the NP to "consider the advisability" of a Bill of Rights.

It mentions the Law Commission's far-reaching recent study of the issue — but diverts from the spirit of the commission's report by proposing that the "political rights of groups" be protected in the Bill.

A welcome financial proposal of the plan is tax reduction.

How this miracle will be achieved without hacking huge numbers out of the public service is, like much else, left unexplained.

Please arise — all the next President's men

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE men most likely to play key roles in a new F W de Klerk administration were given prominence at the National Party's federal congress in Pretoria this week.

Topping the list of rising Cabinet stars are Mr Kobie Coetsee, now Minister of Justice; Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister for Administration and Privatisation; Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid; and Mr Amie Venter, until now a relatively obscure Minister for Local Government and Housing in the "own affairs" administration for whites.

All are regarded as staunch De Klerk loyalists.

Together with solidly established figures such as Mr Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs), Mr Barend du Plessis (Finance) and Mr Stoffel van der Merwe (Information) these are the men expected to form the backbone of a new administration.

Mr Coetsee and Dr Viljoen gave the main speeches — apart from Mr De Klerk — on constitutional matters. This section of the congress was under the chairmanship of Dr De Villiers.

Mr Venter was a leading speaker in the section entitled "civilised norms in social welfare matters" which was under the chairmanship of Mr Coetsee.

Crucial

Dr De Villiers backed the Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis, on the debate on the economy.

The star line-up at the congress heightened speculation about who the future State President would choose to guide the crucial constitutional portfolio.

The betting is that Mr De Klerk will split the massive portfolio held by Mr Chris Heunis.

President Botha's present man in the job, former Cape Administrator Gene Louw, has no experience in national constitutional affairs and he is tipped to keep the section on local and regional government affairs.

This will open the job for a new minister to guide the constitutional negotiations that are central to Mr De Klerk's new policy.

The front runners appear to be Mr Coetsee and Dr De Villiers.

Dr De Villiers has emerged with a powerful political base. He was chosen Cape leader this week and, if the expected further losses by the NP to the Conservative Party in the Transvaal materialise in September, he could end up heading the biggest provincial caucus in the NP's parliamentary organisation.

Interestingly, Dr Viljoen appears politically unscathed by damaging revelations of malpractices in his department — now under investigation by an official commission.

Military honours fit-looking P W

(304A)

By HAMISH McINDOE

ST Times 27/7/89

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

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

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

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

Mr Botha, who was accompanied by his wife Elize, looked well at what could be one of his last official appearances.

In the light of recent controversy, he made a surprisingly bland speech about service and nationhood.

President Botha did not deviate from the prepared speech until the end, when, his voice breaking with emotion, he said: "God bless you all."

His appearance at the parade was the first time he had been seen in public for some time.

This week he snubbed a planned farewell banquet which was to be held in his honour on the opening night of the National Party's Federal Congress in Pretoria.

In his speech, Mr Botha said the SADF was a bulwark of peace and security. By protecting the peace, the SADF enabled South Africa to solve its future problems.



RELAXED . . . P W Botha with Defence Force chief General Jannie Geldenhuys Picture: TERRY SHEAN

Taking on reform's Loch Ness monster

S/Times 21/7/87 · (304A)

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

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

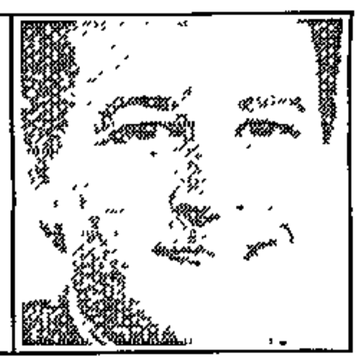
In a real sense she stood up alone and something happened. She lit the path for civil liberties and simple justice, which others have followed. Her "heresies" of 20 years ago have become, in some instances, the conventional wisdom of today.

This is a mighty inheritance for any party, but especially for the Democratic Party with its range of candidates and supporters who represent the emerging, new generation of our politics.

On the Witwatersrand, seven of our key candidates are young professionals who

by Tony Leon

DP parliamentary candidate for Houghton in the September election



apart from remaining cool, calm and elected, must aggressively articulate an agenda for the '90s and the years ahead.

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

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

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

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

Attack

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rights

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

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

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

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

Chemical war launched

Fears mount that more will be killed

By CHARLES MOGALE

SUSPECTED rightwingers have launched a chemical war against blacks and anti-apartheid activists.

Fears are mounting in black political circles that if the frequent acid attacks are not stopped, more toxic chemicals may be used to claim lives.

Already, three attacks involving toxic and chemical substances have been reported within a month.

The latest incident disclosed this week was at Regina Mundi Church in Rockville, Soweto, where awful smelling chemicals were sprayed just days before Soweto Day on June 16.

Repeated attempts to deodorise and spring-clean the church failed to rid it of the smell.

Recently, SACC Secretary-General, the Reverend Frank Chikane, was taken ill as a result of toxic chemicals traced to his clothing. Tests proved the chemicals were normally found in pesticides.

Chikane, who collapsed several times and had to be hospitalised in the United States, failed to honour an appointment with US president George Bush because of illness.

Last week 46 delegates to the South African Council of Churches had to be treated at the Coronation Hospital after the discovery of "toxic" acid-smelling chemicals at the St Barnabas College, where the SACC was holding its annual congress.

The police later refuted claims that the chemicals were toxic, and said they were "stink bombs".

The resident pastor at Regina Mundi, Father E O'Reilly, is baffled about how the culprits got into the church.

Independent tests indicated at least butanoic, pentanoic and hexanoic chemicals were present in the smelly substance.

"The chemicals might not be poisonous, but they are not Holy either," O'Reilly said.

DP's decision is 'aimed at negotiation'

BTDay 31789 (304A)

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

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

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

Poovalingham said he would be joined by fellow DP MP Mahmoud Rajab in forming the Non-racial Democratic Party. The third DP MP in the House of Delegates, John Iyman, said he would contest the election under the DP banner.

RIAAN SMIT

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

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

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

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

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

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



● MALAN



● POOVALINGHAM

The five-year plan sets the stage for ten years' turmoil

KEN OWEN

AFTER 40 years of messianic self-certainty, the National Party is at last beginning to struggle honestly, I think, with the central issue of South African politics, which is liberty. It fails because it cannot break out of the South African paradigm: the obsession with groups.

That is why the party leaders, in setting out their five-year plan last week, went to quite unusual lengths to suppress, or even to distort, the findings of the Law Commission on the need for a South African bill of rights.

The problem is that the party's plan of action flies in the face of the central finding of the Law Commission: that rights vest in the individual, not in the group. And the Nationalists remain wedded to "the white group," which is neither culturally coherent, nor linguistically uniform, nor politically united, nor even very religious.

The Law Commission's Working Paper 25, drawn up under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Pierre Olivier, a government-appointed Free Stater, puts foward its own plan, conservative but workable, to take South Africa to democracy. The differences between the NP plan and the Law Commission's plan are illuminating.

The Law Commission calls, first of all, for a statement of policy by Parliament "that it is in favour of the protection, in a bill of rights, of the generally accepted individual rights and cultural, religious and linguistic values".

Then, it suggests, government should embark immediately on the major task of systematically repealing all laws which would conflict with the bill of rights. The effect of this process, of course, would be steadily to widen the area of liberty for those South Africans most deprived of it.

Simultaneously, says the Law Commission, there must be a thorough process of education on questions of human rights, followed by negotiations on a new constitution, which should be submitted finally to referendum.

The test of this plan, as of the NP's five-year plan, is not whether it meets some intellectual or moral criterion, but whether it will bring the country to rest. Since it carries the promise of democracy — of equality before the law, liberty and justice — at the end of it, the Law Commission's plan has a chance of success. Probably nothing less can succeed.

The chances of its success lie in the content which it gives to a bill of rights — rights which no legislation or executive act would be permitted to infringe.

At the top of the list, Article 1 of the proposed bill of rights, puts the right to life. Second, in Article 2, comes the following:

"The right to human dignity and equality before the law, which means that there shall be no discrimination on the ground of race, colour, language, sex, religion, ethnic origin, social class, birth, political or other views or any disability or natural characteristic."

The only exception it makes is temporary "reverse discrimination", or affirmative action, to overcome the historical disadvantages inflicted on some people by past discrimination.

The Law Commission distinguishes between political rights, intended to protect minorities against oppression, and other rights. The former, it says, are matters for negotiation, to be incorporated in an agreed constitution; the latter must be protected by the bill of rights, as belonging to the individual.

Its words on this point are worth quoting exactly: "In our society, cultural, religious and linguistic values should not be protected as 'group rights' since a group is not a legal persona. These rights should be protected in a bill of rights by way of individual rights."

"In public law," the commission says at one point, "our courts have never recognised an entity known as a 'group' or a 'minority' which can, as such, enforce rights."

Elsewhere it says: "It is unnecessary to protect the so-called group interests or minority interests in the sphere of culture, religion or language by trying to define the group concerned and conferring legal personality upon it. All that is needed is to designate the interests in question as interests protected by law and to leave it to any individual to protect the interests through court proceedings where necessary."

This approach — if only the National Party would realise it — takes care of all the legitimate concerns of minorities. Indeed, the commission is emphatic: "The protection of minorities in this country is essential, since to ignore the rights of minority groups would be to invite endless conflict."

Even the right to dissociate, so beloved of Nat politicians, is catered for, subject to the all-important qualification that it will not include practising discrimination on the ground of race, colour, religion, language, or culture if public funds are used. Exclusive groups, whether churches or clubs, wine-tasters or garlic-eaters, will be permitted provided they pay for their own exclusivity.

With these ideas before them, the National Party leaders have opted instead to search for a constitutional model "to prevent domination of one group by another". Instead of accepting the bill of rights put forward by the Law Commission, the NP talks of "considering the advisability" of a bill of rights.

Worse, knowing that the Law Commission has pronounced the idea of "group values," whether cultural or linguistic, to be foreign to our law, the NP still insists on a bill of rights that will protect "both individual rights and group values".

Where the Law Commission calls for a review of the law to purge the statute book of discriminatory measures, the NP calls for a law review to contain the costs of litigation, and hunts for ways to preserve group areas without the Group Areas Act.

The five-year plan talks of representation, but not equal representation; of rights, but not of justice; of democracy, but not of equality. The party still hovers at the edge of democracy, not daring to plunge.

The breakthrough from groupthink to the concept of individual liberty, let us confess, is not easy, especially not when our archbishop struts about like a pre-revolutionary cardinal, proclaiming his lust for power. Even the Progressive Party, it is worth recalling, started out with a qualified franchise which was designed to evade equal rights.

But there is no middle ground. All discussion of democracy begins, it does not end, with a universal franchise. The National Party, under a new leader, had the chance to commit itself to a democratic system, to adopt the 10-year plan of the Law Commission and to create a prospect of peace in the 1990s. Instead, it has chosen to continue the vain search for the elusive formula to preserve racism by another name.

By that choice, it has built conflict and turmoil into the next decade.

Soviets may play important role in SA, says US envoy

MICHAEL HARTNACK

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

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

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

Put out

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

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

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

Idasa-led tour of frontline states

The Argus Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The tour will culminate in a two-day conference with an ANC delegation in Lusaka.

'Right' front may be formed

Political Correspondent (304A)

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

The front will probably consist of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), the Boerestaat Party (BSP) and a group of ultra-rightists under Professor Johan Shabort, the restricted leader of the banned Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB).

The leaders of the four groupings are to meet in Pretoria to discuss strategy.

Mr Marais said today the aim of the meeting was to create a formal relationship between the different groups.

There was an obvious need for a united rightist front against the National Party, expecially since it announced its new action plan last week which had introduced an entirely new political dispensation.

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

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

Mr Marais declined to comment on the wisdom of associating with Professor Schabort with his extremist image.

He said the four far-right groupings would hold a press conference at 2 pm today to announce their decision.

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

Star 3/7/89 304A

Top papers give two cheers to FW

'Not the usual stuff of evasion, stalemate'

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

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

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

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

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

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

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

Two hurdles

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

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

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

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

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

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

Attack the monster!

ST 31/7/87 Staff Reporter (304A)

Are you looking for new ways to make today's "living dinosaur tomorrow's legendary dragon"?

More specifically, are you one of those people who throw up their hands in horror at apartheid and ask pitifully: "What can I do?"

Now your worst fear has come true.

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

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

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

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

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

Among the suggstions are:

● Make a point of speaking up whenever you witness people acting in a racist or unjust manner.

It might mean a polite word or two, a letter to the newspaper or some more direct form of intervention.

● Hold encounter groups where people of different races can learn to understand each other.

● Don't buy from shops which practise racism. Give your business to shops with good race relations

Let the racist shopowners know why you've withdrawn your patronage.

● All organisations to the left of the Government should support one another's projects and stop bickering at one another.

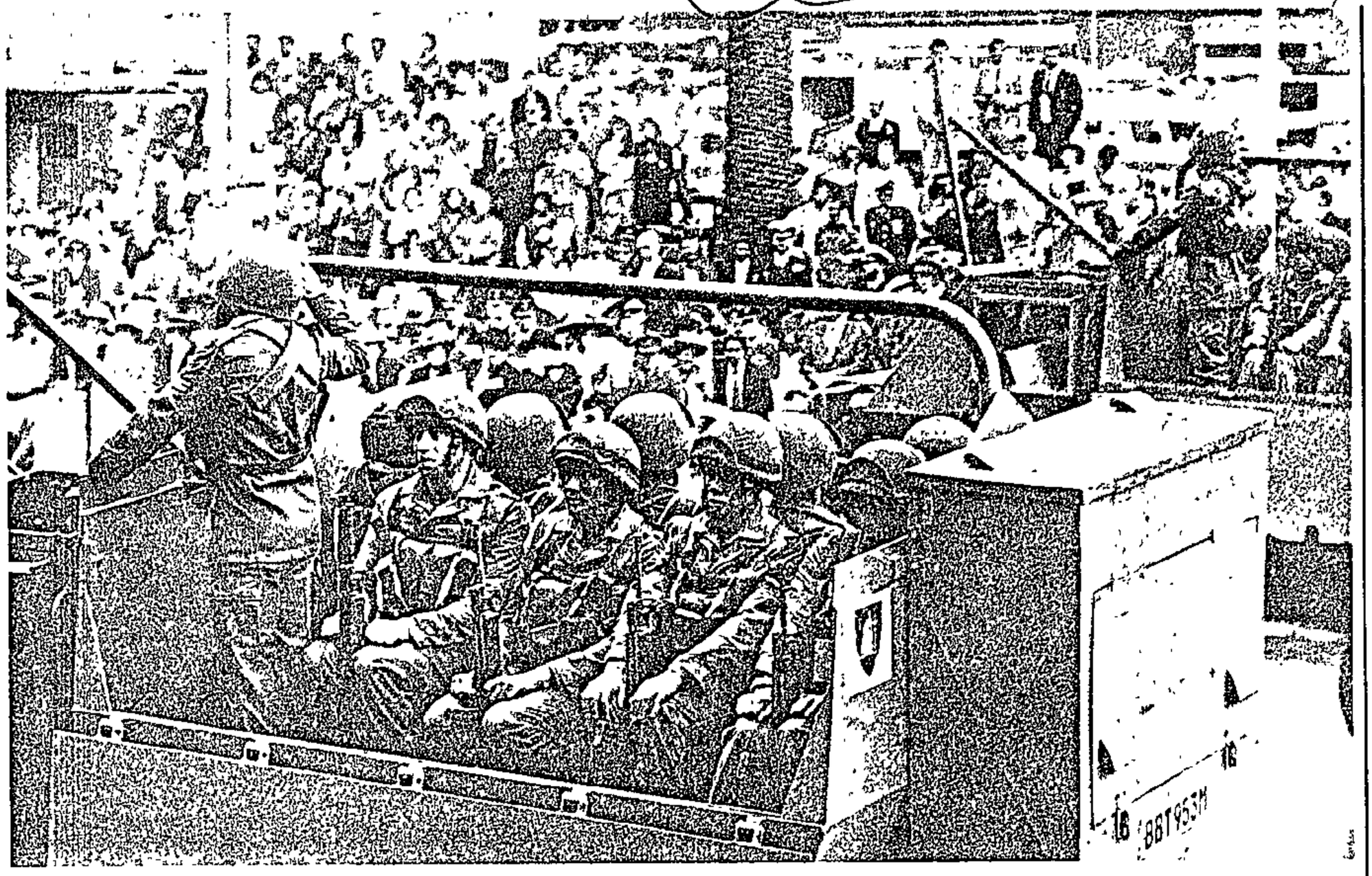
● Elect councillors who will open areas for all races.

● Investigate what the army and police are doing in the country by reading the press carefully and "try to fill in the missing pieces".

● Sign the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

● Make a special point of writing letters to the press — too often right-wingers dominate letters pages.

● Counteract SABC propaganda by pointing out its bias to your friends and family.



BUFFEL PASSES . . . The commander of a Buffel mine-protected vehicle throws a stiff-armed salute at President P W Botha as he passed the saluting base during Saturday's military parade in the city. Pictures: RICHARD BELL

It rains on PW's parade

Defence Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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



PRESIDENT ON PARADE . . . President P W Botha stands next to the parade commander, Colonel Hannes Spies of the Medical Service. On the right is the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Peter Muller.

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

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



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



LEFT . . . Second-Lieutenant Pieter Moos of 6 Maintenance Unit, Ordnance Service Corps, was decorated with the Honoris Crux for risking his life to exinguish a petrol fire last year at the unit's bulk fuel storage depot. Calvinia-born and raised, Lieutenant Moos' parents travelled from the Koue Bokkeveld town to watch their son being decorated by the State President.

ANC, SA group gained 'deeper understanding'

Star 31/7/89 (304A)

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

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

A detailed statement would be released later.

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

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

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

'Blacks can respond to NP's overtures'

Star 31/7/87 304A

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

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

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

PEOPLE WILL DECIDE

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

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

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

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

Chief Buthelezi said he had told UDF and Cosatu leaders that the question of a joint endeavour between the organisations, and perhaps church groups, would be discussed at the Inkatha general meeting. — Sapa.

MP's threat to quit over DP decision

CAPE TIMES 3/7/89 (304)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Poovalingham said that he wanted the requirements for DP candidates of all races to be standardised. "Failing that we will go ahead and form a new party — the Non-Racial Democratic Party — which will also field white candidates."

Democrats face revolt over tricameral decision

NCCAS 3/7/89 3064

28 off to the Frontline states

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

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

Reform: the great debate continues

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

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

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

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

First publication

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

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

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

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

It is likely to be the first of several publications providing an informed and constructive assessment of burning issues in South Africa's trauma. As such, it has an important use for the student of the country's politics.

Safaris to ANC 'cost R1m'

MORE than 450 South Africans have visited the ANC this year at an estimated cost of more than R1m.

The weekend Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) trip to Harare had cost about R350 000, nearly two-thirds of which (R240 000) had been sponsored by six foreign governments, one of the organisation's spokesmen said yesterday.

The trip had cost about R3 200 for each of the 115 official delegates, while another 20 had paid for themselves.

The Canadian government had paid R65 000, the Swiss government R50 000 and the US government R30 000, while the remainder had come from the Swedish, Danish and Dutch governments and "a variety of overseas church-based foundations".

Each delegate had contributed R200.

There had been 11 official visits to the ANC this year, and 65 "significant" meetings between white South African passport-holders and members of the ANC had been reported, the FFF said.

RIAAN SMIT reports FFF director Mike Olivier said at a media conference yesterday individuals in the ANC were taking seriously the content of the recent Law Commission report on a bill of rights.

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

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

TIM COHEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

Evans said the ANC would not call for a boycott of the House of Assembly election in September. However, it was totally opposed to elections in the other two Houses.

● Comment: Page 8

A top Nat explains why he quit the party

By BRUCE CAMERON of the Political Staff

NMGS 4/7/89 30A

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

ELECTION

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

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

Parents

"When you leave you are looked at as a sell-out of your own people.

"It hurts when you look at your history. For example my parents had to wear signs around their necks when at school saying 'I am a donkey, I speak Dutch.'"

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

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

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

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

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

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

Release

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

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

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

Sanctions

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

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

"People connot be judged in their place in society or in politics merely by the colour of their skin," he said.

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

Exposed

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

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

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

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

Indaba

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

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

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

Youngest

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

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

Two years later he was appointed Ccommissioner General of Gazankulu.

Recruited

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

In 1985 he took over as Director of multi-lateral relations with the independent national states in the Department of Foreign Affairs. In November, 1985, he was recruited by Mr Chris Heunis to handle the negotiations.

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

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

Star 4/7/89 3 of A

'I was a scapegoat'

Political Staff

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

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

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

STATEMENT

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

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

Mr Jordaan declined to say whether he was inferring that the decision had been made by President Botha.

Rightwing leaders pledge support for unified front

304A

Star 4/7/89

Pretoria Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

Mr van Tonder said the 1948 election was won by Dr Malan through a pact formed with six rightwing groups, including the Ossewa Brandwag.

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

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

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

The CP leader was not invited to the meeting and no plans were announced by the three should he refuse to co-operate.

Feud lingers as CP rejects call for unity

Star 4/7/89 — Political Reporter — 304 words

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

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

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

UNDERTAKING

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

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

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

US urges SA talks

Sowetan 4/7/86

SA Press Association

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

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

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

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

304A

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

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

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

304A

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

ANC's terms for homecoming

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

"I know you're going home. I so wish I could go home too."

With this remark a woman member of the banned African National Congress in Lusaka said goodbye to 115 fellow South Africans on Sunday after a three-day Five Freedoms Forum conference in Zambia on the role of whites in a changing society.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, delegates gave their impressions of the discussions with about 60 ANC members, including 21 members of the ANC's national executive.

The ANC's contribution to the wide-ranging discussions were "amazingly open, honest and genuine", FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier said.

Despite "strategic and other differences", all delegates shared the objective of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, he said.

Viewpoints expressed by the ANC delegates were that the organisation:

● Opposed the September elections for the Indian and Coloured Houses of Parliament, but not of the white House since it recognised the representative nature of the House of Assembly and the constructive role of progressive white parliamentarians.

● Accepted the principle of the protection of individual human rights, but feared that the National Party was "hijacking" the concept of a Bill of Rights to impress Western nations. A Bill of Rights should be negotiated between all political groups.

● Was prepared to enter into negotiations with the South African Government and other parties once certain conditions were met. These included the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency and the abrogation of those apartheid laws that sought to criminalise legitimate political activity, the safe return of exiles and the withdrawal of the SADF and paramilitary forces from the townships.



Delegates to the Five Freedoms Forum's three-day conference with the ANC on the role of whites in a changing society returned from Lusaka on Sunday. Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg are FFF executive member Mr Gavin Evans, FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier, Black Sash Transvaal chairman Ms Judith Hayarden, FFF publicity secretary Ms Gael Neke and Anglican Church clergyman Mr Robin Briggs. ● Picture by Sean Woods.

Fundamental aspects

Mr Olivier said these demands should not be viewed as preconditions, but as "fundamental aspects of a situation which needs to change" before a climate and framework for negotiations could be created.

In-depth discussions on the ANC's economic policy revealed that the organisation:

● Had not formulated clear long-term strategies on detailed economic issues such as fiscal and monetary policies or foreign exchange control, and welcomed input in this regard.

● Remained adamant that comprehensive sanctions would bring about fast political change which would reduce violence.

● Supported financial sanctions as the most effective weapon to force the government to negotiate.

● Recognised the necessity of foreign investment for a growing economy.

● Realised that the "African experience of socialism was fraught with problems", in the words of FFF executive member Mr Gavin Evans.

● Was pragmatic about issues such as the redistribution of wealth and nationalisation.

● Would encourage the development of black business by, for example, state bank loans to aspirant entrepreneurs.

Star 4/7/89

An image gradually changing for better

304A

The role of South Africa in southern Africa is being reassessed, but the situation needs careful handling. **GERALD L'ANGE**, editor, The Star's Africa News Service reports.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This campaign may have been given a leg-up at the African summit meeting in Gbadolite, Zaire, last



President Mobutu Sese Seko ... defied conventional opinion.

weekend at which the Angola initiative was launched with the MPLA government and the Unita rebels agreeing to a ceasefire.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Republicans and Democrats take a fresh look at SA

SIMON BARBER in Washington

IN THE odd moments when it was not demanding that citizens be sent to the Gulag for burning the flag, the US House of Representatives last week passed a foreign aid Bill which demonstrated that, while the Congress might be blind to its own constitution, it was at least taking a fresh look at southern Africa.

The International Co-operation Act of 1989, HR 2655, adopted by the Democrat-controlled House last Thursday by a vote of 314 to 101, hints at what, for the institution, are rather startling discoveries: SA is not the only violator of human rights on the continent, apartheid is not the sole source of the region's woes and the end of white rule in SA and Namibia will not by itself make for prosperity and happiness in either place.

On Mozambique, for example, the House expressed the view that, while SA was still Renamo's "principal patron", Frelimo also had quite a lot to answer for and should receive US economic and military assistance only in "relation to significant steps ... to increase respect for internationally recognisable human rights ... and thereby raise hope for a political settlement to the conflict in that country".

Such steps should include "limiting the powers of detention of the state security forces, ending extra-legal floggings, ending the practice of holding detainees incommunicado or for long periods without trial and permitting peaceful opposition to government policies".

Burundi, Kenya, Ethiopia and Zaire came in for similar treatment, though Zaire's President Mobutu (the "Six Billion Dollar Man" as he is known in the State Department) also received extravagant praise for mediating the ceasefire between Unita and the MPLA and will, if the Bill becomes law, go down in the statute books as "deserving the heartfelt thanks of the American people".

The House Democrats who dabble most in Africa have never been fans of Unita but they found it in their hearts to congratulate Dr Jonas Savimbi, too, for his "efforts to bring national reconciliation to his nation".

They also suggested that the US should deny Angola diplomatic recognition and continue to oppose its application for International Monetary Fund and World Bank membership (fruitlessly — the application will be officially approved by both bodies later this month) until "there is an agreement on national reconciliation acceptable to both sides" or President George Bush decides otherwise. Since when has Congress been leaving such things up to the President?

But perhaps the most interesting element of the Bill, and one that has gone all but totally unreported, is its call for the establishment of a "US commission on southern Africa" whose purpose is to "solicit private sector funds to conduct programmes to develop skilled personnel at various levels in the public and private sectors in SA and Namibia".

Sponsored by Congressman Mervyn Dymally, the immediate past chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), the commission proposal (it has yet to be accepted by the Senate) is premised on a series of "findings" that fly straight in the face of efforts by Congressman Ron Dellums, also of the CBC, and others to cut SA off from the outside world.

For example: "There is a key role for US citizens and businesses in the private sector to assist in enhancing the development of human resources in southern Africa"; and "There is a need for the US to assist in the development of human resources in southern Africa in the public and private sector, in order to improve in general the living conditions of non-whites in SA, and lay the foundation for effective leadership in a democratic post-apartheid society in SA and Namibia."

While "aid to disadvantaged South Africans" — currently running at a theoretical US$30m annually — has been a feature of US policy for some years, sanctioneers like the Dymally and CBC have hitherto been leery of it. They feared that it might somehow "slow the revolution" by helping develop a black middle class with a stake in the status quo.

Another reason for their disdain was that President Ronald Reagan supported such "positive measures", especially if they came from the private sector, and everything he supported was, almost by definition, anathema.

His passing has freed many to use their reason instead of jerking their knees. SA, and the region generally, can now be seen more for what they are, and less through the distorting lens of a domestic ideological struggle.

What is now beginning to be seen is that apartheid, in addition to all its other evils, is self-perpetuating in the sense that its legacy will persist long beyond its formal demise.

To quote again from the "findings", it has "resulted in great disparities ... particularly in education, health care, employment opportunities and the availability of housing" — disparities that cannot be wished or sanctioned away.

Nor can the fact (to continue citing the "findings") that there are just 20 black dentists and 70 black pharmarcists in SA, or that black unemployment is well in excess of the official 1987 figure of 17,9% or that "13 000 white South Africans currently hold civil service positions in Namibia; when Namibia becomes free and independent, government will need skilled personnel to fill the position vacated by white South Africans".

So the House has now proposed that, in addition to the funds already being channeled to SA by the Agency for International Development (AID), a permanent bipartisan commission (nine of whose 11 members would be appointed by the Republican President and his party's leaders in the House and Senate) should be established to raise and spend millions more in private donations.

Particularly intriguing is what the commission will be expected to spend the money on. Practical things. Not only is the development of black "middle management ... for positions in government and business" to be promoted, but, for the first time, Congress would be officially blessing transfers of funds to services like housing and health care that could supplement the South African government's own spending in such areas.

The only proviso is that the money not go directly to organisations, projects or institutions financed or controlled by government.

Combined with language elsewhere in HR 2655 calling for "the encouragement of private investment in firms owned by disadvantaged South Africans", this is an astonishing development in the politics of the issue: with no fuss or fanfare, the most liberal of Democrats and the most conservative of Republicans appear to have found common ground where previously there was only bitter division.

Interestingly, the compromise they came up with is a southern African application of George Bush's much derided "thousand points of light" appeal to voluntarism.

Still no Nat candidates for 5 city seats

Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Election date now official

Political Correspondent

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

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

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

Nomination day has been set for Monday, July 24.

Mr Botha officially prorogued Parliament as from Saturday, July 1, for the purposes of the election.

Dr T says 'No' to Jaap's right-wing pact plan

CM-Times 4/2/89 .30 4/A

Own Correspondent

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

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

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

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

He said to go into a formal coalition now with other rightwing groups would "seriously jeopardise the CP's plans and organisation for the September 6 election".

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

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

Tremendous pressure was being exerted for a change in Dr Treurnicht's opposition to a united front, he said.

DP to challenge 3 NP strongholds

CAPE Times 4/7/89

30/4

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has nominated Mr Jan van Gend, the MP for Groote Schuur, as its candidate in the safe Nationalist seat of Malmesbury.

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

All three seats are safe Nationalist strongholds.

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

He will take on the sitting MP and Minister of the Environment and Water Affairs, Mr Gert Kotze, who won the seat in the May 1987 election with a 7 415-vote majority over the CP, which polled 1 486 votes, the PFP with 1 435 and the HNP with 638 votes.

censorship restrictions apply to a wide ra

From page 1

Merwe, said it was "extremely unlikely" that any change to the decision by the DP's executive to stay out of the House of Representatives elections and to contest seats only in the House of Delegates on a limited basis could be effected.

Any change by tomorrow — the deadline in Mr Poovalingam's ultimatum for the party leadership to "get its house in order" — was logistically impossible and could not therefore be taken seriously, he said.

"He (Mr Poovalingam) will thus have to proceed on the basis of the decision taken by the executive."

In the statement, drawn up in consultation with the DP leadership, Mr Van der Merwe said Mr Poovalingam's attack on the DP national executive's weekend decision on participation in the elections — particularly his comments on Dr Worrall and Mr Malan — were "devoid of integrity".

"At no stage during the lengthy meeting on Friday, where Mr Poovalingam had the opportunity to put his case, did he mention any of the ridiculous allegations he now makes publicly," Mr Van der Merwe said.

"On the contrary, he indicated that on very substantial elements of the decision he was in agreement with the executive."

Among other issues, Mr Poovalingam indicated that he was in favour of "limited" participation and did not want the party to push for control of the House.

Mr Van der Merwe said: "Suggestions that the ANC and the UDF presented the DP with an ultimatum, or that Mr Malan made a promise to (ANC leader Mr) Thabo Mbeki, are simply not true."

The MP for Belhar, Mr Archie Poole, said yesterday that the decision by the Democratic Party to disqualify him from standing for the party in the September election was "nothing but blatant racism".

The sidelining of Mr Poole — along with the MP for Durban Suburbs, Mr Cecil Kippen, and the DP MP for Schauderville, Mr Charles Redcliffe — follows a decision by the DP executive on Friday night not to contest any seats in the House of Representatives in the coming poll.

DP to 'ANC': Get out!

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

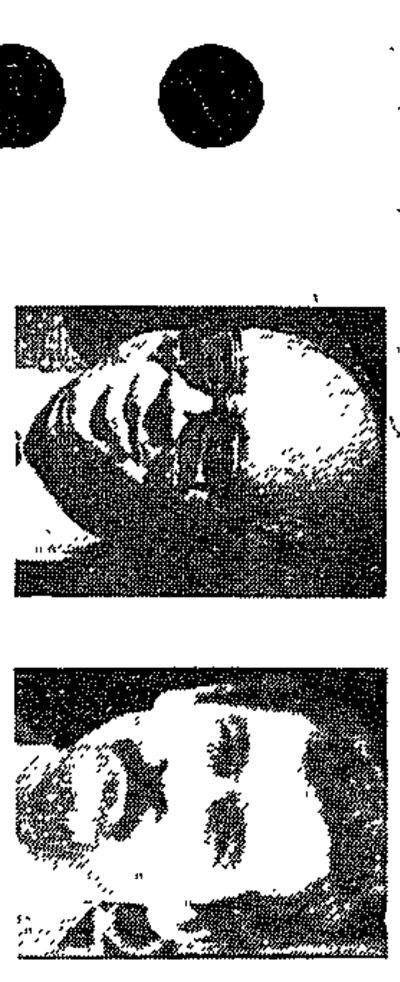
Mr Poovalingam accused the party of "racism", suggested the DP was responding to ultimatums from the ANC and UDF and said "when it comes to expediency and opportunism (Dr Worrall and Mr Malan) make Rajbansi look like a rank amateur".

A statement issued last night by the acting chairman of the DP board, Mr Tian van der

To page 3



Mr Poovalingam



Mr Van der Merwe

Star 4/7/89 3049

Spear man Grosskopf 'relaxed and happy'

Political Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

304A

Star 4/7/89 304A

'I was a scapegoat'

Political Staff

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

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

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

STATEMENT

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

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

Mr Jordaan declined to say whether he was inferring that the decision had been made by President Botha.

'Using consumer muscle not automatic guarantee of political success'



A street scene in Boksburg where a stalemate has developed

NEW WAYS TO DEFEAT CP POLICIES

Sowetan 4/7/89

FOCUS

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

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

"Some protest leaders see consumer action as a means of directly pressurising the council by reducing its revenue. But only a protracted withdrawal of buying power is likely to damage the council's finances.

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

Others see the boycott as a short-term means of showing black anger and disconcerting white voters. But this may also require sustained protest as the council has been elected for five years and is not threatened by a short-term loss of voter support



The publication identifies two areas that need countrywide attention if CP policies are to be defeated: the need to forge unity between black townships, and the need for a broadly based black consumer movement.

Nevertheless, the researchers argue that as black consumers begin using their power in a more organised way, through trial and error, they will discover more effective strategies.

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

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

"This, together with the National Party's reluctance to hinder the Boksburg protest, creates opportunities for organisation which are unusual in the current political climate."

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

A longer-term alliance between black business and organised black consumers could be in the interest of both.

Trade unions could play a significant role in the consumer action, because the East Rand is highly unionised.

There is considerable white support for the protest through the Boksburg Alliance (a coalition of business people, lawyers, sports associations, students and others) which has achieved some well-established successes on which it can build.

White business had been largely responsible for mobilising white opinion against the town council and had also pressed the Government to intervene, "a strategy which might ultimately help decide the controversy's outcome."

But, said the report, the attempt by white business to forge an alliance with the black communities has failed, largely because business has not managed to influence the council.

"The vital question here is whether it could have done more than it did to reduce the effects of the council's policies."

There were at least two areas in which business could do this:

- Business controlled some facilities in Boksburg and could ensure that at least these were desegregated (the ERPM golf course was one example), and
- Business could use its resources to strengthen township business by providing it with capital, expertise and perhaps goods and services at special rates.

Mashabela and Narsoo pointed out that the Government could well have helped to set in motion forces which it could not control by failing to act directly, while at the same time seeking to use the protest to weaken the CP's support.

"If events in Boksburg indeed strengthen black organisation and weaken white commitment to segregation, this will have implications for local authorities controlled by the NP as well," the report concluded.

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

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978

• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published

State freezes rent on Ysterplaat and Ruyterwacht homes

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Work is expected to start in August. Improvements in Ysterplaat are likely to be completed in the second half of 1991 and in Ruyterwacht towards the end of 1993.

CITY NATIONAL

Cape initiative for chang

30/7 ARGUS 4/7/89

Meiring to seek practical answers

By DON HOLLIDAY, Staff Reporter

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

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

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

HOUSING AND SERVICES

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

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

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



Mr Kobus Meiring

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

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

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

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

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

DECENT STANDARDS

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

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

The best way to establish these principles was to create a good team effort from his staff.

Transvaal urban voters will lose out

Business Day 5/7/89

MIKE ROBERTSON

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

A breakdown of the voters lists show that on average there are 22 378 voters in Transvaal constituencies, 18 458 in Natal, 17 079 in the OFS and 15 386 in the Cape, so a vote in the Cape is on average worth 1,5 times that in the Transvaal.

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

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

The voters who will be discriminated against the most in the coming election will be those in the North Rand constituency, where 43 637 people are registered. (3 04 A)

Voters in other Transvaal constituencies who will be discriminated against by government's failure to hold a redelimitation include those in Bethal, where 30 934 people have registered, Helderkruin (32 410), Modderfontein (30 099), Meyerton (29 137) and Sandton (26 476).

Constituencies where the number of voters registered is far below the the national average of 19 100 are mainly located in the Cape and include Aliwal (9 817), Beaufort West (8 926), De Aar (9 455), Namaqualand (9 934), Prieska (8 148) and Vryburg (9 675). In the OFS, voters in Fauresmith (10 389), Heilbron (13 652) and Ladybrand (14 112) are in a similar position.

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

Cohen finds FW 'constructive'

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

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

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

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

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

Own Correspondent

Cohen, who is visiting Africa for the first time since replacing Chester Crocker, said he was here to attend the joint committee meeting in Luanda at the weekend. The joint committee was established to discuss differences of opinion over the implementation of Resolution 435.

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

● Comment: Page 4

Why Boksburg can discriminate today — but not in 1912

Johannesburg attorney TIM TROLLIP looks at the history of the courts' approach to racial discrimination in SA and America — and the effect of the South African legislature's destructive intervention in the Fifties

RACIALLY discriminatory by-laws could not have been passed in 1912 — not even in Boksburg. Seventy-five years ago a South African court was asked whether a racially discriminatory by-law was validly passed by a local authority.

In a bizarre historical echo, the local authority that passed the discriminatory law was the Boksburg municipal council. A Mr Moses successfully challenged the discriminatory by-law, which was struck down by the Transvaal Supreme Court.

Transvaal's Judge President Mr Justice De Villiers referred to "the principle — repeatedly followed in this court — that where a by-law, in the absence of any authority in the enabling statute, discriminates between classes, such by-law is bad".

The by-law prohibited any person, without the permission of the Boksburg municipal council, from establishing or maintaining any compound not being for the use of domestic servants.

Giving judgment to the same case, Mr Justice Wessels said: "If we look at the by-law it is clear that it places under one category natives and coloured people and leaves white people under another category ... Now unless the enabling ordinance gives the municipality the right to make the discrimination between white people and coloured people, the by-law is *ultra vires*."

The Judge President said: "The magistrate's reasons are bad, upon the ground that it is advisable, having regard to the well-known habits of coloured people, that a discrimination should be made. If that be so, it is a matter for the legislature. If the legislature considered it advisable to discriminate between white and coloured persons it could have done so, and enabled the municipality so to discriminate; but it has not done so."

Judicial statements like these declared statutorily unauthorised discrimination to be unlawful, and they contain no reference to the separate but equal doctrine which for more than half a century represented the thinking of the American Supreme Court.

Thus, in 1912, the US lagged behind SA following the establishment of the separate but equal doctrine in the case of *Plessey v Ferguson* in 1986.

In this case, the Appeal Court ruled that the constitution of the US was not violated by a statute which required separate but equal accommodation for white and coloured persons on US trains.

In SA the tide turned in 1934, when acting Chief Justice Mr Justice Stratford, commenting on a by-law which segregated the post office at Pietersburg, said a by-law could not be invalid on the sole ground that it dividied the community "for such conclusion runs counter to accepted principles and good sense".

"The effect of the instructions was to divide or classify the community to be served into sections for the purpose of rendering that service, and I am unable to appreciate how the operation is partial or unequal between these divisions or classes when we have the definite admissions that they were not," he said.

Thus the "separate but substantially equal" doctrine was ushered into South African history.

In 1953, a Mr Lusu entered a "European" railway waiting room contrary to regulations. His defence — that the facilities allocated to "non-Europeans" were substantially inferior — was upheld by the appellate division.

Die Burger announced the decision with a banner headline: "Apelhof teen apartheid op Kaapse stasie" (Appeal Court against apartheid in Cape station).

In the same year, "corrective legislation" came from the Nationalist government in the form of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. The legislation was patently racist. It epitomised the spirit and purpose of the Nationalist government and, indeed, of the white Parliament of the day.

The Separate Amenities Act defines public premises very widely, and states that a person in charge of or in control of public premises may set apart or reserve such premises for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race or class.

The Act specifically provides that "setting apart" shall not be invalidated on the "grounds merely that" no such premises have been demarcated for the exclusive use of persons belonging to any other race, or that the premises are not substantially similar to the reserved premises.

SA was regressing and now fell short of American standards.

In the same year as this enactment, the American Appeal Court rejected the separate but equal doctrine.

In the case of *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka*, Brown and his co-petitioners were denied admission to state public schools attended by white children under state laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. The Board of Education advanced the separate but equal argument.

The court noted that "tangible" factors — such as buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers — had been equalised. However, the court noted that "we must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the law".

"Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local government. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society.

"Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment.

"In these days it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state had undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms."

The US court noted the importance of intangible considerations in education including, for instance, "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness".

These considerations applied with added force to children in grade and high school. The court said: "... to separate them from others of similar age and qualification solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status, in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

"Segregation of white and coloured children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the coloured children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law ...

'A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially intregrated school system."

The US Appeal Court concluded: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

Meanwhile, South African law has remained anchored in the separate but equal doctrine. In the *State v Pitje*, heard in 1960, a candidate attorney to the law firm of Mandela and Tambo had taken a seat at a table reserved for white practitioners. He refused to comply with a request from the magistrate to sit at a table reserved for "Non-Europeans" and was summarily convicted of contempt of court.

The NP government's Separate Amenities Act enables present day CP-controlled Boksburg council to wreak human havoc.

SA-Israeli collusion questioned

By Carina le Grange

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

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

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

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

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

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

The SACC, it said, "expresses its gratitude to those Jewish people who, through their own experience of suffering, have become aware of the suffering of others."

Nats launch lavish new ad campaign

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

Mr du Plessis speaks of a "stronger, leaner, fitter and uniquely prepared" South Africa.

Worrall briefs French on SA political moves

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Mr Arnaud took note of this and promised to convey the substance of the discussion to Mr Mitterrand."

Nearly six million eligible to cast votes

Star 5/7/89 (3048)

By Norman Chandler,
Pretoria Bureau

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

He said that on May 31 there were 5 612 288 registered voters eligible to choose candidates for the three Houses.

In the Transvaal there are 1 700 747 white voters, 861 651 in the Cape, 369 165 in Natal, and 239 104 in the Free State.

The number of coloured voters in the Cape totals 1 499 166, 69 105 in Natal, 34 982 in the Free State, and 172 498 in the Transvaal.

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

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

NORTH COAST SURPRISE

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

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

The figures also show that in the North Coast and Umzinto constituencies for the House of Delegates, nearly half the voters do not have IDs.

Charlewood: Hunger in SA

Political Staff

HUNGER queues were growing in South Africa as welfare organisations struggled to feed 1,5 million people, both black and white, every day, the Democratic Party's candidate in Umbilo, Mrs Carole Charlewood, said yesterday.

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

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

The government was wasting money on, among other things, hand-outs to the public service, she said.

Row in DP over Indian candidates partly resolved

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

This sparked accusations of racism by Mr Pat Poovalingam, the DP leader in the House of Delegates, who resigned and then retracted his resignation.

No need to shy away from the power games

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

Women aiming to climb the corporate ladder should not hesitate to play political power games.

This was the message at a one-day working women's conference held in Johannesburg on Monday.

Speakers focused on topics which ranged from women and organisational power to leadership styles and your visual image.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, director of Idasa focused on the challenges facing the career woman in the 1990s. Women, he said, faced the same challenges as men in this conflict-ridden land.

But a specialist on women in the workplace had other ideas.

Chief specialist researcher at the National Institute for Personnel Research (NIPR) Dr Jopie van Rooyen said that if women were to move into positions of power, they had to ensure that the influence of their presence was felt in the organisation.

Large numbers of women, she said, had entered male-dominated worlds and were urged to accept the challenges of moving up the corporate ladder to meet the existing staffing needs.

But women faced numerous barriers in breaking the traditional male-dominated culture of organisations.



Dr Jopie van Rooyen ... women who want influential positions need to make their presence felt.

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

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

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

The concept of power meant different things to different individuals.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"It's no good being very assertive in a hostile environment, you won't get anywhere," said Dr van Rooyen. "Women have to be in a position of power when they want to bargain.

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

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

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

UK Labour Party policy mastermind to visit SA

Star 5/7/87

304A

LONDON — Those who encounter Mr Gerald Kaufman, Labour's shadow Foreign Secretary, on his visit to South Africa and Namibia later this month must expect a barrage of questions that are both probing and informed.

They should be ready with credible answers, for this 58-year-old former journalist, son of a working class Jewish family from Leeds, is considered one of the finest minds in today's Labour Party.

As the man behind Labour's recent policy review, he was responsible for crafting what will become official Downing Street policy if Labour fulfils current opinion poll expectations and ousts the Tories in the next general election.

Old enemy

A long-time opponent of apartheid, Mr Kaufman will be in South Africa to observe first-hand the suffering inflicted by an old enemy.

His party's view on South Africa is unequivocal — apartheid is abhorrent and only comprehensive mandatory sanctions will finally cause it to wither and die.

Mr Kaufman has a great understanding for the situation of the have-nots. Among his greatest assets is probably the fact that he came from nothing, earning his way in the world without benefit of wealthy parents, title or connections.

His parents, Jane and Louis, left Poland before World War 1, landing at Hull, but settling in Leeds. Louis, who had been a capmaker, found employment with clothiers Burtons, but remained a tailor on a relatively low wage.

The young Gerald attended Leeds Grammar School, where he is remembered as a swottish, solitary youngster.



The British Labour Party's shadow Foreign Minister, Gerald Kaufman (right), is one of the party's brightest minds. He is the man behind Labour's recent policy review, which could become official Downing Street policy if Labour ousts the Tories in the next general election. A long-time opponent of apartheid, Mr Kaufman is due to visit South Africa next month. This profile by **SUE LEEMAN** of The Star Bureau.

Later, he won a place at Queen's College, Oxford, no small feat at a time when Oxbridge places went mostly to the products of public schools.

Early in his life, he developed a passion for the silver screen — his "Who's Who" entry lists "going to the pictures" as his main pastime — and later wrote a book about the hours he has spent in the flickering darkness of Leeds many cinemas.

Not surprisingly, his first post after Oxford was as film reviewer. But it was not long before his growing love of politics began to dominate and he joined the *Daily Mirror* as political correspondent, a job he did with great relish for nine years before moving upmarket to spend a year as political editor at the *New Statesman*.

Observers believe this old-school journalistic training gave him the crucial ability to distill the essence of an issue into a few, easily understood syllables, the reporter's "catch-all sentence".

One of the first beneficiaries of this linguistic scalpel was Mr Harold Wilson, who made Mr Kaufman a close confidant during the latter's five years as press officer to Labour's parliamentary party.

This laid a solid groundwork for Mr Kaufman's entrance to Parliament as MP for Manchester Ardwick. He was 40 and it was 1970, the year Labour lost power When the party regained 10 Downing Street in 1974, Wilson rewarded him first with the post of junior Minister of the Environment and then made him Minister of State in the Department of Trade and Industry, where he remained until Mrs Thatcher swept into power in 1979.

In his constituency, now Manchester Gorton, Mr Kaufman is known as the MP who insists on dictating all correspondence to his voters personally. He is also fine-tuned to the interests of the area's large Muslim community.

He has the strong patriotism of many second-generation immigrants and is uneasy in his acceptance of the European Community, but finds himself at home in cultured New York society, where he spends holidays and counts songwriter Stephen Sondheim as a friend.

Usually self-contained, he has been known to break loose at Labour Party conventions, and once ended a speech with a resounding cry of "Venceremos" in support of the Latin American resistance movements. He can seem forbidding, but his wit is sharp and friends say he is capable of self-mockery.

Extremely shrewd

He is also extremely shrewd. As spokesman on policing during the 1984 miners' strike, he managed, somehow, to come down hard on the police without allying himself with Scargillism.

A bachelor, he is considered single-minded and a workaholic, expecting aides to have the same approach.

Some time in 1991 or 1992, he believes this hard work will pay off with a Labour victory, giving him the key of the door to Carlton House, where Britain's foreign secretaries make their home.

Rent-freeze residents are delighted

Cape Times 5/7/89 30 cts

Staff Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Funds allocated to renovations averaged out at R10 400 per unit.

Cape Times 5/7/89 3064

Pressure may change CP stance — Marais

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

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

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

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

3044

5,6m eligible to vote in election

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MORE THAN 5,6 million white, coloured and Indian voters will be eligible to vote in the September 6 election.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday that the voters' rolls, which closed on May 31 this year, consisted of 3 170 667 voters for the white House of Assembly, 1 775 751 for the coloured House of Representatives and 665 870 for the Indian House of Delegates.

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

In the House of Assembly, Walvis Bay has only 4 951 voters and Prieska 8 148, while North Rand is numerically the largest seat, with a massive 43 637 voters, followed by Pretoria East with 38 867.

Other House of Assembly totals include: Beaufort West (8 926), Durbanville (26 613), Helderberg (24 546), Greytown (22 385), Boksburg (23 177), Brentwood (25 752), Delmas (23 184), Geduld (24 980), Germiston District (23 433), Klerksdorp (28 949), Krugerdorp (22 415), Meyerton (29 137), Pretoria West (23 878), Sandton (26 476), Vanderbijl Park (25 537), Verwoerdburg (27 023), Witbank (26 043) and Wonderboom (30 077).

In the House of Representatives, the biggest seat is Mitchells Plain, with 41 274 voters, and the smallest Heidedal in the Free State, with 5 339.

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

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

In 1987, 2 056 630 voters went to the polls in the election when the average poll was 68,11%.

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

In the House of Representatives, there were 1 499 266 voters in the Cape, 172 498 in the Transvaal, 69 105 in the Natal and 34 982 in the OFS.

For the House of Delegates, there are 551 304 voters in Natal, 93 040 in the Transvaal and 21 526 in the Cape.

LATE EDITION Johannesburg

Mineworkers' union agrees to pay offer

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The fragile wage agreement reached early yesterday by the Chamber of Mines and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), when the union accepted the chamber's final offer on wages but rejected a certain condition, had now been finalised, both parties said last night.

The Chamber said a "full and final agreement" had been reached in negotiations with the union on the 1989 review of wages and other conditions of employment for union members employed on the Chamber's mines.

The union said it had accepted wage increases of between 13 percent and 21,5 percent for various categories of workers. It had initially demanded a minimum wage of R543 for surface workers and R600 for underground workers, but settled for R420 and R480 respectively.

Earlier yesterday, the union rejected a condition relating to the Basic Conditions of Employment Act. The Chamber, however, agreed to enter into separate negotiations on the issue.

'Open' quiz now in post

By Joe Openshaw

Referendum questionnaires asking Johannesburg's voters to decide whether they want buses, swimming pools and recreation centres open to all races are in the post, but with a critical change in the original format.

The city's 280 000 voters are being asked to decide whether municipal facilities in their wards should be declared "open".

If the majority of voters in an individual ward want to do away with apartheid, facilities in that ward will be declared "open", The Star was told today.

City council spokesman Mr Christo Bredenkamp said the management committee had decided against its original decision to regard a non-reply as a "yes" vote for desegregation.

Now a decision on whether or not to open each of the facilities in each ward will be taken according to a majority vote from the cards returned.

This has evoked strong criticism from Mr Paul Asherson, chief whip of the Democratic Party in the council. He said today this was "an absolute capitulation to narrow-mindedness, and a bowing to objections expressed by the Conservative Party".

Mr J P Theron, leader of the Conservative Party in the council, said the CP had urged the management committee to change its mind on its original "no reply is a yes vote" decision.

Voters must reply by July 31.

Mr Bredenkamp said replies to the questions would be confidential, and a postage-free envelope for returning the questionnaire was included with the covering letter posted to voters.

Both Mr Theron and Mr Asherson were disappointed that only people on the voters' roll were being consulted. They wanted all people paying rates and water and lights accounts as property owners to be included.

Tax relief plan is suspect, says DP

CAPE TOWN — The Government's offer of minimal tax relief to people earning more than R80 000 a year was suspect, because, with inflation at more than 15 percent, by the time the adjustments were phased in fiscal drag would have make them worse off anyway.

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

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

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

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

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

Nothing could be further from the truth, said Mr Andrew. — Sapa.

304A

Ginsberg to oppose De Beer

The National Party has picked a Johannesburg businessman, Mr Basil Ginsberg, to oppose Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer in Parktown in the September 6 general election.

With the earlier announcement of Mr P F Smith as the NP candidate in Pretoria West and Mr P Engela in Stilfontein, the party has now announced candidates for 74 of the Transvaal's 76 House of Assembly seats.

According to NP sources, the party will probably not contest Sandton and Yeoville, held by the DP's Mr Dave Dalling and Mr Harry Schwarz respectively.

The official nomination day for the general election is Monday July 24.

(Report by Dirk van Zyl, PO Box 986, Pretoria, 0001) — Sapa.

Most candidates now announced

2 DP seats may be uncontested

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Two Democratic Party MPs could be returned to Parliament without having to contest their seats in the September general election.

They are Mr Dave Dalling of Sandton and Mr Harry Schwarz of Yeoville.

While the Conservative Party confirmed yesterday that it would not contest these two seats, the National Party said it was possible that candidates would still be nominated. However, it seemed unlikely the party would contest the two DP strongholds.

With nomination day less than three weeks off, most candidates have now been announced.

The NP will contest 74 of the 76 Transvaal House of Assembly seats.

The CP has announced 67 candidates, with three possibilities outstanding: Hillbrow, Edenvale and Bezuidenhout.

It will not contest Randburg, Parktown, Johannesburg North, Houghton and Bryanston.

The Democratic Party has announced 34 candidates for the Transvaal and still has to take final decisions on about 10 more constituencies.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party has announced eight candidates in the province, while Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche seems set on making a bid for Rustenburg. More HNP candidates could still be announced, a party spokesman said.

Negotiation holds risks for SA Govt and ANC

Star 6/7/89



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

Two of South Africa's main political protagonists, the Nationalist Government and the African National Congress, are being sucked into a negotiating process which has been going on for several years in this country, albeit in unobtrusive, indirect, and often contradictory ways.

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

What about the ANC? It, too, is squirming and its militant supporters within South Africa haven't yet understood the real issues.

Less hardline

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

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

The Nationalist Government may never have a stronger position from which to abandon thoughts of the laager, and to reach out and bargain.

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

The steps cited for real negotiation threaten to become ritualistic.

They are:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vision for peace

Either stalemate will cost all South Africans dear. The economy will sink. Real change and possible prosperity will retreat into the next century.

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

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

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

These changes will be examined in tomorrow's article.

Everybody wants peace but then only on condition

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

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

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

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

White South Africans face the prospect of a collapsing economy; flight of money and skills; clamp down on trade and even travel beyond our borders; and finally an unwinnable war.

Black South Africans face the same economic and military threats. Black militants are gradually beginning to understand the options, particularly the external militants who are being squeezed by the peacemakers and international power-brokers.

Secondly, negotiation, even settlement, in southern Africa has taken on the momentum of a merry-go-round. It is whirling in Angola and Namibia and Mozambique. The merry-go-round is just beginning to turn in this country.

The trick in South Africa will be to increase the pace so that no-one can get off. Because any big boy who has a ticket for the ride, and *then* manages to get off, is likely to throw bombs.

Two plans of action at large as election campaigns warm up



Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

AS THE election campaigns heat up the attention has been gripped by two action plans both posturing as solutions. The one is the National Party's Five-Year Action Plan which so far has been acclaimed only in the upper ranks of the party; the other is the South African Law Commission's Working Paper on Group and Human Rights.

Drawn up under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Pierre Olivier, it has found its most enthusiastic champion in the person of Mr Ken Owen, that stormtrooper of current South African liberalism.

The problem with all solutions for the South African predicament is twofold. On the one hand they all succumb to what Bernard Crick, author of the famous essay In Defence of Politics calls "the tyranny of single truths". On the other hand they rarely suggest any plausible political process which could take us from our current perilous state to the proposed utopia. (If one wishes to be facetious one can add that they forget that the problem with our problem is that there is no solution.)

Replacement

For years the NP has laboured to give expression to its single "truth" — that each nation must have a state, however ridiculously poor or fragmented. The new Five-Year Action Plan offers a replacement: all political representation must occur along the lines of state-designated racial groups.

To use the words of Dr Gerrit Viljoen at the recent Federal Congress: "In future there won't be a counting of heads but a counting of groups; however, each group would count heads to put its point of view".

The Five-Year Plan commits the NP to negotiations to achieve such a system but at this point the picture becomes murky. Why would a movement such as the ANC negotiate if it is the current South African state which defines the political groups and where the white minority would decide what power is available to be shared?

Vital rights

A more likely negotiating partner, Inkatha, towards the end of last year clearly stated its view that "race should be removed as an organising principle of the constitution".

The kwaNatal Indaba process failed to achieve consensus exactly because Inkatha could not accept the NP demand that the whites be allowed to choose their own representatives. Any hope for the NP's Action Plan depends on the ability of the new leadership to deviate substantially from its proposed constitutional parameters.

If the NP is captive of its so-called "group covenant" which sees all vital political rights as contingent upon the group, the Law Commission's proposals, as presented by Ken Owen, run the risk of becoming captive of the tyranny of an alternative single truth. Its central premise is that all rights rest in the individual, not the group.

Its proposed solution for South Africa is simple. First Parliament must adopt a bill of rights which protects both specified individual rights and cultural values such as religion and language as "minority interests". In the second phase Parliament must abolish all laws which conflict with the bill of rights. Finally, it must adopt a constitution which could give to each person a vote of equal value — in other words, universal franchise in its classic sense.

A bill of rights could greatly enhance the security and dignity of South Africans but it needs to be stressed that there are distinct limitations as to what it can do in a divided society like South Africa (or, for that matter, in Northern Ireland and Israel). A bill of rights and an independent judiciary could define certain rights and defend them against the arrogance of the executive or Parliament. These rights include the freedom of speech and religion and the right to be protected against arbitrary arrest or discrimination on the basis of race or religion.

What a bill of rights cannot do, especially once universal franchise in its classic sense is introduced, is to protect national minorities against oppression. The Law Commission, as we have seen, tries to still these fears by undertaking to protect their material and cultural interests. It is doubtful if any minority is likely to be assured by this undertaking.

First place

In the first place no political minority which has built up a power base will rely on the goodwill and magnanimity of a numerial majority to protect its interests. Why in the South African context would the bottom 50% of our population who receive less than 10% of the national income consider property rights as hallowed? Why would a post-apartheid parliamentary majority be any more respectful of the constitution than the National Party in the 1950s?

In the second place the Law Commission tends to assume that a group will feel protected if its cultural properties are safeguarded. This is a misguided assumption. The most basic error made about a ethnic nationalism is, as astute American political scientist Walker Connor has phrased it, to "perceive it in terms of its outward manifestations rather than in terms of its essence". That essence is "a popularly held awareness or belief that one's own group is unique in a most vital sense".

In fact, an offer to protect the cultural identity of a group is very insulting. Jews in the Diaspora never had any need for it. What a group wants is proper representation through its own chosen delegates to protect itself and ensure its continuance as a unique group.

No liberal party, starting with Liberal Party through the Progressives to the current Democratic Party, has been able to promise this to the white electorate: assured representation on both the legislative and executive levels. And all opinion polls show that upwards of 90% of all whites insist on precisely that. While they may vote for a PFP or a DP that certainly does not mean support for its political policy.

Traditions

How do we get out of this impasse with whites insisting on representation by white delegates and blacks rejecting it. We can start by looking at the way in which the Northern Irish problem is being tackled. After all the efforts to produce brilliant, first-class solutions the current approaches are much more modest and realistic.

It is, in the words of Dublin scholar Brian Farrell, "the pursuit of some agreed basis for managing differing, and even opposing traditions within a framework accessible to all".

In the South African context this means reconciling the tradition of representation through the group with the classic liberal individualism which is the premise of the Law Commission. This requires compromises on both sides. Whites must step back from their insistence on exclusive self-determination. Blacks will have to learn with a white party in a National Assembly.

Indeed, the key to a compromise was suggested by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi in March 1986 in a policy speech in which he declared: "We need to share power in such a way that no one group can dictate to any other group how to express its own self-determination."

Freedom in the future will lie in neither protected individual rights nor "group rights". It will depend on parties mobilising behind the two main traditions in South Africa and holding each other in check.

□ Hermann Giliomee is Head of the Department of Political Studies, UCT.

Star 6/7/94 - 304A

'DP an alternative to racism for the platteland voters'

By Therese Anders, Highveld Bureau

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

He said it was possible that DP candidates would be standing in all 20 constituencies in his region — from Alberton to Komatiepoort — about half of which are considered safe Conservative Party seats.

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

SUPPORT FROM YOUNG AFRIKANERS

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

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

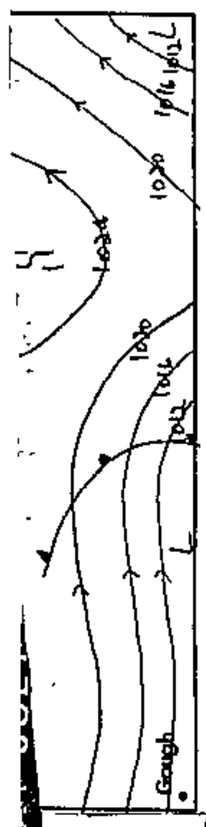
"Yet there is no way the DP in this region will prevent the democratic process from taking place. We will give voters a choice which is not racist. That means both establishing a presence in each constituency and placing suitable candidates in the field."

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

"Although they get hundreds of requests to speak throughout the country, both Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Zac de Beer have confirmed speaking dates in Witbank before election day," said Mr Nel.

Nat 'goodies' mocked

WASHI
up a sp
to prov
South
manag
ness.
The H
providir
Southern
private
The
house b



High pressure will bring fine and warmer weather.

WEATHER forecast for Cape Town and Overberg up to 6pm tomorrow:

Fine and mild

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION spokesmen today mocked the government's announcement of one-off bonuses to pensioners as vote-catching. They said more election "goodies" were on the way.

While welcoming relief to old people they said the government was dipping into the national coffers to get votes and that payments to farmers, among others, could be expected.

Mr Cas Uys, chief spokesman on finance of the Conservative Party said the timing of the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was "fantastic".

His announcement was nothing but an attempt at vote-catching and the minister himself had made this deduction in his announcement.

The CP welcomed relief to pensioners but did not believe a one-off payment would help much.

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

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

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

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

"An insult"

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cost R128-m

About 1,4-million black pensioners and 756 000 white pensioners will share in the payout.

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

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

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

(Turn to page 3, col 2)

Nat 'goodies'

(Cont from page 1)

people and organisations.

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

Election "sweeteners" highlighted by the opposition so far include:

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

Democratic Party MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, has challenged the government to show that the rent freeze at Ruyterwacht and Ysterplaat did not amount to an election ploy by spelling out relief plans for others.

- Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Representatives, dismissed suggestion of an election ploy and said that the decision on the bonuses had been made before the election announcement.

This had followed representations to the Minister of Finance by the ministers councils of the three houses of parliament.

The House of Representatives council had asked for monthly increases in view of the increase in the cost of living but Mr du Plessis had not seen his way clear to do this.

As a result of pressure from the Representatives, equal bonus payments were now being made to all race groups.

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

Participation row partly defused

20 Nov 1987

Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

● See Page 11.

DP to pick candidate for Boksburg

A close contest between two Democratic Party nominees for the Boksburg seat will be resolved on Friday night when the Boksburg Candidates' Committee and DP Regional Candidates' Committee will make their choice. Star 6/7/89 (304-A)

This week, a nomination battle ended in deadlock between two nominees, Mr Pieter van Pletzen (41), an accountant, and Mr Dirk van Wyk (38), an industrial relations expert. — Sapa.

Star 6/7/89 (304A

New global accord could pressure SA – Schirnding

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

He was dollvering the Cecily Niven Lecture during the 1820 Foundation's National Schools' Festival.

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

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

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

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

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

'Support CP to unite the Right'

Political Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CAPE TIMES
6/7/89

Tax relief plan 'suspect'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE "fat cat" Nationalist government's offer of minimal tax relief to people earning over R80 000 a year was suspect, the DP candidate in Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, said last night.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The rent freeze an 'election ploy'

CAPE TIMES 6/7/89 (BOO) 30 KA

Political Correspondent and Staff Reporter

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

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

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

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

Mr Andrew said in a statement that since the government announced the general election it had:

- Offered salary increases to South African Transport Services employees;
- Backed down, partly or wholly, on the "exploitation" of locals using toll roads; and
- Softened its stance on the new telephone metering system.

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

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

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

Residents polled yesterday welcomed the relief.

"My house is in a terrible state. They'll have to rebuild it completely," said Mrs Muriel Billinge.

Mrs Theresa Bosman wondered "whether our houses will ever be decent — I hope so".

Mrs Patricia Lober has been living "with walls that are falling down and full of cracks".

"These places need a lot of upgrading," she said.

UK awaits FW's dramatic gesture

Star 6/7/89 (304A)

By Deon du Plessis
The Star Bureau

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

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

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

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

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

Britain's role among its European partners on the apartheid issue was one of a "voice of reason", Mrs Chalker said, by pointing to the consequences of "certain, suggested lines of policy". For example, it was able to provide for the Europeans practical examples that blacks in SA were the first to suffer from sanctions and disinvestment.

As examples of the sort of moves Mr de Klerk could make, she cited the ending of detention without trial, forced removals and the state of emergency, and the release of Nelson Mandela.

result of ... plaintiff had failed to maintain the tyres in good condition.

Labour Party to fight all 80 seats in House

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Star 6/7/89

304A

Show your opposition, CP urges residents

Political Reporter

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

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

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

IN FAVOUR

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

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

The desegregation of facilities would aggravate crime in the city, Mr Theron added.

R60 pension bonus 'an election ploy'

Star 6/7/89

304A

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government was accused today of dipping into the national coffers to buy pensioners' votes.

White opposition parties said the once-off R60 payment to social pensioners announced by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was a transparent vote-catching ploy.

But Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, dismissed suggestions of an election ploy and said that the decision on the bonuses had been made before the election announcement.

This had followed representations to the Minister of Finance by the Ministers' Councils of the three Houses of Parliament.

Mr Casper Uys, the Conservative Party finance spokesman, said that Mr du Plessis had "even made that deduction himself" when he said in a statement that the grant would be seen as an election ploy.

Mr du Plessis announced that all social pensioners, black and white, in the Republic and the TBVC countries would receive a R60 grant in October and that this would amount to R128 million which would be taken from the R1 billion "contingency fund" which was set up at the time of the Budget.

About 2 143 000 social pensioners would receive the grant.

Mr Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party finance spokesman said today that he had forecast at the time of the Budget that the R1 billion contingency reserve would be used for election sweeteners.

He said that civil pensioners and farmers would probably be given something soon and that the Government was under pressure to increase public service pay.

"I hope the Government stands firm against this pressure."

However, he pointed out that the Government had already announced it was considering aid to hard-pressed tobacco farmers.

The R460 million payment to write off the maize farmers' debt and the reduction in controversial toll levies were regarded as other election ploys.

Mr Mike Ellis, the DP's pension spokesman, said the " Government grossly insults pensioners if it believes this will swing their votes to the NP".

"This once-off payment underlines the Government's total insensitivity to the financial position of the pensioners."

Mr Schwarz said he was happy the pensioners had been given something and gave the Government credit for granting the same bonus to black pensioners as to white.

"I think pensioners must be pleased there is an election coming as there is now a long history of increases timed to coincide with elections."

But the R60 once-off payment was very "meagre" and the DP believed the Government should have granted a monthly social pension increase at the time of the Budget.

Giant steps for the NP to take

The first of two articles by HARVEY TYSON, Editor of The Star, Johannesburg, who was the South Africans who met the ANC in Lusaka this week

TWO of South Africa's main political protagonists, the Nationalist government and the African National Congress, are being sucked into a negotiating process which has been going on for several years in this country, albeit in unobtrusive, indirect, and often contradictory ways.

OPINION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pressure on both sides can ensure progress.

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

Different pressures are already forcing change in the ANC. These changes will be examined in tomorrow's article.

Thatcher gives Worrall a warm greeting

(304A)

JAYNE LA MONT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

His message to the British public, he said, was that these were "stirring times" of opportunity for SA.

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

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

He will then move on to Portugal.

● Picture: Page 3

Govt to pay R60 pension bonus

Cape Times 6/7/89

30/4

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT has decided to pay a R60 bonus to all social pensioners irrespective of race.

The bonus will be paid in October and is to be funded out of the R1 billion Contingency Fund created in the Budget.

In all, R128m will be paid out of the fund which, when it was established, critics said would be used for "election sweeteners".

Representations

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

Mr Du Plessis said 2 143 000 pensioners would receive the bonus.

DP Finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz said it was now obvious that pensioners should welcome regular elections because it meant they at least got something from the government.

He welcomed the fact that the bonus was to be paid to all pensioners irrespective of race, but said that R60 in today's inflationary climate, while welcome, was an extremely meagre amount.

DP delegation flies out to meet rebel Poovalingham

CAPE TIMES 6/7/89 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He said the Natal region had not yet come close to a decision on the number of seats the DP might fight in the House of Delegates in the coming election.

Jo'burg poll on apartheid stillborn

THE much-heralded referendum on Johannesburg's municipal apartheid has been stillborn — raising accusations of a massive backdown by the National Party-controlled council.

Mrs Marietta Marx, the deputy management chairman, said yesterday it was not a referendum, but merely an opinion poll. Sowetan 6/7/89

Voting cards now in the post will be used as an opinion poll and not as a referendum on the "opening" of bus routes, swimming pools and recreation facilities, she said. 3049

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

"The management committee at the outset termed it a referendum and it was never called anything else.

"They also indicated that if there was a positive vote for open amenities they would abide by that. They now backpedal and say even if there is a positive vote they need not open amenities," said Davidson.

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

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

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

The smile that's meant to make apartheid more acceptable

By HARALD PAKANDORF

VISUALLY it was not the same National Party which met last Thursday in the Pretoria City Hall.

The front row on the stage looked considerably younger, almost two generations younger.

Verbally, too, it was not the same National Party. Human Rights, a Bill of Rights, a constitutional court, no racial discrimination, and more words of the same kind were being used.

The National Party was meeting in federal congress, only the ninth such congress in its entire history.

Its purpose? To give FW de Klerk an opportunity to establish himself as leader, to launch a Five Year Plan of what the leadership sees as far-reaching reform, and to kick off its election campaign.

It certainly was one of the most relaxed congresses in years. It seemed as if a great sense of relief prevailed, chiefly because the Great Crocodile was not present, constantly threatening to drag any dissident to the deep waters.

PW Botha was readying himself at the time to say goodbye to the army, a farewell which was considerably more expensive than the R100 000 tea party army wives gave Mrs Botha.

For the first time in some 50 years, the NP was meeting without PW.

But there was also relief because party stalwarts came to the congress knowing that the danger signals were flashing, from Right to Left. Talk of a hung Parliament was in the air.

The party was being accused of not having a clear policy and was under pressure for its management of the economy.

The stalwarts left at the end of the day, all fired up because they felt they had been given a clear direction which they could sell to the voting public.

Not all the details of a blueprint but at least a sellable outline.

Is that true? And what they were given?

It is not so much the details of the Five Year Plan which are important but the deeper-lying tendency. What the NP was saying at the congress was: we cannot get those back who have gone to the Right, so we must stop a further drift to the Left.

And that is exactly what the Five Year Plan intends to do. It is only a half-turn and even that will take a long time to accomplish, yet it is a half-turn.

The NP will no longer look over its right shoulder, but is looking leftward. That is the real significance of the congress because it means the party has perceived that that is where the general trend in the country is going.

And in talking to delegates it became apparent that there is general agreement with the leftward shift, some even saying: what is the difference now between us and the Democratic Party?

The leaders on the stage were cheered even when they said such outrageous things as that there should be equal voting rights for citizenship; that domination, also by whites, was out; that race could not be the basis for any group; that a Bill of Human Rights was necessary.

Or to quote Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee directly: "The revolutionaries opposed to us have gained access to the government parlours of the world by professing and stressing that they can offer and tender to South Africa a better and more just society based on civilised norms.

"They proclaim that they have a Bill of Rights to offer that will protect all individual rights. They have branded us, South Africa, the National Party out of tune and as racists. However, now for once we are in a position to lick them."

The front row on the stage was made up of Dawie de Villiers, FW himself, Kobie Coetzee, Stoffel Botha (who is on his way out) and party secretary Lucas Nel.

Other stars were Barend du Plessis, who was cheered despite the perilous state of the economy and the fact that he said very little substantive about how he was going to rectify the situation, and Pik Botha, who got a standing ovation even before he had opened his mouth.

What is the Five Year Plan?

It is vague, the NP admits, but deliberately so because the meat has to come from negotiations. Thus, broad norms that the NP wants to see in a future South Africa were given.

According to FW de Klerk, "the new South Africa must:

- be a democracy in which,
- no individual or group dominates or is dominated,
- the independence of the judiciary is upheld and honoured,
- civilised norms apply,
- a dynamic economy thrives, based on free enterprise,
- everybody lives in safety and harmony, and
- as good neighbours to the international community."

It was stressed by speaker after speaker that the future must come about as a result of negotiation, that domination was unacceptable, that the courts were of vital importance, that it must be a just society.

Undoubtedly stirring stuff which, unfortunately, fell flat on its face because of two major errors.

The first is that all these internationally accepted principles are to be applied on group basis and that negotiation, so far anyway, excludes those the National Party does not like, primarily the African National Congress (ANC).

As Gerrit Viljoen put it: there will be self-determination for each group and joint decision-making will be on a group basis with consensus between all groups.

If that sounds like Heunis-speak, the rest of his explanation is clearer: Thus we will not count heads but groups, but within each group heads will be counted to determine that group's standpoint.

Or to quote Barend du Plessis on a different occasion: it will be a democracy of leaders, not of the masses.

True, the NP is wavering a little here because it is saying that there must be an open group, a kind of non-group group into which one can ask to be classified. But what that will entail is unclear: where do you live, go to school, buy property, etc?

Or does it mean you can truly decide your own life? Hardly, because it appears that it will be yet another group although all kinds of people can belong to it.

Also true is that the NP says group definition can no longer be done on a race basis. But that has to be taken with more than a pinch of salt — will all Afrikaans-speaking members of the Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk be in one group and all Portuguese-speaking Catholics in another? Hardly!

And when the talk is of negotiation, we have General Malan's word that those who use violence, i.e. the ANC and PAC, are beyond the pale.

How long-term peace is going to become a reality without involving the political groups the majority of the people most probably support, is never explained.

Yet again, though, listen carefully, here too there is a shift even if only the beginning of one. There is less stress being put on the ending of violence as a pre-condition for talks than before and more emphasis on a clear intention towards peace. Subtle, but it is there.

It would be foolish to just write off the federal congress as a non-event.

It does represent a significant shift in NP policy and its view of the future. It may still not be acceptable to the majority of South Africans but it ought to be taken seriously because it is a step in the right direction.

One consequence it certainly will have is to undermine the growth potential of the Democratic Party. The NP will essentially be saying: Look, we are ready to move rapidly with reform, PW Botha is gone and FW de Klerk is so much nicer and, after all, you can trust us with your security.

It is the kind of message white voters like to hear: it is easier to vote for the NP because of all the right noises it is making and one knows it will not let majority rule slip in through the back door.

One question remains: how angry are whites about the economy and are they angry enough to vote anti-NP? Or put differently, is the Five Year Plan enough to bring them back into the fold?

Time will tell but it certainly looks as if the NP is in better shape after the congress than before. But that is not necessarily true for the country.



Nat leader FW de Klerk

(304A) Smith 6-12/7/89

Star 6/7/89 (30A)

are talking about their full integration into the Angolan family," said Mr Mingas.

He said this did not mean that everyone would have to join the ruling MPLA party.

"Not all Angolans are or can be members of the MPLA party and there are members of the government who are not members of the party," he said.

However, integration did not mean political pluralism and there was no question of Unita becoming an opposition political party. — The Star's Africa News service-Reuter.

Iran may aid Mozambican gas search

Star 6/7/89

The Star's Africa News Service

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

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

DISCOVERIES

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

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

New global accord could pressure SA – Schirnding

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

He was delivering the Cecily Niven Lecture during the 1820 Foundation's National Schools' Festival.

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

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

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

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

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

DP must appease its two wings – and those without the vote

Participation: it's time to decide

The row which is rocking the Democratic Party over how far it should participate in the Indian and coloured Houses has simmered for a long time in the DP and its chief predecessor, the Progressive Federal Party.

It is one of those hard decisions which was never really resolved by the PFP, as the pendulum swung first one way and then the other. The DP has also been putting off the decision as long as possible but now seems to be facing the crunch.

The argument is basically between those on the "left" of the DP (mostly the former members of Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement), who strongly oppose participation in the other two Houses, and those on the "right" (mostly ex-members of the old PFP), who support it.

New dispensation

Opposition to participation is based firstly on principle — because the tricameral Parliament is an apartheid institution which denies representation to blacks.

But more than that, the aim is to avoid antagonising extra-parliamentary groups such as the UDF, which is violently opposed to the tricameral Parliament.

This camp believes the DP's main purpose should be to forge links with these extra-parliamentary groups with a view to negotiating a new dispensation and that nothing should be done to prevent this.

The other camp agrees that the tricameral Parliament is a racist institution but believes the party should use the institution to destroy it.

The difference between the two camps is essentially one of strategy, though one would hardly think so, hearing the vicious language being flung about right now.

The weekend decision by the executive of the DP national board was something of a compromise between the two positions. The executive agreed that the DP could put up the three present MPs in the House of Delegates but that further candidates would be considered only if they could "assist the party in bridging the parliamentary/extra-parliamentary divide and promoting the negotiation process".

It was this special criterion for selecting House of Delegates candidates that infuriated Mr Pat Poovalingam, DP leader in that House, and provoked the row.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, acting chairman of the national board executive, has explained that House of Delegates candidates have to be of special stature so that they "keep the eye on the ball" and do not get bogged down in a slanging match with the extra-parliamentary forces during the election campaign.

Though Mr van der Merwe denies that the national executive has taken orders from extra-parliamentary groups, it is obvious the executive was guided partially by the need to placate other parties.

The difference between the "left" and "right" camps within the Democratic Party on the question of participation in the House of Delegates and House of Representatives is essentially one of strategy — though one would hardly think so, hearing the language being used, reports Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS.

As the executive's own statement this week said, "increased participation in the other two Houses would make it very difficult for the party to play its catalyst role in getting negotiations started".

Continuous conflict

The opposite argument — for participation — was put most coherently in November 1985 by Professor Nic Oliver, the PFP's constitutional expert, when he spelt out the disruptive role that a "hostile" party such as the PFP could play if it gained the majority in one or more Houses.

He concluded that the PFP could exploit a number of opportunities presented by the tricameral Constitution — mostly the entrenched and semi-entrenched clauses which require support of all three Houses — to obstruct legislation.

This could bring about a state of "continuous legislative conflict" between the Houses which might force the State President to dissolve a House.

If the majority party in a House were totally unco-operative "it would in essence make the system unworkable".

Professor Oliver's conclusion was that if the PFP gained control of one or two of the other Houses it could make the system unworkable and compel the Government to introduce another constitution. The PFP could then play a "decisive" part in shaping the new constitution as it would have to be passed by all three Houses.

The dilemma of whether or not to participate fully in the tricameral Parliament really arose for the old PFP in 1985 when the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was repealed, making it possible for a political party to operate among all race groups and participate in all three Houses.

At its next congress in Durban in 1985 the PFP accepted the principle of fighting in the other two Houses.

But the party's uncertainty about the decision was evident from the provisos that were written into the congress resolution.

For the next three years the resolution remained on the shelf. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert was the PFP leader then and he was already looking towards forging links between white South Africa and the ANC.

His departure from Parliament in 1986 dented the credibility of the institution as a whole, and debate then turned to the question of whether to remain in Parliament at all — let alone whether to extend participation to the other two Houses.

After the PFP's setbacks in the May 1987 general election, the conservatives in the party staged a comeback. In mid-1987 they tightened their grip when three MPs in favour of greater extra-parliamentary links — Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje — were ousted.

As the PFP floundered, seeking ways of increasing its strength to compensate for its setbacks, it clutched again at the strategy of participation in the other Houses and dusted off the 1985 congress resolution.

In February 1988 the federal council decided the PFP should become actively involved in the other two Houses, either through alliances with other parties, by accepting MPs from other parties or by putting up its own candidates.

A loose working arrangement was made with the Labour Party in the House of Representatives, and three MPs from the Progressive Reform Party in the House of Delegates joined the PFP.

Though PFP-supporting coloured candidates contested a few municipal elections, the PFP never really had a chance to implement its participation strategy fully.

Before the end of 1988 the merger talks which were to lead to the DP were under way and everything else was put on hold.

As the merger talks progressed, it emerged that the participation issue was again going to be difficult.

One of the constituent parties, the National Democratic Movement, was dedicated almost exclusively to forging links with the extra-parliamentary opposition and wished to do nothing to offend them.

In March this year a furious row erupted between Mr Poovalingam and Mr Malan when it became clear the NDM leader did not back participation in the other Houses.

Mr Poovalingam accused Mr Malan of "taking his orders from Lusaka" (ie the ANC) and implied he was a "racist" for participating in Parliament himself but denying the same right to people of colour.

On March 22 the PFP caucus, augmented by Mr Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, issued a statement saying they had agreed in principle to participate in all three Houses but that the "nature, extent and timing" of the participation would be decided later.

Both sides interpreted the decision as a victory and the matter rested for a while.

At the DP launch on April 8, congress approved a programme of action committing the DP to develop strong power bases in Parliament. But it also committed the DP to extend interaction and forge alliances with other groups inside and outside Parliament to promote negotiation — thus fudging the decision once again.

On May 31 the national board failed to reach a decision on participation. Finally it was left to the national board's executive to make the controversial decision last weekend after an 11-hour meeting.

'House was sold at 1966 price'

(304A 2468)

Pretoria Correspondent

Conservative Party claims that a Laudium house was sold at below cost to a Mr Danie Khoosal were untrue, a Pretoria City Council spokesman said.

The CP candidate for Hercules, Mr S P Barnbard, who made the claims, distributed a document from a Pretoria Management Committee meeting to prove his "allegations".

The council spokesman said the house was sold to Mr Khoosal for R3 130. "The price was determined as on May 31 1966, and not 1989," the spokesman said.

The spokesman said the council sold the house under a scheme devised by the government. "If a person stayed in a house for 25 years, we sell it at the fixed price as on the date of occupancy," the spokesman said.

When asked, the spokesman said 80 percent of council houses owned by whites were sold under a similar scheme. This was not part of the National Home Selling Scheme announced by the government in 1983.

"Mr Khoorsal bought the house and stand. The council made no profit on the deal," the spokesman said.

The value of the house was not determined by the council. The spokesman said the last evaluations were made in 1984 and were currently being reviewed.

(Report by: Y L J Thumbran, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Star 6/11/89

MASS EXODUS FROM GOVT FORUM

Sowetan 6/7/89.

304A

Not happy

• From Page 1

organisation."

Ngo also said they were not happy with the way the organisation was being run: it did not have the welfare of the black people at heart.

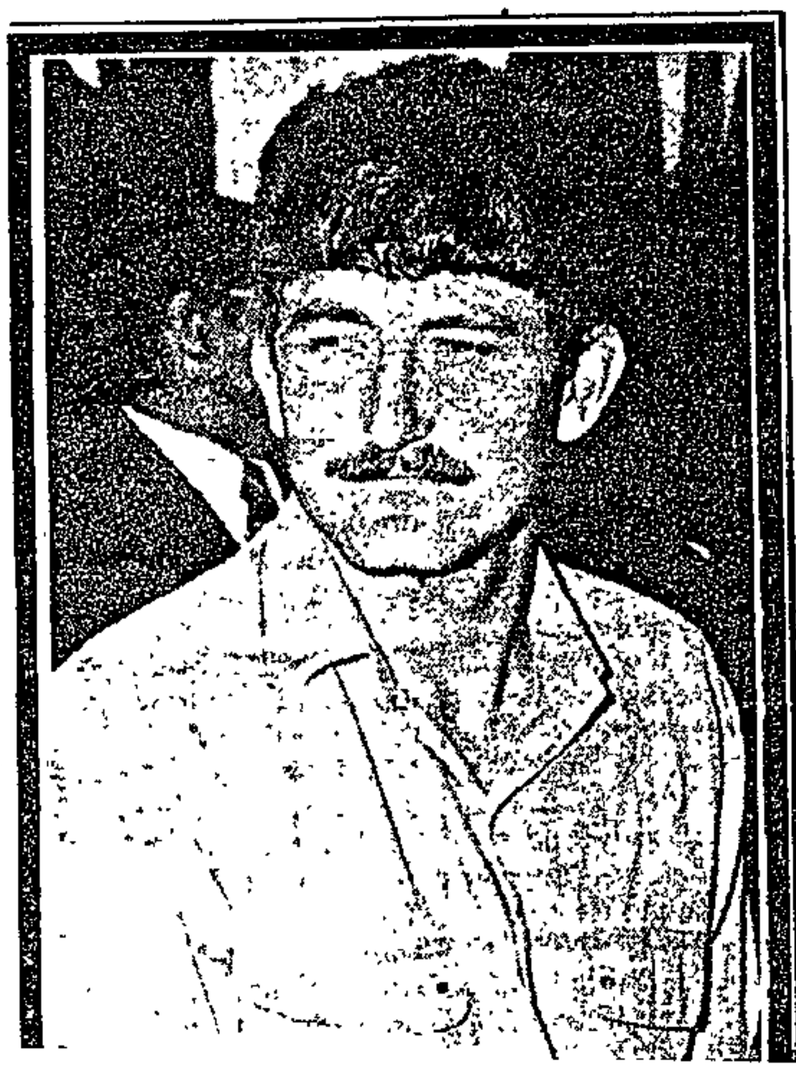
The general-secretary of the NF, Mr David Modiba, yesterday confirmed that his organisation was aware of the decision taken by the Cape councillors.

He said: "At this stage we are not in a position to discuss the withdrawal of the councillors from the NF. Ucasa will discuss the matter at a meeting in Durban this weekend."

President of Umsa, Mr Tom Boya, said the withdrawal of the Cape councils from the NF was proof that the body did not represent the aspirations of the black people.

He also said there was little chance the organisation would survive unless it changed the way it was operating.

Boya said: "The NF must be disbanded. It cannot work."



SIXTY two councils in the Cape have pulled out of the Government-created National Forum.

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

The councils — from the Eastern, Western and Northern Cape — cut ties with the NF at a meeting attended by more than 50 councils at the weekend.

The meeting was held at De Aar in the Northern Cape.

This brings the number of councils who have rejected the NF to 122. The other 60 are all affiliated to the United Municipalities of South Africa, which did not take part in the formation of the NF on May 6.

The 62 councils are all affiliated to the Urban Councils Association of South Africa, whose president, Mr Phillip Nhlapo, is also chairman of the NF.

Mr Dan Ngo, chairman of the Combined Cape Councils affiliated to Ucasa, said they pulled out of the NF because it was a government created organisation.

He said: "The formation of the NF was first discussed by councillors but the Government hijacked the whole idea and launched the

• To Page 2

NP scared of talking to true leaders

(3041)
Sowetan 6/7/84

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

Jordaan, who lost his security clearance last year because he spoke to extra-parliamentary forces, is standing for the Democratic Party in Umhlanga because of the Government's inability to get negotiations underway.

In the first interview since his removal from his position as Government negotiator, Jordaan denied he had any links with the African National Congress until six weeks ago.

When he and his colleague, Dr Fanie Cloete, lost their security clearance last year it was insinuated that they had been planning or had talked to the ANC.

They had only been told "jy sal self weet met wie jy gepraat het" (you know with whom you have talked.

But Jordaan said his perception was that they had lost their security clearance "because we were being used as scapegoats to get at Mr Chris Heunis" (who retired as Minister of Constitutional Development at the weekend).

Aware

Jordaan said Heunis was fully aware of all the people they had spoken to about negotiations.

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

Jordaan declined to say whether he was inferring that the decision was made by President P W Botha.

He warned the National Party that it was making fatal errors in attempting to get negotiations going.

The first was the Government attempt to choose its own negotiating partners.

The Government would not even get moderates to negotiate because it was not prepared to talk to all the real leaders.

"No real leader can negotiate while others are still locked up or restricted."

The other restriction on negotiations was that if the Government could find people to talk to there would be "no real negotiations as long as you are prepared to discuss modifying apartheid."

He doubted whether the new National Party leadership realised this or had the vision to meet the demands of real negotiations.

REFORM

Words, words, words . . .

■ The F W era has dawned — but seems stronger on style than on substance

The packaging has changed — what of the contents? Press advertisements for the National Party (NP) this week promise "new leadership, new drive, new action . . ." and plead: "Listen to the voices of renewal."

They come after new leader F W de Klerk's European tour — generally seen as moderately successful in "selling" the promises of the post-P W Botha era — though most observers feel F W must have unveiled a hidden agenda to attain the credibility his foreign hosts seem to have accorded him.

To assess the *genuine* promise of reform, it needs to be remembered precisely what the world wants of SA — and that's no secret. Release Nelson Mandela, unban the ANC, lift the State of Emergency, abolish the remaining pillars of apartheid like the Group Areas Act (GAA) — and enter into negotiations with credible leaders of the black majority. If De Klerk makes it to a meeting with US President George Bush, the message will be repeated.

That, at a minimum, is what it would take for SA to be readmitted to the world community — with all that implies of renewed foreign investment and healthier trade. So the NP's manifesto needs to be scrutinised for signs that this is indeed what will occur within, say, the five-year time span it in effect asks for. At home, promises on reduced taxation and a freer enterprise-orientated economy will lift the spirits of those being asked to "work with the NP for a new, strong and just SA that offers hope and progress to everyone."

Clearly, the manifesto — the *Proposed Plan of Action* distributed to party congress delegates last week — would not have been sufficient to account for De Klerk's relatively generous reception abroad. But, as it happened, there was one significant incident to remind everyone of the climate of aggression and fear F W proposes to lead us out of. This came when Bonn's Labour Minister Norbert Blüm — in SA at almost the same time De Klerk was in West Germany — held a meeting with State President Botha. It turned into (as so often) a PR disaster for SA.

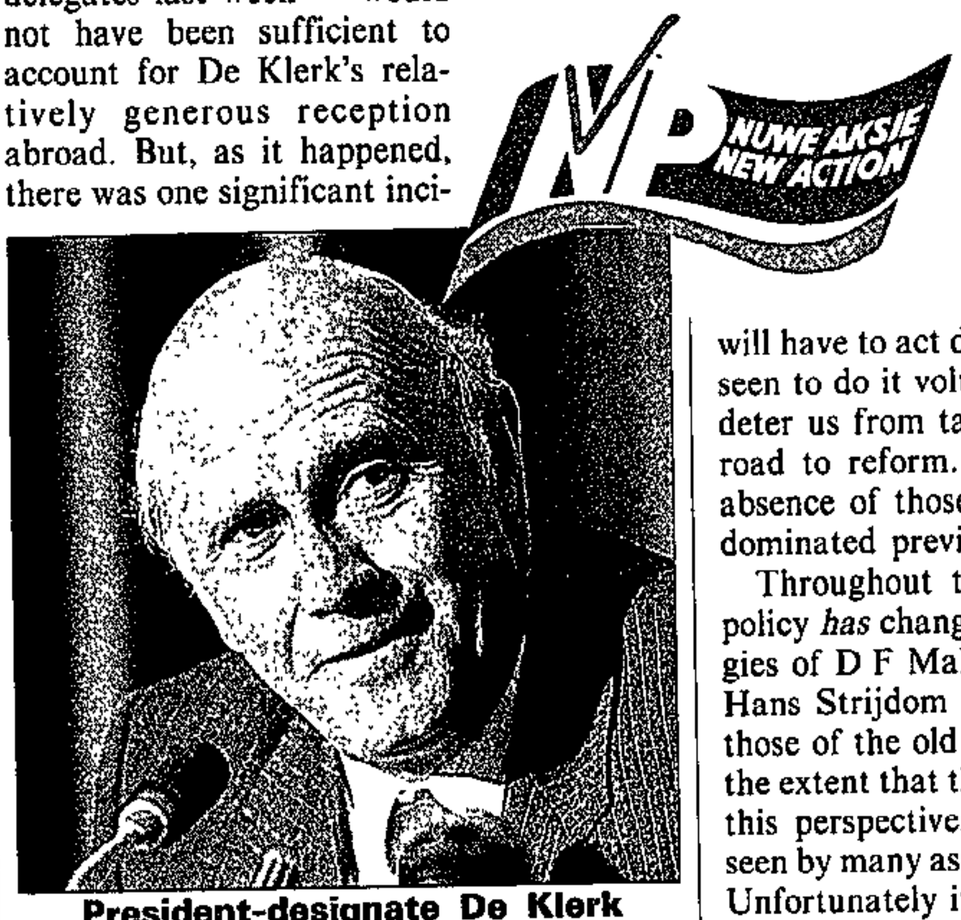
Afterwards Blüm described Botha as hard-headed and icy, saying he hopes all white South Africans do not think like the ailing and reclusive president. However, Blüm said, it is clear that SA's fate doesn't rest just with "Botha and other *betonkoepfe*" (concrete heads). He was of course referring to his talks with union leaders, extra-parliamentary groups — and possibly members of the Democratic Party (DP). But it is as significant that he also spoke warmly of De Klerk, whom he met. A great deal therefore rests on F W's shoulders.



P W Botha

Meanwhile, until September 6, the Cabinet may still be presided over by Botha — if he wishes. Unless there is a serious crisis in the already strained relations between him and the party hierarchy, he remains a Nat, and like F W supports NP policies as they have been outlined. The question remains: what has F W been promising behind the backs of his congress and caucus?

A senior Cabinet minister tells the *FM* that careful attention should be given to the precise formulation of the five-year plan. "It is broad enough to enable government to take important steps after the election," he argues. "We all know that we will have to act drastically — and have to be seen to do it voluntarily. This plan does not deter us from taking dramatic steps on the road to reform. What is significant is the absence of those past conditions . . . which dominated previous policy statements."



President-designate De Klerk . . . a prophet abroad?

Throughout the NP's 40 years of rule, policy *has* changed — from the rigid ideologies of D F Malan, Hendrik Verwoerd and Hans Strijdom to the extent of overtaking those of the old United Party; and today to the extent that the Right cries treason. From this perspective, the five-year plan will be seen by many as a point of fruitful departure. Unfortunately it is so interspersed with jargon concerning "group rights" that at first blush it fails for serious reformers.

Lawyers for Human Rights' Brian Currin warns that it will be tragic if government twists the Law Commission's recent report on group and individual rights for electoral gain. Interviewed by SABC TV, De Klerk laid the emphasis on group rights over individual ones. His replies, according to Currin, indicate he had either not read the report or was "playing election politics."

Currin adds: "The commission is convinced that there is strong support in this country for the idea that individual rights ought to be better protected . . . than has hitherto been the case."

If De Klerk's comments indicate what government intends to do with the commission's recommendations, "they may as well be disposed of without any further ado. It will be a tragedy for SA if government dishonestly uses this document to justify its group/apartheid philosophy."

A rude awakening awaits government if it hopes that the five-year plan will entice blacks to join negotiations, according to Stellenbosch law professor Gerhard Erasmus — it simply is not possible to apply apartheid with compassion. And RAU political scientist Deon Geldenhuys avers that race remains the foundation of Nat thinking.

The GAA remains in force — indeed, people will be officially invited to tell tales about those who settle in "white" areas. In the absence of fundamental reform — such as its abolition — it would be wise for voters to ignore such arguments as that a vote for the DP in marginal seats like Gerrit Viljoen's Vanderbijlpark could lead to a CP victory. An appeal to "listen to the voices of renewal" is not convincing when the argument comes down to voting for bad lest there be worse . . .

While the new plan has been boosted by Nationalist newspapers, there have been a few notes of warning. The promise to uphold group rights is one aspect of the five-year plan that will come under fire, says *Beeld*. Marketing the new plan will be difficult. Its sister paper *Rapport* warns that time is of the essence. Urging the NP to show the courage of its convictions, it says some of the party's most loyal supporters have lost faith in the course being steered by the NP.

True, the plan may prove just enough to lure some waverers back to the NP; but as a platform for serious reform and negotiation it seems set for failure — whatever De Klerk may have said overseas. It is *structurally*

7/7/88

204A



Apartheid crumbles: nonracial school and Hillbrow street scene show the trend

flawed. Yet again the NP fails to address the essentials of democratic change.

While Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike described the plan as a positive move away from apartheid, he observed that negotiations could succeed only if *all* political groups were invited, unconditionally, to the table. Extra-parliamentary groups such as the UDF and the ANC would have to be included, he said. Proposed changes to the GAA would merely tone down it down and as such were unacceptable to black people. The Act had to be completely scrapped.

Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners will have to be released and there will have to be talks about negotiation so that venues and agendas can be set, says KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi: "De Klerk will have to get away from airy-fairy vague statements. There is a black majority which will find political expression as a majority. That is inevitable."

Until De Klerk makes a declaration about where he intends going, and in such a way that blacks can go along with him, he will have nobody worth negotiating with.

Recent developments in black politics also spell trouble for the NP emphasis on ethnicity. Preliminary talks between Inkatha and representatives of the UDF and Cosatu, says Buthelezi, indicated that a new era could emerge — in which black co-operation and unity could actually be worked for.

This development — possibly a straw in the wind — parallels what has been happening to apartheid on the ground. As whites pontificate about what is good for blacks — meaning, ultimately, good for white survival — the frontiers of the GAA and other discriminatory laws are rolled back.

Social and population pressures make this inevitable. For F W, the problem is that while his stated aims are far too radical for the Right — whom he continues to placate — reality itself overtakes the words and manifestoes. Even the release of Mandela after the September election — which appears to have been promised abroad — will be far from enough now. It should have happened some years ago. Much the same can be said for the half-hearted package of reforms unveiled in the manifesto — where they are clear at all. ■

ANC leaders suspect Nat goverment's good faith

CAPE TIMES 7/7/89

304A

By DAVID WELSH, Professor of Southern African Studies at UCT, who took part in the Lusaka conference with the ANC.

IN THE hypothetical event of a free and democratic election in South Africa the ANC would receive the votes of at least 60% of the black population. On the other hand, according to survey data, only 2% of the white population supports the ANC's constitutional proposals for universal franchise in a unitary state. That, in a nutshell, *is* the South African problem.

Unless the ANC is brought in from the cold and induced to participate in a process of constitutional negotiation, the South African deadlock will continue, with horrifying long-term consequences.

It was with these premises in mind that I joined the most recent safari to Lusaka, under the leadership of Mike Olivier of Five Freedoms Forum. The 115 of us were a mixed bunch, unified only by our common lack of real political leverage in white politics.

We were received graciously and hospitably by the ANC, whose members are genuinely pleased to receive first-hand news from "home", as they all unfailingly call South Africa. Homesickness and nostalgia are among the characteristics you notice first. Sophistication, intelligence and determination come a close second.

Hardliner

The temptation for some is to romanticise the ANC and to be swept away in a tide of euphoria We saw the diplomatic face of the ANC — the charm of Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan and the benign wisdom of Oliver Tambo. They have finely-honed skills and an ability to state the ANC's position with firmness and dignity.

The "other side" of the ANC, which we did not see, is best represented by the Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, Chris Hani, reputedly a tough and uncompromising hardliner. The longer the armed struggle continues the more likely it is that the hardliners will capture the key leadership positions.

A number of us were critical of the ANC's commitment to "armed struggle" and comprehensive mandatory sanctions. We were quite unable to shake them out of their implacability and arguments that sanctions and violence are counter-productive were dismissed.

This is tragic, but no one could produce an effective reply to the ANC's claim that its taking up arms, after nearly 50 years of scrupulous commitment to non-violence, was the inevitable response to the State's own violence.

We were told of the letter written by Chief Albert Luthuli to Prime Minister J G Strijdom in 1957 pleading for him to show statesmanship in stemming the spate of discriminatory legislation and urging him to talk to the ANC and other organisations. The insulting reply, from a secretary, promised to find an opportunity to lay the letter before the Prime Minister. We were further told that presumably no such opportunity had arisen, since nothing further was heard.

Armed struggle

While I remain unconvinced of the case for "armed struggle", and fearful of the implications of civil war, I have to acquiesce to the ANC's claim that its capacity for violence and its ability to promote "mass action" represent a significant deterrent to the State's use of force. Blacks, collectively, have acquired a veto power in South Africa and the sooner whites recognise this the less protracted the conflict will be.

Publicly, the ANC avers that the white oligarchy is not as strong as is commonly supposed; privately, many do recognise its strength and accept that armed struggle is merely one of several pressures to be exerted on the South African Government to force it to the bargaining table It also firmly believes that such reforms as the Government has made are actually strategic retreats caused by the domestic and international pressures exerted on it.

A stongly-held ANC view is that apartheid is incapable of being reformed: it will not countenance any proposed dispensations in which elements of compulsory segregation will be retained. Whites have to understand just how galling and intolerable an affront to black dignity is any form of discrimination.

Suspicion

I have no doubt the ANC is keen to negotiate, although it will not do so unconditionally. It requires: the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the commuting of death sentences imposed on those convicted of political offences and the withdrawal of troops and para-military police from the townships. Moreover, it says it will not participate in negotiating structures, such as the National Forum, that have been generated by the apartheid system itself.

There is a pathological suspicion of the Government's *bone fides* — which is hardly surprising — and a general belief that F W de Klerk's recent declarations are merely re-statements of "the same old thing" and "a rearguard action to preserve apartheid".

At the same time many ANC people have a genuine fear of increasing hostility and South Africa's economic decline. Moreover, despite claims to the contrary, there are pressures from the Soviet Union for the ANC to seek a political rather than a military "solution".

Democrats

The belief, assiduously promoted by South African propagandists, that the ANC dog is wagged by the Communist Party tail, is untrue. In fact, as several true: CP people have been more-or-less completely assimilated into the ANC.

In any case, the Communist bogy can hardly be exploited in the traditional way, given the virtual collapse of Marxism-Leninism as a credible system I was amazed to hear well-known Communists in Lusaka talking like born-again democrats One such person, much demonised in South Africa, told me of his strong support for Mr Gorbachev, and when I asked him if he saw any chance of the Soviet Union proceeding along the lines of Poland and Hungary, where multi-party systems are in the process of being established, he replied: "I hope so."

He went on to denounce one-party systems as recipes for tyranny: "Once the bastards get in you can never get rid of them!"

Coming from someone who has swallowed Stalinism, the brutal repressions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland without a peep of (public, at any rate) protest, this was hopeful.

I had long discussions with various ANC people who had drafted the 1988 Constitutional Guidelines, which are an amplification of the Freedom Charter. I was impressed with the modest and scholarly Zola Skweyiya with whom I participated in a session on constitutional options.

Minorities

The ANC's demand is for universal franchise in a non-racial, unitary state but in discussions I gained the impression that they accepted my argument that in the South African conflict no party or movement was likely to find itself in a position to impose its own constitution. They were entirely amenable to the proposition that divided societies must, at all costs, avoid "winner-takes-all" outcomes.

Our constitutional discussions were too lengthy to summarise but suffice it to say that my impression is that the ANC is aware that minorities may have entirely reasonable (and not simply residually racist) fears under majority rule. Areas of possible compromise and agreement are there.

Finally, it needs to be said that the non-racial ethic is fundamental to the ANC's political culture. It has not always been easy for the ANC to defend this position but, to their great credit, they have done so and, as far as they are concerned, non-racialism is

FOCUS

FACE TO FACE WITH ANC

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

'Many whites have forgotten that these people are our fellow South Africans'

"I now trust the ANC," the mayor of East London, Mr Donald Card, said in Lusaka.

Card, a former security policeman, has in the past been responsible for the incarceration of some members of the banned organisation.

He and 114 other delegates conferred with the ANC at its headquarters in the Zambian capital last week. The trip was organised by Five Freedoms Forum (FFF).

Mr Franz Auerbach, the chairman of Jews for Social Justice, said at a Press briefing on the group's return this week: "This conference has helped substantially to build a climate of trust and, given the background, I think that is significant.

"The demonisation of the ANC over the years has led to many white people forgetting that these people are all fellow South Africans," Auerbach said. "And if there was one word that kept creeping in throughout the conference it was 'compatriot'."

But the group's trek was also a signal to the ANC that there are white South Africans who are committed to meaningful change.

Mr Michael Olivier, chairman of the FFF, said after the briefing: "We believe that the ANC has the largest support base in the country. Hence our decision to meet and discuss with it the future of the country."

Unique

Discussions ranged from the question of violence of the State participation in the tricameral Parliament, Olivier said.

"The talks were amazingly honest, open and genuine. The conference was a unique opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the conditions and fears prevailing in the white community," he said.

Mr Gavin Evans, an executive member of the FFF, said: "The ANC was very grateful for the kind of information the delegates were able to give its members.

The ANC had not formulated a clear long term strategy on detailed economic issues such as fiscal and monetary policy or exchange control. "It welcomed input in this regard," Evans said.

There was, however, consensus on the objective of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa "despite strategic and other differences," Olivier hastened to add.

Gael Neke of the FFF explained reasons for the group's visit to Lusaka.

"We have a real problem in this country, namely that we have extremely little knowledge about what the ANC really is. To glean such information was one of the aims of this conference."

She said State media controls and Press restrictions prevented ordinary white South Africans from knowing what the ANC was all about.

"Impressions generally held by whites are false, or otherwise very limited, as the ANC tends to be demonised by the Government.

"This is a very serious problem considering we're going to have to negotiate with the ANC in future," Neke said.

Strategy

The discussions on violence were divided in two parts. Judith Hawarden of the Black Sash said: "The first was violence of the state machinery — the violence against the people of South Africa.

"The other," Hawarden explained "was the adoption of a strategy of armed struggle.

"The background and reasons why the ANC adopted this strategy was discussed. There was some understanding for this course of action," she said.

But the two groups agreed to differ on strategy. "Although we agreed on a common goal, the ANC and the anti-apartheid forces within the country had adopted different strategies," Hawarden said.



ANC leader Oliver Tambo who attended the talks.

The ANC was specifically asked what its attitude was on the attacking of civilian targets and necklacing. A spokesman said there were logistical problems and often "discipline was lacking", Evans explained.

"There was a feeling that over the past nine months there had been a bit more control. The policy was not to hit civilian targets and they also said they condemned necklacing out of hand," he said.

In summing up the viewpoints expressed by the ANC, the FFF reported that it would:

- Support a boycott of the September elections for the Indian and coloured Houses of Parliament, but not of the white House since it recognised the representative nature of the House of Assembly and the constructive role of progressive white parliamentarians.
- Accept the principle of the protection of individual human rights, but feared that the National Party was "hijacking" the concept of a Bill of Rights to impress Western nations. A Bill of Rights should be negotiated between all political groups.
- Enter into negotiations with the South African Government and other parties once certain conditions were met.

These included the release of political prisoners; the unbanning of all political organisations; the lifting of the state of emergency; the abrogation of apartheid laws which sought to criminalise illegitimate political activity; the safe return of exiles; and the withdrawal of the SADF and paramilitary forces from the townships.

Sanctions

Olivier reported that these demands should not be viewed as preconditions, but as fundamental aspects of a situation which needed to change before a framework and climate for negotiations could be created.

The ANC remained firm in its belief that comprehensive sanctions would bring about fast political change, thus reducing violence. But it had a more open approach on socialism and nationalisation.

Evans said the ANC realised the African experience is fraught with problems.

"The organisation is pragmatic about issues such as the redistribution of wealth and nationalisation. It would encourage the development of black business by, for example, state bank loans to aspirant entrepreneurs," Evans said.



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

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

day July 7 1989

Ground for negotiation has not been laid

Sowetan 7/7/89 304M

PERSPECTIVE



THE SABC was celebrating in its morning comment yesterday, saying that the international community is now reassessing the value of economic sanctions.

It said that exports have increased.

Several recent statements from representatives of various Western governments do in fact show that the new leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, has raised their hopes for negotiations on the future of South Africa.

A new spirit seems to have come into all discussions about this country.

I remember the first American assessment of De Klerk immediately after he became leader of the NP: he was called a possible Nixon of South Africa.

Nixon? The hopes were that just as the conservative American President Nixon had broken the Cold War by going to China, De Klerk would be the conservative to lead South Africa to democracy.

Since then De Klerk has charmed some European leaders like Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl.

Last week he threw his long-awaited balloon, the Five-Year Plan, into the air. But before that dramatic moment, there were widespread stories of behind the scenes shuttle diplomacy to get the African National Congress and the Government to talk.

Into this activity comes the story of an ANC document circulating secretly in the country canvassing support for a change in position on negotiations with the Government.

It suggests the formation of a constituent assembly with the power to draw up a new constitution.

De Klerk has certainly put on the charm.

Let us look at what he has publicly put on the table:

- Setting up of institutions in which leaders of all groups can participate in the creation of a new constitutional future;

Freedom

- A possible acceptance by the NP of a Bill of Rights as part of a negotiated constitution;
- Greater emphasis on freedom of association and of dissociation in group formation;
- Decriminalisation of the Group Areas Act.

According to some analysts the most important concession that the NP has made is to insist that the groups participating be committed to peace, thus stepping down from the original demand that participants first denounce violence.

But is this a stepping down or a re-wording of the original condition? Obviously only the insane are not committed to peace.

The plan has been attacked on various grounds, but all the criticism points out that the NP has in fact not changed any of the policies created under the leadership of P W Botha.

Let us be very generous and assume that De Klerk is playing two games — to win votes at the September elections, a public one that accepts the basics of apartheid, and then another behind the scenes in which he is keen on genuine negotiation.

This would mean that he is entering the negotiations without a mandate to dismantle apartheid: he can only manoeuvre within the limits set by a society obsessed with race and racial domination.

At this stage the NP is not even talking of scrapping the Group Areas Act: it is suggesting a more efficient bureaucracy to implement it.

If a white comes to live in Soweto, his neighbours could then complain to a bureau and officials of that body would get to him and offer him alternative accommodation.

He would be prosecuted only after refusing the alternative accommodation.

No, sir. The ground for negotiation has not been laid yet. There will be a lot of red herrings to get us chasing... nothing.

The ANC believes that Walter Sisulu will be released from prison before the election and that Mandela and other high profile leaders will be released after the elections.

It is important that these leaders be released, but it will add nothing to the big picture until white South Africa agrees to "an open-ended indaba to negotiate a new dispensation".

It is only then that liberation movements can start taking De Klerk and the NP seriously. For now, it is obvious that FW is only interested in beating sanctions and the isolation of this country.

The joyous shouts that came over the airwaves from Auckland Park yesterday morning demonstrate this very clearly.

Lusaka talks proved hopeful pointer

ANC is becoming more flexible, too

Decades of isolation and propaganda in South Africa have turned whites into naive travellers and frightened negotiators. Yet the time has come to start bargaining — or settle for ceaseless civil war. What is there to negotiate about? HARVEY TYSON, who accompanied 113 whites to Lusaka at the weekend, examines their ANC encounter.

It is only three years since black militants and white parliamentary voters met formally in open congress, possibly for the first time, to discuss a post-apartheid society.

That conference, sponsored in Port Elizabeth by Van Zyl Slabbert's Idasa, was one of the more depressing talk-sessions I have attended in a long life of listening to political gobbledegook.

It was depressing because of the meaningless Marxist definitions of "democracy" and "freedom", and the ideological cliches about parliament, capitalism and the rest. Worse, the SA Police arrested some delegates.

Last weekend, in Lusaka, a similar convention seemed light years away. The only comparison I could find was just one sample of mirror image. A black security policeman tried to detain a white clergyman for taking a photograph of Zambia's Swapo refugee camp.

But South African militants abroad have changed.

What does the ANC stand for today?

The conference was encouraging because both sides were prepared to take risks. And "the whites" and the ANC actually listened to each other; sometimes shouted at each other; or at least became tightlipped over sanctions and violence.

The ANC seemed flexible on private enterprise; minority rights (protected by a Bill of Individual Rights); and press freedom. It seemed blissfully unaware of, and willing to be advised on, some technical problems in economics, education, health. All this was disarming.

I shall detail one example of the new flexibility — the example which I went to Lusaka to test.

It is the ANC's definition of "press freedom" on a continent where "freedom" means you can support the government. Nowhere in black Africa does an "alternative" press operate.

Only gentle and "constructive" criticism is allowed ... even in the most democratic country outside of SA.

What does the ANC propose?

"We strongly believe in Press freedom. We also believe in responsibility and accountability."

No anti-Semitism

What does that mean?

"It means we would not tolerate anti-Semitism, racism, or nazi propaganda in the media. But otherwise anyone could produce any kind of newspaper, from say the British *Guardian* to the conservative *Daily Telegraph*; from the girlie *Sun* to the *Independent*. Every political ideology (except racism) will be possible in the press."

Other forms of censorship?

"Obscenity is not a problem. It is a matter of taste ..."

What if one of the media were to preach secession from your unitary State?

"Why not? In any case it would be a minor aberration, like a Royalist political party in the USA."

Well, what about a serious constitutional challenge to the government — say 50 percent of the people wanting change?

"That feeling would need airing, so that the nation could continue to develop."

What about media ownership? State-controlled TV which you have criticised back home?

"Yes, we are concerned about exclusive white, centralised control of the press and electronic media. We shall have to find a mechanism to provide many more papers for the people — African language papers, for instance.

"The mechanism could be State papers; party or communi-ty papers; perhaps subsidised media as in Europe ..."

The longer we debated the more apple-pie we were offered.

It was a reminder that this policy was like Pik Botha's policy as given to foreign visitors ... very different to the version fed to the people. Yet it was remarkable that all of it was for the public record.

It is an example of why ANC attitudes (and those of all other political movements) need to be tested in negotiation; under pressure; in practice.

It was a demonstration of how easy it is to talk — even when some of us (Helen Suzman was the most vocal) condemned loudly and without qualification their policy of violence.

An encounter with 'gewone mense'



Thabo Mbeki . . . argues persuasively.



Oliver Tambo . . . impressive politician.

This was at least the 70th *publicly recorded* meeting between the ANC and South African passport-holders since 1985; about the 50th publicised meeting since that Idasa conference. South Africans ranging from Gavin Relly and Danie Craven to members of the FCI and Stellenbosch University SRC have met the ANC recently — and I can think of many more South Africans, some close to Government, who have done so in secret.

Yet the jet-load of whites and the 60 ANC top-brass who debated for three days in Lusaka were seen as pioneers in seeking a negotiating process. What the conference did was make it easier in the future for other South Africans, including Government spokesmen, to meet the ANC (and PAC and other extra-parliamentary groups).

Distorted image

But the white voter's image of the ANC has been distorted out of sight since its president, Albert Luthuli, was banned 30 years ago for attracting too much white support.

Today the ANC leaders are seen as demons. Censorship and propaganda have turned them into monsters, and given them more power than they possess. The demons, though not quite sanctified by meeting the former Anglican Archbishop of South Africa and the rest of the delegation, were seen to be normal men and women — a fact which almost overcame many white delegates. One can smile at *Engelse* with good intentions greater than good sense, and Afrikaners with hearts bigger than their heads, who go overboard at these encounters.

Propaganda machine

Yet it is the Nationalist closed-circuit propaganda machine which has transformed sophisticated white South Africans into frightened travellers and naive negotiators.

Perhaps, if ever Oliver Tambo and Thabo Mbeki appear on SABC-TV, half the white audience will swoon. The leaders are charming men; impressive politicians; and they argue persuasively that they have less blood on their hands than any Government man responsible for police action. White South Africans may swoon, not so much at the unfamiliarity of such faces on the box, but because they seem *gewone mense*, just like their favourite MP.

That does not mean the ANC have transformed into angels.

3044 Email 7/7/89.

GLENN BABB FACE TO FACE

Openings to Africa



Glenn Babb recently resigned as Deputy Director General of Foreign Affairs. He has played a crucial role in several southern African peace initiatives

FM: **What is the importance for SA of the current peace moves between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and Angolan president Eduardo dos Santos?**

Babb: The implications are enormous. At last we are on the threshold of the regional conference which will unlock the region's huge economic potential. Europe 1992 means that Africa will be further marginalised as Europe will focus on the enormous benefits flowing from economic unification and will withdraw from Africa. Unless African states act in concert to protect their interests as raw material suppliers to the advanced trading blocs, the situation where Africa "sells cheap and buys dear" will only worsen.

Is this not against the idea of free competition?

Decidedly not. The idea of trade groupings is supported by the General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade (GATT). We should follow the example of the EEC. Our Customs Union with the BLS countries is a case in point, as are the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Agreement. SA, as an SADCC member, could help boost African economies in power generation, transport, agriculture and technology.

Do you expect a positive response?

Africa has been mugged by reality. After years of enmity, sanctions and other pressures against the country, many African states now see SA as a potential partner. We now trade with all 51 countries in Africa. In 1988, our African trade grew by 10% to R4,8bn — or about 9% of our total foreign trade.

Trade with Zimbabwe shot up by 36%, while the growth in our Zambian trade was 21%. SA is now the major supplier to both countries, outperforming the UK.

Where else can we help?

SA has an excellent track record in areas like nature conservation — essential to promote Africa's primary tourist attraction — its wild game and open spaces. In the Comores over the past seven years, tremendous changes were effected, using minimal resources. Food production has increased using improved stock, seed and production methods. Roads were upgraded, and its tourist industry is now being placed on the world map.

What about Madagascar?

Tourism development was started at Nossi Be, but they foolishly withdrew after a presidential coup. Southern Sun moved to Mauritius and gave that island its start-off. Madagascar is a basket-case — their only hope lies in closer ties with SA. Development of their fishing, oil, tourism and graphite resources should be of great interest to our companies. I regard Madagascar as one of the priorities for future economic links with SA.

And Mozambique?

After the Port Steering Committee (constituting the Mozambican government, Sats and the private sector) identified improvements to Maputo harbour, loans of more than R100m were guaranteed by SA's Credit Guarantee Insurance Corp over the past four years. SA forestry companies are planting about 30 000 ha in Mozambique and 4 000 ha have been leased to SA farmers for irrigation. Supermarkets are being developed in Maputo, and tourism should take off once security problems are sorted out. Mozambicans regard SA as their best potential partner.

Why?

We are the closest and the cheapest and our products are technologically best adapted to Africa's needs. SA's private sector has the capital to invest, and our historical ties go back a long time. Political ties were strengthened by President P W Botha's visit to Songo last September.

Also, the West is reducing its economic assistance to Africa. For example, about 20% of French companies active in Africa have pulled out (this could rise to 50% shortly). French investments in Africa have dropped by 25% since 1985. Who will fill the gap? It can only be SA.

What is Africa's response?

The West has created a dependence on handouts — and now that they are beginning to pull out, the realisation is dawning that SA is Africa's strongest potential ally. For example, SA produces 40% of Africa's manufactured exports, generates 70% of the continent's electricity and transports 70% of Africa's railed goods.

In fact, we should also become more sensitive to the fact that our very size can be perceived as a threat, from Africa's point of view.

What should our relationship with Russia be?

SA has never been a boycott country. In terms of countertrade and barter, an axis with Africa and the East bloc has attractions — not as a counter to the West, but to ameliorate our global position. These countries have no capital readily available. Some deals have already taken place.

Do you expect drastic changes in our relationships with Africa over the next five to 10 years?

An improvement in our mutual relationships is absolutely unstoppable.

he listened with enormous interest and promised to give a full report to President Mitterrand." ■

SA-GERMAN RELATIONS

Circles in a forest

While the National Party (NP) basks in party leader F W de Klerk's favourable reception recently by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the Cabinet has decided to stick to a decision which may yet freeze relations between Pretoria and Bonn.

The decision relates to a plan for the expropriation of property owned by the Berlin Mission Society at Pniel in the northern Cape to make way for the extension of a national park — which would mean uprooting a number of coloured families living there. Implementation of the plan could well undo any success De Klerk may have achieved in West Germany.

The seriousness of government's proposed action is underlined by industrialist Anton Rupert's personal intervention. The *FM* understands that Rupert, in his capacity as president of the SA Nature Foundation, has asked Environment Affairs Minister Gert Kotze for the Cabinet to reconsider. Rupert, it is understood, fears the negative effect such a step could have on German-SA relations.

Meanwhile, De Beers has also placed on record its opposition to government's plans to extend the Vaalbos national park. The company fears that government may eventually expropriate the farms comprising the Rooipoort Estate, bought in 1890 for their diamond potential. Ever since the purchase, De Beers has been conserving the fauna and flora on the estate and many species of antelope have been reintroduced and managed in consultation with wildlife experts retained by the company.

It is understood that De Beers has warned government it would oppose the expropriation of Rooipoort "with every means available." Says De Beers spokesman Neville Huxham: "We have registered our views with the minister and are opposed to the extension of Vaalbos national park. We believe it is not sited in the right place.

"We support the idea of extending national parks but believe more work must be done in conjunction with the National Parks Board to locate a more appropriate area."

In some circles government's proposed action is seen as a political decision based on the Barkly West municipality's desire to promote tourism. Barkly West, in which Vaalbos lies, is part of Nat whip Keppies Niemann's Kimberley constituency.

De Beers also feels that, while the group is sympathetic to attempts to promote tourism, government should not spend vast sums of money on an unnecessary national park which may have limited appeal. De Beers provides the major tourist attractions in the area — including the Kimberley Mine Museum. The company feels that without its continued support there would be very little to encourage tourists.

However, the Cabinet seems adamant about pressing ahead.

On June 16 Kotze met various interested groups as a result of a recent Cabinet decision reaffirming its intention. "We're going ahead with the plans to extend the park," says Kotze's spokesman Ettiene van Rensburg. "It has however not yet been decided how to go about it."

Van Rensburg says that over the past 10 years the department has had various negotiations on the issue with the Berlin Mission Society. "When no agreement was reached the Cabinet decided to go ahead ... The coloured families are living in squatter conditions."

He reckons De Beers has no cause to fear Rooipoort's expropriation: "We have invited De Beers to negotiate with government and suggested that the estate be managed by the National Parks Board on their behalf. The allegation that this is an election ploy is solely De Beers' viewpoint."

De Klerk may have to intervene personally to avert an international confrontation. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Diplomatic drives

Hard behind F W de Klerk with his National Party manifesto and the results of Linden, Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Denis Worrall is deploying his diplomatic skills on a stump around European capitals to convince governments there is an alternative agenda for SA. His highest level talks were to be with UK PM Margaret Thatcher on Wednesday.

Prior to that, in Paris, Worrall briefed Claude Arnaud, African affairs adviser to President Francois Mitterrand and, as the *FM* went to press, was holding meetings with senior Foreign Ministry officials in Bonn. Lisbon and Rome were to follow the stopover in London.

DP national organiser James Selfe, who was with Worrall, says the DP's triumph in Linden and reassessment of its chances in the general elections were behind the reasoning for the tour — a more comprehensive one than De Klerk's because of the French ban on top-level contacts with the SA government. "The settlement in Namibia is sharpening the focus on SA and we are giving our view of developments and vision for the future," he said.

The talks with Arnaud were "very warm:

Financial Mail

ECONOMIC POLICY

Nats still play the old tune

In the 1987 election manifesto, the National Party (NP) put the long-term goals of economic policy as the highest possible growth rate; maximum job creation; price stability; and balance of payments equilibrium — with genuflections toward private enterprise, privatisation and deregulation.

Success on every single one of those has been inadequate, despite (a) attempts to put much of the blame on wicked foreigners and (b) Org Marais' fatuous comments on white living standards.

So what is the prescription of the 1989 manifesto, under the heading "A Dynamic Economy"? It's worth quoting the "long-term goal" in full:

"The promotion of (a) high real average economic growth rate together with low inflation in order to ensure the highest possible real income per person. The optimal application of the means of production through the promotion of free enterprise and effective competition within a market-orientated economic system with sustained fiscal discipline and the greatest possible financial stability."

The changes are little more than semantic. Some would call the style more elegant; others, just more highfalutin. It's probable that both the CP and the DP would be able to embrace these principles virtually word for word.

But, certainly, this year's manifesto is much wider than its predecessor.

It specifies inflation as "our economy's public enemy No One" and repeats the commitment to single-digit inflation. Job creation, conversely, has been relegated to little more than a footnote and the balance of payments is a term conspicuous by its absence. There are references to a "more streamlined and cost-effective civil service"; the establishment of an export culture; the promotion of SA's tourism potential; the reduction of the public-sector deficit before borrowing (PSBR) to 3% of GDP; and the need to curb population growth.

Other figures are few and far between, but there is a commitment (as part of the Five-Year Plan) to cut the top marginal personal tax rate from the present 45% at R80 000 income to 40% at R100 000 and the company tax rate from 50% to 40%.

Clearly this outlines a society that most businessmen and others who believe in the free market philosophy would find a lot more congenial than what Swapo envisages for an independent Namibia (see ***Current Affairs***), which leans as far in the direction of socialism as it can without deterring local entrepreneurs and potential foreign investors.

It is ironic that the pledge of lower taxes and PSBR should be made on virtually the same day that the Reserve Bank *Quarterly Bulletin* disclosed that the State's share of GDP is at its highest ever. But this underlines the basic weakness of the manifesto: an apparent inability to distinguish between the means and the end.

What we need to know is not that we should cut tax rates, or PSBR, or that we need a streamlined, cost-effective civil service. After all, precisely that was one of P W's main promises 10 years ago — and *kyk hoe lyk ons nou*. What we need to know is *how* these objectives are to be reached.

For a party that has been in power for 41 years, it is not enough to say, "We'll work that out after we take power." Given the record of the Eighties (which surely not even the incorrigible Org Marais could quibble with), it's obvious that major changes in *implementation* are needed if there's to be any chance of attaining *objectives* which are really much the same as they were last time — and the time before that.

The NP clearly realises that it's more vulnerable on the economic front than ever before. Not only the CP (as in 1987), but also, belatedly, the DP have rightly seized on the poor performance of the economy as an election issue. The economic section constitutes just over four pages in a 20-page manifesto this time, as against less than one page (out of six) in 1987.



But are we really offered anything new? Not really. That would require not just the broader approach that is embodied in the latest document, but also much more attention to specifics. And that is where the NP's real problem lies.

For the specifics which will attract voters on the "left" of the NP are exactly those that will alienate those within the NP/CP margin. In economic policy, as elsewhere, the NP is facing the same dilemma as the old United Party: how to be all things to all people.

The NP seems to be hovering on the edge of writing off the rightwing radicals altogether, but unable to take the final plunge. Until it can make up its mind, it runs the risk of satisfying neither the Left nor the Right.

The one area in which it could stake a position on the high ground is deregulation, privatisation and trimming the civil service.

If it wishes to pursue any sort of reformist policies, it must eventually accept that the civil servants are a lost cause anyway. And the sooner the better.

Unless it dares to do that, a re-elected NP government is not likely to show any improvement in its dismal record of economic mismanagement. Don't hold your breath waiting.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Leaving principles on paper

The difficulty the Democratic Party (DP) faces in defining its role was highlighted by this week's crisis sparked by its decision not to contest seats in the House of Representatives (HoR), and to fight only three in the House of Delegates (HoD) in September.

The decision came after weeks of tortured debate which saw leading members adopting opposite views. In the end the anti-participation "strategists" centred on co-leader Wynand Malan won the day against the pro-participation "principlists" headed by co-leader Zach de Beer. The third co-leader, Denis Worrall, tried unsuccessfully to forge a compromise.

In essence the decision means the DP accepts that for the time being it has no primary role in black, coloured and Indian politics and is prepared to defer to the dominant extra-parliamentary organisations in those communities which are generally opposed to participation in the coloured and Indian sections of parliament.

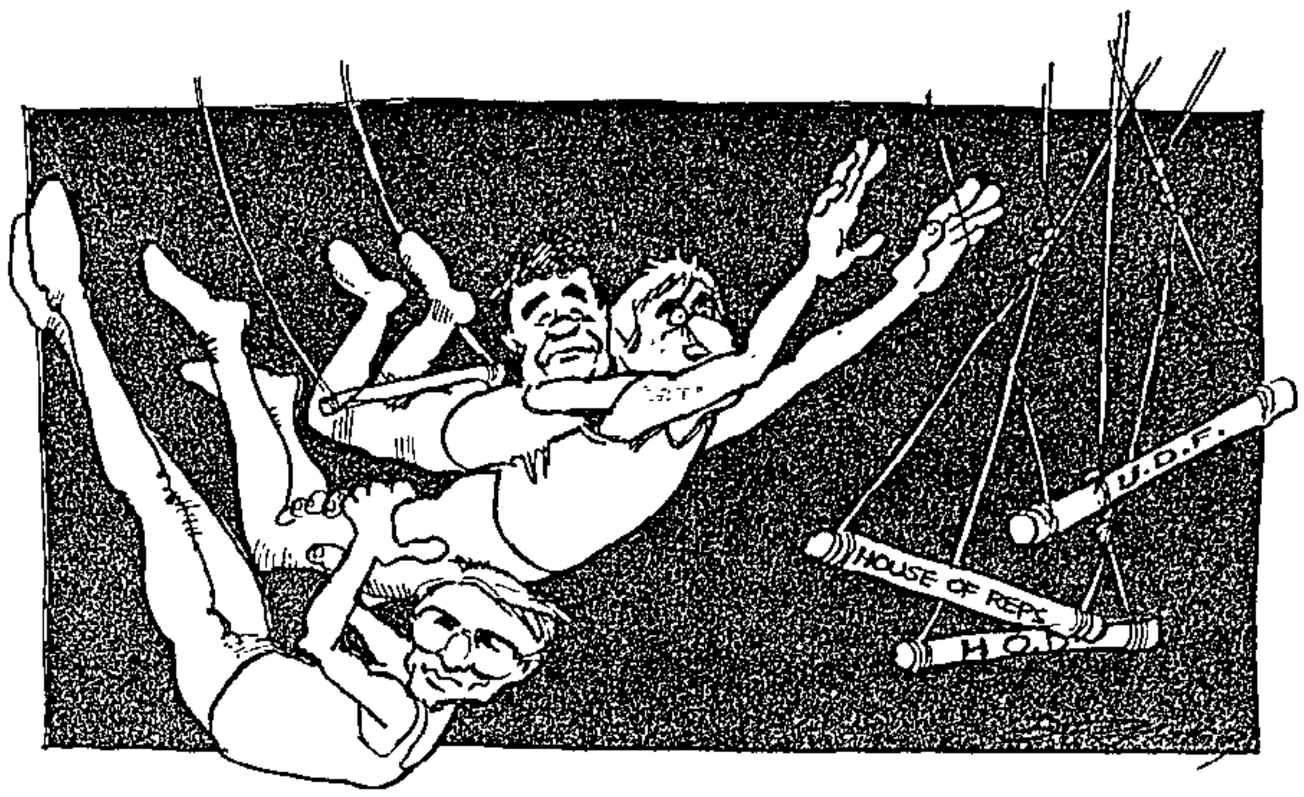
The DP sees its immediate function as building a power base in the white community and contesting as many seats as possible in the House of Assembly (HoA). This strategy is generally approved by extra-parliamentary leaders.

A secondary consideration is that Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party dominates coloured parliamentary politics (though it has only minority backing in the community compared to extra-parliamentary groups), and the DP is reluctant to alienate a potential ally for the sake of possibly winning a handful of seats in the HoR.

The DP is prepared to back its three Indian MPs in the September 6 poll, but not its three coloured MPs — should they choose to stand for re-election. In other words they will be sacrificed to strategy regardless of how committed they may be to DP policy.

The decision also means that potential DP candidates in coloured and Indian communities, as well as voters in those communities who endorse the party's policy, are left in the lurch for the sake of strategy. (Not to mention voteless blacks whose potential role in the DP is clearly not even being considered at this stage.)

The decision does not seem to take into account the growing debate in extra-parliamentary organisations over the merits and demerits of a strategy to "use the system" to undermine it from within. There is small but growing support for this line in some circles, and it has been argued that the DP could have tried to develop the debate on the basis of extra-parliamentary backing for a DP "experiment" in participation in the HoD and HoR. Lack of time probably counted against this option.



An irony of the situation is that the DP's predecessor, the PFP, and the Progressive Party before it, argued for years against the Prohibition of Political Interference Act which prevented the formation of non-racial parties. The Act was scrapped in 1985 and the PFP launched a countrywide membership drive in black areas — often against the wishes of local extra-parliamentary groups.

Former PFP Federal Council chairman Alex Boraine said at the time that the scrapping provided a "wonderful opportunity" for the PFP to "reflect a common South Africanism and seek a common political answer" to the country's crises. "I would like to see a broad cross-section of South Africans united on a broad base of principle and policy. I dream of the PFP becoming a political force that will effectively destroy racial structures, build bridges and make negotiation a reality instead of a principle on paper," he said.

The membership drive was not a success and the party decided against contesting seats in the HoD or HoR in the 1987 general election It had no MPs in those houses then.

Boraine quit parliament without realising his dream. His dominant place on the Left of government has been filled by former Nats like Wynand Malan who have a better appreciation of the harsh realities of a racially divided society. They know the PFP in its time had as little chance of establishing a "broadly based" political grouping as either the DP or the UDF do today, and it is that reality they are now confronting.

In the face of UDF opposition, the DP has little chance of winning significant support in black communities. The UDF on the other hand has failed to mobilise significant white support since its formation in 1983. The principles and policies of the two differ materially, but they have, in effect, agreed on a short-term strategic working relationship. It will mean DP non-participation in the HoD and HoR in return for passive UDF backing for DP participation in the HoA. Each therefore accepts its limitations and agrees to play a mutually beneficial part in what they see as moves towards a wider goal.

The DP's liberals will probably be bitterly disappointed by the continuing erosion of values they hold dear. But they have been thoroughly out-manoeuvred by the new-style white Left led by Worrall and Malan whose watchword at times seems to be expediency rather than principle.

Though the row as it centres on DP HoD leader Pat Poovalingam has grabbed the headlines, it is a symptom rather than the cause of the current crisis.

As the *FM* went to press Poovalingam was set to quit — or be expelled — for his scathing attacks on DP leaders. He argues that the non-participation decision is racist and unprincipled and betrays the liberal values for which the DP claims to stand. He alleges that DP strategists, and Malan in particular, are being dictated to by the ANC and UDF, and that Worrall cynically hopes that by ditching the HoD and HoR, the DP will win the votes of radical white students at Natal (and other) universities.

Malan rejects the charge and says Poovalingam himself compromised democratic and non-racial principles when he decided, as a strategy, to enter the tricameral system. Worrall is overseas and could not be reached for comment. He said earlier that the decision had been taken in the best interests of the party.

Sensitivity to criticism of the DP's decision was seen this week when the acting chairman of the party's National Board, Tian van der Merwe, issued a statement

saying Poovalingam's allegations were "devoid of integrity, untrue, and ridiculous."

The real issue, however, centres on the DP's inability to formulate a strategy that best serves the principles for which it claims to stand — though the Malan faction will no doubt argue that this is in fact what has happened.

The party still faces the problem of widely divergent views and disagreement on the interpretation of policy. ■

ET joins Jaap rally

By SHAUN JOHNSON

EUGENE TERREBLANCHE was due to join Jaap Marais at a rally for right-wing unity in Pretoria last night — despite Andries Treurnicht's flat refusal to have anything to do with the initiative.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader's decision to share a platform with the Herstigte Nasionale Party chief and the Boerestaat Party's Robert van Tonder is a sign of the widening gap between the AWB and its erstwhile ally, the Conservative Party.

At a press conference on Monday, Marais called on Treurnicht to enter a formal alliance with other right-wing groups in order to defeat the Nationalists at the polls in November.

Treurnicht's response was that it was "too late", and unity already existed within the CP.

The stage is now set for acrimonious right-wing battles in several key constituencies — notably Rustenburg, where TerreBlanche has announced his candidacy.

Last night, Marais told the *Weekly Mail* that the "tremendous momentum towards unity" among right-wingers could force Treurnicht to change his stance. And, he said, "the AWB's important contribution of support to the CP might swing to the HNP".

304A Wmail 7-13/7/89.

Sowetan 7/7/89

ANC, Government being sucked into negotiation

TWO of South Africa's main political protagonists, the Nationalist Government and the African National Congress, are being sucked into a negotiating process which has been going on for several years in this country, albeit in unobtrusive, indirect, and often contradictory ways.

Editor of *The Star* Harvey Tyson, after discussions with the ANC and its opposite numbers, looks at some of the obstacles to negotiations. He does so as South Africa approaches the final crossroads leading to uncomfortable change — or to an endless swamp of violence.



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

It too is squirming, and its militant supporters within South Africa haven't yet understood the real issues. The ANC not only has to contend with pressure from the outside world, it has to contend with rival factions within South Africa, who cannot wait to take up the "spear" if the ANC shows signs of loosening its grip on the armed struggle. Refugee militants of all parties abroad now seem less "hardline" than their followers at home.

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

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

R30m gift to public servants

CAPE TIMES 7/7/89

30cA

Political Staff

PUBLIC servants who already receive annual housing subsidies totalling some R334 million are to get a further R30m in interest assistance this year.

Administration and Privatisation Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers announced yesterday that public servants would receive interest subsidies of between R40 and R80 a month from June until the end of the financial year.

The announcement follows hard on the heels of the government's decision to pay R128m from its R1 billion contingency fund in bonuses to social pensioners. Opposition spokesmen said the timing of both announcements was clearly linked to the coming election.

Government sources said that more than R500m of the contingency fund had been allocated in the first quarter of the financial year.

A spokesman for Dr De Villiers's office said it was not certain whether the interest subsidies for civil servants would also come from the contingency fund. It was possible that the subsidies could be funded from savings by the Commission for Administration.

At present, civil servants receive full interest subsidies on mortgages up to R50 000. A civil servant with a R50 000 mortgage receives an interest subsidy of R516 a month.

A total of 54 000 civil servants receive the subsidies and qualify for the supplementary payments. The spokesman said it was expected that R30m would be spent on the supplementary subsidies in the ten months to the end of the financial year.

Dr De Villiers said that interest rates on mortgages had reached high levels which had brought financial pressure to bear on personnel in the public sector.

"These pressures cannot always be accommodated within normal monthly budgets."

He added: "The government has therefore decided to institute a supplementary monthly housing subsidy to alleviate this financial burden and to ensure that personnel in the public sector are not exposed to situations where they no longer can afford to keep their existing houses."

Dr De Villiers said that as interest rates decreased, the supplementary subsidy would be reduced and gradually phased out.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz said: "It looks as if the R1bn kitty is being syphoned off one day at a time in a way which is very convenient for the government from an election point of view."

To page 2

From page 1

CAPE TIMES 7/7/89

30cA

'Sweetener' for public servants

Mr Schwarz said it had to be asked why, if the government felt it necessary to assist civil servants, it had not done so at the time of the budget.

"What about the ordinary man in the street and his problems which are far bigger than those of civil servants?"

Instead of adopting a total approach to dealing with the country's economic problems in the budget, the government was now providing for special interest groups.

When the government created the multi-million-rand "slush fund", Mr Schwarz said the money would be used for buying votes, "and this seems to be what is happening".

"The next thing you know, the government will be exchanging R10 cash for each vote."

Mr Keith Wakefield, national president of the Institute of Estate Agents, said the supplementary subsidy was "inflationary and comes at a time when everyone should be sticking to their budgets. Who will look after the private sector?"

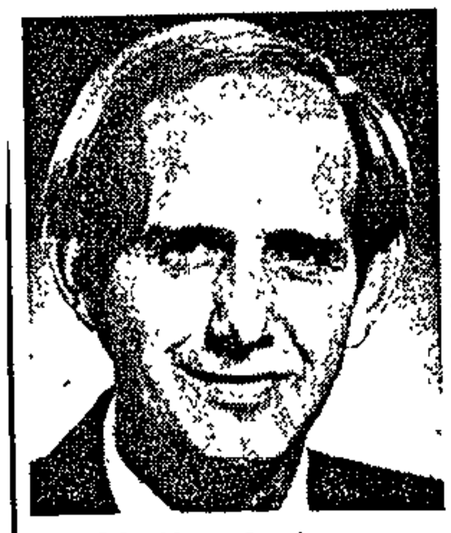
Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central and DP spokesman on manpower, last night slated the announcement.

"The hand-out is so blatant it is cheap," he said.

"This, together with the recent pension hand-out, makes one wonder why the Electoral Act has a clause preventing candidates from 'treating' voters.

"It is an indication that all other messages of political persuasion by the government have run out. Instead of being a sign of confidence, this is one of desperation."

CM-Times 7/7/89 30 K/A



Mr Ken Andrew

Govt bonus an insult, say pensioners

By MALCOLM FRIED

THE R60 one-off bonus pensioners will get from the government in October is the only extra money they will receive this year — no overall pension increases were planned, government officials said yesterday.

Pensioners' representatives yesterday branded the bonus "an insult" and "nothing near to what we need". It was announced on Wednesday by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew called the official treatment of pensioners "disgraceful" and the R60 a vote-catching bribe.

A general pensions increase "is not planned at all — it's not in the budget", said the director of the Department of National Health and Population Development, Dr Coen Slabbert.

The regional chairman of the Association of Retired Persons and Pensioners (ARP & P), Mrs Kay Altman, said: "with this ridiculous gesture, the government is slapping every pensioner in the face."

White social pensioners receive R251 a month, coloured and Asian pensioners R200 and blacks R150. "This is little enough," said Mrs Altman. "Surely a decent, monthly increase is very long overdue?"

Pensioners were granted an increase last year and a one-off grant in 1987.

A former chairman of the ARP & P and pensioners' rights campaigner, Mrs Myra Keuning, said such grants "should happen more often".

Mr Andrew said that anyone who believed that such a bonus was a substitute for a proper pension "is sadly out of touch with reality".

VVO backs CP election

THE rightwing Vereniging Van Oranjewerkers has publicly backed the Conservative Party in the forthcoming general election, but has expressed its support for efforts to unite rightwing political groups.

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

swana of the handover.

While locals are dreaming up ... seaside cara... Mrs Corrinne M...

SA stance limits judges dealing with ANC cases

Star 7/7/89

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Although under South African law a judge could not accord full prisoner of war status to ANC combatants, he did have some personal choice in the matter, Professor John Dugard, Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, said yesterday.

At a meeting hosted by the Centre and the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, Professor Dugard said a judge should find that because the ANC combatant tried before him regarded himself as a soldier engaged in a recognised armed conflict, it would reduce his moral blameworthiness and serve as an extenuating circumstance.

"Certain judges take a very strict approach towards extenuating circumstances and there may indeed be judges who believe that their judicial duty prevents them from showing mercy in such cases," he said.

Professor Dugard said although South Africa had signed and ratified the 1949 Geneva conventions which essentially aimed to provide protection to those involved in an international war or armed conflict, it had refrained from giving any support to the 1977 protocols which provided that the Geneva conventions apply to persons engaged in armed struggles against racist regimes, alien occupation and colonial domination.

These protocols had been widely accepted and some argued that they were now part of internationally customary law and binding upon states whether they had signed the treaty or not.

"South Africa does not regard the 1977 protocols as binding upon it. Consequently, South African courts are precluded from treating ANC and PAC combatants as prisoners of war and must try them under the ordinary criminal law of the land," Professor Dugard said.

Public servants given an extra R30-m

Govt 'buying votes with aid schemes'

Star 7/7/89, 304A

Staff Reporters

The Government was accused today of digging into taxpayers' money for the second time in two days to "buy votes" for the September election.

This week, the Government granted an extra R30 million assistance to subsidise home loans of public servants and announced a special payment to all State pensioners which will cost R128 million.

The Minister of Administration and Privatisation, Dr Dawie de Villiers, announced the new subsidies yesterday.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said on Wednesday that social pensioners would receive a R60 bonus in October to be taken from the Government's R1 billion "contingency fund".

The Democratic Party and the Conservative Party support aid for pensioners but regard the moves as attempts to buy votes.

Yesterday, Dr de Villiers said a supplementary monthly housing subsidy of between R40 to R80 a month had been granted because of financial pressures on public servants resulting from rocketing interest rates. This was in addition to the normal housing subsidies paid to Government employees.

The new subsidy would be payable from June 1 for the remainder of the current financial year. It would be reduced and eventually phased out as interest rates dropped.

Remained constant

A spokesman for the the Ministry of Adminisration confirmed today that despite the recent sharp increases in interest rates, the bond rate for public servants on bonds below R50 000 had remained constant at either 3 or 4 percent, depending upon income. The State paid the rest of the interest.

The new subsidy would only apply to the portion of any bond above R50 000.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was "another pre-election goodie". He predicted the Government would find this tactic less effective than in the past.

Mrs Lynn Morris of the Housewives' League said if taxpayers had to pay for the subsidies, it was "very distasteful".

Mr Harry Schwarz, DP spokesman on finance, said everyonewas feeling the effects of high interest rates.

"The Government's announced intention for allowing interest rates to rise was to generally dampen consumer demand," said Mr Schwarz. "Picking a select group for relief is not what one would call a healthy approach."

Another Government scheme, to peg mortgage bonds rates at 17 percent temporarily for people who could not meet their payments, was welcomed and had been useful to those who took advantage of it.

But the scheme was merely one of deferral, he said, while the plan announced last night by Dr de Villiers would put money in the pockets of a select section of the population who would not have to pay it back.



Stylish Steffi ... Steffi Graf on her way to a decisive straight sets victory over C women's singles semifinals at Wimbledon yesterday.

Opposition queries govt's timing

Public service to get R30m housing bonus

PUBLIC servants who already receive annual housing subsidies totalling about R334m are to get a further R30m in interest assistance this year.

Administration and Privatisation Minister Dawie de Villiers said yesterday public servants would receive interest subsidies of between R40 and R80 a month from June to the end of the financial year.

The announcement follows hard on the heels of government's decision to pay R128m from its R1bn contingency fund in bonuses to social penioners.



● DE VILLIERS

Opposition spokesmen said the timing of both announcements was clearly linked to the election.

Government sources said more than R500m of the contingency fund had been allocated in the first quarter of the financial year.

A spokesman for De Villiers's office said it was not certain whether the interest subsidies for public servants would also come from the fund; they could be funded from savings by the Commission for Administration.

Public servants at present receive full interest subsidies on mortgages up to R50 000. A public servant with a R50 000 mortgage receives an interest subsidy of R516 a month.

A total of 54 000 public servants receive the subsidies and qualify for the supplementary payments. The spokesman said it was expected that R30m would be spent on the supplementary subsidies in the 10 months to the end of the financial year.

MIKE ROBERTSON

De Villiers said interest rates on mortgages had reached high levels, which had brought financial pressure to bear on personnel in the public sector, pressures that "could not always be accommodated within normal monthly budgets.

"Government has therefore decided to institute a supplementary monthly housing subsidy to alleviate this financial burden and to ensure that personnel in the public sector are not exposed to situations where they no longer can afford to keep their existing houses," he said.

The supplementary subsidies would vary between R40 and R80 a month, depending on outstanding loan balances.

De Villiers said as interest rates decreased, the supplementary subsidy would be reduced and then phased out.

"The supplementary housing subsidy is aimed at partially subsidising the interest rate on outstanding debt in excess of R50 000."

DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said "It looks as if the R1bn kitty is being syphoned off one day at a time in a way which is very convenient for government from an election point of view."

Schwarz said it had to be asked why, if government felt it necessary to assist public servants, it had not done so at the time of the Budget.

Instead of adopting a total approach to dealing with the country's economic problems in the Budget, government was catering for special interest groups, he said.

● Comment: Page 6

Euvrard nominated to DP Rosettenville seat

B1 Day 7/7/89 EDYTH BULBRING 3044

MIA Euvrard has been nominated as the DP candidate for Rosettenville.

She will stand against NP MP Sheila Camerer and the CP's Torrie van Tonder in the September 6 election.

Camerer won a 5 000 majority over the CP at the last election with 7 200 votes while the PFP candidate came a close third with 1 400 votes.

Euvrard's nomination for the candidature in Johannesburg West was defeated by Sandton councillor Willem Hefer this week.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the number of people wanting to stand for the DP in safe Nationalist seats has again been demonstrated in Boksburg where the DP's candidates' committee was unable to resolve a nomination contest on Wednesday night.

A closely fought nomination battle ended in a deadlock on Wednesday night between the two remaining nominees, Pieter van Pletzen, 41, an accountant from Brixton, Johannesburg, and Sirk van Wyk, 38, an industrial relations expert from Sunward Park, Boksburg.

Majority

The candidates' committee is to meet again tonight to sort out the problem. The DP regards Boksburg as a crucial seat in the elections because it represents a microcism of voters in SA.

The party said it was "aiming to not only reverse traditional voting patterns, but to elect a DP parliamentary representative for Boksburg".

In May 1987, the NP's Sakkie Blanche retained Boksburg with a 2 790 majority over the PFP, which polled 2 055 votes, the CP, which polled 4 408 votes, and the HNP, which pulled 556 votes.

□ The DP's decision about candidates for the House of Delegates said much about what voters could expect in return for supporting the DP, Randburg's NP candidate Glen Babb said in a statement yesterday.

"The co-leaders of the DP are now failing to nominate candidates for the House of Delegates, for reasons of, as one of the co-leaders put it, 'strategic choices rather than matters of principle'," said Babb.

This about-face under pressure from extra-parliamentary groups showed that as soon as the DP was faced with difficult choices, it buckled under, forgot about principles and followed the way of least resistance.

"Voters must beware they don't get crushed in the DP's rush to accommodate radicals," his statement said.

Grosskopf speaks to press

Star 21/7/87

Mr Hein Grosskopf, ANC chief of protocol during last week's consultation between the ANC and 114 South Africans, calls himself a "political soldier" who would not have been ashamed to be responsible, as alleged, for a car bomb blast in 1987.

A member of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Grosskopf talked to the Afrikaans weekly newspaper, *Vrye Weekblad*. The interview is published today.

On allegations by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that he was connected with a Krugersdorp bomb blast in 1987, he said the allegations were made with a reason.

"My ANC membership was a danger to them because people could identify with me and they had to destroy this potential identification." 304A

He did not confirm his connection or non-connection with the "operations".

"To tell the truth, if I had done what they said I had done, I doubt that I would have been ashamed ... the three instances they connected to me are military operations ..."

We will have to talk peace with SA — Nujoma

The Star's Africa News Service

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma, widely expected to become the first president of an independent Namibia, says the country will have to enter into dialogue with South Africa to create peace along the common border.

Mr Nujoma said this in an interview this week with a French radio journalist in Paris.

"One doesn't choose one's neighbours," he told the reporter, "and South Africa certainly is our neighbour.

"The only thing we can do is to promote negotiations and dialogue with South Africa in order to create a peaceful situation along our borders."

Mr Nujoma said he would be ready to return to Namibia within a few weeks — probably at the end of this month or early in August.

He said his organisation would insist independence elections took place on November 1, as scheduled under United Nations Resolution 435, despite suggestions that they could be delayed by at least a week as a result of Swapo's controversial incursion on April 1.

"Why should there be a delay?" Mr Nujoma asked. "What is the reason?"

Swapo, he said, expected that the elections would be free and fair since they would be monitored by the UN.

He said his organisation would like to establish a democratic society in Namibia "where there will be freedom of movement, freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of assembly and freedom of religion".

304A

Asked if Swapo intended to nationalise existing companies, and what its attitude would be towards the white business community, Mr Nujoma replied: "A future Namibia would welcome the trans-national corporations that are now exploiting its natural resources under the illegal South African administration. Star 7/7/89.

"However, they would have to enter into a new agreement based on equality, mutual understanding, mutual respect and mutual benefit to all concerned."

Rightwingers seek solidarity to win September election

Argus 7/7/89. 304A

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Three rightwing leaders have reiterated their call for unity with the Conservative Party and have vowed not to stop pleading for solidarity until after the September election.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche told a crowd of 800 in Pretoria City Hall last night that the National Party could be defeated only if all rightwing parties were united.

Mr Terre'Blanche and Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder were guest speakers at the Herstigte Nasionale Party meeting.

Mr Terre'Blanche said that if his decision to stand in Rustenburg was an obstacle to unity, he would withdraw.

Reverse betrayal

"We can reverse the government's betrayal if we unite and win the election," he said.

The AWB leader accused National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk of not being able to share power with moderate blacks or rightwing politicians.

According to Mr Terre'Blanche, the differences between the HNP and the AWB were less than the differences between President Botha and Mr de Klerk.

Mr Terre'Blanche denied claims that it was too late for rightwing parties to unite before the election and denied allegations that he had promised not to enter party politics, saying he was an HNP candidate in Heidelberg in 1970.

Admitting his decision to stand in Rustenburg might have been confusing, Mr Terre'Blanche said he was prepared to sacrifice himself because he knew the price of a revolution.

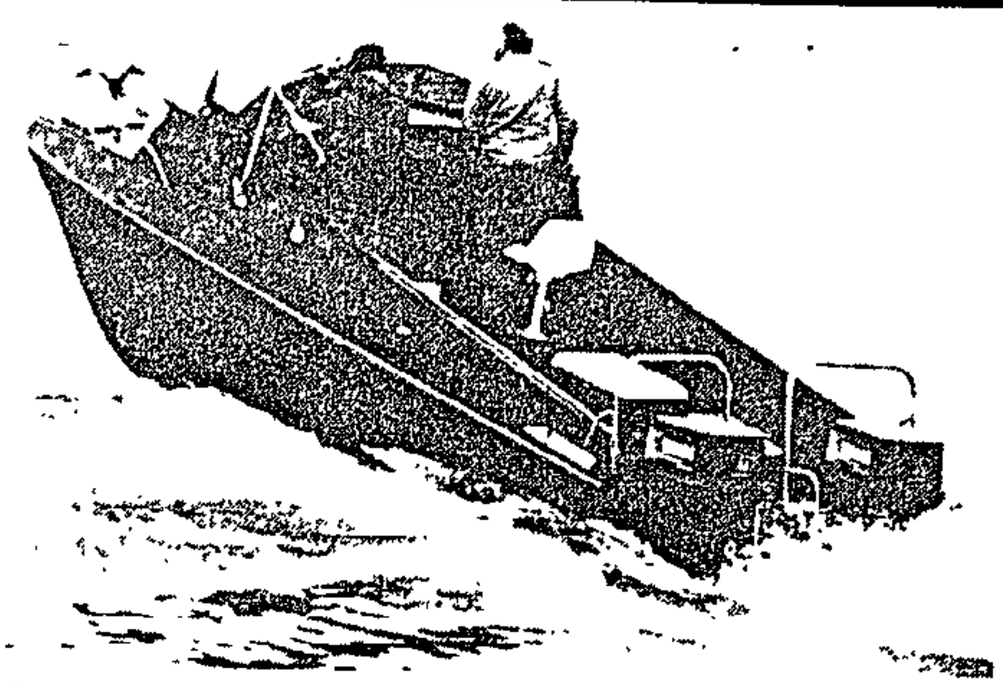
HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said the volk's needed solidarity. He claimed the Progressive Federal Party took the initiative in forming the Democratic Party and urged the CP to facilitate rightwing unity.

He also claimed that Mr de Klerk had committed himself to releasing Nelson Mandela after the September election.

Mr van Tonder called on Dr Andries Treurnicht not to slam the door on "volksgenote" because he could not afford to lose one vote.

The meeting unanimously adopted a motion calling for unity among rightwing groups, rejecting the NP's action plan and the proposed Bill of Rights.

(Report by E Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)



AT SPEED: The larger of the three patrol boats bought by the Cape Department of Nature and Environmental Conservation speeds up during trials.

Fast 'cats' get claws into crayfish poachers

By HENRI DU PLESSIS
Staff Reporter

NIGHT-TIME crayfish poachers beware — you may be caught by sea fisheries inspectors in their fast new craft.

The Cape Department of Nature and Environmental Conservation bought the patrol boats for its fisheries control service to clamp down on illegal fishing and poaching, said Executive Committee member Mr Deon Adams.

The three catamarans, each powered by two outboard engines, cost R150 000.

The two smaller ones, well-camouflaged in dark blue, are to be deployed at Velddrif and Struisbaai

The bigger one, painted black for a possible nighttime role, will remain in Cape Town for patrols, said Mr James van Langelaar, head of the Marine Control branch.

Reacting to rumours about crayfish poachers using fast boats at night to raid reserves and commercial crayfish traps, Mr van Langelaar said poachers were a 24-hour problem and inspectors had to be on duty around the clock to prevent illegal operations.

He said the boats, designed to be used close inshore and in estuaries, would be part of the action against poachers.

A brazen ploy ... but good news for the old

THE government is in a pre-election panic, putting pence into pensioners' pockets in the hope that it will pay off at the polls.

This was the opinion of economists and opposition politicians reacting to this week's announcement that social pensioners would receive a one-off, R60 bonus in October.

About 1,4-million black pensioners and about 765 000 white pensioners in South Africa and the "independent" states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda, will benefit.

The R128-million bill will be paid out of a R1-billion contingency fund which, when it was set up earlier this year, prompted criticism that it would be used for "election sweeteners".

While welcoming any relief for pensioners — black pensioners get R150 a month, "coloured" and Indian R200

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

and whites R251 — critics derided the move and said they expected more vote-catching ploys to come.

The "good news" was the amount was being applied in a non-discriminatory way, said Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party spokesman on finance.

"This shows slight progress in government thinking — the government has accepted the principle that everyone should be treated equally, at least as far as the bonus is concerned.

"The bad news is that the amount is insufficient and does nothing to address the real problem — the need for equal, improved pensions for all."

Schwarz had warned at the time the R1-billion contingency fund would be used for election sweeteners and this was now happening.

He recalled how, before the October municipal elections last year, public servants were told by how much their salaries would be increasing — "but it was only after the election we were told the price of petrol was being raised to finance those increases".

He doubted the bonus would have any effect on the polls.

"There is unprecedented anger about the economy and its mismanagement," he said. "This pay-out is not going to change that."

Sanlam's chief economist, Johan

●TO PAGE 2

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

BBP 309A Weekly 7-13/7/89. P.T.O

304A

Star 7/7/81

Right-wing trio repeat unity call

Pretoria Correspondent

Three right-wing leaders have reiterated their call for unity with the Conservative Party — and have vowed not to stop pleading for solidarity until after the election.

Addressing a crowd of 800 people in Pretoria City Hall last night, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said the National Party could only be defeated if all right-wing parties were united.

Mr TerreBlanche and the leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, were guest speakers at the first Herstigte Nasionale Party meeting in Pretoria before the election.

Mr TerreBlanche said if his decision to contest the Rustenburg seat was an obstacle to unity, he would withdraw.

BETRAYAL

"We can reverse the Government's betrayal if we unite and win the election," Mr TerreBlanche said. According to him the differences between the HNP and the AWB were small.

In his speech, Mr Marais said the volk's need necessitated solidarity and he urged the CP to facilitate unity.

Mr van Tonder called on Dr Treurnicht not to slam the door in the face of "volksgenote" because he could not afford to lose one vote.

The meeting unanimously adopted a motion rejecting the NP's action plan.

304A

Indaba chairman foresees pitfalls

Getting the talking started is problem

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The process of bringing South Africans of different race groups to the table to talk will be much more difficult than the actual negotiation process itself, the chairman of the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba, Dr O D Dhlomo, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He referred at a press conference to the prospect of negotiations after the elections on September 6.

He said that while past experience had shown that when South Africans get down to talk to each other "they are often surprised at how much they have in common, and how much they agree on", mutual mistrust which had accumulated over the years would have to be overcome first.

The major single difficulty hindering negotiations was the lack of "a shared sense of nationhood" — because South Africa was a divided nation.

Dr Dhlomo said that despite historical obstacles, South Africans were today more prepared to negotiate a new future, because the decades of polarisation were finally giving way to "a period of convergence in which the political planets are moving towards each other".

Important indicator of whether negotiations will take place after the elections, however, will be the Government's handling of the issues of the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations.

"It is difficult to see that there is any real prospect for negotiations unless the Government clearly proves its bona fides in this regard."

He challenged future president Mr F W de Klerk to break down all prejudices and open up communication in 1990, and to use his "enormous power and influence" to create understanding in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk, whom Dr Dhlomo has met in the past, had struck him as open-minded, willing to listen and learn, and acutely aware of the need for all South Africans to work out their destiny together.

But Dr Dhlomo said he feared that Mr de Klerk was "too wedded to the concept of Own Affairs" and groups.

'Tribe interests'

He hoped the NP leader would put the interests of the country "before the interests of the tribe".

He also challenged Mr de Klerk to use SABC-TV and radio not to spread negative propaganda, but to create bridges of communication and understanding.

"Let there be a single version of the news for all listeners, not different versions for different races. Let freedom of speech really blossom. Let us hear all views on radio and television. Let us leave (it) to those who talk nonsense to hang themselves."

Nats 'will not stand in Sandton'

Political Reporter

The National Party would definitely not put up a candidate in Sandton for the September general election, Mrs Zoe Marchand, chairman of the NP's Sandton divisional council, confirmed yesterday.

She said two possible candidates withdrew a few days ago, one for personal and one for business reasons.

"We are very disappointed about not fielding a candidate but have decided not to do so because of a pressing need to raise funds and the lack of time to find another candidate."

The sitting Democratic Party MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, said he was still working on the basis that the NP would oppose him at the polls.

"We will accept the fact that I am to be unopposed on nomination day, July 24. Until then we are working to keep Sandton the strongest DP seat in the country."

Mrs Marchand said she was surprised the DP had renominated Mr Dalling.

"I would have thought the DP would opt for a younger, more active candidate," she said.

● The NP has announced candidates for 74 of the Transvaal's 76 constituencies. The only other uncontested seat will be Yeoville.

Report by Esmare van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Labour to contest all 80 seats

Political Staff STJ 7/7/89

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

Selections will start on Monday and LP national secretary Mr Abe Williams said the successful candidates would probably be announced next weekend.

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

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

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

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

304A

FIGHTING FOR CHANGE

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

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

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

Cape Times
7/7/87 3064

Women's groups pledge CP support

PRETORIA. — The leader of the Kappiekommando, Mrs Marie van Zyl, yesterday repledged the support of her organisation and the Rightist Women's Front (Regse Vrouefront) to Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party.

The scene is thus set for the finalisation of two axes in white right-wing politics for the September 6 general election — the CP and an assortment of supporting groupings, and the HNP-AWB, with its own assortment of supporting groupings.

Dr Treurnicht has rejected a united election front with Mr Jaap Marais' HNP, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche's AWB, Dr Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party and Professor Johan Schabort's Blanke Party.

Meanwhile, reports from Boksburg indicate that Mr Jac Rabie, coloured LP MP for Reigerpark near CP-controlled Boksburg, has turned down an invitation to a function which will grant Dr Treurnicht honorary citizenship of Boksburg. — Sapa

Afrikaner academics cautious on 'Die Stem'

5 JOV
8/4/87

PAT DEVEREAUX

304A

LEADING Afrikaner academics this week admitted that the present national anthem "Die Stem" does not express the sentiments of all the people of South Africa and that perhaps a more "relevant" anthem could be found.

Former head of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kuultuurvereeniginge (FAK), Professor Gawie Cillie, said: "The furore over 'Die Stem' is unnecessary. Some Afrikaners feel strongly that Die Stem is a symbol and others feel indifferently."

Reacting to the recent decision by the provincial synod of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, which passed a motion calling Die Stem unsuitable and unacceptable, Prof Cillie said: "A national anthem shouldn't hurt anyone's feelings.

"Any South African can sing verses one and four of Die Stem without problems," he said, but he added that the two middle verses should be scrapped "because it makes the anthem too long and the verses are unsuitable".

Asked whether he thought Die Stem should be scrapped in favour of the Xhosa hymn "Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika" (God Bless Africa), he argued: "Anyone can sing Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika if they want to, but it is not a national anthem, it is a prayer to bless the continent of Africa.

Head of the University of South Africa's Afrikaans department, Professor H J Schutte, agreed that there were problems with "Die Stem".

"We have one group of people wanting to sing Die Stem and others who want to sing Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika. I don't know what the solution is.

"The ideal solution would be to come up with a new anthem, which has emotional and sentimental values which are dear to all South Africans. But I don't know if the time is yet ripe for that," he said.

Gloves-off fight on the rightwing

W/E Argus 8/7/89 (30kA)

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Staff

THE disarray in rightwing politics is developing into a bitter feud which could hamper the Conservative Party in its election campaign.

The CP may now face a gloves-off onslaught from rightwing groups, left out in the cold by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's refusal to involve his party in the formation of a broad-based, rightwing front.

Groups like Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Jaap Marais's Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and Mr Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party (BP), are planning a united bid to draw rightwing votes away from the CP.

IF Dr Treurnicht persists with his refusal to link up with them and to enter into an election agreement, they will put up candidates to oppose the CP in key constituencies.

The rival groups are likely to try to discredit the CP as being "soft on apartheid" and of moving closer to the "liberal" National Party. Already there is talk among members of the far-right groups that Dr Treurnicht is showing "liberal" tendencies.

Mr Marais believes "public pressure" may persuade Dr Treurnicht to join the proposed rightwing election front.

But the CP's general secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, is adamant that Dr Treurnicht has spoken the final word — there will be no election agreement as far as the CP is concerned.

In an interview this week, Mr Marais said the CP might not do as well as it had expected if it were to "go it alone" in the election.

In the 1987 general election the CP had the active support of the AWB. It looks likely that the CP may lose that support.

MR Marais said his impression was that Dr Treurnicht believed he could not draw many more votes from the right, and was now trying for a "moderate" image. In his attempt to create such an image, the AWB would be an obstacle.

Outlining his argument, Mr Marais stopped short of calling Dr Treurnicht a "liberal". He said he would not use the word "liberal", but "there are forces that are pushing him to a central position".

It seemed Dr Treurnicht was banking on the prospect that rightwing groups would be wiped out in the election and would disappear. This would make it easier for him to move to a middle position in politics.

Mr Marais said the rightwing groups would go ahead with their plans to put up candidates. The HNP would fight in about 40 seats.

Meanwhile, Pretoria political scientist, Professor Willem Kleynhans, said he believed the chances of the proposed rightwing front to win seats without CP backing were virtually nil.

"THEY don't have a hope. In fact, Dr Treurnicht would have been a fool to enter into any election agreement with them."

Professor Kleynhans said that in the 1987 election, when there was also no election agreement between the HNP and the CP, about 90 percent of Mr Jaap Marais's supporters walked over to the CP.

The HNP's performance had proved it was a failure and it would fail again. Similarly, the AWB was a spent force and had received a hard knock from recent events and scandals.

Dr Treurnicht and other CP spokesmen are confident their party will make headway in the election — even without the official backing of other rightwing groups.

However, a relatively new factor that could cost the CP votes in the election is the "Boksburg syndrome", which emerged from the party's policy to return to petty apartheid in towns under its control.

Fierce public response and boycotts sparked off by the CP move, notably in Boksburg, have clearly damaged the CP's image even among many of its own supporters. The episode, though confined to only a small part of the country, shocked voters into realising what CP policy could do if the apartheid clock were to be turned back throughout the country.

The political and economic implications of this are examined in a significant new study *The Boksburg Boycott*, published by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Authors Harry Mashabela and Monty Narsoo found that the protest showed the potential power of black consumers. It persuaded some whites that segregation could no longer be imposed on urban black people without cost.

The protest is expected to have a long-term impact on Boksburg's growth. One of the lessons learnt is that towns wanting to be white may be forced to be poor as well.

Noting that there seems little doubt that the Boksburg council and the CP have lost white support in the town as a result of the controversy, the authors write:

"Many white voters now appear to insist that when they voted for the CP they did not expect it to bar black people from facilities."

FOCUS 2

Hung parliament could happen if . . .

dg news 8/7/89 (30K4)

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Staff

WITH party-politics in a state of fluidity, increasing attention is being focused on the possibility of a "hung parliament" after the September 6 election.

This could happen if, as some analysts predict, the NP loses support to the left and the right of the white party-political spectrum. But there would have to be a big swing away from the ruling party.

In a hung parliament no single party can command an outright majority and parliament hangs in the balance. There is an element of doubt and suspense.

It means the governing party becomes crucially dependent on one or other opposition party or party elements to give it the necessary majority vote to get legislation passed or to govern.

BECAUSE of the delicate balance of power it puts opposition parties and even independent MPs in a powerful bargaining position. They can force the government's hand by laying down their own conditions before they will support controversial measures.

In some cases, the choice facing the government is between failure to pass legislation or accepting conditions from an opposition grouping. Unpalatable but, like medicine, must be taken.

In the House of Assembly the government will no longer be able to ram through unpopular measures against the wishes of all opposition parties.

A hung parliament will also set the scene for possible coalitions or major realignments in the party-political set-up.

AS things stand now, a hung parliament will come about if the ruling National Party gets 83 or fewer elected seats in the House of Assembly, compared with its present 123 elected seats.

The opposition parties — the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party, assuming there are no independents — will then also have a total of 83 elected seats between them, compared with their present 43.

Some analysts put the critical point for a hung parliament at 81 elected NP seats and 85 elected opposition seats, taking into account that an additional four to be nominated by the President are likely to be Nationalists, and assuming each side will have an equal number of indirectly elected members.

Thus for a hung parliament, the NP would have to lose about a third of its present elected seats and the opposition parties would virtually have to double their present combined strength in terms of elected seats.

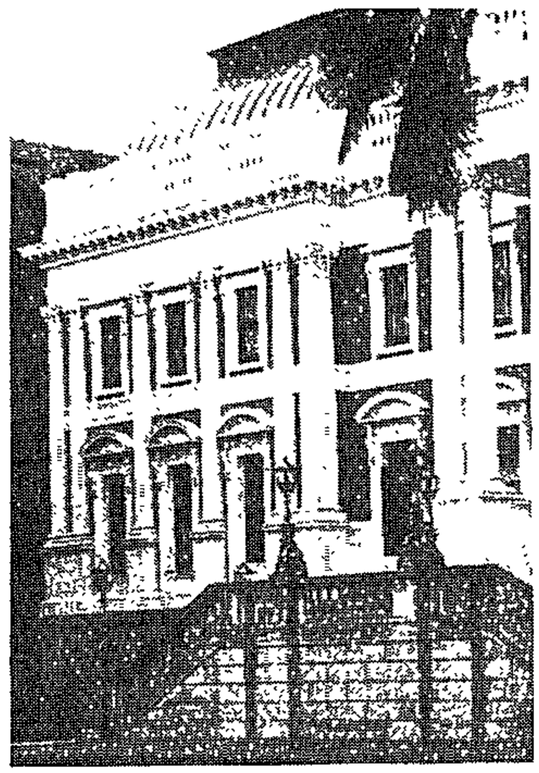
OPINIONS differ among experts on the likelihood of such a situation arising in the coming election. Some see it as a strong possibility in view of the present extraordinary fluidity in party politics; others regard it as unlikely at this stage, judging by the NP's performance in previous elections.

And opinions differ on who will benefit most from a hung parliament. Some experts say the Democratic Party with its strong policy thrust towards further reform; others say the Conservative Party because a strong verkrampte element inside the NP could push the Nationalists towards bargaining with the CP rather than the more liberal-minded DP.

The Democratic Party has set its sights on a hung parliament as a distinct possibility. They base this on the large number of marginal seats to be contested, on claims that both main opposition parties are working for substantial increases in their present number of seats, and on predictions by election analysts that the NP is likely to lose seats to both sides of the spectrum.

THE DP leadership is confident they stand to benefit the most from a hung parliament.

DP co-leader Dr Zac de Beer said this week his party had already indicated it was prepared to support the government on reform-type legislation. For apartheid legislation, however, the government would have to depend on the CP for support.



When it came to measures related to the country's economy and inflation, situations could arise where certain legislation would be opposed by both the DP and the CP. This was where the government would experience difficulties.

Dr de Beer said, judging by verligte noises made so far by NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, it could be expected a government under his leadership would deal with the DP rather than with the CP.

Some parliamentarians believe at least 40 percent of the NP are sufficiently reform-minded to favour a pact or even a formal coalition with the DP in the event of a hung parliament.

Political scientist Professor Hermann Giliomee, of the University of Cape Town, says about 20 percent of the NP's parliamentary representatives are considered to be verkramp at heart and may, in the event of NP-DP co-operation, cross the floor to the CP, putting it within striking distance of a majority in the House of Assembly.

This could start the rot, says Professor Giliomee. He points out that according to some estimates up to 40 percent of NP voters could swing to the CP in a crossing of the floor. This could enable the CP to topple the NP government in the election after this one.

A CP victory, he adds, will end all hopes of political accommodation and economic recovery.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall says the prospect of a hung parliament offers "the one glimmer of hope for breaking the log-jam of white politics."

If the NP were to come back with even 90 seats, Mr F W de Klerk would be "terrified" to act because of pressure from his caucus.

With a hung parliament (with fewer than 83 NP seats), the NP would have to sit down and talk to the DP on a daily.

Dr Worrall regards it as highly unlikely that, in the event of a hung parliament, the NP will split towards the CP and give it the necessary majority to govern.

Conservative Party MP for Schweizer-Reneke, Dr Pieter Mulder, says a hung parliament after the election is "not impossible".

He said in an interview this week the CP would have to get between 50 and 60 seats and the DP would also have to increase its seats substantially before this could happen. As things stood now, he believed the CP could do it, but he did not know about the DP.

Dr Mulder said he believed the NP was closer to the DP than to the CP and would choose to form a coalition with the DP.

He agreed that the CP as well as the DP could put pressure on the government in a hung parliament and "keep the government on its toes."

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

Lollipops to lure voters

NEWS

But Govt 'cannot con the electorate with candy treats'

"Lots and lots of lovely lollies!" is the slogan that National Party election posters should be carrying on our lamp posts as the Government doles out lollipops to voters.

It has so far been generous with at least R600 million of taxpayers' money, and is expected to haul out more in coming weeks for carefully targeted voting blocs.

"People at this stage treat it as a joke, and are asking 'who's next, what's next?'", said Mr Harry Schwarz, the Democratic Party's eagle-eyed spokesman on finances who predicted months ago that a R1 billion Contingency Fund set aside in the Budget would be turned to buying electoral favour.

Tissot saga

Remember the Tissot saga in April? About 12 000 public servants would be rewarded for 30 years service with Swiss-made precision watches. Jewellers estimated the cost at R700 to R800 a piece.

And the new Public Service long-service reward system where 20-year veterans can cash in 10 days of holiday leave, or 15 days for 30-year workers?

True, they were announced before the election was. But everybody knew that polling day was coming within months.

Then came the announcement on April 27 of the Government's intention to bale the Maize Board out of its crippling debt of R460 million.

Farmers again came in for more sweeteners when the Board of Trade and Industries this month dropped a 15 percent import surcharge on equipment such as tractors and spares parts for machinery. This was a R100 million bonus. Farmers now want more import relief.

ALAN DUNN

On Wednesday came Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis' news of a R60 handout to pensioners costing R128 million.

Hot after that, within 24 hours, came Minister for Administration and Privatisation Mr Dawie de Villiers' sweetie: temporary subsidies for Public Servants with mortgage bonds larger than R50 000. About 54 000 people will benefit, costing about R30 million.

Those with bigger bonds are exposed to the going open market rates for the balance above R50 000. For bonds in the R50 000 limit, interest is pegged to 3 or 4 percent, depending on salary.

That leaves a considerable chunk of the R1 billion slush fund, allowing the Government to consider tobacco farmers and funnel favours to others once the agricultural and private sectors are taken care of.

These goodies will not buy many votes at all, say opposition politicians: "The economic situation is so serious that I don't believe it is going to change the public's attitude," said Mr Schwarz. "The economy is an issue in this election no matter what the Government does."

He believes these bonuses could have been dealt with in the Budget. "Somebody has to give an explanation as to why they weren't," he said. The inference was that they were left out so that they could be handed out closer to the election.

"The public is far more sophisticated than that, and will not be swayed," said Mr Schwarz, expressing a view shared by the Conservative Party.

All are waiting with interest to see which way the friendly hand tips next.

Report by Alan Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.

VOTERS

We want Current limit is 'too low'

Cape Times 8/7/89

More

Mystery oil spill soils 88 penguins

Staff Reporter

AN inexplicable oil spill this week soiled 88 Dyer Island penguins.

Conservationists are puzzled by the spill which recurs annually without any apparent source, affecting hundreds of penguins on this east-coast island.

The 88 jackass penguins were yesterday removed from the island by members of the SA National Foundation for the Conservation of Coastal Birds (Sanccob) and caged for rehabilitation at the foundation's Rietvlei rescue station.

Rescue station manager Mr Andre Meyer yesterday said that neither Sanccob nor scientists could explain why oil-soiled penguins had been found on the island each June for the past four years.

Rough seas

Citing June figures of oil-soiled penguins found on the island east of Danger Point, Mr Meyer said that 153 birds were contaminated in June 1986, 49 in 1987, 45 in 1988 and 88 this year.

Rough winter seas and strong currents could have swept the deadly crude oil from deeper water, said Sanccob honorary secretary Mrs Eva Vorster.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (Ldn close)	$384,75
Gold (NY close)	$381,75
Rand	R2,6860
FT index (close)	1815,00
BD 100	3150,90
Dow Jones	2487,00

INDEX

At Your Service	21
Births, etc.	6
Business	17-18
Crossword	4
Focus	22
Target	4
Teleletters	5

Current limit is 'too low'

3044

By PETER DENNEHY

PUBLIC servants are pleased with the R30 million "interest assistance" the government will give them on their home loans — but now they want more.

Mr Hans Olivier, general manager of the Public Servants' Association, yesterday welcomed the R40-R80 a month supplementary housing subsidies announcement yesterday, but complained that the present R50 000 limit — beyond which bondholders are not subsidised — was too low.

Few three-bedroomed houses cost less than R85 000, he said, and therefore the current limit was too low.

Over the years, his association had made representations several times for an increase in the limit, and it regarded the announcement as a response to its requests

The chairman of the Teachers' Federal Council (TFC), Professor Hennie Maree, complained that the subsidy limit had not been increased since 1983.

'Untenable position'

"A large number of government employees who were compelled to obtain mortgage bonds of R80 000 and more, are at present in an untenable financial position — especially a large number of young people."

The TFC had been negotiating with Mr F W de Klerk to lift the limit, and for "interim emergency procedures" for those with bonds over R50 000.

"Certain understandings have been reached with the Minister of National Education," Mr Maree said. "The benefit as announced is unfortunately not in keeping with the arrangements agreed to. Therefore the representations of Council were only partially successful."

● The granting of an additional housing subsidy to public servants was another "election ploy," the Conservative Party said yesterday.

CP spokesman on Administration and Privatisation, Mr Fanie Jacobs, said the NP Government was trying to create the impression it was helping civil servants, but it was the taxpayers who were in fact carrying the financial burden of the new subsidy.

The Democratic Party candidate for the Florida constituency, Mr Norman McFarlane, also noted the move as "a vote-gathering tool" for the NP.

(News by Peter Donnehy 122 St George's Str, Cape Town, P Strijdom and Ken Daniels, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

● 'NP talk unsurprising' — Page 2



PUSS IN BATH . . . The Western Cape Cat Club will be holding its 61st Championship Cat Show today at the Gordon's Institute, Liesbeek Parkway, Mowbray. Receiving the full treatment, in preparation for the show, is "Red Baron" a red Persian groomed by Mrs S. Williams at a parlour in Sea Point.

Picture: GLENN S[illegible]

Cancer risk for milk

LONDON. — Women who regularly consume milk, yoghurt and cheese run a far greater risk of developing cancer of the ovaries than those who avoid dairy produce.

Experts at the Harvard School of Public Health said in the Lancet Medical Weekly, released yesterday, that the risk of milk-drinkers getting ovarian cancer was three times greater than for women who did not drink milk.

A total of 235 cancer sufferers

Exodus from National Forum denied

MONTSHIWA MOROKE

THE general-secretary of the Government-created National Forum and Deputy Mayor of Kagiso, Mr David Modiba, yesterday dismissed as "false" reports of a mass exodus from the body and has threatened to lodge a complaint with the Media Council.

Mr Modiba denied his council had withdrawn from the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa).

A report in Thursday's *Sowetan* said 62 councils in the eastern, western and northern Cape had pulled out of the NF at a meeting attended by more than 50 councils in De Aar at the weekend.

The report said this brought to 122 the number of councils which had rejected the body. It said the other 60 were affliated to Umsa, which did not take part in the formation of the NF on May 6.

It said the 62 councils were all affiliated to Umsa whose president, Mr Phillip Nhlapo, is also chairman of the National Forum.

"I as general-secretary have not received any formal letter of withdrawal from any council in the Cape," said Mr Modiba.

Instead, he said, he had received positive responses from local authorities in the Cape in response to the NF constitution, copies of which were sent to all councils in the Cape for adoption or rejection.

"I, as Deputy Mayor of Kagiso, am not aware of any motion which was adopted by my council withdrawing from Umsa.

"I dismiss the report with the contempt it deserves. Furthermore my council is taking steps with the Media Council.

"I am lodging a complaint with the Media Council against the report which stated that 122 councils have withdrawn from the NF, and that 60 Umsa councils have withdrawn from the NF, because that statement is false. There aren't even 122 councils in the Cape.

"Umsa does not have 60 affiliated councils. I challenge them to prove that they have 60 councils affiliated to Umsa."

Nat plan is flawed — but it's change

Harald Pakendorf

assesses the National Party's Five Year Plan



THE recent National Party's ninth federal congress is of much greater importance than is generally perceived.

Important, not only because of what it meant to the National Party but, above all, because of what it was saying about South Africa's white electorate.

It is a pity that the criticism which followed did not look beyond the immediate and apparent issues raised.

Safe

The NP's five-year plan is fundamentally flawed because of its inability to move beyond its basic standpoint.

This is based on the concept that groups need to be defined in law and that they will be the building blocks for a safe constitutional future.

Bad-mouthing the ANC is not going to solve the question of what to do with the majority of our people who stand by the ANC's base document, the Freedom Charter.

All that talk about human rights, a just society, possibly even a Bill of Rights, about the economy being turned around, and so on, is still only talk.

The five-year plan is a mea culpa by the NP. It is really saying: Look what a mess the country is in, but we promise to correct all of that.

The NP can hardly blame anybody inside the country but itself for the mess. Nobody else has had an opportunity these past 41 years to do anything.

Yet when all is said and done, the ninth federal congress was of vital importance.

One may be cynical about what words like "just society" and a "Bill of Rights" mean to the National Party, but the fact that the country's ruling party feels obliged to use them is what it is all about.

What the change of words means is that the NP has finally seen that there is no future for it to the right. It has, in fact, decided to turn its back on the Conservative Party and those to its right.

It has grasped that white South Africa, while not yet ready for majority rule, certainly is looking to rapid change, to the final ending of apartheid, that it longs to be part of the whole wide world, that it wants to hear about human rights and a just society.

The National Party has decided to give it all of these.

Make no mistake, the saving grace for the NP has always been that it is able to inspire confidence in its ability to run the country while at the same time changing its policies as it goes along.

Which is exactly what the federal congress was doing.

Equality

Remembering at all times that legally defined groups are the base line of the NP, listen to some of the things Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was saying:

- A democracy demands that all citizens have equal voting rights at all levels;
- Many blacks don't have the vote. That has to be changed, otherwise the party is not true to its principle of no domination;
- Groups are not there to defend a race and are not based on race;
- The party is committed to universal franchise;
- There must be a justifiable Bill of Rights.

The Minister ended his speech with a flourish: "We say we do not believe in domination — let us put this belief into practice.

"We say we are a democracy — the time has arrived for us to prove that."

Not exactly vintage Nat-speak!

Also clearly not the kind of approach which will draw Conservatives back into the fold.

But it is the kind of stuff which will make a potential DP voter's heart beat a little faster.

That is, of course, where the NP is aiming — to its left, because it has correctly seen that that is where the majority of the voters are.

The news must be bad for the DP, at least in the short term, but it is good for the country as a whole.

Because if the ruling party is looking to the left — albeit a relative and circumscribed left — it must mean that it sees its survival in terms of faster movement.

For the CP the news is bad because the NP has decided to shrug it off, to leave it where it belongs, i.e. in the pages of history books.

The NP has not yet moved off its base of group rights, but it can no longer be said to be looking over its right shoulder — it is looking over the other one.

And that is a welcome change.

Former Matie to stand for DP

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE Democratic Party has named a 26-year-old National Serviceman for the Stellenbosch seat — but his candidacy may run into legal trouble.

Mr Hennie Bester, former member of the Stellenbosch University SRC, will contest the marginal seat against the sitting Nat, Mr Piet Marais.

The snag is that Mr Bester only started his national service in January and has a further 17 months to do.

Constitutional experts were yesterday divided on whether he would be eligible for nomination on June 24.

The consensus was that legal history is being made and that it would probably need a court decision to decide on the validity of Mr Bester's candidacy.

Campaign

Mr Bester said yesterday his legal advisers felt there was nothing to prevent him from standing for Parliament.

He would apply this week for deferment of his service to enable him to conduct his campaign in the run-up to the September 6 poll, he said.

Mr Bester's candidacy is without legal precedent in SA. Civil servants, including university staff and members of the SADF and SAP are required to resign when they are nominated by a political party. But being a national serviceman, Mr Bester cannot resign.

Everything depends on whether the SADF Exemption Board grants him deferment. If his application is unsuccessful, he may have to resort to court action.

Leader

Mr Bester, a lawyer with a Master's degree from Cambridge University, secured the nomination after former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert turned down an invitation to represent the DP in Stellenbosch.

In 1985 Mr Bester was the leader of a group of eight Stellenbosch students who incurred the wrath of President P W Botha over a proposed visit to the ANC in Lusaka. Mr Botha, who was then Stellebosch chancellor, threatened to withdraw their passports if the visit went through.

S Times 9/7/89. 304A

Public service is feared as block to process of reform


ROBERT SCHRIRE

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

ADOPTING reform policies is one thing. Implementing them through a cumbersome, perhaps even reluctant, public service bureaucracy is another.

Elected politicians decide on policies. Career bureaucrats in a myriad of departments and offices landwide have to translate them into reality. Their eagerness or unwillingness to do so can be a deciding factor between success and failure.

■ ■ ■

This critical issue for reform in South Africa has been tackled in a soon-to-be-released paper by Professor Robert Schrire, director of the Institute for the Study of Public Policy, based at the University of Cape Town.

In it, he has looked at the nature of the SA public service, its relationship to the Government, and he has outlined ways of ensuring that it becomes an effective conduit of reform.

The unbroken 40 years of power the Government has enjoyed has allowed it to put in place a public service that reflects both its social make-up and its value system.

Furthermore, the relative permanence of departments and their officials, compared to the more transient careers of politicians and Ministers, places the bureaucracies in a powerful position.

To illustrate the symbiotic relationship that has evolved between politicians and the public servants, Professor Schrire uses the very visible example of the police and justice officials.

"It is generally accepted that in SA white prisoners receive better treatment than black prisoners and the police are generally more cautious in dealing with white protesters than with black," he says.

"The evidence that torture and the physical and mental abuse of prisoners are fairly widespread seems to be irrefutable."

Common attitudes are to blame.

"Both sets of officials share the basic racial prejudices of society.

Reform in this area has not been effective — "not because the Government is cynical, but because officials do not perceive signs of genuine concern or a genuine political commitment to the improvement of black rights".

Professor Schrire makes it clear the main problem is the most obvious one: A majority white public service runs the lives of a majority of black citizens.

And blacks and whites have different experience of the public service.

"Blacks encounter the bureaucracy chiefly in its role of implementing the control policies of the Government. Changing attitudes and consequent patterns of behaviour will be the most difficult challenge facing the reform elite."

So, unsurprisingly, Professor Schrire's main recommendation is a programme of recruiting black South Africans into the public service "especially its higher echelons".

This would lead to "more effective service delivery and improved communications and trust".

He says: "Increased black recruitment into policy and other levels of the public service would be a dramatic signal of the realities of reform.

■ ■ ■

"A more representative structure could also play a role in legitimising the system and dampening demands from the have-not sectors."

He ends with the sober prophecy that the reform bureaucracy will be "less efficient than its predecessor, less effective in a technical sense and probably corrupt in different ways".

But, he says, "as long as the trains still run, perhaps it is better for them to have less efficient, multiracial operating teams than more efficient, traditional white, operators".

→ cont

ANC leader whisked from jail house for historic secret visit



Drama as Tuynhuys denies it — then an admission by Coetsee

S Times 9/7/89. (304A)

PW MEETS MANDELA

PRESIDENT BOTHA and Mr Nelson Mandela met in Cape Town this week.

The historic encounter — one of the most sensational developments in South African politics for decades — took place in Tuynhuys on Wednesday.

Official confirmation came after a Tuynhuys spokesman denied that the meeting had taken place at all.

Late yesterday — in response to an inquiry by the Sunday Times, which had heard of the meeting from unimpeachable sources — the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie

By PETA THORNYCROFT in Harare, JEREMY BROOKS in London and LESTER VENTER and DRIES VAN HEERDEN in Pretoria



EXCLUSIVE PICTURE SPECIAL

Grosskopf, the life of

9/7/89

Botha

The historic encounter — one of the most sensational developments in South African politics for decades — took place in Tuynhuys on Wednesday.

Official confirmation came after a Tuynhuys spokesman denied that the meeting had taken place at all.

By PETA THORNYCROFT in Harare, JEREMY BROOKS in London and LESTER VENTER and DRIES VAN HEERDEN in Pretoria

Late yesterday — in response to an inquiry by the Sunday Times, which had heard of the meeting from unimpeachable sources — the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, issued a statement to news agencies confirming that the two men had met for 45 minutes.

Mr Coetsee said: "President Botha met Mr Mandela informally in Tuynhuys on July 5, when the latter paid a courtesy visit to the State President.

"No policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted.

"President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa.

"Their conversation took place in a pleasant spirit.

"The possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed.

"I was present during the visit."

Mr Mandela was taken to Tuynhuys from the bungalow he occupies in the grounds of Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

The meeting — and the discussions which presumably preceded it — were shrouded in the deepest secrecy.

It is likely that only selected guards were used to escort the VIP prisoner. Officials were informed only on a "need-to-know" basis, the tightest form of State security.

First hints that something important was afoot surfaced in Lusaka and London late this week.

ANC sources in the Zambian capital said yesterday it was clear that there was "something in the air".

While he could not confirm that the meeting had actually taken place, one source said: "We've heard the rumour ... it's buzzing around town."

However, in Cape Town, Mr Jack Viviers, spokesman in the State President's office, responded to inquiries by denying the two men had met.

Later he called the Sunday Times to say: "No such meeting took place at Tuynhuys."

Impact

Several hours later, following further inquiries by the Sunday Times, Mr Coetsee issued his statement.

Although only scant details have been released about the matters discussed by the two elderly but still towering figures in South African affairs, news of the meeting is likely to make a major impact abroad and at home.

Western leaders have been urging the South African Government to open negotiations with the ANC and called insistently for the release of Mr Mandela when the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, visited European capitals last month.

Yesterday a spokesman for Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, reacted positively when told of the meeting.

He said that No 10 Downing Street had not heard of the encounter.

He added: "It's what we've been calling for all along.

"A meeting by itself, however, is not enough — we are looking for nothing short of Mr Mandela's unconditional release."

Asked last night to comment, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said: "It is important to note that these are two South African leaders who met each other without mediation from outside. At the same time, this meeting will have wide, positive support which will benefit all the people of South Africa.

"It was probably one of the most important events of our time."

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk confirmed that he was kept fully informed about the meeting.

However, as a member of Mr Botha's Cabinet he did not want to comment on meetings held by the head of state.

"It is the State President's prerogative to meet whom he wishes, and I abide by his decisions on such matters," Mr De Klerk said.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said last night he had "no idea" the meeting had taken place.

"No mention of this was made by Mr Mandela during our talks this week," said Mr Ayob on his return from Cape Town yesterday.

Within South Africa, news of the meeting comes at a time when a major shift is taking place in alliances and in strategies towards inter-racial negotiation.

At the NP federal congress last week, the ruling party seemed to shift its position on the question of talking to the ANC.

Instead of the usual insistence that the banned organisation must first renounce violence, it marginally softened its position by declaring that people "who have a commitment to peace" would be permitted to take part in negotiations.

Options

It is unlikely that the NP would have raised objections to the Botha-Mandela meeting since the State President is no longer leader of the party and sees himself as a head of state above party politics.

As such he is well placed to explore options for talking to the ANC without compromising the party from which he has lately quietly distanced himself — even to the point of not attending a farewell banquet in his honour.

Mr Botha's attitude towards the release of Mr Mandela was outlined in a speech to Parliament on April 17.

He said the ANC leader had a role to play in achieving his freedom.

"If he is prepared to contribute to a peaceful settlement of South Africa's future I will personally welcome it," he said.

"In such a case, Government would react open-heartedly."

He said it would be futile to release Mr Mandela if this led to his re-arrest and increased conflict.

"I hope he realises this. No head of government who is responsible for the promotion of good order can lend himself to processes which result in group domination, the defeat of democratic principles and the destruction of private initiative and free enterprise."

Informed sources said yesterday that Mr Mandela would also have used informal channels of communication to consult with the leadership of the ANC before agreeing to meet Mr Botha.

Strategies

In black political circles, too, there have lately been hugely important shifts in attitudes towards a negotiated settlement of South Africa's central political problems.

Various organisations in the "mass democratic movement" — from the ANC to the United Democratic Front and the trade unions — have for weeks been discussing strategies for negotiation

Urged by foreign powers — East and West — to seek solutions through negotiation rather than through armed struggle, there has been intense debate to prepare a practical bargaining position.

It will be the central issue when Cosatu, the umbrella trade union body, holds its congress in Durban this week. Representatives from other organisations who are not restricted or in exile will be observers among the expected 2 000 delegates.

At the same time, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi disclosed in Ulundi on Friday that there had been a thaw in the long-standing iciness between his Inkatha movement and the ANC, UDF and Cosatu.

He revealed the existence of a document

□ To Page 2

NATAL PEACE TALKS GATHER MOMENTUM: Page 2

PW's meeting with Mandela

From Page 1

which, he said, could lead to a powerful new united force in South African politics.

It had been prepared for a meeting between himself and the presidents of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu.

The Sunday Times correspondent in Harare reported yesterday that Chief Buthelezi and ANC president Oliver Tambo are expected to meet in London later this month or early in August to discuss an end to the violence which has racked the Maritzburg area for months.

In his presidential address to Inkatha's national council, Chief Buthelezi said he could see future historians "tracing a whole new political era and the final collapse of apartheid" to the document.

If this week's meeting between Mr Botha and Mr Mandela leads to a pulling together of the threads now emerging from all the diverse shifts in South African politics, the Cape Town meeting could prove to be an event of truly historic importance.

One observer said yesterday that if further progress followed, it could be compared with the Camp David meeting between Mr Anwar Sadat and Mr Menachem Begin which led to the achievement of peace between Israel and Egypt.

After the latest meeting between white South Africans and the ANC in Lusaka, the choice grows narrower . . .

THINK or THUMP?





Brian Pottinger

reports on the meeting in Lusaka this week between white South Africans and a high-level ANC delegation



THE petite Zambian cashier at Lusaka's Intercontinental Hotel paused for a moment to survey the jostling crowd of white South Africans and ANC delegates in the foyer.

"Tell me," she asked, "have you buried the hatchet yet?"

The question, innocent as it was, symbolised much of the comment that surrounded the visit by South Africans to the ANC — a political Haj as the sceptics claimed

The 100 Five Freedoms Forum delegates who went to Lusaka last week to meet the ANC did not represent power and certainly did not go to negotiate They did, however, go to learn, exchange views and, where necessary, argue

One thing emerged very clearly after a weekend of endless debate: The ANC may be united, but it is being buffeted by changing influences and circumstances — just like the National Party. And, like F W de Klerk's men, they are having to respond to those challenges

Where does this pressure come from? Primarily, from two sources.

Recognition

Ironically, the first derives precisely from the ANC's own diplomatic successes. From 1985 onwards, as internal insurrection in South Africa mounted, the South African Government responded by attempting to isolate the ANC – militarily, socially and diplomatically

It did not work. In the absence of any credible reform movement under way within South Africa, and mindful of domestic political pressures, Western leaders like Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan reluctantly moved to a de facto recognition of the ANC.

Thus British Minister of State Linda Chalker met ANC leader Oliver Tambo in London in June 1986. In January the following year, US Secretary of State George Schultz did likewise.

But this new-found respect for the ANC posed its own problems. To continue holding the diplomatic high ground, it had to prove it was a reputable opposition-in-exile and not a bunch of wild bombers.

It was put to Mr Tambo most succinctly by George Schultz when he said he knew what the ANC was *against* but he needed to know what it was *for*

The result was much soul-searching in the ANC and eventually a guideline on constitutional and economic policies which has been extensively, if covertly, circulated in South Africa

Maintenance of this Mr Nice Guy image requires the ANC at least to appear conciliatory in public and to taper off its military actions — particularly random terrorism.

Dependent

But there is also pressure from another source. The Soviet Union — traditional backers of the ANC — have not ordered the ANC to halt its military campaigns, but Moscow has signalled, very clearly, that it would much prefer a political settlement

With its bases in Angola being relocated to Tanzania and Ethiopia, the ANC's "contribution" to peace in the region is more dependent than ever on Soviet support — and suasion.

These pressures manifested themselves in the Lusaka meeting in different ways. Among the significant shifts were A retreat from hard-line socialism; dropping of the demand for immediate transfer of power; proposals for a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution, a coy endorsement of the white component of the September 6 elections; committment to individual liberties and an acknowledgement of ethnic or cultural minority rights.

Cynics will insist this is all lip service and that once in power the ANC would quickly ditch its democratic pretensions.

It is right that we should be sceptical — one only has to look at our own ruling party to observe the gap between what politicians say and what they do. It is also true that the ANC showed its smiling face in Lusaka — the hard-eyed commanders of its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, were not present.

Factions

Yet — and this is crucial — once the ANC commits itself to public positions the debate can start. We all know that pieces of paper are worthless and that there will be peace in South Africa only when there is an equitable spread of balancing forces (military, economic and political) so that no one faction will gain more by breaking the covenant than it would be abiding by it. That would be the end of the negotiations.

The bump-and-push variety of negotiations are, in a sense, already under way between various communities and power brokers in our society — unions, business, the KwaZulu Natal Indaba, the SA Law Commission, between factions within the bureaucracies and tendencies within the ruling party.

Is there a possibility that the NP and ANC will soon begin negotiations?

Probably not. Although there are indications that some form of deal can be struck over the elements of a new society, real debate is being stymied by the passionate dispute on *means*.

The Government insists the ANC ends its violence before it can participate in negotiations. The ANC, conversely, believes the "armed struggle" is one of its best levers and does not intend cashing it in while political prisoners are still incarcerated, its organisation is banned and the security forces continue wielding virtually unlimited powers of detention It is a typical egg-and-the-chicken argument.

In the short term, the National Party cannot acknowledge the central political importance of the ANC because its white constituency — propagandised into a doctrinal opposition to the organisation — would not allow it.

Pressure

And, seen from Lusaka's point of view, the hard young men of the townships and the guerrilla camps would not meekly accept surrender of arms without some very concrete up-front gains first.

So where to now?

Both camps, whether they admit it or not, are under centripetal pressure For F W de Klerk it is from economic decay, international isolation and a rightwing which is partly fed by the failure of the National Party to deliver effective domestic reform. For Oliver Tambo it is pressure to maintain the diplomatic initiative and keep control of the younger, radicalised elements in South Africa's townships

A meeting of minds is thus not impossible The most we can hope for in the short term is that Mr De Klerk will regain political ascendancy on the question of relations with the ANC and not leave the running to the liturgically antagonistic police and the repetitive banalities of their Minister Mr Tambo, for his part, must keep his adventurers, putschists, bombers and assassins in check

That way the thinkers may at last get the better of the thumpers

July 9 1989

S/Times 9/7/89. (3044)

Kooky right's election pact has a fatal flaw

ATTEMPTS by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre Blanche to forge a rightwing front in opposition to the Conservative Party will falter on one crucial point.

There is a glut of chiefs trying to muscle in on the act, but not nearly enough Indians.

So, despite the beating of the rightwing tom-toms and the howling of battle cries, the alliance between the AWB, Mr Jaap Marais's HNP, Mr Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party and Professor Johan Schabort's Blanke Party is doomed to failure.

In the Pretoria city hall on Thursday night, a reconciled Mr Marais and Mr Terre Blanche called on the CP to join a broad front to challenge the Government in the coming elections.

□□□

Until recently there was much bad blood between the HNP and the AWB over the latter's paramilitary image and its policy of calling for the restoration of the old Boer republics. However, Dr Andries Treurnicht

By DRIES van HEERDEN

continues to rebuff the new overtures. The CP, he said, has embarked on its own strategy and its election machinery cannot be halted.

Recent trends in rightwing politics indicate that the final postscript will be written over the HNP on September 6 — 20 years and six election campaigns after its founding.

In the 1987 election it did play a spoiling role in preventing the CP from taking eight seats from the NP by splitting the rightwing vote in Parys, Sasolburg, Hercules, Lydenburg, Pretoria West, Rustenburg, Stilfontein and Wonderboom.

But it was only Mr Marais in Hercules and his then deputy, Mr Louis Stofberg in Sasolburg, who really made a substantial impression at the polls. For the rest, 1 800 votes were the maximum the HNP could muster.

Since 1987 the party has gone backwards. The result of the Schweizer-Renecke by-election last year showed the extent of the HNP's deterioration as a political force. In the heartland of the conservative platteland Mr Marais himself could only poll a meagre 414 votes.

The deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, has for many years been the most consistent opponent of any election pact with the HNP. The political realities now seem to have borne out his views.

□□□

In the inner circles of the CP, MPs like Dr Pieter Mulder of Schweizer-Renecke and Mr Koos van der Merwe of Overvaal have argued as strongly against the party's AWB connections.

They, too, seem to have won the argument in the light of the party's public refusal to accommodate Mr Terre Blanche's candidature in Rustenburg.

In the wake of the revelations about Mr Terre Blanche's personal indiscretions the AWB now seems to be left with only its curiosity value. In the last five months it has suffered two major breakaways which depleted almost the entire top structure of the movement.

The Boerestaat Party is even more of a political non-entity. Its founding congress was attended by fewer than 120 people and it seems to be little more than a vehicle for Mr Robert van Tonder's peculiar political ideas.

There is scant proof that the Blanke Party of Professor Johan Schabort is supported by more than his immediate family. The former RAU physics professor first founded the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging which was later restricted by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok for its extreme racist views.

For the CP, the decision to rid itself of its lunatic fringe will be a big bonus in the coming campaign. It now stands unchallenged on the right of the political spectrum and harbours strong hopes of capturing at least 50 seats on September 6.

Hoping for strength in unity . . .



GETTING IT TOGETHER? HNP leader Jaap Marais, AWB chief Eugene Terre Blanche and Boerestaat Party boss Robert van Tonder

[redacted]

'Trek mentality must be dropped in Carletonville'

CARRIE CURZON

AS election fever grips the nation, nowhere is the tension higher than among the white shopkeepers of Carletonville whose businesses have been knocked for six by the five-month old black consumer boycott.

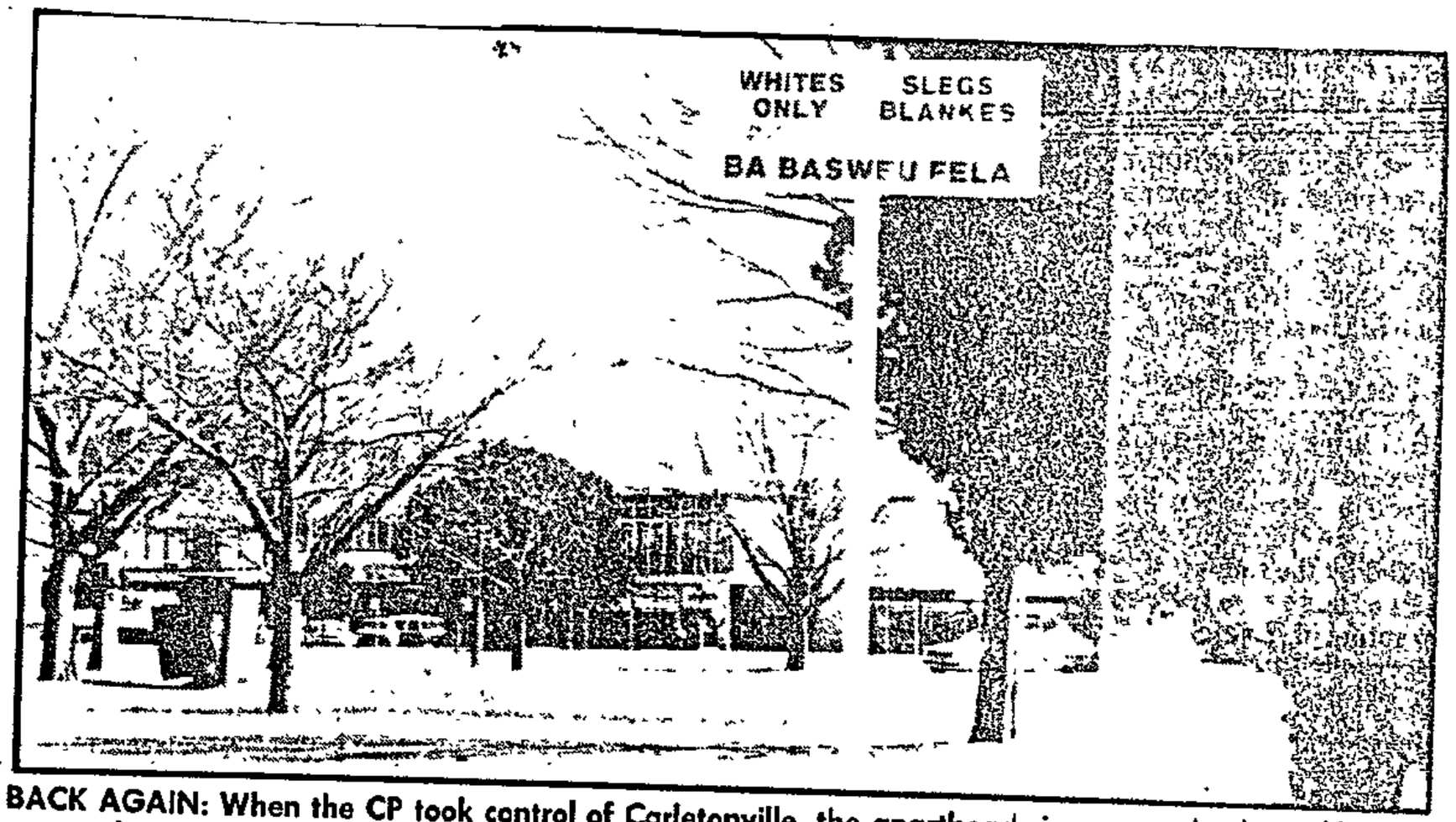
Whether the CP will maintain control of the town is a question of heated speculation — especially among traders who depend on black patronage. Although there has been some improvement in turnover in the past couple of months, there is a general feeling of insecurity.

"As long as those signs stay up, our businesses will never improve," said Mr Carlos Manazas, despondent proprietor of the "Good Luck" Cafe, pointing to the symbols of apartheid in the nearby park.

The buying power in this town which is populated by 200 000 blacks and only 40 000 whites speaks for itself, and yet in the centre of the shopping area is a green park where blacks are not allowed to set foot.

"Things are getting a little better, and I am now 50 percent better off than I was in February," said Mr Manazas who has run his cafe for two years and previously had a thriving business.

"Most of my trade is black and I have lost plenty of money.



BACK AGAIN: When the CP took control of Carletonville, the apartheid signs went back up, like this one at the town's park.

● Photograph: Carrie Curzon.

"The Carletonville Hotel and off-licence next door have also suffered, and I don't feel very optimistic for the future."

Although the black boycotts have bitten hard, they have not taken the toll they did in Boksburg and vice-chairman of the town's chamber of commerce, Mr Jannie Holtzhausen, explained why.

"Business went down 100 percent in February, and I know of at least one clothing shop that was forced to close. But since May things have improved and I think it's because our surrounding towns are so far away. Shoppers now have to go a long way to get their goods and this has made it difficult for the consumer. In the end they basically have no option but to shop here."

He said because of township intimidation blacks were buying small goods and doing most of their shopping in other towns or the townships.

"All of us have had a really hard time and things are still not going well here."

The town had lost a R15 million business complex which was earmarked for the city centre next to the black bus stops and taxi ranks.

The developer couldn't raise the money because of the boycotts and had to scrap the building plans."

Mr Holtzhausen has run the Flint liquor store in Halite Street for the past 15 years. He said, when the boycotts started in February, his turnover plummeted by 75 percent. "My turnover is still down 20 percent — I have only survived thanks to my white trade."

The most positive event in the town this week was the reopening of the Jazz Supermarket.

The store was forced to close three months ago when trade plunged from an average monthly turnover of R800 000 to a catastrophic R8 000.

"It was like a knife cutting through butter, and happened almost overnight," said Mr John Morganrood, operations director of Jazz.

"We have reopened because of public demand and managed to keep our staff on during closure on almost full pay.

"I think there are various reasons for the improvement now. People feel they have now expressed their dissatisfaction with the local CP government, they have also found they have had to pay more and travel further for their goods." Jazz reopening its doors should have a beneficial effect on the rest of the town, he said.

"We appeal to the people of Carletonville to show humane tendencies and open their facilities to everyone," added Mr Morganrood. "We are living after the Trek now."

(Report by C Curzon, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Suzman pleased by good ANC attitude

CP Correspondent

THERE was a far better attitude towards a negotiated settlement among the ANC than anticipated, veteran Democratic Party MP for Houghton, Helen Suzman, said after the Lusaka discussions.

"I have always said it is a question of not if, but when the government and the ANC will talk to each other."

Suzman, who is retiring after 36 years in Parliament, said she had criticised sanctions and rejected violence in the discussions.

"No one in the ANC was enthralled by these views but I did not encounter any hostility as a result."

On Zambian TV she said she was "absolutely" opposed to sanctions, adding that "they are totally counterproductive because, if successful, they would result in a ruined economy. There is no point in working to inherit a wasteland".

Asked about her views on violence, Suzman replied she was against violence by the government, the police or the ANC.

She said she had expressed the same views in the discussions with the ANC.

"There was a better attitude towards a negotiated settlement than I had anticipated but, of course, there has to be a truce on both sides.

"On the whole, the discussions were held at a high level. There was a good spirit and an interesting cross-section in both delegations.

"Contact and communication must be a plus factor in helping to create a climate in which negotiations can start," said Suzman.



Retiring veteran MP Helen Suzman wonders "when the peace talks will begin".

ANC violence not on, says DP candidate

CP Correspondent

THE ANC was "defensive" when tackled on the contradictions between its strategies of building a broad anti-apartheid alliance and using violence, said the Democratic Party candidate for Groote Schuur, Dene Smuts.

Like the National Party, the ANC was trying to build its power base and one of the ways it was trying to do this was by building an anti-apartheid coalition.

Smuts, the former editor of *Fair Lady* who resigned after she was told not to publish an interview with Dr Denis Worrall in 1987, said there was much to be admired in the charterist tradition.

"It is clear that politics and power is what makes the ANC tick but the point is worth making because it is all to easy in a situation as polarised as ours, where so many have suffered for their opposition to apartheid, to slip into unquestioned support for the most glamorous of our liberation movements.

"The only acceptable agenda is a truly democratic one like that of the DP – principles not partisanship.

"The ANC are politicians who, like any politicians, will try to get potential support on their own terms and according to their own agenda."

"At the same time, they continues with strategies like the armed struggle, which are clearly counter-productive," she said.

Candidates may use halls

3044

"Staff Reporter

The Johannesburg City Council has decided that parliamentary candidates nominated by any political party for the general election on September 6 will be allowed to hold meetings in Johannesburg's municipal recreation centres between the official nomination date and September 4. SW 10/7/85.

HIRING FEE

Candidates will be charged the normal hiring fee and would have to comply with other conditions laid down for the hire of recreation centre halls.

At the same time, however, the council has decided that recreation centre facilities should not be made available to trade unions for meetings or gatherings.

Opinion poll indicates a hung parliament possible

ARGUS 10/7/89 (30KA)

By PETER FABRICIUS of the Political Staff

THE latest opinion survey by the respected Mark en Menings Opnames poll has confirmed the possibility of a hung parliament, the Conservative Party claims.

ELECTION

The poll, published by Rapport yesterday, showed the CP and Democratic Party's combined support as a hefty 52,1 percent of the electorate — 11 percent more than the National Party with 41,2.

This is the first time that the NP has failed to command an overall majority of the electorate, according to the poll which was conducted in June. It has confirmed the trend already detected by commentators, of the National Party losing substantial support to both the CP and the Democratic Party.

Since the last poll in April, NP support dropped from 48,7 percent of the electorate to 41,1 percent, its lowest level since the polls were begun.

In the same period the DP climbed from 24,2 percent to 28,2 percent, substantially more than the constituent parties which formed the DP were ever able to command together.

This would put it well ahead of the CP and suggests it will dislodge the CP as the official Opposition.

The polls showed CP support growing from 18,6 to 23,9 percent.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Overvaal, said the poll had always underestimated CP support.

"But even so the most significant thing is that the poll confirms their will be a hung parliament.

"The poll shows that people are moving from the National Party to where they belong. The leftists are moving to the DP and the rightists to the CP."

However, Mr Con Botha, the NP's chief information officer, said that although the NP was not ignoring the message of the poll it was not "over-worried".

The poll had been done before the launch of the NP's new election campaign.

He disputed the hung parliament scenario and said a recent analysis of constituencies showed that 77 of the NP's seats, only seven short of an absolute majority, were held with such large majorities that it would need a swing of at least 15 percent to dislodge them.

The present poll showed a swing of only 7,5 percent, he said.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer said he was naturally delighted by the gain in DP support but was disturbed that the CP had also made gains.

"The reason the government is losing support to both sides is because of the economy, and the reason the economy is doing so badly is that NP policies have led to internal conflict and international isolation.

"Those people who are going to vote CP for economic reasons are going from the frying pan into the fire."

The poll shows the newly launched DP doing dramatically better than its predecessor the Progressive Federal Party did in the May 1987 general elections when it lost nine seats.

Its suport then was only 14,6 percent and the combined PFP/New Republic Party/independents' support was 17,5 percent.

This has now climbed nearly 11 percentage points to 28,2 percent.

(Report by Peter Fabricius, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Survey shows possibility of hung Parliament after polls

Star 10/7/89 SE 304A

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The latest opinion survey by the respected Mark en Menings Opnames group has confirmed the possibility of a hung Parliament, the Conservative Party claims.

The poll, published by *Rapport* newspaper yesterday, showed the CP and Democratic Party's combined support as a hefty 52,1 percent of the electorate — 11 percent more than the National Party with 41,2.

This is the first time that the NP has failed to command an overall majority of the electorate, according to the poll, which was conducted in June.

TREND

It has confirmed the trend already detected by commentators of the National Party losing substantial support to both the CP and the Democratic Party.

Since the last poll in April, NP support dropped from 48,7 percent of the electorate to 41,1 percent — its lowest level since the polls were begun.

In the same period the DP climbed from 24,2 percent to 28,2 percent — substantially more than the constituent parties which formed the DP were ever able to command together.

This would put it well ahead of the CP and suggests it will dislodge the CP as Official Opposition.

The polls showed CP suport growing from 18,6 to 23,9 percent.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Overvaal, said the poll had always underestimated CP support.

"But even so the most significatn thing is that the poll confirms there will be a hung Parliament.

"The poll shows that people are moving from the National Party to where they belong — the leftists are moving to the DP and the rightists to the CP."

However Mr Con Botha, the NP's chief information officer, said that though the NP was not ignoring the message of the poll it was not "over-worried".

The poll had been done before the launch of the NP's new election campaign.

He disputed the hung Parliament scenario and said that a recent analysis of constituencies showed that 77 of the NP's seats — only 7 short of an absolute majority — were held by such large majorities that it would need a swing of at least 15 percent to dislodge them.

The *Rapport* poll showed a swing of only 7,5 percent, he said.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said he was naturally delighted by the gain in DP support but was disturbed that the CP had made gains.

FRYING PAN

"The reason the government is losing support to both sides is because of the economy and the reason the economy is doing so badly is that NP policies have led to internal conflict and international isolation.

"Those people who are going to vote CP for economic reasons are going from the frying pan into the fire."

The polls shows the newly-launched DP doing dramatically better than its predecessor, the Progressive Federal Party, did in the May 1987 general elections, when it lost nine seats.

A step towards release, says Stoffel

B Day 10/7/89

Mandela talks raise peace hopes

304A

PRESIDENT P W Botha's meeting with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela was part of a process of preparing groundwork for future negotiations, Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday.

He said the meeting, which has drawn widespread positive reaction both locally and abroad, was another step in the direction towards the release of Mandela and a peaceful solution to SA's problems.

"This was not part of the negotiation process. It is part of an ongoing programme of preparing the groundwork for negotiations," Van der Merwe said.

The principle of Botha meeting Mandela was discussed and approved in Cabinet, but exact details were known only to a select few ministers, including NP leader F W de Klerk who was kept fully abreast of developments.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who was present at the historic meeting, said Mandela had confirmed his support for peaceful development in SA.

Asked whether this could be interpreted as a "commitment to peace", which the NP's five-year plan sets out as the only limitation on participation in negotiations, Coetsee said: "Nothing has happened which is not in line with the NP's five-year plan."

Botha and Mandela met at Tuynhuys on Wednesday for 45 minutes. Mandela was taken there from Victor Verster Prison.

"After a Tuynhuys spokesman initially

MIKE ROBERTSON

denied the meeting had taken place, Coetsee said in a statement on Saturday: "President Botha met Mr Mandela informally in Tuynhuys on July 5, when the latter paid a courtesy visit to the State President.

"No policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted.

"President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in SA.

"Their conversation took place in a pleasant spirit.

"The possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed."



● BOTHA

Van der Merwe agreed with Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who described the meeting as "one of the most important events of our time".

The Information Minister said it was highly significant that two leaders like Botha and Mandela could get together to talk about peace. Such a step could not have been foreseen even a year ago.

He found it highly encouraging that Coetsee could have issued a statement in which he said Mandela had confirmed his support for peaceful development.

Although it has been suggested that Mandela had discussed meeting Botha with the ANC, an ANC executive member in London said it had taken him completely by suprise. He was in constant communciation with Lusaka and no-one had mentioned the possibility of such a meeting.

The meeting comes at a time when the ANC is circulating a discussion document to its members and to extra-parliamentary groups in SA.

The document seeks to define the organisation's bottom line on negotiations. It asks what the aims of negotiations should be; what the preconditions should be; the nature of discussions; who should participate; the cessation of hostilities; the duration of negotiations; the role of the international community; and the formation of a transitional Government.

Both the ANC and British officials expressed suprise at the timing of the meeting, coming prior to an election. They were expecting NP leader F W de Klerk to take such a step after September 6.

But a senior Government source said it was intent on getting on with the process of negotiations and saw no reason why some steps should not be taken now.

The meeting, the source said, should be seen against the background of wider Southern African peace initiatives. "A spirit of peace rather than war is sweeping the sub-continent."

The source warned against reading too much into the meeting, especially the suggestion that this might be a precursor to Government entering into talks with the ANC.

□ To Page 2

JACK VIVIERS, the State President's spokesman, has again come under fire for attempting to mislead the media.

Viviers, who earlier this year denied President P W Botha was ill at a time when he had already been admitted to hospital, on Saturday told the Sunday Times that no meeting had taken place between Botha and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

DP media spokesman Dave Dalling said Vivier's comments to the Sunday Times were "inexplicable".

"What is clear is you can't believe information from officials in the State President's Office. It's a sad reflection on the way the country is run," Dalling said.

Peace hopes

304A

B Day 10/7/89. □ From Page 1

"The point is that Mr Mandela is a significant person and we would like to see all South Africans adopting a reasonable and constructive attitude towards peaceful negotiations. We are grateful for any step in that direction.

"We have been squaring up to a situation where we can do some talking, and this is totally in line with what we want."

Asked whether the meeting meant Mandela's release was now imminent, the source said: "This is another step in that direction, but it does not mean he will be released next week."

A British Embassy spokesman said the talks were a "good thing as far they go. It's a positive indication, but we have been working for Mr Mandela's release and everything else is of much lesser importance."

ADELE BALETA reports that West German Ambassador Immo Stabreit said yesterday the meeting could only be viewed as a positive step towards Mandela's release and a negotiated settlement in SA.

SUSAN RUSSELL reports that KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the meeting as "epoch-making"

He described the talks as one of Botha's last great gestures which would always be remembered by black South Africans.

"We are quite encouraged as a result of this meeting to conclude that the release of Dr Nelson Mandela is now only a question of time," Buthelezi said.

"All of us have every reason to be hopeful that a big thaw within South Africa itself has begun."

SAPA reports DP co-leader Denis Worrall as saying in London: "The fact that President Botha talks to Nelson Mandela, the leader of the ANC, makes it so much easier for us to justify to the (white) electorate the talks which we are having with the ANC."

TIM COHEN reports that DP justice spokesman Dave Dalling said the meeting was very encouraging and would contribute to the peace process.

CP spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis said yesterday the meeting was an attempt by Botha to neutralise the NP's whole campaign against the DP. "How can the NP now criticise the DP for meeting with the ANC if they are doing it themselves?" Derby-Lewis asked. "This is another example of P W Botha's revenge against the NP camp".

Star 10/7/87

Blueprint not easily grafted to SA

304A

Let the People Govern by Frances Kendall and Leon Louw (Amagi, R24,95).
Reviewed by JOHN PATTEN

The purpose of this book appears to be to stoke the fires of the cause Frances Kendall and Leon Louw have promoted with their very successful earlier work, **South Africa: The Solution.**

Their thinking has been strongly backed by the Groundswell movement and through the bestseller status achieved by **The Solution**, an unusual accolade for writings of that type, especially as there is keen competition in the field of ideas that might stimulate constructive reform away from apartheid.

This new work, which they claim is "not a sequel to **The Solution**", covers some of the same ground, but is deliberately more detailed. Its purpose appears to be both to answer criticisms made of **The Solution** and raised in meetings of Groundswell, and to seek new ways of persuading the South African public that the Swiss canton system can really represent a viable option as a model for constitutional problems at home.



Mr Chris Heunis ... frustrating route.

It also seeks to underline the advantages of maximising free market alternatives and of exposing weaknesses of central planning.

It will convince those who want to be convinced, but probably comes no nearer to articulating mainstream constitutional thinking of present times.

It has the advantage that, even if it is not accepted as the ultimate model, it could still have a strong catalytic effect through presenting many ideas and arguments that may be relevant even in a different constitutional plan.

Blueprint planning

What distinguishes the authors' approach is their continued espousal of blueprint constitutional plinning. It is an approach party politicians have been tending to move away from, because the more detail a blueprint provides, the more scope there appears to be for disagreement.

Politicians have thus tended to seek the route of widening and deepening dialogue without defining their own blueprints, with the idea of bringing all the major players together eventually into formal negotiations at which a future constitution can be thrashed out.

As retiring Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis has shown, the route of promoting dialogue in a divided society also has its very considerable frustrations.

In these circumstances the key section of the book must be "Getting from Here to There", and particularly the chapter on strategies for change.

The authors describe the present Government strategy as consisting of a "two-pronged approach of maintaining national securiy and repressing extra-parliamentary opposition while trying to persuade black leaders to participate in a pyramid of structures firmly controlled by the central state".

Same tactics

They see extra-parliamentary strategies as embracing the same tactics as militants adopt everywhere. They rely on social cohesiveness, cultural conformity and ideological solidarity, fearing upward mobility, because members of the middle class "tend to be more readily co-opted by the establishment".

Against this they see parliamentary opposition strategies both left and right of the Government as being to raise sufficient popular support to oust the Nationalist government through parliamentary means, so they can pursue their own programmes.

But the Groundswell strategy is to persuade people, who have believed society to be so divided that an accommodation had become impossible, that "the aspirations of the majority can be met without realising the worst fears of the minority, and that South Africans can live together in equality, justice, peace, freedom and prosperity".

The Groundswell idea is to bring about a peaceful revolution in the country, and the recommendations of the Spro-cas Commission of the 1970s are cited as examples of what has been achieved and of what still needs to be achieved.

It is an idealistic dream, temptingly reasonable. But it remains a fact that this blueprint is based on a system that is not homegrown, nor easily grafted.

MANDELA AND PW

The men who made history



Mr P W BOTHA . . . the outgoing but still powerful president.



MR NELSON MANDELA . . . the latest available picture of the ANC leader, taken in the 1960's.

South Africans 'stunned, surprised' at secret meeting

THE HISTORIC meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela, head of the African National Congress, and the State President Mr P W Botha, has stunned and surprised most South Africans.

The unexpected encounter at Tuynhuys between the outgoing but still powerful president and his jailed ANC foe of many years caught even top government figures completely off guard.

There was widespread and divergent reaction to the weekend announcement of Wednesday's meeting.

● In London a spokesman for Mrs Margaret Thatcher revealed that the British government had been kept informed about the meeting and "warmly welcomed" it.

● Whitehall Africa experts however shared the bewilderment of the ANC's representatives in Europe who said they had no advance warning of the meeting.

● Speaking on behalf of Mrs Winnie Mandela at a hastily convened press conference in Johannesburg, Rev Frank Chikane, with a silent Mrs Mandela sitting next to him, said a delegation would be sent to Mr Mandela shortly to discuss the meeting.

● Archbishop Desmond Tutu expressed his surprise and said a head of state had at long last heeded calls for negotiation.

● Kwazulu chief minister Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Ulundi that this was "one of the last great gestures for which Mr Botha will always be remembered by black South Africa"

Other reaction was more cynical.

Mr Botha's meeting with Mr Mandela had the markings of a "straight-foward stunt", Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said on his return from Harare last night.

Dr Slabbert said Mr Botha apeared to have arranged the meeting "to make it as difficult as possible for Mr F W de Klerk to run his own election campaign

"It's part of the sulking bull syndrome"

"Mr Botha really knew what negotiation politics was about he would not go about this in this way he said.

Dr Slabbert said Mr Botha, by his meeting had removed the NP's most important attack against the Democratic Party — "that is is soft on security"

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, who was present at the historic meeting, said Mr Mandela had confirmed his support for peaceful development in South Africa.

Asked whether this could be interpreted as a "commitment to peace", which the NP 5-year plan sets out as the only limitation on partcipation in negotiations, Mr Coetsee said "Nothing has happened which is not in line with the NP's 5-year plan."

'No policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted," he said

"President Botha and Mr Mandela however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa

"Their conversation took place in a pleasant spirit.

"The possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed"

The dramatic meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and President Botha last week would have the effect of "spiking the National Party's guns" in the coming election campaign, political scientists and opposition parties agreed yesterday

Most non-Nationalists canvassed were also convinced that the encounter was a 'P W Botha initiative" rather than a co-ordinated government venture and that it was staged by the outgoing president to "upstage' new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk

Professor David Welsh head of Southern African studies at UCT's political science department said yesterday "This meeting amounts to an extraordinary acknowledgement of Mr Mandela's and hence the ANC's signficance as players in the SA situation

"It probably will torpedo whatever thoughts the NP may have had in exploiting the ANC bogey in the election

"Symbolically, the meeting acknowleges that the government should be talking to the ANC

Professor Welsh said Mr De Klerk's 'clenched jaw" response to the meeting would indicate that the meeting was a "P W move, possibly with an element of malice, designed to grab headlines for P W in what is supposed to be the F W era."

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said his party saw the meeting as "a very positive development and I hope it will continue".

He found the commitment of both leaders to "the peaceful development in South Africa" highly significant as it "demonstrates the need for going towards the future without any preconditions".

"We trust that both Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Oliver Tambo have taken note of the development and that it will make a contribution towards the opening of talks

"We welcome the meeting as an important step towards returning rationality to the political scene."

Mr Malan said in future it would be more difficult for the NP to frighten voters with the ANC. "Surely the State President cannot be accused of being soft on security?"

Mr Malan said he had "no doubt" that the meeting was part of Mr Botha's "own programme" and was not part of a campaign being directed by the NP itself. "P W Botha is totally isolated from the party"

Conservative Party spokesman on justice, Mr Tom Langley, said: "I am absolutely astounded that on the eve of the election Mr Botha has given Mr Mandela the red carpet treatment at Tuynhuys"

He predicted the meeting would have 'a very strong effect" on white voters

"It makes nonsense of the government's stand against the ANC and stories about a total onslaught," he said

Mr Langley said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha s assertion the "courtesy call" took place without foreign pressure was misleading.

"Mr F W de Klerk must tell the country whether this was done with the NP's approval or whether this was a P W Botha initiative," he said

A British Embassy spokesman said the talks were a "good thing as far they go It's a positive indication, but we have been working for Mr Mandela's release and everything else is of much lesser importance"

The embassy, he said, had no know . a out the meeting in advance.

British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick left for London yesterday where he is likely to brief Mrs Margaret Thatcher on the latest developments.

Kwazulu's Chief Minister and President of Inkatha, Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, described the meeting as "epoch-making".

— Political Correspondent, London Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter and AP

Scare over equine herpes virus

Staff Reporter

AN EQUINE herpes virus, which could cause mares to abort at a rate of 100% "in a susceptible situation", and also causes paralysis and death in pregnant mares, has infiltrated Cape stud farms.

"A number of mares can die of this condition and the Stud Health Committee of the Equine Practioners Group has asked for a voluntary temporary quarantine of movement of any horses onto any studs countrywide," the national chairman of the committee, Dr Chris Marlow, said yesterday.

The virus, rhinopneumonitis, caused paralysis and abortions among pregnant mares on a stud in the Northen Cape.

Dr Marlow said a number of horses were sold in Maritzburg two weeks ago, and four of these originated from this stud

The breeders were unaware that the horses were suffering from this condition as it was only diagnosed on Friday The committee then asked transport companies not to deliver horses to studs and they were taken to the Cape Showgrounds at Goodwood

Equine flu cost Western Cape racing at least R20 million two years ago

INSIDE

Cloudy and cold — PAGE 2

Flight delay
Passengers on a flight between Harare and Durban were told President Robert Mugabe had been responsible for them taking off two hours late. — PAGE 2

UK missile
South Africa wanted the British Starstreak missile "at any cost", an arms dealer at the centre of the scandal said at the weekend — PAGE 3

Opinion poll
There was a dramatic drop in support for the NP between April and June, according to a new opinion poll — PAGE 5

Apology
Swapo leader Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab yesterday apologised to former Swapo detainees released from Angolan camps where they claimed they had been tortured — PAGE 7

INDEX

At Your Service	8
Births, etc	10
Business	9
Crossword	6
Focus	4
Target	6

Historic Mandela-PW meeting lifts hopes for peaceful change

11A 304A Star 10/7/89.

A step closer to freedom



Nelson Mandela, a photograph from a Department of Information booklet 'Talking with the ANC', published in June 1986

Nelson Mandela's dramatic meeting with President Botha in 'Tuynhuys has brought the jailed ANC leader a step closer to freedom, the Government said last night.

Both Mandela and Mr Botha have confirmed their support for peaceful development in South Africa, and this was a "step in the right direction", Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information, said.

However, he said that the statement was a "bit too cryptic" to qualify as a commitment to peace, which is what the Government is now requiring from political prisoners as a precondition for release.

This has replaced the previous insistence that such prisoners should renounce violence as a condition of securing release.

Complicated

"I wouldn't go as far as saying that the way has been opened for his release. A commitment to peace is a bit more complicated than that," Dr van der Merwe said.

"But it's definitely a step in the right direction, and as such it is defintely very helpful."

Britain has welcomed the meeting, describing it as "a very positive step".

Spokesmen at the Foreign Office and No 10 Downing Street said yesterday that Britain had been informed of the meeting, but neither would speculate on what it might lead to.



Facing the media . . . the Rev Frank Chikane (front) addresses members of the media at a conference held at Mrs Winnie Mandela's Soweto home yesterday afternoon. Behind him is Mrs Mandela with community leaders (from left) Mr Tsietsi Maleho, Mr Isaac Mogase, Mr Dali Mpofu, Mrs Lilly Mphuthi and Mrs Story Murutoa.

© Picture by Alf Kumalo.

The meeting was major news in radio and television bulletins yesterday and was given front-page prominence in some newspapers, with commentators speculating that Mandela's release might be imminent.

a commitment which he and the organisation he heads have to negotiation I think that one has to say there was more, in a sense, to be gained than lost (from the meeting)," Archbishop Tutu said

distance himself from Mr Botha's meeting if it becomes a political liability," he writes.

The London *Sunday Times* notes that in some South African circles, Mr Botha's meetin with Mandela is

The meeting was hailed by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha as "probably one of the most important political developments of our time".

Mr Coetsee stressed that "no policy matters were debated and

REDISCOVE

ment in South Africa, and this was a "step in the right direction", Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information, said.

However, he said that the statement was a "bit too cryptic" to qualify as a commitment to peace, which is what the Government is now requiring from political prisoners as a precondition for release.

This has replaced the previous insistence that such prisoners should renounce violence as a condition of securing release.

Complicated

"I wouldn't go as far as saying that the way has been opened for his release. A commitment to peace is a bit more complicated than that," Dr van der Merwe said.

"But it's definitely a step in the right direction, and as such it is defintely very helpful."

Britain has welcomed the meeting, describing it as "a very positive step".

Spokesmen at the Foreign Office and No 10 Downing Street said yesterday that Britain had been informed of the meeting, but neither would speculate on what it might lead to.



Facing the media . . . the Rev Frank Chikane (front) addresses members of the media at a conference held at Mrs Winnie Mandela's Soweto home yesterday afternoon. Behind him is Mrs Mandela with community leaders (from left) Mr Tsietsi Maleho, Mr Isaac Mogase, Mr Dali Mpofu, Mrs Lilly Mphuthi and Mrs Story Murutoa. ● Picture by Alf Kumalo.

The meeting was major news in radio and television bulletins yesterday and was given front-page prominence in some newspapers, with commentators speculating that Mandela's release might be imminent.

The Rev Frank Chikane yesterday poured cold water on the meeting, but Archbishop Desmond Tutu found the development encouraging.

Mr Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said the meeting was "merely a ploy by the ruling minority to sow confusion in our minds and the minds of the outside world".

Issuing a statement at Mrs Winnie Mandela's Soweto home "on behalf of the community leaders", Mr Chikane said: "It is pure mischief to pretend that Mr Nelson Mandela can have talks of any significant effect without access to his people."

In Cape Town, Archbishop Tutu described the event as "the outgoing President meeting someone who is going to succeed him in Tuynhuys".

"I am surprised, although we have been calling for people to meet. I think that Mr Mandela demonstrated a commitment which he and the organisation he heads have to negotiation. I think that one has to say there was more, in a sense, to be gained than lost (from the meeting)," Archbishop Tutu said.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said that it was likely Mandela would be released soon after the election. He made the observation in Ulundi, Zululand, in his farewell address to delegates to an Inkatha conference.

Tread carefully

However, the Government had to tread carefully as it had to take into account the far-right wing.

US government officials, welcoming news reports of the talks, described the meeting as "significant".

A commentator in *The Observer*, London, while seeing the meeting as "an historic step", notes that it placed the Government at a minimum of political risk.

"The relationship between Mr Botha and the new leader of the National Party, Mr Frederik de Klerk, is known to be tense and in the coming election campaign Mr de Klerk can distance himself from Mr Botha's meeting if it becomes a political liability," he writes.

The London *Sunday Times* notes that in some South African circles, Mr Botha's meeting with Mandela is seen as an attempt to "steal Mr de Klerk's thunder over Mr Mandela's release". In others, it is believed to be a carefully contrived attempt by the National Party to "demystify" Mandela in the eyes of many whites.

News of the State President's meeting was given extensive coverage in the US media with the *New York Times*, among other newspapers, publishing the event on the front page and devoting considerable space to the story in its inside pages.

Dr van der Merwe denied the meeting was a "rogue act" by President Botha in defiance of the National Party as has been speculated.

He pointed out that the meeting had been arranged through the mediation of Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, who had also attended the meeting.

Mr de Klerk has said that he was fully informed of the developments.

The meeting was hailed by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha as "probably one of the most important political developments of our time".

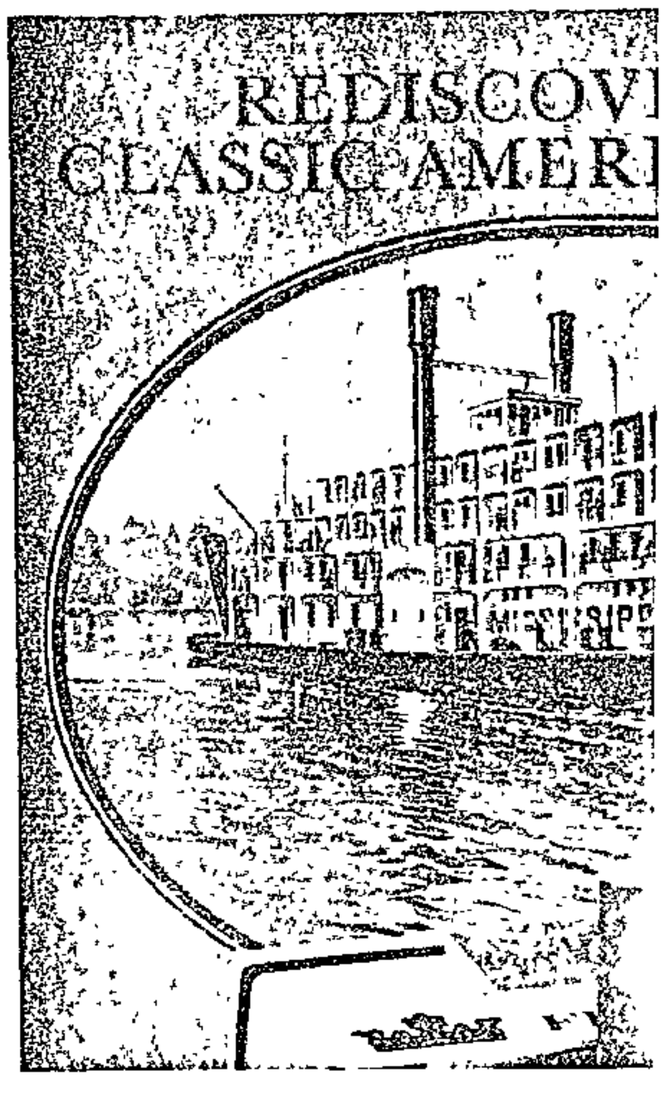
Mr Coetsee stressed that "no policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted".

"President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa. Their conversation took place in a pleasant spirit."

'Pointing fingers'

Dr van der Merwe said the meeting was part of an "on-going process, some parts of which are more visible than others. There's a lot of talking and to-ing and fro-ing going on".

Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative Party spokesman, said the fact that the President himself had spoken to the leader of the ANC meant the Government could no longer make political capital by pointing fingers at the DP for talking to the ANC. — Political Correspondent-The Star's Foreign News Service-Staff Reporter-Own Correspondent-Sapa.



AN African National Congress document secretly circulating in the country is canvassing support for a change of position on negotiations with the Government.

The document goes so far as to suggest the formation of a constituent assembly with the power to draw up a new constitution.

Emphasising a need for urgency, the ANC says detailed plans for the negotiation initiative would have to be formulated before the Organisation of African Unity summit later this month.

The review of the ANC's position on negotiations is based on consultations with, among others, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The document is a reaction to a strategy by National Party leader FW de Klerk and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who, according to the organisation, are trying to exclude the ANC from any internal settlement.

The move towards negotiations is in contrast with the ANC's position in 1987 when it refused to consider the question unless certain preconditions were met.

However, the ANC believes there are "clear signs" the Government will take "positive steps" towards negotiations and meet the 1987 preconditions if international and local pressure is stepped up.

The document suggests that the demand for the suspension of violence and how the ANC will respond to calls for this in the context of a negotiated settlement, have to be considered.

Although still in the embryonic stage, the document emphasises an urgent need "to act swiftly."

The ANC, in explaining its change of attitude to negotiation, is expecting:

- The emergency to be lifted;
- The ANC leader, Walter Sisulu, to be released before the elections;
- Nelson Mandela and other high-profile political prisoners to be released after the elections;
- Legislation to be passed allowing blacks in Parliament — and a black might even be brought into the Cabinet;
- De Klerk to invite all South Africans to an "open-ended indaba to negotiate a new dispensation", in an attempt to exclude the ANC;
- Thatcher to announce a contact group, consisting of representatives of the major Western powers and including some of the ANC's close friends, to visit South Africa.



F W de Klerk . . . open-ended indaba.



Margaret Thatcher . . . to announce political settlements.

ANC SHIFT ON TALKS WITH GOVT

FOCUS

Sowetan 20/7/89

SOWETAN Correspondent

Other factors influencing the need for negotiations are:

- Indications from the Soviet Union that it is prepared to work for a peaceful settlement with the West;
- The Chinese view of accepting modification of the political system as a starting point;
- Indications that large amounts of aid will be given to frontline state to rebuild their economies should the South African issue be resolved.

At the Commonwealth Summit in Malaysia late in October, Thatcher will announce a process of political settlement and call for a halt to sanctions. "This would put pressure on the ANC to become involved in this process and to stop the armed struggle."

The document says: "FW is working on a proposal to have negotiations without the ANC. He is planning some kind of 'representative forum' of all race groups, which is likely to be set up quite soon.

"With the establishment of this forum, it is anticipated that Thatcher will move to give South Africa access to the world. Her campaign against sanctions will take on a new intensity", says the document.

Walter Sisulu will be released before the election and Nelson Mandela after the election on September 6.

Surrender

"We need to formulate a concept which does not surrender our political strategy to take power and which does not reject any political settlement," the document says.

Another idea related to the constituent assembly is the suspension of Parliament and the formation of an interim government. "This would need detailed elaboration and could be part of a negotiation proposal."

Common

The document says these issues need to be discussed inside and outside the country to reach a common approach.

"Our position should become an all-African one. This is crucial to our ability to influence the rest of the world. The frontline states have a crucial role in this," the document says.



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.

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

- Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

(304A

Popularity of the Nats at 'all-time low' — poll

Political Correspondent

THE combined support enjoyed by white opposition parties is now considerably larger than the backing the ruling National Party can muster, according to the latest nation-wide opinion poll.

There was a dramatic swing away from National Party between April and June, with support dropping from 48,7% to 41,1%, the lowest level ever measured for the ruling party, by the opinion poll published by Rapport newspaper.

For the first time, the DP and the CP together had more support from white voters than the ruling National Party, according to the poll conducted country-wide in June by Mark and Opinion Surveys (Pty) Ltd.

In a front-page report yesterday, Rapport said there had been a meaningful swing of support away from the NP to the CP and the DP in the past three months.

The latest poll shows that the NP has lost supporters during the past month both to the Conservative Party on the right and the Democratic Party on the left. Both parties said yesterday that a hung Parliament — in which no party enjoyed an outright majority — was a real possibility.

Support base

The support base for the DP has grown from 24,2% in April to 28,2% in June, with the CP jumping from 18,6% to 23,9%.

The HNP's support has further dwindled from 1,5% to 1,1%, while the percentage of whites who don't want to vote has dropped from 7,0% to 5,6%, according to the poll.

This means that while the NP was six points ahead of the combined DP/CP opposition in April (48,7% to 42,8%), by June the combined opposition led by 11 points (52,1% to 41,1%).

CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe said the opinion poll showed that a hung Parliament was a likely scenario after the September 6 election.

He predicted the CP would win between 60 and 70 seats in the election.

The acting chairman of the DP board, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said the latest poll results were "a clear indication that a hung Parliament is very realistic indeed".

"There is a kind of 'fed-up' feeling among South Africa's people that I've not experienced in my political career before."

"The consequences of misrule, apartheid and unworkable policies have taken their toll."

The latest survey found that NP support had dropped to its lowest level and 41,1% of the June respondents said they would vote for the NP as opposed to 48,7 in April. The previous lowest point was 43% when the NP split in 1982.

(News by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, 8001)

MANDELA MEETING ROW



PRESIDENT BOTHA



The Reverend Frank Chikane, right, addressing yesterday's Press conference at Mandela's home. With him are (from left) Mr Tsietsi Maleho, Mr Isaac Mogase, Mr Dali Mpofu, and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

'Talks with P W Botha political mischief'

Sowetan 10/7/89

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

MRS Winnie Mandela and her family have dismissed the talks between her husband, Nelson, and President P W Botha as "political mischief" by the Government.

The jailed ANC leader met Botha last Wednesday at Tuynhuys, the president's official residence in Cape Town.

It was reportedly their first face-to-face encounter and the meeting lasted 45 minutes.

The Reverend Frank Chikane, general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, told a Press conference held at Winnie Mandela's home yesterday that Mandela's family "knew nothing about the meeting."

He also said Winnie would soon be visiting her husband and the meeting would be among some of the things the couple would discuss.

Chikane said: "Last Wednesday's meeting was a ploy to confuse the masses. We do not know why the meeting was called and under what conditions.

Meanwhile, KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, welcomed the talks between Botha and Mandela.

He said: "This is

● To Page 2

The *Sowetan* apologises for not carrying the top street seller competition entry form on Friday. We will extend the competition by a week.

REPORTS, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

Sowetan 10/7/89

Row over Mandela meeting

● From Page 1

certainly one of the last great gestures for which Botha will always be remembered by black people in South Africa."

Sapa reports that Britain has welcomed the talks describing them as "a very positive step." Spokesmen at both the foreign office and No. 10 Downing Street, said Britain had been informed about the meeting but neither would speculate on what it might lead to.

Chikane told foreign and local journalists the Government was taking advantage of Mandela's status as a prisoner. He also said it was wrong for Botha to hold talks with Mandela while he was being refused permission to consult with the masses before holding such a meeting.

CARRERAS OF PICCADILLY
A TRADITION OF DISTINCTIVE QUALITY
Craven "A" cigarettes are made in Europe, Ni

Poovalingam ousted after attack on DP

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Pat Poovalingam, MP for Reservoir Hills and the most senior member of the House of Delegates for the Democratic Party, has been expelled from the party.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, acting chairman of the DP's national board, said yesterday that the decision had been taken because of "completely unfounded" allegations Mr Poovalingam had made during the past week against both the party itself, and specially against two of its leaders, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

Mr Van der Merwe said that Mr Poovalingam had made no apology or retraction by Friday afternoon, when they had decided to implement their decision. Mr Poovalingam was not available for comment yesterday.

The national board met in the city on Saturday to finalise their position after Mr Van der Merwe and Mr J Walsh, the DP's chief executive, spent Thursday and Friday in Durban with the Natal coastal regional committee to discuss the issue.

The meetings were called after a row on July 1 when Mr Poovalingam slammed as "racist" the national executive's decision to limit the party's participation in the House of Delegates.

At the time Mr Poovalingam said he would be joined by fellow DP MP Mr Mahmoud Rajab in forming a new non-racial Democratic Party.

Mr Poovalingam accused Dr Worrall and Mr Malan of giving in to the demands of the ANC "for reasons of political opportunism and expediency".

"The national board has decided to terminate Mr Poovalingam's membership of the DP," Mr Van der Merwe said.

(News by Patrick Leeman, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban, 4001)

New poll shows Nats are losing support

B1 Dag 10/7/87

ADELE BALETA

FOR the first time, the DP and the CP together had more support from white voters than the ruling National Party, according to a Rapport newspaper poll conducted countrywide in June by Mark and Opinion Surveys (Pty) Ltd.

In a front-page report yesterday the weekly newspaper said there had been a meaningful swing of support away from the NP to the CP on one hand and the DP on the other in the past three months.

NP support in April was 48,7% compared with 42,8% for the DP and CP together. The June figure for the NP dropped to 41,1%, as opposed to the DP and CP's total figure of 52,1%.

Rapport said the figure of 41,1% was the lowest ever recorded for the NP in a Rapport poll.

The DP received the strongest boost of support rising from 24,2% (April) to 28,2% (June), while CP support climbed from 18,6% to 23,9%.

The DP figure was significantly higher than the collective support ever achieved by the party's three predecessors (the PFP, the IP and the National Democratic Movement).

Opposition to the left of the NP was now stronger than to the right of the party — 28,4% on the left and 24,9% on the right (CP and HNP).

In June 1982, the figure was 16,9% on the left (PFP and NRP) against 27,3% on the right.

Rapport said that while both oppostion groups won support away from the NP in practice, support for the ruling party could be more favourable on election day.

The unveiling of the NP's Action Plan after the poll was conducted could have

☐ To Page 2

Poll

B1 Dag 10/7/87

☐ From Page 1

influenced the results and could have an effect on how the NP will do in September, Rapport said.

People who voted for the NP in 1987 and who intended voting for the DP in the September 6 election said the NP's reform policy was too slow.

Those that switched to the CP believed NP policy would lead to the weakening and downfall of white power.

About 55% of those polled believed the three-man leadership of the DP would cost the party votes.

A quarter dismissed the statement, while 13% felt that the opposite was true.

FW will meet Bush this month

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — A half-hour Oval Office meeting between NP leader F W de Klerk and US President George Bush has been set up for July 25 or 26, according to US officials.

At the same time, an invitation is being extended to the DP to see Bush before the September 6 elections.

The final decision on whether De Klerk would see Bush was taken on Friday — before President P W Botha's meeting with Nelson Mandela was known here.

Opponents of the White House meeting relented only after it was agreed that the DP should receive the same treatment.

Even though De Klerk will be in Washington for less than a day and a half, the administration is particularly anxious that he meet a broad array of congressional leaders, as well as Bush and Baker.

That Tuynhuys tete-a-tete: statesmanship or sour grapes?

Were last week's Mandela-Botha talks part of the Government's phased freeing of the world's best-known political prisoner — or the President's last-ditch attempt to go out in a blaze of publicity, asks PATRICK LAURENCE.

The historic meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela is like a political kaleidoscope, portraying different political configurations and contrasting interpretations with each twist and turn of events.

But three central and competing assessments can be identified since news of the 45-minute face-to-face meeting, held at Mr Botha's Tuynhuys office in Wednesday, broke at the weekend.

Briefly, they are that the meeting was:

- A Government ploy to confuse the outside world and Mr Mandela's many admirers within South Africa.
- Part of an ongoing Government plan for the phased release of Mr Mandela.
- The action of an embittered Mr Botha, seeking to regain the limelight even at the cost of embarrassing Mr F W de Klerk, who succeeded him as leader of the ruling National Party.

The first of these constructions was manifest in a statement released by Mrs Winnie Mandela and Soweto community leaders on Sunday night.

... It noted that Mr Mandela was a prisoner and that, therefore, "whatever meeting might have taken place did so in the context of a prisoner and his captors".

No jailed leader, the statement added, could talk meaningfully to Mr Botha without freedom to confer with his comrades in the extra-parliamentary opposition and his supporters in the community.

That presupposed Mr Mandela's release, the return to freedom of his comrades in jail, the repeal of the decree outlawing the African National Congress, the return of exiles from abroad and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The statement corresponds closely with one smuggled from prison by Mr Mandela in February 1985 in response to Mr Botha's offer to free him then if he renounced violence.

At the time Mr Mandela said: "Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts." He refused to renounce "armed struggle", saying that the ANC had turned to that option only when its choice was to surrender.

Then came Mr Mandela's counter-demands: "Let him (Mr Botha) renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled ..."

The second explanation for the talks was offered by Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe. He presented it as another step towards Mr Mandela's release, saying: "It is part of the ongoing programme of preparing the groundwork for negotiations."

Speaking on condition of anonymity, a Government source elaborated in an interview with The Star.

He recalled that Mr Botha had presided over earlier stages in Mr Mandela's phased release, citing the ANC leader's transfer in August last year from Pollsmoor Prison to a private clinic in Cape Town and later to a bungalow in the grounds of the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

He concluded that Mr Botha had now taken the process a step further by meeting the man who was first jailed in 1962 when Mr Botha was still a junior Minister in Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's Cabinet and whose political stature grew as Mr Botha himself rose to the pinnacle of power.

The third exegesis of the talks presented them as the maverick action of an embittered leader on the eve of his forced retirement, rather than the considered action of the Government as a whole.

As the respected Afrikaner intellectual, Professor Hermann Giliomee, put it: "For the past three months there have been constant rumours that Mr Botha wants to do something big. I smell his embitterment. He wants to show them he is not dead."

Mr Botha relinquished his position as leader of the National Party in February after suffering a "mild stroke" in January. But when he did so, he made it clear that, having shed his party political persona, he wanted to play a unifying and reconciling role as President.

The NP, however, was strongly opposed to a division of power between the presidency and party leadership. It mounted a rebellion against the frequently irascible Mr Botha, forcing him, in a gentlemanly but ineluctable manner, to call an early general election and go into early retirement.

Mr Botha's bitterness surfaced publicly late last month when, to the embarrassment of the NP, he refused to attend a farewell banquet organised for him.

Mr Botha's meeting with Mr Mandela appears to have embarrassed the NP not so much because it took place but because of its timing.

It occurred in the midst of a general election campaign in which the National Party, fearful, as ever, of the Conservative Party, is anxious not to appear as though it is buckling under pressure to release Mr Mandela.

The reluctant admission — in the face of leaks to the press — by Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee that the Botha-Mandela talks took place, was extremely cautious. It reflected embarrassment.

It spoke of Mr Mandela paying a "courtesy visit" to Mr Botha without clarifying how a prisoner pays a "courtesy visit" to a head of state unless he is invited to do so. It stressed that "policy matters" were not discussed nor were negotiations conducted.

But, according to a well-placed observer, Mr de Klerk has his own plan to speed up the phased, incremental release of political prisoners: he will move into action after the September 6 election, freeing two veteran political prisoners — Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Oscar Mpetha, both in their late seventies — to set the scene for the final unfettering of Mr Mandela.

Controversy within the DP as it names Geduld candidate

B (Day (((7/89 EDYTH BULBRING 3048

THE DP is to contest deputy Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer's Geduld constituency, although some former PFP members fear the seat will fall into CP hands.

The DP Eastern Transvaal region last night named transport consultant Chris Pinto as its candidate.

De Beer, a leading verligte, won Geduld by 1 729 votes in 1987. The PFP did not oppose him then.

CP and NP officials estimate DP support in the constituency at more than 2 000 votes. If correct, this could result in De Beer losing.

His CP opponent, former Johannesburg city valuation department director Dawie Maree, is alleged to have had links with the AWB.

Former PFP MPs opposed the DP's move in Geduld, saying the party would serve no good if it caused the seat to fall into the hands of the CP.

However, DP Eastern Transvaal spokesman Mike Willemse said last night that the regional executive had decided to put up as many candidates as possible where there was a demand.

Accountant Pieter van Pletzen would contest the Modderfontein seat against Defence Minister Magnus Malan,Willemse said. Van Pletzen won the nomination contest against tax economist Nick Nel.

SAPA reports that consultant Darryl Moss will stand for the DP in Verwoerdburg, while attorneys Gavin Weiman and Elmari Nielsen will stand in Koedoespoort and Pretoria Central respectively.

Possibility of a hung Parliament looms

B | Day 11 | 7184

Marked swing to CP — 30% poll

MIKE ROBERTSON

THE most significant feature of the latest Mark-en-Meningsopnames poll of support for white political parties was the marked swing to the CP, Wits Centre for Policy Studies director Prof Lawrence Schlemmer said yesterday.

The poll showed that since April, support for the CP had grown 5,3 percentage points to 23,9%. NP support dropped 7,6 percentage points to 41,1%, while DP support rose 4 percentage points to 28,2%.

CP support amongst Afrikaans-speaking people rose 6,7 percentage points to 33,7%, while the DP attracted English speakers away from the NP.

Its support amongst this group rose sharply from 55,1% to 64%. DP support amongst Afrikaans speakers remained limited at 7,8%.

Schlemmer said that as the poll was always conducted among the same panel of people, it was possible to establish that specific people were shifting political allegiances. A 5,3% shift to the CP in such a short space of time was statistically very meaningful, he said.

"It shows that a pretty significant shift is taking place, both to the CP and DP, but the shift to the right is bigger."

Schlemmer said that polling the views of right-wing voters was traditionally very difficult in SA, and it was likely that actual voter support for the CP would be much higher than the 23,9% indicated in the poll.

The reason for this was that the percentage poll in a general election was likely to be less than 80%, and the people least likely to vote would be those in the middle of the political spectrum.

CP supporters on the right of the spectrum and DP supporters on the left of the spectrum were the people most likely to vote.

Because the DP was unlikely to put up candidates in all seats, it was unlikely that its support at the polls would vary much from that indicated by the poll.

Schlemmer said that even if the DP received the same percentage of support as the CP in the election, it would win far fewer seats as its support was concentrated in high density middle-class constituencies, while the CP's was more evenly spread.

This was particularly true of the Transvaal, where the CP could expect to make major gains.

Potchefstroom Mathematics professor and political analyst Dirk Laurie said the poll confirmed to him that the NP was losing support both to the left and the right. He also pointed out that the poll traditionally underestimated CP support.

CP information spokesman Koos van der Merwe said the poll confirmed the party's initial canvass results, which pointed to a hung Parliament.

He said that prior to the last election, the poll had underestimated CP support by almost half.

He predicted that the CP would win up to 47 seats in the Transvaal and as many as 60 countrywide.

DP national organiser Neil Ross said his party had expected the poll to show improved support for it, but not as much as four points.

He said the DP was not just confident of picking up marginal seats like Hillbrow and Edenvale, but even safe NP seats like Johannesburg West, Stellenbosch and Bezuidenhout.

Although support amongst Afrikaans-speaking voters was only 8%, Ross said it was concentrated amongst people in the 18-24 age group, who tended to live in the kind of constituency where the DP stood its best chances of winning seats from the NP.



● SCHLEMMER



● ROSS

Talks symbolic recognition — US

Star 11/7/89

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States government has welcomed the historic meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela, saying it hopes the get-together brings closer the day when all political prisoners in South Africa will be free to take part in the resolution of the country's daunting problems.

A spokesman for the State Department described the meeting between the two South African leaders as symbolic recognition by the South African Government of the important role Mr Mandela and other black leaders had to play in the search for a peaceful negotiated solution to the country's problems.

The spokesman said: "We hope the South African Government will take steps to create a climate in which such negotiations can take place."

The spokesman said these would include:

- The release of Mr Mandela and all political prisoners.
- The unbanning of political organisations.
- The lifting of restrictions on other political leaders.

"We continue to urge the South African Government to release Mr Mandela.

"We are hopeful that the meeting last week brings us closer to the day when Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa are free to participate freely in the resolution of their country's daunting problems."

- The United Democratic Front delegation in Washington has told America no significance should be attached to the meeting.

INTERNAL FEUDING

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said in a statement from his Washington hotel that the delegation had discussed the meeting and it concluded no significance could be attached to it in the absence of a clearly stated position from the National Party as to its intentions.

It appeared the meeting was very much to do with the internal feuding in the National Party, particularly the tensions between Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha, Mr Cachalia said.

De Beer hails PW-Mandela meeting

Political Reporter

The meeting between State President Botha and jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela has drawn further favourable reaction from the Democratic Party.

Speaking in the Cape constituency of Maitland last night, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer hailed the Tuynhuys meeting and the recent trip by 115 South Africans to meet the ANC in Zambia as historic events.

"Let us all pray that these events are the beginning of a process of negotiation that will bring peace to our country — peace on a basis that will overcome our international isolation and so enable us to return to prosperity," Dr de Beer said.

The DP's Southern Transvaal chairman, Mr Peter Soal, said the Botha-Mandela meeting was a "development of hope".

He said the meeting was the first between the Nationalists and the ANC, and expressed the hope that further meetings of this nature would be held prior to Mr Mandela's unconditional release from prison.

The president of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), Mr Tom Boya, has congratulated President Botha on his "bold move".

Hailing the meeting as a gigantic step, Mr Boya said Mr Mandela was a definite force to reckon with for any peaceful settlement in the country.

Mr Boya said he hoped the historic meeting was not a NP election ploy and Mr de Klerk would take the meeting further to meaningful negotiations.

4 Umsa officials are given the boot

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

THE United Municipalities of South Africa expelled four of its executive members for joining the Government-created National Forum.

They are: vice-president Mr David Modiba, public relations officer Mr Edwin Motebang, chairman of the United Municipalities of the Transvaal, Mr Fanyana Mahlangu and executive member of the United Municipalities of the Orange Free State Mr Elias Mpholo.

Resign

Modiba is general-secretary of the NF and Motebang is its public relations officer.

They were sacked at a meeting of all Umsa affiliates held at Agisanang township near Sanieshof on Sunday.

Umsa president Mr Tom Boya said the four were dismissed because they refused to cut ties with the NF. His organisation had decided that none of its members should serve in the NF.

Boya said the four can rejoin Umsa if they first resigned from the NF.

Mandela speaks

Cape Times
11/7/89
30 KA

[redacted]

MR NELSON MANDELA has confirmed that he met President P W Botha last week and has said that the account of the meeting given by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was "fairly accurate".

This emerged yesterday after Mrs Winnie Mandela had flown to Cape Town and visited her husband at his quarters at the Victor Verster prison, Paarl.

Accompanied by Mrs Mandela at a news conference later in the day in Johannesburg, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretaray of the SA Council of Churches, said yesterday that Mr Mandela had "confirmed that a meeting did take place on Wednesday."

The statement by the Minister of Justice which included an announcement that both Mr Mandela and Mr Botha had confirmed "their support for peaceful develoment in South Africa" was "fairly accurate on what transpired at the meeting," Mr Mandela told his wife, Mr Chikane said.

City poll on PW-Mandela meeting

— PAGE 3

"However, he (Mr Mandela) said, in order to deal with some speculation that has arisen, he will soon release a statement that will put the meeting and the discussions in their proper context," Mr Chikane said.

Mr Chikane said as far as he was aware Mr Mandela's statement was already in the hands of prison authorities who have sole discretion over what may be divulged.

A spokesman for the Prisons Department, Brigadier Erica van Zyl, said last night: "It is policy not to comment on whether or not any request have been made by or received from any individual or to disclose the contents thereof."

Throughout the press conference Mr Chikane and Mrs Mandela evaded questions regarding the circumstances that led to the surprise meeting between the two men.

"Community leaders that have been consulted after this meeting, agree that it is best for us to let the leader speak for himself on this issue," Mr Chikane said.

Mr Chikane said the Mandela family had not known about the scheduled meeting, but added that channels of communication between prisoners and their families were never adequate.

The Cape Times Political Correspondent reports that President Botha remained silent yesterday about his landmark encounter with Mr Nelson Mandela which continues to make waves

To page 3



PRISON VISIT ... Mrs Winnie Mandela addresses an impromptu press conference outside Victor Verster Prison yesterday. Behind her is Mr Dali Mpofu, a former member of the Free Nelson Mandela Campaign.
Picture: ANNE LAING

Fact-finding 'for the people'

By MALCOLM FRIED

NATIONAL community groups sent Mrs Winnie Mandela to the Cape yesterday to try and find out why her husband, Mr Nelson Mandela, had met the State President.

The organisations had asked Mrs Mandela to report on last Wednesday's Tuynhuys encounter, she said outside Paarl's Victor Verster Prison after spending 70 minutes with her husband.

A source close to the family claimed the meeting had taken Mrs Mandela and "people's organisations completely by surprise".

Mrs Mandela was accompanied by one aide, former Free Mandela Campaign member Mr Dali Mpofu, and fetched by Mrs Farieda Omar.

To page 3

 304A

Fight for safe NP seat

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE officer commanding, the Cape Town Highlanders, Mr Tony Marriner, was named last night as the Democratic Party's candidate in the safe NP seat of Caledon.

Mr Marriner, 47, a businessman from Durbanville, said: "We are confident of a very good showing.

"We have a very enthusiastic committee, and public support for the DP is growing all the time."

Mr Marriner, who is to move to Hermanus for the duration of the election campaign, added that the mood of the constituency had been reflected by a voter in the area who told him: "For the first time since 1948, we have a real chance.

"The juices are flowing in the right direction," the voter said.

Mr Marriner, the father of three children, is to take on the sitting MP, Mr Lampie Fick, who retained the Caledon seat in the May 1987 election with a 4 636 majority over the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, who obtained 2 646 votes.

The DP's regional organiser in the Southern Cape, Mr Gerry Pypers, said: "There is a lot of unhappiness in the Caledon constituency and we are receiving encouraging support in the Caledon-Grabouw-Elgin area."

The DP had opened offices in Caledon, Grabouw, Villiersdorp, Hermanus and Kleinmond.

Mr Pypers said a decision would be taken soon whether the DP would fight Swellendam, where there had been a number of calls on the party to put up a candidate.

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town, 8001)

DP names city man for Caledon



FW DE KLERK

'Botha makes a bid to steal FW's thunder'

304A
Sowetan
11/7/89.



PW BOTHA

Tea party at the Tuynhuys

LONDON — The meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela could complicate a complex and delicate plan designed to set in place talks between the South African Government and a cross-section of black leaders.

FOCUS

SOWETAN FOREIGN STAFF

This is suggested by Anthony Robinson of the *Financial Times* in a prominent article yesterday on what he calls the "Tuynhuys tea party."

The conventional wisdom was that the process leading to talks would begin in earnest only after the September 6 general election, says Robinson. And had President Botha not suffered a mild stroke last January and been leading his party into the election, there is little doubt that the conventional wisdom would have proved correct.

"But Mr Botha now exercises his enormous presidential powers with the party responsibilities which used to go with them.

"He misses no opportunity to undermine the prestige of Mr de Klerk and has made abundantly clear that he intends to use his remaining months in power to enhance his own standing in the history books."

Robinson says the meeting was "an extraordinary personal and political *volte-face* for Botha, with as yet incalculable consequences for the coming elections."

The main effect of the Tuynhuys tea party, he thinks, is to change perceptions about the possible time-scale of the negotiations, which will almost certainly be preceded by lengthy "talks about talks."

Speculation is now rife that Botha could well order the release of Mandela, and possibly other such jailed leaders as Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, before he formally hands over the seal of office in the first week of October.

Robinson adds: "He would certainly go down in the history books for that. But he would also ensure that his successor, Mr de Klerk, would have to hit the ground running if the exceptions now being unleashed were to be realised in an orderly fashion."

Protector

Andrew McEwen, diplomatic correspondent of *The Times*, says there is little doubt that Pretoria's move was partly in response to pressure from abroad and that evidence of this emerged when it became known that Pretoria had informed Britain before announcing the visit in South Africa.

"Pretoria has been more willing to heed Mrs Thatcher's views than those of most countries London's opposition to further economic sanctions has given Britain the image of being South Africa's protector, a cap that only partly fits."

He says that the British government, using discreet diplomacy rather than public statements, has made strong efforts to persuade Botha to release Mandela and include the black majority in representative government.

It has acted mainly through the British ambassador, Sir Robert Renwick, who is known to have Thatcher's ear and the diplomatic tone has been sharper than the public one.

The slowness of Mandela's release is thought in London to be dictated by two factors, he says.

One is that the National Party is anxious about the reaction of the South African Conservative Party and its possible impact on the election.

The second is its concern that celebrations after his release could turn into riots.

Britain has welcomed the meeting describing it as "a very positive step."

Spokesmen at both the Foreign Office and No. 10 Downing Street said on Sunday that Britain had been informed of the meeting, but neither would speculate on what it might lead to. They recalled, however, that Mrs Thatcher had repeatedly called for the release of Mandela and other prisoners.

The meeting was major news in radio and television bulletins on Sunday and was given front page prominence in some newspapers, with commentators speculating that Mandela's release might be imminent.

A commentator in *The Observer*, while seeing the meeting as "an historic step," notes that the way it took place puts the South African Government at a minimum of political risk.

"The relationship between Botha and the new leader of the National Party, Frederik de Klerk, is known to be tense and in the coming election campaign De Klerk can distance himself from Botha's meeting if it becomes a political liability," he writes.

He adds that in recent weeks, the Government is believed to have requested Mandela to "use his influence to ensure that prisoners being released avoid calling for economic sanctions or campaigning to disrupt the September elections, as the price of continuing releases."

The commentator says De Klerk has two options in handling the releases "The most likely seems to be to release one at a time, drawing maximum international approval and gauging the response in the black community, holding off on releasing Mandela for some time.

Demystify

"The other option would involve a speedy release of all the prisoners, including Mandela. But that could effectively unban the ANC, which would organise openly under its spokesman, Mandela."

Andrew Hogg of the London Sunday Times notes that in some South African circles, Botha's meeting with Mandela is seen as an attempt to "steal De Klerk's thunder over Mandela's release." In others, it is believed to be a carefully contrived attempt by the National Party to "demystify" Mandela in the eyes of many South African whites in an effort to make his future release acceptable.

Hogg adds: "Mandela himself is said to be pinning no great hopes on his imminent release 'Leopards do not change their spots,' he recently told two anti-apartheid activists.

"Providing the National Party can convince their supporters that the release of Mandela does not mean they have 'gone soft' on security, he could soon have cause to change his mind."

Hogg adds that Mandela, while never bowing to Botha's demand that he should renounce violence, has increasingly become the voice of moderation.



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

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

304A

DP to contest 3 NP seats in Transvaal

Political Reporter

Tough general election battles in three National Party-held Transvaal seats are on the cards after a decision by the Democratic Party to contest Springs, Brentwood and Boksburg.

In Springs, sitting NP MP Mr Piet Coetzer will be opposed by the Conservative Party's Dr Dawie Gouws and the DP's Mr Derry Byrne. Mr Coetzer retained the seat with a narrow majority of 884 in 1987.

Announcing Mr Byrne's candidacy, the DP's Eastern Transvaal executive said his late father, Mr Dick Byrne, was to have opposed Dr Robert Smit in the 1977 election, but withdrew after Dr Smit was murdered.

In Boksburg, the stage is set for a four-way contest with the nomination of Mr Dirk van Wyk (38) as the DP candidate.

He will oppose sitting NP MP Mr Sakkie Blanche, the CP's Dr Sias Nothnagel and the Herstigte Nasionale Party's Mr Attie Treurnicht. Mr Blanche obtained a 2 790-vote majority in the last election.

The DP's Mr Pierre Nel (34) will contest Brentwood against the NP's Dr Boy Geldenhuys, a nominated MP, and the CP's Mr Martiens Jurgens.

Schabort denies role in pact

Strains in rightwing unity effort

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The first cracks in the recently formed coalition between four groups on the political Right appeared yesterday with a denial from Professor Johan Schabort that he was party to a general election pact.

Professor Schabort, leader of the restricted Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), said he had never committed himself to a pact with the Herstigte Nasionale Party's Mr Jaap Marais, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche and the Boerestaat Party's Mr Robert van Tonder.

This comes after an announcement last week by the three leaders that their call for unity had been supported by the Blanke Party.

Professor Schabort yesterday said the Blanke Party was a "fabrication" but conceded that he had considered the name in the event of forming a political party to contest parliamentary elections. However, the party had not been formed yet.

He also denied earlier press reports which stated that he would be available as an HNP candidate. He said the HNP had asked him to stand in Nigel, but he had never accepted the offer.

In his reaction, Mr Marais said he was surprised by Professor Schabort's statement. The BBB leader had never contributed to a rightwing pact and would thus not cause a rift in rightwing circles. He said Mr van Tonder had conveyed Professor Schabort's support of the pact to the three leaders.

Professor Schabort said he had had talks with Mr van Tonder but had never agreed to support the unity efforts.

304A

FW 'by nature conservative'

CAPE TOWN — NP leader F W de Klerk was a weather-vane politician who by nature was a responder rather than an out-front leader, DP MP for Sea Point Colin Eglin said last night.

"Mr De Klerk is by nature cautious. He is by nature conservative. He will respond to the pressures of the ballot box as reflected in the election," Eglin said at the campaign launch of DP candidate for Groote Schuur Dene Smuts.

The success of the DP in the September 6 election would have a dramatic impact on the policies and future of SA. If the pressures in the election were from the far right, De Klerk would become more cautious and more conservative, Eglin said.

"If, on the other hand, there is a big voter turnout for the DP, reflecting a desire among the voters for a fundamental break with apartheid and the commencement of negotiation on a new democratic constitution as a matter of urgency, Mr De Klerk might take heart and move before it is too late."

Political Staff

Eglin said the meeting between President P W Botha and ANC leader Nelson Mandela was a complete vindication of the DP's repeated call for the inclusion of all truly representative leaders in the process of negotiating a new acceptable constitution for SA.

Botha had started to open the door that could lead to negotiation, but this was not good enough.

South Africans were entitled to know from De Klerk what steps he would take in the process of negotiating a new constitution and whether he would release Mandela.

□ EDYTH BULBRING reports a CP head office spokesman said yesterday the CP would attempt to capture the votes of the Portuguese-speaking community in the election.

CP posters in Pretoria state in Portuguese: "For me never again Angola and Mozambique. I vote CP."

Nats look at 'equal' rights democracy in different ways

304A BIDaytz/7/89

MICHAEL ACOTT

NATIONAL PARTY candidates have become used to being able to stress conservative or reformist policies, depending on their audience. But some may face awkward questions over a speech which pushed party parameters at their recent federal congress.

The congress endorsed the NP's five-year action plan promising democracy for all in which no group dominated, and stating a willingness to consider a bill of rights in a new, negotiated constitution. This was sufficiently hedged with familiar guarantees for white security, such as group rights and divisions into own affairs and general affairs, to avoid dissension.

But a different emphasis was put on matters by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee when he explained to delegates why the NP needed to back political participation for all and the adoption of a bill of rights.

Coetsee stressed a universal franchise through full and *equal* political participation for all, rejected manipulations to perpetuate white domination, foresaw the end of race-based groups and proposed the "new security" of a bill of rights enforced by the courts.

Coetsee leads the NP in the Free State and is a close adviser of NP leader F W de Klerk. His speech was not dismissed by De Klerk as "exploratory," as was the pre-resignation speech in which Chris Heunis looked forward to a single, multiracial Parliament for SA.

For the moment the difference between Coetsee and official NP policy remains one of nuance and emphasis.

Coetsee did not contradict party policy, negate group rights or deny the NP's traditional concern for white interests. But he was far more enthusiastic about the entrenchment of individual freedoms, more specific about the implications of full democracy and concerned that an attempt to prevent whites being dominated could impinge on a universal franchise.

Coetsee said the NP was committed to democracy because there could be no legitimacy for a system without participation by all.

"Democracy thus requires, if it is honest, equal and equivalent franchise for all citizens at all levels. Denial of the franchise to a group, or manipulation to render it unequal or not equivalent, is not justifiable and



☐ DE KLERK ... white interests still come first

gives rise to never-ending unrest," he said.

Coloured and Indian people now had a vote. While black people had a municipal vote and independent and self-governing homelands, "we do not have a complete democracy, because large numbers of black people do not have a vote in matters affecting them personally or in general.

"If we allow this to continue, it is equivalent to domination. Our party has a strong standpoint against perpetual domination."

Coetsee said the NP wanted recognition of SA's heterogeneity, the right of national groups (*volksgroepe*) to protect their identity and values and to prevent the domination of one national group by another.

"If we can achieve this, then a democracy and all its consequences are acceptable to us. It is not racism, because the participating groups are not there to protect a race and are not based on a race; the choice of a relevant group must be voluntary and the objective must be equality both of rights and obligations."

Coetsee warned forcefully that the attempt to avoid exchanging one domination for another "must not prejudice the principle of universal franchise or it will be self-destructive".

For Coetsee, a model of non-domination began with a full, justiciable and entrenched bill of rights, protecting the basic values of the individual, including his culture, religion and language. This, he said, protected nearly all the group values of importance to the individual, and the Law Commission had recommended that group political rights should be protected in the constitution.

For De Klerk and the compilers of the NP's five-year plan, the emphasis is the other way round: group (i.e., white) interests still come first.

De Klerk told the London Financial Times last month that a new constitution would be a reaffirmation of group rights reinforced by a bill of individual rights. And he told Parliament in May that the "mere protection" of language, cultural and



☐ COETSEE ... democracy means equal votes for all

religious rights — the basis of the Law Commission proposals for a bill of rights — offered no safeguards against domination in other spheres.

In that speech, De Klerk rejected minority domination as unjust and said white security could not be based on injustice, but repeatedly stressed that the NP would not let whites down and would protect their security and interests together with other population groups.

Where Coetsee speaks of equality of individuals, the NP speaks of equality of groups; where Coetsee lauds an equal franchise at all levels of government, De Klerk talks of "full-fledged" rights. The NP document lays down that all should participate at all levels, but not that this participation should be equal.

Coetsee does not say how the universal franchise he propagates should be exercised; De Klerk says black majority rule and domination will follow if all South Africans are included "on the basis of one man, one vote on common voters' rolls at all levels in a unitary type of state".

Coetsee believes any manipulation to render a vote unequal is indefensible; De Klerk and the NP plan stress a continued division of political rights into "own affairs" and "general affairs" government.

None of this is necessarily contradictory; Coetsee is amplifying NP policy, not obviously countering it. But the result is a different emphasis on individual and group rights, the meaning of a universal franchise and the implications of voluntary association not based on race.

With the NP, he backs the Law Commission's study on a bill of rights for individual protection and its belief that minorities must be protected politically, not legally. While the Law Commission says cultural, religious and linguistic values should not be protected as group rights, Coetsee wants protection for the values of national groups.

The NP plan stresses education is an "own affair" for each population group and defends the continued, if temporary, restriction of group areas and separate amenities.

But the Minister of Justice is closest to the Law Commission observation that the object of a bill of rights is to protect interests and values, not racial or ethnic groups.

His franchise closely follows the Law Commission's proposal that all citizens should have the right to vote "on a basis of equality in respect of all legislative institutions". And his emphasis on group rights is closer to the Law Commission statement that political group rights should be protected in the constitution "subject to the principle of equality".

Having opted out of competition for the vote of the far-right, the NP is appealing to its own members and the Democratic Party. De Klerk and the NP plan aim at keeping reformist NP members without alienating too many traditional ones; apart from its references to group rights, Coetsee's speech could almost have been made from a DP platform.

Nats repeating colonial mistakes, says Worrall

Star 12/7/69

304A

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Dr Denis Worrall, here to brief Portuguese officials on pre-election issues in South Africa, says the National Party risks being as near-sighted on reform as the ousted Portuguese dictatorship.

"Portugal postponed its decision to de-colonise and thus lost control of the process," he said yesterday.

"The National Party, under whatever leadership, looks like making the same mistake in important decisions it has to take."

Dr Worrall said he had discovered that leaders abroad "recognise the dangers ... of locking themselves into support" for the National Party.



Dr Denis Worrall ... Nationalists making errors of Portuguese dictatorship.

He met the deputy secretary-general of the ruling Social Democratic Party, Mr Luis Manuel Geraldes, and the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Jose Durac Barroso. Dr Worrall flies to Rome today on the last leg of his European tour.

(Report by Sandy Sloop, 58 Rua dom Louis Coutinho, Lisbon.)

W German education offer

Star 12/7/69

MUNICH — West Germany wants to contribute actively to the improvement of education for black South Africans, its Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said after a meeting in Bonn yesterday with a South African activist, Mr Eric Molobi.

Mr Molobi, who works for a West German education foundation in South Africa, thanked Mr Genscher for pressing for his release from detention last December. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

Visits to seven cities – plus Namibia, Angola

Pope to visit SA in May – cardinal



Pope John Paul . . . "tell them I want to come."

By Winnie Graham

The Pope is expected to visit South Africa next year, most probably in May.

Disclosing this yesterday, Cardinal Owen McCann, Archbishop Emeritus of Cape Town, said he saw Pope John Paul in Rome on Friday. Although a definite date was not mentioned, he hoped that the visit would take place in the first half of the year.

"A world synod of bishops has been called in the second half of the year and as he will have to prepare for that, it seems unlikely he will come then. May thus seems a likely time."

The cardinal said the Pope's visit would have to be long enough to include the seven main centres of South Africa — Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein — and Windhoek in Namibia. Angola was also likely to be included.

He stressed that the Pope had not deliberately excluded South Africa from his southern Africa itinerary last year. He had been invited to close the Inter-regional Meeting of Bishops of Southern Africa (Imbisa) conference in Harare and to beatify Lesotho's first saint, Father Joseph Gerard.

The cardinal said: "We are waiting for the Holy Father to come. His visit will be a great blessing and a boost for both the Catholic laity and the clergy."

'Land of apartheid'

The Pope visited southern Africa for 10 days in September last year. The tour started in Zimbabwe and moved to Gaborone, Lesotho and Swaziland, ending in Mozambique.

The visit was controversial in that South Africa was excluded. It was said the Pope had avoided South Africa because it was the "land of apartheid" but this was vigorously denied at the time by the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

The Pope was then forced to make an unscheduled stop at Jan Smuts Airport when bad weather prevented the papal aircraft from landing in Lesotho. He was escorted by South African officials to Maseru.

At the start of his southern African tour he was asked if he had a message for South Africans.

"Tell them I want to come," he replied.

The Pope has described himself as "the itinerant catechist, travelling around the world to both teach and evangelise".

He has made well over 40 international tours and it is estimated over a million people saw him on his southern African tour. In war-torn Mozambique, where religion was banned for many years after the Frelimo take-over, hundreds of thousands turned out to see him.

...United States how much we love ...mic help to ensure survival of ...nists last

Contingency fund: 75% spent

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Up to three-quarters of the R1 billion which the government set aside in the budget for contingencies has been used up after just three months of the financial year.

And finance officials said government would risk losing all credibility among the business community if it considered any further election handouts.

"There is some leeway left for totally unexpected expenditure, but the rest of the fund has been committed," one official said.

Director-General of Finance Mr Gerhard Croeser said the allocation of money in the contingency fund was decided at cabinet level. He could not comment on how much of it had already been spent.

He added, however: "I am still quite confident we will be able to stick to the total expenditure outlined in the budget, including the R1 billion."

A total of R128 million from the fund has been earmarked to pay for a once-off bonus for social pensioners while R30 million has been set aside for improved housing subsidies for civil servants.

Other government handouts which could have been funded out of the contingency fund include R95 million for Tissot watches for long-serving civil servants and the reinstatement of controversial pension buybacks for 6 500 civil servants.

Finance officials said the rest of the money from the fund that had been committed consisted of more "mundane" amounts that had been earmarked for essential over-expenditures by departments.

UK dockers strike ports close

LONDON. — British dockers, in a showdown over jobs, began an indefinite strike yesterday, crippling dozens of ports which handle almost half of Britain's trade.

Union officials said the action brought London and Bristol docks to a standstill but it was ignored at some ports, where work continued.

The strike was called by the huge Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) at 60 ports where the government has ended a Dock Labour Scheme guaranteeing 9 400 workers jobs for life.

Port employers said 18 of the ports in the scheme did not join the strike and that 1 400 men had applied for retirement pay-offs worth up to £35 000 (about R154 000). — Sapa-Reuter

...EDI...

Bush to see FW

Call Tim
12/7/89
30K4

PRESIDENT George Bush has provisionally agreed to meet NP leader Mr F W de Klerk on July 25 or 26, according to US officials.

However, neither the White House nor the State Department would confirm this. The South African Embassy in Washington also said it had received no formal notification.

Mr De Klerk is expected to pay a day-and-a-half-long visit to Washington during which he will also confer with congressional leaders and with Secretary of State Mr James Baker, the officials said.

The administration wants to avoid advance publicity for the meeting in order to keep possible opposition off-balance.

Whether or not Mr De Klerk should see the president has been a matter of intense debate among Mr Baker's senior advisers because of concern about hostile reaction on Capitol Hill.

A group of 52 congressmen led by House Majority Whip Mr William Gray and Africa subcommittee chairman Mr Howard Wolpe sent a letter to Mr Bush last week urging him not to see Mr De Klerk until the state of emergency had been lifted and political prisoners freed.

At the same time, key Senate Democrats, including Intelligence Committee Chairman Mr David Boren, have voiced support for the meeting.

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in a letter following her own meeting with Mr De Klerk, has also privately urged Mr Bush to go ahead.

The decision to proceed is said to have come last Friday after it was agreed that a representative of the Democratic Party should also be invited to see Mr Bush. Mr Wynand Malan is currently the likeliest candidate, sources said.

Earlier last week, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen recommended that the meeting be held after holding preliminary discussions with Mr De Klerk.

Opposition to the meeting appears to have been galvanised in part by UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu who advocated the conditions set out in the congressional letter.

Mrs Sisulu, who saw Mr Bush on June 30, headed for London yesterday for talks with Mrs Thatcher.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher's meeting with a UDF delegation today appears to underline her interest in aiding a black-white settlement in South Africa. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Don't see De Klerk before major change in SA, Bush told

Star 12/7/89

304A

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — More than 50 US Congressmen have written to President Bush urging him not to meet the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, without any significant change by the white minority regime in South Africa.

The letter, sent last week and released to the media yesterday, stated that a meeting between Mr Bush and Mr de Klerk would send a terribly wrong signal concerning the direction of US policy during the Bush administration.

The letter is the latest salvo in the rapidly growing opposition to a possible visit to Washington by Mr de Klerk.

Ironically, it was understood from US officials yesterday, Mr de Klerk has not indicated to the American government whether he will accept an invitation to meet the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker.

Anxious

South African and American officials anxious to arrange a visit for the National Party leader have been trying to fix a date either in the last week of July or the first week of August.

Reports that the meeting would take place on July 25 or 26 and that it would definitely involve a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Bush were just speculation, according to White House and State Department of ficials yesterday. No such dates had been set aside in Mr Bush's diary, according to one senior official.

The State Department said on Monday no dates had been fixed for a meeting and that as far as it was concerned Mr de Klerk would be meeting Mr Baker and not Mr Bush.

It is understood key officials close to Mr Bush and in the State Department are opposed to a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Bush.

A church delegation led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and a United Democratic Front delegation both urged a wide range of Washington leaders not to allow a visit by Mr de Klerk until the South African Government had offered something to deserve such an honour.

Anti-apartheid activists and organisations in Washington have already started planning mass demonstrations against Mr de Klerk should he arrive in Washington. A petition calling on the President not to see the South African is circulating.

In the letter sent by the Congressmen to Mr Bush, the legislators call on the President not to see Mr de Klerk or any other member of the South African Government until the National Party and the Government:

- Release all political prisoners jailed for their opposition to apartheid.
- Terminate the state of emergency and cease restrictions on leaders of extra-parliamentary organisations.
- Unban all political organisations.

The letter said: "To meet with the National Party leader and anticipated President of South Africa without any significant political change by the white minority regime would send a terribly wrong signal concerning the direction of US policy during the Bush Administration."

(Report by David Braun, 6807 Montivideo Sq Ct, Falls Church, Virginia, USA.)

Star 12/7/89

Prisons stay mum on Mandela

Has ANC leader made statement on PW meeting?

Political Staff

Mr Nelson Mandela's version of his meeting with President Botha is apparently being held by the Prisons Service, which is keeping mum about it.

The department would not even confirm or deny whether it had received a statement for public distribution from its most famous prisoner.

"It is policy not to comment on whether or not any requests have been made by or received from any individual or to disclose the contents thereof," said the chief of prisons liaison, Brigadier Erika van Zyl.

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said earlier that Mr Mandela had handed a statement to his jailers before Mrs Winnie Mandela visited him on Monday at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

Contents

It is not clear whether Mrs Mandela knows the contents of her husband's statement, but the SACC does not have a copy of the statement, according to a spokesman, Mr Sakkie Makozoma.

Sapa quotes official sources in Pretoria as saying that the Prisons Service could not take it upon itself to sanction release of Mr Mandela's statement.

They pointed out that a decision of such import was not likely to be made public before the Cabinet had had a chance to formalise it.

● Referring to Mr Mandela's earning an LLB degree from the University of South Africa, a Prisons Service spokesman has confirmed that "consideration is being given to the arrangement of an occasion at which the degree certificate can be presented to Mr Mandela in the presence of his immediate family and friends".

● The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, has denied claims by the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party that last week's meeting between President Botha and Mr Mandela signified the first talks between the Government and the banned African National Congress organisation.

Dr van der Merwe emphasised yesterday that the meeting had been between the State President and Mr Mandela — not the Government and the ANC.

● The Star's sister newspaper in Cape Town, *The Argus*, has been refused permission to interview Mr Mandela.

The Argus applied to the Prisons Service at the weekend to interview him in prison in Paarl.

"I regret to inform you that an interview with Mr Mandela is not considered opportune," said liaison officer Mr J H Smith.

Ousted Modiba may challenge Boya

(3048) By Stan Hlophe

The former vice-president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr David Modiba, said yesterday he would seek legal advice about the status of the Umsa leader who expelled him.

Mr Modiba said Umsa president Mr Tom Boya represented the Daveyton Town Council, which had pulled out of Umsa.

"Now that the Daveyton Council has distanced itself from Umsa, I am going to seek legal advice on the legitimacy of its president, who has no constituency," said Mr Modiba.

"Umsa is the organisation of councils not of the councillors. Therefore the implication of disaffiliation by the Daveyton Council creates a legal problem in terms of the constitution."

The decision to expel Mr Modiba, Umsa public relations officer Mr Edwin Motebang, Umsa chairman Mr Fanyana Mahlangu, and executive member Mr Elias Mpholo, was taken at a meeting of all Umsa affilates in Agisanang township, near Sanieshof, at the weekend, because the four men had joined the Government-created National Forum. Star 12/7/89.

Mr Modiba is the general secretary of the National Forum and deputy mayor of Kagiso. Mr Motebang is the National Forum's public relations officer.

Mr Boya has said the four could apply to re-join Umsa if they dissociated themselves from the National Forum.

affected when the electricity was cut.

'Bush's policy on SA not finalised'

(304A) 8/Dec/1477

Cohen's bottom line

DURBAN — The bottom line for SA was "a non-racial, representative, democratic society", US Assistant Secretary of Statefor African Affairs Herman Cohen said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference as his whistle-stop tour of southern Africa drew towards a close, Cohen made it clear the George Bush administration had not finalised its policy towards SA.

"I cannot pre-empt Mr Bush, but I believe there will be substantial changes from the policy of the previous administration. I believe this new policy will be finalised soon," he said.

The US would not be influenced by the policies of other countries towards SA — and she would not prescribe to Pretoria. This country alone could solve its problems, he said.

Cohen visualised a continuation of Bush receiving "other South African leaders" in the future — maintaining the policy whereby he granted audiences to Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Albertina Sisulu of the UDF.

Dealing with changes in SA, Cohen said he was "encouraged more than I am optimistic".

He said the US attitude towards SA would depend on President P W Botha and government. But Cohen would not react further, saying the country was in the middle of an election campaign.

Throughout his trip he had found it encouraging to hear from black organisations, including Inkatha and the UDF, that the time for fighting was over and that unity talks were necessary for fundamental changes.

□ Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said after talks with Cohen in Durban yesterday that the US had an important role to play in the search for a political settlement of the internal conflict in SA.

Sapa reports Hendrickse said Cohen had shown a willingness to listen to the multi-faceted issues on the agenda for change.

Hendrickse said among the matters of concern that were raised were those of black aspirations and white fears.

Cohen also held brief talks with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his cabinet at Ulundi yesterday.

Cohen said afterwards the meeting with Buthelezi was part of his consultation with political leaders in SA.

He said it was his belief that Buthelezi's leadership could one day become instrumental in achieving a political settlement in the country.

Cohen said he believed the idea of unity between Inkatha and the UDF was becoming increasingly important. He said he was encouraged by new thinking in the UDF.

SAIM OFFICIAL COPY

South Africans want Mandela freed — Smuts

Political Staff

THE meeting between President P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela had stunned the country "because it could be or should be the symbolic start of a new era", Ms Dene Smuts said last night.

Launching her Groote Schuur campaign for the coming election, the DP's candidate said South Africans wanted to see Mr Mandela released and the ANC unbanned "so that we can argue out our common future in a spirit of reconciliation and realism".

She noted that on returning recently from talks in Lusaka she had argued that the ANC's democratic instincts were "the real thing".

"The NP's instincts are the real thing too — but their understanding of democracy is disastrous."

Speaking at the launch, the DP MP for Sea Point, Mr Colin Eglin, said the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, was a "weather-vane" politician who by nature was a "responder" rather than an "out front" type of leader.

"He will respond to the pressures of the ballot box as reflected in the election," Mr Eglin said.

The success of the DP in the September 6 election would have a dramatic impact on the policies and future of South Africa.

(News by Anthony Johnson and Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

DP to take on Nats in Worcester

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party is to fight for the Worcester seat in the September 6 election and its candidate is to be named on Saturday.

The vice-chairman of the DP in Worcester, Mrs Marie Botha, said yesterday the party would definitely be standing in the constituency, a safe Nationalist seat.

Its candidate is expected to be a local farmer.

Worcester was the scene of an intense and bitter nomination contest in the National Party which eventually opted for a party organiser and former MPC for the area, Mr Ryno King.

The Conservative Party has named Mrs Rini du Toit as its candidate.

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, 8001)

DP names De Kuilen candidate

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party yesterday named businessman Mr Malcolm Nelson, 43, as its candidate in the safe Nationalist seat of De Kuilen.

Mr Nelson, the owner of a building equipment company in the De Kuilen constituency, won a tough nomination contest against two other potential candidates.

A former member of the United Party, the New Republic Party and the Independent Party, Mr Nelson will take on another former member of the United Party, Mr Myburgh Streicher, the sitting MP.

In the May 1987 election Mr Streicher, the Deputy Minister of Transport, obtained a massive 8 218 majority over the CP, which polled 2 026 votes, the PFP 1 326 votes and the HNP 284 votes.

The CP has not yet named a candidate in De Kuilen, but it has opened an election office there and seems likely to contest the seat again.

The DP's regional director, Mrs Lois Harley, said yesterday that it was possible that the party would put up a candidate in Wellington and there was considerable pressure to fight Beaufort West.

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, 8001)

Star 14/7/89 (304A)

Treurnicht warns of 'white uprising'

By Kevin Udemans

Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party and MP for Waterberg, last night warned that the forcing together of people as was proposed by the National Party and the Democratic Party would lead to resistance from many white South Africans.

Dr Treurnicht, speaking at a public meeting attended by about 1 000 people at the Benoni Town Hall, said everyone seemed to be talking about a "black uprising" and a "bloodbath" if the CP came to power.

"But have they ever thought what would happen if whites were forced together with people of other races against their wills: does this not also create a climate of uprising?" he asked to tremendous applause.

"I am not promoting such an uprising but asking whether those same people who fear a black uprising are not scared of a white uprising," he said.

Dr Treurnicht also said he did not understand what was behind the recent meeting between State President Mr P W Botha and jailed leader of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela.

"On the one hand the Government condemns talks between South Africans and the ANC but on the other the State President of South Africa meets the leader of the ANC in South Africa.

"Who is the person President Botha met with? ... the head of the ANC and a political prisoner who has not denounced violence," Dr Treurnicht said.

304A

8/4/13/7/89

SA 'change' recognised by Mugabe

PARIS — There were noticeable shifts in the internal policies of the South African leadership, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe acknowledged yesterday in a rare concession.

"Of course, there has been the slight shift discernible from the recently announced proposals to reform apartheid," Mr Mugabe said in Paris, where he is a government guest at ceremonies for the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

Mr Mugabe said he expected no spectacular change in South Africa by the takeover of the National Party leadership by Mr F W de Klerk.

"He must work within the confines of the political thinking of the National Party," Mr Mugabe said.

Despite this projection, Mr Mugabe's assessment of South Africa was one of the most moderate since he came to power. — Sapa-Reuter.

Eksteen, PW secretary set for top consultancy

BIDAM 13/7/87

304A

STRONG speculation exists that former SABC director Riaan Eksteen, P W Botha's private secretary Capt Ters Ehlers and former top Foreign Affairs official Kobus Greeff are to establish a high profile consultancy.

The trio are remaining tight lipped about the venture, but according to sources it will be launched as soon as Ehlers leaves the State President's office.

Eksteen, speaking on behalf of himself and Greeff, said last night: "Once the company has been formed and all its members are in a postition to address the media, a full Press statement will be released and a proper Press conference will be held."

It is understood that the consultancy will not focus on politics specifically, but will involve interaction with political departments both locally and in other southern African states.

TIM COHEN

The company, which will advise top businesses, will specialise in analysis and smoothing the path of enterprises to the mutual benefit of all parties.

The possible establishment of the company comes at a time when government is attempting to encourage business enterprise between SA and its neighbours.

If established, the company will also try to take advantage of the recent peace initiatives which will facilitate such enterprises.

Election

The proposed company will not be a lobbying group as such, but will "oil the wheels", according to sources.

It is understood that Ehlers will remain in the State President's office until after September's election, when Botha will stand down. Then he will join the other two.

Eksteen, a former SA ambassador to the UN, retired from the SABC following a row with Botha.

He still maintains close contact with Foreign Minister Pik Botha and with other government officials.

He has been doing political risk analysis for Baird Communication in Randburg and brokers Ed Hern, Rudolph Incorporated.

Francois Baird said yesterday he did not expect Eksteen's other business affairs to interfere with his work for the communications company.

Ehlers spent three years in France training for his post as SA Navy submarine commander. In his capacity as the President's private secretary, he has accompanied Botha on all his trips to Europe and Africa.

Greeff was vice-consul in Milan, but has since become a businessman involved in a major food packaging and processing business.

Conflicting claims on Tuynhuys talks

NP claims meeting a 'breakthrough'

Star 13/7/89 304A

Cape Town Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee has referred to the meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela as an "absolute breakthrough" for peaceful development in South Africa.

But political observers say the statement issued by Mr Mandela, released by the Prisons Department last night, is a clear indication that Mr Mandela has spiked Government attempts to isolate him from the African National Congress.

In the statement, Mr Mandela said that the only way to end violence and bring about peace in South Africa is through dialogue with the "mass democratic movements, particularly the ANC".

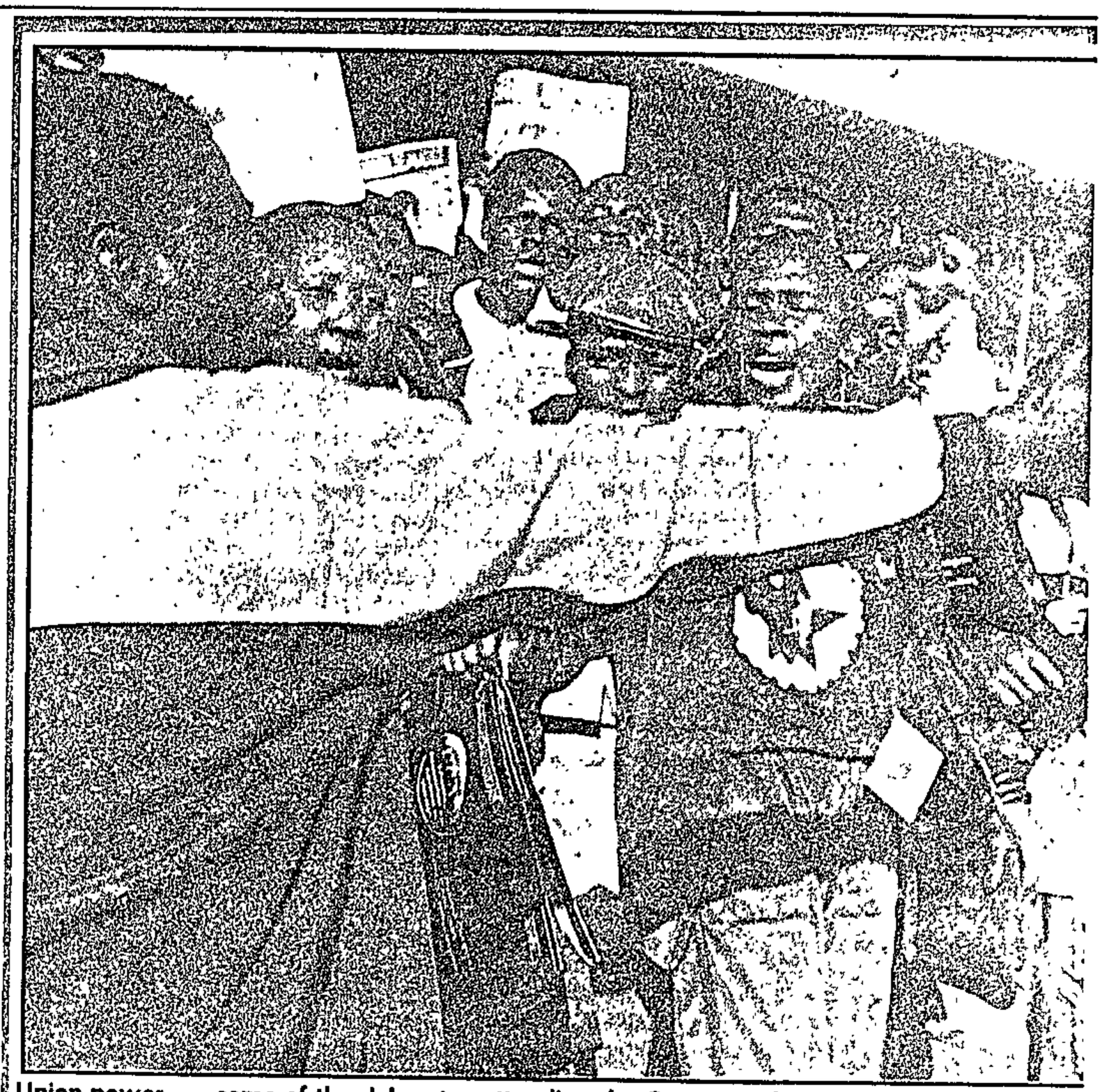
Last night, at an NP meeting in Riversdale, Mr Coetzee said that in the light of Mr Mandela's earlier refusal to foreswear violence, the question had arisen whether it was not an absolute breakthrough if President Botha created the opportunity for Mr Mandela to speak to him, and Mr Mandela said that he was in favour of peaceful development in South Africa.

The meeting had solved a deadlock in South Africa without recognition being given to the viewpoints of the ANC, or anyone else, in favour of violence, he said.

The Government's standpoint remained that it would not negotiate with oppressors, but that it would talk to those in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Mandela had not used the meeting with Mr Botha to talk as ANC leader on behalf of the movement.

However, political observers believe that Government attempts to isolate Mr Mandela from the ANC had been sidestepped by Mr Mandela's insistence on negotiation with the mass democratic movements, particularly the ANC.



Union power . . . some of the delegates attending the Congress of South African Trade Unio

Cosatu puts ball in

Star 13/7/89

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

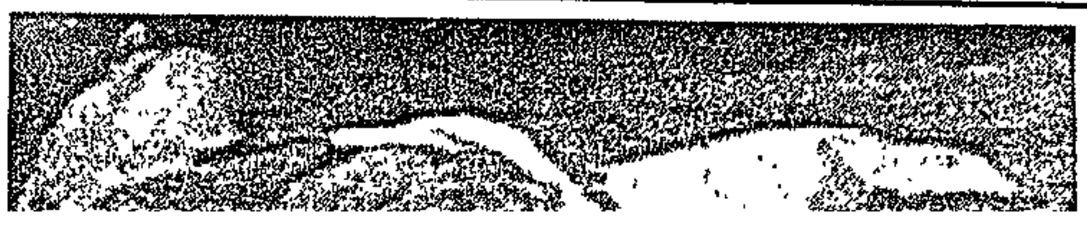
The onus for the creation of conditions suitable for a negotiated political settlement lay with the South African Government, the Congress of SA Trade Unions president, Mr Elijah Barayi, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Barayi was addressing more than 1 800 delegates to the federation's second biennial congress, also attended by members of the diplomatic corps and observers from the international union movement.

Rejecting the notion that the rise of Mr F W de Klerk would usher in a new era of political change, Mr Barayi said: "The outcome of the elections will place FW (de Klerk) at the head of a regime whose rule is not based on the will of the people."

Mr Barayi said the setting of preconditions for negotiations by the "national democratic movement", such as the drawal of the police and from black townships, di represent a negotiating pc by the movement, but aimed at ensuring a clima framework for negotiation

"Conditions must exist v by, if negotiations take pl all, they do not take place the heads of the people. Th is in the regime's court."



Crazed l

farmer k

13/7/89

BOTHA

in Riversdale, Mr Coetzee said that in the light of Mr Mandela's earlier refusal to foreswear violence, the question had arisen whether it was not an absolute breakthrough if President Botha created the opportunity for Mr Mandela to speak to him, and Mr Mandela said that he was in favour of peaceful development in South Africa.

The meeting had solved a deadlock in South Africa without recognition being given to the viewpoints of the ANC, or anyone else, in favour of violence, he said.

The Government's standpoint remained that it would not negotiate with oppressors, but that it would talk to those in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Mandela had not used the meeting with Mr Botha to talk as ANC leader on behalf of the movement.

However, political observers believe that Government attempts to isolate Mr Mandela from the ANC had been sidestepped by Mr Mandela's insistence on negotiation with the mass democratic movements, particularly the ANC.

Silence significant

A spokesman for the President's Office said today that Mr Botha had no comment on the meeting or statement.

Idasa director Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert said today that the most significant thing so far has been the silence of the State President himself. "Why is everyone explaining exactly how this came about without him stating his own position?

"If this had been so meticulously planned over a long period to occur specifically before an election in which the National Party is being attacked from the Left and the Right, then the former leader of the party, together with the current one, should explain how it forms part of the party's election programme and the possibilities for negotiation.

"Whatever the case might be, the symbolic significance of the meeting and the consequences that will flow from it have generated a momentum that will outstrip any petty motivations there may be among the NP," Dr Slabbert added.

The South African Council of Churches said that the meeting was a "calculated attempt by the Government to make maximum political gain".

Mr Mandela's wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, yesterday told a BBC correspondent her husband was not given an opportunity to prepare for the meeting.

He therefore had no opportunity to consult with his people and subsequently decided to go ahead with the meeting.



Mandela's healing role in new SA

One of the many interpretations placed on the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha at Tuynhuys last week is that Botha wanted to meet eye-to-eye the man whose release form he is about to sign.

This dovetails with Botha's "correct and procedural" style of rule and the inexorable forces at play in South Africa, the sub-continent and the rest of the world, which demand that the National Party release the world's most famous prisoner.

But what will be the impact of his release? PIPPA GREEN examines some of the issues at stake:

WHATEVER the government might intend, once it has released Nelson Mandela, it has put the first foot on the road to real change.

Anti-apartheid leaders inside the country agree that Mandela's release cannot be a mere token undertaken to appease the Western powers that have been lobbying for his freedom.

Firstly, they point out, he is the leader of the African National Congress.

"From his own account, Nelson Mandela still remains a member of the ANC," says former national United Democratic Front spokesperson Murphy Morobe.

Passport

"It goes without saying that his activity will relate to everything else the ANC is doing."

Secondly, it will be impossible for the government to release Mandela with restrictions as has been done with other former political prisoners.

"He would only violate the restrictions," says his biographer Fatima Meer, a Durban sociologist.

"An unconditional release means he will have a passport and will be able to move about quite freely. A conditional release will mean that he'll probably be back in jail within a matter of days."

According to Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), a conditional release "would cause more harm than not releasing Mandela at all".

By unconditionally releasing the leader of the ANC, the government will effectively unban the organisation, say anti-apartheid leaders.

They believe the government will probably follow up Mandela's release with a "de jure" unbanning of the ANC, outlawed since 1960.

"You cannot release the man and not allow his organisation to work with him," observes Dr Allan Boesak.

"There are no other channels for him to work through — not the tricameral Parliament, not the homelands, not even the United Democratic Front.

"The only channel, in a very strict political and historical sense, is the organisation of which he is a leader, the ANC."

By unbanning the ANC, the government could open the way to negotiations between itself and the organisation.

"It could indicate a serious intent on the part of the government to pave the way to a new constitution," says Meer. "To me, this does not seem too far-fetched."

Will the government maintain the state of emergency if it releases Mandela? Some activists believe this will be impossible.

"How can Mandela be walking the streets representing the ANC when leaders of non-violent organisations are still in jail?" asks Boesak.

Statesman

Boraine warns against the Mass Democratic Movement using Mandela as simply a popular figure at mass rallies.

"Mandela must be released as a major statesman. Of course he must meet his people, but if his only role at large-scale rallies is to allow people's emotions to run amok, then it will be doing Mandela a disservice.

"There must be a clear understanding by the anti-apartheid movement and the government that he is being released to start the negotiation process," says Boraine.

Beyond negotiations with the government, Mandela clearly has a role to play in unifying the various factions of the anti-apartheid movement.

Says Western Cape activist Johnny Issel: "Mandela as a leader speaks to a constituency much broader than the Congress forces and he symbolises the wishes of people other than just those in the Congress movement."

And Morobe, who himself spent three years on Robben Island where he met Mandela, agrees.

"My experience of Nelson Mandela is that of a person who never undertakes anything without engaging in consultation and getting the broadest possible consensus."

The ANC leader, he adds, "is very much aware of the unifying potential of his own role".

Specifically, this means reaching out a hand to black consciousness supporters. But it also means talking to more conservative black leaders such as Gatsha Buthelezi, head of Inkatha.

Although there is a history of hostility between the UDF and Inkatha, a rift that has manifested itself in appalling violence in Natal, Buthelezi has said on numerous occasions that he would accept Mandela as his leader

"One thing about Mandela is that he has enormous tolerance for differing ideologies," says Meer.

Even "problematic" leaders such as Buthelezi, she says, will probably co-operate with him.

Moreover, the kwaZulu leader has "certain strength in Natal and cannot just be wished away".

Behaviour

Even the recent scandal over the behaviour of Winnie Mandela's bodyguards in Soweto, described as an "extraordinary debilitating experience for Winnie", is not expected to affect Mandela's role after his release.

"Everyone always knew the distinction between Winnie Mandela and Nelson Mandela," says Boesak

Mrs Mandela may have made "mistakes", but with Nelson Mandela's emergence into public life, her predicament will be "taken up in the process of healing".

Mandela's freedom could spread this healing process throughout the country.

"It is no longer the only key to open the door to a better future in this country," cautions Boesak.

"But it is a symbolic act, which will set in motion a chain of events that could dramatically change the climate in this country."

Nelson Mandela says talks with the ANC are the only route to peace

B\Pay 13/7/89

304A

JAILED ANC leader said last night the only way to peace was through dialogue with the mass democratic movement and the ANC.

The Prisons Service last night released for publication the statement by Mandela after his meeting with President P W Botha.

The text in full, reports Sapa, reads:

"The statement issued by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on the meeting between the State President and myself is an accurate reflection of what happened at the meeting. The statement, however, constitutes no deviation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years, namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, with the African National Congress, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country.

"I make this statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President. I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the Press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development.

"I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage. As implied in the original statement, I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa."

The Prisons Service said Coetsee confirmed that Mandela had released the statement for media publication.

President Botha last night declined to comment on Mandela's statement.

In his weekend statement on the talks, Coetsee said no policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted. The men had "availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in SA".

RIAAN SMIT reports DP co-leader Wynand Malan said that what was important in Mandela's statement was the commitment not only to peace but also to the searching for a peaceful way of peace.

"The fact that government has been prepared to release the statement is of even greater importance, because it confirms the absolute necessity of negotiations also with the ANC," he said.

The statement also supported the position the DP had taken on talks with the ANC. "The challenge to Mr de Klerk is to take the NP into this position."

CP spokesman Andries Beyers said his party condemned the talks with the "terrorist organisation" in the strongest possible terms.

"The electorate will cast judgment on September 6 on whether or not they agree with the NP's talks with Mandela."

TIM COHEN reports that DP adviser Van Zyl Slabbert said the political significance of Mandela's statement — which he viewed as conciliatory — was not its contents, reflecting what Mandela had always felt, but the fact that it was released.

"Mandela's position has always been that government cannot do a deal with him alone. He is part of the movement. The release of the statement reflects a slight change of attitude on the part of government."

Sapa reports that Winnie Mandela told a BBC correspondent yesterday that her husband had not been given the chance to prepare for his meeting with the President.

Mandela was told by Coetsee on Tuesday night last week that he was to meet Botha the following morning, she said. He therefore had had no opportunity to consult with his people, and subsequently had decided to go ahead.

● Comment: Page 6

Mandela a gifted intellectual, says Coetsee

ARGUS 13/7/89 (NE) (304A)

Political Correspondent

JUSTICE Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee has referred to the meeting between President Botha and Nelson Mandela as an "absolute breakthrough" for peaceful development.

Speaking at an election meeting in Riversdale last night, Mr Coetsee said it had led to the breakthrough of Mr Mandela declaring himself in favour of peaceful development

Mr Coetsee, who previously said he spent a long time arranging the meeting, said last night that he had in the past few years spoken to Mr Mandela on several occasions.

He had found him to be an approachable person with specific gifts, especially intellectual He had sometimes told him things in confidence "but in my experience he never 'dropped' me".

In the light of Mr Mandela's earlier refusal to foreswear violence the question had arisen of whether it was not an absolute breakthrough if Mr Botha created the opportunity for Mr Mandela to speak to him and Mr Mandela said he was in favour of peaceful development

Mr Coetsee said this was precisely what had happened.

Mr Mandela had given his approval to the initial statement issued at the weekend which stated that Mr Botha and Mr Mandela were in favour of peaceful development

The meeting had solved a deadlock in South Africa without recognition being given to the viewpoints of the ANC or anyone else who was in favour of violence.

The government's standpoint remained that it would not negotiate with oppressors but that it would talk to those in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Mandela had not used the meeting with Mr Botha to talk as ANC leader on behalf of the movement

He had paid a courtesy visit to the President. The meeting was based on Mr Botha's viewpoint that Mr Mandela must be treated decently and in a Christian way.

If South Africa wanted to make further breakthroughs there should be further occasions such as this meeting, Mr Coetsee said.

A spokesman for the President's office said today Mr Botha had no comment on the meeting or on Mr Mandela's statement.

Idasa director Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said that the most significant thing so far had been the silence of the President.

"If this had been so meticulously planned over a long period to occur specifically before an election in which the National Party is being attacked from the left and the right, then the former leader of the party, together with the current one, should explain how it forms part of the party's election programme and the possibilities for negotiation.

"Whatever the case might be, the symbolic significance of the meeting and the consequences that will flow from it have generated a momentum that will outstrip any of the petty motivations there may be among Nationalist leaders," Dr Slabbert said.

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

Much at stake for NP and ANC in Mandela initiative



Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

THE surprising meeting between President P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela brings to mind the famous final paragraph of J M Roberts's*The Pelican History of the World*. At the end of the monumental study, which covers the span from ancient Egypt to the strategic issues of the 1980s, the author observes that there are only two general truths that emerge from the study of history: "One is that things tend to change much more, and more quickly than one might think. The other is that they tend to change much less, and much more slowly, than one might think."

Roberts adds wrily that the only advantage in being a historian is that one may be a little less surprised by the outcome, whatever it is. However, so unexpected were the Botha-Mandela meeting and other recent developments that even our historians were initally dumbfounded. At the same time if one had pieced together bits of information, some of which have not been yet reported in our Press, the recent Tuynhuys meeting should not have taken us all by complete surprise.

Let us look first at the NP side. President Botha's approach to constitution-making has always been: "We (the NP) lay the table and serve the dish; if they (the coloured people, Indians or Africans) don't want it, they can lump it." He instructed the luckless Mr Heunis to find some black leaders with whom a constitutional deal could be struck. As Mr Heunis failed to deliver, Mr Botha got increasingly enraged. Nevertheless he continued to hope for some breakthrough in the search for accommodating black leaders and accordingly refused several requests from Mr Heunis to see Mr Mandela.

Visits

The F W de Klerk-Gerrit Viljoen team which has replaced the Botha-Heunis Old Guard has in one important respect a different approach to constitution-making. Instead of trying to suck in pliable black leaders into a NP-designed constitution, Mr De Klerk and Dr Viljoen believe the time has come for the major black and white political formations to put their respective constitutional proposals on the table and negotiate on the basis of them.

This is where Mr Mandela comes in. He would have been completely out of place in the old-style of co-optive politics in which brown and Indian politicians were seduced by weird and wonderful promises. However, the New Guard of the NP believes Mr Mandela can play an indispensable role in getting blacks in the extra-parliamentary movement to come up with their constitutional model.

Since the beginning of this year Mr Mandela has had several visits from representatives of the South African State. They were pleased with his responses. Well-placed sources insist that in recent weeks at least four cabinet ministers visited Mr Mandela and had extensive discussions with him.

Until April this year Mr Botha was determined, as one source puts it, "to go down in history as the man who did not free Mandela except on his own conditions". However, then Mr Botha woke up to the painful discovery that De Klerk's silent coup d'état had almost completely sidelined him. Mr Botha found this hard to accept. There were constant reports from the Botha family that "Pappie" wanted to do one great thing before he leaves office. Also that he was determined to secure some prestigious office after he vacated the State Presidency. The Mandela visit to Tuynhuys realised the first objective and may open the door to the second.

Favourable

But why does the NP engage in such a risky adventure just before an election in which the Conservative Party is poised to make considerable gains? I believe the Mandela initiative will be the main feature in the plank which the NP will use in addressing itself to voters attracted to the Democratic Party. This will present the NP as the party willing to talk to all black leaders and able to persuade Western leaders to bring South Africa back into the international community.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr F W de Klerk believe the time has come for the major black and white political formations to put their constitutional proposals on the table and negotiate on the basis of them.

The Mandela initiative also explains Mr De Klerk's surprisingly favourable reception abroad. It is the kind of thing which Western leaders devoutly hope for. Mr De Klerk almost certainly also discussed the ground rules under which leaders such as Mr Mandela will operate. In the NP's view there cannot be any question of mass rallies in the townships attended by hundreds of thousands of people. If the NP gets its way the drawing up of a constitutional model will have to take place behind closed doors and its support tested by way of referenda.

Possibility

This brings us to the African National Congress and its response to the Mandela initiative.The ANC is at the moment going through a painful process of readjustment. The euphoria of "within six months we are in the Union Building" is gone. The ANC's withdrawal from Angola was painful to its morale. Most importantly, despite all the denials the Russians were inexorably forcing the ANC to explore the political route to the full while continuing to exert pressure militarily and politically.

The first public evidence of a new ANC political initiative appeared in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung a few months ago. In this a chief ANC strategist (Mr Joe Slovo) raised the possibility of Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Thaba Mbeki being allowed to return home openly to mobilise an internal ANC if there was sufficient evidence that the South African Government would allow it.

Insecure

There are strong rumours that Mr Mandela during the past month sent a memo to Lusaka which caused considerable consternation. It is just possible that Mr Mandela may have suggested that a Mandela-Tambo-Mbeki team commit itself to building an internal ANC and presenting the ANC's constitutional model.

My impression of the ANC is that while it is utterly convinced it will ultimately prevail, it is tremendously insecure in changing current short and medium-term tactics and strategies. The ANC may well suffer a disastrous split if it decides to go the route of a legalised internal ANC committed to finding a compromise constitutional solution.

The stakes are tremendous. If things in the Mandela initiative go wrong for the NP it may well find itself confronted with a rampant CP and mandatory sanctions. If it goes wrong for the ANC its struggle at the very least will be set back many years. If it goes right for both it will be one of history's greatest and most pleasant surprises.

Star 13/7/89 304A

SA whites still racist, says US paper

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A leading American national newspaper, *USA Today*, has called for new sanctions against South Africa.

Listing several points, including the recent meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr P W Botha, as faint signs of hope in the country's racist gloom, the newspaper said in its editorial commentary that South Africa's white racists had not changed.

"They keep power with beatings, jailings and murders.

"They deprive blacks of free expression, punishing them or outlawing their political parties at any sign of dissent. They bar blacks from the best schools, health services and jobs."

USA Today said if National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk wanted US support he had to bring about real change.

The best place to start would be to free Mandela, the foremost symbol of suppression. But that was only the beginning. Apartheid had to be ended completely. Blacks had to be made full partners in the political process.

The newpaper said the Government had to lift the appalling state of emergency that deprived blacks of the right to peaceful expression and hid the regime's brutality from the world by restricting the press. It had to begin talks with black leaders.

"South Africa's leaders have not budged on these issues. Until they see the light, the US must turn up the heat," it said.

"Sanctions, like the double tax on South African profits that prompted Goodyear to pull out, must be continued. New sanctions should be considered.

"Companies and universities must stop contributing to the South African economy. Tourists should find other places to spend their dollars. Individuals must express their outrage.

"This nation, home of democracy, can't tolerate tyranny."

LATE EDITION

Full text of the statement

The full text of Mr Nelson Mandela's statement as released by the Prisons Department:

"The statement issued by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on the meeting between the State President and myself is an accurate reflection of what happened at the meeting. The statement, however, constitutes no deviation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years, namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, with the African National Congress, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country.

"I make this statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President. I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development.

"I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage. As implied in the original statement, I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa." — Sapa.



Further cracks in unity effort

(304A)

We back CP, say 2 rightwing leaders

Star 13/7/89

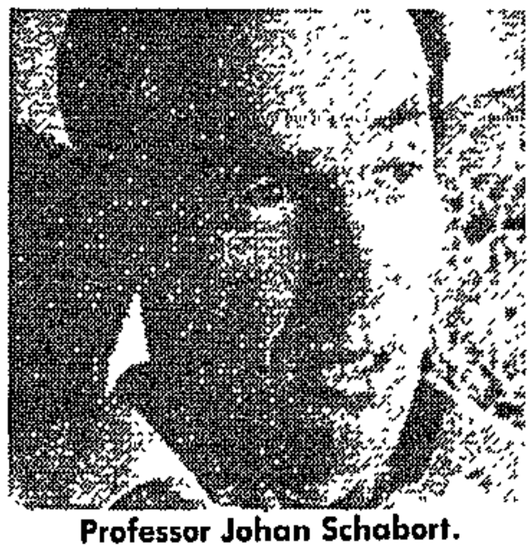
By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The unity row between parties on the political Right took a surprising turn yesterday when two of the four leaders who have been involved in efforts to form a broad rightwing front publicly pledged their support for the Conservative Party.

Professor Johan Schabort, leader of the restricted Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), and Mr Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party (BP), issued statements in which they expressed support for the CP.

Last week, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the AWB and the BP announced they had reached an agreement and called on the CP to enter the agreement to consolidate rightwing support in the September general election.

The three organisations claimed the support of Professor Schabort for a unity movement which had been rejected from the start by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.



Professor Johan Schabort.

This week Professor Schabort denied he was part of their bid to form a rightwing front. Yesterday he pledged full support for the CP and urged the HNP, AWB and BP to do the same.

He said the CP's "openness" for different rightist viewpoints made unity within the CP possible, while an "undisciplined, fued-torn rightist alliance without a consolidated leadership has to be avoided at all costs". He appealed to the HNP, AWB and BP to disband the front and to withdraw all general election candidates against the CP.

In a statement, Mr van Tonder said the CP's rejection of an election agreement had weakened the political Right's chances of defeating the NP. "Despite the CP's refusal to cooperate, the BP keeps to its previous decision not to hamper the CP's chances of ousting the NP. Therefore the BP will not put up candidates in this election."

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, seemingly unaware of Mr van Tonder's statement, said: "In terms of numbers, the BP and BBB did not mean much."

Asked whether the HNP and AWB would continue plans for an election agreement, Mr Marais said no definite decisions had been taken.

Mr Andries Beyers, the CP's Transvaal chief secretary, declined to comment on the latest moves but repeated his party's viewpoint that rightwing unity had to a large extent already been achieved within the CP.

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

Star 13/7/87. (304A)

2-pronged campaign launched by NP

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The National Party has launched a two-pronged election advertising campaign in suburbs north of Johannesburg — on the one hand highlighting its new reform drive, on the other slating the Democratic Party for "taking orders" from the African National Congress.

While this strategy has drawn immediate criticism from the DP, it is viewed with unease in NP circles. Some NP organisers believe a campaign against the DP's attitude towards the ANC could backfire at the polls.

Implying the DP is controlled by the banned ANC, a NP advertisement for Johannesburg West MP Mr Roelf Meyer quotes dispelled DP MP Mr Pat Poovalingam as saying some white DP MPs had "given in to the ANC". This refers to the DP's controversial decision to selectively field Indian candidates in the September election.

In stark contrast is a local advertisement in support of Mr Glenn Babb, the NP's candidate in Randburg against DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan. Endorsed by television celebrity Tony Sanderson, the advertisement stresses the NP's new leadership, vision and emphasis on negotiation and reform.

Mr Babb said yesterday although some advertisements in his campaign would attack the DP's constitutional and economic policies, most would positively state NP policy.

"You can't sell a Ford by maligning a Chev. We want to stress the NP's new momentum, a party that has learnt how to manage change. We want to bring self-confidence and humour into the campaign," Mr Babb said.

Mr Alwyn Marx, Mr Meyer's campaign manager, said the NP's Johannesburg West campaign would also be positive. However, the DP's policies would be attacked "when the opportunity arises, as with the Poovalingam saga".

Mr Peter Soal, the DP's Southern Transvaal chairman, said the two-pronged campaign was indicative of the NP's "two-faced, Jekyll-and-Hyde personality".

"They attack the ANC on the one hand and talk to it on the other," he said, referring to the recent meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela.

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

CP is to break 'media curtain'

Political Reporter

The Conservative Party would announce its election manifesto at a public meeting in Pretoria on July 25, Transvaal chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers said yesterday.

The CP would hold more than 600 public meetings countrywide before the September 6 election.

"We are doing this to break through the media curtain and to bring the message of the CP personally to as many people as possible," Mr Beyers said.

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

Syrup won't soothe voters - De Beer

Star 13/7/87 (304A)

Political Reporter

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer launched a scathing attack on the National Party's economic and constitutional policies last night, saying the NP had lost credibility among white and black.

The state of the economy was likely to be the decisive factor in the September general election, Dr de Beer predicted.

"Things have become so bad that no amount of soothing syrup or swart gevaar propaganda is going to make the voter forget what is happening," he said.

Dr de Beer addressed two meetings in Johannesburg, one in the Bezuidenhout constituency and the other in Johannesburg West.

Highlighting inflation and economic decline, he said consistently high government expenditure was an important cause of inflation and high taxation.

Another reason was that the government was borrowing money, which was supposed to be used for capital development to finance current expenditure.

"To borrow money long-term now to pay the salaries of today's civil servants is simply to steal from the coming generations the money they ought to have to improve their quality of life."

Dr de Beer said the NP's persistent emphasis on the "own affairs" concept did not offer constitutional solutions.

"Release Nelson Mandela, start negotiating a new constitution based on equal human dignity, scrap all apartheid, restore internal peace, lift the emergency, regain the confidence of the world.

"That way, and that way only, our people can have a better quality of life."

Report by Esmare van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

ierican tour this week were ... Keith Richards and Ron Wood. Picture: REUTER

Govt gives go-ahead to KwaNatal forum

CAT 7mi6 13/7/89

304/t

Political Staff

IN a marked softening of government criticisms of the KwaNatal Indaba, the leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday agreed to the establishment of a forum between the Indaba and the government.

The proposal for the forum, which would consist of five government representatives and five Indaba representatives with a rotating chair, is to be considered by the government and by the Indaba Steering Committee.

The call for the establishment of the forum followed talks yesterday in Durban between Mr Botha and two members of the Indaba Steering Committee, Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Dr Frank Mdlalose.

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

 304A

Dealing with fear of future



A large section of the white electorate, conditioned by fears created by the government, is finding it extremely difficult to accept the inevitability of majority rule. And as the international and sub-continental scenario changes, the overall effect on South Africa will be immense.

In a paper entitled "The Role of Whites in a Changing Society", presented at a recent Lusaka conference, Five Freedoms Forum chairperson MIKE OLIVIER, left, argues that the development and growth of a formal anti-apartheid alliance is essential if the efforts of whites are to be mobilised in the process of transformation. The following is an edited extract from the paper:

IF we look at the South Africa of June 30 1989, we see an immense amount of confusion, a fair degree of madness and a small dollup of sanity.

The president-to-be, F W de Klerk, has been flying around Europe desperately trying to persuade governments that he has something real to offer in the way of fundamental change.

And he knows very well that if he does not deliver the goods, and soon, his government, and the country as a whole, will face renewed and perhaps unprecedented international pressure.

If we remember that only 18 months ago his government's ambassador to the United Nations, Les Manley, told the world to "do its damnest", we can appreciate how fast things are changing.

As Frederick van Zyl Slabbert points out, the government has shifted its approach from a multi-nation, partitioned structure to one of rhetoric about a one-nation, integrated state

The impact of this group-oriented and racially-based, co-optive approach needs to be assessed, particularly as the entire machinery of the government has for 40 years been geared towards the achievement of the partitioned multi-nation state

I believe that the mass of inconsistencies in government policy and practice will evolve into an ever-growing mess as the ideological base of apartheid continues to fall apart

Obstruct

Back home FW faces different pressures. On the one hand, he faces a rightwing outside and inside of his own party, which is doing everything in its power to resist and obstruct fundamental change.

The 41 years of apartheid rule are starting to repeat on the National Party. The indigestion is severe!

They are finding that effective breath fresheners are hard to come by once halitosis sets in. A large section of the white electorate, conditioned by fears created by the government itself, are finding it extraordinarily difficult to accept the inevitable.

This is how the NP comes to the schizophrenic position where, on the one hand, their more realistic thinkers know full well that the day is coming when they will have to speak and negotiate with the ANC, and on the other, they feel obliged to fight the election on an "ANC-gevaar" platform

It is naive to think that the negotiation of a new future for South Africa will be a simple coming together of two or so parties around a table. The process is immensely complicated.

Complicating

In this light it is interesting to think of the various government "reforms" as retreats from previously held "non-negotiable" positions.

One of the complicating factors in this whole area is that the government has not defined its "bottom line".

Other than assuming that it does not want to give up its position of power, no attempt has ever been made to define its goal honestly

In most whites there is a very real level of fear of the future which involves a fear of the black community. This is an almost inevitable legacy of four decades of apartheid, three centuries of separation and a very good propaganda programme of media control.

Sometimes this fear is subliminal, but increasingly it is coming out into the open. At its most extreme it is represented by monsters like Barend Strydom

What we have found through our experience in Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), and there are many others here with similar stories to tell, is that certain kinds of political action have the effect of reducing this level of fear.

By creating nonracial experiences in a way that is neither threatening nor patronising, we have found that in a relatively short period of time white fears start to evaporate. We do understand, however, that politics is about power and that it is not enough to create comfortable nonracial environments.

These need to be combined with a variety of pressures for change.

One reality of white conditioning is that the vast majority of whites overtly or tacitly support violence by the state in one form or another.

Most support the state of emergency, are relatively uncritical of SADF actions and give very little thought to security force atrocities.

In fact, whites have consistently voted to retain present privilege rather than focus on longer-term enlightened self-interest.

At the same time only a very small proportion of the white community would be prepared to consider that the decision by the ANC to take up arms had any legitimacy.

Armed attacks on civilian targets such as Wimpy Bars and shopping centres serve to bolster such views and to reduce support for negotiated settlements. The same could be said of "necklace" attacks.

The response of the white community to pressure from the black community is diverse Sections of the white community are goaded into action whenever the townships are ignited.

For example, during the 1984-1986 "unrest", an important section of the business community started taking anti-apartheid initiatives. Some went to visit the ANC; others became more high profile in imploring the government to change.

The economy is perhaps the second major factor affecting white attitudes. Whites seek to preserve their way of life and the support for this lies in their stake in, and dependance on, the state of the economy

The close interrelation with demographics and economics has a situation where in many respects apartheid has become unworkable.

South Africa's population, including the so-called "independent homelands", is conservatively estimated at around 40 million today. Of this, five million are white.

The black population is growing very rapidly. At the moment whites represent 12 to 13 percent of the total population. It won't be too long before they comprise less than 10 percent

The white community is therefore simply not large enough to provide for the skilled and professional labour needs of the economy

Conversely, the black living areas are simply not large enough to house the growing black population.

These kinds of factors, combined with the more direct political pressures, have led to the phasing out of job reservation and influx control and have signed the death warrants of the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts

Labour unions have brought considerable political pressure to bear on business and its white management both around the negotiating table and on the shop floor.

The other side of the coin for the white community, however, is the fear factor

The combination of negative growth rates in real terms, increased government spending on such non-productive areas as defence and apartheid machinery, as well as privatisation and changed political priorities, have all contributed to a situation where the government can no longer afford to guarantee whites an economically secure future.

Henchman

Another very important force affecting white attitudes is the changing international and sub-continental scenario.

At its most basic level, the emerging bilateralism between the Soviet Union and the Western powers with regard to Southern Africa has denied the government the convenient bogeyman of the "Red under the Bed and the Bear on the Border"

Now, suddenly, Pik Botha is sharing a jet cockpit with Russians and Cubans, who in turn are paying their respects to President Botha in Tuynhuis.

And there have been whispers that some of Botha's erstwhile henchmen have been whispering to the ANC in such exotic surroundings as Bermuda. It is all very confusing.

At the macro level, it seems more than possible that profound changes will come about as a result of the changed international scenario.

Exactly what effect on white attitudes the release of Mandela and the end to the emergency may have, I am not sure, but I suspect that both the CP and the DP will benefit. There is no doubt that the overall effect on South Africa will be immense

The same can be said about the situation in Namibia Like everything else in the subcontinent, it pulls in different directions On the one hand, the likelihood of a Swapo election victory in November will enhance the fears of majority rule for many whites.

Shortage

On the other hand, thousands of South African troops will be back home This will both open the temptation for a greater SADF presence in the townships, and will strengthen pressures for further reduction in military service, as well as for a viable system of alternative service.

Already the skills shortage exacerbated by the high level of emigration of conscripted professions, has led to groups like the Human Sciences Research Council calling for changes in this regard. We can expect this to become even more of an issue in the future.

If anything is clear from all this, it is that we are living in extremely interesting and volatile times.

For those of us working in the white community, they will require extraordinary depths of imagination, creativity and courage to make the best of them.

If our aim is to end apartheid and to build nonracialism, then it is as well to have a good understanding of those forces working in the opposite direction, to uphold, strengthen or remodel apartheid.

The National Security Management System was constructed as a means of managing this programme Headed by the State Security Council, which came to dominate the cabinet, it devolved down to 11 regional Joint Management Centres and about 350 mini-JMC's in each town and village.

The political philosophy which underpinned this system was one which held that the majority of people were not particularly concerned about national level political issues, but were primarily interested in bread-and-butter matters.

Where problems existed, these could be exploited by a revolutionary minority. The solution was therefore to eliminate the revolutionaries and upgrade the "oilspots".

The mini JMC's were the eyes and the ears that made the appropriate recommendations. The country came to be governed by an extra-parliamentary structure.

The one side of this was the detention of over 30 000 activists, the emergence of vigilante groups and death squads, the restriction of the press and banning of over 30 organisations. The other side was the attempts to upgrade "oilspots" like Alexandra and Bonteheuwel.

Mandela

Over the past six months, both sides of this equation have run into severe troubles. On the one hand, the finances are simply not available to do the kind of upgrading that will win any lasting support.

On the other hand, the government had to give in to the hunger strike, release detainees and relax the implementation of the press restrictions, due to a combination of local and international pressures

It goes without saying that the release of Mandela and the end to the state of emergency will be anathema to those favouring the "counter insurgency" solutions.

The inability of the SADF to "win" the war in Angola, the demise of PW Botha and the fact that FW de Klerk's background is not based in the security forces or the police like Vorster or the military like Botha, has also reduced the dominance of the "securocrats" and has therefore opened the way for a greater role for parliament and the NP.

But the NP itself faces a crisis that it has no way of getting out of They are finding it more and more difficult to appease an increasingly demanding international community, satisfy the simmering anger of the black majority and placate an increasingly suspicious white electorate.

The result has been that they have been pulling in conflicting directions with little sense of coherence and no sense of vision.

And their cause is not helped by frequent revelations of corruption within the NP and within the bureaucracy.

It is likely that they will come through September's election with a significantly reduced majority, after which FW de Klerk's honeymoon will definitely be over.

One result of the reforms that have taken place has been the parting of the ways between the NP and many in the bureaucracy and the security forces, as the NP has left the rightwing behind

Within both the police and at least the lower ranks of army, there is strong support for the CP, and in some cases the AWB

So far the government has made little serious attempt to stop it.

There is no doubt in my mind that one effect of a free Mandela and a terminated state of emergency will be the enhancing of this tendency, because it will deepen suspicions that the government has gone "soft"

Similarly, the government's moves towards privatisation and its tentative moves to trim the bureaucracy have led to a strengthening of the CP within the civil service

In general, however, it appears there are real limits to the growth potential of the far right

While it is too early to write them off as a real threat, demographics and economics make it impossible to turn back the clock.

A few of the more honest of their number have realised this and are turning towards the idea of a "modest-sized Volkstaat".

But abandoning the country's wealth for a life of purity and whiteness is hardly likely to attract more than a small minority of zealots.

My fear, though, is that they will become more frustrated and more violent as a result I think we can expect to see more of the assassination squads and the "Barend Strydoms" in the future.

In the final analysis, it is the very reliance on an awe of authoritarianism that is undermining the structures of the state

The weaknesses of autocracy and the authority figures that evolve as its leaders is that they are forced to take on more than they can handle. They cannot question and change.

Democracy is foreign to their upbringing. So as the forces of economics, demographics and internal and external social and political pressure mount and grow more complex, the foundations begin to crumble.

Vibrant

This is most obvious at local city level, and it is here that the greatest opportunities lie for those of us who want to build a nonracial democratic society.

For it at the local level that people can take control of the situations affecting their own lives and where the opportunities for alliances between local organisations exist.

On the other side of the white fence is the existence of what I see as an increasingly vibrant anti-apartheid, pro-nonracialism opposition in the white community.

Aside from a few problems, I am encouraged by the performance of the DP so far. Its formation allows for a powerful pro nonracial force within the white community which can go way beyond the sum of its original three constituent parts.

At least within the House of Assembly, I think it has a very important role to play in a variety of ways.

The general view in my organisation is that there is a strong parliamentary tradition within the white community, and that in a real way parliament is representative of the majority of the white electorate.

It therefore makes little sense to us to campaign for a boycott of the white elections and a lot of sense to seek to strengthen the DP One of the hopeful signs is the party's commitment to liaising with extra-parliamentary groups.

There are definite actions that members of parliament can undertake to the process of transformation in South Africa.

Our role is to ensure that those in parliament who strive for goals similar to our own are encouraged to use the space that parliament allows them

It would be very sad if this issue led to a reopening of the divide between the white parliamentary anti-apartheid opposition and extra parliamentray groups

Within the white community the days of extra parliamentary opposition being confined to Nusas, Black Sash and a handful of white trade unionists is long since over.

Stoffel Botha softens his stance on Natal Indaba

B1 Day 131 7 89 (304 A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha, in a marked softening of government attitude towards the KwaNatal Indaba, yesterday agreed to a forum between the Indaba and government.

The proposal for the forum, consisting of five government and five Indaba representatives with a rotating chairman, is to be considered by government and by the Indaba steering committee.

The move to establish the body followed talks in Durban yesterday between Botha and committee members Oscar Dhlomo and Frank Mdlalose.

NP MPs in Natal have strongly criticised the Indaba proposals. Botha has said they are a recipe for domination.

Botha and Dhlomo said yesterday their talks centred around the advisability of establishing a forum to facilitate discussions.

Government's rejection of Indaba proposals was one reason cited by DP co-leader Denis Worrall for quitting as SA ambassador in London in 1987.

Meeting with Chissano confirmed

De Klerk is on course for major summit

MIKE ROBERTSON

NP LEADER F W de Klerk will hold talks with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo on July 19, which could be a prelude to a regional summit of southern African leaders.

The Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed the Maputo meeting last night and said Foreign Minister Pik Botha would accompany De Klerk.

The visit would be a precursor to a summit of southern African leaders, former deputy director general of Foreign Affairs Glenn Babb said yesterday.

Babb, who is standing for the NP in Randburg in the general election, has been involved in all recent preparatory work to bring about regional rapprochement.

Babb said the meeting with Chissano was important as Chissano would have a crucial role to play in persuading Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe to agree to a regional conference.

"Chissano is an important player. I was in Zaire when the Angolan peace discussions took place and he played a big role in getting the MPLA and Unita to come together."

Babb predicted that after November 1 either Chissano or Kaunda would convene a regional conference — with SA present.

Countries represented at the conference would include SA, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.

Mugabe, he said, was the only southern African leader at this stage opposed to the convening of a conference, which would aim to develop a united southern African bloc to deal, in particular, with Europe after 1992.



● DE KLERK



● CHISSANO

The conference would also have as an aim developing regional co-operation to a point where southern African states could play a positive role in influencing the internal situation in SA.

They could do this by trying to persuade opposition groups like the ANC to adopt a "reasonable" attitude to negotiations.

With the exception of Mugabe, Babb said, there was strong support from African leaders for regional economic co-operation.

There was vast scope for co-operation in electricity supply and the re-routing of railways, and African leaders had already expressed interest in this regard.

But regional co-operation did not just cover economic terrain. There were enor-

☐ To Page 2

Maputo talks

☐ From Page 1

mous advantages in the political arena and the southern African leaders were looking to De Klerk to take the lead in this respect.

SA, he said, would have great difficulty in dealing with a united Europe after 1992. Referring to the more closed market Europe would then present, Babb said SA needed to take the rest of the sub-continent with it. The southern African states would be treated as poor relations in terms of the Lome Convention.

Together, however, southern Africa with SA's economic muscle, would constitute a powerful enough force to negotiate a fair deal with the EEC.

SA, he said, did not have the finances to give large scale assistance to Mozambique, but it had given the private sector "a lot of facility" to get involved.

Our Political Staff reports from Harare that SA and Mozambique are expected to establish full diplomatic relations before the end of the year. This is the view of the former Beira Corridor Project MD Eddie Cross.

In a wide ranging talk on the situation in the southern African region, Cross stated that:

☐ Unita's Jonas Savimbi would dominate a government of national unity in Angola;

☐ SA's arms exports to Mozambique were bigger than the Soviet Union's, and;

☐ Seven of the nine SADDC countries had either economic, diplomatic or military links with SA.

Citing sources in Mozambique, he said the delay in the establishment of relations between SA and Mozambique was caused by the desire of the Mozambican government to resolve its conflict with Renamo before entering into a formal diplomatic situation.

...to public confidence.
● Comment: Page 6

Nat's public talks with ANC a 'first'

B1 Day 13/7/89

304A

HARARE — An NP town councillor and former MPC is due tomorrow to become the first NP member to talk publicly to the ANC.

Stephan van Metzinger, who has been on the Randburg Town Council since 1977 and was the youngest mayor in SA the following year, is one of 27 people on an Idasa-sponsored tour of the Frontline states, and will take part in two days of talks with the ANC in Lusaka tomorrow.

Van Metzinger who has twice been mayor of Randburg is currently the deputy-chairman of the management committee.

He was NP MPC for Randburg from 1981 until the provincial councils were abolished in mid-1986.

Van Metzinger said yesterday he was travelling in his personal capacity as a businessman and had "come with an open mind". He had consulted both the NP caucus in Randburg and his company before embarking on the trip.

He said the talks with the ANC were only two days out of 14 and that the group was consulting a whole range of opinion.

Reviewing the tour so far, he said he remained convinced that "the way to peace is not through revolution or the taking up of arms, but by constructive dialogue between the parties involved".

It was clear that fundamental change in SA had to take place — and quickly.

Van Metzinger said he had not hesitated to state that he was a member of the NP and an office bearer. He is the first NP member to participate publicly in talks with the ANC. Private talks with NP members have taken place in the past.

If he is expelled from the NP for the ANC meeting, the party's poor position in Randburg will be further weakened.

Political Staff

□ MICHAEL HARTNACK reports from Victoria Falls that SA writers and ANC members have concluded a four-day meeting with a resolution welcoming the ANC's paper in May on a selective cultural and academic boycott of SA.

They deplored "the cultural impoverishment which results from enforced separation" and looked forward to "an Afrikaans freed of its racist connotations".

An Idasa spokesman in SA said the resolution was adopted unanimously by the 45 writers, most of whom were Afrikaans-speaking and lived in SA.

De Klerk plans Mozambique trip

Political Staff

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk heads north next week, meeting first President Joaquim Chissano on Wednesday when he will seek to add impetus to the Mozambique peace effort.

South African officials have held discussions about possible meetings between Mr de Klerk and African leaders such as President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, but nothing definite has emerged.

During Mr de Klerk's recent visit to Britain and Europe, leaders backed peace efforts in Mozambique.

The Government's involvement in a new peace bid became apparent in February when Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha met Mr Chissano.

Sowetan 13/7/89

Afrikaans writers say unban ANC

AFRIKAANS writers have agreed with the ANC that apartheid must be rejected, the ANC ban lifted, the state of emergency ended, political prisoners released, troops removed from the townships and laws that ban legitimate political activity abrogated.

The 45 South African writers committed themselves to these objectives after a four day meeting with an ANC delegation at the Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe.

A communique stated: "The conference expressed its total rejection of apartheid as writers together from both inside and outside South Africa, intensely aware of our shared concerns and deploring the way in which our culture is impoverished by our enforced separation, we commit ourselves to work for the objectives outlined."

Aims

The communique spoke of aims of finding a truly representative South African literature in which Afrikaans, freed of its racist connotations, would naturally find its place.

The communique concluded: "We recognise that an organisation such as the Congress of South African Writers (Cosaw) is a legitimate representative of the sentiments expressed over days together at the Victoria Falls.

"Entering the struggle is the means of beginning to be a South African. It is not heroic to oppose apartheid - it is normal."

Meanwhile at ANC headquarters in Lusaka the protection of human rights in a post apartheid South Africa was discussed between the ANC and a delegation of Lawyers for Human Rights.

Pay us Govt is told

WITH the exception of those on holiday, all white residents of Zuurbekom smallholdings in the Losberg constituency have signed a petition asking the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, to compensate whites who wished to leave the racially mixed area.

Soweto 13/7/84

In a statement Mr S C Jacobs, Conservative Party MP for Losberg, said the area was earmarked in November last year for incorporation into Soweto and blacks were already moving into the area.

He said the security situation in the area was deteriorating and recently a white resident was murdered by blacks.

The current expectation on the part of the government that whites in Zuurbekom sell their property direct to blacks was causing great discontent, Jacobs said. — Sapa.

Vatican 'confident' Pope will visit SA

304A
Star 13/7/87

The Star's Foreign News Service

ROME — A papal visit to South Africa next year is now a "distinct possibility," according to a Vatican official.

Another Vatican source went further, saying he was "absolutely confident" the visit would take place, adding: "Even the Roman Catholic bishops in South Africa are now anxious for His Holiness to go there. They have dropped all their past opposition to such a mission."

It seems the only doubt is exactly when the visit will be made.

Cardinal Owen McCann, who had a private audience with the Pope at the Apostolic Palace last Friday, said the visit could take place next May.

The source said the Pope wanted to visit South Africa despite all the problems involved because he felt his presence "could help the church there in its struggle for human rights and racial equality".

Apartheid must go – De Beer

Call for more discussion with the ANC

Star 14/7/89
304A

Political Reporter

Continued dialogue with the ANC on its pro-socialism stance could well convince it of the merits of capitalism, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said in Benoni last night.

Since his first meeting with ANC representatives four years ago, the ANC had "improved somewhat on the question of socialism which has, after all, become unfashionable all over the world just because it is such a terrible failure", he said.

"It is my impression that the ANC has not come nearly far enough towards free enterprise, but I believe that more study and more discussion could well prove fruitful in this regard."

Referring to the outlawed organisation's position on violence, he said jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's recently expressed commitment to peace offered hope. However, a negotiated political settlement would be impossible unless race discrimination was dismantled.

"If you want to regain prosperity for South Africa, you must first gain peace. And to gain peace, we must negotiate. And to negotiate, we must scrap race discrimination."

Urging voters to support the DP in the September general election, Dr de Beer said the DP stood openly and proudly for a policy based on justice.

On the other hand, the CP stood for a policy based on race discrimination, and the NP "sits on the fence". The NP would have to change further and faster if it wanted to be in a position to negotiate successfully.

Such negotiations would have to include the ANC and other organisations in the "mass democratic movement", he said.

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

Treurnicht condemns jail statement

Star 14/7/84.

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

"It was shocking to see how the National Party was using jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela for its own propaganda, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

In a strongly-worded statement condemning Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's allowing Mr Mandela to release a statement on his meeting last week with State President P W Botha, Dr Treurnicht said: "The CP rejects the conniving with the ANC in the strongest possible terms, and wishes to point out that the NP's attempt to enhance Mandela's status to that of a folk hero is transparent and will not work." ~~449~~ 3049

Mr Coetsee's permission this week to Mr Mandela to release his statement was directly in conflict with the established policy that no prisoners were allowed to release statements from prison, the CP leader said.

'PRELUDE TO RELEASE'

Attached to Dr Treurnicht's statement was a 1985 newspaper report quoting Mr Coetsee as saying no state could allow political propaganda to be issued from jail. That also applied to Mr Mandela, Mr Coetsee said at the time.

Dr Treurnicht challenged Mr Coetsee to state whether the Government's policy in this regard had changed and whether "Mandela is going to be allowed to freely release statements to the media in future".

The recent developments around Mr Mandela were clearly a prelude to his release soon after the September general election, Dr Treurnicht said.

The NP and the ANC had already reached common ground on the principle of a unitary state. It now appeared as if there was closer rapprochement between the NP and ANC as political organisations.

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

Protest aimed at far Right mother

Pretoria Correspondent

A plea of not guilty has been noted by a Pretoria Regional Court magistrate for the Roodepoort mother who demonstrated outside the Pretoria Supreme Court on the day mass murderer Barend Strydom was sentenced to death.

Mrs Sandra Lucia Ewer (28), pleaded guilty yesterday to demonstrating within a 500 m radius of a court building.

A plea of not guilty was noted by magistrate Mr J A Venter as he felt that in her plea explanation, Mrs Ewer did not plead guilty to all aspects of the charge.

Mrs Ewer said she did not realise that only one person could be responsible for a demonstration. She said she did not know there was a law against demonstrating within 500 m of a court building, but if she had known she would have demonstrated outside the radius.

Mrs Ewer said her action — holding up a placard in front of police and press — was not aimed at the State, but at the far Rright.

During the week of May 22 this year, by way of the press, she said she was continuously exposed to the far Right organisations and their support of mass murderer Strydom. Their actions were in contrast to her moral and religious convictions.

Mrs Ewer said she felt the far Right was using the trial as a political platform for their racial principles.

In her actions, Mrs Ewer said she hoped the world would see that not all Afrikaners supported murderers.

Mrs Ewer was warned to appear in court on October 16

KELD • FLORIDA • ROSETTENVILLE
D489053

TerreBlanche will not stand in Rustenburg

Pretoria Correspondent

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, has decided not to stand as a candidate in the September election.

His decision follows the dissolution of a possible right-wing election front against the National Party.

Mr TerreBlanche said yesterday he decided to stand in Rstenburg because he wanted to facilitate "solidarity" among right-wing groups.

He said his decision not to contest the election was based on the rejection by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, for a call for right-wing unity.

Mr TerreBlanche said although he was prepared to "sacrifice" himself in the election, there was no reason for him to stand when a pact had not been achieved.

(Report by Esther Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

GOVERNMENT PENSION FUND

Active investment

The four institutions taking over R250m each of the Government Service Pension Fund will be largely confined to investing in

fixed interest instruments. So they won't be able to achieve the same results as normal pension funds which invest in equities and property. But, with active investment management in the right stocks, they are confident they will be able to generate a better rate of return than that achieved by the Public Investment Commissioners (PIC) which has invested the fund since 1911.

Standard Merchant Bank, Old Mutual, Southern Life and Corbank have been formally advised of the parameters within which they will be allowed to operate under the PIC Act. Restrictions will be much the same as those governing the PIC except for the opportunity to deal in futures and options, which investment managers say will play a minor role in the portfolios.

However; they will have the advantage of flexibility. The PIC is not able to move easily in and out of the market; it has collected some unmarketable stock over the years which trades infrequently, such as many municipal stock issues.

"Moreover, private investors have the benefit of specialist investment teams," says Southern Life deputy investment GM Carel de Ridder.

The Government Service Pension Fund regards this as an experiment to see whether the private sector can achieve better results from its investments. And the private sector hopes, if it succeeds, further chunks of the Government Service Pension Fund will be handed over. ■

NELSON MANDELA/P W BOTHA

Cometh the hour?

3044 H8 Fmail 14/7/89.

The meeting was momentous — but F W de Klerk will have to give it substance



There is an historical precedent — and an SA one, at that. When General Smuts had Gandhi brought before him from a cell, he conceded the Indian's relatively minor demand (for scrapping a poll tax), then released his prisoner on the spot — having found him the busfare to get home. Nobody imagines the release of Nelson Mandela could be quite that simple. Far higher stakes are involved.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu was being simplistic in describing the historic encounter between P W Botha and Mandela as "the outgoing president meeting someone who is going to succeed him in Tuynhuys." But the resonances of the event are profound.

Questions, which government is evidently still weighing, arise as to what Mandela will do on release; what his "attitude" will be once he's outside; how the townships will react to their messiah's return; and how events might turn out at Mandela's first public meeting.

These, in short, are all security considerations. As one old anti-apartheid campaigner observes, apropos a future mass rally around Mandela: "All of us would be duty-obliged to turn up — irrespective of whatever restrictions, if any, are imposed. No law would prevent massive attendance of, say, 500 000; and under such conditions how can anyone guarantee what will or will not happen? In that sense, government fears would perhaps be justified."

Yet the appearance of Accused Number One in the citadel of his Afrikaner foe for tea and a chat with the State President on July 5 has heightened expectations that the release of the world's most celebrated political prisoner is imminent — in spite of the dampeners put out by Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe. He says one should "not attach too much substantive value to (the meeting), although it was symbolically highly important."

Van der Merwe tells the *FM* that while it is much too early to talk about a date, government's approach to Mandela's release would be, if it *is* at all possible, to release him without any restrictions. But this depends on various factors — security again — and not all are under government's control.

He describes the meeting as forming part of the broader process of preparing the groundwork, and creating the climate, for future negotiations in SA.

Conceding that the meeting has perhaps raised expectations, Van der Merwe says it must be put into perspective. For a start, it cannot be concluded from one meeting that Mandela is about to be released: "The matter is far more complicated than that . . . The (Govan) Mbeki experience was not a favourable one, as people tried to take him on tours around the country, which led the security people to say there would be heightened unrest. What is going to happen the day after Mandela's release? The matter is very complicated."

Asked if his release would entail the unbanning of the ANC, the minister said these were quite separate matters. "We are treating with one individual, who, while he is regarded as the spiritual leader, holds no formal position in the ANC. He doesn't make policy, although I'm sure he has some impact on ANC policy."

The extra-parliamentary or mass democratic movement (MDM) dismissed the historic meeting as "not a great event." From the point of view of its actual political purchase, perhaps not. But its symbolic weight is undeniably important. The ANC's reaction to the meeting was to call it a public relations exercise. That may well be so. But it cuts both ways: the very fact of the meeting is an admission by government, for the first time, that the ANC is a key, if not crucial, player in any negotiations about SA's political future.

In this sense the meeting was a propaganda coup for the ANC. And for the MDM it would seem to create "strategic space" in which to operate, while at the same time weakening the State's case in various political treason trials.

From government's side, the great value of the meeting is captured in the statement issued three days later by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, which says: "No policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted. President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their *support for peaceful development* in SA." The conversation took place in a "pleasant spirit" and the possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed, added Coetsee, who was present.

To some in the MDM, that "support for peaceful development" is seen as Botha's means of finding a way to release Mandela without withdrawing his original condition — renunciation of violence. And it is consistent with the phrasing used in the Nats' new five-year plan, they point out.

However, spokesman for the MDM, the Rev Frank Chikane, announced after Winnie Mandela had visited her husband on Monday that Mandela has his own statement on the meeting with P W. While Prisons won't confirm or deny such a statement, Van der Merwe's understanding is that there is one, and publication is for Coetsee to decide. But he points out that Chikane confirmed that the meeting took place and that Coetsee's statement is "fairly accurate," to use Chikane's exact phrase. It would be interesting therefore to see Mandela's account, which puts the meeting in its "proper perspective," for any differences of nuance.

It is interesting to record that, according to Van der Merwe, it was Mandela who requested the meeting. Confirmation of that claim, as well as the rumour that Mandela had been in touch with Lusaka before the meeting, are essential for a proper understanding of the Tuynhuys indaba. Why, for example, does it leave the MDM feeling somewhat uneasy? Is Mandela going off on his own bat? Has he decided to play the role of interlocutor between government and the



Mandela



P W Botha

(3044) 14/7/89


Coetsee


De Klerk


Chikane


Mrs Mandela


Tambo

ANC?

These are powerful reasons why the man should be allowed to speak for himself. It is absurd, especially now, to keep him silenced. Too many people are busy interpreting his mind for him.

Meanwhile, a leading figure in the MDM, who won't be drawn on such questions as whether Mandela was in touch with Tambo, nevertheless explains: "The strategic objective of both Mandela and the ANC is the transfer of power to the people, whatever the form this takes, negotiation or armed struggle. This is identical to the MDM's position in calling for, among other things, the dismantling of apartheid structures, to ensure the people exercise the right of self-determination.

"The question is what form the realisation of this strategic objective must take. The recognised international form is the establishment of a constituent assembly, made up of all parties in SA.

"How you get there is the question, and, equally important, how *not* to get there. How not to get there is through secret negotiations, which sideline the very people who must participate. We believe the organised strength of the MDM is such that they are capable of expressing their point of view ... The remarkable thing is that Mandela has been consistent over the years in not bypassing this factor; not so the regime, which is interested in enmeshing people in schemes to retain white domination."

Even before the Botha-Mandela encounter, the best (British) leaks had it that Mandela would be freed a few weeks after the election in September. It has generally been assumed that F W de Klerk gave Margaret Thatcher this assurance when he visited Downing Street recently, even if the timing was left vague.

It was precisely P W's timing of his meeting with Mandela — weeks before what's billed as a watershed election — that has most observers perplexed. Surely this is ammunition for the Conservative Party (CP), which looks like gaining most out of the matter at the polls, they say? Could it be, however, that government calculations have the Democratic Party (DP) as its *real* electoral threat, with the CP seen as having irretrievably peaked in the 1987 local election? In that case, the Tuynhuys encounter may have been calculated to staunch the drift to the DP.

The MDM also describes the meeting as an election ploy, and as a ruse to try to stem international trade and sanctions pressure and the fall in the value of the rand. And there are others who are indeed inclined to believe that the meeting was in fact a case of the outgoing Great Crocodile, conscious of his place in history, doing his own thing. There is no suggestion that party leader De Klerk was not kept fully informed about the meeting — but some detected a clenched-jaw response from F W. It would be characteristic for P W to behave like this.

According to former PFP leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, the meeting raises various questions about precisely what is going on, which urgently need to be answered. It is strange to have had such a meeting on the eve of an election, thrown in as a kind of rogue event.

If it is part of the NP's plan of action then why did De Klerk not announce it to the electorate when he released the five-year plan? And if it is too risky to release him, why hold a tea-party with Mandela?

Slabbert says that while Van der Merwe has described the meeting as part of a plan, nobody knows what plan.

Mandela's release is inevitable, he feels. But while government can release him, like Mbeki, on humanitarian grounds, this, in a State of Emergency, could end up having nothing to do with negotiations. To use him as a ploy to settle grudges in the NP is worse, amounting to manipulating Mandela as a prisoner without allowing him to speak. What, asks Slabbert, is the great mystery about releasing Mandela, why the coyness and sneaking him into Tuynhuys?

It would be a tragedy if the implications of this interpretation were entirely true. That would simply lead to a dangerous heightening of expectations for change — and the higher they rise, the more chilling will be the outcome if they are dashed, as has happened so often in the past.

Whether or not P W has exercised presidential prerogative to place his probable successor a little in the shade does not matter too much.

Indications are that De Klerk envisages the release of the ANC leader — and that this is construed as part of the process leading to negotiations for a new constitutional deal that is acceptable internally and abroad. This, as the *FM* has recorded in the past few issues, is what leaders like Thatcher and Helmut Kohl — and George Bush to come — appear to have understood from their meetings with SA's next president.

P W has assured his place in the history books by meeting Mandela — though his motives remain inscrutable. Now that the die has been cast, it is up to De Klerk to clarify government's intentions. Once the election is out of the way, we should not have long to wait. ■

MANDELA'S VIEW

From Nelson Mandela's reply to P W Botha's offer of conditional release in January 1985: "I am a member of the African National Congress (ANC). I have always been a member of the ANC and I will remain a member of the ANC until the day I die.

"Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me ... There is no difference between his views and mine ...

"... I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored. When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer ... When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in SA to decide on their future. This too, was in vain.

"It was only then, when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us, that we turned to armed struggle.

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organisation, the ANC. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them ...

"I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated.

"I will return."

3044 (000) Weekly 14-20/7/89.

MANDELA AND PW

The tea-party that turned the world upside down

Mandela and PW: Yes, but what does it mean? What it means is that all the old rhetoric, all the stock responses, all the old schisms, are suddenly irrelevant. Right now, the rest of us have to catch up quickly

By ANTON HARBER

ONLY a few months ago South Africa was a place of reasonable certainty.

The State of Emergency was firmly in place, as was the National Party government. PW Botha was undisputed party leader, and Nelson Mandela was confined to his prison home.

South Africa bullied its neighbours. Its friends were rare, but at least it had a reliable set of enemies: the Soviets and their "surrogates", the African National Congress.

Politically, the country appeared to be deadlocked, unable to budge because of a government that was strong enough to hold on to power but politically too weak to take any decisive action.

The opposition, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, was divided and severely damaged by the Emergency; the state, on the other hand, was managing to maintain a reasonably coherent facade.

All of this has been true for some time — and you could have gambled your green card on it lasting for some time longer. South Africa was a typical authoritarian society — slow-moving and predictable.

When such societies become unstable, however, they move to the other extreme, with things falling apart fast and furiously.

And so they have. Mandela is taking tea in Tuynhuys, he and Botha share a desire to keep the details secret, his jailers have become his press agents — and suddenly anything seems possible.

Resistance organisations were stunned by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee's announcement of the Mandela-Botha tea party on Saturday. Most of them mouthed stock responses to the event.

"A public relations show," said the ANC.

"It shows that he (Mandela) has put the authorities in such a corner that they have no option but to deal with him to solve the crisis in the country," said the Reverend Frank Chikane, secretary general of the South African Council of Churches.

These non-responses must have been frustrating for those who were trying to make sense of what was happening. But the resistance movement was caught off-guard, and since Mandela's own statement on Wednesday was too cursory to be of any help, everyone was thrashing around in the dark.

More fundamentally, however, the incident showed just how insufficient the stock answers have become. The fact is that the South African sands are shifting so fast that responses which could previously be pressed into service in response to every government move are no longer satisfactory.

Consider just some of the developments so far this year:

● The State of Emergency has, in some respects, become a dead letter. The hunger strike earlier this year led to the release of hundreds of detainees, including many key local leaders who had been condemned to long-term imprisonment without trial. Although most of these people have been severely restricted, they are now back in their communities and able to start exerting influence there again.

● Many signs have emerged of deep division in the government, not just between Botha and his successor, but between different factions facing electoral threats from the left and right respectively.



PW Botha

● The country's relations with its neighbours has changed radically. Suddenly Pretoria is the prime advocate of Namibian independence and a broker in regional peace talks. Government officials are claiming that Frontline leaders are lining up to meet State President-elect FW de Klerk.

● Economically, the situation is looking startlingly pessimistic, and this is putting unprecedented — though often hidden — pressure on Pretoria.

● The international scene has been transformed, probably more than any other aspect. Contact between the Soviets and the US over Southern Africa has become an important factor in their relations with the sub-continent, with the possibility for the first time of a co-ordinated response to developments here.

At the same time, a new Washington administration asked to see United Democratic Front President Albertina Sisulu before seeing De Klerk, and is seeking a policy consensus with a strongly anti-apartheid congress.

None of this means there has been fundamental change in this country, or even that it is imminent. The walls around Pretoria are not about to crumble. It does, however, mean that the balance of forces is shifting so rapidly and so fundamentally that new thinking is needed to deal with it.

And this process is only going to speed up in the coming months — what with an election, and the aftermath in which De Klerk will have to deliver some of the promises he has given to Western leaders, key deadlines for debt repayment coming up next year, Namibian independence, a Commonwealth heads of state meeting in August, an Organisation of African Unity summit in October ...

In this climate, it may still be true to trot out the old truths about apartheid still being in place and the goverment showing no serious signs of real negotiations — but this is no longer enough.

There are some signs of fresh thinking in the opposition movement. The UDF leaders placed the issue of negotiations on the agenda of their talks with US President George Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the last few weeks. We are ready to negotiate, they are saying, provided it can be shown that the government is serious about negotiating and that the end-point is a non-racial democracy.

They also emphasised to the Western leaders the need for the international community to act, not to bring down the Botha government, but to help create political space in which they could operate normally.

There is a buzz around the concept of negotiations that is being heard in the unions, in exile organisations, and throughout the country.

"The rock has not only cracked, it is crumbling," ANC leader Harry Gwala said in a recent interview with the *Baltimore Sun*. "When Nazism was about to collapse under the might of the Allied powers, one could feel it in the air. That is what is happening in South Africa today; the air is full of negotiations. I see no longer only signs. I see the beginnings."

This week organisations around the country went into a huddle to try and work out the proper responses to the Mandela-Botha meeting. At the end of the week there was no sign yet of any clear responses.

It has been said that if the government wants to make real trouble for its opponents, all it really has to do is give them what they ask for. It did that — albeit in a limited way — with the Mandela meeting.

Tea at Tuynhuys — it's not yet time to party

Although of huge symbolic importance, the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha has to be seen as a step towards a beginning rather than the beginning itself, argues SHAUN JOHNSON

NEWS of Nelson Mandela's tea-taking with PW Botha threw the whole of South Africa into tumult — not least the vast numbers of people who regard themselves as his lifelong supporters

And his statement on Wednesday was too terse to settle the questions that had arisen.

Who requested the meeting? What was discussed? Was there a genuine attempt to keep it a secret, or was it leaked? What is the government playing at? And, most important, have "negotiations" been brought any closer?

The brevity displayed by both Kobie Coetsee and Mandela — as well as the silence from PW Botha — has ensured that it will be some time before such questions are authoritatively answered.

But amid the confusion of the past week, some beacons of clarity have emerged One is that Mandela was not, as had been hinted at initially, an unwilling participant in the meeting Another is that he clearly told no-one about it beforehand A third is that whatever did happen during those 45 fateful minutes in Tuynhuys, it wasn't "negotiations".

Each of these facts has an important bearing on any attempt to see beyond the welter of information and innuendo the encounter has encouraged.

The meeting has changed some things, but not everything. It has conferred an extraordinary legitimacy on the African National Congress, courtesy of the government At the same time it has raised questions (respectful and discreet, but earnest still) about the potential for Mandela undertaking initiatives on his own, when he thinks it opportune.

On both sides, state and resistance, this makes for a measure of fluidity in previously granite-like positions it is, at least, possible to meet. Even if the purpose is to share tea and not much more, the potential significance should not be lost

But the saga is separate from the much bigger issue of a negotiated settlement in South Africa, and many commentators have got dangerously carried away

The "democratic movement", through its spokesmen like the Rev Frank Chikane and Saki Macozoma of the South African Council of Churches, is quite right to rail against the euphoric headlines which equate tea with the first round of negotiations about the transformation of South Africa.

"Negotiations" still mean very different things to the resistance (external and internal) and the state.

The position of the former is detailed and clear, and becoming more so by the day, as consultations proceed apace. The government, for its part, has issued a manifesto on negotiations, couched in the ambivalent newspeak of the National Party.

It is imperative that sympathisers of the broad anti-apartheid movement understand the resistance's ground rules for eventual, serious negotiations These are set out in two crucial documents, one drafted last month and the other nearly two years old.

In the first, a summary by delegates of the "mass democratic movement" of their meeting with top-level ANC officials in Lusaka on June 6, there is an unequivocal acceptance that after the elections "the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987".

The "1987" reference is to the second document the ANC National Executive Committee's statement on negotiations, issued in Lusaka in October of that year, and specifically reaffirmed by the NEC last month

The 1987 preconditions, and these can be regarded as authoritative, are that the goverment would have to create a climate conducive to negotiations by, at the very least:

- Unconditionally releasing all political prisoners, detainees, captured freedom fighters and prisoners of war, as well as ordering the cessation of political trials,
- Lifting the State of Emergency, withdrawing the army and police from the townships,
- Repealing all repressive legislation and all laws empowering the regime to limit freedom of assembly, speech, the press and so on

It is the realisation that the government could conceivably address the substance of these — thus gaining the support of Western and even some African leaders — that causes the MDM document to conclude: "It is necessary for us to collectively review our position on negotiations ... to find an appropriate response that fends off this initiative in a manner that does not create division in our ranks, does not result in the demobilisation of the masses, does not result in any lessening of pressure from the international arena; and results in us maintaining the initiative against the regime."

Negotiations are therefore on the agenda as, indeed, they were in October 1987.

But here is the unchanging bottom line, and it is presented in bold type in the document to prove it: "This and only this should be the object of any negotiating process."

This is the reason that resistance leaders have been so concerned to underscore the fact that the Botha/Mandela encounter did not constitute the start of negotiations.

It would also run directly counter to the ANC's insistence, in the 1987 document, that it "once more reaffirmed its opposition to any secret negotiations We firmly believe that the people themselves must take part in shaping their destiny, and would have to be involved in any process of negotiations."

The MDM document accepts that several jailed leaders could shortly be released, that an African could find himself in the Cabinet, that the State of Emergency could be lifted, and that an "open-ended Indaba" could be proposed by State President-elect FW de Klerk.

But this will not be enough, and "we have to present proposals on this issue before the rest of the world comes up with something. The world must deal with our proposal rather than us having to deal with another initiative . we have to ensure that we do not give the false impression that the regime is prepared to hold genuine negotiations".

The Mandela meeting was very dramatic, and of tremendous symbolic importance. But it was not the whistle to signal kick-off.

What it does mark is the beginning of a shift, which has a long way to run yet, and could founder

Shadow of Stompie over Winnie's return to favour

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

THE conflict between Winnie Mandela and the "mass democratic movement" (MDM) over the actions of her "football club" is unresolved — but in crucial respects, she appears to have been rehabilitated.

Following last week's meeting between President PW Botha and her husband, Nelson Mandela, she is apparently serving as a conduit between the MDM and the jailed ANC leader

This week, she issued a statement denying that a birthday party, involving leaders of the democratic movement both in and out of jail, would be held for Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison.

She also gave an interview to the BBC clarifying the circumstances of Mandela's meeting with Botha, saying her husband had not been given the opportunity to prepare for the encounter.

In a statement this week clarifying issues surrounding the Botha/Mandela meeting, the South African Council of Churches said: "It is important to note that this incident broke out before differences between Mrs Mandela and community leaders that arose out of the Stompie incident had been resolved."

In March this year, MDM representatives called for Winnie Mandela to be isolated following allegations that her "football club" was linked to the murder of Tumahole child activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei.

In a statement distancing itself from her, the MDM said: "We are outraged at Mrs Mandela's obvious complicity in the recent abductions (of Stompie and three other youngsters). Had Stompie and his colleagues not been abducted by Mrs Mandela's 'football team', he would have been alive today."

Although she maintained a careful silence, Winnie Mandela sat this week with MDM leaders at two press conferences called by community leaders and the Mandela family. With her were Congress of South African Trade Unions assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi, National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and SACC secretary-general Frank Chikane.

As she left Cape Town after a brief visit to her husband this week, she told the press she would not give a statement concerning the Botha/Mandela visit until she had reported back to community leaders who had mandated her.

The MDM's dilemma over the Winnie issue could deepen in the near future. "It is our view that the government has got an ace up its sleeve, namely the Stompie issue," said the SACC, which has been central to communication between the jailed ANC leader and the MDM this week.

The SACC said some argued "that the government may release Mandela at the same time as it blows up the Stompie case. If it does so, it will subject Winnie Mandela to a trial by media whose objective will be to tie Nelson's hands and defuse the political implications and impact of his release."

The police this week announced the completion of an investigation into the murder of Seipei. The docket of the complete investigation now rests in the hands of the attorney-general.

The MDM has for some time tried to reconcile two differing approaches within its ranks to the scandal surrounding Winnie Mandela.

One approach is in keeping with the ANC call earlier this year for Winnie Mandela's rehabilitation. The other finds expression in the MDM's statement in March that "the only concern for the anti-apartheid groups was that people should not associate with Mrs Mandela, or participate in initiatives embarked on by her, in such a way that it could be misconstrued as being done at the behest of the mass democratic movement".



Kobie Coetsee ... party loyalist behind the Mandela-Botha meeting

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

Loyalty is key to riddle of Kobie

KOBIE COETSEE, the 58-year-old minister of justice and the government's chief negotiator with African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, is a man of contradictions, whose political about-turns can only be explained by his unquestioning loyalty to the National Party.

In recent months, he has talked a great deal about the need for a Bill of Rights and democracy.

Coetsee claimed at the NP's federal congress that his party was committed to democracy because there could be no legitimacy for a system which lacked participation by all.

"Democracy thus requires, if it is honest, equal and equivalent franchise for all citizens at all levels. Denial of the franchise to a group, or manipulation to render it unequal or not equivalent, is not justifiable and gives rise to never-ending unrest," he explained.

Yet, Coetsee heads the very department, the Prisons Service, which accommodated thousands of people arbitrarily detained in terms of the Emergency regulations — and the vast majority of them had been denied the franchise because of their race.

Easy talk about a Bill of Rights and civil liberties during an election campaign needs some perspective. Coetsee, for instance, heads the department which "lists" people in terms of the Internal Security Act. Hundreds of people, from Donald Woods to Oliver Tambo, cannot be quoted in South Africa — and he personally authorises the restrictions.

Freedom of the press and information is another fundamental civil liberty, which would be entrenched in a Bill of Rights. Yet, Coetsee was the very person who threatened to close down *Vrye Weekblad* shortly after it appeared and then demanded that it pay a R30 000 deposit before it could be registered.

He argued in Riversdale this week that the talks between Mandela and PW Botha were "a breakthrough". But in parliament last year, he said the demand by the ANC and the United Democratic Front for the release of Mandela was in reality merely a huge bluff, as Mandela and his fellow prisoners were worth far more to them in jail than out of it.

He said the ANC had created such an image of resistance and martyrdom around Mandela and the ANC "old guard" that it had become a more effective instrument for their cause than terrorism, adding that their release could also threaten established positions and thinking within the organisation.

In a revealing statement in the context of the Mandela-Botha talks, Coetsee added that the release of such people could be a tactical and strategic step whereby the government could deal its enemies a resounding blow.

Coetsee's contradictions reflect a a commitment to keeping the NP in power, while using it as an instrument of reform.

A lawyer by training, Coetsee was elected MP for Bloemfontein West in 1968. He has climbed the party ladder steadily, becoming the minister of justice in 1980 and leader of the NP in the Orange Free State five years later.

On the way, he served on the Schlebusch Commission into the National Union of South African Students, the Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute and the University Christian Movement, and was deputy minister of justice, defence and national security before being appointed to the cabinet.

Today, as a close confidant of FW de Klerk and a member of the State Security Council, he is an influential member of the government and will play a decisive role in unfolding government policy, as his part in the Mandela-Botha talks indicates.

Although he has appalling press relations — getting a statement from him or a decision on whether to allow a "listed" person to be quoted is a nightmarish process, which has frustrated many journalists — he is likeable, direct and friendly. Unlike many of his colleagues, he rarely makes a vituperative statement.

His political style was reflected in parliament this year when he paid tribute to Helen Suzman's "tenacity and tremendous influence in opposition politics ... The honourable member for Houghton has over a number of years been assuming the role of mother superior towards prime ministers, ministers of justice and law and order, issuing directives unabated". He even urged Suzman to reconsider her decision to resign.

However, as the archetypal party loyalist, he does not often break ranks. His outspokenly *verligte* speech at the NP's federal congress was an exception.

Kashgar

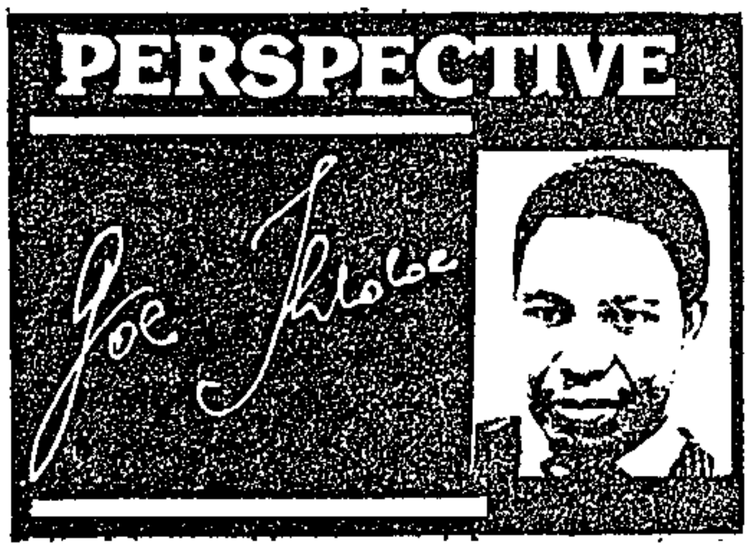


Shop 68, Upper Level
THE FIRS
Rosebank
(011) 880-3566

- Handwoven cotton durries
- Handmade silver jewellery
- Striped cotton bags
- Scatter & floor cushions
- Wall hangings
- Handicrafts from India, Nepal, Tibet & Thailand

Negotiations — SA's new catchword

PERSPECTIVE



PLEASE allow me to continue on the theme we started in last week's column, that of negotiations, the new buzz word in South Africa's political vocabulary.

It is so easy for a person to get caught up in lots of activity and lose sense of what it is all about.

Stories have been thrown at us at an unbelievable pace these past few weeks: ANC document on negotiation; Nelson Mandela meets PW Botha; FW de Klerk invited to the White House; Margaret Thatcher meets UDF leaders; etc.

A search for the logic of all this is very necessary if we are to avoid confusion.

At the heart of this talk about negotiations is the belief that apartheid must be scrapped. Its architects, the National Party, have said they now believe that it has to be scrapped and what they are looking for is a way of doing it.

It is this introspection within the ruling white society that has raised hopes that a negotiated settlement is imminent.

We need to understand that members of the National Party are not Sauls suddenly enveloped by a flash of light from heaven as they travel to Damascus. It is pressure that has pushed them to the position they occupy now, a little to the left of the 1948 position.

The pressures have been varied: internal revolts, which are always followed by the outrage of the international community and capital fleeing the country; the isolation of the country by the international community; and the nascent armed struggle by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Pressure

These pressures have strained the country's economy and if they continue, this beautiful land will be turned into a wasteland.

That much has now become clear to the majority of white South Africans. But they balk at the next logical step, which is to declare a ceasefire and get all the parties involved in the conflict to sit round a table to negotiate a future for our country.

Very simple statistics show why white South Africa is deliberately paralysed:

- In 1986/87, the Government spent R477 on the education of an indigenous African child; R1 021 on that of a coloured; R1 904, Indian; and R2 508 on that of a white child.
- In 1986 the average monthly earnings of an indigenous African were R500; that of a coloured R634; Indian, R912; and that of a white R1 732.

These simple statistics culled from the authoritative Race Relations Survey 1987/88 are just examples. All the statistics that measure power and privilege confirm this hierarchy.

An interesting thing about these statistics is that they show a self-sustaining system: there is no way that the indigenous African child, for example, is going to climb higher in the hierarchy for as long as the expenditure on his educationis still so low.

And it is this power that white South Africa is trying to protect. They still do not realise the potential that will be unleashed once we have a just dispensation in this country.

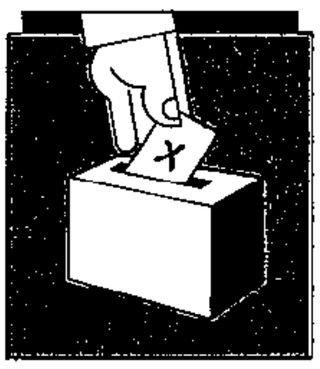
The dance on egg shells will continue and for as long as it continues, this country will not know peace.

The Margaret Thatchers and the Herman Cohen's should be concentrating their efforts on getting white South Africa to come to its senses, rather than trying to raise the hopes of the oppressed needlessly.

We need more convincing proof that white South Africa is ready for peace and prosperity for all.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Picking up steam



The Democratic Party (DP) may be plagued by internal dissent, but it seems that white voters either don't know about it — or don't care. The party's image remains positive enough to have pushed it higher in the popularity stakes than any white political group to the Left of government since the demise of the United Party (UP).

A poll by Mark en Meningopnames (M&M) for the Nat-supporting Sunday newspaper *Rapport* put support for the DP in June at 28%, a growth of 16,5% since the last poll in April which indicated 24% support for the party. Over the same period support for the NP dropped by a similar percentage from just under 49% to 41%, its lowest level in any *Rapport* poll. The previous low was 43% in 1982. The highest level of support reflected in a similar poll for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) was 22% under Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert's leadership in the early Eighties.

The results further convinced DP leaders that their plan to win "traditional" Nat seats in September's election is firmly on course. Co-leader Denis Worrall says he is being "very realistic" when he estimates the DP can win between 38 and 40 seats. This means that if the party can hold the 21 seats now to the NP's Left (including one NRP and one independent) and win back the 14 seats lost to the NP by the PFP and the NRP in the 1987 general election, Worrall is looking at gaining between three and five seats that have come to be regarded as "traditionally" NP (though they are likely to be seats captured from the UP during the disintegration of the former official opposition).

The M&M poll was conducted before the latest row over the DP's decision not to fight coloured and Indian seats on September 6 which resulted in DP House of Delegates leader Pat Poovalingam being expelled for an unrepentant attack on party leaders (*Current Affairs* July 7). But support for the DP has continued to grow in spite of the controversy that has dogged the party since its formation earlier this year, and there seems no reason why the Poovalingam affair should

SAILING AWAY ON THE SOUTHERN KOEDOE

The unceremonious axing more than a year ago of former SABC Director General Riaan Eksteen by President P W Botha will haunt the retiring leader for some time to come. One of his top aides, his private secretary Captain Ters Ehlers — for many years a familiar uniformed figure alongside Botha — has decided to join Eksteen in a business venture.

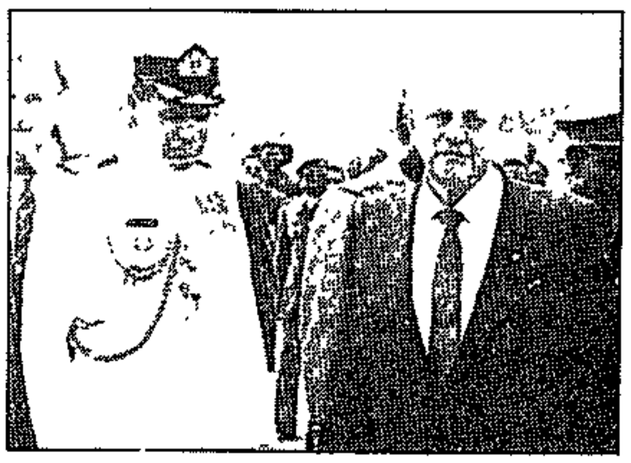
The *FM* learns that Ehlers, a former SA Navy submarine commander, will team up with Eksteen and a former top Foreign Affairs (FA) official turned businessman, Kobus Greeff, in a soon-to-be-registered high-profile economic and business consultancy. The company — its name to be derived from those of the three shareholders — will specialise in non-political analysis for top business.

Neither Eksteen, Ehlers nor Greeff was available for comment on their future plans. It is understood, however, that Ehlers may assist Botha until the end of the year before he teams up with the others.

Since his dramatic departure from Auckland Park after the SABC's coverage of the 1987 election results, and the corporation's handling of Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse's resignation from Cabinet, all of which earned Eksteen the wrath of Botha, the former SA ambassador at the UN has used his considerable experience in international affairs to advise top companies on political affairs.

A former diplomat and still a close confidante of FA Minister Pik Botha, whom he met 25 years ago, Eksteen spent five years in Washington and five as UN ambassador in New York before his appointment to the SABC. From 1964 he was closely involved with the peace process in Namibia which is now beginning to bear fruit. He visits the territory frequently and has just completed a three-day trip to Mozambique to promote the interests of an SA-based company.

During the past few months Eksteen has been doing political risk analysis for



Ehlers with P W Botha

Baird Communications in Randburg. At the same time he has been acting as a political analyst for the JSE brokerage Ed Hern, Rudolph Inc. In 1988 the company's joint MD, André Coetzee, headed the team which came third in the *FM*'s stockbrokers' ratings. The firm — with the State as joint sponsoring broker to the Iscor listing due in the first half of November — is probably the largest Afrikaans-based stockbroker and has extensive and close connections in government, financial and investment circles.

Eksteen is also a consultant for EVN Project Management, a Pretoria agricultural engineering company, the largest in SA. The EVN group has previously undertaken large projects in neighbouring countries and is now involving itself in project management in Mozambique.

Eksteen also recently entered into a joint partnership with Johannesburg businessman Antonio Ipolitto, MD of the freight forwarding company Multiways, to put up a factory, Pasta San Antonio, at Midrand. He also serves as a director of the Pretoria Travel Bureau.

During his term of office with P W Botha, Ehlers, who is fluent in French after having spent three years in France on submarine training, must have met virtually everyone of significance who entered the portals at Tuynhuys. He has accompanied Botha on all his trips to Europe and Africa. And Botha himself insisted on Ehlers' continued services when the former commander wanted to return to military life (*Current Affairs* July 7).

Greeff started his FA career in 1965, ending up as vice-consul in Milan. His relationship with Eksteen dates back to those early days in the department.

All three partners — with their background in international and African politics, and influential contacts in SA — have much to offer. Add to that Greeff's newly American registered Citation plane — and Africa does not have to be the limit.

Suzman lunches with Mandela

Cape Times 14/7/89

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was visited at his Paarl prison yesterday by Mrs Helen Suzman and he told her he was pleased to have met President P W Botha.

Mrs Suzman said last night that she spent more than two hours with Mr Mandela, had lunch with him and discussed a wide range of subjects, including the recent conference in Lusaka with the ANC organised by the Five Freedoms Forum and the coming general election.

"He told me he was pleased to have met State President Botha," she said, but declined to disclose further what Mr Mandela had said of his meeting.

It was the first time she had seen Mr Mandela since August last year when he was being treated for tuberculosis at the exclusive Constantiaberg Clinic.

Mrs Suzman was "as always" impressed by Mr Mandela's "obvious leadership qualities, his moderation and his appreciation of the fear of the white minority".

"I can only repeat what I have said so often before — that I am convinced that his unconditional release and his presence at the negotiating table is an absolute prerequisite to a peaceful resolution of the South African dilemma," she said.

Meanwhile, government sources said last night that President Botha's meeting with Mr Mandela was the first step of a process which had as its eventual aim "getting the ANC to the negotiation table".

The NP believes it has broken a deadlock in the negotiation process by talking to Mr Mandela as a "leader of people", while at the same time retaining its condition of refusing to talk to the ANC unless it renounces violence.

At the same time the government accepts that there can be no peace in SA without talking to the ANC. This, sources said, was the long-term goal of the process started last week.

Government sources said the next step would be to hold further talks with Mr Mandela and with other important leaders in SA. — Sapa and Political Staff

● SACC doubts govt on Mandela — Page 2

Terre'Blanche out after CP rejection

1K645 14/7/89 304A

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, will not stand as a candidate in the September election.

His decision follows the dissolution of a possible rightwing election front against the National Party.

Mr Terre'Blanche said yesterday that his initial decision to stand for parliament in Rustenburg was because he wanted to facilitate rightwing "solidarity".

His withdrawal was based on the rejection by Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, of a call for rightwing unity.

The AWB leader said he would not support the CP in the election.

In a statement released yesterday Mr Terre'Blanche said the AWB did not want any part in the strife among rightwing groups.

According to the statement, the AWB had accepted that rightwing unity was not possible.

(Report by E Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

'Bush to decide on SA soon'

RIAAN SMIT

US PRESIDENT George Bush would decide on policy towards SA before the end of August, Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen said yesterday.

He briefly addressed journalists after a 75-minute meeting at the Union Buildings with Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Botha described the meeting as "useful" and a follow-up to talks with Cohen in Rome last month.

They had discussed the peace agreement between the Angolan government and Unita concluded in Zaire two weeks ago, security in southern Africa with reference to Mozambique, and implementation of UN resolution 435 in Namibia, and had briefly surveyed relations between the US and SA, Botha said.

Cohen said a change from the Reagan administration's policy of constructive engagement could be expected.

During a video Press conference with journalists in Pretoria 10 days ago, Cohen had said "you will probably see a more activist role of the US on the issue of internal constitutional change in SA.

"... What we would like to do is be more active in promoting a dialogue between the government of SA and the black leadership."

Yesterday he said there existed such a symbiotic relationship between black and white people in SA that nothing inside the country could be done unilaterally. A settlement had to be negotiated.

He said he was optimistic about the southern African region and elaborated by saying he was expecting a peace settlement in Angola before the end of the year. He also said a move towards a settlement in Mozambique was on track.

Cohen, who is on a 10-day trip to southern Africa, will meet NP leader F W de Klerk in Durban today before leading a US delegation to a meeting in Launda on July 7 and 8 of the joint commission set up by the Angola/Namibia accords.

He will also visit Zaire, Zambia, Gabon, Ivory Coast and Mozambique before returning to SA on July 10 for two days.

Cohen said he met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday and had lunch with DP MPs.

304A Star 14/7/89

Nats cagey on party official's talks with ANC

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

National Party spokesmen yesterday declined to comment on the thorny issue of a party official's presence at a meeting with the outlawed African National Congress in Lusaka yesterday.

Mr Stephan van Metzinger, an NP town councillor in Randburg and deputy chairman of the management committee, is the first NP member to take part publicly in talks with the ANC.

His presence at the meeting, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, has led to a Democratic Party challenge that the NP should either apologise to the DP for continuously slating its policy on negotiations with the ANC or act against Mr van Metzinger.

The NP's Transvaal chief secretary, Dr Lucas Nel, and the party's director of information in the province, Springs MP Mr Piet Coetzer, declined to comment since they were unaware of Mr van Metzinger's participation in the two-day meeting.

PRIVATE CAPACITY

Mr Glenn Babb, the NP's candidate against DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg, also declined to comment, saying Mr van Metzinger was attending the meeting in his private capacity. Management committee chairman and NP leader in the council, Mr Frans Lourens, is currently overseas.

Mr Wynand Malan, Randburg MP, said he welcomed Mr van Metzinger's participation in the ANC talks since it had been absolutely essential to discuss a political future with the outlawed organisation.

"But I would love to see how the NP leadership is going to react. State President Mr P W Botha in 1985 categorically ordered that no NP official may talk to the ANC, and that has been the NP's position since.

"The NP is in the dock now. If it has any integrity left, it will have to act against Mr van Metzinger. If the NP does not act against him, I challenge the NP to apologise to the DP by saying we have been correct all along."

A spokesman for the State President's office also declined to comment.

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

DP delegation to have talks with ANC

Star 14/7/87

A Democratic Party delegation, led by the party's co-leader, Mr Wynand Malan, leaves Johannesburg for Zambia today for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda and the ANC.

(304A)

A statement from the DP said Mr Malan would meet President Kaunda today and the ANC tomorrow to urge the organisation to come to the negotiating table and to exchange views.

"The message the delegation will be taking with it is that the opportunity for negotiation by all relevant parties inside South Africa is rapidly improving and that African states have a major role to play in getting the process off the gound," the statement said.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, acting chairman of the DP's National Board, Mr Jan Momberg, DP National Board member and DP leader in the Western Cape Dr Jannie Hofmeyr will accompany Mr Malan. — Sapa.

(News by Kim Cloete, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg).

Star 14/7/89

Mandela 'pleased' to meet Botha

CAPE TOWN — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday told MP Mrs Helen Suzman he was pleased to have met the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Mrs Suzman visited the jailed ANC leader at his prison home in Paarl yesterday.

Mrs Suzman said last night she spent more than two hours with Mr Mandela.

They discussed a wide range of subjects, including the recent conference at Lusaka with the ANC, organised by the Five Freedoms Forum, and the forthcoming general election, Mrs Suzman said.

"He told me he was pleased to have met President Botha," she said, but declined to disclose what Mr Mandela had said about the meeting in Tuynhuys.

It was the first time she had seen Mr Mandela since August last year. — Sapa.

14/7/89

SACC doubts govt on Mandela

Political Correspondent

THE South African Council of Churches says the government "has calculated the timing of the Mandela-Botha meeting with a view to making maximum political gain".

A statement released by the director of the SACC communications division, Mr Sakie Macozoma, said: "It would seem that the Prisons Department/government wanted to release the story of talks between Mandela and Botha into a climate that shows that Mandela has got his priorities confused.

"Once you juxtapose the talks with Botha — with all the mischievous interpretations — with the talk about a party, which the press said was in celebration of Mr Mandela's graduation with an LLB, an impression can easily be created that Mr Mandela is tired of his incarceration and is therefore willing to compromise with the system."

The statement added: "What is even more serious is that the media — including, if not particularly, the liberal press — hailed the meeting as an 'historic event'.

"Outright sympathisers of the government have hailed the meeting as signifying great changes in South Africa that radicals have continuously denied.

"The South African government has used the meeting to gain political mileage.

"In our view the political mileage that the regime can gain in the present international climate is great and would be particularly damaging at this time," the SACC said.

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

Cape Times 14/7/87

DP men for ANC talks in Zambia

Political Correspondent

A FOUR-PERSON Democratic Party delegation headed by Mr Wynand Malan flies to Lusaka today for talks with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and the ANC.

The group will meet President Kaunda today and a delegation from the ANC tomorrow.

Accompanying Mr Malan will be the acting chairman of the DP's National Board, Mr Tian van der Merwe, board member Mr Jannie Momberg and DP researcher in the Western Cape Dr Jannie Hofmeyer.

● A separate delegation of 27 white SA academics and businessmen, led by Idasa coordinator Mr Wayne Mitchell, arrived in Lusaka yesterday, for talks with the ANC today.

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

SADF ladies to the rescue

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SADF Ladies' Association will pay the R100 000 bill for Mrs Elize Botha's farewell party hosted by the association in Cape Town in June, SADF Chief General Jannie Geldenhuys said in a statement yesterday.

The Safair flight chartered through SADF channels to transport guests from Natal and the Free State was "not correctly authorised" and the state would not pay the bill, he said.

He said the ladies' association had offered to settle the flight account and he had accepted. The association is under the auspices of General Geldenhuys's wife, Marie.

"I apologise for any inconvenience that might have arisen out of this matter. It is not without embarrassment and regret that I have had to accept the Defence Force Ladies' Association's offer to settle the account.

"I have a very high regard for this praiseworthy organisation and wish to express my sincere sympathy to them."

The use of air transport had been authorised by a logistics officer of the SA Army based on an existing logistics directive, he said.

He had satisfied himself that there had been no wrongful intent.

The SADF Ladies' Association is funded entirely by various fund-raising activities. In 1988 the association raised R700 000 of which R540 000 had been ploughed back into the SADF, the statement said.

PW desperate - Cosatu

STATE President Mr PW Botha has been forced to "bury his head in shame" and meet the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the annual conference of the Congress of SA Trade Unions was told yesterday.

Addressing more than 1 800 delegates at the meeting, UDF leader Mr Mohammed Valli said Botha was forced to meet the imprisoned black leader "in his desperate search for a way out".

"He is the same man who only a few years ago said that Mandela would only be released if he renounces violence," Valli said.

In his meeting with Botha last week, Mandela had made it clear that peace could only be achieved if the Government was prepared to enter into genuine negotiations with the liberation forces led by the ANC.

He said the "mass struggles" of the 70s and 80s had brought the Government to a point where it acknowledged that it had to negotiate.

By LEN MASEKO

"Indeed, F W de Klerk has realised that during his term in office he will be faced with one of two ways of losing power: either he enters into genuine negotiations with the ANC now, or he gets swept away by the rising tide of mass militance and action," the UDF official said.

Cosatu's congress, which is being held at Nasrec, Crown Mines, ends on Sunday with a cultural festival featuring a number of music groups.

The ANC's constutional guidelines, the Freedom Charter and the dispute within the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers of SA are among the issues being discussed at the meeting.



THINA "TEN TEN " BALOYI

Shebeen king is viciously beaten

A shebeen king from Kliptown, near Johannesburg, alleged yesterday that he was stripped naked and viciously assaulted for six hours by two white

there and that he was still receiving medical treatment.

Public relations officer for the East Rand police, Lieutenant Ida van Zuueel said she was not aware of

39 Red Cross men are fired

THIRTY-NINE South African Red Cross workers on strike since early May have been fired after ignoring an ultimatum to return to work.

SA Press Association

The International Red Cross has expressed concern — saying they would be forced to view the matter from an international perspective and take a position once in possession of the details.

Dismissed workers have protested strongly and declared that their dismissal illustrated the "racial bias" of the South African organisation.

The action was announced yesterday

tion and the dismissal of an assistant regional director, Mr Bongani Khumalo. Khumalo's case is still under arbitration.

Jacobs yesterday said: "We regret the need for this action, but it was done through a process which was 'more than fair' . . . and after much compassion in allowing time for workers to return to work voluntarily."

Attempts to resolve the situation through a process of informal talks, written reprimands, an ultimatum and a series of

She said appeals to delay disciplinary hearings had been turned down and the workers had been fired without the knowledge of black counsellors.

Workers were yet to receive notification of their dismissal in the mail, she said.

A five-man delegation from the International Red Cross looked into the matter in June and made recommendations, the acting head of delegation for the Red Cross, Mr Meinred Shuter said.

The local organisation, although recognised by the international body, operates autonomously.

Row over MP's ANC statement

MR Steyn Terreblanche, National Party MP for Heilbron, has said he would be willing to serve under an ANC president, if the lives of his children were endangered.

Mr Terreblanche was challenged on the issue at a Conservative Party meeting at the Villiers town hall last night. He had asked questions from the floor and was then himself questioned by Advocate Cehill Pienaar, CP candidate for Heilbron and party leader in the Free State.

He admitted he had told a house meeting he would serve under an ANC president if the lives of his children were in danger.

Mr Pienaar said it was shocking an NP MP should declare himself willing to serve under a black ANC president.

The admission had "torn the mask off the NP", he said.

Talks to ANC, Kaunda tells SA

THE Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, has urged white South African politicians to meet with the ANC and reiterated his willingness to meet South African leaders.

His statements were made during talks with the Democratic Party in Lusaka yesterday in which the meeting between State President P W Botha and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela came under intensive discussion.

Dr Kaunda agreed on the need to promote talks among all leaders in the region and he expressed concern about the situation in South Africa, according to a statement issued by the DP last night.

Other subjects to come under the spotlight were the forthcoming elections in Namibia a.. the potential to develop the southern African region.

DAWN BARKHUIZEN

Dr Kaunda told the delegation that the Nambian elections had put "Africa on trial" and would test southern African leaders' ability to co-operate for the sake of peace.

He expressed the hope that the South African Government would not interefere with the election.

A previous statement issued by the Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee, implying that the African states would back Swapo should they dispute the election results, had been built on years of mistrust of the South African Government, he said.

The DP delegation was led by DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan. Members were Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Jannie Hofmeyr.

1 Star 15/7/89

kwaZulu had a hand in Tuynhuys meeting

GRAHAM LINSCOTT

DURBAN — The joint negotiating committee of the kwaZulu and Central Governments was instrumental in setting up last week's meeting at the Tuynhuys between the State President and Nelson Mandela, according to well-placed sources.

The committee was formed earlier this year to discuss obstacles to political and constitutional negotiations in the country.

According to kwaZulu sources, at the first meeting in March, kwaZulu tabled a document setting out detailed and practical proposals for getting a national process of negotiation under way. Topping the agenda was the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and the other Rivonia trialists.

Woolly response

The Government gave a woolly response. But Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha and Minister of Education in kwaZulu, urged the Government representatives to speak to Mr Mandela, saying they would be surprised by his statesmanship and reasonableness.

Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, was brought into the discussions and it soon became clear that he was receptive to the idea.

The Government seemed nervous of the implications of speaking to Mr Mandela, but Mr Coetsee eventually did visit — apparently several times.

This culminated in Mr Mandela's "courtesy call" on the State President last week, which stunned local and international observers.

The joint committee has met three times. It is believed that Mr F W de Klerk, new leader of the National Party, attended one of the meetings.

RIGHTWING POLITICS (304A)

Enemy in the laager

F W de Klerk's beleaguered Transvaal National Party may have received some unexpected breathing space.

While the Democratic Party (DP) presses on with its decision to oppose Nats in marginal-to-conservative constituencies (despite appeals not to from top Nats), the latest furore on the Right may save a few potential blushing Nat faces — Cabinet members among them.

The purpose of Monday's meeting between the four ultra-rightwing parties was to form a front against the NP's "capitulation and surrendering of power to blacks." The four who came together were the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche, a self-appointed candidate for Rustenburg; HNP leader Jaap Marais; the Boerestaatparty's Robert van Tonder; and the ex-leader of the banned Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging, Johan Schabort, now heading the new Blanke Party.

Whatever the aims of these four newcomers to the election scene may be (Marais is renowned for his consistent poll failure), the ultimate implication of their meeting is exactly what conservatives have always feared. Once again, dissent in rightwing circles is proving an overriding factor in Afrikaner politics.

In another corner, appearing more punch drunk by the day as Terre'Blanche and his cohorts mercilessly demand to come on board, Conservative Party (CP) leader Andries Treurnicht refuses to budge. It is unrealistic to expect his party to halt its election machine to accommodate the new front, he said on Monday. As the *FM* went to press, Treurnicht, aware that his dream of a major onslaught on the Nats may be destroyed by the latest developments, was to address a meeting in Pretoria to finally throw down the gauntlet to Terre'Blanche and company.

In a speech to the Junior Afrikaanse Sakekamer this week, political commentator and erstwhile DP adviser Willem de Klerk said the DP's intention of opposing Nats in marginal seats — resulting in CP gains — may cost them any chance of becoming the official opposition. But on the other hand, this strategy might speed up the possibility of a hung parliament, he said.

A direct confrontation between the CP and the emerging rightwing front could, however, result in Nats shading them in

(304A)

constituencies like Rustenburg, where in "normal" circumstances they might well lose a one-on-one fight against the CP. ■

Cup of tea that overflowed into inexorable tide

Write On!

JOE LATAKGOMO



THE flurry of political activity in the past week was perhaps the best indication that election time is upon us. Vasbyt, only 45 days to go, and then it will be all over and forgotten. But perhaps the most significant event was the meeting Mr P W Botha had with Mr Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys. Significant, because it must be the first time that a prisoner has had the customary tea and biscuits at Tuynhuys.

Even more important, though, is the fact that the man who was so hosted represented in the Government's eyes the "evil" organisation called the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance. Even Mr Botha has gone on record, telling the country, and particularly the white voters, that Mr Mandela was jailed following due process of law, and convicted for violent acts against the State

In those days, the Government, and Mr Botha in particular, saw anybody calling for the release of Mr Mandela as being sympathetic to the ANC.

It did not matter that all people were saying was that the release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners was perhaps the only way this country could negotiate a peaceful settlement.

It did not matter that almost to the man (or woman), all who had had contact with Mr Mandela or knew him spoke highly of him as an intellectual giant, a man of great understanding.

The Government tried to isolate Mr Mandela from the organisation of which he is head. They tried to get him to condemn acts of violence by the ANC. They tried to arrange deals through Chief Kaizer Matanzima for Mr Mandela to accept freedom in the homeland. They tried to break him psychologically, but they found that he had this electrifying effect, and they themselves broke down instead.

Whatever the reason for the Government to have arranged the meeting, the fact is what has been done cannot be undone. Perhaps the Government hopes that it can convince the rest of the world that it is indeed talking to the right people at last.

Own momentum

But, and this is even more important, they hope that those white voters who have expressed doubt over the Government's reform will be convinced once and for all that only the National Party can lead this country to peace, prosperity and stability. Having recognised that those voters that they have lost to the right wing are gone forever, they have strategised that they would have to go for the vote on the Left and the Centre

However, what the Government probably does not realise is that it has created something which will run on its own momentum from now on Having spoken to Mr Mandela, the next logical thing to do is to release him.

Nobody — and that includes the Conservative Party — can stop this momentum. It is interesting that as all this happens, there are efforts at *toenadering* between the United Democratic Front and the ANC. This, I believe, is the result of a letter Mr Mandela wrote to Chief Buthelezi, in which he said: "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it been so critical for our people to speak with one voice."

That national unity will not, of course, come easy. There are other organisations, like the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness movement, and indeed, even the homelands. But come it must.

ory issue

lys in wildlife conservation in Afri- not forget our past. South Afri- onsible for the first real wildlife exterminated the quagga to make

ed out the white rhino, but can now ing it from extinction. We are re- r the extinction of the bluebuck. frican skimmer and Egyptian vul- species in South Africa. We wiped billed oxpecker, but it returned to onal Park and was re-introduced to Reserve.

s have done many good things in recent years, but don't forget our or the gold and diamonds that allow First World conservation.

to be proud — another to be arro- seriously consider the call to stop y for the sake of the African ele-

John Ledger, Director, Endangered Wildlife Trust

n as stones iddle-East

We can rest assured that if the orld's armchair critics paid as little tention to Israel's actions in these rritories as they do to Syria's deeds the Lebanon, and if there had been much public apprehension regard- g the acts of stone-throwing as there s been about the methods used to try stop them, the problem would have en nipped in the bud.

With his innate capacity to see rough other people's problems, this porter might do well to write a simi- r article, advising his own govern- ent on how to come to grips with ars of Irish "uprising and Britain's in- ility to suppress it"; a warning to a ll-sized and long-established nation, sulated and protected by water from tential enemies, and also partially in- lated from its home-spun problem.

It is the European nations' own historic past which has placed an ugly adow over the existence and well- ing of the Jewish people. Any ne- ect by the Free World (due to age- d misconceptions) in dealing with the esent situation in the Middle-East on s true merits could once more place a rse on European lands.

G J Wall, Berario.

Storm in the Nelson teacup



I haven't energy to do a scientific survey, but it's my impression that the word "Mandela" appeared in South Africa's leftwing weekly press yesterday almost as frequently as any preposition you care to name.

It should come as little surprise that the collective mind of these newspapers is concentrated rather fiercely just now.

For, although framed in terms more rarefied, they are essentially concerned to address for their readers the simple question: "What is Nelson up to, and what does this tea-taking at Tuynhuys mean?"

Which is not to say that the answers variously supplied by *New Nation*, the *Weekly Mail*, *South* and *Vrye Weekblad* are necessarily authoritative, comprehensive — or even consistent.

But it is one of the particular strengths of these emergent newspapers that they seek to reflect purposefully the effects of political developments from the specific point of view of the forces of resistance in South Africa. Political observers ignore these nuances at their peril.

New Nation sounded some notes of warning about the Botha/Mandela encounter: while eschewing condemnation of the meeting, the newspaper cautioned that from Pretoria's side, it would be used to "attempt to drive a wedge between our people and sow distrust among our leaders".

Stressing the "danger" and "delicacy" of the situation, New Nation advised: "The most pressing question facing our people is not when Mandela will be free, but whether we are (sufficiently) prepared to receive him."

The sub-text — that the Government would try to create the impression that Mandela was "negotiating" above the heads of his followers — was also considered in the *Weekly Mail*.

A clear distinction was drawn between the sharing of pots of tea, and the start of a process to transform South Africa through negotiation. "The Mandela meeting was very dramatic, and of tremendous symbolic importance," the *Weekly Mail* concluded, "but it was not the whistle to signal kick-off."

The Left Stuff

SHAUN JOHNSON



Usually, for these newspapers are an eclectic lot, the issue was sufficiently momentous to suffuse sections other than the weightily political.

Vrye Weekblad's skinnerbek, "Brolloks", said it was only a matter of time before Elize and Winnie tip-toed through the tea-leaves, followed by "Rozanne taking Zinzi to her room to listen to the latest Bles Bridges album". And so on.

Then there was news of Mandela's imminent "party", about which everyone seems to know something, but no one knows everything.

The Cape Town-based weekly *South* reported that the five still-imprisoned "Rivonia trialists" had "civvy" suits delivered during the week, in preparation for a function at Victor Verster.

To this, the *Weekly Mail* added that the suits were from Rex Trueform and, somewhat more seriously, that Mandela was believed to have asked for three prominent trade unionists to be invited. Then, back in the realms of quasi-flippancy, the *Mail* reported another diplomatic breakthrough for the ANC: "Margaret Thatcher and Oliver Thambo were expected to have dinner last night, and then go on to the opera ...

"Of course, there were to be several hundred other guests at the bi-centennial celebrations of the French Revolution."

Mandelamania has some way to run yet. There are far worse places to follow its course than in the vivid columns of the leftwing weeklies.

Row over MP's ANC statement

Star 5/7/87

MR Steyn Terreblanche, National Party MP for Heilbron, has said he would be willing to serve under an ANC president, if the lives of his children were endangered. 304A

Mr Terreblanche was challenged on the issue at a Conservative Party meeting at the Villiers town hall last night. He had asked questions from the floor and was then himself questioned by Advocate Cehill Pienaar, CP candidate for Heilbron and party leader in the Free State.

He admitted he had told a house meeting he would serve under an ANC president if the lives of his children were in danger.

Mr Pienaar said it was shocking an NP MP should declare himself willing to serve under a black ANC president.

The admission had "torn the mask off the NP", he said.

Cosatu to draft Charter

Star 15/7/87

A WORKER Charter, based on the principles of the Freedom Charter, is to be drafted by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the union group announced yesterday.

The largest union within the group, the National Union of Mineworkers, resolved at Cosatu's national congress in Johannesburg today to spearhead a Worker Charter campaign among the "oppressed and exploited."

A statement from Cosatu said its constitutional guidelines provided for the incorporation of a Workers Charter into the constitution of a "post-apartheid South Africa".

The charter would be an instrument of struggle against oppression and exploitation.

Cosatu would have to canvass the views and opinions of the masses on the concept of "A Constitution of a People's Government".

The congress said a special national congress, to be attended by Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions, and formations of the "Mass democratic movement," would be called to draft the Workers Charter after working class demands had been discussed.

The NUM also resolved that discussions, in line with the ANC's constitutional guidelines, should be intensified with a view to shaping a constitutional model of a future democratic South Africa.

FIRM BASIS

The congress claimed the "panic-stricken white minority ruling clique" was presently experiencing the worst crisis since the National Party came into power in 1948.

The aim would be to achieve a non-racial society and provide a firm basis for national reconciliation and cooperation between the different communities.

The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) resolved to develop a clear understanding of how the South African economy worked and decided to formulate a plan on how to restructure the economy to meet the needs of a non-racial country.

A resolution on the process of political settlement, proposed by the National Union of Metal Workers (Numsa), aimed to reject government's attempt to impose reformist solutions which, it said, did not address fundamental social and economic demands and needs in a non-racial unitary and democratic South Africa.

A negotiated settlement could have meaning only where there was free and open political association, assembly and debate in the true spirit of worker control and democracy.

Numsa said there could be no genuine negotiations unless a climate conducive to negotiations was unilaterally created by the South African Government through:

- Unconditional unbanning of all banned organisations.
- Unconditional release of all detainees and political prisoners.
- Unconditional return of all exiles.
- Confinement of SAP/SADF to barracks.
- Lifting of the State of Emergency and the repeal of all security legislation.
- The end of all political trials and executions.

CLIMATE

It called on the Frontlines states, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and all international forums to increase pressure on the Government to meet these requirements so that a climate conducive to negotiation could prevail.

Numsa resolved that only a sovereign body mandated by the people and accountable to the people as a whole could have the authority to develop a new constitution and decide on the method of implementation. — Sapa.

The (big) bucks stop here

Star 15/7/89

Foreign politicians are poor relations

BRUCE CAMERON

CAPE TOWN — The Government, stung by the exposure of what is possibly the most generous pension scheme in the world for ex-politicians and particularly for former Cabinet Ministers, has made a vain effort to justify the massive expenditure.

The Bureau for Information started checking around with local embassies after strong public reaction to press exposure this year of the extent of the pension scheme.

The scheme has seen Ministers such as Mr Chris Heunis receive a golden handshake of almost R500 000, with a further R13 000 a month.

And even more anger was generated by the announcement last week that social pensioners would receive a once-off R60 "bonus".

Black pensioners receive R150 a month, coloured and Indian pensioners R200 a month and white pensioners R251 a month.

Director-General of the Bureau for Information Mr Dave Steward confirmed the bureau attempted to compare the pension scheme with those for politicians of other countries.

He claimed the information was not readily available. He also denied the probe was being conducted on Government instructions, saying it had been requested by a newspaper which he declined to name.

However, embassies here readily supplied the information which showed that, compared with the most affluent countries in the world, it is far more profitable to be a politician in South Africa.

How to qualify

In South Africa, ordinary MPs have to wait for 7,5 years to qualify for a pension and for only five years as an office bearer. And most Nat MPs are some sort of office bearer: Minister, deputy minister, committee chairman or whip.

After qualifying, South African politicians receive a pension based on a proportion of 15 For 10 years' service they receive ten-fifteenths of the salary and any allowance they were earning on retirement.

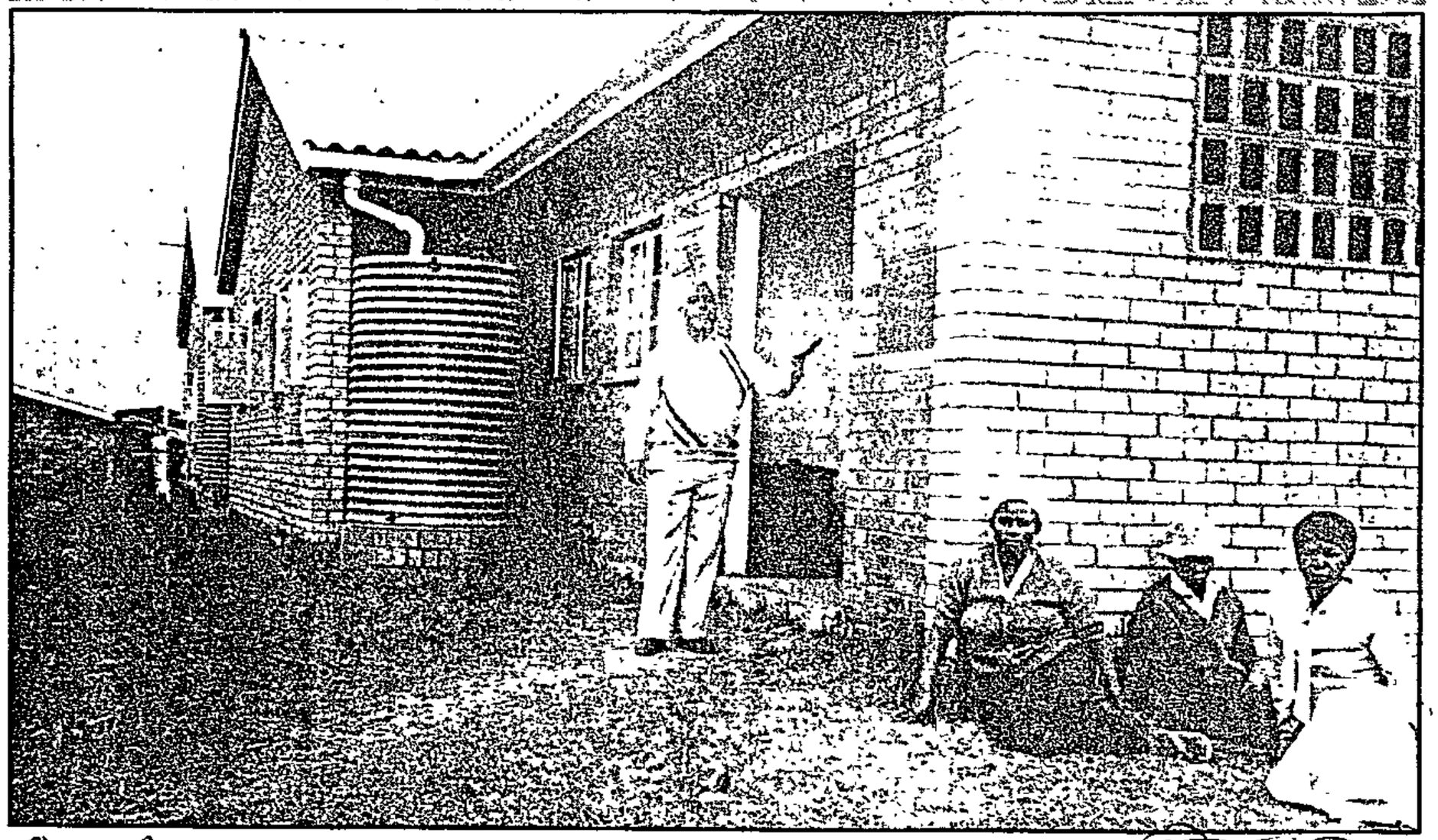
The maximum is fifteen-fifteenths, except for the gratuity This is also worked out as a proportion of 15, but up to 20 years' service are included. The amount is then doubled.

So an MP retiring after 16 years would receive a pension equal to his current salary and allowance of about R75 000 a year, with a R160 000 gratuity.

For this they contribute seven percent of their income for 12 years — with the taxpayer having to foot the bill for the enormous outstanding amount.

Against this, the pension of British MPs is based on proportion of 50. they have to do 50 years' service for a full pension. No additional gratuity is attached but they can commute a portion of their pension.

The Americans work differently. Retiring members can start collecting a pension at the age of 50 after 20 years of service, or at 60 after only 10 years' service For each year of service the member receives 2,5 percent of his annual salary, with the maximum benefit being 80 percent of the annual salary.



LOCAL HERO: Rev Robert Magagane Hlongwa at the clinic his efforts made possible.

Star 15/7/89

Clinic, creche result from one-man mission of hope

One of Natal's unsung heroes is a modest 50-year-old black man who has almost single-handedly mounted a fund-raising campaign for 19 years in an effort to better the life of his people at Nkwali, near Illovo on the Natal south coast. This is what started it all.

A MAN is stabbed and lies writhing in pain, bleeding profusely, but he is not taken to hospital because the nearest one is King Edward VIII hospital in Durban 50 km away and there is no transport.

The next day he is bundled into a wheelbarrow and wheeled for about 5 km to Illovo, Natal South Coast, where there are telephones.

An ambulance is called and he is taken to hospital but he dies shortly after arrival Doctors say that his life could have been saved had he been taken to hospital immediately.

That happened almost 19 years ago at a black reserve of Nkwali, near Illovo, and the waste of a life was too much for the Rev Robert Magagane Hlongwa who thought something must be done.

Mr Hlongwa of the Free Pentecostal Mission Church launched a one-man fund-raising campaign to build a "badly needed" clinic in the area The campaign saw Mr Hlongwa moving, cap in hand, from one factory to another in Durban asking for money

As chairman of the Thuthukani Nkwali Child and Family Welfare Mr Hlongwa had the backing of his committee but the exercise rested on his shoulders:

"It was tough doing that then and initially I managed to raise very little.

What made the campaign even more difficult for Mr Hlongwa is that he did not believe in writing letters to ask for money but thought it was better to call personally at a factory or a prospective donor

That belief led Mr Hlongwa in 1986 into the house of mining magnate Mr Harry Oppenheimer in La Lucia, Natal, where he was treated "warmly".

"I told Mr Oppenheimer the purpose of my mission. He did not give me money then but promised me he would refer the matter to his committee," Mr Hlongwa said.

A friendship was struck between the two men who began to write to each other regularly

Not long afterwards, Mr Hlongwa received a letter from Anglo American saying they had decided to contribute towards the building of the clinic

It was opened on May 6 1987 Well-equipped and with a sister in charge, the clinic sees about 100 patients a week.

After the clinic was finished, Mr Hongwa did not sit back to admire the results of his efforts but continued to make his trips to Durban daily to raise more funds

The result was that a creche was completed last August. It has three classrooms and accommodates 100 children but it has actually only 18 The reason is that there is not enough money to run the creche and no transport to ferry the children to and from the creche

And Mr Hlongwa is still not finished His next project is a comprehensive high school

A site has already been allocated and the school will have an enrolment of 1 000 pupils by 1995 A project appraisal has been done and the kwaZulu government has promised to supply the necessary staff and operating funds "provided the community requests Government school classification"

Anglo American, through the Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund, has agreed to make available a grant of R24 500 "for the preparation of a concept and development plan" for the school

304A 15/7/89 Star

The seeds of re

One may not be imminent in South Africa, but it may be

Preconditions to an uprising

- **Administrative inefficiency, corruption, and economic woes**
- **Desertion of intellectuals on basis of 'what is, ought not and need not be'**
- **A society that is deeply divided with bitter class antagonisms**
- **Divided and weak ruling class that has lost the confidence and will to rule**



PATRICK LAURENCE

THE 200th anniversary of the start of the French Revolution with the Fall of the Bastille — commemorated in France yesterday — is relevant to South Africa.

It helps to focus the mind on a central question which has intrigued historians and sociologists for decades: whether South Africa is heading for a similar revolution and, if so, when and how it will explode?

More than 30 years ago Professor Julius Lewin, of the University of the Witwatersrand, addressed that question; he concluded that South Africa did not face an impending revolution, that the existing order could endure "almost indefinitely".

Since then, the nature and durability of South Africa's *ancien regime* has attracted further attention and become the central theme of several books

There is R W Johnson's seminal study — "How Long will South Africa Survive?" — published a year after the 1976 student rebellion in Soweto It provoked a riposte in 1981 from L H Gann and Peter Duignan, "Why South Africa will Survive".

More recently two excellent books have emerged "South Africa: No Turning back", edited by South African journalist Shaun Johnson, and "Can South Africa Survive?" edited by John Brewer of Queen's University in Belfast

Lewin's methodology was to identify the hallmarks of pre-revolutionary societies as outlined by Crane Brinton is his "The Anatomy of Revolution".

He then himself asked whether those pre-revolutionary conditions were present in South Africa at the time

It is an approach worth using again to see whether South Africa of 1989 is closer to a being pre-revolutionary society than it was in 1958 when Lewin wrote his article "No Revolution Around the Corner".

Brinton identifies four salient signs of the revolutions to come in his compelling study of the *ancien regimes* of 17th century England, 18th century France and America and 20th century Russia. Briefly, they are:

- Structural weaknesses and administrative inefficiency, compounded by the financial difficulties of the governments. "In all four of the societies ... the years preceding the outbreak of revolution witnessed unusually serious economic, or at least, financial difficulties of a special kind."
- Desertion of the intellectuals, defined loosely as the "writers, teachers and preachers". The old regimes no longer commanded the loyalty of the intellectuals The "corrupt and inefficient old regimes" were attacked by "a thousand pens and voices". A conviction was established that "what is, not only ought not, but need not, be"
- Deep social cleavages and bitter class antagonisms. Instead of trying to join the ruling classes, the underclasses — particularly those just below the ruling classes — sought to dislodge them
- Divided and weak ruling classes which had lost the will and the skill to rule confidently and, if necessary, ruthlessly They were "more than half ashamed to use force, and therefore used it badly, so that on the whole, those on whom force was inflicted were stimulated rather than oppressed".

The last point is worth developing because it is critical to Brinton's analysis of pre-revolutionary societies

One mark of a ruling class which has lost confidence in itself is the "deliberate espousal" by its members of the cause of lower classes.

"Upperdogs voluntary siding with underdogs", perhaps because they know existentially that "reversal in the position of the dogs" is imminent.

A critical point in the development of any revolutionary situation is the moment when force has to be used

Brinton writes: "In all our societies (the ruling class) proved signally unable to make adequate use of force ... there was no co-ordinating command, no confidence, no desire for action"

As a consequence, two of four monarchs lost their heads (Charles I and Louis XVI), one his life (Nicholas II), . l one his country's prize coloni (George III

The effete, indecisive qualities are graphically illustrated in the diary entries of Louis XVI and Nicholas II On the day that the Bastille fell, Louis went hunting. He wrote one word in his diary: "Nothing " At an equally crucial point in the Russian Revolution, Nicholas II recorded: "Walked long and killed two crows had tea by daylight."

Generalising more broadly, Brinton concludes: "No government has ever fallen before revolutionists until it has lost control over its armed forces, or has lost the ability to use them effectively."

Lewin found Brinton's preconditions for revolution were not present in South Africa in 1958.

Much, of course, has happened since then: the Sharpeville shootings of 1960, township rebellion in 1976-77, its even more serious sequel in 1984-86, ever-intensifying guerilla war since the resurgence of the African National Congress-led insurgency in the mid-1970s, the rise of independent black trade unions and international sanctions.

But it is debatable whether these changes, vast and important as they are, have brought South Africa to the brink of revolution — in the sense of a short, cataclysmic series of violent events which will force the ruling whites to capitulate.

Some of Brinton's revolutionary signs are to be found in South Africa today. But they do not appear to coalesce in a single compelling conclusion that revolution is imminent. It may, however, be much closer than most people realise

There are structural weaknesses or inner contradictions in the South Africa polity. The search for a new constitution barely five years after the inauguration of the present tri-cameral parliament is one manifestation.

Few would quarrel with the assertion that administrative inefficiency is prevalent in the civil service; some would argue it is the aftermath of the futile — and now abandoned — bid to run South Africa on the skills of the white minority alone

Corruption is widespread, as various commissions of inquiry have shown One statistic illustrates that irrefutably. Last year half of South Africa's foreign exchange losses were caused by fraudulent dealings; they totalled R650 million.

Intellectuals have long since deserted the apartheid state. The ideologues of yesterday who, in the heyday of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, argued the case for apartheid, have disappeared. Mr Tony Leon, law lecturer and Democratic Party city councillor, puts it succinctly "The Nats have hoisted the flag of ideological surrender "

Instead of intellectuals mobilising people around the challenges of contemporary South Africa, the National Party can only muster the sophists The Afrikaner writers have long since abandoned the party to the Philistines. They find it more interesting

But, ... new ... F W de ... charac... Botha de Kl... Cabinet is ...

The ... forces ... sharing" There is South ... control armed forces ... them.

The ... the ... lution, ... and ... run.

... another forces ... the ... fund... be ... day it w...

R W ... forces chant ... *kaan*:

ds of revolution

nent in South Africa, but it may be closer than many think

of
on basis
ought not
be'

● A society that is deeply divided with bitter class antagonisms

● Divided and weak ruling class that has lost the confidence and will to rule

PLUS

● Use of force at a critical point, because 'no government has lost control before a revolution until it has lost control over its armed forces or lost the ability to use them'



The forces gnawing the sinews of South Africa's white-controlled State are formidable; their impact may be slow but they will not be stopped. Against them, the loyalty of the security forces remains one of the great strengths of the Government, and there is no evidence to suggest that our rulers have lost control of their well-trained security forces or of their ability to use them effectively. It is not a question of "how long will SA survive?" Or, "why SA will survive? It's a question of "can SA survive?" — because, no matter how great a bulwark the security forces are against revolution, the opposition that corrodes the State from within and weakens it, will prove victorious.

voluntary siding
", perhaps be-
existentially
n the position of
int in the de-
revolutionary
moment when
ised
"In all our so-
class) proved
to make ade-
... there was
command, no
desire for ac-

olutionists until it has lost control over its armed forces, or has lost the ability to use them effectively."

Lewin found Brinton's preconditions for revolution were not present in South Africa in 1958.

Much, of course, has happened since then: the Sharpeville shootings of 1960, township rebellion in 1976-77, its even more serious sequel in 1984-86, ever-intensifying guerilla war since the resurgence of the African National Congress-led insurgency in the mid-1970s, the rise of independent black trade unions and international sanctions.

But it is debatable whether these changes, vast and important as they are, have brought South Africa to the brink of revolution — in the sense of a short, cataclysmic series of violent events which will force the ruling whites to capitulate.

Some of Brinton's revolutionary signs are to be found in South Africa today. But they do not appear to coalesce in a single compelling conclusion that revolution is imminent. It may, however, be much closer than most people realise.

There are structural weaknesses or inner contradictions in the South Africa polity. The search for a new constitution barely five years after the inauguration of the present tri-cameral parliament is one manifestation.

Few would quarrel with the assertion that administrative inefficiency is prevalent in the civil service, some would argue it is the aftermath of the futile — and now abandoned — bid to run South Africa on the skills of the white minority alone.

Corruption is widespread, as various commissions of inquiry have shown. One statistic illustrates that irrefutably. Last year half of South Africa's foreign exchange losses were caused by fraudulent dealings; they totalled R650 million.

Intellectuals have long since deserted the apartheid state. The ideologues of yesterday who, in the heyday of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, argued the case for apartheid, have disappeared. Mr Tony Leon, law lecturer and Democratic Party city councillor, puts it succinctly: "The Nats have hoisted the flag of ideological surrender"

Instead of intellectuals mobilising people around the challenges of contemporary South Africa, the National Party can only muster the sophists. The Afrikaner writers have long since abandoned the party to the Philistines. They find it more interesting to engage the ANC in dialogue, as the recent conference of writers at the Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, shows

But, critically, neither the new National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, nor the outgoing President, Mr P W Botha, can be characterised as effete. Mr Botha — and by extension Mr de Klerk as a member of his Cabinet — has not shown he is inhibited about using force.

The loyalty of the security forces remains one of the great strengths of the Government There is no evidence to suggest South Africa's rulers have lost control either of their well-armed and trained security forces or of their ability to use them effectively.

The security forces remain as the great bulwark against revolution, whatever forces may be corroding the State from within and weakening it in the long run

Having said that, however, another point must be made. the forces gnawing at the sinews of the white-controlled State are formidable, their impact may be slower but at the end of the day it will be just as fatal.

R W Johnson focuses on these forces of attrition in an trenchant article in *Die Suid-Afrikaan*

● Demography: between 1985 and 2 000 the African population will increase from nearly 24 million to more than 36 million and the rate of African urbanisation will rise from less than 40 percent to 75 percent.

● Unemployment by 2000, assuming continued sanctions, there will be around 10 million unemployed people out of an economically active population of some 18 million

● Insecurity: the combined result of population growth and rising unemployment will be a "squatter invasion". Johnson predicts: "More and more streets will become no-go areas even in daylight" Race riots will be on the agenda Riots will degenerate into looting ... "shopping without money".

● Anarchy and warlords: the security forces, hard-stretched, will abandon whole areas. Warlords will take over, adding an anarchical element of unpredictability.

Which political organisations will benefit is hard to say "Squatter-camp life will be a sea in which many fish can swim."

The whites, anxious and fearful, may turn to Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party with its pledge to clear blacks from white-designated areas and its implied promise of restoring the old certainties of pre-Sharpeville South Africa

But that is likely to hasten the end by triggering another round of massive resistance on the scale of 1984-86 and, with it, a fresh exodus of skilled white emigres, a further flight of capital and another disastrous plunge in the value of the rand

A downward spiralling rand will make it impossible to buy enough of the technological and capital goods on which economic growth depends.

Thus, Johnson argues, even a Treurnicht government will be forced to abandon its commitment to the preservation of white power and will negotiate a settlement with leaders of the black majority.

By then, however, white bargaining power may be so weakened that the "revolution", in the sense of white capitulation, may occur surprisingly quickly. The best guarantee against that kind of revolution is to negotiate from strength, not weakness, and sooner rather than later.

Cup of tea that overflowed into inexorable tide

Write On!

JOE LATAKGOMO



THE flurry of political activity in the past week was perhaps the best indication that election time is upon us. Vasbyt, only 45 days to go, and then it will be all over and forgotten. But perhaps the most significant event was the meeting Mr P W Botha had with Mr Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys. Significant, because it must be the first time that a prisoner has had the customary tea and biscuits at Tuynhuys.

Even more important, though, is the fact that the man who was so hosted represented in the Government's eyes the "evil" organisation called the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance. Even Mr Botha has gone on record, telling the country, and particularly the white voters, that Mr Mandela was jailed following due process of law, and convicted for violent acts against the State.

In those days, the Government, and Mr Botha in particular, saw anybody calling for the release of Mr Mandela as being sympathetic to the ANC.

It did not matter that all people were saying was that the release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners was perhaps the only way this country could negotiate a peaceful settlement.

It did not matter that almost to the man (or woman), all who had had contact with Mr Mandela or knew him spoke highly of him as an intellectual giant, a man of great understanding.

The Government tried to isolate Mr Mandela from the organisation of which he is head. They tried to get him to condemn acts of violence by the ANC. They tried to arrange deals through Chief Kaizer Matanzima for Mr Mandela to accept freedom in the homeland. They tried to break him psychologically, but they found that he had this electrifying effect, and they themselves broke down instead.

Whatever the reason for the Government to have arranged the meeting, the fact is what has been done cannot be undone. Perhaps the Government hopes that it can convince the rest of the world that it is indeed talking to the right people at last.

Own momentum

But, and this is even more important, they hope that those white voters who have expressed doubt over the Government's reform will be convinced once and for all that only the National Party can lead this country to peace, prosperity and stability. Having recognised that those voters that they have lost to the right wing are gone forever, they have strategised that they would have to go for the vote on the Left and the Centre.

However, what the Government probably does not realise is that it has created something which will run on its own momentum from now on. Having spoken to Mr Mandela, the next logical thing to do is to release him.

Nobody — and that includes the Conservative Party — can stop this momentum. It is interesting that as all this happens, there are efforts at *toenadering* between the United Democratic Front and the ANC. This, I believe, is the result of a letter Mr Mandela wrote to Chief Buthelezi, in which he said: "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it been so critical for our people to speak with one voice."

That national unity will not, of course, come easy. There are other organisations, like the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness movement, and indeed, even the homelands. But come it must.

Poll: Terre'Blanche steps down, CP glad

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party yesterday welcomed AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche's decision not to contest the Rustenburg seat in the September 6 general election.

The CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said events over past weeks had confirmed that his party was "the acknowledged unified rightist front".

Conservative voters were united under the CP's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht who, Dr Hartzenberg said, "succeeds admirably in his role as the carrier of true nationalism's flag".

Mr Terre'Blanche announced yesterday that he was withdrawing his proposed candidature in Rustenburg.

In a statement, he said the AWB now accepted that the proposed broad right-wing front against the National Party was no longer achievable.

"Thus the necessity for me to stand as a candidate falls away." — Sapa

(Report by Neil Oelofse, 144 Commissioner St, Johannesburg, and Dirk van Zyl, 514 First National Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria).

DP to field 105 candidates

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party had now named 96 candidates in the September 6 election and the names of two more candidates — in Bloemfontein West and Bethlehem — would be released early next week, the party's national director, Mr Neil Ross, said yesterday.

He added that by the July 24 nomination day, the party would have announced about 105 candidates in the 166 House of Assembly seats.

Apart from Worcester and Swellendam, whose candidates were named yesterday, it announced last night that Mr Hugh Collet, a farmer and chairman of the local nuts and irrigation boards, would stand in Cradock.

DP members were also pressurising the party to put up candidates in Beaufort West, De Aar and Prieska.

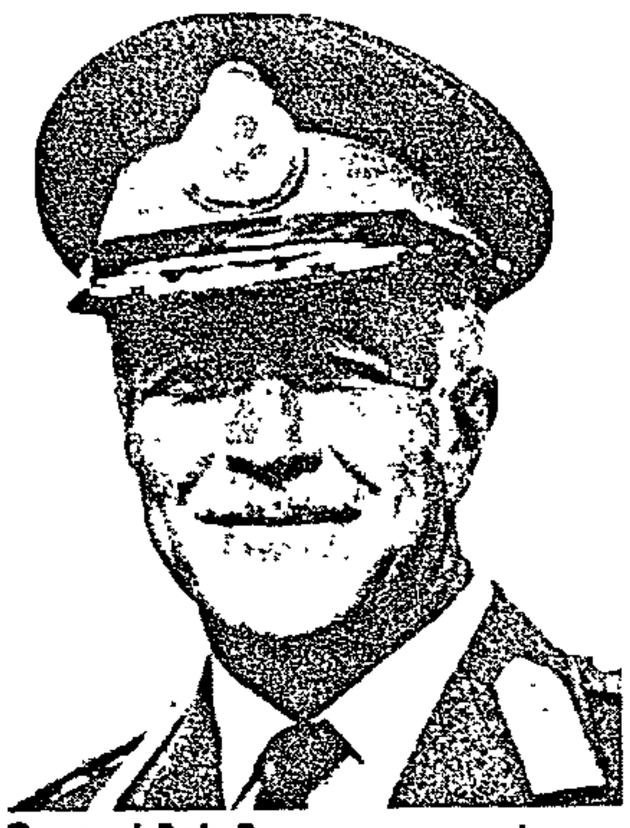
The first postal votes in the election were issued yesterday and in key marginal seats the DP had lodged several hundred, he added.

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

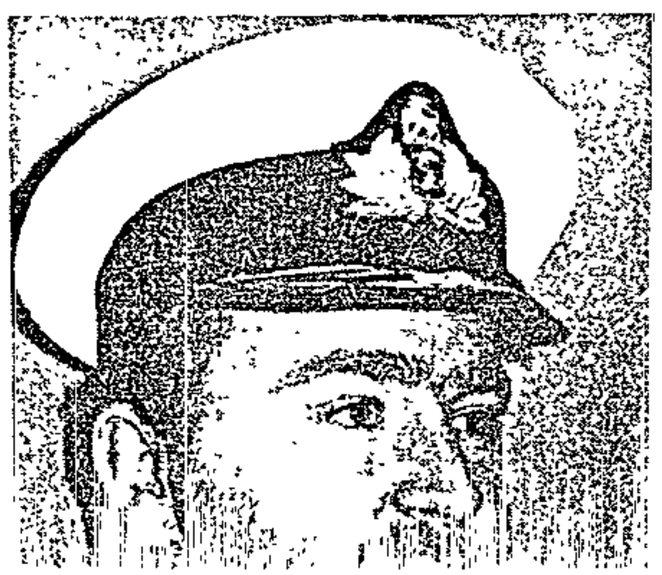
The changing face of South African politics

w/L ARGUS 15/7/89 (3041)

DP line up top team for election



General Bob Rogers ... war hero.



By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party will launch its national election campaign next Saturday with a line-up of about 100 candidates — including an impressive range of ex-Nationalists, former top military figures, academics, and leaders in business and the professions.

All the candidates are expected to be in Cape Town next week for the official launching, to be accompanied by the announcement of the party's election manifesto.

The line-up shows the extent to which the drift of disillusioned reform-minded Nationalists defecting from the NP has continued since the 1987 general election.

DP constitutional adviser Professor Marinus Wiechers said this week people from virtually all walks of life were coming forward to take an active part in the party's campaign. The party's choice of House of Assembly candidates could "change the face of white politics".

THE candidates, including most of the party's sitting MPs and several former opposition MPs, will attend a briefing session next Friday and an all-day meeting with the party leaders at a seafront hotel in Sea Point on Saturday

Co-leaders Dr Zac de Beer, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall — all of whom are in the field as candidates — will speak on the party's election manifesto.

The DP's constitutional and research expert, Professor Nic Olivier, will give an address on [illegible] constitutional

Two former Nationalists will head the DP's election campaigns in Stellenbosch and Maitland

In Maitland, Mr Deon Swart, until recently a member of the NP committee in the constituency, will be campaign manager for DP candidate Dr Esther Lategan, also a former Nationalist, who stood for the Independent movement in Stellenbosch in 1987

In Stellenbosch, the DP's campaign manager is former NP organiser Mr Jan Bester. He was chairman of the NP's student branch at the University of Stellenbosch before he worked full-time for the NP

One of the youngest DP candidates is Mr Hennie Bester, 26, a part-time economics lecturer, who will stand in Stellenbosch. He is at present studying for a masters degree in commerce at the University of Stellenbosch. He completed a Master of Laws degree at Cambridge University last year.

DP candidates in Natal include Mr Gus van Rensburg (Umlazi) and Mr Michael Lupton-Smith (Amanzimtoti).

Mr Lupton-Smith, 54, is a retired civil engineer and a former director of construction companies. He has also worked for Iscor.

MR van Rensburg is a quality control engineer who is taking an active role in politics for the first time.

The DP candidate for Mooi River is Mr Wessel Nel, 35, a farmer, lawyer and chartered accountant, who was the PFP candidate for Newcastle in the last general election.

Other prominent candidates include.



Carole Charlewood ... TV glamour.





Commodore Vic Holderness .. ex navy boss.

Defence force personalities

■ Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, former chief of the South African Air Force and Korean war hero, is the DP's candidate for Walmer.

He is strong on security, which he sees as not only safety at the country's borders but also the country's ability to guarantee a safe and prosperous future.

■ Mrs Hilda Burnett is a former Nationalist and a former commanding officer of the SADF Women's college at George at a time when Mr P W Botha was MP for that constituency.

She says the DP's policy offers hope for peace and reconciliation in South Africa.

■ Major-General Wally Black, retired SADF director of operations, who will challenge the sitting National Party MP, Mr Aubrey Thompson, in Natal's South Coast.

■ Commodore Vic Holderness, former head of the Navy's base at Silvermine, will stand in False Bay.

■ Mr Tony Marriner, the officer commanding the Cape Town Highlanders, will oppose the sitting National Party MP, Mr Lampie Fick, in Caledon.

Mr Marriner, 47, a Durbanville businessman, is to move to Hermanus for his election campaign.

Co-leaders Dr Zac de Beer, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall — all of whom are in the field as candidates — will speak on the party's election manifesto

The DP's constitutional and research expert, Professor Nic Olivier, will give an address on "the flawed National Party constitutional proposals".

A panel of star candidates, including former SABC-TV personality Mrs Carole Charlewood and former chief of the Air Force, General Bob Rogers, will speak on their reasons for deciding to stand for the DP.

The party's team, drawn from all the provinces, includes at least nine women.

FEATURES of the line-up are the wide range of political backgrounds represented under the party's banner, a strong presence of highly qualified and talented people among first-time candidates, and the inclusion of former top public servants who are now challenging the government's failed policies.

New candidates entering the political arena for the first time range from medical doctors to university lecturers, former Defence Force generals, journalists, engineers, lawyers and business people.

[illegible] ... ber who is taking an ac... ... in politics for the first time.

The DP candidate for Mooi River is Mr Wessel Nel, 35, a farmer, lawyer and chartered accountant, who was the PFP candidate for Newcastle in the last general election

Other prominent candidates include

● Mr Andre de Wet, a former Western Province and Springbok rugby lock forward, is to stand for the DP in East London North, the seat vacated by former Nationalist MP Mr Peet de Pontes in the wake of the Palazollo affair.

● Mr John Ingles Purchase, a grandson of a former Nationalist MP for Wonderboom, the late Mr Ben Pienaar, who became South Africa's first ambassador to Italy Mr Purchase, a pharmacist and businessman, will stand for the DP in Sunnyside.

● Mr Anthony de Beer, a businessman, Comrades Marathon runner and former border fighter as section leader of an SADF parachute battalion, who is standing for the DP in Pretoria Rissik.

The Conservative Party's election manifesto is expected to be announced on July 25.

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

... and the men who will lead



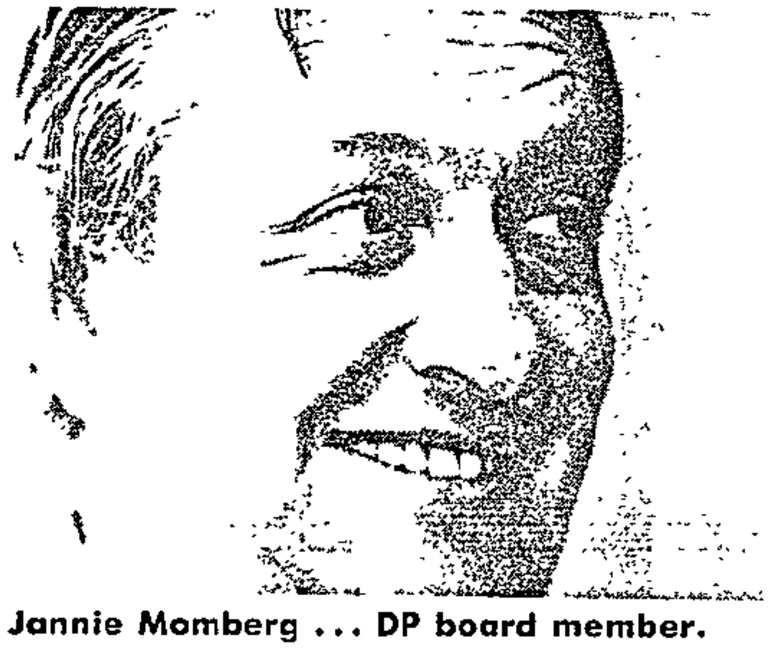
Dr Zac de Beer



Dr Denis Worrall



Mr Wynand Malan



Mr Jannie Momberg ... DP board member.

The former Nationalists

■ Mr Attie Engelbrecht, a Boland farmer and brother of former Springbok rugby wing Jannie Engelbrecht, is to contest the Piketberg seat against the sitting Nationalist MP, Cabinet Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Mr Engelbrecht, a member of a prominent Boland NP family, is the son of a former Ossewa Brandwag member who stood twice as an NP candidate in the area.

He blames President Botha's Rubicon speech for his decision to defect from the NP.

■ Dr Teunis Schlebusch, a former National Party MPC and former president of the Cape Province Municipal Association, will contest Queenstown for the DP.

■ Mr Kobus Jordaan, former senior government constitutional negotiator under Mr Chris Heunis and former National Party senator, is standing for the DP in Umhlanga.

■ Mr Martin Brink, top businessman, lawyer and former National Party branch chairman, is standing for the DP in Waterkloof.

■ Mr Chris du Preez, 33, also a former Nationalist, will stand for the DP in Vereeniging.

■ Mr Jannie Momberg, former sports administrator and now a member of the DP national board, will contest Simon's Town.



Mr Kobus Jordaan ... former senator.



Dene Smuts ... former editor.

The women candidates

■ Dr Hilda Grobler, academic, lawyer, author, and journalist, is standing for the DP in Port Natal.

She is a senior lecturer in Afrikaans-Nederlands at the University of Natal and obtained her doctorate earlier this year with a thesis on censorship.

In 1983 she completed a law degree and was admitted to the Bar as an advocate in 1985.

■ Ms Martie Meiring-Retief, journalist, political commentator and former Nasionale Pers foreign correspondent in Britain and the United States, is standing in Pretoria East.

She has also done news commentaries and other broadcasts for SABC-TV.

■ Mrs Carole Charlewood, former SABC-TV personality and programme presenter, is standing in Umbilo.

■ Miss Dene Smuts, former Fair Lady editor, is standing in the key Groote Schuur seat.

■ Ms Michelle Guttler, national chairman of the Democratic Party Youth, is standing in Tygervallei.

15/7/89

304A

Why not 'privatise' the process of negotiation?

3044A

S/Times 16/7/89

Brian Pottinger

argues that a semi-neutral forum for talks does exist

SOUTH AFRICA is loaded to the gunwales at the moment with a new official buzzword — privatisation.

Yet, in perhaps one of the most crucial areas of all, constitution building, the concept is remarkable by its absence and perhaps for that very reason is the front on which the least progress has been made in recent years.

Cynics will no doubt laugh at the idea of privatising something as critical as the ordering of power relations within our fractious countries by, as it were, putting it out to tender.

They should not laugh too soon: The process is to a considerable extent already under way. We are, to all intents and purposes, in a situation of pre-negotiations.

The impasse that has developed over the years has as one of its problems the finding of a neutral forum for negotiating a future South Africa.

Nearly every constitutional initiative undertaken by the Government has fallen flat on its face because nobody, least of all black South Africans, was really prepared to trust the National Party — perhaps with reason.

That sad situation is unlikely to change in the short term — no matter how pyrotechnic Mr F W de Klerk's reform rhetoric.

To an extent, that reality is already accepted by the Government. It was the "non-partisan" President's Council that did the running on the tricameral Parliament proposals and the Urban Foundation on a new urbanisation policy — with the support of the Government.

If we are looking for new forums, perhaps we need not look much further than the South African Law Commission. This body, established in terms of the SA Law Commission Act of 1973, is chaired by a judge and consists of a committee of six appointed by the President and charged with advising on the reform or improvement of the country's legal regimen.

Options

The commission, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Pierre Olivier, recently brought out a report on a Bill of Rights for South Africa which fundamentally changes the race-based nature of our constitutional and political order.

This body, granted, is a government-created structure, but it does possibly represent the nearest politically "neutral" State forum for thrashing out constitutional options in a country so deeply divided that it cannot even agree on the symbols of statehood, such as flags and anthems.

The commission's most recent report, although certainly not drawing loud public praises from the ANC, has certainly evoked considerable interest from points north.

The commission cannot unilaterally decide a constitution and then impose it on the nation. It cannot negotiate a constitution.

But it can, at least, take evidence, weigh up options and come up with some proposals — in other words do a little pre-negotiating. These can then be debated by the real power-brokers in Pretoria, Ulundi and Lusaka.

The National Party in its Five Year Plan has already hinted at the need to start tackling concrete constitutional proposals and Dr Dennis Worrall, when still an independent, suggested that the Chief Justice be required, in consultation with experts, to provide a range of constitutional options. What about the ANC and Inkatha?

This is where the other leg of the argument comes into effect. Having once decided on a neutral forum for talks in the pre-negotiation phase it will be incumbent on the Government to make it possible for as many players as possible to take part.

It can do this by doing two things and not doing a third.

First, it must effectively place a temporary moratorium on future constitutional changes. Creating more "own", "general" and "open" groups and structures will merely complicate the issue. The decision not to impose Regional Services Councils on Natal, for example, is a hopeful first step.

Second, it must, as the Americans say, lighten up. It should work towards creating a stabilised political climate in which it becomes the norm, not the exception, for people to confront and publicly debate political viewpoints.

Third, it must not haphazardly grab at any good idea that comes along and slap it into its inchoate programme of principles or actions — as it has done by hijacking the Law Commission's Bill of Rights and seriously misapplying it in its Plan of Action. That way, the Government just makes a good idea bad.

The bell tolls for ET as he quits election

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE bell may have tolled on the future political career of Mr Eugene Terre Blanche when he pulled out of the Rustenberg election battle this week.

The AWB leader's decision not to contest the seat after he entered the fray in a high-profile way has seriously undermined his position in rightwing politics.

The main beneficiary will be the Conservative Party which decided from the outset to stare Mr Terre Blanche down. It was the AWB leader who blinked first.

CP spokesman Koos van der Merwe said yesterday that Mr Terre Blanche's decision proved the correctness of the CP's view that it should be the only rightwing political front.

But privately Conservative Party MPs could hardly conceal their glee.

"He tried to compete with the heavyweights but he really belongs with flyweights," one MP said yesterday.

Announcing his decision to withdraw from the Rustenberg election, Mr Terre Blanche said he did it because he accepted that rightwing unity would not be realised before September 6. He blamed the CP and its leader, Dr Andries Treunicht, for the lack of unity because they had refused to join the AWB and the HNP in a united front.

Bush to meet Wynand as well

By PATRICIA CHENEY
Washington

DEMOCRATIC PARTY co-leader Wynand Malan is expected to meet President George Bush at the end of the month.

Although the White House is refusing to confirm the official invitation to Washington, informed sources said this week that Mr Malan would be meeting President George Bush.

"The invitation may be seen as a balance to the still unconfirmed meeting between F W de Klerk and President Bush, but it's not yet clear why Mr Malan has been singled out to represent DP interests," said a Washington source.

Speaking from Lusaka this weekend after his talks with Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda, Mr Malan confirmed that he would be visiting the US "at the end of July or early in August".

But he was guarded about an invitation to the Oval Office. He said: "I'll be holding talks with various people, and should an invitation to the White House be forthcoming, I would be honoured to accept."

● Simon Barber: Page 15

The NP's R600-million lollipop to voters

3047

ARGUS 10/7/89

By ALAN DUNN of the Political Staff

"LOTS and lots of lovely lollies!" is the slogan that National Party election posters should be carrying on the nation's lamp posts as the government doles out lollipops to voters.

LARGESSE

It has so far been generous with at least R600-million of taxpayers' money, and is widely expected to haul out more in coming weeks for carefully targeted voting blocs.

"People at this stage treat it as a joke, and are asking 'who's next, what's next?', said Mr Harry Schwarz, the Democratic Party's eagle-eyed spokesman on finances who predicted months ago that a R1-billion Contingency Fund set aside in the Budget would be turned to buying electoral favour.

Reward

Remember the Tissot saga in April? About 12 000 public servants would be rewarded for 30 years service with Swiss-made precision. Jewellers estimated the cost at R700 to R800 apiece.

And the new Public Service long-service reward system where 20-year veterans can cash in 10 days of holiday leave, or 15 days for 30-year workers?

True, they were announced before the election was. But everybody knew that polling day was coming, within months or early next year.

Then came the announcement on April 27 of the government's intention to bale the Maize Board out of its crippling debt: R460-million. Agricultural Minister Greyling Wentzel said it would cost R1,4-billion if the board's stabilisation fund was returned to black over 14 years.

Farmers again came in for more sweeteners when the Board of Trade and Industries this month dropped a 15 percent import surcharge on equipment such as tractors and spares parts for machinery. This was a R100-million bonus. Farmers now want more import relief.

Last Wednesday came Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' news of a R60, once-only handout to the country's pensioners. That will cost R128-million.

Within 24 hours, came Minister for Administration



Mr Harry Schwarz

and Privatisation Dawie de Villiers' sweetie: Temporary subsidies for Public Seryants with mortgage bonds larger than R50 000. About 54 000 people will benefit, costing the coffers R30-million.

Farmers

Those with bigger bonds - there are many — are exposed to the going open market rates for the balance above R50 000.

For bonds in the R50 000 limit, interest is pegged to three or four percent, depending on salary.

That leaves a considerable chunk of the R1-billion slush fund, allowing the government to consider tobacco farmers and funnel favours to others once the agricultural and private sectors are taken care of.

These goodies will not buy many votes at all, say opposition politicians: "The economic situation is so serious that I don't believe it is going to change the public's attitude," said Mr Schwarz.

"The economy is an issue in this election no matter what it does."

Sweating

He believes these bonuses could have been dealt with in the Budget. "Somebody has to give an explanation as to why they weren't," he said.

The inference was that they were not so that they could be handed out closer to the election.

"The public is far more sophisticated than that, and will not be swayed," said Mr Schwarz, expressing a view shared by the Conservative Party.

All are waiting with interest to see which way the friendly hand, brimming with money from taxpayers, who the Government admits are sweating, tips next.

Report by: Alan Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.

F 29

The Mandela Thunderbolt

S/Times 16/7/89. (30th)







by TERTIUS MYBURGH

SUDDENLY, out of a clear blue sky, flashed a series of political thunderbolts that allow us, for the first time in decades, to think the unthinkable. For optimists, the prospects are dizzying.

Could it be that South Africa has at last taken a tentative — though muddled — step across that threshold which leads, ultimately, to a negotiated and more or less serene future?

Indubitably, the most startlingly significant occurrence was last week's meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela

It hardly matters what brought it about

It could have been a careful, jointly planned ice-breaker by two septuagenarians who, each in his own way, is semi-detached from mainstream politics — Mr Botha because he is seeing out his last days as a head of state unencumbered by party attachments, Mr Mandela because age and long incarceration have elevated him to an almost mystical status above the daily grind of the power struggle.

On the other hand, it could simply have been a case of two ageing adversaries curious to meet each other before their personal circumstances are altered one way or another

Fateful

Alternatively, Mr Botha, now sulky, isolated and anxious about his place in history, may simply have wanted to place a final, indelible stamp on his political reign

The reasons matter less than the consequences of that fateful encounter in Tuynhuys last Wednesday morning.

For one thing, others who talk to representatives of the ANC can no longer be accused of treason or naiveté

After all, here we have a once venerated State President who was an energetic propagator of total onslaught theory taking tea and little cakes with the head ANC man himself — the occasion engineered by the Government's Minister of Justice and, so we are assured, in the full knowledge of the NP's leader.

And another point: Until quite recently the formal status of Mr Mandela has been that of a prisoner convicted of a criminal offence. But heads of government do not usually take tea with common prisoners, so we must assume that the eminence from Victor Verster is now officially (and quite properly) regarded in another light

Thus, almost stealthily, Mr Mandela's status has been altered in many important ways His place, and that of the body of opinion he leads, must now surely be secure at the table when — and if — negotiations ever begin in this country

Could one have imagined, barely a few months ago, that a statement from inside prison — by *Mr* Mandela, as the SABC now respectfully calls him — would be the main item on the evening news and read by the announcer with a gravitas that is usually reserved for very important people indeed?

Changes

Whether through circumstances or by design (in the event, probably a mixture of both), one thing is certain: Rarely before have captors been so captive of their own prisoner

And consider the wider background against which the Tuynhuys tea-party took place:

Mr F W de Klerk to meet Mozambique's President Chissano before going to Washington and, possibly, the Oval office ... Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet Mr Oliver Tambo ... Mrs Albertina Sisulu at No 10 Downing Street (on *her* way back from the White House)

In white politics we have a ruling party that has committed itself to a bill of rights, no domination by one group of another and the achievement of all this — and more — through negotiation

Leftish of centre, a new alliance of modernising politicians in the DP show encouraging signs of success in attracting significant support from across previously impenetrable tribal lines.

The Idasa ferry to Lusaka operates at full steam, exposing an extraordinary range of South Africans to the thinking of the exiled ANC leadership, and vice versa.

At the same time, the sub-continental landscape has undergone unimaginable changes. Both Namibia and Angola have been set on a new course. Mozambique is being systematically wooed out of an Eastern orbit; and throughout the region economies are collapsing and leaders are belatedly recognising the folly of an ideology that is being abandoned even in the country from whence it was exported, the USSR.

And from Moscow itself comes a new message: Armed struggle is not the way to liberation south of the Limpopo; work, instead, for a negotiated political settlement so that South Africa's economy (*mixed*, not marxist) remains intact

Across this changing southern sky flashed that thunderbolt last week. Botha and Mandela had agreed — they confirmed their support for peaceful development. It was one of those symbolic events (undeniable even by those, to left and right, whose first reactions reflected lamentable confusion) that can change the course of history

Mr Pik Botha was not exaggerating when he said it was one of the most important occurrences of our time

Does this mean, as speculation has it, that Mr Mandela is about to be freed? It is irresistible to conclude that the authorities are edging towards such a step, but we should probably not expect the doors of Victor Verster to swing open before September 6

A ruling party that faces its toughest election in 40 years is unlikely to inject a new issue that is so loaded with volatile and unpredictable consequences into the campaign

It is, therefore, much, much too early to light the triumphal fires on Meintje's Kop

For the moment, only three things are certain as we contemplate the different pieces that have been so unexpectedly put into play

Utopians

First, the political landscape is being irreversibly transformed.

Second, it will require painstaking statecraft to pull all the threads together in a practical peace process. There will be many stops and starts, and progress is unlikely to meet the timetables of impatient and insensitive utopians both within South Africa and without.

Third, we must remember that this is Rubicon country and the consequences of failure must constantly be borne in mind. Expectations are being raised perilously high To frustrate them would be to trigger consequences — in white as much as black communities — that could be terrible to behold.

Rather, we should remember Edmund Burke's dictum: "All that wise men ever aim at is to keep things from coming to the worst."

304A

Hendrickse: I won't serve in FW Cabinet

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

LABOUR Party leader Allan Hendrickse has no intention of ever again serving in a National Party-dominated Cabinet.

The former Cabinet Minister, who resigned two years ago after a row with President P W Botha, made this clear when the party announced its team of 80 candidates for the House of Representatives this week.

"There is no way I would ever serve on a white-dominated Cabinet again," he declared.

Eligible

Mr Hendrickse said in terms of the Constitution, he could again be eligible for appointment to a future F W de Klerk Cabinet.

However, he was now no longer as confident as he had been earlier "that Mr De Klerk means what he says" following three meetings with the NP leader since his election as head of the party on February 2.

Although he had been optimistic earlier that Mr De Klerk "intended meeting our demands of scrapping all discriminatory legislation", he was now beginning to become "more and more pessimistic".

He was "not encouraged" by the five-year plan Mr De Klerk had unveiled recently at the NP federal congress "because it unfortunately does not project Mr De Klerk as the political visionary that this country needs".

He said there was no doubt the Labour Party would win the September elections and be returned as the majority party in the House of Representatives.

Report by N West, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

Nats face tough 3-way fights





Deejay Tony Sanderson and NP candidate Glen Babb

THREE-cornered fights in the September elections could lose the National Party up to 23 seats to either the left or the right.

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

Nine of these could go to the Democratic Party and 14 to the Conservative Party

These startling figures emerge from a survey of the standings of the parties on the basis of the 1987 elections.

Both the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party are standing in seats they cannot win, but their presence there will blunt the Government's edge and could give the seat to the major opposition contender

In some cases the tactic is deliberate The CP is standing in constituencies such as Umhlanga and Edenvale with the stated intent of bolstering the DP's chances of winning the seats from the NP

This would happen by the CP drawing off rightwing voters who would otherwise have voted for the NP.

The DP has denied it is deliberately acting as a "spoiler" A senior official said a decision had been taken not to do so, but where constituencies asked for a candidate, one was put up.

Two top government figures who are hugely relieved at the DP's decision not to stand in their constituencies are the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels (Krugersdorp), and the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen (Vanderbijlpark).

Mr Wessels squeaked past the CP by only 55 votes in 1987. A DP presence there would almost certainly have put him out of politics after the election

Dr Viljoen's more comfortable majority of 2 346 could, however, be about the tally a DP candidate would pull from the constituency's 25 500 voters.

A senior government man who does face defeat by the CP because of the presence of the DP is Mr Sam de Beer, the Deputy Minister of Education and Training.

In his Geduld seat he had a majority of 1 723 over the CP in 1987.

Many other Nationalist MPs are in the same position.

NP seats that could fall to the CP by losing votes to the DP are Alberton, Boksburg, Brentwood, Geduld, Germiston, Germiston District, Kempton Park, Klerksdorp, Koedoespoort, Nelspruit Rissik, Springs and Vereeniging

NP seats that could, in the same way, go to the DP because of the CP presence are Hillbrow, Bezuidenhout, Edenvale, North Rand, Amanzimtoti, Durban Point, Pietermaritzburg South, South Coast Umbilo and Umhlanga

Lesser likelihoods are Waterkloof Queenstown and Pretoria East.

The CP has not yet nominated candidates in Hillbrow Edenvale and Bezuidenhout.

This "spoiler" factor alone could drag the NP parliamentary seat total down into the 90s from its present 122.

Marginal

In addition, there are 39 marginal seats in the election — seats won in 1987 by majorities of fewer than 1 000 votes Of those the NP could lose nine to the DP and 14 to the CP.

Only three seats that could fall because of the "spoiler" factor — Hillbrow, Springs and Edenvale — are on the marginal list.

The NP needs at least 84 seats in the 166-seat House of Assembly to retain an overall majority over the combined opposition.

Report by L J Venter 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Election circus rolls out as celebrities back candidates

By SIMON ANDREW

THE September elections look set to become a celebrity parade — with leading politicians attempting to woo well-known personalities into their respective camps.

National Party candidate for Randburg Mr Glen Babb and Democratic Party candidate for Parktown Dr Zach deBeer already have a number of the rich and famous in tow.

"But their names will not be made public until the time is right," said Dr De Beer.

The first celebrity to endorse Mr Babb's election drive was former disc-jockey and television personality Tony Sanderson.

"There will be other well-known people canvassing for me but I will only release their names closer to election time when they will have more impact — I don't want to steal my own thunder," said Mr Babb.

The idea of using celebrities to endorse campaigns is not new It originated in the United States and it has been used there and in other countries to great effect.

"We have already had a terrific response from our voters arising from Mr Sanderson's public support.

"He has lent a great deal of popularity to my campaign," Mr Babb said.

Sanderson makes no bones about his feelings for Mr Babb's capabilities.

"Glenn Babb has spent 22 years of his life as a diplomat fighting for all South Africans.

"He has negotiated with African leaders of state and achieved success. I believe in him," said Sanderson.

Mr Babb has held important diplomatic posts in Rome and Paris, and served as South Africa's ambassador to Canada.

Report by S Andrew, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Lesotho insider ready to tell all

By MANDLA TYALA

A FORMER top civil servant and close relative of former Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan says he is ready to open a can of worms concerning corruption in Lesotho

As the political crisis which has engulfed the mountain kingdom over the past three weeks deepened, Mr Majara Molapo said he was prepared to "spill the beans" about alleged top-level malpractices.

Sensitive

Mr Molapo, former Deputy Permanent Secretary for Health had more clout than the average high-ranking government official because of his close relations with the late Prime Minister

He had more access than his peers to sensitive information

Mr Molapo says he is ready to testify about

- Large scale embezzlement of public funds by a senior official through a company in which he held a major interest,
- Consignments of Mandrax pills which had made their way into Lesotho destined for high-ranking officials;
- Dealings between government officials and a defunct Italian company which led to large amounts of money being sent to a Swiss bank account while the company was being liquidated in Maseru,
- Deportations and disappearances at the whim of certain officials.

Subversive

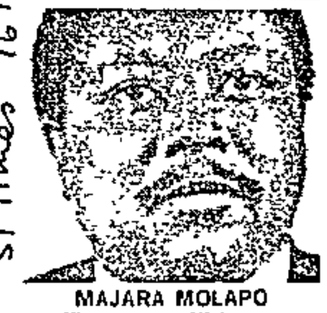
Reports about these dealings, and other Press articles agitating against official corruption, led to the deportation of the editor of a weekly newspaper, the Mirror published in Maseru The editor, Mr Johnny Maseko, was accused of engaging in subversive activity

Mr Molapo was "retired" in 1987 While he was contesting the action in court the Government published, in an extraordinary gazette, an order "to validate the removal from office of certain officers between 20 January 1986 and 31 May 1988."

The order made it lawful to remove a public officer from office "whether or not the procedure for such removal was complied with".

It also indemnified the Government against court action over such removals.

"If any such proceedings have been instituted whether before or after the commencement of this order, they shall forthwith be discharged and made void" the order said.



MAJARA MOLAPO
Wants to spill beans

Fears

The alleged malpractices have taken place over the past few years, but have only come to light now as growing disenchantment with Major-General Metsing Lekhanya's ruling junta manifests itself.

Fear of "disappearing" or summary deportation has kept a number of people in the know tight-lipped.

Says a prominent lawyer: "There has been official corruption for years in Lesotho, but the clique mentality has always prevailed."

Mr Lekhanya, chairman of the six-man military council, has come under intense pressure since publication of allegations that he shot dead a student and asked a bodyguard to take responsibility.

Natal killing probed

By TERRY VAN DER WALT

A COMPREHENSIVE study of the violence in Natal has been completed after two years of intensive research into the problem which has led to almost 2 000 deaths since 1985

This week, Mr Gavin Woods, the director of the Inkatha Institute for South Africa, released to the Sunday Times a copy of the study which he hopes will draw others into the peace quest.

Volatile

The study says a volatile minority — aged between 14 and 25 — account for 90 percent of violent incidents in the townships.

It says members of this group are easily mobilised to commit violent acts.

But Mr Woods said the majority of youths preferred to lead normal lives and avoid violence.

More than 3 000 people were interviewed for the study

WEATHER AND TIDES

TRANSVAAL. Pretoria, Witwatersrand, the eastern Highveld, western and south-western parts central, north-western and northern areas: Fine and mild Eastern Lowveld, Escarpment and Venda: Fine and warm.

FREE STATE. Fine and mild

NATAL INTERIOR: Fine and warm

CAPE. North of the Orange River Fine and warm. Peninsula, Boland and the Overberg: Cloudy with showers Western coastal belt. Cloudy and mild, but cold in the south with showers. Cape Infante to Plettenberg Bay: Partly cloudy and cold with showers. Plettenberg Bay to Port Alfred: Partly cloudy and mild with light rain in the west Port Alfred to Port Edward. Partly cloudy and cool.

	High/Low	High/Low
Cape Town	0127/0763	1408/2006
Mossel Bay	0150/0821	1434/2028
Knysna	0207/0834	1449/2040
Port Elizabeth	0151/0822	1435/2029
East London	0203/0827	1442/2037
Durban	0201/0825	1440/2040
Walvis Bay	0134/0746	1407/2010

You Could Change Your Life!

WIN R50 000!

Kellogg's®

CAN HELP MAKE YOUR

DREAMS

Come True

Forum approves of 'significantly different' DP

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Democratic Party has been given an approving nod from an extra-parliamentary grouping, the Five Freedoms Forum.

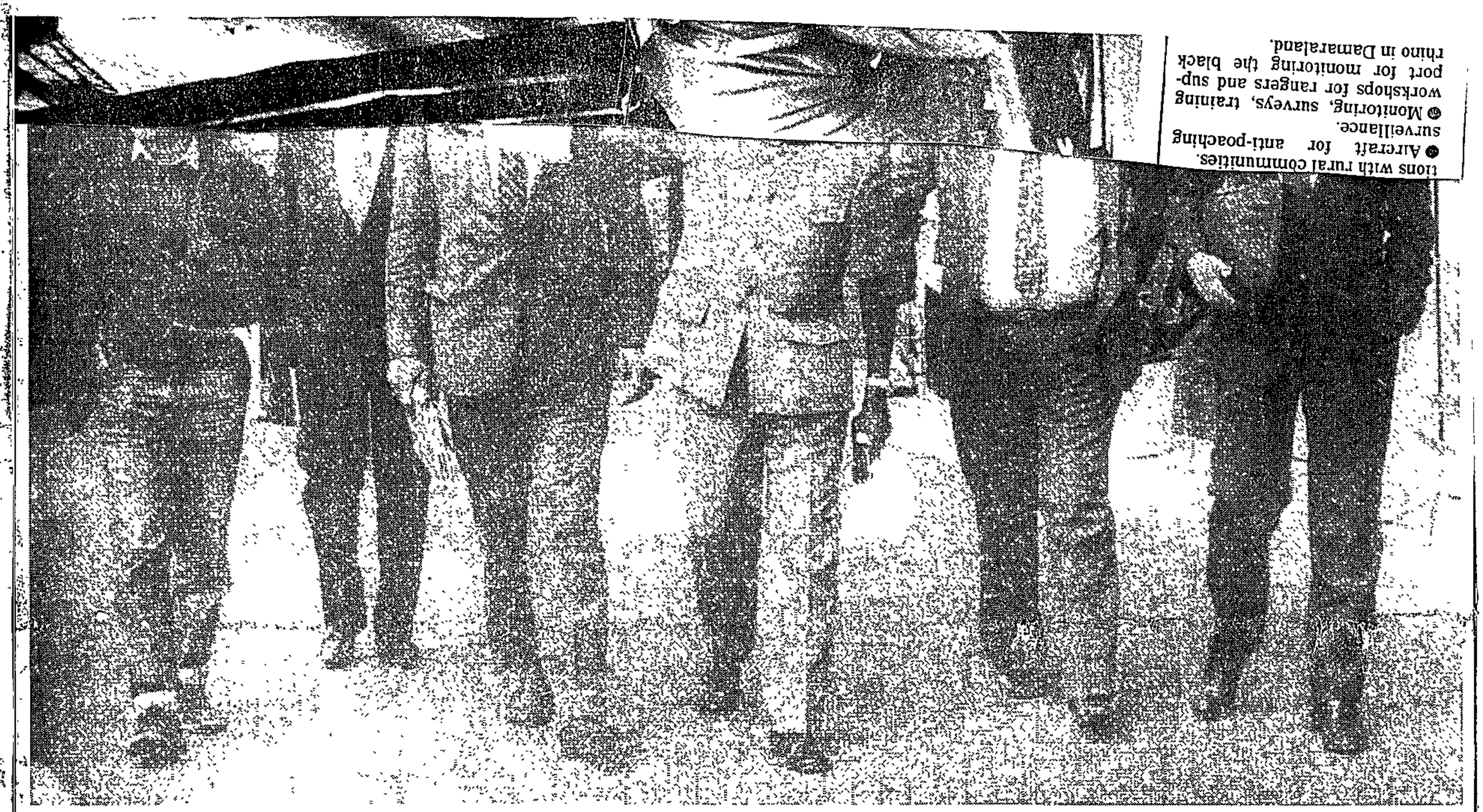
In its latest newsletter, members of the FFF are told they can make an "important contribution" by encouraging the DP to explode the National Party's electoral mythology and encouraging voters to break with apartheid, joining those working against it.

Forum treasurer Mr Colin Coleman says: "It is its policy to engage with extra-parliamentary groups and encourage whites to negotiate a new democratic, non-racial constitution which has the potential to make the DP significantly different from its predecessors."

He warns the DP that its approach to participation in the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament could determine "its relevance and contribution to the future".

He said the DP's "strategy of 'going for power' should not undermine its capacity to bridge extra-parliamentary and parliamentary politics".

In an interview this week, Mr Coleman said if the DP were to put up candidates in the House of Delegates and these were accepted, this would undermine its ability to form alliances with the mass democratic movement.



tions with rural communities.
● Aircraft for anti-poaching surveillance.
● Monitoring, surveys, training workshops for rangers and support for monitoring the black rhino in Damaraland.

Taking a stroll . . . President Kaunda and Democratic Party members (from left) Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, Mr Dow Steyn, Mr Wynand Malan, Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Tian van der Merwe in the grounds of State House, Lusaka.

304A Star 17/7/89

NP official in Lusaka group

By Carina le Grange

A National Party official and a delegation of young South Africans with "diverse political opinions" returned to South Africa from Lusaka yesterday after meeting officials of the African National Congress at the weekend.

The meeting took place under the auspices of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Idasa official Mr Wayne Mitchell, who led the delegation of 27, which included Randburg NP city councillor Mr Stephan van Metzinger, said the delegation was made up of young South Africans with "leadership potential".

Mr van Metzinger is believed to be the first NP office bearer to publicly attend a consultation with the ANC.

The delegation left South Africa two weeks ago and met political, trade union and business officials in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia, apart from the ANC.

A statement released yesterday by the group said: "We are a group of concerned South Africans with diverse political opinions. Discussions, covering a wide spectrum, were held with groups of people, inluding businessmen, politicians and a delegation of the ANC.

"Discussions were characterised by an open exchange of ideas, which made it possible for us to hear a variety of opinions as regards the conflict in southern Africa. We declare unanimously that the visit has resulted in our seeing a better future for post-apartheid South Africa."

Despite violence and sanctions, ANC must be talked to

DAVID WELSH

IN THE hypothetical event of a free and democratic election in SA, the ANC would receive the votes of at least 60% of the black population. On the other hand, according to survey data, only 2% of whites support the ANC's constitutional proposals for universal franchise in a unitary state. That, in a nutshell, is the South African problem.

Unless the ANC is brought in from the cold and induced to take part in a process of constitutional negotiation, the South African deadlock will continue — with horrifying long-term consequences.

It was with these premises in mind that I joined the most recent safari to Lusaka, under the leadership of the estimable Mike Olivier of the Five Freedoms Forum. The 115 of us were a mixed bunch, unified only by our common lack of real political leverage in white politics.

We were received graciously and hospitably by the ANC, whose members are genuinely pleased to receive first-hand news from "home", as they all unfailingly call SA. Homesickness and nostalgia are among the characteristics you notice first. Sophistication, intelligence and determination come a close second.

The temptation for some is to romanticise the ANC, and to be swept away in a tide of euphoria. We saw the diplomatic face of the ANC — the charm of Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan and the benign wisdom of Oliver Tambo. They have finely honed skills and an ability to state the ANC's position with firmness and dignity.

The "other side" of the ANC, which we did not see, is best represented by the Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani, reputedly a tough and uncompromising hardliner. The longer the armed struggle continues, the more likely it is that the hardliners will capture the key leadership positions.

A number of us were critical of the ANC's commitment to "armed struggle" and comprehensive mandatory sanctions. We were quite unable to shake them out of their implacability, and arguments that sanctions and violence are counter-productive were dismissed.

This is tragic, but no one could produce an effective reply to the ANC's claim that its taking up arms, after nearly 50 years of scrupulous commitment to non-violence, was the inevitable response to the State's own violence.

We were told of the letter written by Chief Albert Luthuli to Prime Minister J G Strijdom in 1957 pleading for him to show statesmanship in stemming the spate of discriminatory legislation and urging him to talk to the ANC and other organisations.

The insulting reply — from a secretary — promised to find an opportunity to lay the letter before the Prime Minister. We were further told that presumably no such opportunity had arisen, since nothing further was heard.

While I remain unconvinced of the case for "armed struggle" — and fearful of the implications of civil war — I have to acquiesce in the ANC's claim that its capacity for violence and its ability to promote "mass action" represent its major bargaining chips in the conflict. Blacks, collectively, have acquired a veto-power in SA, and the sooner whites recognise this the less protracted the conflict will be.

Publicly, the ANC avers that the white oligarchy is not as strong as is commonly supposed; privately, many do recognise its strength and accept that armed struggle is merely one of several pressures to be exerted on government to force it to the bargaining table. It is also firmly of the belief that such reforms as



☐ **WELSH ... received graciously**

government has made are actually strategic retreats caused by the domestic and international pressures exerted upon it.

A stongly held ANC view is that apartheid is incapable of being reformed: they will not countenance any proposed dispensations in which elements of compulsory segregation will be retained. Whites have to understand just how galling and intolerable an affront to black dignity any form of discrimination is.

I have no doubt that the ANC is keen to negotiate, although they will not do so unconditionally. They require the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the commuting of death sentences imposed upon those convicted of political offences and the withdrawal of troops and para-military police from the townships.

Moreover, they say that they will not take part in negotiating structures, like the National Forum, that have been generated by the apartheid system itself.

There is a pathological suspicion of government's *bona fides* — which is hardly surprising — and a general belief that F W de Klerk's recent declarations are merely restatements of "the same old thing" and "a rearguard action to preserve apartheid".

At the same time, many ANC people have a genuine fear of escalating hostility and SA's economic decline. Moreover, despite claims to the contrary, there are pressures from the Soviet Union for the ANC to seek a political rather than a military "solution".

The belief, assiduously promoted by South African propagandists, that the ANC dog is wagged by the Communist Party tail, is untrue. In fact, as several prople told me, the reverse is more true: SACP people have been more-or-less completely assimilated into the ANC.

In any case, the communist bogy can hardly be exploited in the traditional way, given the virtual collapse of Marxism-Leninism as a credible system. I was amazed to hear well-known communists in Lusaka talking like born-again democrats. One such person, much demonised in SA, told me of his strong support for Gorbachev, and when I asked him if he saw any chance of the Soviet Union proceeding along the lines of Poland and Hungary, where multi-party systems are in the process of being established, he replied: "I hope so".

He went on to denounce one-party systems as recipes for tyranny, saying: "Once the bastards get in you can never get rid of them."

Coming from someone who has swallowed Stalinism, the brutal repressions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland without a peep of (public, at any rate) protest, this was hopeful.

I had long discussions with various ANC people who had drafted the 1988 Constitutional Guidelines, which are an amplification of the Freedom Charter. I was impresed with the modest and scholarly Zola Skweyiya, with whom I participated in a session on constitutional options.

The ANC's demand is for universal franchise in a non-racial unitary state, but in discussions I gained the impression that they accepted my argument that in the South African conflict no party or movement was likely to find itself in a position to impose its own constitution. They were entirely amenable to the proposition that divided societies must, at all costs, avoid "winner-takes-all" outcomes.

Our constitutional discussions were too lengthy to summarise, but suffice it to say that my impression is that the ANC is aware that minorities may have entirely reasonable (and not simply residually racist) fears under majority rule. Areas of possible compromise and agreement are there.

Finally, it needs to be said that the non-racial ethic is fundamental to the ANC's political culture. It has not always been easy for the ANC to defend this position, but, to their great credit, they have done so. As far as they are concerned, non-racialism is an unquestioned principle.

☐ **Professor Welsh is Professor of Southern African Studies at UCT.**

CAOL Trips 17/7/89 304A

Cosatu's SA talks plan

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's largest trade union federation, Cosatu, set down guidelines for future political negotiations in South Africa at its third biennial congress here at the weekend.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday after the congress, Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said his organisation was taking seriously the fact that political negotiations in South Africa were on the agenda, but added that the form and content of such negotiations was crucial.

He said government's present approach was "fraught with empty sounds", but added that "we recognise there are pressures on them and us to enter into negotiations".

The congress, which was attended by about 1 900 delegates, resolved that the mass democratic movement (MDM) should initiate discussions to develop a common position to avoid the imposition of a settlement unacceptable to the majority.

Genuine negotiations required the regime first to take certain unilateral actions to create the necessary climate, Mr Naidoo said.

These were set down in the resolution and included the unbanning of organisations; the release of political prisoners and detainees; the return of exiles; the confinement of the SADF and SAP to barracks; the lifting of the state of emergency and the repeal of all security legislation, and the end of political trials and executions.

The resolution also stated any negotiations required the broad participation of "the people" in the process, and that only a sovereign, mandated and accountable body would have the authority to develop a new constitution.

Mr Naidoo, who said earlier that Cosatu was awaiting notification from the Prisons Department on whether it will be permitted to meet Mr Nelson Mandela, said the organisation had no misgivings about Mr Mandela's recent meeting with President P W Botha.

"(Mr) Mandela is part of our national leadership. We are confident he is able to express the views and aspirations of the majority, and the regime should take these seriously," Mr Naidoo said.

But, he said, "we reject government attempts to manipulate the situation in a way that may tend to cause divisions".

The congress also resolved to initiate discussions, centred on the ANC's constitutional guidelines, aimed at shaping a democratic constitutional model for South Africa.

It reaffirmed Cosatu's commitment to a strategic anti-apartheid alliance, but stressed that any such alliance must exclude representatives of big business and those who participate in apartheid structures.

The congress further resolved to reconvene an anti-apartheid conference — the previous one scheduled for last September was banned — by October and to formulate a Workers' Charter which should eventually guarantee the basic rights of workers in South Africa's future constitution.

A resolution proposed by the SA Railways and Harbours Workers' Union committed Cosatu and the entire MDM to fight privatisation and initiate a campaign to educate people about the harsh effects of the policy.

The congress expressed support for the abolition of the death penalty and formalised conditions for "acceptable disinvestment".

The congress urged Cosatu to work towards financial self-sufficiency. In this light it is to reduce its dependence on outside funding by 10% a year.

Finally, Cosatu decided to launch a major information programme on Aids, to fight against the dismissal of workers found to have the virus and to expose the conditions — including the migrant labour system and the housing shortage — which help spread Aids.

ANC ready to talk, says DP

CAPE TIMES 17/7/89

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC told a Democratic Party delegation that it was ready to meet all parties and confirmed that it was working on new initiatives for talks, according to a statement released here after a meeting between the DP delegation and the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend.

The delegation was led by co-leader of the DP, Mr Wynand Malan, while the ANC delegation was led by its secretary-general, Mr Afred Nzo.

The DP told the ANC that talks should be initiated among all parties as a way of removing the obstacles to serious negotiations. The ANC replied that it was willing to meet all parties if approached, and was working on new initiatives.

The statement said that each party presented its analysis of the current situation in South Africa and views were exchanged on the interpretation of recent events, including the meeting between State President P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The DP argued that an opportunity existed to break the deadlock in South Africa by opening up the negotiation process. "As long as the ANC and the South African government set preconditions for negotiations which cannot be met, the deadlock would continue."

The DP had therefore urged the ANC to express its willingness to meet the government without preconditions and argued that such a meeting could be used by both sides as an opportunity to talk about the removal of obstacles currently preventing serious negotiations.

The ANC had responded by arguing that their demands should not be seen as preconditions. New initiatives were needed to pave the way for a political resolution of the South African situation. However, they insisted that a climate conducive to negotiation must first be created.

"As long as the ANC is banned, it cannot organise and therefore cannot get mandates. The ANC is not prepared to enter serious negotiations without its

To page 3

CAPE TIMES 17/7/89 (304A)

From page 1

leaders and without a mandate," the statement said.

While recognising that the ANC saw the armed struggle and the isolation strategy as being means to bring about a non-racial democracy, the DP viewed these strategies as obstacles to serious negotiation.

The ANC had also stated that it would soon be responding publicly to the SA Law Commission Report on Human Rights. While it supported many of the recommendations, it had major reservations in some areas.

At the end of the talks both parties committed themselves to further discussions when the general election was over.

The statement said that a delegation would leave Lusaka for Luanda today for talks with the Angolan government.

The DP delegation, which met President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia on Friday, consists of Mr Malan, Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Jannie Hofmeyr.

Apart from Mr Nzo, the ANC delegation included its treasurer-general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, the head of its international affairs department, Mr Thabo Mbeki, a member of its department of information and publicity, Mr Tom Sebina, the head of its women's section, Ms Gertrade Shobe, a member of its national executive, Mr Steve Tsweti, and a member of its legal department, Mr Penuell Maduna.

Mr Malan would not confirm if the party would proceed to Maputo for talks with President Joaquim Chissano and members of his government, but DP sources said the delegation was expected there.

The delegation met the ANC and Dr Kaunda at the weekend. Mr Malan described the talks with Dr Kaunda as "excellent".

Mr Malan said the delegation promoted the concept that talks in Southern Africa should include the South African government and that Mr F W de Klerk should be received in all Southern African countries to enhance communication.

Dr Kaunda accepted this and indicated a willingness to meet Mr De Klerk. He told Mr Malan he would "size up" Mr De Klerk and if he got a positive response he would even be prepared to meet Mr De Klerk again in Pretoria.

Meanwhile, delegates speaking for the "mass democratic movement" at Cosatu's biennial congress last week echoed the ANC by stressing the need for a range of preconditions to be met before talks or "genuine negotiations" with the government could proceed.

These included the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the suspension of the use of "repressive legislation", the withdrawal of troops from the townships and an end to "political" trials. — Sapa and Political Staff

(News by A Johnson and B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town, and K Daniels, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Mandela's coming! Is the National Party prepared?

B/Day 17/7/87

304A

KEN OWEN

HERE IS a conundrum: if the National Party cannot repeal the Group Areas Act for fear of losing its power base, how can it negotiate with the ANC for a transition to democracy without losing that base?

Put differently, how can the National Party under Mr F W de Klerk possibly meet the soaring expectations raised, here and abroad, by the historic meeting in Tuynhuys of President Botha and Nelson Mandela?

The obvious answer is by leadership of a very high degree; the more likely answer, concealed in the labyrinthine deviousness of Nationalist political style, is that the party's words and actions don't mean what they seem to mean.

There is a need to be clear on the party's intentions, for two reasons.

Firstly, the elevation of Mandela to the status of negotiating partner, and the election rhetoric of people like Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, or Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok ("apartheid is an albatross") have raised expectations so high that, if nothing much ensues, we risk another disillusion, here and abroad, as severe as Rubicon.

Secondly, the opinion poll conducted for Rapport by Mark en Mening — a poll which has a track record of reasonable reliability — shows a marked weakening of the party's traditional base, from 48,7% of the electorate in April to 41,1% in June. This means that raised expectations coincide with a narrowing of room to manoeuvre.

The defections are especially worrying, not only because they are running high but because, once again, English and Afrikaans voters are acting in fundamentally different ways — Afrikaners mainly go right to the CP, English go left to the DP. The hopes that Afrikaners could be attracted into a genuinely reformist party are not being met.

In spite of all the efforts made by the DP to accommodate Wynand Malan's NDM and Wimpie de Klerk's "Fourth Force," despite the appointment of a majority of Afrikaners to the party's governing board, and despite the nomination of high-profile Afrikaans advisers like Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the DP can muster no more than 7,8% of the Afrikaans voters.

The implication is inescapable that, so far at least, the National Party is falling between two stools: it is doing too little in the way of fundamental reform to hold its English voters (and a small number of mainly young intellectual Afrikaners), but too much to hold its own right wing. Its own base is shrinking from both ends.

Some points are clear: the NP has sensibly abandoned the illusion that it can win back the racists who have already defected to the Conservatives (barring, perhaps, a minority driven to defection by a decline in their economic fortunes or by the endemic corruption of government). The NP is competing robustly with the DP for what might be called the "moderate reformist" vote. That vote, it turns out, is overwhelmingly English.

At the same time, there are encouraging signs of enlightened leadership emerging in the campaign. At one time, it was only Pik Botha who dared speak of the inevitability of change (remember his 1975 announcement, somewhat premature, of the death of apartheid? Or his talk, on the day before Slabbert's self-immolation, of a black president?) and he risked repudiation by his own party whenever he did so.

Now the party itself speaks of universal "participation" in government, and Coetsee, following the Law Commission, talks of defending "group values" by entrenching the rights of the individual. Setting out his vision of a democratic SA he told the recent National Party congress: "The system must not violate the principle of universal franchise, or it will be self-destructive." That brings him close to one man, one vote.

Thirdly, the National Party has plainly abandoned the "Albanian Option" — the belief, especially prevalant in the security establishment and among less educated whites, that the country might dig itself into a bunker of angry defiance of the rest of the world.

Previously strained relations with African states have — thanks again to the ever-resourceful Pik! — been turned into an instrument to break the deadlocks in both foreign policy and local politics. A complex web of relationships has been woven to bind local, regional and distant parties into a single, multi-faceted political process, and the Botha-Mandela meeting has given that process almost unstoppable momentum.

Nevertheless, severe contradictions remain. Most obviously, negotiation cannot proceed very far unless Mandela is released. Nor can it proceed very far unless the ban on the ANC and other political organisations (including the SA Communist Party of which Govan Mbeki is a self-confessed member, and of which half the ANC leaders are members?) is lifted.

Nor, indeed, could negotiation proceed unless the emergency were ended, opening the way for vigorous political protest against not only the Group Areas Act, but against all surviving vestiges of Verwoerdian apartheid. In short, the process creates its own imperatives.

The Law Commission, much more sensible than government, has suggested a systematic purge of the statute book to eliminate all laws that might conflict with the provisions of a fully-fledged Western-style bill of rights. That process would do more than anything else imaginable to "create a climate for peaceful negotiation," but it might take years. It would be slow and technocratic, gradually widening the space for political activity.

Now, however, the pace has been stepped up dramtically. Unless Mandela is released soon after the election, a new Rubicon will threaten; and if Mandela is released, the pace will again pick up. A very high degree of leadership will be required to cope with the rush of events, and to bring a nervous white electorate along.

All this makes the election campaign a test of Nationalist leadership. If the party faces up to the implications of its own actions — of bringing Mandela to Tuynhuys to open historic discussions with the head of state — it must prepare the electorate for rapid change in the coming period.

In particular, it must begin to tell its followers that the Group Areas Act cannot survive; nor can the restricted franchise; nor can the Separate Amenities Act; nor can differential expenditure on education for whites and other races; nor can special subsidies for farmers; nor can the privileged status of the white public servants; nor can heavy court sentences for blacks and light sentences for whites; and so forth.

The danger, however, is that the National Party will revert instead to its usual style of semantic deceit: "separate development," "the extension of university education," "dispensation," "participation," "own affairs," and such verbal trickery has established a habit of dishonesty in the party.

The question in this campaign is whether the Nationalists will educate voters to look to Nelson Mandela as a leader of a democracy struggling to be born, or whether they will, once again, try to lie their way out of trouble.

Highlanders' OC resigns for politics

Com-Inis 17/7/89 3044

Defence Correspondent

MR Tony Marriner, the Democratic Party candidate for Caledon in the election, is no longer commanding officer of the Cape Town Highlanders.

Mr Marriner recently resigned as OC Cape Town Highlanders when he decided to become involved in politics and is in the process of handing over to his former second-in-command, Major Bernard Ashlin.

This was confirmed yesterday by a spokesman for 71 Motorised Brigade, the Cape Town Highlanders' parent formation.

His resignation ended an active military career which started in the Transvaal Scottish more than two decades ago and took him through many of the major military events of the past 15 years, including Operation Savannah — the 1975-1976 incursion into Angola — and various border operations.

His last period of active service was in command of a first-line battle-group during the tense confrontation with the Cubans in northern Nambibia late last year.

OC Cape Town Highlanders for seven years, he went through every rank from rifleman to commandant.

In civilian life he was a trainee journalist before entering the stationery business. He now has his own business in Paarl.

CNE Tmks 17/7/89 3044

NP still to decide on 4 Cape seats

WITH just seven days to go before nomination day on July 24, there are now only four uncontested House of Assembly seats in the Western Cape — and there are now six three-way contests.

The number of uncontested seats could be whittled down later today when the National Party's organisation committee in the Cape meets in the city to consider its position in the four safe DP seats in which it has yet to field a candidate — Claremont, Constantia, Groote Schuur and Pinelands.

As the NP last week opened an office in the centre of Pinelands, it seems likely that it will contest Mr Jasper Walsh's seat. Although the nominated MP, Mr Danie van Gend, was not intending to stand in the election, he is a possibility in Pinelands.

Election footnotes
By BARRY STREEK

The NP might not be able to resist tackling Mr Jan van Eck in the safe Claremont seat, where Mr Aaron Rubensztein's somewhat odd independent challenge seems to be faltering because of his inability to muster the support of 500 voters. The problem for the NP in Claremont is that a sound thrashing by Mr Van Eck would undermine its claims that he does not represent the voters in the constituency.

However, the NP may well decide not to enter the fray in Constantia and Groote Schuur.

The only other unopposed seat in the Western Cape at this stage is Parow, where the sitting MP, Mr Hernus Kriel, obtained 6 488 majority over the CP, HNP and PFP in 1987.

□ □ □ □ □

THE six three-way contests in the Western Cape are De Kuilen, False Bay, Paarl, Piketberg, Swellendam and Worcester.

In all six, the CP, DP and NP are fielding candidates.

All six are safe Nationalist seats and it would be a major surprise if the NP lost any of them.

□ □ □ □ □

RESPONSIBILITY for the growth of communism in South Africa lay at the door of the NP who had created a breeding ground for it in the black townships, the DP candidate in Umlazi, Mr Gus van Rensburg, said at his campaign launch.

Mr Van Rensburg is fighting Mr Con Botha, who had the largest NP majority — 4 888 — in Natal in 1987.

Mr Van Rensburg said that apartheid and the Group Areas Act had very serious consequences for South Africa: "The NP has always been seen to be in the front line of the fight against communism.

"They have built an army and a defence industry without equal in Africa. The taxpayers have to pay billions for the fight against communism and some parents have had to bury their sons for this cause. Yet, despite all our efforts, communism has gained support in South Africa.

"The reason is that while we were shoring up our borders, we left the back door open for the communists. Through apartheid and the Group Areas Act the National Party has created the socio-economic conditions in our black townships in which communism will thrive.

"I was a company commander of about 150 troops in Soweto for two months in 1987. The biggest part of Soweto is in my opinion a scrapyard of human misery, oppression, poverty, and hunger. The millions of people live in an overcrowded, no-hope situation, with no indication of a way out.

"And while we police them, harass them and search their houses and cars any time of the day or night, the communists are in there, offering them hope — offering them a way out," Mr Van Rensburg said.

□ □ □ □ □

THE road of the DP was the road to abdication, the road of the CP was the road to confrontation, and the road of the NP was the only road to orderly reform in South Africa, the NP MP in Umhlanga, Mr Renier Schoeman, said at the launch of his campaign.

Mr Schoeman referred to the DP's leaders as "fractious men of straw", who did little other than mouth "do-gooder platitudes".

"The National Party is the only party which can accommodate the aspirations and legitimate fears of the white voters in this country," he said.

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

final session of the G7 summit in Paris yesterday.

Picture: REUTER

Nursing crisis puts pay pressure on govt

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The worsening nursing crisis — a 20% shortage nationwide — will compel government to make an early adjustment to nurses' salaries, sources here say.

At the weekend Deputy Health Minister Michael Veldman said government would use its limited funds to do everything possible to stop the flow of staff to the private sector.

Later this week the SA Nursing Association (Sana) is to submit a 15% increase demand to Health Minister Willie van Niekerk.

Sana executive director Susan du Preez said the association had warned of the looming crisis repeatedly during the past decade. Adjustments made to pay and service conditions had never gone far enough, she said.

□ Johannesburg Hospital has not been brought to the point of collapse by the shortage of nurses, hospital superintendent R G Broekman said at the weekend. Hospital management was, however, gravely concerned.

Voters' rolls condemned

SPOKESMEN for the DP, NP and CP have all condemned the state of voters' rolls for the September 6 election as a shambles, filled with the names of dead and missing voters.

Johannesburg NP councillor Robert Rousseau said he had written to the Department of Home Affairs about the Bezuidenhout constituency roll.

He said there were many cases where people on the roll had been dead for more than five years, or had gone overseas.

He said there were also those on the roll who still used the old ID cards with a different digit count.

EDYTH BULBRING

He said after consulting with Johannesburg Council municipal voters officials, a meeting with senior Home Affairs officials had been arranged.

It was suggested that people overseas be flagged (their names bracketed on the roll so they may not vote) until they returned and funeral directors be asked for data on all deaths in Johannesburg since 1986.

But a new roll would only be ready for the next general election, he said.

A DP spokesman said in Hillbrow, for example, about half of the 19 000 registered voters had moved away.

Committee looks at Soweto rent crisis

ISOLATING the more emotional content of issues such as rent payment would be the first step in addressing Soweto's financial difficulties, Development Bank of SA (DBSA) CE Simon Brand said yesterday.

"The issue of home ownership should be isolated from current payment of service charges," said Brand, who has been asked to chair a committee which will supervise Soweto's financial adjustment.

[illegible] HANIA LEVY

Brand said he was sure that in the process of the financial adjustment Soweto's R210m rent debt would be looked into.

The committee, which comprises council and provincial administration members, will look at ways to cover Soweto's immediate deficits. In the long term the committee will plan expenditure on an ongoing basis.

Worrall reports doubts overseas

304A

MIKE ROBERTSON

THERE was profound scepticism about the NP and its ability to deliver peace to SA among European leaders and businessmen, DP co-leader Denis Worrall said yesterday.

Worrall, speaking after returning from a tour of Britain, Portugal, West Germany and Italy, said that at the same time the polticians, bankers and businessmen he had met had shared the view there existed a tremendous opportunity for SA to "turn things around and take its place in the international community".

This stemmed from the Namibia settlement and subsequent peace initiatives in Angola and Mozambique.

"This election must be the election to end apartheid. There is profound scepticism in the European foreign ministries about the NP's ability to escape its past. What we need is a change of regime in SA. We have to go for a hung Assembly which opens the way for political realignment.

"We must contest every seat where we have the organisation and turn this election into a referendum on apartheid. White South Africans have got to be given the opportunity to demonstrate their opposition to apartheid." he said.

Improvement

Bankers and businessmen he had met had given him the clear impression that they regarded SA and southern Africa as "distinctly rescuable. But they look to us to provide political justification for them to come back".

Worrall said he had been widely questioned about new NP leader F W de Klerk. His view was De Klerk, on his recent visit to Europe, had given the impression he was a definite improvement on President P W Botha.

"But the question is whether he can escape the NP's legacy, the NP's intellectual baggage."

De Klerk's discussions in Europe, he said, had been interpreted in the light of the NP pre-election congress and its five-year-plan.

"These people are experienced SA observers. They look at the NP five-year-plan and the kind of mandate the NP is seeking and there is a deep scepticism."

With new

Tuynhuys meeting approved: DP perceives new flexibility

ANC 'readiness for talks'

Political Staff

Cape Town

The African National Congress has given its nod of approval to Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with President Botha.

This is the impression of members of a Democratic Party delegation led by co-leader Mr Wynand Malan after all-day talks with the ANC in Lusaka on Saturday.

The P W Botha-Mandela meeting was discussed at length during the talks with an ANC delegation led by secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and including Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The DP's Mr Jannie Momberg said, in a telephone interview from Lusaka, his impression was that the ANC was intensely interested in the meeting.

ANC delegates seemed to regard the Tuynhuys talks as an encouraging sign the Government was moving towards a position where talks about negotiations could begin.

No deviation

Mr Momberg said his impression was also that the ANC approved of the statement issued by Mr Mandela after his meeting with President Botha. The statement was regarded as not deviating from ANC principles.

Mr Momberg said his impression was that the ANC was showing signs of flexibility on certain issues.

During the talks Mr Wynand Malan emphasised the need for peaceful negotiations.

He urged the ANC and the Government to meet and talk without preconditions, with a view to opening full negotiations about ending apartheid.

Mr Malan said that was the only way to break the deadlock over negotiating a peaceful end to the apartheid system.

Sapa reports that the ANC told the DP it was ready to meet all parties if approached, and confirmed it was working on new initiatives for talks.

No preconditions

The DP therefore urged the ANC to express its willingness to meet the SA Government without preconditions, and argued that such a meeting could be used by both sides as an opportunity to talk about the removal of obstacles currently preventing serious negotiations.

The ANC had responded by arguing that their demands should not be seen as preconditions. New initiatives were needed to pave the way for a political resolution. However they insisted that a climate conducive to negotiation must first be created.

While recognising that the ANC saw the armed struggle and the isolation strategy as being means to bring about a non-racial democracy, the DP viewed these strategies as obstacles to serious negotiation.

The ANC had also said it would soon be responding publicly to the SA Law Commission Report on Human Rights.

At the end of the talks both parties committed themselves to further discussions when the September election was over.

304A

AWB rejects 'plot' against Terre'Blanche

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The executive committee of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has rejected allegations that Mr Eugene Terre'blanche spent a night outside columnist Ms Jani Allan's flat, as a "plot" against the movement's leader.

In a statement issued in Pretoria today, the executive committee said it rejected the weekend press reports "with contempt".

"It is quite clear that this is a plot planned with the aim of forcing the leader not to stand in Rustenburg," the statement said.

It said the AWB leader had been guarded "day and night" since his car accident earlier this year, and that he no longer drove his car.

The AWB chief of finance and administration, Mr Thys Smit, said the committee would not be meeting to discuss the latest allegations.

Withdrew candidacy

Commenting on reports that a bomb which exploded outside Ms Allan's flat on Friday was intended to force the AWB leader to withdraw his candidacy, the executive committee said Mr Terre'Blanche had withdrawn his candidacy on Thursday.

The executive committee was reacting to reports, confirmed by Ms Allan, that Mr Terre'Blanche had slept outside her flat on the night of June 26 after pleading for hours to be let in.



Jani Allan



Mr Terre'Blanche

The AWB leader and Ms Allan were linked earlier this year after an incident at Paardekraal monument when the police were called in after shots were allegedly fired.

"Social problems"

"The news of his withdrawal was given to the media on Thursday.

Meanwhile, suspended AWB member Mr Dries Alberts has called for Mr Terre'Blanche's resignation following the reports.

"This incident only confirms my protest about his social problems.

"The time has come for Mr Terre'Blanche to reconsider his position as the leader of the AWB," Mr Alberts said.

Mr Alberts was suspended in January after calling for a commission of inquiry into the Paardekraal incident and the financial position of the movement.

Mr Smit today said the AWB had always been in the red, "a fact which was not new".

Mr Manie Maritz, who was taken back into the fold a month ago at a meeting in Bapsfontein, said Mr Terre'Blanche had enough problems and he was not prepared to "hammer" a man with problems.

The government has said it is committed to negotiation on the country's political problems. Opposition groups are also talking about negotiation. Senior Assistant Editor **JOE LATAKGOMO** examines the prospects of the Government and its black opposition getting together.



Negotiation

Star 18/7/89.

New climate and air of confidence

304A

Negotiation is firmly on the political agenda. At least, this seems to be the indication from both Government and its opposition on all fronts, not least of which is the African National Congress and the internal mass democratic movement.

Following the historic meeting between Mr P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela, some observers even went to the extent of suggesting that negotiation was already under way.

Last month, a high-powered team from Cosatu and the UDF held a meeting with the ANC delegates in Lusaka to discuss the possibility that Pretoria will submit to pressure from Western powers and launch a negotiating drive after the elections in September.

"As we are aware, the issue of negotiations has been placed on the agenda," said Cosatu's Jay Naidoo.

For years, the Government has insisted that it is "negotiating" with what they termed moderate black leaders, and added that they would not speak to anybody who does not forswear violence. This was a clear reference to the ANC, the PAC and internal organisations like the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation and the two major labour groupings in the country, Cosatu and Nactu.

'Secret' talks

The chief architect of the "negotiations" that the Government was referring to, Mr Chris Heunis, was adamant that he was speaking to, and consulting black leaders "even though some of them do not want to admit this much publicly". If true, the process was therefore largely secret.

But what the Government views as negotiation is not necessarily what the black majority accepted as such. Government created institutions were largely shunned by credible black leaders, right up to the government's latest, the National Forum. Even at local government level, the Community Councils were largely rejected because involvement was seen as being co-opted by "the system".

However, there seems to be a new climate, an air of confidence that negotiations can at last take place. But what are the prospects for the negotiation of a peaceful settlement of the South African conflict?

All the pointers, at the present time, indicate that negotiation will not even get off the starting block. And this is all because of the different fundamental positions of the adversaries in the struggle.

The National Party has stated that group protection is the pillar of its new vision, and they believe that every group should participate as a component in the legislative and executive processes.

The ANC's position has been firm, too. Apartheid, they say, is incapable of being reformed and they will countenance no dispensation in which elements of compulsory segregation will be retained.

And yet, there seems to be a feeling that the ANC would be willing to compromise provided at least some of their minimum demands are met.

The Government has in turn, admitted that its policies do not work. In the Nat five year plan, they point out that the present basis in terms of which groups are defined for the purposes of political participation "creates many problems. It must therefore be revised in a process of negotiation to establish a greater freedom of choice".

The Nats have also shifted slightly from the position as to who they will negotiate with. "We are almost moving away from the meaningless requirement of the renunciation of violence," Dr Stoffel van der Merwe told a briefing on the Nat plan.

However, they still insist that the Group Areas Act will stay on the Statute Books "until an effective and generally acceptable measure can be substituted."

The ANC has set down conditions for negotiation, chief of which are the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners, the commuting of death sentences upon those convicted of political offences and withdrawal of troops and paramilitary police from the townships.

The ANC has stated that it would suspend violence if the Government met its preconditions. "Far from being a block to entering negotiations, these (pre)conditions will allow the kind offree association that will make a negotiated settlement possible," an ANC spokesman has said.

The ANC welcomed negotiation "because we do not want to inherit a wasteland."

Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said that negotiation had to take place according to an open agenda, but the NP would approach negotiations with the principles of "group security and the preservation of Western civilised values".

Also, the Government has been firm on the question of the state of emergency. While there is at least some hope that Mr Mandela may be freed soon, it is unlikely that Government would free political prisoners in great numbers.

It seems, therefore, that negotiation at least in the near future, is simply not on. A new focus will be required, as would a united front against the Government.

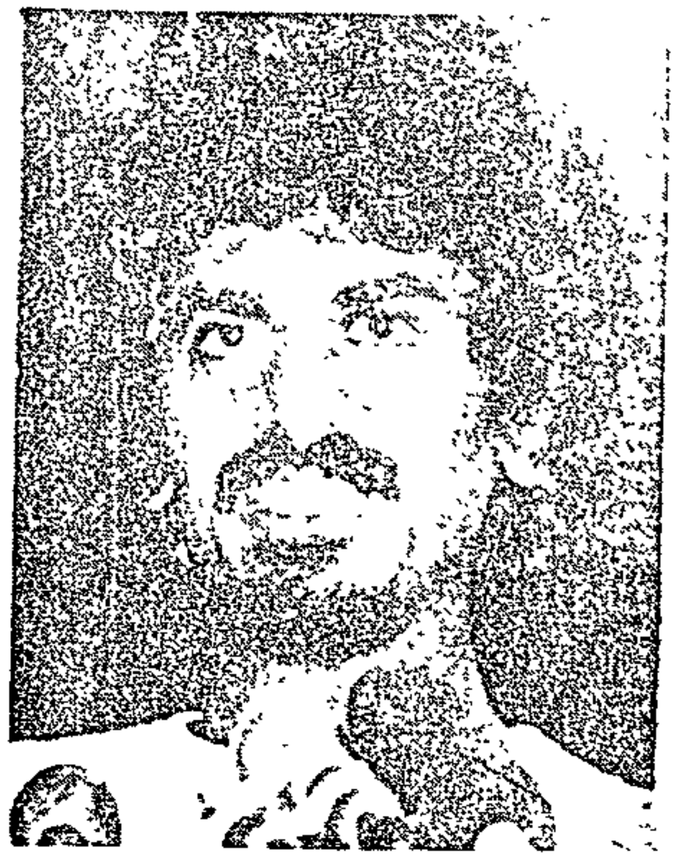
Common front

Already, the UDF, Cosatu, the ANC and Inkatha, under Chief Buthelezi, are working towards creating a common front which would create the biggest force ever ranged against Government.

However, that still leaves other parties out in the open and peace and stability can only be possible if those — particularly the PAC are included. As another observer said recently, the agenda for negotiation is not important. Who is negotiating is critical.

In the final analysis, the nature of the society we are striving for will be determined by the way we get to that society, and it seems all actors in the South African political game at least realise this.

As Muntu Myeza warned before the last election. there is a force that the whites cannot ignore, this force is black people.



Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo: "Issue of negotiations placed on the agenda."



Mr Chris Heunis . . . said to have consulted black leaders in secret.

Star 18/7/89 304A

FW to allay concerns over Mandela meeting

NP has not gone 'soft on the ANC'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The National Party says the recent meeting between President Botha and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela does not mean it has "gone soft on the ANC".

And despite the meeting, the NP is going ahead with its election campaign of running down the Democratic Party as being "soft on the ANC".

Mr Con Botha, the NP's chief information officer, confirmed this today, responding to reports of confusion in the NP ranks about the Botha/Mandela meeting.

Some NP members are dismayed that the meeting may have undercut their election strategy of attacking the DP for talking to the ANC.

Old attack

Sharp differences have emerged in the NP about the meeting. Some have seen it as step towards contact with the ANC and others believe it was aimed at driving a wedge between Mr Mandela and the ANC.

Mr Botha made it clear that the NP hopes to shrug off the apparent contradiction and pursue its old line of attack on the DP.

He said the latest issue of the NP mouthpiece, *Die Nasionalis*, would make capital of remarks by former DP MP Mr Pat Poovalingam that the DP was in effect "taking orders from the ANC".

Mr Botha said that the meeting between Mr Mandela and President Botha was a "breakthrough in the on-going saga about whether or not Mr Mandela would be released". One could not read more into the meeting, he added.

But he objected to assumptions that the meeting meant the NP was softening its approach to the ANC.

"This doesn't follow logically. The NP is still bound to the unequivocal renunciation of violence as a condition of taking part in negotiations."

Mr Botha said that this standpoint was unanimously adopted by the NP and still held good for the ANC or any other organisation.

It had been re-affirmed by the NP in its five-year action plan endorsed at its extraordinary federal congress last month.

"We are not going soft on the ANC. In fact, the ball is on the other foot. If the ANC wants to take part in negotiations, it must renounce violence and I see no indication of that.'

Mr Botha said he thought that NP leader Mr F W de Klerk would deal with the Mandela issue fully when he addressed the Cape NP congress in Somerset West on Saturday.

If there was any negative reaction to the meeting from the electorate, he added, it would only be from the "unenlightened" who did not think the NP was serious about releasing Mr Mandela.

Conservative Party general secretary Mr Andries Beyers yesterday said the Mandela meeting was going to win the election for the CP.

"We are going to do to the NP what they did to the PFP in the 1987 elections," he said.

No date set for meeting between FW and Bush

SEN 18/7/89.

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

30 4 ft

WASHINGTON — The United States government has still not proposed firm dates for a possible meeting between the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, and President Bush.

American and South African officials continue to repudiate speculation that the two leaders are to meet in the White House next week.

According to sources, Mr de Klerk has not been invited to meet the President, but only to meet the US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker.

The invitation was extended verbally by Mr Baker to the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, at their meeting in Rome last month.

COALITION GROWS

The State Department said yesterday that there was no update on the previous announcement by the White House that Mr de Klerk would be invited to Washington to meet Mr Baker. The White House said in that announcement there were no plans for Mr Bush to meet Mr de Klerk.

Since the announcement, a coalition against a White House meeting for Mr de Klerk has been gaining momentum. The coalition has been putting pressure on the White House not to send an undeserved signal to white South Africans by allowing Mr de Klerk to meet Mr Bush.

A White House official said yesterday there was no information on a possible meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Bush next week. He said White House officials were still in Europe and that if there was such a meeting on Mr Bush's schedule, officials with the President in Europe would possibly know about it.

JSJ meeting later this month

A Jews for Social Justice (JSJ) report-back meeting on talks with the ANC will be held this month, following the cancellation of last week's meeting due to anonymous threats. 304A

The chairman of JSJ, Dr Franz Auerbach, said in a statement that JSJ "deplored the physical threats that forced the postponement of the meeting.

"It is a sad commentary on our country's level of intolerance that an ordinary report-back meeting, which will help to promote the climate for peaceful negotiations, became the subject of numerous anonymous threats. However, we will not be intimidated. The meeting will be held elsewhere later this month, and our members will be advised accordingly."

The meeting had been scheduled in the Wolmarans Street Synagogue Hall. Star 18/7/89

Real test after election, says Anglo chief

Govt showing more flexibility — Relly

304A
Star 18/7/89

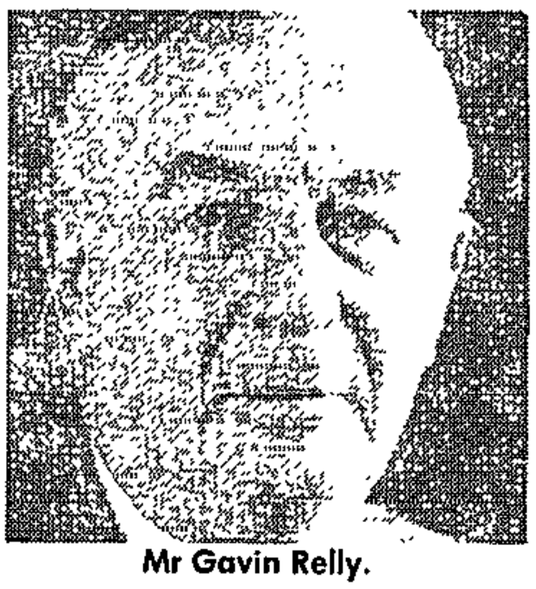
Staff Reporter

Nationalist Party leader Mr F W de Klerk's task is to consummate the reform process and give form and content to a post-apartheid vision for South Africa based on values and aspirations that unite rather than separate South Africans, Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly says in his annual report published today.

Mr Relly says that while the five-year plan announced at the recent NP congress is "not always reassuring on these two fronts", it at least recognises the need to change the present order through negotiation.

"The critical test of the party's will and intent will come after the (September) election," says the Anglo chief.

Mr de Klerk has already been received by several European leaders and there are signs that the US, under President Bush, is trying to fashion a policy that will remain constructive yet not be perpetually opposed by Congress, Mr Relly says.



Mr Gavin Relly.

"British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was the least likely to entertain exaggerated ideas of how quickly Mr de Klerk can effect change. But even she cannot wait indefinitely for progress if her opposition to sanctions is to be sustained."

The Soviet Union, under its new willingness to support regional peace settlements, has not only brought into question Pretoria's "cherished myth of the total onslaught" but has prompted the ANC to look again at its constitutional and economic prescriptions for South Africa.

The new Russian attitudes have caused Marxist prescriptions to be widely questioned in Africa, as elsewhere, Mr Relly says.

Greater flexibility on the part of the SA Government was indicated recently by the historic meeting between President Botha and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, the Government's reassessment of the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba as well as the guarded reaction to the report of the Government-appointed Law Commission.

"Such flexibility in time should facilitate the emergence of broader political alliances, and opportunities for domestic opposition forces and exiled groups to participate in the 'talks about talks' which must be a precursor to any formal move towards political negotiation," Mr Relly says.

● See Page 25.

NP asked our man to stand down, says CP

Staff 18/7/89 Own Correspondent (3049)

DURBAN — The Conservative Party has claimed that a National Party official asked it to withdraw from the Umhlanga election battle because sitting NP member Mr Renier Schoeman could lose in a three-way fight.

The CP said an NP official on Umdloti Town Board, Mr Wally Walters, approached one of its members on the board, Mr Le Roux Snyman, and made an approach for CP candidate Mr Gunter Gathmann to back out. Mr Schoeman has dismissed the claim.

He is defending a 557 majority against Mr Kobus Jordaan of the Democratic Party, and Mr Gathmann.

Mr Snyman said Mr Walters approached him twice. "He asked me (the first time) if it was not a good idea to retract our candidate. At that point I believed Mr Schoeman was doing a good service for Umdloti. And a three-way fight would be a bad thing for him, because he would obviously lose his seat."

Mr Snyman doubted that Mr Walters had a mandate from his party to approach him. "I think this is something that came from him personally. It was just part of a friendly discussion we had on the matter."

Mr Carl Werth, deputy chairman of the CP in Natal, said: "It is not for us to decide whether the man had a mandate or not." Mr Walters has denied that he had any such discussions with Mr Snyman.

(Report by R M Challenor, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

SA/Maputo talks hailed by Mugabe

By Robin Drew
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — President Robert Mugabe yesterday welcomed tomorrow's talks between Mr F W de Klerk and Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and said he hoped it would help to end the war in Mozambique.

"We want to know if South Africa is prepared to act honestly," he said.

He hoped Mr de Klerk would not "speak with two tongues as President P W Botha had done at previous meetings". Mr Mugabe said South Africa had continued to help Renamo despite promises at the time of the Nkomati Accord.

On the meeting between Mr Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela, the Zimbabwean leader said contacts like this should be encouraged. "We find nothing wrong with this. We have been urging whites in South Africa to talk to black leaders there and not to us."

On domestic matters, Mr Mugabe said he stood by his decision to pardon former Minister Mr Frederick Shava, who had been sentenced to nine months' jail for perjury connected with the Willowvale car scandal.

Fuel price rise 'aiding govt policies'

Political Correspondent

The latest 6c fuel price increase was really an extra tax to help finance the Government's "integrationist" policies, the Conservative Party has charged.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, the CP spokesman on economic affairs and technology, said last night that there was an unexplained "extra 10 percent floating around somewhere" in the latest increase. He was speaking at a house meeting as the CP's election candidate in Krugersdorp.

Mr Derby-Lewis referred to his "unanswered question" of how much petrol was manufactured locally and how much was imported.

"I have asked this question in Parliament and was told that it was not in the national interest to release such figures."

But the real reason was that it would show "the South African motorist is being taken for a ride through additional taxation to help finance the NP government's increasingly unworkable integrationist policies".

304A

Nats likely to keep Innesdal – survey

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The National Party seems likely to retain the Pretoria seat of Innesdal on September 6 despite expectations that the Conservative Party could clinch the seat it regards as a prime election target.

This is according to an opinion poll by Marketing & Media Research.

In the Innesdal poll, conducted between July 10 and July 18, the NP's Dr Rina Venter received 42 percent of the vote, compared with 28 percent for the CP candidate, the Reverend Mossie van der Berg.

While 14 percent of those canvassed refused to indicate which candidate they would support, 16 percent said they were still undecided.

However, based on these voters' traditional party-political allegiance and their indications of which party they would probably support, indications are that the NP would gain most of the floating vote.

This could mean the NP may poll 56 percent of the vote compared with the CP's 33 percent.

All of this presupposes that the electoral climate would not change drastically in the next six weeks.

The survey indicates the NP is regaining support in the constituency in which the combined CP/HNP vote came within 153 votes of that of the NP in 1987.

One explanation for this phenomenon could be that voters who supported opposition parties in the 1987 election as a "protest" vote against the NP were being wooed back into the Nationalist camp.

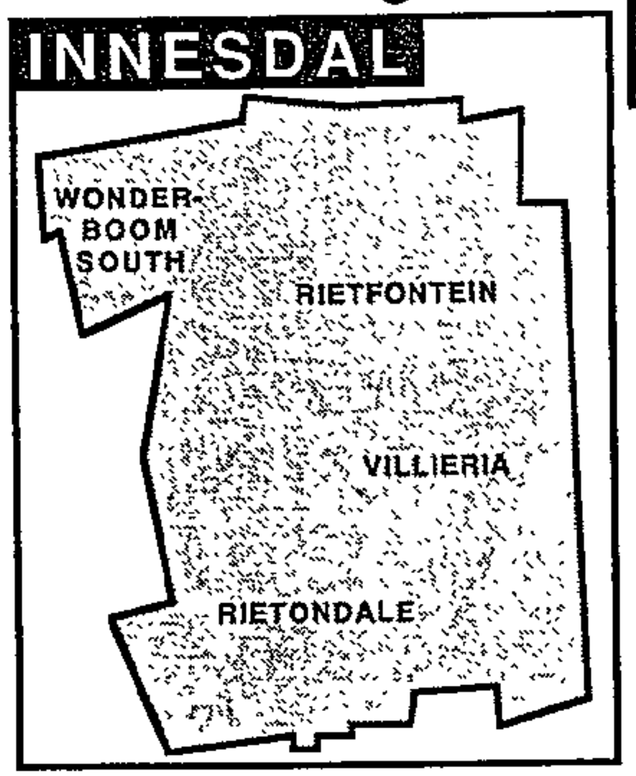
From the survey it seems CP support is strongest among younger voters, with 42 percent of respondents aged 18 to 24 pledging their support to the CP compared to 22 percent of respondents older than 50.

Efforts to recruit

While this indicates older voters are more firmly rooted in the Nationalist camp, the "definite support" for the CP among younger voters could be a result of concentrated CP efforts to recruit young people.

However, of younger voters who were still undecided, most were inclined to vote for the NP.

Of those respondents who supported Dr Venter, a prominent figure in women's organisations, 55 percent were female compared with the 43 percent of females who supported Mr van der Berg, a leading figure in rightwing cultural bodies.



A breakdown of English/Afrikaans-speakers revealed 92 percent of Afrikaans-speakers in the constituency intended to vote. However, a lower figure of 83 percent of English-speakers intended to vote, probably showing less enthusiasm due to the Democratic Party's decision not to contest the seat.

About 10 percent of English-speakers were undecided on whether to vote, compared with 5 percent of Afrikaans-speakers A total of 618 respondents participated in the poll, while 11 percent of those people originally contacted were not registered voters in the constituency and were thus excluded.

Although the poll was conducted after the historic meeting between President P W Botha and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela — which seemed not to have strengthened the CP — further revelations of the NP's reform initiatives before September 6 may result in a last-minute swing to the CP.

How election poll was conducted

Marketing & Media Research has conducted opinion polls in six key constituencies countrywide, the results of which are in The Star this week.

MMR, which correctly predicted the results in six out of six constituencies in the 1987 election, points out the polls had to be conducted before nomination day, July 24, otherwise results could not be published.

The results thus indicate party support six weeks before the election and should not be regarded as an exact outcome of the election.

The polls showed many voters had not chosen their candidate, waiting for detailed party policy announcements before deciding

Interviews were conducted by telephone because repondents are more inclined to answer sensitive questions on the phone. Security measures tend to limit the sample on a door-to-door survey, while nine out of 10 white households have telephones.

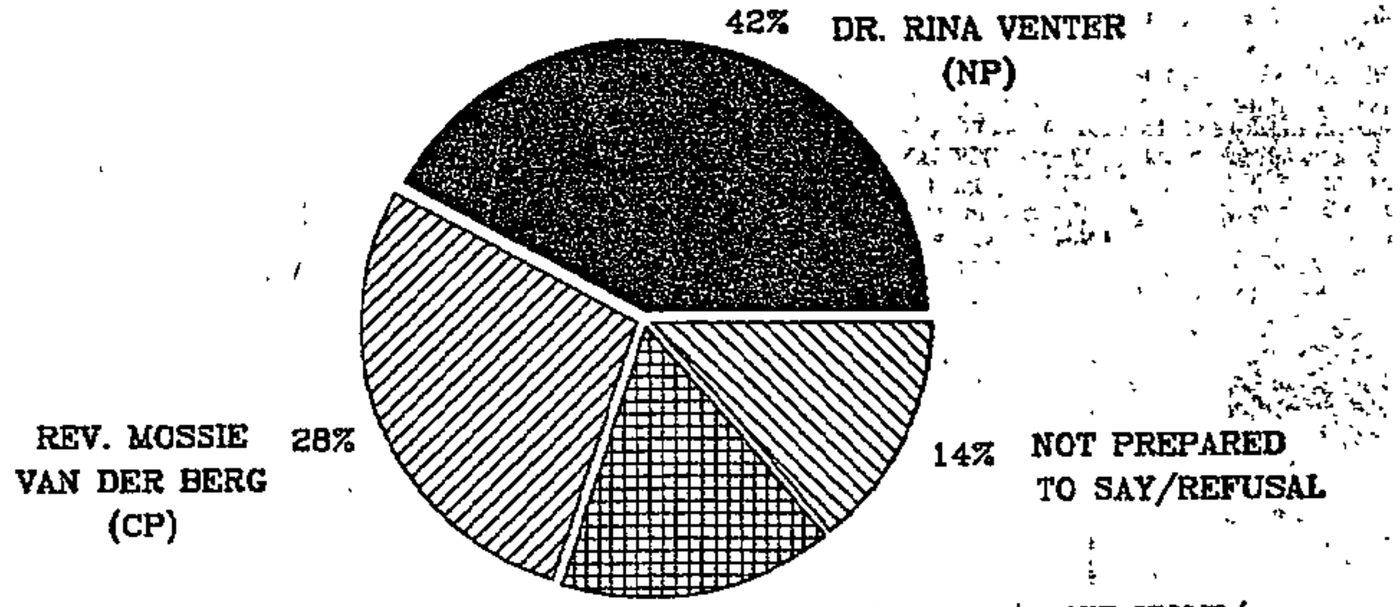
A representative sample was drawn in each constituency, after which a computer programme was used to generate telephone numbers in almost every street of the constituency, ensuring a broad spread of interviews.

The registered voter in the household who had the most recent birthday was selected.

If that person was not available, the number was phoned back three times on consecutive nights before another telephone number was substituted.

A minimum sample size of 600 registered voters in each constituency was obtained, which allowed for a margin of error of less than 5 percent.

WHICH PARTY ARE YOU GOING TO VOTE FOR IF YOU HAVE A CHOICE BETWEEN .....?



BASE : 562 RESPONDENTS

Past results

Parties on the political Right have in previous elections registered growing support in the Pretoria constituency of Innesdal, fuelling expectations that the Conservative Party could upstage the National Party there for the first time in the September 6 general election.

The appointment of sitting verligte NP MP Mr Albert Nothnagel as Ambassador to The Netherlands has strengthened the belief that the NP fears defeat in the predominantly Afrikaans constituency.

Nominated MP Dr Rina Venter will fight her first election against the CP's Rev Mossie van der Berg, who lost by 1 024 against Mr Nothnagel in the 1987 election.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party, which seems unlikely to contest the seat this year, polled 871 votes in 1987.

In 1981, Mr Nothnagel defeated the HNP by a 5 191votes.

Star 18/7/89 (304A

Upington 14: letters from around globe

Political Reporter

Democratic Party MP Mr Peter Soal has been inundated with letters from all over the world expressing support for the Upington 14, recently sentenced to death for the "common purpose" murder of a black policeman in the township of Paballelo near Upington in 1985.

Mr Soal said copies of the letters — he was receiving about 20 a day — had been sent to the State President, the Ministers of Justice and of Law and Order, the SA ambassador in Washington and the Attorney-General.

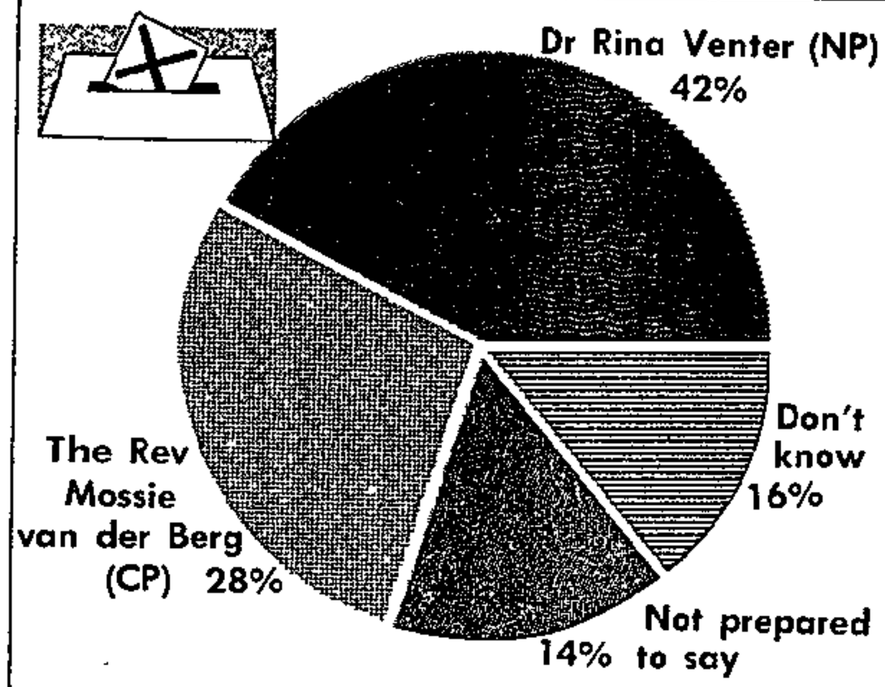
He said the DP would again raise the issue in Parliament, and he would present the letters to Parliament during the next session.

Mr Soal added that The Star's six-part series on the killing played an important role in educating the public about what happened in Paballelo.

● The last possible legal step to save the 14 from the gallows was taken yesterday when a petition requesting leave to appeal against the sentences was handed to the Chief Justice.

● When passion inflames a crowd — Page 21.

-2



Opinion poll results for the Innesdal constituency — a key election indicator.

Setback for CP in key seat—opinion poll

ARGUS 18/7/89

304A

TOMORROW: The battle for Gardens

Tomorrow The Argus focuses on the key Cape Town seat of Gardens where Mr Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party faces Mr Ron Miller of the National Party.

THE National Party has a substantial lead over the Conservative Party in the key Transvaal seat of Innesdal, Pretoria, which the right wing was confident of winning in the general election.

This is the finding of a poll by Marketing and Media Research, which correctly predicted the results in six out of six key constituencies in the 1987 general election.

The poll contradicts the impression in political circles that the CP could gain from the NP in the election.

The Argus has again commissioned polls in six seats and the results will be published this week.

In the Innesdal poll, conducted between July 10 and today, the NP's Dr Rina Venter received 42 percent of the vote, compared to 28 percent for the CP candidate, the Rev Mossie van der Berg.

While 14 percent of those canvassed refused to indicate which candidate they would support, 16 percent said they were still undecided.

However, based on these voters' traditional party-political allegiances and their indications of which party they would probably support, indications are that the NP will gain most of the floating vote.

This could mean the NP could poll 56 percent of the vote compared to the CP's 33.

All of this pre-supposes that the electoral climate will not change drastically in the next six weeks.

The survey indicates that the NP is regaining support in the constituency in which the combined CP/HNP vote came within 153 votes of that of the NP in 1987.

One explanation for this phenomenon could be that voters who supported opposition parties in the 1987 election as a "protest" vote against the NP are being wooed back into the Nationalist camp.

The survey indicates that CP support seems to be strongest among younger voters, with 42 percent of respondents between the ages of 18 and 24 pledging their support to the CP. Only 22 percent of the respondents older than 50 support the CP.

While this indicates that older voters are more firmly rooted in the Nationalist camp, the "definite support" for the CP among younger voters could be a result of concentrated CP efforts to recruit young people.

However, of the younger voters who are still undecided, most are inclined to vote for the NP.

Of those respondents who support Dr Venter, a prominent figure in women's organisations, 55 percent are female, compared to the 43 percent of females who support Mr van der Berg, a leading figure in rightwing cultural bodies.

A breakdown of English/Afrikaans-speakers reveals that 92 percent of Afrikaans-speakers in the constituency intend to go to the polls. However, a lower figure of 83 percent of English-speakers intend to vote, probably demonstrating less enthusiasm among these voters due to the Democratic Party's decision not to contest the seat.

About 10 percent of English-speakers are undecided on whether to vote, compared to five percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

A total of 618 respondents took part in the poll, while 11 percent of those people originally contacted were not registered voters and were thus excluded.

Although the poll was conducted after the meeting between President Botha and Nelson Mandela and seemed not to have strengthened the CP's hand, further revelations of the NP's reform initiatives before September 6 could result in a last-minute swing to the CP.

● The Reverend Mossie van der Berg, Conservative Party candidate for Innesdal, has slammed the result of the opinion poll which forecasts the National Party as the likely winner in the battle for the constituency.

The Rev van der Berg, who is contesting the seat for a second time, said he did not believe in opinion polls because they were an attempt to shape public opinion.

FFF posters ripped down

Art Times 18/7/89

DOZENS of posters advertising tomorrow night's Five Freedom's Forum (FFF) report-back meeting on its recent talks with the ANC in Lusaka were ripped down from lamposts in city suburbs within hours of being put up at the weekend.

FFF spokeswoman Ms Beverley Roos said about 40 posters had been cut down in the City Bowl area.

Posters were also removed in Sea Point, Mowbray and Rosebank.

NP is to fight Pinelands

Art Times 18/7/89 (3 col A)

Political Staff

THE National Party last night named a Cape Town businessman, Mr Johan van der Burgh, as its candidate in the safe Democratic Party seat of Pinelands.

This was announced last night by the acting leader of the NP in the Cape, Dr Dawie de Villiers.

However, no decision has yet been taken on whether the NP will field candidates in three other safe DP seats in the Peninsula — Claremont, Constantia and Groote Schuur.

At this stage, it is unlikely that the NP will decide to contest these seats. A decision to put up candidates in these constituencies could still be taken when its Cape congress and the NP's head committee in the province meet in Somerset West at the end of this week, but this seems improbable.

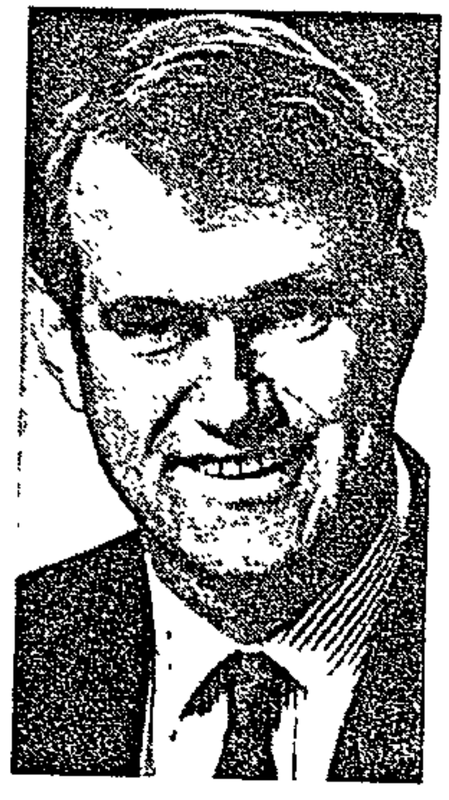
Mr Van der Burgh, a political campaigner in the days of the old United Party and former New Republic Party, is to take on the sitting DP MP for Pinelands, Mr Jasper Walsh.

In the May 1987 election, Mr Walsh had a 2 422 majority over the NP.

Mr Van der Burgh, a product of Bishops and the University of Cape Town, has interests in business and industry in the Cape and Transvaal and serves on the boards of various private and public companies.

Pinelands had never been an NP seat and since 1974 the PFP had won the seat by increasing majorities in succeeding elections.

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



Mr Van der Burgh

CP protests over cash for schools

The Conservative Party has strongly protested against the continued government funding of repair work to black schools damaged during unrest.

The CP's spokesman on Development Aid, Mr Schalk Pienaar, said in a statement that this was yet another example of how the government was prepared to throw "dearly-bought" white taxpayers' money into a bottomless pit to repair unrest damage without a similar contribution from the black community.

He said the assurance from the government that funding for such repairs would be borne by black parents and the community appeared to be another empty promise.

"This is in the light of continuing evidence from sources in black education that black headmasters are being given assurances that money will be provided to repair damaged schools and equipment."

The CP had received information from certain people involved in black education who claimed that repairs to unrest-related damage cost up to R500 000 a school, for damage to the school grounds, headmasters' houses or storerooms. — Sapa.

(News by Kim Cloete, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

British MP: I won't see Nat Ministers

By Joe Openshaw

Because his request to visit Nelson Mandela had been refused by the authorities, there was little point in seeing Government Ministers, said British Labour Party shadow Foreign Secretary Gerald Kaufman, who arrived in Johannesburg yesterday on a 10-day visit.

He told pressmen that although South African authorities had last week denied his request to see the ANC leader after many weeks of waiting for a reply, he had again asked to see him.

"If Mr P W Botha can see Mandela, why can't I?" he asked.

Mr Kaufman, who re-emphasised his and his party's opposition to apartheid and support for comprehensive mandatory sanctions, said the Labour Party did not see significant reform in Mr F W de Klerk's statements.

"We regard the only significant reform in South Africa would be a commitment to the complete abandonment of apartheid and the release of all political prisoners, among whom Mr Mandela is a leading figure."

Mr Kaufman is in this country at the invitation of the SA Council of Churches and will also visit Namibia for two days.

His schedule includes visits to Johannesburg, Soweto, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Crossroads where he will meet community leaders from the UDF, Cosatu and Azanian People's Organisation as well as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and Mr Govan Mbeki.

Former Black Sash president Mrs Sheena Duncan was among those who met Mr Kaufman at the airport.



British Labour Party shadow Foreign Secretary Mr Gerald Kaufman is interviewed by the media on his arrival at Jan Smuts.

304A

Columnist Jani Allan has moved

NEWSPAPER columnist Jani Allan has temporarily left her home in Sandton in the wake of weekend reports that the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, slept on her doormat after being unable to gain entry to the flat.

This emerged yesterday.

The AWB formally rejected the reports as a "plot" against the organisation, and particularly against Mr TerreBlanche.

Allan revealed in her newspaper, the *Sunday Times*, that a bomb had exploded near to her flat on Friday night.

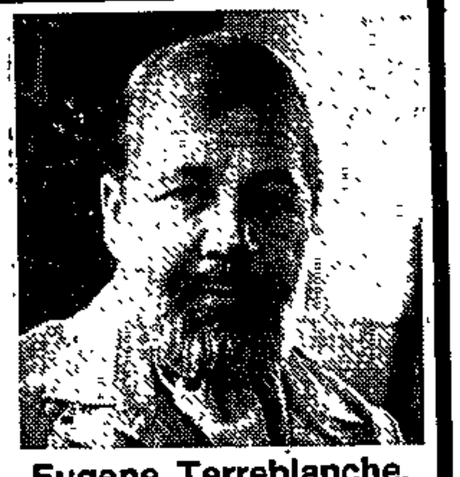
She said that on June 26 Terre-Blanche had demanded entry.

She said through friends yesterday that she would not be issuing any further Press statements "except through the *Sunday Times*.

It is understood that Allan may be considering changing her address as a result of the publicity, and following television news footage on Sunday night which showed the building in which her flat - which she has recently decorated - is situated.

304A.

She is believed to be fearful of possible repercussions following the publication of her disclosures. Recently police were handed various tape recordings of telephone calls made to her home.



Eugene Terreblanche.

Relly: 'Talks' are now possible

CM Times 18/7/89 (304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government was displaying greater flexibility and in time this should make it possible for domestic opposition forces and exiled groups to participate in "talks about talks", Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly said yesterday.

He said in his chairman's statement that the NP five-year plan, President P.W. Botha's meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela and the government's guarded reaction to the Law Commission report were all "straws in the wind betokening greater flexibility".

If, after the election, the government took steps to release political prisoners and address the issues of the state of emergency and exiled movements; opposition groups would have to change their comfortable stance of protest politics, he said.

● Anglo an SA entity — Page 6

Voters' rolls in total shambles, say parties

Cape Times 15/7/89 30th

SPOKESMEN for the DP, NP and CP on the Witwatersrand have all condemned the state of voters' rolls for the September 6 election as a shambles, filled with the names of dead and missing voters.

A DP spokesman, speaking on behalf of Southern Transvaal region chairman Mr Peter Soal, said the rolls were "almost a total disaster".

Johannesburg NP councillor Mr Robert Rousseau said he had written to the Department of Home Affairs about the voters' roll in the Bezuidenhout constituency.

He said there were many cases where a person on the voters' roll had been dead for more than five years, and cases where voters were overseas and were never coming back.

A DP spokesman said an extreme example of what canvassers were dealing with was Hillbrow, where there were about 19 000 voters, of which half had moved away.

A CP spokesman, Mr Arthur Kemp, said his party regretted that the delimitation commission and the voters' roll had not been sorted out before the election.

□□□□□

THE NP candidate in Sea Point, Mrs Adrienne Koch, says the difference between her opponent, Mr Colin Eglin, the sitting MP, and herself is that "Colin is on the way down while I am on the way up".

□□□□□

IF the NP wins the September elections, with the CP still in a strong position and the DP lagging behind, South Africa will face a tremendous onslaught from the rest of the world and violence in the country will erupt once again, according to the DP MP for Durban North, Mr Mike Ellis.

Speaking at his campaign launch, Mr Ellis said the NP had been caught up in its own tactics of the past 41 years.

He said the whole issue of "swart gevaar" had made the majority of white people scared and threatened by what they thought would happen if blacks were given a real foothold in South African society.

□□□□□

Election footnotes

By BARRY STREEK

A CONGRESS of the newly formed National Federal Party (NFP) in Durban was inexplicably declared closed after adjourning for lunch on Sunday, according to the secretary of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Dr Farouk Meer.

He said members of the NIC attended the meeting at a restaurant and raised the issue of whether the NFP should participate in the elections and the tricameral Parliament.

"The motion was duly seconded, but the chairman, in an undemocratic manner, disallowed discussion of the motion," Dr Meer said.

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

Star 19/7/89 304A DLO

Cohen hopeful on Govt-ANC talks

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

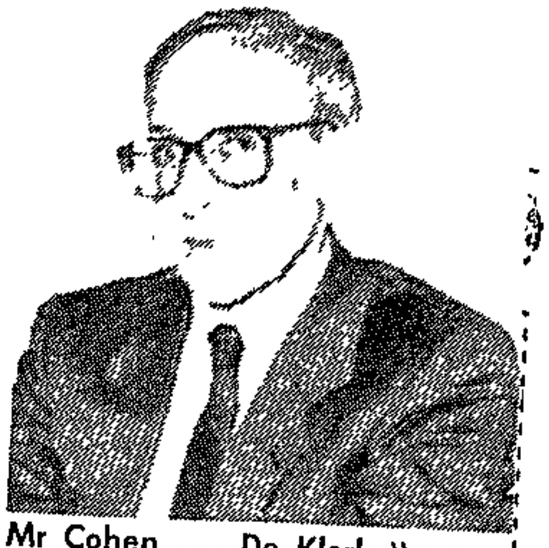
WASHINGTON – Both the African National Congress and the new leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, were talking negotiation, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, said on his return from a 10-day visit to Africa.

Mr de Klerk was looking for ways to negotiate and the ANC was working on a negotiation strategy, he said.

Interviewed on the television programme CNN International Hour yesterday, Mr Cohen's optimistic remarks and his complimentary statements about Mr de Klerk are expected to weigh heavily in favour of President Bush deciding to meet the National Party leader at the White House within the next week or so.

He said of Mr de Klerk: "He's a younger man. He's a man of ideas. He likes to listen. And I think he understands that South Africa cannot advance and the white community cannot be safe unless they reach a political settlement with the black majority.

"He's now looking for ways to reach that settlement. I believe that after he gets elected president in September, he will take some new initiatives."



Mr Cohen ... De Klerk "a man of ideas who listens".

Mr Cohen said Mr de Klerk wanted to negotiate: "He told me that he will be looking for ways, he will be looking for the true African leaders.

"I also stopped in Lusaka to talk to the ANC leadership on my way home, and I told them: 'De Klerk is going to want to negotiate. Will you be ready?' And they told that they're now actively working on a negotiation strategy.

"So that's why Im optimistic. Both sides are talking negotiation," Mr Cohen said.

(News by D Braun, 6807 Montivideo Square Ct, Falls Church, Virginia, USA)

PW-Mandela: A sign of a 'truce'?

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE P W Botha-Nelson Mandela meeting could be likened to commanders-in-chief in a war situation "sounding each other out about the possibility of a truce", according to the National Party's chief information officer, Mr Con Botha.

Mr Botha's remarks, made during an interview with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's TV news broadcast last night, are the first indication that the government might be considering a cease-fire with the banned organisation.

In the most frank acknowledgement by the government of Mr Mandela's role in helping to decide the country's future, Mr Botha described the jailed ANC leader as "a key figure . . . in any future negotiation about South Africa's constitutional future".

A statement issued after the Tuynhuys encounter by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, described the meeting as a "courtesy visit" during which no policy matters were debated and no negotiations were conducted.

However, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, attributed great significance to the meeting.

The NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, is expected to make a statement about the Mandela meeting at the Cape Nat Congress on Saturday.

During the CBC interview, Mr Botha was asked whether the Tuynhuys meeting legitimised talking to the ANC.

He responded: "Let me explain it in war terms — one can really almost compare that to the commanders-in-chief sounding each other out about the possibility of a truce.

"But similarly, as in such a situation, one would certainly not welcome the rank-and-file of the two armies fraternising."

Discussing Mr Mandela's role in negotiations about the country's future, Mr Botha said: "The (National) party accepts that Mr Mandela is a key figure in any future discussion . . . any future negotiation about South Africa's constitutional future.

"After all he is the acknowledged leader of the ANC and, even apart from his leadership position, he is regarded as a symbol of black aspirations and so it would be foolish to accept that he is not an important part of the whole process."

Asked whether the stage had been reached when "talks about talks" had started, Mr Botha said the National Party would wait for the ANC to display a "similar softening of its stance".

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

UK bank pledges only 'conditional' SA loans

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain's largest bank, National Westminster, says it deplores apartheid; will not lend money unconditionally to the South African Government; and has taken care to ensure that loans are not for projects which support apartheid.

It has also denied that it will chair the 13-member "technical committee" which is to negotiate with the South African Government on the rescheduling of its debts.

This is the bank's reply to news that it is to become a target in a major international campaign by anti-apartheid groups to stop the rescheduling.

A bank spokesman said it was not policy to restrict activities on political grounds. The bank lent money to countries with a wide variety of political systems.

The campaign against rescheduling was announced at the weekend after a conference convened by the ANC.

CP makes a meal of Mandela

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government is now trying to play down President Botha's meeting with African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela as the Conservative Party threatens to turn it into the main issue of the election campaign.

Deputy CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg issued a statement last night saying the NP's "new relationship with the ANC was fast becoming the dominating issue" of the election.

And CP general secretary Mr Andries Beyers said the CP was changing the whole thrust of its campaign to focus on the Mandela issue.

Apart from a brief statement that there had been no change in the NP's insistence that the ANC renounce violence before the Government would talk to it, the NP has been largly silent over the last few days.

Dr Hartzenberg said: "The CP will see to it that the NP's new approach to the ANC will be brought to the attention of every voter in the country."

The meeting was not a breakthrough for the country as the NP claimed, but for Mandela, the ANC and the communists.

Mr Mandela had said he still stood for everything he had stood for over the past 26 years and the NP now stood against almost everything it had fought for over the past 75 years.

Swapo accuses SA of violating resolution

By Jon Qwelane
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — South Africa was accused yesterday of violating United Nations Resolution 435 by allegedly continuing to send convoys of supplies into the south of Angola.

The accusation was said to be backed by photographic and eyewitness evidence.

Swapo said it was unsure if the supplies were intended for Unita rebels. If they were not, Swapo told a crowded media conference, the only conclusion was that the material was intended for use by the para-military unit, Koevoet, which would then cross into the north of Namibia from Angola "disguised as Swapo fighters, so as to give South Africa an excuse to let loose its soldiers".

Asked if Koevoet units had been transported across the border into southern Angola to be brought back as "Swapo guerillas", Mr Gerhard Roux of the Administrator-General's office scoffed at the idea.

Swapo said General Hans Dreyer, chief of SWA Police in the north, had been handed photographs of South African military convoys crossing into Angola.

● See Page 5.

UN chief to discuss situation with Pik

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, will meet the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in Pretoria on Friday for talks on the progress of the UN peace plan in Namibia.

Dr Perez de Cuellar will not meet President Botha as some reports have said.

Mr Pik Botha said Mr Martti Ahtisaari, Dr Perez de Cuellar's special representative in Namibia, would also attend the Pretoria talks.

Dr Perez de Cuellar told reporters in Lisbon before leaving for Windhoek that one the aims of his visit would be to ensure that the elections on November 1 for a constituent assembly were not marred by police interference.

This was a clear reference to UN concern about the role being played in the SWA Police by members of the controversial and now disbanded Koevoet counter-insurgency unit.

Set conditions for De Klerk, Bush told

WASHINGTON — More than 100 House members have urged President George Bush not to meet NP leader F W de Klerk unless all political prisoners are freed, the state of emergency lifted and bans removed from all political organisations.

Six members of the president's own Republican Party were among those who signed a letter requesting that Bush set the conditions for meeting De Klerk. The rest were Democrats, headed by Howard Wolpe of Michigan.

The letter, dated June 29, was made public at a news conference yesterday.

Wolpe said there were reports that the president was planning to see De Klerk later this month. He added he had the impression the president had not made a decision on the meeting.

"To meet with the NP leader and anticipated president of SA without any significant change by the white minority regime would send a terribly wrong signal concerning the direction of US policy during the Bush administration," the letter said.

It suggested three conditions for a meeting:

☐ Release of all political prisoners jailed because of their opposition to SA's race policies — not just Nelson Mandela.

☐ End of the state of emergency, extended into its fourth year on June 9, and to restrictions on leaders of organisations outside Parliament.

☐ An end to bans on all political organisations. — Sapa-AP.

(304A)

Opinion poll samples cover a wide range

Marketing and Media Research (MMR) has conducted opinion polls in six key constituencies countrywide, the results of which are in The Star this week.

MMR, which correctly predicted the results in six out of six constituencies in the 1987 election, points out the polls had to be conducted before nomination day, July 24, otherwise results could not be published.

The results thus indicate party support six weeks before the election and should not be regarded as an exact outcome of the election.

The polls showed many voters had not chosen their candidate, waiting for detailed party policy announcements before deciding.

SENSITIVE QUESTION

Interviews were conducted by telephone because repondents are more inclined to answer sensitive questions on the phone. Security measures tend to limit the sample on a door-to-door survey, while nine out of 10 white households have telephones.

A representative sample was drawn in each constituency, after which a computer programme was used to generate telephone numbers in almost every street of the constituency, ensuring a broad spread of interviews.

The registered voter in the household who had the most recent birthday was selected.

If that person was not available, the number was phoned back three times on consecutive nights before another telephone number was substituted.

A minimum sample size of 600 registered voters in each constituency was obtained, which allowed for a margin of error of less than 5 percent.

Respondents remained anonymous and were interviewed in Afrikaans or English.

Andrew ahead in Cape seat, according to survey

DP 'to beat Nats in Gardens'

Political Staff

Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew is well ahead of the National Party in the Gardens constituency in Cape Town, amid signs that the DP has brought a new dimension into the fray.

A survey shows a large number of voters — particularly among NP supporters — are undecided or will not say at this stage how they will vote.

Researchers say there are signs of a "great loosening of the bonds within the National Party".

In a poll conducted in the constituency by Marketing and Media Research, 42 percent said they would vote for Mr Andrew and 16 percent said they would support NP candidate Mr Ron Miller.

The number of undecided voters came to 23 percent and 19 percent were not prepared to say.

This was the result of the second general election opinion poll commissioned by The Star. Marketing and Media Research correctly predicted the result in all of six key constituencies polled in the 1987 election.

Most of Mr Andrew's support comes from the younger age group while, contrary to other areas, one-third of those over 50 are uncertain who to vote for. Researchers say this could mean the DP has brought a "new dimension" into voters' lives.

The poll also shows that one in four traditional Nationalists is uncertain who to vote for. Former Progressive Federal Party supporters are more certain.

As the floating vote solidifies and more of the uncertain voters make up their minds, it is considered likely that the gap between Mr Andrew and Mr Miller will narrow.

Researchers also point out that of those who said they were further Left than the DP, most said they would vote for the DP rather than endorse a boycott of the election.

The Gardens telephone poll, with a sample of 614 voters, was conducted between July 14 and 17.

Three percent said they definitely would not vote and 7 percent were undecided.

Traditional support

Of those who saw themselves as Nationalists, 15 percent said they would vote for the DP this time. Among those who saw themselves as supporters of the PFP, the DP's predecessor, 3 percent said they would vote for the NP.

The poll also showed that the DP was holding on to more of its traditional support (80 percent) than was the NP (48 percent).

Of the 5 percent who said they supported the Conservative Party, 20 percent said they would vote DP and 28 percent NP.

A significantly higher proportion of young people support Mr Andrew — 58 percent of those between 18 and 24, and 63 percent between 25 and 34 — while support from the 50-plus age group was lower than average, at 47 percent.

The poll shows Mr Miller's share of the 18-to-24 age group is 16 percent, 10 percent in the 25-to-34 group, 18 percent among those between 35 and 49, and 17 percent of those over 50.

The constituency has a large number of older people and most of the undecided and "won't say" voters fall in this group.

Researchers also consider them to be more politically conservative and believe it is posssible that the gap between Mr Andrew and Mr Miller will narrow as the election campaign continues

A breakdown of the poll sample shows that 73 percent of those interviewed were English-speaking, 23 percent Afrikaans-speaking and 4 percent "other" Men made up 44 percent of the total and women 56 percent.

Among the English-speaking, Mr Andrew drew 45 percent and among the Afrikaans-speaking 38 percent. Mr Miller's share of these two groups was 11 percent and 34 percent.

More English-speaking people were undecided or were not prepared to say how they would vote — 45 percent as against 31 percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

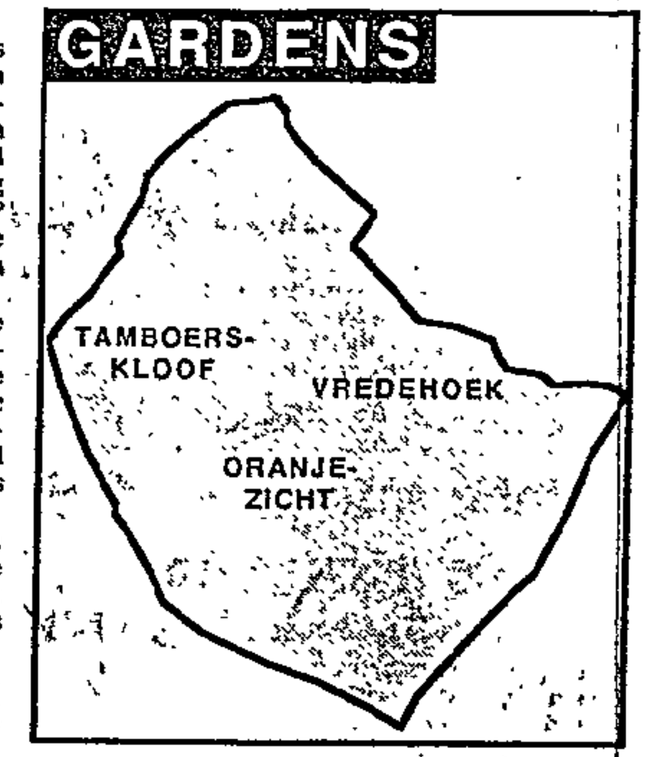
Mr Andrew had support from 44 percent of the men in the poll and 41 percent of women, and Mr Miller got the nod from 20 percent of men and 13 percent of women.

(Report T Wentzel/M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Ex-deputy Minister chosen

Political Reporter

The National Party has picked a top candidate in the person of former deputy Minister Mr Ron Miller in a determined effort to oust sitting Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew in the marginal Cape Town Gardens seat.



At the foot of Table Mountain, the constituency features some of the Mother City's historic suburbs as well as a highly populated flatland area occupied by yuppies and pensioners alike.

It is predominantly a lower to middle-income group area and about 70 percent of residents are English-speaking.

Since no party has in the past 30 years obtained a majority of more than 1 900 votes, Gardens has for many years been regarded as a marginal seat.

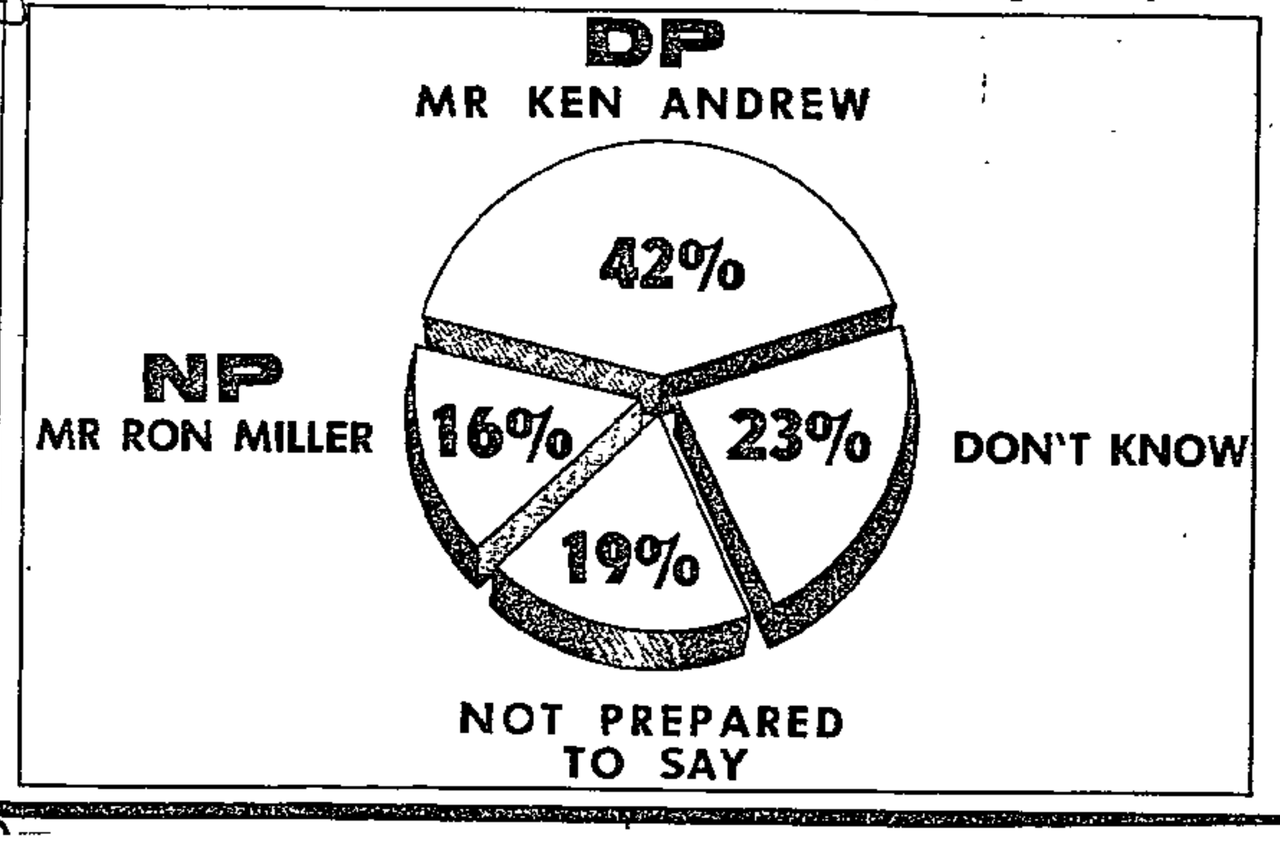
Mr Andrew, former PFP federal council chairman, was elected to Parliament in 1981 with a 1 277 majority over the Nats. In 1987 his majority shrunk to a mere 486, giving rise to speculation that the NP could gain control this year.

Mr Miller, a former New Republic Party chairman in Natal who defected to the NP in 1984, will try to make a political comeback on September 6 after losing his Durban North seat to the PFP's Mr Mike Ellis in the 1987 election.

Mr Miller was appointed deputy Minister of Home Affairs only weeks after joining the NP and subsequently served as deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs until his defeat at the polls.

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





CP disputes forecast on Innesdal research

Own Correspondent

The Conservative Party candidate for Innesdal has slammed the result of an opinion poll which forecasts the National Party as the likely winner in the battle for the constituency.

In the Innesdal opinion poll, conducted between July 10 and July 18 by Marketing and Media Research, the NP's Dr Rina Venter received 42 percent of the vote, compared with 28 percent for the CP candidate, Reverend Mossie van der Berg.

Fourteen percent of the 562 respondents refused to indicate their choice of candidate on September 6, while 16 percent of the voters in the sample replied that they were undecided.

The CP's Reverend van der Berg, who is contesting the seat for a second time, said he did not believe in opinion polls because it was an attempt to shape public opinion.

Dr Venter said polls conducted by the NP in the area showed the same tendencies as the poll conducted by Marketing and Media Research.

"There is still a fair amount of work to be done in the constituency," she said.

(Report by Esther Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

304A

'Detention at home' protested

Star 19/7/89

Own Correspondent

More than 3 000 petitions demanding the immediate lifting of restrictions on former detainees have been handed at police headquarters in Pretoria.

The chairman of the Pretoria branch of Black Sash, Ms Kerry Harris, yesterday delivered the petitions to Wachthuis on behalf of the East London branch of the organisation.

She also delivered a letter from the co-convener of the Border Crisis Committee, Mr M George, to Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

According to the letter, 33 Border people have been released — some after more than two years in detention.

Mr George said the former detainees had since been restricted, which "amounted to detention in their homes rather than in prison".

"We as a group of professionals, community organisations and family members are horrified by the denial of basic human rights to the South African citizens who have not been proven guilty of any offence, and are aware the situation endured by Border ex-detainees is mirrored all over the country," Mr George said.

Families of executed plead for cause

Clemency petition for all on deathrow

Star 19/7/89

By Mckeed Kotlolo, Pretoria Bureau

Family members of executed political activists yesterday submitted a petition to the office of the State President at the Union Buildings in Pretoria calling on him to grant clemency to all those on deathrow and to end capital punishment.

The families were accompanied by relatives of those who were still on death row in Pretoria for their participation in politically motivated actions.

A copy of the petition, signed by about 30 family members, some of whom had travelled from Cape Town, Durban and the Eastern Cape, was read at a lunch-hour press conference attended by lawyers, activists, representatives of the Austrian, Australian and Canadian embassies.

Mr Themba Xulu said the petition read: "We the undersigned are all families of the people who have been hanged in Pretoria for their participation in politically motivated actions.

"We believe that our firsthand exposure to the terrible implications of judicial killing qualifies us to tell you of the horrors that are associated with it and to plead with you for clemency on behalf of those who are waiting to die".

The petition said they had experienced anguish, torment, a sense of helplessness and anger while waiting for a loved one to die.

"We have all experienced the deep feelings of futility and anger when our husbands, brothers and sons have been hanged.

Cold-blooded

"With respect, Mr President, there is no justification for the cold-blooded and purposeless killing of another human being. The killing of our family members has not helped matters nor changed the situation in our country to a peaceful one," the statement said.

They said statistics had shown their deaths had not discouraged others from continuing to pursue ideals they regarded as noble.

The hangings only perpetuated the spiral of violence which was gaining momentum in society, they said.

The killing of their relatives had caused immeasurable suffering and torment to the families and "the families of those who are still to die are being punished as brutally".

The petition said what might appear to the State President as "just retribution will most certainly be regarded to future generations as crimes".

Countries around the world were abolishing the death penalty and "in South Africa it is particularly appropriate that this be done now".

The problems of the country could only be solved if the concerned parties, including President Botha, could show compassion for those at his mercy.

The statement said the State President's clemency would be regarded as an act of statesmanship and a step towards reconciliation and peace.

The petition was accompanied by a list of 34 death row prisoners awaiting execution.

She was aware of moves to arrange a meeting between Mr Mandela and community leaders and trade unions.

leagues which is of consequence. The meeting between Mr Mandela and President Botha was not discussed

Bush likely to decide on De Klerk invitation today

Star 19/7/89 · 30(A)

WASHINGTON — President Bush is expected to decide today whether to invite the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, to meet him in the White House.

The excellent impression Mr de Klerk made on the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, is, according to sources, almost certain to clinch a meeting in the White House.

The Bush administration is keen to act as the catalyst to bring the various South African parties to the negotiating table, and part of its strategy is to meet a broad range of South African leaders.

If Mr Bush gives the green light to the meeting, the White House is likely to point out that he has recently met church leaders led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and a United Democratic Front delegation led by Mrs Albertina Sisulu. Meetings with other leaders, including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, would also be on the cards.

If Mr de Klerk does come to Washington, it will have to be either next week or in the first week of next month. Sources say he cannot accommodate a visit after that date because of his commitments in the election campaign. — Associated Press.

● See Page 2.

Opinion ..... 14 | Move ...
Background

Joubert Graham, Scott & Partners 8700989

FW flies to Maputo for vital peace talks

Star 19/7/89

304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha flew to Maputo today for meetings which could be vital for regional peace and co-operation.

It seemed highly likely they would meet Kenyan president, Mr Daniel arap Moi, though the South African Government had no prior indication that a meeting was scheduled.

Today's meeting could bring the 10 countries of southern Africa closer to a joint summit on regional co-operation.

Mr Botha said before leaving that his "dream" of a Marshall Plan-style venture to upgrade southern Africa — involving European capital and South African know-how — could be advanced by the meeting with President Chissano.

The "Marshall Plan" proposal was discussed with European leaders earlier this year by Mr Botha and Mr de Klerk.

"Eventually all the Frontline states and ourselves will have to join. There is no way we can combine our infrastructure unless we get together," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha also laid heavy emphasis on the need to end the devastating war in Mozambique.

BOOST IMAGE

"If we achieve success there it will be a boost for South Africa's image as a regional power and peacemaker," he said.

It seems likely the presence of President Moi is linked to reconcilation moves between Frelimo and Renamo in which South Africa has played a part.

It is also understood that other regional leaders may play an important role in ending the war. It is known, for instance, that President Chissano contributed significantly to bringing the warring Angolan parties together in Zaire recently and there is some speculation that Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi might return the compliment in Mozambique.

Mr de Klerk said before leaving today there was no doubt South Africa and its regional neighbours could only gain from co-operation.

He said the European leaders he had met on his recent tour had stressed the important role South Africa could plav

General Mr

winds, freezing

Survey in Gardens shows many Nat supporters undecided

DP surges ahead

By TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party MP Mr Ken Andrew is well ahead of the National Party in Cape Town's Gardens constituency, amid signs that the DP has brought a new dimension to the fray.

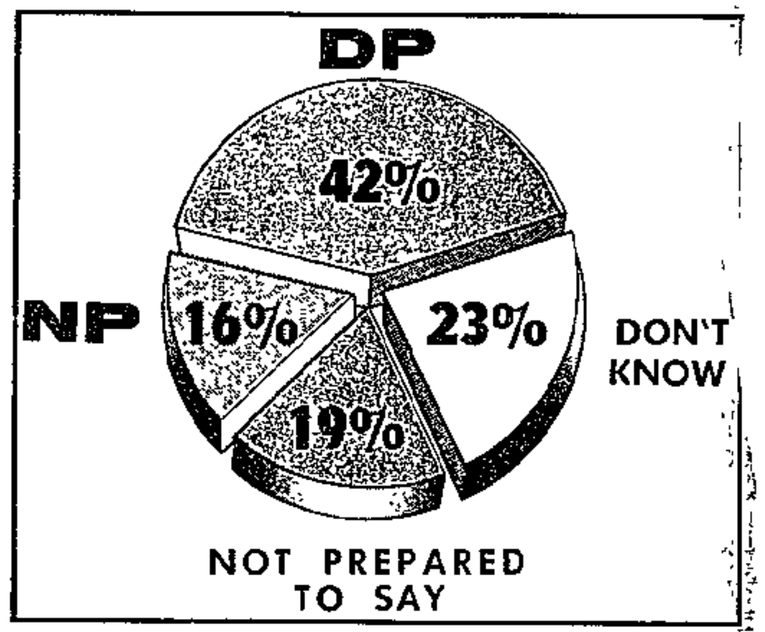
A survey shows a large number of undecided National Party supporters, or people who will not say at this stage how they will vote.

Researchers say there are signs of a "great loosening of the bonds within the NP".

In a poll conducted in the constituency by Marketing and Media Research, 42 percent said they would vote for Mr Andrew, while 16 percent said they would support the NP's Mr Ron Miller.

The number of undecided voters was 23 percent while 19 percent were not prepared to say how they would vote.

This was the result of the second general election opinion poll commissioned by The Argus. Marketing and Media Research correctly predicted the result in six key constituencies polled in the 1987 election.



How the Gardens cake is divided: Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew is far ahead with 42 percent. National Party candidate Mr Ron Miller has 16 percent while the "don't knows" and "won't say" make up 42 percent.



Mr Ken Andrew



Mr Ron Miller

Under 34

Most of Mr Andrew's support comes from people under 34, while, contrary to other areas, a third of those over 50 are uncertain. Researchers say this could mean the Democratic Party has brought a "new dimension" to the fray.

The poll also shows that one in four traditional Nationalists is uncertain who to vote for. Former Progressive Federal Party supporters are more certain.

Researchers also point to the fact that of those who said they were further left than the DP, most said they would vote for the DP rather than endorse a boycott of the election.

As the floating vote solidifies and more of the uncertain voters make up their minds, it is considered likely that the gap will narrow between Mr Andrew and Mr Miller.

The Gardens telephone poll, with a sample of 614 voters, was conducted between July 14 and yesterday.

Three percent said they would definitely not vote and seven percent were undecided.

Traditional

Of those who saw themselves as Nationalists, 15 percent said they would vote for the DP this time. Among those who were supporters of the PFP, the DP's predecessor, three percent would vote for the NP.

The poll also showed that the DP was holding on to more of its traditional support (80 percent) than was the NP (48 percent).

Of the five percent who said they supported the Conservative Party, 20 percent said they would vote for the DP and 28 percent for the NP.

A significantly higher proportion of young people supported Mr Andrew — 58 percent of those between 18 and 24, and 63 percent between 25 and 34, while support from the 50 plus age group was lower than average, at 47 percent.

Older people

The poll shows Mr Miller's share of the 18 to 24 age group is 16 percent, 10 percent in the 25 to 34 group, 18 percent between 35 and 49 and 17 percent of the over 50s.

The Gardens constituency has a large number of older people and most of the undecided and "won't say" voters fall in this group. Researchers also consider them conservative.

A breakdown of the poll sample shows that 73 percent of those interviewed were English-speaking, 23 percent Afrikaans-speaking and four percent "other".

Among English-speaking voters, Mr Andrew drew 45 percent and among Afrikaans-speakers 36 percent. Mr Miller's share was 11 percent and 34 percent.

More English-speaking people were undecided or were not prepared to say how they would vote — 45 percent to 31 percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

Mr Andrew had support from 44 percent of the men in the poll and 41 of the women, while Mr Miller got the nod from 20 percent of men and 13 percent of women.

(Report by T Wentzel and M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town). ● See page 4.

Change can't be stopped, says DP

Star 19/7/89 (304A)

By Clyde Johnson,
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — The South African nation has been divided and bullied for far too long, said Mr Tony Dutton, the party's prospective candidate in Boksburg.

Speaking to more than 200 supporters at a DP fund-raising rally here, he said South Africans were yearning for stability and racial harmony.

"Nobody knows all the answers but one thing is definite: change is coming and, like a tide, it is advancing rapidly and cannot be stopped," he said.

Everything the Conservative Party was doing was what it had learnt from the Nats, only it was applying racism more fiercely.

Comparing Boksburg to "white" South Africa, Mr Dutton said: "Like South Africa, which has had to contend with sanctions, Boksburg has experienced crippling boycotts.

"The town's voter breakdown during the 1987 election was roughly the same as that of the country as a whole. The age group and language distribution is virtually identical.

"Like people overseas who want nothing to do with South Africa, so, too, there are South Africans who refuse to associate with the inhabitants of Boksburg, just because they happen to live there."

The Nats never dreamt of losing Boksburg, but they got hammered.

"Now, on September 6, they're going to be beaten again, this time by the Democratic Party," he told the cheering audience.

Describing the future as a "highway of hope", Mr Dutton said South Africa with a DP government would mean more money, more employment, more security and a great country accepted and respected by the outside world.

At the end of the meeting, Nelspruit's former mayor, Mr Brian Shrosbree, who lost last year's municipal election, announced he had resigned from the National Party after 2½ decades as a member.

(Report by Clyde Johnson, Sigrit Centre, De Waal Street, Nelspruit.)

No poll deals for DP — Worrall

(304A)

PORT NATAL — Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall yesterday stressed that the DP would make no election deals with the National Party or the Conservative Party.

He told a public meeting in Port Natal that suggestions of collusion with the CP and the NP were "nonsense".

The DP's decision to fight on a wide basis reflected the assumption that white South African politics had entered a new era.

He said the NP was the effective party of the first era of South African politics, the era of domination by white interests and apartheid.

"We are into a new era in which the interests of all South Africans have to be taken into account and which therefore requires either a political realignment which relocates the bulk of the National Party's supporters or which is dominated by a new party."

This, he said, was because the NP lacked the credibility to build the new South Africa.

He said there was "fire in the belly" of the DP, "a real commitment to go for power; a sense that the tide has turned against the NP, and a conviction that history is on the side of the DP".

This, he believed, was the difference between the DP and its major "verligte" predecessors.

Dr Worrall said putting NP candidate Mr Glen Babb against DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan was a mistake on two counts.

"Firstly, it sends all the wrong messages into Africa and, secondly, it negates all claims the NP has of being serious about negotiating the political future."

He said no individual white politician had the credibility which Mr Malan enjoyed in Africa and within extra-parliamentary politics.

Criticism of DP strategy ignored what politics was about: "It is going for power and letting the people speak.

"In the limited democracy which South Africa is, this means letting white South Africans say goodbye and good riddance to apartheid and National Party-dominated politics." — Sapa.

(News by Kim Cloete, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

(304A)

Opinion poll samples cover a wide range

Marketing and Media Research (MMR) has conducted opinion polls in six key constituencies countrywide, the results of which are in The Star this week.

MMR, which correctly predicted the results in six out of six constituencies in the 1987 election, points out the polls had to be conducted before nomination day, July 24, otherwise results could not be published.

The results thus indicate party support six weeks before the election and should not be regarded as an exact outcome of the election.

The polls showed many voters had not chosen their candidate, waiting for detailed party policy announcements before deciding.

SENSITIVE QUESTION

Interviews were conducted by telephone because repondents are more inclined to answer sensitive questions on the phone. Security measures tend to limit the sample on a door-to-door survey, while nine out of 10 white households have telephones.

A representative sample was drawn in each constituency, after which a computer programme was used to generate telephone numbers in almost every street of the constituency, ensuring a broad spread of interviews.

The registered voter in the household who had the most recent birthday was selected.

If that person was not available, the number was phoned back three times on consecutive nights before another telephone number was substituted.

A minimum sample size of 600 registered voters in each constituency was obtained, which allowed for a margin of error of less than 5 percent.

Respondents remained anonymous and were interviewed in Afrikaans or English.

Andrew ahead in Cape seat, according to survey

DP 'to beat Nats in Gardens'

Political Staff

Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew is well ahead of the National Party in the Gardens constituency in Cape Town, amid signs that the DP has brought a new dimension into the fray.

A survey shows a large number of voters — particularly among NP supporters — are undecided or will not say at this stage how they will vote.

Researchers say there are signs of a "great loosening of the bonds within the National Party".

In a poll conducted in the constituency by Marketing and Media Research, 42 percent said they would vote for Mr Andrew and 16 percent said they would support NP candidate Mr Ron Miller.

The number of undecided voters came to 23 percent and 19 percent were not prepared to say.

This was the result of the second general election opinion poll commissioned by The Star. Marketing and Media Research correctly predicted the result in all of six key constituencies polled in the 1987 election.

Most of Mr Andrew's support comes from the younger age group while, contrary to other areas, one-third of those over 50 are uncertain who to vote for. Researchers say this could mean the DP has brought a "new dimension" into voters' lives.

The poll also shows that one in four traditional Nationalists is uncertain who to vote for. Former Progressive Federal Party supporters are more certain.

As the floating vote solidifies and more of the uncertain voters make up their minds, it is considered likely that the gap between Mr Andrew and Mr Miller will narrow.

Researchers also point out that of those who said they were further Left than the DP, most said they would vote for the DP rather than endorse a boycott of the election.

The Gardens telephone poll, with a sample of 614 voters, was conducted between July 14 and 17.

Three percent said they definitely would not vote and 7 percent were undecided.

Traditional support

Of those who saw themselves as Nationalists, 15 percent said they would vote for the DP this time. Among those who saw themselves as supporters of the PFP, the DP's predecessor, 3 percent said they would vote for the NP.

The poll also showed that the DP was holding on to more of its traditional support (80 percent) than was the NP (48 percent).

Of the 5 percent who said they supported the Conservative Party, 20 percent said they would vote DP and 28 percent NP.

A significantly higher proportion of young people support Mr Andrew — 58 percent of those between 18 and 24, and 63 percent between 25 and 34 — while support from the 50-plus age group was lower than average, at 47 percent.

The poll shows Mr Miller's share of the 18-to-24 age group is 16 percent, 10 percent in the 25-to-34 group, 18 percent among those between 35 and 49, and 17 percent of those over 50.

The constituency has a large number of older people and most of the undecided and "won't say" voters fall in this group.

Researchers also consider them to be more politically conservative and believe it is posssible that the gap between Mr Andrew and Mr Miller will narrow as the election campaign continues

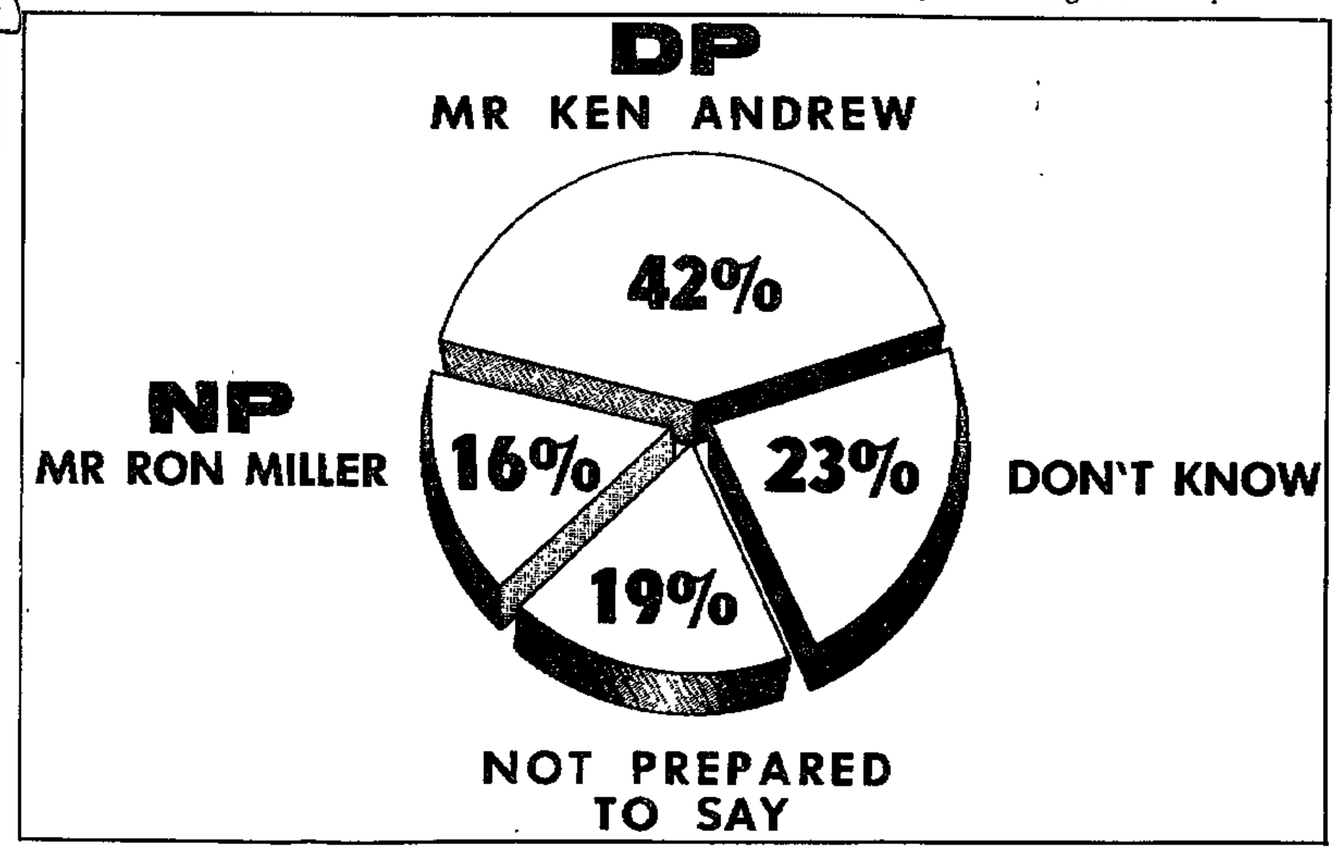
A breakdown of the poll sample shows that 73 percent of those interviewed were English-speaking, 23 percent Afrikaans-speaking and 4 percent "other". Men made up 44 percent of the total and women 56 percent.

Among the English-speaking, Mr Andrew drew 45 percent and among the Afrikaans-speaking 36 percent. Mr Miller's share of these two groups was 11 percent and 34 percent.

More English-speaking people were undecided or were not prepared to say how they would vote — 45 percent as against 31 percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

Mr Andrew had support from 44 percent of the men in the poll and 41 percent of women, and Mr Miller got the nod from 20 percent of men and 13 percent of women.

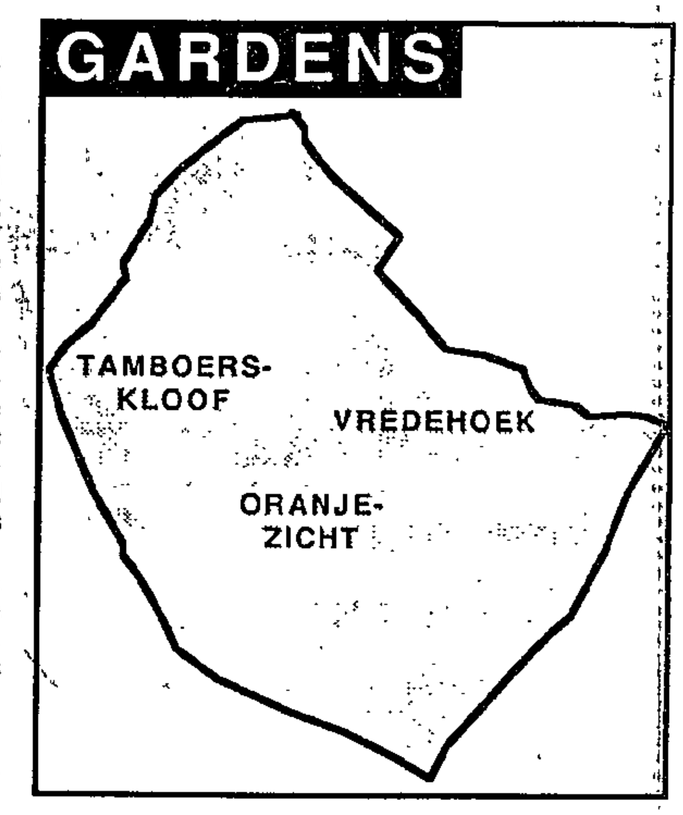
(Report. T Wentzel/M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).



Ex-deputy Minister chosen

Political Reporter

The National Party has picked a top candidate in the person of former deputy Minister Mr Ron Miller in a determined effort to oust sitting Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew in the marginal Cape Town Gardens seat.



At the foot of Table Mountain, the constituency features some of the Mother City's historic suburbs as well as a highly populated flatland area occupied by yuppies and pensioners alike.

It is predominantly a lower to middle-income group area and about 70 percent of residents are English-speaking.

Since no party has in the past 30 years obtained a majority of more than 1 900 votes, Gardens has for many years been regarded as a marginal seat.

Mr Andrew, former PFP federal council chairman, was elected to Parliament in 1981 with a 1 277 majority over the Nats. In 1987 his majority shrunk to a mere 486, giving rise to speculation that the NP could gain control this year.

Mr Miller, a former New Republic Party chairman in Natal who defected to the NP in 1984, will try to make a political comeback on September 6 after losing his Durban North seat to the PFP's Mr Mike Ellis in the 1987 election.

Mr Miller was appointed deputy Minister of Home Affairs only weeks after joining the NP and subsequently served as deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs until his defeat at the polls.

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

CP disputes forecast on Innesdal research

Own Correspondent

The Conservative Party candidate for Innesdal has slammed the result of an opinion poll which forecasts the National Party as the likely winner in the battle for the constituency.

In the Innesdal opinion poll, conducted between July 10 and July 18 by Marketing and Media Research, the NP's Dr Rina Venter received 42 percent of the vote, compared with 28 percent for the CP candidate, Reverend Mossie van der Berg.

Fourteen percent of the 562 respondents refused to indicate their choice of candidate on September 6, while 16 percent of the voters in the sample replied that they were undecided.

The CP's Reverend van der Berg, who is contesting the seat for a second time, said he did not believe in opinion polls because it was an attempt to shape public opinion.

Dr Venter said polls conducted by the NP in the area showed the same tendencies as the poll conducted by Marketing and Media Research.

"There is still a fair amount of work to be done in the constituency," she said.

(Report by Esther Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Economy worst in free world — DP

CNA Times 19/7/89 304A

Political Correspondent

THE Nationalists had made more of a mess of the economy "than any government this side of the iron curtain", DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

Speaking at a public meeting in Hilton, Dr De Beer went on to qualify his statement, saying that Chile and Argentina had possibly done worse.

"It is necessary to emphasise that apartheid and economic decline are not two separate problems. They are aspects of the same problem.

"The Nats cannot solve the problem because the Nats are the problem," he said.

Dr De Beer said that people had for several years been concerned about the policy of apartheid and felt a "deep anxiety" about the economic condition in South Africa.

"Only now is it being widely understood that these two problems are in fact one; it is apartheid that is ruining our basically strong economic structure."

He noted that the governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard de Kock, had noted on several occasions that South Africa would not solve its economic problems until the country made major political changes.

This week Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly endorsed this by stating that "without rapid constitutional change to satisfy the aspirations of all South Africans, South Africa cannot hope to have an economy strong enough to ensure optimal development".

In the circumstances it was not suprising that voters were "simply fed up".

Dr De Beer added: "Everywhere, one hears people say, 'I am finished with the Nats'."

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

Parties watch for poll coverage bias

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

INTER-PARTY debates and panel discussions will be key elements of the SABC's coverage for the September 6 poll.

Opposition parties have voiced a guarded welcome, tempered with "suspicion" based on what they say is a partisan tradition in South African broadcasting. They will be watching the box to make sure the corporation sticks to its promise to be impartial.

Auckland Park is borrowing an idea from parliament — tried out during this year's session — in mini-debates planned for TV and radio.

These will be a feature of 15-minute election reviews in Network on weekdays from July 24. Each will focus on a single question and be chaired by an SABC journalist.

Other debates in these daily reviews will look at topics agreed on by the parties. Parties will also choose their representatives.

● See page 16.

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

Argus 19/7/89 3064

Former bus conductress for Natal CP

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A former Cape Town bus conductress who went on to graduate from Stellenbosch University, Miss Ems van der Merwe, is to stand for the Conservative Party in Maritzburg North, the CP announced today.

Mr Nick Fourie, an Amanzimtoti businessman, is to stand for the party in the Umlazi constituency.

Both these seats now become three-way fights between the CP, the Democratic Party and the sitting National Party MPs, and brings to 15 the number of seats the CP is fighting in Natal.

(Report by R M Challenor, 85 Field Street, Durban)

A credible vision will garner the business vote



'Business shares the hopes, fears and prejudices of the average voter'

RAYMOND PARSONS, Assocom CE

THE significance of the September 6 general election is certainly not lost on the business community. Far from being part of a capitalist conspiracy to subvert democratic processes, the business sector constitutes a key opinion-forming group in SA as a whole.

This is perhaps even more important in the current fluid political situation. And there is much at stake for business — and the future of the free enterprise system — in the outcome of this watershed election.

The businessman, who may be adaptable and quick on his feet in his own particular field, is often perceived as conservative and conventional in the larger aspects of social and economic policy. But more and more businessmen have come to accept that the basic issues in SA have inevitably driven them far from their accustomed moorings into unknown and uncharted waters. Labour relations and constitutional reform have been just two such critical areas. Yet many businessmen accepted the challenge.

Many companies, both local and foreign, have given a strong lead on reform and change. But business opinion on these issues is by no means monolithic and it shares the hopes, fears and prejudices of the average voter.

Although the business community has no single voice on political questions, what might many businessmen be looking for in the various political parties? The politicians who seek the business vote in September should broadly offer positive and practical policies which will strengthen confidence, at home and abroad by:

- ☐ Mapping out a clear constitutional path ahead;
- ☐ Pursuing sound economic policies to promote stable growth; and
- ☐ Reducing the bureaucratic controls on the economy.

Why is business confidence important? Confidence is the engine that drives the economy. Businessmen must be persuaded to commit themselves on a large scale over the long haul. Private fixed investment, upon which job creation and many other things depend, needs the assurance of long-term political stability.

If businessmen expect large political or economic changes, but are uncertain as to what precise form these changes will take, their confidence will be weak. Hence businessmen will seek to test the various political programmes for their clarity and contribution to long-term stability.

But there will be further key tests on the political front. To maximise economic growth in an open economy like SA also requires political structures which are perceived to be legitimate internationally.

Of course, SA must decide its own political future. But the normalisation of our external economic and political relations — with the prospect of a capital inflow — is likely to be an important factor to many businessmen in the election debate.

After all, business has been at the cutting edge of international isolation, disinvestment and sanctions. With the current diplomatic "window of opportunity" in southern Africa and abroad, it is important that SA keeps that window open for as long as possible. The political party which is perceived to be most likely to do that will draw a favourable response from many businessmen.

Another major area of evaluation for the business sector is the running of the economy. This is likely to be a key issue in the election.

Like the consumer, businessmen are also victims of inflation and taxation. Bread-and-butter issues, and how these might be handled by the various political parties, enjoy a high level of awareness in the business community. It is what the private sector understands best.

Few businessmen claim to be economists, but they are familiar with the economic environment within which they have to operate. Businessmen are thus good sounding boards of what is worrying consumers.

Sensible and predictable economic management is important to businessmen. So is the whole process of privatisation and deregulation as a means of improving SA's economic performance. Removing obstacles to wealth creation by all features high on the agenda of the private sector. Like the late John Kennedy many businessmen believe that ultimately "a rising tide floats all ships".

Hence the business sector will scrutinise the party manifestos and public statements for credible commitments to less government, lower taxation, economic growth and financial discipline.

While there may well be a trade off in the business mind between economic questions and other issues, the need for sound economic policies is likely to feature strongly in the decision on how to vote in September. Businessmen therefore want both an economic and a political vision of the future to evaluate.

Finally, the business community expects to be reassured by the quality of political leadership on offer. This is important for business confidence.

"If you work businessmen into a surly, obstinate, terrified mood, of which domestic animals, wrongly handled, are so capable," warned Lord Keynes, "the nation's burdens will not get carried to market; and in the end public opinion will veer their way".

Even if this is only half-true in SA, political parties would be unwise to ignore the business constituency and its concerns in the forthcoming election.

Great 'contest between two cunning old bulls'

304A

Star 19/7/89

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

The recent meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and President P W Botha was seen by one political observer as a "contest between two cunning old bulls". And as the dust settles on that initial and historic contact in Mr Botha's office in Cape Town a fortnight ago, a fascinating question arises: Who outmanoeuvred whom?

Sifting through the statements and reactions to the Mandela-Botha talks, a curious point emerges: those closest to the ANC leader ideologically seem to fear most that he may have been lured into a trap and that his status as prisoner may have put him at too great a disadvantage in the ensuing battle of wits.

Thus, immediately after news of the meeting broke, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, described the meeting as a stratagem devised "by the ruling minority to sow confusion in the minds of black people and the outside world".

The statement, issued on behalf on the Mandela family and community leaders in Soweto, has a defensive tone; it stresses no significance should be attached to a meeting taking place in the "context of a prisoner and his captors".

The possibility that Mr Mandela may have used the meeting to his own advantage — and to that of the "people's movement" as he refers to the ANC — does not seem to have been considered.

The ANC itself was similarly careful to downplay the importance of the talks, as if it, too, feared that the Government rather than Mr Mandela would make political capital out of the meeting.

'PR exercise'

It dismissed the talks as a "public relations exercise" designed to appeal white voters in the election and to impress world opinion.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) sounded a cautionary note in its statement; it warned that the Mandela-Botha talks had to been seen in the context of the ongoing police investigation into the death of the young black activist, Stompie Mkhetsi.

Deep suspicions about Government motives apart, the SACC's counsel of caution was prompted by two specific developments.

The first was a radio report on the Government-controlled SABC that a police dossier linking Mrs Winnie Mandela to the death of 14-year-old Stompie had been handed to the Attorney-General.

The second was the news that police had raided Mr Mandela's original Soweto home (presumably as part of their investigation into Stompie's death) while the ANC leader was talking to Mr Botha.

It was against that background that the SACC warned: "It is our view that the Government has an ace up its sleeve — namely the Stompie issue."

But Mr Mandela himself was not without cards — to extend the SACC's metaphor — in his exchange with Mr Botha.

Mrs Helen Suzman, who visited Mr Mandela shortly after his meeting with Mr Botha, says: "Don't underestimate him."

Assessing the situation, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who has done more than anyone else to promote dialogue with the ANC, says: "I haven't the slightest doubt that the ANC has gained enormously."

Dr Slabbert draws attention to the vast sums of money spent by Mr Botha in his decade-long propaganda campaign depicting the ANC as part of a communist-inspired total onslaught.

He concludes: "Now he (Mr Botha) ends up saying, I wasted it all. Come and have a cup of tea."

Mr Mandela's statement on the meeting suggests, on close reading, a man who is choosing his words carefully and seeking to turn the situation to his advantage.

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town wonders whether the talks were not part of a wider Government strategy to drive a wedge between the internal and external wings of the ANC by manoeuvring Mr Mandela into "rejecting armed struggle".

Mr Mandela's statement, however, makes it clear that his position has not changed "over the past 28 years".

The phrase "over the past 28 years" is not coincidental. The ANC's armed struggle began 28 years ago, when, in 1961, as a sequel to its banning its underground army Umkhonto we Sizwe launched its first sabotage attacks.

Reading between the lines, Mr Mandela appears to be saying he still endorses armed struggle — he was one of Umkhonto's original commanders — and will continue to do so until, and unless, the banning of the ANC is lifted.

Doubts removed

Any doubt over Mr Mandela's meaning is removed by his clarifying point: "... dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particularly, the ANC is the only way of ending the violence and bringing peace to our country".

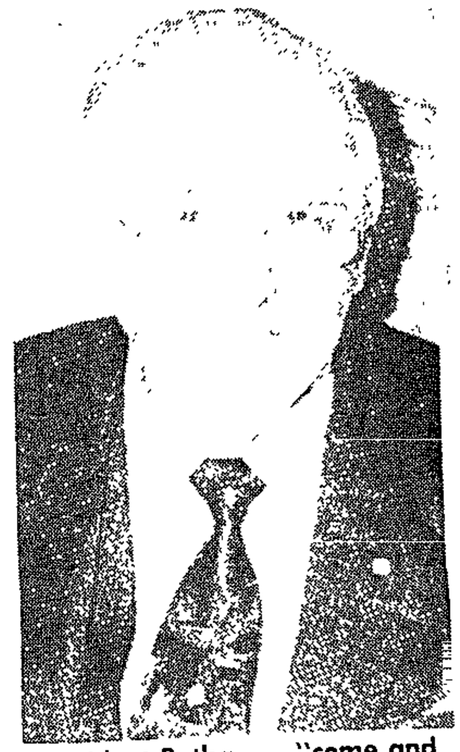
Later on he says: "I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage."

He seems to be saying he is not a supplicant begging for his freedom.

Mr Mandela comes across as a man who knows his own mind, one who is coolly aware of his aims and who, at the age of 71 and after 27 years in jail, is determined to pursue them with all his being



Mr Mandela ... not begging for his freedom.



President Botha ... "come and have a cup of tea".

30LA

F W talks in balance

MORE than 100 congressmen have urged President George Bush not to meet with Mr FW de Klerk unless all political prisoners are freed, the state of emergency and bans removed on all political organizations.

SAPA-AP

Six members of the president's own Republican Party are among those who signed a letter requesting that Bush set the conditions for meeting the National Party leader. The others are Democrats, headed by Howard Wolpe of Michigan, chairman of the sub-committee on Africa in the foreign affairs department. The letter, dated June 29, was made public at a news conference yesterday.

Wolpe said there were reports that the president was planning to see De Klerk later this month. He added that he had the impression that the president had not made a decision on the meeting.

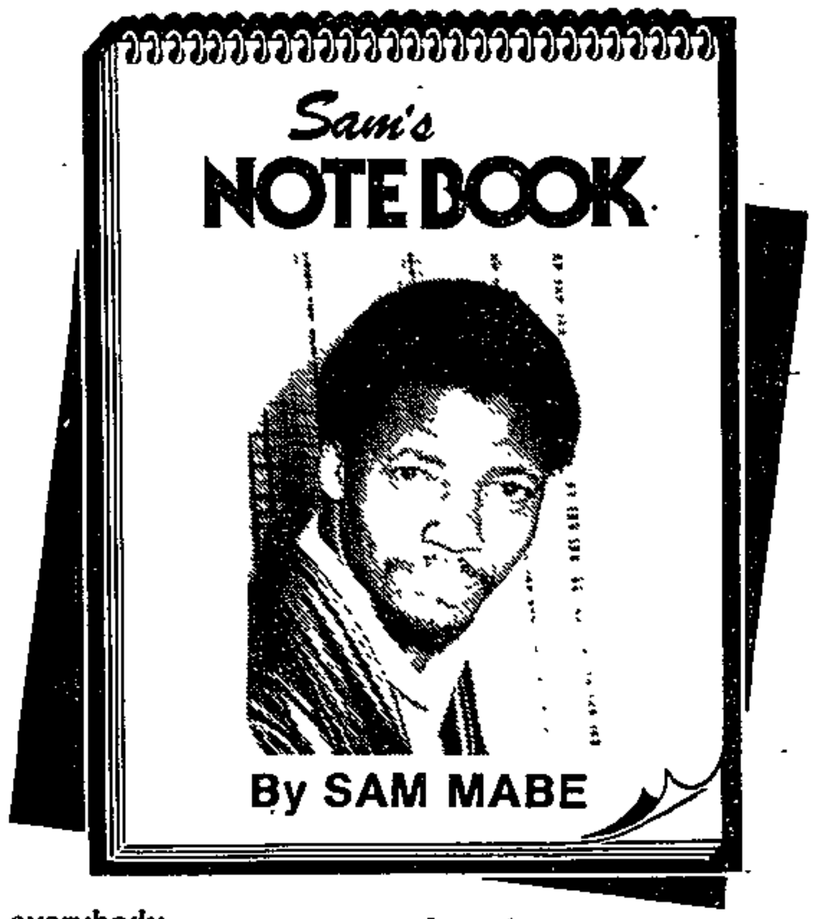
"To meet with the National Party leader and anticipated president of South Africa without any significant change by the white minority regime would send a terribly wrong signal concerning the direction of US policy during the Bush administration," the letter said

It commended the president for meeting Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other opponents of the race policies of the South African government

It suggested three conditions for the meeting:

- Release of all political prisoners jailed because of their opposition to South Africa's race policies - not just Nelson Mandela, Wolpe said.
- End of the state of emergency, extended into its fourth year June 9, and to restrictions on leaders of organisations outside Parliament.
- An end to bans of all political organisations.

We are all for real negotiations



The Tuynhuys meeting between Mr P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela has raised the hopes of many people that greater things are about to happen in South Africa.

Some see the meeting as a signal of Mandela's imminent release, while others believe that a negotiated settlement is on the cards.

Nelson Mandela, I believe, is likely to be released soon. But I doubt if the Government is about to go to the conference table - at least, not with the ANC.

What the Government would be happy to do is to get individuals within the ANC to the conference table.

On the other hand, the international community has been pressurising the ANC to abandon the use of arms. Even strong supporters of the armed struggle, the Chinese and the Russians, who have been training cadres of the PAC and the ANC for years, seem to have closed their files on violence as a lever for change for South Africa.

This subject of negotiations is however discussed with some heat within the Black Consciousness and Africanist movements, who are not too keen to go to the negotiation table with the Government under the present circumstances.

But I was amused when I was told how the audience at the June 16 commemoration service in Soweto responded when two speakers expressed opposing views on the subject.

A white speaker was given a big round of applause when he said the time for negotiations had come. The next speaker, who condemned negotiations, was also applauded.

Opposed

One thing I know is that nobody is opposed to the principle of negotiating. Differences arise on issues to be discussed. Azapo and the PAC say they will go to the negotiation table only if it is to negotiate the dismantling of apartheid.

Although I am not very optimistic about prospects of a negotiated settlement at this stage, as an exercise I want to look at some of the points I would want to see addressed before I endorse negotiations.

Firstly, the Government will have to create a climate that will give everybody the confidence that it is serious about negotiations.

Since the negotiations will be aimed at, among other things, building one nation in South Africa, the bantustan policies used by the Government to forcefully remove people from certain parts of the country to small "reserves" will have to be suspended forthwith.

The laws restricting the freedom of expression and of association will also have to go so that everybody could have his say on the future of the country and belong to the party of his choice.

We will also have to concede that there is conflict in South Africa and identify parties that are in conflict and the issues over which they are in conflict. Here, I see the question of land and the status of the so-called independent bantustans featuring high on the agenda.

There are various terms that need to be clearly defined too. The term apartheid, for example, does not seem to mean the same thing to everybody.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is reported as saying all political prisoners who have been in jail for longer than 15 years should be released. I believe all political prisoners must be released and political trials must be halted.

All exiles should be allowed to return with no conditions attached to their return. The ban on some political organisations and the banning orders against individuals will also have to be lifted.

One also wonders what the shape of the table is going to be. Will it be round or rectangular?

APPEAL TO BOTHA

Save the 34 prisoners on Death Row

By MONK NKOMO

RELATIVES of people executed for their participation in politically-motivated actions yesterday urged the State President, Mr P W Botha, to grant clemency to 34 people presently on Death Row for similar actions.

The families, from as far as the Eastern Cape, handed a petition to the State President's office at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday calling on him to abolish capital punishment.

"We believe that our first hand exposure to the terrible implications of judicial killing qualify us to tell you of the horrors that are associated with it. We plead with you for clemency on behalf of those who are waiting to die", the families said.

They added: " We have experienced first hand the anguish, the torment, the sense of helplessness and the anger experienced while waiting for a loved one to die. We have all experienced the deep feelings of futility and anger when our husbands, brothers and sons have been hanged.

" With respect, Mr President, there is no justification for the cold-blooded and purposeless killing of another human being. The killing of our family members has not helped matters nor changed the situation in our country to a peaceful one. As numerous statistics have shown, their deaths have not prevented others from continuing with the pursuance of ideals which they regard as noble.

" The spiral of violence in our society is gaining momentum and the hanging of more people only perpetuates that spiral".

Those who signed the petition included the parents of executed African Nationalist Congress members Solomon Mahlangu, Thabo Motaung, Benjamin Moloise, Jerry Mosololi and Sibusiso Zondo.

Petition

The petition called on the State President to grant clemency to 34 people including the Upington 14, Robert McBride, Sibusiso Masuku, Oupa Mbonane and Patrick Manginda.

"The killing of our family members has caused us great suffering and torment. The families of those who are still to die are being punished just as brutally", the petition read.

The families, who attended a Press conference before they went to submit the petition, also said: "Times are changing and today what may seem to you as just retribution will most certainly be regarded by future generations as grievous crimes.

" More and more countries around the world are abolishing the death penalty and in South Africa it is particularly appropriate that this be done now to make sure of a less violent future for us all."

CLEAR WINNER

Lusaka shuttle yields nothing concrete

A DELEGATION from Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) returned from their passage to Lusaka with "no consensus on a joint statement, but a substantial measure of agreement between the two (LHR and ANC) delegations on the need to protect individual rights and the nature of a Bill of Rights to achieve this purpose," according to Mr Jules Browde, the national chairman of LHR.

In response to a question posed to the delegation on whether the LHR would consider visiting the PAC, there was initially a shuffle of feet, a blush here and there, followed by Browde saying: "We were invited to Lusaka by the ANC. If the PAC extends an invitation to us we would consider it seriously."

When the Five Freedoms Forum returned from Lusaka they had a similar message: The ANC valued input and encouraged dialogue in Lusaka.

LHR executive member Mr Brian Currin said the ANC "saw these talks (between LHR & ANC) as just the beginning of many more to come."

By dint of the invitation to the lawyers and the "valued input" by other pilgrims to Lusaka, it would appear as if the ANC is still in the process of formulating a blueprint.

For many years the organisation has prudently stayed close to the Freedom Charter.

FOCUS

Faced with doubts at grassroots level after its meeting with top level business in 1985, the ANC was forced to make up for what appeared to be a grave error.

Four years later they still entertain the opinions of people like the LHR, FFF and the other South Africans who regularly trek to Lusaka.

To date all the pilgrims have been high profile personalities - with something to lose, as it were. Gavin Relly, Danie Craven, the FFF and now LHR to name but four. At grassroots level these visits mean little.

It is simple arithmetic that three plus four equals seven. Applied to the situation here: at grassroots, people need a set of inalienable rights and there are certain requirements needed to fulfil them.

There is a variation on the above analogy though. Ten less three also gives seven. Now the question. With all these visits to the ANC, is the liberal South African trying to prevent the loss of three?

One thing is certain: nobody has been going to the ANC to provide the four to achieve the seven...

Just how porous the ANC's blueprint for a future South Africa is, remains unclear. All the pilgrims of the last few weeks said there were no clear policies in specific areas. There was merely "agreement and a need for input."

Nobody mentioned anything concrete and everybody used the phrase "frank and open" liberally.

Meanwhile there is a dramatic vision of the return of exiles charging through streets of fire on horseback and flashing the victory sign.

But who will line the streets when the horsemen come? Will it be toothless peons in worker garb or the pilgrims who have beaten a path through the African bushveld to Lusaka and whose input was so valued?

How then does the rank and file everyday person feature in the ANC's future South Africa?

In it's guidelines for a "democratic South Africa", the ANC's constitution provides for a Bill of Rights, which, according to the LHR, does not differ very much from that of the South African Law Commission.

The ANC's major objection was to group political rights and a constitution structured on ethnicity. The LHR said the Law Commission's paper in some respects seemed intent on securing white privilege.

The ANC's Bill guarantees the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex.

Contrary to the message brought back by the FFF of "no clear detailed economic policy" in its constitutional guidelines, the ANC promises "a mixed economy, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector."

It is a clearly defined policy by any standards, close to the belief that "the African experience with socialism was fraught with problems".

This explains the ANC's terms of endearment with the FFF, LHR, Craven, Louis Luyt and others and the discomfort in their relations with the disenfranchised people of South Africa.

After all, the pilgrims to date all return to their comfortable middle class homes.

Is the co-operation with the liberals a strategy or a principle?

Either way it makes little sense.

"The ANC has not formulated a clear long-term strategy on detailed economic issues such as fiscal and monetary policy or exchange control, as they see themselves as a liberation movement and they welcomed input in this regard. The organisation recognised that the African experience with socialism was fraught with problems — Mr Gavin Evans, Five Freedoms Forum Executive.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Anglo American Corporation chairman Gavin Relly enjoyed a trip to Lusaka.

Is the ANC seeking a mandate from the liberals and what does this mean to the oppressed?



The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Councilliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7117. Inquiries are welcomed.

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

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

Boksburg councillor put up to contest Hillbrow seat for CP

EDYTH BULBRING 304A

THE CP's chief whip in the Boksburg Town Council, T J Ferreira, is to contest Hillbrow for his party in the General Election — and this could give the DP candidate the edge against his NP opponent.

It is forecast Hillbrow will be one of Johannesburg's most hotly contested seats.

The CP is expected to fight Hillbrow with the slogan: "What we did in Boksburg, we will do in Hillbrow." BIDay 20/7/89

The CP is expected also to announce candidates in Bezuidenhout and Edenvale, both of which the DP hopes to win from the NP.

The CP may also fight Randburg, which is being contested by DP co-leader Wynand Malan and the NP's Glenn Babb.

The PFP lost the Hillbrow seat to the NP in 1987 by 89 votes, while the CP obtained more than 1 000. The NP MP Leon de Beer was then sentenced by a Johannesburg magistrate to three years jail for electoral fraud.

The CP expects to better their voting score in this election.

The Edenvale seat was lost to the NP by 168 votes last election. A CP presence there could jeopardise the NP's tenuous hold on it.

The CP's move to contest Randburg follows the visit by an NP Randburg councillor Stephen van Metzinger to the ANC with anIdasa delegation. This is said to have alienated right-wing Nats in Randburg.

Ferreira said yesterday he was going into the Hillbrow constituency deliberately as the differences between the NP and the CP were best highlighted by comparing the differences between Boksburg and Hillbrow.

ANC discussion paper on the issue of negotiations

304A

B|Day 20/7/89.

The ANC, worried that it may be caught off guard by a sudden move to negotiate in SA, has decided to prepare for negotiations. Business Day publishes the text of the ANC discussion paper as a contribution to the developing debate

1. ONCE MORE the question of a negotiated settlement of the SA question is being raised with growing insistence It is therefore necessary that the ANC and the democratic movement as a whole should discuss this issue in order to arrive at a common view.

2. VARIOUS factors in world politics have brought this matter to the fore. Internationally, there is a tendency towards detente and relaxtion of tensions. This process is accompanied by serious efforts to resolve outstanding problems through negotiations.

3. IN ADDITION to the issues of nuclear disarmament and the reduction of conventional forces that are subjects of negotiation by the Nato and Warsaw Pact countries, efforts are also being made to address the matter of regional conflicts This process has, in varying degrees, affected such areas as Central America, Western Sahara, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Sudan, Ethiopa and South Western Africa.

4. THE Pretoria regime has participated in the negotiations concerning South Western Africa and is party to the execution of the agreements arrived at, which involve the withdrawal of the SA army of occupation and the Cuban internationalist forces from the People's Republic of Angola as well as the implementation of the UN plan for the independence of Namibia. The fact of these agreements is wrongly viewed by many sectors in world politics as proof that the SA regime is committed to the resolution of conflict by negotiation.

5. THESE sectors also view the change of leadership in the National Party, with F W de Klerk replacing P W Botha, as signalling the possibility of a change of policy as a result of which the Pretoria regime would enter into negotiations to end the apartheid system. Furthermore, to encourage this view, leading spokespersons of this regime have been making various statements suggesting that they are ready to enter into negotiations to end the system of white domination.

6. THERE is also recognition of the fact that the apartheid system is immersed in a deepening political and economic crisis from which it cannot extricate itself. The assumption is therefore made that these objective conditions themselves oblige the Pretoria regime to seek a way out through negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people of SA.

7. IT IS in the light of this overall international, regional and national situation that various forces raise the matter of a negotiated resolution of the SA question as an issue that should be put on the agenda now. The new US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, has stated publicly that during his tenure of office he will pay attention to this question British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is engaged in a series of discussions with apartheid Cabinet ministers with the same objective in mind Even the Chairman of the Frontline states, President Kaunda, has called for negotiations now, which could possibly include a reconstituted Eminent Persons' Group which would work with the Frontline states. The European Community countries have publicly rejected calls by the Frontline states to impose new sanctions against apartheid SA, arguing that F W de Klerk should be given a chance.

8. THE reality we face, therefore, is that all manner of forces, both within our country and internationally, will be taking various initiatives on the issue of negotiations. These initiatives will, among other things, seek to set parameters for such negotiations, including such questions as the aim of the negotiations and who should sit around the negotiating table. For example, Mrs Thatcher has already said that the principle of one person one vote should be applied in such a manner as recognises the existence of "groups". She has gone on to say the Pretoria regime would have to negotiate with the leaders of all groups. In this context, she has specifically mentioned such people as Gatsha Buthelezi. It is clear that the British government will seek to propagate these views throughout the world and seek their acceptance by the largest possible number of countries, to the exclusion of views that might emanate from the ANC and the democratic movement of our country.

9. IT HAS, however, always been our view that the resolution of the SA question is, first and foremost, the responsibility of the people of SA, supported by the international community. In this regard it is therefore clear that it should be the people of SA who set the parameters for any process of negotiations affecting our country.

10. ALREADY in October 1987, the National Executive Committee of the ANC put out a statement on the issue of negotiations. Among other things, that statement spelt out what the apartheid regime would have to do to create a climate conducive to negotiations, including the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, the withdrawal of troops from the townships and ending the state of emergency. It stated that the aim of negotiations should be to transform SA into a united, democratic and non-racial country. It addressed other questions, such as the termination of the armed conflict and the duration of the negotiations.

11. THE question that has now arisen is whether there is a need to have a look at this statement with a view to its expansion by the incorporation of other elements.

12. THIS is particularly important in the light of what we have stated above, that various forces internationally are working on detailed plans concerning the issue of a negotiated settlement of the SA question. It should also be expected that the Pretoria regime itself is involved in discussion further to elaborate its negotiating plan, which has always pursued the objective of co-opting the oppressed so that they act as partners in the perpetuation of the system of white minority domination.

13. AMONG others, the regime has already addressed the question of the preconditions for negotiations by insisting that the ANC must, first of all, renounce the armed struggle and prove over a period of time that it has indeed abandoned this form of struggle It has stated that the aim of the negotiations should be to produce an arrangement whereby, according to the language of the regime, no group dominates the other It has passed legislation enabling it to create its negotiating mechanism, which it calls a National Council. This scheme visualises that the apartheid State President would preside over this process as a "neutral" person and that any agreement arrived at by this council would have to be endorsed by the apartheid tri-cameral Parliament The regime is looking at these and other elements of its "negotiating" strategy to take the initiative into its hands by ensuring that it sets the agenda for negotiations.

14. AS A revolutionary movement, it is however our task and responsibility that we should, at all times, keep the initiative in our hands, particularly with regard to strategic questions. The issue facing us is how to keep the initiative in our hands on this strategic matter of negotiations. What positions should we elaborate to ensure that it is our opponent who is forced to respond to us and not the other way around? Clearly, as a revolutionary movement, we cannot afford to fall behind the regime and allow ourselves to fall into a defensive posture, with the regime maintaining the offensive.

15. PART of the answer to this question must be that we ourselves should elaborate our positions on various questions concerning negotiations and set the agenda on this issue so that we give no opportunity to the apartheid regime and its international allies to impose on us and the people a process that would be designed to safeguard the interests of the racist minority.

16. IN THIS context we would therefore have to address such issues as the aim of any negotiations, the preconditions for genuine negotiations, the nature of the mechanisms for negotiations, and therefore the question who would sit at the negotiating table, the cessation of hostilities by both sides, the possibility of the formation of a transitional government, the duration of the negotiations and the role of the international community in any negotiated resolution of the SA question

17. DISCUSSION of the whole question of negotiations in no way affects, and should not affect, the overall strategic operation of our movement and the tasks that arise from that orientation Our strategic task is the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people This we seek to achieve through mass political action, armed struggle, the international isolation of the apartheid system and by ensuring that the ANC plays its proper role as the revolutionary vanguard of our struggling people

18. THE issue of negotiations has arisen precisely because of the advances we have made on all these fronts which have led to the emergence of the crisis of the apartheid system to which we have referred We must continuously intensify our offensive on all these fronts with the sole aim of transforming SA into a united, democratic and non-racial SA At the same time, we must be ready to deal with all consequences of our victories. One of these consequences may be, as has been the case in all the countries of Southern Africa where the liberation movements took up arms, that at a certain point the enemy might decide that it is ready to talk seriously.

19. WE MUST therefore treat the issue of negotiations as one that also involves struggle, a struggle by other means and a struggle that is a continuation of our offensive for the fundamental transformation of our country. Such positions as may emerge in the course of our discussions should therefore be such that they strengthen our overall offensive and defeat all attempts to disarm us and immobilise the people.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE/David de Kock

304A

Court rejects MP's plea to delay law suit

By Glen Elsas,
West Rand Bureau

An application by CP MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis to postpone a civil court case in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court was rejected and the defamation action he has brought against the Deputy Minister of Law and Order will continue next week.

Mr Derby-Lewis, CP spokesman on economic affairs, is claiming R5 000 damages from the National Party, Advocate Leon Wessels and Mr L van Rooyen after an advertisement in the *Krugersdorp News* just before the May 1987 elections. He claims he was incorrectly quoted as advocating compulsory sterilisation in a bid to decrease the black population.

He further claims the advertisement harmed his reputation and compelled several PFP members who would have abstained from voting, to vote for the NP.

Mr Derby-Lewis lost in the election by 55 votes but was subsequently nominated to Parliament by the Conservative Party.

Yesterday the court heard an application for the postponement of the trial which is set to resume on Monday.

Mr Derby-Lewis said Monday was Nomination Court day which made it very difficult to prepare for the trial as he had a large number of documents that needed studying in preparation for the court proceedings.

Mr Leon Wessels, the National Party and Mr Van Rooyen opposed the application. Mr Wessels said it would be in the interests of all parties to finalise the case as soon as possible.

The magistrate, Mr S W van Niekerk, said the applicant knew when the court dates were and should have seen that he was ready. A postponement should have been applied for much earlier and not on June 28. His reasons for wanting the case postponed were not justified and the case would continue as arranged on Monday at noon.

Ball probe: should NP pay?

B1 Day 2017/89

FORMER Sanlam chief Andreas Wassenaar questions whether the NP, rather than the taxpayer, should bear the costs for the commission of inquiry which investigated Chris Ball's involvement in providing funds for advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC in 1987.

304A

The commission was appointed after Ball, then Barclays MD, denied an accusation by President P W Botha that he had advanced the money for the advertisements. It found Ball authorised a R100 000 overdraft for Yusuf Surtee, knowing the money was being borrowed on behalf of the UDF to pay for the advertisements.

In his book "Squandered Assets", Wassenaar notes that no charges were brought against Ball or the bank after the commission's report.

MICHAEL ACOTT

"Is this an indication that the purpose of the commission of inquiry was purely to prove political disloyalty, and not to prove a crime? There is an inquiry into the placing of an advertisement, but no allegation of fraud or embezzlement of funds.

"An answer to this question was required to prove whether the State President's statement in Parliament was justified. The issue at stake appears to be entirely of a political nature."

He asks whether the taxpayer should pay for the Ball Inquiry, or whether the NP should foot the bill.

Wassenaar 'talking nonsense'

GERALD REILLY

THE Public Servants Association (PSA) has "irrefutably proven" workers' salaries are substantially lower than those earned in the private sector, PSA GM Hans Olivier said yesterday. (3049)

He described the claim by former Sanlam chief Andreas Wassenaar that MPs and government worker salaries were the root cause of the inflation problem as "nonsense".

Private consultants' investigationsshowed beyond question that public servants lagged well behind private sector workers.

Wassenaar claims that MPs and public service salaries accounted for nearly 50% of state spending and were a political and constitutional problem. Sidney 20/7/89

Most SA voters had supported a goverment that had introduced a tricameral parliament and this was supported by a greater public service.

If, as Wassenaar suggested in his book Squandered Assets, goverment imposed public service cuts and granted smaller salary increases, "essential work would be neglected and resignations could reach disastrous proportions," Olivier said.

Wassenaar claimed government workers were relatively overpaid and this years' 15% increases, with notch rises, amounted to about 20%.

"He forgets the 1988 pay freeze, so if he is looking for a scapegoat he must look elsewhere for the prime causes of inflation and not at the public service." Oliver added.

NP hopes of Pinetown win pinned on Oliver

Political Reporter

National Party hopes of regaining parliamentary control of Pinetown, a Natal seat it captured for the first time in 1977 and subsequently lost to the former Progressive Federal Party in 1981, seem to be remote.

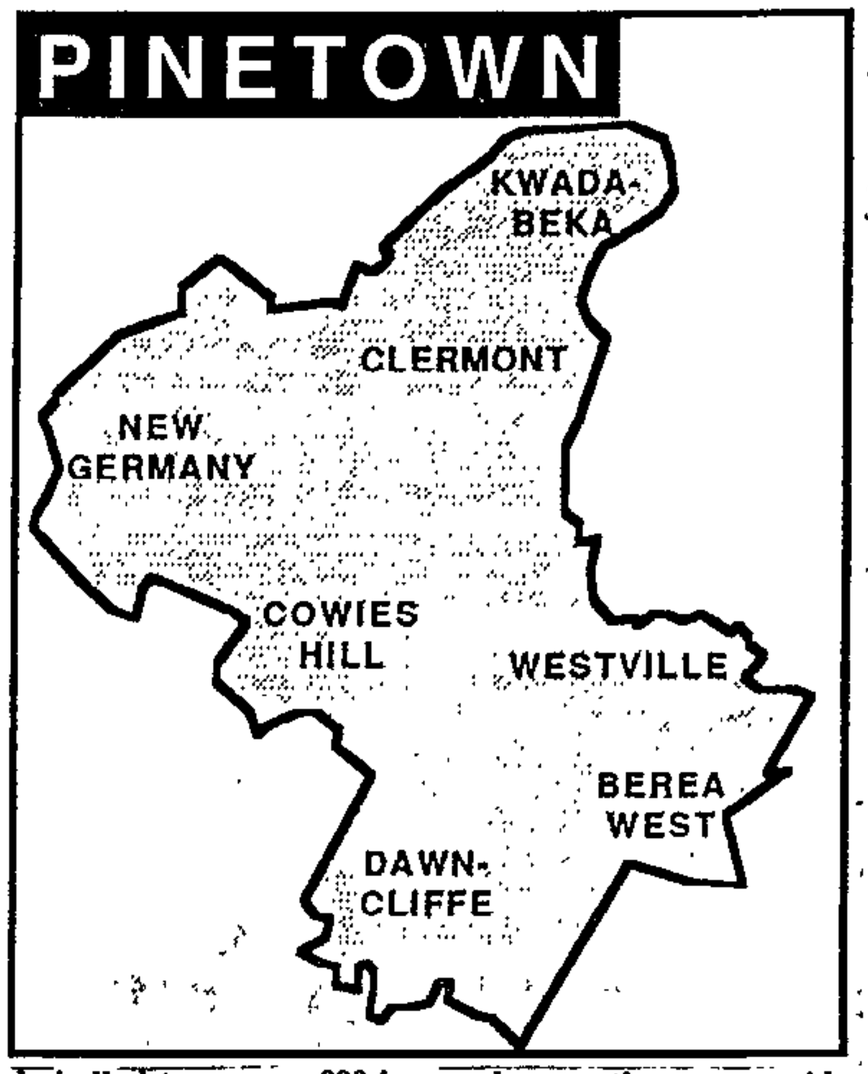
Its hopes have been pinned on Mr Bob Oliver (58), a local businessman and town councillor who served on the Natal Provincial Council from 1981 to 1986 under the banner of the now-defunct New Republic Party.

Mr Oliver, who joined the NP in 1987 as a result of the election alliance between the PFP and NRP that year, will make his first bid for Parliament on September 6.

His DP opponent, sitting MP Mr Roger Burrows (44), was elected to Parliament in a 1984 by-election after the death of PFP MP Mr Harry Pitman.

The PFP's large 1981 majority of 2 226 votes dwindled to a mere 880 in 1984, but Mr Burrows — the PFP's former provincial leader — increased his majority to a comfortable 2 394 votes in 1987.

On the outskirts of Durban, the constituency embraces the upper middle class suburbs of Westville, Dawncliffe and Berea West, as well as fast-expanding industrial cores such as Pinetown and New Germany.



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

SA politics 'block Angolan relations'

EDYTH BULBRING

ANGOLAN Justice Minister Fernando van Dunem saw the unacceptability of SA's political system as a block to improved relations with SA, DP co-leader Wynand Malan said yesterday. (5) (3048)

In a statement issued after his return from Lusaka, Luanda and Maputo, Malan said his DP delegation spent two hours with Van Dunem and his justice and foreign affairs officials.

Malan said issues raised by the delegates included reconciliation with Unita, the implementation of resolution 435 and economic co-operation and development in the region. B1Dcy 2017189

The DP delegation argued that constructive links, independent of government, could be established with Angola.

Van Dunem said his government was committed to reconstructing the framework of the country's constitution. Angola foresaw a political solution to its war with Unita, and did not want to solve it by military means.

Zambians 'have IMF support for reform'

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday the IMF supported Zambia's efforts to reform its ailing economy and he appealed to the international community to give more aid money.

His comments suggest a dramatic improvement in relations with the IMF since Zambia in mid-1987 abandoned an IMF economic reform programme.

Kaunda said his government's economic recovery programme, which included a recent sharp devaluation and lifting of price controls, had been accepted by the IMF and World Bank. — Sapa-Reuter.

Kaunda extends invitation to De Klerk

LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday he has invited SA's ruling party leader, F W de Klerk, to meet with him at any time.

Kaunda, one of Africa's staunchest SA opponents, told a news conference he had offered to meet De Klerk in Livingstone, in southern Zambia, "on any day that is acceptable" to the man designated as SA's next president.

"I have sent him a message that I would like to meet him in Livingstone, in the same place where I met (former SA Prime Minister) John Vorster," Kaunda said. "I will meet him in Livingstone — to size him."

Kaunda met Vorster in the town near the Victoria Falls during 1975 talks to settle the Rhodesian war.

Kaunda's statement came on the same day that De Klerk was in Mozambique, visiting President Joaquim Chissano. Earlier this month, President Robert Mugabe, a strong ally of Kaunda in their fight to isolate SA politically, economically and culturally, said he would be willing to speak to South African leaders if anti-apartheid groups thought it would be helpful.

Reuter reports that Kaunda said the white rulers of SA had no choice but to negotiate an end to apartheid with the black majority.

"I hope that common sense will prevail ... SA whites must understand that their future lies with the majority," he told a news conference.

Kaunda, who was flanked by Namibian nationalist leader Sam Nujoma, urged SA's government to start negotiating with representatives of the black majority like the ANC guerrilla group based in Zambia.

"They've no choice except to go that way," he said.

Kaunda said he had received a very positive response from the new head of SA's ruling National Party, F W de Klerk, to his offer to meet to discuss ending apartheid racial segregation.

Kaunda had said earlier this year he would be willing to meet De Klerk after SA completed the process leading to independence elections in its colony of Namibia. The elections are scheduled for November.

But early this month, Kaunda suggested he would meet De Klerk before or after the September parliamentary elections in SA. — Sapa-AP.

spokesman said.

Evans was told to fill a plastic bag with cash. The man then left the building. Police

taken in bank robberies.

The order also provided for withholding information regarded as being of possible use to robbers.

Many 'ill-informed' about negotiation process

Sunday 20/7/89.

(304 A) TANIA LEVY

NEGOTIATION is racing towards the top of SA's political agenda while many leaders — and the public — remain extremely ill-informed about the process, KwaZulu Natal Indaba executive director Peter Mansfield said yesterday.

Mansfield told a Negotiation Skills Training launch audience that the lack of understanding and skills required created a serious risk of expectations being pitched too high. One "big Indaba" would not provide the solution to SA's problems.

SA, US both waiting for firm dates

'Wrangle over Bush meeting scuttled trip'

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

Washington

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk's proposed visit to Washington may have been scuttled because of the South African Government's insistence that it be subject to a meeting with President Bush.

The Government's sudden announcement that it was no longer convenient for Mr de Klerk to visit Washington, owing to election commitments, ended weeks of speculation about the visit and a possible meeting with President Bush.

The State Department said in reaction it had hoped Mr de Klerk would have been able to meet the Secretary of State, Mr Jim Baker.

Today, however, South African diplomatic sources said the meeting with President Bush was called off because the Americans placed "unacceptable conditions" for the meeting. They did not elaborate.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a statement last night that Mr de Klerk would not visit the US because of election commitments and also because resistance to a meeting in the US might harm US—SA relations.

A State Department spokesman said: "We sympathise with the concerns expressed by the South African Government about such a visit during an election pending in South Africa. We hope that Mr de Klerk will be able to visit Washington at some mutually convenient time in the future."

However, American sources said such a meeting would be unlikely after the election if Mr de Klerk was elected State President. Washington has litle enthusiasm for entertaining an incumbent South African State President, which would involve all the trimmings of a state visit.

American and South African officials in Washington yesterday insisted they had been wait-

Govt may shelve plan for squatter resettlement

By Sven Lünsche

A Government plan to resettle about 500 000 Soweto squatters to the west of the sprawling township will probably be shelved in the wake of geological surveys that show the area to be almost totally unusable for high-density developments.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) is instead looking at plans for a new "megacity" south of Johannesburg, between Lenasia and Vereeniging.

The latest development comes after last year's announcement of the resettlement plan by the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, despite warnings by mining houses and the SA Geological Survey that massive sinkholes could develop if settlement in dolomitic areas was allowed.



Rescue wo

ANC fears
of world sup

20/7/89

304A

can diplomatic sources said the meeting with President Bush was called off because the Americans placed "unacceptable conditions" for the meeting. They did not elaborate.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a statement last night that Mr de Klerk would not visit the US because of election commitments and also because resistance to a meeting in the US might harm US—SA relations.

A State Department spokesman said: "We sympathise with the concerns expressed by the South African Government about such a visit during an election pending in South Africa. We hope that Mr de Klerk will be able to visit Washington at some mutually convenient time in the future."

However, American sources said such a meeting would be unlikely after the election if Mr de Klerk was elected State President. Washington has litle enthusiasm for entertaining an incumbent South African State President, which would involve all the trimmings of a state visit.

American and South African officials in Washington yesterday insisted they had been waiting for the other side to come up with dates for a visit.

White House officials said Mr de Klerk had been invited by the Secretary of State to visit the US. Until yesterday, they said, the South African Government had not officially replied.

No decision had been made by US officials about a meeting between Mr Bush and Mr de Klerk, a spokesman said.

The spokesman said there had been speculation that Mr de Klerk would visit the US in the next two weeks, but no definite date had been given.

But South African sources say Pretoria had been waiting for a firm invitation from the US Government, including specific dates for a visit.

Until yesterday, they said, no dates had been proposed.

According to one US source, the South African Government had been pressing for a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Bush, even though such a meeting had not been proposed.

US opinion has been sharply divided about such a meeting.

Some elements in the State Department and the White House were in favour of it, as part of a broader policy of Mr Bush meeting a range of South African leaders. Others, and more than 100 members of Congress, vehemently opposed it, believing it would send the wrong signal to white South Africans.

(News by David Braun, 6807 Montivideo Sq Ct, Falls Church, Virginia, USA.)

Govt m
shelve
for squ
resettle

By Sven L

A Government pl
about 500 000 So
to the west of
township will
shelved in the wa
cal surveys that
to be almost totall
high-density devel

The Transvaal
ministration (TP
looking at plans
gacity" south of
between Lenasia
ing.

The latest
comes after la
nouncement of th
plan by the Depa
stitutional Dev
Planning, despit
mining houses an
logical Survey
sinkholes could d
ment in dolomiti
lowed.

These sinkhol
vere threat to th
lives of many of
two million peo
have been resett
the scheme, to
Soweto and to th
duza area on t
near Nigel.

Because of the
veys the Depart
tutional Develop
ning and the TP
to be looking a
alleviate the
pressures on ma
ships in the PW
larly Soweto.

The new "me
south of Johan
proved, would e
mere and Evato
the size of Johan

Weel

By

The cold front
coldest weathe
ice and freezing
over the Tran
should begin to
the Pretoria We

However, wh
slightly up duri
warned of free
tures with seve
ly the south-wes

The bureau
weather over t
Transvaal with
on higher groun

While the m
ord levels, so,
street crime.



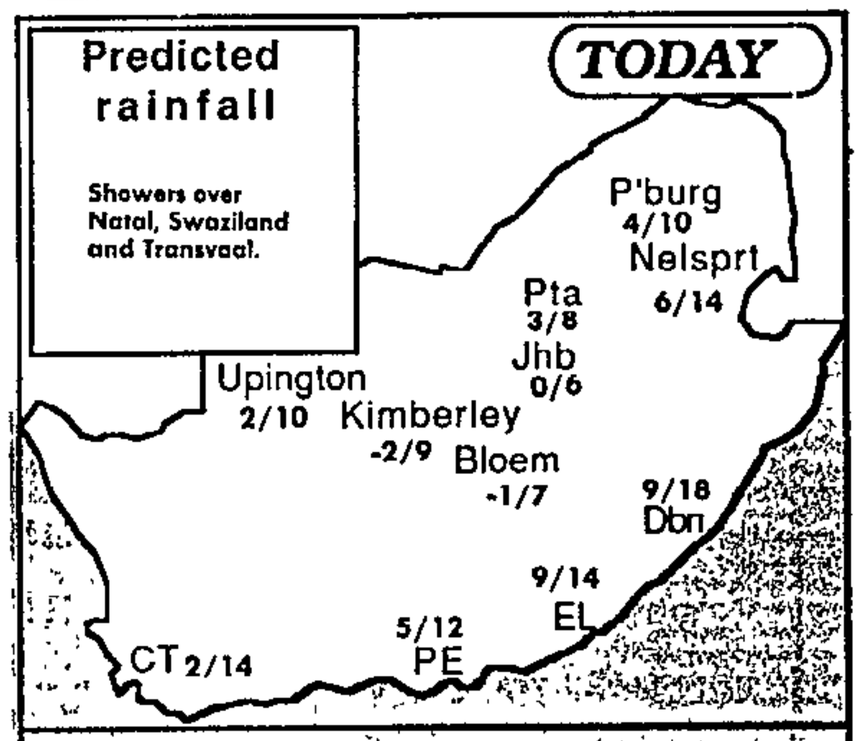
Maputo meeting . . . Mr F W de Klerk with President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique during yesterday's talks.

Oerley was admitted yesterday. Dr Kettle did not believe rugby should be banned.

Reforms will be rewarded, De Klerk is told

Chissano offers SA a message of hope

WEATHER



TRANSVAAL — Partly cloudy and cold but fine over the western parts. It will become cloudy over the eastern parts.
JOHANNESBURG CENTRAL — Today: 8 am 1 deg C; yesterday: max 6 deg C; min 0 deg C; rainfall — mm; so far this month — mm; so far this year 519,4 mm; average rainfall for July over 92 years 9 mm; average annual rainfall 769 mm.
(012) 21 9621 for Tvl update

Round the World

	Max	Min		Max	Min
Amsterdam	22	15	Nassau	33	26
Athens	32	21	New Delhi	37	28
Auckland	13	11	New York	28	18
Bermuda	30	24	Oslo	18	10
Brussels	25	14	Paris	26	13
Budapest	20	11	Perth	19	10
Copenhagen	18	10	Rio de Janeiro	26	13
Dublin	27	13	Rome	31	15
Frankfurt	22	8	Seoul	32	26
Geneva	26	12	Singapore	32	24
Helsinki	18	11	Sydney	16	7
Hong Kong	30	28	Taipei	34	27
Lisbon	36	22	Tel Aviv	31	25
London	26	16	Tokyo	28	22
Los Angeles	27	19	Toronto	31	17
Miami	31	25	Vancouver	23	14
Moscow	20	10	Vienna	19	12
Nairobi	24	10	Warsaw	18	10

Diplomat criticises 'Gestapo bureaux'

The Government's decision to appoint inspectors to police the Group Areas Act is undermining efforts by sportsmen to break out of international isolation.

TheAustralian ambassador in South Africa, Mr Colin McDonald, said the "Gestapo bureaux" proposals made bids to break the boycott "look ridiculous".

The Government plans to set up "notification points" where citizens can report alleged Group Areas Act transgressors. — Political Correspondent.

Staff Reporter

MAPUTO — President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique has dangled a promise of South Africa being accepted by its African neighbours if there is change in the country.

He was addressing a news conference yesterday after a meeting lasting more than three hours with National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The leaders broke their schedule, cancelling lunch to pursue talks on Mozambique's internal war and how South Africa could help end it; relations between the two countries; a "Marshall Plan" for southern Africa; and the National Party's plan of action.

Process of change

Mr Chissano's hint of a prize for progress in South Africa came after he had said he was pleased to hear of the NP's intentions to have a united South Africa and equality for all.

He said Mozambique was prepared to help this become reality.

Asked how, he replied: "If there is a sound process of change in South Africa, I think it will be part of the (southern African) group of countries in search of a solution." It would help create confidence among all Africans in the region.

Referring to remarks at a news conference on Monday that "some elements in South Africa" — but not the SADF — were aiding the rebel Renamo group, Mr Chissano said he could offer no proof.

If an aicraft came from South Africa, it was hard to say who the pilot was and who was behind him, he said.

"I accept assurances that the Government of South Africa doesn't do it."

Cycle of violence

Referring to the possibility of supplies to Renamo, Mr de Klerk said his Government had been looking and would look into any particulars given it.

Nobody could totally prevent such activities in a country with a free economy such as South Africa's. It did not have an espionage system able to tell what was going on behind the scenes.

Mr de Klerk said all countries in the region needed to break out of their cycle of violence.

"What we need to do is grasp opportunities offered by recent developments inside certain countries in southern Africa."

He added that South Africa was prepared to play a constructive role in the economic field, resumption of the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme and related matters.

"Development must go hand in hand with making of the political peace."

Sources said a considerable part of the talks was taken up discussing the idea of a "Marshall Plan", first raised by Mr Botha several months ago.

He envisaged a partnership between Europe, South Africa and southern African states. Mr Botha wanted a project where European money and South African know-how and management could steer the region away from what had happened in much of Africa.

Maputo

Windsc

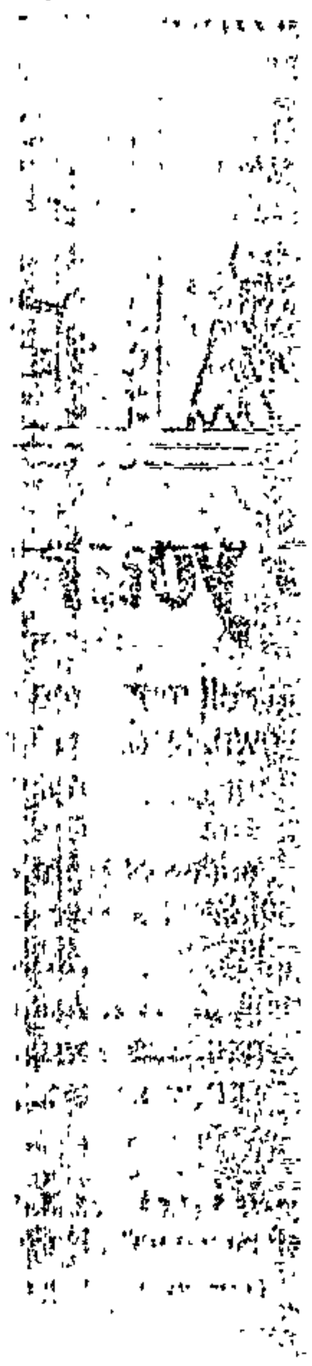
By Helen

Scores of motorist windscreens shatter the N17 expressway and Brakpan, where are being made for Gosforth toll plaza

Callers to The Sta rands worth of caused by pieces of

One motorist sa been hit on the he smashed through Monday. The wind band's car had also

A regular user of Maynard, said air the windows of ... forcing motorists to



(304A)

Solid beating predicted for Nats in Pinetown

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

An opinion poll has shown that Democratic Party MP Mr Roger Burrows will romp home to a comfortable win in Pinetown on September 6, solidly beating his National Party opponent, Mr Bob Oliver, in a two-way contest.

The opinion poll was conducted in the Natal constituency between July 10 and July 14 by Marketing & Media Research, which correctly predicted the 1987 general election results in the six constituencies then polled.

The survey results indicate that the DP's hopes of winning over some traditional NP voters could be fulfilled.

Support

It seems the DP will also receive the unexpected bonus of considerable conservative support in the absence of a Conservative Party candidate.

Of the 609 respondents to the poll who have already chosen their candidate, 46 percent have pledged their support to Mr Burrows and 17 percent to Mr Oliver.

Mr Burrows seems to have successfully consolidated most of the former Progressive Federal Party supporters (77 percent), also drawing support from 20 percent of Nationalists and 28 percent of Conservatives.

Mr Oliver is backed by 43 percent of the Nationalists, 2 percent of the progressives and 26 percent of the conservatives.

Because it has been a left-of-Government seat since 1981, the DP was probably not in danger of losing Pinetown, which has roughly nine English-speaking voters to one Afrikaans voter.

However, the poll confirmed significant trends that were revealed in the survey conducted in the predominantly English-speaking constituency of Cape Town Gardens, published yesterday.

These include that the DP seems to have succeeded in broadening its support base among Afrikaans-speakers and disillusioned Nationalists, while holding on to its traditional English support base.

The DP, with its solid extra-parliamentary links, also seems to have succeeded in restoring some confidence in people who have had doubts about the validity of parliament.

Attract

Confirming the trend in Gardens, the overwhelming majority of Pinetown voters in the extra-parliamentary fold have decided to back the DP instead of boycotting the elections — a factor which greatly hurt the PFP in the 1987 general election.

The DP also seems to attract more younger voters than the NP — another trend revealed in Gardens — apparently succeeding in portraying itself as "the party of the future".

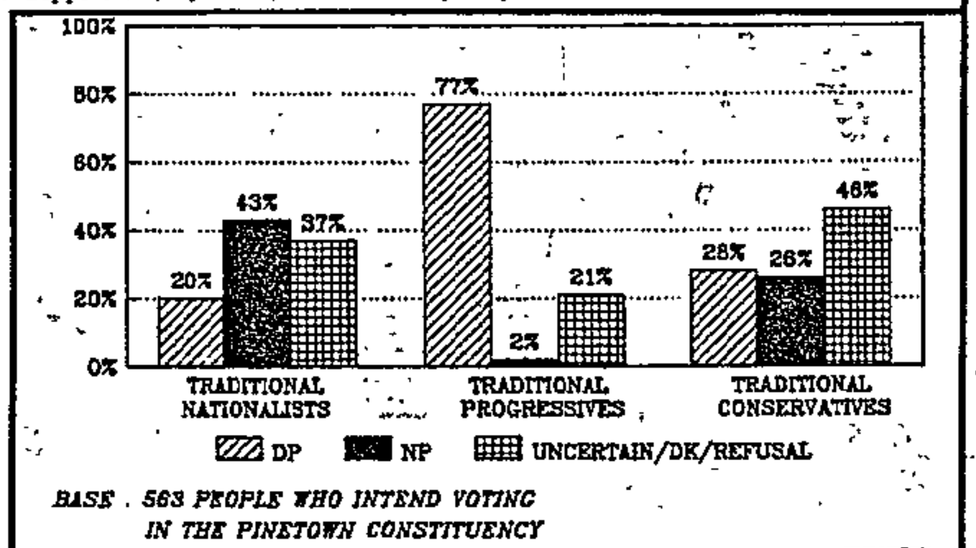
Of the respondents between 18 and 24 years old who intend to vote in Pinetown, 70 percent said they would support Mr Burrows while Mr Oliver drew only 9 percent support in this age group.

As in Gardens, an unusually high number of NP supporters (31 percent) in Pinetown have not yet decided who to vote for this year, probably signifying the current "loosening of the bonds" with the NP.

Confirming the uncertainty among traditional NP voters whether to back the party which has provided them with a political home for many years, is the indication that only 84 percent of NP supporters were certain about their choice, compared with 94 percent of DP voters.

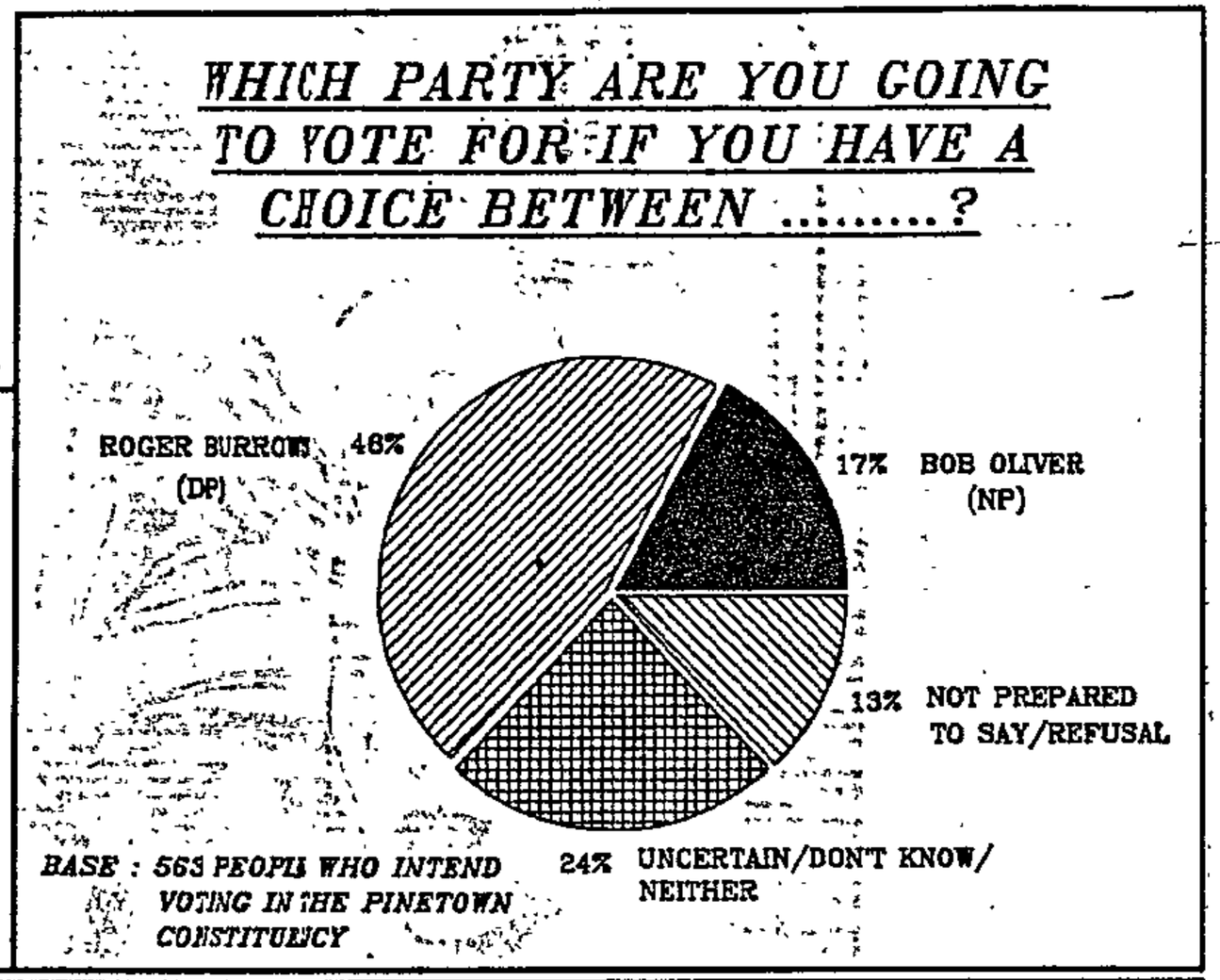
However, with six weeks to election day, the NP seems likely to pick up slightly more of the large floating vote of 24 percent which could enable Mr Oliver to close the wide gap which seems to exist now.

(Report by Esmare van der Merwe, 47 Saxer Street, Johannesburg.)



BASE : 563 PEOPLE WHO INTEND VOTING IN THE PINETOWN CONSTITUENCY

How traditional Nats, Progs and Conservatives intend voting in the election.



Cape Times 20/7/89

★ C

Sincerity needed for ANC talks

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC would respond positively to negotiations if there was a sincere approach by the government, Democratic Party candidates Mr Tian van der Merwe and Mr Jannie Momberg said yesterday.

"I have very little doubt that if a sincere approach is made from the government's side that there will be a positive response from the ANC," Mr Van der Merwe said.

Mr Momberg said: "I really believe that they have shifted in their approach to negotiations and their willingness to discuss with the National Party their reasons for not negotating at this stage is a positive development."

Both Mr Van der Merwe and Mr Momberg were part of a four-person DP delegation which met a top-ranking ANC delegation in Lusaka on Saturday.

Mr Van der Merwe said the discussions were "long and very serious" while Mr Momberg described them as "brutally frank".

Mr Momberg said: "We should talk to the ANC. The government should talk to the ANC.

"I think the DP and ANC have the same ultimate end product — a non-racial democracy — but it is on how we get there that we differ."

Both Mr Momberg and Mr Van der Merwe said the DP delegation had clashed with the ANC over the use of violence.

Mr Van der Merwe said: "I think one must accept that there is enormous mistrust and it will require a very substantial new approach from the government side to bridge the gap created by the mistrust, but I nevertheless have no doubt that it can be done.

"However, it is clear that the approach has to come substantially from the government. The ball is in the government's court."

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

NP plan an 'invitation to backward'

Political Correspondent

THE National Party's latest plan to investigate complaints about Group Areas contraventions marked a return to racial snooping and the "racist vendettas" of the 1950s, DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

"It is an invitation to the most reactionary, racist and backward elements in our society to express themselves," he told a meeting in Milnerton.

Dr Worrall was reacting to the government plan to appoint scores of officials countrywide by August 1 to probe alleged contraventions of the Act.

"We are back to the days when snooping is encouraged — when, because a person's skin is slightly darker than somebody else's or their hair is curlier than others, other people are encouraged to delve into their background.

"No adherent of any one of the world's great religions — not to limit oneself to the Judaeo-Christian tradition — can approve of procedures of this kind."

Dr Worrall said the procedures to which the NP was resorting would cause "fear, victimisation and bitterness" and would put an enormous strain on the families concerned.

"This is a misguided, ignorant and cruel measure which has no place in the SA of 1989."

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

'There's a place for SA' B/Day 20/7/89

Change will open the door — Chissano

304A

MOZAMBICAN President Joaquim Chissano said yesterday SA could take its place in the community of southern African nations if there was a sound process of change in the country.

Chissano was speaking at a Press conference in Maputo after a three-and-a-half hour marathon meeting with NP leader F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

More than an hour was spent discussing Botha's "Marshall plan" to promote economic development and regional co-operation in southern Africa.

The plan seeks to end SA's isolation from its neighbours and instead get the countries of the region to work together to promote development.

According to Chissano, SA's isolation from its neighbours would end if government embarked on a sound process of change. In that event, the countries of the region would work with SA to help solve its problems.

MIKE ROBERTSON

Sources at the meeting said a great deal of time was spent discussing the role Chissano could play in getting Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe — the only Frontline leader opposed to improved co-operation with SA — to come on board. Important developments in this respect could be expected in the next few weeks, the sources said.

While Chissano is said to have insisted that SA take certain steps before the "Marshall plan" could be implemented, the SA delegation argued that the fact that certain countries in the region had internal problems should not stand in the way of regional co-operation.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said that at the end of the meeting, it was generally accepted regional co-operation could play a role in solving SA's problems.

☐ To Page 2

PRETORIA — NP leader F W de Klerk has turned down an invitation from the US Secretary of State James Baker to visit the US.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said last night: "It appears that elements within the American Congress are intent on making the visit as controversial as possible." He said De Klerk's programme was full, due to the elections, and it would be difficult to fit in a visit, other than on the dates originally set aside for a US visit.

Because of these two factors, he had informed Baker a visit by De Klerk before the elections would not advance good relations between the two countries.



F W de Klerk and President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Change the key

304A

☐ From Page 1

Chissano said De Klerk had assured him the SA government was committed to working for unity and equal opportunities for all in SA.

He had been pleased to hear the NP did not intend dragging out these reforms over a long period, but realised change had to come quickly.

"During the mandate of the future President this problem of discrimination should be solved so that there will be a real democracy in SA.

"We are prepared to help this process become a reality," he added.

Asked how, Chissano said the group of countries in southern Africa was searching for ways to end discrimination in SA.

"If there is a process, a sound process, of change in SA, I think that SA will become part of this group."

While avoiding describing Renamo as a terrorist organisation, he said: "Renamo should stop violence and become involved and participate in the peaceful development of Mozambique."

Chissano said he had once again been assured, and accepted the assurances, that the SA government was not aiding the rebels. B/Day 20/7/89

However, he did not rule out the possibility that certain elements in SA could be aiding them.

De Klerk said the countries of southern Africa needed to grasp the opportunity created by recent developments to work for peace and fulfil the potential of the region.

SA, he said, was prepared to play a constructive role in assisting the peace initiative in Mozambique, which is being spearheaded by Kenyan leader Daniel arap Moi who arrives in Maputo today.

In assisting Mozambique, De Klerk said, economic development would be given a high priority as "development must go hand in hand with the seeking of political peace".

Botha declined to expand on what economic initiatives SA was taking in Mozambique.

Millions in pensions and gratuities awaiting SA's top

THE retirement of present MPs, Ministers and members of the President's Council will cost taxpayers and their children between R575m and R1bn, says Andreas Wassenaar.

This assumes an annual 10% to 15% increase in salaries and pensions.

The former Sanlam chief comments in his new book Squandered Assets that the pension scheme of Ministers and MPs is hedged against inflation "to perfection" at the expense of future taxpayers.

He writes: "Their entrenchment is so effective that they have no personal interest in the campaign against inflation. If anything, they stand to benefit from rising rates of inflation.

"The super attraction of a political career is undoubtedly to get entry into a profession where you fix your own salary, where you decide on how much of it will be taxable and where you decide on your annual increases in salaries and pensions."

Wassenaar estimates on average it will cost taxpayers R5m every time a Minister retires. Thirty-five officials are categorised as Ministers for pension purposes.

The annual cost of providing a Minister's pension, assuming no inflation and present salary scales, is between R188 000 and

ROBERT GREIG

R330 000. This is on top of his R157 000 annual salary.

Assuming a 15% increase in salaries and pensions, Wassenaar says the annual amount which would have to be set aside in a fund to pay a Minister's pension would be between R377 000 and R690 000, depending on his age of entry to Parliament. This figure excludes salary and allowances.

A person who entered Parliament two years ago aged 40, who became a Minister and will retire in 1999, will get pension benefits costing the taxpayer R9,9m — assuming annual 10% salary and pension growth.

Calculations based on Wassenaar's figures would indicate that:

- An MP elected in 1989 can retire in 15 years' time with a pension of R671 139 and a tax-free gratuity of R2m, assuming an 15% increase in salaries and pensions

His annual contribution to the pension would be 7%, totalling R169 251, while taxpayers would have contributed the remaining 93% — or R2,65m.

- A Minister appointed after the September 1989 election would come in on a taxed salary of R120 500 and tax-free allowance of R36 600. After 12 years, he could retire with a pension worth R1,4m and a tax-free gratuity of R4,2m, again assuming an annual 15% salaries and pension increase.

Wassenaar believes there is a case for saying that MPs, being part-time employees, should not receive a pension at all — "the norm in the private sector".

- Wassenaar's estimate of costs to taxpayers excludes retirement costs of functionaries of six "self-governing states", two of whose assemblies have already passed pensions legislation duplicating the SA pensions scheme.

3644 Politicians

NATIONAL

DP way ahead in Pinetown — survey

ARGUS 20/7/89 30K1

FW cancels US visit 'because of SA election'

ARGUS 20/7/89

Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party MP Mr Roger Burrows will romp home to a comfortable win in Pinetown on September 6, solidly beating his National Party opponent, Mr Bob Oliver, in a two-way contest.

This is according to an opinion poll conducted in the Natal constituency between July 10 and July 14 by Marketing Media Research, which correctly predicted the 1987 general election result in the six constituencies then polled.

Judging from the survey results, the DP's hopes of winning over some traditional NP voters could be fulfilled, while the DP will seemingly receive the unexpected bonus of considerable conservative support.

Of the 609 respondents who have already chosen their candidate, 46 percent have pledged their support to Mr Burrows and 17 percent to Mr Oliver.

Nat support

Mr Burrows seems to have successfully consolidated most of the former Progressive Federal Party supporters on the DP (77 percent), also drawing support from 20 percent of Nationalists and 28 percent of Conservatives.

Mr Oliver is backed by 43 percent of the Nationalists, two percent Progressives and 26 percent Conservatives.

However, the poll confirmed significant trends revealed in the survey conducted in the predominantly English-speaking constituency of Cape Town Gardens, published yesterday.

These include that the DP seems to have succeeded in broadening its support base among Afrikaans-speakers and disillusioned Nationalists.

Confirming the trend in Gardens, the overwhelming majority of Pinetown voters in the extra-parliamentary fold have decided to back the DP instead of boycotting the elections.

Of the respondents between 18 and 24 years who intend to vote in Pinetown, 70 percent said they would support Mr Burrows while Mr Oliver drew only nine percent support.

Undecided

As in Gardens, an unusually high number of NP supporters (31 percent) in Pinetown have not yet decided for who to vote this year.

About 13 percent of Progressives have not made a choice and 36 percent of Conservatives still have to decide.

Confirming the uncertainty among traditional NP voters whether to back the party which has provided them with a political home for many years is the indication that only 84 percent of NP supporters were certain about their choice, compared with 94 percent of DP voters.

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

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Mr F W de Klerk's proposed visit to Washington may have been scuttled because South Africa insists that it be contingent on a meeting with President Bush in the White House.

The government's sudden announcement that it was no longer convenient for Mr de Klerk to visit Washington, owing to his commitments in the campaign for the September election, has ended weeks of speculation.

ASKED BY BAKER

A spokesman for the State Department said last night: "We sympathise with the concerns expressed by the South African government about such a visit during an election pending in South Africa. We hope Mr de Klerk will be able to visit Washington at some mutually convenient time in the future."

American and South African officials in Washington yesterday insisted that they had been waiting for the other side to propose dates for Mr de Klerk's visit.

White House officials said Mr de Klerk had been invited by the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, to visit the US. Until yesterday, they said, the government had not notified the US government officially on when he would arrive or even if he would make the trip.

Certainly, no decision had been made by US officials for Mr de Klerk to meet President Bush, according to a White House spokesman.

South African sources, on the other hand, say Pretoria has been waiting for a firm invitation from the United States and specific dates for a visit.

Until yesterday, they said, no dates had been proposed.

● President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique has raised the possibility of South Africa being accepted by its black African neighbours if change comes.

He was addressing a news conference after a meeting yesterday with Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

● President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said in Lusaka this week that he would soon meet Mr de Klerk and was hoping to act as an intermediary between him and the African National Congress.

Mr Kaunda said he had invited Mr de Klerk to meet him. No date had been set but Mr de Klerk had indicated his willingness to attend.

(Report by D Braun, 6807 Montivideo Sq Ct, Falls Church, USA and A Dunn, 115 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

ANC 'bogged down' by outdated policies

Star 20/7/89 304A

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

For the Government to negotiate with the African National Congress would be tantamount to "bargaining with your rapist over how much pain you will endure", the National Party's parliamentary candidate in Randburg, Mr Glenn Babb, said last night.

He was speaking at a public meeting in the constituency which is held by Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, a strong supporter of negotiation with the ANC.

Only about 100 people braved the cold to listen to Mr Babb's address, much of which was devoted to attacking the ANC.

Mr Babb said the ANC was still committed to violence and socialism, policies which were being rejected by the majority of South Africans.

The Government would not negotiate with the organisation unless it renounced violence.

Commenting on jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's recent meeting with the State President, Mr P W Botha, Mr Babb said the two leaders' jointly expressed commitment to peace had given a new dimension to the objective of a negotiated political settlement.

However, Mr Mandela's viewpoint was very different from what was happening in Lusaka.

While the NP had, over the years, adjusted to change, the ANC was still bogged down by outdated policies of the 1950s.

Mr Babb said most African leaders foresaw a Nationalist victory at the polls.

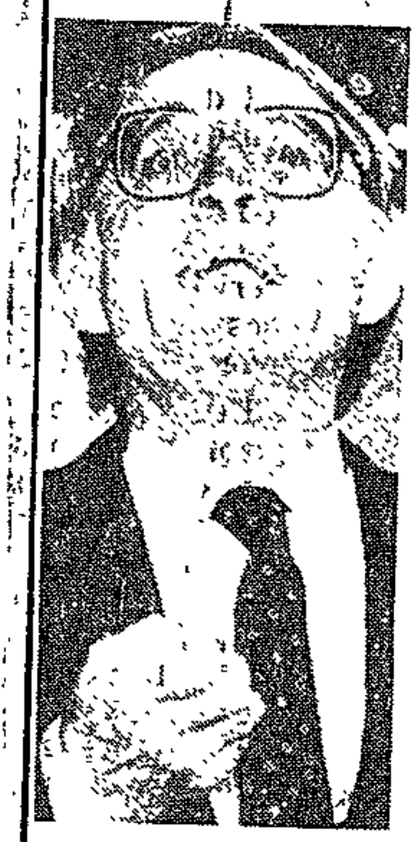
"They want the NP to have a large mandate to carry on with its role of regional developer and stabiliser."

● Somali businessman Mr Hassan Weheli last night became the first black person from an African country to publicly endorse the candidature of a Nationalist on a party-political platform. Mr Weheli, an export trader living in South Africa, shared the platform with Mr Babb.

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

Star 26/7/89 (304A)

Worrall hits out at corruption



Dr Denis Worrall ... "ethics needed".

Political Staff

DURBAN — Corruption was stretching from the public sector into the private sector as a result of what was happening in the National Party, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

Speaking to more than 400 people at the Umhlanga Country Club, Dr Worrall said the Government had to be changed so that norms and ethics could be put back into politics.

Referring to the row over the transporting in a police vehicle of game shot by the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the participation in the election of government-appointed officials while still holding office, Dr Worrall said there was a need to re-introduce integrity into politics.

"What is happening reflects 41 years in office. There is a confusion of what is state and what is National Party, of what is political and what is non-political, of what is private and what is public."

He said the problem now was that what was happening in the NP was moving into the private sector.

Many companies knew that it was who they knew if they wanted clearances, permits and favours.

"This is why the NP is now the party of big business."

Dr Worrall said the time had come for white South Africans to do what was right.

They had to send a message to their fellow-South Africans and to the international community.

The message was "to say goodbye to apartheid".

He said many of South Africa's problems, including economic, could be attributed to apartheid. The system had to be scrapped to build one new nation committed to a greater South Africanism.

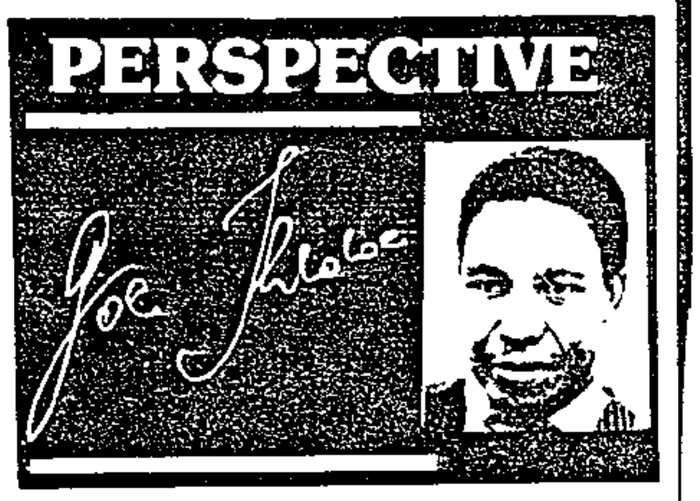
Mr Kobus Jordaan, the Democratic Party's Umhlanga candidate, said the NP action plan for the future was nothing more than "complicated gobbledygook" which was apartheid in a new form.

The NP was running away from its past record but was unable to move foward away from apartheid, he claimed.

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

Settlement must include oppressed

PERSPECTIVE



THE document on page 6 of our paper today shows to what extent FW de Klerk and the National Party have been able to confuse the world and to send some sections of the liberation movement jumping for their panic buttons.

In his diplomatic offensive De Klerk has been more pursuasive than PW Botha: suddenly leaders of various nations are convinced that there is a movement towards a negotiated settlement.

The Americans and the British are now pushing the liberation movements towards talking to the Government.

This sense of euphoria developed after the signing of the tripartite accord between South Africa, Angola and Cuba last December. Some people are patting themselves in the back, arguing that this was a triumph of diplomacy over "violent revolution".

All the people who were involved in the talks leading to that agreement - that includes the Americans and the Soviets - know that it was no such triumph.

The negotiations came at a particular point in the fighting: the Angolans realised that their country was being turned into a desert; the Russians and the Cubans could not continue pouring men, money, and machinery into Angola; but most important of all, the South Africans could no longer carry the costs of the war in the south west corner of the continent.

If the South African economy was thriving and the costs were not that high, that war would still be continuing.

And if Swapo had not fought its fight, South Africa would still be sitting comfortably in Namibia.

Ironically, the Americans have demonstrated that they understand this perfectly.

The US has been arming Savimbi and Unita in Angola to fight the MPLA. In January this year, after the tripartite agreement was signed, President George Bush wrote to Savimbi: "I also want to assure you that American diplomacy will continue to encourage African and other interested governments to provide maximum support to a process of negotiation leading to national reconciliation in your country.

"Until that objective is achieved my administration will continue all appropriate and effective assistance to Unita."

Policy

The *Washington Post* said a Bush aide had made it clear that "all appropriate assistance" meant continuation of covert military help for Savimbi.

The Americans use different logic when it comes to South Africa.

The man responsible for American policy on Africa, Herman Cohen, has said that he thinks the present set of sanctions against South Africa are enough: he would like to see these being used as a carrot to induce South Africa to get to the negotiating table.

He says that South Africa should be told that if it makes progress, then the sanctions would be decreased. He sees this as a positive use of sanctions.

We should not forget that the Republicans who are in the Administration in Washington now are the same people who opposed the limited sanctions that America imposed in 1986.

Anybody who thinks that these people have suddenly become altruistic is naive.

Margaret Thatcher's opposition to sanctions and to the South African liberation movements is well-known. It is not surprising that she is at the forefront of the new initiative.

In the West, the liberation struggle has had support in spite of Western governments, not because of them.

There is no need for the South African liberation movements to panic and believe that a settlement can be reached in this country without including them: such a settlement will not meet the demands of the oppressed.

All the people who are talking negotiation in the fashion in which it is being discussed today, should remember Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the unlamented Zimbabwe/Rhodesia.

He excluded himself from the future of his country and his people.

Sowetan 20/7/89

F W and Chissano pledge peace

MAPUTO - If there was a definite move away from discrimination in South Africa, the country could become part of a regional group of Southern African countries, Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, said yesterday

Addressing a joint Press conference with South African National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, he said he believed the "problem of discrimination" would be solved during the term of office of the next SA State President.

The talks between Chissano and De Klerk in Maputo were originally scheduled to last two hours, but the two leaders conferred for more than three hours.

Both pledged themselves to work for peace in Southern Africa.

Chissano said supplies were still being flown in for the rebel Renamo movement, but he, once again, accepted assurances given by the SA Government that it was not involved in giving such aid.

De Klerk, who was accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, said all countries needed to play a "positive role" to ensure that the cycle of violence was broken in Southern Africa.

On allegations that Renamo was still receiving aid from within South Africa, he said: "We basically have the attitude that until information is given, we can't work out a strategy to counteract it." - Sapa.

Govt finally stops swimming against the urbanisation tide

304A Star 21/7/89.

BY NORMAN CHANDLER, Pretoria Bureau

National Party governments tried for years to keep South Africa "white" — finally admitting defeat when influx control was abolished four years ago. The Human Sciences Research Council has been studying the policy of racial separation (apartheid) and has pinpointed the three most important findings on the subject.

It took a judge of 40 years ago to place in a nutshell what the National Party finally admitted was true only a few years ago.

Mr Justice H A Fagan told the then parliament of the Union of South Africa in March 1948 that there was literally no way on earth that black detribalisation and urbanisation could be reversed.

The Government announced a scant four years ago the abolition of influx control, tacit agreement that black urbanisation was unavoidable — after decades of preaching about "swart gevaar" and the dire consequences of blacks coming to the cities.

The Institute for Historical Research, part of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), has been extensively studying the fashioning of government thinking on racial policies over 40 years.

The study highlights the fact that the findings and warnings contained in several reports by various commissions on black migration and urbanisation "were largely ignored for 40 years before being implemented as government policy".

Undesirable

Researchers Miss Marie Wentzel and Dr Andre Wessels investigated 1 050 reports made between 1910 and 1955 on the subject, and conclude: "Due to political considerations in the white political arena, most of the recommendations had little effect on government policy.

"For decades black urbanisation was seen as undesirable, a process which had to be curbed and reversed as soon as possible."

They say that "political promises of a decrease after 1978 in the flow of urbanised blacks and their subsequent return to traditional areas" managed to placate the majority of white voters.

The Fagan Report, published in 1948 on the same day that parliament was disbanded for the May general election that year, gave a "realistic and objective new perspective on black urbanisation" and resulted in massive criticism. Mr Justice Fagan had said that "black detribalisation and urbanisation was a natural and irreversible process."

The United Party government of General Jan Smuts was defeated by Dr D F Malan's Herenigde Nasionale Party, later to be renamed the National Party, possibly as a direct result of the tabling of the report.

Mr Justice Fagan had asked General Smuts not to table the report until after the election because he feared that it would be used for political capital.

Ten days before the election, 11 academics at Stellenbosch University attacked the report — they claimed the recognition of permanently urbanised blacks would result in most white cities eventually becoming mere appendages of large black cities, and that whites would lose their "own unique character".

The academics also said that economic integration of blacks and whites was preventable.

Those two statements were to play a major role in Smuts's defeat at the polls.

But the Fagan Report was not the most important on the issue, Miss Wentzel and Dr Wessels have found.

The report which gave direction to the government's racial policy for nearly 40 years was the Sauer Report — "in this report, the word apartheid appears more than 40 times ... the recommendations were based on ideological and party-political considerations, without investigating the practical or economic realities.

"The basic standpoint was that blacks should not be urbanised, although it did consider the establishment of towns in reservations.

"While the Sauer Report was not an official government commission report, it had a significant influence on government policy in the years that followed.

"The denial of the permanence of urbanised blacks and the removal of millions of people played a negative role in the provision of an infrastructure and the establishment of a stable black community."

The third ingredient in the bid for racial separation was the controversial Tomlinson Report published by a commission headed by Professor F R Tomlinson, of the University of Pretoria. It was, the HSRC has found, the most comprehensive and in-depth study of its kind.

The commission's brief was to report on a comprehensive scheme to rehabilitate "native areas" within the then Union of South Africa to expand them into areas with their own cultural structures.

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, who was at the time Minister of Native Affairs, was against the Tomlinson Commission because he believed he could decide on the development of black areas "on the basis of his own knowledge acquired during visits to these areas".

He also rejected recommendations on the admittance of white capital and entrepreneurs in black areas as well as consolidation of land.

Not heeded

Dr Verwoerd did not want to have the Tomlinson Report published but later agreed "to publishing a summarised 120-page version of the original 3 755-page report".

The report found there was little hope of a spontaneous, evolutionary development of unified society in South Africa, and stressed that integration could only produce problems and dangers, leading to increasing racial friction and conflict.

The HSRC researchers comment that "the policy of separate development was regarded as a prerequisite for the healthy national development of the Bantu community.

"Many of the recommendations were never heeded until 30 years after its appearance (on October 1, 1954) when the findings were used to support a shift in government policy."

Star 21/7/89

Lists contain the dead, missing and emigrants

304A

Voters' rolls 'a shambles'

By Joe Openshaw

The voters rolls for the September 6 election were described yesterday as "a shambles", containing many names of missing and dead people.

The assessment was made by Mr Peter Soal, southern Transvaal chairman of the Democratic Party, and Mr Kevin Wearing, the NP's Johannesburg organiser.

Both placed the blame squarely on voters who have not notified the authorities of change of address.

Mr Wearing agreed that half the 19 000 voters in Hillbrow have moved away without notifying the authorities.

The Department of Home Affairs said yesterday it was aware many voters did not respond to appeals to notify the department of address changes.

It accepted that voters' lists for Hillbrow and other areas where there are flatland dwellers and a fluid population would have a high percentage of "missing" voters.

"The department agrees there are names of persons on the voters' lists who are deceased, who have emigrated and who have moved to another constituency," said a spokesman for the department.

"Special campaigns conducted immediately prior to the general election for the House of Assembly in 1987, the municipal elections in 1988 and the forthcoming election have resulted in 2,9 million additions and deletions being made in the voters' lists." The department had no authority to remove a dead person's name from the list unless a death certificate was available.

"Likewise, a name of a voter may only be transferred from one constituency to another if the voter himself has submitted a signed change of address notification

Legislation allowing the Chief Electoral Officer to investigate and decide when a name may be removed from the voters' roll without documentary proof has been accepted but will only come into operation after the September 6 election.

Mr Soal said the voters were at fault and Home Affairs could not be blamed for the state of the voters' rolls.

"It is also the fault of the Government, which refuses to agree to a change of registration of voters. The last change of registration of voters was 20 years ago."

In some countries, voters are obliged to re-register every year.

(Report by Joe Openshaw, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

Friends of Breytenbach's said they expected the couple to arrive before the weekend. — Sapa-Reuter.

'Govt no longer dictates change'

RIAAN SMIT 304A

GOVERNMENT could no longer dictate the form and content of change in SA because political, social and economic forces inside and outside the country were imposing imperatives which could not be ignored.

This was the dominant theme of speakers at the one-day Megatrends conference at the Johannesburg College of Education yesterday. BIDAM 21/7/89

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Centre of Policy Studies at Wits told 300 delegates public policy had to be pro-active and not a semi-effective or ineffective rearguard action.

He used government policy on racial zoning, community self determination and security to illustrate what he meant by rearguard action instead of pro-active policy by government.

Although government had responded to residential integration by making provision for Free Settlement Areas, desegregation was far outstripping the capacity of the new policy to accomodate the pressure, he said.

Curious

Community self-determination — "own affairs" and "general affairs" — was "an utterly central aspect" of present government policy, but could not be defended conceptually or in terms of practical politics.

"The clearest example relates to education. One has the curious situation that real community self-determination or voluntary choice is exercised through support for or attendance of (non-racial) private schools . . . while the own affairs dispensation dictates uniformly segregated government schools irrespective of whether the feeder communities want them or not."

Community Agency for Social Enquiry director Mark Orkin argued that sanctions hurt the beneficiaries of apartheid — "the state and its business allies" — more than its side-effects were hurting the black majority.

The effectiveness of economic pressure was "quite evident" in recent political developments, noteably the settlement in Namibia.

Among the other speakers were Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, DP co-leader Denis Worrall and Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste.

Only a little time left to talk

Star 21/7/84

304A

BY JOYCE HARRIS
of the Black Sash

I cry for our land. What can be done about a country whose heterogeneous, unbalanced, prejudiced, exploitative, fear-ridden history has produced a situation where, on the same day, the press can report furious letters from a Nationalist and two English-speaking South Africans reviling the Five Freedoms Forum meeting with the ANC; thugs threatening to break up a meeting of Jews for Social Justice to hear a report-back of that same meeting; a meeting between the Head of State and his long-term prisoner, Mr Nelson Mandela; and the Conservative Party leader warning of a white uprising if whites and blacks are encouraged to get together?

There are so many crazy anomalies. A reform-spouting Government destroys shacks and possessions in Thokoza, leaving their inmates in the cold; incorporates communities into homelands against their will, provoking them beyond endurance into violent reaction; breaks up peaceful meetings and detains and restricts community leaders who are seeking to restore peace.

It harasses those who have spoken to the ANC by searching their premises even while it is reading the writing on the wall and is itself seeking contact with other African states.

The National Party has destroyed the economy, befouled race relations with its policy of divide and rule and, worst of all, brutalised whole generations of our young people, black and white, by its determination to retain power.

It has produced the likes of Barend Strydom, who killed blacks so indiscriminately and wildly in Pretoria, reared as he was on a diet of racial hatred.

How many more are there like him and what will they do to wreck any hopes there may be for peaceful reconciliation in our country?

The white backlash warned of by Dr Treurnicht is a very real danger, given the generations of indoctrination of white supremacy and "swart gevaar".

Now the National Party is hoist with its own petard. It recognises the need for change, but even its own limited prescriptions — strictly within its own framework of separation and ethnicity — find themselves on a collision course with its own teachings.

Those who rail against contact with the ANC on the precept that it is a terrorist organisation fail to recognise decades of structural violence perpetrated by the State.

I do not believe that this excuses violence, though it does explain it. I do not believe that good ends can be achieved by bad means.

But to castigate the ANC and at the same time to support the National Party is totally illogical. The National Party cannot protect the people from a danger it has itself created.

It is not the NP that is offering salvation. Neither is it the far right white backlash. Incredibly, it is the measured tones of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela calling for dialogue between the Government and the ANC together with the mass democratic movement as "the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country".

He said: "I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa."

It is truly amazing that a man who has spent the better part of his life in jail, and who has been denied the opportunity to interact with his fellow-men or to use his undoubted talents in the interests of his people, should show the statesmanship and tolerance so sadly lacking in the leadership of our country and its privileged voters.

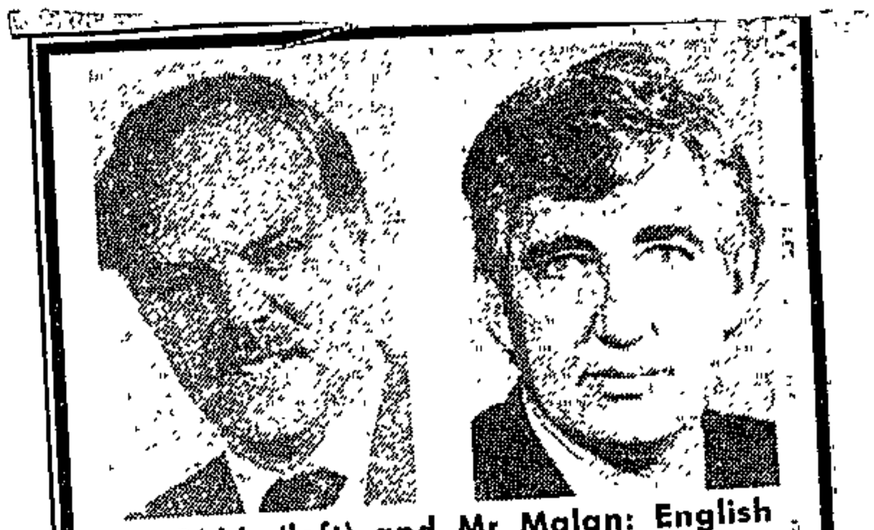
There is still time for whites to reassess the situation, to realise that they can expect no salvation from the Nationalists and even less from the far right, and to use the privilege of their votes to give a clear indication that they support the process of negotiation, the creation of a climate to make it possible and a just society.

However, this prospect seems remote while they continue to revile contact with the ANC whose violence, though unacceptable, has been relatively disciplined when compared with that of the State.

Perhaps all we can do is cry for our country, even though we ourselves still have the space at least to try to put things right.

It is the motivation that is lacking, plus the capacity to see through the apartheid-created confusion to the fundamental truth that we are all the same, we are all South Africans, and we all need each other.

(Written by J Harris, 4 North Avenue, Riviera, Johannesburg)



Mr Babb (left) and Mr Malan: English speakers appear to be swinging to NP.

Malan and Babb 'neck and neck'

Star 21/7/89 30th

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan could come dangerously close to losing his Randburg seat to the National Party's Mr Glenn Babb on September 6, an authoritative opinion poll has shown.

Two surveys, one done in June and the other in July, indicated a swing to the NP in Randburg.

The English-speakers in Randburg seem to be moving from the DP into the Nat camp, while Afrikaans voters appear not to have swopped party allegiances over the last month.

The survey was conducted by Marketing & Media Research.

Mr Malan won the 1987 election as an independent by 2 647 votes after resigning from the NP that year.

The poll is the fourth of six commissioned by The Star to give an insight into the September 6 general election.

The prediction for Krugersdorp, where the Conservative Party expects to oust Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Leon Wessels, will be published in the Saturday Star tomorrow.

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

● See Page 7.

304A

Through the years, his pencil satirised the Acts of apartheid

STAFF REPORTER

Veteran cartoonist Abe Berry tells a history of apartheid through a selection of cartoons — many of which first appeared in The Star — encompassing four decades of Nationalist rule under five prime ministers.

His newly published book, "Act by Act", is a kaleidoscope of memorable political moments as the cartoonist saw them at the time.

Starting with the fateful election of 1948, it records the contentious Acts used to implement the National Party's policies, its consolidation of power and its monolithic growth.

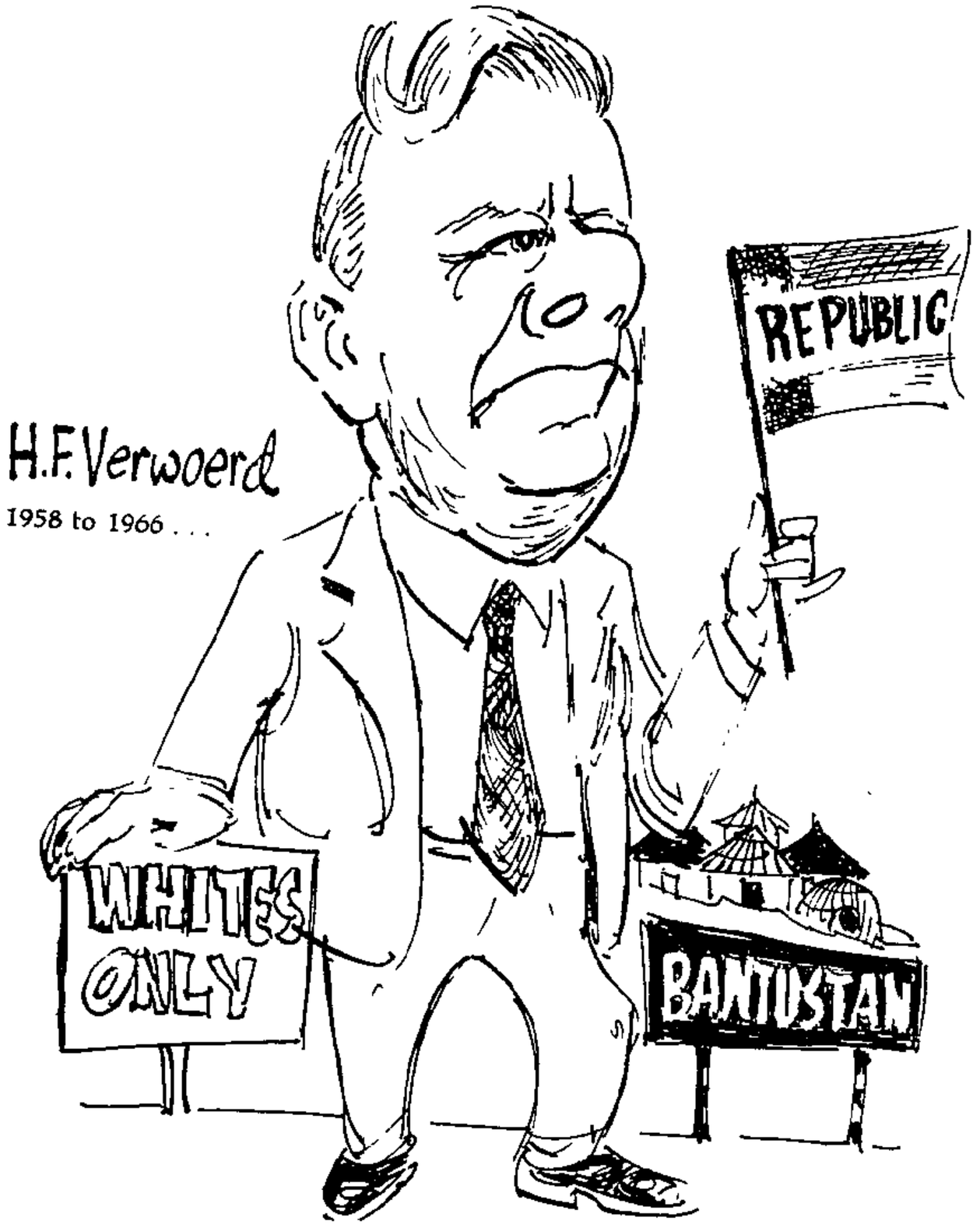
The very first cartoon sets the tone: May 1948, when the Nationalists have won power by a slender majority, a newspaper placard recalls their platform: "Vote for white bread and a white South Africa."

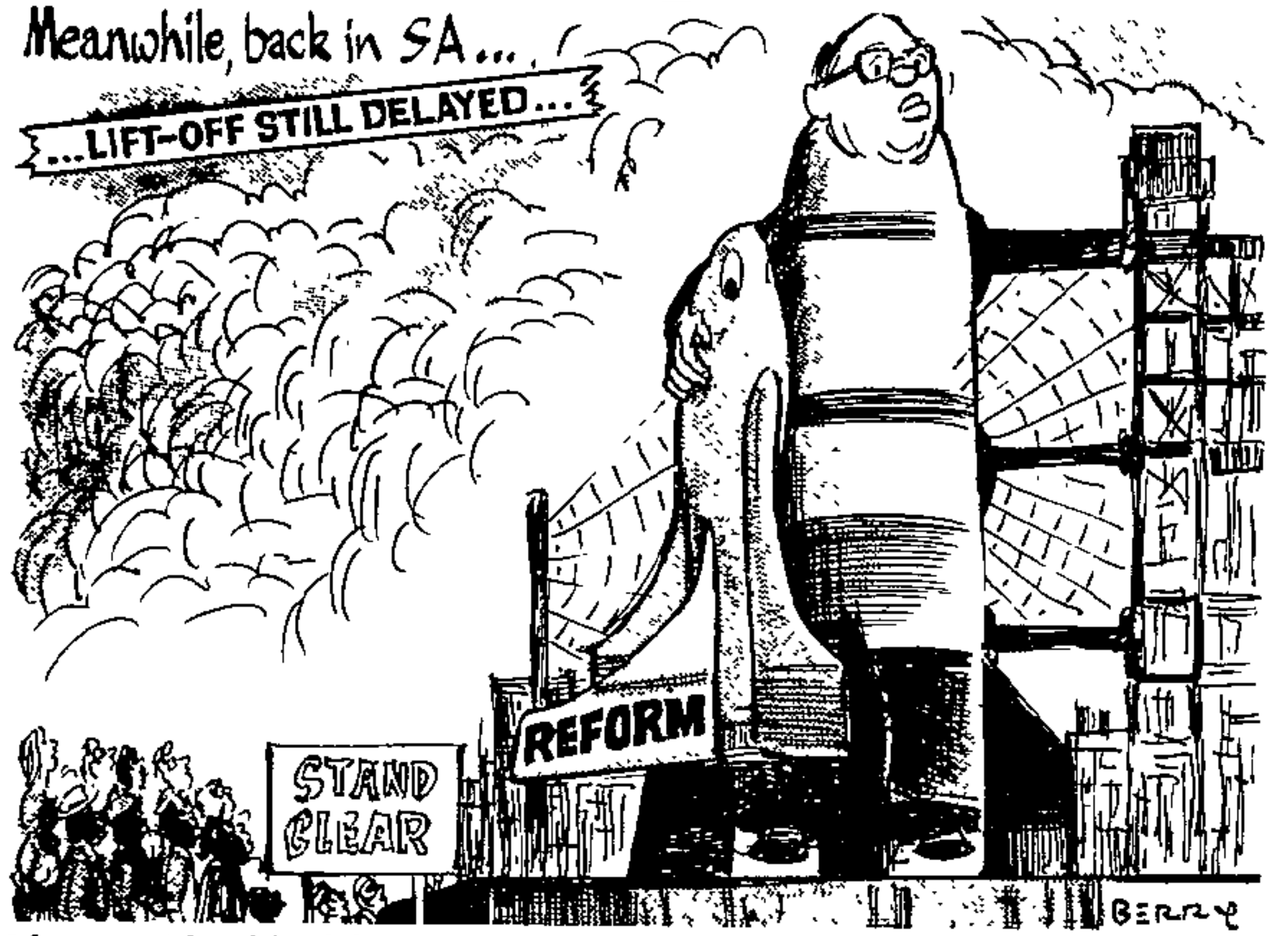
And, relevently enough, the second-last drawing, done at the time of the visit of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group in 1986, shows the group urging Mr P W Botha to have talks with Nelson Mandela.

Indeed Berry's drawings make a pertinent point: things don't change much in South Africa.

Abe Berry became associated with *The Star* not long after his return to "civvy" life after World War 2 and he has contributed to the newspaper ever since. His cartoons have also been published in many other parts of the world and on several occasions he has won international awards.

●"Act by Act: 40 Years of Nationalist Rule in South Africa", published by Jonathan Ball at R23,95.





After considerable delays America's first space shuttle finally took off — but South Africa's promises of reforms by Mr P W Botha remained firmly grounded.



South Africa, a respected founder member of the United Nations Organisation, was pilloried and reviled because of its policies.

Poll indicates 'clear' NP win

(304A)

BIDMS 2/11/84

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The NP had a good chance of a clear-cut majority in the September 6 election, a Human Sciences Research Council survey of white Pretoria residents has shown.

Researchers Nic Rhoodie and Chris de Kock found that any erosion of NP support could be to the left rather than to the right.

The DP and CP could each win between 25% and 30% of votes.

"This means there are more potential recruits within the NP for the DP than for the CP," Rhoodie said.

Rhoodie said even if the right wing got 27% and the left wing 29% support, the NP would still emerge as the strongest party.

Some of the findings were:

- 61,6% of those spoken to believed the chances of SA solving its political problems by negotiation were good to very good, while 15,2% said they were poor.
- 55,5% percent saw a future under a multi-racial goverment as good to very good.
- Nearly 43% saw the reform tempo as being "just about right", 29,4% saw it as too slow and 20,5% as too fast.

Television was regarded by 60,3% as the most important source of information on national security

Sapa reports that 56% of respondents would not share residential areas with blacks, and 55% were not prepared to share hospitals.

FW invited for talks by African leaders – Pik

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk has been invited for negotiations by several African leaders, says the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Interviewed by Radio RSA in Pretoria, he said Dr Kenneth Kaunda's invitation to Mr de Klerk had been another step towards direct communication between African heads of state and the South African Government.

He said it was clear Africa wanted to enter into open dialogue with South Africa and that the rest of the world should take notice of this development.

REASON TO BE PROUD

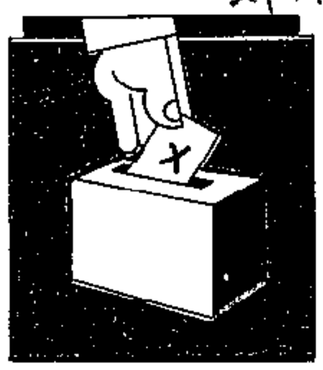
Commenting on the recent peace initiative in Angola, Mr Botha emphasised African leaders had reason to be proud as they had succeeded in bringing President Jose Eduard Dos Santos and the leader of the Unita movement, Dr Jonas Savimbi, to the negotiating table.

He said Mr de Klerk would probably not be able to accept all invitations because of his tight election programme. He said the invitations would be attended to as soon as possible after the general election on September 6. — Sapa

CONSERVATIVE PARTY (3044)

ET to the rescue

Financial 21/7/89



Conservative Party (CP) leader Andries Treurnicht must have thought the gods were on his side when he read last Sunday's newspapers (on Monday, of course). The revelations about Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) chief Eugene Terre'Blanche's alleged (and it seems, unrequited) midnight escapades, and the militant organisation's shaky financial affairs, seem to have driven the final nail in the coffin of

→ cont.

(304A) Fmail 21/7/89

criminal record rules out his candidature anyway). He accepted that a united right-wing front against the National Party (NP) was no longer possible, Terre'Blanche said in a statement.

The Johannesburg daily *Beeld* saw Terre'Blanche's move as an admission of failure, saying that the AWB leader was now engaged in a fight for survival within his own movement.

Whether or not he is granted another lease on life as AWB leader is immaterial, though. In future Terre'Blanche, and probably the AWB too, will probably be judged mainly for their entertainment value.

Treurnicht may benefit from Terre-'Blanche's latest antics. Apart from the minor Marais factor (and a few discontented AWB members who may vote HNP), the CP will be able to rely on the bulk of rightwing voters. Already such support has been forthcoming from the banned Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging's Johan Schabort.

Circumstances are propitious for the conservatives to score hits on a weary NP battleship at the polls. They will doubtless argue that F W de Klerk's five-year plan is the basis for a complete surrender of power to blacks, which could well scare those blue-collar voters still with the Nats into the CP laager.

For the first time the NP will have its patented refrain "*soft on security*" (used so effectively against the PFP in the past) thrown back in its face by the Right. The independence process in Namibia, and P W Botha's amazing tête-à-tête with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela — in the inner sanctum of Tuynhuys, *nogal* — will add grist to the rightwing mill.

Bread-and-butter issues like the rising petrol price, R100 000 army-staged tea-parties for SA's first lady (despite SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys passing the buck on to the ladies themselves), high-level corruption in State departments, and disgraced NP MPs all paint a dismal picture of 40 years of Nat government.

Add to that the Democratic Party (DP)'s intention to fight certain marginal NP seats — which could result in CP candidates squeezing in through the backdoor — and Treurnicht is bound to score some points. Ironically it is the government-supporting press, in the past relentless in its contempt for the left-of-NP party, that now voices concern about the DP's potential of influencing the outcome in certain constituencies in the election.

"The DP is not listening to such advice (not to contest marginal seats) and is determined to let the CP in . . . Voters will have to ignore the DP and vote to keep the CP out," *The Citizen*, which has consistently belittled the new party, shrilled.

Does all this make the CP a serious candidate for power? Political pundits differ.

Potchefstroom psephologist Donald Simpson forecast after the 1987 elections that the CP could win the next round by bagging the required minimum of 84 seats of the 166 elected total. Based on the CP's Randfontein by-election win in May 1988, his computer predicted 66 CP MPs.

Last week Simpson told the *FM* that in his view Treurnicht's party now stands to win 62 seats — a far cry from the 84 needed to move into the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Simpson's colleague, Dirk Laurie, disagrees. The only progress the CP has made since the 1983 referendum has been to the detriment of the HNP, he contends.

Nic Rhoodie, chief research specialist in the Institute of Sociological & Demographic Research at the HSRC, says the NP will suffer mainly from erosion of its left flank. Rhoodie is one of those analysts who does not rule out a hung parliament after September.

In the HSRC's 1988 edition of *SA — The Challenge of Reform*, Rhoodie and former research colleague Mick Couper wrote that "contrary to what may be expected, no evidence can be found for a 'white backlash' regarding socio-political reform in the area of desegregation."

The authors say that in spite of the present political turmoil and the high level of tension in the country, there is a growing realisation among whites that the statutory entrenchment of white privilege through segregated facilities is morally untenable and unjustifiable.

The failure of the white backlash to materialise has its parallel in the US of the Sixties, according to Rhoodie and Couper. It is expected that trends will continue to show steady change in the direction of increasing tolerance. "The idea that reform should be halted until such time as law and order are restored has little empirical justification in terms of white attitudes towards desegregation," they say.

Rhoodie and Couper, however, warn government that a lull in the implementation of their reform programme may provide the opportunity for the mobilisation of rightwing opposition to such change.

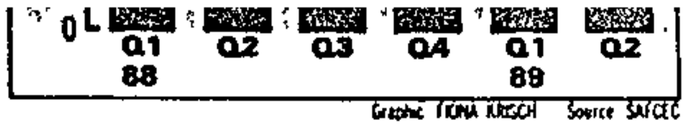
They report: "All this does not necessarily mean that the path towards desegregation in SA will be a smooth one. On the contrary, because of a long history of segregation, the transition will in all probability be characterised by confusion and even conflict."

For the next six weeks, white SA voters can expect to be entertained by Treurnicht and his band of conservatives beating the doomsday drum of a country on its way to majority rule under the NP. A cautious De Klerk — fearing further disintegration of his Transvaal Nat powerbase — may not be able to stem the rightwing tide.

Many moderate voters — ex-PFP members and those comprising the so-called Fourth Force of enlightened Afrikaners — will find the DP the answer to their political needs.

Those who still remain in the NP must hope that P W Botha will pull another rabbit out of the hat before September 6. ■

on the Mossel Bay refinery which, together with last year's R40m earthworks contract, constituted the bulk



The
recove
last ye

Signals are the key — govt

SOUTHERN African leaders are looking for further positive signals from SA rather than the repeal of specific laws before agreeing to hold a regional summit, government officials say.

President P W Botha's meeting with Nelson Mandela is the kind of positive signal they are looking for, officials said.

This was their reading of Mozambique leader Joaquim Chissano's statement that SA would be allowed to take its place in the community of southern African states if there was a sound process of change in the country.

At his meeting with NP leader F W de Klerk on Wednesday, Chissano is understood to have accepted SA's contention that now was a propitious time to begin talks to end the region's cycle of violence.

Chissano is said to be prepared to contribute to the ending of violence in SA.

MIKE ROBERTSON

He is understood to have said that a meeting between SA and the Frontline States would be possible if there were further developments inside SA along the lines of the Mandela meeting.

Meanwhile, SA officials have denied reports that De Klerk's proposed meeting with US President George Bush was postponed because the US had attempted to lay down preconditions.

Rather, they linked the postponement to domestic political considerations in the US, in particular opposition to the visit by 100 Congressmen, and the fact that no agreement on dates could be reached.

It is understood there was also a feeling in government that it would be better for De Klerk to visit the US as president.

● Comment: Page 8

Sun 21/7/89

US buffer role urged to help SA change

304A

BY DAVID BRAUN,
The Star Bureau

The Bush administration has been called on to play a major supportive and buffer role in helping South Africans make important decisions in this time of transition.

WASHINGTON — Speaking at the international conference of the World Future Society in Washington this week, Dr Don Beck, one of America's leading experts on South Africa, said the time was ripe for South Africans to make some major decisions, and the West, particularly the US government, should be ready to play a facilitative part

Dr Beck, director of the National Values Centre in Denton, Texas, has made a close study of South Africa's problems for the past eight years, visiting the country 26 times and speaking to scores of South Africans. He recently wrote a series of articles on his views for the Argus group of newspapers.



Dr Beck . . . a time for major decisions in SA.

He said at the World Future Society conference he would be using his good contacts with the White House to press President Bush to act in the correct way to assist South Africa.

It was important for Americans to appreciate that the decisions South Africans were having to make today would be the decisions the rest of the world would have to make in the not-too-distant future, he said.

It was therefore very important for Americans to take an active and positive interest in the solution to South Africa's problems.

Dr Beck said there were too many vested interests in continuing the South African game, which involved an evil oppressor (the government), a victim (the oppressed black population) and a rescuer (the international community). A lot of people were making a lot of money out of this game, but it was doing nothing to resolve the South African problem

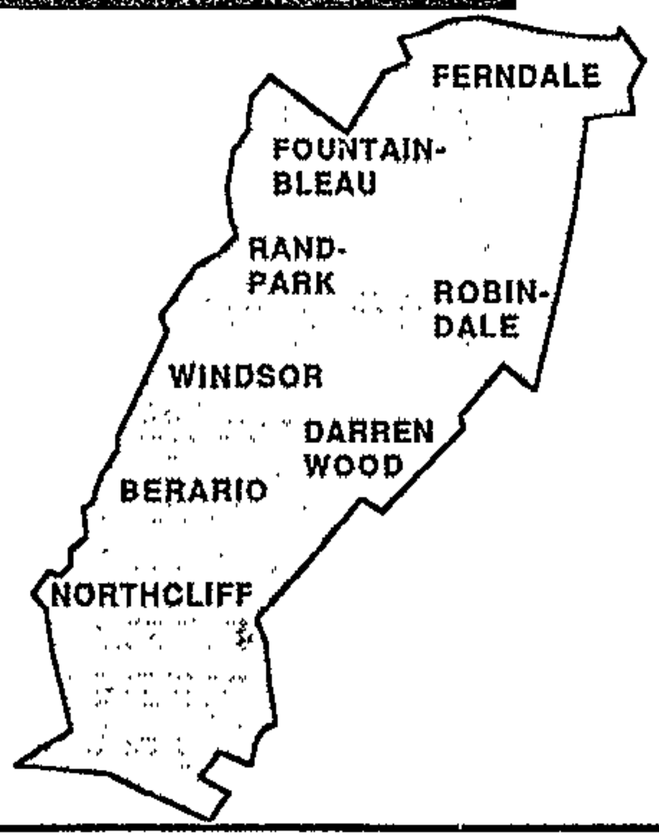
He said the correct way to understand South Africa was that it was a problem of blacks versus whites, but that there were a number of different interest groups which differed from one another on the basis of values.

Dr Beck said the most difficult aspect of dealing with the South African problem would be to reframe the situation so that people did not think in terms of white and black.

The most important aspect to deal with would be to retain and develop the first world component of the country while facilitating the development and progress of the third world component — a problem that would eventually have to be dealt with on a global scale by the world as a whole.

He said South Africa would have to devise its own unique political system so as to allow for this strategy while maintaining the maximum degree of openness to encourage the development of people.

Star 21/7/89 304A



Randburg — 11 pc swing in one month

Political Reporter

Two opinion polls commissioned by The Star — and carried out a month apart — have shown a sharp swing away from the Democratic Party in the Randburg parliamentary constituency.

In June Mr Wynand Malan, co-leader of the DP, received 49 per cent of the vote, compared with Nationalist candidate Glen Babb's 22 percent

This month Mr Malan's share of the vote had dropped to 38 per cent — 11 percent down — and Mr Babb's share had risen to 27 percent — 5 percent up.

In the June poll, 11 percent of voters indicated they were uncertain. By this month, the "uncertains" and "don't knows" had risen to 21 percent

Mr Babb has conducted a high-profile campaign in this Transvaal constituency. But observers note that the swing and the "uncertains" illustrate the fluidity of political sentiment in the run-up to the September 6 election.

As indicated by respondents in the June survey, their choices could still be influenced largely by political developments in the run-up to election day. This implies that their final choice could depend on the two candidates' answers to main election issues such as the economy and security, and clarification of their parties' policy on key questions such as negotiations and the accommodation of blacks in a future dispensation.

The surveys were conducted by Marketing & Media Research, which correctly predicted the 1987 general election result in six constituencies then polled. Although the sample size of the first survey was smaller than the July poll, the demographic profiles of the two polls were largely the same.

Significantly, Afrikaans voters in Randburg seem not to have swopped party allegiances over the last month. It is the English voters in the constituency — which has roughly two English voters to every one Afrikaans — who seem to be moving away from the Democratic Party into the Nationalist camp.

Last month, 63 percent of the English voters were certain of voting for the DP compared with 49 percent now. English-speakers who are uncertain of their choice have increased from 15 percent in June to 22 percent now, while the percentage of English voters who are now sure of supporting the NP has increased from 8 to 15 percent.

Mr Malan seems to be losing support across-the-board — among all age groups, both sexes and both language groups

If the election was to be held today, Mr Malan would poll 47 percent of the vote compared with Mr Babb's 42 percent. This prediction is largely based on estimating the way in which the floating vote would go judged by respondents' traditional party-colours and their inclination to support a particular party.

Of this year's "certain" Malan voters, 73 percent regard themselves as progressives. However, many progressives (14 percent) appear to be uncertain of their choice now, while a further 6 percent of progressives said they would vote Nat this year.

PROGRESSIVES

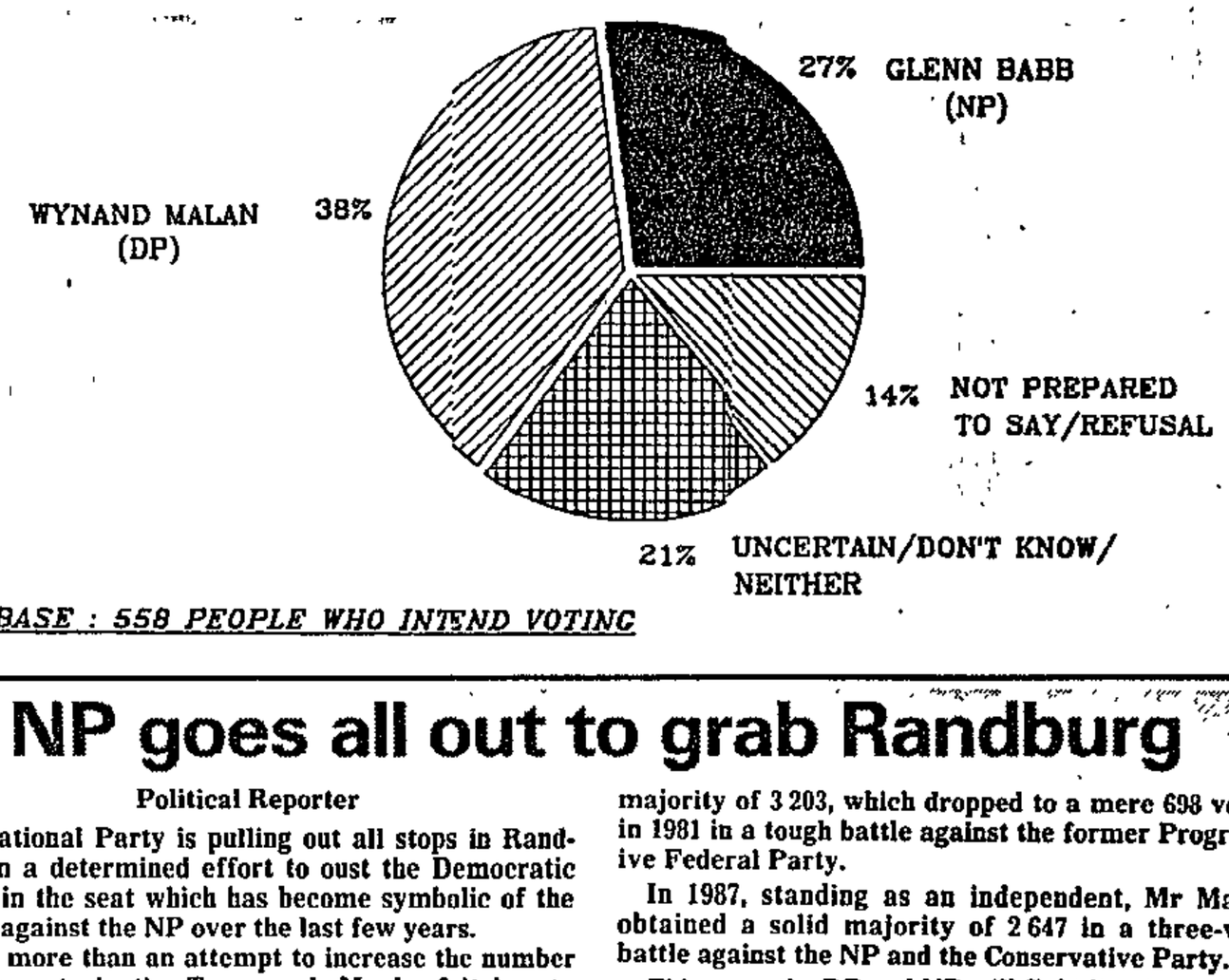
Of the uncertain progressives, 29 percent said they were most inclined to vote for the DP while 13 percent said they would probably vote for the NP

It thus seems as if a significant number of "progressives" in Randburg have not found a political home in the DP.

Similar polls conducted in Cape Town Gardens and Pinetown (Natal) — of which the findings were published this week — showed that the "progressives" in these predominantly English constituencies have found an easy home in the DP

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

WHICH PARTY ARE YOU GOING TO VOTE FOR IF YOU HAVE A CHOICE BETWEEN .....?



BASE : 558 PEOPLE WHO INTEND VOTING

NP goes all out to grab Randburg

Political Reporter

The National Party is pulling out all stops in Randburg in a determined effort to oust the Democratic Party in the seat which has become symbolic of the revolt against the NP over the last few years.

It is more than an attempt to increase the number of NP seats in the Transvaal. Much of it has to do with Mr Wynand Malan, Randburg MP since 1977 who resigned from the NP in 1987 and became one of the leading figures in the independent movement which was born that year.

In 1977, he was elected to parliament with a huge majority of 3 203, which dropped to a mere 698 votes in 1981 in a tough battle against the former Progressive Federal Party.

In 1987, standing as an independent, Mr Malan obtained a solid majority of 2 647 in a three-way battle against the NP and the Conservative Party.

This year, the DP and NP will fight it out.

The NP has selected a top candidate in Mr Glenn Babb, former ambassador to Canada and Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs from 1987 until last month.

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

National Party, had met in Maputo.

Moi leaves on state visit

NAIROBI — President Daniel arap Moi left early today for Mozambique for a two-day official visit. Star 21/7/89

A week ago President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique announced he had invited the Kenyan president to help to define the next steps in his nation's peace process.

Among those accompanying President Moi were Mr Bethuel Kiplagat, permanent secretary in the foreign ministry, and three Cabinet Ministers. — Sapa-AP. (173)

Clapton honoured by the King

By Peter Feldman

MMBABANE — Eric Clapton, the king of rock guitarists, met King Mswati III of Swaziland at a special reception in his honour at the palace last night.

The British musician arrived with a large entourage of backing musicians, managers and friends at Matsapa Airport yesterday.

He was presented with a Swazi assegai and spear by the executive of the King's Trust for whom he will be performing at an anniversary concert tomorrow night.

In a brief conversation with the press, Clapton said he did many

New light on meeting expected from F W

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk is expected to throw light on the controversial meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela when he addresses the congress of the Cape NP in Somerset West tomorrow.

The Cape NP will also use the congress to say goodbye to Mr Botha and to its previous leader, Mr Chris Heunis, who resigned as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning at the start of the month.

Mr Botha, Mr Heunis's predecessor as Cape leader, is expected to attend the congress after snubbing the NP by refusing to atend its federal congress last month.

A motion of thanks to the President for his contribution to the party will be passed tomorrow.

A party will be held for Mr Heunis and his wife at a Somerset West hotel tonight. Star 21/7/89

Acting Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers — who is almost certain to be confirmed as Cape leader at the congress tomorrow — said today the NP's five-year action plan for the election would be tabled and debated at the congress.

It was not clear, he said, if any new light would be thrown on NP policy. As there would be only one day of debate, there would not be much opportunity.

The two policy aspects which would be focused on were the economy and constitutional development.

He said Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis would not be attending the congress to take part in the debate on the economy as it was a Cape congress.

Dr de Villiers said he was sure that the congress would be held "in the same positive spirit" that prevailed at the recent federal congress.

The congress started today with closed sessions of the Cape head council and a conference of election candidates. Tomorrow, the provincial leader, two deputy chairmen and the chief secretary will be elected. (304 P)

The discussions on the economy and the constitutional future of South Africa will be held tommorow afternoon before Mr de Klerk closes the congress.

Much attention will be focused on his expected clarification of the Botha/Mandela meeting.

Restrictions

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

Pik interview in Soviet magazine

Star 21/7/89

MOSCOW — In a sign of a softening Soviet attitude towards South Africa, a Soviet weekly magazine this week is to carry an interview with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who called for establishing trade relations.

A Tass news agency summary of the interview, which has not yet been published, said it was the first given by a member of the South African Cabinet.

"Botha said the development of trade between South Africa and the Soviet Union will not mean that the USSR approves of South African Government policy or that Johannesburg approves of (Soviet leader) Mikhail Gorbachev's policy," Tass said.

"(Botha) mentioned what he described as a realistic prospect of dialogue between the Government and the African National Congress, though traditionally linking it with the need for the ANC to renounce violent struggle," Tass reported. — Sapa-Reuter

Jo'burg hospital forced to move critical white woman to Bara

By Toni Younghusband and Sue Olswang

A young white East Rand woman was transferred to the Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto last night because all intensive care units at the Johannesburg Hospital were full.

A doctor told The Star the woman, aged 28, was unconscious and suffering from pneumonia, and had been brought from a private clinic to Johannesburg Hospital for specialist treatment.

URGENT ADMISSION

"Two people arrived from private clinics at the same time both needing urgent admission. We managed to get a place for the one.

"The young woman lay around for quite a while before a decision was taken to transfer her to Baragwanath Hospital.

"Baragwanath had a bed available, but I have absolutely no doubt that by today they will need that bed again."

The medical superintendent of the Johannesburg Hospital, Dr Reg Broekman, apparently made the decision to transfer the young woman because she could not be treated at his hospital.

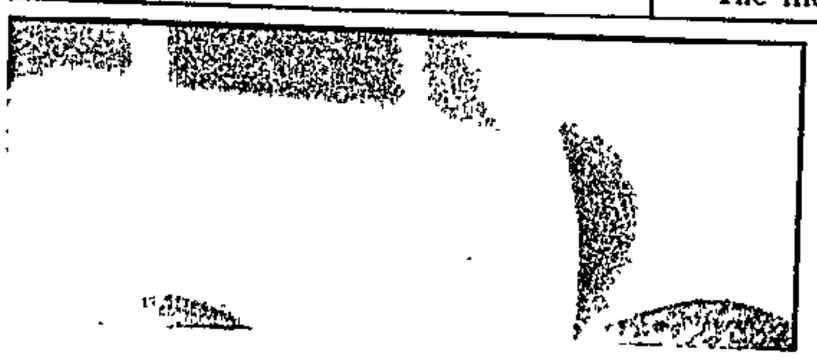
"She was a criticially ill patient who needed immediate intensive care treatment," Dr Broekman told The Star today.

"We could not take her in our intensive care unit and Baragwanath was the nearest hospital with a bed available. If we can't offer treatment to a patient, we try to do our best to ensure the patient is referred to another centre."

Staff at the hospital said they wanted to point out that patients were pouring in at an uncontrollable rate.

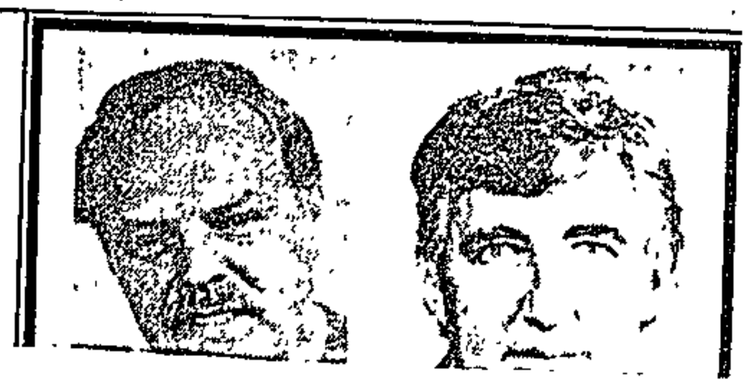
"The authorities don't seem to realise that we can take no more," they said.

"If the woman had been Harry Oppenheimer, she would still have had to go to Baragwanath. Something must be done to help us."



Transvaal warmer in daylight

Staff Reporter



Viljoen speaks on Mandela

NELSON Mandela had gone further than was required of him by saying he was prepared to work for peaceful solutions, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid said this weekend.

He was replying to a member of the audience at a National Party meeting in Silverton, Pretoria, who asked why Mr Mandela had not been released, since he had committed himself to peace.

Viljoen told the audience of about 60 that the Government would have to look carefully at the implications of what Mandela had said.

The importance of what he, as a leader of the ANC, had said was that it clashed with the standpoint of the ANC.

The ANC said the only way to effect change was through violence and revolution and that they were only prepared to negotiate the transfer of power.

KWA-NATAL INDABA

Stoffel's U-turn

Government's agreement to finally take a serious look at the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals — the detailed outline for a non-racial system of political power-sharing for the region hammered out three years ago by more than 30 interest groups — is something of a breakthrough for Indaba supporters. It's also a U-turn for the NP.

Although far too early to say that the proposal might be accepted for implementation in its present form, which would lead to KwaZulu and Natal becoming the first jointly governed region in the country, last week's meeting between Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha and Indaba chairman Oscar Dhlomo represents a significant shift in government thinking.

Nowhere is this shift more starkly personified than in Botha, who as Natal leader of the NP flatly rejected the proposals only hours after they were released at the end of a marathon eight-month meeting of political, business, and cultural groups in 1986.

Despite his protest now that he was "misrepresented" at the time, Botha's initial views on the Indaba process were made known clearly to a number of people. Either the minister has had a miraculous change of heart, or somebody higher up the hierachy has nudged him into thinking again.

Government sources suggest the influence could come from F W de Klerk, who, despite sticking firmly to the "own affairs" concept, has not been openly hostile to the Indaba idea. He recently had talks described as "useful" with Dhlomo.

Ironically, it is now Botha who will be instrumental in further talks on the Indaba proposals, scheduled to take place before the September elections.

With a bit of give and take on both sides, it is not inconceivable that a variation of the Indaba plan for regional government, or at least parts of it, could be put into practice.

Last week's meeting has also revived the whole Indaba process, which looked at serious risk of sinking forever. Outgoing Minister of Constitutional Development & Planning, Chris Heunis, had been warming to the proposals with encouraging comments — but the Indaba ran into a brick wall when he resigned and effectively removed himself from the political scene.

While receiving fairly widespread support from business and liberal politicians, getting government to recognise proposals has always been the big prize for the Indaba. Now that they are on the negotiation agenda, the Indaba will undoubtedly steam ahead.

Initial government rejection was also one of the reasons for Democratic Party co-leader Denis Worrall resigning as ambassador to London and playing his part in establishing the DP.

Government's warming attitude can also be linked to its earlier withdrawal of the proposed regional services council for Natal and KwaZulu, which Ulundi rejected. A joint model will now be worked out by KwaZulu and the provincial authorities. ■

FINANCIAL MAIL JULY 21 1989

FM BOARD OF ECONOMISTS

Countdown to September 6

Some pre-election advice for Barend du Plessis

As economic claims and counter-claims proliferate in the election campaign, the *FM* Board of Economists tries to assess the true position, and where we may be heading. The members this time are JCI's Ronnie Bethlehem, Brian Kantor of UCT, and Standard Bank's André Hamersma. The chairman, as usual, is Assocom's Raymond Parsons.

***Parsons:* How would you assess the current situation? Is the economy slowing down?**

Bethlehem: There's no doubt the real economy is slowing down. The critical question is whether the financial economy is.

Hamersma: I agree. The financial sector tends to lag the real side a little. In some areas demand for credit remains buoyant, though one senses that some of it is distressed borrowing that may replace other borrowing.

Kantor: The economy is slowing down. The Reserve Bank called a peak towards the end of last year. Money supply growth is slowing on a monthly basis: both note issue growth, which I watch closely, and M3, which the Reserve Bank watches. Monthly increases in M3 are down to about 16%.

As always, confidence is the driving force. It took a beating in May when the gold price fell and the rand/dollar exchange rate weakened. The last increase in interest rates distinctly deflated confidence — but all these things could turn round again.

***Parsons:* Which sectors are feeling — or are likely to feel — the slowdown most?**

Hamersma: The normal pattern: durable goods, motor cars, furniture and things like bricks, are coming down significantly. The investment cycle is not affected yet.

Kantor: Furniture is particularly badly hit because of the discriminatory nature of direct controls. It is a crying shame that HP controls imposed at the late stage of a boom always affect furniture particularly. Motor cars may not be as severely hit this time round because most sales are to the corporate sector, which is cash flush. New housing must slow down. I wish we didn't do such terrible things to particular sectors.

Some specific imports are also particularly affected by the high degree of discretion in the import control system. People beat paths to Pretoria to ask for special concessions. It's all very unsatisfactory.

Bethlehem: I would emphasise inflationary expectations, which lead directly to expectations of what will happen to the exchange rate. People are behaving in extraordinary ways to secure motor vehicles in the future at prices they can determine now.

Hamersma: Such goods are becoming investments.

Kantor: Corporate motor car purchases are in fact classified as investments, though as consumption if bought by households.

***Parsons:* To what extent has the downswing affected fixed investment and employment?**

Hamersma: Typically the investment cycle lags the downturn of the economy. Though growth is likely to be slower than last year, fixed investment should remain relatively strong this year. The real crunch will come towards year-end and next year, when real fixed investment could be negative. Unemployment may be starting to rise but here too the real crunch will come a bit later.



The panel: Kantor, Bethlehem, Parsons, Hamersma ... what chance a soft landing?

Kantor: One of the most encouraging features recently is the strong recovery in investment spending, in particular from the private sector. That is where the momentum has come from, as public-sector investment was falling off. Of course, there is a high import content, which is a concern to the authorities, given the balance of payments constraint. Again, it's a shame that we have to disrupt this. After many years of the capital stock running down it has been growing again. I agree that investment will hold up well this year.

***Parsons:* Is the economy slowing fast enough from a balance of payments point of view?**

Hamersma: That depends on how gold moves. We are in a tight balance, particularly with debt renegotiation coming up. One can't say with great confidence that we've slowed down enough. There is a danger that further actions may become necessary.

Kantor: This is the critical question. We have to watch the balance of trade in dollar terms to get a sense of how the authorities will respond and how interest and exchange rates will behave. My view is that the balance of trade in dollars will remain within a tight range almost independently of assumptions about the gold price, because a better gold price will mean a more buoyant economy and higher demand for imports, so what is gained on the export side will be lost on the import side, and vice versa. The balance of trade will remain not overwhelmingly difficult, but not comfortable, so the outlook for interest rates is for only marginal declines. But if you believe the economy will slow down sharply, then the balance of trade will improve and interest rates will come off.

Bethlehem: If we define net reserves in a crude cash flow way as the difference between the monetary banking sector's gross reserves and short-term foreign liabilities, at the end of March, net reserves were a negative R936m, equivalent to US$335m. That's a bad starting point as you look forward to the June 1990 debt negotiations. I don't think the economy is slowing down fast enough for the balance of payments.

Domestic credit extension (DCE) is still growing significantly faster than M3 year-on-year, though I admit that month-on-month figures are different. DCE grew 30% in the year to May and money supply by 25%. The consequences of this for net reserves are severe. I assume a current account surplus of R2,5bn and with those rates of increase, according to my model, net reserves will decline by over R7bn. Relate this to Japie Jacobs's indication that we need a current account surplus of R4bn in 1989 and R6bn in 1990 to handle debt comfortably. We are moving far away from that.

Of course, the gold price is the joker in the pack.

Kantor: One has to look at more recent data than year-on-year to get the underlying trend, which in money supply growth and therefore credit creation growth is significantly down. That is what the authorities have been hoping to achieve, and to some extent are. Month-to-month smoothed growth in M3 in the past couple of months I calculate at about 16% annualised.

I don't think the Reserve Bank can be happy with the net reserve position, but it won't deteriorate much. We've had a significant decrease in the real exchange rate. The rand is well off its purchasing power parity again, maybe by up to 15%. That is driving exports up. The trend in rand exports is substantially up again after levelling off for a while. Imports are still rising strongly but should start levelling off. That should hold the fort for the next couple of years.

Parsons: **What is the outlook for the external value of the rand?**

Hamersma: In principle, the rand is a weak currency. Problems on the balance of payments and high inflation ensure that. How weak and against what currency is a different matter. If you talk about the dollar you must make a forecast about the dollar — which could fall further. Generally, the trade position has improved. But I'm concerned about the debt situation and possible capital flows. I'm not optimistic that when debt is renegotiated we will get a much easier or better deal. Pressure on SA won't ease significantly.

Kantor: The 1985-1986 experience was awful. One doesn't expect anything like that again. But it is hard to see any trade-weighted improvement in the exchange rate. Even a somewhat better gold price will bring a continued, if slower, decline against the dollar. Even if gold reaches $500 by the end of 1991, the rand could still be down to maybe US33c by then. It will weaken to maintain the advantage exporters have and the disadvantage importers suffer from. Indeed, that'll be the policy response until the next upswing, which in a way is being delayed somewhat by the soft landing.

Bethlehem: Prospects for the rand need to be seen in terms of short-, medium- and long-term. Short-term prospects are dominated by what happens to gold and the dollar. The gold price has improved and the dollar has weakened. Medium-term comes the possibility of world economic slowdown and the fact that the gold price is in secular decline against the background of lower inflation, which in turn is closely linked to the prospect of international disarmament and lower defence spending. The long-term determinant is the inflation differential between SA and its major trading partners, and it's difficult to be optimistic about that.



Kantor: The exchange rate is cause as well as effect. The capital account has been the main cause of rand depreciation, which in turn affected inflation, so it is not unidirectional. I'm not sure that the gold price is in secular decline. Declines in US defence expenditure in the late Seventies and what happened to gold then, contradict the military expenditure theory. We'll have to see how the US economy and economic management respond to a slowdown. One needn't be totally pessimistic that they'll play for the long haul and not encourage inflationary expectations over the next couple of years.

> "The fight against inflation has been relegated to very low priority. I am terribly concerned about the long-term negative effects of inflation"
>
> **— Hamersma**

Parsons: **Does the policy stance need to be tightened, relaxed, or stay the same?**

Hamersma: There seems no need for tightening in the shorter term, but the instability which emanates from government spending is terribly disconcerting.

Bethlehem: What is the economic policy stance? I'm not sure. We recently had an announcement that there is to be a one-off across-the-board R60 payout to pensioners. There was a denial that this was intended to improve the electoral chances of the NP; but from an economic or politico-economic point of view, government can't ignore September 6. It is obviously biasing policy in a manner that makes people feel comfortable and is not negative to its electoral chances.



Kantor: If you ask a Keynesian question you should get a Keynesian answer. If you look at fiscal policy over the past year, it is clear that revenue grew significantly faster than expenditure. This trend will continue for a while. Revenue growth peaks after the business cycle. A Keynesian must believe that is contractionary, though it didn't work that way last year. But fiscal policy alone doesn't tell the story. It all depends on how government spending is financed, whether it is expansionary or not.

> "The split between the CP and NP has made economic issues much more important to the man in the street, in particular in government's own ethnic constituency"
>
> **— Bethlehem**

Parsons: **If the phone rang now and Barend du Plessis was on the other end saying he's about to go into a Cabinet meeting, what should he tell them, what would you say?**

Kantor: He shouldn't hope to fine-tune on fiscal policy, and he doesn't. I'd like him to achieve his monetary policy target. If he does he will be doing well enough for the next year. He probably will, because money supply is edging down into the target range and may even fall below that range within 12 months. I wouldn't raise taxes and I certainly wouldn't encourage pump priming.

Bethlehem: Evidence is beginning to emerge of slippages in fiscal policy. We see high current government expenditure growth and pre-election concessions. This shifts the burden towards monetary policy.

Hamersma: One must establish a longer-term pattern on monetary and fiscal policy. Only then do you achieve credibility, and then policies become effective.

Bethlehem: As I have argued before, we need some medium-term financial strategy, like Margaret Thatcher's MTFS, though not necessarily having the same ingredients.

Kantor: The long-term trend in government spending growth is pretty stable. Since 1980 there has been average annualised monthly growth of 3% in real government spending, which is highly satisfactory given the demands government has to listen to.

Parsons: **Could interest rates start coming down by September?**

Hamersma: That seems a bit early. The economy will not have cooled down enough.

Kantor: It'll be hard to drop short-term interest rates before the election, much as the authorities would like to. After the election, if the economy has already slowed down, and the evidence for that is pretty clear, the requirement to raise interest rates will have passed. Long-term rates may well fall before the election.

Parsons: **How high is the risk of "overkill"?**

Hamersma: There is a risk, and we must live with it.

Kantor: It is always a risk and it is very dangerous. We had overkill in 1984. Confidence is a very frail reed upon which the whole economy plays and can be dissipated overnight. It can also recover overnight.

Hamersma: We cannot take chances. If we err, it must be on the conservative side, though nobody likes that.

Kantor: We saw in 1984 what happened with overkill. Gerhard de Kock will believe that he engineered the growth in reserves and enabled us to meet the capital outflows that followed the unrest, but I put the emphasis differently. Interest rate increases were excessive. Consumer demand, especially for durables, fell like a stone, and unrest followed, like night after day. That is the last thing you want. If you've got to err you must err on the side of softly, softly; but I don't know how you do that either!

Bethlehem: There is also a danger of underkill, and it's as great a danger.

Parsons: **What is the latest trend in government spending and is it making its contribution to stabilisation policy?**

Bethlehem: Recent figures are a bit discouraging, but in a broader context, total

public-sector current and investment spending as a percentage of GDP was 36% in 1986, 35,4% in 1987, and 33,6% in 1988.

Hamersma: It is too high. Even a 3% annual rise is too high. Next year if we want to meet our commitments, overall economic growth must be below 3%. Government must make a contribution to that.

Kantor: 3% real growth is as low as we can realistically hope for. I would love to see a much reduced role for central government — though even that may not even bring down spending in the form of transfers and the like. Privatisation and deregulation will help, as will devolution from Pretoria.

Parsons: **Is there an economic case for a further increase in public-sector salaries?**

Hamersma: Public servants must get competitive salaries. The problem is not increases in public servants' salaries, but that we have too many of them.

Bethlehem: Public-sector employment is too great. This is a big factor in the high percentage of government expenditure to GDP. Long-term, government must get that down. The bureaucracy is important but it mustn't get oversize. The objective must be to increase salaries to the people who deserve them but get the total wage bill down.

Kantor: There must be nominal increases otherwise they fall behind dramatically. Last year's freeze of nominal wages was a ridiculous piece of incomes policy. But what public-sector salaries really are we don't know. We only measure the cash wage. All the fringe benefits, pension contributions and the like aren't measured. But we must eliminate layers of the Pretoria superstructure.



> "We know what'll bring foreign capital back: political change that will guarantee not only majority rule but sound management under majority rule. Two difficult objectives, and possibly contradictory"
>
> — **Kantor**

Parsons: **What signal would it give if there were an announcement now that from October 1, or whenever, they would get another 10% or 15%?**

Kantor: I'm sure that before the election there will be an announcement of a salary increase to be paid next year. Even 15% will at best keep pace with inflation.

Parsons: **How worrying are trends in prices? What is your forecast for consumer price index (CPI) inflation this year?**

Hamersma: The fight against inflation has been relegated to very low priority, so one cannot be optimistic. I am terribly concerned about the long-term negative effects of inflation. One of the new things in this election is that economic conditions, particularly inflation, have correctly become a significant issue. My inflation forecast for this year is 15% but rising: it could reach 17%.

Bethlehem: I am just as worried. The year-on-year increase by December will be 17%.

Kantor: I'm worried too but I don't think it will reach 17%; it will top at 16%. Import price inflation is running at about 15%, so there aren't the massive increases in import prices we had in 1985. The trend is up slightly and levelling off. I don't see it coming down very much over the next couple of years. We can't do anything about it unless the rand appreciates, and that's not on the cards. Unless we have a massive slowdown in our economy we won't get the kind of trade balances that would support an appreciating exchange rate and therefore lower inflation.

Parsons: **What are your GDP forecasts?**

Hamersma: 2,25% this year.

Bethlehem: 2,2%; but zero next year.

Kantor: About 2%, slowing to maybe 1% next year.

Parsons: **Are we heading for a soft landing?**

Bethlehem: Because of the buoyant credit extension; I see interest rates peaking only in the first quarter of next year. After the election, if the gold price doesn't recover we may have to face the crunch on the balance of payments of the external debt renegotiation. Then we could have a soft landing followed by a hard landing.

Kantor: There won't be a hard landing in the 1984-1985 sense.

Hamersma: It won't be 1985 all over again but you can't have a recession without somebody getting hurt.

Bethlehem: No growth — or even 1% — in 1990 is a hard landing. The population is increasing by 2,5%, the black population by 3% and the urbanising black population by over 7,5% a year.

Kantor: It comes back to the gold price. If gold falls away after the election, confidence will be hurt and spending will drop.

Parsons: **Given our circumstances, is there a constraint on our maximum growth potential? If so, what is it, and how can we lift the growth ceiling?**

Hamersma: There is a ceiling in the short term. We cannot move out of it overnight, so we have to live with it. With the balance of payments constraint, the need to restructure our economy and the political changes that we are having, we are in a straitjacket for a couple of years. We must work hard now so that in three or four years' time the new visions will open.

Kantor: There is always a constraint: the availability of savings and the effectiveness with which you use them. SA faces a restricted supply of foreign savings. We have to restructure to use our own savings more effectively. Deregulation and privatisation can raise the ceiling. But there is nothing wrong with the structure of our economy that a little foreign capital couldn't cure.

We know what'll bring foreign capital back: political change that will guarantee not only majority rule but sound management under majority rule. Two difficult objectives, and possibly contradictory. Sanctions pressure brings out the best and the worst in us.

The best is deregulation and privatisation, which I don't think would have happened otherwise. The worst is import replacement policies — the motor industry and motor users will be a prime victim.

Bethlehem: Every serious upsurge in unrest has been preceded by economic deterioration. We are moving into a phase where we can imagine economic deterioration. We must manage our finances properly and not drift into an economic situation that triggers unrest.

Over the past 18 months we have failed hopelessly in our responsibilities.

Parsons: **White politics has long been dominated by other issues, but at last bread and butter issues could play a key role. Why is there a perception of deteriorating white living standards, despite Org Marais' claim?**

Hamersma: It is a major issue. People feel that they are not making progress as they want to. Unfortunately this could lead government to take short-term action which will be harmful longer-term. We should try and sell to voters the need for policies which will lead to accelerated growth longer-term.

Kantor: For the National Party the election has come too late. The mood has changed. We face slower growth and higher inflation. Two kinds of people are politically important and may exercise a protest vote: the older income earner who might in normal circumstances worry about security and vote Nat, but is now worried about declining incomes, and has been very vulnerable to inflation.

It is not clear that the younger salary earner is worse off if you look at their consumption, which is the only guide. That protest vote will help the Democratic Party.

But there is also the protest vote on the Right: previously cosseted white workers now competing much more directly with blacks and feeling vulnerable because of that; people who used to work for Sats, and people affected by the move to privatisation.

Bethlehem: Politics in SA has always been blood politics. Nothing illustrates that more than the way in which the NP has been re-elected election after election notwithstanding its demonstrable ineptitude in handling monetary and fiscal policy. This has changed in that the split between the CP and NP has made economic issues much more important to the man in the street, in particular in government's own ethnic constituency. ■

364A Email 21/7/8

Parsons: **What is the outlook for the external value of the rand?**

Hamersma: In principle, the rand is a weak currency. Problems on the balance of payments and high inflation ensure that. How weak and against what currency is a different matter. If you talk about the dollar you must make a forecast about the dollar — which could fall further. Generally, the trade position has improved. But I'm concerned about the debt situation and possible capital flows. I'm not optimistic that when debt is renegotiated we will get a much easier or better deal. Pressure on SA won't ease significantly.

Kantor: The 1985-1986 experience was awful. One doesn't expect anything like that again. But it is hard to see any trade-weighted improvement in the exchange rate. Even a somewhat better gold price will bring a continued, if slower, decline against the dollar. Even if gold reaches $500 by the end of 1991, the rand could still be down to maybe US33c by then. It will weaken to maintain the advantage exporters have and the disadvantage importers suffer from. Indeed, that'll be the policy response until the next upswing, which in a way is being delayed somewhat by the soft landing.

Bethlehem: Prospects for the rand need to be seen in terms of short-, medium- and long-term. Short-term prospects are dominated by what happens to gold and the dollar. The gold price has improved and the dollar has weakened. Medium-term comes the possibility of world economic slowdown and the fact that the gold price is in secular decline against the background of lower inflation, which in turn is closely linked to the prospect of international disarmament and lower defence spending. The long-term determinant is the inflation differential between SA and its major trading partners, and it's difficult to be optimistic about that.

Kantor: The exchange rate is cause as well as effect. The capital account has been the main cause of rand depreciation, which in turn affected inflation, so it is not unidirectional. I'm not sure that the gold price is in secular decline. Declines in US defence expenditure in the late Seventies and what happened to gold then, contradict the military expenditure theory. We'll have to see how the US economy and economic management respond to a slowdown. One needn't be totally pessimistic that they'll play for the long haul and not encourage inflationary expectations over the next couple of years.



> "The fight against inflation has been relegated to very low priority. I am terribly concerned about the long-term negative effects of inflation"
>
> **— Hamersma**

Parsons: **Does the policy stance need to be tightened, relaxed, or stay the same?**

Hamersma: There seems no need for tightening in the shorter term, but the instability which emanates from government spending is terribly disconcerting.

Bethlehem: What is the economic policy stance? I'm not sure. We recently had an announcement that there is to be a one-off across-the-board R60 payout to pensioners. There was a denial that this was intended to improve the electoral chances of the NP; but from an economic or politico-economic point of view, government can't ignore September 6. It is obviously biasing policy in a manner that makes people feel comfortable and is not negative to its electoral chances.



> "The split between the CP and NP has made economic issues much more important to the man in the street, in particular in government's own ethnic constituency"
>
> **— Bethlehem**

Kantor: If you ask a Keynesian question you should get a Keynesian answer. If you look at fiscal policy over the past year, it is clear that revenue grew significantly faster than expenditure. This trend will continue for a while. Revenue growth peaks after the business cycle. A Keynesian must believe that is contractionary, though it didn't work that way last year. But fiscal policy alone doesn't tell the story. It all depends on how government spending is financed, whether it is expansionary or not.

Parsons: **If the phone rang now and Barend du Plessis was on the other end saying he's about to go into a Cabinet meeting, what should he tell them, what would you say?**

Kantor: He shouldn't hope to fine-tune on fiscal policy, and he doesn't. I'd like him to achieve his monetary policy target. If he does he will be doing well enough for the next year. He probably will, because money supply is edging down into the target range and may even fall below that range within 12 months. I wouldn't raise taxes and I certainly wouldn't encourage pump priming.

Bethlehem: Evidence is beginning to emerge of slippages in fiscal policy. We see high current government expenditure growth and pre-election concessions. This shifts the burden towards monetary policy.

Hamersma: One must establish a longer-term pattern on monetary and fiscal policy. Only then do you achieve credibility, and then policies become effective.

Bethlehem: As I have argued before, we need some medium-term financial strategy, like Margaret Thatcher's MTFS, though not necessarily having the same ingredients.

Kantor: The long-term trend in government spending growth is pretty stable. Since 1980 there has been average annualised monthly growth of 3% in real government spending, which is highly satisfactory given the demands government has to listen to.

Parsons: **Could interest rates start coming down by September?**

Hamersma: That seems a bit early. The economy will not have cooled down enough.

Kantor: It'll be hard to drop short-term interest rates before the election, much as the authorities would like to. After the election, if the economy has already slowed down, and the evidence for that is pretty clear, the requirement to raise interest rates will have passed. Long-term rates may well fall before the election.

Parsons: **How high is the risk of "overkill"?**

Hamersma: There is a risk, and we must live with it.

Kantor: It is always a risk and it is very dangerous. We had overkill in 1984. Confidence is a very frail reed upon which the whole economy plays and can be dissipated overnight. It can also recover overnight.

Hamersma: We cannot take chances. If we err, it must be on the conservative side, though nobody likes that.

Kantor: We saw in 1984 what happened with overkill. Gerhard de Kock will believe that he engineered the growth in reserves and enabled us to meet the capital outflows that followed the unrest, but I put the emphasis differently. Interest rate increases were excessive. Consumer demand, especially for durables, fell like a stone, and unrest followed, like night after day. That is the last thing you want. If you've got to err you must err on the side of softly, softly; but I don't know how you do that either!

Bethlehem: There is also a danger of underkill, and it's as great a danger.

Parsons: **What is the latest trend in government spending and is it making its contribution to stabilisation policy?**

Bethlehem: Recent figures are a bit discouraging, but in a broader context, total

public-sector current and investment spending as a percentage of GDP was 36% in 1986, 35,4% in 1987, and 33,6% in 1988.

Hamersma: It is too high. Even a 3% annual rise is too high. Next year if we want to meet our commitments, overall economic growth must be below 3%. Government must make a contribution to that.

Kantor: 3% real growth is as low as we can realistically hope for. I would love to see a much reduced role for central government — though even that may not even bring down spending in the form of transfers and the like. Privatisation and deregulation will help, as will devolution from Pretoria.

Parsons: **Is there an economic case for a further increase in public-sector salaries?**

Hamersma: Public servants must get competitive salaries. The problem is not increases in public servants' salaries, but that we have too many of them.

Bethlehem: Public-sector employment is too great. This is a big factor in the high percentage of government expenditure to GDP. Long-term, government must get that down. The bureaucracy is important but it mustn't get oversize. The objective must be to increase salaries to the people who deserve them but get the total wage bill down.



Kantor: There must be nominal increases otherwise they fall behind dramatically. Last year's freeze of nominal wages was a ridiculous piece of incomes policy. But what public-sector salaries really are we don't know. We only measure the cash wage. All the fringe benefits, pension contributions and the like aren't measured. But we must eliminate layers of the Pretoria superstructure.

> "We know what'll bring foreign capital back: political change that will guarantee not only majority rule but sound management under majority rule. Two difficult objectives, and possibly contradictory"
>
> — **Kantor**

Parsons: **What signal would it give if there were an announcement now that from October 1, or whenever, they would get another 10% or 15%?**

Kantor: I'm sure that before the election there will be an announcement of a salary increase to be paid next year. Even 15% will at best keep pace with inflation.

Parsons: **How worrying are trends in prices? What is your forecast for consumer price index (CPI) inflation this year?**

Hamersma: The fight against inflation has been relegated to very low priority, so one cannot be optimistic. I am terribly concerned about the long-term negative effects of inflation. One of the new things in this election is that economic conditions, particularly inflation, have correctly become a significant issue. My inflation forecast for this year is 15% but rising: it could reach 17%.

Bethlehem: I am just as worried. The year-on-year increase by December will be 17%.

Kantor: I'm worried too but I don't think it will reach 17%; it will top at 16%. Import price inflation is running at about 15%, so there aren't the massive increases in import prices we had in 1985. The trend is up slightly and levelling off. I don't see it coming down very much over the next couple of years. We can't do anything about it unless the rand appreciates, and that's not on the cards. Unless we have a massive slowdown in our economy we won't get the kind of trade balances that would support an appreciating exchange rate and therefore lower inflation.

Parsons: **What are your GDP forecasts?**

Hamersma: 2,25% this year.

Bethlehem: 2,2%; but zero next year.

Kantor: About 2%, slowing to maybe 1% next year.

Parsons: **Are we heading for a soft landing?**

Bethlehem: Because of the buoyant credit extension; I see interest rates peaking only in the first quarter of next year. After the election, if the gold price doesn't recover we may have to face the crunch on the balance of payments of the external debt renegotiation. Then we could have a soft landing followed by a hard landing.

Kantor: There won't be a hard landing in the 1984-1985 sense.

Hamersma: It won't be 1985 all over again but you can't have a recession without somebody getting hurt.

Bethlehem: No growth — or even 1% — in 1990 is a hard landing. The population is increasing by 2,5%, the black population by 3% and the urbanising black population by over 7,5% a year.

Kantor: It comes back to the gold price. If gold falls away after the election, confidence will be hurt and spending will drop.

Parsons: **Given our circumstances, is there a constraint on our maximum growth potential? If so, what is it, and how can we lift the growth ceiling?**

Hamersma: There is a ceiling in the short term. We cannot move out of it overnight, so we have to live with it. With the balance of payments constraint, the need to restructure our economy and the political changes that we are having, we are in a straitjacket for a couple of years. We must work hard now so that in three or four years' time the new visions will open.

Kantor: There is always a constraint: the availability of savings and the effectiveness with which you use them. SA faces a restricted supply of foreign savings. We have to restructure to use our own savings more effectively. Deregulation and privatisation can raise the ceiling. But there is nothing wrong with the structure of our economy that a little foreign capital couldn't cure.

We know what'll bring foreign capital back: political change that will guarantee not only majority rule but sound management under majority rule. Two difficult objectives, and possibly contradictory. Sanctions pressure brings out the best and the worst in us.

The best is deregulation and privatisation, which I don't think would have happened otherwise. The worst is import replacement policies — the motor industry and motor users will be a prime victim.

Bethlehem: Every serious upsurge in unrest has been preceded by economic deterioration. We are moving into a phase where we can imagine economic deterioration. We must manage our finances properly and not drift into an economic situation that triggers unrest.

Over the past 18 months we have failed hopelessly in our responsibilities.

Parsons: **White politics has long been dominated by other issues, but at last bread and butter issues could play a key role. Why is there a perception of deteriorating white living standards, despite Org Marais' claim?**

Hamersma: It is a major issue. People feel that they are not making progress as they want to. Unfortunately this could lead government to take short-term action which will be harmful longer-term. We should try and sell to voters the need for policies which will lead to accelerated growth longer-term.

Kantor: For the National Party the election has come too late. The mood has changed. We face slower growth and higher inflation. Two kinds of people are politically important and may exercise a protest vote: the older income earner who might in normal circumstances worry about security and vote Nat, but is now worried about declining incomes, and has been very vulnerable to inflation.

It is not clear that the younger salary earner is worse off if you look at their consumption, which is the only guide. That protest vote will help the Democratic Party.

But there is also the protest vote on the Right: previously cosseted white workers now competing much more directly with blacks and feeling vulnerable because of that; people who used to work for Sats, and people affected by the move to privatisation.

Bethlehem: Politics in SA has always been blood politics. Nothing illustrates that more than the way in which the NP has been re-elected election after election notwithstanding its demonstrable ineptitude in handling monetary and fiscal policy. This has changed in that the split between the CP and NP has made economic issues much more important to the man in the street, in particular in government's own ethnic constituency. ■

Financial Mail

APARTHEID AND THE ECONOMY

The value of action

The commanding height which Anglo American occupies in the SA economy makes the annual chairman's statement of more than cursory interest — particularly since Gavin Relly, following in the path of Harry Oppenheimer, addresses himself to the wider economic and political environment in which the corporation trades.

Among the points he raises this year are that:

☐ The total abolition of apartheid will not in itself prove a cure-all for our economic malaise. The dangerous rate of population growth; the entrenchment of racial elites, particularly in rural areas; the sheer cost of redressing historical imbalances of privilege — these problems are common to "developing" countries and will endure beyond the moment of political accord;

☐ The route to success — Clem Sunter's High Road — must take in "a multi-party constitutional system and acceptance of the rule of law . . . regard for private property and staunch adherence to free enterprise, deregulation and privatisation, and to the principle that factors of production must be priced according to relative scarcity."

Over the past three decades, the record of failure has built up not always because policy was inherently at fault. Rather, because "the cutting edge (of policy) has consistently been blunted or eroded by the perceived need of politicians to conciliate this group or that, in the staggeringly innocent belief that the economy can always be made to yield a little more, or suffer a little more, without permanent damage to its wealth-creating ability."

The March Budget reflected an awareness of these limits — "Yet there is no guarantee that spending in politically more sensitive areas, such as the civil service, development aid and defence, will not again be pushed beyond Budget limits in the continued endeavour to placate the discontented through official patronage;" and

☐ Added to the mounting costs of redressing historical inequities, and the persuasive power of pressure groups on the Treasury, there remains the problem of SA's international debt — which means that we "remain bound to repay capital on a scale that makes a mockery of the international community's claim to have the welfare of Africa at heart, and its aim to bring about a material and sustained improvement in living standards."

All this does not imply that apartheid is peripheral to "getting the economy right." Indeed, "Without rapid constitutional change to accommodate the legitimate aspirations of all South Africans we cannot hope to have an economy strong enough to ensure optimal development . . . Progress on the political front is the prerequisite to realising our economic potential, and indeed to our survival as a player in the modern world."

Relly finds hope in developments within the National Party; the proposed summit between Inkatha, the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF; greater "strategic thinking" among the extra-parliamentarians — and the potential for regeneration within opposition politics.

As importantly, he outlines the role of business in this process of renewal and wealth-generation. Clearly, Anglo — given its position and authority — has the right to make suggestions; it also has a duty to shareholders. These factors are reconciled without conflict in nonracial employment policies, the recruitment and training of blacks for management, academic support programmes to which the group lends financial support, and, of course, the pioneering Employee Shareholder Scheme.

The scheme — in which 133 000 Anglo employees now participate — "is not intended in any way to undermine our commitment to trade union rights and collective bargaining, and indeed it should be seen as an arrangement between shareholders and employees — not one between management and workers."

In other words, group policy vis-à-vis race relations and black advancement is in no sense affirmative action — the implementation, one way or another, of racial quotas irrespective of merit. Instead it seeks to match company requirements to wider social wellbeing; and so to serve the best interests of stockholders and a nation finding its way out of the apartheid cul-de-sac and engaging in a critical examination of what a post-apartheid society should ideally be.

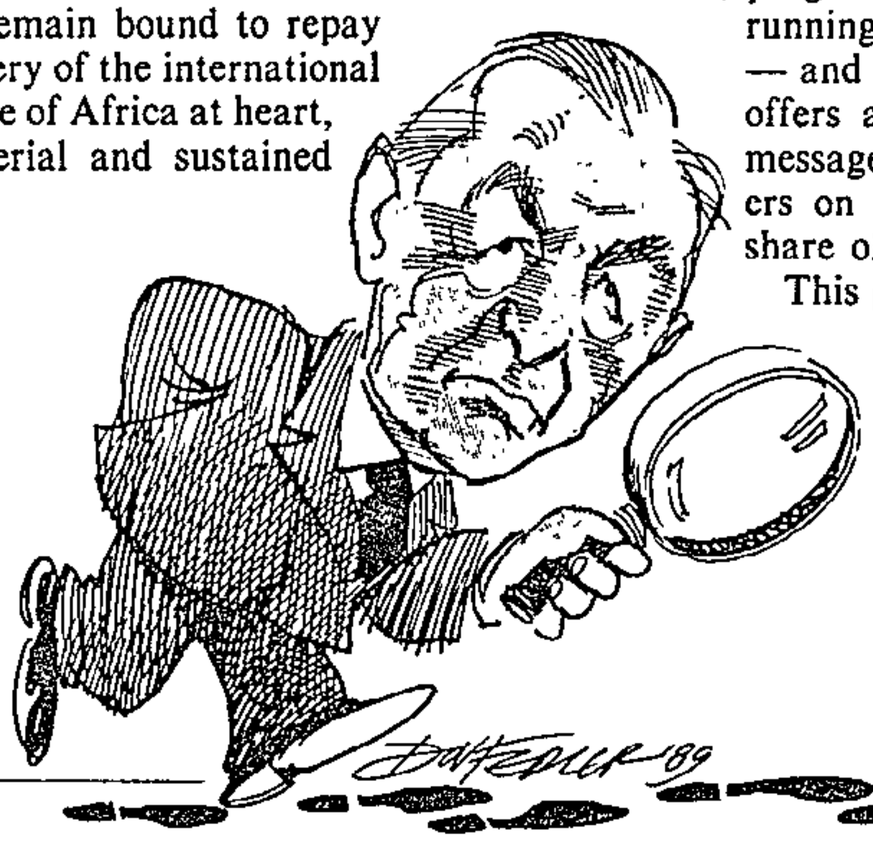
The premise, of course, is that capitalism offers more opportunities for overall human fulfilment than the short-term panaceas of socialism.

Anglo *would* promote the idea — but given the resistance by many blacks to the principles of free enterprise, it's not easy to follow through.

The reaction of all too many would be to value any major corporation solely in terms of its break-up worth.

In this sense, pragmatic engagement in the realities of running a major corporation in a difficult — and mistrustful — society in transition offers a vision for business. And, if the message can be got across in time, to workers on the brink of inheriting a greater share of the political kingdom.

This perception, which underlies Relly's statement, is not altogether new. But it is of paramount significance that Anglo — and those whose secular interests coincide with Anglo — thought the matter through, weighed up the possibilities, made key decisions, and is seeking to implement them in the most practical way possible. ■



30 Apr Weekly 21-27/7/89.

Campaign starts — and the NP is looking shaky

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE run-up to the September 6 election formally begins on Monday with nomination day — and the National Party is very much on the defensive.

Not only have the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party launched their campaigns with noticeably more enthusiasm than the NP, but opinion polls and the economy, particularly as it affects ordinary voters, are against the ruling party.

The early election sweeteners, or "lollies" as they have been termed, such as increased housing subsidies for civil servants, do not seem to have made much impression.

And the morale-sapping leadership conflict over the role of President PW Botha has added to NP problems.

NP insiders freely admit that the election could not have come at a worse time for the party.

The selection of candidates by all three parties says much about the first phase of the election campaign. The CP has named a number of new faces, as has the DP, which has faced many intensely-fought nomination contests even in what appear to be safe Nationalist seats.

The NP's new candidates, by contrast, have been uninspiring. With the notable exception of former diplomat Glenn Babb in Randburg, many of the NP new candidates are old party people, particularly party organisers and President's Council members.

Although there is some optimistic talk about the possibility of a "hung" parliament, in which no party has an absolute majority, not many insiders believe this will happen.

A possible scenario in the white chamber is that the DP will have aboute 35 seats, the CP about 45 seats and the NP the remaining 86.

Such a result would leave the NP in absolute control of the House of Assembly, but it would be a severe setback for the government — and it could see some ministers and deputy ministers losing their seats..

In previous elections, new NP leader FW De Klerk has not made much impact on the electorate. He is certainly no Pik Botha when it comes to public meetings, but he is being marketed as a president-elect who can negotiate with Western and African leaders.

NIC in anti-voting campaign

By CARMEL RICKARD

THE Natal Indian Congress has launched an aggressive campaign to publicise its opposition to participation in the House of Delegates' (HOD) elections.

Targets of this programme are not only the NIC's traditional House of Delegates opponents — Solidarity, the National People's Party and the new National Federal Party. In the last few weeks the NIC has also made its views uncomfortably plain to the Democratic Party, already struggling to accommodate both the pro- and anti-participation lobby.

This week the NIC accepted responsibility for the disruption of two recent political meetings, one of which was addressed by disgraced former HOD leader Amichand Rajbansi, who is making a comeback bid.

NIC official Farouk Meer said his organisation had a duty to point out to people that participation was a serious mistake. The organisation also had the democratic right to challenge people who advocated participation.

He said participants in the HOD had not held report-back meetings since 1984.

"They have been changing parties, crossing the floor with no consultation. Now we are taking them on on their own turf.

"They have not been accountable. Now we are making them accountable. During the meetings, people become enraged and take over proceedings, but that's not us — it's the people. We do not go to these meetings in great numbers, but we ask questions which show to the audience what has been going on."

On Wednesday night at a public meeting addressed by DP co-leader Zach de Beer in Amanzimtoti, a large NIC delegation handed over a letter complaining about DP participation in the HOD elections.

It was the second such delegation to the DP in the last fortnight.

The previous complaint was handed to Pinetown MP Roger Burrows, a member of the DP's national board.

Speaking after this week's unscheduled participation in the DP 'Toti meeting, Meer said he was disappointed and angry at the response of De Beer.

"Were it not for the fact that we recognise the need for the DP to mobilise in the white sector, we might find ourselves in far more serious conflict with the DP," Meer said.

Some of the DP's Indian members are sitting or aspirant MPs in the HOD, while the "mass democratic movement" is opposed to any involvement in the Indian or coloured houses.

The DP's answer to its dilemma has been to limit participation in the HOD elections to nine candidates only.

Press 'edging towards NP'

CNA Times 21/7/89

Political Correspondent 30C4

CERTAIN newspapers and businessmen who had always called for a non-racial democracy and a free-enterprise economy were "edging uneasily towards the Nats", the Democratic Party candidate in Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, said last night.

This was a surprising development, particularly as it took place against a background of "a great mass of white voters finally moving towards political and economic sharing", he told a meeting in Wynberg.

"Whilst those in question are insignificant electorally, their open commitment to democracy is important in creating the kind of South Africa we all want to live in."

Mr Carlise said that during his canvassing work in the Wynberg constituency and his fund-raising work for the party around the country, the swing to the DP was "unparalleled".

"The voters crossing to the DP come from every walk of life and demographic group.

"In most cases, the break with the NP appears to be terminal," he said.

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

CPA Times 31/7/89

Councillor resigns from NP

304A

Political Staff

ANOTHER Nationalist councillor in Randburg yesterday resigned from the NP and will support the Democratic Party in the election.

Mr Thys Sutherland, a former mayor of Randburg, said he could no longer support the NP.

One of the co-leaders of the DP, Mr Wynand Malan, said that after several discussions with him, Mr Sutherland felt he could identify with the DP.

In June, Randburg councillor Mr Piet Pieters resigned from the NP to join the DP.

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

DP the only party to embrace basic rights

Cape Times 21/7/89

By HANS MIDDELMANN

30K9

IN THE agony of the dying days of apartheid the Law Commission's working paper on Human Rights has become a new benchmark in our political discussion. Different conclusions are drawn from the report by two of our best political analysts.

Ken Owen, in his usual incisive and provocative style, goes back to basics (Cape Times, July 3 1989). He stresses that without universal franchise and the abandonment of "group" rights there can be no true democracy in South Africa. The National Party cannot subscribe to either of these preconditions. It cannot, therefore accept the Commission's proposal to put its human rights draft bill on the statute book and thereafter repeal all racial laws which are in conflict with it. Because the National Party will continue to look for protection of "both individual rights and group values," Ken Owen foresees "conflict and turmoil into the next decade".

Hermann Gilliomee, commenting on Ken Owen (Cape Times, July 6 1989), whom he calls "that stormtrooper of current South frican liberalism", takes a different line. He elevates the Law Commission's report to the status of the alternative to the National Party's five-year action plan in the forthcoming election, and dismisses both. But, he says, "What a group wants is proper representation through its own chosen delegates to protect itself and ensure its continuance as a unique group." In his pessimism he suggests "facetiously" that perhaps "the problem with our problem is that there is no solution".

Constitution

It is, therefore, unfortunately unrealistic to imagine a bill of rights being enacted in current circumstances. The Law Commission in its excellent report is, of course, aware of this. A bill of rights, to be effective and lasting, must be enshrined in a constitution that is itself entrenched.

In the words of the final paragraph of the Commission's 490 pages report:

"We believe that the legitimisation of a new constitution, including a bill of rights, must take place by way of a single general open referendum which is not restricted to and does not discriminate among voters of particular groups or races, because this, like no other process, will give legitimacy to a constitution."

On the face of it we can never get there under our present dispensation, bearing in mind that the ruling party is committed to group representation which, after all, keeps it in power. That the largest "group" of South Africans has no representation at all up to the present must be recorded here, but does not affect the principle.

This is the full South African dilemma. It is the stuff revolutions are made of. No wonder that army and police chiefs, whose job is the maintenance of law and order, have long come to the conclusion that until there is a political solution there is little home for internal peace.

The general call for "negotiation" is to be welcomed in the circumstances. But one must be clear that as long as one side is bound by its policy of "group" representation, the others will go on fighting for "liberation" — and neither can win!

There is nothing to "negotiate" about the principles on which democratic constitutions are based. These principles were clearly defined 200 years ago and enshrined in the American constitution which has stood the test of time. They are the foundation of the constitutions of all the successful and stable democratic countries in the world.

They are the principles of universal franchise, the deliberate separation of authority between legislature, executive and judiciary — and the equality of all citizens under the law which protects them from arbitrary arrest, and guarantees them freedom of association, of speech, of worship, etc which amounts to a bill of rights.

The other principle to be enshrined is that of a system of checks and balances. A federal system is perhaps the most important, to prevent unbridled majority rule and the dangers of concentrating to much power in any one institution.

Within these principles there are many variations in significant details: how the government is elected and constituted, how legislative and executive power is distributed between central, lower and local governments, who determines, say, educational policy, etc. Within the parameters of these details there is much room and need for negotiation, and, over time, for adjustments.

However, such negotiations cannot seriously begin unless there is all-round agreement on the basic principles. Only such agreement ensures that a negotiated constitution finds majority acceptance in "a single general open referendum . . . to give legitimacy to a constitution". Only in this manner can the constitution itself become truly entrenched and the bill of rights in it unassailable.

Losers

Painful experiences of outside threats or internal strife, which South Africa undergoes now, have led successful countries — the winners — to reach consensus on the need for democratic constitutions.

The losers invariably land up with a military coup or a bloody revolution leading to an autocratic regime of a self-perpetuating group ruling "in the name of the people". The losers become increasingly impoverished, cut off from the mainstream of intellectual and physical wealth of the world. South America, Africa and the Iron Curtain countries are littered with examples.

South Africa is poised between being a winner or a loser! Our political structures and ostensible groupings are locked into such polarised postures that one cannot yet see how and when they could come together to agree on basic principles.

The new Democratic Party is the only party in the "white" election to embrace and propagate these principles. The party is gathering support throughout the country as a result of this. It should get the vote of everyone who wants South Africa to be a winner!

□ *Hans Middlemann, a leading businessman, is a member of the Council of UCT.*

★ Price R1,50 (South Africa: R1,33 + 17c GST. ★ Elsewhere: R1,50 excl. tax)

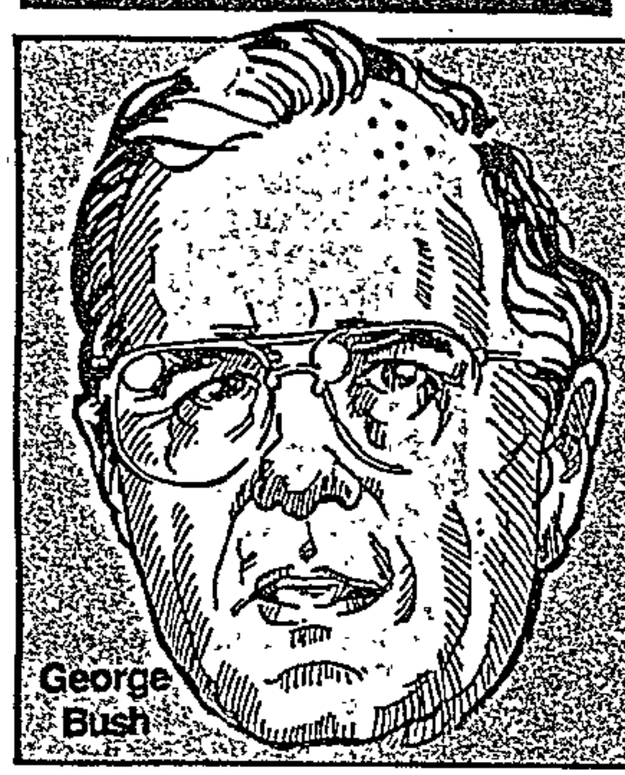
The paper for a changing South Africa

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Volume 5, Number 28 Friday July 21 1989 to Thursday July 27 1989

PACK THOSE PASSPORTS, PILGRIMS, FOR THE MUSIC MECCA

The Clapton tour: p25



George Bush

Sorry, De Klerk, the UDF beat you to it

By ANTON HARBER

IN an extraordinary diplomatic turnabout, President-elect FW de Klerk has been upstaged by the United Democratic Front leaders currently touring Western capitals.

De Klerk, in a bid to avoid the embarrassing uncertainty of not knowing whether President George Bush will see him in Washington, has turned down the invitation to see Secretary of State James Baker.

This comes only weeks after De Klerk's government was forced, under pressure, to waive the restriction orders on UDF leaders and return their confiscated passports to allow them to go to Washington, London and Brussels to meet world leaders.

As it is, De Klerk had to take his place in the queue to see Bush behind the UDF leaders — Albertina Sisulu, Azhar Cachalia, Titus Mafolo and Sister Bernard Ncube — who were personally invited by the US president, and an earlier delegation of church leaders campaigning for the isolation of De Klerk's government.

The message of the UDF leaders to Bush was clear: don't believe De Klerk's promises of reform and don't see him until he proves he is serious about political change.

This was dubbed an "anti-diplomatic mission" by Cachalia.

"I don't think that we were the only reason, but I think we were one factor in getting Washington to rethink the De Klerk visit," he said this week.

Their visit was followed by a letter from over 100 US congressman asking Bush not to see De Klerk next month. It seems the UDF visitors, who met the full spectrum of American political leaders, started a wave of opposition to De

●To PAGE 2

How UDF beat FW to Bush

Klerk, raising the prospect of protests when he visited.

Bush, whose administration had not confirmed a meeting with De Klerk but had set tentative dates for it, suddenly backed down when an official yesterday said the invitation was for the South African leader to see Baker. This would be in keeping with the new US president's stated desire to stand with the Democratic Party-controlled Congress in setting a new South African policy, and is the first clear signal of a significant change in attitude from the previous Reagan administration.

De Klerk hurriedly said he was too busy to go to Washington, an apparent attempt to avoid the embarrassing uncertainty of the status of his visit. The visit was planned to come before the September elections, and would have been an important part of the National Party campaign.

De Klerk is much less likely to get an invitation to Washington after the election, because once he is installed as state president, such a trip would require all the pomp and formality of a state visit.

The message now coming back from most of the outside world

●From PAGE 1

seems to be: we'll wait and see what De Klerk does.

This was echoed by Mozambican leader Joaquim Chissano, who told De Klerk on Wednesday that South African could be accepted by its neighbours if there is change in the country.

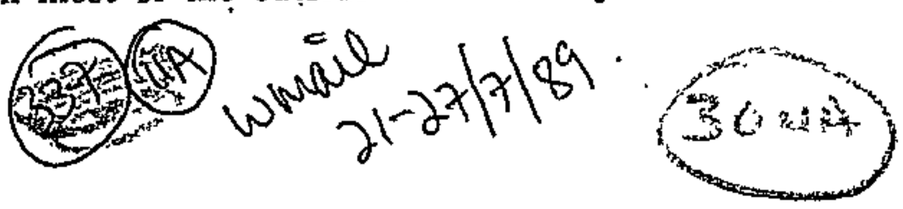
The UDF delegation, led by Sisulu, have seen Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

This week Cachalia and Eric Molobi met with the Belgian foreign minister, Mark Eyskens, and European Community leaders in Brussels. Eyskens told them that he, like many Western leaders, was "sceptical" of the intentions of De Klerk's government.

Thatcher now appears to be the only Western leader who does not share this scepticism.

The new-look National Party leadership may have won some space in the international community, but it is becoming increasingly clear that this goodwill is dependent on internal changes in South Africa.

Meanwhile, the international standing of the goverment's opponents has clearly been raised by their mission.



lounge suite from the shop in August 1987 and

Nigeria calls for democracy in SA

Sowetan 21/7/87

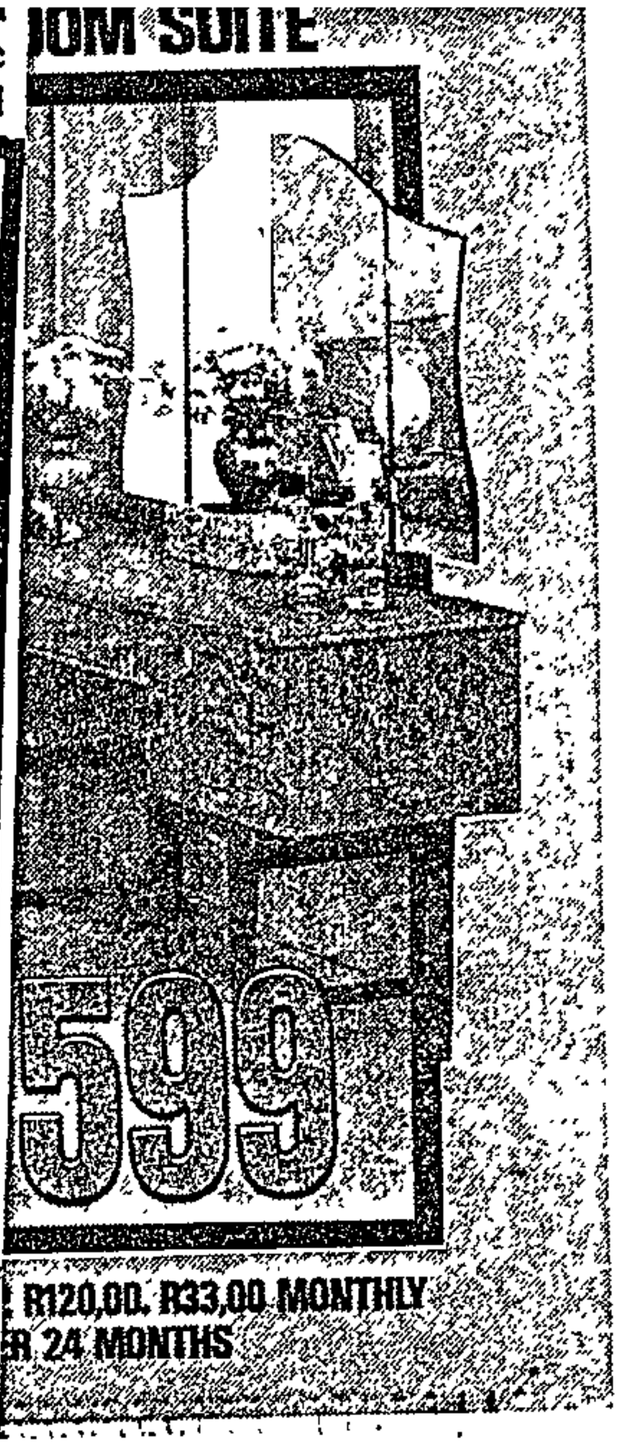
304A

HARARE: Visiting Nigerian president, General Ibrahim Babangida, was hosted by Zimbabwe president Robert Mugabe on Wednesday.

Babangida called for concrete action to bring peace and harmony to Southern Africa.

He said Nigeria would not give up its demand for mandatory sanctions on South Africa until apartheid was dismantled and replaced by an authentic democracy.

"We shall not be deceived by mere declarations of intent."



THE FORCES WHICH ARE PUSHING THE COUNTRY TOWARDS PEACE TALKS ... OR PULLING IT AWAY

Our new Great Divide:

SOUTH AFRICANS have many ways of dividing themselves: by race, class, language, ideology. Now there is a new division: between the optimists and the pessimists.

The optimists — who seem to dominate the media — are telling us that negotiations are in the air, that State President PW Botha's meeting with his prisoner Nelson Mandela was a breakthrough in this process, and there is a real possibility of the government sitting down to talk to the African National Congress in the near future.

The pessimists, like most other South African groups, have already splintered into two camps. The first one is made up of those who say there is nothing happening, there was no significance in the Botha-Mandela tea party, and this country is still ruled by a bunch of white racists who are determined to hold onto power.

The second category of pessimists would argue that a great deal is happening, but all it really adds up to is that Mandela and the ANC are selling out by getting involved in negotiations without any real transfer of power. They are, in this view, contemplating a political half-settlement that will not go all the way to satisfying popular demands.

What all these groups have in common is a belief that substantial negotiations over the country's future are a real possibility in the near future.

They have good reason to believe it, as other stories on this page indicate: growing international pressure, a deteriorating economy, the apparent failure of the securocrat-led attempt at an internal political solution after three years of Emergency, a disintegrating ruling party ... All of these things have combined to put the issue firmly on the political agenda.

The problem, however, is that while it is easy at the moment to see negotiations as a real possibility, there is little sign yet of anything actually happening. All we have so far is a secret tea party at which, according to both tea-drinkers, neither "policy matters" nor Mandela's release were discussed; and leaked hints that president-elect FW de Klerk has told Western leaders that he will be initiating drastic reform

For the CP, a meeting arranged in heaven

PRESSURE ON THE STATE

Own Correspondent

THE glee in the Conservative Party over the recent "courtesy call" discussions between President PW Botha and Nelson Mandela shows that talking to the African National Congress is not regarded as a sellable commodity among conservative white voters

For the CP, the Mandela-Botha meeting was manna from heaven

There was also some relief in the Democratic Party that the ANC, the very issue the government exploited so effectively in the May 1987 election against the Progressive Federal Party, had been defused and confused.

There was good reason for the CP and DP reaction: bashing the ANC — whether Mandela in prison or the organisation in exile — has been a major vote-getter in previous elections

To white voters, the ANC has been portrayed as the symbol of everything they fear — black takeover, communism, one-party state, murderous terrorists who put bombs in supermarkets, nationalisation of assets.

The state has mobilised enormous resources, from the security establishment to its propaganda wings, to perpetuate this image.

This tactic, however short-sighted, was very successful: by unsubtly linking the ANC and the PFP — indeed, during the 1987 election, white voters might have thought they were virtually the same thing — the NP was able to inflict a serious setback on the PFP, capturing a number of their seats and making the CP the official opposition.

Now, suddenly, the very man behind the 1987 strategy to scare white voters into the NP, President PW Botha, is talking to the leader of the ANC — and, *nogal*, in the midst of an election campaign

The NP will undoubtedly try to exploit the same white fears again before September 6 For instance, a concerted anti-guerrilla attack or a cross-border strike in August would help show voters that the government is not "soft" on security

But it won't be the same, the "tea party" has changed that for ever. And Mandela has not renounced violence as Botha insisted is necessary to secure his release

Undenied reports, particularly in Western capitals, that Mandela is to be released after September 6 also complicates the issue for the NP.

The Nationalist dilemma has been demonstrated by the statements made by its chief information officer, Con Botha, MP for Umlazi.

Botha told Canadian Broadcasting Corporation this week that the PW Botha/Mandela meeting could be likened to commanders-in-chief in a war situation "sounding each other out about the possibility of a truce".

His comments implied the government was at least considering a cease-fire with the banned organisation.

●To PAGE 6



The Botha-Mandela tea party has raised hopes — but can expectations be met ? Picture: Reuter

Stamping hard on our Achilles heel

FINANCIAL PRESSURE

Hilary Joffe

THE line from business, government and anti-apartheid leaders is the same: the debt crisis is South Africa's Achilles heel. Far more than trade sanctions or disinvestment, it's been financial sanctions which have crippled the country.

With negotiations due next year between South Africa's financial authorities and its foreign bankers, and with the country's gold and foreign exchange reserves having fallen to dangerously low levels, the foreign debt situation is providing a powerful pressure for positive political signals, in other words, for negotiation.

Financial sanctions have been crippling because of their blanket effect on economic growth. South Africa's economic growth rates have in the 1980s fallen far short of population growth rates so that the country's ability to provide jobs or infrastructure for its people is severely limited.

For the government, that places a limit on its ability to finance its reform policies. It also means high tax rates, high inflation and high interest rates, all of which make life difficult for electioneers. For business it places a limit on profitable investment opportunities and is a barrier to confidence. For ordinary people, it means high inflation, high unemployment and declining living standards.

Some R25-billion has flowed out of the country in the past four years. Reserve Bank estimates show that if South Africa continues to have capital outflows equivalent to four percent of its total output a year, as it has done since 1985, the economy can grow by only two percent a year. But if instead the situation were reversed and capital flowed in at this rate, the economy could grow by four or five percent a year.

Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly offered his own version of the conflicting pressures on economic resources in his annual statement this week. Stressing South Africa's need for a five to six percent annual economic growth rate (and its inability to achieve this as long as the country remained a capital exporter), he said: "The South African pot is never big enough to feed the claims of a civil service spawned by white nationalism; an army bred to cope with an assumed communist onslaught; the demands for education, health services, housing and infrastructure for a population growing at a self-destructive rate; and not least the expectations, personal as well as political, of those who have been willing to participate in the tricameral parliament."

The financial sanctions issue has come to centre stage for two reasons. One is that the economy was in better shape in 1987/88 than it had been for some time, showing positive growth in contrast to the economic decline of 1985/86. But the result was that it came up against the limits imposed by financial sanctions and started running rapidly out of gold and foreign exchange reserves.

The second looming pressure is the debt negotiations between South Africa and its foreign creditor banks due early next year, which cover some $9-billion owed to the banks. The current agreement between South Africa and the banks expires at the end of June 1990. While it's almost certain the negotiations will happen and the debt will be rescheduled (the foreign banks do, after all, want to get their money back), the question for South Africa's financial authorities is whether the terms of the agreement will be harsh or manageable.

What they are trying to do is to get foreign banks individually to roll over the debts until 1997 and they have had some success in persuading Swiss and United States bankers to do so, relieving some of the pressure

Such successes have met with protest from anti-apartheid movements abroad And with the debt negotiations coming up next year, activists here and abroad have taken the opportunity to strike at the "Achilles heel" in an attempt to push for negotiations So this week in Britain, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and End Loans to Southern Africa announced they planned a "major international campaign" against UK-based National Westminster Bank, aimed at stopping the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt.

The AAM's move follows a campaign initiated last month by South African church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Allan Boesak, who wrote to foreign creditor banks demanding they refuse to reschedule South Africa's debt next year unless the government committed itself to a series of conditions, including negotiations towards a non-racial democratic society and an end to repressive measures.

The bankers have, in response, shown no signs of refusing to reschedule the debts. But they have been pressured to come out against apartheid and NatWest, for one, said this week it would make rescheduling conditional upon certain changes.

The anti-apartheid movements' and leaders' new strategies arrive against a backdrop of the relative failure of the old ones. They have not managed to achieve comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the government's major trading partners And while trade sanctions and disinvestment have had an impact on the economy this has been unquantifiable and is far from bringing the country to its knees

But the effect of financial sanctions has been clear — and the pressure to address them internally will intensify in coming months.

●See Business page

COSATU

CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

NATIONAL ACCOUNTANT

The CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (Cosatu) has a vacancy in its Head Office in Johannesburg, which it urgently needs to fill. Letters of application, including a CV and at least two contactable references should be addressed to: The General Secretary, COSATU, P O. Box 1019, Johannesburg — Fax (011) 834-6528. These should reach us by Monday 14th August 1989.

The duties will include:

- developing and implementing financial policies and procedures
- budget preparation and control
- maintenance of a proper cashflow
- liaising with other federations, trade unions (including our affiliates) and our lawyers on financial matters
- dealing with staff matters such as salaries etc.
- consolidating head office and regional accounts
- preparing periodical financial statements and presenting these at various meetings
- investigating and reporting on various ad hoc financial issues
- assisting the other accounts staff where and when necessary

Applicants should:

- have the necessary practical skills and experience to take the books up to balance sheet level
- be able to operate a PC computer and have elementary word processing and spreadsheet skills
- be highly motivated and efficient
- be able to operate under pressure and handle crises
- have initiative and be prepared to work long hours when necessary
- be able to work effectively in a democratic environment
- have a strong commitment to the principles of COSATU
- preferably be able to start the first week in September 1989.

optimists and pessimists

steps after the September election.

De Klerk's promises to the likes of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher fall into a similar category. South Africa's white leaders have often told the world that they will soon take drastic political action — and by now the world is not going to get excited until they see real proof that such promises will be kept.

So lurking behind all the optimism about negotiations lies another dreadful scenario: that the government is raising expectations, partly as an election campaign and partly to buy time with the international community.

When it fails to meet what are by now very high expectations, then the country is in for a terrible onslaught: the combined wrath of the world, the possibility of more internal unrest, and all the economic and political implications of this. The government would then have no choice but to fall back on rule by repression, and turn back to the ever-present Emergency regulations to maintain power.

There is one other interpretation being bandied around. Negotiations always start with demands and counter-demands being put on the table — and that has already happened in the sense that we know what both sides are demanding of each other. Once both sides are stating their positions, and responding to each others' statements, then the process has already begun, even if it is only at a very early stage.

The problem is that at this point both sides still mean very different things when they use the word "negotiation". It is one of the many words — like "democracy", "moderate" and "non-racialism" — that have become so cheapened by rhetoric and abuse that they can be used to mean entirely different things by different parties in the South African conflict.

All one really can do at this stage is weigh up the forces pushing the country in one direction against those pushing the government in the other — as the *Weekly Mail* attempts to do on this page.

Anton Harber

For now, the US will let Britain do the batting.

PRESSURE FROM ABROAD

Shaun Johnson

IN both Pretoria and Lusaka, political strategists are being subjected to a severe arm-twisting. The pressure is being exerted from a distance, but is acute nevertheless.

It is now conventional wisdom that the foreign policy paths of the West, East and Frontline states have effectively converged — a "negotiated political settlement" in South Africa is suddenly alluring to all.

But how much pressure can the international community invoke? And how tractable are the objects of their attention? In plain language, can they force a settlement of their choosing?

The answers, respectively, are: a lot, quite, and of course not.

Two recent working documents on the issue of negotiations — the product of discussions between ANC and "mass democratic movement" leaders — explicitly address the question of international machinations.

In a "Report on Consultations" dated June 6, it is noted that "as a result of increasing pressures being placed on the regime ... and as a result of initiatives being taken by imperialist forces, the issue of negotiations has arisen again".

Britain's initiatives appear to give cause for most concern: it is feared that Whitehall could be envisaging a negotiated "solution" which falls short of one-person-one-vote in a unitary, non-racial democracy.

The documents refer to Margaret Thatcher's alleged acceptance of Pretoria's concept of "group protection", and her natural affinity (due to his commitment to "free enterprise") with KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is not Britain's initiatives in isolation that are giving most pause for thought, however. The United States appears content — according to new Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen — to let the British make most of the running for the moment.

The style of British diplomacy has altered markedly since the arrival of activist-ambassador Sir Robin Renwick in 1987. His hands-on approach has placed Britain as the foreign power most integrally interested in this country's future.

Cohen is happy to concede that "the British have a major role to play" in finding solutions. "We welcome British leadership in this problem," he said at the end of last month.

This does not imply US inactivity, however. Cohen foresees "greater efforts at what I call multilateral diplomacy ... You will see greater efforts at consulting with (other industrialised countries, especially the UK and West Germany) ... co-ordinating our policies. I have already been to London and Bonn to begin these consultations."

Resistance groups are convinced that Whitehall is in favour of a revamped "Eminent Persons"-type contact group, which, in the words of the discussion paper, could well include longstanding allies of the ANC, like Zambia.



Margaret Thatcher

British sources say it is far too early to consider such a specific step — and indeed deny that they are playing quite the Machiavellian role ascribed to them — but the fears of the resistance strategists persist.

"Even the chairman of the FLS (Frontline states), President Kaunda, has called for negotiations now," it is remarked somewhat laconically in a "Discussion paper on the issue of negotiations". Kaunda's open-ended invitation to FW de Klerk for a meeting, issued this week, lends weight to the impression.

Further, it is thought that the Soviet Union, China, and Frontline state leaders such as Angola's Jose Eduardo dos Santos, would not be averse to such a "contact group" proposal.

It is accepted that there are potential benefits for all. The Soviet Union is said now to be less concerned with regional influence than regional prosperity, and that prosperity would be most welcomed by South Africa's beleaguered neighbours.

The state has been far less frank to acknowledge diplomatic pressure. Foreign Minister Pik Botha was quick to remark, after the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha, that it had not been brokered by an outside party.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the government's new (and still little more than rhetorical) commitment to some form of "negotiations" has a lot to do with the messages it is receiving from abroad.

It is clear that neither Thatcher nor US President George Bush will offer Pretoria an indefinite period of grace.

Serving notice that the Bush administration would play "a more activist role on the issue of internal constitutional change in South Africa," Cohen let it be known that "if progress ... is not made, say, over a two-year period after the new government takes office in September, it would be very difficult for the US government to hold back the forces that are looking to increase pressure ...

"I think this would be true not only in the United States, but would be true in western Europe and Japan as well."

Cohen added, quite starkly, that "sanctions have had a very major impact on the development of new thinking in South Africa."

Spectre of the 'hung' parliament

PRESSURE ON THE RIGHT

Ivor Powell

WHEN they comment on the forthcoming elections, there are three people far rightwingers refer to. Oddly, none is a candidate — but all three, they say, contribute to the likelihood that after the elections, there will be a hung parliament.

The first member of the improbable triumvirate is General Jan Christiaan Smuts. Our rightists remark: "Remember how Smuts was talking to the king, touring around Europe, playing the great international statesman during the run-up to the 1948 elections? He was more concerned with his international image than domestic politics — and he got a big fright when he got back home."

FW de Klerk, they predict, though his party is unlikely actually to lose at the ballot box, is going to get a similarly rude awakening when the Conservative Party sweeps the platteland of the Transvaal, most of the Free State, the Northern Cape and the north of Natal.

The second person the ultra-rightists talk about is Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre-Blanche. After allegations made by *Sunday Times* columnist Jani Allan that TerreBlanche had been, often drunkenly, pursuing her and had once passed out at her front doorstep for the night, as well as his ignominious withdrawal from the the parliamentary battle, the political future of the former independent Rustenburg candidate is seriously in doubt.

But mostly, the right is talking about jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. The news of his tea party with President PW Botha cost the National Party an estimated four percent of the vote, according to a survey published last week in *Rapport* — a result which will, according to rumour, be confirmed by a different poll scheduled for publication in this week's *Sunday Times*.

"Anything below 45 percent support for the National Party," predicts Professor Sampie Terreblanche of Stellenbosch University, "and we're in for a hung parliament."

But more importantly for many observers, PW's bombshell has led to very significant clashes and disagreements over election policy within the National Party itself.

While, up to this point, the NP has been following the rather surprising strategy of fighting the election to the left, hoping rather to stem the Democratic Party threat than to keep voters from crossing over to the Conservative Party, now the party's approach seems less coherent.

This week NP information officer Con Botha all but publicly repudiated the president by reaffirming his party's oft-repeated refusal to enter negotiations with the ANC until the organisation was prepared to renounce violence. Mandela, meanwhile, was telling the world that he still believed what he believed 28 years ago when he was a driving force in the formation of Umhonto weSizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

"The earth has moved for the Nationalists since the PW-Mandela meeting," Mark Swilling of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies comments. "The whole context has changed, and to them it looks very scary indeed. They're shedding to the right far faster than they anticipated, and in the general panic the party orthodoxy is starting to reassert itself."



Eugene TerreBlanche

While the NP grows increasingly frantic, the CP can hardly conceal its glee. Deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was quick to brand the Mandela tea party as "a breakthrough for the banned organisation" which signalled a "new relationship" with the ANC.

Predicting that the Mandela issue would become a major focus in the coming elections, he added ominously: "The CP will see to it that the NP's new approach to the ANC will be brought to the attention of every voter in the country."

CP foreign affairs spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis predicted that the Mandela affair would "bring far more patriots into the CP fold".

According to Derby-Lewis, the CP is likely to capture a minimum of between 59 and 62 parliamentary seats. Such is the manifest support in the platteland that nobody outside of the NP is predicting that the party will hold many more than 80 seats — raising the possibility of a coalition government.

Derby-Lewis also draws attention to the fact that the CP's strongest support base is in the Transvaal, and that the Nats are likely to be relatively weak in that province.

NP leader De Klerk is also Transvaal leader of the party. His position, especially in view of the threat posed by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis — now leader of the strongly NP Cape Province — places him in a very vulnerable position if the battle for leadership is renewed.

But these are not the only reasons that CP supporters are smiling. Finally the millstone that is TerreBlanche has been cast off from around their neck.

When the Jani Allan scandal first broke at the end of last year, a senior CP spokesman compared him to an animal wounded through the lung, not visibly in distress, but bound, sooner or later, to fall.

Now with the withdrawal of his ill-starred Rustenburg candidacy, suggestively followed by the latest round of allegations regarding the AWB leader and the *Sunday Times* colum-

●To PAGE 6

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
PIETERMARITZBURG

The University of Natal rejects apartheid. It is an equal opportunity, affirmative action University

Department of Educational Psychology

Senior Lecturer
Ref P60/89
Closing date 11 August 1989

Registration as an educational psychologist with the SA Medical and Dental Council is desirable. If registration has not yet been obtained the successful applicant will be required to obtain such registration within a reasonable time after appointment.

Relevant experience in teacher training of school counselling or school psychology or educational research will be a recommendation.

The successful applicant is expected to be available from 1 January 1990 or soon thereafter.

Agricultural Extension Officer (3 years contract)

Institute of Natural Resources
Ref P62/89
Closing date 11 August 1989

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Zulu speaking persons for the above post in the Education Programme of the Institute of Natural Resources. Based in Pietermaritzburg the successful applicant will contribute to various agricultural and rural development projects aimed at assisting the establishment of small scale commercial farming in KwaZulu.

Applicants must have a valid driver's licence and appropriate experience in developmental agriculture. A previous background in community liaison work and/or project administration would be a strong recommendation.

The appointment is for an initial 3 year contract period and is reviewed annually.

Salary scale R12 927 — R17 403 p a

The salaries offered will be determined according to the qualifications and/or experience of the successful applicants.

Application forms, details of the salaries package, further particulars of the posts and conditions of service are obtainable from the Personnel Section, University of Natal, P O Box 375 Pietermaritzburg 3200, telephone (0331) 63320, fax 63497

ADVTX THE BEST PEOPLE FOR THE JOB N04615

21->27 July 89

304A

Spectre of the 'hung' polls

●From PAGE 5

nist, it seems TerreBlanche's power may finally be broken.

According to far-right sources, TerreBlanche's pre-election defeat in Rustenburg had more to do with threats from the AWB's financial backers to withdraw funds if he persisted in his candidacy, than with CP leader Andries Treurnicht's direct opposition.

According to former AWB publicity chief Dries Alberts, the AWB's financial affairs have been "irresponsibly and informally" managed for some time. Before his summary expulsion from the movement in January this year, Alberts was calling for a full investigation of the movement's finances.

Other problems beset the AWB. According to Alberts, of the 200 members of the AWB Hoofraad, which returned a seemingly overwheming vote of confidence in TerreBlanche's continued leadership when the Jani Allan affair first became public, something less than 50 percent remain. The rest of the AWB leadership has left what they perceive to be a sinking ship.

Tight race for DP, CP — HSRC survey

Pub Times 21/7/89

.3044

Political Staff

BOTH the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party could win between 25% and 30% of the vote in the September 6 election and either could become the official opposition, a Human Sciences Research Council survey has found.

However, provided no major internal conflicts disrupted National Party unity, the NP stood a good chance of again achieving a clear-cut majority, in terms of both votes cast and number of seats.

The survey results, which were released yesterday, also indicated that the probability of an erosion from the NP could be expected to the left rather than to the right.

The survey was conducted by political sociologists Dr Nic Rhoodie and Dr Chris de Kock.

It was conducted in April this year among whites in cities and towns throughout South Africa.

A majority — 55,5% — described a future under a government consisting of whites, coloured people, Indians and blacks in which no group was dominated by another as "good" to "very good".

Nearly half the respondents — 42,5% — believed the tempo at which the government's current reform plans were being implemented to be "just about right".

However, 29,4% said it was too slow compared with 20,5% who thought the tempo was too rapid.

"It is interesting to note that according to the survey, NP supporters were twice more likely to see the DP as potential partners in pushing through reform than would a CP/HNP/AWB alliance — 20% as against 10% respectively," Dr Rhoodie said.

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

Info Minister aims at 'new SA'

Political Staff

NO political party in South Africa proposed the maintenance of the status quo and most parties believed there should be a movement to a new South Africa, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday.

The new South Africa would have "one citizenship for all South Africans with one overall government", he said at the International Systems conference in Johannesburg

In five years, South Africa would be a very different place from what it was today.

People might differ about the ability of the NP to achieve its goal of a new South Africa, but few people could differ with the spirit of this ideal.

Among the problems that stood in the way of achieving this ideal was the diversity of South African society, which created a tremendous potential for conflict if not handled correctly.

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

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 673-4160

It's all a hoodwink

WE are worried by the diplomatic offensive the South African Government has launched on the international arena.

As part of its strategy to hoodwink the world into believing that change is taking place in South Africa, a black businessman from Somali was invited to open a meeting of an NP candidate in Randburg this week.

In his opening speech, Mr Hassan Weheli, commended the NP for what he described as a "change in thinking" within the National Party on the situation in South Africa.

Maybe the fact that he was the first black person to speak for an NP candidate represented change to Weheli. But to us, that was a meaningless gesture. We know the type of change we want and the day it takes place we will be the first to commend the Government for it.

To us, change means a lot more than allowing blacks to share platforms with whites. The NP knows that very well. Following on the footsteps of his predecessor, Mr P W Botha, Mr F W de Klerk also seems to be more concerned with making friends overseas than with black South Africans.

If he is staging successful diplomatic coups internationally, here at home he is making no move at all. We in fact, commend those US Congressmen who forced him to postpone his visit to America to meet with US President Goerge Bush.

Maybe the meeting should not be allowed to take place even after the elections. The success of Government initiative in South Africa can only be determined by South Africans themselves.

SA CRISIS: VIEW FROM LUSAKA



F W de Klerk . . . negotiation initiative.

Sowetan 21/7/89

THIS is the full text of the official report of a two-day meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, on June 6,1989 between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), executive members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the full national executive committee of the African National Congress (ANC). It is the official record of the consultations and has been distributed on a confidential basis to those who attended. It is intended to serve as a study document for the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).It reads:

"The meeting dealt with the key issues facing our struggle. The agenda covered the following issues: 1. Assessment. 2. Negotiation (for political settlement). 3. Way Forward (Campaign)."

1. ASSESSMENT:

A presentation from the Mass Democratic Movement (ANC, UDF, Cosatu etc.) covered the question of the crisis facing the regime, its inability to find a direction to break out of the crisis and the growing unity and confidence of the Mass Democratic Movement.

Several weaknesses of the Mass Democratic Movement were also raised, viz, our inability to effectively implement programmes of action, ineffective communication with grassroots levels, our dependence on foreign funds, our failure to make use of favourable conditions, and our inability to effectively counter enemy propaganda.

In summary on this point we concluded that our strategic perspective remains one of offensive action against the regime and that the "volcanic material" of an upsurge is building up.

We need to ensure, therefore, that our programme of action is capable of firing up the imagination of the people and building up action to increasingly higher levels.

2. NEGOTIATIONS:

Our discussion on this issue produced the following general perpective. In 1987 when the issue of negotiations was receiving much attention internationally, the ANC made its stand clear, that is, that it could not consider negotiations unless certain preconditions were fulfilled.

For example, that political prisoners should be released, the state of emergency should be lifted, etc. The apartheid regime was not prepared to make any move and the whole issue of negotiations subsided.

Recently, however, as a result of the increasing pressure being placed on the regime from all quarters and as a result of initiatives being taken by imperialist forces, the issue of negotiations has arisen again.

There are clear signs that this time the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987.

As a result it is necessary for us to collectively review our position on negotiations. Our perspective in doing so is to find the appropriate response that fends off this initiative in a manner that:

*Does not create confusion or division in our ranks.

*Does not result in the demobilisation of the masses.

*Does not result in any lessening of pressure from the international area. *Result in us maintaining the initiative against the regime.

It is necessary also to maintain the perspective of continuing on all fronts with mass action and resistance in general, as the discussion around negotiations is not seen as an alternative approach to struggle.

Information regarding negotiations initiatives.

2.1 BRITISH. Britain has been preparing for Mr P W Botha's departure. They have been cultivating links with blacks, white liberals, businessmen, etc. The Foreign Office also wants to establish links with the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC, but Downing Street believes that a solution can be found without the ANC.

2.2 USA. The Americans want to initiate a process of "contact, dialogue and negotiation" They believe objectives for such a process of negotiation will develop in the course of the meetings They believe this is what happened in the negotiations over Angola and Namibia.

2.3 PIK BOTHA\THATCHER MEETING. Mr Pik Botha told Mrs Margaret Thatcher the reformers in the Cabinet have the upper hand. Mr F W de Klerk's Transvaal base is reduced and as a result he has to rely more heavily on the "reformers". The reformers want Thatcher to influence Africans to enter the process of elections etc

2.4 CONTACT GROUP IDEA. Britain

• To Page 10

FOCUS



Oliver Tambo . . . member of the ANC executive committee.



Taking a stroll . . . President Kaunda and Democratic Party members (from left) Dr Jannie Hofmeyer, Mr Dow Steyn, Mr Wynand Malan in the grounds of State House, Lusaka last week after they too had had talks with the ANC.

• Political cartoonist Len Sak is on holiday.

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.

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000 Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

P.T.O.

Sowetan 21/7/89 304A

The view from Lusaka

• From Page 10

We have to find ways of using the issue of negotiation to further divide/disrupt the ruling class rather than have the issue divide us.

In arriving at an acceptable proposal we have to ensure that we do not give the false impression that the regime is prepared to hold genuine negotiations.

Also we have to ensure that we do not demobilse the masses and that there is widespread consultation among our people.

2.10 TOWARDS A PROPOSAL. We need to formulate a concept which does not surrender our political strategy to take power and which does not reject any political settlement.

We need to ask whether the pre-conditions are a sufficient measure to deal with these initiatives. From the assessment of the likely scenario, the strategy of imperialism is to pressure the regime into meeting the pre-conditions. Therefore, it is felt that a detailed plan needs to be worked out at the head of which is a list of pre-conditions.

An idea for dealing with this situation is to propose holding negotiations for the establishment of a constituent assembly which would be empowered to draw up a constitution.

*Who would run the country while such a constituent assembly met?

*How do we negotiate over the establishment of such an assembly?

*How would such an assembly be composed?

These are some of the questions to be addressed. There is another idea, going with the idea of the constituent assembly, that Parliament should be suspended and an interim government established. This would need detailed elaboration and could be part of a negotiation proposal.

An issue to be looked at by the ANC would be the demand for the suspension of armed struggle and how to respond to the call for this in the context of a negotiated settlement.

Yet another issue is that of an "umpire". Do we need one for the purposes of a proposal?

There are no definite answers to all these issues yet and they need to be discussed both inside and outside the country to reach a common approach.

The final question that arises is: How urgent is this for our struggle? What seems clear is that there are a number of meetings taking place at high levels.

We therefore need to act swiftly, taking everything that has been said above.

The OAU summit meets on 29-31 July and is therefore crucial in formulating an All-African position on the issue of a possible negotiated settlement in South Africa. If we are to pre-empt any other initiative, we would need to win support for our position, once it is worked out, by that date.

3.THE WAY FORWARD:

Discussions on the way forward produced the following conclusions:

3.1 BUILDING AND CONSOLIDATION.

*We need to restructure the Mass Democratic Movement organisations.

*We must build unity with the Mass Democratic Movement and broader forces.

*Discussion of the constitutional guidelines must be deepend.

*The issue of negotiations must be discussed.

*The efforts to build a Peace Movement in Natal must continue and be intensified.

3.2 CAMPAIGNS.

*A defiance campaign with a mass character needs to be waged to deepen our challenge to the regime.

*The educational and Labour Relations Act campaigns could be linked. The possibility of widespread mass action and, in particular, a general strike (factory occupation) must be looked at.

*Other campaigns that need to be focussed on include: housing. Namibia and the September elections.

In conclusion, we need to aim for the "Workers' Summit of Action" in August followed by our own action in September versus the action of the enemy.

THE FORCES WHICH ARE PUSHING THE COUNTRY TOWARDS PEACE TALKS ... OR PULLING IT AWAY

Our new Great Divide:

SOUTH AFRICANS have many ways of dividing themselves: by race, class, language, ideology. Now there is a new division: between the optimists and the pessimists.

The optimists — who seem to dominate the media — are telling us that negotiations are in the air, that State President PW Botha's meeting with his prisoner Nelson Mandela was a breakthrough in this process, and there is a real possibility of the government sitting down to talk to the African National Congress in the near future.

The pessimists, like most other South African groups, have already splintered into two camps. The first one is made up of those who say there is nothing happening, there was no significance in the Botha-Mandela tea party, and this country is still ruled by a bunch of white racists who are determined to hold onto power.

The second category of pessimists would argue that a great deal is happening, but all it really adds up to is that Mandela and the ANC are selling out by getting involved in negotiations without any real transfer of power. They are, in this view, contemplating a political half-settlement that will not go all the way to satisfying popular demands.

What all these groups have in common is a belief that substantial negotiations over the country's future are a real possibility in the near future.

They have good reason to believe it, as other stories on this page indicate: growing international pressure, a deteriorating economy, the apparent failure of the securocrat-led attempt at an internal political solution after three years of Emergency, a disintegrating ruling party ... All of these things have combined to put the issue firmly on the political agenda.

The problem, however, is that while it is easy at the moment to see negotiations as a real possibility, there is little sign yet of anything actually happening. All we have so far is a secret tea party at which, according to both tea-drinkers, neither "policy matters" nor Mandela's release were discussed; and leaked hints that president-elect FW de Klerk has told Western leaders that he will be initiating drastic reform

For the CP, a meeting arranged in heaven

PRESSURE ON THE STATE

Own Correspondent

THE glee in the Conservative Party over the recent "courtesy call" discussions between President PW Botha and Nelson Mandela shows that talking to the African National Congress is not regarded as a sellable commodity among conservative white voters

For the CP, the Mandela-Botha meeting was manna from heaven.

There was also some relief in the Democratic Party that the ANC, the very issue the government exploited so effectively in the May 1987 election against the Progressive Federal Party, had been defused and confused.

There was good reason for the CP and DP reaction, bashing the ANC — whether Mandela in prison or the organisation in exile — has been a major vote-getter in previous elections.

To white voters, the ANC has been portrayed as the symbol of everything they fear — black takeover, communism, one-party state, murderous terrorists who put bombs in supermarkets, nationalisation of assets.

The state has mobilised enormous resources, from the security establishment to its propaganda wings, to perpetuate this image.

This tactic, however short-sighted, was very successful: by unsubtly linking the ANC and the PFP — indeed, during the 1987 election, white voters might have thought they were virtually the same thing — the NP was able to inflict a serious setback on the PFP, capturing a number of their seats and making the CP the official opposition.

Now, suddenly, the very man behind the 1987 strategy to scare white voters into the NP, President PW Botha, is talking to the leader of the ANC — and, *nogal*, in the midst of an election campaign

The NP will undoubtedly try to exploit the same white fears again before September 6 For instance, a concerted anti-guerrilla attack or a cross-border strike in August would help show voters that the government is not "soft" on security

But it won't be the same: the "tea party" has changed that for ever. And Mandela has not renounced violence as Botha insisted is necessary to secure his release

Undenied reports, particularly in Western capitals, that Mandela is to be released after September 6 also complicates the issue for the NP.

The Nationalist dilemma has been demonstrated by the statements made by its chief information officer, Con Botha, MP for Umlazi.

Botha told Canadian Broadcasting Corporation this week that the PW Botha/Mandela meeting could be likened to commanders-in-chief in a war situation "sounding each other out about the possibility of a truce".

His comments implied the government was at least considering a cease-fire with the banned organisation.

To PAGE 6



The Botha-Mandela tea party has raised hopes — but can expectations be met ? Picture: Reuter

Stamping hard on our Achilles heel

FINANCIAL PRESSURE

Hilary Joffe

THE line from business, government and anti-apartheid leaders is the same: the debt crisis is South Africa's Achilles heel. Far more than trade sanctions or disinvestment, it's been financial sanctions which have crippled the country.

With negotiations due next year between South Africa's financial authorities and its foreign bankers, and with the country's gold and foreign exchange reserves having fallen to dangerously low levels, the foreign debt situation is providing a powerful pressure for positive political signals, in other words, for negotiation.

Financial sanctions have been crippling because of their blanket effect on economic growth. South Africa's economic growth rates have in the 1980s fallen far short of population growth rates so that the country's ability to provide jobs or infrastructure for its people is severely limited.

For the government, that places a limit on its ability to finance its reform policies. It also means high tax rates, high inflation and high interest rates, all of which make life difficult for electioneers. For business it places a limit on profitable investment opportunities and is a barrier to confidence. For ordinary people, it means high inflation, high unemployment and declining living standards.

Some R25-billion has flowed out of the country in the past four years Reserve Bank estimates show that if South Africa continues to have capital outflows equivalent to four percent of its total output a year, as it has done since 1985, the economy can grow by only two percent a year. But if instead the situation were reversed and capital flowed in at this rate, the economy could grow by four or five percent a year.

Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly offered his own version of the conflicting pressures on economic resources in his annual statement this week. Stressing South Africa's need for a five to six percent annual economic growth rate (and its inability to achieve this as long as the country remained a capital exporter), he said: "The South African pot is never big enough to feed the claims of a civil service spawned by white nationalism; an army bred to cope with an assumed communist onslaught; the demands for education, health services, housing and infrastructure for a population growing at a self-destructive rate, and not least the expectations, personal as well as political, of those who have been willing to participate in the tricameral parliament."

The financial sanctions issue has come to centre stage for two reasons. One is that the economy was in better shape in 1987/88 than it had been for some time, showing positive growth in contrast to the economic decline of 1985/86. But the result was that it came up against the limits imposed by financial sanctions and started running rapidly out of gold and foreign exchange reserves.

The second looming pressure is the debt negotiations between South Africa and its foreign creditor banks due early next year, which cover some $9-billion owed to the banks. The current agreement between South Africa and the banks expires at the end of June 1990. While it's almost certain the negotiations will happen and the debt will be rescheduled (the foreign banks do, after all, want to get their money back), the question for South Africa's financial authorities is whether the terms of the agreement will be harsh or manageable.

What they are trying to do is to get foreign banks individually to roll over the debts until 1997 and they have had some success in persuading Swiss and United States bankers to do so, relieving some of the pressure

Such successes have met with protest from anti-apartheid movements abroad. And with the debt negotiations coming up next year, activists here and abroad have taken the opportunity to strike at the "Achilles heel" in an attempt to push for negotiations. So this week in Britain, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and End Loans to Southern Africa announced they planned a "major international campaign" against UK-based National Westminster Bank, aimed at stopping the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt.

The AAM's move follows a campaign initiated last month by South African church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Allan Boesak, who wrote to foreign creditor banks demanding they refuse to reschedule South Africa's debt next year unless the government committed itself to a series of conditions, including negotiations towards a non-racial democratic society and an end to repressive measures

The bankers have, in response, shown no signs of refusing to reschedule the debts. But they have been pressured to come out against apartheid and NatWest, for one, said this week it would make rescheduling conditional upon certain changes

The anti-apartheid movements' and leaders' new strategies arrive against a backdrop of the relative failure of the old ones They have not managed to achieve comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the government's major trading partners. And while trade sanctions and disinvestment have had an impact on the economy this has been unquantifiable and is far from bringing the country to its knees

But the effect of financial sanctions has been clear — and the pressure to address them politically will intensify in coming months

See Business page

For the CP, gift from heaven

From PAGE 4

Con Botha also described the jailed ANC leader as a "key figure" in any future negotiation about South Africa's constitutional future.

The NP leader, FW de Klerk, is expected to talk about these issues when he makes the closing address at the NP's Cape congress tomorrow, but his publicity chief has highlighted the party's dilemma.

The NP will continue to condemn violence, it will reaffirm its determination to confront all those who use violence, it will again attack the revolutionaries and the communists and it will try to portray the DP as "soft" on these issues.

But, the fact is its approach and preconditions have changed, marginally but significantly.

For white voters, the issues have changed. The unsellable commodity of 1987 — talking to the ANC and releasing Mandela — is now on the cards. One question in the 1989 election is whether the voters will buy it.

optimists and pessimists

steps after the September election.

De Klerk's promises to the likes of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher fall into a similar category. South Africa's white leaders have often told the world that they will soon take drastic political action — and by now the world is not going to get excited until they see real proof that such promises will be kept.

So lurking behind all the optimism about negotiations lies another dreadful scenario: that the government is raising expectations, partly as an election campaign and partly to buy time with the international community.

When it fails to meet what are by now very high expectations, then the country is in for a terrible onslaught: the combined wrath of the world, the possibility of more internal unrest, and all the economic and political implications of this. The government would then have no choice but to fall back on rule by repression, and turn back to the ever-present Emergency regulations to maintain power.

There is one other interpretation being bandied around. Negotiations always start with demands and counter-demands being put on the table — and that has already happened in the sense that we know what both sides are demanding of each other. Once both sides are stating their positions, and responding to each others' statements, then the process has already begun, even if it is only at a very early stage.

The problem is that at this point both sides still mean very different things when they use the word "negotiation". It is one of the many words — like "democracy", "moderate" and "non-racialism" — that have become so cheapened by rhetoric and abuse that they can be used to mean entirely different things by different parties in the South African conflict.

All one really can do at this stage is weigh up the forces pushing the country in one direction against those pushing the government in the other — as the *Weekly Mail* attempts to do on this page.

Anton Harber

For now, the US will let Britain do the batting

PRESSURE FROM ABROAD

Shaun Johnson

IN both Pretoria and Lusaka, political strategists are being subjected to a severe arm-twisting. The pressure is being exerted from a distance, but is acute nevertheless.

It is now conventional wisdom that the foreign policy paths of the West, East and Frontline states have effectively converged — a "negotiated political settlement" in South Africa is suddenly alluring to all.

But how much pressure can the international community invoke? And how tractable are the objects of their attention? In plain language, can they force a settlement of their choosing?

The answers, respectively, are: a lot, quite, and of course not.

Two recent working documents on the issue of negotiations — the product of discussions between ANC and "mass democratic movement" leaders — explicitly address the question of international machinations.

In a "Report on Consultations" dated June 6, it is noted that "as a result of increasing pressures being placed on the regime ... and as a result of initiatives being taken by imperialist forces, the issue of negotiations has arisen again".

Britain's initiatives appear to give cause for most concern: it is feared that Whitehall could be envisaging a negotiated "solution" which falls short of one-person-one-vote in a unitary, non-racial democracy.

The documents refer to Margaret Thatcher's alleged acceptance of Pretoria's concept of "group protection", and her natural affinity (due to his commitment to "free enterprise") with KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is not Britain's initiatives in isolation that are giving most pause for thought, however. The United States appears content — according to new Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen — to let the British make most of the running for the moment.

The style of British diplomacy has altered markedly since the arrival of activist-ambassador Sir Robin Renwick in 1987. His hands-on approach has placed Britain as the foreign power most integrally interested in this country's future.

Cohen is happy to concede that "the British have a major role to play" in finding solutions. "We welcome British leadership in this problem," he said at the end of last month.

This does not imply US inactivity, however. Cohen foresees "greater efforts at what I call multilateral diplomacy ... You will see greater efforts at consulting with (other industrialised countries, especially the UK and West Germany) ... co-ordinating our policies. I have already been to London and Bonn to begin these consultations."

Resistance groups are convinced that Whitehall is in favour of a revamped "Eminent Persons"-type contact group, which, in the words of the discussion paper, could well include longstanding allies of the ANC, like Zambia.



Margaret Thatcher

British sources say it is far too early to consider such a specific step — and indeed deny that they are playing quite the Machiavellian role ascribed to them — but the fears of the resistance strategists persist.

"Even the chairman of the FLS (Frontline states), President Kaunda, has called for negotiations now," it is remarked somewhat laconically in a "Discussion paper on the issue of negotiations". Kaunda's open-ended invitation to FW de Klerk for a meeting, issued this week, lends weight to the impression.

Further, it is thought that the Soviet Union, China, and Frontline state leaders such as Angola's Jose Eduardo dos Santos, would not be averse to such a "contact group" proposal.

It is accepted that there are potential benefits for all. The Soviet Union is said now to be less concerned with regional influence than regional prosperity, and that prosperity would be most welcomed by South Africa's beleaguered neighbours.

The state has been far less frank to acknowledge diplomatic pressure. Foreign Minister Pik Botha was quick to remark, after the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha, that it had not been brokered by an outside party.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the government's new (and still little more than rhetorical) commitment to some form of "negotiations" has a lot to do with the messages it is receiving from abroad.

It is clear that neither Thatcher nor US President George Bush will offer Pretoria an indefinite period of grace.

Serving notice that the Bush administration would play "a more activist role on the issue of internal constitutional change in South Africa," Cohen let it be known that "if progress ... is not made, say, over a two-year period after the new government takes office in September, it would be very difficult for the US government to hold back the forces that are looking to increase pressure ...

"I think this would be true not only in the United States, but would be true in western Europe and Japan as well."

Cohen added, quite starkly, that "sanctions have had a very major impact on the development of new thinking in South Africa."

Spectre of the 'hung' parliament

PRESSURE ON THE RIGHT

Ivor Powell

WHEN they comment on the forthcoming elections, there are three people far rightwingers refer to. Oddly, none is a candidate — but all three, they say, contribute to the likelihood that after the elections, there will be a hung parliament

The first member of the improbable triumvirate is General Jan Christiaan Smuts. Our rightists remark: "Remember how Smuts was talking to the king, touring around Europe, playing the great international statesman during the run-up to the 1948 elections? He was more concerned with his international image than domestic politics — and he got a big fright when he got back home."

FW de Klerk, they predict, though his party is unlikely actually to lose at the ballot box, is going to get a similarly rude awakening when the Conservative Party sweeps the platteland of the Transvaal, most of the Free State, the Northern Cape and the north of Natal.

The second person the ultra-rightists talk about is Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche. After allegations made by *Sunday Times* columnist Jani Allan that TerreBlanche had been, often drunkenly, pursuing her and had once passed out at her front doorstep for the night, as well as his ignominious withdrawal from the the parliamentary battle, the political future of the former independent Rustenburg candidate is seriously in doubt.

But mostly, the right is talking about jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. The news of his tea party with President PW Botha cost the National Party an estimated four percent of the vote, according to a survey published last week in *Rapport* — a result which will, according to rumour, be confirmed by a different poll scheduled for publication in this week's *Sunday Times*.

"Anything below 45 percent support for the National Party," predicts Professor Sampie Terreblanche of Stellenbosch University, "and we're in for a hung parliament."

But more importantly for many observers, PW's bombshell has led to very significant clashes and disagreements over election policy within the National Party itself.

While, up to this point, the NP has been following the rather surprising strategy of fighting the election to the left, hoping rather to stem the Democratic Party threat than to keep voters from crossing over to the Conservative Party, now the party's approach seems less coherent.

This week NP information officer Con Botha all but publicly repudiated the president by reaffirming his party's oft-repeated refusal to enter negotiations with the ANC until the organisation was prepared to renounce violence. Mandela, meanwhile, was telling the world that he still believed what he believed 28 years ago when he was a driving force in the formation of Umhonto weSizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

"The earth has moved for the Nationalists since the PW-Mandela meeting," Mark Swilling of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies comments. "The whole context has changed, and to them it looks very scary indeed. They're shedding to the right far faster than they anticipated, and in the general panic the party orthodoxy is starting to reassert itself."



Eugene TerreBlanche

While the NP grows increasingly frantic, the CP can hardly conceal its glee. Deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was quick to brand the Mandela tea party as "a breakthrough for the banned organisation" which signalled a "new relationship" with the ANC.

Predicting that the Mandela issue would become a major focus in the coming elections, he added ominously: "The CP will see to it that the NP's new approach to the ANC will be brought to the attention of every voter in the country."

CP foreign affairs spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis predicted that the Mandela affair would "bring far more patriots into the CP fold".

According to Derby-Lewis, the CP is likely to capture a minimum of between 59 and 62 parliamentary seats. Such is the manifest support in the platteland that nobody outside of the NP is predicting that the party will hold many more than 80 seats — raising the possibility of a coalition government

Derby-Lewis also draws attention to the fact that the CP's strongest support base is in the Transvaal, and that the Nats are likely to be relatively weak in that province.

NP leader De Klerk is also Transvaal leader of the party His position, especially in view of the threat posed by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis — now leader of the strongly NP Cape Province — places him in a very vulnerable position if the battle for leadership is renewed.

But these are not the only reasons that CP supporters are smiling Finally the millstone that is TerreBlanche has been cast off from around their neck.

When the Jani Allan scandal first broke at the end of last year, a senior CP spokesman compared him to an animal wounded through the lung, not visibly in distress, but bound, sooner or later, to fall.

Now with the withdrawal of his ill-starred Rustenburg candidacy, suggestively followed by the latest round of allegations regarding the AWB leader and the *Sunday Times* colum-

To PAGE 6

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
PIETERMARITZBURG

The University of Natal rejects apartheid It is an equal opportunity, affirmative action University

Department of Educational Psychology

Senior Lecturer Ref P60/89
Closing date 11 August 1989

Registration as an educational psychologist with the SA Medical and Dental Council is desirable If registration has not yet been obtained the successful applicant will be required to obtain such registration within a reasonable time after appointment

Relevant experience in teacher training of school counselling or school psychology or educational research will be a recommendation

The successful applicant is expected to be available from 1 January 1990 or soon thereafter

Agricultural Extension Officer (3 years contract)

Institute of Natural Resources Ref P62/89
Closing date 11 August 1989

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Zulu speaking persons for the above post in the Education Programme of the Institute of Natural Resources Based in Pietermaritzburg the successful applicant will contribute to various agricultural and rural development projects aimed at assisting the establishment of small scale commercial farming in KwaZulu

Applicants must have a valid driver's licence and appropriate experience in developmental agriculture A previous background in community liaison work and/or project administration would be a strong recommendation

The appointment is for an initial 3 year contract period and is reviewed annually

Salary scale R12 927 — R17 403 p a

The salaries offered will be determined according to the qualifications and/or experience of the successful applicants

Application forms, details of the salaries package further particulars of the posts and conditions of service are obtainable from the Personnel Section, University of Natal, P O Box 375 Pietermaritzburg 3200, telephone (0331) 63320, fax 63497

THE BEST PEOPLE FOR THE JOB N04615

Scrap curbs on political polls, researchers urge

CHRIS MOERDYK

THE South African market research industry's watchdog body has called on the Government to scrap legislation outlawing political polling after nomination day.

And with nomination day for the September poll coming up on Monday, the Electoral Act prohibits any form of opinion poll being carried out or published until after the elections.

The chairman of the Market Research Standards Authority, Caroline Harben, believes the relevant section of the Electrol Act to be far too wide and far-reaching.

Sensitive

She points out that most democratic countries allow political polling up to election date or "at worst" seven days before it.

"We appreciate that compared with other types of research, public opinion research tends to be a particularly sensitive area. It deals with issues that arouse greater public interest and emotion than most commercial market research projects.

"But, we believe the research community can play a useful social role and that it is desirable that the general public, politicians, the media and other interested groups should have access to accurate and unbiased measures of public attitudes and intentions."

She said her organisation had made representation to the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications requesting amendments to the Act.

Amendment

"In his reply, Minister Stoffel Botha said that a select committee of Parliament had been instrumental in recommending section 143 of the Act on the basis that such polling 'could interfere with voters in the free exercise of their franchise'.

"He added that an amendment in 1985 excluded by-elections from the prohibition."

Ms Harben said that international findings indicated that right-wing groups held the strongest belief that polling swayed results.

NP by a neck in Krugersdorp

Velvet Glove vs the Iron Fist in W Rand

POLITICAL REPORTER

MR Leon Wessels, one of the National Party's most verligte MPs, and arch-conservative Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, the Conservative Party's nominated MP, have both been fast risers in their parties' ranks.

Mr Derby-Lewis, former Bedfordview mayor and ex-Nat MPC for Edenvale, is a confidante of the CP's leaders. One of South Africa's most controversial politicians, he has had an unfortunate history at the polls.

After defecting to the CP in 1982, he lost a provincial by-election in Rosettenville in 1984 and the parliamentary election in Krugersdorp in 1987.

Surprise as voters turn from CP

Star 22/7/89

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

THE Conservative Party seems likely to suffer a surprise defeat on September 6 in the predominantly Afrikaans blue-collar constituency of Krugersdorp.

This is revealed by an authoritative opinion poll conducted this month.

It indicates that sitting National Party MP and the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels, will retain the seat after coming within a mere 55 votes of losing it in 1987 to the CP's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis — his rival again this year in a tough two-way contest.

After making further inroads in the West Rand town in last year's municipal election — when the CP took control of the town council — expectation has been fuelled that Mr Wessels's seat was in serious jeopardy. However, a Marketing & Media Research survey revealed a surprise turn-about in the political climate in the constituency.

At this stage, though, it seems to be a neck-in-neck contest. In the survey, Mr Wessels polled 39 percent of the vote compared with Mr Derby-Lewis's 36 percent.

Of the voters who are still uncertain of which party to support (a huge 17 percent of respondents), 33 percent said they would probably vote Nat and 15 percent CP.

It thus seems as if the considerable floating vote could be going Mr Wessels's way.

Based on the results, and taking into consideration respondents' traditional party-allegiances and indications of which party they would probably support, Mr Wessels could poll 52 percent of the vote and Mr Derby-Lewis 40 percent.

One reason for the NP's seemingly growing support could be that politics in Krugersdrop have become less emotional now than in 1987, when voters were up in arms against the NP after a Government decision not to remove residents from Munsieville, a black township on the outskirts of the town.

The protest has since lost momentum.

Voters seem to be returning to their traditional camps this year, which is demonstrated by the fact that 59 percent of the respondents said they were either Nationalists or further to the Left, while 41 percent said they were Conservatives or further to the Right.

The poll further revealed that most of the "uncertains" (44 percent) regarded themselves as either Nats or to the Left of the NP, compared with 25 percent who are either CP or further to the Right.

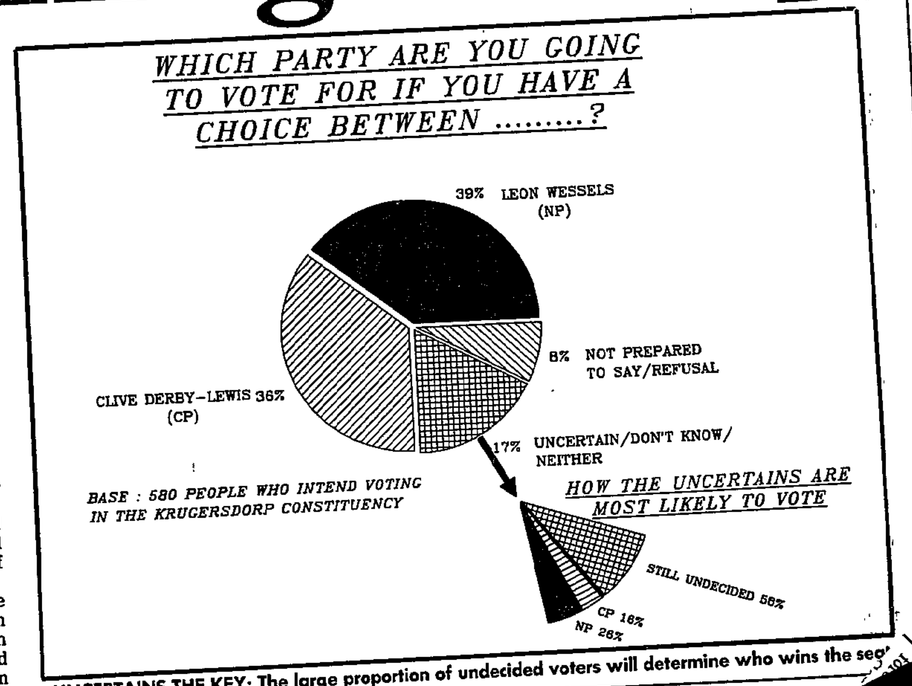
The NP's chances of retaining Krugersdorp could thus strongly depend on activating the doubtfuls.

In the absence of a Democratic Party candidate, Mr Wessels seems to be drawing most of the progressive vote. Of the 8 percent of progressives in the town who have already chosen a candidate, 76 percent said they would vote Nat.

A demographic breakdown revealed that the NP was drawing 56 percent of the English support compared with the CP's 11 percent. On the other hand, the NP was backed by 34 percent of Afrikaans-speakers and the CP by 43 percent of Afrikaans voters. Equal proportions of English and Afrikaans speakers are uncertain at this stage.

The indication of stronger-than-expected NP support in this marginal seat is backed by a similar trend revealed in Innesdal (of which the results were published earlier).

This places a question mark over the CP's chances of gaining blue-collar seats on the Witwatersrand — its expressed aim after conquering most Transvaal platteland constituencies in its first test at the polls in 1987.



UNCERTAINS THE KEY: The large proportion of undecided voters will determine who wins the seat

Gentleman

He has been in the news constantly, be it for financial problems, alleged links with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Ku Klux Klan, or slinging matches with one or other opposition politician.

By contrast, Mr Wessels is regarded as one of the gentlemen of politics. Modest and soft-spoken, he plays a velvet-glove role in the portfolio of law and order to which he was appointed in 1988.

The policeman-turned-lawyer believes solutions to the country's security issues lie on the political terrain, which is one reason why he enthusiastically supports the NP's new reform drive.

Elected to Parliament unopposed in 1977, he won a 3 290 majority in a three-way contest in 1981.

In 1987 he narrowly escaped defeat in a two-way battle against the man he will once again meet in September.

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

Has ET lost his grip?

HAS Eugene Terre-Blanche's alleged tantrum and subsequent snooze on the doorstep of blonde newspaper columnist Jani Allan spelt the beginning of the end of his stormy, seemingly short political career?

This was the $64 000 question being posed in political circles this week — and the answer, at least according to one well-placed right-wing source, was a firm "yes".

The answer to another question relating to Mr TerreBlanche's bizarre slumber outside Ms Allan's Sandton flat was not so forthcoming: If the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader didn't spend the cold midwinter's night of June 26 snoring on Ms Allan's

SPECIAL WRITER

doorstep — as the AWB alleges — then where was he?

As the momentum of the "ET and Jani Show" continued this week, AWB headquarters would not elaborate on their earlier denials that he spent the night on the doorstep, but one thing seems clear: Ms Allan's damaging allegations could be the beginning of the end of the political career of a man who once held a sizeable chunk of the "volk" in the palm of his oversized hand.

And Ms Allan, in making her allegations, could unwittingly have played a crucial part in relieving Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party of the "AWB albatross" hanging around his neck.

A highly placed CP source told the Saturday Star yesterday Mr Terreblanche's rapid fall from grace "makes everything that much easier for the CP".

Since Mr TerreBlanche had apparently "destroyed himself", the CP would no longer have to worry too much about keeping its relationship with the AWB going.

"Mr TerreBlanche is finished. He has no future. No one (in the CP) need say anything about the AWB any more. TerreBlanche has done it for them — ruined himself," the source said.

While the AWB rallied to support its demogogue leader in its statement denying the allegations, other observers also doubted if Mr Terre-Blanche would be able to shake off the latest in a litany of setbacks that have befallen him.



CAUGHT NAPPING: Eugene TerreBlanche.



SLEEPLESS NIGHT: Ms Jani Allan.

Mr Dries Alberts, a man who was once close to Mr TerreBlanche as the AWB's head of information and propaganda, believes Mr Terre-Blanche has now become "an embarrassment to AWB members, former members and right-wing politics as a whole".

Mr Alberts, who was suspended from the AWB after falling out with the leadership, said he doubted if Ms Allan and her newspaper, *The Sunday Times*, would publish all the details if they were not correct.

Asked for his comments on the AWB's denials of the allegations, Mr Alberts said he did not know how the organisation could back this up. "They simply deny it, but what facts do they have? Where then is the 'true' story?" he asked.

Mr Alberts said there was no doubt in his mind that support for the AWB was dwindling fast.

The AWB is also feeling the crunch financially, with Mr TerreBlanche admitting only a week ago that the organisation was R60 000 in the red.

The latest drama around the extremist AWB leader unfolded when Ms Allan spilt the beans on how Mr Terre-Blanche, apparently drunk, spent the night snoring on her doorstep.

Pleaded

He had apparently hammered for hours on her door and pleaded to be let in.

Next morning Mr TerreBlanche was found outside by Ms Allan and her maid. Neighbours apparently had to step over the sleeping man.

Ms Allan's lawyers later wrote to Mr Terre-Blanche threatening action if he did not leave her alone.

Ms Allan also said in her newspaper that she had had a threat on her life "unless TerreBlanche stands down" (in Rustenberg, where he was to have stood as independent in the September general elections). She had also been harassed by late night prowlers at her home, the latest incident being just hours before a mysterious late night bomb blast near her ground floor Sandton flat last Friday.

The incident is still being investigated by police.

The next night (June 27) Mr Terreblanche apparently gave an uncharacteristically short and dull speech at a public meeting in Rustenburg. He was announcing that he would not be standing as a candidate in the constituency, and was reported to have said he was suffering from a heavy dose of flu.

DP campaign set for lift-off

CMC Trials 22/7/89 30(A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party today launches its election campaign with the unveiling of a manifesto aimed at steering South Africa out of its ongoing economic, security and constitutional crisis.

The 15-page manifesto is understood to contain a wide range of proposals with broad appeal to hard-pressed consumers and taxpayers, as well as measures targeted to win favour with specific segments of the voting public, ranging from pensioners to environmentalists.

The document, which will serve as a handbbook for DP campaigners in the run-up to the election, puts the blame for a multitude of ills besetting the country squarely on the National Party and its "racist" and "wasteful" policies.

The major lines of attack on the ruling party include rampant inflation and taxes, the plummeting rand, corruption, unemployment, political frustration, increased crime, sanctions and international isolation.

The manifesto contains a three-pronged plan to extricate the country from the current crisis. The plan deals with "economic solutions", what is called "real security" and a new "constitutional vision".

Although the detailed document will be released only today, it is understood that features of the DP's election battle plan include:

● A strong emphasis on security, with a proposal to double the size of the police force.



BATTLE-READY . . . Braced and confident, Democratic Party co-leaders Dr Zach de Beer (left) and Dr Denis Worrall flank Umbilo candidate Mrs Carole Charlewood.

● However, National Service would be cut immediately to one year with a view to phasing out compulsory military conscription. In the meantime, alternative National Service would be available.

● A system of universal adult franchise in a federal system with proportional representation and a constitution underpinned by a Bill of Rights.

● Reducing both GST and inflation to single-digit figures, the ending of "punitive" rates of personal taxation and no tax on medicines.

● Separate taxation for married couples and tax relief on petrol and toll roads.

● A new deal for pensioners, including bringing pensions in line with the inflation rate, changes to the means test, drastic reduction in telephone rentals for the elderly and an investments package to protect pensioners' saving against inflation.

● A Depression-style emergency self-help programme to assist the destitute, provide jobs and revitalise the economy.

● The establishment of a US-style Environmental Protection Agency to act as an independent watchdog, the extension of the National Parks system and a major drive to curb pollution.

● Allowing broadcasting companies to compete with the SABC, with M-Net being able to broadcast news.

The detailed manifesto will be released at a campaign rally at a Sea Point hotel today.

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

voters will hold sway – De Beer

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE outcome of the September 6 general election may be decided by economic rather than ideological issues, according to Dr Zach de Beer, a co-leader of the Democratic Party.

He says that in the current election campaign he has been resoundingly applauded whenever he has focused on economic issues in general and, in particular, on the growing impoverishment of voters.

Getting steadily poorer

Dr de Beer cites six sets of figures in demonstrating statistically that South Africa is getting poorer steadily over the past decade or so. They are:

1 A slowing down in the annual average growth rate of the gross domestic product. There has been a decline from 6,7 percent in the period 1960-64 to 1,2 percent in over the period 1985-88.

2 A decrease in the percentage of economically active people in the formal economic sector, including small business (no one really knows what is happening in the informal sector). For the overall population, it has dropped from 76 percent in 1960 to 63 percent in 1985. Broken down racially, blacks are hardest hit.

3 A dwindling in personal disposal income or spending money after taxation. It has fallen from 4 percent in the five years from 1960-64 to 0,7 percent in the years 1985-88.

4 A fall in personal savings expressed as a ratio of income. It dropped from 11,1 percent in 1960-64 to 3,9 percent in 1985-88.

5 An upwardly spiralling consumer price index, which serves as an important barometer on inflation. It has risen, seemingly inexorably, from 1,7 percent in 1960-64 to 16 percent in 1985-88.

6 An alarming decline in the value of the rand as measure against the dollar (similar calculations can be made for sterling). In 1960-64 a dollar was worth less than a rand, 0,7; in 1985-88 it was worth considerably more, 2,2. Today, adds Dr de Beer, the exchange rate is about 2,6.

Dr de Beer leaves no doubt about his contention that Government mismanagement and myopia have brought the country to its present economic crisis.

Economic recovery

His six tables, as he calls them, in all but one case, are derived from the findings of the Reserve Bank.

The authority for the table not culled from Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletins is Professor P H Spies, of the University of Stellenbosch. His data relate to the percentage of economically active people in the formal sector of the economy.

Dr de Beer records that, not only do audiences applaud his statistics, they do not baulk at his conclusion either: only the complete dismantling of apartheid and the restoration of South Africa as a respected member of the community of nations can put the country on the road to economic recovery.

Economy key point in issue, poll shows

Stay impoverished

'I'm not a sulking old man' — PW

W/C ARGUS 22/7/89 30x4

PRESIDENT Botha today denied he was "a sulking old man".

He said he was a happy man because he lived in a land of hope, a land of the future.

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

He was addressing the Cape congress of the National Party where warm tributes were paid to him and Mrs Botha.

The presidential couple were given five standing ovations.

Wearing party rosettes they entered the hall in the hotel where the congress was being held shortly before 10am. The smiling couple greeted people as they walked up the centre aisle.

When they got on to the stage there was further applause from the crowd as Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the National Party, gave up his seat for Mr Botha.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, the new Cape leader of the party paid tribute to Mr Botha as "one of South Africa's greatest sons".

"Brave man"

He said Mr Botha was a brave man who had never stood back when there was trouble.

He had generated energy and action and the congress was honouring him for his dedication to the party and the country.

The congress passed a motion paying tribute to his outstanding service and unselfish dedication to the party over many decades. He had put South Africa on a new course towards solving its problems

The motion said the congress saluted a great leadership couple

In his speech Mr Botha recalled how he had joined the party as an organiser in 1936 before he had turned 21. That year he had attended his first party congess in Worcester.

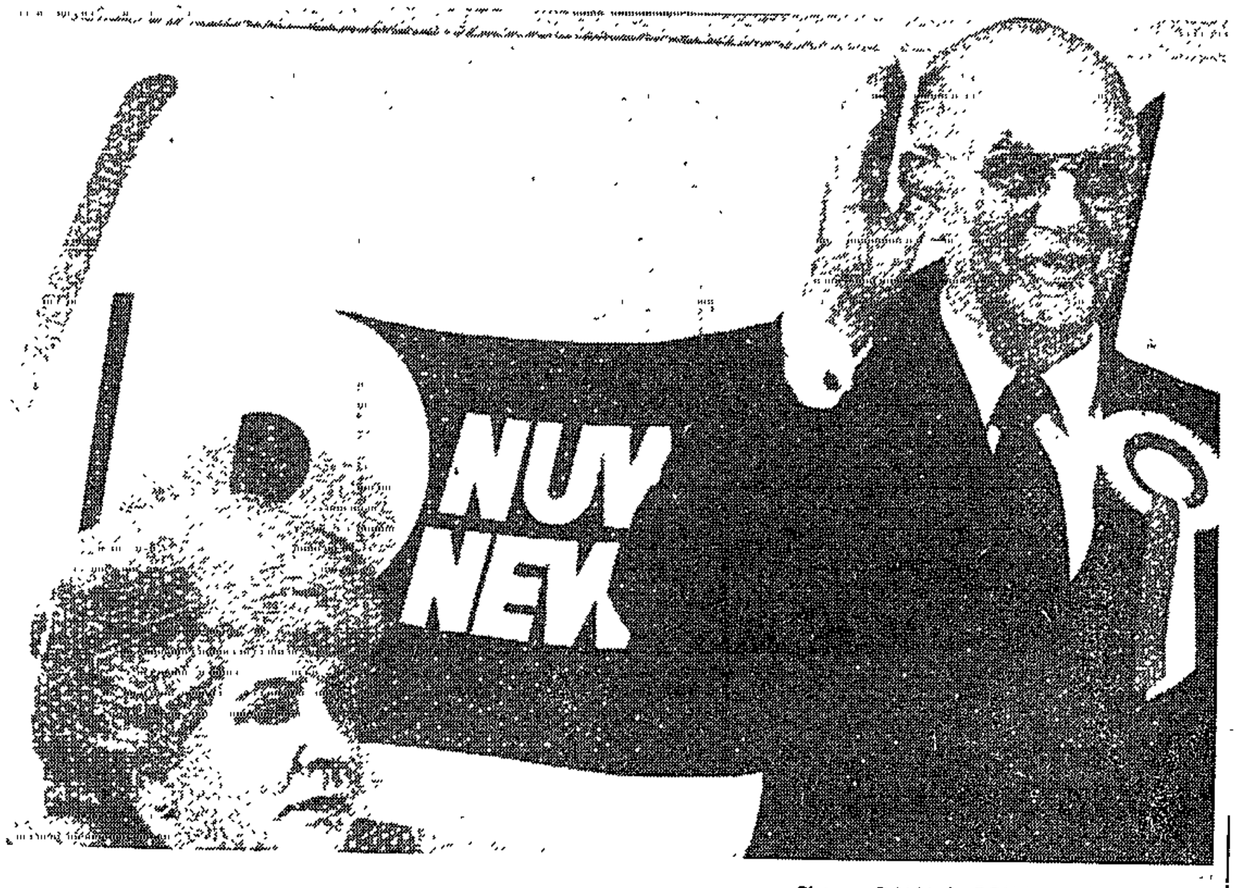
Today, he said, was not an occasion to take leave again as the party had done when he stepped down as Cape leader a few years ago.

It had been a long road of happiness but it had sometimes been an uphill road.

What had particularly impressed him was the loyalty among party members. This was still a feature of the party, along with a belief in the future.

The party's great principle of "South Africa first" remained.

Referring to his health, Mr Botha said he was glad to say he had recovered completely.



Picture: DANA le ROUX, Weekend Argus.

President Botha waves to delegates during the Cape congress of the National Party held in Somerset West today while his wife, Elize, looks on.

Now time to find solution

THE time had arrived for a final settlement of the question of political rights for all South African citizens, Dr Dawie de Villiers, new Cape leader of the National Party, said today.

He was addressing the Cape congress of the party after being elected to succeed Mr Chris Heunis as provincial leader.

Dr de Villiers said the next five years would be the period in which South Africans would determine whether their future would be one of peace or violence.

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

There was a new spirit about in South Africa which offered new opportunities for peace and conciliation.

The National Party viewed the diversity of groups as an intrinsic part of the reality of South Africa but the party was not dogmatic about groups and also accepted freedom of association.

Referring to the Group Areas Act, Dr de Villiers said it must be admitted that this legislation had caused bitterness and sorrow.

Laws aimed at the protection of communities would have to be decided on through negotiation. Laws that were racist and discriminating could in the end not be maintained.

The National Party's constitutional proposals had two important pillars.

One was the maximum devolution of power from central government to regional or group governments and local authorities.

The other was central government where the new legislative and executive processes would be structured so that all groups could participate on an equitable basis with consensus as the guiding principle.

DP spells out plan for the future

w/e 22/6/89
22/7/89
30k/

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party today launched its election campaign with a 16-page election manifesto pledging to get South Africa out of the mess created by failed government policies.

It commits the party to a bold, wide-ranging plan for restoring an ailing economy, getting genuine negotiated reform going, providing short and long-term security and to breaking the country's international isolation.

It writes off the National Party, saying it has failed to offer the nation economic solutions, real security or constitutional vision. The whole tenor is that the government's promises have come to nothing and, therefore, does not deserve another chance.

"Even the NP leaders realise they have failed and are now running away from their policies."

On economic issues, the manifesto states: "Every South African has been defrauded by apartheid. Every family faces creeping poverty. Enough is enough."

Strategy

The party commits itself to a four-prong strategy to restore the economy, including steps aimed at eliminating "apartheid extravagance" and corruption, derailing the gravy train, increased savings, reduced interest rates, lower taxes and the upliftment of deprived people.

It undertakes to bring inflation down to single figures within three years and to appoint a Minister of Consumer Affairs to protect consumers and prevent price-rigging.

All this, it says, will become possible once international confidence has been restored and investment flows in from abroad.

The DP will free the Reserve Bank from government interference and review the role of agricultural control boards; the "swollen bureaucracy" will be replaced by a leaner, better-paid civil service; politicians will no longer receive "golden handshakes" and will have to disclose their financial interest if the Auditor-General asks them to do so; education will receive top priority with equal education for all and better-paid teachers.

The party will double the police force and pay it better.

Real security, the manifesto says, will only come about once genuine, negotiated reform has been achieved. This will include the security of good international relations and good relations between all South Africans.

ANC still banned

The party proposes to reduce the period of national service and to establish a bigger permanent defence force with a view to phasing out compulsory conscription.

The manifesto notes that real negotiation cannot take place while many leaders and organisations are banned, the state of emergency is still in force and apartheid laws are on the statute book.

The DP does not stand for one-man, one-vote in a unitary system. It envisages a federal system based on a universal adult franchise.

It proposes federal states or provinces that will conduct their affairs in whichever way they choose, provided this does not conflict with the constitution or Bill of Rights.

The central government should deal only with matters of national concern, such as foreign affairs and national finance.

Other proposals include:

■ The Press will be freed and independent broadcasting companies will be permitted to compete with the SABC, which will be removed from government control and cease to be a Nationalist propaganda mouthpiece;

■ M-Net will be allowed to broadcast news.

■ The country's heritage of natural beauty will be protected by an environmental protection agency;

■ An emergency poverty relief programme will be launched to help the destitute; .

■ All State-paid pensions will be reviewed against the inflation rate and will be adjusted accordingly; and

■ Pensioners' telephone rentals will be reduced from R18 to R5 a month and a series of other steps will be taken to provide more security for elderly people and pensioners.

● Meanwhile, two former Defence Force generals have entered the political battle against government policies which, they say, are at the root of South Africa's security problems.

Major-General Wally Black, retired SADF director of operations, who is challenging the NP in Natal's South Coast seat, condemned the government's race policies as "utterly failed and universally rejected".

Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, former Chief of the Air Force, who is standing for the DP in Walmer constituency, said: "At the heart of our problem lies our apartheid policy. I don't think we realise how much this policy is hated overseas."

General Rogers said he decided to join the Democratic Party because he felt it had both the motivation and the courage "to take the necessary step forward".

● Meanwhile, a scathing attack on the government's handling of the economy was made by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer.

He said the economic situation would be a major factor in this year's election, more so than in any previous election in the last 50 years.

Dr de Beer said that in any of the world's leading democratic nations, an economic performance half as bad as that seen in South Africa would ensure the defeat of the government.

South Africa's growth rate was now less than one-fifth of what it had been.

"Our inflation rate is more than eight times what it was. And, our disposable income is growing by less than one quarter of the former rate."

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

Press curbs

In terms of the emergency regulations reports, comment and pictures may be restricted.

SEPT '89

SPECIAL REPORT

NP BLEEDS

A WEAKER National Party government and stronger opposition parties to its right and left will emerge after the September 6 general election if voter trends shown by the latest opinion polls continue until then.

Authoritative surveys commissioned by Argus newspapers in key constituencies largely confirmed these trends and indicated that in most cases the Democratic Party is surging forward with additional support gained from former NP supporters.

Significantly the National Party has conceded that it is losing support to the DP and intends to mount a strong campaign in a bid to regain it.

One exception is Randburg, where the latest poll showed a swing from the DP to the NP, possibly due to the high-profile, expensive campaign by the National Party's Mr Glenn Babb to capture the seat from DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan.

The Conservative Party is also shown to be making substantial inroads into NP support. The NP is, therefore, facing a real threat of being bled from two sides as the election campaign continues.

But analysts point out that it is still early days and much can happen between now and polling day to change the picture.

THE Argus surveys were conducted by Marketing Media Research, which correctly predicted the 1987 general election result in six constituencies.

The surveys have borne out certain significant trends shown by the latest national survey in the respected Mark en Menings Opnames poll.

The national poll, published in a Nationalist Sunday newspaper last weekend, showed one clear trend — a draining away of NP support to the left and the right of the political spectrum.

For the first time the NP failed to command an overall majority of the electorate, according to the poll, conducted in June.

This shows a distinct possibility that South Africa could have a hung parliament if the trend intensifies towards the September 6 elections.

There will be a hung parliament if no party has an outright majority in the House of Assembly. The ruling NP can then be outvoted by the combined votes of the opposition parties.

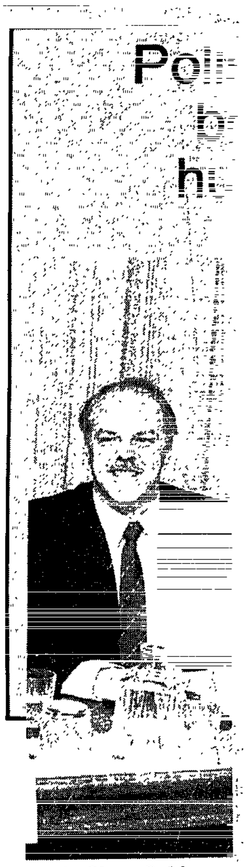
SUCH a situation would set the scene for major political realignments or coalitions and could even result in the collapse of the NP in its present form.

According to analysts, significant indicators in the Argus polls include:

- An unusually-large undecided factor among traditional NP supporters, showing signs confirming a national swing away from the NP;
- A consolidation of former PFP supporters in the DP, coupled with additional support for the DP from former NP and CP supporters;
- A high level of support for the DP and the CP among young voters — a trend which could be a key factor, especially in marginal constituencies.

In the key Cape Town Gardens constituency the poll showed that the DP was well ahead of the NP, while there were a large number of undecided NP supporters, or people who would not say at this stage how they would vote.

In the poll, 42 percent said they would support the DP's Mr Ken Andrew, while 16 percent said they would support the NP's Mr Ron Miller.



Mr Glenn Babb

THE number of undecided voters was 23 percent, while 19 percent were *not prepared to say* how they would vote.

The DP was holding on to more of its traditional support (80 percent) than was the NP (48 percent).

One in four traditional Nationalists was uncertain who to vote for.

Similar trends were shown by a poll in Natal's

Surprise defeat for

THE Conservative Party seems likely to suffer a surprise defeat on September 6 in the predominantly Afrikaans blue-collar constituency of Krugersdorp.

This is revealed by an authoritative opinion poll conducted this month.

It indicates that sitting National Party MP and the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels, will retain the seat after coming within a mere 55 votes of losing it in 1987 to the CP's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis — his rival again this year in a tough two-way contest.

After making further inroads in the West Rand town in last year's municipal election, when the CP took control of the town council, expectation has been fuelled that Mr Wessels's seat was in serious jeopardy.

However, a Marketing Media Research survey revealed a surprise turn-about in the political climate in the constituency.

At this stage, though, it seems to be a neck-and-neck contest. In the survey, Mr Wessels polled 39 percent of the vote compared with Mr Derby-Lewis's 36 percent.

Of the voters who are still uncertain of which party to support (a huge 17 percent of respondents), 33 percent said they would probably vote Nat and 15 percent Conservative.

It thus seems as if the considerable floating vote could be going Mr Wessels's way.

BASED on the results, and taking into consideration respondents' traditional party-allegiances and indications of which party they would probably support, Mr Wessels could poll 52 percent of the vote and Mr Derby-Lewis 40 percent.

One reason for the NP's seemingly growing support could be that politics in Krugersdorp have become

By ESMARE VAN DER MERWE, Weekend Correspondent in JOHANNESBURG

less emotional now than in 1987, when voters were up in arms against the NP after a government decision not to remove residents from Muncieville, a black township on the town's outskirts. The protest has since lost momentum.

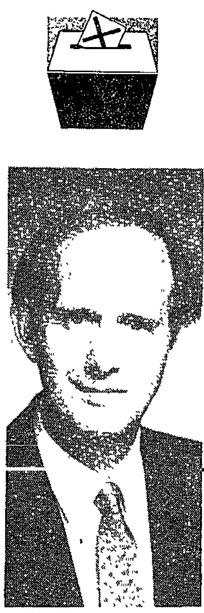
Voters seem to be returning to their traditional camps this year, which is demonstrated by the fact that 59 percent of the respondents said they were either Nationalists or further to the left, while 41 percent said they were Conservatives or further to the right.

The poll further revealed that most of the "uncertains" (44 percent) regarded themselves as either Nats or to the left of the NP, compared with 25 percent who are either Conserva-

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

FROM 2 SIDES

show SA may heading for g parliament



Mr Ken Andrew



Mr Wynand Malan

Pinetown constituency, where 46 percent said they would vote for the DP and 17 percent said they would vote for the NP.

As in Gardens, an unusually high number of NP supporters (31 percent) were undecided. There was even more uncertainty among CP supporters, with 36 percent still to make up their minds.

Only 84 percent of NP supporters were certain of their choice, compared with 94 percent of DP voters.

In NP-held Innesdal, where the main fight is between the NP and the CP, there is also a large undecided factor, with 16 percent still to make up their minds and 14 percent refusing to say how they will vote.

BUT the poll showed signs that the NP may be regaining support it lost to the CP in the 1987 general election. In that election the combined CP/HNP vote came to within 153 votes of the NP's total.

In the recent Argus poll the NP had 42 percent support, compared with the CP's 28 percent. CP support was strongest among younger voters.

But in Randburg the latest Argus poll, conducted this month, showed that the DP's support had dropped by a huge 11 percent since the previous poll a month earlier. In the same period the NP's support rose by five percent and the "uncertains" increased significantly by 10 percent.

In spite of this, Mr Malan was still running ahead in the latest poll, with 38 percent of the vote compared with the NP's 27 percent. About 21 percent of respondents said they were uncertain — a factor which could change the result one way or the other in the election.

The main trends in most of the latest polls seem to confirm the overall trend in an earlier national poll conducted in April this year by researchers of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

The HSRC poll showed that a weakened NP government would return after the election and that both the CP and the DP would be stronger.

IT was also shown that there could be a neck-and-neck race between the DP and the CP for the status of official opposition.

Analysts have pointed out, however, that the HSRC poll may have been too early to reflect the impact of the DP, which was launched in April.

The most significant trend in last week's Mark en Menings Opnames national poll was a sharp drop in support for the NP, accompanied by growth in support for both the DP and the CP.

Within three months — from April to June — NP support declined from 47,7 percent to 41,1 percent, which is a 7,6 percent decrease.

Meanwhile support for the DP rose by 4 percent — from 24,2 percent to 28,2 percent — and CP support rose by 5,3 percent, from 18,6 percent to 23,9 percent.

This means that on the eve of the election campaign the combined opposition support was 52,1 percent, while the NP had only 41,1 percent of voter support.

Analysts say that although this points to a distinct possibility of a hung parliament, this need not necessarily be the case.

EVEN with such a weakening of NP support, the ruling party could still be saved by the loading and unloading factor in the electoral system.

Under this system the vote in rural constituencies has less value than a vote in heavily-populated urban areas.

The hung parliament scenario has, in fact, been disputed by the NP's chief information director, Mr Con Botha.

He says a recent analysis of constituencies showed that 77 of the NP's seats — only seven short of an absolute majority — are held with such large majorities that it would need a swing of at least 15 percent to dislodge them.

The present Mark en Menings national opinion poll shows a swing of only 7,5 percent, he says.

Another significant trend shown by the national poll is that economic issues are a major factor in the NP's loss of support.

THIRTY-DIX percent of the participants in the poll agreed "fully" and another 23 percent "partly" with a statement that the country's economy is in a bad state and that this is an important reason for not intending to vote for the NP.

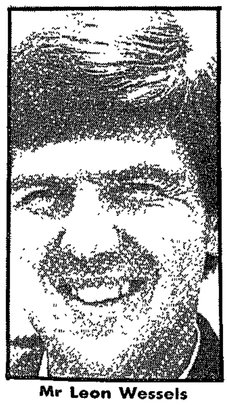
Of 2 000 voters who took part in the poll, 85 who voted for the NP in 1987 said they would now vote for the DP, and 45 said they would now swing from the NP to the CP.

Most of those who intend swinging from NP to CP said they feared a weakening or collapse in the position of whites. A few gave "weak economic policy" as a reason.

P in Krugersdorp — poll



Mr Clive Derby-Lewis



Mr Leon Wessels

tives or further to the right.

The NP's chances of retaining Krugersdorp could thus strongly depend on activating the doubtfuls.

In the absence of a Democratic Party candidate, Mr Wessels seems to be drawing most of the progressive vote. Of the eight percent of progressives in the town who have already chosen a candidate, 76 percent said they would vote Nat.

A DEMOGRAPHIC breakdown revealed that the NP was drawing 56 percent of the English support compared with the CP's 11 percent. On the other hand, the NP was backed by 34 percent of Afrikaans-speakers and the CP by 43 percent of Afrikaans voters. Equal proportions of English and Afrikaans speakers are uncertain at this stage.

The indication of stronger-than-expected NP support in this marginal seat is backed by a similar trend revealed in Innesdal (of which the results were published earlier this week).

This places a question mark over the CP's chances of gaining blue-collar seats on the Witwatersrand — its expressed aim after conquering most Transvaal platteland constituencies in its first test at the polls in 1987.

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



heart of the traditional Bohemian quarter in Moscow.

Of course, it is all very touristy. But it is also a publicly relaxed, don't-give-a-fig Moscow for the first time for many years in a city which has shown an unbending face to the world. Arbat, which has been almost dead for decades, gets a visible kick out of breaking the rules.

But the Arbat also provides an extraordinary

Boi

DP names former CF commandant for Parow

CAPE TIMES 27/7/89

Political Staff

304A

THE Democratic Party yesterday named a former citizen force officer, Commandant David Plane, 40, as its candidate in the safe Nationalist seat of Parow.

Parow, where the sitting National Party MP, Mr Hernus Kriel, had a 6 448 majority in the May 1987 election, was until yesterday the only unopposed Nationalist seat in the Cape.

Mr Plane, who is married with two children, is the managing director of several Cape Town companies and a former United Party youth leader in the Cape Peninsula.

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

I am not a sulking old man, says PW

MORE like a conference of sober academics than politicians stomping to the polls in pre-election fervour — that was the National Party's Cape Congress yesterday.

That much was true for the style, but also for the content.

The main speaker on the central topic of constitutional affairs was the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen — generally regarded as the arch-academician of the NP's political top structure.

Misleading

"The answers to our problems are not simple," he told the congress in the sedate, five-star atmosphere of Somerset West's new Lord Charles Hotel.

"Anyone who tells you differently is misleading you."

Most interest was focused on the uncertain relationship between the party and its former leader, President P W Botha, who had turned down invitations to theFederal Congress a month ago and a farewell banquet in his honour.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

President Botha arrived soon after the start and listened to tributes paid to him. He then spoke briefly on the value of loyalty.

He also showed sensitivity to critical remarks made about him. "It's not true what some people say: 'He is a sulking old man.' I am a happy man living in a country of hope and a country with a future," he said.

Mr Botha then shook hands with delegates — and left after about 40 minutes.

The appointment of the new Cape leader of the party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, was also confirmed yesterday.

Report by L J Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Wind of a change of attitude is blowing across Europe

Denis Worrall

Co-Leader of the Democratic Party, reports on his recent European tour

DURING the London part of our visit I was invited to appear on the BBC programme "The Week That Was", and before we went "live" Sheena Duncan, the presenter, forced me to face up to the question: "Why is it that South African politicians feel they have to travel the world? First it was De Klerk, then Treurnicht and now you."

Come to think of it, one can hardly imagine John Vorster or P W Botha going abroad to sell their policies on the eve of an election.

What this reflects is the internationalisation of the South African situation and that white politicians stand to benefit by gaining international understanding/approval/support for their policies.

There is, however, an important difference between the CP and the NP, on the one hand, and the DP on the other. The DP can assume international support for its approach. It does not have a record to explain.

But important as it is to explain our policies and perspectives to political leaders and opinion-makers abroad, for the DP it is much more important to gain the support of black South African organisations both inside and outside the country. Hence Wynand Malan's visit to Lusaka.

velopment programmes — a social investment strongly supported by the Conservative government. But they, too, need positive action to relieve them of the burden of having to justify that investment.

Interest in South Africa is, for historical and cultural reasons, strongest in Britain, but leaders in Paris, Bonn, Lisbon and Rome are no less eager to help in our search for peace and prosperity.

Scepticism

South Africa has won respect for its acceptance of, and adherence to, Resolution 435 on South West Africa/Namibia. Our diplomats have won back some of the credibility lost by rash actions in the past. Our politicians now need to give this process impetus by embarking on a similar process here.

There is cautious optimism that a peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy can be achieved, but there is scepticism that this can come about under the National Party.

The personal impression which F W de Klerk made during his visit was undermined by the subsequent publication of the NP's manifesto. (Policy-makers in one capital were appalled at the idea of appointing officials specifically to receive complaints regarding possible Group Areas offenders). For this reason, there is intense interest in the Democratic Party, in its principles and in its programme of action.

Right across the spectrum and right across the continent, the leaders I spoke to were able to see the logic and advantage of our policies and expressed the view that strong support for the DP would give them concrete proof that whites were serious about fundamental change.

Opportunity

There is a unique opportunity for South Africa once more to take its rightful place in the community of civilised nations. Things can be turned around. We can look forward to getting international investment, etc.

But then we need to say: "Goodbye and good riddance to apartheid. We are ready to build a post-apartheid South Africa". We have the opportunity to send this message on September 6.

It is an opportunity which we cannot miss. It will not be repeated in a hurry.

I argued that sanctions and disinvestment were not only unhelpful but indeed damaging. I pointed out that white opinion was ahead of the Government and that, given the chance, South Africans would themselves shake off the shackles of apartheid.

Message

Almost everywhere I went I got a similar message: We want to help. We want to welcome South Africa back into the community of civilised nations. We do not want to destroy your economy. We see hopeful signs. BUT we want concrete action, and we need it soon.

Mrs Thatcher, in particular, feels that she has taken enormous political risks in her resolute opposition to sanctions. Facing a series of domestic and European political setbacks, she needs concrete foreign policy successes to justify her attitude.

She believes that solutions to South Africa's problems need to be found in South Africa by South Africans. She will help where possible and when asked to do so.

Pressures

This view is, surprisingly, held by her political opponents. The Labour Party and the TUC, while listening closely and sympathetically to their allies in the country, are not wedded absolutely to sanctions and may moderate their stance if it is thought this will bring results.

The business community in Britain also faces enormous pressures in respect of its dealings with South Africa. On the one hand, there is obvious pressure to disinvest (such as Barclays Bank eventually did). At the same time, businesses do not wish to succumb to political pressure in South Africa's case for fear of being subsequently held hostage to every other political pressure group.

Moreover, there is a genuine desire to facilitate the transition to a new South Africa by educational and de-

Parliament could be a cradle for new-generation Nat babes

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT MPs elected in 1987 — babies in Parliamentary terms — stand a one-in-two chance of getting a top Government, parliamentary or party position with all the attendant perks after September 6.

The reason? The tricameral Parliament has created a proliferation of posts, positions and sinecures and after September 6 the National Party will have fewer people to fill them.

Some polls suggest they might have up to 44 fewer parliamentarians.

Over the last two years the NP has had a larger influx of fresh faces to the green benches of Parliament than at any other time in the past three decades, according to seasoned parliamentary observers.

In the coming election there are 57 first-timers standing for election on NP platforms. Of these, 19 are contesting seats vacated by retiring NP members.

S/Times 23/7/89

Changes

304A

Consequently, if the NP gains an absolute majority on September 6 — in itself no longer a bankable certainty — Mr De Klerk will have to assemble a government with a severely narrowed choice of experienced parliamentarians.

Mr De Klerk has to make 79 official appointments in Parliament.

These are: 18 Ministers, 14 deputy Ministers, six Ministers of the Ministers' Council for whites, three deputies for the Ministers' Council, a Speaker, Leader of the House, Chief Whip of Parliament, Chairman of the House, Chairman of Committees plus a deputy, Chief Whip of the majority party and 31 chairmen of standing committees.

In addition, there are purely party appointments such as deputy whips, provincial whips and officers of NP study groups.

Even the Cabinet will have a significantly new look.

There are six vacancies coming up in the Cabinet and one deputy Minister's post.

Tipped

In addition, Mr De Klerk will vacate his National Education portfolio when he becomes State President.

One of the men tipped to figure most prominently in the new De Klerk Cabinet is Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice, who may become Prime Minister if Mr De Klerk decides to follow through current plans to create such a post.

Others being mentioned for top jobs are Mr Ami Venter, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Works in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly, Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister for Administration and Privatisation, and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid.

Young men already in deputy Ministers' posts and strongly positioned for advancement are Mr Sam de Beer, 44, Mr Roelf Meyer, 42, and Mr Leon Wessels, 43.

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

The Domino Theory is at death's door. Peace is at hand.

S/Time 23/7/89

304H



THE MEN OF HISTORY ... SA's John Vorster, Malawi's Kamuzu Banda and party leader F W de Klerk

Dries van Heerden

takes a look at the changing fortunes in Southern Africa



THE DOMINOES are rising again as events in Southern Africa once more confound even the most able experts, who until recently could predict little more than doom and gloom for the region.

Not too long ago, government hawks were confidently fitting Southern Africa into the corset of the classic Domino Theory.

First Angola and Mozambique fell under the heel of communist domination. Then Zimbabwe. And eventually Botswana, Lesotho and South Africa would come tumbling after.

It was the great philosopher Santayana who warned almost a century ago: "Theory helps us to bear our ignorance of facts." And in Southern Africa, facts have an irritating tendency to play hide and seek with theories.

Few people who witnessed the sudden collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire in the early '70s and the quick way in which radical movements usurped power and dug the trenches for the onslaught on the "racist Pretoria regime" could foresee, 15 years later, a red carpet being laid out for a National Party leader on a visit to Maputo.

Detente

For South Africa, the events of 1974 came at the worst possible time. By then Mr John Vorster was, in the exaggerated words of Dr Eschel Rhoodie, "being dragged kicking and screaming into Africa". Detente was the buzzword.

President Kamuzu Banda, of Malawi, was wined and dined in Pretoria and the railway coaches were already being polished for the historical "bridge summit" between Mr Vorster and Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

But a number of factors put paid to what seemed like a good idea at the time.

The newly independent neighbours, flushed after their victories over their former colonial masters, thought they could export their successes southwards; South Africa got inextricably entangled in military adventurism in Angola; the unrest in the townships swallowed an extraordinary amount of government time and energy; the Mulder-Rhoodie Info empire collapsed and the Vorster Government got bogged down in the quicksand of internal broedertwis and external isolationism. The Cold War warriors flourished in these circumstances. Their man, steeped in the tradition of the military and security establishment, took over at the helm.

Total Onslaught was elevated to conventional wisdom and the South African public was harangued on a daily basis with warnings on how South Africa, the remaining bastion of democracy and freedom-loving people, was at the top of the hit list of communist expansionism.

But, fortunately, as Mephistopheles said to the young student in Goethe's Faust: "All theory is gray, and green the golden tree of life."

Events overtook the predictions of continuing strife and tension in the region. Recently, South African diplomats again started to arrive surreptitiously in Bangui and Mogadishu. Overt visits to Maputo, Cairo and Kinshasha soon followed.

Mistrust

Peace is breaking out all over the region. The vexed Namibian question that very few people thought could ever be disentangled is moving at a steady pace towards being resolved. And woe befall anyone who at this stage tries to poke a stick in the wheels.

In Angola, years of mistrust and strife are being wiped away as two warring parties move haltingly towards peace. In Mozambique, one of the most mindless and brutal wars in African history may soon be something of the past.

Imbued with the spirit of Glasnost — and severely chastened by foreign adventures gone awry — even the Soviet Union is reassessing its position on Southern Africa.

Erstwhile enemies shake hands and promise co-operation. Ideological differences are set aside to make way for a new agenda of economic development and growth.

This week, president-elect F W de Klerk saw the death throes of the Domino Theory for himself in Maputo.

But, in one vital respect, the Cold War warriors were right in their assessment. With other regional problems settled, South Africa will, indeed, be the focus of the world's attention and what happens inside the country will eventually be of far greater importance than its relations with its neighbours.

If South Africa's road to the world does indeed go through Africa, then the road to Africa has to pass by Soweto and Guguletu.

Obstacles

The latest diplomatic incursions could well prove to be valuable learning experiences when the expected De Klerk Government sets out to tackle the internal situation after September 6.

Both Angola and Mozambique have shown that continuing hostilities and violence need not be insurmountable obstacles to talks about peace.

After all, is not South Africa urging Angola to make its peace with Unita and Mozambique to seek an accord with Renamo at the very time when more people are being killed there on a daily basis than have been victims of ANC-inspired violence.

To continue insisting that the ANC and its leaders first renounce violence before they can be engage in negotiations is not sauce for the gander.

Is it asking too much that the dominoes of real peace and reconciliation can start to fall inside South Africa and from here spread throughout the region?

FW: Ball in ANC's court

S/Times 23/7/89

304A

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE road to direct talks between the Government and the ANC was open if the banned organisation followed the example of Nelson Mandela, National Party leader F W de Klerk said yesterday.

In a speech to the Cape congress of the NP, Mr De Klerk said he wished to involve "recognised leaders" in the search for a solution acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

But in tackling one of the most sensitive issues in the coming electoral campaign, he made it clear there would be no relaxation of the Government's insistence that participants in any talks had to first reject violence.

The meeting between President Botha and Mr Mandela had confronted the ANC with a clear choice, said Mr De Klerk.

Dialogue

"Is the ANC prepared to follow the lead given by him (Mr Mandela) and to commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions?

"If it does, it can become involved in the peaceful process of dialogue and negotiation.

"The ball is squarely in the court of the ANC and not, as some people want to make out, in the Government's court," he said.

"As long as the ANC persists with its policy and acts of violence and intimidation and refrains from clear and honest commitment to peaceful solutions, it excludes itself from the peaceful process of change in SA.

"The National Party will, within this framework,

□ To Page 2

Road to talks is open, say Nats

S/Times 23/7/89

304A

□ From Page 1

continue its efforts to broaden the base of participants in the peaceful pursuit of negotiated solutions.

"We are not afraid to talk to people who differ from us. But we are not prepared to compromise with violence and terrorism."

Mr De Klerk also explained his view of the difference between the concepts of "abandoning violence" and "commitment to peaceful solutions".

He said the latter approach was "more positive" but made it clear he would expect participants in negotiations to abandon violence as part of the commitment to peaceful solutions.

Mr De Klerk criticised visits and discussions by others with the ANC.

He said this gave the ANC a measure of legitimacy which contradicted the legal and factual position and "circumvented" talks with the Government as the "responsible authority".

He said these visits were financed mainly by foreign governments, many of whom wanted to further their own interests.

Mr De Klerk said he had supported the planning of the Mandela-Botha meeting.

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

Why top police chief backs the DP

S/Times 23/7/89

A POLICE brigadier who clamped restrictions on freed African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki has come out in open support of the Democratic Party — and for talks with the ANC.

Brigadier Ernest Schnetler, 56, took early retirement because he disagreed with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok over the role of the police.

His endorsement of the DP is seen as a coup for a party which has already succeeded in attracting high-profile defence candidates such as former Air Force chief General Bob Rogers.

The straight-talking brigadier retired last year from his post as Witwatersrand divisional commissioner — in charge of the largest and most complex police division in the country.

Now farming a 30ha smallholding near Grahamstown, he said he pulled out rather than tolerate "blatant nepotism" in the police and because he objected to the Government "requiring the police to do its dirty work".

"Take Group Areas, for example. There would be complaints to the Minister or whoever, and they (the department) wouldn't know what to do. So they would refer it to the police to take action.

"Now, to me, a man is just a man. It doesn't matter what colour my neighbour is. What's important is his social acceptability One wants to live next door to someone like oneself."

He had a word of warning for the National Party because "90 percent of the policemen I know don't support the Government and will vote against it, mostly for the parties of the right.

"Look at what they've done to the economy. In 1982 I could get a decent car for R7 000. Now its R40 000. That tells it all."

He has endorsed the DP candidature in Albany of Mr Errol Moorcroft, whom he knows well — the brigadier was divisional commissioner of the Eastern Cape at the height of the unrest.

Said Mr Moorcroft: "I'm delighted to have the support of a policeman of the stature of Brigadier Schnetler.

"I'm not surprised at his attitude. In my dealings with him during the crisis in Port Elizabeth in 1985 and 1986 I found him to be a person one could turn to and reason with."

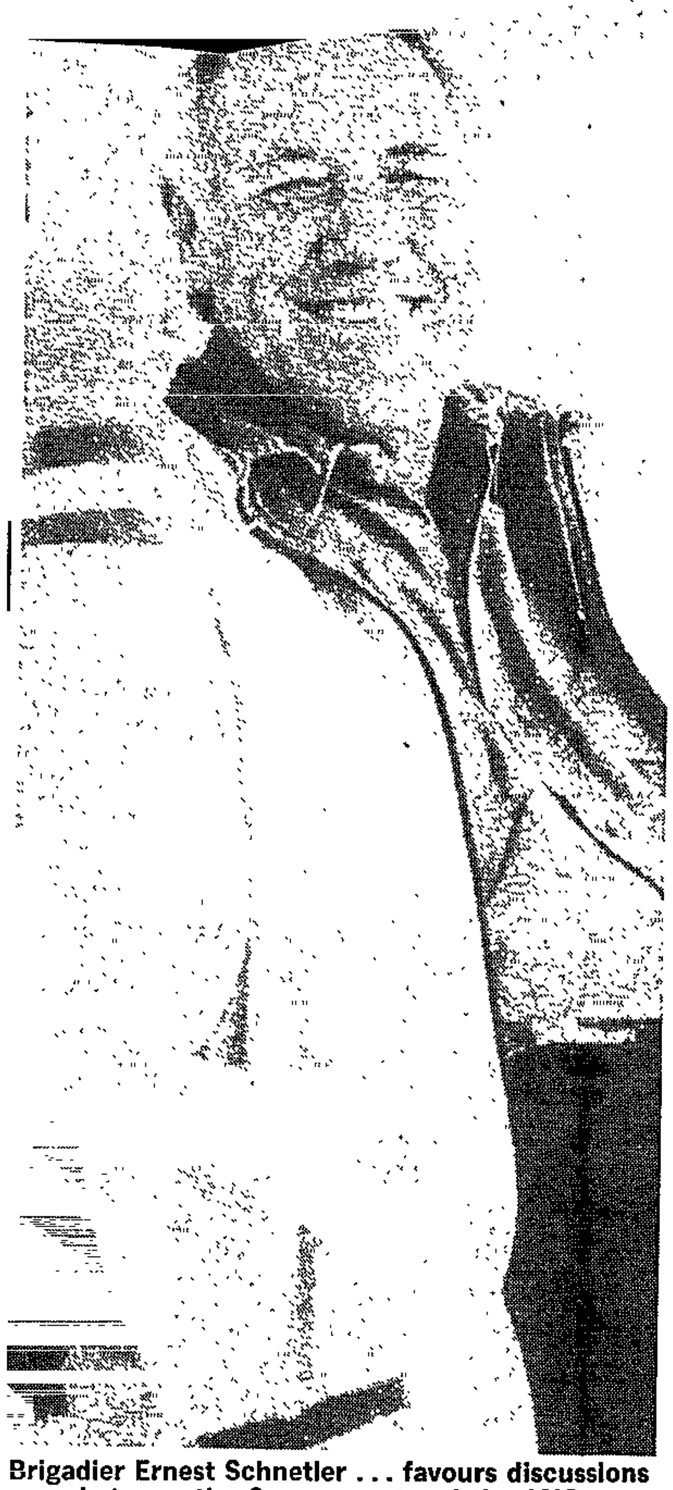
Brigadier Schnetler was responsible for banning an open air Port Elizabeth rally, due to be addressed by Mr Mbeki three weeks after his release from 23 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

It was a fortnight before Mr Mbeki, now 79, was effectively banned by Police Commissioner Hennie de Witt.

The brigadier feels bound not to discuss his role (the rally ban in terms of the state of emergency was upheld by the Supreme Court) but he makes no secret of where he stands on talks with the ANC.

"I have no problems with it. Why should I? If P W Botha can have tea with Nelson Mandela, then how can I have any problems in talking to people?"

Moves to paint the DP with the soft-on-security brush which tarred the PFP were "absolute nonsense, the same old stupid *bangmaak* story".



Brigadier Ernest Schnetler . . . favours discussions between the Government and the ANC

'A man is a man and colour is no matter'

By BILL KRIGE

Record

Brigadier Schnetler regards the unrest period as the most challenging of his career, but for him the highlight was coming top in the country in three successive promotion examinations.

"That's still a record. It's never been equalled," he said.

On his retirement, Brigadier Schnetler received letters from policemen who expressed admiration for his directness and refusal to play internal politics.

"I've always believed in straight talking," he insisted. "I am not a fellow traveller."

Report by W Krige, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth.

★ SUNDA
3044

23/7/89

3eUA

The way the barometer constituencies voted

UMHLANGA

FROM being a traditional, opposition-held constituency, Umhlanga was captured by the NP in 1987 with a majority of 557 votes. The NP had significantly improved on their 1981 election performance when, in a three-cornered contest between the NRP and the PFP, they polled 35 percent of the vote.

Their success in 1987 was almost certainly due to much greater support from English voters who had previously voted for the PFP or the NRP.

The constituency is a fast-growing, essentially English, middle and upper-middle class constituency. It is predominantly urban and peri-urban in nature.

Predicted Outcome:

	1987	1989
NP	52%	37%
CP	—	23%
DP (PFP)	48%	40%

The outcome will be close. A surprising feature for an English constituency is the high support for the CP.

WYNBERG

Wynberg in Cape Town, like Umhlanga, was also captured for the first time by the NP in 1987. Ironically, the successful NP candidate was the son of the long-time former leader of the UP, Sir de Villiers Graaff. The shift of support towards the NP between 1981 and 1987 was substantial. In 1981 the NP polled 38,1 percent of the vote.

This rose to 50,4 percent in 1987. Various factors can explain this result: organisational complacency by the PFP, a partial student boycott of the PFP and increasing English support for the NP. The socio-economic profile of the constituency is predominantly lower and lower-middle class.

Predicted outcome:

	1987	1989
NP	50,4%	41%
DP (PFP)	49,5%	59%

SPRINGS

Springs will provide one of the more keenly awaited election results. An NP seat, won by a majority of just less than 1 000 voters in 1987, its town council has been controlled by the CP since last year's municipal elections. This CP victory suggests a growth in CP support in the area, and in the East Rand as a whole, since 1987.

For its part, the DP will be hoping to attract support approaching that drawn by the PFP in 1981, when it polled 36,4 percent of the vote in a straight fight with the NP. In 1987, however, the PFP could only poll 1 325 votes against the CP and the NP. The socio-economic composition of the voters range from middle-class professionals to miners.

Predicted Outcome:

	1987	1989
NP	48%	31%
CP	42%	52%
DP (PFP)	10%	17%

Without the DP, the outcome would be very close. With the DP, the CP appears destined for clear victory.

RANDBURG

More so than any other constituency, the result in Randburg is likely to be decided on the basis of the personalities of the high-profile NP and DP candidates.

Pitted against one another are DP co-leader Wynand Malan and former National Party MP for Randburg Glen Babb. Mr Babb is also a former deputy director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Previous election outcomes suggest no clear pattern of political attitudes in the constituency, other than that a close result can be expected. Mr Malan was reasonably narrowly elected in 1981 as an NP candidate, winning again in 1987 as an Independent, with support from the PFP.

The NP, with support from the two independents, controls the Randburg town council. The socio-economic profile of the constituency is firmly middle class.

Predicted Outcome:

	1987	1989
NP	38%	39%
DP (IND)	56%	61%
CP	6%	—

The final result could be much closer if CP voters decide to support the NP candidate, as they appear likely to do at this stage. The NP candidate is as strong as the DP contender and this will also tend to equalise the balance of strength.

GEZINA

The NP succeeded in retaining the constituency in 1987 with a majority of 762 over the combined CP and HNP votes. With the HNP not standing this year, the NP will have a tough fight on its hands.

The CP won most of the municipal wards in the constituency — north of the Union Buildings — in October 1988. Its socio-economic profile is generally lower-middle class, with many voters employed in the civil service or allied parastatals.

It is an overwhelmingly Afrikaans constituency.

Predicted Outcome:

	1987	1989
NP	53%	53%
CP & HNP	47%	47%

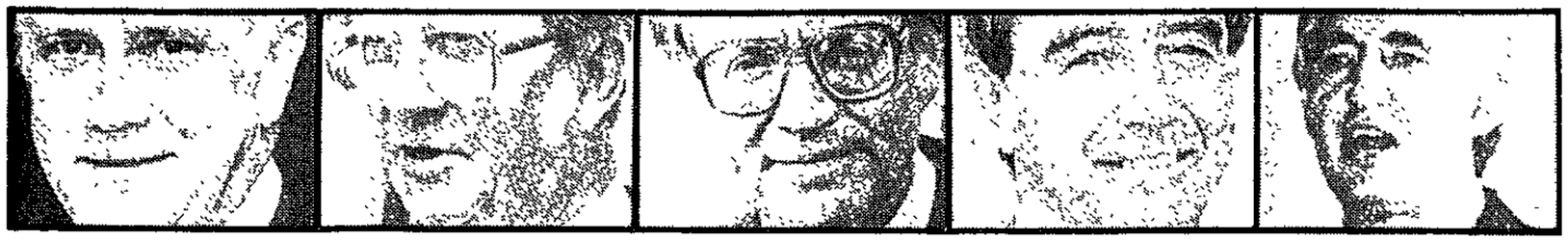
The NP majority is slightly enhanced since the 10 percent of voters who favour the DP are assumed to support the NP candidate. If this does not occur, the CP will narrowly win the seat.

S/Times 23/7/89. 304A

Stalemate?

THIS is the second analysis of research commissioned by the Sunday Times. In the first article, the authors speculated that a hung parliament was a possibility. Here they present actual forecasts based on polls in five barometer constituencies.

by LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER, RICHARD HUMPHRIES and LOUISE STACK
of Witswatersrand University's Centre for Policy Studies



FROM 1953 onwards pre-election analysts have toyed with the prospect of a setback for the seemingly invincible National Party.

Often speculation has been contrived in attempts to arouse some interest in an otherwise predictable outcome.

At other times, as in 1987 when the PFP and the NRP formed their ill-fated election pact and sounded serious about achieving real political leverage, the prospect of a reversal for the NP was more seriously debated.

For nine general elections this almost ritual assessment of polling prospects has been offered. On nine election nights the speculative pundits have been embarrassed by the well nigh unshakeable consistency of the National Party's performance.

Apart from a relatively minor reversal in 1970, when some English-speaking National Party supporters defected temporarily, and in 1987, when the breakaway CP group took part in its first election, the National Party has always humiliated its opposition to the delight of some and the repeated dismay of others.

In this election, more than in previous elections, however, opposition voters face serious choices. This time their responsibility extends beyond a choice of what kind of protest to record. Now there are political risks to take.

Both the Conservative Party and the new Democratic Party have chosen to field candidates in constituencies they cannot win without the help of the other. Both parties are operating with the legitimate goal of giving as many voters as possible the full electoral choice.

Strategic voting

In so doing, however, they are combining, perhaps inadvertently, to reduce the National Party vote on both its flanks.

Now there is at least a chance of strategic voting to reduce the strength of the governing party to

tive prospect of such forced co-operation in a hung parliament speeding up the pace of change and reform in South Africa.

The assessments of the election outcome which we offer are certainly not intended merely as newsworthy electoral appetisers. They try to offer a basis on which to think about the critical choices suggested above.

Pre-election forecasts are usually based on nation-wide surveys of voter intentions. Another approach is to select constituencies which can serve as barometers or indicators of wider trends.

Because we are interested in the detailed effects of possible opposition growth in sensitive constituencies we chose the latter approach.

Five consituencies were selected: Gezina (in Pretoria), Randburg, Springs, Wynberg (Cape Town) and Umhlanga (Natal). Four were narrow victories for the National Party in 1987, against the CP in Gezina and Springs and the PFP in Umhlanga and Wynberg.

Randburg is also similar in a sense because although the seat was won in 1987 by the Independent candidate Mr Wynand Malan

for parties since 1987. The swings in support were adjusted to correct for abnormal effects due to growth from small bases and applied to the results of the 1987 election.

In checking our results for 1987 in relation to the actual election, it became clear that even though the National Party has dominant support in the white electorate, National Party supporters in 1987, and possibly in 1989 as well, were less prone or motivated to vote than CP or DP supporters.

Distinct prospect

This tendency, which is common among supporters for a large party in the middle of the political spectrum, may again apply to the forthcoming election. On the other hand, procedures for exercising prior and postal votes have been eased and the National Party may as a result enjoy a more favourable turnout.

We have therefore calculated, constituency by constituency, two possible outcomes — one based on a 70-percent poll similar to 1987 and one based on a poll of 80 percent in which relatively more NP

place in the September election. A hung parliament — ie. the NP gaining 84 seats or less out of 166 — is a distinct prospect at this stage, with all the opportunities and uncertainties that this implies.

Our calculation of outcome ranges due to marginal seats, however, suggests that an overall majority of the NP is still narrowly possible, although not the most likely outcome at this stage.

Both opposition parties appear to have grown in size up to early July, but the effects of the parties interacting with each other wins more seats for the CP than for the DP, whose voters are more clustered in fewer large constituencies.

Independent confirmation of our scenarios is provided by election analyst Donald Simpson. At our request he fed our trends as well as the recent M & M/Rapport poll result, corrected for underrepresentation of the CP, into his computer model.

The results are broadly similar.

CPS most likely scenario:
NP 78, CP 52, DP 36
Simpson computer estimate:
NP 77, CP 56, DP 33
Simpson M & M estimate:
NP 72, CP 62, DP 32.

The results in the tables also show how many seats held by the NP are likely to be marginal to the CP and to the DP. This is a factor in deciding what the outcome of a hung parliament may be, since some insecure candidates may be inclined to work with (or defect to) the party which can most easily threaten their seat. Overall, the results suggest that the CP will be a stronger electoral threat to the NP than the DP.

Election machine

On the other hand, the National Party's stated political programme is much closer to that of the DP than the CP, and political realities and challenges in South Africa will reinforce this affinity even more over time.

We consider, however, that it is impossible to predict which opposition party will be able to force or persuade the National Party to co-operate with it. We also believe that it is impossible to say whether the NP will maintain unity under such circumstances.

Our surveys had been largely conducted before the announcement of the National Party's five-year plan, which may influence the results. Futhermore, as we suggested in our introductory comments, one should never underestimate the NP once its election machine starts to roll.

There is still considerable electioneering time before September 6, mainly international and local developments can still occur, and the trends may alter

Furthermore, the threats from the alternative opposition party may in the end incline many voters to swing back to the NP. Our forecasts cannot be seen as a final assessment.

Whatever the case, these scenarios show that South Africa's white electorate is polarising to left and right under the impact of recent political and economic problems.

The future form and course of white government may be losing the predictability of past decades. In this situation, voters and political commentators have to approach their choices more seriously than ever before

Estimate 1: 80% voter turnout (most likely)

SEATS:	NP	CP	DP	
CAPE	42	1	13	
TRANSVAAL	22	44	10	
NATAL	6	1	13	
OFS	8	6	—	
OVERALL	78	52	36	
(1987)	(123)	(22)	(19)	(plus 2)

* NP is 6 seats short of overall majority
* NP seats held with 5% or lower majority over CP: 7
* NP seats held with 5% or lower majority over DP: 3
* CP seats gained as a result of split vote: 9
* DP seats gained as a result of split vote: 5
* MARGINAL SEAT RANGE:

NP 68-96 CP 36-59 DP 34-39

Estimate 2: With 70% voter turnout

SEATS:	NP	CP	DP	
CAPE	37	5	14	
TRANSVAAL	18	48	10	
NATAL	6	1	13	
OFS	4	10		
OVERALL	65	64	37	
(1987)	(123)	(22)	(19)	(plus 2)

* NP is 19 seats short of overall majority.
* NP seats held with 5% or lower majority over CP: 4
* NP seats held with 5% or lower majority over DP: 3
* CP seats gained as a result of split vote: 6
* DP seats gained as a result of split vote: 2
* MARGINAL SEAT RANGE:

NP 58-79 CP 52-69 DP 34-40



...IGN LAUNCH

By LESTER VENTER
...olitical Correspondent

...eratic Party has committed itself ... of specific undertakings to put ...k in South African pockets, cut ...e suburbs, seek political harmony ...ick international respect.
...ertakings are contained in an ...etailed manifesto released at the ...on campaign launch in Cape Town

... is promising voters that, as a ...t, it will:
... the size of the police force;
... a federal state;
...ute a Parliament on proportional ...ion and govern through a Cabinet

Charting a course for a new-look South Africa

in which "every significant party" will be represented:

- Bring inflation to a single figure within three years;
- Cut telephone rentals, particularly for pensioners;
- Phase out compulsory military conscription;
- Allow M-Net to broadcast news and allow independent companies to compete with the SABC.

The general principles on which the DP will tackle the economy include containing government spending by eliminating "apartheid extravagance".

It aims to discipline the money supply and save on defence as international relationships improve.

The Democrats pledge to eliminate "demoralising corruption and the gravy train".

Under a programme of "immediate action" the DP says it will appoint a Minister of Consumer Affairs, free the Reserve Bank from government interference and review the role of the agricultural control boards.

■■■

A rising economy, it says, will allow it to cut "punitive taxes" that discourage hard work and free enterprise.

It plans to replace GST with "the more efficient Value Added Tax" which will have a sliding scale — low on essentials such as medicines, food and educational books, and higher on luxuries.

It wants to change the recently introduced telephone metering system, end the "unnecessary" tax on petrol and free local residents from road tolls.

The cost of government must be trimmed by replacing the "swollen bureaucracy" with an efficient, streamlined civil service and by ending the huge golden handshakes to retiring politicans.

Elected officials will be obliged to reveal their financial interests to the Auditor-General.

The DP plans to tackle the housing crisis by stabilising bond rates through a stable economy, making large tracts of land available in and around cities for self-help schemes and relaxing building regulations.

It will scrap the "collapsing" Group Areas Act.

The DP says it is determined to stop the fact that every 20 minutes someone in SA starves to death. To do this it will implement an emergency Relief Poverty Programme based on self-help schemes set up during the depression of the '30s.

On defence matters, the DP says the conscription system is inefficient and wasteful. It proposes a non-racial Permanent Force, backed by a non-racial Volunteer Citizen Force.

En route to this, it will immediately reduce national service to one year, introduce alternative service and reduce citizen force camps to four.

With a doubled police force and decreased political friction, the SADF will have a diminished role within the borders of the country.

Improved international relations will provide access to modern armaments technology.

Although the party says it will not hesitate to use emergency powers, "too many under-staffed, under-paid police units are being used to enforce unnecessary laws and regulations".

"For real security, we must do more than combat crime. We must stem the flow of capital out of the country, we must create a political and economic climate which offers a future for our young, skilled people, we must provide for our pensioners who, all too often, live in fear of starvation and eviction."

The DP says the present SA constitution cannot work, simply because it is based on race and excludes the majority.

"The NP, rather than seeing our nation's cultural diversity as a national asset, has for more than 40 years exploited our differences as a means of grabbing votes for its racist policies. This has deeply divided us."

However, the DP says, it does not stand for one man one vote in a unitary system. It stands for universal adult franchise in a federal system.

Provinces will regulate their own affairs within a constitution or Bill of Rights and central government will deal only with national affairs.

In the DP's proposed Parliament, every party will have a tally of MPs equal to the proportion of the vote it gets.

It says its plan of having all major parties represented in the Cabinet means that Cabinet Ministers will have to negotiate with one another before laws are passed.

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

It's 'go for power'



ELECTION THREESOME ... party leaders Wynand Malan, Denis Worrall and Zach de Beer at yesterday's conference in Cape Town

DP appeals to voters to opt for prosperity

THE Democratic Party launched its 1989 election campaign yesterday with a detailed manifesto and calls by leaders for the infant party to "go for power".

By HAMISH McINDOE and EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall told the conference held in a Cape Town hotel that the party viewed the September 6 electon as a referendum on the National Party's 41-year record in power.

He said voters were being asked to choose between "apartheid, economic decline and international isolation on the one hand and a non-racial, democratic and prosperous future on the other."

Speaking to an audience of 350 people at a conference for election candidates, DP speakers attacked the Government's fiscal and monetary policies and accused the NP of ruining "one of the world's finest economies".

Co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was clear that South Africa's economy, with its high level of inflation, taxation and unemployment, would be a major issue in the election.

Defeat

He said the economy was the best barometer of the quality of government.

"In any of the world's leading democratic nations, an economic performance half as bad as we have here would ensure the defeat of the Government."

Echoing a recent statement by retiring Reserve Bank governor Dr Gerhard de Kock, Dr De Beer said the "medicine" for the country's "economic sickness" was political and not economic.

Another salvo on the economic front came from Mr Harry Schwarz, DP finance spokesman, who accused the Government of opting for the wrong priorities.

He said: "Hospitals are in difficulty because of nursing shortages and pensioners get paltry increases. But there is money for writing off Maize Board debts and Swiss watches in large numbers for certain public servants."

DP party leaders and constituency candidates made strenuous efforts to overturn the DP's politically harmful soft-on-security image.

But co-leader Dr Denis Worrall made clear that "real security" was a vibrant economy and an efficient security force and not "detaining people, closing and hounding newspapers or manipulating information".

Major-General Wally Black, DP candidate for the South Coast, said the police force should be expanded and conditions of service improved dramatically.

Protectors

He said a major problem was the police enforcing a system of "unjust and hurtful laws" that affected mainly one section of the population.

"The police must be seen as the protectors of our society and not the oppressors — as is generally the case in South Africa."

Former PFP MP Mr Dave Dalling, the DP candidate in Sandton and as yet unopposed, said his party pledged to phase out conscription.

He said the DP would reduce national service to 12 months and thus free over R100-million for spending on "real" security provided by education, housing, jobs and increasing the police force.

Report by H McIndoe and E Holtzhausen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town

SADF GIVES CANDIDATE LEAVE TO FIGHT ELECTION CAMPAIGN

By JANICE HILLIER

THE SA Defence Force has granted the Democratic Party candidate for Stellenbosch deferment from national service to fight his election campaign.

If former Stellenbosch University SRC member Hennie Bester, 26, is elected on September 6 he will not have to serve the remaining 17 months of his service.

Mr Bester — leader of a group of Maties reprimanded by President PW Botha in 1985 over their proposed visit to the African National Congress in Lusaka — will take on National Party MP Mr Piet Marais.

But Mr Bester had to get permission from the Exemption Board first as he had already started national service when he accepted the DP invitation to stand.

He secured the Democratic Party nomination after Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert turned down an invitation to represent the party in Stellenbosch.

Mr Bester has a B.Comm LLB from Stellenbosch, a master's degree from Cambridge University and is now reading for an honours degree in economics at Stellenbosch.

"The board treated my application with great expediency and I'm very grateful to them for allowing me to stand," Mr Bester said.

Resign

He said he would be exempted from national service if elected but would return to the army to complete his national service if not.

Mr Bester said the deferment would last until September 8.

The deferment was granted in line with a law which requires civil servants, university staff and members of the SADF and SA Police to resign if they are nominated by a political party for election, he said.

A SADF spokesman said the matter was one between Mr Bester and the Exemption Board and the SADF had no comment.

The Sunday Times could not reach members of the Exemption Board for comment.

National Party MP for Stellenbosch Mr Piet Marais said this week that he was "not surprised" Mr Bester had been deferred from service to stand for the election.

- The regional director for the Democratic Party in Cape Town, Mrs Lois Harley, said that another young candidate, Miss Michelle Guttler, 25, chairman of the Democratic Party Youth, who recently completed her Master's degree at the University of Cape Town, would be standing in the Tyger Valley area.

Down in Maputo, a lick of paint and a new realism stir peace hopes to life once again



AT THIS WEEK's MAPUTO TALKS: Pik Botha, F W de Klerk and Mozambique president Joaquim Chissano who discussed a "Marshall Plan" aimed at economic co-operation between the countries in exchange for acceptance of a South African foothold in Africa

DRIES van HEERDEN reports on the implications of this week's Chissano talks

IT'S still a far cry from prawns and Laurentina on sun-soaked beaches. Or late-night revelry at the Club Navale. Yet.

But in Mozambique something is stirring which may have a profound impact on the whole region and, in a strange way, provide SA with a backdoor to the rest of the continent.

This week will be a decisive one in the recent history of that war-ravaged country where the ploughshares that have not yet been beaten into AK-47 rifles are going to rust in deserted warehouses.

The fifth congress of the ruling Frelimo meets in Maputo — for the first time under the leadership of the new, pragmatic President Joaquim Chissano And everything points to the fact that 15 years of Marxist rethoric and policy will be turned on its head.

Perhaps not yet the textbook model of free enterprise and capitalism. But at least an honest attempt to turn away from centralised planning towards a more market-orientated economy

In town on Thursday to spread the gospel according to Foreign Affairs — economic co-operation in exchange for public acceptance — was president-in-waiting F W de Klerk.

And it seems as if his message fell on fertile soil. A "Marshall Plan" — akin to that which lifted Europe from its knees after the Second World War — aimed at getting the countries of the region co-operating in economic development projects.

Kingpin

European capital and investment and South African knowledge and expertise add up to growth and stability throughout the region. QED.

Mozambique is a kingpin in this drive towards sweat and toil and away from blood and gunpowder.

Historically the most vehement of SA's critics — the epitome of Marxist intransigence ... the foremost exporter of vitriol against the "racist Pretoria regime" — it is now the showcase of the new realism that has dawned over the region.

Maputo today is still but a shadow of its former colonial glory. But there has been a marked improvement since the signing of the Nkomati Accord between presidents P W Botha and Samora Machel five years ago

Some of the most important landmarks, including the Polana Hotel and the imposing Catholic cathedral have been freshly painted. Traffic has returned to the streets in the form of recent model cars, and taxis and sidewalk cafés are again sprouting on the once-teeming boulevards.

A few consumer products can again be seen next to the pictures of the heroes of the revolution in shop windows The endless lines, forever queueing up for bread and petrol, are shortening Informal markets sprout up everywhere

The potholed streets are being repaired and the lift in the Polana is working again.

The optimism shows in little ways. Squatter shacks still litter vacant land in the capital, but now most of them are neatly fenced and surrounded by carefully cultivated vegetable gardens

Prospects

And Mozambique's future indeed seems to be on the up and up Considered Southern Africa's basket case only five years ago, it now holds exciting prospects for investment and development.

The large multinationals are not yet camped on the doorsteps of the Mozambican chamber of commerce but, still, the flow of investment has proceeded beyond a trickle

- An upgrading of the Maputo harbour which suffered a decline of more than 70 percent after the April 1974 revolution.
- A joint SA-Mozambique construction venture to build a road between Komatipoort and Maputo;
- A multi-million rand investment in the timber industry of southern Mozambique,
- A revival of the moribund cashew nut and prawn industries;
- The possible development of the profitable Pande natural gas fields off the coast halfway between Maputo and Beira.
- The resurgence of the lucrative tourist industry which has been the mainstay of the Mozambican economy in the colonial years

It all conjures up beguiling images: scuba-diving at Xai-Xai, game fishing at Ponto D'Ouro, lazing in the sun at Polana beach, and whisking over to Inhaca Island for some late night gambling ...

Needs

But, unfortunately, dream and reality may still take a few years to meet each other in Maputo. The country needs more than mere investment. Even at its best, it can be a bottomless pit where billions and billions of rands and dollars can vanish without a trace.

It also needs expertise, skills, a commitment to businessmen that their investments are safe.

And peace Most of all it needs peace.

The shadow of the decade-long strife between Frelimo and Renamo still hangs over the region

Security can only be guaranteed in and around larger centres like Maputo, Beira, Tete, Chimoio and Nacala.

For the rest it is a case of proceed at one's own risk in an undefined battle zone where armed bandits can jump from behind trees and bushes at any time to rob and shoot up travellers.

This is where SA enters the Mozambican equation — rightly or wrongly elements in SA are still suspected of aiding and abetting Renamo.

Lifeline

SA is to Mozambique more than a potential trading partner It has become a veritable lifeline as a conduit for vital investment and development.

But the converse is equally true. SA needs a normalised relationship with its eastern neighbour more than anything else as it tries, yet again, to gain a foothold of acceptance in Africa.

Shock Sunday Times poll predicts deadlocked Parliament →

NATS FACE VOTE CRISIS

FULL DETAILS SEE PAGE 24

Sterne 2317784 (304A)



By DRIES van HEERDEN

IF WHITE voters went to the polls this week, the National Party would fail to gain an outright majority.

NP leader F W de Klerk would be forced to seek an alliance with either the Democratic Party or the Conservative Party if he wanted to continue governing the country.

The most dramatic shift in white political opinion since 1948 — when the NP gained power — has been revealed in a scientific poll conducted exclusively for the Sunday Times by the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University.

The NP, seemingly invincible in the last nine general elections, could be facing the biggest reversal in its history.

Its support is draining away dramatically on both flanks, and South African politics may be on the threshold of breaking out of the rigid two-party mould.

The pollsters predict that, if there is an 80 percent voter turn-out on September 6, the number of NP seats will be reduced from 123 to 78 — six short of an overall majority. The CP would win 52 seats and the DP 36.

If there is a 70 percent turn-out by voters (as in 1987), the NP would fare even worse. It would win only 65 seats — against 64 for the CP and 37 for the DP.

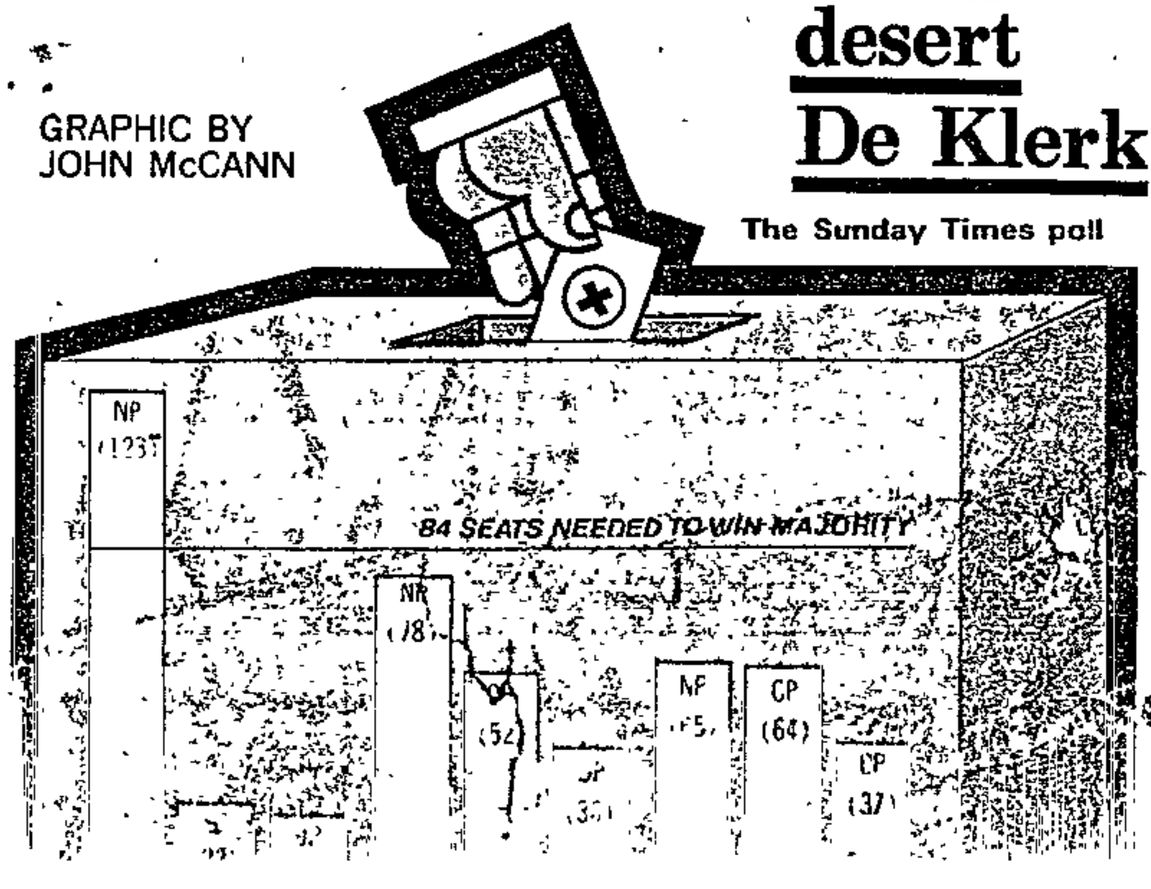
According to the second least likely estimate, the number of Conservative MPs would be doubled and the Democrats' total would

In either case, SA would have a "hung" Parliament, with the Nationalists com-

Figures show how white voters could desert De Klerk

The Sunday Times poll

GRAPHIC BY JOHN McCANN





JANI: I hope it's the last I'll see of Terre Blanche

PAGE 21

You can win R500 000!

JANI: ENOUGH IS ENOUGH



'I've endured the gossip for too long. Maybe his doorstep snooze means I've seen the last of Terre Blanche'



GETTING BACK TO NORMAL ... Jani out on the hustings with DP candidate Tony Leon getting material for this week's column Picture: MARGOT WILLIAMS



WHAT'S a striking blonde art-teacher-turned-columnist doing mixed up with a raging rightwing politician like Eugene Terre Blanche?

It's a question that still worries Jani Allan.

If there is one thing the popular Sunday Times writer wishes for most fervently, it is that her name be disengaged from that of the co-

Sunday Times Reporter

to the editor of her paper praising her interview with him as the most accurate he had ever read.

The Terre Blanche piece was, to put it mildly, received with less than universal applause. But that is her way — she writes what she thinks and that is why millions read her every week.

That could have been the cartoon character."

Did she not think that what many regarded as a eulogy to a rabid rightwinger showed insensitivity?

"No, not at all. One thing I keep very clearly in my mind when I do an interview is that it is *my* Face to Face column and I only write about the information I get during a specific interview.

"He never, in our conversations, aligned himself to Hitler or anything like that. In any case, I care little for politics I am interested in all sorts of people who have a point of view and the stamina to sustain it Many of them are in the public eye.

"I have written about many people on the political left and centre. If I could, I would interview Nelson Mandela. But would I then be accused of being pro-ANC?

"In that column which sparked all the problems, I also spoke about Mr Terre Blanche's dirty fingernails, but nobody pointed that out. I told the truth as I perceived it. That is very important to me." After writing that first column, Jani also visited Mr Terre Blanche at his Ventersdorp home, where she met his wife, Martie.

After the Paardekraal incident, the couple also visited her at her apartment on one occasion.

Jani insists that at all but 'one of her meetin[illegible] Paardekraal) with Mr Terre Blanche, other people were present — either fellow journalists, members of Aquila, other officials or his wife.

Even at Paardekraal, she did not expect to be alone. "I actually have copies of two letters from the Portuguese TV people," she said.

"I can't vouch for their accreditation as TV guys, but one of them sent a picture of me which he had taken on a previous occasion when we [illegible] the same place

"I've been as discreet and patient about Mr Terre Blanche as about anyone else I've interviewed

"But after 18 months of malicious and unrelenting speculation, I've had enough.

"Perhaps now, after that snooze outside my flat, I will have heard the last of him and be able to regain some of the professional integrity I believe I lost when he accused me of planting

Liewe aarde, Evita, w are you going to do r

☆ **REVIEW by Richard McNeill**

WITH a toss of her locks, an arch of her eyebrows, a wiggle of her hips and some of the most outrageous patter ever served up on a public medium, Evita Bezuidenhout stormed the Bastille of TV convention this week

I say "her" and not "his" despite the fact that behind the makeup and the crazy wig and the elaborate mythology of homeland and motherhood, lurks playwright and satirist Pieter Dirk-Uys

For **EVITA'S INDABA** (M-Net) to work, Uys with the connivance of his guests must sustain an unbroken illusion of womanhood. Indeed, one has to say it is the entire object of the show.

Whatever the conversation, whoever the guest, they cannot be allowed to detract from it.

Helen Suzman managed to make several sharp political points. But even she was obliged to play along by admiting she had only seen a small part of Evita's non-existent palatial home

This allowed Uys to shoot back: "Of course we do have guided tours, but liberals aren't allowed." Collapse of serious discussion

Much of this 90-minute pilot was taken up with Evita's preparations for the chat show, with luminaries like John Kani, Ruda Landman, Annette du Plessis and Dorianne Berry being willing foils for a cascade of brittle and hilarious references to Afrikanerdom, politics, religion, the SABC — and of course a certain State President whose portrait she carried round with the eyes covered.

Shown a sofa that converted into a bed, Evita remarks, "Suddenly I think of Pik." What can she mean?

[redacted]

She is handed a black baby, said to be her grandchild — now there in itself is something to shock the Mother Grundys — and complains: "The child is *nat* — at least it's the right party."

At another point she says, "If I die of my guests arrive, I'll have to recite the Rubicon speech again."

The style is simpering, barbed and quickfire, seldom leaving enough time for the joke to sink in.

It was far too long, of course, and when the Indaba begins its run in September it looks like being a tight half-hour affair It could be the most formidably funny and refreshing show we've ever seen here, but Uys has given himself a lot to live up to.

Right to the end I was laughing — down to the cheeky puff for Evita's own brand of perfume called *Jeau Mour* (say it, then think about it).

Liewe aarde, M-Net! Do you know what you're letting yourself in for?

☆☆☆ BY COINCIDENCE, Kevin Savage gamely returned to present another series of **LATE NIGHT LIVE** on TV1 — a slight improvement on the last series, but like a Standard Six class debate compared with the Uys *tour de force*.

I still find the pace slack and the guests overindulged — especially one who objected to being called a socialite, but gave every appearance of being one down to the last dropped name.

The programme has been cut to 40 minutes, but the guest-list is now three instead of four — creating the same feeling of too few people with not enough of interest to say and too much time to fill.

Brian Oxley's opening and closing pieces to camera were groaningly obvious and unfunny. When a topical script misses the mark it might as well be junked.

But the music has improved

☆☆☆ THE BBC **NEWSNIGHT** two-parter on Margaret Thatcher's 10 years in office finished on M-Net on Thursday

[redacted]

Why do male reporters (and politicians too) feel so obliged to put the lady down? Is it something to do with threatened masculinity or simple chauvinism"

BBC political correspondent John Cole, a man with a Northern Ireland accent so thick and incomprehensible he is regularly satirised in Private Eye, patronisingly made much of Mrs Thatcher's failings, which are minimal, and only grudgingly conceded her successes, which are considerable.

Tired old Labour Party hacks like Denis Healey and "howling mad" Tony Benn, and even some Tories who crossed swords with her, were trotted out to vent their spleen



Evita Bezuidenhout, and picture of friend . . .

Nostalgic 60s for open slot

☆ **CUE by Douglas Gordon**

NET is to revamp opentime on August 1, **THE WONDER YEARS** leading a line-up he latest American sitcoms.

won last year's Emmy award for the new comedy on the US networks — and remarkable for having no punch lines, no ned laughter and no elements of prime e TV formulae.

nstead, it has charm, wit and nostalgia — h a cast of 12-year-olds behaving like racters in a Woody Allen movie as they pple with growing up in the bygone hippie — of the Swinging Sixties.



COLUMNIST at work—with Miss Camera Picture: HORACE POTTER

Profile

The saga began in January 1988 when she was assigned to interview Mr Terre Blanche — then, as now, a news-making personality — for her Face to Face feature in the Sunday Times.

In that column, the first to set tongues wagging, Mr Terre Blanche talked passionately of wanting back the land "that my nation killed and inevitably the speculation she hates has begun all over again.

"For a public figure, Jani is a remarkably private person.

Her circle of friends is small, close and intensely loyal. Her acquaintances are obviously many, but mostly distant.

Colleagues enjoy her sense of humour — she is given to literary quotation — but the girl described by some newspapers as high-flying, zany and wacky speaks softly and is as likely to spend her evenings quietly at home as partying till the small hours.

Yesterday, for the first time — and some would say not before time — Jani spoke frankly about her professional dealings with the 48-year-old AWB leader which, over 18 traumatic months, have come to haunt her.

It was exactly the stuff of a good, meaty profile of a controversial character.

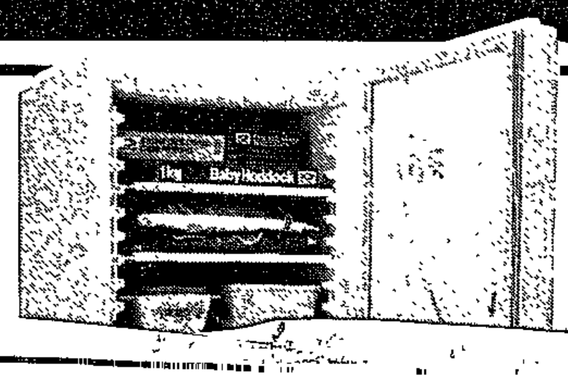
"Look," Jani wrote in her typically conversational way, "the man's no mimsy. To be honest, he's a hunk. Far more attractive face to face than his telegenic image."

Then she continued something quite breathless: "Right now, I've got to remind myself to breathe. I'm impaled on the blue flames of his blowtorch eyes, you see."

She has a way with purple prose, does our Miss Alan. On the other hand, if the testimony of her subjects is anything to go by, much of her word sketches are shrewd and penetrating.

Only last week one wrote

OK APPLIAN SPECIALS



K.I.C. TF222 Double-door REFRIGERATOR £170

OCEAN OW408 Double-door REFRIGERATOR
- 340 ℓ capacity
- Lockable freezer-door
- Adjustable shelves

Unlikely

They were also to rendezvous with a Portuguese TV crew, which became lost and never pitched up.

Was she wise or was she foolish? With hindsight, Jani thinks she should have passed up the invitation.

Political correspondents, gossip writers and cartoonists — seizing on the incident because good rightwing leaders are not supposed to have round Hallowed mountments with blonde "Bulgarese pers" columnists at dusk — had a field day.

Understandably. Both people were high-profile, each controversial in a different way — and hugely wrongly, seen to be.

Further fuel to the flames was added because Mr Terre Blanche is not without his political enemies.

Jani admits that, in her unfamiliarity with politics, she had perhaps allowed herself — and more especially her access to space in South Africa's biggest newspaper — to be used for political purposes.

Emphatically and persuasively, she denies any kind of romantic entanglement — "though," she says, "I cannot speak for the fantasies which other people may have harboured".

Supporting her view is the fact that, after 18 months of digging, reporters have failed to come up with anything to turn the rumours about romance into fact.

"He was always absolutely proper on the six or seven occasions we met," she said yesterday. "And I used the word 'hunk' with absolute honesty, though I doubt whether I would still do so after seeing recent photographs of him.

"It was me attempting to see beyond the stereotyped image. He's not just a flat

YOUR TV MOVIES

CRIMES OF THE HEART (***) 1986. Black comedy of sisters reunited by tragedy. Diane Keaton, Jessica Lange, Sissy Spacek. M-Net premiere. Tonight, 8.30pm.

THE ABOMINABLE DR PHIBES (***) 1971. Horror classic. Vincent Price stalks the doctors who killed his wife. Terry Thomas. TV4. Tuesday, 9pm.

VIVA KNIEVEL! (*) 1977. Stuntman Evel himself, battling crooks with a drunken mechanic (Gene Kelly). M-Net premiere. Wednesday, 8.30pm.

BROTHER ORCHID (***) 1940. Edward G Robinson and Humphrey Bogart in vintage comedy — gangster takes refuge in monastery. TV1. Thursday, 11pm.

POLICE ACADEMY II (***) 1985. The rampaging rookies now fight crime in the city. Steve Guttenberg, Howard Hesseman. M-Net premiere. Friday, 8.30pm.

DAVID AND BATHSHEBA (**) 1951. Elaborate Hollywood biblical epic, with Gregory Peck, Susan Heyward and dull dialogue. TV4. Friday, 9pm.

ABOUT LAST NIGHT (**) 1986. One night stand leads to doomed affair for lovers Rob Lowe and Demi Moore. 2-18 M-Net premiere. Saturday, 8.30pm.

ROAD GAMES (**) 1981. Australian. Neat chiller as trucker Stacy Keach and runaway heiress Jamie Lee Curtis meet a mad killer. TV1 Saturday, 9.30pm.

* *Poor;* ** *Average;* *** *Excellent.*



. . . "trade has increased".

SA, East bloc to swop diplomats?

Star 24/7/87 (3b) (304A)

Eastern bloc diplomats will be stationed in Pretoria within 18 months, Soviet officials told top South African businessmen at a secret meeting in England.

Academics, business leaders and the Government are said to be negotiating for the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland and South Africa to place trade representatives in each other's capitals.

A spokesman for Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, asked for confirmation of the plans, said: "Nothing is imminent, but it is true that trade with Eastern Europe has increased in recent times." — Own Correspondent.

3049

Star 24/11/89

Survey shows that many are undecided

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The Star's opinion polls, the results of which were published last week, revealed that many white voters have not yet decided which party to back in the September 6 general election.

The main findings were that:

● A large floating vote of between 20 and 30 percent exists, the highest of which was registered in Pinetown (24 percent), followed by Gardens (23 percent), Boksburg (22 percent), Randburg (21 percent), Krugersdorp (17 percent) and Innesdal (16 percent).

MAJORITY

● The Conservative Party seems unlikely to oust the National Party in marginal seats such as Innesdal, Krugersdorp and Boksburg. In all three constituencies, the NP appears to be narrowly in the lead with most of the undecided voters saying they would probably vote Nat.

● The Democratic Party seems likely to improve its majority in Pinetown and Gardens, two former Progressive Federal Party seats. From these two surveys, it appears as if the DP has succeeded in providing former PFP supporters with a political home, with between 70 and 80 percent of progressives in these constituencies pledging their support to the fledgling party. The DP also appears to be drawing considerable support from traditional NP voters, both English and Afrikaans.

● However, as in the 1987 election, the English vote has emerged as a critical factor and appears to be wavering between the NP and DP camps.

In Randburg particularly a poll conducted in June and another in July have indicated that the NP was gaining support, mainly among English voters.

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

...n as soon as possible to ● Scrap the Group Areas Act ● Pay police more and train ...nesburg.)

Realities of SA are being faced — Gerrit Viljoen

By Michael Morris

CAPE TOWN — The National Party had "put its head on a block" and was committed to evolutionary constitutional change, through negotiation to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of all South Africans", Minister of Education and Training and Development Aid Dr Gerrit Viljoen told the party's Cape Congress at Somerset West.

He said the NP's constitutional proposals took account of two essential realities of South Africa: the diversity of groups, and a recognition of factors which they all had in common.

He added that the policies of the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party were doomed to failure because they did not recognise these realities.

The NP was committed to sharing power, but at the same time preventing domination.

Although a final constitution would have to be subject to negotiations and to a mandate from the electorate, it would embody the principle of concensus among groups.

The election, role and functions of the State President would have to be reviewed.

He said it was vital that black leaders who favoured peaceful, negotiated solutions should have the courage to come forward and participate, and not simply stand back and make demands.

Dr Viljoen said: "This is a watershed election. There must be no doubt about the seriousness of the constitutional issue from a domestic and international point of view, as well as politically and economically."

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Gene Louw, who is standing in Paarl, rejected criticism that power sharing was unworkable.

In a sharp attack on the Democratic Party, he wondered how, if it was not able to reach concensus with a few coloured and Indian members.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town.)

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

NP in bid to address burning issues in election pamphlet

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The National Party has tried to address several burning election questions in a pamphlet, "Key Issues, Election 6 September 1989" which was distributed at its Cape congress this weekend.

It touches on economic questions, constitutional issues, the protection of white rights, corruption and the Group Areas Act.

Some examples:

"Is it possible to prevent majority rule when blacks participate in Government?'

"The unique democratic dispensation that must be developed in South Africa cannot, as in the past, solely rest on the premise of 'winner takes all'.

"Decisions based on numbers cannot ensure stability ... The different groups must participate as groups.

"In practice each group will have its own voters roll to determine its leaders. . .

"The leaders must then decide jointly about general affairs by means of consensus."

To the question, can a black man, in terms of the NP's policy, become State President, there is no definite yes or no.

Instead it says the position of State President can be an import symbol of national reconciliation and all groups should participate in the election of the State President.

But it suggests the powers of the State President would first have to be reduced to prevent domination.

Other points from the pamphlet:

● High inflation and interest rates are due mostly to financial sanctions which led to huge capital outflow and the need to withdraw billions from the economy to repay foreign debt.

● National service cannot be shortened now, although Citizen Force and commando obligations have been reduced.

● The Democratic Party is actually the old PFP "with all the weaknesses of that party, a patched-up jacket and a new salesman".

(Report by Peter Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Thatcher...

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 673-4160

Condemn the action by rebels

ONE of the saddest reflections on human nature is whenever contenders in a conflict attempt to settle their disputes, hostilities become fiercer.

As presidents Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya discussed peace initiatives for Mozambique, the Renamo rebels increased their fight.

Rebels had attacked Ressano Garcia a few hours also after National Party leader, Mr F W De Klerk held talks with President Chissano.

It was reported in South Africa that there was a massacre at Ressano Garcia, an important railway station across the border from Komatipoort.

Many civilians were reported to have been killed by Renamo rebels.

The Renamo rebels are obviously anxious that peace talks between Mozambique, South Africa and other African nations should fail. They are wasting their time.

South Africa has now shown that it has no wish to support the rebels as these terrorists have been an embarrassment to them. The civil war between Mozambican rebels has destroyed large parts of Mozambique.

It is about time the international community condemned very strongly the acts by these rebels. They are stalling peace talks not only in that area but in the rest of the sub continent.



THE *Sowetan's* cartoonist Len Sak is on holiday. His cartoons will reappear when he returns.



De Cuellar



De Klerk

OAU URGED TO ADOPT A '435' OF SORTS ON SA

Sowetan 24/7/89.

ADDIS ABABA - The Organisation of African Unity Council of Ministers has called on the United Nations to exercise its full responsibility in Namibia and prevent South Africa from manipulating the interpretation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 to its own advantage.

Ziana national news agency reports it has also rejected, outright, South Africa's ruling National Party's five-year manifesto, which party leader F W de Klerk has tried to present as a new and elightened policy which the council dismissed as being aimed at entrenching white rule in the country.

The ministers reaffirmed that only an election based on one man, one vote, could lead to the establishment of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

These are some of the resolutions adopted by the OAU Council of Ministers at the end of their meeting, which was formally closed yesterday.

The meeting was chaired by Zimbabwe's foreign minister Mr Nathan Shamuyarira.

In his closing remarks, Shamuyarira said many of the delegations at the meeting, which began last Monday in preparation for the three-day OAU summit which begins today, said that it was time the OAU adopted a strategy on South Africa.

"One delegate called it a 435 of sorts," he said.

On economic issues, he said: "We would like to feel that the steps and measures we have proposed will play an important role . . . and make sure the decade of the 90s is not lost as the 80s was, as far as economics were concerned."

Namibia was a major focus of the foreign ministers deliberations over the past week and a lengthy resolution reflected their concern.

The resolution deplored the inadequate deployment of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) at the start of the implementation of UN Resolution 435, "which enabled South Africa's army of occupation to hunt down and massacre Swapo combatants based in Namibia."

It called on the UN secretary general, who is due to attend the summit meeting here, to take every measure, including increasing the military component to Untag to the 7500 men provided for in Resolution 435, to ensure South Africa's compliance with the resolution and create conditions for free and fair elections in Namibia.

It strongly condemned the decision to deploy South African forces on the eve of the transition to independence and "the unwarranted military attacks against Swapo combatants awaiting confinement to base in accordance with the provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), as well as the atrocities committed against the civilian population in Namibia."

The resolution went on to condemn South Africa's machinations aimed at preventing Swapo winning the elections due in November.

It condemned the integration of "the Koevoet murder squads" into the South West Africa Police (Swapol) and demanded the demobilisation of all Koevoet elements from the police force and the dismantling of their command structures, in accordance with the provisions of Resolution 435.

It said the council had decided to follow closely developments in Namibia and in the event of continued violations of Resolution 435 by South Africa would convene an emergency session to consider appropriate action.

It called on the UN Secretary General to ensure the proportional representation system to be used in the elections in Namibia was straightforward and simple.

To ensure the release by South Africa of all Namibian political prisoners and the repeal of all oppressive and discriminatory laws in Namibia, in line with Resolution 435.

The resolution recommended the UN discharge its full responsibility of supervising and controlling the elections and that the UN Secretary General's special representative proceed with the step-by-step implementation process only after he had satisfied himself it would lead to free and fair elections.

It called on the African and international media to counter South African propaganda against Swapo and fully cover the election events in Namibia.

The resolution on South Africa, among other things, condemned the "reign of terror" being perpetrated under the state of emergency. It condemned the death sentences passed on opponents of apartheid, especially the Upington 14, and the long prison terms imposed on the Sharpeville Six and the Delmas trialists.

The ministers demanded an end to "the judicial murders perpetrated by the racist regime on South African patriots whose real status according to relevant Geneva Conventions is that of prisoners of war."

The Council of Ministers also demanded the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees. It called for the immediate and unconditional unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and all other anti-apartheid organisations.

It also condemned the growing military co-operation between South Africa, Chile, Israel and Taiwan "as well as certain Western countries" and called for the strict observance of the UN arms embargo against Pretoria.

FOCUS

The NP's 5-year plan given thumbs down

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

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic [illegible] expressly reserved to The [illegible] Printing and Publishing Company Ltd under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published

Star 24/7/89 (3044)

Old Crocodile at Nat congress shows he isn't a sulking outcast

Alan Dunn, Political Staff

SOMERSET WEST — There was a warm smile on the Great Crocodile's face as he said goodbye to the Cape National Party here at the weekend.

It had been his life-long career, his vehicle, his power base, his love. His hour or so at the party's 74th congress was clearly inspired by his deep involvement with Cape Nationalism after 52 years in the thick of it.

His arrival with Mrs Elize Botha made nonsense of Tuynhuys' excuses three weeks ago that because the State President was above party politics he could not attend the NP federal congress in Pretoria and a farewell banquet in his honour.

Slap

Some viewed his appearance at the congress on Saturday as a slap in the face for Mr F W de Klerk.

But Botha men said he had made this exception because the Cape NP was almost family to him.

"He just came by to greet old pals," said one aide as he watched the retiring leader shake eager hands.

Had Mr Botha wanted to snub Mr de Klerk bluntly, he would have refused to accept the outstretched hand of his successor who crossed a roomful of tea-drinking congress delegates to bid him good luck.

Mr Botha and his wife arrived shortly before the morning tea-break. Wearing an NP rosette and waving at the 600 delegates, he walked to the top table.

Mr de Klerk and his wife, Marike, who had been occupying the seats of honour, moved to the far end of the table to make way for the first couple.

Mr Botha responded by tracing his links to the NP back to the congress in 1936. Repeatedly using the word "loyalty", he said there had always been the same loyalty between himself and the Cape NP.

Turning to his health, Mr Botha said he was happy to say he had recovered fully from his stroke of January 18.

"It is not true what some people say: 'He is a sulking old man'," he noted.

"I am a happy man. I live in a country of hope and a country with a future," he said in a short speech which did not see the emotion he displayed in his farewell to the Defence Force recently.

Mr Botha smiled and laughed easily, looking healthy and relaxed as he mingled with delegates.

This was not the leader who had run the Government with an iron first for a decade, the man with an awesome temper.

Mr Botha was out to prove he was not a sulking old man, that he was leaving public life gracefully. He did a convincing job.

(Report by Alan Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

304A

Party promises doubling of police force

DP manifesto takes tough line on security

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party launched its election campaign at the weekend with a line-up of star candidates — including several generals and other top brass — a bold new approach to security issues and an all-out attack on the Government's economic policies.

Under the banner "A government in the making", the DP introduced its candidates and presented its manifesto at an election rally in Cape Town on Saturday.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the DP could not have been born at a better time as there was an air of expectation in South Africa and abroad, and people were tired of the cynicism of the NP.

The DP was going for power and saw the September 6 election as a referendum on the NP's record, the country's future, economic decline and international isolation, on the one hand, and on a nonracial, democratic and prosperous future on the other.

Co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said that more than in any other election since 1948 it was certain the economic situation would be a major factor in this election.

In any democracy, an economic record half as bad as South Africa's would have led to the defeat of the government.

But the NP had diverted voters by exploiting their racial fears. Now that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and senior members of the Soviet government had been entertained at Tuynhuys, this tactic was no longer going to work.

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan justifed the DP's decision to contest seats where the NP was fighting the Conservative Party, and where the DP could not win, by saying it was important for the DP to make grassroots contact to measure its support.

At the congress, the DP attacked the issue of security head-on. The cornerstone of its security policy is a plan to reduce national service to one year, cut Citizen Force camps to four and use the money saved to double the number of police.

Defence spokesman and Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling said the reason for the DP's approach was that the external threat to SA had diminished considerably while the real threat was from within in the form of low-level sabotage, sporadic terrorism and the possibility of internal political unrest.

Crime rates were soaring while the police were often unable to cope with ordinary crime prevention because they were enforcing political legislation.

The DP's security offensive was reinforced by its line-up of military candidates, including former Air Force chief Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers and former Director of SADF Operations Major-General Wally Black.

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Nine Delegates seats will be fought

Star 24/7/89 Staff Reporter 253 304A

The Democratic Party has announced it will contest nine House of Delegates seats in the September 6 general election.

This decision yesterday was a change from an earlier controversial ruling that the party would only put up candidates for the three seats it had in the house.

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said the decision was a regional one and "not a national challenge to the MDM (Mass Democratic Movement) on the issue of participation as a strategic objective".

The earlier decision to limit candidates to three unless they could "assist the party in bridging the parliamentary/extra-parliamentary divide and promoting the negotiating process" led to the DP leader in the House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingam, being expelled from the party.

Post-apartheid culture

304A

Star 24/7/89

Culture in Another South Africa
edited by Willem Campschreur
and Joost Divendal
(Zed Books R36,00)
Reviewed by KAIZER NYATSUMBA

"A sycophantic press is the most fertile breeding ground for tyranny"
— a delegate at the December 1987 CASA conference in Amsterdam, Netherlands.

A 1987 festival-cum-conference in Amsterdam, attended by about 300 exiled and non-exiled South African artists and cultural workers, brought together some of the finest minds in literature to have come out of this country.

There writers, journalists and other cultural workers who had only heard about each other, or had last seen each a long time ago, discussed, debated and argued about the role of culture and cultural workers in a future, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Their discussions laid the groundwork for the book, **Culture in Another South Africa**, so called after the theme of the ten-day meeting.

The book — like the conference which involved the participation of the African National Congress's Department of Arts and Culture, the mass democratic movement in South Africa and the Anti-Apartheid Movement of The Netherlands — is an attempt by cultural workers to grapple with the question of culture in "another" South Africa, and to draw distinguishing lines between a "ruling class culture" and a "progressive culture."

The dilemma of the South African "situation" where a "superior, dominant culture" is all-pervasive and exercises such a great subtle and not-so-subtle influence over the "inferior, passive culture" is well catalogued and exposed, and alternatives are suggested.

Seeking excellence

Significantly, however, the artists who attended the conference and participated in the festival were not called upon to lower themselves to the level of being poetasters mindlessly engaging in political pamphleteering and sloganeering.

Instead, they were urged to "pursue excellence in their respective disciplines," to practise vigorously their trades in the best manner they know, to consciously stand up against apartheid and to ceaselessly expose its ills through their works. Journalists were also not asked to be enthusiastic propagandists, but to leave no stone unturned in their duty to uphold freedom of information and the public's right to know.

Mongane Wally Serote's introductory essay, "Now we enter history," shows that the man is not only a great poet, but also a very articulate orator. In this essay Serote skilfully dissects the "apartheid culture" and finds it to be what it really is, a culture of domination which has of necessity to be replaced by a much more inclusive, democratic culture.



Jonas Gwangwa (left), blames the prevalance of low-grade, bubble-gum music in the black market on the reluctance of some recording companies to play the "melody of freedom", while poet Mongane Wally Serote believes the "apartheid culture" of domination has to be replaced by a much more inclusive, democratic culture.

In their joint paper on "Restrictions on the media — a reflection on journalism," Mono Badela and David Niddrie catalogue the press's woes in this country and the gagging effects of the now semi-permanent states of emergency.

Cosmo Pieterse's "Towards a survey — a reflection of South African poetry," is an academic discussion of the state of (black) South African poetry. Unlike those who view the role of (black) South African poetry as being only political conscientization, Pieterse acknowledges that it is an art capable of much more than that.

"South African poetry," he writes, "that healthy sound, weeps, and smiles and it makes. It is informed with history; it is there to help shape history."

Exiled South African musician Jonas Gwangwa and Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement spokesperson Fulco van Aurich point out in their joint paper on "The melody of freedom" that South African music is held hostage by apartheid and the reluctance by some recording companies to take a chance with records which may not get airplay on SABC radio or television.

"The apartheid record business takes a good care that the artists released by them do not express themselves in political terms," they say. It is no wonder then that low-grade, bubble-gum music in the black market has flourished.

Black South African musicians have also the other disadvantage that few of them have a cross-over appeal, and normally "white" radio stations, according to Gwangwa and Aurich, are reluctant to "broadcast black music."

Boycott justified

"Through black (radio) stations, however, the regime does make propaganda for white culture in order to poison the black communities," Gwangwa and Aurich conclude.

The issue of the controversial cultural boycott is discussed in detail and made lucid in Conny Braam and Fons Geerrlings's joint paper, "Towards new cultural relations — a reflection on the cultural boycott."

Though quite definitive, the paper does not at all solve the problems or controversies surrounding the cultural boycott, but at least it gives important, albeit not so popular, justifications for the necessity of the cultural boycott.

Interested in culture in "another" South Africa? Then you must read this book.

The flag must go, says Hendrickse

PORT ELIZABETH — The South African flag was a symbol of "white domination, injustice and theft" and would have to go, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said yesterday.

Addressing an election meeting at Patensie, Rev Hendrickse said every nation should be proud of its flag, "a symbol of nationhood" and binding.

The South African flag did not serve this purpose and would have to make way for a truly South African flag.

The present flag, he said, containing miniatures of the flags of the two Boer Republics and the Union Jack, represented the history of whites in South Africa.

South Africa also needed a new national anthem which would act as a binding symbol, he said.

People "of colour" could not identify with the words of "Die Stem" and would join their black brothers in singing "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica".

The Labour Party leader said a new South Africa would have to see a marked re-distribution of land, and added that there was enough for all if it was shared fairly.

Land which had belonged to the coloured people, he said, had been stolen by whites — land which had been worked by these people and for which they had died.

Earlier, he criticised the Government for wanting Mr Nelson Mandela to "join hands" in the search for peace while he was still in jail.

"First he must be free — then he will be in a position to join hands with the Government," he said. — Sapa.

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

The

Courageous leader we need still very much out of sight, says De Beer

Is smiling FW really the Man of Action?

Star 24/7/89

304A

As the election draws near, F W de Klerk's political track record is coming under close scrutiny, reports **BRUCE CAMERON, Political Correspondent.**

CAPE TOWN — National Party political posters round South Africa are trying to convince voters that benevolently smiling leader Mr F W de Klerk is a "Man of Action".

But is he? His political opponents think not, and even one of his chief propagandists cannot produce convincing arguments to back the claim.

The only issue on which he has a proven track record as a man of action has been his proliferation of the racially exclusive and extremely expensive system of Own Affairs as chairman of the white Own Affairs Ministers' Council.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer says that so far there is little or no sign of Mr de Klerk showing he will be "the courageous reformer we so badly need".

Dr de Beer concedes he has "nice manners"

But he adds that this has nothing to do with being a man of action.

"I would say that F W de Klerk is one of the most cautious politicians I have ever encountered.

"His instinct is always to try to please everybody and to avoid commitment to any irretrievable action.

"He has spent his entire life within the cacoon of the National Party, during a period when apartheid was its watchword, its vote-getter, its only real policy.

"He is finding it extremely difficult to break out of that mould.

"One can watch de Klerk struggling with himself as he speaks.

"There are well-chosen phrases like equal dignity and participation in political processes, but he always comes back to the group concept."

For example, Dr de Beer says, Mr de Klerk excited people soon after taking over leadeship of the NP by saying it was less obsessed with groups, but almost immediately added that groups were a fact of South African life.

"He says he is against racism, but says it is nonsense to talk of a non-racial society in South Africa."

Dr de Beer says he has repeatedly and unsuccessfully asked Mr de Klerk: "Do you propose a vote of equal value for every South African?"

Mr de Klerk also showed little sign of action in response to the question so many people are asking: "Will the Group Areas Act be scrapped?"

Referring to recent opinion polls, Dr de Beer said Mr de Klerk had lost to both sides.

"Perhaps this will be the story of his life. If one is too cautious to choose either direction, attacks from both sides may prove successful."

Academic and political commentator Professor Sampie Terreblanche was even less charitable in a recent article, warning that Mr de Klerk could take action, but the wrong type of action, leading the country into a Verwoerdian-type detour for a decade, or the Verwoerdian 1959 model of grand apartheid which promised separate freedom and political sovereignty in independent and economically viable homelands.

The De Klerkian 1989 model of group apartheid promised separate freedoms and political sovereignty for defined racial groups over Own Affairs and "consensus (read 'white dominance') over General Affairs".

Both models were equally unattainable.

But in contrast to Verwoerd's ideological arrogance, Mr de Klerk felt comfortable "only when he has reached what he regards as the middle position on the ideological spectrum".

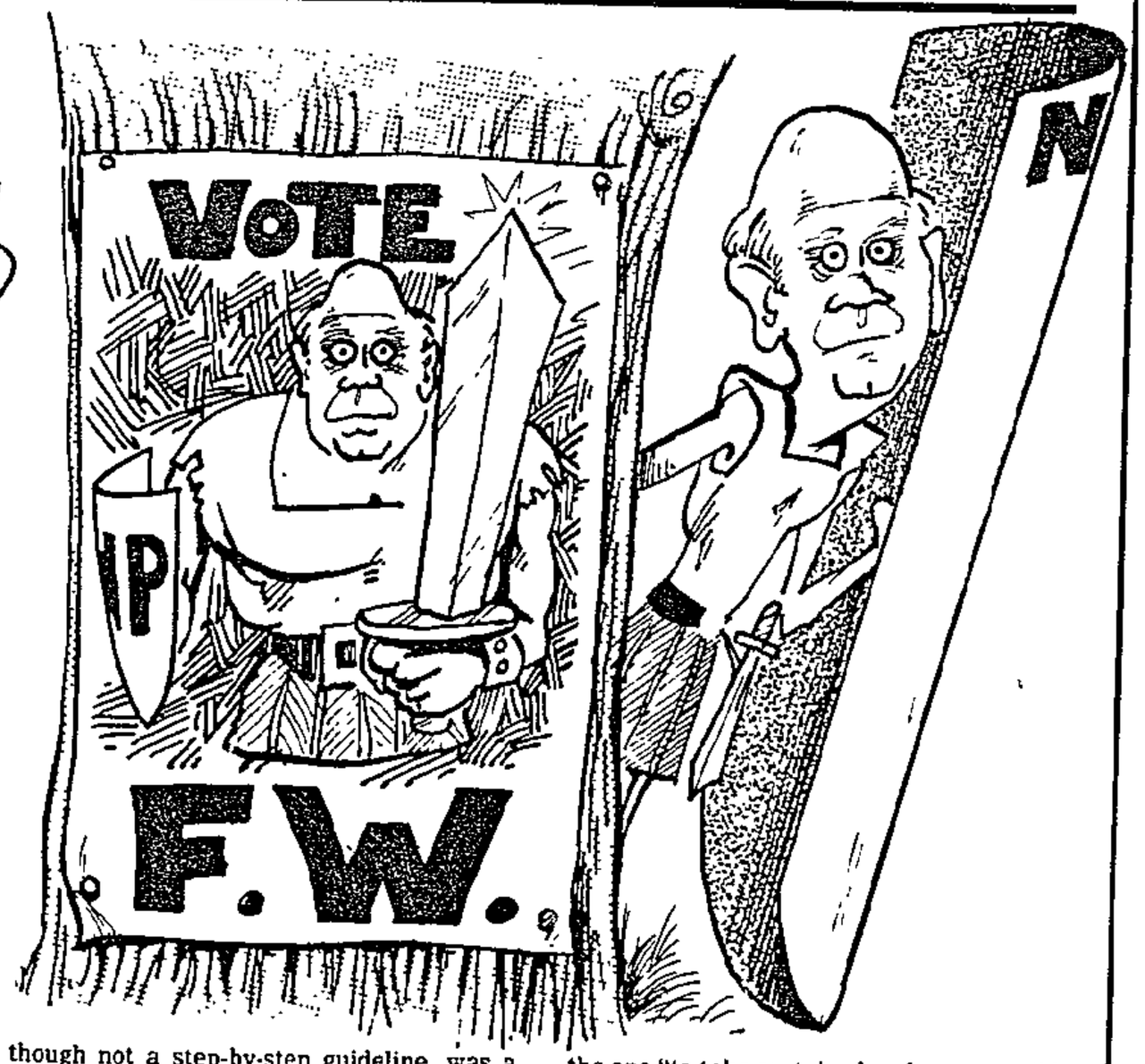
Professor Terreblanche said Mr de Klerk's obsession with a middle position on the ideological spectrum made him very vulnerable to pressure from both the Left and Right.

Mr Con Botha, who as the NP's director of information, had a hand in the "Man of Action" slogan, feels there is proof of action.

He presents three arguments.

Firstly, he says that within a matter of months Mr de Klerk has made the whole concept of the great Indaba and negotiations a matter of practical politics.

Second, presentation of the National Party's plan of action devised by Mr de Klerk and his provincial leaders, which although not a step-by-step guideline, was a plan to get things started.



The plan went further down the road of renewal than the NP had before, for example, by accepting the principle of a Bill of Rights as well as replacing rigid group concepts with a more community-based idea which would permit non-racial groupings.

Third, he had taken action to meet the leaders of the black community, the national states, various European countries, including one of the leaders of the free world.

In these three respects alone, Mr Botha said, Mr de Klerk had shown that he will be the one "to take sustained and even possibly spectacular action".

Whether Mr de Klerk is a man of action will be one of the major debates of the coming election and will be an argument on which it will be difficult to reach conclusions.

Present NP talks are about what he will do in the future. It is hardly surprising that they do not talk about what he has done in the past — having been described by one political commentator as "the man who has left no political footprints".

(Report by B Cameron, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town.)

role of NCW and its possible new role in the future. — Sapa.

Read, discuss paper on a Bill of Rights

304A

Star 24177189

BLOEMFONTEIN — South African women have been encouraged by the Board of Officers of the National Council of Women of South Africa to read and discuss the working paper of the South African Law Commission on a Bill of Rights.

In its first "Notes from Headquarters" for 1989 the Board reminds members that in 1979 Mrs Sheila Mackenzie, in her presidential address to the 45th NCW conference in Pretoria, called for a Bill of Rights for South Africa.

The Board said that with the general election in September, members of NCW would be thinking seriously of the policies of the various political parties and how they would "operate your great privilege of casting your vote".

Members were urged to do their reading on a proposed Bill of Rights in good time and not to be like the man in the television advertisement who was still reading about the problems of moving the day before the removers were due. — Sapa.

(Report by Enid Rhodes, 404 Colonial Mutual Building, Maitland Street, Bloemfontein.)

Star 24/7/87 (304 w) 24/7/87

Answer to NP plan

DP pledges to improve S Africa's prosperity

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has outlined a plan of immediate action which it will undertake if it forms the next government after September 6.

The list of specific election promises is contained in its election manifesto, published at a weekend election launch in Cape Town.

The plan has been seen as a response to the National Party's five-year action plan announced last month.

The DP promises to:

- Bring down inflation to single figures within three years.
- Appoint a minister of consumer affairs to protect consumers and prevent price-rigging, to give more muscle to the Consumer Council and to appoint an official ombudsman.
- Free the Reserve Bank from government interference to control the money supply carefully.
- Review the role of agricultural boards.
- Work hard to end "punitive" rates of inflation.
- Reduce GST to below 10 percent, remove GST on medicines, and switch as soon as possible to value-added tax at a graduated rate, with the lowest on foods, medicines and educational books and the highest on luxuries.
- Introduce separate tax for married couples.
- Change the recently introduced telephone metering system.

Road tolls

- Exempt local residents from road tolls.
- Cut down government spending by ending duplication of government departments.
- Streamline the civil service and reward merit with pay.
- End "golden handshakes" for retiring politicans and oblige officials to declare their financial interests before taking office.
- Fill the 250 000 empty classroom seats in white schools.
- Improve teachers' pay and give women teachers the same pay and benefits as men.
- Scrap the Group Areas Act but simultaneously ensure that minimum neighbourhood standards are maintained.
- Review and adjust all State pensions.
- Reduce pensioners' telephone rental from R18 to R5 a month.
- Establish a well-paid and well-trained nonracical Defence Force.
- Build a strong, voluntary Citizen Force.
- Reduce national service to one year and reduce Citizen Force camps to four on the way to phasing out compulsory conscription.
- Offer alternative national service in the meantime.
- Double the size of the police force to ensure better crime-prevention.
- Pay police more and train them better.

(Report by Peter Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

● See Page 6.

Would-be voters from SA flock to Namibia

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Bus and car loads of white South Africans crossed into Namibia at the Ariamsvlei border post at the weekend to register for the territory's election in November.

All were either born in Namibia or have Namibian parents and so are entitled to register and vote in the election.

The question of South African residents voting in Namibian inde pendence elections has caused tension between Swapo and Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar.

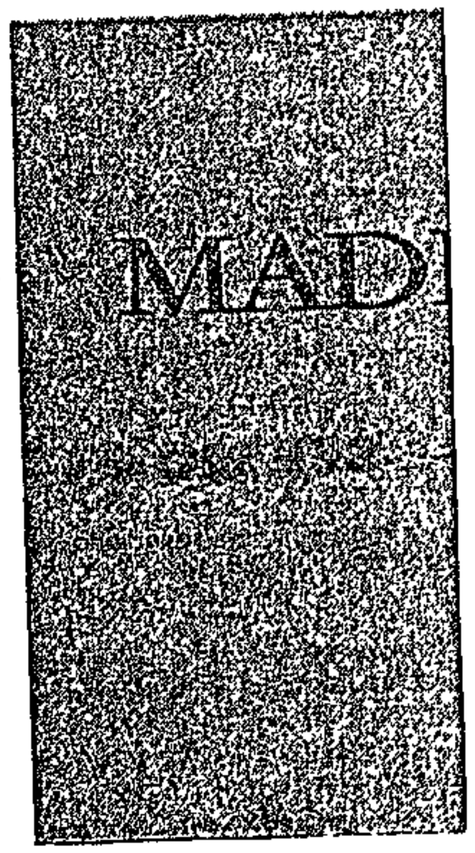
ACCEPTED

UN officials have pointed out, however, that the rules for voter registration were accepted by all parties before they were promulgated as law.

Since the registration legislation was enacted, right-wing groups have been actively campaigning in South Africa to get eligible whites to register to vote.

Some estimates have put the number of South Africans who might qualify to register as high as 40 000.

Namibian newspapers quoted many arrivals as saying they had not committed themselves to living in an independent Namibia.





Mr Pik Botha ... "trade has increased".

SA, East bloc to swop diplomats?

Star 24/7/87 (884) (304A)

Eastern bloc diplomats will be stationed in Pretoria within 18 months, Soviet officials told top South African businessmen at a secret meeting in England.

Academics, business leaders and the Government are said to be negotiating for the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland and South Africa to place trade representatives in each other's capitals.

A spokesman for Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, asked for confirmation of the plans, said: "Nothing is imminent, but it is true that trade with Eastern Europe has increased in recent times." — Own Correspondent.



DP asks Govt to let ANC meet Mandela

304A

Star 24/7/89

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The key political row over talks with the African National Congress has taken a fresh turn with the Government being asked to give an ANC delegation safe passage to hold talks with its jailed leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The request has been made by Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, following his meetings with the ANC last week.

There was no immediate response today from Government spokesmen.

Mr Malan said the ANC and Mr Mandela should be able to confer to establish their position on negotiations.

At the weekend, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk cleared up confusion over the NP position at the NP Cape congress, attacking groups that had held talks with the ANC.

Mr de Klerk said the road to direct talks was open if the banned organisation followed what he claimed was the example of Mr Nelson Mandela and commited itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions.

Restrictions

53c + 7c GST

Established 1887

Huge floating vote key to shocks

Bell goes for poll that could cripple Nats

Star 24/7/89. (304A)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

More than 650 candidates are being nominated for election to Parliament today, setting the scene for the largest and one of the most unpredictable elections in the country's history on September 6.

In the House of Assembly a record total of at least 400 candidates from four parties is expected to be confirmed when nomination courts sit to test the eligibility of applicants.

In the House of Representatives more than 160 candidates are expected from three parties and in the House of Delegates more than 108 candidates could be nominated from a record tally of seven parties.

Nearly 5,5 million voters have been registered for the elections in all three Houses, 3,1 million white, 1,7 million coloured and 665 000 Indian

In the Assembly especially, the election is expected to be one of the toughest and most unpredictable since 1948 with polls indicating a vast range of opinions about the outcome.

Some polls have given the CP as many as 60 seats and the DP more than 30 which would give them a combined total of more than the ruling NP and make a hung Parliament inevitable.

Losses to CP, DP

The Star's own polls also show the NP losing support to both left and right, but do not suggest anything like a landslide erosion of support for the NP.

But the poll also has revealed the existence of a large floating vote of up to 24 percent in some constituencies. All parties agree this decisive vote will be won or lost by campaigns which begin in earnest today.

In the Assembly the NP is expected to put up candidates in all but three or four of the 166 directly elected seats, the likely exceptions being Yeoville, Sandton in the Transvaal and Constantia in the Cape

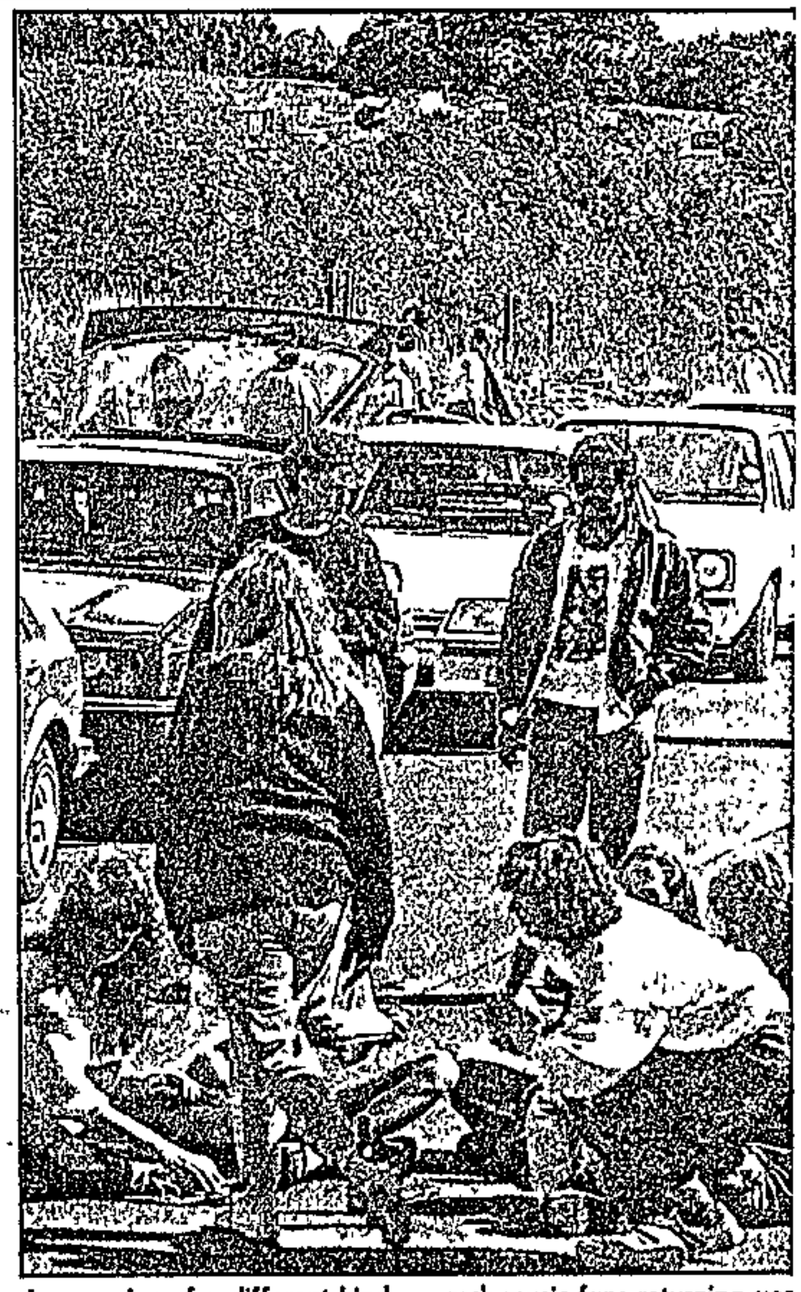
The CP total is expected to be 131 with four more candidates announced over the weekend in the marginal seats of Maritzburg North, Umlazi, Bezuidenhout and Randburg — all seats where the CP candidate could split the NP vote and help the DP win

The DP would probably put up 106 candidates as well as nine in the House of Delegates.

The DP and CP's decision to put up candidates in seats where they have no chance of winning but where they can split the NP vote, was likely to become an election issue, Mr Piet Coetzer the NP's Transvaal information officer said today.

He said the latest candidates announced by the CP proved that there was at least "passive co-operation" between the CP and the DP and that voters would react against this.

(Report by Peter Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Jam session of a different kind . . . rock-music fans returning yes
cope with the crowds.

Staff Reporters

Music fans who travelled to Swaziland for the King's Trust charity rock concert at the weekend returned last night to tell of having to wait up to nine hours to get through border posts where traffic was snarled up for as long as 10 km.

Drivers switched off their engines and passengers, bored with the long delays, passed the time by sleeping on the roadside, playing music and drinking beer Some of the more energetic jogged along the road to kill time.

At the concert itself, shocked and disbelieving fans heard Joan Armatrading — for whose performance many had travelled hundreds of kilometres — say after only three songs that this would be "my last number".

Her entire appearance was over in no more than 20 minutes, leaving thousands of fans bitterly disappointed.

But guitar maestro Eric Clapton, clad in a white shirt and pants and a black jacket, made up for it with a 2½-hour session which received tumultuous applause, especially for well-known numbers such as "I shot the sheriff"

Agony a ecstasy f music fa

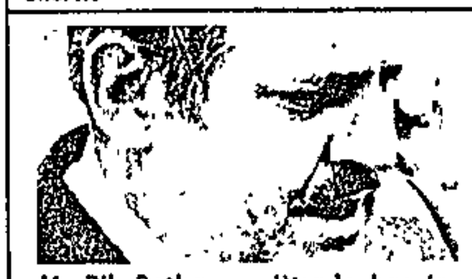
Fans' hassles at the S may be the most lasting m concert for many.

An angry caller, Mr St tie, said he had arrived at der post just after midday

"The was a hell of a long policeman came to tell us other post which was not We arrived at Nurston 3.15 pm where the queue kilometre long"

At 5.45 pm South Afric told fans they were closing

"We showed them the where it said the borde open 24 hours but it ma ence When people started one policeman brought out started snarling at the pe



Mr Pik Botha . . . "trade has in-

SA, East bl

Star 24/7/89

Eastern bloc diplomats tioned in Pretoria within Soviet officials told top S businessmen at a secret England.

Academics, business lea Government are said to b

304A

Poll an 'indication of swing to DP'

Huge floating vote the crucial factor

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

With six weeks to election day, political parties are pulling out all the stops to win over the huge pool of undecided voters which has emerged as a crucial factor in this year's general election.

The Star's opinion polls in six key constituencies, published last week, have revealed a floating vote of between 20 and 30 percent likely to be influenced by the parties' propaganda campaigns which kick off today when candidates are officially nominated.

The Star's polls, considered reliable by politicians and experts, suggest that CP support may have reached a plateau while the DP seems to be the party making most gains from the NP.

Large floating vote

However, party spokesmen and analysts are reluctant to make firm predictions on the overall outcome of the election because of the large floating vote.

The Star's polls were conducted by Marketing & Media Research, which correctly predicted the 1987 result in six constituencies then polled.

Commenting on the polls, the NP's chief information officer, Mr Con Botha, said the NP's propaganda would be a far more formidable factor than that of other parties.

The NP had begun its election campaign after waiting to see what issues emerged from attacks by the opposition parties. This had given the opposition parties a head start which he thought the NP would now close.

The DP's Southern Transvaal chairman, Mr Peter Soal, said The Star's poll was an indication of a swing to the DP and a stagnation in CP support had been confirmed by other polls.

"If the CP can't take Krugersdorp, Boksburg or Innesdal it simply can't improve its position. Voters should not even take the CP into account when making their choices."

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, who according to The Star's poll in Randburg seems to have lost some voters to the NP's Mr Glenn Babb, conceded the NP's election strategy of portraying itself as the reform party and at the same time preaching "conservative wit gevaar" had been successful in the early stages of the campaign.

However, voters would realise before the election that the Nats' five-year plan contained nothing but nice-sounding phrases. He warned against voting "Nat to keep the CP out".

Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP's information director, said the polls had under-estimated CP support as most polls tended to do.

"My prediction is still that we are looking at a hung Parliament with 60-plus seats for the CP and 32 to 35 for the DP."

University of Cape Town political analyst Professor David Welsh said surveys had indicated the NP was losing support to both the Left and the Right, but strikingly more to the DP than to the CP.

Although the CP would increase its number of seats, it seemed as if the rightwing opposition had peaked.

White working class

"To some extent, the CP revolt had been class-based. The CP went to town on whipping up the white working class and the distressed agricultural voter. There probably is a ceiling to that.

"Another factor is that the folly of Boksburg has done the CP more damage that it would be prepared to admit."

Professor Welsh said the DP seemed to be attracting significant numbers of traditional NP voters, initially English-speakers, but now growing number of Afrikaans-speakers.

He remained sceptical of a "hung" Parliament scenario, predicting that both the DP and CP would probably increase their seats to about 30.

"One of the great truths of South African politics is the resilience of the NP's election machine. The NP will go all-out during the remaining six weeks."

Rand Afrikaans University analyst Professor Albert Venter said the huge floating vote was the "joker in the pack" in this year's election.

"The fact that many voters are becoming less certain of their choices is significant, especially in Afrikaner politics where people have always voted for the NP on ideological grounds only."

(Report by Peter Fabricius and Esmare van der Merwe, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

BUSH SLAMMED

The executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, at the weekend attacked the United States Government for shilly-shallying over whether or not the National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, would be received in the White House.

In a statement Mr Kane-Berman said: "In the last few years political leaders like Chief Buthelezi and Mrs Albertina Sisulu as well as a number of religious personalities have been received by either President Reagan or President Bush.

"One can only applaud the open-mindedness to differing views which this suggests.

"How regrettable, then, that the Americans, like a nation of Hamlets, seem incapable of making up their minds as to whether to receive the leader of the National Party.

"The one-sidedness which appear to be displaying is calculated to reinforce white fears, and in particular Afrikaner fears, that they are expendable in the eyes of the Western powers," he said.

He said that it was hardly conducive to encouraging a climate for negotiation in South Africa.

hirter

De Klerk sowing division

Sowetan 24/7/89

304A

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has accused the National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, of trying to drive a wedge between Mr Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress.

According to a statement released by the Archbishop, he was responding to a speech at the Cape congress of the National Party at the weekend in which De Klerk reportedly asked whether the ANC was "prepared to follow the lead given by Mandela and commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions."

Statement

In the statement, Tutu also challenged De Klerk's assertion that, on the question of negotiation, "the ball is in the ANC's court."

The archbishop said in the statement from Johannesburg yesterday that De Klerk had his history wrong.

"Our liberation movements have sought change peacefully since before 1910 (the date of union)," he said in the statement.

"It is his government which forced the ANC and PAC to turn to violence by banning them and it is his government which must unban them and create conditions conducive to negotiations.

"His crude attempt to try to drive a wedge between Mandela and the ANC is deplorable, and indicates that he is not serious about negotiations," said the archbishop in the statement. - Sapa.

YOUR
LOMA
IN
PUTER
RAMMING
S ONLY R100 DEPOSIT
the world of computers
Sts., 1st Floor Darragh House
8-1220 ASK FOR MARY
S 1347
RUSH SLAMMED

600 start race for September poll

600 start race for September poll

Political Staff

THE countdown to one of South Africa's most crucial general elections starts today with an expected 600 candidates seeking nomination in the contest for the three Houses of Parliament.

More than 420 candidates will contest the 166 seats in the House of Assembly, while the others will fight for the 80 seats in the coloured House of Representatives and the 40 in the Indian House of Delegates.

The white election is shaping up to be the biggest cliffhanger since 1948.

The latest opinion polls showed that the National Party was at its weakest position for many years but neither the Democratic Party nor the Conservative Party would win the election outright.

80% voter turnout predicted

The Democratic Party and the opposition Conservative Party said that a Sunday Times poll, which predicted a hung Parliament, was in line with their canvassing returns. The poll predicted that with an 80% voter turnout the National Party would win 78 seats — six short of an overall majority, the CP 52 and the DP 36.

The NP said the Rapport poll which pointed to it losing 20 seats was more accurate.

The Rapport poll showed a 6% gain in the past two weeks for the DP. The increase in support will not necessarily mean more seats for the party as it is in the Transvaal and OFS where very few of its target seats are located.

Both the Rapport and Sunday Times polls show the CP picking up support in Natal and this could benefit the DP.

The Sunday Times poll predicts that the CP will win 42 seats in the Transvaal.

NP information chief Mr Con Botha said the polls had been conducted too early to be reliable.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the polls showed there was a fundamental realignment taking place among white voters. If present trends continued the NP was unlikely to win more than 100 seats.

'Hung' Parliament

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk shrugged off the findings that there could be a "hung" Parliament after the September 6 election.

"The NP will win and it will win well," he told delegates to the party's Cape congress in Somerset West.

DP strategist Mr Ken Andrew said the various polls were unanimous that the DP was growing rapidly.

The number of votes, and not just the seats, obtained by each party was going to be vital in shaping the pressures and realignments in white politics.

"Neither the DP nor the CP is going to win this election outright, but any redelimitation is bound to benfit the DP considerably at the expense of the CP.

"The DP is obliged to demonstrate its support base on as wide a front as possible if it is to play an important role in future re-alignments," Mr Andrew said.

(Reports by Anthony Johnson, Barry Streek and Michael Robertson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

● DP lashes at criticism by 'closet Nats' — Page 7
● Govt denies getting 'soft' — Page 7

NP tackles burning issues

Sowetan 24/7/89

THE National Party has tried to address several burning election questions in a pamphlet, *Key Issues, Election 6 September 1989* which was distributed at its Cape congress at the weekend.

It touches on economic questions, constitutional issues, the protection of white rights, corruption and the Group Areas Act.

Some examples: "Is it possible to prevent majority rule when blacks participate in Government?"

"The unique democratic dispensation that must be developed in South Africa cannot, as in the past, solely rest on the premise of 'winner takes all.'"

"Decisions based on numbers cannot ensure stability . . . the different groups must participate as groups.

"In practice each group will have its own voters roll to determine its leaders.

"The leaders must then decide jointly about general affairs by means of consensus."

To the question, can a black man in terms of the NP's policy, become State President, there is no yes or no.

Instead it says the position of State President can be an important symbol of national reconciliation and all groups should participate in the election of the State President.

But it suggests the powers of the State President would first have to be reduced to prevent domination.

304A

DP predicts major upset against Meyer

THE DP yesterday predicted it would achieve a major election upset by unseating a deputy minister in the Johannesburg West constituency.

Although Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer won the seat by 3 566 votes in 1987, the DP has since won a municipal ward in the area

DP Southern Transvaal chairman Peter Soal said the party was being inundated by calls from voters pledging support or asking how to cast special or postal votes.

The NP, DP and CP nominations were accepted yesterday — Willem Hefer for the DP and Andrew MacQueen for the CP

RIAAN SMIT

Meyer said the constituency represented a cross-section of the electorate.

It includes Auckland Park, Brixton, Mayfair, parts of Emmarentia, Vrededorp, Cottesloe and Braamfontein.

He retained the seat in the 1987 election with a majority of 3 566 votes over the PFP (2 385) and the HNP (1 911) in a low percentage poll of 51,41%.

CP candidate MacQueen put the penetration of Mayfair, Vrededorp and Cottesloe by Asians and blacks as high as 60% and said it would be a major issue.

Report by Riaan Smit, 11 Diagonal St Jhb

CP says game illegally transported for PW

B1Day 25/7/89

304A

PRETORIA — The CP has called on President P W Botha, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and the rest of the Cabinet to resign because of an alleged involvement in illegal transportation of game carcasses.

At a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday, Losberg CP MP Fanie Jacobs claimed a three-ton Nissan truck with false number plates had been stopped by a traffic inspector and a police official on Friday night outside Jagersfontein.

In the back they found the carcasses of two kudu, two wildebeest, about eight blesbok and an ox, Jacobs said. Each had been

GERALD REILLY

labelled "State President P W Botha".

A spokesman for the President last night dismissed the allegation as a petty attempt to discredit Botha by means of transparent politicking clearly aimed at the general election. The game, he said, had been transported in accordance with the rules.

Jacobs said the CP had received its information from an impeccable source, but would not disclose names.

He said the issue had been referred to the Advocate-General and a report had also been made to the police. Charges would be laid "very soon".

Jacobs said it was known to be regular practice for the President and certain Ministers to hunt on Zuurfontein farm, Fauresmith, owned by Pieter Jacobs.

The CP had established a hunt took place on Friday and according to its information Ministers were present.

The vehicle's registration number, BDW765T, had turned out to be false.

The correct number plate had been found behind the seat. It was BSN719B — an official police vehicle. The driver, Sgt

☐ To Page 2

Game

B1Day 25/7/89

304A ☐ From Page 1

Vernon Day, had admitted not having written authority to transport game in terms of the Game Ordinance, said Jacobs.

He had further admitted fetching meat from the farm for the President over the past three years.

Jacobs said it had been established that the police badge on the vehicle had been covered.

According to the CP's information, Day had also stated he was told if he encountered problems he was to flash his police card, and if there were further problems he should tell the inquirer to get in touch with a Col Jacobs in Pretoria.

CP spokesman Jacobs said it appeared the following charges could be relevant:

☐ Transporting meat without written authority;

☐ Falsification of a number plate;

☐ Fraud in connection with the identity of the vehicle or alternatively theft in connection with a petrol fill-up at a police station;

☐ Making use of a government vehicle for private purposes,

☐ The transport of meat into a slaughter-control area without permission; and,

☐ Defeating the ends of justice.

The President's spokesman said Botha had gone hunting on Pieter Jacobs's farm on July 20.

"The State President was not accompanied by any member of the Cabinet. The State President shot a number of game at the invitation of Mr Jacobs. This together with venison presented to him and other personal effects of the State President were transported with State transport in accordance with the rules."

The spokesman said the police were responsible for the protection of Botha and his effects. If there were any irregularities in the transport of his effects it was up to the police to investigate.

Acting Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said any allegations of irregularities involving the SAP would be thoroughly investigated.

Advocate-General Mr Justice Piet van der Walt said last night he knew nothing about the matter. "This is the first I hear of it," he said.

Report by Gerald Reilly 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria, and Mike Robertson 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.

Battle lines drawn for election tussle

304A

Bipaw 25/7/89

THE battle lines were drawn yesterday for the fight for power in 166 seats in the House of Assembly as 428 candidates were nominated in what is seen as the most unpredictable election in SA history.

Just two candidates, veteran DP MPs Harry Schwarz (Yeoville) and Dave Dalling (Sandton), were elected unopposed.

In all, about 700 candidates were nominated for elections in the white, coloured and Indian Houses.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse was elected unopposed in his Swartkops constituency.

The DP is taking legal advice on whether the NP candidate in Berea, Natal MEC Val Volker, can be prevented from standing.

Volker was nominated at the last moment to oppose DP leader Denis Worrall. DP national organiser Neil Ross said the party had taken advice from counsel on whether Volker could be prevented from standing in terms of the Constitution Act, which states that people who have been appointed to offices of profit may not contest elections.

MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

A total of 57 candidates will fight for the 20 Natal seats While the NP and DP will contest all 20, the CP plans to contest an unprecedented 15, the HNP one, and an independent will fight in Pinetown.

The HNP's candidate in Vryheid will make it the only fourway contest in the province.

Four of the seats will be straight fights bewteen the NP and DP.

A total of 197 candidates will fight for the 76 Transvaal seats. The NP will contest 74, the CP 67, the DP 40 and the HNP 12. There are four independents.

A total of 37 candidates will contest the 14 Free State seats.

The CP has put up 14 candidates against the NP's 14, while the DP will contest six and the HNP three.

Three fourway contests will take place between the NP, CP, DP and HNP in Bethlehem, Welkom and Virginia.

A total of 127 candidates will contest the

☐ To Page 2

Battle lines

Bipaw 25/7/89.

304A

☐ From Page 1

56 Cape seats. The NP is putting up 56 candidates while the CP has 33, the DP 33 and the HNP five

In all, the NP is putting up 164 candidates, the CP 139, the DP 99, the HNP 21 and independents five in the Assembly elections.

Two other coloured Ministers, Chris April and Andrew Julies, were elected unopposed.

The NP sprang a surprise on the DP by putting up two women President's Councillors in the western Cape seats of Constantia and Groote Schuur. Martha Olckers will contest Constantia and Elsabe Kemp Groote Schuur.

The CP also surprised by putting up Willem Grobler in Randburg, where DP leader Wynand Malan is facing a tough challenge from former Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Glenn Babb

Report by Mike Robertson and Edyth Bulbring, 11 Diagonal St Johannesburg

● Comment: Page 6

Star 25/7/89 304A

'There's an image in SA that your country is cruel'



South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha is interviewed by **New Times** correspondent **NIKOLAI RESHETNYAK.**

Some years ago it would have been hard to imagine a Soviet magazine interviewing South Africa's Foreign Minister — a country with which the Soviet Union has no diplomatic relations because of its policy of apartheid, unanimously condemned by the world community

Soviet journalists are rare guests in South Africa. But frankly, I was really excited at the prospect of visiting it.

Working in Lusaka, Zambia, I had often observed the problems that arose in South Africa's relations with its neighbours.

But interest in the Soviet Union was also apparent in the fact that it didn't take long to get the go-ahead for my interview with the Foreign Minister.

Clearly the Minister himself appreciated this unique opportunity to speak with a representative of the Soviet press.

Mr Botha spoke on many subjects. With seeming satisfaction, he dwelt at length on the global problems of the modern world.

He voiced straightforward, and perhaps debatable, opinions on the situation in the country and the struggle waged by the African National Congress.

As ethics demand, I didn't interrupt.

Positive attitude

New Times: Mr Botha, what do you feel on meeting a Soviet correspondent after so many years of tension in the relations between our two countries?

Mr Botha: In my opinion such meetings are certainly useful since nothing can be as good as direct contacts.

My many years of experience tell me that people who visit South Africa without knowing what the country is really like, leave it with a more positive attitude.

The reason is simple. For many years information about South Africa has been so one-sided that it was impossible to convince a foreigner who had never been to the country before that in our society there are positive and contructive things, too.

I believe the same can be said of Soviet journalists. I suppose you too arrived here biased. Now you will have formed your own personal impressions.

Now let's look at this from another angle. What do I know about the Soviet Union? My knowledge has also been formed on the basis of reports in the Western media, books by dissidents who have emigrated to the West, and material made available to me by African leaders and diplomats who have worked in Moscow.

I have been to the Soviet Union. But I am trying to do my best to get more accurate information about your country However, very often I have to be a prisoner of somebody else's views.

Hence the danger that I, too, may be biased with regard to the Soviet Union, the obectives of your government, and the everyday concerns of your people, although I do want to know what makes your people happy or bitter.

Perhaps I am saying too much? Perhaps I should refrain from passing judgments on another country and its people until I have some personal experience

New Times: The South African press has given wide coverage to the elections in the USSR and the development under way in our country. What is the reason for this interest?

Mr Botha: Your country has been closed to us for far too long, hence our curiosity and keenness to know what's going on in the USSR.

For many years we've tended to think you are cruel. Your labour camps in Siberia are packed with people who die like flies. Your legal system is far from perfect

This image of your country, unfortunately, is widespread here. Similarly, I believe, you imagine South Africa as a country where the whites oppress and murder blacks. Have you seen anything of the sort here?

I have just received a delegation of Africans and, frankly, for me it's easier to negotiate with them than to be aggressive

New Times. I have seen General Secretary Gorbachev's book, "Perestroika. New Thinking for Our Country and the World", in bookshops in Johannesburg and Pretoria Are you familiar with it?

Mr Botha: I've read the Gorbachev book almost in full. Many ideas in it are explained clearly and sincerely. It's a useful, intelligent and realistic book

New Times: The implementation of the UN Security Council's Resolution 435 on independence for Namibia has already started. What is your idea of Namibia's future relations with those neighbouring countries that call themselves Frontline states?

Mr Botha: I believe the region is definitely on the way to peace South Africa is strong enough and doesn't need anything from Namibia South Africa's role is to provide our neighbours with the necessary conditions for developing their economies, better living standards and housing, more efficient health care, new jobs, and prosperity for the region as a whole

New Times: What will be the main priorities in South Africa's foreign policy in the event of the country abolishing apartheid and emerging from international isolation?

Mr Botha: South Africa is my home. So, my main goal is the development, development and further development of my country.

Better education

I want to have modern roads, and clinics and hospitals. I want a better education system.

We have much work to do here in South Africa so that our chidren and grandchildren don't accuse us of neglecting our problems.

What is the main threat to our survival, given our isolation? The US Congress It is slowly strangling us economically. Or the Soviet Union? If the USSR lifts its sanctions against this country it will not mean you are on the side of the whites, for the South African government, and for apartheid.

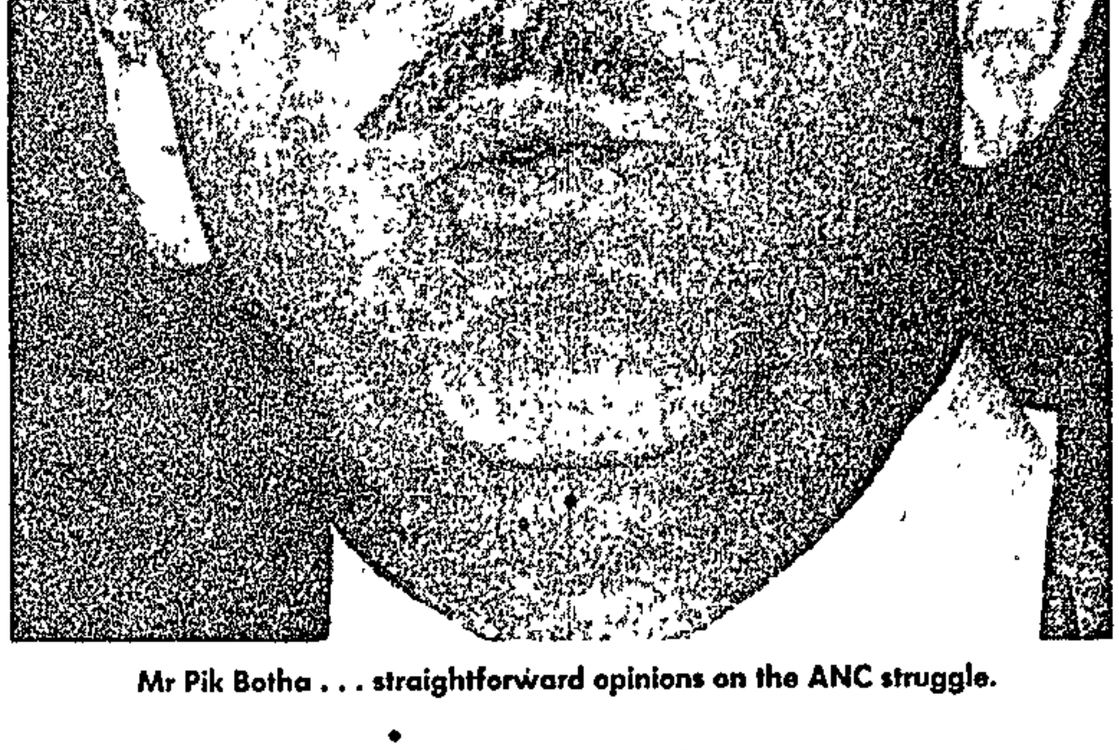
It will mean you are looking forward; that you see that the whole of Africa is fighting for its future. Who will build the Africa of the future? Who will give jobs to the blacks? Who will give them food? Who will give them medicines?

We have a stake in just trade relations with all countries of the world, the USSR included This will not mean that you approve of my policy, and equally, it will not mean that I fully approve of Gorbachev's policy. It will mean simply that we are developing contacts and trade for the benefit of our peoples

New Times: What is your assessment of the internal situation in the country from the standpoint of the activisation of democratic processes, legalising the African National Congress, and beginning direct and sincere dialogue with this and other democratic movements?

Mr Botha: The African National Congress can legalise itself by putting an end to violence and eschewing terrorism. The ANC can't force us to negotiate by exploding bombs

The time has come to state that the time for violence is over, as is the time of apartheid



Mr Pik Botha . . . straightforward opinions on the ANC struggle.

Pik delivers some blunt views to Soviet press

Why De Klerk had White House door slammed in his face

SIMON BARBER in Washington

LOOK AT it this way. Had F W de Klerk actually had his half-hour with President George Bush, there is every possibility that the White House "spin doctors" would have made him regret it afterwards.

Unnamed officials would have deliberately misrepresented the meeting for domestic political effect by letting it be known that Bush wasn't fooled for a moment by the NP leader's promises and had conveyed his "anger" with the wicked Boer in no uncertain terms.

De Klerk would have returned to his electorate as snubbed as he would have been had the US President decided at the last moment not to see him at all.

That prediction can be confidently made in the light of what happened last week. Bush's political advisers — including, it seems, Chief of Staff John Sununu — prevailed over his National Security Council and State Department to nix the meeting that the foreign policy establishment had provisionally planned for this week.

They did it by refusing to guarantee that De Klerk would see the President if he accepted Secretary of State James Baker's invitation to Washington, thus obliging the South African to cancel rather than risk humiliation six weeks before he faced the voters.

Why did they do this? The proximate cause was a letter to Bush which Congressman Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Africa Subcommittee, and House majority whip Congressman William Gray began circulating among their colleagues late last month opposing a White House meeting until the state of emergency had been lifted, political organisations unbanned and all political prisoners freed.

By the start of last week, they had managed to garner some 100 signatures. They then held a Press conference and froze Sununu's feet.

The point to note here is the time it took Wolpe and the knee-jerkers to react. The possibility of a meeting between De Klerk and Bush had been a matter of public record here since early May, and of internal debate much longer.

Yet for most of the intervening weeks, the only sign of opposition was a halfhearted and undersubscribed attempt by TransAfrica's Randall Robinson to drum up some kind of protest movement. No one was really that interested.

De Klerk could have been slipped into the White House at any time during this period — after his trip to London, perhaps — without triggering anything beyond a few placard wavers, but the US administration could not make up its mind what it wanted to do.

Baker's kindergarten — Assistant Secretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Kimmit, department counsellor Robert Zoellick and chief of policy planning Denis Ross — blizzarded each other with memos while Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, who had originated the idea of a meeting, waited patiently for his superiors to finish exercising their egos.

Nonetheless, some progress was made. Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda stopped by the White House and said he liked the idea. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was sufficiently encouraged by De Klerk to write to Bush recommending he follow her example.

There was also support for a meeting on both sides of the aisle in the Senate. The US administration had broached the subject with Senator David Boren, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, and others.

They approved, on the proviso that Bush also personally invite in the UDF's Albertina Sisulu, whom Boren had met on his trip to SA last December and by whom, in private discussion away from her handlers, he had been deeply moved. A deal was cut.



☐ DE KLERK . . . snubbed

Part of Cohen's mission when he visited SA at the start of this month was to see De Klerk and establish what he proposed to say at and after the White House meeting. The Assistant Secretary of was impressed by what he heard and cabled home accordingly.

Doubters in the US administration maintained that since Cohen had made no secret of his support for the meeting, his reporting must be biased. They asked him to clarify his first message, and he did so in a second.

His view prevailed. Baker's top advisers met on Friday, July 7, and agreed that De Klerk should get half an hour with the President on July 25 or 26. They also decided, as a final tradeoff, that Wynand Malan of the DP should also be granted an Oval Office audience.

Meanwhile, the anti movement at last was beginning to pick up steam, stoked in part by Sisulu. But she was not the only reason, and certainly her view had little impact in the Senate. No senator signed the letter, and even such usual suspects as Senators Paul Simon, chairman of the Senate Africa Sub-committee, and Edward Kennedy, remained studiedly mute.

What Wolpe and his colleagues were really responding to was a void. They saw, correctly, that the US administration was vacillating on the first tough decision it had to make about policy on SA. They smelt a cheap and easy political victory, their favourite kind, and rushed in to seize it by staging a Press conference last Tuesday just hours before the White House was to make its final decision. They were rewarded.

Why did the US administration dither for so long?

First, and most obviously, they are new. At the political level — and that, ultimately, is the only one that counts — all they know about SA is that it caused President Ronald Reagan his first critical foreign policy defeat at the hands of Congress.

Their tendency is therefore to think about the issue in terms of damage control — dish out the Danegeld to the noisiest Congressional critic — rather than helping shape events on the ground.

Second, being new, they are not great takers of advice, least of all from effective hold-overs like Cohen who know whereof they speak.

Nor, for a variety of reasons, have they yet assembled a team of experts they feel they can trust. Bush has no Sir Robin Renwick in SA upon whose judgment and skill he can rely.

In fact, Edward Perkins's successor as Ambassador in Pretoria, William Swing, is unlikely to be on post by September 6. His name has yet to be forwarded to the Senate for confirmation.

Third, they are confused. Lacking any firm ideological anchors of their own, and absent someone of the intellectual order of Chester Crocker to frame their thinking for them, they are not inclined to pay much serious attention and when they do, sincerely cannot understand what is happening in southern Africa and why it was so important that De Klerk should be given time with the President.

Fourth, the phrase "constructive engagement" scares them silly. In their timorous naivete, they see only what it meant to those who used it to cudgel their predecessors. This blinds them the fact that if the US is to play any real role in the region, it must engage the South African government, now perhaps more than ever before.

For better or worse, Pretoria is setting the agenda both internally and throughout southern Africa.

The ANC's discussion paper on negotiations openly recognises this. Nelson Mandela knows this, which is why he agreed to take tea with P W Botha.

Kenneth Kaunda, Eduardo dos Santos, Joaquim Chissano, even Robert Mugabe, all know that in a world of retreating superpowers and with no one else to turn to for protection from past mistakes, business must be done with SA. Otherwise, all is hopelessness.

The question, then, is whether the US should seek a role in guiding Pretoria's agenda. Everyone except Sisulu, 100 knee-jerk congressmen and their spineless supplicants in the White House think the answer is yes.

With luck, President Bush will now learn from his adviser's fumblings and get his administration's act together. It's time for a bit of the statesmanship thing.

NP made us all the poorer — DP's Malan

Star 28/7/81

3049

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The Government's economic and security records were attacked by Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Mr Wynand Malan at the official launch of the DP election campaign in Randburg last night.

He said the Government's mismanagement of the economy had "made us all steadily poorer".

The NP remained "deadly silent" on the state of the economy and on internal politics.

Mr Malan believed a hung Parliament after the September 6 election was now "a real possibility" and he foresaw a situation where Mr F W de Klerk would look up to the DP for support "in order to form a government of some kind".

Three former NP members, Mr Andre Stapelberg, Mr Thys Sutherland and Mr Piet Pieterse, pledged their support for Mr Malan, and said they deserted the NP because of its failure to act boldly in the interests of all South Africans.

Mr Sutherland said breaking away from the NP, which he had supported all his life, had been "a traumatic decision".

(Report by K Nyatsumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Star 25/7/89

NP under heavy fire at launch of DP's campaign

(3049)

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The National Party's reform rhetoric, economic track record and "own affairs" policy came under heavy fire from the Democratic Party last night at the launch of the DP's election campaign in Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

More than 800 enthusiastic DP supporters packed the Saxonwold Primary School Hall to listen to DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer, standing in Parktown, Johannesburg North MP Mr Peter Soal and the party's candidate in the opposition safe seat of Houghton, Mr Tony Leon.

In a scathing attack on National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, Dr de Beer said Mr de Klerk's efforts to separate Mr Nelson Mandela from the African National Congress was "a ludicrous thing to do".

Describing Mr Mandela as the ANC's spiritual leader for more than 25 years, Dr de Beer said Mr de Klerk's recent "yes to Mandela, no to the ANC" statement demonstrated the NP's "lack of guts".

Elaborating on the NP government's economic mismanagement, Dr de Beer said the solution to the ailing economy was political reform.

"And the only remedy is to put the DP in power — if not in this election, most definitely in the next," he said.

Mr Soal said the DP offered specific alternatives to the NP's vague generalities expressed in its recently-publicised five-year action plan.

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

uly 25 1989

We would end up a socialist state — Vlok

DP path 'leads to Freedom Charter'

Star 25/7/89 304A

EAST LONDON — If South Africans took the route the Democratic Party had chosen, they would end up with a constitution based on the Freedom Charter, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said last night.

Speaking at a National Party meeting in Cambridge, attended by about 100 people, Mr Vlok said the DP associated with extra-parliamentary groups that were seen as the internal arms of the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress.

"We would end up with a socialist state," he said.

DP policy did not take realities into account. Mr Vlok described their election manifesto as "hollow promises which they would not be able to fulfil".

One reality the DP had not confronted was that there were different groups whose rights had to be protected.

Another reality was that the country's financial resources were limited. "We would like to pay the police and civil servants more, but where do we get the money from?"

He also attacked Conservative Party policies, saying they would only lead to tensions and confrontation.

"If South Africa gets a CP government on September 6 then not only Boksburg will suffer, but East London as well."

He said the NP was a winning party because it was capable of change and a new vision.

"We have made mistakes and admitted our mistakes, but we have also changed and chosen the road ahead."

He said a constitution had to be found which would be acceptable to the majority of South Africans, but not based on the Freedom Charter or partition.

"We ask you to trust us and give us a mandate to go ahead with our five-year plan so that there can be security, peace and freedom for our people." — Sapa.

(Report by P Malherbe, 33 Caxton St, East London)

Babb hits out at DP's stance

National Party candidate for Randburg and former Ambassador to Canada, Mr Glen Babb, came out strongly today against the Democratic Party for fielding candidates in marginal seats.

"I wish to slam the DP for putting up candidates in constituencies which are marginal between the NP and the Conservative Party.

"A good showing by the CP in this election will do immense damage to our foreign relations, yet the DP prefers to go for the glamour of putting up candidates where they have no hope of winning."

The former ambassador is contesting the Randburg seat against DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan. — Sapa.

(Report by N Lewis, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

Star 25/7/89 (304A)

Stage set for fierce elections

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The three main parties in the House of Assembly will join battle in 77 three-cornered election contests, setting the stage for unpredictable results on September 6.

This emerged when nearly 700 candidates in all three Houses of Parliament were confirmed by nomination courts in 286 constituencies yesterday, 415 of them in the House of Assembly.

Polls and political analysts have all predicted one of the fiercest contests since 1948, with the NP losing support to left and right. The large number of three-cornered contests is likely to magnify NP losses to the DP and the CP.

The National Party has put up 164 candidates for the 166 Assembly seats, the Conservative Party 129, the Democratic Party 98, the Herstigte Nasionale Party 19 and there are five independents.

Yesterday's nominations confirmed the tactics of the DP and CP of putting up candidates in seats where they cannot win but where the entry of a third candidate will split the vote and could result in the NP losing.

The NP conceded last night that the DP entry into contests between the NP and CP could hurt the NP in 18 constituencies in the Transvaal, such as Bethal, Lydenburg, Springs and Rosettenville.

The DP retained its first parliamentary seats yesterday when veteran Johannesburg MPs Mr Harry Schwarz and Mr Dave Dalling were returned unopposed in Yeoville and Sandton respectively.

B/Day 25/7/89 (304A)

Bloomberg to take on four contenders



NP Johannesburg West candidate Roelf Meyer, with electoral officer Cornelia Joubert, in the Westdene nomination court yesterday. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

FIVE candidates, including two independents, were yesterday nominated to contest the Bezuidenhout constituency which the NP won from the PFP in the last election

Sitting MP Sam Bloomberg (NP) said yesterday the election would be a "circus", but a five-cornered fight did not worry him

"Four political non-entities with no relevant policies are standing against me," he said.

Geoff Engel will represent the DP and Sakkie de Jager the CP. There are two independents, Johann Enslin and Lionel Reichenberg

Bloomberg, who said last week he was confident of a win against Engel, said with the three more contenders, the outcome was "anyone's guess".

However, he said there seemed to be no reason why the voters would not want him for a second term.

Bloomberg said he doubted NP supporters would vote for an independent but any support they got would reduce both DP and NP votes. He did not see

EDYTH BULBRING

the CP as a threat

He thought there was a rush of candidates because of the impression created during the NP's fierce nomination contest that he was not the party's choice, and the seat was thus up for grabs

Engel said yesterday he was pleased at the CP's presence in the battle as it would split the NP vote.

Corruption

He did not think the independents would attract many votes.

Reichenberg, a businessman who was rejected as a DP nominee for the constituency, said he was known for being a "vexatious litigant". He had been involved in a number of court cases

He said he was new to politics and was concerned about bribery and corruption in government. He was against apartheid.

He said each person regardless of race, should be entitled to vote, depending on how much tax he paid

Reichenberg said he would draw his support mainly from the conservative Afrikaans vote

De Jager, who lost to the NP's Linda Lewis in the municipal election, said a CP survey, conducted in Bezuidenhout before they decided to put up a candidate, indicated one out of every four residents was "CP inclined"

He said he was not acting as a "spoiler" between the DP and the NP but was going for a win.

Independent candidate Johann Enslin, a print broker, said he stood for individual rights He felt the State acted illegally and immorally in laying claim to the earnings of the individual, who should be taxed according to the services he used

He stood for limiting the power of government to the army, the courts and the police

Report by Edyth Bulbring 11 Diagonal St Johannesburg

B/Day 25/7/89

THREE FACING CURRENCY RAP

HARARE — Three men were yesterday remanded in custody on allegations of smuggling goods from SA into Zimbabwe and exporting both local and US dollars to SA in contravention of the Customs and Excise Act and Foreign Exchange Control regulations

Colin Thomson, 48, and John Theobald, 47, who were remanded to August 7, were arrested while crossing into SA at Beit Bridge on July 15 when they were found in possession of Z$90 000, $398 and one piece of gold which they had obtained from Alroy Botha, 51, of Avondale, Harare, Ziana reports.

Thomson and Theobald are holders of New Zealand passports while Botha holds an SA passport

Last week, prosecutor Phillip Bvumbe alleged that the men smuggled goods from SA into Zimbabwe using a car with a false bottom — Sapa

Third dimension in Randburg fight

B/Day 25/7/89 (304A)

THE fierce battle for Randburg between the DP and the NP has been turned into a three-way fight after the last minute nomination of a CP candidate yesterday.

The appearance of CP candidate Willem Grobbler at the Randburg nomination was the first public indication the party intended to contest the seat held by the DP's Wynand Malan

The NP candidate, former deputy Director General of Foreign Affairs Glenn Babb, said the CP decision to put up a candidate was proof of the collaboration between the CP and DP to split votes He had heard Grobbler was standing for the first time yesterday morning

Grobbler, who described himself as a businessman, said the CP decided to put up a candidate after NP Randburg town councillor Stephan van Metzinger "decided to go and chat with the ANC"

Metzinger, in his private capacity, went on an Idasa-sponsored trip to the Frontline states which included meetings with members of the ANC.

SUSAN RUSSELL

"We believe voters should have a choice between two parties prepared to negotiate with the ANC and one party which will never negotiate with terrorists, said Grobbler

Asked to respond to Babb's accusations of collaboration, Malan said it was arrogant of the NP to assume people would vote for them if they did not have a candidate from the party of their choice

"If you need the support of people not supporting you, against the background of a deteriorating society in economic decline and a decreased expection of a future, then surely you are not thinking as a democrat," said Malan "You can expect people to put up more and more candidates in order to get a better future according to their perception"

Malan said the NP did not even deserve the backing of their own supporters, let alone those of oppostion parties.

Report by Susan Russell 11 Diagonal St Johannesburg

Three bid for Hillbrow seat

ADELE BALETA (304A)

THE three-cornered contest for Hillbrow, vacant since NP Leon de Beer was jailed for electoral fraud last year, began yesterday with nominations for NP, CP and DP candidates being accepted by the returning officer.

Hillbrow is the most marginal seat in the Transvaal after Krugersdorp

The CP's chief whip in the Boksburg town council, T J Ferreira, who lives in Boksburg, was nominated for the CP

Eisco Chemical Corporation MD and Galatex director Tony Wasserman, who lives in Waverley, Johannesburg, is standing for the NP.

Attorney and DP nominee Lester Fuchs, who lives in Berea, Johannesburg, is the only Hillbrow candidate living in the constituency

Fuchs said he did not believe the CP was a threat B/Day 25/7/89

Wasserman predicted the CP would not win a lot of support.

The CP expects to improve its performance in the September 6 general election

The PFP's Alf Widman lost the Hillbrow seat to De Beer in 1987 by 89 votes The CP had more than 1 000

The seat became vacant when De Beer was jailed

Fuchs complained yesterday the NP had contravened city regulations by putting up posters before the legal time limit

"This is happening in a constituency which has been racked by controversy and corruption and, with a Nat MP in jail, we believe it is a move not appreciated by fair-minded citizens"

Wasserman denied the accusations, insisting posters were put up according to regulations

Report by Adele Baleta 11 Diagonal St Jhb

Quiz for 'reformers'

B/Day 25/7/89 (304A)

SA's recent history was littered with the political corpses of so-called reformers who admitted they had been unsuccessful in changing the NP from within, DP candidate for Houghton Tony Leon said last night.

Speaking at a public meeting in Saxonwold, Johannesburg Leon posed six questions which he said "so-called reformist Nats" owed it to the electorate to answer

- Were they in favour of the Population Registration Act?
- Did they support the continuation of group areas in statutory form?
- Precisely how did the NP intend to incorporate blacks into Parliament?
- Why did they insist on treating all whites in the same way and all blacks as aliens, foreigners or people with lesser rights?
- What proposal did they as NP candidates have for removing the red tape and duplication of facilities, amentities and services in SA?
- What was their view on the NP's

SUSAN RUSSELL

refusal to amend or repeal the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act which had allowed the CP to practise wholesale discrimination in Boksburg and Brakpan?

Leon said once every NP candidate had answered these questions honestly and forthrightly he should then explain why he chose to remain in the NP.

The NP in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg had suggested the party now held the broad centre in SA politics, Leon told the meeting

Of all the fantasies enjoying some currency, he said, this represented the grand illusion

"Far from being a bulwark against the CP, it is simply a paler, tamer version of the same beast," said Leon

He said three schools in the Houghton constituency were grossly under their quota of scholars as a result of government's obsession with "own affairs"

Report by Susan Russel 11 Diagonal St Johannesburg

Record company loses R7 000 in hold-up

KRUGERSDORP — Five men — two wielding firearms and one a knife — robbed the Decibel Record Company in Krugersdorp on the West Rand of R7 000 in cash yesterday.

People in the building — including TV personality Karike Keuzenkamp — were ushered into an office and robbed of their jewellery and watches, West Rand SAP liaision officer Maj Tienie Halgryn said

Those rounded up and robbed were ordered to lie on the floor while firearms were levelled at them

Boet Pretorius — well known in music circles — was robbed of his gold neck chain, a gold ring and his wrist watch, and singer Annelie van Rooyen's father Retief of his watch and R240 in cash He was also hit on the head with a firearm, but was not seriously hurt, Halgryn said

Keuzenkamp lost her wedding ring and wrist watch

No arrests have been made — Sapa

Ex-minister convicted on car charge

HARARE — Former Higher Education Minister Dzingai Mutumbuka was convicted yesterday of selling a vehicle for more than the controlled price, but he has pleaded not guilty to another count with which he and his wife Catherine are jointly charged, the national news agency Ziana reports.

Mutumbuka, who pleaded guilty to contravening the Control of Goods Regulations when he sold a Peugeot 504 with a controlled price of Z$9 338 for Z$40 000, was found guilty by Mr Justice Adam sitting with assessors Judgment will be passed later

The former minister, who is the second to appear before the courts on charges of overcharging for motor vehicles, pleaded not guilty to a second charge of selling a Toyota Cressida with a controlled price of Z$27 432 for Z$110 000, but his wife pleaded guilty.

Defence counsel Adrian de Bourbon asked the court to discharge Mutumbuka, arguing that the State had failed to prove he was involved in the sale of the vehicle

Augustine Chikumira of the attorney-general's office argued that there was a prima facie case against Mutumbuka

"It is beyond human experience that the second accused (Mrs Mutumbuka) could have sold the vehicle without the authority of the first accused," he said.

The hearing continues — Sapa

DURBAN — An Indian

Remark not racist – Derby-Lewis

Star 25/7/87 By Gien Elsas, West Rand Bureau (3044A)

The Conservative Party spokesman on economic affairs said in the Krugersdorp Civil Court yesterday that he would leave the country, if a black government were to come into power.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis was being questioned by the advocate for Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels and the National Party during a defamation of character case following a National Party advertisement in which Mr Derby-Lewis allegedly advocated compulsory sterilisation for blacks in order to bring down the numbers of the black population.

Mr Derby-Lewis is claiming R5 000 in damages.

The statement was allegedly made during an interview Mr Derby-Lewis had with Mr Jaap Boekkooi of the *Sunday Star*. Mr Derby-Lewis took the matter to the Media Council and the *Sunday Star* was told to print a retraction.

Advocate Mr Lappe Laubscher, for Mr Wessels, put it to Mr Derby-Lewis that he was a racist. He referred Mr Derby-Lewis to an article of Gus Silber in *Frontline* in August 1986 in which he was apparently quoted as saying: "Black people are being paid more than they need. This encourages them to frequent social facilities which should be out of their bracket."

Mr Derby-Lewis denied the remark was racist, saying racism was a relative concept.

The hearing continues tomorrow.

TIC attacks DP decision

Star 25/7/87

The Transvaal Indian Congress has condemned the Democratic Party for fielding nine candidates for the House of Delegates.

The TIC said the DP's decision was an insult to the Indian community, "the large majority of which rejects any participation in the House of Delegates".

The TIC believed the DP was playing a divisive role in Indian areas and was "doing the dirty work of the National Party".

"This makes the DP no different from the other collaborationist parties, like the National People's Party and Solidarity."

The TIC further called for a boycott of the election, saying the tricameral Parliament was irrelevant to change. — Sapa.

(Report by N Oelofse, 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

CP claims illegal use of S

PW in row ov

Star 25/7/89

(304A)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

President Botha was challenged today to say what rule allowed him to use a police vehicle to carry game carcasses.

The row was triggered yesterday when the Conservative Party charged that after he had hunted buck on a Free State farm last week, several carcasses were transported for him in a police vehicle showing false civilian number plates.

Mr Botha did not respond to the charges about the false registration, but a spokesman for his office confirmed that "State transport" had been used to carry the buck and "other personal effects" of the State President.

He confirmed that Mr Botha had hunted on the farm of his friend, Mr Pieter Jacobs, near Fauresmith on July 20.

He had shot some buck and these, together with other venison given to him, had been transported in State transport.

This was done "volgens reels", he said, ("according to the regulations" or "according to custom").

Today, Mr Frank le Roux, the CP's chief whip, demanded to know what rule entitled the State President to use State transport for a pleasure trip

"If there is a State regulation or accepted [illegible] entitling him to do this, then he must spell it out.

"Our evidence was that the vehicle was carrying false number plates. Why was that done if he was using the trasnport according to the rules?"

'Change the custom'

Mr Rupert Lorimer, the Democratic Party environment spokesman, said today he would be looking into the matter to see if Mr Botha had infringed any conservation laws.

"If this was done according to custom as Mr Botha says, then it is about time the custom was changed If he wants to go hunting he should do so at his own expense"

A big question mark still hangs over the CP allegations that the police vehicle was showing false civilian registration.

The acting Commissioner of Police, General Johann van der Merwe, said last night the allegations would be "thoroughly investigated"

The CP's Losberg MP, Mr Fanie Jacobs, revealed details of the hunting controversy at a press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

He said that a 3-ton Nissan vehicle was stopped at a police roadblock near Jagersfontien at 8.30 pm on July 21 this year.

The vehicle was carrying the carcasses of two kudu, two wildebees, about six blesbuck and one ox, each labelled "State President P W Botha"

The vehicle's registration number was BDW 765 T, which later proved to be false The correct number plate — BFn 719 B — was later found concealed behind the seat ofthe vehicle

"It was a police vehicle with the official SAP logbook number 70720B.".

Red label

Mr Jacobs said the police sign on the vehicle was covered by a red label, "apparently to conceal the fact that it was a police vehicle".

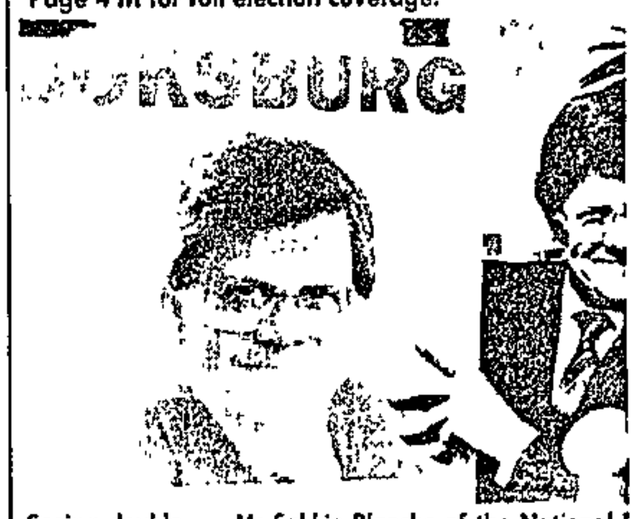
The vehicle was driven by Sergeant Vernon Day of the SAP who admitted he had no written permission to transport venison as required by wildlife ordinances

He said he had been carrying venison for the State President for three years in a police vehicle

(Report by P Fabricius, 218 Vermeulen Street Pretoria)



Seeing double . . . Democratic Party candidates (fre
Page 4 M for full election coverage.



Seeing double . . . Mr Sakkie Blanche of the National P
seeking re-election as MP for Boksburg, wasted no tim
his message across. ● Picture by

Toll road users will re

By Paula Fray

Frequent users of the Gosforth toll plaza on the N17 in the East Rand will be granted concessions once the charges are levied from August 5.

The levies for the toll road were detailed during a meeting convened by the concession holder, Expressways, at an East Rand hotel yesterday.

The fully completed Springs-Krugersdorp expressway will be South Africa's first privatised metropolitan toll road.

The concessions are only applicable to those drivers using credit or fleet management cards who will then be given the final account — with concessions calculated according to the number of times the road was used — at the end of the month

From 2 pm on August 5, cars, bakkies and trailers will [illegible] toll fee of 70c for the u[illegible] Class two vehicles (vehi[illegible] axles) will be charged [illegible] three vehicles (trucks [illegible] more axles) will be char[illegible]

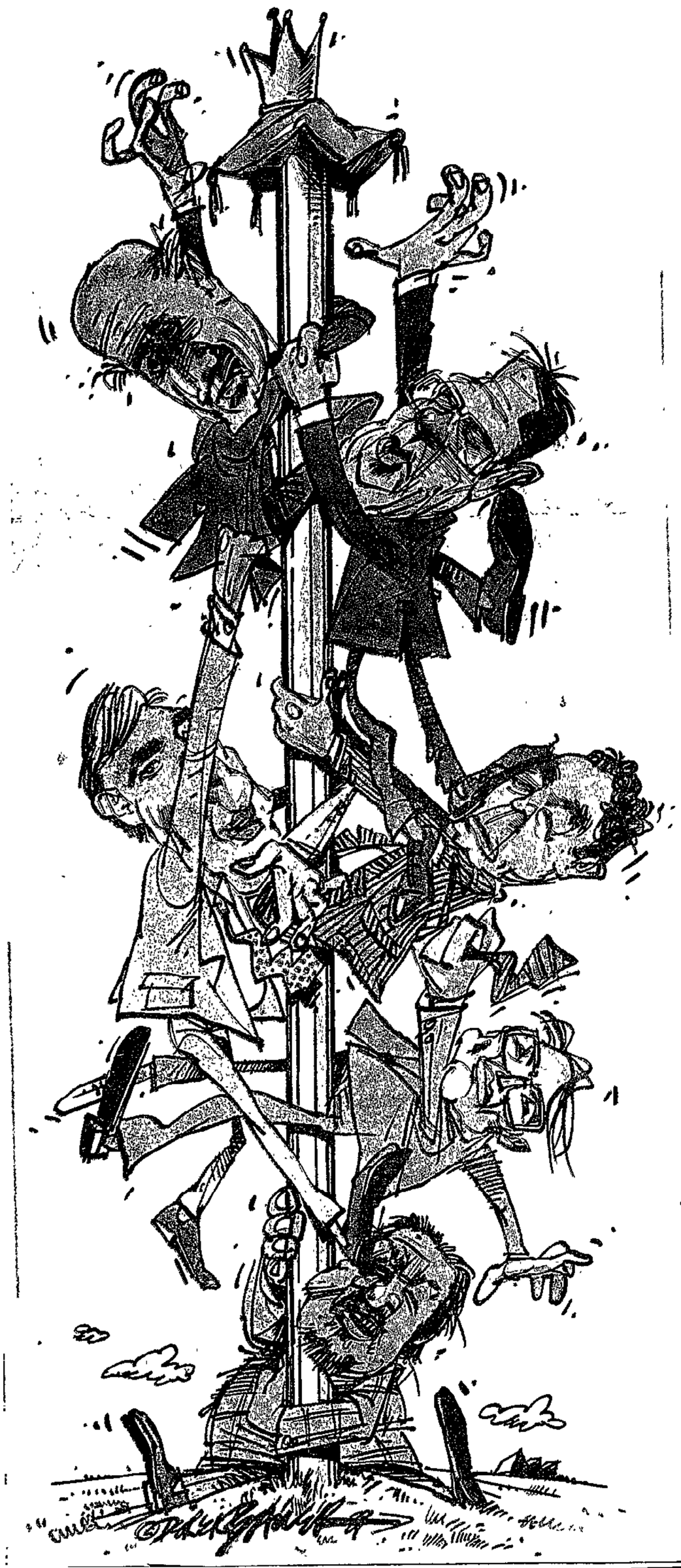
However, motorists [illegible] road between 35 and 69 [illegible] will be charged 60c a jo[illegible] using the road more t[illegible] month will be charged 5[illegible]

Class two vehicles usi[illegible] tween 35 and 69 times n[illegible] charged R2,40 a journey [illegible] road more than 70 time[illegible] will be charged R2,00 a [illegible]

Class three vehicles [illegible] discount after more tha[illegible] They will be charged F[illegible] once they use the toll

Big splurge on election

IKBUS 25/7/89 304A



By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

MILLIONS of rands will be spent by political parties on fierce campaigning in South Africa's biggest general election so far.

The National Party especially will be the big spender. The party is contesting 164 seats in the Assembly and, according to party sources, it will spend up to R100 000 a constituency.

Apart from pamphlets and other direct-mailing approaches to voters, the party is planning a series of glossy newspaper advertisements. A video in which a number of ministers appear, and which will be used mainly at house meetings, is being prepared.

The party has, through the years, built up big campaign funds in all the provinces.

It has hired a public relations and advertising company in Johannesburg to assist it.

The Democratic Party has launched a multi-million fund-raising campaign over the next few years, but it maintains that it does not have the huge amounts the National Party has at its disposal. It will nevertheless, spend several hundred thousand rand on the campaign.

So will the Conservative Party, which today rejected suggestions that it was in financial difficulties following the large sum it had to spend in last year's municipal elections.

A party spokesman in Pretoria said the party had enough money, and that it would spend between R50 000 and R70 000 per constituency in the 130 seats it is contesting

A Labour Party spokesman said between R20 000 and R40 000 would be spent on the 66 seats the party is contesting in the House of Representatives.

Foot the bill

In the case of this party, candidates are expected to foot the bill for their own campaigns, but the party will have to help pay for some of the pamphlets to be distributed.

The National Party is being challenged in every seat it held in the old Parliament, often in three-cornered crunch contests with the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party.

This has Nationalist organisers worried that their support in many seats will be split in a way that will let one of their opponents in.

There were indications today that a "don't split the vote" campaign will be a feature of the NP's efforts. The party will go all-out to warn voters in some areas not to vote for the Democratic Party because it could let in the Conservative Party.

In addition, the party will, in the face of DP and CP attacks on its economic and reform policies, try to build up the image of its leader, Mr F W de Klerk, as a true reformist who deserves a chance.

Instead of spelling out its re-

(Cont from page 1)



LINE
Responsible Operator
Customer

Open facilities 'helping to build good relationships'

Political Staff A1641 25/7/89 (3044

OPENING beaches, hotels and other facilities to all was helping to "build good relationships" but the Separate Amenities Act would not be scrapped, Mr Myburgh Streicher, Deputy-Minister of Transport and MP for De Kuilen, said at a meeting in Kommetjie in support of Simon's Town MP Mr Harry Dilley.

● Mr Wynand Malan, Democratic Party co-leader and MP for Randburg, said at a meeting in his constituency that the government's mismanagement of the economy had made South Africans 15 percent poorer than they were in 1974.

● Mrs Esme Chait, National Party candidate for Green Point, has written to voters to tell them the NP is committed to reform, but also to preserving all that is "good and fine" in the country.

● Mr Kent Durr, Minister of the Budget and Works in the House of Assembly, arrived at the nomination court to be confronted by a challenge to a public debate by his Democratic Party opponent, Dr Esther Lategan. Mr Durr was not available for comment last night.

● Dr Andries Treurnicht Conservative Party leader, was greeted in Nylstroom by cheers when he arrived at the Waterberg nomination court.

His opponents, HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais and Mr Francois van der Merwe, a farmer nominated for the NP, received more subdued ovations.

● In Pietersburg NP agents apparently arrived unprepared for the payment of their candidate's R500 deposit.

NP chairman Mr Schalk Schalkwyk came to the rescue with his cheque book, causing the CP's Dr Willie Snyman to refer later in a short speech to the NP's "cash-flow problems".

● Dr Denis Worrall, Democratic Party co-leader, said in Umfolozi that the DP viewed the election as a referendum — "on the NP's record and the country's future, on apartheid, economic decline and international isolation on one hand and on a non-racial, democratic and prosperous future on the other".

● Mr Jan van Eck, DP MP for Claremont, said the National Party had misused Nelson Mandela's commitment to peaceful change to sow division between the black leader and the African National Congress.

(Reports by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, K Nyatsumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg, and D Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg)

PW 'broke game law'

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party has called on President P W Botha, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and the rest of the cabinet to resign because of alleged involvement in illegal transportation of game carcasses.

At a press conference here yesterday, Losberg CP MP Mr Fanie Jacobs claimed that a three-ton truck with false number plates had been stopped by a traffic inspector and a police official on July 21 outside Jagersfontein.

In the back they found the carcasses of two kudu, two wildebeest, about eight blesbok and an ox, Mr Jacobs said. Each had been labelled "State President P W Botha".

The correct number plate of the vehicle had been found behind the truck's seat. It was BSN 719 B — an official police vehicle, Mr Jacobs said.

The driver, Sergeant Vernon Day, had admitted not having written authority to transport game.

Mr Jacobs said it had been established too that the official police badge on the vehicle had been covered.

A spokesman for the President dismissed the allegation as a petty attempt to discredit Mr Botha. The game, he said, had been transported in accordance with the rules.

Opinion polls point to a 'hung' parliament

AK645 25/7/89 30KA

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THERE is increasing speculation in political circles about the possibility of a "hung" parliament.

Opinion polls show a considerable draining away of support from the National Party to the right as well as the left.

A "hung" parliament means that there will be no party in the Assembly with an overall majority .

According to the polls the National Party may still have the highest number of seats but not an overall majority.

In such a case the party would have to seek the co-operation of one of its opponents, the Democratic Party or the Conservative Party, if it wanted to form a government. It would have to pay the price for this because any other party could demand seats in the Cabinet and the acceptance of some of its own policies by a new government.

One of the most important effects of a "hung" parliament would be on the election of the new President. At present the party with an overall majority in the Assembly can elect the President.

Electoral college

In terms of the constitution can elect 50 members of an ectoral college to choose the esident while the House of epresentatives has 25 mem- rs and the House of Dele- es 13.

gain the National Party ld need the help of another ty.

lternatively, the party d try to woo individual bers of other parties in an t to obtain an overall ma- .

agreement with another would cause serious ten- in its own ranks and start a disintegration s. It is unlikely that all aining supporters would ng with co-operating e CP or the DP.

t by Tos Wentzel, 122 St Street, Cape Town.)



FULL HOUSE: It was standing room only at the Democratic Party meeting in the Pinelands Civic Hall last night.



POLITICAL JOKE: Democratic Party candidates Mr Jannie Momberg, left, and Mr Jasper Walsh shar ke at Pinelands.



CANDIDATE: The DP candidate in Tygervallei Ms Michelle Gutler speaking at the party's launch in Pinelands.

What the contending parties stand for

Letters

Letters to the Editor will be resumed tomorrow. In terms of the Electoral Act, all letters of a political nature, or which could have a bearing on the general election, must be published with the full name and residential address of the writer. Pseudonyms and post office addresses are not acceptable. — Editor.

By Dr ZAC DE BEER, Co-leader of the Democratic Party

SOME say the 1989 election is about political rights. Some say it's about security. Some say it's about poverty.

Actually, it's about all three. It must be, for we cannot solve any one of these problems without also dealing with the other two.

If we continue to get poorer, as now, there will be no security. Without security we can't have stable politics. Without political stability, prosperity is not to be had.

So why are we growing poorer, less stable, less secure? Take poverty. There are three main causes. First, the government spends far too much, causing high inflation and heavy taxes.

Secondly, we are exporting capital when we should be importing it, so there is little investment and very little growth. Thirdly, productivity is low because of inferior education, excessive commuting distances, poor social conditions and political stress.

All these causal factors stem from the apartheid policy. Take security. Why is there chronic unrest? Why is there a permanent emergency, denying civil rights? Why do our boys have to give so much of their lives to the army? Why are the police hopelessly undermanned?

Again: because of apartheid.

Take politics. Why are the majority of our people, including many thousands of highly educated professionals, without any effective rights? Once more: apartheid.

To achieve stability, security, prosperity, we must build a united tion. This is only possible on the of equal dignity. Equal dignity ot exist without equal rights. words, we need democracy. emocratic South Africa and stable. Only in a ica can we ach[illegible]

By The Reverend ALLAN HENDRICKSE, leader of the LP

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 amongst all South Africans can apartheid and the present political dispensation be destroyed. It is now the time for the voter 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 LP has proved by means of its participation that it is the only political party at present which can prevent discriminatory legislation being put onto the statute book by the government. The LP will continue with this conduct after September 6. The government terms this conduct as confrontational or as boycott politics. The LP regards it as the only way in peaceful negotiations. The days when the whites decided what is good for South Africa, belong to the past.

By using the highest body of authority, the LP has a platform to force the government to listen to us. After September 6 the LP will use that platform even more effectively to force apartheid to its knees.

The message of the LP is one of solidarity against apartheid. Apart-

By F W DE KLERK, Leader of the NP (extracted from a recent speech)

IT will be a responsible election campaign. The National Party intends getting through to the core of the problems of South Africa.

The party is not looking for short-term gain. Our country's future is at stake. There is no time for silly election games and small politics and for suspicion mongering.

What is necessary is a real breakthrough towards a workable and just system offering fair opportunities, meaningful participation and security to all the people of this country.

That is what we are working for. It is for the building of such a South Africa that we will ask a mandate.

True to its tradition the NP is developing a grip on the election. Predictions from opposition side are becoming more cautious. Gradually the men are being separated from the boys.

The NP has brought its house in order in preparation for five more years of responsible leadership as the majority party in the Assembly.

It will be five years of decisive importance.

Within months matters have taken a dramatic turn in South and Southern Africa.

Initiatives of the government and the State President as well as international events have created a climate which lends itself to real progress on the way to a lasting understanding among all the people of South Africa.

The NP is ready to seize the opportunity and to move forward in an orderly fashion along the way of renewal and dialogue with everyone who wants to co-operate with us on peaceful solutions.

This is the spirit and attitude in

By Mr FRANK LE ROUX, MP, (extracted from a recent speech)

THE CP endorses franchise for adults and believes that democratically elected leaders should voluntarily negotiate a solution.

We, as democratically elected leaders are not prepared to negotiate with self-appointed leaders of people who favour violence as a means to accomplishing political ends.

We do not believe in open agendas and should we negotiate it would be in terms of a mandate democratically obtained at the polls.

Our proposal for self-determination has an unchallengeable international status.

The legitimate foundation of our solution is not only the fact that self-determination is today practised worldwide, but that it is a fundamental human right in the charter of the United Nations.

We do not prescribe to others. We want other groups to decide for themselves and we wish to be freed from the burden of deciding for others. Other groups may accept or reject self-determination as they wish and pool their resources in a single state.

Similarly, we will not tolerate any negotiations or solutions forced upon us against our own free will.

We are the product of Western civilization with our own value system which we want to retain. We have children and dreams for the future, but that future must be based on our own value system. We do not want to be swamped or ruled by others and we resist attempts to destroy our value system.

We have stolen no land. Our ancestors have bought, bartered or

ARGUS 25/7/89

NP faces losses to left and right

By Professor HENNIE KOTZE of the Department of Political Science at Stellenbosch University

3084

THE National Party enters the election with a dual threat looming: that of the ultra-right based on the rejection of "reform" and that of the liberals based on an insistence on more extensive and fundamental social realignment.

However the problems confronting it outside the parliamentary process are far more serious than those within it.

During the parliamentary session that ended in May there were already indications that all parties regarded political rights for blacks as a major issue.

Plebiscite

In this respect the 1989 election can become a watershed in South Africa's history because all signs are there that the election can become a plebiscite on the type of negotiations, or rejection thereof, needed to extend full citizenship to blacks.

At the start of the official campaign all indications are that the reception of "economic deprivation" by the average voter, may also become one of the major issues.

A survey of the nominated candidates shows that all the parties are approaching the election with a large number of novices.

It was also noticeable that a large number of nomination battles have been fought countrywide and the calibre of candidates is gradually improving with regard to experience and qualifications.

Competition

It seems that the days when a party, especially the NP, could "put up a broomstick and it would get elected" are gone forever.

Whilst the NP has now definitley shed its Afrikaner exclusivist image, relatively few English speakers are nominated for the party, a fact which is never really stressed by opposition parties for fear of being accused of practising "boerehaat" techniques.

It was interesting to note that in Afrikaner circles the NP no longer has the monopoly to select the best potential candidates 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 Afrikaner Studentebond.

The DP impressed not only with the number of celebrities they lured into politics, but also with the tally of professional people that came forward as candidates.

In the campaign itself the NP has a head start because of the government's dominance of the SABC and the Afrikaans print media.

Slogans

As in the past the Afrikaans press, and especially television, will to a great extent define what will count as acceptable political views, creating messages favourable to the government.

Television accentuates slogans, symbols and personalities rather than initiating complex arguments.

As in other countries, television no longer covers elections — television has become the election.

Television also conveys images rather than issues which suit the NP down to the ground.

Although too early to prognosticate on the outcome, all factors indicate that is it possible that the NP will lose seats both to the far right and to the liberals.

However, the bottom line for the 1989 white election is that the outcome is in no doubt; the only question to be answered is the size of the NP majority.

(Written by Hennie Kotze, Department of Political Science, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch).

By Professor ROBERT SCHRIRE of the Department of Political Science at the University of Cape Town

THE real surprise so far in this election campaign is that the National Party has retained the support it has under the circumstances.

It has everything against it.

It has to all intents and purposes admitted publicly that its entire philosophy and policy framework of the past four decades have been disastrously wrong.

Ungracious

It has run out of steam with its leadership tired and divided.

The ungracious President Botha is being replaced with the colourless De Klerk as an unlikely "redeemer".

Economic and other disasters have given the white voter little to be grateful to the NP for.

Dilemma

In addition the party faces the dilemma it cannot resolve in its campaiging in that it has to address three different constituencies.

These are the white voters, moderate blacks who are requird for the tricameral system and the negotiating forum, and an international audience.

Under the circumstances it should not be too dificult for the right wing and the left wing opposition to capitalise on 40 years of Nationalist misrule.

The question arises why the opposition parties have made as little progress as they have.

Attacks

There are several reasons.

There is the NP's abilility to create a public identification between it and the State.

Attacks on the NP administration are presented as if they are attacks on South Africa.

The less-informed voter involuntarily supports the NP in reaction.

Because it has been in power for so long it is difficult for



Professor Schrire

many to imagine the country without an NP government.

Given all the advantages of incumbency they have enormous state resources such as the SABC and there is also the tame Afrikasns Press.

In all likelihood the NP will be successful, if we define winning an election as success.

Clouds

Two clouds, however, hang over the NP.

There is a dramatic decline of enthusiasm among its own voters.

There is a draining away of support to the left as well as the right.

What we are really seeing is the decline of the NP and a vacuum coming about which the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party appear unable to fill completely and therefore a likelihood in the 1990s of a realignment in white politics which will have wide-ranging national repercussions.

(Written by Robert Schrire, Department of Political Science, University of Cape Town, Cape Town).

By Professor WILLEM VAN VUUREN of the Department of Political Science at the University of the Western Cape

LIKE the previous general election and the referendum of 1983, the government is likely to treat the forthcoming election more as a distracting symbolic ritual than a public test on crucial policy issues.

Their post-Verwoerdian ideological uncertainty and inability to formulate a viable reformist alternative to apartheid, will make it strategically necessary for them to shift the debate towards imaginary problems which they can solve through the minipulation of symbols and mythical images.

What their policies lack in viability, they can compensate for in propaganda powers owing to their control over mass communication.

Electronic

Instead of the referendum being a test of white support for a particular constitutional scheme, it degenerated into an emotional contest between symbols of "reform" and "radicalism". Similarly the government used the electronic media in 1987 to set the election agenda as a simple choice between NP security and ANC violence.

In both these cases the government's ability to manipulate symbols of fear and hope gained them public support for self-defeating policies which increased social anxiety. Ironically, however, the acute feelings of insecurity generated by political failure served to make the electorate even more susceptible to fantasies.

The constitutional reforms for the early 1980s were to replace the policy of orthodox apartheid but the government largely succeeded in creating a symbolic departure, while they maintained the apartheid reality

Symbolic

The multi-racial composition of, and support for, the proposed new system, was publicised to symbolise the "death of apartheid" and birth of "power sharing" among participants of "equal political status".

This symbolic emphasis was clearly demonstrated when a government sponsored guillotine motion restricted parliamentary debate to a mere 34 of the 103 clauses of the Constitutional Bill.

On the other hand, a relatively lengthy debate was allowed on the preamble of the constitution, which is a mere decorative confession of faith coloured in a "bill of rights" terminology.

In the 1987 general election, which took place in the wake of the failure of reform and the institution of emergency rule, the government retained the reformist vote and even increased its support from the moderate left, obviously not for reformist reasons. But then, constitutional reform and the real threat of an intensified legitimacy crisis was not the issue. Instead voters were mesmerised by a total onslaught mythology.

Viable

Now that "negotiation" is on the agenda and Nationalist leaders are calling for drastic change and a new constitution, one would expect the forthcoming election contest to focus on viable strategies for facilitating negotiation.

However, the government again is unable to resist indulging in symbolic manoeuvres that run counter to their expressed interest in negotiation. They are still insisting on the ANC's rejection of violence as a precondition for negotiation, instead of bargaining with them about the conditions for peaceful negotiations.

The national interest would be served if the government stopped casting suspicion on those who are serious about negotiation — and lifted media restrictions to allow for an informed choice.

(Written by Willem van Vuuren, Department of Political Science, University of the Western Cape, Belville South).



BATTLE PEGINS The DP candidate for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, shakes hands with the National Party candidate in Constantia, Mrs Martha Olckers. Sharing the joke are the NP candidate in Wynberg, Mr David Graaff, and the DP candidate in Constantia [illegible]

Cape Times 25/7/89

304A

Race is on

700 stand in biggest election ever

By Political Staff

THE biggest election race in South Africa's history formally got under way yesterday.

A record number of more than 700 aspirant MPs registered at nomination courts across the country in the 286 constituencies for the three Houses of Parliament.

There were many surprises among the candidates for the tough September 6 contest — now little more than six weeks away.

Among them was the Conservative Party nomination of a candidate in Randburg, where Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan faces a hard battle against the National Party's candidate and former diplomat, Mr Glenn Babb

There are 85 three-cornered fights for the House of Assembly. Nine of these are in the Western Cape, all NP-held. They are Bellville, De Kuilen, False Bay, Maitland, Paarl, Piketberg, Swellendam, Wellington and Worcester

The NP nominated the largest number of candidates to contest 164 of the 166 House of Assembly seats, declining contests only in Yeoville and Sandton.

The Conservative Party fielded the next highest number of candidates to contest 129 seats of which 67 are in the Transvaal, 33 in the Cape, 15 in Natal and 14 in the OFS.

The Democratic Party is also fighting on a broad front, substantially surpassing the number of seats contested by its PFP/IP/NDM predecessors in 1987 The party has undertaken to field nearly 100 candidates of which 40 will fight Transvaal seats, 33 Cape, 20 Natal and 6 OFS seats

The HNP is contesting 21 seats, three in the Cape.

At least 17 sitting MP's were unopposed. Among these are Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse (Swartkops), the current Chairman in the House of Representatives Mr Phillip Sanders (Eastern Free State), and two senior Democratic Party MP's — Mr Harry Schwarz (Yeoville) and Mr Dave Dalling (Sandton) in the House of Assembly.

In the House of Delegates constituencies, the ruling Solidarity Party fielded candidates in virtually every constituency, and had at least five candidates returned unopposed.

Both Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy and NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi are opposed. At least nine political parties are fighting the elections, a fact seen as a reflection of the political confusion that has reigned in the House.

Surprises were the nomination of two women members of the President's Council for the National Party in Groote Schuur and Constantia, two Democratic Party candidates in Bellville and Wellington and HNP candidates in Maitland and Malmesbury.

Against the wishes of many anti-apartheid organisations, the DP has nominated ten candidates in the House of Delegates — including one against Dr Reddy. Ex-DP member Mr Pat Poovalingam is standing as an independent democrat in his Reservoir Hills constituency.

In Constantia, the deputy major of Grahamstown, Mrs Martha Olckers, is challenging the sitting DP MP, Mr

To page 2



IN FINE METTLE . . . DP candidate for Groote Schuur, Ms Dene Smuts, looks forward to a clean victory over Nationalist Mrs Elsabé Kemp, while DP colleagues Mr Colin Eglin (left) and Mr Jan van Eck look on.

Pensioner's durrsruption

A DISGRUNTLED pensioner disrupted the Maitland nomination court yesterday, questioning the high cost of living and increasing rate of inflation, as Minister of the Budget and Works Mr Kent Durr was addressing the court.

The man, who declined to be named, was politely asked to leave by a Democratic Party official.

The election battle in Maitland will be fought by the Democratic Party, National Party and the HNP.

DP candidate Dr Esther Lategan yesterday challenged Mr Durr to a debate on government policies

Lategan's challenge — Page 4

[Report by Marius Bosch, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town].

304A

CP ready to talk to 'other groups'

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Over 2 000 people jammed the Pretoria City Hall last night to hear Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht present the party's manifesto for the September 6 general elections.

They roared approval when he spelt out the CP's uncompromising vision of partition with complete self-determination for whites in their own homeland.

They were a little less sure when Dr Treurnicht — showing that even the CP was susceptible to the current vogue of negotiation — said the CP was prepared to negotiate with other groups about the constitutional future of the country.

Non-negotiable

But they were reassured again when he insisted that in any such negotiations the "right of whites to complete self-determination would be non-negotiable".

Dr Treurnicht even forecast that through negotiation, the CP could implement its policy of separate homelands for different races.

But, he said that the CP was not prepared to negotiate with the ANC "or any other terrorism organisation that practises violence and communism".

He said nothing illustrated the difference between the CP and the National Party better than President Botha receiving a goodwill visit from Mr Nelson Mandela.

The NP was prepared to talk to him and consider releasing him because he had supported peace.

Yet, at no stage had he said he no longer stood for communism.

The NP insisted that as long as the ANC was committed to violent methods it had no place in a South Africa governed by the NP.

This meant if the ANC forswore violence, it would be accepted around the conference table.

However, the CP believed the ANC could never be part of a white South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht joined the NP and the DP in promising to review the system of 24-month-long national service.

He said the CP did not believe in making "cheap promises". It accepted that South Africa needed a well-equipped and well-trained army.

The CP would not gamble with the country's security and would not gamble with the highly valued lives of its young men.

But if it came to power it would take another look at whether it was necessary for national service to last two years.

"If we can get by with less, we will," he said.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Soft options blunt liberal values

B/Day 26/7/89. (304A)

KIERAN O'MALLEY and WIM BOOYSE

PARTICIPATION is arguably the crucial issue in our politics today. How to reach an apartheid-free society is, after all, logically prior to issues concerning the political and economic nature of such a society.

The how will also largely determine the nature of the what. A liberal democratic society is unlikely to emerge from a prolonged, destructive battle in which the "struggle" and the "State" — an overused and simplistic dichotomy — eventually collapse around a "negotiation" table.

Democracies — in the Western, liberal sense of the term — are fragile and unlikely to emerge from the ashes of an African Lebanon. That's the stuff revolutionary socialist regimes are made of. Process and product are inextricably related to one another.

The participation issue in SA — i.e. whether or not and to what degree anti-apartheid forces should work in the "system" — is thus not (as certain politicians have rather carelessly put it) a question of principle. It is the strategic issue par excellence.

And the question that specifically requires attention from South African liberals is whether a liberal democratic society can possibly arise from a non-participative or boycott stance along the lines propagated by the supposedly "mass democratic movement".

This crucial aspect of the participation debate has not received the attention it deserves. The debate surrounding Poovalingam and participation in the DP has been limited to less fundamental concerns.

Real issue

Attempting to reconcile the party's commitment to the "development of strong power bases in Parliament ... with the objective of gaining control" and its decision, in effect, not to participate in the "coloured" and Indian houses of Parliament, and debating Lusaka's possible role in that decision are peripheral — albeit interesting — problems.

The real issue, which South African liberals have yet to face squareon and which Van Zyl Slabbert refuses to acknowledge, is not whether participation in the "system" will destroy — as it undoubtedly will — cordial relationships with the extraparliamentary left.

The issue surely is whether participation or boycott of the "system" is the most effective way of opposing apartheid and facilitating a liberal democratic outcome. The left's broad commitment to a non-racial, democratic society should not prevent liberals from critically questioning the suitability of "anti-apartheid" strategies that emanate from that source.

South African "liberals" who propagate "soft options" and the like — i.e. an unqualified acceptance of all strategies from the MDM — are either unaware that liberals must by definition be orientated to means and not ends (the end can never justify the means) or willing agents of undermining a liberal democratic society.

The lack of a liberal consensus concerning participation is intimately related to a pervasive uncertainty amongst South African liberals as to their short- to medium-term political role. This is in turn related to what certain commentators have labelled the anti-power or apolitical approach of South African liberals to politics.

Collaboration

To generalise greatly, but necessarily, one can distinguish pseudoliberals who see their poltiical role as simply facilitating negotiations between the "system" and the "struggle" — the NP and the ANC — and liberals who envisage a more substantive, lesser broker-orientated role for liberal democratic forces.

The former oppose participation in the "system" because they equate it with collaboration and see it as postponing the "big bang" which leads to negotiations between Afrikaner and African nationalists. Big bang liberals deny the existence of a South African middle ground and see themselves as honest brokers in facilitating negotiations between the "system" and the "struggle".

Liberals support participation because they envisage themselves as a major power player — and not simply the good guy in the middle — in a process of accommodating the fears and aspirations of *all* South Africans.

In their view, liberalism in a future SA will be best served by a strong contingent of participatory forces committed to liberal democratic values and mores.

These two views on the future role of liberals and the nature of accommodation/negotiation in SA cannot co-exist. That they have done so to date in liberal party politics is a sad commentary, and not unrelated to the pitifully undermobilised middle ground in our politics.

□ O'Malley lectures in politics at Unisa. Booyse is a political consultant based in Pretoria.

REVIEWS

Star 26/7/89 (FAP) 304A

Transition to post-apartheid era discussed

Top economists in secret ANC talks

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

Two of the Government's top economic experts have had secret discussions on the country's economy in a post-apartheid era with ANC economists and Russian and East German experts on Africa.

Professor Jan Lombard, deputy governor of the Reserve Bank, and Dr Simon Brand, chief executive of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, were among 25 South African economists, financiers and academics who attended the six-day conference in Lausanne earlier this month.

It is believed to be the first time officials at such a high Government level have held discussions about the economy with the ANC.

The Star understands that other members of the group were the acting chairman of the National Manpower Commission, Dr Frans Barker, and Mr Estian Calitz of the Department of Finance's Central Economic Advisory Service.

Private sector

The private sector was represented by Dr Conrad Strauss, managing director of Standard Bank, Mr Rudolf Gouws of the Rand Merchant Bank, and Mr Bob Tucker, managing director of The Perm Building Society.

Experts from the major South African universities also attended, as did representatives of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Dr Brand, who confirmed he and Professor Lombard were at the talks, said the presence of the ANC and others at the meeting did not mean it was "cloak and dagger stuff".

He said in a statement: "There was a conference on the economic policy of South Africa. It was, although it was not stated as such, on the post-apartheid period. We did not use that term.

"The conference was arranged by a Swiss public administration institute (Institut des Hautes Etudes en Administration Publique).

"They invited a number of people from South Africa and academics from the United Kingdom and Europe who specialise in southern Africa. There were some ANC people."

Details of the talks, held from July 9 to 13, are disclosed in the "Southern Africa Report",edited by former newspaper editor, Mr Raymond Louw.

It says Professor Lombard read a paper on monetary and fiscal policy and Dr Brand delivered a paper on economic co-operation.

Issues such as agriculture, economic growth and the growth crisis in South Africa, the role of the private financial sector in a future South Africa, unemployment, and economic growth "in a transitional economy" were discussed.

"Southern Africa Report" says the aim of the gathering was for South African economists to discuss issues with ANC economists.

The focal point was the transition from an apartheid society to a post-apartheid South Africa "and on the economic methods which would be employed to achieve a smooth transition".

Delegates were said to have agreed the economy was in crisis because of apartheid.

Campaigns will cost millions

Political Staff

Millions of rands will be spent by political parties in fierce campaigning for the general election.

The National Party, especially, will be the big spender. It is contesting 164 seats in the House of Assembly, and party sources say it will spend up to R100 000 in each constituency.

Apart from pamphlets and other direct-mailing approaches to voters, the party is planning a series of glossy newspaper advertisements.

A video is being prepared in which Ministers appear. It will be used mainly at house meetings.

It has hired a public relations and advertising company to assist it.

The Democratic Party has launched a multimillion-rand fund-raising campaign to extend over the next few years, but says that now it does not have the huge amounts the NP has at its disposal. But it will nevertheless spend several hundred thousand rands.

So will the Conservative Party. It has rejected suggestions that it was in financial difficulties because of the money spent in the municipal elections last year.

A Labour Party spokesman said R20 000 to R40 000 would be spent on the 66 seats it is contesting in the House of Representatives.

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

304A

CP promises to keep policy on homelands

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party is determined to enforce separate homelands for blacks, Indians and coloureds, but will negotiate with them about this "to make removals unnecessary".

The CP promises this in its election manifesto which was published in Pretoria yesterday.

In new developments, the CP also comes out in favour of limited privatisation and promises to reduce Cabinet Ministers' salaries if elected.

The manifesto spells out some details of the CP's partition policy, but avoids the tricky question of the exact boundaries of the white homeland.

Partition

It promises to implement partition by:

- Allowing only whites to exercise political rights in South Africa.
- Introducing labour preference areas — that is, for Zulus in Natal and Xhosas in the Eastern Cape and coloured people in the Western Cape.
- "Coupling" blacks, coloureds and Indians who find themselves in South Africa with their own states.

This will be done in several ways, the most important being voting rights. Also the government of a national state will be enabled to provide certain services to its citizens in white South Africa.

- The Budget will be systematically used to promote black development inside their own national states rather than in South Africa.
- Influx control will be re-introduced.
- Only white trade unions will be allowed in South Africa and all other trade unions will be disbanded. Other machinery for the settlement of labour disputes will be established.
- Non-white urbanisation will be restricted to a minimum in white South Africa.
- Black local authorities will communicate with black states to promote homogeneity in black towns in South Africa and to enable black states to deliver services to their "own" people in white SA.

The CP says it is prepared to negotiate with the democratically elected leaders of other communities on these matters, "but regards the white community's right to self-determination as non-negotiable".

It will not negotiate with the ANC "or any other terrorist organisation which practises or promotes violence or communism, nor will the party allow any such negotiation to take place".

The CP is not prepared to share power with the urban black. "The CP will point out to them the success of partition."

It says it will "make removals unnecessary" by negotiation, planning decentralisation, job creation and other measures to regulate settlement patterns.

The CP rejects the "dogma that a people can be protected as a so-called minority in a unitary state".

The main points of the CP's economic policy are:

- The ending of the "socialistic redistribution of wealth between white and non-white".
- Individual enterprise.
- The rooting out of corruption.
- The promotion of productivity.
- Fiscal and monetary discipline and therefore the curtailing of government spending.
- "The principle that each people is responsible for its own economic development."

Taxation will be reduced to a more acceptable level, the use of loans by the State to cover current expenditure will be avoided, the income from privatisation of state enterprises — where the party deems it advisable — will be used for the payment of state debt or economic infrastructure.

Subsidies will be reduced to the absolute minimum and excessive subsidies will be removed.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

● See Page 4M.

NP policies 'to blame for economic ills'

By Melody McDougall, Vereeniging Bureau

The National Party's promises to do something about South Africa's poor economic situation were "unreliable", Mr Wynand Malan, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said at a meeting in Vereeniging last night.

Blaming economic ills on NP policies, Mr Malan said the NP had not indicated how it would solve them. Its promises were "unreliable", he said.

All that remained of the "rugby, braaivleis, sunny skies and Chevrolet" which South Africans used to enjoy, was the sunny skies.

He said it was no longer possible to see world class rugby because of isolation; very few people could still afford a braaivleis and Chevvrolet was no longer in the country.

(Report: M. McDougall, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

No call for boycott of white poll

Star 29/1/87

Political Reporter

The Democratic Party's decision to field candidates for the House of Delegates would make it "very difficult" for the Mass Democratic Movement to support the DP in the white elections, according to leading anti-apartheid organisations.

However, that did not necessarily imply that these organisations would call for a boycott of the white elections.

Elections for the House of Delegates and House of Representatives would be boycotted as they were regarded as unrepresentative and powerless.

Transvaal Indian Congress spokesman Mr Ismail Momoniat said the organisation would call for a boycott of the Indian and coloured elections because "the tricameral system perpetuates apartheid and serves to undermine the struggle for a non-racial democratic SA".

Mr Wilhelm Liebenberg, spokesman for the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), also condemned the DP's decision to contest some seats in the Indian House.

Nusas president Mr Lindsay Falkov said the DP presented a more inspiring face than the old PFP, but students were concerned about the DP's capacity to make a difference.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 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.

Vlok objects to use of term 'kaffir'

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok had a run-in with an AWB supporter over the use of the word "kaffir" at his meeting in Fochville last night.

A member of the audience asked him why 16 "kaffirs" had been acquitted for murdering two white policemen in Carletonville. Members of the the audience said the man belonged to the AWB.

Mr Vlok said: "I appeal to you to leave that attitude behind. There might have been a time when that word was acceptable but we cannot go into the future if we continue to insult people."

In reply to the question, he said the courts were independent. — Sapa.

(News by K Daniels, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Coloured, Indian nominations

Star 26/7/67 (3044)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TRANSVAAL

ALRA PARK
A J Roper (LP)
G F Mills (UDP)

BOSMONT
T R George (LP)
Samuel Brand (UDP)
M B Brophy (DRP)

EERSTERUS
P R E da Gama (LP)
Paul Jacobs (Ind)

ELDORADO PARK
D H Mateman (LP)
J E F Triegaardt (Ind)
K M Alexander (UDP)

KLIPSPRUIT WEST
A E Reeves (LP)
A Thompson (Ind)
C C Pailman (Ind)

NEWCLARE
G R Wessels (LP)
M Abrahams (UDP)
P Bandes (Ind)
A R Booysens (DRP)

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
S H Verveen (LP)
D Wathen (DRP)

REIGERPARK
I J Kruger (LP)
J A Rabie (UDP)

RUST TER VAAL
S K Louw (LP)
Stephen Petersen (UDP)

TOEKOMSRUS
I Richards (LP)
C R Pienaar (UDP)
M A Ramjee (Ind)

CAPE

ADDO
P A Hendrickse (LP)
T D Lee (DRP)

BELHAR
S Simmons (LP)
Archie Poole (Ind)
L J Banda (UDP)
F J Sellidon (DRP)

BETHELSDORP
Willie Dietrich (LP)

BERG RIVER
E Gordon (LP)
P Pietersen (UDP)
C D Scheepers (DRP)

BISHOP LAVIS
P J Marais (LP)
N M Isaacs (DRP)
B R Fester (FP)

BONTEHEUWEL
P C McKenzie (LP)
A P Janssen (FP)
Y Waggie (DPP)

BORDER
P Mopp (LP)

BRITSTOWN
L J Hollander (LP)

CERES
D B Thomas (DRP)
Anwar Rhoda (UDP)
C I Nasson (LP)

DALJOSAPHAT
C J G Leander (LP)
M S Jappie (DRP)

DIAMANT
L Abrahams (LP)
A I Jantjies (UDP)

DIAZ
L J Sampson (LP)
W N Adriaans (DRP)
A R Kleynhans (Ind)

DYSSELSDORP
J Swigelaar (LP)
C Jordaan (DRP)

ELSIES RIVER
P J Kleinsmidt (LP)
J J Festus (DRP)

ESSELEN PARK
A Ismail (LP)
J D Johnson (DRP)

FISH RIVER
C Koeberg (LP)

GELVANDALE
Mia Loonat (LP)
Phillip Kemp (UDP)

GENADENDAL
N J Padiachy (LP)
Frans Engel (Ind)
Andrew Fisher (Ind)
Dirk Jantjies (Ind)

GRASSY PARK
J G van den Heever (LP)
S Ebrahim (DRP)

GRIQUALAND WEST
I Essop (LP)
D J Kanyiles (DRP)

HAARLEM
C Green (LP)
J Maya (DRP)

HANOVER PARK
K H Lategan (LP)
R J Ontong (DRP)

HANTAM
David van Krieger (LP)

HAWSTON
A P Adriaanse (FP)
G M E Carelse (LP)
C J C de Bruyn (UDP)
A J Scholtz (DRP)

HEIDEVELD
G I Julies (LP)
A F Johannes (DRP)
G F Bowers (FP)

KALAHARI
A A Julies (LP)

KAREE
M G Masher (LP)

KASSELSVLEI
H B Cupido (LP)
P Cloete (DRP)

LIESBEECK
P J L Klink (LP)
C H Ebrahim (DRP)

MACASSAR
C J Ratangee (LP)
C B Herandien (DRP)

MAMRE
A Williams (LP)
F E Louw (DRP)

MANENBERG
J R Kuiler (LP)
J L Delport (UDP)
M F Domingo (FP)
F Khan (DRP)

MATROOSFONTEIN
A Delport (LP)
J H Lekay (DRP)
G H J Thomas (UDP)

MID KAROO
P W Saaiman (UDP)
R D Williams (LP)

MITCHELL'S PLAIN
S D Fister (LP)
J J Swartz (DRP)

NORTHERN CAPE
D Lockey (LP)
D P Langeveldt (DRP)

NORTH EASTERN CAPE
R O'Reilly (LP)

NUWEVELD
Anver Essop (LP)
J A Booysen (Ind)

OTTERY
D Adams (LP)
D de la Cruz (DRP)

OUTENIQUA
Christian Jeffrey April (LP)

PNIEL
D M G Curry (LP)
D M van Neel (DRP)

RAVENSMEAD
W M Ross (LP)
J W Christians (Ind)
V L Bullock (DRP)

RAWSONVILLE
B J Andrews (LP)
J Solomons (DRP)

RETREAT
G N Morkel (LP)
J C Kennedy (FP)
L F D Smith

RIETVLEI
H P Ross (LP)
C Britain (DP)

RIVERSDAL
D W N Josephs (LP)

ROBERTSON
W J Meyer (LP)
Bernard Hess (DRP)

SCHAUDERVILLE
M A Hendrickse (LP)
Harry Claasen (DRP)

SILVERTOWN
R T Rhoda (LP)
Alexander Anthony (DRP)
Aly Khan (Ind)

SOUTHERN CAPE
B P Cupido (LP)
J W Kinnear (Ind)
P C Millward (DRP)

SPRINGBOK
M Friedberg (LP)
W J Links (Ind)

STEINKOPF
Abraham Balie (LP)
Charles E Cloete (UDP)

STRANDFONTEIN
P C Harris (LP)
Glenda Martha Hendricks (Ind)
D Jonkers (DRP)

SUURBRAAK
P S Harmse (LP)
C H Hartnick (Ind)

SWARTKOPS
H J Hendrickse (LP)

TAFELBERG
S Hoosen (FP)
I Achmat (Ind)
N Plaatjies (DRP)
S Levy (LP)

UPINGTON
M M Theron (LP)
M H Swartz (DRP)

VREDENDAL
P Meyer (LP)

WUPPERTAL
C A Wyngaard (LP)
W E R Sauls (UDP)

FREE STATE

EASTERN FREE STATE
P T Sanders (LP)

HEIDEDAL
B Grobbler (LP)

OPKOMS
G J Macalagh (LP)
H A Beukes (Ind)

SOUTHERN FREE STATE
G L Leeuw (LP)
P J Bergman (Ind)

WESTERN FREE STATE
Glen Rooskrans (LP)
D P C Colbert (Ind)
Robert Meyers (UDP)

NATAL

DURBAN SUBURBS
L T Landers (LP)
C J Kippen (Ind)

GREENWOOD PARK
E J Twynham (LP)
C M George (Ind)

NATAL INTERIOR
P T C Napier (LP)
Ethne Daphne Davey (Ind)
R W Abrahams (Ind)
G G Thompson (DRP)

NATAL MID-EAST
W L Whyte (LP)
D Goodwin (DRP)

WENTWORTH
Tommy Abrahams (LP)
H P Henry (UDP)

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

TRANSVAAL

ACTONVILLE
B Perumal (Sol)
S Abram (PPSA)

CENTRAL RAND
P P M Chetty (Sol)
A E Lambat (PPSA)
D Murilal Nehro (NPSA)
D K Padiachey (NFP)
Y I Seedat (FPSA)

EASTERN TRANSVAAL
S Collakoppen (NPP)
C Ebrahim (PIP)
A S Kahn (Sol)
C Mahomed (Ind)

LAUDIUM
M A Jaffer (NPP)
A S Akoob (SP)
N S Adrus (Ind)
E Abramjee (Ind)

LENASIA CENTRAL
M S Shah (NPP)
A S Mohamed (FP)
R Daya (MPP)
Mathiven Naidoo (Sol)
A Rasool (PPSA)
Moonsamy Naidoo (PIP)

LENASIA EAST
Rashida Ebrahim (MPP)
Sivaram Phillip (NFP)
Mahalingam Pillay (NPP)
Henry Padayachee (Sol)
Abdulmunaf Saloojee (PPSA)

LENASIA WEST
Moosa Essop (Ind)
Darmalingum Sokalingum (MPP)
Kaisaval Kistasamy (Sol)

NORTH WESTERN TRANSVAAL
S Ismail (NPP)
House of Del

CAPE

MALABAR
Raman Bhana (Sol)
Puspanathun Pillay (NPP)

NORTH WESTERN CAPE
Dr M S Padiachy (UP)
B Sagadaven (Ind)
A Rahman (FPSA)
D B Naik (Sol)
M I Fakie (Ind)
A Jamaloodine (NFP)

RYLANDS
E J Manikkam (UP)
A G Mohamed (Ind)
G Naidoo (Ind)
M Suleman (Sol)
House of Delegates

NATAL

ALLANDALE
Naransamy Chetty (NPP)
Nazir Khan (Ind)
Perumal Nadasen (UP)
Devanamah Naidoo (Sol)
Harrikumar Subrim (RP)

ARENA PARK
Amichand Rajbansi (NPP)
Allen Naidoo (Sol)

BAYVIEW
S M Govender (NPP)
Thulkana Palan (Sol)

BRICKFIELD
Kassim Bradford (Sol)

CAMPERDOWN
Devi Govender (NPP)
Thulkana Gounden (Ind)
J V Iyman (DP)
H Harichand (NF)

CAVENDISH
Nelson Rajaram (NPP)
Paliansamy Deven (Sol)

CHATSWORTH CENTRAL
Jameel Cassim (DP)
Ramcharitar Panday (NPP)
Logan Chetty (Sol)
B J Mistry (NFP)
G V Pillay (Ind)

CLARE ESTATE
Hassim Omar (DP)
Ashwin Mohanlall (NPP)
Kassie Ramduth (Sol)

DURBAN BAY
Sathie Naidoo (NPP)
Ahmed Rafi (Sol)

GLENVIEW
Abel Gounder (DP)
Dr Jayram Reddy (Sol)

HAVENSIDE
Mohan Bandulla (Sol)

ISIPINGO
Mohammed Mansoor (Sol)

MARIANNHILL
Yacoob Dasoo (DP)
Mr Muthusamy Thaver (Sol)

MEREBANK
Arumugam Pillay (Sol)

MONTFORD
Doat Cader (NPP)
Cyril Pillay (Sol)

MOORCROSS
Yacoob Baig (NPP)
Freddy Naidoo (Sol)

NATAL MIDLANDS
Stanley Nadasen (NFP)
I M Osman (Ind)
Somaroo Pachai (Sol)
Siew Rampersadh (NPP)

NEWHOLME
Essop Haffejee (Ind)
Premnath Singh (Sol)
Hemanthkumor Neerahoo (Ind)
Jagarneesan Pillay (RP)
Harichander Rampersadh (NPP)

NORTH COAST
Rama Chinsamy (NPP)
Narantak Jumuna (Sol)
S Guruven (NSP)
S G Singh (PSA)

NORTHERN NATAL
Soobramoney Naicker (NPP)
Hassim Cassim (Sol)

PHOENIX
Ome Singh (DP)
Tony Adam (NPP)
George Mari (Sol)

RED HILL
Kamal Sookoo (NPP)
Baldeo Dookie (Sol)

RESERVOIR HILLS
Kamal Panday (NPP)
Coopsamy Moodlair (Sol)
Pat Poovalingam (Ind)

SOUTHERN NATAL
Peter Govender (DP)
Kisten Moodley (Sol)
Kisten Rajoo (Ind)

SPRINGFIELD
Mamoo Rajab (DP)
M Rapeti (NPP)
Fat Naidu (Sol)

STANGER
Anoop Kumar Beeshum (NPP)
Yunus Moolla (Sol)

TONGAAT
Michael Abraham (DP)
Anil Hurbans (NPP)
Poobalan Moodley (Sol)
A A Ganie (IND)
V Govender (IND)
S H Mundhree (NFP)

UMZINTO
Muthusamy Govender (NPP)
Naren Singh (Sol)

VERULAM
Lawrence Palliam (DP)
Manna Naidoo (NPP)
Ganes Chetty (Sol)

Clamour over PW's hunting trip mounts

304A

Star 26/7/89

VEREENIGING — The furore surrounding the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the transport of game under alleged false pretences, continued to grow with added calls for a public explanation of the incident.

At a meeting in Vereeniging last night, the Democratic Party co-leader, Mr Wynand Malan, said the lack of a plausible explanation was indicative of the National Party's "poverty at many levels".

The real question, he said, was how many "cozy little arrangements" had been made over the years where taxpayers' money was used to assist senior NP members in their private capacities.

WHISTLE

The whistle on the saga was blown yesterday when a Conservative Party MP, Mr Fanie Jacobs, charged that several carcasses of wild game had been transported in a police vehicle with false registration number plates after Mr Botha had ended a hunt on a friend's farm last week.

Mr Jacobs alleged the SAP sign on the vehicle was covered by a red label "apparently to conceal the fact that it was a police vehicle".

President Botha did not respond to the allegations of a false registration plate, but a spokesman from his office confirmed that State transport was used for the hunt.

(Reports by D van Zyl, 514 First National Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria, and N Lewis, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

Some Nats kept sons off border – claim

DURBAN — A number of Cabinet Ministers and Nationalist MPs had arranged soft jobs away from the border for their sons, former top Nat, Mr Kobus Jordaan, has claimed.

At a political meeting last night, he challenged all Ministers and MPs to say where their sons had done their military service. Star 26/7/89

Mr Jordaan, DP candidate in Umhlanga, was asked whether he was "soft" on security. He lost his security clearance which prevented him carrying on his job as one of the Government's top negotiators in the Department of Constitutional Development last year. (304A)

He told the audience his two sons had both done active border duty.

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

Security watch on 'plotters of violence'

B/Day 26/7/89.

(304A)

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Government has moved to counter what it calls a well-planned wave of violence calculated to disrupt the September elections.

Security sources said police had identified more than 30 individuals — who were described as the generals behind the effort to disrupt the election — for special surveillance.

The sources declined to disclose the individuals' names or the organisations they represented. They did say, however, that some were former detainees.

Speaking in Fochville last night, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok warned the "ringleaders" who were planning undermining actions to drop their plans.

"If you continue, government will be obliged in the public interest to act against you".

An investigation was also being made into those restricted individuals who breached their restriction orders.

Vlok said SA could not afford another storm of violence.

He had disturbing information about new "violent plans", which could be coupled to the SA Communist Party's 1989 congress when a programme of action, which involved an extension of terror, was drafted.

From the unrest of the past three months it was clear revolutionaries and

☐ To Page 2

Security watch

(304A)

B/Day 26/7/89.

☐ From Page 1

radicals were carrying this out, he said.

There were 914 unrest incidents in this period compared with 785 in the previous three months.

In the past three months there had been 61 terror incidents compared with 39 between January and March.

Vlok said on June 5 and 6, 20 activists of the so-called Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) had had discussions with the ANC/SACP Alliance in Lusaka.

They claimed they had discussed the future political dispensation, but discussions centred on reorganising the revolutionary structure by mobilising the MDM. It was planned to extend school and rent boycotts and to organise resistance which would lead to unrest, strikes and stayaways during the election, he said.

In June and July the UDF held a number of meetings to plan the resistance action.

At Cosatu's third annual congress earlier this month a document was circulated where various actions were detailed.

Report by Gerald Reilly, 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria.

Spaniard now European boss

STRASBOURG — Spanish Socialist Enrique Baron, elected president of the European Parliament yesterday, promised to make the assembly a democratic watchdog of the EC. (305A) [redacted]

With the support of his socialists and the Christian Democrats, the two largest parliamentary groups, Baron, 45, triumphed in the first ballot, capturing the votes of 301 of the 518 deputies. B/Day 26/7/89

A lawyer who speaks six of the EC's nine official languages, Baron is the first Spaniard to head an EC institution since his country joined the bloc in 1986.

He pledged to use the limited powers of the parliament to exert democratic control over a drive to turn the 12-nation bloc into a giant single market by the end of 1992.

"It is logical that we should try to make our common home like our own homes," Baron said. — Sapa-Reuter.

HNP presence reduces CP chances in several seats

THE HNP's presence in 20 constituencies threatens the CP's tenuous hold on two of its Transvaal seats, and jeopardises its challenge to the NP in five others.

The HNP is fighting 22 seats in the election and the CP is contesting 20 of them.

In Middelberg and Nigel the CP faces a threat from the HNP's presence. The CP won both these seats from the NP at the last election and its majority in both seats is less than 650. The HNP gained 1 010 votes in Middelburg and 641 in Nigel in 1987.

B1 Dan 26/7/87

EDYTH BULBRING

304A

The CP chances of picking up four Transvaal seats, which the NP won in 1987 because the extreme right-wing vote was split, have weakened as a result of the HNP's decision to put up candidates. They are Rustenburg, Hercules, Lydenburg and Wonderboom. In Hercules, where the NP held its seat by 861 votes over the CP, the HNP received 4 123 votes.

In Wonderboom, the NP retained its seat by 599 over the CP while the HNP polled 841 votes.

The CP's chances of winning Maraisburg have also been harmed by the HNP's decision to put up a candidate.

The NP is expected to retain nine seats being contested by the two right-wing parties: Bethlehem, Pretoria Central, Virginia, Welkom, Vryheid, Kimberley South, Maitland, Malmesbury and Port Elizabeth North.

Report by Edyth Bulbring, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.

SA's resilience gives it credibility, says Glenn Babb

NELSPRUIT — SA had gained credibility in Africa by being resilient, NP candidate for Randburg Glenn Babb said in a speech to the Nelspruit Chamber of Commerce yesterday.

B1 Dan 26/7/87

He said credibility had also been gained by pursuing African solutions to African problems and by putting the Namibia case on firm rails.

One of the three DP co-leaders was alleged to have credibility with extra-parliamentary groups and "as he puts it, the DP is 'coming closer' to the mass democratic movement," said Babb.

"The grave error in this claim lies in the belief that spokesmen for the extra-parliamentary groups reflect the true feelings of the black man in the street," Babb said.

304A

It was African heads of state who had at first grudgingly, but now willingly and even admiringly, rejected the ANC boycotts and violence with the displacement in favour of the SA government.

"The SA government is today regarded not only as the leader of SA but the leader in the region," he said. — Sapa.

Report by Val Leveson, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg

THREE PILLARS OF IN

BDay 26/7/89

Business involved in political support

304A

CAPE TOWN — SA's business community appears to be giving increasing support to the DP but, as the PFP learnt during the 1983 referendum, it is also likely to be hedging its bets.

National chairman of the DP's fund-raising campaign and Cape Town businessman Justin Shaffer says a "significant majority" of businessmen approached by the party had offered their support, either financially, with a commitment to vote or by persuading others in the community to follow suit.

Hedge

"The offers of support by English and Afrikaans businessmen, nationally, appear to have far outweighed the responses of the 'give De Klerk a chance' camp and those who are concerned that a split in the NP vote will give the CP more of a chance," Shaffer said yesterday.

But he said it was likely many would hedge their bets by giving support to both the DP and the NP.

The NP remains the major beneficiary of funds and is expected to spend at least twice as much as the CP and the DP, but the sources of funds have not been disclosed and any increase in corporate backing cannot be determined.

NP information chief and Umlazi MP Con Botha said the business community's support for the NP appeared to be "keeping pace with inflation", but he added that while he could not determine whether there had been an increase in the party's traditional support it did not appear to have dropped.

Inevitably, most businessmen approached by Business Day were adamant that corporations did not take political stands by making donations to or declaring support for political parties.

As UCT political studies professor David Welsh pointed out: "It's one of those secrets big business clutches most closely to its corporate bosom. The dangers of being seen to be taking a stance, when a company has a broad client base, are considerable."

It was fear of alienating sectors of their client base that major financial institutions approached cited as their reasons for not taking political sides.

Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman said the retail giant had never put its money or its muscle behind any political party and did not intend doing it for this election.

"We invest money in areas like housing development, which could be interpreted as a political statement, but we do not support one political party."

Academics researching the degree and effect of corporate backing in SA politics believe that many of the financial donations are "laundered" through individual businessmen.

LESLEY LAMBERT

Report by Lesley Lambert, 122 St George's St, Cape Town

B/Dan 26/7/89 : (304A)

Partition only way to a secure future — CP manifesto

THE CP manifesto unveiled yesterday argues that partition is the only way to achieve a secure future for SA.

However, it is devoid of any detail of the boundaries of the states into which a CP government would divide SA.

The manifesto pledged a CP government would:

☐ Allow only whites to be citizens of SA;

☐ Reintroduce influx control;

☐ Introduce Zulu labour preference areas in Natal, Xhosa labour preference areas in the Eastern Cape and coloured labour preference areas in the western Cape.

☐ Disband all trade unions other than white ones in SA.

MIKE ROBERTSON

The manifesto added that each group would only be allowed to exercise political rights in their own state. Only whites would exercise political rights in SA.

Linking of blacks, coloureds and Indians who found themselves in white SA to their "homelands" would be promoted by various means, of which voting rights were the most important.

Governments of national states would be put in a position to provide services like education to their citizens in the black, coloured and Indian suburbs of SA.

The CP said it was not prepared to share power with the "so-called urban black" and in any negotiations on the exercising of "non-white political rights" the white community's right to self-determination would be non-negotiable.

Report by Mike Robertson, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

304A)

Star 26/11/89



John Kane-Berman ... "homelands don't share munificence".

'Rural and urban apartheid' growing

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Some foreign governments and even liberal South African newspapers were helping create a new form of rural/urban apartheid, the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said.

Addressing the conference of the Council of Rectors and Deans of Teacher Education in kwaZulu-Natal in Maritzburg, Mr Kane-Berman said people in the 10 homelands were far worse off than those in the urban areas.

He took the "supposedly liberal opposition" to task for demanding that the homelands' lifelines be cut.

Some liberal newspapers, he said, were vocal advocates of this view and complained that the independent homelands and their leaders were heavily subsidised by the South African taxpayer.

"So they should be. The homeland system was introduced – not because black people resident in those areas demanded it, but because the white electorate voted for it."

He lambasted foreign governments and donor organisations which, because they did not recognise homelands, "sought to exclude them from their munificence".

These governments and donors conveniently forgot that South Africa's 10 homelands had about 1,5 million people living in them, and by blacklisting these homelands they were helping create "a new form of apartheid — between urban and rural people."

DP's choice started at 21

By SUE OLSWANG

Johannesburg stockbroker Mr Ian Davidson, city councillor for Parkview and the DP's leader-designate in the Johannesburg City Council made his entry into politics soon after his 21st birthday.

In 1973, the 22-year-old law student became the chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's (PFP) youth wing in the southern Transvaal.

Mr Davidson, a BA graduate, was in his first year of study towards an LLB degree at the University of the Witwatersrand when he was elected.

He had already served as chairman of the Wits Rag Committee, been a member of the Academic Freedom Committee, and was treasurer of the Law Students' Council.

First-class pass

In 1982, Mr Davidson entered the municipal arena when he stood as PFP candidate in Ward 15 (Houghton-Killarney).

Born in Johannesburg in 1951, Mr Davidson matriculated at Parktown Boys' High School with a first-class pass.

After completing his studies at Wits University, he worked as a legal assistant with the National Coal Board in London for a year before returning to South Africa where he completed his articles with a leading firm of attorneys.

He then moved into the world of merchant banking, and made plans to obtain his MBA at the Wits Business School.



Mr Ian Davidson . . . DP leader-designate in Jo'burg council.

Mr Davidson, a bachelor, is a keen golfer and all-round sportsman

"The DP's leader-designate in the city council is a man who firmly believes the DP is no longer "just an opposition party".

"We are a government-in-waiting and we are growing impatient," he insists.

Bill of Rights 'positive for SA economy'

CAPE TIMES 26/7/89 3 COL A

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The inclusion of a Bill of Rights in South Africa's constitution would have large-scale positive economic spin-offs, Mr Justice P J J Olivier said in Grahamstown this week.

Mr Justice Olivier, who heads the commission which recently produced draft proposals for a Bill of Rights, spoke at Rhodes University at the start of Aiesec (an international organisation of commerce students) Week.

He said the prime objective of a Bill of Rights was to unlock the full potential of the country's citizens, including their political and economic potential. A Bill of Rights was essential in terms of constitutional and legal principles and made sound economic sense. He said individual rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and political and civil rights would be enshrined within a Bill of Rights in a future constitution.

Recognition of the role of the informal economy would also have to be incorporated.

Mr Justice Olivier said a Bill of Rights protecting these principles would lead to limited state interference in the economy.

He said that by outlawing all discrimination based on race, colour and sex and throwing open all access to land ownership, an "enormous" amount of new capital would be injected "with favourable results".

The elimination of discriminatory labour and other colour-based restraints would also boost the economy.

The economy would benefit further from improved qualifications of blacks through state spending on education on a non-discriminatory basis.

(Report by Raymond Hartle, 117 High Street, Grahamstown).

From page 1

statement by a presidential spokesman that police vehicles may be used when it comes to the president's safety or the safety of his property as "laughable".

Meanwhile, General Johan van der Merwe, acting commissioner of police, has announced an investigation into allegations that the game was illegally transported in a police vehicle.

● Neither the State President's office nor constitutional experts could identify any law yesterday which authorised the state transport of game for the president after a hunting party, writes the Cape Times Johannesburg correspondent.

Some official sources said the police transport would be paid for out of the State President's budget as the vehicle and the police driver were both part of his security contingent.

The use of false number plates was in terms of security practice and Mr Botha had not broken any regulations, the sources said.

The DP's spokesman on finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, said there were no groundrules covering the perks of office to which the State President was entitled.

"If it had been me I would have done it at my own expense. But what he has done is theoretically legal because he has that kind of power, provided it falls within some head of budget."

● The presidential couple was involved in another storm recently over a R100 000 tea party for Mrs Elize Botha. After an official inquiry the bill was eventually picked up by the Defence Force Ladies' Association.

(Reports by D Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban, D van Zyl, 514 First National Bank Building, Pretoria, M Woods, 11 Dagonal St, Johannesburg)

Staff Reporter

THE furore over the alleged illegal transport of game shot by President P W Botha grew last night with opposition politicians hitting out at "cosy little arrangements" by the ruling Nationalists over the years.

"Does a man who earns R14 000 a month not have the money to pick up the bill for this?" Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan asked at a meeting in Vereeniging.

The real question, he said, was how many "cosy little arrangements" had been made over the years where taxpayers' money was used to assist Nat leaders in their private capacities.

At a meeting in Umhlanga, DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the Nats had the arrogance which flowed from 41 years of rule and had created a hanger-on syndrome — "hence the emergence of the NP as the party of big business".

"Contracts, concessions and permits largely depend on who you know," he said.

'Becoming a habit'

"It was not long ago that President Botha, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and others used army refrigeration trucks to take their venison from a farm in the Free State to Pretoria," said Dr Worrall.

These were publicly known examples, but it had become a habit of "mind, and behaviour" which was also affecting people in the private sector.

The issue of Mr Botha's hunting trip blew up when Conservative Party MP Mr Fanie Jacobs charged that several carcasses of game, including kudu, wildebeest and blesbok, had been transported in a police vehicle with false number plates.

Mr Jacobs alleged that the SAP sign on the vehicle had been covered by a red label "apparently to conceal the fact that it was a police vehicle".

The driver was stopped at a road block and admitted that he had no written permission to transport venison as required.

A spokesman for Mr Botha's office confirmed that state transport had been used after Mr Botha had hunted on the farm of a wealthy friend, Mr Pieter Jacobs, near Fauresmith in the Free State on July 20.

Mr Jacobs, a horse breeder, last night told the Cape Times the whole matter "was a storm in a tea cup".

"Nothing illegal took place," he said from his farm Zuurfontein.

He said the CP had got hold of the wrong facts, but would not elaborate.

"This is a private matter," he said.

Earlier yesterday, Mr Fanie Jacobs described a

To page 3

PW's meat: Row grows

Cape Times 26/7/89

Election '89

FW 'does undermine bargaining position of whites'



Mr Tian van der Merwe

Political Staff

THE leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, was undermining the bargaining position of white South Africans, the Democratic Party MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said last night.

Mr De Klerk had said he would not undermine the bargaining position of white South Africans but he was doing precisely that.

"With every day's delay with the commencement of negotiation, Mr De Klerk and the government undermine the negotiating position of whites," he said at a meeting in the Malmesbury constituency.

"They undermine the economic, the moral and the political bargaining position.

"Just as Ian Smith did, they are making unreal promises regarding how our future constitution will work instead of facing the hard realities.

"The result is that white South Africans increasingly find themselves with their backs to the wall."

Every time Mr De Klerk bluffed white voters that outdated racial concepts such as 'own affairs' could be a viable part of a future constituion, he under-

How SA would look under CP govt

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party disclosed yesterday that it would go to the white electorate with hard-line support for partition, the reintroduction of the pass laws and a ban on all black or non-racial trade unions.

In its manifesto, which was released in Pretoria yesterday, the CP said it would not negotiate with the ANC "or any other terrorist organisation which practises or promotes violence and communism, nor will the party allow any such negotiation to take place"

It called its vision for South Africa "a mandate for freedom with justice".

It was asking for a mandate "to ensure that the most basic right of every people, namely the right to rule over themselves, is guaranteed as an inalienable right for the white community and every other individual community".

It believed partition was the only solution, and that this had been successfully applied throughout the world and was recognised in international law.

It was prepared to negotiate with the democratically-elected leaders of other communities, "but regards the white community's right to self-determination as non-negotiable".

A programme to retain moral values would be launched and the observance of Sunday as a holy day would be restored.

"Negative moral influences will also be removed from our community life."

On its economic policy, the manifesto said the party was committed to fiscal and monetary discipline, "and therefore the curtailing of government spending".

It was also committed to the rooting out of corruption, the ending of the "socialistic redistribution of wealth between white and non-white", the promotion of productivity, individual enterprise and the principle that each people was responsible for its own economic development.

The party would reintroduce influx control, and would encourage and promote decentralisation and border industries in or near black states.

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

Dilley claims Oppenheimer praised govt on economy

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

NATIONAL Party MP for Simon's Town Mr Harry Dilley claimed this week that the former chairman of meeting in Kommetjie this week: "He (Mr Oppenheimer) said the government was going the right way — and he is one of the biggest industrialists in the world."



Momberg challenges Dilley to public

Worrall: NP sees state as party's property

NATIONAL Party leaders appeared to regard the state as the party's own property, the co-leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Denis Worrall, said yesterday.

Addressing a public meeting at Umhlanga, he said the alleged use by President P W Botha of a police vehicle to transport game he had shot and the decision by an appointed state official — Natal MEC Mr Tino Volker — to stand as an NP candidate in Berea, Durban (in opposition to Dr Worrall), had one thing in common.

3 parties to clash in half the seats

MORE THAN half the seats in the House of Assembly election will involve three or more candidates — one five-cornered clash, nine four-cornered and 85 three-cornered.

The National Party has nominated 164 candidates, the Conservative Party 129, the Democratic Party 98, the Herstigte Nasionale Party 19 and there are five independents.

Sapa reports that 415 candidates have been nominated for the House of Assembly, 197 in the Transvaal, 123 in the Cape, 59 in Natal and 37 in the Free State.

The NP has fielded candidates in all 55 of the seats in the Cape, the CP 33, the DP 32 and the HNP three. There are no independents in the province. In 17 constituencies, there are three-cornered contests.

□□□

Election footnotes
By BARRY STREEK

IN the House of Representatives, where 14 Labour Party MPs have been returned unopposed, 164 candidates are contesting the other 66 seats, with LP fighting all 66, the Democratic Reform Party 43, the United Democratic Party 20, the Freedom Party seven and the Democratic People's Party one each. There are also 27 independents.

□□□

...n nec... ...barga.n ng pos...on o. w1 tes.
(News by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town).

250 000 empty seats in white schools 'bizarre'

Staff Reporter

THE "bizarre" situation of segregated education — leaving 250 000 empty seats at white schools — suggested a "naivety" par excellence on the part of the National Party, Democratic Party (DP) candidate for Tygervallei Ms Michele Guttler said last night

Addressing a DP youth rally in Hermanus, Ms Guttler said white teacher training colleges could not be allowed to close while "millions of rands" were spent on segregated institutions.

Teachers needed to be paid more and female teachers had to enjoy the same benefits as their male counterparts, she said.

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Raj's nomination for court?

Own Correspondent

THE nomination of Mr Amichand Rajbansi for the Arena Park constituency in Chatsworth may be contested in the Supreme Court by Solidarity candidate Mr Allan Naidoo, on the grounds of the findings of the James Commission.

Mr Naidoo tried to lodge an objection with the Returning Officer, but was told his objection could not be 'entertained' in a nomination court.

(Report by V Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

...Ameri...n, ...arry Oppenhe-mer, has congratulated the government on its handling of the economy.

Mr Dilley said the praise for the government came at a conference but that this had not been reflected in subsequent press coverage.

Mr Oppenheimer has in the past sharply criticised the government on public platforms. He told the PFP federal congress in Cape Town last year that President Botha's privatisation initiative would end in failure.

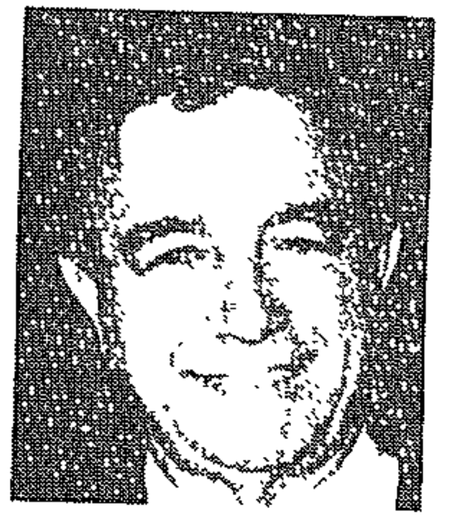
However, Mr Dilley told an election ...r Dilley conceded that there had been "a lot of criticism about the economy" lately but said the country had been going through "hard times", including 10 years of droughts, "incredible" floods, sanctions and a "costly war" on the borders.

He said he was also worried about interest rates which had been fluctuating up and down "like a yo-yo" at an "unbelievable" rate.

"Inflation also worries me. I don't know how we are going to handle it in this country," Mr Dilley said.

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

Zach slams SA's 'creeping poverty'



Dr De Beer

ECONOMIC stagnation and creeping poverty were affecting everyone in the country, Dr Zac de Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said last night.

But, he told an election meeting for the party's candidate in Umfolosi, Mr Oliff d'Oliviera, low growth was not the only cause of the present misery. "The other is profligate spending by the government on a swollen, overblown and overgrown bureaucracy."

This was partly "sheer gravy train" but largely it was due to the duplication of services by the "own affairs" concept. There was "incredible waste" in having 14 or 15 different departments of education and health, each with its own army of pen-pushers.

Economic stagnation was a result of the apartheid policy with its high direct cost.

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

Police raid on Indian Congress members — claim

JOHANNESBURG. — Three Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) members in Lenasia were visited by security police last Monday and in a separate incident two men allegedly assaulted a Community Advice Centre (CAC) member.

In a virtual replay of previous run-ups to elections, security police visited the homes of Mr Prema Naidoo, Mr Shan Balton and Mr Basheer Lorgat last Monday night, the TIC said yesterday. Mr Naidoo and Mr Balton were not at home.

And in a separate incident, two men — described by attorney Mr Krish Naidoo as "thugs" linked to an election candidate — allegedly assaulted CAC member Mr Shabir Ballim at the CAC office in Lenasia.

The SAP public relations division in Pretoria said: "The police confirm that a man was questioned and that certain homes in Lenasia were visited."

In reaction to other TIC claims, police said: "There is no truth in the rumour of collusion between the police and prospective candidates." — Sapa



(News by Ameen Akhalwaya and Mohammed Ismail, 3 Murzoog Centre, Rose Avenue, Lenasia).

Mr Harry Dilley

...ebate

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's Mr Jannie Momberg wants to cross swords with his Nationalist opponent in Simon's Town in public debate.

But Mr Harry Dilley doesn't even think the "Stellenbosch outsider" should be standing in the constituency.

The war of words between the two candidates started soon after nomination court on Monday where both agreed to "a clean fight".

But Mr Dilley told a meeting in Kommetjie that night that although the DP had had "some reasonably good" potential candidates living in the Simon's Town area, the party had resorted to "bringing in an outsider from Stellenbosch".

The argument hotted up yesterday when Mr Momberg said it was "quite amazing" that his opponent could claim that the government could not be blamed for rising food prices.

Mr Dilley last night said he had received a letter from Mr Momberg challenging him to a public debate, and would be responding to his opponent in a letter by today.

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

Durr: DP, PFP only care for whites at election time

Staff Reporter

THE Democratic and Progressive Federal parties only voiced their concerns for white people at election time, NP candidate for Maitland Mr Kent Durr said yesterday.

He said this in a replying letter to DP candidate Mrs Esther Lategan's invitation to him to a public debate on government policies and the standard of living — which Mr Durr declined.

Listing his contributions towards improving the constituency, Mr Durr said its worst parts fell under the "PFP/DP-dominated" City Council but that since some "Nat councillors" had been elected things had begun to improve.

The DP and PFP only showed their concern for "white people" at election time, "after which they all descend upon Khayelitsha and Lusaka", he said.

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

"They both ...abuses of power and responsibility. They both reflect the Nationalists' disdain for normal democratic principles and procedures. They both reflect the arrogance which flows from 41 years of continuous rule and the confusion between what is party political and private and what is public and non-political on the other." — Sapa

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

THE Deputy Minister of Transport, Mr Myburgh Streicher, said in Kommetjie this week: "Apartheid — which means white baasskap — has long been abolished. Whites no longer speak for other groups. Those that say so live in a fantasy world.

"Each group now has it own power base. The direction in which we are moving is clear. No one will be excluded from decision-making which affects themselves."

□□□

TONIGHT'S MEETING:

WYNBERG: The Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly, Mr Kent Durr, will speak in support of the NP candidate, Mr David Graaff, in Southfield Civic Centre at 7.30pm.

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

State of economy govt's fault — Walsh

Political Correspondent

THE government complaint about the economy increasingly falling under the control of large corporations was partly the result of its own policies, the MP for Pinelands and the DP's deputy finance spokesman, Mr Jasper Walsh, said yesterday.

He was responding to the remarks made at the weekend by the Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly, Mr Kent Durr, that the over-concentrations of the economy would have to be addressed in the long term.

Mr Durr told the NP's Cape Congress: "The big companies are making record profits on the back of the ordinary man."

Mr Walsh yesterday said: "In a free-enterprise economy competition will develop and economic concentration in the hands of a few large companies will diminish. But it is this government's policies that have lead to large-scale disinvestment."

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

Mr Adriaan Vlok

Govt moves to counter violent poll

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — The government has moved to counter what it calls a well-planned wave of violence calculated to disrupt the September elections.

Security sources here said police had identified more than 30 individuals — who were described as the generals behind the effort to disrupt the election — for special surveillance.

The sources declined to disclose the individuals' names or the organisations they represent. They did say, however, that some were former detainees.

And, speaking at Fochville last night, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok warned the "ringleaders" who were planning undermining actions to drop their plans.

"If you continue, government will be obliged in the public interest to act against you."

In addition, an investigation was being made into those restricted individuals who breached their restriction orders.

(Report by Gerald Reilly, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg).

Durr promise

Staff Reporter

MAITLAND National Party candidate Mr Kent Durr has undertaken to throw his full weight as Minister of the Budget and Works behind a proposed low-income housing development off Royal and Station roads, Maitland.

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Import of labour 'criminal'

Staff Reporter

IT was criminal of the government to spend millions of rands "importing" trained people at the expense of the development and training of black South Africans, the Black Management Forum (BMF) said.

It was reacting yesterday to comments by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who said on television on July 20 that his department spent money to encourage the immigration of skilled people to South Africa.

"If we don't start investing in our own people the time bomb of millions of blacks living in abject poverty will explode in our faces," said the BMF.

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Bill of Rights would have economic benefits — judge

GRAHAMSTOWN — The inclusion of a Bill of Rights in SA's constitution would have large-scale positive economic spin-offs, Mr Justice Olivier said here this week.

Mr Justice Olivier, who heads the commission which recently produced draft proposals for a Bill of Rights, spoke at Rhodes University at the start of Aiesec Week on Monday.

He said the prime objective of a Bill of Rights was to unlock the full potential of the country's citizens, including their political and economic potential.

Own Correspondent

A Bill of Rights was essential in terms of constitutional and legal principles and made sound economic sense, Mr Justice Olivier said.

He said individual rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and political and civil rights would be enshrined within a Bill of Rights in a future constitution.

Recognition of the role of the informal economy would also have to be incorporated.

Mr Justice Olivier said a Bill of Rights protecting these principles would lead to limited state interference in the economy.

By outlawing all discrimination based on race, colour and sex and throwing open all access to land ownership, an "enormous" amount of new capital would be injected "with favourable results".

The elimination of discriminatory labour and other colour-based restraints would also boost the economy.

The economy would benefit further from improved qualifications of blacks through state spending on education on a non-discriminatory basis, he said.

A Bill of Rights would lead to "untold beneficial consequences" for SA's image.

Treurnicht spells out CP poll manifesto

Rand Daily Mail 26/7/89 30KA

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — More than 2 000 people jammed the City Hall here last night to hear Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht present the party's manifesto.

They roared approval when he spelt out the CP's uncompromising vision of partition with complete self-determination for whites in their on homeland.

They were a little less sure when Dr Treurnicht — showing that even the CP was susceptible to the current vogue for negotiation — said the CP was prepared to negotiate with other groups about the constitutional future of the country.

Forced removals

But they were reassured when he insisted that in any such negotiations the "right of whites to complete self-determination would be non-negotiable".

Dr Treurnicht even forecast that through negotiation the CP could implement its policy of separate homelands for different races "without forced removals".

But he said the CP was not prepared to negotiate with the ANC "or any other terrorist organisation that practised violence and communism".

He said nothing illustrated the difference between the CP and the National Party better than President Botha receiving a goodwill visit from Nelson Mandela.

The NP was prepared to talk to him and consider releasing him because he had supported peace. Yet at no stage had he said he no longer stood for communism and had said nothing in conflict with communism.

The NP insisted that as long as the ANC was committed to violent methods it had no place in a South Africa governed by the NP.

This meant if the ANC foreswore violence, it would be accepted around the conference table as a fellow-negotiator of a new, single, undivided South Africa — even if it remained a communist organisation.

The CP said, on the other hand, that the ANC could never be part of a white South Africa. Its infiltration by communism made it completely unacceptable.

Dr Treurnicht joined the NP and the DP in promising to review the system of 24-month national service.

The CP did not believe in making "cheap promises". It accepted that South Africa was a threatened country and needed a well-equipped and well-trained army.

The CP would not gamble with the country's security and would not gamble with the highly valued lives of its young men.

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Partition plan

Sowetan 26/7/89

304A

IN ITS election manifesto, the Conservative Party says partition is the only solution for South Africa's constitutional problems.

The party believes the only way in which a people can be protected against domination and can exercise their rights to self-determination unhindered is in their own states under their own governments.

"Partition brings to an end the domination of one people by another."

The CP says partition has been successfully applied throughout the world.

"Europe was divided into different countries by partitions - South America and Africa are other examples."

In Africa alone, 50 different states had been created by partition.

In Southern Africa, examples were Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.

"Partition is a system which has been applied world-wide with success to bring an end to strife and conflict."

The CP says the concept is also recognised in international law

The black irony of the election

MCOS 26/7/89

304A

By ALEX BORAINE, Executive Director, Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa

THE supreme irony of the forthcoming election is that the central issue in the election will be the role of the black majority in the future political dispensation and yet they are the only ones who are disqualified from participating in the election!

COMMENT

This fact, coupled with the surfeit of elections which seem to have brought so little improvement, is cause for cynicism.

Yet cynicism cannot be the last word. South Africa is very different today from what it was even when white voters went to the polls in 1987.

Commitment

It is true that some white voters will not vote because of apathy or in solidarity with the voteless, but the overwhelming majority of whites will vote and how they vote is of enormous importance for the future destiny of South Africa. (Coloured people and Asians will also be voting in September but the harsh fact is that power is vested in the House of Assembly.)

Under Mr F W de Klerk, the National Party strategy for the election is now beginning to unfold. It would appear that they are seeking to position themselves firmly in the centre.

Public commitment to renewal, a democratic South Africa, sweeping changes, freedom of association and the scrapping of all remaining discriminatory legislation are now commonplace.

Central to their strategy is an attempt to force a wedge between Mr Nelson Mandela and his organisation, the African National Congress. Whilst this is a futile attempt, it enables Mr de Klerk to introduce a significant shift in National Party policy regarding condtions for participation in future negotiations.

The bottom line is that the key condition is no longer the demand for that organisation to "reject violence" but rather an insistence on a commitment to "peaceful development".

Problems

Seen in this light, the meeting around the tea table in Tuybhuis is a significant step towards a far more dramatic meeting around the negotiation table.

Major problems facing the National Party are, on the one hand, the understandable distrust from white voters who are sick and tired of rhetoric and promises which lead them to say: "How the hell can we believe you?"

On the other hand, the Conservative Party will persuade voters that the National Party actually means what it says and that this is nothing short of a sell-out of whites and a capitulation to the ANC.

They are therefore on the horns of a dilemma.

Economy

The Democratic Party, recognising that the promises and rhetoric of the National Party approximate to their own position, has understandably opted to concentrate on the woeful state of the economy under National Party rule.

There can be no doubt however that they will stress the importance of a just political settlement as a prerequiiste for a turning around of the economy.

Much will happen between now and Spetember 6 but it is to be hoped that white voters will reject the blatant racism of the Conservative Party.

They should also resist the temptation to "give F W de Klerk a chance". If there is a genuine shift towards a non-racial democracy, the greatest service voters can do is to maintain the pressure on the National Party so that they don't once again lose their courage and resort to white minority rule at all costs.

Sensible

The sane and sensible choice, therefore, is to vote for the Democratic Party. As a party, it could force the National Party to practice what it preaches — unambiguously educate whites to realise that no matter what system of government is arrived at, if all South Africans are to exercise their right to vote, the majority of faces at every level of government will be black.

They could help white voters to accept that it is in their self-interest and in the interests of security and prosperity for all to demand a rapid negotiated settlement which involves not only those who participate in the September 6 election but all South Africans, black and white.

(Written by Alex Boraine, Idasa, Hill House, Penzance Road, Mowbray)

Parties to spend millions

Sowetan 26/7/89

MILLIONS of rands will be spent by political parties on fierce campaigning in South Africa's biggest general election so far.

(304A)

The National Party especially will be the big spender of well over a million rand. The party is contesting 164 seats in the Assembly and according to party sources it will spend up to R100 000 per constituency.

NP man ordered to move posters

Star 27/7/89 30/8/89

East Rand Bureau

The National Party candidate for Boksburg, Mr Sakkie Blanche, was ordered to take down 270 election posters because the Conservative Party-controlled Town Council in Boksburg said they were dangerous and hazardous to the public and traffic.

Mr Blanche said he also received a letter from the Democratic Party on Monday saying his posters, which had been put up under advertising billboards, were in a hazardous position.

Mr Blanche had put up some of his posters on railings and the municipal bus terminus.

He said the chairman of the CP-controlled management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, had instructed the town engineer to tell Mr Blanche to remove his posters from the railings as it was illegal to put up election posters on council property.

Mr Blanche was told by the council that he could put up posters only on electrical poles, which is in accordance with the new ordinance.

The existing ordinance states that electrical poles may not be used for election posters.

A spokesman for the Town Engineer's Department yesterday confirmed that Mr Blanche had been instructed to remove his posters because they were in the wrong position.

DP meeting moves to new venue

Star 21/7/89 **Highveld Bureau** 30cm

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Zach de Beer's meeting in Witbank tonight has had to be switched from a government school hall to a hotel because of the expected multiracial audience.

Witbank DP candidate Mr Koos Venter said it appeared Transvaal Education Board policy was that halls could be booked only for all-races political meetings if the school's management committee had approved this.

In the case of the De Beer meeting, the school principal became aware of the meeting's possible multiracial nature only during the school holidays. It was impossible to call the school's management committee together at such short notice.

A new venue was found at the Boulevard Hotel.

(Report by T Anders, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

NP faces biggest election reversal in history poll shows

From Page 1

poll. It shows a rise of 17 percent in upper middle-class urban constituencies and up to 40 percent in areas where the liberal opposition was small in 1987.

However, the present skew delimitation favours rural voters at the expense of urban dwellers and therefore swings the pendulum towards the CP.

Thus Dr Treurnicht could seriously challenge Mr De Klerk's hold on power, even if he wins a lower percentage of the overall vote.

The poll predicts that the NP will be favoured most by a high voter turn-out. However, even an 80 percent poll will still leave the Nats six seats short of an overall majority.

Top of the list of seats most likely to fall to the CP — even without DP intervention — are Hercules, Lydenburg, Potchefstroom, Pretoria West, Springs, Stilfontein, Wonderboom, Fauresmith, Heilbron, Ladybrand, Parys and Sasolburg.

DP participation in three-cornered contests could add an extra nine to the CP tally — Brentwood, Geduld, Germiston District, Kempton Park, Klerksdorp, Nelspruit, Bethlehem and Mr De Klerk's own current seat, Vereeniging.

In five constituencies a CP candidate will favour the fortunes of the DP. They are Albany, Hillbrow, North Rand, Durban Point and Pietermaritzburg South.

In straight fights with the NP, the most likely gains for the DP are Umhlanga, Wynberg, Simonstown, Walmer, Umbilo and Edenvale.

If the poll predictions come to pass, a number of senior Nationalists will lose their seats. They include Minister Amie Venter, Deputy Minister Sam de Beer and the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange.

● Rapport's two-week country-wide poll shows the NP will have to fight to keep its seats, but that the CP is losing support and the DP gaining momentum.

Based on a hypothetical four-cornered fight in each constituency, the poll gives the NP 40,6 percent of the total vote, 29,9 percent to the DP, 23,1 percent to the CP, and 1,1 percent to the HNP.

● A poll commissioned by the Argus Company in six key constituencies showsthe Democratic Party is making an "impressive" debut in its own constituencies, while the CP is losing support to the NP in key Transvaal seats.

The poll was conducted in Pinetown, Innesdal, Randburg, Gardens, Krugersdorp and Boksburg, which it shows will revert "comfortably" to the NP.

Report by A Van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Furore over PW's hunting won't lie down

3049

Star 27/7/89

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The furore over President Botha's controversial Free State hunt raged on yesterday as the Conservative Party claimed police were intimidating the traffic policeman who intercepted the disguised SAP vehicle carrying the buck Mr Botha had shot.

Police last night confirmed that the traffic policeman had been questioned by an SAP colonel, but denied that the officer had "done anything untoward".

In other developments:

- It became clear that a CP-supporting traffic policeman leaked the story to the CP.

'Security reasons'

- The CP announced that apart from laying charges, it was referring the incident to the Advocate-General.
- It appeared that the police truck carrying the carcasses was showing false number plates "for security reasons" because it had taken security equipment to the farm where Mr Botha shot the buck.
- The CP called for a judicial commission of inquiry into the incident. Mr Fanie Jacobs, CP MP for Losberg, last night said a police colonel from Bloemfontein had told the person who stopped the truck that "action would be taken against him" if he gave information to political parties.

Intimidating manner

Mr Jacobs said the colonel had acted in an intimidating manner and placed the traffic policeman under great pressure.

Brigadier Leon Mellett, Mr Vlok's spokesman, last night denied there was "anything untoward about the questioning by the colonel of the person".

He would not comment further but it is understood the colonel questioned the traffic policeman because he allegedly breached regulations by examining an SAP incident book.

The book contained a police report of the incident on Friday night when the three-ton SAP truck carrying about 11 carcasses was stoppped at a roadblock near Jagersfontein.

Although police have offered no official explanation for the truck showing false plates, it is suggested this was done with official approval because the truck had taken security equipment to the game farm to protect President Botha.

On the return journey, there was space in the lorry so the police driver loaded the carcasses.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria.)



Former heavyweight South African boxing champion Kallie Knoetze made his political "debut" at the Pretoria North Town Hall last night asking Foreign Minister Pik Botha (in background) a question during question time.

'Insane atrocities in SA' – Kaufman

(3049)

Star 27/11/84

By Kevin Udemans

British Labour Party MP and shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Gerald Kaufman, claimed yesterday some of the "atrocities" he had seen during his visit to South Africa were "not only wicked but insane".

Addressing a meeting of the Witwatersrand branch of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mr Kaufman said people who invented the rules, which caused such atrocities, were not only wicked but needed psychological treatment.

He said he had decided to come to South Africa after being told he could not judge South Africa without seeing the country for himself.

When he visited Port Elizabeth, he had walked down the promenade in Summerstrand and seen the wonderful beaches on which whites relaxed and the houses in which they lived.

"I was also taken to see a shanty town known as Soweto-by-the-Sea, where I saw living conditions which would be unacceptable in most Third World countries," he said.

Mr Kaufman repeated the Labour Party's stand regarding Mrs Margaret Thatcher's opposition to sanctions and promotion of dialogue.

"Pressure must be exerted by imposing sanctions on South Africa because it is the power of foreign investment which keeps the country going.

"Apartheid would not be able to survive in its present form without investment from developed countries in the rest of the world," he said.

Reject Vlok's poll bogy — De Beer

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

A violent disruption of the general election should be condemned. But if Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's disclosure of such plans was "nothing but the Government's swart gevaar bogy", voters should reject that on September 6.

This was said last night by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer at the party's first public meeting in the North Rand constituency, a seat the DP believes it can gain in the general election.

Dr de Beer and the DP's candidate in the constituency, Mr Louis de Waal, addressed about 160 people in the Halfway House Primary School.

In another scathing attack on the National Party's economic and political track record, Dr de Beer said the country's economic misery was the result of state overspending, international isolation and poor productivity.

"The Nats' record of economic mismanagement is abysmal. Their election manifesto is a hotch-potch of generalities and evasions. Their candidates are mostly invisible and inaudible. And hanging over all is the whiff of corruption."

He said some senior Ministers and other NP leaders had over the years acted like mediaeval monarchs.

"It is time that people in power realise they are there to serve us, not us them. I trust this message will be conveyed clearly at the polls on September 6," he said to loud applause.

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

304A

763 people fight for 286 seats

Star 27/7/89

Political Reporter

Final figures on the number of candidates contesting seats in the September 6 election were announced by the Chief Electoral Officer yesterday.

For the House of Assembly's 166 elected seats, the National Party has put up the most candidates (164), followed by the Conservative Party (131), the Democratic Party (104) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (22), with five independents.

A total of 179 candidates have been nominated for 80 seats in the House of Representatives.

The ruling Labour Party has nominated candidates for all 80 seats, followed by the Democratic Reform Party (46), United Democratic Party (17), Freedom Party (7) and New Convention Peoples' Party (1). There are 28 independents.

Ten parties have put up 129 candidates for 40 seats in the House of Delegates and there are 29 independents. Solidarity will contest all seats, followed by the National Peoples' Party (29), National Federal Party (21), Peoples' Party (11), Democratic Party (9), Progressive Independent Party (6), United Party (4), Republican Party (3), Merits People's Party (3) and Freedom Party (3).

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

Sow 27/7/89 304A

Nats abuse their power – Worrall

DURBAN — Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall launched a doubled-barrelled attack on Tuesday night on the State President, Mr P W Botha, and Mr Tino Volker, his opponent in the Berea constituency.

What did President Botha's use of state transport to convey the buck he shot and Mr Volker's decision to stand in Berea while holding an appointed publicly-neutral office have in common, asked Dr Worrall.

They both involved abuses of power, and reflected the Nationalists' disdain for democratic principles and procedures.

They both reflected the arrogance that flowed from 41 years of continuous rule and the confusion between what was party political and private on the one hand and what was public and non-political on the other.

Dr Worrall told a meeting in Umhlanga that NP leaders regarded the State as party property.

It was not long ago that President Botha, Defence Minister Mr Magnus Malan and others used army refrigeration trucks to take their venison from a farm in the Free State to Pretoria, he said. — Sapa.

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

30409

'Spoiling tactics' claim rejected

DP leaders laugh at Nat accusations

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

National Party accusations that the Democratic Party is playing into the hands of the CP by putting up candidates in marginal seats were rejected yesterday by two DP co-leaders.

Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Wynand Malan said the DP's decision to field 104 candidates for the House of Assembly had been made to give its supporters the chance to vote for the candidates of their choice.

They described NP claims that the Conservative Party would gain seats as a direct result of the DP's "spoiling tactics" as nonsense.

Dr de Beer said recent opinion polls had indicated that voters generally supported the party of their choice only.

For example, if Democrats did not have a DP candidate, most of them would not go to the polls.

"What this proves is that, despite pathetic yearnings of the Nats to have the DP help them against the CP, the people actually aren't interested. Voters are more sensible than the Nat propagandists give them credit for. They want to vote for policies they believe in."

Mr Malan said recent studies had indicated that the NP could win about seven seats against the CP if the DP did not participate.

"In those seven seats, the DP can already get 3 000 to 4 000 votes. And in some it even has a chance of winning.

Exorbitant taxes

"The choice the voter has is simple: apartheid or no apartheid. If it is the latter, he votes DP. If the former, he votes either NP or CP. The DP is, in fact, giving the voter a real choice this time.

"In any event, one builds your party in election time. You don't leave supporters out in the cold without a candidate."

Mr Malan said it was arrogant of the NP to expect other parties' supporters, and even its own, to support "a party with a track record of economic decay, corruption, high inflation and exorbitant taxes".

In 1987, the Herstigte Nasionale Party cost the CP nine seats. This year the HNP is fielding 22 candidates.

"No-one complains about that. The NP doesn't make a song and dance about it, and the CP is not protesting either. Voters should not believe the NP's scare tactics when it says the DP is letting the CP in through the backdoor."

The NP's director of information in the Transvaal, Mr Piet Coetzer, has identified 17 seats where the DP's participation could be to the NP's disadvantage.

Fifteen of those are held by the NP. They are Alberton, Brentwood, Geduld, Germiston, Germiston District, Kempton Park, Klerksdorp, Lydenburg, Meyerton, Pretoria Central, Rosettenville, Springs, Turffontein, Vereeniging and Westdene.

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

CP govt would be 'economic disaster'

A MANDATE to the CP to govern SA would lead to an economic disaster, DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said in a statement yesterday.

He was reacting to the publication of the CP manifesto yesterday, and in particular those portions relating to the economy.

"Under a Conservative government SA would be plunged into poverty and despair

"Things in South Africa are bad enough economically and what is needed is a turn-around with new effective policies and effective administration," he said.

He said the cost of implementing "archaic apartheid policies" was beyond the economy's capability.

"Outside pressures and present-day sanctions are bad enough, but the election of a CP government to implement its policies would be regarded with anger both inside and outside South Africa."

The CP's economic policies were vague, termed mainly in generalities and had to be seen in the light of speeches by its members, in and outside Parliament, who sought economic benefits for a section of the population. This ignored the reality that SA's economy was one indivisible entity.

"There is no black economy and a white economy, there is only one economy," he said. — Sapa.

Report by Val Leveson 141 Commissioner St Johannesburg

Nats limit admission to meetings

EDYTH BULBRING

ALL NP public meeting posters reserve a right of admission to keep right-wing elements from causing any disruptions, the NP's Transvaal deputy secretary Abre Hanekom said yesterday

In the light of right-wing disruption of NP meetings in the past, the NP decided to reserve right of admission, Hanekom said.

The AWB and the CP disrupted meetings at Pietersburg and Standerton in 1986, Hanekom said. Any person perceived to be "under the influence or a trouble maker" would now not be admitted.

Any person causing a disruption during a meeting would be removed, he added However, this did not mean that heckling would not be allowed

"There is a difference between a heckler and a disruptive person," Hanekom said, adding that the point to which a heckler became a disruptive influence would be decided by chairmen of meetings

CP chief secretary Andries Beyers said yesterday the NP had targeted the right-wing because it "feared that a CP presence at NP meetings would show the NP up for what it really is".

"It is a sad day when the once mighty NP is forced to take steps to restrict political debate at its public meetings," Beyers said

He said the NP's right of admission to its public meetings was an insult to the public and an admission that the NP could not control its meetings.

Report by Edyth Bulbring 11 Diagonal St Johannesburg

De Beer says NP will not regain ground

MIKE ROBERTSON



● DE BEER ... heartened

DP CO-LEADER Zach de Beer said last night the NP was whistling past the graveyard if it it believed it could regain ground lost over the past few months.

He told a Midrand meeting it was heartening to see how unanimous opinion polls were in predicting the NP was going to lose a great deal of support in the September 6 general election

"If ever a government deserved to do this, this one does," he said.

De Beer said: "Their record of economic management is abysmal Their manifesto is a hotch-potch of generalities and evasions. Their candidates are mostly invisible and inaudible Their Ministers make contradictory statements — (Justice Minister Kobie) Coetsee seems to want universal franchise and (NP leader F W) De Klerk clearly doesn't."

De Beer said there was a whiff of corruption hanging-over the NP.

Ministers

He added: "A few weeks ago we were all talking about De Beer, De Pontes and Du Plessis. Now De Beer is quietly serving his jail term, for the electoral fraud by which the NP won Hillbrow, and there is a deathly hush from whoever is investigating the other two gentlemen."

De Beer said whether or not CP allegations against President P W Botha, about the transport in an SAP vehicle of game he shot, were true or not, what was clear was that senior Ministers and NP leaders had over the years begun to act like monarchs in the Middle Ages.

De Beer said the DP agreed with the CP on the corruption and extravagance of government. On all other issues, however, the DP and CP were diametrically opposed. This made NP allegations of DP and CP collaboration in the election laughable.

De Beer said he had not fought apartheid for 50 years to help one apartheid party now against another.

The NP had landed itself in a pickle through, as he termed it, its incompetent, unfeeling and self-serving actions over many years.

Midrand is in the North Rand constituency which has the largest number of registered voters. The NP won the seat by 1 197 votes at the last election.

Report by Mike Robertson 11 Diagonal St Johannesburg

SUN PACKAGING INVESTMENTS LIMITED
(Company registration number 84/10193/06)
("Sunvest")

SUN PACKAGING HOLDINGS LIMITED
(Company registration number 68/02121/06)
("Sunpak")

Last day to register for interim dividend

Introduction

Further to the announcement dated 21 June 1989 that Sunpak and Sunvest intended to make rights offers to their shareholders to raise approximately R17 million in Sunpak, Standard Merchant Bank Limited is authorised to announce that the terms of the rights offers are expected to be announced on Monday, 31 July 1989.

It is intended to announce the dividend in respect of the year ending 31 August 1989 in October 1989, and shareholders will be given an opportunity to elect between a cash dividend or receiving a capitalisation issue of shares.

The new ordinary shares to be issued in terms of the rights offer will rank pari passu with the existing ordinary shares, save that they will not qualify the holders for the dividend or capitalisation issue referred to above, the last day to register for which will be the close of business on 4 August 1989.

Notice of closing of share registers

The registers of shareholders of Sunpak and Sunvest will be closed from the close of business on Friday, 4 August 1989 to the close of business on Friday, 11 August 1989 for the purpose of determining the shareholders entitled to participate in the dividend or capitalisation election to be declared in October 1989 and in the rights offer. The last date to register to participate in such dividend or capitalisation election and rights offer will be Friday, 4 August 1989.

Atlantis, Cape
27 July 1989

Sponsoring broker

Martin & Co Inc

Registration number 72/09119/21
Member of The Johannesburg Stock Exchange

INCE

SMB
The Merchant Bankers
(Registered Bank)
(Registration number 84/08568/06)

Kodak argued, however, that while the company's products were not sold

...ished.

..."There is nothing to prevent Image Enterprises or any other interested

Academics accuse govt of legislative cynicism

304A

B (Day

2 7 7 7 87

SUSAN RUSSELL

TWO legal academics have claimed the recently published Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill was intended to interfere directly with the judicial process.

UCT's H Corder and C Murray added the Bill also reflected government cynicism towards the courts.

In this month's issue of the de Rebus law journal they said the Bill provided further proof of government's determination to push ahead with grand apartheid.

The Bill empowers the State President to include or excise any homeland area "if he deems it expedient and after consultation by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning with the Cabinet of a self-governing territory".

The authors said the Bill sought to validate incorporation of Botshabelo township into QwaQwa.

Bothshabelo was proclaimed part of QwaQwa in December 1987, but last August the proclamation was declared invalid by the Provincial Division of the OFS Supreme Court.

An appeal by government against the court's finding has been lodged.

"The Bill indicates this action (the appeal), and its possible outcome, is not taken very seriously," said Corder and Murray.

They added in the Botshabelo case the Supreme Court had examined the core of homelands policy.

A full bench found the enabling Act, which empowered incorporation, was to be read in conjunction with other statutes implementing homeland policy and, in this context, Parliament intended to advance the political development of ethnic groups.

Murray and Corder said the Bill also sought to legalise any previous illegal action which the State President may have under the National States Constitution Act.

"If enacted this Bill would mark another highpoint in legislative and executive disregard for judicial processes both in its attack on a particular case and in its attempt, under section 3 (of the Bill), to oust the jurisdiction of the courts," said Corder and Murray.

They pointed out proposed legislation like this Bill belied government's ostensible commitment to an independent judiciary.

"The judiciary is reduced to a tool, useful on occasion, dispensible on others," they said.

Kodak argued, however, that while the company's products were not sold

lished.

"There is nothing to prevent Image Enterprises or any other interested

Academics accuse govt of legislative cynicism

TWO legal academics have claimed the recently published Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill was intended to interfere directly with the judicial process.

UCT's H Corder and C Murray added the Bill also reflected government cynicism towards the courts.

In this month's issue of the de Rebus law journal they said the Bill provided further proof of government's determination to push ahead with grand apartheid.

The Bill empowers the State President to include or excise any homeland area "if he deems it expedient and after consultation by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning with the Cabinet of a self-governing territory".

The authors said the Bill sought to validate incorporation of Botshabelo township into QwaQwa.

Bothshabelo was proclaimed part of QwaQwa in December 1987, but last August the proclamation was declared invalid by the Provincial Division of the OFS Supreme Court.

An appeal by government against the court's finding has been lodged.

"The Bill indicates this action (the appeal), and its possible outcome, is not taken very seriously," said Corder and Murray.

SUSAN RUSSELL

They added in the Botshabelo case the Supreme Court had examined the core of homelands policy.

A full bench found the enabling Act, which empowered incorporation, was to be read in conjunction with other statutes implementing homeland policy and, in this context, Parliament intended to advance the political development of ethnic groups.

Murray and Corder said the Bill also sought to legalise any previous illegal action which the State President may have under the National States Constitution Act.

"If enacted this Bill would mark another highpoint in legislative and executive disregard for judicial processes both in its attack on a particular case and in its attempt, under section 3 (of the Bill), to oust the jurisdiction of the courts," said Corder and Murray.

They pointed out proposed legislation like this Bill belied government's ostensible commitment to an independent judiciary.

"The judiciary is reduced to a tool, useful on occasion, dispensible on others," they said.

Star 27/7/89. (304A)

We've made mistakes — Barend



Mr du Plessis . . . someone's cut off our oxygen.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis admitted in a television debate last night that the Government had made mistakes in running the country's economy and said if they had a chance to start over they would no doubt do it better.

"But if one takes into account what exceptionally difficult parameters within which we had to work . . . foreign investors, economists and bankers have said it is a miracle that we have continued to exist under these pressures," Mr du Plessis said.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Business Day editor Mr Ken Owen and *Die Patriot* editor Mr Z B du Toit questioned Mr du Plessis on "Netwerk".

Mr du Plessis said the economy was not growing as it was equipped to do.

"Someone has cut off our oxygen supply and we are not getting the space to do what we want to do.

"But without a substantial influx of foreign investment the economy cannot develop properly."

He said this was a temporary international situation.

"We must work on our politics so we can open the doors again. But in the meantime we must make essential adjustments to our economy."

Responding to a question by Mr Owen on high inflation, Mr Du Plessis said anyone could halt inflation instantaneously but the economy would be killed at the same time.

"Therefore, we have given ourselves a four or five-year adjustment period during which we will gradually reduce State expenditure, but during that process it is unfortunately necessary to use capital for current expenditure," he said.

(Report by K Udemans, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Mr Harry Schwarz . . . "Under a Conservative government South Africa would be plunged into poverty."

CP economic policy is 'a recipe for disaster'

Political Reporter

A Conservative Party government would lead to economic disaster, Mr Harry Schwarz, the Democratic Party's finance spokesman and Yeoville MP, said yesterday in reaction to the CP's economic policy as spelt out in its general election manifesto.

"Under a Conservative government South Africa would be plunged into poverty and despair. The cost of implementing its archaic apartheid policies is beyond the capability of the economy," Mr Schwarz said.

He added that the CP's economic policy was vague and termed mainly in generalities.

However, speeches by CP MPs revealed that the party was seeking economic benefits for whites only.

The reality was that the South African economy was an indivisible entity and that the deprivation and poverty of one section affected all South Africans, Mr Schwarz said.

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

Soal takes the SABC to task over final say

Star 27/7/89.

Political Correspondent

Political parties are vying for the so-called Goldilocks slot — the opportunity to speak last on SABC-TV's nightly election discussions on "Network".

The "Goldilocks slot" was a term coined during the 1987 election campaign by Rhodes University media researchers who discovered a "Goldilocks effect' in the way the SABC dealt with party spokesmen.

Invariably, they said, "Network" would present opposition party spokesmen first — to give the "extreme" points of view — followed by the NP giving the "moderate" in-between view.

This was like Goldilocks finding Papa Bear's porridge too hot, Mama Bear's too cold and Baby Bear's "just right".

DP Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal said yesterday that after Monday night's election insert on "Network" he had complained to the SABC that it looked as though the Goldilocks effect was again going to be applied in the current campaign.

The topic was the ANC, and DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan spoke first, followed by CP MP Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and lastly NP leader Mr F W de Klerk.

"Mr de Klerk was able to reply to our arguments while we had no opportunity to reply to his," Mr Soal said.

He did not object to this provided the DP was sometimes given the final say. He had spoken to the SABC political editor who assured him this would happen.

(Report: P Fabricius, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

MDM followin Gandhi's path

The current generation of protesters are following in the footsteps of others who have before, writes PATRICK LAURENCE. It's a tried and tested method in the history of Sou

PLANS by the Mass Democratic Movement for peaceful action to end apartheid strike resa resonant note in the corridors of South African history.

Echoing responses reverberate down the passages of time, providing encouragement to a new generation of resisters who are scheduled to launch their campaign on August 2 when sick black people will seek admission at segregated hospitals reserved for whites.

They emanate from the passive resistance or *satyagraha* campaigns of Mahatma Gandhi of 1906 and 1912-14, the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952-53 by the Congress Alliance and the anti-pass law campaign of the Pan-Africanist Congress in 1960

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, charges that the MDM planned its campaign secretly with the outlawed African National Congress, and that violent disruption of the pending general election on September 6 is an integral part of it.

The organisers, however, repudiate his charges as an election manoeuvre, aimed at stampeding anxious white voters into the laager of the ruling National Party

As Mr Sydney Mufamadi, of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), declares on behalf of the MDM "The Minister attempts to turn actions of protest and defiance which had been openly discussed into something sinister and conspiratorial insofar as the MDM have planned any actions, these have been openly canvassed and are non-violent"

Mrs Sheena Duncan, a past president of the Black Sash and a seasoned campaigner for civil rights, insists that the tradition of Gandhian *satyagraha* — "soul-force" rather than "body-force," as Gandhi once defined it — has been a formative factor in the emergence of the latest campaign

The deeper roots of the MDM resistance campaign undoubtedly stretch back historically to the 1952-53 Defiance Campaign; some of the constituent parts of the MDM, notably Cosatu and the United Democratic Front, consciously see themselves as ideological heirs of the Congress Alliance which organised the Defiance Campaign.

The inspirational roots of the Defiance Campaign, however, go back to Gandhi's passive resistance campaigns in South Africa between 1906 and 1914, when, having forged *satyagraha* in the crucible of South African politics, he left for his native India.

It is thus pertinent to pause for a moment and to set the scene for the MDM campaign against apartheid laws by recalling the earlier non-violent campaigns against racial laws in South Africa

Gandhi's 1906 campaign was aimed at a law passed in the Transvaal; it required all Indians there to have their fingerprints taken, to register and to have their registration certificates on them at all time, on pain of fine, imprisonment or even death.

Led by Gandhi, Indians refused to register. They were jailed. The jails began to fill up. The Transvaal administration was embarrassed. The former Boer general, Jan Smuts, was in charge of Indian affairs.

He offered Gandhi a compromise; repeal of the law in return for an undertaking by Gandhi to encourage Indians to register voluntarily

Gandhi agreed. Smuts, however, reneged on his promise on the pretext that not all Indians had registered. Gandhi responded by publicly burning his registration certificate, together with 2 000 of his followers. Gandhi was again jailed.

A stalemate ensued the "Black Act," remained on the statute book but most Indians refused to register.

The formation of Union in 1910 provided an interlude. But the struggle between Gandhi and Smuts was renewed in earnest in 1912. It was precipitated by a Supreme Court ruling denying legal recognition to marriages under Hindu, Muslim and Parsi rites.

The new *satyagraha* campaign had three central objectives recognition of marriages under Indian religion, abolition of a three pound sterling poll tax on freed Indian indentured labourers and their dependents, and repeal of the "Black Act".

There were two legs to Gandhi's campaign: protest strikes by Indian workers on Natal coalfields and sugar plantations and a march by 5 000 to 6 000 passive resisters from Natal into the Transvaal in defiance of immigration laws.

The arrest of the marchers and the publicity it generated led to renewed negotiations between Gandhi and Smuts Another compromise was reached Indian marriages were recognised and the poll tax abolished but the discriminatory Union Immigration Restriction Act and the "Black Act" remained on the statute book.

The next major campaign of civil disobedience came in June 1952, when the Congress Alliance, spearheaded by the then legal African National Congress and the SA Indian Congress, launched the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign.

Its objective was to secure the repeal of the six "unjust" laws, including the pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the Suppression of Communism Act (precursor to the present Internal Security Act) Volunteers or resisters — Mr Nelson Mandela was "volunteer-in-chief" — courted arrest by deliberately breaking apartheid laws, usually by occupying premises reserved for another race, their plan was clog the judicial machinery and cause it to break down

Nearly 8 500 volunteers were arrested before the campaign was called off in 1953 The decision to halt the campaign was prompted by two factors, the outbreak of violence in the Eastern Cape and the passing of the draconian Criminal Law Amendment Act.

The Act made it a criminal offence, punishable by heavy penalties, to of protest Rank-and- fine of for three ping of 10 faced even R1 000, five ging of 10

With the brief but Congress pass laws Criminal brought non dience to a nearly 35 a long term ping served

But direct hi's satyagr — has been agenda by

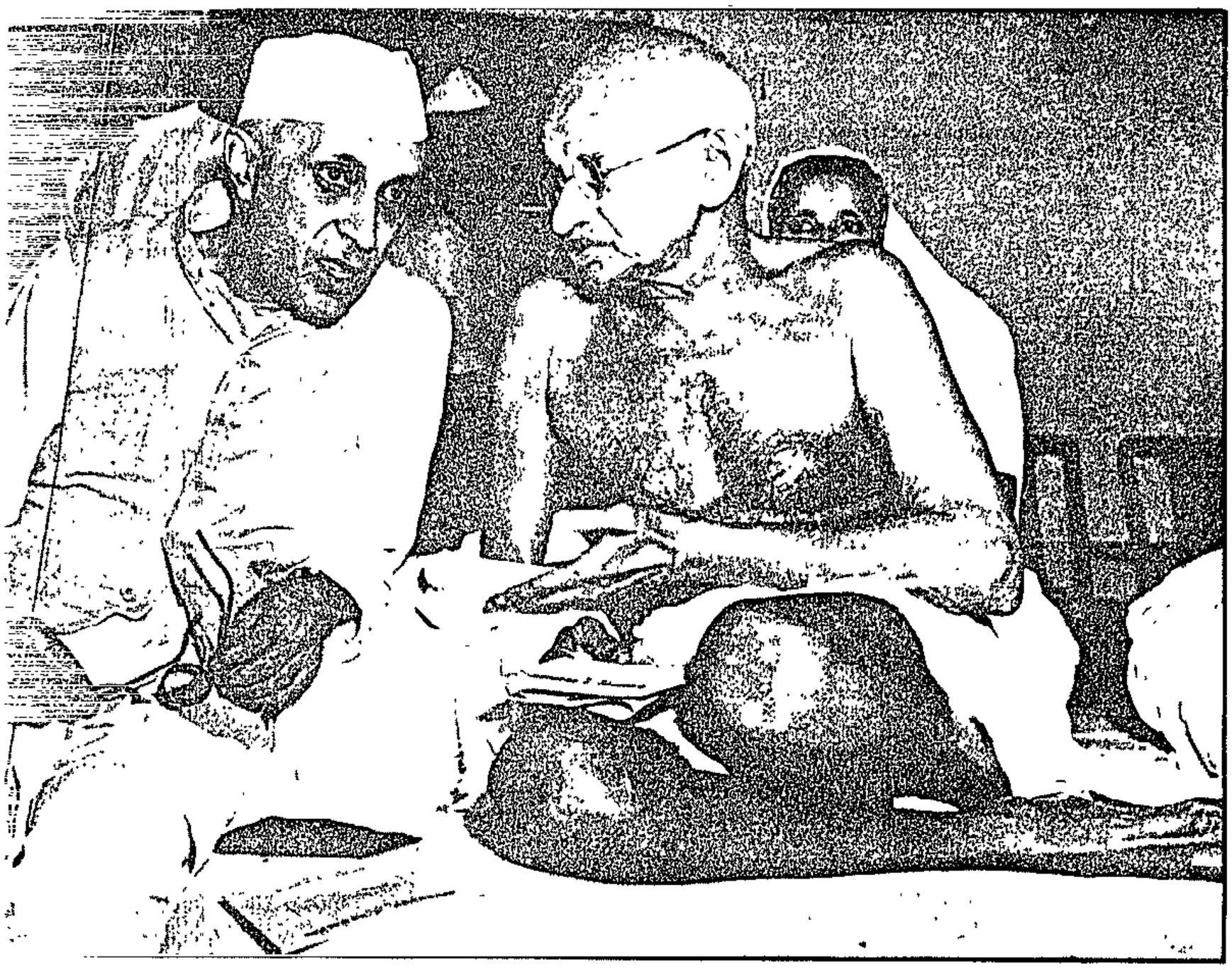
Its re-



SOUL RATHER THAN BODY: Gandhian satyagraha — soul-force rather than body-force — has been a formative factor in the Mass Democratic Movement's resistance campaign. It goes back to Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance campaigns in South Africa between Having forged satyagraha here he returned to India to become its independence leader. Here Gandhi is seen with Prime Minister Nehru in

DM following andhi's path

ıi generation of protesters are following in the footsteps of others who have gone ıiies PATRICK LAURENCE. It's a tried and tested method in the history of South Africa.



THAN BODY: Gandhian satyagraha — soul-force rather than body-force — has been a formative factor in the emergence of the Movement's resistance campaign. It goes back to Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance campaigns in South Africa between 1906 and 1914. satyagraha here he returned to India to become its independence leader. Here Gandhi is seen with Prime Minister Nehru in Bombay in 1946.

They were
to fill up

The former
Smuts, was in
a compro-
law in return
by Gandhi to
to register

Smuts, how-
promise on
all Indians
respond-
his regis-
together with
Gandhi

ensued: the
on the
most Indians

of Union in

1910 provided an interlude. But the struggle between Gandhi and Smuts was renewed in earnest in 1912. It was precipitated by a Supreme Court ruling denying legal recognition to marriages under Hindu, Muslim and Parsi rites.

The new *satyagraha* campaign had three central objectives: recognition of marriages under Indian religion, abolition of a three pound sterling poll tax on freed Indian indentured labourers and their dependents, and repeal of the "Black Act".

There were two legs to Gandhi's campaign: protest strikes by Indian workers on Natal coalfields and sugar plantations and a march by 5 000 to 6 000 passive resisters from Natal into the Transvaal in defiance of immigration laws.

The arrest of the marchers and the publicity it generated led to renewed negotiations between Gandhi and Smuts. Another compromise was reached Indian marriages were recognised and the poll tax abolished but the discriminatory Union Immigration Restriction Act and the "Black Act" remained on the statute book

The next major campaign of civil disobedience came in June 1952, when the Congress Alliance, spearheaded by the then legal African National Congress and the SA Indian Congress, launched the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign

Its objective was to secure the repeal of the six "unjust" laws, including the pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the Suppression of Communism Act (precursor to the present Internal Security Act). Volunteers or resisters — Mr Nelson Mandela was "volunteer-in-chief" — courted arrest by deliberately breaking apartheid laws, usually by occupying premises reserved for another race; their plan was clog the judicial machinery and cause it to break down.

Nearly 8 500 volunteers were arrested before the campaign was called off in 1953. The decision to halt the campaign was prompted by two factors, the outbreak of violence in the Eastern Cape and the passing of the draconian Criminal Law Amendment Act.

The Act made it a criminal offence, punishable by heavy penalties, to break a law by way of protest against another. Rank-and-file resisters faced a fine of R600 or imprisonment for three years and/or a whipping of 10 strokes. Organisers faced even heavier penalties: R1 000, five years and/or a flogging of 10 strokes

With the exception of the brief but intense Pan Africanist Congress campaign against the pass laws in March 1960, the Criminal Law Amendment Act brought non-violent civil disobedience to a virtual standstill for nearly 35 years The prospect of a long term in jail and a whipping served as deterrent.

But direct action — as Gandhi's *satyagraha* is called today — has been put back on the agenda by political activists.

Its re-appearance does not mean that activists have more "legal space" than their predecessors from the 1950s

The Criminal Law Amendment Act has been repealed but most of its clauses have been incorporated in the Internal Security The flogging clause disappeared with the original law, but the heavy fines, raised to R3 000 and R5 000, and the long prison sentences remain as clauses of the Internal Security Act

Indeed, in its new guise, it contains another draconian measure: if volunteers choose to go to jail rather than pay fines in the belief that en mass jailing of protesters will embarrass the authorities or cause a breakdown in prison administration, the authorities can attach their property, sell it and use the money to pay the fines

These legal weapons apart, the State has the emergency regulations They provide for indefinite detention without trial and for the imposition of restriction orders, they empower any security officer — defined very broadly — to order any person or persons to desist from any course of action, and empower him to use force if they do not do so

Professor Tony Mathews, of the University of Natal, comments "There is no legal space" Yet direct action is on the agenda, people seem to feel that the time for action has come whatever the legal risks and impediments.

The anti-apartheid "swim-in" at the Hillbrow indoor swimming poll last month was but a harbinger of similar "swim-ins" in the coming summer The MDM has given notice that all segregated facilities are now targeted for direct action

The agenda was not, however, drawn up in secret in Lusaka The idea of a racially open Johannesburg was mooted publicly on April 1 at a conference in Johannesburg hosted jointly by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), the Five Freedoms Forum and Actstop, all of which have contact, if not formal, links with the MDM

Discussions were so open that a follow-up meeting by the Five Freedoms Forum in May was halted by security police, according to Ms Gael Neke, of Five Freedoms, they told the organisers they "had reason to believe civil disobedience was being planned".

Direct action has since moved one step further down the road to the moment of truth when volunteers go into action; it has been espoused by Cosatu and its allies in the MDM A leading member of the MDM remarks "Mr Vlok says apartheid is an albatross around South Africa's neck. We want to help him get rid of it by direct action."

Another MDM man points to a fatal contradiction in official thinking apartheid is condemned in one breath while apartheid structures — segregated hospitals, recreational facilities and schools — are defended in the next

"We will dismantle apartheid for them," he says

It may take longer than he thinks The evidence of our history shows *satyagraha* works slowly and requires much patience as well as great fortitude from *satyagrahis*.

PW's buck carcasses: Top probe

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The auditor-general has launched an investigation into the alleged misuse of government transport by President P W Botha.

Earlier this week the Conservative Party claimed a police truck with false number plates transported buck carcasses labelled "State President P W Botha" one day after the president had been on a hunting trip in the Free State.

The deputy auditor-general, Mr Henrie Kleuver, said yesterday when "matters like this come to our notice we investigate them properly". "We are investigating the matter. We have made certain inquiries and are waiting for replies."

Meanwhile, buckpassing between officials as to who would foot the bill for the errand continued yesterday.

The standard practice is that the department which provides the service pays for it. In this case it appeared the police would have to foot the bill, Mr Kleuver said.

The head of police public relations, General Herman Stadler, said: "If it was a genuine trip, it would come out of the police budget."

Police Quartermaster-General Le Roux Stemmet said as "it was a normal police duty", the costs would be paid for out of the maintenance of vehicle and fuel votes in the police budget.

"But the conveying of meat is something else," he added.

Police are investigating the matter but have not yet released a statement.

But official sources said there was nothing illegal in the use of the vehicle, which had been authorised by the head of the presidential guard unit.

The vehicle was already in the area as part of the president's guard that travels wherever he goes. It was equipped with equipment necessary for the president's protection, sources said.

The driver, Sergeant Vernon Day, a member of the presidential guard, had the necessary permits to transport the carcasses, the sources said.

A traffic officer, who allegedly reported the matter to CP sources, was in the police station when Sergeant Day stopped to ask directions which the traffic officer gave. The duty police officer made an en-

To page 2

From page 1

PW's buck meat

try into the charge office's record book.

The traffic officer, who gave the directions, was later refused permission to see the book. He waited until a black constable was on duty and then tipped the book and read the entries, an illegal act, the sources said.

Later, in the company of an off-duty police officer, he stopped Sergeant Day en route from the farm Zuurfontein, belonging to Mr Pieter Jacobs.

He questioned the sergeant, who, in good faith, told him he was a police officer on duty on an errand for the president.

He told the traffic officer the false number plates had been fitted in terms of the unit's security practice. The sources said this was not illegal and the plates had been issued within the strict regulations set down by the quartermaster.

The CP claimed in a statement yesterday the traffic officer was being "placed under great pressure". "An SAP colonel approached him and asked him to make a statement. He allegedly told him in an intimidatory manner that if he gives out any information to any political party, action would be taken against him.

"The colonel also said the CP's information was too precise and the matter would be taken up with his superiors."

Official sources said a colonel was involved in the investigation because of the high-level of government involvement. Other sources said the traffic officer was being investigated because he had gained illegal access to police records.

It is understood the dossier compiled by the police following their investigation into the matter was submitted to the Free State attorney-general Mr T P McNally yesterday.

He is expected to make a decision soon.

(Report by Mandy Jean Woods, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg)

Don't be silly, Dilley, say Weil and Ackerman

CMK Times 27/7/89

304A

Staff Reporter

LEADING retailers this week rebutted claims by Nationalist candidate for Simon's Town Mr Harry Dilley that supermarket "monopolies" were responsible for profiteering at the expense of consumers.

Mr Dilley, the NP MP for Simon's Town, said earlier this week at a meeting in Kommetjie that petrol price rises did not push up the the price of food. He added: "Ask Mr Raymond Ackerman who is a super-retailer."

Consumers were being hammered because of the monopoly among food suppliers and the big companies were making astronomical profits — but the government was being blamed, he said.

"That is nonsense because the government has not got a lot do with the price of food," Mr Dilley said.

Approached for comment, Pick 'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman said he agreed with Mr Dilley that the price of food was rising. A recent survey found staple food prices had risen 12%-13% from last year.

"But examples of where the government is at fault include the allocation of licences to sell wine, bake bread and sell petrol," he said.

Illustrating this, he said Pick 'n Pay had only 36 wine licences for its 108 stores, would "love to bake bread" and could "immediately" sell petrol between four and five cents cheaper than the fixed price.

"I urge the government to take the lead in implementing privatisation and deregulation, and to be much stricter towards monopolies," he said.

And chairman of the Checkers chainstore group Mr Clive Weil said yesterday while it "did not help to point fingers at any one person" the government could not claim to be blameless in its contribution to inflation, price rises and concentration of economic activity.

"We are all responsible for inflation, but it's not fair to say supermarkets are making excessive profits. Checkers, for example, is making slightly less than 1% on pre-tax turnover. It does not help to be simplistic," he said.

Inflation was a reflection of the country's poor political image which, in turn, influenced the value of the rand and the gold price.

Likewise, low productivity was a function of inferior education.

Referring to Mr Dilley's remarks about the influence that petrol price increases had on the cost of food, Mr Ackerman said:

"The man in the street is being hammered by the petrol price, which does marginally bring up the price of food."

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

SHUT UP!

Teachers warned

By HENRY LUDSKI

TEACHERS have been warned by the Labour Party to stay out of the elections — or face charges of misconduct.

The threat is contained in a circular sent to schools and colleges throughout the country by the Labour Party-controlled Department of Education and Culture, House of Representatives.

Included in the circular is a copy of the Education Act of 1983 which reminds teachers that they could face charges of misconduct if they use their positions as teachers to "promote or prejudice the interests of any political party".

The circular from the executive director Awie Muller, a management committee chairman, has been sent to principals, inspectors, regional representatives, and "recognised" teacher organisations.

The Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA) has interpreted the threat as a ploy to "facilitate teacher participation in House of Representatives politics".

Describing the circular as an "infringement of teachers' political rights", CTPA deputy president Randall van den Heever said it also "militated against teacher involvement in anti-apartheid organisations".

"It is yet another glaring example of how our education department has become a handmaiden of the ruling Labour Party in the House of Representatives," he said.



Franklin Sonn

Mr Thinus Dempsey, liaison officer for the House of Representatives, denied there was an ulterior motive to the circular.

He said it was "normal procedure" to advise teachers on their position regarding the election.

"It was not meant as a warning," he said.

The circular follows a recent election platform attack by Labour Party leader and Minister of Education, Mr Allan Hendrickse, on Mr Franklin Sonn, CTPA leader and president of the Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa.

Hendrickse accused Sonn of "hypocrisy" for allegedly enjoying the benefits of capitalism while simultaneously embracing the "socialist" Freedom Charter.

He has refused to retract his statements and Sonn is proceeding with a R100 000 defamation suit against him.

(Report by H Ludski, of 95 Sir Lowry Rd, Woodstock.)

south NEWS

27/7-2/8/89.

Activists stage anti-election blitz

From MARLAN PADAYACHEE

DURBAN. — The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) launched its anti-election campaign with a mass rally in Durban this week following a successful 10-day, no-vote foray into the heartland of a verkrampte Natal South Coast town.

The rally in the Durban City Hall marked the beginning of what promises to be a bitter political campaign spread over 40 days between anti-apartheid activists and the two main "pro-system" parties, the Solidarity Party led by Durban businessman JN Reddy and Amichand Rajbansi's National Peoples Party.

The UDF's Dullah Omar was billed as one of the speakers at the pre-election rally.

The NIC, the country's oldest political party which was formed by Mahatma Gandhi almost 100 years ago, caused a stir last week when about 150 members turned up at a Democratic Party (DP) meeting in Amanzimtoti, stronghold of the Conservative Party.

This was the first time in the history of anti-apartheid politics that one of its exponents attented a white political rally and staged a symbolic walkout protest.

White electorate

Said Dr Farouk Meer, secretary of the NIC: "We told the DP to stick to white politics and stay out of the House of Delegates election. They were adamant that they would field candidates in the Indian election and our group walked out of the town hall."

Earlier, the NIC delegation were allowed to hand in a memorandum which outlined reasons why the DP should not participate in the Indian elections, and Meer later addressed the largely white electorate on the issue.

But matters came to a head when the DP's Zac de Beer flatly rejected the NIC's suggestion that the party steer clear of Indian politics.

Farouk Meer explained that the strategy of attending pro-election meetings was part of the first phase of the campaign.

Phase two, he said, would include high-powered rallies in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, regular door-to-door visits in the various constituencies stretching from Port Shepstone on the Natal south coast to Pietermaritzburg in the Natal Midlands, as well as a pamphlet blitz.

The NIC is to produce an "election manifesto" of its vision of a future South Africa next week.

Meer admitted that his movement is the weakest in Ladysmith and Newcastle: "We are relying on our Pietermaritzburg branch to muster no-vote support in the outlying country districts. It is difficult to have an organisational base in the northern Natal towns."

So far, NIC members have wrecked two meetings during their 10-day blitz on supporters of the tricameral parliament, including a meeting organised and addressed by the NPP's Amichand Rajbansi in Umkomaas on the Natal south coast last week.

The meeting grounded to a halt after local residents and about 40 NIC activists joined forces and took the sacked Cabinet Minister to task.

Wrecked meeting

"Give me 60 minutes," Rajbansi pleaded to a hostile crowd before someone allegedly sabotaged the sound system and cut him off. A bitter Rajbansi later accused the NIC of "gatecrashing" the meeting.

Last weekend the activists were on the march again and this time they wrecked the meeting of the newly-formed Natal Federal Party in Chatsworth.

Speakers and delegates were heckled and jeered as they attempted to put a strong case for participation in the September 6 elections.

The police were called to restore order. The public meeting was abandoned, but the party continued with a closed session at which it was decided to contest 20 seats.

The director of the Gaysands Restaurant, Selvan Naicker, said he had laid a charge against an "unruly and uninvited group of people who gatecrashed" the NFP meeting.

In Durban, Major Charl du Toit, police spokesperson for the Port Natal Division, confirmed that police were investigating claims of an alleged violation of the Liquor Act.

Responding to Rajbansi's attack on his organisation, Meer said there was "already an anti-Rajbansi tirade" when the NIC supporters arrived at the Umkomaas meeting.

"We merely gave the local protest guidance and direction and the opposition against Amichand Rajbansi grew and became uncontrollable. He was ordered off the stage by the police."

Of the NFP meeting, Meer said: "We did not gatecrash it. We registered and were given party badges, plus tea and a promise of biryani lunch if we stayed on. The meeting refused to vote on the issue of participation and we left after the police were called in."

Polling stations

Meanwhile, the 10 000-strong Indian teachers union, the Teachers Association of South Africa, has received a spate of complaints from parents and teachers about the use of Indian schools as polling booths in Chatsworth and Phoenix, the city's largest Indian townships.

Said newly-elected president Poobie Naicker: "Education and politics do not mix and the use of schools as polling stations is not conducive to sound edcuation.

"This situation is unacceptable because it is not healthy for schoolchildren to become pawns in a political game which is sensitive and one that has been rejected by the majority of the people."

A spokesperson for the Home Affairs said other government-owned properties, including some schools, would be used as polling booths. He refused to comment on the complaints from parents and teachers.

(Report by M Padayachee, of 1 Dinapur Rd, Merebank.)

Sandton sidetracks open areas proposal

A PROPOSAL to exempt Sandton from the Group Areas Act has been defeated with the aid of DP councillors.

An amendment — to set up a committee — was backed by all but one DP member of the town council.

It was proposed by the DP's deputy chairman of the Bryanston constituency committee, Perry Oertel, and seconded by the DP's Sandton constituency chairman Peter Jardine.

The amendment was also supported by DP Johannesburg West candidate Willem Hefer.

The original motion, by former PFP

EDYTH BULBRING

member and now independent councillor Liz Clogg, also proposed the council should not support any application to the Free Settlement Board for establishment of free settlement areas in Sandton.

Clogg said DP councillors attempted to press her not to put the motion on Monday night. Last month she agreed to postpone it for a month on condition a full report on the Free Settlement Act would be presented to the council this week.

Clogg said no report came. Instead an amendment aimed at defeating her motion was proposed.

The amendment called for a committee to investigate and report on possible amendments to the Free Settlement Areas Act which, if implemented, would enable the council to make application for Sandton to be declared a free settlement area.

The amendment was passed with the support of all DP councillors except Meyer van Niekerk.

Clogg said appointment of a committee was an evasion of the issue.

In the interim, township developers

□ To Page 2

Sandton

□ From Page 1

could apply to the Free Settlement Board for free settlement areas in Sandton.

"The Free Settlement Areas Act is an extension of the Group Areas Act and tricameral system, both of which are rejected by DP policy. I am shocked by their actions," Clogg said.

Management committee chairman Peter Gardiner said what Clogg's motion proposed was totally negative.

"The fact that the second Act, the Local Government Affairs and Free Settlement Areas Act, has not been promulgated shows government is still flexible in relation to its contents," Gardiner added.

He said there were numerous defects in the legislation.

Report by Edyth Bulbring, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg

ELECTION FOOTNOTES

26 parties on the register

THERE are, believe it or not, 26 political parties registered for participation in the elections for the three Houses of Parliament.

Only the Democratic Party is registered for all three Houses — but four parties, including the DP in the House of Representatives, have not fielded any candidates.

This was disclosed yesterday by the chief electoral officer.

In the House of Assembly, the Blanke Volkstaat Party and the New Republic Party have not nominated candidates, but the NP have put up 164, the CP 131, the DP 104, the HNP 22 and there are five independents.

In the House of Representatives, the Labour Party has nominated 80 candidates, the Democratic Reform Party 46, the Freedom Party seven, the New Conventions Peoples Party one, the United Democratic Party 17 and there are 28 independents.

In the House of Delegates, the DP has fielded nine, the Freedom Party three, the Merit Peoples Party three, the National Federal Party 21, the National Peoples Party 29, the Peoples Party 11, the Progressive Independent Party six, the Republican Party three, Solidarity 40, the United Party four and none for the National Democratic Party. There are 29 independents.

□ □ □ □

THERE are two six-way contests in the House of Delegates, five five-way, six four-way, eight three-way and 14 two-way fights. Five MPs have been elected unopposed.

Predicting the results in this House won't be easy, but it seems Solidarity, the NPP and the DP are the main contenders.

□ □ □ □

TONIGHT'S MEETINGS:

DURBANVILLE: The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, will speak in support of the NP candidate in Durbanville, Mr Frik van Deventer, in the Welgemoed Primary School Hall at 8 pm.

STELLENBOSCH: The DP candidate in Groote Schuur, Ms Dene Smuts, the DP candidate in Helderberg, Mr David Gant, and the DP candidate in Stellenbosch, Mr Hennie Bester, will speak at the Stellenbosch Town Hall at 8 pm.

BELLVILLE: The CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager, will speak in support of the CP candidate in Belville, Mr Ferdi van Heerden, at the Tygerberg Commercial High School at 8 pm.

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

CP farmer sends three workers to NP meeting

ARGUS 27/7/89 3044

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

A NORTHERN Cape farmer who supports the Conservative Party this week sent three of his black farm workers to a National Party meeting in Hopetown.

Mr Altus Viljoen of Orania, between Hopetown and Petrusville, said today he had done this to prove that the National Party was applying double standards.

The three black men sat in the front row and listened to Mr Myburgh Streicher, Deputy Minister of Transport Affairs. No one in the audience remarked on their presence.

Mr Streicher said today that it had been found that they could hardly understand Afrikaans or English.

Racial incidents

Nationalists present had realised it was a CP gimmick. The blacks had been embarrassed and the CP was made to look foolish.

As a result people in the area who had threatened not to vote this time had told the National Party today that they would now support the party. They could not trust the CP as it wanted to create racial incidents.

Mr Viljoen said today the farm workers had not been forced to go to the meeting. He had only asked his foreman to arrange that they would attend. He denied that they had been told that Mr Streicher would talk about their pensions.

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

'KAFFIR' INSULTING WORD

(304)

Vlok tells AWB man

THE word "kaffir" was insulting, no longer acceptable and should be erased from the South African vocabulary, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told an AWB supporter at a public meeting in Fochville.

During question time after the meeting in Fochville, a member of the audience asked why "16 kaffirs" had been acquitted for murdering two white policemen in Carletonville.

Other members of the audience referred to the man as the local member of the AWB.

Vlok began his reply by saying that the use of the word "kaffir" displayed an attitude which was no longer acceptable. The word was insulting and should not be used to refer to people of another colour.



Adriaan Vlok.

"I appeal to you to leave that attitude behind. There might have been a time when that word was acceptable but we cannot go in to the future if we continue to insult people in this way."

Vlok asked whether he had agreement on that issue and the man acknowledged by nodding his head.

Replying to the man's question, he said the courts were independent and the State could not interfere with a decision taken by a court on the evidence before it.

SOWETAN Thursday July 27 1989 Page 11

Police probe election fraud

By HENRY LUDSKI



SURPRISED. Mrs Sabera Jeenah with her sons Feizul, right, and Mohamed, who were told by a security policemen that their names appeared on the nomination form of an independent candidate in Rylands Estate

AN ELECTION candidate has quit after it was revealed that his nomination form included several forged signatures.

The false signatures were spotted by an Athlone security policeman who recognised several of the names on the list as those of activists he had previously detained.

It was confirmed late on Wednesday night that independent candidate for Rylands, Cape Town, Mr Gangian "Gang" Naidoo, had withdrawn.

But perhaps the biggest shock was for 25-year-old Rylands student, Feizul Jeenah, who was in Britain on the day he was alleged to have added his name to a list of 300 signatures needed by the candidate to have his nomination accepted.

"How could I have endorsed his nomination when I was in Edinburgh at the time?" asked Jeenah, who said he found tricameralism "abhorrent".

His mother, Mrs Sabera Jeenah, and his 19-year-old brother Mohamed were equally upset that their names were included in the candidate's nomination.

Surprised

A SOUTH investigation has revealed that Feizul Jeenah allegedly endorsed the candidate on June 17 — a week before he arrived back in South Africa from England where he is studying.

"When I saw the policeman I immediately thought he was coming to detain me again," said Mrs Jeenah.

"He told us he was surprised to spot our family's name on the candidate's nomination list and had come to investigate.

"Our signatures were obviously forged," she said.

The returning officer for Rylands, Mr D Vosloo, said late on Wednesday night that Naidoo had resigned "for personal reasons".

Vosloo said he was not aware of any nomination irregularities but if there were any, it would be a matter for the police.

A Western Cape police spokesman Captain Hendrik Opperman confirmed on Wednesday that police were investigating a case of fraud in connection with the election, but would not disclose any details.

Exhaustive attempts by SOUTH to contact Naidoo for comment, both at his home and at work, have proved unsuccessful.

'Betrayed by false promises of reform'

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The National Party lacked the sincerity of deed and action to be the credible promoter of the transcending change which South Africa required, Mr Tony Leon, Democratic Party candidate in Houghton, said in Walmer last night.

He was sharing a platform with General Bob Rogers, former chief of the SA Air Force, the DP's Walmer candidate.

Mr Leon, a member of the DP's National Board, said voters had been betrayed by the "false promises" of Nationalist reform since the referendum on the tricameral constitution.

"All that tricameralism has achieved is to increase and raise the revolutionary climate in South Africa to such a level that we are only capable of governing this country by means of emergency powers and decrees," he said.

Concerning the country's economic decline, Mr Leon said: "We can be great again. Renewal and reconstruction are within our grasp, but to achieve these ends we must embrace the future and discard the discredited past."

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

28 1989

ANC leader 'went further than Govt required'

Viljoen questioned on Mandela release

Star 28/7/89 304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Mr Nelson Mandela had gone further than was required of him by saying he was prepared to work for peaceful solutions, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid said last night.

He was replying to a member of the audience at a National Party meeting in Silverton, Pretoria, who asked why Mr Mandela had not been released, since he had committed himself to peace.

Dr Viljoen told the audience of about 60 that the Government would have to look carefully at the implications of what Mr Mandela had said.

Clashes with ANC

The importance of what he, as a leader of the ANC, had said was that it clashed with the standpoint of the ANC.

The ANC said the only way to effect change was through violence and revolution and that it was only prepared to negotiate the transfer of power.

"In my opinion Mr Mandela said a very important thing, that he was prepared to work for peaceful solutions."

This went further than had always been required of him — to renounce violence.

By implication he had renounced violence and that was something the Government would have to look at very carefully, Dr Viljoen said.

It would also have to look at the reaction from the ANC. In the ANC were those who were committed to violence and revolution and those who believed in negotiation.

Dr Viljoen said the Conservative Party's policy of partition as described in its election manifesto would lead to "coercion, violence and possibly even a bloodbath".

The policy would require millions to be resettled as the CP philosophy was that each group had to be in the majority in its own homeland.

The CP had proposed a series of economic measures to influence people to move voluntarily.

But it was an illusion to think people would move voluntarily in such large numbers. It would only take place with "unthinkable violence".

Dr Viljoen said the Democratic Party was in danger of losing credibility over the "world of promises" in its economic manifesto.

It promised to double the size of the police force, link pensions to the inflation rate, give large increases of aid to the aged, introduce a poverty relief programme, reduce GST and petrol tax and scrap metering of local telephone calls — and at the same time reduce State spending.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria).

Botha's hunt: Auditor-General launches probe

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Auditor-General has launched an investigation into the alleged mis-allocation of funds by President Botha on a hunting trip.

This follows Mr Botha's use of a police lorry — allegedly showing false number plates — to transport several carcasses of buck shot by him on a Free State farm last week.

The Auditor-General's investigation appears to hinge on the question of whether the police lorry was used for proper police duty.

CP SURPRISED

Officials sources have suggested that the lorry was used properly and officially as it was carrying equipment to protect Mr Botha.

The venison carcasses were loaded on the return journey as there was space on the lorry.

Mr Fanie Jacobs, the Conservative Party MP for Losberg who first broke the story, yesterday expressed surprise that the Auditor-General had decided to investigate the incident.

He said he had not asked him to do so. "This is getting really serious," he said.

"When the Auditor-General decides to investigate, that points to the seriousness of the situation.

"The reason for this is most probably that he is looking into the question of whether or not Parliament approved of the State President's office making use of the funds of the Minister of Law and Order by using police transport and taking on police fuel.

"This doesn't look at all good for the State President's office."

The CP said it was considering asking the Advocate-General to investigate the incident and has also asked National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk to appoint a judicial comission of inquiry into it.

Mr Jacobs said yesterday the CP had not yet submitted the request to the Advocate-General.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria.)

All the drama of a hung parliament

Star 28/7/89.

(304A)

Several factors can still influence the outcome of September's general election. But if the National Party does lose its outright majority in the House of Assembly, the results could be dramatic. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

A hung parliament after the September 6 general election, identified by The Star in mid-May as a hazy outline on the horizon, has moved more sharply into focus as a possible if not probable result.

But, as Ms Joclyn Kuper, managing director of Marketing and Media Research (MMR), cautions, the final outcome depends on the impact of several factors between now and polling day

One, as polls conducted in July by MMR for The Star show, is the huge floating vote. The undecided voters can tip the balance one way or another In the six polls conducted by MMR, the floating vote varies from a low 16 percent to a high 24 percent.

Another potentially decisive factor is the six weeks of campaigning which lie ahead between now and polling day. Two separate MMR polls in Randburg show that voters are swayed by electioneering, that party political loyalities are more fluid than they have been in decades and predictions, therefore, more difficult.

The former British Prime Minister, Mr Harold Wilson, has remarked that a week is a long time in politics. His caveat is applicable to South Africa today Even the Centre for Policy Studies, which predicts the governing National Party will lose its majority in the white chamber, prefaces its forecast with warnings.

Dramatic implications

One is that the NP has proved to be highly resilient in the past, confounding pollsters and opponents alike who, often extrapolating from incomplete if not imperfect data, have anticipated its decline

But, at the end of the day, a hung parliament is an outcome which cannot be excluded. Its implications are so dramatic that they are worth exploring

To lose its absolute majority in the white chamber, the NP will have to shed 40 seats or nearly one-third of its present total of 123 out of 166 elected seats.

If that happens the NP, having enjoyed more than 40 years in power, will return to Parliament battered and bloodied; its confidence — one can safely assume — will be shattered.

It will then have to embark on the hazardous and nerve-racking task of choosing a coalition partner

Whether it chooses the newly formed Democratic Party (DP) or the staunchly segregationist Conservative Party (CP), will depend on a number of factors.

One, obviously, will be the relative strength of the two opposition parties. Their attraction as prospective coalition partners will, in some measure, be in direct proportion to the number of seats they hold.

Ominously for those who believe an NP-CP alliance will be fatal for the country, the CP will be the stronger party in the two scenarios projected by the Centre for Policy Studies.

- Fifty-two seats against 36 for the DP in the first scenario based on an 80 percent poll (a not unfeasible assumptiom, given the high interest and crucial issues, says Mr Richard Humphries of the Centre for Policy Studies)
- Sixty-four against 37 in the second, based on a repetition of the 70 percent poll recorded in 1987.

Another key factor in determining whether the NP will look Left or Right for a coalition partner is whether its schizophrenic political soul is more heavily biased in the direction of reform or reaction.

Weighty, momentous and — let it be added — exciting days and decisions lie ahead if a hung parliament materialises after September 6.

One further possible, if remote, development has to be considered, the splitting of the NP. Its reform-minded leaders may opt for a coalition with the DP, only to trigger a massive walk-over to the CP by its more conservative rank-and-file MPs.

Mr F W de Klerk, who has been prematurely dubbed president-elect by some observers, will be a likely casualty.

In an NP-DP coalition, the DP is likely to press for a more committed reformist as President in preference to Mr de Klerk, whose reputation is that of a pragmatist rather than a reformist.

In event of an alliance with the CP, Mr de Klerk is unlikely to be acceptable to the CP caucus. He is seen as a conservative who did not have the courage of his convictions when the CP broke away from the NP in 1982.

So much for the implications of a hung parliament: what lies behind the decline of the NP, as reflected in a range of polls, including a confidential appraisal conducted for the NP and polls by Market and Opinion Surveys? Its diminishing support seems to have accelerated with Mr de Klerk's takeover as NP leader. Taking the Market and Opinion as a guide, NP support has ebbed steadily from 48,7 percent in April to 40,6 percent in July.

Prudence reinforced

The power struggle between Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha after Mr Botha's resignation as party leader cannot have helped. Quarrels in the upper echelons of a party, however discreet, affect party morale adversely.

According to well-placed observers, Mr de Klerk's political prudence — he describes himself as a "cautious man" — has been unhealthily reinforced by the presence of the brooding Mr Botha in the background.

Mr de Klerk, they say, is loath to take a clear, bold line because he fears contradiction by an unpredictable Mr Botha.

But the difficulties of the NP may be deeper than that.

Writing long before the most recent opinion polls, Dr Rupert Taylor, of the University of the Witwatersrand, said of the NP after its apparent triumph in the 1987 election: "It is going nowhere. Its winning formula is built on myth ... The National Party cannot solve the political crisis through either limited reforms or repression."

Dr Taylor predicted that voters from which the NP draws it support, the growing white middle class, would inevitably discover that it is bankrupt. Perhaps that is what they have started to do.

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

It was United State Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen who said last week after visiting South Africa that he could retire a wealthy man if he had $10 for every time he heard the word "negotiation" here.

Now the vogue word negotiation has infiltrated even the vocabulary of the otherwise proudly untrendy Conservative Party.

Mr Cohen could not retire in ease if he got $10 for every time that the word "negotiation" appears in the CP's 1989 election manifesto, published this week.

It is mentioned in one form or another, just seven times.

But that is still seven more times than it was mentioned in the CP's first election manifesto in 1987.

The word negotiation appears most interestingly when the CP proposes negotiation — and other unforceful measures such as decentralisation — to

CP strives for sophisticated image

"regulate settlement patterns" to "make forced removals unnecessary".

Just how remarkably ambitious that objective is becomes apparent when you think how much resettlement would have to take place to realise the CP's policy of putting every conceivable racial group into a separate geographic pigeon-hole.

Nonetheless it shows that since the 1987 elections some of the (relatively) worldly debate in Parliament seems to have rubbed off on the party. Perhaps Dr Andries Treurnicht's recent overseas tour has also exposed the party to a wider perspective.

The new stress on negotiation is just one of several signs of a subtle shift in emphasis in the party's new election policy — away from its old image of being a friend only to the poor-white and farmers.

The Conservative Party's manifesto for the September 6 elections suggests that it is trying to deodorise its blue-collar worker and farmer image to appeal to a broader constituency, reports Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS

This tallies with its goal of breaking out of its Transvaal platteland and blue-collar-worker power base for the first time.

This new attempt at sophistication is also marked in the CP's economic manifesto, where some significant differences occur from the 1987 manifesto.

These include an acceptance of the need for privatisation — a policy which the party has hitherto aggressively opposed — and a commitment to cut state subsidies "to the absolute minimum", to restrict Government spending and to grant wage and salary increases only when they are earned through greater productivity.

There is also an interesting omission — the firm commitment to pay civil servants "on a par with the private sector" which featured in the 1987 manifesto.

In the 1989 model of CP policy the "poor old hard-done-by civil servants" do not rate a mention.

In its promises to the farmers, the 1989 manifesto is also markedly reticent.

The 1987 manifesto enthusiastically promised "vigorous agricultural reconstruction ensuring that this sector once again receives its fair share of the State budget", promised also to restrict increases in production costs, to stimulate exports, to bring interest rates down to levels affordable to the farmer and to resettle the white rural areas.

In sharp contrast, the 1989 manifesto dismisses agriculture in one brief sentence:

"The party regards the rebuilding of the agricultural industry as strategically vital and will thus treat it as a priority."

Taken together, these shifts in economic policy suggest the party is trying to deodorise any whiff of national socialism that might still cling to it and present itself as purely capitalist.

The 1989 manifesto spell
"the free market will be promoted and the socialist redistribution of wealth will be ended". Though "socialist re-distribution of wealth" refers mainly to distribution from white to black, the manifesto also suggests that any form of redistribution is now unacceptable.

304A

'De Klerk not wanted'

NATIONAL Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, would not be invited to the United States after he became president under current political conditions a UDF delegation was told by US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker.

Neither would be De Klerk have met United States President, Mr George Bush, if he had gone to the United States before the election.

Natal president of the restricted UDF and local activist, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, who was part of the UDF delegation which met United States President Bush and British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, earlier this month said Baker had told the delegation that it would not be acceptable for De Klerk to visit the United States as president.

Speaking at a mass democratic movement meeting in Durban, Ndlovu said both Western leaders had agreed that the MDM, the ANC and other organisations had to be part of negotiations.

Bush, who was "appalled by conditions in South Africa", had agreed with the UDF delegation that there should be a united, democratic South Africa.

During the 30-minute meeting he had asked the delegation to tell him what it was like to live under an apartheid regime.

It had been the first time that Thatcher had met members of the movement and she had also agreed the state of emergency should be lifted, organisations should be unbanned and exiles allowed to return.

In the United States some people had argued that De Klerk should be given a chance with his five-year plan.

But this had been rejected because other national Party leaders, going back to Mr John Vorster, had asked to be given a chance and nothing had happened.

Ndlovu said they had met reesistance from both Thatcher and Bush on the sanctions issue.

JULY • 28 • 1989

Financial Mail

304A Financial 28/7/89.

ECONOMIC POLICY

Why the DP isn't convincing

There is a remarkable similarity nowadays when progressive politicians explain their economic policies. It doesn't much matter where they be — in Sydney, Gdansk, Pietersburg or Harare — they all sound much like Harry Schwarz explaining the Democratic Party (DP)'s economic plan in Cape Town at the weekend. In short — hopeful but finally unconvincing.

There is in essence not much difference between the DP plan and what the Nats have been saying for some years. But the Nats haven't implemented even half of what they planned. The question is: if elected, will the DP stick to its election promises or baulk at the enormity of the challenge?

Lower inflation, lower taxes, less government and the removal of apartheid as an economic growth constraint. It would be very difficult to fault all that. The country will pay a heavy price if it is not done.

Why, therefore, should there be any doubt cast at the DP's economic veracity? The answer comes from Schwarz himself: the DP would ensure the ruthless elimination of abuses of the finrand system which led to enormous forex losses.

This country has the potential to grow rapidly. But it requires a government that is bold and committed to free enterprise and free markets. That means the abolition of exchange controls and the finrand system which together facilitated the massive forex loss by their very artificiality.

The exchange rate is the most important price in this economy. If it is not determined by supply and demand, the credibility of every other commitment to free markets that the DP may care to make must be viewed with scepticism.

To be sure, it is possible to implement the additional controls that will be necessary to plug more of the gaps in the finrand system. And they will be effective for a while. But the cost will be high.

Schwarz has only to cross the Limpopo to find out just how high. The Zimbabwe Central Bank runs as watertight a set of forex controls as is humanly possible — helped, of course, by its market being very small. But the outcome, according to businessmen in Harare, is that decisions from the authorities take anything from five weeks to three months.

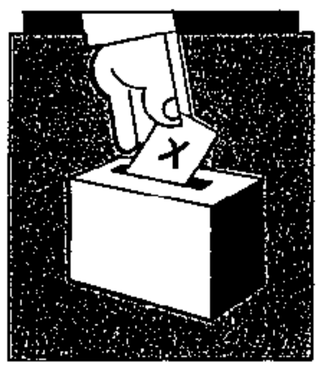
Even if our central bankers are more efficient — and their inability to control the money supply does not suggest they are — this economy is so much larger and complex and the need for speed in foreign trade so much greater, that the competitiveness of our exports in world markets would be seriously prejudiced.

If the DP compromises on a price as central as the exchange rate, what else will it do for the sake of political expediency? ■

28/7/89 304A Fwd

ELECTION — 2

Calling the roll



Apart from the CP's 22 seats, all in the Transvaal, there are another 39 Transvaal seats which could move from the NP to the CP — if there was a 15% general swing to the Right since 1987. The Randfontein by-election last year showed a 7% swing to the CP; some analysts believe the CP is still growing. But others reckon CP support has peaked.

Be that as it may, the final nominations for the House of Assembly election have already made a difference — even if we assume that voting patterns have not changed since 1987.

Starting with the Transvaal: certain seats were won by the NP in 1987 on a split rightwing vote. (All percentages in brackets below indicate the required swing to the Right for the CP to gain a seat from the NP.) Assuming no further swing to the Right, the CP will automatically gain two seats where the HNP is not standing this time — Stilfontein and Pretoria West, where the combined rightwing vote exceeded the NP's in 1987.

In addition, the DP's decision to fight seats it didn't in 1987 is likely — without any further swing — to reduce the Nat vote in the following seats, thus giving them to the CP: Lydenburg (1%) and Wonderboom (2%); possibly Alberton (7%), Geduld (7%) and Klerksdorp (7%); and even Koedoespoort (8%), Germiston District (9%) and Kempton Park (9%).

But the DP is not fighting Maraisburg, which will leave the NP breathing a little easier; the Nat majority last time was only 837 and the Progs totalled 617. As in 1987, there will be three-way contests (NP, CP, DP) in 14 other Transvaal seats, but there would have to be a substantial swing to the Right for the CP to win most of them.

The HNP are absent this time from Roodeplaat and Gezina. This favours the CP's chances in those seats if there is a tiny swing to the Right; the same applies to a much lesser extent in Nelspruit, Primrose and Germiston. One seat that is virtually certain to go to the CP is Hercules, where the combined rightwing vote last time was 60% — but Jaap Marais polled 26% of that vote. The HNP will not achieve anything like that now, thus leaving the way clear for the CP. Rustenburg is another seat that is difficult to call because the HNP candidate was unusually strong in 1987, but it could easily go CP without a swing; the DP is standing again.

Three seats will be excellent barometers of swings between the NP and the CP. As in 1987, there are straight fights between these two parties in Krugersdorp (1%), Potchefstroom (2%) and Vanderbijlpark (8%). As it happens, each is largely Afrikaans and each represents a different source of CP strength: middle-class Reef town, rural Transvaal and the Vaal Triangle. If the Nats retain Krugersdorp and Potchefstroom, the tide will have turned against the CP; if the Nats lose Vanderbijlpark, they're in big trouble.

What about the other provinces? In the Free State the NP is defending all 14 seats. On the 1987 showing, both Sasolburg and Parys would fall to the CP — both are held on a split vote and are now straight NP-CP contests.

The DP is contesting five Free State seats, but will undermine the NP's chances in only two: Bethlehem and Ladybrand. Other CP gains would require swings of between 6% and 19%.

In Natal, DP involvement might just give Umfolozi to the CP, based on 1987 voting; but a swing of 4% would be needed for Newcastle to go CP. No other Natal seat is vulnerable to the CP.

In the Cape, the seats most vulnerable to a swing to the Right are Kuruman (2%), Oudtshoorn (7%), De Aar and Uitenhage (9%) and Graaff-Reinet (12%). The DP is not contesting any of these; nor is it likely to spoil the Nats' chances against the CP in any Cape seat.

Has CP participation given the DP a chance of winning Nat seats without any swing to the Left? There are very few such seats: Bezuidenhout, East London North and Umhlanga, possibly the two Maritzburg constituencies. In all the other vulnerable Nat seats, the CP took part last time — so a swing is required for DP gains.

Everyone assumes that the CP will automatically retain all its 22 seats. But this is not necessarily the case. The PFP split the vote in certain seats in 1987, where the DP is not standing this time. With no swing, Delmas and Roodepoort could easily revert to the NP. Though many of the other CP seats were highly marginal, the HNP has pulled out of some of them and the DP has entered others (like Middelburg), favouring the CP.

So what would the score be, if voting support were to remain true to the 1987 division? With a bit of luck, the CP would gain 12 seats and the DP five — all from the Nats. The NP might win back one or two from the CP and none from the DP.

That, perhaps, is the measure of the "co-operation" between the CP and the DP against the NP, before any swings to Left or Right and the HNP's decline are taken into account. ■

28/7/89

DP ECONOMIC POLICY

A state of plenty

A DP government will base SA's economy — "as far as possible" — on the principles of private ownership and free enterprise and will keep State involvement to a minimum.

The party's long-awaited economic policy was unveiled at a weekend election campaign launch in Cape Town. It sets out not only a broad policy framework, but also the immediate steps a DP government would take in an attempt to put the economy back on its feet.

The DP campaign manifesto details a bold "four-stage strategy to fix the economy" based on reducing inflation, encouraging economic growth, developing and uplifting all South Africans and turning SA into a "winning nation."

Immediate steps would include:

☐ Reducing inflation to below 10% within three years by containing government spending, stopping uncontrolled increases in the money supply and eliminating wasteful "apartheid extravagance;"

☐ Freeing the Reserve Bank from government interference;

☐ Reviewing the role of the agricultural control boards and the setting of food prices with a view to achieving freer markets;

☐ Easing "punitive" tax rates which discourage hard work and free enterprise; separate taxation of married couples; reducing GST to below 10%; the removal of GST on medicines; and the removal of "exorbitant and unnecessary" taxes on petrol;

☐ The introduction of VAT at a graduated rate, lowest on essentials and highest on luxury items;

☐ The abolition of "golden handshakes" for retiring politicians;

☐ A streamlined and efficient civil service in which "deserving" workers are well paid;

☐ Encouraging economic growth by restoring confidence in SA's future through policies based on democracy and a free-market economy, eliminating red-tape and creating a climate for free enterprise;

☐ Eliminating "demoralising corruption and derailing the gravy train" and

☐ Appointing a minister of consumer affairs to "protect consumers and prevent price rigging," giving more muscle to the Consumer Council and appointing an official ombudsman.

The key to all this, barring the last point, is that the DP has grasped that it will be possible to reduce taxes as the economy grows.

Foreign investors will be attracted back to SA by the scrapping of apartheid; and the improved economic climate and international tourism would flourish. "Confidence in our economy and in ourselves as a nation will be restored."

The more formal policy framework steers clear of the manifesto's campaign promises and concentrates on a conservative and broadly defined direction in which the DP believes the economy should move.

It says the State's role will be limited to:

☐ The efficient administration of the country and the maintenance of security through a "streamlined bureaucracy;"

☐ The equitable upliftment and development of all South Africans based on the economy's taxation capacity and the needs of deprived communities;

☐ The provision of physical and institutional infrastructure to support private initiative and to train manpower. All South Africans will be encouraged to participate in the "mainstream" of economic activity; and

☐ A role in the establishment of an orderly system of collective bargaining between employers and employees and between employers themselves.

The policy recognises SA's interdependence with the rest of the world. As part of the transition to a "true South African democracy," steps will be taken to normalise the country's trade and financial relations with the international community, as part of the effort to attain a high economic growth rate and counter the effects of sanctions.

In the drive for a sustained, high and stable growth rate, priority will be given to the creation of jobs.

DP Finance spokesman Harry Schwarz says that, unlike government, his party will not "regret" the high inflation rate, but will act to bring it down by telling people what needs to be done and asking for their co-operation. "We will not be afraid to administer tough medicine if in the long term it is in the interests of the country, irrespective of the political considerations.

"Inflation can be beaten, but it needs a will and determination to act and to administer the right medicine at the right time, not delaying action for political motives or actions which themselves have party political and not economic motives."

What can this mean? Schwarz tells the *FM*. keeping the increase in money supply under proper control; a "completely independent" Reserve Bank administering monetary policy and co-ordinating it with fiscal policy; the elimination of "monopolistic and price maintenance conditions" to ensure competition and equality of bargaining power; the elimination of consumer exploitation; productivity incentives; and the elimination of financial rand abuses (see *Leaders*). ■

wd book

Voters 'have put focus on the economy'

It was not the National Party or the Democratic Party that was putting the focus of the election on the management of the economy, it was the electorate themselves, DP candidate for Helderberg, Mr D Gant, said last night.

Speaking at a meeting in Stellenbosch, he said white voters had already accepted the fact that blacks would have a major role in the country's political, social and economic developments.

The electorate, he added, concerned themselves far more with "their future standards of living and general well-being than the retention of any racially based special political privilege".

"They want to know whether there will be a viable economy, better housing opportunities, improved levels of education for the children and less unemployment, less inflation, less taxation.

"They are asking themselves who best can manage the economy in the transition period and thereafter.

"And it is in this respect that the Nationalist Government, on the basis of its past record of lack of fiscal discipline, reckless spending and largesse, has no right to ask to be returned to power on September 6."

Mr Gant said the NP's manifesto, far from providing the real medicine required to cure the economy, simply served to highlight its self-confessed incompetence and the economic ills that had flown from it. — Sapa.

(News by V Leveson, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg).

Reform or not, SA will field UN slings

BY SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Namibian moves, and hints of substantial policy changes in the event of Mr F W de Klerk being elected president, have not dented the stubborn hostility of the UN majority towards South Africa.

NEW YORK — With the new General Assembly session scheduled to begin in little more than 50 days' time, the group of African states have already fired their opening shot aimed at ensuring that "the question of apartheid" remains a hot agenda item.

As if regular debate on the subject — the UN's hardiest perennial except for disarmament — were not enough, the group also obtained agreement to hold a special session on apartheid on December 12, 13 and 14.

Still hard up because of the failure of many states to pay their UN dues — the United States alone owes about $500 million (about R1 350 million) — the world body hardly needs this reaction when members will be struggling to complete the business of the regular assembly for a December 19 adjournment.

In private consultations, they agreed also that "normal" debate on apartheid would take place three weeks before the special session.

If delegates thought this was a clear case of political overkill, none wanted to say so publicly.

Short of a dramatic policy shift, South Africa will be unable to defend itself in either debate, having been denied representation in the General Assembly since 1974, when, as president, the then Algerian Foreign Minister Mr Abdelaziz Bouteflika, engineered the ouster of the Republic's delegation on a credentials technicality.

No olive branch

Major-General Joseph Garba, former Foreign Minister and for several years chief delegate of Nigeria, will preside over this year's assembly, the 44th, and is unlikely to want to change what was started by his Algerian predecessor.

General Garba is a famous and vocal critic of the Republic in his year-round capacity as chairman of the assembly's special committee on apartheid.

So South Africa's chief delegate, Mr Jeremy Shearar, can hardly look to him for an olive branch.

On the secretariat side, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar has been far more restrained in his remarks about the Republic's policies than was his predecessor as Secretary-General, Mr Kurt Waldheim, now the president of Austria.

Dr Perez de Cuellar may be unhappy with some aspects of the situation in Namibia.

However, he has often emphasised his view that it is not the duty of a secretary-general to lambast a member state when, along with General Garba, he will be sharing the podium with a new under-secretary-general for political and general assembly affairs.

Mr Ronald Spiers (64), a career member of the United States foreign service, will be succeeding in that important post Mr Joseph Reed, who has become the White House chief of protocol.

Bush nominee

Mr Spiers's field of expertise is disarmament and his biographical details make no mention of any significant Africa connection.

He was nominated for the high UN post by President Bush and received two distinguished service awards from former President Reagan, who also appointed him to the personal rank of career ambassador — a distinction he shares with fewer than half a dozen State Department colleagues.

Ideologically then, he may be considered as conservative as is Mr Reed, who sometimes flaunted his Republican credentials by wearing a tie on which the name "Reagan" was repeated in stripes.

Big business has faith in NP, claims Babb

The National Party's goal of an economy based on free market principles would stimulate growth, create jobs, maintain job stability and contain inflation, the NP candidate for Randburg, Mr Glenn Babb, said yesterday.

Speaking at a house meeting, he said these policies carried the country through several years of drought, two years of unrest and unavailability of capital, "and still achieved a growth rate of close on 3 percent".

"Even now, Anglo American and Gencor are investing billions of rands, while Sappi and Mondi are planting thousands of trees which will only provide a return in eight years' time. It certainly shows big business' confidence in a future under National Party government.

"At the same time, the creation of regional services councils served as a channel for development in black cities and towns. Basic infrastructure is being provided, changing the face of places like Soweto and Alexandra."

Referring to the Democratic Party, he said the party's economic policy was "schizophrenic".

"While the one co-leader espouses economic motherhood, one of his co-leaders is dreaming of a welfare state and a redistribution of wealth on behalf of the Mass Democratic Movement."

Mr Babb called DP members "dreamers", saying they "dream of dishing out bananas when they haven't even planted a tree".

"The electorate are not monkeys; the DP should remember it." — Sapa.

(News by G van Oudtshoorn, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Black 'humour' from CP man

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A Northern Cape farmer who supports the Conservative Party this week sent three of his black farm workers to a National Party meeting in Hopetown — "as a joke".

Mr Altus Viljoen of Orania, between Hopetown and Petrusville, said yesterday he had done this in order to prove that the National Party was applying double standards.

The three black men sat in the front row and listened to Mr Myburgh Streicher, deputy Minister of Transport Affairs. No-one in the audience remarked on their presence.

Mr Streicher said yesterday it had been found that they could hardly understand Afrikaans or English.

Nationalists present had realised that it was a CP gimmick. The blacks had been embarrassed and the CP was made to look foolish.

Mr Viljoen said yesterday he viewed the incident as a joke.

The farm workers had not been forced to go to the meeting.

He had also won a R200 bet with a Nationalist that the National Party would allow people of colour to come to its meetings and that they would not be asked to leave the hall.

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

Minister criticises Charter

304A

Star 29/7/84

By Craig Kotze,
Crime Reporter

Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Leon Wessels lashed out in Soweto yesterday at the ANC's Freedom Charter, claiming the "burning of schools and homes by the outlawed organisation" was based on the document.

Speaking at the opening of the new Kliptown Police Station, he said the document had nothing to do with the visualisation of a future South Africa.

"It is simply a document by which the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance attempts to involve South Africans in their revolutionary offensive," he said.

"By misleading our people with these transparent promises, the revolutionaries try to incite our people to violence and to misuse them for revolutionary purposes."

Identifying housing and education as the most urgent needs in South Africa today, Mr Wessels said: "Terrorist organisations which intend bringing this country to its knees have been using these aspects as the main thrusts of their campaigns to create violent disorder."

(Report by C Kotze, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

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.

Derby-Lewis's defamation suit dismissed

304A

By Gien Elsas, West Rand Bureau

A Krugersdorp magistrate yesterday dismissed with costs a defamation suit brought by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis against deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Leon Wessels, the National Party and Mr Linus van Rooyen, a 1987 NP campaign helper.

Mr S W van Niekerk said in his judgment the advertisement in the *Krugersdorp News*, which led to the court case, should be read as a "whole unit".

He held the advertisement consisted of fair comment and the publishing thereof was in the interests of the voting public.

He said the plaintiff was evasive concerning the issue of racism.

However, it was the court's opinion that Mr Derby-Lewis, CP spokesman on economic affairs, qualified as a racist following his testimony in court and the dictionary definition of a racist.

The R5 000 damages suit centred on a paragraph in the advertisement concerning compulsory sterilisation of other races.

Mr Derby-Lewis had claimed this statement cast doubt on his character, labelled him as a racist and portrayed him as a cruel and inhuman person.

approval." The scheme would then be expanded.

ties, which largely have fixed financing administration costs.

Mr T

Boksburg Nats oppose honour for Treurnicht

By Kevin Udemans

The National Party caucus in the Boksburg Town Council announced last night it would boycott a council meeting and festivities on August 26 when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will receive the Freedom of Boksburg.

The leader of the NP in the council, Councillor Chris Smith, said the party wanted to distance itself from the presentation of such a high honour to a political figure.

He said it was felt the honour should only be given to a State President — as in the past — in a non-political capacity.

Dr Treurnicht will join State Presidents Mr Jim Fouche, Mr Marais Viljoen and Mr P W Botha and former world heavyweight boxing champion Gerrie Coetzee as honorary citizens of the town.

● Mr T J Ferreira, chief whip of the CP, told a town council meeting last night that NP Members of Parliament seemed to think they were above the law.

He was responding to allegations that NP workers removed CP election posters from lamp posts.

Mr Ferreira said that Councillor Pieter Strydom had found one NP worker removing CP posters from lamp posts this week, but that the CP would not press charges.

Alderman Issy Kramer pointed out that because tampering with and removing political posters were criminal offences the allegations could not be debated by the council. It was for the State to decide whether to prosecute.

3044A Financial 28/7/89

THE ELECTION — 1

Nat panic and the P W factor

An element of panic has crept into the NP's election campaign as leaders face the thought of the worst reversal since the party came to power in 1948.

There is even a suggestion that if things go too badly P W Botha may attempt a comeback. He told delegates to the party's Cape congress in Somerset West at the weekend that he had "fully recovered" from his stroke. He looked strong and healthy.

While still convalescing earlier this year, Botha made it quite clear that he intended seeking nomination for another term as president. But he was subsequently outmanoeuvred by F W de Klerk and effectively forced into retirement.

If the NP is hammered on September 6 to such an extent that De Klerk's power base is shattered, he may be considered too discredited to be nominated as State President. In that case it is conceivable that a rescue effort will be launched with Botha at the helm. The lack of leadership in the party may leave the caucus no other option.

Meanwhile, scapegoats are being sought to rally supporters in an attempt to stave off the unprecedented onslaught from the Left. The NP has virtually written off the right-wing as irrevocably lost — although Nat inertia on some apartheid laws suggests otherwise — which leaves the DP as its greatest threat.

The DP are now being portrayed as "spoilers" set to hand seats to the CP by fielding candidates in constituencies where they have no hope of winning. It is argued by Nat media, including the SABC, that this is a "strategy" for ensuring a hung parliament in which the DP will hold sway.

But research for the *Sunday Times* indicates that only nine seats could fall to the CP under such circumstances.

A survey commissioned by the NP itself identified 11 such constituencies — but the DP has nominated candidates in only three of them. The NP, on the other hand, has nominated candidates in 10 DP strongholds where it has virtually no chance of victory (see "Election — 2").

Added cause for NP concern came at the weekend when the last polls that may be published before the election suggested that the party is still losing support to the DP. Analysts disagree on how the statistics will translate into seats on election day, and they acknowledge that much can happen in the next month to change perceptions. But for the first time in many years, it is conceivable that the NP can lose its overall majority in parliament — not likely, perhaps, but conceivable.

The DP rejects efforts to smear its candidates as spoilers. Acting chairman of its national board Tiaan van der Merwe says it is not the DP's duty to keep the Nats in power. "On the contrary, we are in business to get rid of the Nats. Any move to save an NP seat would therefore be inconsistent with our very purpose in politics."

He says the DP sees little difference between the consequences of NP rule and CP policies, and adds that if some commentators are "hoodwinked by the sugar-coating of Nationalist apartheid," they should re-examine the NP.

"The DP is serious about power, hopeful even at this election by means of a hung



parliament. We will not allow ourselves to be treated as a 'third team' political movement that must stay out from under the feet of the big contestants."

Van der Merwe argues that it is not necessarily correct that DP supporters will automatically vote Nat in the absence of a DP candidate, and may in fact even vote CP out of protest against government.

The DP is undeniably on a roll. The enthusiasm of delegates to its campaign launch in Cape Town at the weekend contrasted with the sedate, almost nervous air that hung over the NP's congress in Somerset West.

The DP seems to have distilled the essence of campaign politics in a manner that often eluded the PFP. It is beating the drum of economics and security. Speakers promised reduced taxes, lower inflation, a clean administration, an end to "apartheid spending," the re-establishment of international trade ties, a bigger and better-paid police force to protect ordinary citizens, reduced defence spending and a cut in national service.

The DP is successfully evading the "pinko liberal" tag of the PFP and can hardly be accused of being "soft on security" when such eminent former securocrats as General Bob Rogers (former SAAF chief) and General Wally Black (former director-general of operations at SADF HQ), stand up to explain that it is the NP's political policies that threaten SA's security.

The DP is also managing to match the NP blow for blow on the issue of dealing with the ANC. Co-leader Wynand Malan has managed skilfully to place contact with the organisation in a perspective that leaves the NP looking like the villain for refusing to talk. In addition, P W Botha's meeting with Nelson Mandela has created a crisis for De Klerk. The organisation can no longer simply be written off as unacceptable at the negotiating table.

Economic high ground

The NP is also being forced on to the defensive in the face of the DP's onslaught against its economic policies. In the latest reaction Own Affairs Budget Minister Kent Durr popped his head out of the trenches to reject the DP's newly published economic policy as "too costly." But with inflation at an 18-month high and the economic slowdown beginning to bite, it is no surprise that economic issues took a back seat at the Nat Cape congress.

By contrast, the DP campaign launch was dominated by economics. Co-leader Zach de Beer said that, in any of the world's democracies, an economic performance half as bad as the NP's would have ensured defeat.

The old cliché of a "watershed election" has been so abused since 1948 that few commentators have dared to try it this time around. But veteran DP MP Colin Eglin did in a pep talk to party candidates in Cape Town: "The next few months, perhaps the next two years, are going to be the most exciting, the most challenging and potentially the most creative in the political history of our country. The future belongs not to the floundering, fearful politicians; it belongs to the millions of ordinary people who form the backbone of our nation."

It is those ordinary people who are being wooed so fervently — and skilfully — by the two opposition parties. But we should remember that no one under the age of 45 can remember any government other than a Nationalist one. When it comes to making a cross, white conservatism — in the sense of keeping things pretty much as they are — will not be easily uprooted. ■

30pA

NOT SINCE 1948 HAS A WHITE ELECTION AROUSED SO MUCH CONTROVERSY AND UNCERTAINTY ...

What the Nats need now is money and time. Neither is available

The Nats have never seemed so rudderless at election time. One initiative after another to gain support and resolve the national crisis, has failed. The trouble is that this time round, the voters seem to have realised this ...

By MARK PHILLIPS
of the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand

ALL around the country, National Party activists are grappling with a bleak scenario — and they are approaching it in deadly earnest.

It is the spectre of having 83 seats or less after the votes are counted on September 6 — what pollster Lawrence Schlemmer has called the "reversal" syndrome.

The complacency of having had too many years in power too easily has caught up with the party which controlled all but 30 seats in parliament only 10 years ago.

Surveys show public support is at a 40-year low and, within the NP, confusion and demoralisation over policy is widespread. There is a disturbing loss of coherence and confidence.

The powerful NP election machine and its ally, the SABC, may still pull a narrow majority of whites back into the NP fold. A judicious mix of CP-phobia and ANC-phobia could do the trick.

But the election comes at an inauspicious time for a government beset by corruption scandals, economic decline, a narrowing support base and political failure. It is also bad news for "securocrats", whose Emergency strategy to wipe out non-racial opposition, back up conservative black politicians and thus shore up white rule, has achieved limited success.

To really have a chance of fundamentally changing national politics, the strategy requires time (perhaps a generation) and money (at least some foreign investment). Neither is in abundant supply any more.

Despite thousands of detentions and millions of rands spent, last year's municipal election campaign failed to gain new support for the local authority system.

And the "Great Indaba" concept — a putative forum for constitutional negotiations — has never become more than that. The "upgrading" programme has failed to win acceptance as a substitute for political change.

Political "counter-organisations", such as the new state-sponsored National Forum, enjoy little legitimacy.

The deep conflicts which today beset the NP from within are sharpest around a few specific issues.

● The effect of sanctions is one of the most prominent.

The most forthright call from within the state for a political response to sanctions-induced economic problems came from former Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock.

In addition to the maintenance of law and order, he argued in May this year, "continued political and constitutional reform are preconditions for optimal real growth, low single digit inflation, balance of payments equilibrium, a strong currency and, in general, economic prosperity and rising living standards".

His concern has since been echoed by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis. And, speaking earlier this month in right-wing Ventersdorp, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok described apartheid as "an albatross around our necks".

He said the government no longer had the money to implement its policies, and internal and international disapproval of apartheid meant an alternative would have to be found.

In addition, the effects of sanctions are likely to be compounded in the medium term by rising Western gold production.

● Another discordant issue within the NP is whether the Emergency is still needed.

But security hardliners said the "revolutionary climate" had not yet abated. Regular nightly television coverage opened with reports of bomb blasts in the Western Cape and Vlok revealing a "new" revolutionary strategy to disrupt the elections.

The prospect of election boycotts under non-Emergency conditions is greatly feared.

● The role of the security establishment is contentious. PW Botha's close relationship with the military directly informed the government's reaction to the crisis of 1984-1986.

FW De Klerk has no such structured relationship and is reported to be unhappy about the inordinate power in the bureaucracy of the JMCs.

● Then there is the matter of the role of the Office of the State President. Botha turned the presidency into the epicentre of autocratic executive power.

Winning the backing of the president became a prerequisite to the successful raising of any issue in the cabinet or State Security Council.

Reforming the power of the President's Office would be a prequisite for constitutional formulas currently in vogue in the NP. These call for a consensus form of government built on separate race or "group"-defined institutions. Opinions differ on quite how such a structure could accommodate "voluntary group formation".

Chris Heunis discovered this to his cost in his speech prior to his unexpected resignation. The shadow of a black head of state looms large.

● How to broaden the social base of the state remains a key concern. Botha and the securocrats have attempted to co-opt "moderate" blacks into the structures of state power in classical counter-insurgency terms.

More advanced reformers within the state have looked beyond this and pointed the state in the direction of negotiations with the extra-parliamentary opposition.

● Who to negotiate with is potentially the most divisive issue of all for the NP. After the Tuynhuys tea-party, the government has fallen over itself to draw a distinction between Nelson Mandela and the ANC, defining the organisation as enemy, rather than potential negotiating partner.

But behind the veil of the official position there has been a constant stream of Nationalists and those close to the NP establishment to "feel out" the ANC on the possibility of talks.

Others are having to be dragged screaming into the new political realities of sanctions-hit and constitutionally deadlocked South Africa.

The fissures are real, if unresolved. As mass resistance picks up with the approach of the elections, and the NP struggles to glean its majority, we can expect much fudging of issues.



DP's Zach de Beer ... not wanting to take a confrontational stance towards the MDM

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

The brief DP honeymoon with the left seems over

By GAVIN EVANS

THE Democratic Party's decision to contest the House of Delegates elections has soured its fledgling relation with the "mass democratic movement".

The two groups appear to be headed for a collision course in Natal where nine DP members are standing in the Indian elections, and the conflict seems set to impact on relations between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups more generally.

While most MDM representatives have indicated they will not be "campaigning actively" for a boycott of the white elections, they have indicated that relations with the DP will be more difficult.

Commenting on the DP's decision United Democratic Front leader Murphy Morobe said: "They shouldn't expect us to treat their House of Delegates candidates differently from other puppet candidates in the elections.

"This particular election is rejected by us because it excludes the majority of people in our country. We've made no specific call for whites to boycott because this would serve no purpose in the white community, but we will certainly not be campaigning for whites to vote," he said.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said he believed the only people who would benefit from a MDM boycott of the white elections would be the National Party.

"We don't want to take a confrontational stance towards the MDM. We realise they have to be partners in reaching a future democratic South Africa."

De Beer said he was "disappointed" that the Natal Indian Congress had opted for a confrontational stance.

Co-leader Wynand Malan said he realised their decision would cause some conflict with the MDM but thought the DP and MDM "should learn to live with this kind of dynamic tension.

"What we share is that each party is pursuing the goal of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa."

Transvaal Indian Congress president Cas Saloojee said there was a "deep sense of disappointment" in the MDM ranks at the DP's decision to "defy the boycott.

"They are sacrificing their relations with the extra-parliamentary movement for the sake of people who are discredited in our communities. They have seriously underestimated the extent of the feeling against the tri-cameral parliament, and in so doing have weakened the whole anti-apartheid alliance."

Saloojee said the NIC and TIC found it "deeply irrational" that the party had decided to single out Natal for their nine candidates, while leaving out the Transvaal and the House of Representatives.

"It's a reflection of confusion and a series of compromises in their rank," he said.

Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee representative Wilhelm Liebenberg said they were disappointed that "the more conservative faction in the DP appear to have won the day on such an important issue".

He added, however, that no final decision had been made on their strategy regarding the elections, but that the DP decision could push some supporters into opting not to vote.

Earlier this month the ANC announced it did not plan to call for a boycott of the white elections, but would work hard for a total boycott of all candidates in the other two houses.

The polls are looking rosy for the DP

By GAVIN EVANS

THE Democratic Party's white electoral support appears to be growing rapidly.

The final three pre-election opinion polls show that the DP is likely to lift up to 15 seats from the National Party, and has an outside chance of unseating the Conservative Party as the official opposition. Alternatively, if the Nats also lose many votes to the right, a hung parliament could enable the DP to force the NP government into an uncomfortable compromise.

According to last week's Mark en Meningsopname poll, published in *Rapport*, the DP's white support has grown from 28,2 percent in June to 29,9 percent, while the NP's support has fallen from 41,1 percent to 40,6 percent and the CP's from 23,9 to 23,1 percent.

This translates into 32 seats for the DP (up from its current 21) compared with 103 for the NP, 29 for the CP and one for the HNP — a scenario which would regain for the DP the position of official opposition lost by the PFP in 1987.

A poll conducted by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University, and published in the *Sunday Times*, predicted a very different outcome.

With an 80 percent voter turnout, the DP would win 36 seats compared with 78 for the NP (a drop of 45) and 52 for the CP. With a 70 percent poll the DP would win 37 seats, the NP 65 and the CP 64, it predicted. Either way the result would mean a hung parliament.

A poll of six key constituencies conducted by Marketing and Media Research and published in the *Star* indicated growing DP support, with a stagnation in CP support.

While several commentators have noted that in the past polls have tended to underestimate CP support, there seems to be agreement that the DP's white electoral prospects look healthier than was recently assumed.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said he was very encouraged by the polls.

"They all show we have gained, but I'm reluctant to hang my hat on numbers."

Co-leader Wynand Malan said it was now clear that the DP was the second strongest party, and had the support of 30 percent of the white electorate.

"Our support base is spread over the country more evenly than the CP's. It's not consolidated yet, but if the growth pattern continues we could well be the second largest party in a hung parliament."

Malan said he was unconcerned by polls showing his Randburg seat was within the grasp of the NP's Glenn Babb.

"Once my campaign gets moving Babb's growth trend will be reversed," he said.

He said that if the NP persisted with attacking the DP for its contacts with the ANC, "it would boomerang on the Nats".

"When PW Botha, whom no one can accuse of being soft on security, meets an ANC leader who has never renounced violence, it's going to be much harder for them to get their charges to stick."

Star 28/7/89

NP battling to survive – DP

The National Party was fighting to survive in the coming election, Dr Zach de Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party (DP), said in Witbank last night.

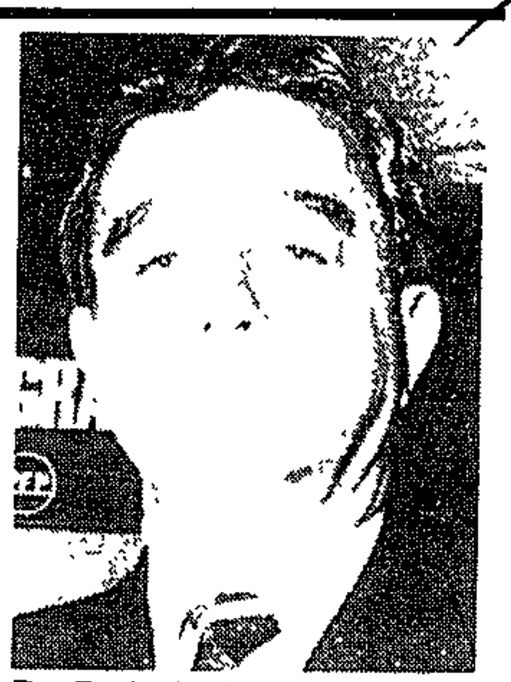
"For years, the Nats have simply said: vote for us, or otherwise unpleasant things will happen to you. But now the voters are saying: unpleasant things are happening already. Our taxes are too high; prices are too high; the value of our money is too low."

Dr de Beer said that in the past white South Africans had a very good life.

"We had the best schools, we lived in the best group areas, we had the best separate amenities, and all this cost us nothing. We were also prosperous.

"No wonder the Government found it easy to win elections. No wonder those of us who were campaigning for political and other rights for the black people had a hard time." — Sapa.

(News by V Leveson, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)



Dr Zach de Beer ... "voters are fed up".

304A

Power sharing at 'leadership level'

Political Correspondent

The National Party believed that a political solution lay in power sharing at leadership level and not at the ballot box level, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, told an election meeting last night.

About 150 attended the meeting in a school hall in Durbanville.

Mr du Plessis said South Africa's readmittance to the outside world could only come about when blacks, along with whites, could say that they were involved in efforts to find solutions to the country's political problems.

The tricameral system had matured and should now at some stage reform itself in order to accommodate the political aspirations of other groups.

The National Party had come to realise that the political aspirations of all groups could not be accommodated on the "homeland" basis.

Rapid black urbanisation was inevitable and housing and services that had to be provided for this as well as the expansion of the informal sector were factors which could stimulate economic development.

At question time Mr du Plessis said he was sure that the Government could keep its promise to bring down taxes because this could be planned over a five-year period.

Inflation could be brought down to 10 percent, as the Democratic Party was promising, but this would bring the economy to a standstill and cut down productivity completely.

Mr du Plessis told one questioner that 70 officials who had been appointed to deal with group areas problems were not inspectors but advisers.

He said many whites did not want members of other groups in their residential areas and many people of colour wanted their own areas.

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



21/2/89

Bishops suggest list of questions

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Catholic bishops of South Africa have told church members to follow their own consciences in deciding whether to vote in the election.

For those who intend to vote, the bishops suggested a list of questions to put to candidates on issues such as the repeal of racial laws and negotiations.

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference said in a pastoral letter that because of great defects in the election system and blatant injustice, many viewed the election as a farce and considered that no one concerned with justice should participate.

"One can appreciate their point of view. Others, however, who have the vote think they can do some good by voting.

"They see candidates standing for election who propose meaningful negotiations to bring true justice and peace to South Africa. Many will choose to vote to encourage and support such candidates and to help build up a strong body of opinion in favour of true negotiation."

(Report by T McElligott, 85 Field Street, Durban.)



Ms Michelle Guttler

At 25, DP candidate says youth no handicap

Political Staff

MS Michelle Guttler is probably the youngest aspirant parliamentarian in South Africa.

But it is no handicap, the twenty-five-year-old Democratic Party candidate for Tygervallei insists.

The precedent, she says, is her co-leader Dr Zac de Beer, who launched his parliamentary career in Maitland at 24.

A teacher of senior school English at a private college in Cape Town, Ms Guttler is also national president of the DP youth. And it was South Africa's loss of young talent through an apartheid-charged brain-drain that inspired her to enter politics.

GET INVOLVED

"I became involved in the 1986 by-election in Pinelands, shortly after yet another friend emigrated and I was becoming increasingly concerned.

"I decided I'd either become one of the statistics of those who had left, or I'd stay. If I stayed, I could either sit back and be critical of the government without really doing anything, or get involved."

She became the PFP regional youth chair, then national vice-chair.

Ms Guttler, brought up in Pinelands, went into teaching after obtaining an MA in religious studies at UCT.

"The problems of young South Africans need to be addressed by young people," she says.

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

CP meeting tonight

ELECTION meetings tonight:

● Conservative Party — Mr Carel Schoeman, MP, at Voorbereiding School hall in De Doorns at 7.30pm. — Political Staff.

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

Boycott fight on

Boksburg ponders cost of apartheid

PAT DEVEREAUX

"WELCOME to our beautiful Boksburg" says the sign at the entrance to the East Rand town — but the sign fails to add — "only if you are white".

On September 6 Boksburg's whites will go to the polls and deliver their judgment on the changes made in their town in the past 10 months which, according to many bitter residents, "have made Boksburg an international laughing stock".

In October last year the Boksburg Town Council was captured by the Conservative Party in the October municipal elections — when it gained 12 out of the town's 20 wards.

Boksburg's businesses have since been under siege by the black and coloured consumers after the council began reimplementing apartheid laws.

On Wednesday this week the Reiger Park coloured community at a packed Save Boksburg Committee meeting vowed to continue the consumer boycott in protest against old style apartheid laws in the town.



BOYCOTT BITES: Closing-down sale signs are plastered all over shopfronts lining Boksburg's main streets. ● Photograph: Stephen Davimes.

However, according to local shopkeepers and furniture traders, black consumers from nearby Vosloorus township are now trickling back.

The impact of the boycott may have frayed somewhat, but midday rush hour this week was still subdued

Closing-down sale signs were plastered all over stores along the main streets These were interspersed with bright multi-coloured election posters of the town's smiling candidates

"I think we have lost an estimated 65 percent of business through the boycott and I, like many others, will have to close my shop here," said clothing trader Mr Solly Angamia.

Denial

The boycott has been very effective, according to residents who believe it has even forced the CP Mayor Mr Beyers de Klerk to sell his estate agency because he had suffered a financial loss after being boycotted.

But Mr de Klerk denied that he had been financially ruined by the boycott adding "I still have other businesses in the town

"The Nats have used Boksburg as a whipping horse and found large companies to support the boycott. This time they are going to be given the lesson of their lives.

"What the CP did was simply implement the law which is what 12 out of 20 wards wanted

We never told Reiger Park or Vosloorus residents we didn't want them to buy in our town. We told all groups we are prepared to cut the cake and give each group a fair share."

Nationalist Party candidate for the town, Mr Sakkie Blanche said: "The majority of voters deplore the bad publicity this town has got — and are going to protest against the CP council in these elections."

He dismissed the view that the CP was simply implementing the law.

"That is nonsense. We have always said when a facility could not be duplicated it would be shared. We opened up the swimming pool, the lake and the town hall. But they have closed these facilities," he said.

According to a recent Marketing and Media Research opinion poll of Boksburg voters indicates a close fight between the CP and the NP.

Thirty percent of voters, according to the poll, had pledged support for the NP and 22 percent for the CP.

Democratic Party candidate Mr Sirk van Wyk said: "The Nationalists should carry the can for a CP-run Boksburg. I believe when people voted for the CP it was an anti-Nat vote rather than an anti-DP vote.

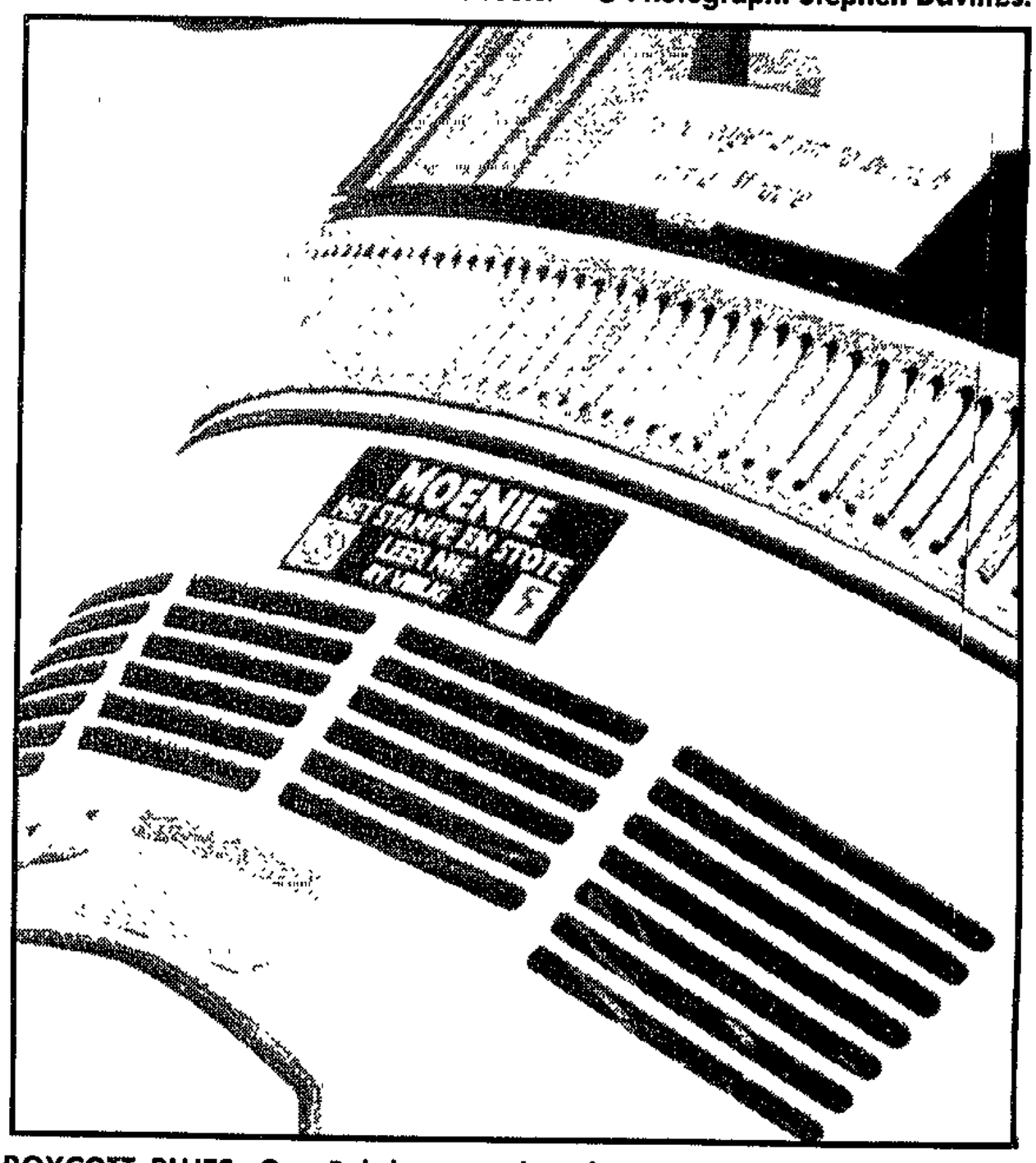
"The only respectable way to get out of this quandry is to vote for the Democratic Party."

Even the HNP candidate for the town, Mr Attie Treurnicht, was sceptical about CP support. He said: "Look at the mess the CP have made of this town.

"They should never have implemented apartheid laws so fast. It should have been done more slowly. They upset the applecart. They should have realised they don't run the Government yet.

"We will get our share of the votes because we are not afraid of using that harsh word apartheid which is clearly understood. What people forget is that politics is harsh," reasoned Mr Treurnicht.

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



BOYCOTT BLUES: One Boksburger takes the stayaway seriously and believes: "It's no longer a sin to be rich. It's a miracle!"

● Photograph: Stephen Davimes.

SA women have long struggle ahead to make their voices heard

WOMEN are at the cutting edge of political change in South Africa, but you would never know it from everyday public debate.

Sexual discrimination spans racial and social divisions in South Africa, a conservative society where politics is widely considered a male preserve.

Even in the field of National Party politics, from which blacks are excluded, women appear rarely on radio and television talk shows or on public platforms.

There has never been a woman cabinet minister. Women occupy just nine of the 308 seats in the tricameral parliament, reserved for whites, Coloureds and Indians, and five of the 60 seats in President Botha's advisory council.

But women are at the forefront of the struggle against race segregation and are especially active in thousands of extra-parliamentary community groups working at local level.

A prominent example is Mrs Albertina Sisulu, who this month met President Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Mrs Sisulu was the leader of a delegation of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF) touring Europe and the United States.

Like fellow delegates Sister Bernard Ncube, a nun, and Ms Jessie Duarte, she is more used to working away from the limelight leading grassroots organisations of a kind routinely hampered by Government restrictions.

South Africa's thousands of mainly black women activists form a central pillar of the anti-government opposition, leading anti-government figures said in telephone interviews.

They work as organisers, lawyers, union negotiators and teachers. They plan and manage work stayaways and rent boycotts, write newsletters and train fellow activists.

Relatively little is heard of them because reports on the activities of their groups are often restricted by media curbs enforced under a three-year-old state of emergency. They also face male apathy and opposition.

"Women are the ones who are active at grassroots level," said sociology professor and veteran activist Fatima Meer.

"The fact that you don't see them up on platforms does not detract from the fact that there is a lot of women's strength."

3064

WILLIAM MacLEAN

She said women had advanced considerably in the anti-apartheid movement since the 1950s. They spearheaded protests against the extension of pass laws, which restricted the movement of blacks into "whites-only" areas, from men to women.

Black women have also gained some influence in the informal business sector, running shops and lucrative shebeens.

"It's still very hard for a woman to get herself heard ... But we're climbing up," said Mrs Sally Motlana, life president of the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches and manager of a Soweto trading store.

"We know that men alone cannot reach the goal of liberation ... men and women both are in the struggle, men and women are in exile, men and women are in prison."

Mrs Sheena Duncan, a white woman who has campaigned for black rights for a quarter of a century, said black women faced enormous obstacles in campaigning for equal rights.

"Their lives are such a daily grind that most of them haven't got the energy to take the challenge and make it a priority," Mrs Duncan said.

Abortion is illegal for all races in most circumstances. Under most marriage contracts, women cannot get credit or sign documents without their husband's consent. There is no statutory provision for equal pay for women or for maternity leave.

Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mrs Helen Suzman, two women known for their anti-apartheid work, have over the years overcome different forms of sexual prejudice.

Mrs Mandela, married to jailed black leader Nelson Mandela, once wrote: "In the earlier years ... If I said something it was Nelson's wife who said so ... I was no individual."

Anti-government veteran Mrs Suzman, for seven years the only woman in Parliament, said she was treated with traditional male courtesy by male colleagues and "never gave a damn" about occasional comments about a woman's place being in the home.

"I was seen as a tough old boot ... once a male MP told me I had a man's brain. He meant it as a compliment. Little did he know his was the last brain I would care to have," she said.

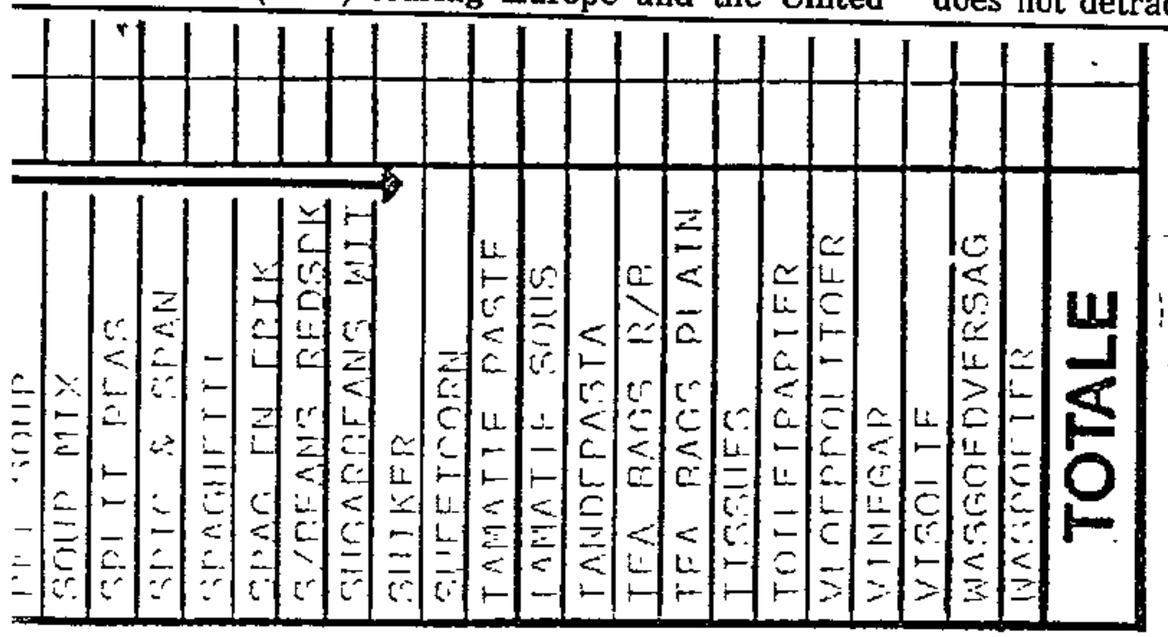
Mrs Sheila Camerer, an MP of the National Party, said there was a lot of chivalry towards women MPs in Parliament. "We're treated like china dolls. When you finish your speech they come up to you and say 'how charming'."

The NP is fielding 11 women candidates, the Democratic Party 10 and the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties two each in September general elections.

Participation by women in local government has increased steadily in the past decade. One in every 10 of the country's 7 000 town councillors is now a woman.

But town councillors interviewed said women were still reluctant to put themselves forward for political office because they felt their traditional role was in the home.

Mrs Duncan commented: "The importance of the white women's vote is not recognised in the community — and it's women's fault. They haven't demanded that their voice be heard." — Reuter.



DP's new city boss has the heart of a Leon

Star 29/7/89 (304A)

SPECIAL WRITER

THE new Rambo of Civic Hill took up his seat this week and immediately issued a warning to the ruling National Party: if they thought Mr Tony Leon was tough, they ain't seen nothing yet.

Mr Ian Davidson is the new leader of the Democratic Party (DP) in the Johannesburg City Council. A bachelor stockbroker of 38, he is firmly in the Leon mould — aggressive, sleeves up, to the point.

Mr Davidson has been on the council since 1982, when he was first elected under the banner of the old Progressive Federal Party in the Parkwood/Saxonwold/Parkview ward.

He believes the Nationalists in Johannesburg are at an all-time low, and constantly need to go to their masters in Pretoria for guidance.

"A paralysis has set in in the NP in the council. It is not uncommon to see Nat councillors scurrying out of the chamber to phone Pretoria for advice. There's a paralysis, so not much is being achieved," Mr Davidson said yesterday.

He believes government on Civic Hill is fundamentally weak and says decision-making is increasingly being transferred from the council to officials such as the town clerk.

Mr Davidson points to the DP victory in the recent Linden by-election, as well as numerous opinion polls, as proof that there is a swing away from the Nats.

"The NP in Jo'burg is serving time. It won't be long before we run the show," he said.

Mr Davidson said the style of the DP caucus in the council was aggressive, and this would not change once Mr Leon, who is contesting Houghton for the DP in the general election, left.

The DP's message was short and simple: Johannesburg had to become a truly non-racial city, with clean and open government whose image was untainted by charges of corruption.

Mr Davidson believes some Nationalists are unhappy with their party's hard line on Indian families in Pageview, as well as other issues.

He said the party was being torn asunder by "new Nats", who wanted a more liberal image, and verkramptes who wanted to maintain the status quo.



...k, where
... Heinrich.

...eral, Dr Ja-

...uth Africa to
...groups work-
...mibia.
...partment of
...nanpower or
...blem which

...VB

and take firm action.
Report by P Devereaux, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

CP wants probe

Star 29/7/84 ● FROM PAGE 1 (304A)

driving the truck on Friday night was part of the President's guard and had taken equipment used for that protection to the farm for Mr Botha's hunting trip.

"It was an official trip and was also noted as such in the logbook," he said.

The President's protection was done as unobtrusively as possible, he added. That was the reason for using (false) number plates which were stored at the police quartermaster for such purposes.

"These number plates are properly registered at the quartermaster and responsibility for their use can be determined," he said.

General van der Merwe, noting the confidentiality of details about presidential security, said all his baggage and that of his travelling companions, and any items supplied or given to them while they were journeying, were transported under police escort at all times.

Mr Jacobs said the President's security could not have been at issue here because he was not travelling in the police vehicle: "The CP still says the vehicle was sent to transport the personal venison of the State President."

He said the CP's charges would be laid "in a few days".

(Report by: Alan Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

He repeated his urgent call to National Party's leader Mr F W de Klerk to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry.

Mr Jacobs said the CP wanted to know what security equipment had been carried by the police truck to the farm near Jagersfontein, and where it had come from. It wanted further to know whether the buck found in the truck had been shot on a private expedition.

"The CP's information is that this SAP vehicle was sent to transport the State President's personal venison and that this practice has been happening for three years."

The acting Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, said in a statement the policeman

● TO PAGE 2.

SATYR



"Looks like they're going for the kill..."

PW hunting party: CP is sticking to its guns

Star 29/7/84 · ALAN DUNN (304A)

THE Conservative Party is persisting with plans to lay criminal charges in connection with a police vehicle transporting President Botha's freshly shot venison and beef from a Free State game farm to Pretoria.

Mr Fanie Jacobs, CP MP for Losberg who aired the accusations on Monday, said a police statement on the matter was totally unsatisfactory and created more questions than the answers it gave.

See Speak Out on PAGE 2

It also still intends raising the matter with the Advocate-General, despite a decision yesterday by Free State Attorney-General Mr T P McNally not to prosecute.

PW hunt: CP wants new probe

Cfi This
29/7/84
306A

NOBODY is to be prosecuted as a result of the President P W Botha "biltong saga" — and the CP says it is still not satisfied and has called for an independent judicial inquiry.

After days of accusations by opposition politicians, the Attorney-General of the Free State yesterday declined to institute proceedings against the police for transporting venison in a disguised police truck for Mr Botha.

But the CP yesterday said the SAP's explanation for transporting the game meat was not satisfactory.

Its information was that the SAP vehicle had been sent for to transport the game and that this practice had been going on for three years.

It also called on NP leader Mr F W de Klerk to appoint an independent judicial inquiry to investigate the matter.

The acting commissioner of the SAP, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, yesterday said all allegations levelled at the SAP had been thoroughly investigated.

He said that, in accordance with existing regulations, "all baggage of the State President and his travelling companions as well as any articles supplied or given to the group, are at all times transported under police accompaniment".

The CP replied that Mr Botha's security could not come into play in the matter "because he was not a traveller in the police vehicle".

It said that although Gen Van der Merwe said the hunting junket was "an official trip", the party wanted to know whether the game was shot "on a private expedition" and thereafter transported for Mr Botha.

Gen Van der Merwe also said: "The security of the State President is usually done as unobtrusively as possible. Number plates kept in stock by the quartermaster of the SAP for such purposes were therefore used."

These number plates had been properly registered by the quartermaster and responsibilty for using them was determinable.

In apparent reference to the explanation for the different — allegedly false — number plates, the CP asked why it took the SAP almost a week to provide "this simple explanation". — Political Correspondent and Sapa

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and N Oelofse, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

say bank and building society spokesmen.

— PAGE 5

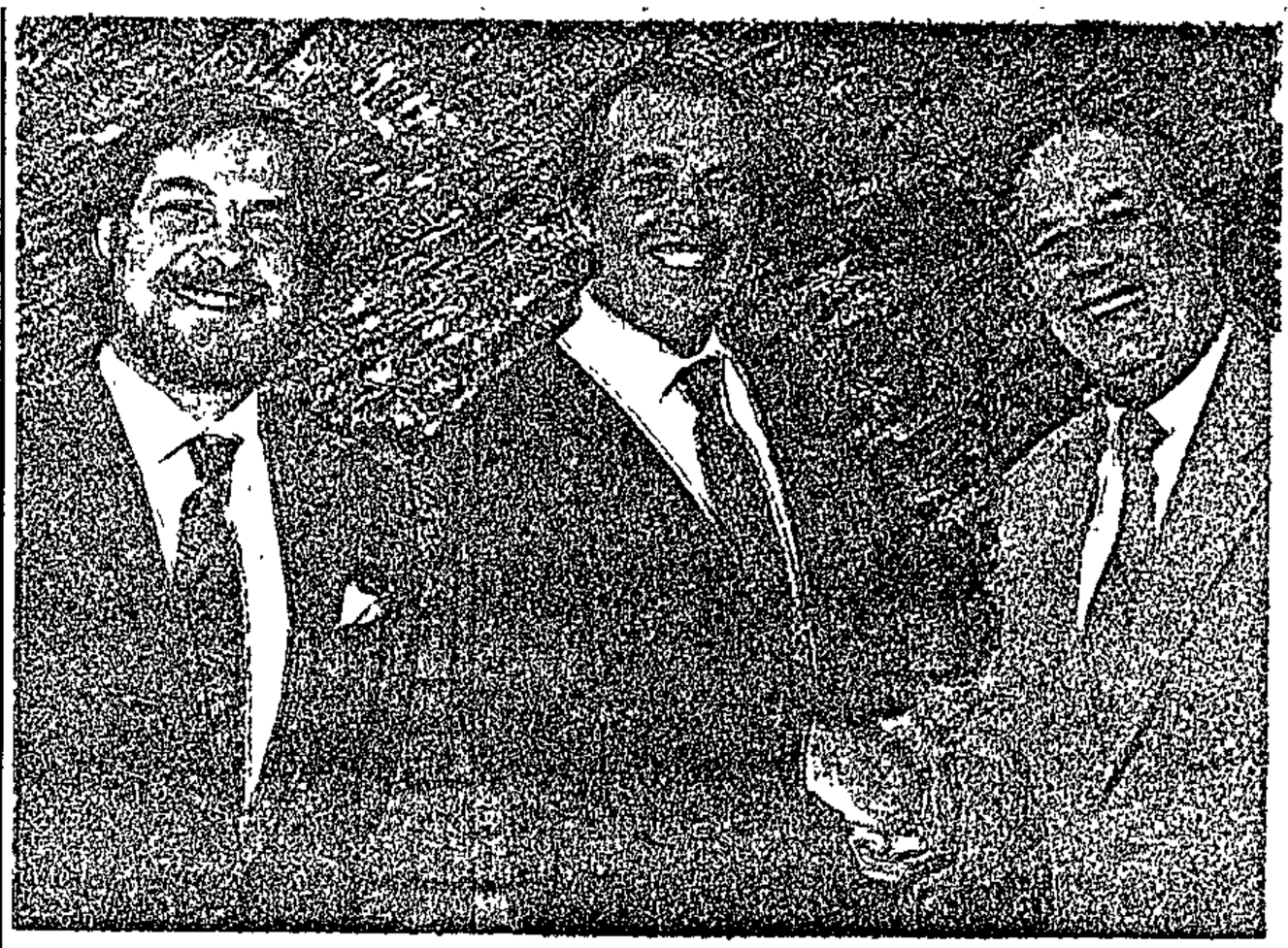
INSIDE

Jackie Onassis turned 60 yesterday. One of the world's most photographed women, in spite of a determination to maintain her privacy, is one of many celebrities who refuses to give interviews.

— PAGE 5

INDEX

At Your Service 21
Births, etc 6
Business 15-16
Crossword 4
Focus 22
Target 4
Teleletters 5



BACKING FROM BARNARD . . . Professor Chris Barnard shakes hands with Democratic Party MP Mr Colin Eglin and the DP candidate for Durbanville, Mr Pieter Schoeman, looks on.

Beryl unearthed

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — An enormous one-ton gem worth £92 million (R410m) has been dug up in a tiny Brazilian mine.

The huge chunk of beryl measures 2,6m by 2,6m, and European and American dealers have already told the mine's head prospector Mr Jose Carlos Almeida they want to buy it.

R1,29m for tree

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A sentimental tycoon has spent R1 296 000 to save a tree he planted in 1942 in memory of his brother who died in the war.

Mr Jorgen Svendsen, 67, paid the sum to developers for two tiny plots in Essex.

Chris Barnard backs the Democrats

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

PROFESSOR Chris Barnard backs the "sane" Democratic Party because, unlike the National Party, it can face reality.

"In medicine the first sign of insanity is when you do not want to face reality; the DP is sane," Prof Barnard yesterday said when announcing his support for the party and its Durbanville candidate, Mr Pieter Schoeman.

"I would like to persuade people to have the courage to give another party a chance because the NP had enough time and it failed. The Conservative Party is a total disaster," he said.

The DP was much stronger on security than the NP because, like the medical profession, it focused on prevention instead of cure.

"It is the NP which is soft on security because it created the circumstances which made the country insecure and security necessary."

Prof Barnard said he supported the DP because it stood for the total abolition of apartheid and was willing to speak to all groups within the black community

Patient care suffered under NP policies because the NP had weakened the rand to such an extent that the country's teaching hospitals could not afford importing advanced medical technology.

The medical profession was ostracised by the outside world and even wanted to kick the SA Medical Association out of its ranks and talented young doctors were leaving the country.

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

State of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, comment and pictures i

Wage Determination Rates

S/Times 30/7/89. 304A

YES, WE MAY SEE POWER IN THE BALANCE

AFTER 40 years of white tribal politics, voters are in a dynamic state not seen since 1953.

It is still not a certain outcome, but a so-called hung Parliament is a real possibility.

By-election swings this parliamentary session are in a state of flux unparalleled since the late '40s. If, for example, the Linden by-election swing were repeated at the general election, 52 Democrat MPs would be elected on September 6.

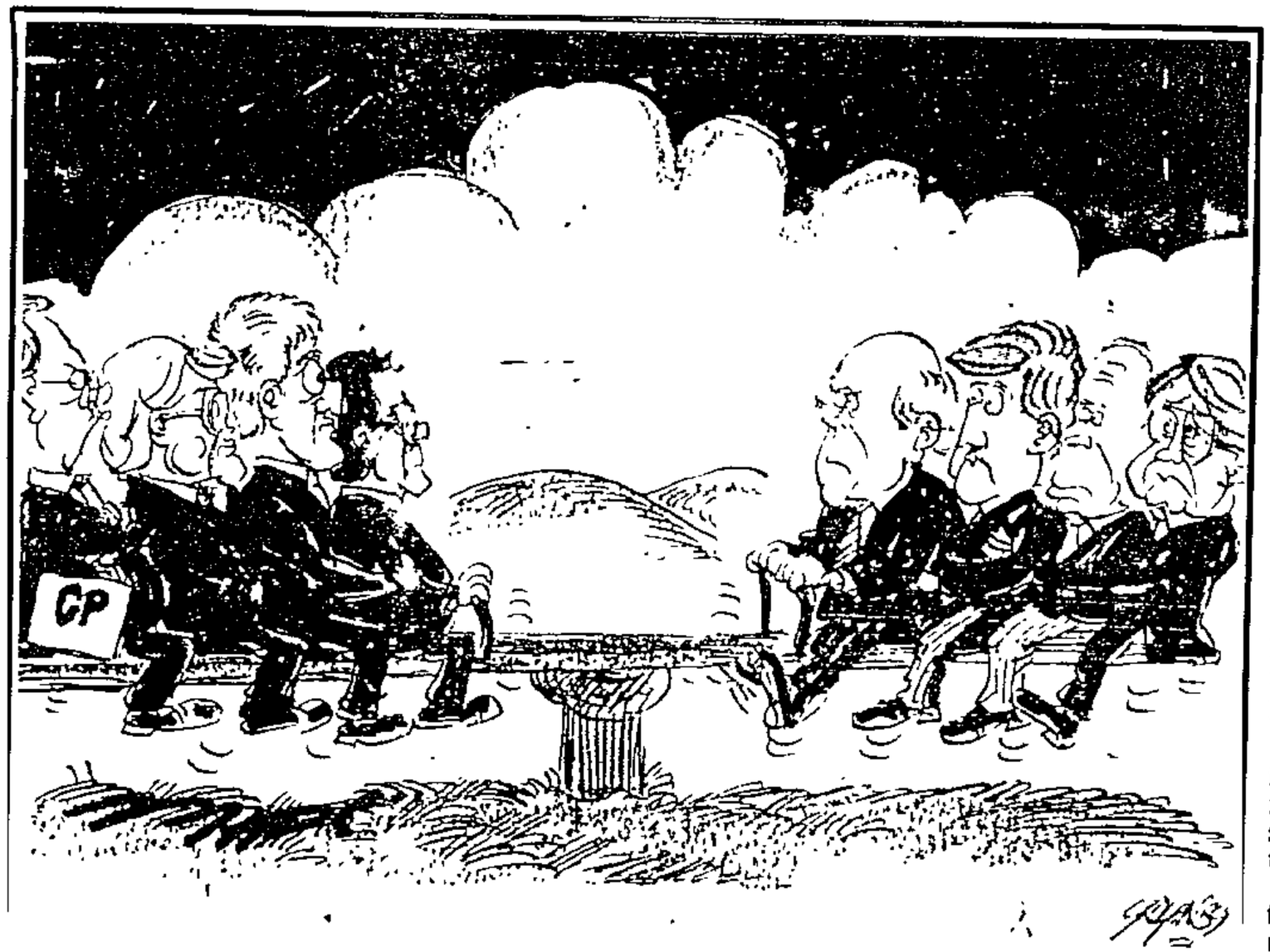
Then again, if the Randfontein by-election swing of March 1988 were repeated, the Conservatives would have 66 MPs.

Both these projections are highly unlikely, but they do tend to show the tremendous fluidity of our politics at the moment.

Although the Nationalists, with their SABC 'news', hold enough cards to try to win an overall majority comfortably — if they play them right — the wheels are coming off their ossewa in a way never seen before.

The Nats need to lose 40 of their 123 current seats before this can occur. And this is now possible.

The Conservatives and Democrats have their internal problems, but every mistake the NP makes is going to cost it [illegible] Botha, by



party to another, can be explained in terms of the advantage or disadvantage to being at a certain level in total support among the electorate.

Put simply, it means that if the CP gets under 23 percent of the vote, it will not get any seats; if it gets 38 percent, it will get 63 MPs; and if support goes above 42,4 percent, it will control the House.

Let's take it from the NP side. If the Nats get less than 26,3 percent of the vote, they get no seats; at 44 percent they get 66 MPs; and between 44 percent and 46 percent they control the House.

Scenarios

The Democrats, if they get under 10,3 percent of the vote, get no MPs. To control the House, they have to get 43,6 percent of the vote.

There are many scenarios in an inconclusive Parliament. A minority NP government is a possibility, and also a NP/DP coalition.

Even a DP/CP government on the lines of the new Greek Com[illegible]unist Conservative government

meeting Nelson Mandela now ... it a secret, is going to cost the Nats several marginal seats.

For the first time in 40 years, the Nats are holding the election at an inopportune time, again all due to P W Botha's intransigence. And the economic situation is the worst the voters have faced in 41 years.

Careful analysis by computer programme of Rapport's opinion polls published on July 9 and 21 and prepared by Mark-en-Meningopnames, of Cape Town, supports the view that a hung Parliament is likely on September 6.

Increase

The most important thing is the under-estimate of the Conservative vote, seen again and again in polls since 1982 — but not reproduced in actual secret ballot elections!

A simulation of the under-estimate of the CP in 1987 and the over-estimate of the PFP/NRP (now DP) by computer programme analysis gives a dramatic picture.

It puts the CP at the "critical mass" level of 37,5 percent of the white vote on July 9 and 38,0 percent on July 23. The NP is at 41-44 percent and the DP at 20-23 percent.

Any Conservative gains in votes above this level cause the CP to win seats in a frenzy, ultimately obtaining the 84 seats it needs for a majority at 42 percent of the total white vote.

The polls in Rapport, The Star and the Sunday Times should greatly worry the Government. They show a great increase in support for the CP and DP. Past polls greatly under-estimate the support for the two parties in constituency elections.

The main caution in the analysis is the extent to which the over-estimates and under-estimates occur. After the October 1988 elections where the CP won control of 90 local authorities, CP voters

by Donald Simpson

an electoral researcher at Potchefstroom University, argues that the possibility of a hung Parliament is not at all far-fetched



may now be more willing to state their party.

If this is so, then the CP's total of MPs is going to be fewer than 60, and its vote may be at the October 1988 level of 33 percent of white voters (winning 45 MPs).

However, it is possible that the new Conservative converts are like those in 1987, in keeping their switch from the NP a secret. In that case the Conservative support is at the 37 percent level.

So far only the Sunday Times made an effort to correct its errors, taking into account its poll data of the same period before the 1987 election. This led to the conclusion that the result of the election was as follows (Sunday Times 1989 election prediction):

80 percent turnout: NP 78 MPs; CP 52; DP 36.

70 percent turnout: NP 65 MPs; CP 64; DP 37.

This estimate concurs with my analysis by scientific and accurate assessment of the polls commissioned by Rapport. In fact, the concurrence is almost eerie.

The South African way has always been to avoid vote "splitting" contests, and a candidate was hence normally elected by a majority of voters.

Pattern

Now, with the major party, the NP, being "in the centre" so to speak, the situation has changed. A strategy to cost that 'centre' party its seats can work if there are two parties opposing it — one to the left, the other to the right.

Both the CP and the DP want the NP to lose its preliminary majority and gamble on the "split vote" seats balancing out between them both — at least in this election, if not the next.

There is a pattern, probably more by luck than than anything else, that the CP and DP are not contesting each other's most marginal seats, but are contesting key seats where their presence makes a difference. These are: the CP in 11 DP hoped-for gains and the DP in 19 possibilities for the Conservatives.

Inherited

If a stalemated Parliament is just missed, then the absence of 3 CP candidates and 8 DP candidates in the other's territory will have just saved the NP, and it will have five years to rue its hesitant action in 11 key constituencies.

The phenomenon of the 1948 election, where the NP won the election with 14 percent fewer votes than the United Party Government — NP 37 percent, UP 51 percent — has occurred, albeit less dramatically at other SA elections, viz 1929, 1953 and 1958.

The phenomenon is a possibility again in 1989, due to the Conservative/HNP vote being in 1987 at the 600 000, 30 percent level of total white votes. The NP is at its lowest real level since 1958, fighting all constituencies for 52,5 percent of all votes.

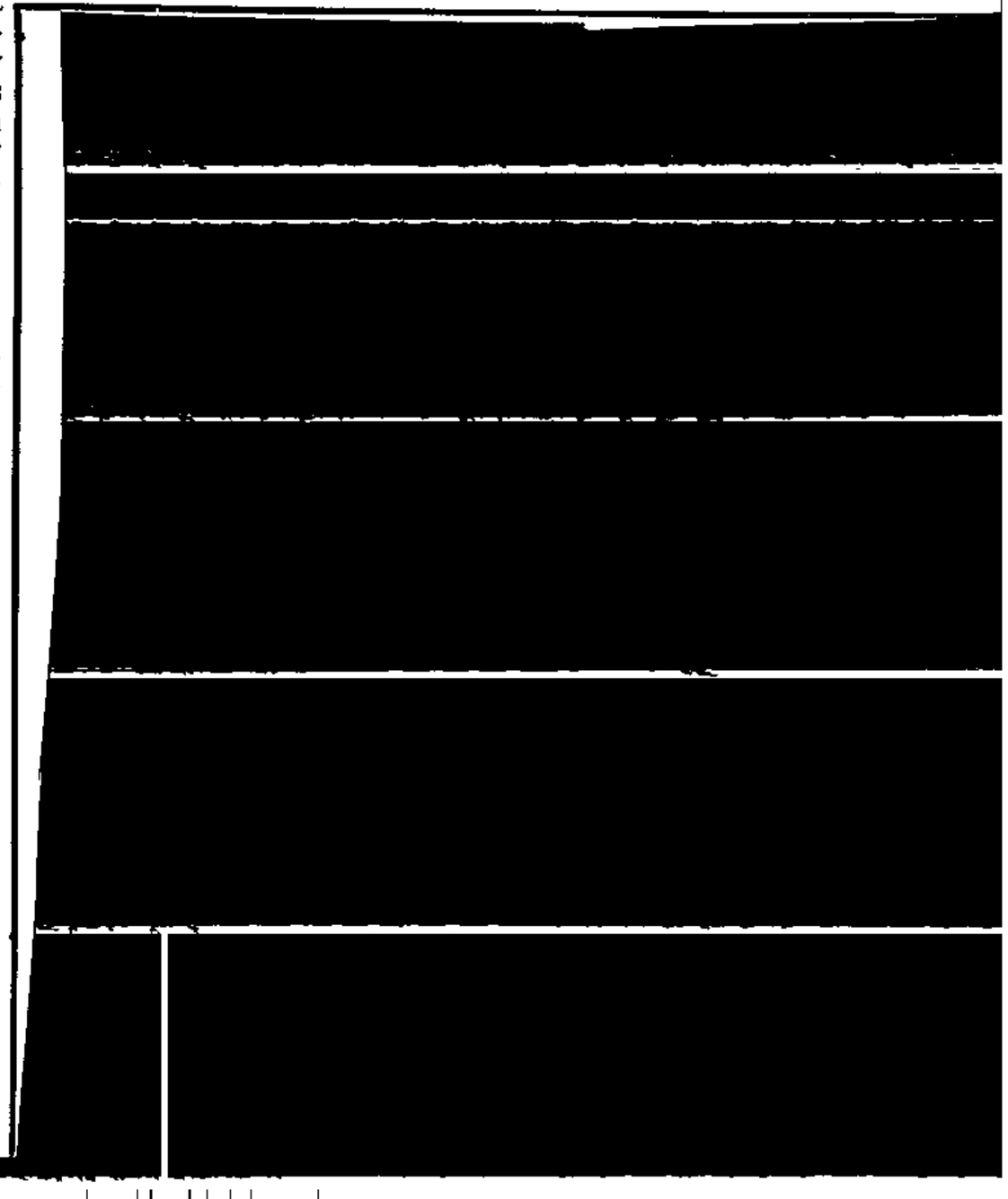
The 1987 election was a good prediction for 1989. The major analysts in the field do not agree with this analysis and claim that the economic and social base of white voters has changed irrevocably since the '50s. Schlemmer, Laurie, Grobbelaar and Taylor all argue that there is a "safe" ceiling of about 35 percent of total white votes, which the CP cannot cross; this is not necessarily so.

If CP support can rise above the 42 percent level, then 1948 is repeated and the party wins the 1989 election with 84 MPs. This is the inherited British Westminster system at work.

The pattern evident from analysing a series of swings from one ... a possibility, but an outside one. In Greece, Communists have combined with the right, after an inconclusive election result. A more unlikely government cannot be imagined.

Coalition government is not the terror it is made out to be. It is little known, but from 1910 to 1952 in SA, a coalition government was the order of the day. After every one of those 10 general elections a coalition of some kind was formed, even though sometimes one party did have a majority.

Such was the kind of South Africans running this country in those golden days.



Give grassroots democracy a chance to grow over our old fields

304A S/Times 3017187

THE abolition of job apartheid, which had kept the black man in "his place", was South Africa's achievement of the '80s.

Its effects are now as entrenched as sunrise and sunset with black participation and contribution in every aspect of economic life and opportunity.

The economic Rubicon had been crossed prior to President P W Botha's ill-fated speech. Its importance got lost when he and his political entourage went off course attempting a second crossing as a media event.

The politicians still drift directionless in the political backwaters, and President Botha's successor will again have to wave a magic white wand to call this election democratic.

But in South Africa, in spite of political confusions and illusions, grassroots democracy has become mainstream and changed the fabric of everyday life.

When the local black athlete Sam Tshabalala broke the finishing tape in the Comrades Marathon on May 31 this year he scored three momentous wins.

Victory

He won the gruelling 90km race ahead of a field of some 13 000 competitors, he was the first black man to win and he scored a momentous victory for homegrown grassroots democracy.

Tshabalala, now enshrined as a national sporting hero, has no vote in the September elections, but ask the inevitable question, "Would it have been better for the cause of freedom and justice in South Africa for him to have boycotted the event as a political protest?" and a resounding "no" would echo from almost every corner of the land.

His victory was one that could be shared by Mr P W Botha, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mrs Helen Suzman, and hopefully it caused Mr White Earth and his ilk some well deserved discomfort.

Political democracy may still have a long way to go. But as recently as the dim, but not distant '60s, the Rev Beyers Naude was expelled from his church by fundamentalists and subjectively persecuted for his religious views.

John Katz

a South African businessman, argues for a return to grassroots democracy

His crime was to criticise the now universally discredited "doctrine" of apartheid. There is poetic irony in the fact that if ecclesiastical extremism still exists in South Africa, it is mouthed by none less famous than the homegrown black Archbishop Desmond Tutu who advocates unemployment and starvation to compel political change in the way he decrees correct.

In the religious context his actions may be as un-Christian as were the doctrines of the apartheid church. In political and economic terms, he has no right to bargain bread from another man's mouth. But the black archbishop continues to strut across the media stages "full of sound and fury" signifying nothing spiritual. And disagree with him as I may, and do, as a democrat I endorse his right to speak.

Where freedom of expression and opportunity have been confined, protest theatre emerged in South Africa as a voice for ambitions and ideas. It is now an important platform for democratic expression at home and abroad.

Grassroots democracy is now evident not only in media political issues, sport and religion, but has taken root in the platteland In the Conservative heartland.

In the northern Transvaal town of Tzaneen, one local issue in the November 1988 municipal elections was whether the Methodist Church's multiracial nursery school, Little Eden, would remain open and serve the community, as advocated by the National Party, or be closed as a scourge on white lands by the Conservatives.

Democracy seems to work best when there are grassroots issues, and Tzaneen became the only town in the country to return a 100 percent Nationalist (pro Little Eden) ticket. Little Eden prospers. The people of Tzaneen have reason to be proud.

I call the "hearts and minds" syndrome the national psyche and firmly believe it directs the destiny of nations. Sporting boycotts have dealt South Africans many a punishing blow by depriving yesterday's Tshabalalas and potential Peles and Daley Thompsons of their basic human right to compete and fulfil themselves.

But, the "unkindest cut of all" was to deprive the South African national psyche of "black sporting heroes". With his triple victory, Sam Tshabalala neutered the venom of the boycott lobby.

Right

Hard on the heels of his victory, Miss Zola Budd decided to run the tortured memories of her misdirected fiasco into the ground at home. She can do this now with the knowledge that after Sam Tshabalala's victory, South Africa is now a democratic sporting arena.

Alas, after breaking the finishing line in Durban, hero Sam could not swim on Durban beaches recently re-designated for "whites only".

Nor was he invited to celebrate at the prestigious WASP Durban Club, whose members may well have influenced the backward actions of the corporation. Mr Tshabalala should not be concerned.

The past may be theirs but the future is his. Some of my best friends are WASPS and I have visited their club. The facilities are comfortable, but the mood colonial. The fare ample but uninspiring. And the waters further along the coast are fresher and just as inviting.

Democracy includes the right for bigoted people to remain bigoted. Bigotry has old, deep-rooted origins and cannot be legislated out of the system. Grassroots are young and vigorous and may eventually grow over the old fields.

Indelible

The cathartic moment when Sam Tshabalala crossed the line to win the premier national sporting event is now part of South Africa's national psyche. He has an indelible place under the section headed "Our Heroes".

Hundreds of thousands of people cheered his every step along the route. Millions sat with eyes glued to the TV screen and spontaneous excitement erupted when the tireless black athlete took his small but giant step across the winning post. It was one of those unique moments which make yesterday yesterday.

South Africa's political future will never be changed at one stroke, and President Botha's successor will inherit a patient in a state of emergency. The critical condition will only be cured by political reform.

Economic health will continue to be menaced by an ailing economy and resources drained by a profligate population explosion.

There are marathons to be run which will make the Comrades look like a warm-up session.

South Africa's destiny now depends on whether the grassroots fields are "stoffeled" out of existence or nurtured as the fertile land of the future. Time is a vintage which cannot be replanted even in South Africa's fertile valleys. Is there a Comrade Mikhail Botha to hand?

It's official: The general election begins in four days' time

FORGET about September 6. The real election starts this Thursday, August 3.

At 8am polling booths will open for special and postal votes, allowing people to cast their ballots well in advance of the election proper.

All three main political parties contesting seats in the House of Assembly are adjusting their strategies to this new development in electioneering.

A number of MPs are saying they will try their utmost to get more than half of their constituents to the polls before September 6.

Check

Under the new system any voter may now walk into any election office — usually in magistrate's court buildings or offices of the Department of Home Affairs — and vote for a candidate in his home constituency.

In previous elections voters had to sign affidavits stating reasons why they would not be present in their constituencies on polling day.

These provisions now fall away. The electoral officer on duty will check on a computer whether the voter is indeed registered in the constituency, check his ID document and give him a ballot paper on which the candidates for his constituency are named.

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

After voting in secret the voter returns the ballot paper to the electoral officer whose duty it is to forward all ballots to the relevant constituencies.

At local level, the electoral officer checks the voter's number against his voting list, crosses the voter's name off and places the ballot in a sealed ballot box which will be opened on election night, together with the votes polled on the day.

What prevents a voter from voting more than once at different election offices?

Nothing. But only the first vote received in his constituency will count and, if there are subsequent votes, the voter will stand a real chance of being prosecuted for electoral fraud.

Change

The new electoral system was first introduced before the municipal elections in September 1988 and proved a big success.

It is expected to have a definite influence in voting patterns for the House of Delegates and House of Representatives where it is feared people may be intimidated to stay away from the polls on election day.

The new system will also change voting patterns among whites.

No longer can a party coast along during the early part of a campaign and try to peak in the days just before polling day.

Benefit

From Thursday, every day is election day, and a vote picked up by your opponents is a vote lost. There is no possibility of swaying a man at the last moment if he has already cast his ballot.

Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North Peter Soal said this week the DP would be going flat out to have as many people as possible voting before September 6.

He made a special appeal to elderly people to vote early to avoid the rush on election day.

He said the main benefit of the new system for political parties was that they could have their strong supporters voting "and out of the way" early in the campaign, allowing them to concentrate on the waverers and possible converts from other parties.

The chief secretary of the NP in the Transvaal, Dr Lukas Nel, said he expected much higher poll percentages because of the new system. His party would also concentrate its efforts on urging voters to get in early.

Abuse

Mr Andries Beyers, chief secretary of the Conservative Party, said his party was geared up to get as many people as possible to the polls before September 6.

"We are concentrating heavily on special votes and believe our good organisation will help us get early leads in most of our targeted constituencies ," he said.

Another result of the new system is that it is eventually expected to phase out the cumbersome system of postal votes.

Parties have often said the system was open to abuse and have accused their political opponents of "mysteriously mislaying" postal votes where there were suspicions of voters making their crosses for opposition candidates.

Direct

Now, only seriously ill or bedridden people need to apply for postal votes, and these will be sent directly to the addresses of the voters rather than to party offices.

Special voting booths for voters wishing to cast their ballots outside their constituencies will close at 9pm on September 1.

If a voter wants to cast a special vote within the boundaries of his own constituency, he can do so until 9pm on September 5.

25 years of good South African writing

S/Times 30/7/89

304A

Hermann Giliomee

of UCT draws up a checklist of all the books that should have been awarded the Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize in the last 25 years.



THERE is a striking line in one of Stephane Mallarine's poems: "The flesh, alas, is wearied; and I have read all the books there are."

In South Africa, with its recurrent false political starts and dashed hopes, there is more than enough reason to identify with the first part of the statement.

But having read all the books? Even if taken to mean all the worthwhile books, the mind still boggles.

As a judge in the Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize competition, I had reason once again to be astounded at the veritable flood of political books produced every year in South Africa. Forty-odd titles were submitted by 15 publishers for the relevant period (June 1987 to the end of December 1988).

Although the quality of the crop was uneven, there were more than enough new insights and perspectives on our present and past to excite even the weariest mind.

One cannot suppress the thought that, if all these books are really read (and that is debatable), South Africa must be one of the best-informed pre-revolutionary societies that ever existed — which is probably the reason why we shall not have a revolution.

Historical

The committee was unanimous in awarding the first Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize to Marq de Villiers's book White Tribe Dreaming.

In our view it comes closest to the demands we set — honesty in spelling out the author's own biases; commitment in the sense of making a lasting contribution to the understanding of our society (or a section of it); a mix of elegance and simplicity, which was so characteristic of Alan Paton's writing; and finally, sufficient accessiblity to interest both the academic and the proverbial person-in-the-street.

Since the prize was being awarded for the first time, the judges had no historical yardstick against which to view this year's entries.

Reading my way through the short list of six books, I became fascinated by this question: Given the list of criteria established for the Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize, which books would have won the competition over the past 25 years had the prize existed?

My list is given below, but I emphasise that this is only an intellectual game, for no one will be able to read all the books produced over the past 25 years and single out the best book for each year.

The exercise is also problematic for another reason: While in the late 1980s there is perhaps enough of a national culture to make the idea of a national prize possible, the situation was dramatically different in the mid-1960s when the Verwoerd government did everything to destroy the cement holding the people of South Africa together.

Moving

If one goes back 25 years, the award of a fictitious Alan Paton Prize poses another problem. The first winner, without any doubt, would have been Alan Paton himself for his masterful biography of Hofmeyer (1964).

I realise my award would risk ridicule but, if the FAK could award its first Verwoerd Prize for statesmanship to H F Verwoerd himself, why cannot the first Paton Prize, with its liberal bias, be awarded to Alan Paton?

In all seriousness, Paton's biography — which is also a moving record of all the hopes and despair of South African liberalism — is world class.

If my 1964/5 prize goes to a compelling biographical study, that of 1968 and 1982 goes to the same genre. In 1968 the great Australian historian Keith Hanncock published the second volume of his Smuts biography, The Fields of Force — 1919-1950.

And in 1982 Phyllis Lewson gave us a Jon X Merriman with which all South Africans can identify. A fourth biography, Henry Kenney's Verwoerd (1980), was highly thought of by Paton but does not make my list.

My 1967, 1968 and 1981 prizes go to books which are roughly similar in their attempt to capture and reflect the kaleidoscope of our society. Against the World: A Study of White South African Attitudes (1966) is impressionistic journalism at its best.

Written by a foreign journalist, Douglas Brown, the study teems with quotable quotes, of which one will have to suffice: "The average white South African is an absentee landlord, not in body but in spirit: the very basis of his wealth and privilege is a closed book to him."

Using a different technique, namely conversations and Press reports, the novelist Alan Drury, in 1967, sketched a canvass of South Africa of which the title, A Very Strange Society, says it all. His vignette of the white bureaucrats who ran the University of the Western Cape in the mid-1960s is unforgettable.

Difficult

Then, in 1980, the German sociologist Theo Hanf, using attitude surveys, wove a rich tapestry in a book called South Africa: The Prospect of Social Change.

To depict national character (as Luigi Barzini did in his book The Italians) is one of the most difficult tasks in political literature. In Hanf's book there is a superb picture of the divided state of white South Africa in the 1970s, analysed in terms of the "laager" and the "club".

The 1969 and 1977 prizes I would award to two general histories. The Oxford History of South Africa (1969) changed the entire focus of the study of our history by taking into account all its people and stressing their interaction, rather than their separation.

In 1977, Rodney Davenport's honest and committed history apeared. But I would have him share the prize with R W Johnson's How Long Will South Africa Survive?, which is both a compelling study of the dramatic events of the mid-1970s and by far the best "future" book to date.

Black history is the theme of several winners.

Chilling

Outstanding among them are: Peter Walshe's The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912-1952 (1970); Gail Gerhardt's Black Power in South Africa (1979), covering both the Congress tradition and Black Consciousness movement from the 1950s to the end of the 1970s; and Tom Lodge's Black Politics in South Africa since 1945 (1988).

Two superb studies of a South African city have appeared so far. Charles van Onselen's two-volume study of the first 30 years of Johannesburg's history wins my prize for 1982. For 1981, I give it to John Western's chilling analysis, Outcast Cape Town, which describes the destruction of the mother city's soul through the imposition of group areas.

My 1971 prize would have gone to Naboth Mokgatle's The Autobiography of an Unknown South African, which is perhaps the best account of what it meant to be a black man in South Africa during the first half of this century. In 1979 Neville Alexander published his radical analysis of who constitutes the South African nation, The National Question in South Africa: One Azania, One Nation. If black workers one day prevail in the South Africa conflict, it will rate as the most famous book of our times.

Afrikaans-speaking authors would have won awards on several occasions. In 1979, Elsa Joubert wrote her masterpeice Die Swerfjane van Poppie Nongena (later published in a translation), in which she lets a black woman tell of her incredible plight under the pass laws.

The year 1973 saw the publication of Breyten Breytenbach's A Season in Paradise, which is an evocative celebration of the poet's return to South Africa after many years. And in 1984 came Breytenbach's moving account of his arrest in 1975 and years in jail.

Passionate

In 1985 Van Zyl Slabbert gave us The Last White Parliament, a rich blend of dispassionate analysis and autobiography. (His description of his mother's funeral is a tour de force.)

Several outstanding analytical books appeared in the past two decades. In 1971, Heribert Adam's Modernising Racial Domination appeared. It dominated the scene for more than a decade by asking the central question: Why does South Africa not experience a revolution, and how does the racial oligarchy perpetuate its rule?

Stanley Greenberg's Race and State to Capitalist Development would have won the prize in 1980 for pointing out how capitalism has managed to adapt to racial rule.

And, in 1986, I would have given the award to Merle Lipton for her rebuttal of the original Marxist thesis of active capitalist complicity in apartheid. (Unfortunately she did not address Greenberg's more sophisticated version.)

We must still find prize-winners for 1972 and 1974-76.

In 1972 it would have been awarded to Francis Wilson for his important study of labour on the South African gold mines. And in 1976 the Theron Commission report, which helped to break the deadlock, appeared. There is an abridged version under the editorship of Sheila van der Horst.

Squeamish

In 1974-5 there was a spot of drought and I could find no books in any of these years which are as obviously outstanding as those I suggest for the other years.

Which were the best books in the 25 years? It is almost impossible to compare them but, if forced to do so, I would put Paton's book on Hofmeyr first, Van Onselen's studies of Johannesburg second, and Brown's Against the World third. But I would not quibble if someone would add Adam's classic work of 1971 to this short list.

Will the Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize become as established an institution as, say, the Pulitzer Prize? One cannot really say, except that, if the prize had indeed been introduced in 1965 and if it had been awarded to books of the quality just mentioned, writers would have given everything it took to win it.

South Africa — getting ever closer to its midnight!

POLITICAL crystal ball-gazing is an undertaking that should be indulged in by only the very foolish or the very wise. But everyone likes to have a go.

"What do you think is going to happen?" must be one of the most frequently-asked questions in politics.

And the situation in South Africa, loaded with potential that is both promising and foreboding, is a favoured subject of speculation.

One of the first to do so in a systematic way was the noted British academic R W Johnson, who spent formative years at the University of Natal in Durban.

Time has proved that he may be numbered among the very wise.

Lester Venter
Political Correspondent



Strain

In 1977, Johnson published a widely acclaimed book, "How Long Will South Africa Survive?"

In it, he developed the notion that the South African system of white political supremacy was under considerable strain, even permanently poised on the brink of crisis — but that it would survive in the short and medium term.

As with all complex ideas that become memorable, Johnson devised an original, convenient way of illustrating it.

Johnson's illustration was that of a clock stuck at five minutes to midnight.

That image forms the subtitle of a new book by a range of South African and overseas academics who have sat down, more or less a decade afterwards, to test Johnson's insights and predictions against recent developments.

They find that Johnson was right, by and large, but there have been enough significant divergences for the volume's editor to state the issue more pertinently: "Can South Africa Survive?" which is edited by John Brewer and published by Southern Books.

According to Johnson, there were four principal factors at play — international pressure; internal political dynamics; the domestic economy; and hostility from neighbouring black states.

Each of these was contributing to a looming crisis, Johnson said, but within each there were elements that blunted their final impact and would leave SA poised on the precipice of a giddy descent into revolution.

Johnson introduced an important proviso. His thesis would hold, he said, so long as SA avoided an external war.

Well, SA has in the meanwhile been through such a war. And it has survived largely intact.

Or has it?

The factors that led Pretoria to negotiate an end to the Angolan war have not yet been fully revealed or understood. And the consequences of abandoning overt military support for Unita and conceding on Namibian independence are far from measured.

Johnson did not foresee the levels to which sanctions and disinvestment would escalate — or the consequences this would have for the economy.

Trend

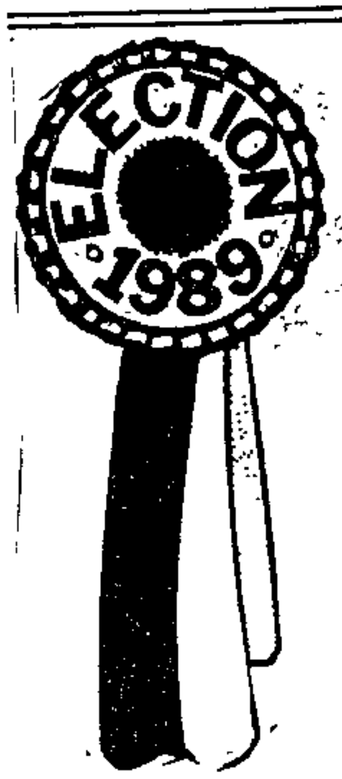
Like all other analysts and commentators at that time, Johnson did not foresee the rise of a white rightwing with an independent identity.

He felt the trend among whites would be towards greater political unity.

But he understood that there would be a concerted policy of co-option of the black middle classes and a bid to eradicate "social apartheid".

So, just as the main interest of Johnson's work lay in the manner in which he dealt with his topics, the value of the new book lies in the fine essays that deal with pertinent topics.

(304A)



What will happen if voters force a hung parliament

By DRIES van HEERDEN

A HUNG Parliament could bring about fascinating possibilities which would be without precedent in South African political life.

The Sunday Times poll conducted by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer's Centre for Policy Studies at Wits — which predicted a hung Parliament — was the main talking point this week among the three main political parties gearing themselves for the September 6 election.

Prof Schlemmer forecast a stalemate situation with none of the three parties getting the 84 seats necessary to gain an outright majority in the House of Assembly.

Scenarios

According to his poll the NP would get 78 seats — 44 down from its current 123 — the Conservative Party 52 and the Democratic Party 36 in the event of an 80 per cent poll.

Stellenbosch Professor Willie Breytenbach — who played a major role in the drafting of the Constitution — said this week such a situation would force the NP to enter into some sort of coalition with either the CP or the DP if it wanted to continue governing.

A number of interesting possible scenarios may then be on the cards:

● The NP could try to split either of the opposition parties by luring MPs with promises of Cabinet appointments to join the government. If the scenario of 78 Nat seats proves accurate they would need only six disaffected Conservatives or Democrats to ensure a majority.

● They could enter into a formal or informal coalition with either of the opposition parties. To achieve this they would have to sacrifice some of their election platforms to make the party more acceptable to its coalition partner — either a commitment to increasing the pace of reform if the DP is the preferred party or a slowdown in the process if they are looking for alliances to the right.

Pact

Coalition government is not all that new to South African politics. The Nats first came to power in 1924 in coalition with the Labour Party. Throughout the '30s the country was governed by first a pact between the NP and the South African Party, which later formed the nucleus of the United Party.

In 1948 the Nats again came to power with the help of a coalition with the Afrikaner Party whose leader, Mr Klasie Havenga, was rewarded by being appointed as Minister of Finance.

● The NP may decide to continue as a minority government on a basis of shifting majorities — asking for the support of the different parties on individual items of legislation.

This would, however, be a very tenuous situation which would inevitably result in another election.

The big winners if a stalemate is reached in the House of Assembly could be the Labour Party of Mr Alan Hendrickse which is set to sweep the boards in the House of Representatives.

The most important question to be resolved within days after the election will be the election of the new State President by a Parliamentary electoral college.

Foregone

If the NP gains an outright majority it is a foregone conclusion that its candidate — almost certainly Mr F W de Klerk — will succeed Mr P W Botha. The majority in the House of Assembly can normally appoint 50 members to the electoral college, the House of Representatives 25 and the House of Delegates 15.

In the case of a hung parliament, however, the combined support of the CP and the DP could prevent the NP from sending its representatives to the electoral college.

One possibility may be that the DP and the CP jointly decide to split the vote and send 25 members each to the college.

This would result in an electoral college comprised of 25 CP members, 25 DP, 25 Labour Party and 15 from whichever party gains the majority in the House of Delegates.

In this unlikely scenario a member of either the DP or even the Labour Party could become the president, if those two parties pooled their support in the Electoral College.

A much more likely scenario would be that the NP would reach some sort of agreement with either the DP and the CP to secure its majority in the college in exchange for concessions on policy matters.

On one point Prof Breytenbach is adamant: There is very little chance left for President Botha to continue in that office after the election.

The constitution leaves him no option but to retire unless he can convince his old party to nominate him again.

Even in the case of a hung Parliament there is no way he can suspend Parliament and call for new elections while continuing to govern on his own.

In terms of the Constitution, the Parliament elected on September 6 should convene in Cape Town within 30 days of the election.

Once in session the Chief Justice is obliged to call the electoral college within a week of the opening of Parliament.

According to Prof Breytenbach, President Botha will have, at the utmost, 37 days to continue after the election which means that a new president will be in power not later than Friday, October 13.

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

ST Times 30/7/89



By Harald Pakendorf

Deadlines loom for SA and FW faces a squeeze

IT HAS been said so often that South Africa has little or no time left that just about nobody listens to that kind of warning anymore.

Yet for once there are very definite time limits and there is a squeeze on how much room for movement the next government will have.

F W de Klerk, despite what some opinion polls may suggest, is still the next man in Tuynhuys — and he has raised expectations about a rapid move towards a negotiated settlement.

The world is waiting to see if he will deliver. But it is not going to wait indefinitely. In fact, there are three time limits and they happen to roughly coincide.

The magic year is 1991 — and that is stretching it.

The three dates have to do with Europe, debt rescheduling and the Americans.

By 1992 Europe will be one economic entity. There will be no trade barriers. Even politically there will be a change. And it is a change that may very well be negative for Pretoria.

[redacted]

By that year, the European Parliament will have some teeth. It will no longer be just a talking shop. Some decisions will be taken by consensus and this, particularly, applies to foreign policy.

It will then be difficult for any member country to unilaterally do its own thing. For instance, a Mrs Thatcher will not be able to say no to sanctions if Europe says yes.

That is, if she is still in power by then. Both for her and that other anti-sanctioneer, Helmut Kohl, the political sun may have set. That will be certainly so if present trends in Britain and West Germany continue.

And remember who makes up the majority in the European Parliament at the moment — socialists, communists, Greens — not exactly Pretoria's best friends.

Pressure for more sanctions are already building. So far, the European Commission is holding the line, saying in essence: Gee F W 'n kans.

Take the second time limit. South Africa has to reschedule its foreign debt sometime within the next 18 months.

[redacted]

American congressional sanctioneers, the ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement are involved in a campaign to get banks to say no, either a flat no or at least a yes with political strings attached.

South Africa's economic position would change from poor to impossible overnight if the banks turn us down.

But so far, the banks are opting to take their decisions on financial and economic grounds, not political ones. European governments are signalling the same message, while the American view is that it is not a viable course of action.

Should the De Klerk government not have begun to move clearly and rapidly by early next year, it is going to become increasingly difficult to continue to hold the line against the pressures for not re-scheduling the debt.

[redacted]

The third time limit is the American one.

US Assistant-Secretary of State for African Affairs Hank Cohen said in a TV interview in June that the De Klerk government would be given time to settle in.

But then progress towards a negotiated settlement will have to begin. If there is not real and visible movement within two years, said Mr Cohen, "it would be very difficult for the US pressure. I think this would be true not only in the United States, but in Western Europe and Japan as well".

Three deadlines — and all just around the corner.

None of those holding the line against more pressure will be satisfied with anything less than open-ended negotiations between the South African Government and the ANC, plus other relevant political groups, of course.

Should the De Klerk government fail, the Rubicon will look like just another spruit.

S/Times 30/7/87

304A

Old Mutual prepares for post-apartheid SA

By David Carte and Robyn Chalmers

OLD Mutual this week fielded thorny questions facing the life-assurance and pensions industry.

At a conference attended by representatives of most newspapers, magazines and SABC television, Old Mutual managers engaged in public soul searching, confronting such questions as:

- Should it take sides in the liberation struggle?
- How should it react to the possibility of nationalisation in Namibia, and who knows, one day in SA itself?
- Is it a rip-off that an employee leaving a pension fund receives only his or her contributions plus a lousy 2% to 3% a year?
- Are the life companies too powerful and would not privatisation make them even more powerful?

Apartheid

Although Mutual raised these questions, which it believes are bothering the public, the replies from pensions chief Gerhard van Niekerk and team were not entirely predictable or defensive.

Like Anglo American, but unlike its rival Sanlam, which keeps its head well down on socio-political questions, Old Mutual has been applying its mind to the implications of the rise of black trade unions and even to the question of a post-apartheid SA.

As a mutual, it is conscious that it belongs to its policyholders right across society.

With population and income trends running strongly in favour of the black community, Old Mutual knows it cannot serve one or two groups. Trade unions are ascendant particularly in pensions and provident fund issues, and Old Mutual is taking steps to spread its appeal to all population groups.

The group realises that it is through pensions and provident funds that blacks will first start to gather economic power.

Fatalistic

On taking sides in the liberation struggle, Mr Van Niekerk has a wonderful reply: "We can help only in the struggle for liberation from economic want."

He is fatalistic on the question of nationalisation.

"We were nationalised in Zambia and several other African countries, but we still perform a valued service in other liberated countries, such as Kenya and Zimbabwe.

"If we are nationalised in Namibia or anywhere else, so be it — but if they take such a step, governments will be riding rough shod over the decisions and actions of policyholders, who voluntarily bought policies from us."

Mr Van Niekerk acknowledges that institutions with their billions will inevitably be the major subscribers to privatisation share issues and that their power will increase.

But he contends that because institutional money represents members of pension funds and policyholders, the small man will get his slice.

Expense

On the question of whether it is a rip-off that the departing employee receives only his or her contributions plus 4%, Mr Van Niekerk acknowledges that under existing practice, the stayers and the newcomers benefit at the expense of the leavers.

But the contribution paid by the employer does not belong to the employee personally. The employer pays it so that the fund can meet the cost of benefits, which he guarantees.

Mr Van Niekerk believes employers have erred in stating that they match employees' contributions. They should pay in a portion of the salary bill, so that nobody gets the idea that the employer's contribution is his or hers.

If the rules are to be changed to permit the employer's share to be paid to the departing employee, not only will contribution rates go up, but workers will have to shoulder the risk of benefits not being met.

Factors

If the employer's contribution becomes the property of the employee, it will become deferred pay and therefore taxable.

Mr Van Niekerk says withdrawal benefits have improved, particularly for those with long service. After 15 years' service, most funds pay twice their own contributions plus interest.

He says trade union resistance to the traditional pension fund was one of the major factors which caused the entire pensions industry to take a long, hard look at itself.

Allegations from employees about paternalism and the fact that pension benefits are structured for the First World component of SA have resulted in a big swing by black workers from pension to provident funds.

Employers have become edgy about workers receiving a lump-sum on retirement, fearing they will not have the financial acumen to invest their money wisely.

Risk

Old Mutual assistant general manager Reg Munro says that the debate on pension vs provident funds rests ultimately on one question — who carries the investment risk?

"A provident fund which carries a defined contribution is essentially a money purchase scheme where the risk is passed on to the employee. If the stock market crashes, he will lose out, but if it booms he will benefit substantially.

"Where the employee carries the risk, he should be allowed to participate in the investment decision-making process. While the day-to-day investment decisions should be left to an expert, he should be able to choose the investment manager, for example, and the investment strategy involved."

Awareness

Mr Van Niekerk believes there will be a far greater awareness of the economy and of business if employees *are allowed* to become involved in financial decisions. He envisages a move in this direction.

Group marketing manager Eric le Roux says there is strong support for this idea among many trade unions, which are also promoting the idea of union-based funds.

Last year the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) launched an industry-wide fund. One of the problems was that employers were reluctant to join it.

Mr Le Roux believes their concern about the CWIU fund is mainly of a structural nature, but that in general, they fear the groups involved do not have the financial expertise to succeed.

"Competition among unions is such that they must provide facilities to attract members. Industry-wide unionised funds have both advantages and disadvantages, however.



GERHARD VAN NIEKERK

"On the one hand, preservation of funds is increased, especially among the more skilled workers, as they will tend to remain in one industry even if they do job hop.

"On the other, there is nothing to compel employers to contribute to an industry fund. If they decide not to, then the worker will be the loser."

Assistant general manager Henk Beets put the spotlight on medical aid schemes, about which there has been increasing grumbling from members.

Old Mutual is aware that while people are reeling under the burden of rising costs, medical aid administrators, doctors, pharmaceutical companies and hospitals are blaming one another while reaping fat profits. What is Old Mutual's explanation and what is being done?

Mr Beets' explanation is that the benefit structure of medical aid schemes is too rigid, the contribution structure encourages cross-subsidies and employee participation is often compulsory.

In reaction to rapidly rising subscription rates coupled with greatly increasing claims by members, he says there is much pressure on the Government to change the regulations governing schemes.

He foresees that in order to right the wrongs of schemes, it is essential that insurance companies become involved in the medical arena, that health maintenance organisations be formed, benefit options become more flexible and active incentives to reduce claims be introduced.

Old Mutual took a look at social old-age pensions, contrasting the dilemma of the State with that of the individual and the employer. Debating the old question of whether a state pension should be viewed as relief for the destitute or a livable income, Mr Van Niekerk says that in theory it should be relief — but in practice it becomes the means for survival for many people.

Nats' secret election plan

Report urges MPs to drive rift between rival leaders

A TOP secret National Party document setting out an election strategy has conceded that South African voters are searching for a "new vision".

The document, leaked from NP in circles this week, makes it clear party regards the threat from Democratic Party to be more seri than that from the right — even tho the right stands to gain more seats

Voters, observes the document, are "easy to influence".

It also warns candidates the party coul facing a similar phenomenon to that in — this time on a wider scale.

'Unstoppable'

Two years ago the independent mover whose personalities are now leading fi in the Democratic Party, was "an emot flood" that became "virtually unstoppa

The document reveals for the first the components of a National Party ele campaign that has so far been remar low key — a deliberate strategy not to too early.

The document urges NP candidates phasise differences between DP leaden as Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis W and Mr Harry Schwarz and Mr Jan va

Mr Malan is described as leftwi Worrall as on the right flank, and th member of the leadership troika, Dr Z Beer, as representing the "mealie-m centre".

The two authors of the section of the document dealing with the DP, both regarded as members of the NP's verligte faction, are Mr Piet Marais, MP for Stellenbosch, and Mr Renier Schoeman, MP for Umhlanga.

In suggesting arguments to use against the DP, the NP tells its candidates that their DP rivals are "naive do-gooders".

"They are typically 'starry-eyed' liberals who will not be able to handle the kind of political situation which African-style politics give rise to."

Cycle

The document says the DP's aim of achieving a hung parliament is negative and "probably unacceptable to



By Poli

the a
On
the d
is —
"reac
and

It
tackl
of its
burg
mish
mibi
ing
and
ic is

Th
men
othe me
emecan
— that the Government views the DP as the major threat, even though it stands to lose more seats to the CP.

Commenting on this yesterday, Mr Con Botha, the NP's information chief, said the NP believed the CP's campaign may have already peaked.

Its potential seat gains were not an accurate barometer of its support, as its strengths lay mainly in depopulated rural constituencies, while the DP's lay in over-loaded urban seats.

Bleeding

Overall, the DP enjoyed as much, if not more, support.

In a strategy to keep its supporters and win new ones, the NP was looking to a similar voter profile as the DP was, Mr Botha said.

Now that the NP was established on a reform and renewal platform, it stood a greater danger of bleeding to the left than to the right, he said.

However, the NP is proceeding cautiously as it began its final advertising phase today.

Apart from setting out NP views, full-page advertisements attack the DP in English-language newspapers and the CP in Afrikaans-medium newspapers.

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

Report urges MPs to drive rift between rival leaders

A TOP secret National Party document setting out an election strategy has conceded that South African voters are searching for a "new vision".

The document, leaked from NP inner circles this week, makes it clear the party regards the threat from the Democratic Party to be more serious than that from the right — even though the right stands to gain more seats.

Voters, observes the document, are now "easy to influence".

It also warns candidates the party could be facing a similar phenomenon to that in 1987 — this time on a wider scale.

'Unstoppable'

Two years ago the independent movement, whose personalities are now leading figures in the Democratic Party, was "an emotional flood" that became "virtually unstoppable".

The document reveals for the first time the components of a National Party election campaign that has so far been remarkably low key — a deliberate strategy not to peak too early.

The document urges NP candidates to emphasise differences between DP leaders such as Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, and Mr Harry Schwarz and Mr Jan van Eck.

Mr Malan is described as leftwing, Dr Worrall as on the right flank, and the third member of the leadership troika, Dr Zach de Beer, as representing the "mealie-mouthed centre".

The two authors of the section of the document dealing with the DP, both regarded as members of the NP's verligte faction, are Mr Piet Marais, MP for Stellenbosch, and Mr Renier Schoeman, MP for Umhlanga.

In suggesting arguments to use against the DP, the NP tells its candidates that their DP rivals are "naive do-gooders".

"They are typically 'starry-eyed' liberals who will not be able to handle the kind of political situation which African-style politics give rise to."

Cycle

The document says the DP's aim of achieving a hung parliament is negative and "probably unacceptable to the average South African".

On the Conservative Party, the document says the party is — for the first time — on a "reactive, defensive cycle" and should be kept there.

It says the CP should be tackled on the consequences of its policy shown in Boksburg and Carletonville, its mishandling of events in Namibia/Angola, its overplaying of the corruption issue and its weakness on economic issues.

The weighting of the document shows — along with other evidence of the NP's emerging campaign strategy — that the Government views the DP as the major threat, even though it stands to lose more seats to the CP.

Commenting on this yesterday, Mr Con Botha, the NP's information chief, said the NP believed the CP's campaign may have already peaked.

Its potential seat gains were not an accurate barometer of its support, as its strengths lay mainly in depopulated rural constituencies, while the DP's lay in over-loaded urban seats.

Bleeding

Overall, the DP enjoyed as much, if not more, support.

In a strategy to keep its supporters and win new ones, the NP was looking to a similar voter profile as the DP was, Mr Botha said.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Now that the NP was established on a reform and renewal platform, it stood a greater danger of bleeding to the left than to the right, he said.

However, the NP is proceeding cautiously as it began its final advertising phase today.

Apart from setting out NP views, full-page advertisements attack the DP in English-language newspapers and the CP in Afrikaans-medium newspapers.

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

Chris Barnard endorses DP campaign



LUCKY TOUCH . . . Chris Barnard gives his blessing to DP MPs Colin Eglin and Pieter Schoeman Picture: TERRY SHEAN

Surgeon prescribes political transplant

By HAMISH McINDOE

MEMBERS of the Democratic Party are keeping their fingers crossed that Professor Chris Barnard's miracle hands will touch them with a bit of election luck.

This week, the legendary heart transplant pioneer lent his weight to the DP's election campaign and compared the NP to a bumbling quack doctor.

■■■

"If you've been seeing the same doctor for the past 40 years and you're sicker now than when you first went to see him, then it's time to find another doctor . . . and now it's time to give the DP a chance," he said.

Professor Barnard, who usually guards his private life zealously, opened his Cape Town home to host a Press conference with DP MPs Colin Eglin and Pieter Schoeman.

"I would love to live in a white South Africa if that were possible . but that's just a pipedream," he said in a surprise — and possibly off-guard — statement.

However, on the spectre of a CP election win, Professor Barnard said he would "quit South Africa the day after the CP came to power".

The 66-year-old former surgeon, made it clear that he had turned down overseas job offers, with salaries "10 times higher" than in South Africa, because he had "never wanted to live anywhere else".

■■■

Professor Barnard said he would join the DP and disclosed that he had never before been a member of any political party.

On his past association with the National Party, he said he had "never supported its discriminatory policies".

"I don't want to become an MP . . . I'm too old for that, but I have a lot of experience that will be of use to the DP," he said.

■■■

On the crisis facing medicine in South Africa, Professor Barnard said that, of the 40 members of his original Groote Schuur transplant team, 17 had left the country.

His first public engagement for the DP will be a meeting in Piketberg — seat of the NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers — on Tuesday.

→ cont

'New' NP plan — but apartheid laws to stay

AKGS 30/6/89 3049

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE National Party has launched its election campaign under the slogan of "new action" after its federal congress enthusiastically approved the party's new five-year plan.

POLICIES

As part of its election campaign the party will hold a survey of what it calls "voter preferences" and the results will be processed for use in the campaign.

Party leader Mr F W de Klerk has disclosed that President Botha will not take part in the campaign.

Asked about this at a Press conference after the one-day federal congress Mr de Klerk said Mr Botha was no longer active in party politics "and we respect his wishes."

Conflict

In a speech winding up the congress Mr de Klerk reiterated the party's commitment to negotiation.

He said that South and Southern Africa could break out of the cycle of conflict which had gripped it for so long.

"That is what the NP is aiming for. Conflict must be replaced by broadened consensus, better understanding of each other and finally accord with regard to a new dispensation which will be to the benefit of all of us."

Inside South Africa he had been heartened by a wide range of discussions with various leaders. There was a sense of urgency and the realisation that South Africa had reached a moment of truth.



The new leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, weeps after an emotional start to the NP's federal congress in Pretoria yesterday at which he revealed the party's new plan to resolve South Africa's political crisis.

After his talks with European leaders his impression was that the changing atmosphere was causing them to cautiously re-evaluate the situation in southern Africa.

He said he realised that there were many stumbling blocks on the way to achieving a new dispensation, but understanding through negotiation remained the key to the future.

To the white electorate he gave the assurance that in the search for a new dispensation, the NP would guard their safety and interests along with those of others.

The NP was asking for a mandate to put the country on a new course of hope, the breaking of isolation, a move away from growing conflict and in the direction of a new, strong and just South Africa, he said.

Delegates

The NP would not run away from the burning issues of the day.

At the end of his speech Mr de Klerk asked the approximately 1 200 delegates in the Pretoria City Hall if they approved of what he described as the party's "dynamic action programme".

They leaped to their feet and gave him a long ovation.

When he was asked at the Press conference whether the NP would scrap the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, Mr de Klerk said they could not simply be scrapped because this would create a void.

Talks

The scrapping of the Population Registration Act would cause chaos as the compilation of voters rolls was based on it.

He indicated that in terms of the party's plan, there would have to be talks about these measures to see what could take their place.

He stressed that the NP did not want to present what appeared to be final blueprints while negotiation was being envisaged.

. . . and the world is not impressed

From GARNER THOMPSON of The Argus Foreign Service in London

THE British government unofficially regards the National Party's new federal policy as merely "a point of departure", and is unlikely to express much enthusiasm for it in its present form.

And other political analysts here are openly pessimistic about the plan's chances of success.

REACTION

It is understood Mrs Thatcher is worried about whether the NP will go on to address itself to issues the British government regards as crucial — including the state of emergency and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political detainees.

The Prime Minister is believed to have told Mr de Klerk of her reservations during his recent visit here.

The Foreign Office said yesterday that the British government would welcome "any indication of reform", but only if it led to the ultimate goal of the abolition of apartheid.

particular, to deliver on Nelson Mandela. But this means not just letting Nelson Mandela free in a political vacuum. He's got to be released into a context in which negotiations are possible.

"That implies so many conditions: lifting the ban on the ANC, releasing prisoners, lifting the state of emergency. There are a number of very stiff hurdles that he'll have to get over if he's going to persuade even conservative blacks like Gatsha Buthelezi to come to the table. He's got all to play for, but it's not an easy game."

Meanwhile in Denmark, Archbishop Desmond Tutu rejected the new election program offered by the NP, saying it was designed to make apartheid more comfortable rather than to dismantle it.

"We don't want apartheid more comfortable. We want political power," Tutu said. "We are not interested in reform. We want to see apartheid abolished."

Seaking to The Associated Press, Archbishop Tutu said the NP appeared to be playing for time.

30/6/89

304A

Electoral

But Whitehall officials are so far understood to regard the plan as part of NP electioneering, rather than a significant step forward in itself. One said: "The key point is that whatever it says, it's not directed at blacks, because blacks don't vote. At this stage, it would seem to have been designed with electoral considerations in mind."

Dr Jesmond Blumenfeld, of Brunel University's Department of Economics and a respected student of South African affairs, described the package as "too little too late".

He said: "If they'd offered that five years ago, or whatever, it may have got a positive response — but I can't see anybody rushing to support it.

"They've been casting around for an awfully long time, and it doesn't seem to me to be fundamentally different (from what has gone before). It's going to need a lot more to convince people that there is a genuine move towards reform."

Difficulties

He admitted being worried about a repeat of events in 1984 — "expectations are going to be raised, and then they're going to be unrealised, and frustrations tend to break loose and there are difficulties again."

Moves to tackle the questions of integrated schools and the Group Areas Act were "interesting", he said, "but then again, there should have been some moves years ago to deal with these".

Leicester University's Professor Jack Spence regards Mr de Klerk as "trying to do two things that are not easily reconciled.

"One is to suggest to Western leaders, especially those he's just seen, that the party is committed to breaking the stalemate on reform. The other is to stress to the electorate at home the basic continuity of policy.

Analysis

"What he's saying about negotiations with black leaders has been said many times before, and what he's saying about group rights has been said many times before. In that sense, he's having to talk to an external and an internal constituency, and I daresay in the last analysis it's the internal constituency that matters, especially in the middle of an election."

Professor Spence saw no evidence of any new initiative, "but I wouldn't have expected one in the middle of an election. That only comes — if at all — once the election is over and he's firmly in the saddle.

"He's going to be under pressure constantly thereafter from the West, from Mrs Thatcher in

"I think they are basically trying to say to the world, 'We are changing. Give us time.' And we are saying that that kind of change is not what we're looking for," Archbishop Tutu said.

Marbles

"We say, until blacks have a share in the decision-making process, we are only playing marbles."

The Archbishop was in Hilleroed, 40 km north of Copenhagen, to help celebrate a festival of the Danish national church. He also is on a private trip through Scandinavia.

Archbishop Tutu said no effective change could take place in South Africa as long as the government left the Population Registration Act intact.

He said the government "wouldn't remove that, because the basis of everything is still race, and power still resides with the white race."

In Johannesburg the NP's plan was described as not being a plan of action, but a recipe for abdication by the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The NP's acceptance of a federal system was yet another deviation from "the tested policy" of self-determination.

Dr Treurnicht said the differences between the NP and the Democratic Party had become even more minimal, since the NP's action plan looked exactly like a DP election manifesto.

"The South African electorate's choices have now become even clearer. In the forthcoming election, voters will have to choose between the NP and the DP's idea of a unitary state which can only lead to black majority rule, or the CP's policy of partition in terms of which every nation will govern itself."

Discrimination

Also in Johannesburg, the president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, said the NP plan would be of no use if the cornerstones of discrimination still remained on the statute book.

In a statement in reaction to the plan, he said that while UMSA welcomed the plan the test would be whether the NP voters in the forthcoming elections also wanted peaceful negotiations.

"Total scrapping of the already identified obstacles to negotiations such as the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act will prove the sincerity of the Nats and their willingness to negotiate."

Any immediate action such as releasing political prisoners would make a meaningful contribution towards a peaceful settlement and would be welcome by UMSA.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said the plan showed that nothing new could be expected under Mr F W de Klerk's leadership.

In a statement, Cosatu said that while the country was sinking deeper into crisis all Mr de Klerk could offer was "revamped versions of old formulae".

The so-called "plans" to resolve the crisis were nothing more than a plan for disaster, and "another slap in the face for the oppresssed majority".

It's border collie versus fox terrier in Pretoria East

IT'S David fighting Goliath ... Daniel in the lion's den .. Hercules fighting Hydra.

Think of any contest in the past where the odds were heavily stacked against the underdog. Then add Martie Meiring taking on Theo Alant in Pretoria East.

Alant is sitting pretty on the biggest election majority in South Africa's political history. In 1987 he polled a massive 14 389, thrashing his opponents by 8 242 votes.

"I think I can squeak home," says the Democratic Party's Martie Meiring — adding, almost wishfully ..."all I need is a 35 percent swing away from the Nats".

Martie Meiring is no stranger when it comes to tilting at windmills. For many years she has

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

been one of the country's foremost journalists and political commentators — respected (and often feared) for both her acerbic wit and uncanny ability to get to the root of issues.

But now she has left the safety of the sideline and joined the mêlée. And she could hardly have chosen a more difficult baptism.

Brilliant

"I could have opted for easier constituencies," she says. "But I believe Pretoria East will be the best barometer of the way in which the message of the DP has captured the imagination of Afrikaners."

Now Theo Alant is not exactly your aggressive, forceful campaigner who likes to eat female opponents for breakfast. He is a gentle and friendly man, looking very much the part of the absent-minded scientist that he really is.

The sort of guy you would not allow to handle a piece of uranium for fear that he may fumble it and split the atom by accident.

By all accounts he was one of the country's most-brilliant young scientists before he turned to politics. A mechanical engineer with a doctorate in mathematics, his career turned a full circle when he was appointed Deputy Minister of Industry and Technology.

A highly competent, if not spectacular, Minister, even his political opponents will agree. He has kept his nose clean, stayed out of controversy and even if he does not have followers who will brave a fire for him, neither does he have passionate enemies.

Livewire

And you don't get 14 000-plus bodies to vote for you by twiddling your fingers. Every night of the week when he is not attending to official functions, you can find Theo Alant on the streets of Lynnwood Glen or Constantia Park organising his constituency.

If Alant is a border collie, Martie Meiring is a fox-terrier.

She's a livewire — always organising, always arranging, always fitting in new appointments into an already overcrowded schedule. Arguing, cajoling, exhorting, scheming — that's Martie Meiring.

She believes passionately in the principles of the DP. "It's a tragedy and a crime that so many people of quality have remained voiceless for so long," she says. "It HAS to change in my lifetime."

And she makes no excuses for the fact that she often tends to be pushy and aggressive about it. "Sister Anna with a Banner" she calls herself.

"I am not prepared to pussyfoot with apartheid any more. All this mumbo jumbo about group rights and new action plans are but efforts to disguise the reality:

"It's old apartheid with a new dress and a fancy ribbon."

Theo Alant runs a high-tech campaign to woo the predominant professional people living in Pretoria's affluent eastern suburbs.

Youth

His election headquarters are Spartan and exceptionally quiet.

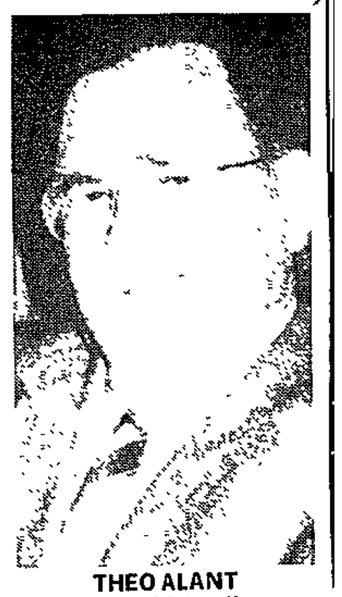
As befits a Deputy Minister of Technology, his campaign is run by computer and a quick glance through a printout can provide him with the past voting record of each and every voter able to make a cross on a ballot paper.

Pretoria East is the second largest constituency in the country — and growing. Four votes in Pretoria East are worth one in Beaufort West or Prieska or Fauresmith.

"It's Nappy Valley", says Alant referring to the youthfulness of his constituents agreeing that the economy — especially high taxation — will be the key issue in the campaign.

Martie believes the Government is under-estimating the general dissatisfaction among the electorate. "People are just fed up with bungling and incompetence and the way apartheid has destroyed the country. And they are going to show it on September 6."

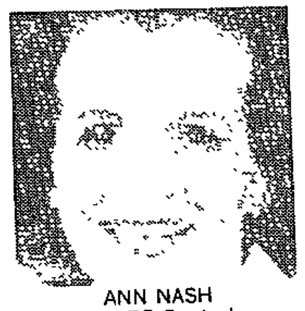
Report by A J van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg



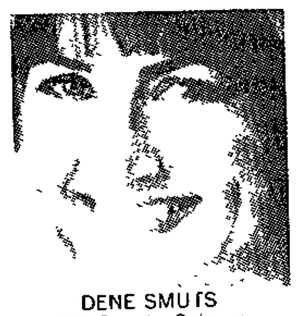
THEO ALANT
A gentle and friendly man



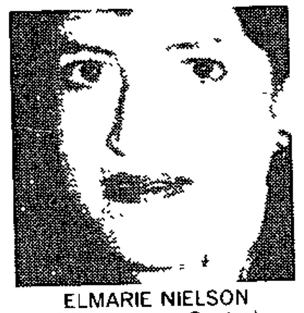
CAROL CHARLEWOOD
DP, Umbilo



ANN NASH
NP, PE Central



DENE SMUTS
DP, Groote Schuur



ELMARIE NIELSON
DP, Pretoria Central



RINA VENTER
NP, Innesdal



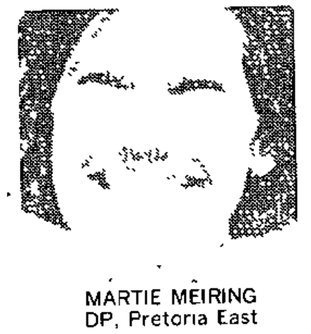
JOAN HUNTER
NP, Edenvale



TERSIA KING
NP, Kempton Park



SHEILA CAMERER
NP, Rosettenville



MARTIE MEIRING
DP, Pretoria East



EMS VAN DER MERWE
CP, Maritzburg North



HILDA GROBLER
DP, Port Natal

OVER TO YOU, LADIES!

By DRIES van HEERDEN, JANICE HILLIER, TERRY van der WALT and BILL KRIGE

THE time of window dressing has gone. No longer are they the "poor relatives" of politics, the plastic wallflowers thrown in at the last minute to decorate an otherwise drab campaign.

Women candidates in South African politics have become a force to be reckoned with. They are moving through the ranks of the political parties and are earning their spurs the hard way.

On September 6 29 women will seek election to a Parliament that has long been a bastion of male dominance. Twenty-five will vie for the green seats of the House of Assembly, three for the House of Representatives and one — the first aspiring woman — for the House of Delegates.

This is a new breed of women who is confidently trying to make it in a chauvinist environment. To a large degree the door has been opened wide for them by the indomitable Mrs Helen Suzman, who was often described by Nationalist MPs as "the best man in opposition".

Outstanding among the candidates is Dr Rina Venter, aspiring to become the National Party MP for Innesdal and who is hotly tipped to become South Africa's first ever female Cabinet minister.

Dr Venter is no stranger to politics. A former chairwomen of the country's largest women's organisation, the Vroue-federasie, she was nominated to Parliament in 1981 but was later appointed a ministerial representative in the Transvaal.

Here's a hevy of



Angry CP dogs gnaw at the DP bone

By SIMON ANDREW

ELECTION canvassers are discovering that the bite of some dogs is a lot worse than their bark.

Door-to-door canvassing can be fraught with more hazards than the toughest military obstacle course.

Canvassers have to run a gauntlet of vicious dogs, uncooperative members of the public, Fort Knox-like security systems and foul weather.

The Democratic Party candidate for Bezuidenhout,

return to ... ular way. And she is fighting an impressive battle in a marginal seat against the CP's dour, gravel-voiced Reverend Mossie van der Berg.

If Mr F W de Klerk has better men to appoint to his Cabinet he must have a wealth of talent.

Well-known TV producer Carole Charlewood is set to move from the entertainment spotlights to the often harsher world of the political searchlights.

A clinical psychologist by profession, Ms Charlewood is the DP candidate in Umbilo where she will be trying to erase the slender NP majority in a traditional opposition seat.

Stronghold

Mrs Hilda Burnett, the DP candidate in George, is accustomed to "making it in a man's world".

In the early '70s — then known as Colonel Hilda Botha — she established the Women's Army College in George, an establishment that has grown into one of the Defence Force's showcases.

Mrs Barbara Buys is a strawberry farmer who aspires to move from being a "sitting-room politician" to a Member of Parliament. She is taking on the Nats in their Natal stronghold of Klip River with the state of the economy forming the main theme of her election campaign.

In 1987 Dr Esther Lategan came within a whisker of causing a major upset when she stood as an independent in Stellenbosch. This time she is the DP candidate against Mr Kent Durr in Maitland.

Librarian-turned-politician Miss Ems van der Merwe, 62, spent the past three years brushing up on her politics before deciding to stand for the Conservative Patry in Maritzburg North.

Sheila Camerer grew up in a political home. Her father, Mr Badenhorst Durrant, was an opposition MP for many years. It came as no surprise that she too, sooner or later, found herself as Nationalist MP for Rosettenville.

This time Mrs Camerer is seeking re-election and opposing her is another woman — the DP's Mrs Mia Euvrard.

Another veteran politician who grew up in a passionately political home is Mrs Adrienne Koch, daughter of former Cabinet Minister Frank Waring and the equally formidable Mrs Joyce Waring.

Mrs Koch, a member of the President's Council, is taking on DP bigwig Mr Colin Eglin in Sea Point. She believes the number of female candidates is a big breakthrough.

Two journalists turned aspiring-politicians are Dene Smuts and Martie Meiring standing for the DP in Groote Schuur and Pretoria East respectively.

Battle

Ms Smuts, who resigned her job as editor of Fair Lady just before the 1987 election, is all but assured of her seat in Parliament after she won a tough nomination battle against the sitting MP Mr Jan van Gend.

Mrs Meiring, a well-known columnist, faces an uphill battle against the biggest Nat majority in the country.

It started off as a flag-waving excercise to "get her feet wet in politics" but suddenly the 27-year-old DP candidate in Pretoria Central, Elmarié Nielson finds herself with a real chance of doing very well in an NP stronghold.

Mrs Nielson, an attorney by profession, grew up in a National Party home in the Free State but now believes that the DP is the only party with answers for the country's future.

Revenge

In Edenvale, Mrs Joan Hunter of the NP is fighting a re-run of one of the closest battles of the 1987 campaign. The DP's Mr Brian Goodall is out to revenge the 168-vote loss he suffered then.

Ann Nash has bred Angora goats and American saddle-horses for more than 30 years and has more than held her own in a world as dusty and masculine as it is possible to get.

This former corporal in the local commando got her first taste of electoral politics when she ran as a stop-gap candidate for the NP against Mr John Malcomess in Port Elizabeth Central in 1987 — and nearly won.

Now she is returning to the same battle ground and expects to do much better against the DP's Mr Eddie Trent.

Mrs S Hoosen scored a first for women when she became the first and so far only female MP in the House of Representatives. On September 6 she will defend her Tafelberg seat for the Freedom Party.

It is almost fitting that the holder of a PhD on censorship will be contesting the seat vacated by Mr Stoffel Botha, the man who has suspended several publications under the emergency regulations.

Inspired

Dr Hilda Grobler, a senior lecturer in Afrikaans at the University of Natal is the DP candidate in Port Natal and what makes her candidacy even more interesting is the fast that her father is the chairman of the HNP in Clocolan in the Free State.

One of the youngest candidates in the Cape is 25-year-old Michele Guttler, who is standing for the DP in the Tygervallei constituency.

Miss Guttler, who says she was inspired by Mrs Suzman, intends to fight "a hard-line campaign" in one of the safest NP seats.

A veteran politician, Mrs Annette Reinecke is representing the NP in Claremont in Cape Town A former United Party MPC, Mrs Reinecke believes that "women not only present a balanced view of things when it comes to solving problems but they also act with great responsibility".

Also in the Cape the NP nominated two of its stalwarts in relatively safe DP seats — Mrs Elsabe Kemp in Groote Schuur and Mrs Martha Olckers in Constantia. Both are members of the President's Council.

In with a better chance is the NP's Mrs Esmé Chait who in 1987 lost by only 39 votes to Mr Tiaan van der Merwe in Green Point. They are again squaring up for a rematch in what may be one of the most fascinating contests of the campaign.

Unfair

In the Transvaal Nat MP Dr Tersia King will defend her safe seat of Kempton Park against a combined CP and DP onslaught.

Dr King believes men generally have an unfair advantage in politics because of a practical situation — women have to stay at home while their husbands can work their way up the political ladder.

The rightwing HNP is making history of its own sort by fielding a female candidate in Maitland.

Mrs Riena Reyneke says she was accepted as an equal by men but adds that she believed women should come forward only if there were no men available.

In Worcester, the CP nominated Mrs Rinie du Toit, who said that although she believed men are still the head of the household, women did have an important role to play in supporting and guiding them.

They have come a long way since suffragettes secured voting rights for women in the early '30s, with Mrs Leia Reitz the first female MP in 1933 while her husband Dr Deneys Reitz served in the Senate at the same time.

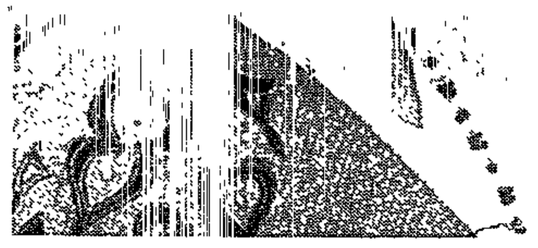
Rights

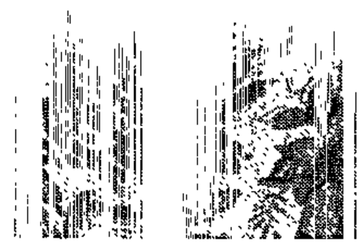
Since then politicians like Mabel Malherbe, Margaret Ballinger, Bertha Solomon, Sannie van Niekerk, Helen Suzman and Cathy Taylor have made lasting impressions on the South African scene.

And so, no doubt, will the new batch.

Report by A J van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg, J Hillier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, T van der Walt, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban, W Krige, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth

women out to prove that politics does not mean 'men only'





THE FAIRER (POLITICAL) SEX . . . candidates contesting the election in the Cape: Elsabe Kemp (NP, Groote Schuur), Esmé Chait (NP, Green Point), Annette Reinecke (NP, Claremont), Adrienne Koch (NP, Sea Point), Michelle Guttler (DP, Tygervallei) and Esther Lategan (DP, Maitland) Picture: TERRY SHEAN

Economics will play decisive poll role

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICAN voters are in for a novel electoral experience in the coming polls — a general election in which economic issues will be a decisive factor.

For as long as most voters who will go to the polls on September 6 can remember, white elections have been fought on far more emotional issues — such as group survival, physical security and meddling foreign governments.

But those same voters can also not remember when they were as poor as they are today, when their rands could buy less or when they had to hand over more of them to the tax man.

So all the main contending parties are gearing their campaigns to take into account — on a level not seen before — broad economic and day-to-day bread and butter issues.

Failure

The pointed and extended manner in which the National Party and Democratic Party manifestos address money matters reveals that both parties are responding to what they perceive as a high level of voter anger on creeping poverty. Dr Zach de Beer, DP co-leader and a former director and chairman of public companies, traces the development of the economic factor.

With the NP beginning to admit publicly the failure of apartheid in the '70s, it switched to the "total onslaught" electoral tactic.

This was based on the precept that the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party were spearheading a worldwide conspiracy master-minded by Moscow against stable white rule.

"Now that both Mr Mandela, the spiritual leader of the ANC, and senior representatives of the Russian Government have been entertained in Tuynhuys, that is not going to work in 1989," says Dr De Beer.

"So it may well prove true that the Nationalists' ghastly failure to manage the economy will cost them much support at this election."

Criticism

Cabinet speakers, including Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis, have conceded that taxes are too high, productivity is too low, inflation is a mortal danger, that sanctions must be rolled back, re-entry to international financial markets must be effected and the cost of living must be curbed

Fighting hardest out of a corner at the moment is deputy Minister of Finance Dr Org Marais.

He drew a barrage of criticism for stating recently that South Africans were no worse off than 20 years ago.

Then, when last month's official inflation of 15,7 percent was announced this week, Dr Marais said it had peaked.

A range of economists, including those at the University of Stellenbosch, replied the next day that inflation was likely to go beyond 17 percent by the end of the year.

In its new five-year action plan the NP calls inflation "public enemy number one" and says it is being fought on "a wide front", with single-digit inflation a national goal.

It aims to achieve single-digit inflation by setting a government lead in "implementing strict fiscal discipline" and preventing excessive money and credit creation.

In its manifesto, the DP also proposes these two measures — but adds eliminating "wasteful apartheid extravagance", efficient administration, improved productivity and savings on defence as international relations improve.

It undertakes to achieve single-digit inflation within three years.

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

... than arriving at a voter's gate to be confronted by a



GEOFF ENGEL
Pasop vir die honde

snarling cur with menace in its eyes.

"I have not been bitten yet but I have had a few close shaves."

His campaign manager, Mr Mark Gordon, has not been so fortunate.

Said once bitten and twice shy Mr Gordon: "I was just beginning to get blasé about canines when a guard dog changed my attitude.

"A constituent had just slammed his door in my face with the curt explanation 'Ek stem KP' when the dog appeared from nowhere and attacked."

"It didn't do me much harm. My calf was bruised and I was more shaken than anything else."

But Mr Gordon believes dogs are far more intelligent than they are given credit for.

"It would seem that dogs also have their political preferences. If I am greeted by an obviously unfriendly animal I almost always find that the owner supports the National or Conservative Party," said Mr Gordon.

Savage dogs are not the only problem that canvassers have to contend with.

"There are security conscious individuals that won't let you past their front gates. "Then there is the television addict whose eyes remain glued to the television set while you talk, and they don't hear a word you say."

Visiting ANC the 'in-thing', says Stoffel

Argus 30/6/89 206A

From SUE LEEMAN
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The ANC's commitment to the armed struggle disqualified it from joining "peace-loving people" around the government's negotiating table, Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said.

And in an interview on the BBC's Newsnight programme yesterday, he dismissed the 120 liberal South Africans now in Lusaka for talks with the ANC as doing what was the "in-thing".

It was now fashionable, he said, to be able to say you had been to Lusaka to meet the ANC, "like driving a Mercedes or having a swimming pool".

British scepticism over the National Party's new five-year plan of action continues with most commentators saying the new manifesto contains little in the way of radical reform.

The BBC said segregation was still assured and black majority rule had been excluded as an option.

Independent Television News said while the manifesto's rhetoric might be reformist, "the wording is woolly and the promises vague and it stops far short of black majority rule."

Newsnight said the opening paragraphs of the NP manifesto seemed to promise radical change when they referred to one undivided state where all South Africans could participate in all levels of government, and opened the way for negotiations.

Dr van der Merwe said the manifesto was historic in that it "opens up a completely new field for discussions ... on creating a new South Africa together with all the people of South Africa".

Asked if the South African government would negotiate with the ANC, Dr van der Merwe said the government wanted to talk to "people with a genuine commitment to peace ... and I don't think the ANC qualifies on that score".

Questioned whether there could be any settlement without the ANC, he said the government did not consider the organisation's support within South Africa to be "all that strong. We measure their support ... the ANC may be one of the stronger (groups), but it is not representative of all black South Africans".

Of the white liberals now in Lusaka, he said: "One always gets a fashion, a vogue, the thing to do. This seems to be the in-thing to do."

He said the government was no longer talking about races but about cultural groups. Free settlement areas would allow blacks more freedom to choose where they lived.

HNP manifesto proposes old-style apartheid

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The reintroduction and strict maintenance of old-style apartheid is proposed in the Herstigte Nasionale Party's September election manifesto, released last week.

But although the manifesto echoes the Conservative Party's policy of self-determination for each population group, it rejects the CP's proposal of a Southern African confederation of states because "the Republic would be reduced to a regional entity which poses a threat to the white volk".

The HNP rejects power-sharing in either a unitary state or a multiracial confederation.

Other policy statements include:

- A Parliamentary democracy cannot accommodate different races, religions and cultures. Power-sharing is nothing but "the transfer of power in instalments".
- Each nation has the right to self-determination in the areas it occupied historically. Indians, however, are different from other non-white groups and should thus have limited self-determination in specific group areas.
- The HNP rejects negotiations with the African National Congress and calls for the banning of the United Democratic Front and the Mass Democratic Movement.
- If salaries and wages are determined annually, prices of goods and services should also be fixed annually to prevent the erosion of spending power.
- The HNP supports state ownership of strategic industries.
- White population growth should be promoted financially. The state should advance deposits for houses, and write off that money if a married couple has four children within 10 years.

Payments on house loans should be deductible from income and interest rates on house loans should not exceed 12,5 percent per annum.

The role of "international money powers" should be restricted, as they are the "traditional enemies of Afrikaner nationalism because they have a higher regard for profits than for patriotism and racial pride".

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

Eradicate race laws, says Slabbert

Staff Reporter

A bill of rights could be considered in South Africa only when racist regulations had been eradicated, Dr van Zyl Slabbert told a Transvaal Indian Congress conference in Lenasia yesterday.

The director of Idasa was discussing a bill of rights as it related to the ANC's constitutional guidelines. Such a debate involved the relationship between group and individual rights.

Dr Slabbert said he was personally comforted by the insistence in the guidelines that individual rights should be protected. "But I am also comforted by the proposed recognition of cultural diversity."

He said there was "gross" involuntary group participation in South Africa since the Population Registration Act prevented voluntary group classification.

Advocate Zac Yacoob, an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, said the ANC was not laying down a constitution, but intended the guidelines to start consultation and offered an opportunity to "develop a new South Africa through the people's own participation".

(Report by J Myburgh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Prof criticises Govt's use of the concept

Law and order in SA 'a weapon'

Political Staff

DURBAN — The concept of "law and order" has been subverted by the Government to be used as a weapon against its political enemies, says Professor Tony Mathews, dean of the faculty of law at the University of Natal.

This accusation was made here this weekend at a conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) on peace and security.

Professor Mathews said that in 1950, when the National Party introduced its first legislation to maintain law and order, there was one public meeting against apartheid and one minor boycott campaign.

Unrest-related incidents

But from 1985 to 1987 there were 3 500 deaths in unrest-related incidents.

In South Africa, "law and order" was not a phrase used in its normally understood sense, the professor said.

It had become a programme of using criminal control against political opponents.

He criticised South African courts for interpreting Government proclamations in such a way as to allow officials almost total immunity from legal accountability.

The Supreme Court had decided it was not entitled to deal with the merits of a case — but had to accept the Government's view, which allowed security officials subjective discretion to decide on their actions.

South Africa was being forced to reform because of the grinding down of the economy, said another speaker, Dr Gregory Treverton, senior fellow of the Council for Foreign Relations.

Sanctions — and particularly disinvestment — had contributed to the situation.

He said while there was a world movement away from communism, there was also a movement towards accepting that politics and economics were interlinked.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall warned that South Africa would face a series of international deadlines for reform after the September 6 elections.

He told the conference he had found on his recent overseas trip that there was a sense of expectation with a new generation of NP leaders and the emergence of the DP.

But if the expectations were not met, South Africa faced increased international isolation.

The Dellums Bill in the United States legislature, calling for far tougher mandatory sanctions, would be raised again.

And sanctions would be an issue at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in November, Dr Worrall said.

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

'His 'sell-out' is out to build a new SA

By Therese Anders, Highveld Bureau

If being a sell-out meant having helped create free local authorities, participating in provincial government and talking to government, "then I prefer to be a sell-out", said the chairman of the National Forum, Mr Phillip Nhlapo, this weekend.

Speaking at the inauguration of the National Forum's Transvaal branch in Johannesburg, Mr Nhlapo said he had helped create room for his children and their children in their country.

"I have helped create new structures that will help all proud black people to define and create their own living conditions and surroundings."

"Nothing will be achieved if we sit on the sideline and criticise. I believe in progress by means of peace. Progress must not develop from ruins as in other countries, he said.

"We cannot be proud if we build a new South Africa over the dead bodies of our brothers and the ruins of what used to be development," Mr Nhlapo said.

Of the recent meeting between the State President and imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, he said: "It was a symbolic meeting. Both men have been through the wars of Africa, one a country's leader, the other a prisoner, facing each other as grandfathers across a teatable.

"I chose the word grandfather deliberately. They are both grandfathers of all our people. Embodied in their struggles and the wisdom gained through the years lies the birth of a new South Africa."

IMF to listen to SA address in earnest

Star 31/7/87

By Trevor Walker

CAPE TOWN — South Africa, long denied participation in nearly all the representative bodies of the UN, is set to make a comeback at the one body that really counts, the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis says: "When I speak at this year's annual meeting on September 27 I expect member countries to be much more receptive to our economic line of reasoning.

"South Africa is visibly playing a major role in Sub-Saharan Africa and political rhetoric cannot gainsay this."

For many years now, when the South African minister of finance delivered his annual address to the IMF, the hall was empty except for a handful of South African and foreign journalists.

It had become a tradition that South Africa's statement to the meeting was made just after lunch, which allowed delegates an extra coffee.

However, this year the position is different The political advances that have been made in Angola, Namibia and Mozambique and certain other countries, will be reflected in a more positive approach being adopted by delegates.

Political developments in Sub-Saharan Africa have turned favourable for South Africa in recent months and the pivotal role that it should be allowed to play has become much more obvious and visible.

Deputy Reserve Bank governor Dr Japie Jacobs says South Africa's sensible and honest approach to development in the region is being recognised.

"Our participation in and financial commitment to the Lesotho Highlands water project has been acknowledged."

South Africa was a founder member of the League of Nations, the UN and the IMF.

The small economies of Swaziland, Lesotho and Zimbabwe are all represented at the IMF.

Angola, Mozambique and Namibia are expected to be granted membership.

South Africa, despite US sanctions, remains the power house of the contintent, south and north of the equator in macro terms.

However politicians might wish it away, the facts speak for themselves.

Its electricity utility, Eskom, is building five mega stations, any two of which would be able to satisfy the rest of the continent's electricity requirements.

Egypt, Nigeria, Libya, Zimbabwe, Angola use about the output of one of SA's power stations.

South Africa has more macadamised roads, rail lines, train engines, aircraft, tugs, ships than any other nation on the continent.

Zimbabwe had recently hired eight locomotives from South Africa because of failures in its own fleet, but if it had had the necessary foreign exchange SA could have supplied 50 units.

The World Bank had prejudiced the positive role that SA should be allowed to play in the economic advance of Sub-Saharan economies, but local political sources say the wheel has turned and the economic realities that fostered perestroikia and glasnost have become an equal reality in Southern Africa.

Cape counts storm damage

(Cont from page 1)

Site B, Site C and Green Point Some families, he said, had their homes flooded again yesterday, especially in parts of Site C where people were evacuated last week.

Live electrical cables were exposed as powerlines and poles blocked streets in Lansdowne, Guguletu, Tokai, Claremont, Muizenberg, Kenilworth, Parow, Rondebosch, Mowbray, Woodstock, Athlone, Wynberg, Kensington, Nyanga East, Manenberg, Diep River and Kuils River.

Dozens of trees were uprooted in these areas, some of them crashing on to buildings and cars.

Part of the roof of the Masque theatre in Muizenberg was blown on to a railway line.

The roof of a national monument, the Ovenstone house in Newlands, was blown off This was one of many roofs which were swept away.

A tree fell on a home in Guguletu and a tree fell on a parked car at Rondebosch station A tree was blown on to a car in Hof Street in the city

A radio mast was snapped in Brackenfell and the roof blown off the garage of a Bellville old-age home.

Power failures, caused by tree branches damaging overhead cables, hit Durbanville, Bellville, Kuils River, Lynedoch and Eerste River.

The municipal radio mast in Reservoir Road, Brackenfell, was snapped, but council teams repaired it.

In Bellville a recently fitted garage roof was blown off at an old-age home in Durban Road No one was injured

Trees were uprooted in the municipal caravan park in Kuils River A power failure lasting several hours hit the town about 4pm.

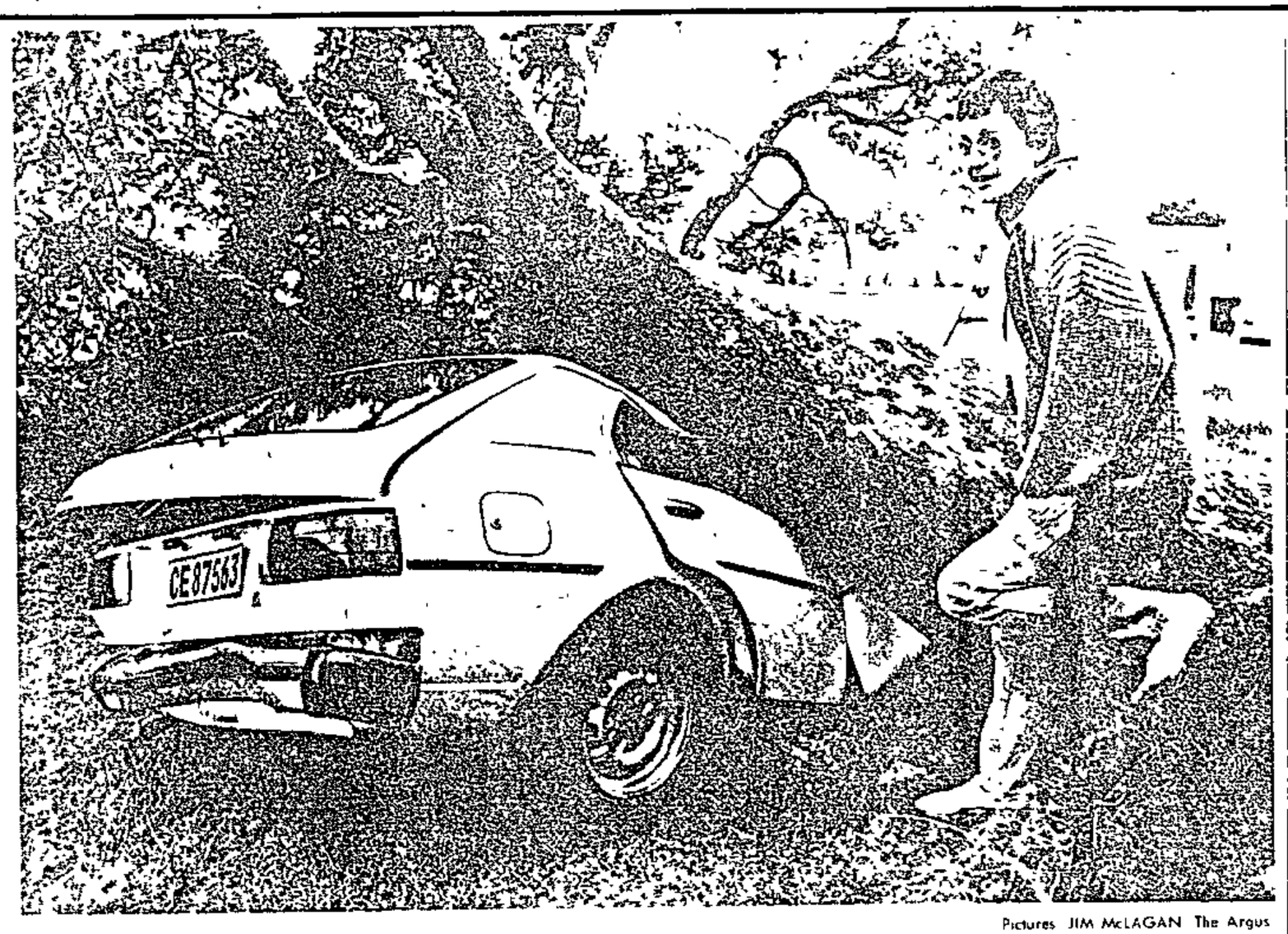
In Cape Town harbour conditions delayed the launch of Springbok sailor Bertie Reed's new yacht and forced port authorities to move a coastal freighter to a safer berth.

Huge concrete blocks lying on the middle of the breakwater were washed off the wall and into the harbour.

The freighter Berg of Unicorn was moved to the landing-wall because she was badly riding up and down at her berth, said a spokesman for the port captain's office.

The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth reports that the Eastern Cape is bracing itself for a hurricane-force wind and heavy rain.

From tomorrow Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Despatch face severe water restrictions. Households will be limited to 15 kilolitres a month and water will cost 79,05c a kilolitre. A penalty rate of R24 will be charged to anyone exceeding the 15-kilolitre limit.



Pictures JIM McLAGAN The Argus

CRUSHED: Miss Tawnee Hill of Ottery ruefully examines her car which was crushed by a falling tree when she visited friends in Chichester Road, Claremont.



ROAD BLOCKED: This tree brought down powerlines when it was uprooted in the storm, blocking Bisset Road in Kenilworth.

Shells pound Beirut

BEIRUT — Merciless artillery barrages pounding helpless residents of Beirut for the past four days are now engulfing two-thirds of Lebanon "Hundreds of rocket launchers are pouring their rockets 40 at a time, a security source said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Coal miners trapped

CURANILAHUE — Rescue workers virtually abandoned hope for 21 miners they said were caught inside a coal mine that flooded in southern Chile The coal miners were 175 metres underground when a shaft wall gave way — Sapa-Reuter

Police, soldiers stand by for MDM defiance

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Police and soldiers are on standby countrywide for this week's proposed defiance campaign by the Mass Democratic Movement.

Major-General Herman Stadler, SAP public relations chief, said today the security forces would not be lulled into a false sense of security by the non-start of the defiance campaign

Activists in the MDM — an alliance of anti-apartheid bodies and the Congress of South African Trade Unions — vowed at the weekend to go ahead with their campaign to defy segregation in health, education, transport, housing, job opportunities and public amenities

Police said today no incidents or demonstrations linked to the campaign, which was expected to start yesterday, were reported at the weekend

Major-General Stadler said that police will remain on the alert as long as the MDM continues its stated aim of disrupting the elections.

The government's strategy to combat the campaign will apparently be discussed at tomorrow's weekly meeting of the State Security Council Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok is expected to attend

MDM occupation

In Johannesburg and other areas police patrolled parks and bus terminuses regularly yesterday and today for the MDM's national "militant mass action".

Segregated parks and buses were to have been "occupied" by MDM supporters.

The MDM's action against segregated hospitals, including the Johannesburg Hospital and Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital, is due to start on Wednesday.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration said that all hospital premises would be restricted, and only people with permission would be admitted.

According to the MDM, it does not intend to flood hospitals with patients. "We simply told our people to go to the hospitals regardless of race," said a spokesman at the weekend.

At the weekend, MDM leaders were said to be prepared to go into hiding and continue the defiance campaign in spite of Mr Vlok's warning to halt their plans

- Two far rightwing organisations — the Wit Wolwe and the World Apartheid Movement — have allegedly threatened violent resistance to the MDM's campaign.

Pamphlets, which make racist comments about blacks and Indians, were issued in Randburg.

Law and Order spokesman, Lieutenant Peet Bothma, said the police viewed the pamphlets in "a serious light".

(Reports by A Walker, 47 Sauer Street Johannesburg and E Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Poll '89: Parties gear up for special votes

Political Correspondent

VOTING in the general election will start on Thursday when the first special votes will be issued

Special votes are more easily available this time than in any previous general election. Voters need not prove that they will not be in the constituency where they are registered on polling day

They can now have a ballot paper issued at a magistrate's court or office of the Department of Home Affairs without giving reasons but they have to give proof of identity

The easier special vote system is meant to counter intimidation efforts, especially in the coloured and Indian communities It may produce a higher percentage poll than in the 1984 elections for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates

Meanwhile, the National Party has launched the next phase of its advertising campaign

This phase is designed to boost the image of its leader, Mr F W de Klerk, as a new leader with new vision There are also advertisements knocking its Democratic Party and Conservative Party opponents

The Democratic Party has also launched an advertising campaign introducing its candidates and claiming that its support is growing fast and that it is going for power

Mr de Klerk will open his party's election campaign with a meeting in the Parow civic centre on Thursday night

(Report by T Wentzel 122 St Georges St, Cape Town)

Boxing champ loses licence

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Douglas Sibiya, Natal light heavyweight champion, has had his licence to box withdrawn.

This follows an incident in Johannesburg last Monday night when Sibiya went down without being hit in the second round of his fight with Howard Mpepesi and refused to box on when ordered by referee Joseph Chaane.

"This is the third time Sibiya has been involved in a incident of this nature and after reviewing the reports submitted by the Transvaal board it was decided to revoke his licence," said Natal chairman Mr David Davis after a meeting of the Natal board.

Besides losing his licence Sibiya will also forfeit his purse money for the fight and the Natal light heavyweight title will be declared vacant.

CAPE Times 31/7/89 (30K/A

Election boycott call

DP fears it might lose 'a couple of seats' as a result

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Mass Democratic Movement's call on its white supporters to boycott the September 6 election might cause the loss of a couple of DP seats to the NP, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

In 1987 when the PFP did not field candidates in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives, the Mass Democratic Movement called for a boycott which almost certainly cost the PFP Hillbrow and Wynberg, Dr De Beer said.

"So I suppose we shouldn't be too surprised that this happens again."

The DP would continue to seek dialogue and co-operation with the Mass Democratic Movement because of its common aims. "When we have reason to talk to each other we will still talk."

Dr De Beer said the DP stood for universal franchise within a negotiated constitution, the repeal of apartheid acts and the abolition of the tricameral Parliament.

"To the best of my knowledge all these are the aims of the Mass Democratic Movement. It therefore seems to me to be a great pity that it should call for a boycott of the election."

The NP's information chief, Mr Con Botha, said he considered the boycott call "rather irresponsible".

The clash of political strategies between the DP and the MDM came out into the open in Durban at the weekend during an exchange of views between Dr Denis Worrall, a co-leader of the DP, and Dr Gerry Coovadia, an MDM spokesman.

Dr Worrall was a guest speaker at an Idasa conference on peace and security.

He said he regretted the MDM call to voters to stay away from the elections on September 6.

There were prospects for change in the possibilities of a hung Parliament and a new political alignment, he said.

Dr Coovadia said in turn that the MDM would oppose these "fraudulent elections" with "every ounce of its energy".

He said Dr Worrall's most contentious interpretation had been that the question of security was one of the most important factors in the election.

He had implied that it would be better if people sympathetic to the DP did not increase the security risks and did not engage in any actions.

● In Johannesburg the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) yesterday continued its attack on the DP accusing Dr Zach de Beer of having "clouded vision" for fielding candidates in the House of Delegates.

"The fact that the Democratic Party has chosen to field nine candidates has been a point of sharp difference between them and the MDM. They are essentially interested in their own interests," said Mr Cas Saloojee, president of the TIC.

Mr Saloojee added that the DP had its own interests at heart and had not recognised the beliefs of the "masses."

(Report by P Leeman, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban, and N Lewis, 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg).

3/7/89

Pull-out of union threatens workers' pensions

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The withdrawal of the SA Printing and Allied Industries' Federation from the National Industrial Council later this year will dissolve the council and force the liquidation of its R750-million employees' retirement fund.

The federation, along with the industry's other major employer body, the Newspaper Press Union, and the SA Typographical Union (Satu) which represents workers, are planning an alternative vehicle for their members' substantial retirement savings.

A council spokesman said he was receiving calls daily from members who were concerned about their investments in the fund.

The federation's executive director, Mr Chris Sykes, said he was meeting pension consultants on August 7 and was confident a solution would be found soon.

Satu's general secretary, Mr Martin Deysel, said the union was busy considering the matter and would report back to members on August 12.

"People will neither lose their stake in the fund nor be paid out now," said Mr Sykes.

"However, about 60% of our members do not have alternative benefit schemes and we have to decide whether to set up a new fund for the benefit of members."

The pension fund is managed by Old Mutual, Sanlam and UAL. Old Mutual assistant general manager employee benefits Mr Henk Beets said the council had two alternatives once the fund was liquidated.

Either its employer members could set up their own schemes for employers or the federation could decide to opt for a union-managed fund.

Cnr. Time 3/7/89 B04A

Jani has the AWB boss taped

Staff Reporters

CELEBRITY columnist Ms Jani Allan is in London to escape the consequences of transcripts of telephone messages allegedly left for her by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

The messages pleading for contact — published yesterday in the Sunday Times — had been left on the answering machine in Ms Allan's Sandton flat over the past few months.

Ms Allan was sent to London by the Sunday Times last week and was quoted on Saturday in the London Daily Mail as saying she was in the city to avoid "the possible consequences" of the tapes.

"I have been under the most incredible stress the past few months. I only hope I haven't left trouble behind only to walk into even more."



Mr Terre'Blanche



Ms Jani Allan

Ms Allan said in the Sunday Times that she had released the tapes because Mr Terre'Blanche had said she had so pestered him that he had instructed his receptionist not to put through her calls.

Further claims by Mr Terre'Blanche that Ms Allan had begged him to keep their relationsip alive were made in an interview published in the newspaper Rapport yesterday.

The AWB leader's wife, Mrs Martie Terre'Blanche, was quoted as warning Ms Allan to stay away from her husband.

But contrary to such statements, said Ms Allan in her interview, "it was he who kept calling me at all hours of the day".

The calls had started soon after last December's Paardekraal Monument incident — which resulted in Mr Terre'Blanche's being charged with and later aquitted of wilful damage to public property — and had continued until the middle of June.

Extracts from the tapes include: "You were a muchacho. Please call me back. You wanna kill me? Call me back. Please in God's name, call me back," and "I'm still at my office waiting for you to call me back. Oh God, I'm dying (deep sigh)."

Another message goes: "I wanted you to call, Jani Allan. Won't you pease phone me now? PLEASE phone me. I'm at home. Bye."

In one call, Mr Terre'Blanche threatened to visit the columnist. "Jani, it's me ... please, please, speak to me. If you don't pick up this phone, I'll have to come to you right now."

Two weeks ago, Ms Allan disclosed in another article that Mr Terre'Blanche had fallen asleep in the passage outside her apartment after she had ignored his pleas to be admitted after midnight on June 26.

The report suggested Mr Terre'Blanche might not have been sober.

"He visited the apartment complex several times," she said.

Mr Terre'Blanche, in an interview published in the Citizen newspaper last week, denied he had slept on Ms Allan's doorstep and was quoted as saying: "Ms Allan has never refused to open her door for me."

JOHN