

S.A. ~~GOVT.~~ GOVT. AND POLITICS

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# A lot of talk but vague details on reform plans

The vague plans for reform which are being discussed stress the need for some breakthrough on black political rights and a system with strong federal elements and a central government set-up with less sweeping powers than at present.

The concept of groups less rigidly defined along racial lines is the one idea that is attracting interest. This will hang together with moves to have open residential areas.

A more open society and, along with this, a comprehensive new constitutional model which will accommodate blacks is on the way, some say.

Mr F W de Klerk, the new Nationalist leader, and the acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, started the new debate.

As Mr de Klerk put it to Parliament in his first speech after he became leader: "Our goal is a new South Africa, a totally changed South Africa which has rid itself of the antagonism of the past, a South Africa free of domination or oppression."

He said white domination must go and that the NP was not as ideologically obsessed with the group con-

BY TOS WENTZEL

There is a lot of talk about "new thinking" and the need for movement in the bogged-down reform process among Nationalist politicians, but the details remain sketchy.

cept as many of its critics had suggested.

Mr Heunis raised the question of individual choice and voluntary association groups.

He also referred to the trilogy of Acts, on population classification, separate amenities and group areas, as matters which were a stumbling block in the conciliation process. He indicated that they could be reconsidered.

## Creating harmony

There is now talk of an all-encompassing Act on community relations to overtake these other measures.

The SA Law Commission has for a considerable time been investigating ways of creating harmony and equilibrium between individual human rights.

It is also looking at the political rights of all minorities in an effort to find a system of checks and bal-

ances between all competing interests in the country, possibly in a constitution.

The debate among Nationalist MPs is now about the urgent need to have a new phase of reform although the details are so vague.

On the other hand, some of them feel that it is slightly improper to try to formulate too many plans while there is no certainty yet about when, or if, President Botha will return to his post.

There is broad agreement that a new system would have to provide for the franchise for all South Africans regardless of race and for black political rights up to the highest level of government. An interim plan is to have a black Minister or Deputy Minister who will not be a member of Parliament.

There will have to be devolution of power to regional and local government levels.

This implies that Parliament in

its present form will be drastically changed as a fourth chamber for blacks is not envisaged.

There is also the implication that, with the devolution of power from the central government level, the powers of a president in such a system would not be as sweeping as those now.

There will, on the other hand, have to be some body where the elements of such a new system would have to come together at the highest level.

In the case of group areas the approach is going to be stepped-up attempts to provide more housing for people of colour in an attempt to relieve the pressure on white group areas.

At present the local government system in these new open areas will be mainly advisory, but there is also the feeling that this will have to be changed.

This may well lead to forms of multiracial local government in certain areas where people of all race groups will be allowed to reside.

In the process the concept of "own affairs" for the various race groups may well be watered down.

On the other hand, some Nationalist MPs say that "group structures" need not disappear, but that the additional option of free association is being envisaged and that a greater suppleness in group relations is on the way.

Above all, they feel that a visible process of negotiation on a new constitutional set-up must soon be started, but there is no indication yet of when the proposed consultative National Council will get off the ground.

the small society

by Brickman

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AN AMATEUR AND A PRO ATHLETE?



THE PRO GETS PAID BY CHEQUE!

3-11

BRICKMAN-Yates



# Winnie affair puts sanctions clash in a new light

For many Americans, the wife of the jailed ANC leader had become a martyr of legendary proportions. Winnie Mandela's fall from grace has dealt a hefty blow to the pro-sanctions lobby in the US, reports  
**NEIL LURSSEN** of The Star's Foreign Service.

WASHINGTON — As Mrs Winnie Mandela surveys the shattered pieces of her international image, she will have to realise that she has given comfort and aid to the anti-sanctions lobby in America.

Highly publicised accounts in the US of her behaviour and the conduct of her alleged football club have given opponents of sanctions and disinvestment powerful evidence that South Africa is a complex place not easily understood by the outside world.

For years, they have been arguing that attacking the South African economy, on the grounds that the oppressor will stop oppressing when his pocket shrinks, is a simple-minded approach to a complicated racial problem that will not be solved overnight.

They have cited repeatedly the warnings of Chief Buthelezi, Mrs Helen Suzman and other South African leaders with impeccable anti-apartheid credentials that economic pressure will not only hurt blacks at a time when they have a desperate need of economic development, but will set back the movement towards reform and, ultimately, a new and fair system.

## Tattered economy

Their arguments have had some results. There is little doubt that influential members of the US Senate — including many who supported the sanctions legislation of 1986 — are willing to concede that a tattered SA economy will solve neither South Africa's internal problems nor the enormous eco-

nomic difficulties facing the Frontline states.

But, among the radical opponents of apartheid, such arguments have meant little. Congressman Ron Dellums, author of the sanctions Bill now before the House of Representatives, is hell-bent on squeezing South Africa as tight as he can even though the blacks he wants to help will be throttled along with everyone else.

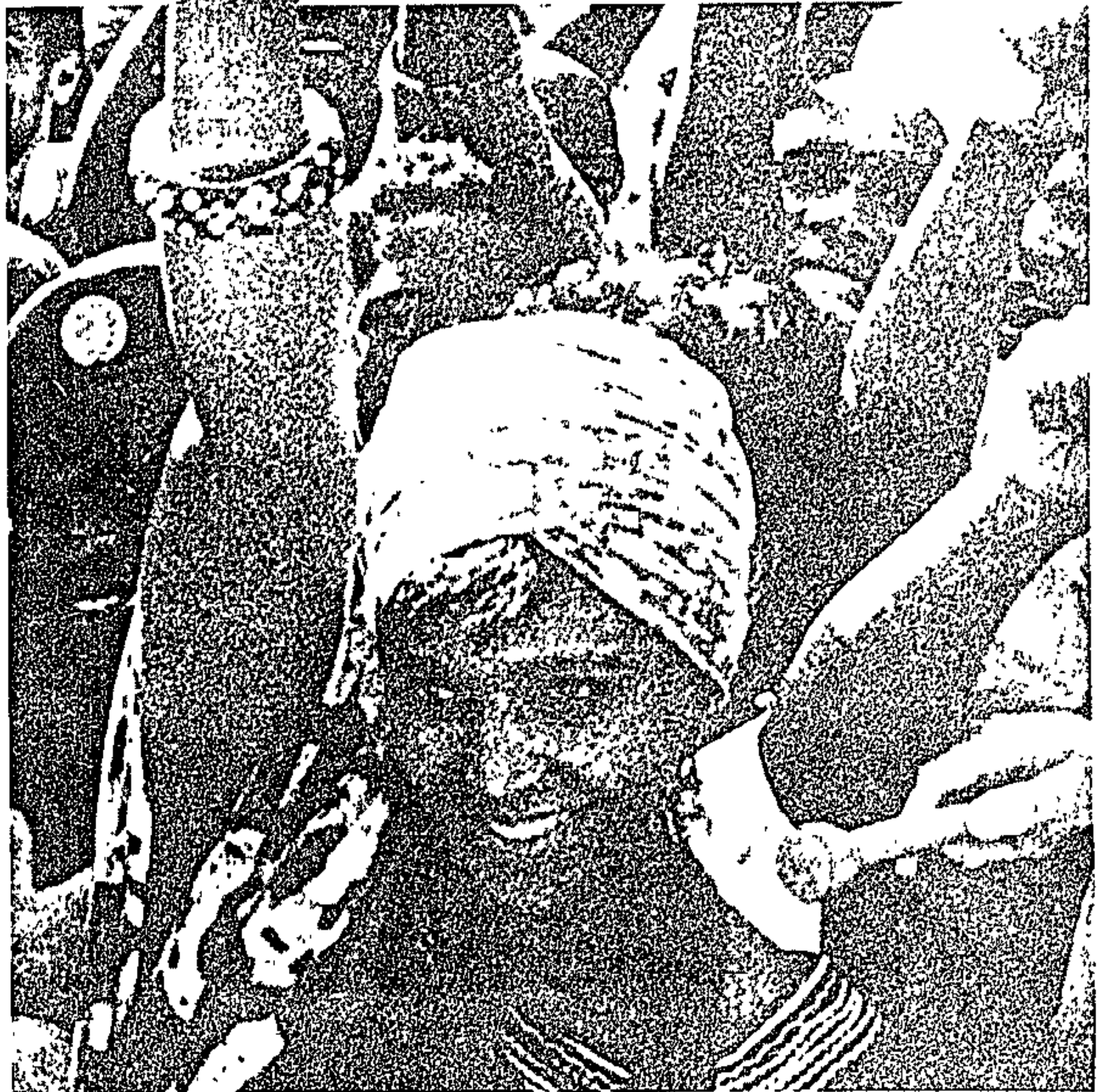
To people like Mr Dellums, it's a simple problem of black versus white. He has yet to explain how blacks will benefit from unemployment and malnutrition.

Other pro-sanctions leaders such as the influential Congressman Bill Gray, chairman of the House of Representatives Budget Committee, offer arguments that are calculated to strike an emotional chord among black Americans in whose psyche the memory of a slave past has been burnt deep.

To say that destroying the economy that props up the apartheid system will put blacks out of work, he maintains, is like protesting that the abolition of slavery caused unemployment in the Deep South.

It is a line that causes a stir in the breasts of American blacks, but it fails to take into account that apartheid can be overcome not by hurting blacks but by helping them to advance through economic growth, education, training and all the other paths that lead to political power and stability.

Into this stalemate comes Winnie Mandela, a woman who had emerged in America — through TV programmes and adulatory pieces in the media — as a martyr



Mrs Winnie Mandela ... behaviour has led Americans to realise there are no easy answers to SA's problems.

of legendary proportions. She had resisted the oppressors for years, a splendid partner in the struggle to her husband Nelson.

To say Mrs Mandela's fall from grace has stunned the pro-sanctions crowd must be the understatement of the year. Mrs Mandela was the feminine figurehead of the noble resistance, a role model for little black American girls.

Her personal crisis is a crisis for the anti-apartheid movement in America. Some of its leaders have sought to limit the damage by pointing out that her rejection by the UDF and other movements in South Africa is proof that the real black leadership will not tolerate violence, and they have suggested that the Mandela United Football

Club might have been infiltrated by government provocateurs to cause trouble from within.

But Mrs Mandela's tumble has given opponents of sanctions an opportunity to tell Americans they might not understand SA's realities as clearly as they thought.

As Mr Thomas Sowell, of the Hoover Institution, wrote recently: "The real issue reaches far beyond Winnie Mandela and far beyond South Africa, for that matter. Over the years and around the world, we (Americans) have repeatedly romanticised victims into 'liberators' or fighters for justice."

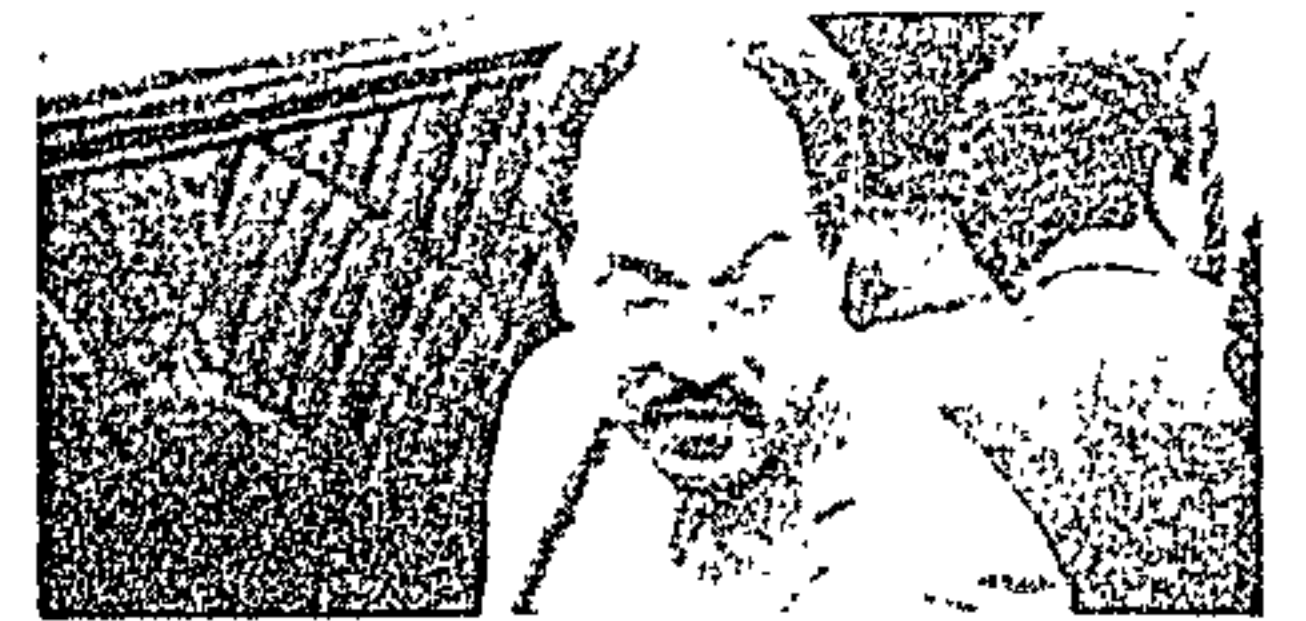
"Whenever political leaders want power, they say they are seeking justice. When they live in a

society with many injustices, it is tempting to believe them — without bothering to examine what they are actually doing.

"But history has mocked our gullibility, time and again."

In the shocked pause that followed the Winnie Mandela affair, thoughts like this are being articulated. Americans thought they knew all the answers in South Africa and are asking themselves what is going on over there.

It has created a climate in which the argument against sanctions has a better chance of succeeding and it gives Pretoria yet another chance to create a better image for itself by pressing on vigorously with reform.



Bill Gray ... reminds US blacks of their slave past.

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## 150 AWB posters confiscated in Germiston

By Anna Louw, East Rand Bureau

Germiston's chief licensing officer removed and confiscated 150 Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging posters in the Germiston area recently.

At a city council meeting this week, an opposition councillor, Mr John Oxley, asked if steps had been taken against those responsible for the post-

ers and if prosecutions had been carried out. (over)

The chairman of the management committee, Mr Stan van Eeden (NP), said the day he received the complaint he had instructed the licensing department to take down the posters. It had not been possible to prosecute because those responsible could not be traced.



# Govt, Indaba break the ice, 2 years later

By Bruce Cameron  
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet is finally looking at the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba proposals, more than two years after their agreement on a single authority for the region.

This was announced yesterday by the Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, after the first of a series of crucial ice-breaking meetings between kwaZulu, the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba and the Government.

Indaba chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo said the meeting had been a breakthrough in that many misunderstandings had been resolved.

The Indaba had been under the misconception that the Government had rejected certain proposals. Mr Heunis cleared this up, saying they had been referred to the Cabinet.

The meeting began with Mr Heunis looking at a barrier of press cameras and quipping to Dr Dhlomo: "They must be here for you. They don't come here often."

## RESISTANCE

Asked about the significance of the talks, Mr Heunis said: "It is a discussion between leaders."

Dr Dhlomo said: "It depends on the outcome."

The meeting follows lengthy resistance by the Government to spell out its exact position on the Indaba.

A second meeting scheduled for tomorrow will be between top-level government and kwaZulu committees.

It will be opened jointly by Mr Heunis and kwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to "identify and address obstacles impeding the process of negotiations, as well as to formulate principles on which there is common ground".

Dr Dhlomo said he expected tomorrow's meeting to be exploratory in nature.

# PW and FW in vital talks

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By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

President Botha is to return to Cape Town this week amid renewed expectation that he may clarify his position.

Mr Botha has come under severe pressure from the National Party either to resign from the presidency or at least to make clear his relationship with the new NP leader, Mr FW de Klerk.

Sources said Mr Botha would meet Mr de Klerk and other senior Ministers when he visited Cape Town from his Wilderness holiday home where he is recuperating.

Some Nat sources say these meetings could lead to important decisions such as the date of an election and Mr

Botha's own future.

The NP caucus is growing increasingly restive in Mr Botha's absence and impatience for a resolution of his position has begun to break into the open.

The Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, has slammed opposition parties and press for using Mr Botha's indisposition as an excuse to make propaganda against the Government.

This came after an exchange in Parliament this week when National Democratic Movement MP Mr Peter Gattrow challenged Nat MPs to say who determined NP policy, Mr Botha or Mr de Klerk, and received a chorus of replies that it was the "chief leader" (Mr de Klerk).

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# Rundle backs CP action in Belgravia

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

Johannesburg's white residents were forced to prevent people of other races from moving into "white" residential areas because the Government no longer implemented the Group Areas Act, the Conservative Party's Johannesburg divisional chairman, Mr Fred Rundle, said yesterday.

He was reacting to an incident in Belgravia, Johannesburg, where the CP had acted to prevent an Indian family from occupying a house in Darling Street.

"Residents have to take the law into their own hands in order to protect their own residential areas. The Government thinks it can solve the shortage of black housing by turning a blind eye to blacks moving into white areas," Mr Rundle said.

Yesterday, a handwritten poster warning people of colour not to move into the house was torn down by an employee of Mobi-Jack, a jack and crane manufacturer in the Johannesburg suburb, presently occupying the house. The poster had been put up by the CP.

Mr Danie Struwig, chairman of the CP's Jeppe constituency, said the CP would prevent an unknown Indian family — said to be moving into the house today — from contravening the Group

Areas Act.

Although his constituency committee had been encouraged by similar actions taken by the CP in Mayfair, it would not use violence to prevent people from moving into the area.

"We will go about it in a civilised and diplomatic way.

"We will inform people of colour that they are contravening the law, but we will physically prevent them from carrying their furniture through the front door."

Mr Mike Steyn, CP secretary of the constituency, admitted that many people who had already moved into the area could not be removed.

"They move in at night. We wake up in the morning to see that yet another black, Indian or coloured family has moved in. But from now on we will act.

"It is shocking to see how many people of colour have moved in. In some houses blacks and whites even live together."

Mr Struwig added that the CP had decided last week to "take action".

"I believe this action will be effective to an extent. One can in a nice way prevent them from moving in."

The woman who removed the poster said it was written in a "child-like" handwriting.

# Consumer action hits Carletonville: 2 held

Staff Reporters

Two black men have been arrested in connection with three intimidation charges in Carletonville, where black consumer action has virtually crippled commerce since the town reintroduced petty apartheid.

Police said a "close watch" was being kept on the situation as the Cosatu-sponsored protest entered its third day.

No reports of violence had yet been received, said police.

Captain Ben van Heerden, police liaison officer for the Western Transvaal division, today warned that intimidation was a criminal offence and that police would take action to prevent it.

No extra police patrols had been instituted to counter intimidation, he said.

The Conservative Party-controlled town council of Carletonville was confident that the "positive action" against intimidators had broken the back of the boycott and that trade would return to normal by the weekend.

Mr Koos Nel, chairman of the town's management committee, said today that around-the-clock police patrols had thwarted possible intimidators and

black customers were again buying.

Mr Nel admitted the strike had vastly reduced turnovers on Monday, but he said that late yesterday more black shoppers were seen in the business district and more were expected today — in line with his prediction that the protest action would be short-lived.

## REPRESENTATIONS

He said no representations had been received from businessmen, who reported custom down by as much as 70 percent.

Mr Rodney van Loggenberg, vice-chairman of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, said yesterday that businessmen were planning to try to persuade the CP-controlled council to abandon its commitment to petty apartheid.

He described the protest as "reasonably strong", saying its consequences for shopkeepers depending on black customers were potentially strong.

Reports received by The Star indicate that business is booming in the neighbouring township of Khutsong and the Carletonville Taxi Association was involved in negotiations to ferry shoppers to neighbouring towns.



# CP slates Govt over reporting of boycotts

Star  
1/3/87

By Peter Fabricius

The Conservative Party has slammed the Government for not applying emergency regulations against the National Party press, the SABC and others for publicising the consumer boycott in Carletonville.

CP MP Mr Clive-Derby Lewis today challenged Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok in Parliament to give assurances that action would be taken against those who called for boycotts.

He said the emergency regulations forbade anyone publicising calls for boycotts or reporting on the effectiveness of boycotts, as the NP media were doing.

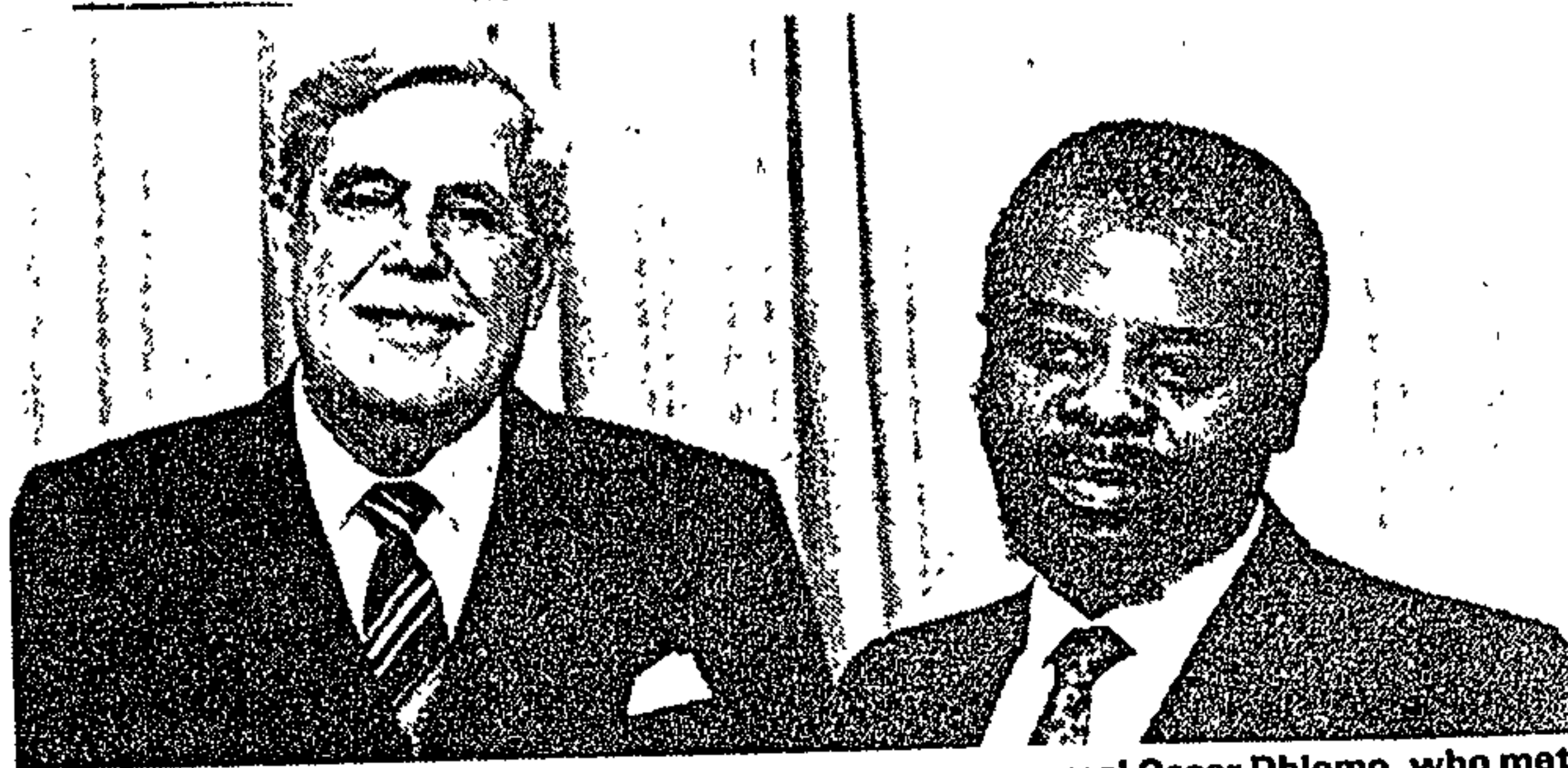
He asked if the emergency regulations against boycotts applied only when the boycotts were detrimental to people other than whites.

## 30419 BRAIN-WASHING

Mr Vlok disclosed that police are investigating charges under the anti-boycott regulations against Labour Party MP Mr Don Mateman. The charge relates to a meeting where a boycott against Brakpan businesses was mooted.

Mr Derby Lewis said the Nat press and the SABC were conducting a "brain-washing" campaign about Boksburg and Carletonville which the Government was doing nothing to stop. "The only time they apply these regulations is against the right, and very reluctantly against left-wing radicals."

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party spokesman for law and order, today declined to comment on the Government's alleged inaction against the boycotters. "But I think that now we will see if Dr Verwoerd was right when he said the Afrikaner would rather be poor and white than rich and mixed," was her only comment.



Acting President Chris Heunis and Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, who met for talks in Cape Town yesterday.

# Bishops blast Bill on foreign funding

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CAPE TOWN — Another church-state confrontation is looming following the announcement by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference that it will not comply with the controversial Disclosure of Foreign Funding Bill should it become law.

The Bill, which is currently being considered by a parliamentary standing committee, enables the state to require that all designated bodies or persons disclose all sums of money received from outside the Republic and their source, as well as any other information it may demand.

## 'Dangerous'

According to a statement by the SACBC appearing in the latest issue of The Southern Cross newspaper, the legislation is so wide-ranging that it gives "virtually unrestrained power" to the Minister of Justice, who in turn could not be called to account by the courts.

### Own Correspondent

"This we find extremely dangerous because it sets him above the forum of public accountability," the SACBC statement said.

"Further, the prescriptions of the Bill, if implemented, could disrupt the work of the church very severely.

"In effect it means that the state could dictate to the church what it could or could not do. This makes sheer nonsense of freedom of religion in our country.

"In conscience we cannot comply if this Bill becomes law."

The SACBC said it wished to record its "complete opposition" to the proposed legislation.

It called upon "all people who have freedom of religion at heart" to join the church in making this opposition known and to ensure that the Bill does not become law.

"If it does, we will be that much closer to virtual dictatorship," the SACBC said.



# Dhlomo says talks were 'helpful'

CAPE TOWN — Indaba chairman Oscar Dhlomo held talks with acting President Chris Heunis and NP leader F W de Klerk yesterday.

Dhlomo described the talks as "helpful", saying a breakthrough was the recognition of the Indaba's "existence" by government and Heunis's statement that the Indaba proposals were still before Cabinet.

In a statement after hour-long talks, Heunis said the Indaba proposals, together with comments from both the KwaZulu government and the Natal pro-

Political Staff

vincial administration had been submitted to the Cabinet.

He said as soon as the Cabinet had made a decision on the proposals, the KwaZulu government, Natal's provincial government and the Indaba would be informed.

Dhlomo said he hoped the Cabinet would speed up its deliberations on the Indaba, whose proposals had been formulated almost two years ago.

● Picture: Page 3

# LP may strike deal on Amenities Act

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CAPE TOWN — A deal between government and the Labour Party on a constitutional amendment which provides for extra seats in all three Houses and the appointment of a prime minister may be on the cards.

The Labour Party has so far declined to approve the amendments to the Constitution, wanting the Separate Amenities Act repealed first.

A Labour Party source stressed yesterday, however, that the LP had not formally made repeal of the Act a *quid pro quo* for supporting the amendments, in the same way as it had linked repeal of the Group Areas Act with the postponement of a white election to 1992.

A deal may be in the pipeline. It is understood government is planning to give the go-ahead for the opening of a number of beaches — once the Easter season is over.

A number of other facilities may also have their "whites only" signs removed.

The Act is seen as expendable and a possible sign to both the LP and groups outside Parliament that government is now serious about reform.

Should a deal be struck in the near future, the general election now mooted for May could be postponed until much later in the year.

The creation of the extra seats — most of the new Assembly seats will be in the Transvaal — will pave the way for a new delimitation which government would like to have prior to an election.

A delimitation would take at least six months, which could mean an election around October.



THE polemic that has "erupted" between Ken Owen of Business Day and myself is centred mainly on three very relevant reform issues:

1. Will a process of democratisation necessarily have public financial implications and give rise to higher social spending? Owen says, No. I say, Yes.
2. Is a high growth rate in a capitalist economic system reconcilable with redistribution measures aimed at human upliftment and development? Can South Africa have a booming economy and comprehensive redistribution measures at the same time?

I say Yes on both questions. Owen says No on both.

3. Will it be necessary to reconstruct the South African economy in the transition towards a post-apartheid South Africa to create an institutional framework essential for the effective and efficient operation of a market-orientated system of free enterprise or is it necessary only for the Government to stop all intervention? I regard a reconstruction as unavoidable. Owen regards it as unnecessary social engineering.

1. Owen is quite dogmatic in his assertion that black political empowerment will not (and ought not to) have public financial implications. According to him "there is no reason why black people must be assumed to be incapable of understanding and supporting (Anglo-Saxon) liberal economic policies". (Business Day, February 23.)

My assertion about the unavoidable public financial implications (and higher Government spending on human upliftment) of a process of democratisation has nothing to do with black people's level of understanding or with the merit that Anglo-Saxon liberal economic policies might have had in the 19th century. My assertion is about the inevitable implications of the democratisation process

# Reform issues key to polemic between Owen and professor



By  
**SAMPIE  
TERREBLANCHE**

Professor of Economics at Stellenbosch University

cess in industrialised countries in the 20th century.

In all relatively industrialised countries the broadening of democracy in the 20th century has brought about a steady but permanent increase in government spending on human development. In all OECD countries combined government spending (G) as a percentage of GNP (G/GNP) increased gradually from 10% before the First World War to 45% in 1983 and has declined slightly since then. At least half of the government spending in OECD countries are on behalf of human development and it can be regarded as investment in human capital.

For every R1 at present spent in South Africa on the human development of blacks, at least R6 is spent on the human development of whites.

If Owen should succeed in convincing a truly democratic government to keep this "gap" intact I will more than admire his skill in "selling" the Anglo-Saxon liberal ideas of the 19th century. Perhaps his intention is to scale down the spending on the human development of whites to the same level as the spending on blacks. But this will have a disruptive effect on growth and the standard of living of whites will be scaled down drastically.

Black political empowerment will have — and ought to have — public financial implications

spending on bureaucratic waste and political patronage.

After lengthy discussions with representatives of mass democratic movements inside and outside South Africa during the last two years, I am cautiously optimistic that these blacks may be convinced to use newly acquired parliamentary bargaining power during the transitional phase with responsibility and restraint.

During the same discussions, however, the representatives of mass democratic movements made no secret of their intention to redress the black deprivation, discrimination and injustices with appropriate affirmative action. Consequently it will only be realistic to take all the necessary precautions against the probable high public financial implications of the process of black economic empowerment.

I sincerely hope that this burning issue will be addressed with all the necessary circumspection during the negotiation process — and without the interference of old-fashioned dogmatism of a foregone era.

(2) The Laissez-faire or Ricardian economy of the 19th century was based on the principle that subsistence wages and a very unequal distribution of income were essential prerequisites for a high growth rate in a capitalist economy. The high profits of capitalist entrepreneurs

the second half of the last century. After more than 100 years of deliberate manipulation and intervention — during the periods of colonial and apartheid capitalism — the South African economic structure has been severely distorted. The present structure is characterised by a very unequal distribution of power, property and opportunities. A large proportion of the black population is excluded from the mainstream of economic activity due to all kinds of discriminatory measures (including very uneven investment in human capital) and an unnecessary capital-intensive production structure.

I get the impression that Owen is of the opinion that if only the bureaucracy can be dismantled and Government interference in the economy terminated, the mythical "free market" will get going to create a panacea. What nonsense!

To think that a democratised political system with black political empowerment can be superimposed without ceremony or any appropriate adaptations on this highly distorted economic structure, and that the result will be an efficient free market system, is nothing but a pilgrimage to fairyland.

I do not want to be prescriptive about how to synchronise the process of political democratisation and economic reconstruction. No blueprint exists for this synchronisation and I don't think it is possible to compile one. It is, nonetheless, an extremely important matter to ensure an orderly and non-disruptive transition from apartheid towards a system that hopefully will be an effective version of democratic capitalism. To describe the planning for an orderly transition or



ceed in convincing a truly democratic government to keep this "gap" intact I will more than admire his skill in "selling" the Anglo-Saxon liberal ideas of the 19th century. Perhaps his intention is to scale down the spending on the human development of whites to the same level as the spending on blacks. But this will have a disruptive effect on growth and the standard of living of whites will be scaled down drastically.

Black political empowerment will have — and ought to have — public financial implications in terms of higher spending on black human development. The real challenge is to convince those that will attain parliamentary bargaining power as a result of a democratisation process, not to increase spending on black human development at a rate so drastic that it will overstrain the tax capacity of even a booming (but still vulnerable) South African economy. Hopefully, higher spending on black human development will be neutralised partly by less

empowerment.

I sincerely hope that this burning issue will be addressed with all the necessary circumspection during the negotiation process — and without the interference of old-fashioned dogmatism of a foregone era.

(2) The Laissez-faire or Ricardian economy of the 19th century was based on the principle that subsistence wages and a very unequal distribution of income were essential prerequisites for a high growth rate in a capitalist economy. The high profits of capitalist entrepreneurs were regarded as the main source of high levels of investment and on-going growth.

But the Ricardian world was a world of unskilled labour and undeveloped capital markets while parliamentary representation was still limited to the gentry and the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, in the "golden" half-century before the First World War overall per capita growth attained in the Western world was less than 1.5% annually. Given the extreme inequalities and economic instabilities of the 19th century, it certainly is not a showpiece for Anglo-Saxon liberal economic principles!

In the 20th century investment in human capital and in technological development, well-developed financial institutions and capital markets and fully representative parliaments have, since the Second World War, become the trademarks not only of the highly industrialised countries but also of the faster growing, less developed countries. The annual real per capita growth attained since 1950 in OECD countries is more than 3%. During this period a booming economy and redistribution for the purpose of human development has not only proved to be reconcilable, but complementary or mutually strengthening trends.

If South Africa can normalise its economic relations with the rest of the world and experience a large influx of venture capital to attain a booming economy, redistribution for human development purposes will not only be possible but highly desirable to ensure continuous growth and prosperity.

(3) The modernisation of the South African economy commenced with the discovery of diamonds and gold in

grimage to fairyland.

I do not want to be prescriptive about how to synchronise the process of political democratisation and economic reconstruction. No blueprint exists for this synchronisation and I don't think it is possible to compile one. It is, nonetheless, an extremely important matter to ensure an orderly and non-disruptive transition from apartheid towards a system that hopefully will be an effective version of democratic capitalism. To describe the planning for an orderly transition or "reconstruction" of the economy as social engineering is an unnecessary casting of suspicion.

Probably the best example of reconstruction was accomplished by Ludwig Erhard in West Germany after the Second World War. He "reconstructed" out of the ugly remnants of the Nazi war economy the framework for a prosperous and effective social market economy.

The constructive role the governments of Japan and the Four Dragons of the East are playing as agents of economic development, is also a highly relevant example. In these countries government is not only instrumental in creating an economic framework conducive to economic growth but continuously playing the role of "developmental states". In these capacities the relevant governments are not only political authorities but true servants of the people and of growth and development. The result of their policies is not only higher, but also more equitable, economic growth.

It is really unnecessary for Owen to remain stuck with the Laissez-faire ideology. It is not applicable in this century and of no relevance to a country in a period of transition. To facilitate Owen's "quantum leap" to the South African reality of the 20th century, I wish to extend a friendly invitation to him to spend a year's sabbatical at Stellenbosch. This little village is extraordinarily beautiful but, more important, the ideological, political and economic discussion in Stellenbosch will offer him a real challenge and lots of satisfaction!

□ KEN OWEN replies: "Professor Terreblanche either misrepresents, or fails to understand, my point of view."

**PRESIDENT BOTHA'S constitutional position is to be raised in Parliament next week.**

This emerged today as Mr Botha prepared to visit Cape Town again tomorrow for talks with the new National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk and other Ministers.

If he sees Mr de Klerk it will be only the second known meeting since Mr de Klerk was elected leader of the National Party on February 2. He is also expected to meet acting President Mr Chris Heunis.

The Progressive Federal Party wants to press for more clarity against the background of uncertainty that has arisen over Mr Botha's future plans.

### **Question time**

The party may put its queries in the form of an interpellation during question time in the Assembly on Tuesday.

In terms of this new form of questioning, short debates are held.

The questions could be put to Mr de Klerk, who is also Leader of the House in the Assembly.

PFP leader Dr Zac de Beer said today that it was the party's view that constitutional questions must be clarified regarding Mr Botha's announcement on February 2 that he was stepping down as party leader but staying on as President.

There was the question of the separation of the two posts and the fact that Mr Botha had become President because he was leader of the National Party, and also what responsibilities the two men had now that the posts had been separated.

Mr Botha's planned visit to Cape Town tomorrow follows an unexpected visit last week.

A spokesman for his office said today that it was not yet clear when he would resume his duties fulltime.

It is expected that this will be early in April, after Parliament's Easter recess.

While some Nationalist politicians feel that clarity about Mr Botha's future must be obtained soon there is also the feeling among them that situations that could be stressful to him must be avoided.

This is why a final decision and announcement on an election is being left to him. Some of these politicians point out that such a decision could be stressful as it would also involve whether he would stay on as President indefinitely.

In Nationalist circles there is a growing feeling that he will return for only an interim period.

As the decision on an election is being put off as a result of his illness the impression is also growing among Nationalist MPs that an election will now be late in the year rather than early.

### **Accused**

Meanwhile Mr Heunis has accused opposition politicians and newspapers supporting them of transparent plans to try and create embarrassment for the government around the Mr Botha's illness.

He told the Nationalist Press that in the process leaders were being played off against each other and pressure was being applied on the President to resign.

He said it was normal procedure and good manners to give a Head of State who was ill the opportunity to recover.

Mr Heunis said Mr Botha's indisposition must not be dragged into the party political arena. He must be given the opportunity to recover so that he could take his own decisions about his future.

Mr Heunis said that he was in touch with Mr Botha who showed a lively interest in the daily administration of the country despite his illness.

By TOS WENTZEL,  
Political Correspondent

P.W.'s

# Position to be queried

Accus

11/2/89

3044



## Heunis, <sup>AKG</sup> Dhlomo <sup>11/3/89</sup> meeting <sup>30/4/89</sup> was an ice-breaker

### Political Staff

THE proposals of the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba have been submitted to the Cabinet more than two years after the Indaba reached agreement on a single authority for the region.

This was announced by acting-President Chris Heunis after the first of a series of crucial ice-breaking meetings between Kwazulu, the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba and the government.

The chairman of the Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said in an interview after yesterday's meeting that it had been a breakthrough for the Indaba in that important misunderstandings had been resolved.

It had been the first meeting between the government and the Indaba since the report of the Indaba was handed to the government by then chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence.

### "MISCONCEPTION"

The Indaba had also been under the "misconception" that the government had rejected the proposals.

Mr Heunis cleared this up by saying that the proposals had been referred to the Cabinet along with comment from the Kwazulu government and the Natal provincial administration.

Also cleared up was a misunderstanding that the government was avoiding negotiating with the Indaba.

"Mr Heunis confirmed that he would talk to the Indaba and said he would address the Indaba," said Dr Dhlomo.

Yesterday's meeting started with a touch of humour when Mr Heunis looked at the bank of Press cameras and quipped to Dr Dhlomo: "They must be here for you. They don't come here often."

### SIGNIFICANCE

Asked about the significance of the talks Mr Heunis said: "It is a discussion between leaders" and passed the question to Dr Dhlomo who said: "It depends on the outcome".

The second meeting, scheduled for tomorrow, will be officially opened jointly by Mr Heunis and Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The parties intend to "identify and address obstacles impeding the process of negotiations as well as to formulate principles on which there is common ground."

The Natal National Party leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, will lead a government team and Dr Dhlomo a Kwazulu team in the negotiations over stumbling-blocks to real negotiations.

The talks follow a meeting between Mr Heunis and Chief Buthelezi in Durban in January.



De Klerk calls on blacks for 'great indaba'

# Govt plans action on apartheid signs

Political Staff

The Government is considering various options to prevent Conservative Party towns from re-erecting apartheid signs.

This was revealed by acting State President Mr Chris Heunis yesterday in a radio-telephone-in programme on the SABC's black radio services and by National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, at a meeting in Nigel last night.

The announcement has drawn immediate comment from Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who said "It is clear the Government now intends to show kragdadigheid against conservative people to please the anti-apartheid sanctions movement."

Mr de Klerk — in his first major speech as National Party leader — also made an urgent plea to black leaders to join him in a "great indaba" to plan drastic changes.

Mr de Klerk's plea has been welcomed on the left as an encouraging attempt to bring leaders to the conference table, but with suspicion from the right.

PFP constitutional spokesman, Mr Colin Eglin, said today that though Mr de Klerk had said very little new, his speech was an "important mood piece which indicated the willingness to open up and try to encourage people to come to the conference table."

Dr Treurnicht said today the CP was not against talks with leaders of other groups, but the big question was where the power lay.

The Government warning of action on apartheid signs follows further threats of boycotts in the wake of the re-erection of such signs in Carletonville and earlier at Boksburg.

The signs have caused widespread black anger and international attention.

Mr de Klerk told the National Party meeting in Nigel that the Government would not accept that the Conservative Party could embarrass the country and cause international problems.

In an interview today Mr Heunis said he could not say what action was being contemplated as various options were being considered.

Speaking in Nigel Mr de Klerk said: "We must now start talking urgently about how we can reconcile the strivings and expectations of your followers and mine."

"I want to say to all leaders who seek peaceful solutions: the time for a great indaba is now."

It was a stormy meeting attended by about 800 people in the Conservative Party constituency.

At the start, Mr de Klerk could barely be heard as about 60 hecklers chanted CP slogans. Shortly afterwards they were removed from the hall.

There was an incident before the meeting when a group of blacks were refused entry by a policeman.

The reason for their presence was not clear, but senior Nationalists claimed it was a Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging "set up".

● See Page 3.



Supporters of National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk remove a heckler from an NP meeting in Conservative controlled Nigel last night. Mr de Klerk, addressing his first public meeting since becoming leader, could barely be heard when hecklers chanted CP slogans. ● Picture

## Botha set to meet Ministers

Political Correspondent

President Botha is expected to return to Cape Town today for meetings with senior Cabinet ministers, including new National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, as the pressure grows for him to step down.

It is likely he will meet Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis and Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis.

Mr Botha's visit comes amid intense pressure on him to retire in favour of Mr de Klerk and speculation about the date of an election.

There are expectations in the National Party that a major announcement will be made at the weekly caucus meeting today, but it is not considered likely that Mr Botha will address the caucus.

Last night in a radio interview, former Cabinet Minister Mr Hendrik Schoeman — who backed Mr Botha for the NP leadership ten years ago — said it was time for him to step down.

He said Mr Botha had been an "excellent man, but his health is not right and I think we need a young man now".

## Two more for boy?

Another three including two in the Mandela — have been a tation with the activist Stomp (14), police said.

A statement by Major-General said the three appear in the Magistrate's Court.

## Vlok 'to release another 50 detainees'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has undertaken to release 50 more detainees by tomorrow, bringing to 279 the number of releases he will have authorised.

This undertaking was made during an unpublished second meeting with prominent

church leaders under the leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday morning.

In a press statement from Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo's office, the church leaders said they had met with Mr Vlok.

The talks were a follow-up to the meeting on February

16, at which the Minister gave an undertaking to release a substantial number of detainees within a fortnight.

"Mr Vlok estimated that there were 800 in detention as at February 16. He said he would sign release warrants for another 50 detainees on Friday, bringing the total number of releases to 279," said the statement.

## Bid to bring back shoeshine boys

By Joe Openshaw

Johannesburg will give the bootblack a leg up on March 15 by hosting the first shoeshiners' conference to be held in South Africa.

The object is to return shoeshiners, hounded from the CBD by red tape over the years, to their old pitches and give them an image akin to their American brothers.

About 200 shoeshiners are expected at the Hotel Johannesburg and they will be hosted by the Small Business Development Corporation, the Get Ahead Foundation, the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business, and Mr Jomo Sono, managing director of Cosmos.

On the agenda will be the placing of pitches

at black bus terminals, taxi ranks and the Hoek Street Mall, where a shine will cost 50c, and at the Johannesburg Sun and down the Smal Street Mall to the Carlton Centre, where a shine could cost R2 or more.

"There is an untapped shoe-care market out there valued at about R32 million a year," says Mr Thabo Mpakanyane, senior product manager of a company producing shoe polish.

New recruits will be sponsored — with stools to sit on, footrests, caps, brushes and polish. If they show promise they will be promoted, and that means an umbrella and a hand-carved "throne", fitted with a newspaper/magazine rack, for clients to sit on.

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# Universal franchise 'crucial'

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Until South Africa introduced a universal franchise, the country would continue to face international pressures and internal conflict would escalate "until a full blown civil war develops", a University of the Western Cape (UWC) professor said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Professor of Development Studies and director of the Institute for Social Development at UWC, Professor Pieter le Roux, told a national economics seminar that a social democracy — alternatively mixed economy — as opposed to outright socialism or capitalism was the only economic system which could deal effectively with the economic crisis facing South Africa.

"Under present circumstances a social democracy seems to me to be the key to rapid economic progress for South Africans ... I can see no other system within which South Africa can

meet the tremendous economic problems it faces than a social democracy," Professor le Roux said.

He said many capitalists "who squirm at paying any taxes other than those that cover the cost of a night watchman government" rejected social democracies as being socialist, since any redistribution of income was considered undesirable.

Similarly, many dogmatic Marxists who saw socialisation of the means of production as a prerequisite for any transition to socialism, rejected social democratic systems as being capitalist.

A social democratic economy was the only one which could successfully deal with the macro-economic crisis facing the country today, he said.

"Your choice today is between a siege economy and a type of social democracy. I hope you will not be so foolish as to support the siege economy option," he said.



# SA needs new 'economic order'

30/1/87 By Kaizer Nyatumba

Attempts to sell free-market capitalism were not convincing, would fail, and continue to seem a rationalisation of the status quo "of an unacceptably unequal distribution of privilege", two Afrikaans academics said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Presenting a joint paper at the national conference on "Economic Alternatives for South Africa", Professors Frederick Fourie and Elwill Beukes of the University of the Orange Free State's economics department said the most important thing to do at this moment was to find the ground rules for an economic order which would truly complement a democratic political order and make it acceptable.

An integrated package was required, and a post-apartheid South Africa would have to be organised around the concerns of any modern industrial state, namely, prosperity, liberty and justice.

"Regarding the political sphere, we support the view that as long as the basic point of departure for a future political order remains primordial group membership and the use of group allegiance for political power formation, we are in a dead end."

The professors said the traditional liberal argument that it was only apartheid which deprived blacks of the fruits of capitalism did not ring true, because it could not be refuted that there was little in apartheid which prevented the economically powerful from voluntarily improving blacks' material position.

Warning that attraction to socialism had historically always been a reaction to experiences in capitalist economies. "Selling capitalism" did not address the point of perceived economic injustice which it had caused and perpetuated. Deprivation and lack of privilege would not disappear "merely as a result of economic freedom".

# Botha set to meet Ministers

Political Correspondent

3048

President Botha is expected to return to Cape Town today for meetings with senior Cabinet ministers, including new National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, as the pressure grows for him to step down.

It is likely he will meet Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis and Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis.

Mr Botha's visit comes amid intense pressure on him to retire in favour of Mr de Klerk and speculation about the date of an election.

Star 2/3/87  
There are expectations in the National Party that a major announcement will be made at the weekly caucus meeting today, but it is not considered likely that Mr Botha will address the caucus.

Last night in a radio interview, former Cabinet Minister Mr Hendrik Schoeman — who backed Mr Botha for the NP leadership ten years ago — said it was time for him to step down.

He said Mr Botha had been an "excellent man, but his health is not right and I think we need a young man now".

# 'Key lies with voteless majority'

304A

B/Dan 2/3/87

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The key to a successful non-racial democracy in SA lies with the extra-parliamentary majority and any strategic initiative which ignores this fact is wasting time and energy, says Idasa co-director Frederick van Zyl Slabbert.

In the latest mini-issue of Indicator, published by the Natal University's Centre for Social and Development Studies Indicator, Slabbert says no democracy can be sustained without organised and institutionalised support coming from the majority of the citizens in a society.

Slabbert says priority should not be given to external factors to bring about internal change. External pressure can be a contributing factor but not a primary

cause of adequate domestic change, he points out.

Too much faith or hope placed on the external factor paralyses domestic initiative, Slabbert says.

He has included these observations as part of strategic guidelines which he believes are important for promoting a non-racial, democratic political culture. He says these guidelines are formulated on the assumption that the transformation of society to a non-racial democracy will be a negotiated, bargained one.

Such negotiations cannot begin until the circumstances conducive to negotiations exist.



## POLITICS

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The first meeting of the joint committee of the SA and KwaZulu governments will be held at Tuynhuys today.

The meeting will be attended by Acting President Chris Heunis and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The committee was appointed after discussions between Heunis and Buthelezi in Durban on January 9. During these discussions, it was agreed a



### SA/KwaZulu committee meets

16 Jan 27/61

joint committee would be appointed by the two governments to identify and "address obstacles which were impeding the process of negotiations" and to formulate principles on which there was common ground.

The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba said in Durban last night a broad-based, top-level advisory board on education had been established — bringing together 23 top educationists.

Indaba education policy director Johan van Zijl said the move was arguably one of the most significant developments in edu-

cation in many years.

He believed the advisory board could change the face of education in Natal and help to forge education systems and structures to take the region into the 21st century.

Van Zijl said the launch of the board followed widespread concern that Natal's fragmented educational environment failed to address the realities of a rapidly changing, multi-cultural society.

"An economically embattled Natal cannot afford the wasteful duplication and triplication of under-utilised educational

facilities. The board could provide a vehicle for rationalising the use of facilities and resources."

The board was likely to address matters such as teacher training, educational financing, effective use of manpower, legislation and policy.

Indaba communications director Peter Badcock said the establishment of the board underscored the organisation's continuing commitment to change at all levels.

He said recent events had demonstrated the Indaba's proposals featured prominently on the reform agenda, and this important forum for discussion on education would contribute greatly to the formulation of future direction.

increased by 8% in November and all other tariffs by about 9% in December. — Sapa.

executive expenses and travel.  
At the end of the financial year, Nusas had a surplus of R13 656,37.

B/Dam Political Staff 7/3/87

CAPE TOWN — The Disclosure of Foreign Funding Bill was "more subtle" but "just as dangerous" as its predecessor, the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, said Black Sash former president Sheena Duncan in the latest Sash magazine.

She said while the new Bill was being hailed in some quarters as a vast improvement on the earlier Bill, it should be opposed "as vehemently" as its predecessor.

Duncan said: "If one has any doubts about government's motives in introducing the legislation one only has to look at the powers given to yet another set of officials to enter premises without notice and without warrant to search and seize, and the outrageously severe penalties which may be imposed on persons violating the provisions of the Bill."

## Bill 'is subtle, but dangerous'

The Bill enabled government to have access to the most detailed (and possibly privileged) information about organisations and persons, she said.

She said the Bill implied that "innocent" people and organisations could have no objection to the full disclosure of all their activities and that the state was entitled to collect information in this way.

"It also implies that the state is entitled to control the lawful activities of organisations and creates a mechanism where that control can be exercised without drama or newsworthiness."

Hecklers ejected, blacks barred

# Time for Indaba — De Klerk

NIGEL — The time for the "Great Indaba" in SA had come, NP leader F W de Klerk said last night.

He told his first public meeting since his election as NP leader that the present state of affairs could not continue. "Things will have to change drastically."

De Klerk interrupted his speech after 10 minutes while police removed a group of about 30 right-wing hecklers. The 600-strong audience cheered as police moved into the hall.

Before the meeting, seven blacks were barred by police from entering the hall. Nigel, a CP-controlled municipality, has invoked the Separate Amenities Act to prohibit blacks from its town hall — the venue.



● DE KLERK

MIKE ROBERTSON  
and PETER DELMAR

Police said the action against the blacks was taken upon the request of Nigel Town Council members who were at the meeting.

De Klerk committed the NP to renewed reform and urgent, meaningful negotiations, without preconditions, with those leaders who sought peaceful solutions.

De Klerk said little to clarify the future working relationship between himself and President P W Botha, but continued to breathe life into the reform programme by spelling out the direction the NP, under his leadership, would follow.

He said leaders had to begin talking urgently about how "we are going to

● To Page 2

## F W de Klerk calls for a 'Great Indaba'

reconcile your followers and my followers' aspirations and expectations".

The NP was committed to:

- ☐ A new constitution offering full participation for all races;
- ☐ No domination by any group;
- ☐ The maintenance in a non-discriminatory manner of community life;
- ☐ A strong economy based on free enterprise;
- ☐ Social and economic upliftment for those communities suffering backlogs;
- ☐ The firm maintenance of law and order.

De Klerk said the NP now faced the challenge of formulating detailed proposals on how to achieve these goals.

He said: "Time is of the essence. Such proposals must form the basis of more negotiation and discussions with all those who will be affected."

"We acknowledge that others who take part in negotiations must be free to put their full viewpoint and counter proposals without inhibition and a long list of prerequisites."

De Klerk asked black leaders to ignore "poisonous suspicion mongering" directed at government's reform programme.

"Only if they test the bona fides of government in negotiation will they be able to arrive at the truth. Only in real negotiation will they be able to deter-

mine whether the NP means what it says. I know that they will find an honest desire to reach a mutually acceptable accord."

While the NP would jealously protect the security of whites and other minorities, white security could not be built on injustice towards others.

"Our future can only be secure and prosperous if a basis of co-operation is found between all the people and groups in our country."

In Cape Town it was widely expected President P W Botha would pay a visit to his office today, six weeks after his stroke.

There were also reports he would meet senior Ministers, among them De Klerk. A De Klerk spokesman said, however, that by late last night no meeting had been scheduled in his diary.

The demand by NP MPs that a working relationship between Botha and De Klerk be clarified has continued to grow but the issue is unlikely to be sorted out today.

Even if Botha does return to his office, it will only be for a short time and he is not expected to resume full duties until after the Easter recess of Parliament. It is expected that only then will his working relationship with De Klerk be clarified.



## Logo to show SA as good neighbour

24/3/89 Pretoria Correspondent 204A

A logo has been developed by the Department of Foreign Affairs as "an indication of South Africa's striving towards better relations, good neighbourliness and co-operation with its neighbours and other African states".

The logo — a silhouette of Africa superimposed with a graphic that resembles a pair of linked hands — will be used on "as many as possible of the technical and development aid projects that South Africa undertakes outside its borders", said a department spokesman.

He gave as an example the placing of the logo on bags of maize exported to Malawi.

"The aim of the logo is to establish the concept of South Africa being willing to share its technical and other knowledge with its neighbours and other countries in Africa," he said.

# Sacked churchman <sup>304<sup>n</sup></sup> resigns chairmanship

By Therese Anders,  
Highveld Bureau

WITBANK. — A recently fired church minister has resigned as chairman of the Conservative Party-controlled school board of the Laerskool Klipfontein.

The Rev. Thys Seymour of the Witbank South-East Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk was well known in the area for his involvement with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

On several occasions he led the opening prayers at AWB rallies at which the organisation's leader, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, spoke.

However, it was not his association with the AWB that was the reason for him being asked to leave the church, said Ned Herv Kerk scribe the Rev Coen de Lange in Pretoria.

"There were other internal problems," was all Mr de Lange would say.

He said Mr Seymour was no longer a minister of the church. He did not know where he was working now.

Mr de Lange confirmed that Mr Seymour had been suspended on a previous occasion from his parish.

A school spokesman said Mr Seymour had voluntarily resigned.

# Constitutional riddle over F W and P W

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE continuing absence of President Botha while he convalesces from a stroke has raised constitutional and political issues which will have to come to a head soon.

These matters are to be raised in Parliament next week.

In particular the separation of posts of leader of the National Party and head of State has raised some questions.

Mr Botha's decision to step down as leader of the party but to remain President means that he retains sweeping executive powers.

## Chairman

It also means that Mr F W de Klerk, as new leader of the party, has no executive powers regarding the general running of the country.

He remains a member of Mr Botha's Cabinet as Minister of National Education and chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

He has no constitutional position as leader of the National Party. The party political structures are not provided for in the constitution.

In the rules of Parliament provision is made for a Leader of the Opposition in every chamber but no provision is made for party leaders.

Constitutionally there is nothing prohibiting the separation of the posts of party leader and President but it has created an odd situation which can probably not continue indefinitely.

Mr Botha remains a member of the National Party and will therefore have to follow the leadership of Mr de Klerk. With Mr Botha retaining the powers of the executive presidency Mr de Klerk will in turn have to follow his leadership when it comes to affairs of State.

What happens if the party leader wants an election but the President is not ready for it?

Some top Nationalists say that in a confrontation between the two Mr Botha must lose in the end. Mr de Klerk now has the political power-base.

Mr de Klerk has stated that greater clarity about the inter-

## BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

action between him and Mr Botha will emerge.

Even a Nationalist newspaper has pointed out that Mr de Klerk is politically emasculated in present circumstances.

Meanwhile Mr de Klerk is also superseded by acting-President Chris Heunis, although he soundly defeated the latter in the caucus election for the party leadership.

As acting-President Mr Heunis has all the powers of the President. The main ones are that he is head of the Republic, the commander-in-chief of the Defence Force, that he can address any or all of the Houses of parliament.

He can also :

- Appoint or receive ambassadors,
- Pardon or reprieve offenders,
- Enter into and ratify international conventions,
- Proclaim or terminate martial law,
- Declare war and make peace,

Make appointments under powers conferred on him by any law and exercise powers and perform such functions as may be assigned to him by the Constitution or any other law.

There are also prerogatives including the one to decide on elections.

In theory an acting State President can exercise all these powers in the absence of the President even if this goes against the Head of State's policies but constitutional experts point out that this is highly unlikely.

Mr Heunis has, since he took over, been in regular contact with Mr Botha.

What needs to be cleared up is the relationship between Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha.



## Disruption

131  
Soviet 2/2/57  
CONSERVATIVE Party supporters last night disrupted the meeting where new National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, made his first speech as party leader.

The meeting was disrupted about 10 minutes after it began by the chanting CP supporters.

(304A)

# PW due to see De Klerk, Heunis today

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha is due to see the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, and the acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, in Cape Town this afternoon.

Mr Botha was expected to arrive in Cape Town from his private home in the Wilderness by lunchtime. He has been convalescing there since he suffered a stroke.

Mr Botha may also see the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, who is due to introduce the Budget on March 15. There is still no clarity about the position of Mr de Klerk since the posts of party leader and President were separated. In terms of the Constitution, Mr Botha retains all the executive powers of the Head of State.

Mr de Klerk has not been willing to spell out the new relationship between him and Mr Botha but has said there would be an increasing interaction between them.

## WORTHY MEN

In a speech in Nigel last night, Mr de Klerk made little reference to Mr Botha. He said that the National Party was bigger than its leaders and he grouped him with past leaders whom he said were all worthy men in their own right.

Meanwhile, there is still no clarity among Nationalist MPs on the question of a general election.

Some of them said today that they were totally in the dark on the issue and that they did not expect any clarity to emerge from today's caucus meeting.

Mr Botha was not expected to attend the meeting.

## BACK FULL-TIME

According to some of the MPs, the feelings on a need for an early election are dying down.

It is not expected that some firm announcement on this will be made before Mr Botha is back full-time and the indications are that an election could now be later in the year.

The feeling in many Nationalist circles that Mr Botha should retire now was expressed last night by Mr Hendrik Schoeman, a former Cabinet Minister.

Speaking at the meeting addressed by Mr de Klerk in Nigel, he said that, for the sake of the National Party, Mr Botha should now give Mr de Klerk a chance. The Nationalist leader's hands were chopped off if he was not President.

He was loudly cheered by the audience when he said that South Africa wanted Mr de Klerk as President.

Thursday, March 2, 1989

and politics

# NP tense as PW returns for one day

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

TENSION and expectation within the troubled National Party were high last night at the news that President P W Botha will return to Tuynhuys today for probable meetings with selected cabinet ministers.

Mr Botha comes to town at a time when his party is racked by divisions and uncertainty surrounding his future, a possible early general election and the role of the newly elected NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

To add to the drama, Mr Botha's one-day trip to Tuynhuys will coincide with a meeting at the same

Nusas funds 'from within SA'

venue between Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. While there are hopes and expectations within Nationalist circles that Mr Botha will eventually return to full-time office only briefly before stepping down gracefully, there were fresh indications yesterday that he intended to stay on indefinitely.

It was learnt yesterday that since suffering a stroke six weeks ago, Mr Botha has been "in touch with the cabinet on a continual basis" and has not met Mr De Klerk only once, as is widely believed, but three times.

One source went so far as to liken the situation at Mr Botha's Wilderness home to that which obtained when he was on holiday during the

December-January period each year. "He does not have to be in Tuynhuys to do his job," one well-placed observer noted.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk's office said that meeting Mr Botha was not yet on his minister's diary.

However, this was not seen in political circles as significant as Mr Botha is in the habit of summoning ministers at very short notice.

Mr Heunis has attempted to downplay the growing concern within the party about the president's future.

He accused opposition newspapers and politicians of trying to create embarrassment for the government around Mr Botha's illness and of playing NP leaders off against each other.

However, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday served notice that his party definitely intended raising the whole issue of President Botha's constitutional position in Parliament next week.

Meanwhile, if Mr Botha wants an early election, the decision should be announced before March 15, which is Budget Day.

Speculation that he might have the Budget postponed to make way for an early poll was described yesterday as "a matter of grave concern" by PFP finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz.

"To delay the budget would disrupt private sector planning and be generally harmful to the economy," he said.

Funding bill



# Great Indaba call by FW

Call Time  
2/3/89  
304A

## Political Staff

**THE time for the "Great Indaba" in South Africa had come, new National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk said last night.**

The NP now faced the challenge of formulating detailed proposals on how to arrive at a new dispensation for a peaceful and prosperous future, he said.

Speaking in Nigel at his first public meeting since his election, Mr De Klerk said the present state of affairs in South Africa could not continue: "Things will have to change drastically."

He firmly committed the NP to renewed reform and urgent, meaningful negotiations — without preconditions — with those leaders who sought peaceful solutions.

Before the meeting seven blacks hoping to attend were barred by police from entering the hall. Nigel is a CP-controlled municipality which has invoked the Separate Amenities Act to prohibit blacks from its town hall — venue for the meeting.

Mr De Klerk's speech was interrupted after just 10 minutes while police removed a boisterous group of about 60 right-wing hecklers. The 600-

strong audience cheered enthusiastically as police moved into the hall.

The events were filmed by several film crews as well as a video operator known to be an AWB supporter.

The hecklers dispersed after singing an Afrikaans national song, "Die Lied van Jong Suid Afrika", and being warned by police that their gathering was illegal.

Mr De Klerk said his message was to all leaders "who strive for peaceful solutions: The time for the Great Indaba has arrived."

"We must start talking earnestly with one another now to find out how we can reconcile the expectations of your followers and mine."

The NP faced the challenge of taking the lead in formulating more detailed proposals as to how its goals of full participation in the constitution by all, non-domi-





Fears of damper on new spirit of reform

# Shock, surprise as PW set to return

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

A period of increasing tension and conflict between President Botha and the National Party was being forecast today following his announcement yesterday that he is to return to his presidential office in the week after the Easter weekend.

The news that Mr Botha is determined to stay in power — despite strong pressure to stand down — sent shockwaves of surprise and disappointment through large parts of the NP caucus.

MPs have also expressed concern that there is still no clarity about the relationship between Mr Botha and the new Nat leader Mr F W de Klerk — or about how long Mr Botha intends to stay in power.

After the announcement, knots of Nat MPs gathered to discuss the implications.

Some Nat MPs said the matter had not ended and they expected some action to be taken within the next few weeks.

"The whole mood and expectation was that he would step down in favour of F W de Klerk," one MP said.

Nats expressed concern that Mr Botha's return would place a damper on the new mood of reform that has grown in the party since his departure.

However, other Nat MPs said they believed clarity would emerge about the relative positions of Mr Botha and Mr de Klerk — and that Mr Botha would do nothing to kill the new mood in the party.

Mr Botha's announcement has also scotched rumours of an early election, and some date during the second half of the year — possibly September or October — now seems more likely.

But his hint in a statement he issued yesterday that he would discuss "possible election dates" with his colleagues has also increased speculation about the timing of an election.

If Mr Botha proclaimed an election immediately on returning to office on March 28, there would just be time to hold the election by the end of May.

## Time lapse

At least 56 days must elapse between the proclamation and actual election, but political observers think it is unlikely he will act so quickly.

Another reason militating against an early election is that it now seems the Budget will go ahead as planned on March 15.

And it is unlikely the Government will want a main Budget before an early election.

Mr Botha announced in a statement from Tuynhuys last night that he would return from his holiday home at the Wilderness in the eastern Cape during the week after the Easter weekend. He said he would then consult Cabinet colleagues on "matters of the day such as constitutional adjustment, possible election dates, foreign affairs, security matters and the economy".

"I will then resume my task as State President," he added.

Mr Botha had a stroke on January 18 and is now recuperating.

He said he had informed senior Cabinet colleagues of his decision when he had talks with them in Cape Town. Those present included Mr de Klerk, Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, and Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis. Mr Botha's statement failed to mention if he had clarified his relationship with Mr de Klerk.

Last night the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said it was clear that there was "great tension and division" in the NP.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said that having lost his status as NP leader, Mr Botha no longer had the authority to exercise his vast presidential powers.

"Now that he is no longer in that position, what authorises him to exercise his vast powers? To whom is he now accountable?"

## Sex triangle killing dra





## Credentials were misused — HSRC

31/2/89  
The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in Pretoria rapped the country's National Intelligence Service (NIS) over the knuckles yesterday for using HSRC credentials in its operations.

The HSRC said in a statement in Pretoria that it condemned in the strongest terms an incident in which the HSRC's name and letterhead were used to obtain information from labour unions in Durban.

The HSRC trusted that "such a misdemeanour will never again be committed by ... any organisation".

The HSRC would not take further steps at this stage in view of a statement by the NIS that an internal departmental investigation would be conducted. — Sapa.

# PW to stay on <sup>304A</sup>

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, will return to duty the week following the Easter weekend, March 28-31, he announced from his office, Tuynhuis, yesterday.

He issued a statement

after half a day's visit to his office where he saw the acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, and the new National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

He confirmed these

meetings and said he had also held discussions with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. Botha, and the Minister

● To Page 2

## Resume State duties <sup>304A</sup>

● From Page 1

of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

"I informed them that according to the latest information at my disposal from the doctors whom I consult, and taking into consideration the progress I am making concerning my health, I intend to return from my private residence in Wilderness the week after the Easter weekend in order to, individually and jointly with my Cabinet colleagues, pay attention to matters of the day, such as constitutional adjustments, possible election dates, foreign affairs, security matters and the economy of the country."

"I will then resume my task as State President," he said. — Sapa.

# Govt hit by crossfire of Areas Act dithering

304A

BY ALAN DUNN

Crossfire from the left and right is wounding the Government as it tinkers gingerly at the edges of the Group Areas Act.

CAPE TOWN — A volley of shots in Parliament this week, including taunts and dares to go either way on racially separate suburbs, found their mark as a fidgeting National Party presented Progressive Federal Party and Conservative Party members with a target as plain as a deep-sea oil rig.

Opposition ammunition was ample on the eve of the establishment yesterday of the Free Settlement Board which will recommend in which areas racially mixed dwelling should be blessed.

Two main points emerged from debate in the House of Assembly this week — why politicians believed the NP was egg-dancing, and their views on the harmful consequences of its ditherings.

Perhaps the most impressive argument came from lawyer M. T. van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point), who concluded that the NP abolished apartheid laws only after they had been massively broken.

## Unworkable legislation

"Time and time again, the Government has scrapped discriminatory legislation after it was proved to be unworkable by large-scale contraventions," he said.

"Therefore, reform so far as rarely been a matter of Government initiative, but rather a matter of the Government sluggishly bringing the law into line with political reality," he added.

"The fact is that the degenerative process that afflicts all apartheid laws is inevitable and terminal," he said.

Mr van der Merwe estimated that a few hundred thousand infringements of the Group Areas Act occurred yearly with literally a handful of court cases arising from them.

There was scarcely a suburb in Cape Town, he noted, that did not already accommodate a number of blacks, coloureds and Indians.

Mr Moolman Mentz (CP, Ermelo), blasted Government fumbblings. "Tens of thousands" he said of those in open defiance of the Group Areas Act.

"The Government, which is the executive authority in this country, is just as bound by the laws of this Parliament as any citizen of this country."

"The Government is thus duty bound to fully implement the Group Areas Act," he said.

## Lawlessness example

"The Government is setting the example for lawlessness in this country because it is negating the laws of this Parliament."

There was a great deal of truth in these charges, said Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton), hastening to distance herself from the CP. Problems on the Group Areas and Reservation of Separate Amenities Acts were largely of the Government's own making, she said.

"It is no good the Government trying to escape the consequences of leaving those two abysmal pieces of legislation on the statute book all those years," she said.

But that is where the meeting of opposing minds ended.

"If the Government does not have the guts to scrap those laws... then let them disappear peacefully through disuse," Mrs Suzman said.



# SA's future is 'dismal'

DURBAN — The prognosis for South Africa was dismal, far outweighing any reform process, Mrs Mary Burton, national president of the Black Sash, said in Durban last night.

Addressing the 33rd annual national conference of the organisation at the Durban City Hall, Mrs Burton said the needs of the South African population could not be met by "following where the Government would take us".

"We look back over the past dozen years, and see waves of popular resistance countered with ever stronger measures. The strategies of those in power become more sophisticated, and the bitter pill of bondage is sweetened by a coating of reform," Mrs Burton said.

"The temptation then is to acquiesce, to swallow the pill." —  
Own Correspondent

**HAVE YOUR SAY:** MPs surprised, disappointed at President's decision to carry on  
**Should President Botha retire —**  
Yes or no? Phone  
us today on  
24-5560 or  
239316 until  
9 pm.

# PW rattles Nats

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

NATIONALIST MPs today expressed disappointment and surprise at President Botha's decision to return to his post after the Easter weekend.

They said serious political problems could arise in the National Party with the divided position of party leader and head-of-State.

They warned that Mr F W de Klerk, the new party leader, could have his efforts to negotiate with black groups about constitutional reform impeded unless he had real power.

Serious tensions could develop between Mr Botha and the party unless clarity about this came soon.

There has been a closing of Nationalist ranks behind Mr de Klerk since he became leader on February 2 and MPs said they felt he should now be given a chance with real power.

They also felt that the only satisfactory way in which this could be done was for him to become President.

Mr Botha's announcement yesterday was meant as an interim one to clear up some of the uncertainty and speculation, but it has clearly failed to do so.

It is not clear for how long Mr Botha intends staying on and what the relationship between him and Mr de Klerk will be.

Politicians agreed today that the likelihood of an early general election appeared to be receding.

Mr Botha's statement indicated that this matter would be discussed only after the Easter recess, probably early next month.

This means too that the Budget, scheduled for March 15, will go ahead.

It would be difficult to stop a session of Parliament for an election in May after a general Budget debate had begun. An election is still technically possible though if announced soon after Mr Botha's return.

Soon after Mr Botha's statement was released late yesterday afternoon, groups of Nationalist MPs were earnestly discussing the implications.

They were unhappy about the continuation of an unsatisfactory situation.

Dr Zac de Beer, Progressive Federal Party leader, said that Mr Botha's decision raised more sharply than ever the constitutional confusion which now existed as a result of the separation of the presidency from National Party leadership.

The question was: to whom was the President now accountable in the exercise of his wide powers?

"It seems to me that the only way in which he (Mr Botha) could actually be checked would be through a process of impeachment but this is so far-reaching as to be almost unthinkable."

## Tension and division

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said it was clear there was great tension and division in the National Party.

"I am surprised about the insensitivity within the National Party itself about the State President who is a sick man and should at least be given the opportunity to recover in peace."

The continuing confusion about who was in charge was leading to a weakening of the government, he said.

## I shall return . . .

President Botha's statement:

I held discussions with some of my senior colleagues in the Cabinet today, among others the acting State President, Mr J C Heunis, as well as Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education, Mr R F Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr B J du Plessis, Minister of Finance.

I informed them that according to the latest information at my disposal from doctors whom I consult and taking into consideration the progress I am making concerning my health, I intend to return from my private residence in Wilderness the week following the Easter Weekend in order to, individually and jointly with my Cabinet colleagues pay attention to matters of today such as constitutional adjustments, possible elections dates, foreign affairs, security matters and the economy of the country. I will then resume my task as State President.

In a one-day visit to Cape Town from his holiday home at the Wilderness yesterday, Mr Botha saw Mr de Klerk, acting President Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

In his statement, the President said he would return in the week following the Easter weekend. With Cabinet colleagues he would give attention to constitutional adjustments, possible election dates, foreign affairs, security matters and the economy.



# Indaba on 'local level only'

AGUS 3/3/89  
3041

By ANTHONY DOMAN, Staff Reporter

THE National Party would have to make a decisive break with apartheid and commit itself to non-racialism before embarking on the "great indaba" proposed by party leader Mr F W de Klerk, says distinguished liberal academic Professor Hermann Giliomee.

Even if such a round-table were to take place, it would be at local and regional, rather than national, level at first, said Professor Giliomee, who is head of the University of Cape Town's Department of Political Studies.

This week Mr de Klerk spoke of formulating detailed proposals towards a new dispensation for a peaceful and prosperous future.

"Things will have to change drastically," he said.

Mr de Klerk has committed the NP to renewed reform. The party would not set preconditions for what he acknowledged should be urgent, meaningful negotiations with leaders seeking peaceful solutions.



Professor Giliomee

Change was necessary, agreed Professor Giliomee.

"It is like an apple pie," he said of the indaba suggestion.

"It sounds like a good idea but how do you actually accomplish it?"

It was difficult to see exactly how an indaba would be set up. Mr de Klerk's announcement offered few guidelines apart from its "general sentiment" that "it is a good idea to start talking".

## On the agenda

The indaba idea was obviously on the Cabinet agenda, so the government would keep it alive.

But before they could get any meaningful discussion, they would have to commit themselves to a non-racial government, he added.

"A leader such as (Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu) Buthelezi would realise that the gap is simply too wide on the national level," he said.

"However, I think the government will have to commit itself to negotiations at least on the local and regional level."

Chief Buthelezi would probably stand firm on preconditions such as the release of Nelson Mandela.

"It is hard to see him getting into serious negotiations without demanding that this occur. Buthelezi is not desperate for a settlement on the national level."

Professor Giliomee said he saw Mr de Klerk's suggestion as the National Party's opening gambit.

"I cannot see it happening at national level within the next three or four years. However, I can see significant movement on a local level."

Serious discussions would have to be held about the non-racial content of a future constitution.

"It is difficult to see a government of national unity with, say, a 50/50 power-sharing between whites and blacks," he said.

## Principle of non-racialism

The position of the groupings which supported non-racialism would be decisive.

"The kind of insistence on non-racialism is so powerful ... I don't think that any black leader with any significant following would go against the principle of non-racialism."

Professor Giliomee was reluctant to speculate on how an indaba's proposals would be implemented.

Nothing significant would happen on a national level for some time so it was pointless to try to predict how best to deal with recommendations.

"But in the end the government would have to commit itself to a structure which breaks decisively with apartheid."



# PWW'S

**He'll be back  
in charge  
after Easter**

# comeback

Cape Times  
3/3/89

3044



**CLERGY CONSULTS** ... Religious leaders (from left) Moutana Faried Esack, Dr Allan Boesak, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Colin Jones put their heads together at the detainees' service to discuss how to get the schoolchildren out of the cathedral safely. • Parliament march called off — Page 5. PHOTO: ALAN TAYLOR

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday brushed aside mounting pressure for his early retirement and defiantly announced that he will resume running the country after Easter.**

Mr Botha's decision last night to cling to power had the National Party on tenterhooks and its new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, in a political no-man's land.

The dramatic move has scotched speculation that budget day on March 15 might be postponed because of an early election and Mr Botha appears set to remain in office at least until the next election — probably in October/November — and possibly longer.

Opposition parties, while publicly scorning Mr Botha's decision, were privately delighted by the controversial comeback.

## 'Unifying factor'

Following discussions with four of his senior cabinet colleagues at Tuynhuys yesterday, Mr Botha emphatically outlined his plans for after the Easter recess by stating "I will then resume my task as State President".

In order to remove any lingering doubts about the nature and scope of his intentions, Mr Botha added that he "individually and jointly" planned to "pay attention to matters of the day, such as constitutional adjustments, possible election dates, foreign affairs, security matters and the economy of the country" upon his return.

Mr Botha's challenging statement was in contrast to his earlier assertion that he wishes to resign as Nat leader to act as "a unifying factor" in national life.

The four cabinet members seen by Mr Botha on his quick visit from the Wilderness yesterday were the Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk.

It is reliably understood that Mr De Klerk's first meeting with Mr Botha after his stroke several weeks ago "did not go smoothly".

The Conservative Party yesterday interpreted Mr Botha's decision to return as a clear indication that Mr Botha was "not satisfied with the decision of the caucus" (in electing Mr De Klerk as new NP leader) and was "determined to continue influencing the final leadership choice".

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night

To page 2

## Carletonville

**CARLETONVILLE** — At least three shops have closed down and other businesses have suffered losses in Carletonville in the four days that blacks have been boycotting shops in the town. Apartheid laws reintroduced by the Conservative Party-controlled town council have led to the boycott. Chemists, furniture and food shops belonging to whites and Indians say their businesses have suffered be-

From page 1

"It is clear that there is currently great division and tension among NP members", adding that the problem stemmed from the fact that the roles of the State President and NP leader had not been demarcated.

PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer noted that Mr Botha's "bland and uninformative" statement yesterday after his high-level talks had "done nothing to relieve the anxiety which is pervading our political circles and threatening to destabilise the financial markets".

Nationalist sources noted yesterday before Mr Botha's announcement that there would be considerable resistance to any move to keep the ailing State President on in his post.

However, it was pointed out that a dilemma faced many cabinet ministers who, while wanting Mr Botha to retire gracefully, owed their positions to his political patronage.

But sources also noted that Mr Botha's position within the caucus has declined markedly since he relinquished his grassroots power base as NP leader.

One went so far as to say that Mr Botha would have been "ill-advised" to attend yesterday's NP caucus meeting in Parliament.

The failure of yesterday's meetings between Mr Botha and his cabinet colleagues to clearly define the lines of authority within government is certain to fuel the uncertainty, speculation and intrigue that has dominated constitutional politics since Mr Botha suffered his stroke six weeks ago.





**CLERGY CONSULTS** Religious leaders (from left) Moulana Faried Esack, Dr Allan Boesak, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Colin Jones put their heads together at the detainees' service to discuss how to get the schoolchildren out of the cathedral safely. ● Parliament march called off — Page 5. Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

## Carletonville reels to shop boycott

CARLETONVILLE. — At least three shops have closed down and other businesses have suffered losses in Carletonville in the four days that blacks have been boycotting shops in the town.

Apartheid laws reintroduced by the Conservative Party-controlled town council have led to the boycott.

Chemists, furniture and food shops belonging to whites and Indians say their businesses have suffered be-

tween 10% and 100% drops in turnover.

A saleswoman said yesterday: "The situation is now very serious. People are beginning to lose their jobs."

Police said two cases of intimidation were reported yesterday. White businessmen said they had heard about the cases from their employees.

A memorandum that was submitted on Wednesday by a representative

group of businessmen will be discussed at a meeting to be arranged between businessmen and town council officials.

Mrs Annatjie Claasen, former president of the town's Chamber of Commerce, Mr Jannie Holtzhausen and Mr Reg Trewick will represent the businesses.

"All the businesses of the town have received our message. There is still hope," Mrs Claasen said. — Sapa



# Pik Botha rejects allegations of Vermaas link

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff



Mr Pik Botha

MR Pik Botha yesterday rejected allegations made against him in regard to the Harms Commission investigations and said he could not fulfil his task as Minister of Foreign Affairs if he was presented as a scoundrel.

He also insisted that Mr Jan van Gend, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Groote Schuur, repeat the "allegations" he made in Parliament under oath to the Harms Commission.

But Mr Van Gend said Mr Botha's challenge was "ridiculous" as everything he said in Parliament was based on evi-

dence already given to the commission.

In a statement yesterday, the PFP caucus criticised "the disgraceful, one-sided behaviour by the SABC in reporting in isolation" the attack by Mr Botha on Mr Van Gend and said this was typical of the corporation's bias towards the government.

In his statement, Mr Botha said certain media reports had continued to link the Department of Foreign Affairs and himself to irregularities allegedly committed by people whose activities were being investigated by the Harms Commission.

"Allegations are also being made in Parliament presenting some of my colleagues and myself as scoundrels without the opportunity for us to refute this. I refuse to accept this degradation of my department and myself any longer," said Mr Botha.

"I emphatically deny the allegations of involvement in irregularities by the department or myself and it is clear to me that there is an orchestrated campaign against us."

Mr Van Gend said his primary purpose had been to question the withdrawal of the original charges by the Attorney-General of the Transvaal,

Mr Don Brunette, against Mr Albert Vermaas.

The intervention of the Minister of Justice had backed his views, Mr Van Gend added.

"I also, in referring to evidence led before the Harms Commission, referred to the undisputed fact that the Minister of Foreign Affairs has had a long-standing friendship with Vermaas and the fact that both the departments of Foreign Affairs and Defence had had business dealings with one of Vermaas's companies."

"I also referred to the fact that on the very day before the Harms Commission started its investigations, Vermaas approached the Minister of Foreign Affairs and, with the aid of the Minister of Finance, was given an audience by two highly-placed government officials, amongst others Mr Van Greunen from the Reserve Bank," said Mr Van Gend.

"As it appeared to me, again from the evidence given before the Harms Commission, that Vermaas had a fairly long history of fairly dubious business dealings and had not filed tax returns for many years, I was of the opinion that the government should have exercised more caution in dealing with him."

THE TIMES 3/3/89



# Successful start to talks

B/Day 31/8/89

Political Staff

3040

CAPE TOWN — The first round of talks aimed at paving the way for negotiations between the SA and KwaZulu governments was described as "successful" by the ad hoc committee yesterday.

In a joint statement the committee said the next two rounds would be in Durban on March 23 and April 13.

A source close to the talks said the scheduling of the next meetings was a clear indication the talks had made progress.

The rotating chairmen of the joint committee, Oscar Dhlomo and Stoffel Botha, said the meeting had adopted the terms of reference of the initiative. These are to identify the obstacles impeding the process of negotiations, to address these obstacles, as well as to formulate principles on which there is common ground.

Yesterday's ground-breaking first meeting was also attended by the acting President and Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis and KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Election date high on agenda B/Dag 7/3/89

# Botha back in office after Easter

CAPE TOWN — P W Botha says he will return to the presidency after Easter.

Botha said from Tuynhuys yesterday he would decide then on an election date and other issues.

His statement did little to clarify the future relationship between him and NP leader F W de Klerk.

But it leaves open two possible scenarios:

- The first is that Botha will stay on as President until the next election, with September or October being the most likely dates, while the NP fleshes out new policies on the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and Population Registration Act to accommodate its recent acceptance of free association;
- The second is that he intends to stay on, which will inevitably lead to internecine conflict in the NP with numerous members having already decided the time has come for him to go.

Botha said: "I held discussions with some of my senior colleagues in the Cabinet today, among others, acting President C Heunis, as well as F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education, R F Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and B J du Plessis, Minister of Finance.

"I informed them that according to the latest information at my disposal from doctors whom I consult, and taking into consideration the progress I am making concerning my health, I intend to return from my Wilderness residence the week following the Easter weekend in order to, individually and jointly with

MIKE ROBERTSON

my Cabinet colleagues, pay attention to matters of the day, such as constitutional adjustments, possible election dates, foreign affairs, security matters and the economy. I will then resume my task as State President."

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said it was obvious there was great division and tension in the NP. He was shocked at the insensitivity in the NP. "A sick man should at least be given the opportunity to recover in peace."



It was clear the problem was that the responsibilities of the President and the NP leader had not been clearly defined and that this was leading to a weakening of morale in the ruling party.

An LP spokesman said it still believed it would be in the interests of Botha's health, the NP and the country if he did not return.

PFP leader Zach de Beer said everyone in the country was concerned about the lack of information on "how we were to be governed in future".

He also questioned Botha's ability to be a unifying factor in the country.

● Comment: Page 6

# Pamphlet described as 'cheap, macabre and disgraceful'

CAPE TOWN.—The Conservative Party was yesterday accused of using macabre and disgraceful propaganda in Durban.

At issue is a CP pamphlet which prominently features a newspaper report of the recent double murder of Glenwood residents by an intruder who later committed suicide.

An enraged Mr Piet Matthee MP (NP Umbilo) accused the Conservative Party of exploiting the killings for "cheap party political gain of a tragic event shows to what low levels of propaganda to

CP is willing to stoop. "The reproduction of newspaper reports in a Conservative Party propaganda pamphlet is a blatant, macabre and disgraceful attempt to whip up fear and emotion.

"This type of political expediency is not only to be condemned outright, but also serves as a proof of a total lapse of decency in the political philosophy of the CP.

"Decent people in Durban will tell the CP it has no place there. "The safety of its citizens ranks highest on the Government priority list and crime is combated at every level to the greatest possible degree."

Mr Matthee said: "For the record I can mention that I personally visited the scene of the crime during the course of the next morning but did not think it appropriate or in good taste to publicise this fact for the purpose of political gain."

"Arising from this tragic event I have also discussed the general situation regarding urban crime with the Minister of Law and Order and senior representatives of the police."

"I am satisfied that everything possible is being done to deal with the problem in that most effective way."

"The police need to be congratulated on fast action they took in the case."

Conservative Party spokesman, Mr Clive Derby Lewis MP, said he could see nothing wrong with the pamphlet.

Propaganda



# UK press compares FW to Russia's Gorbachev

LONDON — Mr F W de Klerk has been portrayed as a "Gorbachev of the Southern Hemisphere" here while there has been concern at Mr P W Botha's efforts to hang on to the presidential reins.

*The Daily Express* yesterday devoted its editorial page to an article by correspondent John Ellison in which Mr de Klerk is compared to Russian leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

"With a little bit of luck all round he is a man with whom we might at last be able to do business," concludes Ellison.

The writer says Mr de Klerk talks privately about initiatives which will see the removal of the Group Areas and the Population Registration Acts.

Mr de Klerk is quoted as talking about an internal solution acceptable to all: "That must mean a society with no second-class citizens. The lip service that is paid to a non-racial society is nonsense. There is no such thing as a non-racial society in a multi-racial country but you can have a non-racialistic country free of hatred and discrimination on the basis of race."

## SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

Ellison says this "new hero" has led to talk of a "Prague Spring" and a new beginning in Parliament.

*The Independent* in an editorial yesterday dwelt on Mr Botha's decision to return to his desk in April.

"There is already a deep frustration building in the ruling party. South Africa has been stuck in a political cul-de-sac since the reform process stalled some three years ago. The economy will not shift out of bottom gear until investors, inside and outside South Africa, see substantial political movement. There is little chance of such movement if Mr Botha returns to his office."

It gives a qualified welcome to Mr de Klerk's talk of an Indaba but says: "If Mr de Klerk encourages the idea of the Natal Indaba, he may also try to woo Chief Buthelezi. But this can only be a stage in the road to eventual negotiations with other anti-apartheid movements, principally the ANC."



Star 4/3/89

304A

SPECTRUM

# One genius r

Who among us has the spark to light SA's way from confu

WITH increasing speculation about another general election this year, the spotlight will continue to focus on South Africa's political system. In reviewing a recently published book, DAVID ALLEN reflects on the state of democracy in South Africa.

**S**OUTH Africa can never complain about being short of advice on how to sort out its problems. What is lacking though is the catalytic spark of genius it will take to precipitate out from the confusion of thought a coherent, workable system.

How far off that spark still seems.

One delegate who attended last year's conference of the Political Science Association at which he presented a paper, commented afterwards that not even at that august meeting of fine minds was there even the glimmer of a solution: "They are still too busy," he said, "trying to agree on what the problem is."

Just how far off that spark is can be gauged when listening seriously to what intelligent, informed people have to say whenever they are put on the spot to suggest how they would change things if only given the opportunity.

"The solution lies in sharing," is an absolute favourite, irritatingly intoned as if it were an original thought.

As a statement it is undeniably true. But, because of a dearth of ideas on how to achieve it, most discussions on sharing invariably end up being about as inspiring as yesterday's mashed potato.

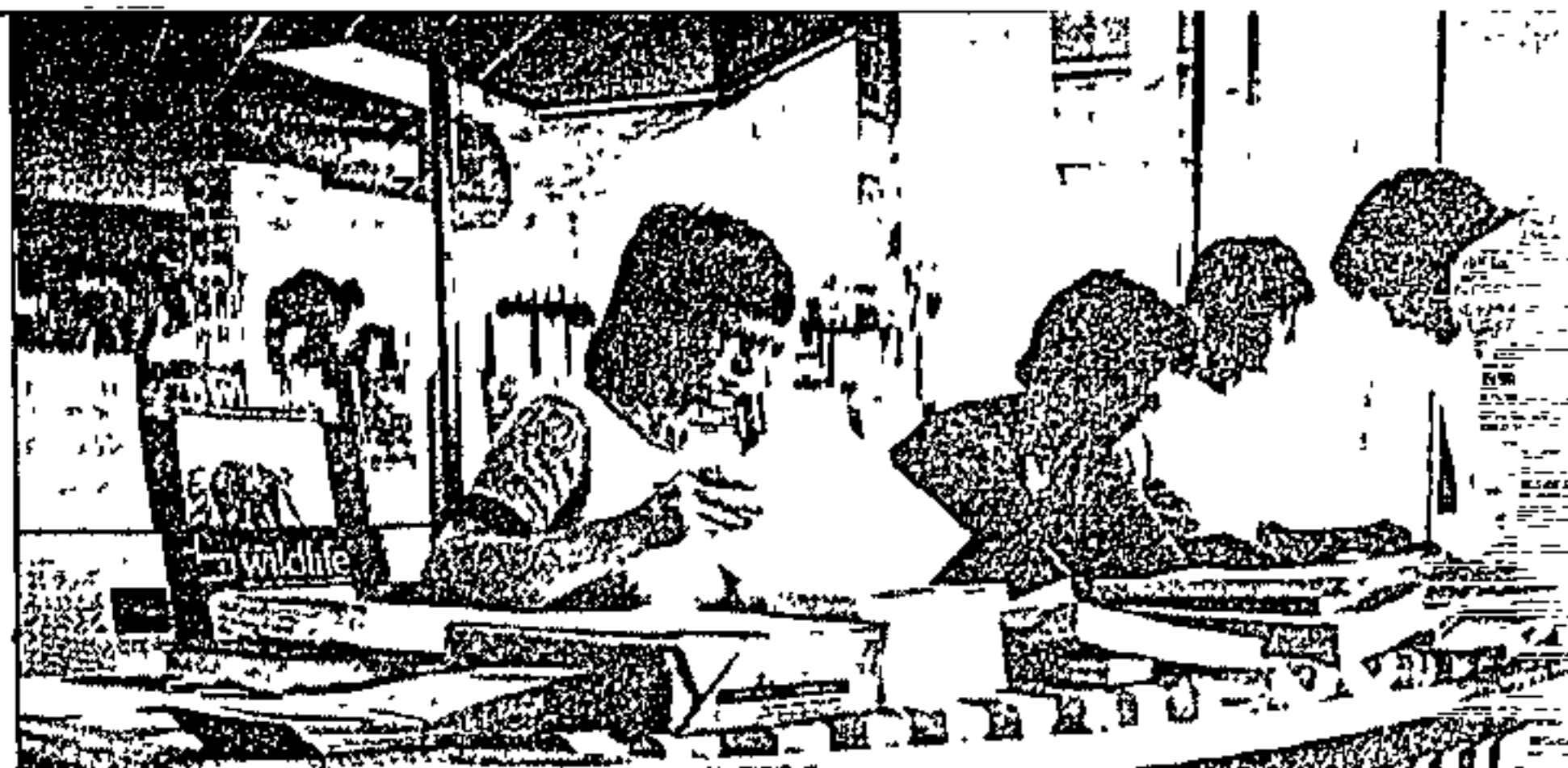
A measure of the current levels of insight, knowledge and wisdom running through public political debate was reflected in the millions of words that were written and spoken about last year's municipal election.

Although it was hailed by many as a "watershed election", the level of analysis was shockingly mediocre. Diffuse, evasive and lacking in any discernable coherence, it left the electorate with no clearer understanding of the issues than it had before.

And, I suspect, many of the new crop of councillors, as well.

Much the same applies to debates on other topics such as humanism, liberalism, capitalism, free enterprise, and that other oft-voiced "solution" — democracy. By the time dinner-party thinkers have done their work, these concepts are left with about as much appeal as Chris Heunis's vision of a better South Africa.

So many words, so much argument, so little enlightenment.



**BALLOT BOX AS TYRANT:** The essence of democracy is one man one vote, but South African voters have never evinced they talk of sharing the vote, or sharing anything else, they usually mean sharing with

Political scientists are feeling it. So are ordinary, non-academic voters. As the municipal election, and countless others before it, have testified, the electorate will leave everything more or less the same until someone comes along with something better to believe in.

Many have seriously bid to be that "someone". Denis Beckett is among the latest. But judging by his new book, a 200-page thesis arguing that democracy is what South Africa needs, he is not going to be.

The best thing about this book is that it is well-timed. With the memory of the recent municipal elections still fresh, the announcement of a new delimitation, the on-going speculation about the next general election, Nelson Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC, and the spirited challenges to the government from the Conservative Party opposition and the Houses of Representatives, seldom has our political system been subjected to such intense public scrutiny.

But, as with so much else spoken and written today about our political plight, this book does nothing to advance the debate.

Beckett begins by stating in his introduction that he would prefer to live in a country where there is "a stolid democracy where the fights are fought by ballot box and council chamber."

"That is what this book is aimed at. That is the only thing this book is aimed at. I do not take any side of any issue. I argue solely for installing the ballot box as tyrant — a tyrant so terrible that none can prevail without it, a tyrant so powerful that each of us can find fruition with it."

"What follows is the skeleton of a principle which has been neglected in the South African debate the extreme empowerment of the citizen."

**A**gain, undeniably true, but naive South African voters — bar a comparatively few exceptions — have never evinced the slightest inclination to share their ballot boxes with the rest of their countrymen which, surely, is the very basis of a vigorous democracy or, as Beckett puts it, the "supreme tyranny" of the ballot box.

The "extreme empowerment of the citizen" is indeed a worthy ideal, and one which many South African voters claim to support.

But close questioning soon reveals that by "everyone" they usually mean everyone of their own kind. When the concept is expanded to include everyone else too, enthusiasm for the citizen's empowerment noticeably wanes.

At no time in the history of the Afrikaner has the citizen ever had anything approaching "extreme empowerment". The elders of family, church and state saw to that and still do. They made the decisions, took the initiative, and decided between right and wrong.

Much the same was achieved in the English-speaking community by the elders of business and the old-boy network, only with somewhat more refinement and subtlety.

In the black community, the burden of making decisions was lifted from the shoulders of the masses by chiefs and tribal elders, and in more recent times, by the political warlords of the townships.

Looked at in this way, there is

a surprising degree of cultural similarity between our various groups.

Thus have the majority of South Africans lived for centuries in the sunshine of blissful contentment, happy that their best interests were being served by "those who know best." No evidence has yet come to light showing that a majority would have it any other way.

That is why in South Africa, unlike the United States which is more or less the same age, English-speaking political opposition since 1948 has been, and still is, sadly ineffective and the most often-heard cry from the voter on our problems is: "What can I do about it?"

Rather than "extreme empowerment", the citizen has had extreme impotence and his cry is eloquent confirmation of it.

If South Africa's voting elite were the democrats they claim to be, how has the National Party been allowed to retain its unassailable position for 40 years given that it is directly responsible for the state the country is in and which they (now) concede needs to change?

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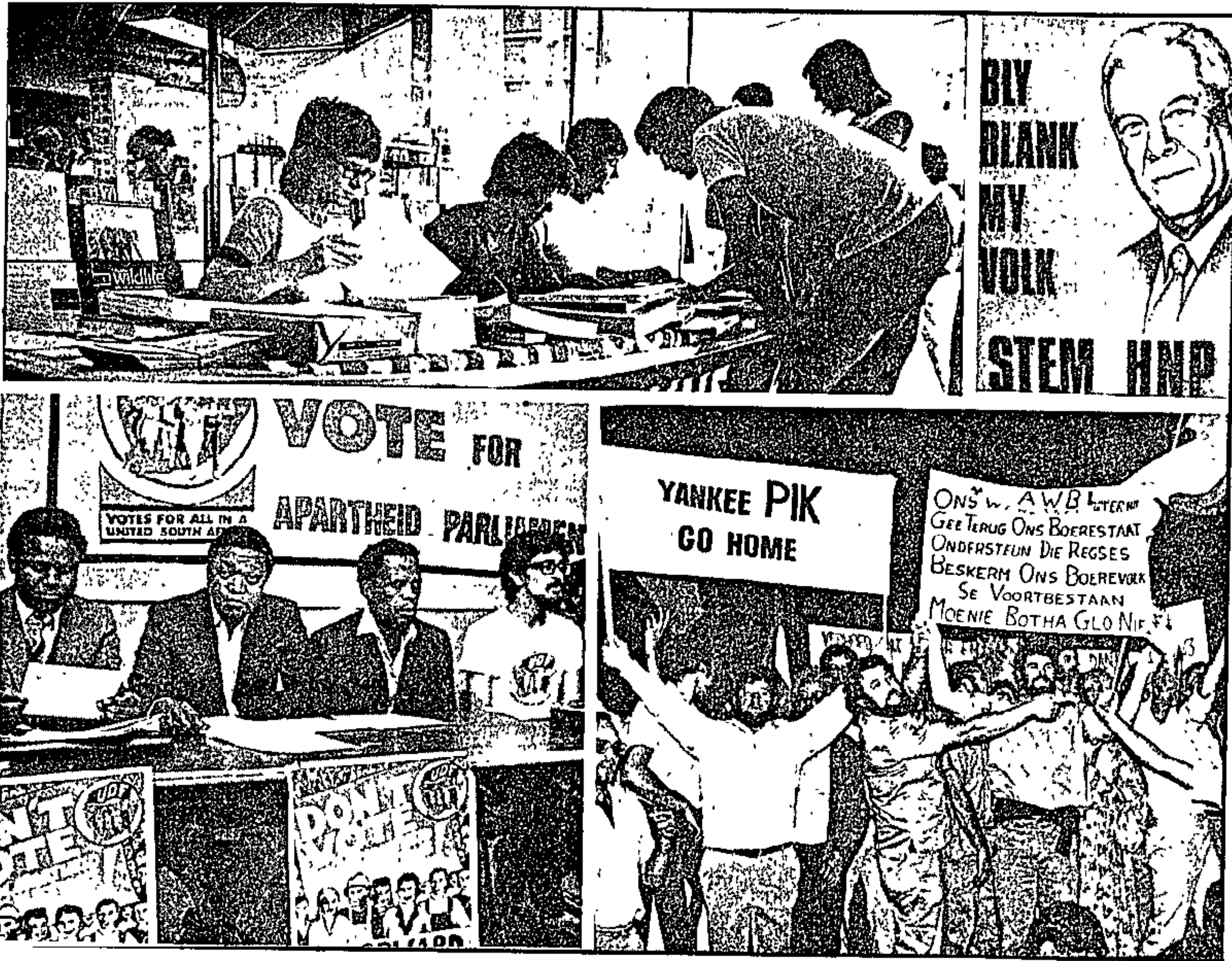
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# Genius needed

park to light SA's way from confusion to a workable solution?



is one man one vote, but South African voters have never evinced the slightest inclination to share the franchise. When of sharing the vote, or sharing anything else, they usually mean sharing with their own kind.

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How has the ruling party been allowed to get away with using

delimitation to emasculate the voters who do not support them?

How could they be permitted to deprive a majority of this country's people of the vote, of access to land and of a string of rights usually enjoyed by citizens?

Why have the country's best brains and talents — the most influential sector of our voting elite — largely kept themselves above and beyond trying to influence the status quo even though they know, probably better than most, the extent to which the country is at risk?

**W**hy, when we have been hammered for years by the overwhelming social, political and economic problems that have been generated by our regime's policies, do only about half of the registered voters bother to pitch up on election days?

More to the point: if we are the democrats we claim to be, why have two organisations who actually have universal franchise as part of their official po-

licies — the ANC and the PAC — been bannished into exile?

We know about their attachment to violence as a political weapon. But the histories of these organisations show that violence came only after — many years after — it became clear that their attempts to talk to Pretoria about the plight of their people would get nowhere.

And why did the one-time official opposition in Parliament, the PFP, once flirt with the idea of votes for all, then change its mind rather smartly, and ever since maintain a rather wishy washy stand on the issue?

The new democratic movement claims to support universal franchise. It will be interesting, in the light of the PFP experience, to see how long they maintain it.

South African voters are wont to often compare their country with those "elsewhere in Africa" and, in speaking eulogistically about the virtues of democracy itself, to use conditions in other countries to "prove" with no small measure of self-righteousness that their hopelessly lopsided country is a democracy.

At such times it is always interesting to reflect on what

these selfsame people have contributed, through the way they have used, or not used, their electoral muscle, to the emasculation of the concept they eulogise

- Destruction of habeas corpus
- Censorship of the Press
- Detentions of political opponents
- Bannings of political organisations
- Restricted voting

**T**he argument will obviously be raised, as does Beckett, that democracy implies as much the right to stay the same as to change. It certainly does. If we were writing about the United States, it would be a telling argument. But we are not. We are writing about South Africa and that makes the difference.

We are not a country of reasonable stability and prosperity. We live continually with the threat of isolation, stagnation and upheaval. Therefore what we need — and have needed for 40 years — is change, not to keep things the same.

But if the majority of those with the right to vote are content to allow those in power to continue using legalistic methods to keep themselves in office, is there any use in preaching unbridled democracy as Beckett does?

Yes, for it is more important now than at any time that the idea of democracy is not allowed to be unceremoniously emasculated in the pincers of extremist prejudice — which it is in danger of becoming.

But preaching is not enough. South Africans have heard about every conceivable political argument, both for retaining the status quo as well as for changing it. What they need to be shown are ways *how* to change.

Before South Africa gets its catalytic spark of genius, it is going to need writers, in fact communicators across every medium, but especially writers, who can restate old ideas as if they are entirely new. Not many chances are given to interest the citizenry in an idea, especially if it is not new.

The citizenry should be deeply interested in democracy at this time and be seeing to it that it becomes a protected species in our intellectual landscape.

There is room for an inspiring book to be written about democracy in South Africa. At the moment, it is not this one.

But Beckett, a journalist and editor of wide experience, deeply thinking and deeply concerned about this country, articulate, informed, passionate and witty, as aware as is anybody else about political realities and the forces of history, could still be the person to write it.

*The Fallacy of Heroes — A South African Structure too Strong to Break*, by Denis Beckett (Saga Press), R19 95



# De Klerk: the difference

away

IF AND WHEN Frederik Willem de Klerk, new leader of the National Party, is inaugurated as State President, it will not be in Pretoria's NGK Church in Bosman Street, as is the tradition.

It will be in the Reformed Church in Church Street.

The difference may seem slight. But it is important for it will be the first time since the NP came to power in 1949 that a member of a church other than the NGK Kerk will rule the country.

And with it, a few changes in the country's leadership style will become apparent — such as a much more democratic, open and consultative way of leading, instead of the authoritarian, iron-fisted style we have become accustomed to.

He has already shown a great willingness to restart the reform engine and talked this week about a new indaba among leaders.

Some political commentators continue to read little significance (especially as regards the Reformed Church) into this.

President Botha, despite his re-

**Report by KARIN BRYNARD of Insig, a political magazine regarded as being one of the most liberal publications in the Nasionale Persistable**

cent illness, is said to be still very much in charge.

Mr de Klerk's promises to inject new energy into the reform initiative seem at most to be little more than an attempt to shake Mr Botha's conservative image.

The NG Kerk is often jokingly referred to as the NP at prayer — an image of it being the official conscience of the ruling party the church is trying hard to shake.

## "Doppers"

The fact that the country's possible next ruler, Mr F W de Klerk, was brought up within the strict social and moral Calvinism of the Reformed Church (Gereformeerde Kerk) will not change that.

In both the NP caucus and the Cabinet he remains one of but a handful of "Doppers" — as members of the Reformed Church are called.

The relationship between the

Reformed Church and the State, especially a new State President, might have been different during the 1970s says Stellenbosch theologian, Dr Anton van Niekerk. That was the heyday of "verligtheid" in the Reformed Church, when well-known verligtes such as Tjaart van der Walt and Wimpie de Klerk were prominent.

On the campus of the Potchefstroom University, alma mater and cradle of the Reformed Church, the 1970s were characterised by new verligte thought and movements among theologians, academics and students.

It produced people such as Theuns Eloff, the Pretoria predator who stirred a lot of anger when he joined the Dakar safari of 1987 and Professor Lourens du Plessis, one of the lawyers who recently met the ANC in Harare. The reformist magazine "Woord en Daad" (Word and Deed), which scrutinised and sharply criticised Government policy from a moral scriptural view point, was also born here.

The Reformed Church is one of the three Afrikaans Reformed sister churches, the Dutch Reformed, Reformed (Gereformeerde) and Hervormde Kerk. There is no fundamental difference between the three, apart from things such as different ways of serving Communion or singing different hymns.

But, since the late 1960s, the Reformed Church had a much more progressive image politically than its two sisters.

For example: where the Dutch Reformed Church maintains separate churches and synods for the different race groups among its flock and the Hervormers do not have black members at all, the "Doppers" adopted a single synod for all race groups.

The main reason for this lies in the fact that the RC (Reformed Church) has always kept close to the scriptures. Social issues have been evaluated strictly according to the scripture and outright political utterances and actions by the church and its leaders, such as the Dutch Reformed Church's one-time moderator, "Oom" Koot Vorster, was famous for, would not have been tolerated.

This created a bigger independence of party politics and left the church much more room for moral criticism on political and social issues. During the 1930s, at the time of the poor Afrikaner underdog, the Reformed Sister Churches became very popular as champions of the underprivileged, pleading with the government for better conditions and criticising it for the neglect of the Afrikaner.

But they also saw the salvation of the poor Afrikaner in terms of strict segregation of the different race groups and were important mediators for apartheid.

Today the Afrikaner is privileged economically and many are leaving the churches behind on the morality of apartheid, says Professor Adrio Koning, Unisa theologian.

The verligte image of the RC did not, however, sink through to grass roots level. Although the church was closely associated with people like Professor Tjaart van der Walt, there were still incidents where black people were not allowed to become members of churches on local level.

The chances of serious clashes on moral and political issues between the RC and the Government these days, seem slim.

Against this background, warns Professor Henne Kotze of the Department of Political Science at Stellenbosch University, you couldn't argue that the relationship between the RC and State could be a *facioidin* Mr de Klerk's style of leadership.





**INDABA IRONY:** Rowley Arenstein could not be legally quoted in SA because he is a listed communist, now his former jailers will themselves be forced to listen to his voice. *30411*

## A silenced voice must be heard

*Star 4/3/89*  
**Story and photograph  
 CARMEL RICKARD**

IT has been decades since Rowley Arenstein could be legally quoted in South Africa or practise as a lawyer; he is a listed communist.

Now his former jailers, who continued to silence him, will themselves be forced to listen to his voice.

Mr Arenstein was part of a kwaZulu government delegation which met a South African Government team this week to thrash out the problems preventing the two sides from having negotiations.

He is obviously amused by the irony, though Pretoria does not share his sense of humour; their side, announced after the implications of Arenstein's selection sunk in, is to be headed by Natal National Party leader and Minister of Home Affairs and Communications Stoffel Botha.

Commenting on Pretoria's choice, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party in Natal, Mr Roger Burrows, said if the talks were to work the Government team should have been led by someone more senior.

Arenstein is quite happy to tell anyone who asks that he is a Marxist and has been all his life. He was the son of a Ukranian mother who was a "utopian socialist", and a Lithuanian father who was a "Smuts man" from the time he arrived in South Africa.

In despair about his son's politics, he correctly predicted jail in the end. Arenstein served four

years in Pretoria Central with Bram Fischer and others for furthering the aims of Communism.

During World War 2 he was a Communist Party organiser in Natal; later, a legal adviser to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), to the African National Congress in the province and the then ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli.

### Inkatha link

He was also the first Natal chairman of the Congress of Democrats, the white arm of the ANC-led Congress Alliance.

He was banned for 26 years, in house arrest up to 1980, and is still not allowed to practise.

Against this background his dedicated service to Inkatha strikes many observers as incongruous. For Arenstein, it is quite consistent. For him Inkatha is the ANC internally.

He knows Inkatha's president Mangosuthu Buthelezi from of old: he was his attorney in the days before he was struck off the roll, and Buthelezi would have been articled to Arenstein had he not taken up the chieftainship.

Arenstein's reading of the formation of Inkatha is that Buthelezi took over leadership of kwaZulu with the blessing of the ANC and that Buthelezi's relations

with the organisation were close until 1980.

The fact that Buthelezi is a firm supporter of free enterprise does not shake Arenstein's loyalty as a Marxist.

For him backing Inkatha and support for the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba are quite consistent with his own beliefs. He believes that progress moves through stages and that there is still a long way to go to get to the socialist state he dreams of.

After apartheid will come the free enterprise phase, and he supports the Indaba and Inkatha as means of achieving this phase.

While he calls himself a Communist, he strongly disagrees with the South African Communist Party because of their choice of violence as a way of dealing with the situation in South Africa.

He also accuses them of slavishly following the Soviet Union.

He is as critical of what he — like Buthelezi — would call the ANC in exile or the external mission of the ANC, for their decision to take up violence, a decision he believes was taken undemocratically.

However, he is enthusiastic about the possible influence of a free Nelson Mandela. He believes Mandela, if freed unconditionally, would work with Buthelezi and would successfully lead a non-violent struggle for democracy.

● This article appeared in Weekly Mail yesterday.



NEWS

# Nats ignore the big stick as CP towns face financial ruin

EMERGENCY regulations which were used to break consumer boycotts in the past are now "gathering dust" as a new round of economic warfare bursts about the heads of Conservative Party-controlled town councils.

The CP accuses the ruling National Party of applying the emergency regulations selectively. Its chief secretary, Mr. Andries Beyers, accuses the NP of deploying the regulations against boycott organisers when its interests are threatened but turning a blind eye when the CP is the target.

Mr. CP Mr. Clive Derby-Lewis says he suspects the emergency regulations are "collecting cobwebs" in much the same way as the Group Areas Act did before them.

Two consumer boycotts are operative at present: one in Carletonville, which is not yet a week old, and

one in Boksburg, which is now in its fourth month. Both were launched to force the CP-dominated town councils to abandon their quest to restore petty apartheid.

Mr. Nicholas Hayson, of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, agrees that the regulations were used against the organisers of the consumer stayaways during the earlier boycotts of 1985-87. The reasons cited by police for the detention of black township activists at that time was often their involvement in boycotts, he says.

The boycotts of that period were generally launched in support of demands for an end to the state of emergency, the withdrawal of troops from the townships and the release of detainees — demands that brought the boycotters into direct conflict with the Government.

## PATRICK LAURENCE

The emergency regulations contain a list of "subversive statements", which include statements that incite or encourage members of the public to "take part in a boycott action against firms of a particular nature class or kind".

On the face of it, boycotts aimed at shops in townships controlled by the CP fall within the ambit of the emergency regulations. But, to the chagrin of the CP, emergency powers have not been used against organisers of boycotts or the media for publishing "subversive statements".

In a bid to force the Government's hand, two CP notables in Boksburg, mayor Mr. Beyers de Klerk and management committee chairman Mr. Gideon Fourie, laid a charge with the Boksburg police.

They alleged that Beeld, the SABC and, according to Mr. Beyers, the Save Boksburg Committee had contravened the regulations. Witwatersrand Attorney-General Mr. Klaus von Lieres declined to prosecute.

Mr. von Lieres told the Saturday Star that the complaint had been investigated by the police and he decided not to prosecute because "the complaint did not constitute a contravention".

In 1986, before the CP swept to power in a string of Transvaal townships in October's municipal elections, the authorities did try to bring the full power of the law to bear against alleged consumer boycott organisers.

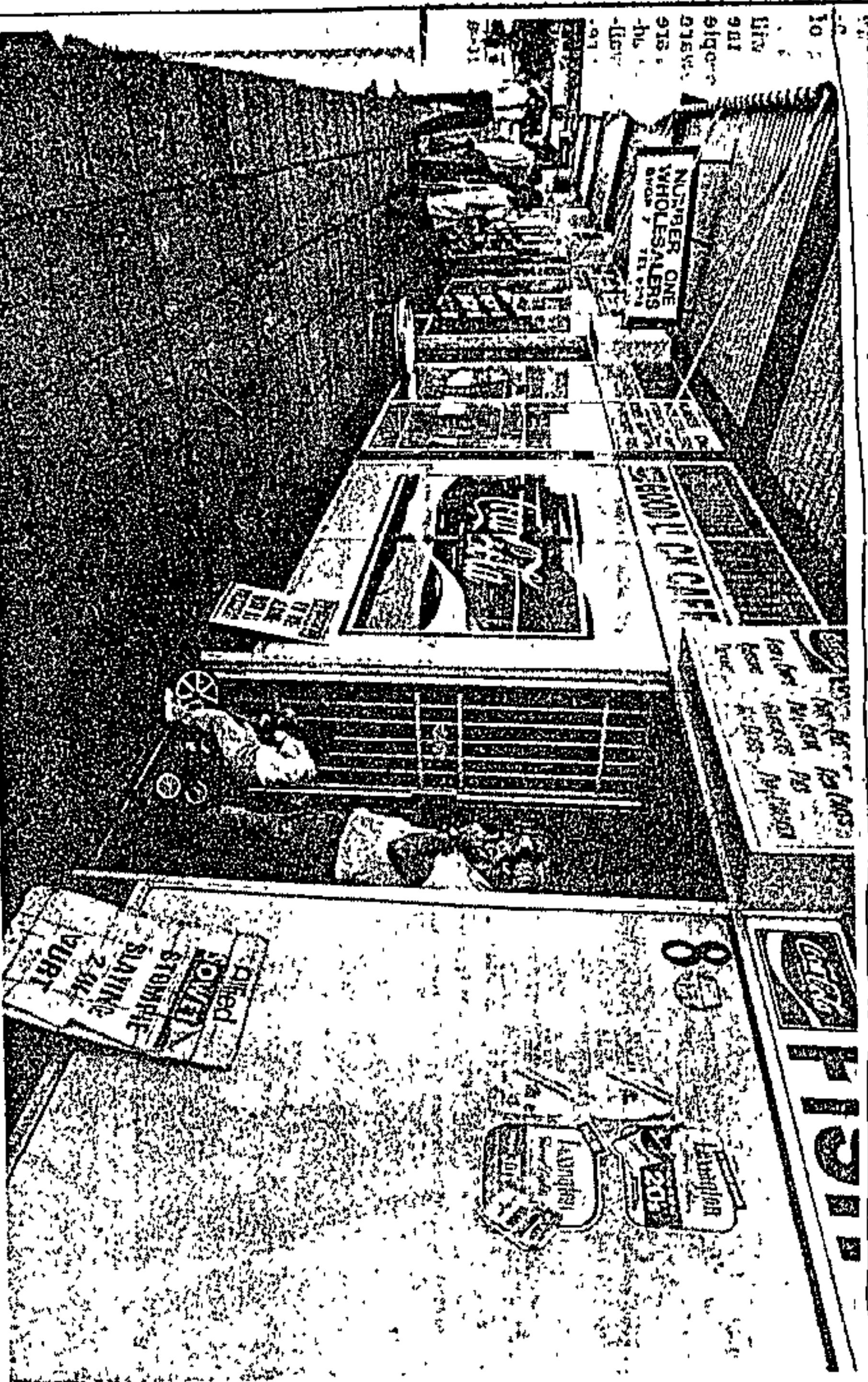
The vice-president of the East Rand People's Organisation, Mr. Abenot Motswege, was arrested and charged with economic subversion. 70 000 pamphlets calling for a boycott of white shops on the East Rand

had been found in his possession. He was acquitted after the magistrate found that he had not proceeded far enough — he was arrested before he had actually distributed the pamphlets — to be convicted.

Mr. Motswege was charged under the Internal Security Act. But the Ministry of Law and Order had another legal weapon: the emergency regulations.

The 1986 Race Relations Survey records: "The main response of the State to the boycotts was the detention of boycott leaders."

The incoming Minister of Law and Order in late 1986 was Mr. Adriaan Vlok, who warned that consumer boycotts were illegal under the emergency regulations and that action would be taken against people who propagated them. But that was before the CP had shifted into the frontline in the simmering economic war against apartheid.



A SHOPKEEPER ponders a bleak future in the Conservative Party town in face of a protest boycott.

Picture: Stephen Davimes.



# Threat to traders

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SUE VALENTINE

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SHOPKEEPERS on farms in the Conservative Party-controlled constituency of Zeerust have been threat ened that they will lose their trading licences unless they evict black pensioners from their land.

One trader in the area, Mr Menezes, who sells mainly sorghum beer, says about 10 black pensioners — who have lived on his land all their lives with his permission — have nowhere else to go and are panicking in the face of the threats.

Attempts to contact the CP MP for the area, Mr Ferdie Hartzenberg, last night were unsuccessful.

# The boycott begins to bite

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

A GROUP of two or three blacks walk slowly up and down a deserted street in Carletonville.

Apparently idle, they are the only black faces one sees among a sea of whites in this Conservative Party-controlled town where business has suffered badly since the consumer boycott began.

Normally, Saturday Star was told, a beehive of activity characterises the town on each Friday following the end of the month. This Friday, however, was different.

Streets were literally deserted, shops stood empty and taxis stood idle in their ranks. Businessmen were seen standing outside their empty shops, speaking in whispers to their wives or employees. At some big stores tills were unmanned.

This writer covered the first two months of the black consumer boycott in Boksburg last year, but the Boksburg boycott pales in significance when compared to the situation in Carletonville yesterday.

"I am going to close down my business next week," said an Indian businessman, Mr R Shaik. He looked at his watch. "By this time (9.20 am) on a Friday at the end of the month I have already made something like R900, but no, not today. I have made absolutely nothing."

Mr Shaik said he normally made about R2 000 on a Friday at the end of the month, but he did not think he would make even R100 yesterday.

"We are running at a great loss. I can no longer afford transport from Lenasia in Johannesburg to this place everyday, and can hardly buy food for myself and my staff once I am here.

"It is not worth coming to work," Mr Shaik said.

Another businessman told The Star: "Business is nil. The boycott is 100 percent effective and we have lost a lot of money.

"My friend, it is a disaster."



TOWNSHIP residents walk past a "Whites Only" park sign in Carletonville. ● Picture: Pat Devereaux.

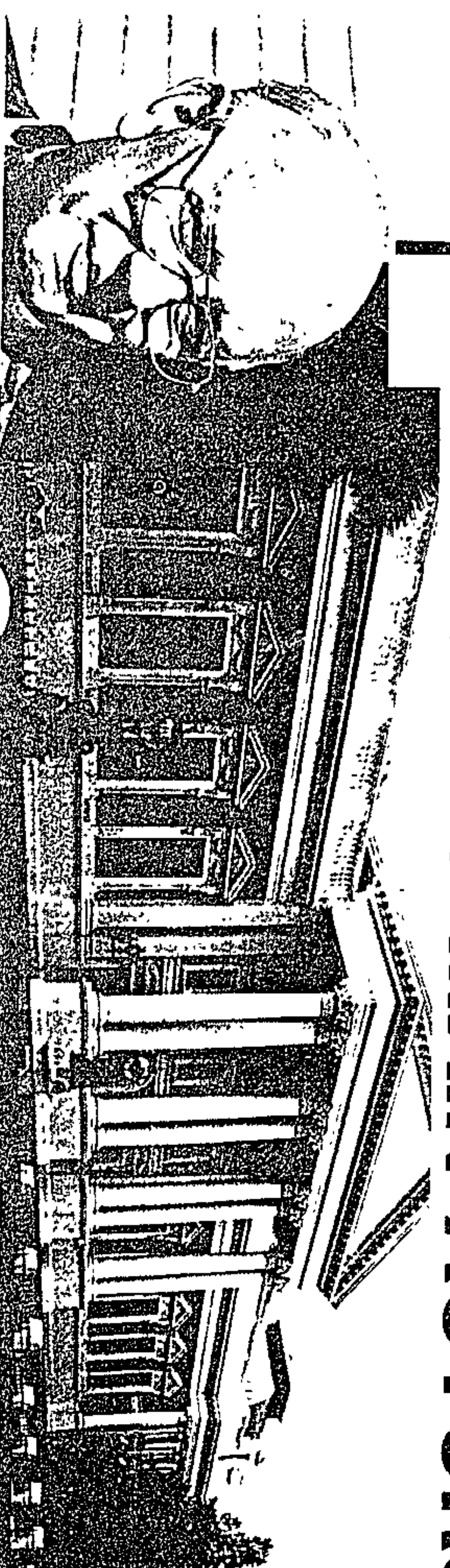


Professor Nic Olivier, head of the Progressive Federal Party research department, analyses the constitutional position of the new leader of the National Party.

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# THE TWO MAIN ACTORS

**T**HE decisive role played by the leader of a political party — and more so when that party also constitutes the government of the day — is an indisputable characteristic of South African political history (as in the history of so many other countries of the world (consider eg De Gaulle, Thatcher, Gorbachev, the Ayatollah, Mugabe etc).

Whatever the constitutional position may be — and South Africa's constitution does not take official cognisance of that position — there can be little doubt that the leader of the governing party (as long as he carried the party with him) is in an all-powerful position to lay down policy and determine the direction in which the country is to move. This is also undoubtedly true of the new leader of the NP.

Although the constitutional powers and functions of Mr P.W. Botha as State President have in no way been affected or diminished by his resignation as Leader of the NP and the subsequent election of Mr De Klerk, the political realities are that within the NP it is now Mr de Klerk who rules the roost and no longer Mr Botha, and even if Mr Botha were to resume office I think it is virtually impossible for him to change the situation to the status quo ante.

I myself have always believed that the coming in one single person of the positions of head of state, head of government and leader of the governing party was undemocratic and highly undesirable within a constitution of the type we have in South Africa, because, inter alia, of

# QUO VADIS?

Now that it has occurred, I do not share all the predictions of dire tragedy that may befall us.

It is true that in many respects, within the existing constitutional framework, considering the personalities of the two main actors, President Botha and Mr de Klerk, the present situation is in the long run, I believe, untenable and will give rise to increasing tensions and conflicts. Unless Mr Botha is prepared simply to become an agent in the hands of the new leader and his colleagues — and nobody can really conceive that as a practical and workable arrangement!

No wonder then (considering the uncertainty of Mr Botha's own plans) that many NP members are in favour of an early election. This is the obvious way (apart from other factors favouring such early election) to bring the present "impasse" to an end.

However, all kinds of exciting possibilities may flow from the latest development. If it were to be constitutionalised or even become a constitutional convention that the leader of the "governing" party need not be (or shall not be) the State President, it opens the way for the creation of a totally new constitutional dispensation.

For a new constitutional dispensation in which the State President may be more-or-less a figurehead (and could therefore even be a black person) while the real power may vest in a cabinet presided over by a Prime Minister who will be elected by parliament (however constituted) and who will possibly have only circumscribed powers (as eg in Switzerland).

Of course, we do not know as yet what precise policy Mr de Klerk will follow in his capacity as leader of the NP (and eventually, as is generally assumed, as State President). It is not impossible that, when he can act as his own man and with his own power base, we may see another kind of Mr de Klerk to the one whom most of his opponents have classified as a man of intelligence and integrity, and an able administrator and debater, but one fairly lacking in innovativeness and mostly conservative in his political approach.

I generally believe that his direction will be influenced by his deeply-rooted Afrikaner nationalism (which by itself is, whatever non-Afrikaners may say, not necessarily bad or deplorable or negative) and by a sense of political realism.

**W**HAT is more, in spite of the previous negative reaction of the SA government to the KwaNatal Indaba proposals, it seems as if the former has dropped its intransigent attitude and is now prepared to reconsider its position on those proposals. (It is clear that Mr Heunis and his department played a major role in bringing about this rapprochement).

● Regarding the fundamental structural elements of a new constitution: NP policy has always been based on the principle that, because of the diversity of the SA population composition, any constitution will have to be based on the existing racial groupings; that in order to achieve this, the compulsory racial classification in terms of the Population Registration Act is essential, and that consequently free political association (in the sense that a group not thus racially defined could participate in the political process) was not permissible.

It would appear that the NP is now prepared to deviate from these principles in two respects: (1) that the State should not have the function of defining groups, but once groups have voluntarily emerged as groups it is the state's responsibility and duty to reflect them as separate groups. (The obvious implications also being that such



# P W, F W set for a showdown

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by FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Staff

A BIG fight which could shake South African politics to its foundations is looming between President P W Botha and National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk over who will run the country's affairs.

President Botha has thrown down the gauntlet in a wide-ranging interview with a Nationalist newspaper on his plans following his decision to hold on to power.

In the lengthy interview — the first since Mr Botha suffered a stroke — he makes defiant statements and takes a stand which has hit the National Party like a shock-wave.

## Virtual dictator

President Botha now emerges as a virtual dictator who will rule the country with no power-base — except his claim of widespread support from individuals — and no accountability to any political party.

Shock disclosures in the interview include:

- A major threat, though thinly veiled, to silence or close down the Harms Commission of inquiry into corruption scandals in which the names of Cabinet Ministers have been mentioned;

- A side-swipe at NP leader Mr F W de Klerk's new initiatives, notably his call this week to black leaders to join him in a "great indaba" in a bid to get serious negotiations going. Mr Botha said he had already called for a "big indaba";

- His determination to serve out his term of office in the face of widespread calls that he should step down. He did not rule out the possibility that he may even go for another term, saying it was too early to speculate.

Referring to insistence that he should now also resign as President, Mr Botha said he was not blinded by attempts to sew separateness.

"The fact that I am still subject to derision and attacks, shows that I am in the way of some people. I have a task to perform and as my strength increases I will proceed with that task."

He also said aspects surrounding allegations about corruption — among others deliberate attempts to turn proceedings of inquiries into inquisitions — were one of the first tasks he would handle when he returned after the Easter recess.

## Standpoints

Among the standpoints taken by President Botha were:

- If he had not become ill he would have broached the question of the separation between the posts of State President and leader of the National Party at the NP's first caucus this year.

- With his acceptance of separating the two positions, the caucus took joint-responsibility for this.

- Although he was no longer leader of the NP, he still had a power basis, namely that he enjoyed support from all good South Africans.

- Last year he had already referred to a big indaba after the late Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa brought the idea home to him. He was pleased to note that there was support for the idea.

- He remained a Nationalist and he could not believe that the party which he had served for 50 years was no longer interested in him. That is why he hoped he would still be invited to NP congresses and meetings.

## Under siege

David Breier reports that the Harms Commission which has exposed massive corruption and raised question marks against Cabinet Ministers, is under siege following remarks by President P W Botha in the interview.

Mr Botha said among other things that the attacks on "honourable people" including Ministers had to stop.

He said there were malicious attempts to turn commissions into inquisitions.

"Untested evidence is sent out despite the damage which it does to honourable people. Even Ministers are not spared. This must come to an end," he said.

Mr Colin Eglin, National Chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, said he found President Botha's statement disturbing and urged him to "lay off" the Harms Commission.

12/16 MK645 4/3/89

'Stand united, mobilise

and seek allies'



by Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

**D**R Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, has spelt out a 10-point strategy which would promote a "non-racial democratic political climate".

The strategy, which includes possible selective participation in the system, is spelt out in an analysis published by the authoritative *Indicator*, the publication of Natal University's Centre of Social and Development Sciences.

This latest *Indicator* analysis is based on a major issue published in December in which the subject "Political Conflict in South Africa" was addressed at length.

Dr Slabbert found the South African state was "least vulnerable when its coercive power base is directly challenged" but, due to contradictions within its own system, the state was "certainly not invulnerable".

**I**N taking advantage of these contradictions and with difficult and back-breaking work, mobilisation could begin.

The contradictions included:

- A white-dominated state which would increasingly depend on blacks to maintain control.

- A white-controlled government could not be seen to be acting on behalf of black communities so little attention was given to unemployed, urbanised and alienated youth who would drift into crime, homelessness and revolt, and

- The state needed to recruit people to work within the system which it could not control totally such as in the House of Representatives or Delegates, the homeland governments and RSCs.

"This is the area where participation as a strategy has to be considered."

The ten guidelines Dr Slabbert spelt out to exploit these and other contradictions in South Africa society were:

- Not to dissipate popular or mass support in confronting the state where it is strongest.

- Not to weaken forces for a democratic alternative by adopting a divisive strategy.

For example "if an unreflective and unselective blanket sanctions campaign has this result then it is simple political lunacy to adhere to such a strategy".

- Never promise what cannot be delivered as it would lead to frustration.

- Take an immediate, principled and clear view on all forms of uncontrolled, irrational and/or authoritarian violence as when it increases in intensity, whites, and even blacks, turn against it.

- Identify tensions and divisions in the state structure and engage those favourable for democratic politics. Even those hostile to democratic politics.

ic politics should be engaged to put and defend their views. When views were not challenged they thrived in an insulated, sycophantic and uncritical environment.

- Seek out business interests that are amenable to democratic politics.

- Concentrate on grassroots mobilisation in new housing areas especially where the state is involved in socio-economic upgrading.

- Focus as much energy as possible on black and white youth and their interaction with one another to deliberately break down the dialogue barriers the State wished to maintain between groups inside and outside the country.

- Do not give priority to external factors bringing about change as too much hope placed externally paralysed domestic initiative.

- Any strategic initiative that ignored the fact that they key to a successful non-racial democracy lay in the extra-parliamentary majority was a waste of time and energy. No democracy could be sustained without organised and institutionalised support coming from the majority of citizens.

**D**R Slabbert said his guidelines were based on the assumption that the transformation of South Africa would be negotiated. He warned though that a negotiated solution was not even yet in the pre-negotiation stage.

"To get there, those concerned with achieving a non-racial democracy would have to penetrate, mobilise and consolidate every available site of organisational and institutional activity and demonstrate they can be controlled for democratic politics."





# A new force

12/6/89 14/3/89 3048

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

**F W'S INITIATIVES  
RAISE HOPES  
THAT HE CAN  
MAKE A FRESH  
START**

The Labour Party would support Mr de Klerk's "great indaba" idea. The Labour Party had already supported legislation providing for a consultative National Council to negotiate on black political rights.

HE was somewhat confused about Mr de Klerk's latest statements and his commitment to the "own affairs" concept and the road of separateness. All the power in the country in fact lay in general affairs.

Mr Hendrickse said he had recently referred to the necessity for a "give and take" approach. Mr de Klerk was talking about a new approach. The Labour Party now wanted to know what the government was prepared to give as it had been so difficult to get anything from it so far.

He held out the possibility of a compromise on a measure providing for an increase in the number of parliamentary constituencies. This would require a change to an entrenched clause in the Constitution which could only go through with the support of all three the Houses of Parliament.

The government is keen to have 15 more Assembly seats in the Transvaal as this would help it in its struggle against the Conservative Party.

Labour would support the appointment of a joint parliamentary committee to consider the Separate Amenities Act and other apartheid laws.

DEPENDING on indications of positive action towards the scrapping of these laws, Labour could then consider supporting the enlargement of Parliament.

The party would not support any move to put off a general election until 1992.

It had promised its supporters that it would come back to the electorate after five years in the tricameral system and it wanted to get rid of MPs in the Representatives who had got there on the back of the Labour Party.

"We have no intention of concluding any deal with the South African government in which all the people of South Africa have no part behind the backs of anyone," Dr Buthelezi said.

Weekend Argus political correspondent TOS WENTZEL reports that government moves to start a negotiation process on constitutional reform are expected soon.

Nationalist MPs feel that there is an urgent need to get the bogged-down reform process going.

SOME Nationalist leaders say they have been heartened lately by the positive response, especially of urban black leaders.

Exploratory talks aimed at getting the consultative National Council idea going have been held from time to time.

The main aim of such a council, to be established in terms of legislation passed last year, will be to provide for black political rights up to the highest level.

There are also plans to appoint a black Minister or deputy Minister to deal with black development and education in the meantime.

Mr de Klerk said this week that only if black leaders tested the bona fides of the government in negotiation would they be able to arrive at the truth.

Only in real negotiation would they be able to determine whether the NP meant what it said.

He knew they would find an honest desire to reach a mutually acceptable accord.

Meanwhile there have been some positive but cautious responses from black leaders.

MR Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said Mr de Klerk's speech was a positive follow-up on what he had said in Parliament and he welcomed it.

"We are always prepared to talk to the government on an equitable constitutional dispensation but first it should make a clean break with apartheid, especially the Population Registration Act which places me in an inferior position."

The Rev Allan Hendrickse said the initiative for his meeting with Mr de Klerk next week had come from both sides and would have an open agenda.

Afterwards Dr Dhlomo told me he had found Mr de Klerk "approachable, open and prepared to argue openly about his political beliefs".

"I also discovered that he tended to use his head rather than his heart when arguing his point... I was left with the impression that he will be a strong leader of the National Party."

"When his time comes to assume the position of head of state, I think he will also do well, provided he retains his approachability and openness."

THE NP, since 1948, had turned virtually all significant black leaders into "doubting Thomases" when it came to assessing statements by the party's leadership.

"This unfortunate state of affairs can only be remedied by bold and decisive reformist actions as opposed to bold and decisive reformist statements."

"If Mr de Klerk can master this trick, he will surely succeed spectacularly where all his predecessors have failed," Dr Dhlomo said.

On Mr de Klerk's plea for a "great indaba", Dr Dhlomo said: "As far as we of Inkatha are concerned, Mr de Klerk was preaching to the converted."

"Our leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is virtually the father of negotiation politics in South Africa. He propounded legitimised negotiation politics in this country at a time when it was still treasonable in black political circles even to mention the word 'negotiation'. The name of the game then was the 'revolutionary seizure of power'."

The debate was no longer "whether or not we must negotiate", but rather about what preliminary steps needed first to be taken to ensure that negotiations would be a guaranteed success once they began.

CHIEF Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu said after talks with the government in Cape Town this week he believed it was "absolutely wrong" to create expectations before negotiations had even started.

"We are not closer to negotiations now than we were last year. We are still at square one and we are trying to contribute towards the unlocking of the logjam, that's all."

POLITICAL leaders across the spectrum are looking at Mr F W de Klerk as the new Nationalist strongman who can break the logjam preventing real negotiations about the constitutional future of the black people.

The new National Party leader's initiative this week to get negotiations off the ground has clearly raised hopes that he is the leader who can make a fresh start after the failure of others before him.

His call at Nigel for a "great indaba" to get serious talks going has been widely welcomed by black and white leaders, although some doubts were expressed as to whether he will have a free hand for genuine political reform.

An immediate obstacle that could jeopardise and even stall Mr de Klerk's initiative is the uncertainty about his position after President P W Botha's decision to hold on to power.

IN his Nigel speech Mr de Klerk left no doubt that he meant business and wanted to get things moving. Nationalist political commentators hailed his move as part of a "strong momentum" set in motion by Mr de Klerk's recent election as the new NP leader.

Some spoke enthusiastically about a new "wind of change" blowing through the National Party.

And next week Mr de Klerk is to make another significant forward move by meeting Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse for talks.

This meeting holds promise of better relations between the government and the Labour Party after the deadlock caused by clashes between President Botha and Mr Hendrickse.

Another significant event this week was a meeting in Cape Town where Mr de Klerk had brief talks with Dr Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Dr Dhlomo, whose Indaba executive committee had instructed him to pay a courtesy visit to Mr de Klerk, was impressed with the new NP leader.



by LEON MARSHALL

# INSIDE POLITICS It's last impressions that count

IT seems a growing aspect of public life in this country that leaders end up being better remembered for the manner of their leaving than for their accomplishments or failures of a lifetime.

A case, one might say, of last impressions being the ones that count.

It is almost with a sense of sadness that one saw Mr B J Vorster quietly donning his hat after what seemed like a lifetime in power and driving off into the sunset with hardly a farewell wave from any of those loyal supporters he had at his feet for so long.

One remembers the Parliamentary debate on Dr Connie Mulder's continued membership and how, after listening to the way Nationalists had been speaking of their former crown prince, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert rose to reflect, also with sadness, on the whimsical nature of loyalty in politics.

President Botha must have seen all this, and infinitely more, during his extraordinarily lengthy career in politics. And he, better than most, should see the importance of getting out at the right time — which is usually earlier rather than later.

INDEED, he said it himself, when interviewed last year on his tenth anniversary in office.

Asked how long he wanted to stay on as head of State, he laughed and pointed out that both Dr D F Malan and General Jan Smuts became Prime Minister when they were older than he was at that stage.

But in answer to the question, he added: "As long as my health is good and as long as the country wants me."

As for the first, it is now up to Mr Botha, his family and his doctors to decide.

As for the second, he should perhaps not only be listening to his close advisers on this one. They are bound to try to convince him that the country has never been more pleased to have him as leader and that the people out there want him to stay on forever, if that was possible.

Politicians tend to be fairly good at finding out what people think or say about them behind their backs, and the tough political career Mr Botha has behind him shows he might well have been the master of them all in this.

count

10/E AGAS 4/3/89

MAYBE he should try to extend an ear into the lobbies of his own party and to the various places where people — including Nationalists — meet and where, as is our want in this country, the main point of discussion always seems to be politics.

He might then find out that sentiments favouring his retirement are neither limited to oppositionists nor that these are a plot hatched by the "Engelise pers", as he might have been given to believe by Acting President Mr Chris Heunis' statement on his position earlier this week.

He might, for one, discover that concerns among his more loyal supporters of the past are as much about seeing him leave with dignity than about anything else.

Judging by developments in the corridors of

power, their fears are not unfounded. What they, as everybody else, see is the potential for one of the most intriguing battles this country has experienced. For whatever constitutional powers the President might command — and it seems Nationalists themselves are now becoming frightened by the spectre of their own constitutional creation — decades of Nationalist rule have made people used to the political powers vested in their leaders.

It would be a messy business, indeed, if their old elected President and their newly elected leader had to be forced into a stand-up battle for control. Going by the party's past record, I would in such a case not put my money on the constitution holding out.

But what might strike Mr Botha most of all if he cared to listen to public opinion, from his fellow-Nationalists as well as other quarters, is the desire for a fresh approach to politics, as only a new leader might be able to give.

Unless, of course, suggestions are right that he does not want Mr F W de Klerk to succeed him. If that is so, and his purpose in staying on is to try to undo that, then, of course, it is a different ball game altogether.



CAR TINTS 4/3/87

## 2 new deputy ministers in HoR reshuffle

Political Staff

IN A significant political development yesterday, President P W Botha gave the go-ahead for a reshuffle of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.

Two new deputy ministers have been appointed — Mr Miley Richards, who becomes Deputy Minister of the Budget, and Mr Abe Williams, who becomes the Deputy Minister of Education and Culture.

The announcement of the reshuffle by the acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, is seen as a bid by the government to re-establish relations with both the

Labour Party and its leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse.

The rest of the council remains the same, apart from the portfolios of auxiliary services and agriculture, which have been transferred from Mr David Curry, the Minister of Local Government and Housing, to Mr Andrew Julies, Minister of the Budget.

In his statement Mr Heunis said the decision to reshuffle the council followed discussions with Mr Botha on Thursday.

Mr Hendrickse has wanted to reshuffle the council for more than a year since Mr Carter Ebrahim — who subsequently left the Labour Party — was forced out as

Minister of Education and Culture.

Mr Botha, however, declined to do so, causing a further deterioration in relations between the government and Mr Hendrickse.

And there were attempts by the government to cause a further split in the Labour Party and muster further support for a small breakaway group under Mr Ebrahim.

Mr Hendrickse said in an interview last night that the decision to reshuffle was a significant one and the move an attempt to establish a "healthier climate" which could lead to negotiation on a number of issues.

Cape Times 4/3/89

# Govt to remove apartheid signs?

Political Staff

THE government is planning to force CP-controlled councils in Boksburg and Carletonville to take down the apartheid signs they have re-erected at the towns' amenities.

Far-reaching retrospective changes to the Separate Amenities Act that will bar the re-erection of apartheid signs that are removed, and stop any new signs being put up, is under consideration.

This could put an end to attempts by CP councils to turn back the clock and segregate amenities.

As the government moves to woo the Labour Party into supporting a number of key constitutional amendments, several beaches including King's Beach are to be opened.

Despite government moves, there is to be no compromise from Labour who have demanded that the Act be repealed.

Cape Times 4/2/89

# Blasts rock Carletonville

CARLETONVILLE. — Two blasts rocked this town early yesterday, police said.

A bomb went off outside Oberholzer Civic Centre soon after midnight, while the second blast occurred at 1.48am at a power-line pylon.

Police said damage was minimal and there had been no injuries.

The first blast, a suspected mini-limpet mine, had been placed outside the centre's banquet hall.



# MP 'made kill threat'

9th TIME 4/3/89

30 KAT

## Judge orders sale of boat

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

MR Harry Dilley, MP for Simon's Town, threatened his partner's life during an argument about a luxury sport-fishing craft they jointly owned, a Supreme Court judge heard yesterday.

"It will be easy to arrange an accident at sea or you can finish up in the harbour with a knife in your back," Mr Dilley was quoted as telling his partner, Mr Bill Marsay, during the argument.

Mr Marsay made this claim in papers before the Supreme Court in an application to have the partnership dissolved and the boat sold. Mr Marsay said that apart from threatening his life, Mr Dilley was also dishonest in their partnership dealings.

Mr Justice C T Howie ruled yesterday that the 40-foot "Nkwaza" be sold by public auction within four weeks.

He also ruled that should Mr Marsay, a retired businessman, wish to make any claim arising from the partnership he should "issue summons out of this court within two months".

Mr Marsay said that in 1984 he had bought a share in the Nkwaza for R100 000 from Mr Dilley. Mr Dilley did not disclose certain sums of money he (Mr Dilley) had received and was "under duty to account to me on behalf of the partnership".

When he challenged Mr Dilley on this, he was told: "It will be easy to arrange an accident at sea or you can

finish up in the harbour with a knife in your back."

Mr Dilley "acted as though he were the sole owner of the boat", said Mr Marsay.

Mr Dilley later said he wished to sell his share of the boat and he (Mr Marsay) could have first option.

A report by Major Douglas van Riet, Mr Dilley's evaluator, valued the boat at R325 000, but marine surveyor Captain Colin Tipping, approached by Mr Marsay, later put this figure at R130 000, with a further R100 000 to restore her to her former condition.

In a replying affidavit, Mr Dilley denied threatening Mr Marsay's life and said that while he was aware that "a heated exchange took place", Mr Marsay was "unable to control his temper and made a spectacle of himself by shouting enragedly at me".

Mr Dilley also denied acting as sole owner of the boat or neglecting it.

Responding to Mr Marsay's claim that Mr Dilley had disclosed a receipt of R475 received from Tuna Marine for fish sold, Mr Dilley said the partnership was run "on a very loose arrangement". Mr Marsay frequently owed him considerable amounts for fuel and the R475 mentioned — of which half was due to Mr Marsay — would have been credited to his account when the fuel account for the period was assessed, he said.

"Fuel costs incurred when I was in command could conceivably have been lower, in view of the fact that I attempted to use my knowledge of the vessel and the sea conditions to preserve fuel," said Mr Dilley, adding that Mr Marsay had to rely on hired hands to run the boat.

### GOLD STRONGER

THE JSE strengthened yesterday as the gold price rose slightly while the financial rand remained weak. The all-gold index gained 15 points, the industrial index nine and the over-all index 23. The gold price closed \$3 higher on the day in London at \$386.50 an ounce. See PAGE 15

### BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (Ldn) ..	\$386,25/386,75
Gold (NY) ..	\$386,25/386,75
FT index .....	1 697,5
BD 100 .....	2894,5
Rand .....	2,5005/20
Dow Jones .....	2273,50



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CAR TIPS 4/3/87 30K4

## Parliament and politics

# Derby-Lewis explains airport remark

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

CONSERVATIVE PARTY MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis yesterday denied that he had implied that an aircraft at Jan Smuts Airport should have run down a black man, but conceded that his statement could have been misunderstood.

Amidst much jeering and interjections of "racist, racist", Mr Derby-Lewis gave a personal explanation in Parliament yesterday about his use of the words "what a pity" in a speech about an incident when an Air Zimbabwe

aircraft had to brake sharply to avoid running down the man.

He said: "An insinuation has been made that my words implied that I wanted the person concerned to be run over.

"That was not my intention at all."

He had referred to a reply to a question given by the Minister of Transport, Mr Eli Louw, which he quoted in full.

"In the minister's answer reference was made to a black man who gained unauthorised access to the runway at Jan Smuts Airport.

"I said: 'What a pity'.

"In using these words, I expressed my shock that such an incident could have taken place at an international airport like Jan Smuts and my remark was a reference to the minister's answer."

In his speech after the controversial "what a pity" remark, Mr Derby-Lewis said the minister was shocked at his remark. "He would have been more shocked had this individual had a bomb in his hand and thrown it at the aircraft, blowing the people in it to kingdom come with the concomitant international repercussions this would have had for South Africa."



# FW vs PW: Battle royal on the cards

ONE Tryps 4/3/89  
304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

MR F W de Klerk faces a make-or-break battle to avoid becoming a "lame-duck" leader of the National Party and keep alive his hopes of running the country.

Nationalist MPs canvassed yesterday believe that Mr P W Botha's decision this week to resume control, apparently indefinitely, has placed the NP's newly elected leader in a "completely untenable" position.

The consensus appeared to be that if Mr De Klerk wished to avoid being branded as a "political wimp", he would have to move quickly and decisively in the days ahead — even if this involved a caucus-backed showdown with Mr Botha.

A number of Nationalists have privately expressed disappointment about Mr Botha's determination to return to office after Easter as they feel he might put a damper on the National Party-style "glasnost" that has been in evidence lately.

Shortly before Mr Botha signalled his intention to retain the reins of power on Thursday, the mood in the Nationalist caucus was that the party should move purposefully ahead with reform.

There are fears that promising NP moves towards compromise with the Labour Party over the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act in return for co-operation on a new provincial quota system for parliamentary seats may be in jeopardy.

The shockwaves surrounding Mr Botha's decision to resume office were still reverberating in Parliament yesterday and there are indications that a number of verligte Nationalist MPs may not stand for re-election if Mr Botha stands for another term.

Opposition parties continue to revel in the confusion and indecision in government ranks sparked by Mr Botha's comeback.

CP frontbencher Mr Tom Langley wanted to know whether Mr Botha, Mr De Klerk or NP congresses would now determine NP policy.

He said the problems within the NP had cast the country into a state of stagnation because of the ruling party's inability to take decisions effectively.

PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer earlier echoed these sentiment in a statement: "Everyone in politics is concerned about the continued lack of any information about how we are to be governed in the immediate future."

He noted that Mr Botha's recently stated intention of becoming a "unifying factor" was groundless.

"A highly controversial politician all his life, he (Mr Botha) really cannot hope to change his image at this stage.

"Only a person with the respect and loyalty of all sections of our population can unify our nation, and that means someone who upholds the equal dignity of all. It does not mean one of the architects of apartheid, which Mr Botha is," Dr De Beer said.

3099A (S) (S) 5/3/89 clues

# Ciskei assault death slammed by Boraine

**CP Correspondent**

THE co-founder of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, this week said he hoped the Eric Mntonga trial would set an example that would discourage the ill-treatment of innocent people and prevent innocent citizens from being detained without trial.

Boraine said this when he attended the proceedings in the Mntonga murder trial involving six security policemen.

He said he was asked by officials attached to the State counsel to attend.

During the trial, reference has been made to a letter written by Boraine to President Lennox Sebe regarding investigations into Mntonga's death.

The court also heard that Boraine had refused to reveal his informant in the case.

Appearing before Chief Justice Benjamin Pickarad were Maj-Gen Zandisile Ngwanya, Maj Phakamie Ngcanga, Col Mabandla Mbejeni, Major Mpikseli Potwana, W/O Khayaletu Ncadana and W/O Tamsanqa Hluluani. The State alleges that the six high ranking police officers took part in the killing of Mntonga and conspired with others to remove his dead body and dispose of it along the Tarma road.

It is alleged that on July 24, 1987, Mntonga was detained for questioning and during interrogation was repeatedly assaulted until he died as a result of the assaults. - Elnews



No other statutory bodies linked

tions made it possible;  
□ Alusaf: transfer to the private

He added that CSIR costs for this service had also been reduced appreciably. — Sapa.

## IP tense over party merger plans

TENSIONS within the Independent Party emerged yesterday over the IP's union with the PFP and NDM to form the Democratic Party (DP) next month, as a group of hard-liners demanded clarity on a number of contentious issues.

IP sources claimed one hard-liner had been expelled by party leadership, and legal action could follow in a bid to get him re-instated.

One source, who asked not to be identified, said yesterday six IP office-bearers drawn from a number of Transvaal constituencies had formed a "rebel" committee to put pressure on the DP to clarify its stand on a number of issues.

These include free market-oriented economics, the role of parliament and links with extra-parliamentary

non-liberal groups.

Plans were afoot to canvass support within the PFP. A number of Transvaal PFP MPs and other PFP leaders were known to be sympathetic, the source said.

The rebels said yesterday they did not plan to oppose the merger, but warned there was a growing belief that the IP should perhaps not disband to form the DP.

IP leader Denis Worrall said it was inevitable that some people would be unhappy about the merger. He was satisfied there were no inconsistencies in DP policy. "Those who wish to put special emphasis on particular aspects are welcome to do so within the DP," Worrall said.

PETER DELMAR

## Free market economy a must, insists DP

PETER DELMAR

THE soon-to-be-launched Democratic Party will insist on a free market economy based on private ownership and free enterprise with minimal state intervention, PFP Transvaal leader Douglas Gibson told a PFP meeting in Benoni last night.

Responding to the recent debate about the DP's economic policy, Gibson said bitter experience had taught that "the more the state tries to run the economy, the more the economy is ruined".

He predicted the DP would replace the Conservative Party as the official opposition at the next general election. This, he said, would enable it to push SA in the direction of a strong market-oriented economy.



Party machine swings behind F W

# Nats ready for palace revolution

304A

Star 6/3/89.

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The leadership struggle in the Government is rapidly moving to a dramatic showdown.

At its meeting in Cape Town this Thursday, the National Party caucus could finally back new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk against the President, Mr P W Botha.

NP sources said today that a damaging confrontation between Mr Botha and the National Party was almost inevitable after Mr Botha made it clear in an interview over the weekend that he intended serving out at least his present term.

There is now a strong possibility that after the meeting of the NP caucus and other NP organisations this week, a delegation could be sent to Mr Botha to ask him to stand down.

In an editorial today, the *Nasionale Pers* daily *Beeld* told Mr Botha to follow the advice of his mentor, Dr D F Malan, that "there was a time to go" and hinted it was now.

## Policy

Today the Cape Nationalist mouthpiece *Die Burger* said in an editorial that in the end the National Party itself would have to decide the leadership issue.

It also implicitly backed Mr de Klerk for the presidency by saying that the NP leader had to have the power to execute NP policy.

Even the SABC today lent tacit backing to Mr de Klerk by praising the new spirit in the party since he took over.

NP sources said today that the caucus would probably be asked to decide whether or not the offices of party leader and State President should be se-



King Tut. . . reigns supreme as the Bryanston Scouts take to Skippers by the "Admiral", Rene Admiraal (17) the boys were floatable raft. The rafts, which were designed with a "Walk

## Reports of tour by over- much team this year d

Star 6/3/89

242



## Policy

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Even the SABC today lent tacit backing to Mr de Klerk by praising the new spirit in the party since he took over.

NP sources said today that the caucus would probably be asked to decide whether or not the offices of party leader and State President should be separated — as Mr Botha intends — and, if not, who should fill both posts.

It is highly probable they will decide that the posts should not be separated and that Mr de Klerk should fill both.

It has now become evident that the entire National Party establishment is fast deserting Mr Botha to back Mr de Klerk.

This weekend the powerful Nat-supporting Nasionale Pers group clearly swung its considerable weight behind Mr de Klerk.

The NP caucus has also been giving clear signals for some time that it, too, will back him.

Stung into action for the first time by an interview Mr Botha gave to *Die Burger* spelling out his future plans, Mr de Klerk announced over the weekend that the time had come for "penetrating" discussions with Mr Botha over the implications of Mr Botha's resignation as NP leader last month.

## Support

Mr de Klerk said he would pursue the matter in NP circles. This is interpreted to mean that it will be discussed at the caucus meeting this week.

Mr de Klerk also said today that he intended to discuss the matter with the party's provincial leaders and the party's federal council — the party's highest body.

Observers have been astonished at how openly the NP press has suddenly come out in favour of Mr de Klerk.

NP sources said today that "political blood" would flow if the NP clashed with Mr Botha, as now seems inevitable.

They said his "stubbornness" was highly regrettable.

If Mr Botha refuses to stand down, it is not clear what will happen next. But it is considered unlikely he will continue to resist the will of the whole NP.

Reading between the lines of Mr Botha's interview, it was clear Mr Botha saw Mr de Klerk as just another official dealing with matters he himself did not have time for.

# Ways to promote negotiated change

Star 6/3/89 304A

CAPE TOWN — Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative and former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, has spelt out a 10-point strategy which would promote a "non-racial, democratic political climate".

The strategy, which includes possible selective participation in the system, is spelt out in a special mini project of the authoritative *Indicator* of the Centre of Social and Development Sciences of the University of Natal.

The latest *Indicator* publication is based on a major analysis of the political conflict in South Africa which it published in December.

Dr Slabbert, with other contributors to the latest publication, concluded that the extra-parliamentary forces often overplayed their hands, particularly when they attempted to challenge the might of the State between 1984 and 1988.

He found the South African state was "least vulnerable when its coercive power base is directly challenged" but the state was "certainly not invulnerable" because of contradictions within the system.

In taking advantage of these contradictions, with difficult and back-breaking work, mobilisation could begin, he said.

The contradictions include:

- A white-dominated State which would increasingly depend on blacks to maintain control.
- A white-controlled Government could not be seen to be acting on behalf of black communities, so little attention was given to unemployed, urbanised and alienated youth who would drift into crime, homelessness and revolt.

## Participation

- The State needed to recruit people to work within the system whom it could not control totally, such as members of the House of Representatives or Delegates, the homeland governments and the RSCs.

"This is the area where participation as a strategy has to be considered," he said.

The 10 guidelines spelt out by Dr Slabbert to exploit these and other contradictions in South African society are:

- Do not dissipate popular or mass support in confronting the State where it is strongest.
- Do not weaken forces for a democratic alternative by adopting a divisive strategy. For example, "if an unreflective and unselective blanket sanctions campaign has this result then it is simple political lunacy to adhere to such a strategy", he said.
- Never promise what cannot be delivered as it will lead to frustration, neutralising many people who might undertake necessary but mundane tasks but who refrain from doing so because they believe "a miracle is around the corner".
- Take an immediate, principled and clear view on

Ten guidelines are spelt out by Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert for those wishing to promote a non-racial, democratic political climate by exploiting the contradictions inherent in the South African state system. **BRUCE CAMERON** of The Star's Political Staff looks at this approach.

all forms of uncontrolled, irrational and/or authoritarian violence, as when it increases in intensity whites and even blacks turn against it and it will exhaust itself.

- Identify tensions and divisions in the State structure and engage those favourable for democratic politics. Even those hostile to democratic politics should be engaged to defend their views. When views are not challenged, they thrive in an insulated, sycophantic and uncritical environment.

- Seek out business interests that are amenable to democratic politics. "There is no reason why they cannot play a role in promoting new employment opportunities and becoming involved in co-operative economic ventures," he said.

- Concentrate on grassroots mobilisation in new housing areas especially where the State is involved in socio-economic upgrading.

## Waste of time

- Focus as much energy as possible on black and white youth and their interaction with one another to deliberately break down the dialogue barriers the State wishes to maintain between groups inside and outside the country. White Afrikaner youth in particular are the political life blood of the State's policy of control.

- Do not give priority to external factors to bring about change as too much hope placed on the external factor paralyses domestic initiative.

- Any strategic initiative that ignores the fact that the key to a successful non-racial democracy lies in the extra-parliamentary majority, is a waste of time and energy. No democracy can be sustained without organised and institutionalised support coming from the majority of citizens.

Dr Slabbert said his guidelines were based on the assumption that the transformation of South Africa would be negotiated and bargained.

He warned that a negotiated solution was not yet even in the pre-negotiation stage.

"To get there, those concerned with achieving a non-racial democracy would have to penetrate, mobilise and consolidate every available site of organisational and institutional activity and demonstrate they can be controlled for democratic politics," he said.

Earlier in the article, Dr Slabbert said the problem with many of the scenarios provided for a post-apartheid South Africa was that they were useful to propagate certain values but bore no relation to the reality of South Africa or to strategies for change.



the lawns and for the energetic there is a swimming pool and a tennis court.

dren who might enjoy a few days away from the big city.

## Nat MP in Boksburg row over rezoning <sup>3047</sup>

The role of Boksburg National Party MP Mr Sakkie Blanche in obtaining government approval for the rezoning of two portions of land in Windmill Park Extension 4 in 1986 has drawn the ire of the town's Conservative Party-controlled management committee.

Mr Gideon Fourie, chairman of the management committee, said he had requested the Acting State President,

Mr Chris Heunis, to launch an investigation into Mr Blanche's involvement.

After Boksburg businessman Mr Larry Barnett had a protracted battle with the previous town council, Mr Blanche assisted him in obtaining approval from the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning to establish industrial plant on the land.

— Political Reporter.

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# Conservative and proud

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

Self-professed "people's man" Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, the Conservative Party's controversial and only English-speaking MP, has faith in the popular dictum that any publicity is good publicity.

It is with this that he swept aside on Friday the veil of infamy that seemed to have mantled his party after his "What a pity" remark in parliamentary debate on Thursday. His utterance followed an account of how an Air Zimbabwe pilot had had to brake sharply at Jan Smuts recently to avoid running over a black man who had run on to the runway.

But on Friday he disclaimed "insinuations" that he had meant it would have been preferable for the man indeed to have been run over.

The remark was described by Minister of Transport Affairs Mr Eli Louw as the most "unfeeling, racist, unchristian" he had ever heard. But Mr Derby-Lewis insists that the angry — and, he insists, mistaken — reaction led him to make a statement regretting any possible misunderstanding. But that didn't necessarily mean it was a gaffe. "In politics," he grinned, "any publicity is good publicity."

Born in Cape Town and schooled at Christian Brothers College in Kimberley, Mr Derby-Lewis is peeved by what he calls the "Rhodesian connection" — the irksome rumour that he hailed from north of the Limpopo has led to frequent suggestions that he should "return" there, and he resents this.

"I'm a third generation South African. I can trace my roots back to 1792. I have spent probably no more than six hours in Rhodesia, en route to and from the Caprivi Strip on military service."

Guilt over political passivity of English-speaking South Africans — "who seemed content just to get on with making money" — spurred his political ambitions. He had always had an interest in politics, but entered the fray only in the early 1970s. Before then his attention spanned a career in business and his duties as officer commanding the Citizen Force element of the Witwatersrand Regiment.

But even his love of hockey, weightlifting and shooting fell by the way as his political activity grew. "Like every politician, I have had my ups and downs. It's a very uncertain career, particularly

when you don't have the Broederbond behind you. But we Anglo-Saxons are survivors."

Town council politics — he was mayor of Bedfordview in 1972 — led to higher things. The NP asked him to contest the Edenvalle seat for the provincial council in 1977, and he ousted Mr Nic Olivier, who had had a 3500 majority in the previous election.

After the CP/NP split he devoted his energies to building up the new party. He stood unsuccessfully in Rosettenville in 1984 and then Krugersdorp in 1977. At the time, he recalls, Mr F W de Klerk observed that if Krugersdorp fell, the Nats would fall. He says with satisfaction: "I lost by only 55 votes."

The big time came with his nomination to Parliament. "It's confirmation that the CP is not anti-English speakers," Mr Derby-Lewis maintains.

Generating English-speaking support is a personal priority and he believes it is happening, largely because "people are seeing through the double-speak of the Nats. You can't fool the South African public."

But is the CP not guilty of double-speak on the question of race? He says no. "I maintain that our political opponents resort to accusations that we are racist because they cannot attack our policy. If there is one party that does not feel superiority or hatred towards other groups, it is the CP. It's only that they do not want responsibility for others — they want people to be responsible for themselves."

## Effective combination

"I defy you to find any black, coloured or Indian who could say I treated him badly because of his race or colour. I treat people on merit. It's difficult for people to accept this."

Two-and-a-half years ago he married his second wife, Gaye. They met through the CP and form what he describes as "an effective political combination". He adds: "We eat, sleep and drink politics."

During the session, the Derby-Lewis team operates from an office that bears an arguably over-optimistic sign of their party loyalty. Prominent on the wall is a press report headlined "Treurnicht for president". His leader's presidential aspirations earn scorn in most parts of the building, but Mr Derby-Lewis says the CP approach remains the "only realistic solution for the unique political problem of SA".



Clive Derby-Lewis... "people are seeing through the Nat double-speak. You can't fool the SA public."

Thousands of skeletons mint to



## 'Liberalist' group loses subscription

By Esmaré van der  
Merwe, *WV*  
Political Reporter

The Conservative Party-controlled town council of Springs has decided to cancel its annual subscription to the South African Foundation, calling it a "liberalist" organisation. *WV 6/7/8*

At a meeting last week, the council accepted a management committee proposal that its subscription be cancelled immediately following a 17,5 percent increase in membership fees.

However, in a heated debate with National Party councillor Mr Meyrick Levitas, several CP councillors referred to the "liberalist" nature of the foundation, a non-profit organisation promoting the South African private sector abroad.

A spokesman for the SA Foundation said on Friday the organisation had not been notified about the cancellation. No other CP-controlled councils had taken similar steps, he added.



Dr Denis Worrall . . .  
seen as popular choice.

## Party led by Worrall would beat CP — poll

### Staff Reporter

The Democratic Party with Dr Denis Worrall at the helm would beat the Conservative Party in an election, according to a poll conducted on behalf of the Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*.

The poll found Dr Worrall to be the popular choice for the leadership of the new Democratic Party.

The majority of respondents, asked how they would vote if all parties fielded candidates in a general election, supported the party under his leadership.

The Democratic Party is made up of the Independent Party, the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement.

### ABSTENTIONS INCREASE

Four possibilities were proposed — the party under the leadership of Dr Worrall, Dr Zach de Beer, Mr Wynand Malan or Dr Willem de Klerk.

With Dr Worrall as leader, the party received 21 percent of the total votes, against 14 percent with Dr de Beer as leader, 13,6 percent for Dr de Klerk and 12,8 percent with Mr Malan.

With Dr Worrall as leader, the National Party received 41,2 percent of the vote, the Democratic Party 21,1 percent, the Conservative Party 19,4 percent, the Herstigte Nasionale Party 1,6 percent, and 16,7 percent abstained.

With anyone else as leader the CP would remain the official Opposition, the NP would receive more votes, and the abstention vote would increase, the poll found.

Afrikaner voters preferred Dr de Klerk as leader.



Star 6/3/89

(304A)

## PFP calls for a halt to group area prosecutions

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party's leader in the Johannesburg City Council has challenged the Minister of Justice to announce that there would be no further prosecutions of persons contravening the Group Areas Act in view of the uncertainty about the creation of free settlement areas in the city.

Mr Tony Leon said a moratorium on prosecutions by Mr Kobie Coetsee would follow the "very useful precedent" set by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that the police would not be prosecuting people who contravened the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

### OPEN CITY

"By making Johannesburg at least a prosecution-free zone for Group Areas Act prosecutions, we will also be assisting in creating the concept of an open city which can be achieved if the entire municipal area of Johannesburg is declared a free settlement area."

Mr Leon was reacting to charges recently laid against eight people who had allegedly contravened the Group Areas Act. The four separate cases, in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, have been postponed until



Mr Tony Leon wants a "cease-fire on all further group areas prosecutions".



Mr Kobie Coetsee "should follow Mr Adriaan Vlok's example".

April 21 and 26.

Mr Leon said such prosecutions were futile, since all magistrates' courts in the city were bound by the precedent established in the Govender decision a few years ago.

Such prosecutions would not lead to the eviction of the people concerned because the State would be unable to prove that alternative accommodation was available.

"The idea of charging people at this stage of uncertainty appears to be nothing short of provocative. Since there is complete uncertainty about the future of areas like Homestead Park (where the offences allegedly occurred), it is difficult to see what the Attorney-General is achieving with this action, except to placate the militant forces of the ultra right wing."

Mr Leon said a "ceasefire on prosecutions" was the minimum required for the Free Settlement Board to make its determinations on suburbs in Johannesburg in "an objective and emotion-free atmosphere".



ARG 6/3/89 30417

Professor Overton believes the new grouping will support the soon-to-be-formed Democratic Party, although their fears about security and leadership will have to be allayed.



# Nats press P W to retire

## F W to tidy NP crisis of leadership

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THERE are increasing suggestions from the Nationalist Press that President Botha should retire.

In a strong editorial today one newspaper advised him to read again the words of Dr D F Malan on the question of retiring and it also took a swipe at some of his advisers.

The Johannesburg Nationalist daily, Beeld, quoted from a book Dr Malan wrote nearly 30 years ago in which he referred to "a season for coming and a season for going".

### HARMED OTHERS

He said this was a truth particularly applicable to public life.

The exercise or non-exercise of this choice often harmed a person himself or more frequently it harmed others.

The person involved must act with responsibility and unselfishness towards the public. He must himself know when he should retire and must act accordingly, Dr Malan wrote.

The newspaper advised Mr Botha to read Dr Malan's words again attentively. It said it also wanted to plead with the President to listen to those who were his true friends, even though this sometimes hurt the most. It appeared as if there could be people who, for their own reasons, gave him advice that he wanted to hear.

Such friends were worse than enemies.

In an interview at the weekend, Mr Botha had referred to people who wanted to misuse his position because they want-

ed to sow disunity. Beeld said it would be a tragedy if his person and his position became dividing factors after all his years of service to the country.

At the weekend the Nationalist Press said there was a strong conviction among Nationalists that Mr F W de Klerk had been chosen not only as party leader but also de facto as the party's future candidate for the presidency.

There was the insistence on an early election, possibly in June. But this possibility would be virtually eliminated if a decision was put off for too long.

Mr Botha's intention to give attention only after the Easter recess to an election limited the existing choices.

### CONFUSED PARTY

Reports in Die Burger and Beeld said that in parliamentary circles the question was also being asked whether the line of thinking within the National Party had been put to Mr Botha with enough force, along with the possibility that his intention to resume his position confused the party and could harm its present momentum.

Leading Nationalists believed that Mr Botha's retirement at this stage could not be seen as a humiliation or something which affected his reputation. They believed however that a dispute about his future could harm the National Party under circumstances that were showing new promise.

In their political columns the newspapers said that the longer he delayed matters, the more difficult it would be to act with full dignity and grace.

A STRONG indication that the National Party was planning to clear up the uncertainties surrounding the relationship between the party leader and the State President came from NP leader Mr F W de Klerk this weekend, according to an editorial in Die Burger today.

"Mr de Klerk has indicated that he will take the question further within the party. This is confirmation of the important principle that the NP and the NP alone should decide on the matter," said the editorial.

Die Burger urges that the matter should be clarified.

### DIVIDED

"The problem arose when the State President Mr P W Botha resigned as leader of the NP, indicating that the offices of State President and leader of the party should be divided," the editorial states.

Uncertainty about who has the authority to determine policy has to be clarified as a matter of urgency.

According to the NP constitution, the NP leader along with the congress has the only policy-making authority in the NP. But then the leader should have the power to carry it out, the editorial argues.

The reform initiative, assisted by indications from abroad of a greater willingness to give South Africa a chance to solve its problems, was gaining momentum, the editorial states, emphasising that the NP should not allow this momentum to "run out".

"In this time of trial for the NP, there is much at stake for the party and the country which demands that the right decisions are made," the article concludes.

## 'Scale tipped to PW's securocrats'

ALTHOUGH Mr F W de Klerk had made "refreshing new reform noises" after his election as leader of the National Party, the scale seemed to be tipped in favour of the security system and so-called securocrats under Mr P W Botha, Rapport said in its editorial.

While the two directions were not necessarily incompatible, they could hamper the reform initiative.

"Who determines what the government's policy should be — the State President or the leader of the governing party?" the editorial asks.

The governing party was put into power by the voters to carry out their policy. But according to the constitution the State President had executive powers.

No matter who occupied that position or what party was in power, there would always be a built-in potential for tension.

LEADERSHIP: CAUCUS TO MEET

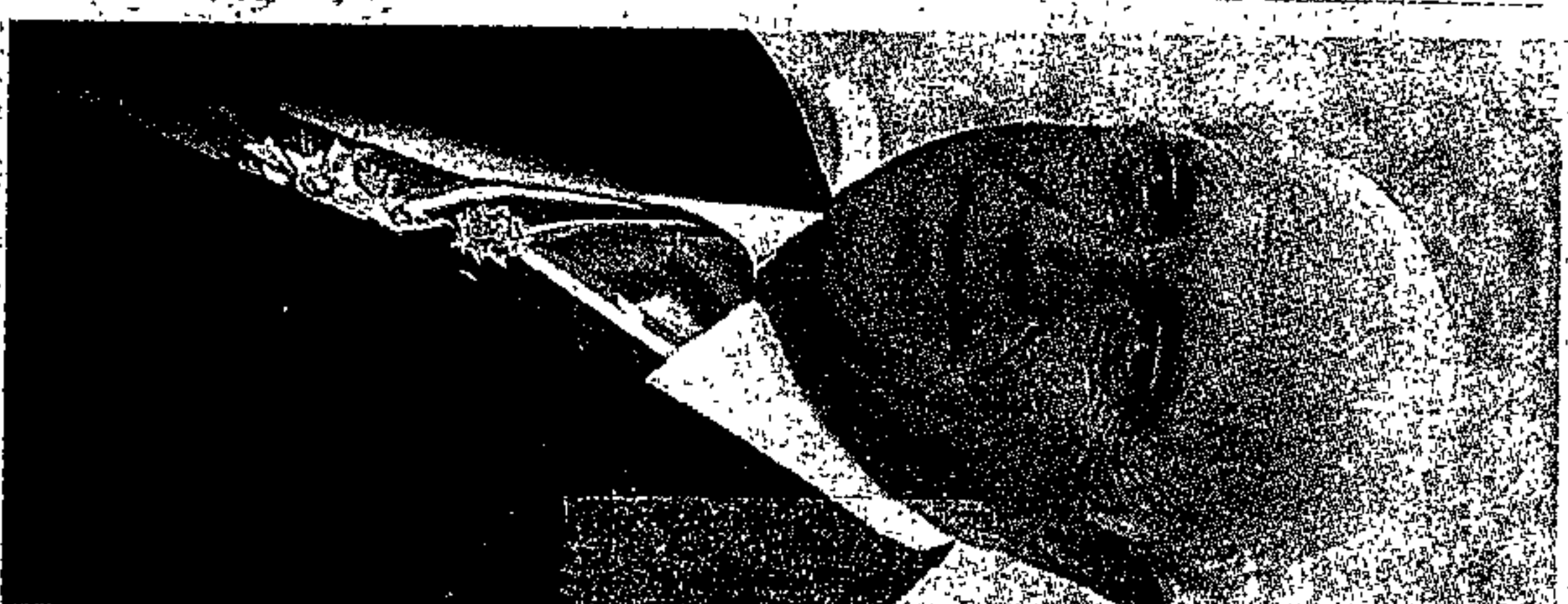
# PV: Crisis

ARCA5

6/3/89

# for Nats

3064



Mr. F.W. de Klerk



**PRESIDENT Botha and the National Party seem set for a dramatic showdown over leadership.**

The party parliamentary caucus is preparing to meet on Thursday — amid rising tensions and a mounting crisis — and will discuss the implications of President Botha's retirement as leader of the party.

It will also discuss the position of the new leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

## P W could stay on until April 1990

By TOS WENTZEL

Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT Botha can stay on until April next year and he can be removed only in exceptional circumstances.**

He can put off an election until March 3, 1990 and his term of office is linked to the term of a specific Parliament.

A new President has to be elected, or one in office re-elected, at a meeting of an electoral college of MPs not more than seven days after the start of a new Parliament.

A session of a new Parliament has to start within 30 days of an election.

It is a President's prerogative to call an election.

A President can be removed on the grounds of misconduct or inability to perform his duties efficiently following a resolution by an electoral college convened at the request of each of the three Houses of Parliament.

### ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The President can resign by lodging his resignation in writing with the Chief Justice.

An acting-President can be appointed when the President is unable to perform his duties.

The electoral college consists of 50 members of the House of Assembly, 25 members of the House of Representatives and 13 members of the House of Delegates.

This means that the majority party in each House can choose all the members of the electoral college for that House.

As the National Party has the majority in the Assembly and in the electoral college, it will be able to choose the candidate to be elected.

● What the Nat Press says — page 3.

This is the latest move in what is becoming a tense drama in which "political blood could flow", according to a Nationalist MP.

Mr Botha has not satisfied the growing demand among Nationalists that there should be more clarity about the relationship between himself and the new party leader.

In an interview with the Nationalist Press, Mr Botha gave a vague answer about the relationship. He indicated that he would retain his executive powers and serve out at least his present term of office. He said it was too early to say whether he would stand for another term.

### Real power

Nationalist politicians feel he should step down to give Mr de Klerk real power.

In a weekend statement Mr de Klerk said the time was rapidly nearing when there would have to be a penetrating conversation with Mr Botha about the implications of his retirement as leader of the party.

He planned to take the matter further this week within the party context.

Today Mr de Klerk said the caucus would discuss the matter this week.

He would also have discussions with provincial leaders and if necessary a meeting of the party's federal council would be called.

Nationalist MPs said that Mr de Klerk had to establish his ground.

His credibility would suffer unless there was certainty about his position soon.

### Confrontation

They said the latest developments had all the potential of a tense political drama.

One said that "political blood could flow" unless the matter was resolved soon.

A confrontation between Mr Botha and the party seems inevitable.

Some MPs expressed regret about Mr Botha's style and his stubborn insistence that no-one could prescribe to him what he should do.

They pointed out that he had been given the message, especially by some Nationalist newspapers, that now was the time to step down while he could still do so with dignity.

Cape Times 6/3/89 (24) (25) 204/1

By MANDY JEAN WOODS

THE status of a R155m deal to sell Chieftain Aviation by Pretoria businessman Mr Albert Vermaas was still unclear at the weekend.

Mr Tony Michael, a spokesman for the investors, said the guarantee of payment had not been received by yesterday, although the Supreme Court, Pretoria, was told last Tuesday that it was expected by Friday.

Some investors were now hostile and "quite desperate", he said.

Mr Vermaas could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Mr Michael said: "I spoke to Vermaas on Sunday morning and he told me the guarantee had not come yet and that he was still negotiating with the buyer. He is still confident the deal will come off but I'm not so sure."

Since December, Mr Vermaas has

## Investors angry as Vermaas fails to meet deadline

been battling to postpone liquidation and sequestration proceedings against him to conclude the sale which he said would enable him to pay back creditors and investors.

Mr Michael and numerous other investors last month supported Mr Vermaas's postponement request. The Supreme Court, Pretoria, granted a postponement to February 28. Then Mr Vermaas requested a further postponement to Friday, March 3. The judge ruled against the request and the final liquidation and sequestration orders were granted last week.



CAM TMS  
6/3/89 JOLLA

## Worrall 'needed at helm'

Staff Reporters

THE Democratic Party (DP) has a chance of becoming the Official Opposition — but only under the leadership of Dr Denis Worrall, an opinion poll claims.

Conducted by Mark & Meningopnames for a Sunday newspaper, the poll said the DP would win 21,1% of the vote were it led by Dr Worrall. This is almost 2% ahead of the present Official Opposition, the Conservative Party.

But the poll said the DP would not fare as well under the other three possible leaders — Dr Zach de Beer of the PFP, Mr Wynand Malan of the National Democratic Movement or Dr Willem de Klerk.

The poll said Dr Worrall had the most support from supporters of all three parties involved in the planned amalgamation, with 36,9% of their vote. Second was Dr De Beer with 26,1%, then Dr De Klerk with 16%.

Asked for a reaction to the poll, Mr Malan said the survey did not take account of shared leadership which would continue until October.

"Our aim remains to achieve a democratic SA through a process of engagement and negotiation with all other political groupings in SA. All decisions of the party will be made with this objective as a guideline," he said.



# Showdown

Care Tink 6/3/89  
3044

Care Tink 6/3/89

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
and BARRY STREEK

**NEW National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk appears headed for a showdown with President P W Botha this week in one of the party's biggest crises since 1948.**

The looming confrontation comes at a time when two of Mr Botha's staunchest backers over the years — the NP caucus and the Nationalist press — seem to have swung against him.

In an astonishing turnabout, the NP's top political mouthpieces, the Burger in Cape Town and the Beeld in Johannesburg, have made barely concealed attacks on Mr Botha's decision to stay in power, exhorting the NP to resolve the growing crisis without delay — before it becomes too late "to act with retention of full dignity and grace".

**THE PW BOTHA  
INTERVIEW  
WITH NASPERS**  
SEE PAGE 6

Following this, Mr De Klerk served notice at the weekend that the time was now "fast approaching" for the leadership question to be resolved, stating that he intended "to take the matter further within party context as soon as this week".

The next NP caucus meeting, scheduled for Thursday, is clearly likely to be a make-or-break affair for Mr De Klerk.

Should he fail to act decisively in rallying the majority of Nationalist MPs around him in his bid for real power, his authority and stature as a strong leader could be severely damaged.

Last night a spokesman for the State President's office said Mr Botha was not available for comment or an interview.

A key figure in the unfolding drama, acting State President Mr Chris

Heunis, who is also the NP's Cape leader, indicated yesterday that he had nothing to say on the matter.

Mr De Klerk was out of town and was not immediately available for any further comment.

The crisis in the National Party deepened dramatically over the weekend following the astonishing interview with Mr Botha in the Nationalist press about his refusal to relinquish any of his powers and the anguished opposition to this decision by three key government newspapers — the Burger, Beeld and Rapport.

While the Burger gave splash coverage to an exclusive interview with Mr Botha, it also gave front-page promi-

## FW told the press that ...

"Since February 2 (when Mr de Klerk was elected chief leader of the NP after a surprise leadership contest called by Mr Botha), it has been my standpoint that the State President must first be granted a reasonable opportunity to recover before it can be expected of him to become involved in penetrating talks about the implications of his retirement as chief leader of the NP."

"After my conversation with him on March 2 and his statements after that, it is clear that the time for this is fast approaching."

"I intend to take this matter further this week within party context."

"In the meantime, I urge Nationalists not to allow themselves to be stampeded (om hulle nie op loop te laat jaag nie). The highest interests of the NP and thereby also of our country need to be of utmost importance to everybody."

"It is in that spirit that I will continue to act within the NP."

nence to a report that the overwhelming majority of the NP caucus "seriously questioned" his decision to return to office.

The Burger, which had been specially close to Mr Botha over many years, said that the question being asked in parliamentary circles was whether he had been informed pointedly enough that his intention to return was creating confusion in the

To page 2

## PFP: Botha was never good news

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night that he was astounded at the "extraordinary turn-around" of Nationalist newspapers the Burger, Beeld and Rapport in questioning President P W Botha's decision to resume power.

"From our point of view, Mr Botha was never particularly good news. But these papers worshipped the ground he stood on until he became ill some six weeks ago."

"Mr De Klerk, for his part, has contented himself with saying rather humbly that he would like, if possible, to have a chat to the president. This is hardly the stuff that heroes are made of," Dr De Beer said.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht questioned whether Mr De Klerk had the "guts" to confront Mr Botha.

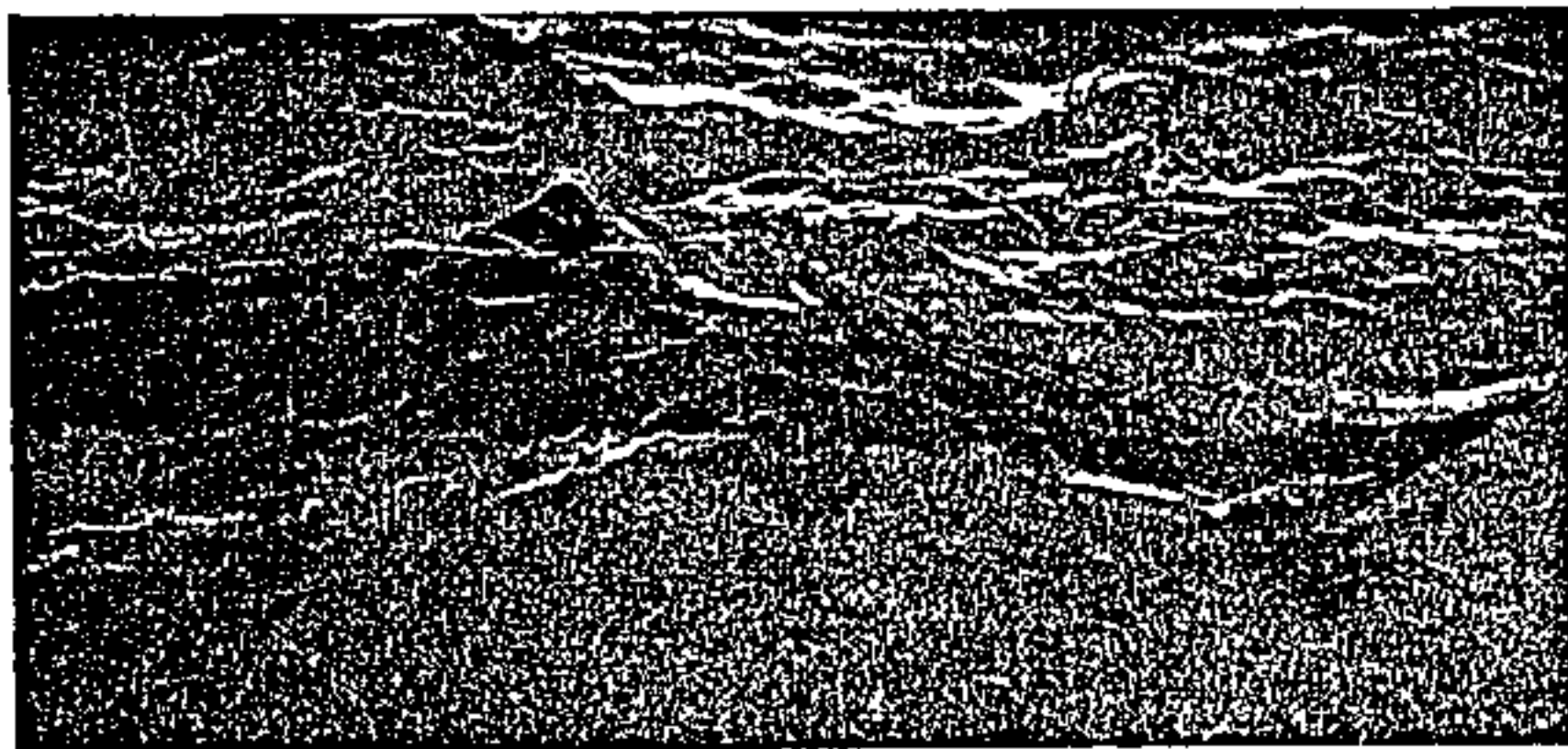
Finding outspoken criticism of Mr Botha in the NP press "amazing", Dr Treurnicht said this, and Mr Botha's severance of formal links with his NP power base, created "a very difficult situation for him to continue".



**MAN ON THE SPOT** ... The leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, on the green in Stellenbosch at the weekend where he participated in an NP golf day.

Picture: Courtesy of Rapport

## st's bask is worse than its bite



basking shark, measuring about three metres, was spotted from the air off Bloubergstrand. The white mark behind its dorsal fin is an injury, a boat propeller. Western Province Surf Lifesaving Association spokesman says basking sharks are harmless.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

P.T.O.



VIEWS expressed by President P W Botha in an interview published in the newspapers of the Nasionale Pers at the weekend have caused acute disquiet in Nationalist and anti-Nationalist quarters alike.

Because of its importance and in the light of the implicit rejection of some of Mr Botha's comments in the newspapers which published the interview — Beeld, the Burger and Rapport — some key extracts from the interview are given verbatim below.

The central thrust of the interview is Mr Botha's intention to remain in charge of the key functions of government — constitutional policy, state security, the economy etc — while the presidency is split into two offices, that of State President and Prime Minister, and who would be *hoofleier* (national leader) of the party.

The Naspers columnist Dawie, however, cuts across this view by insisting that the new *hoofleier*, Mr F W de Klerk, with the full backing of the party, be accorded the full powers which he needs to carry out his task.

Here are some extracts from the interview:

#### Splitting the presidency

Q: How do you foresee the separation of the two offices working in practice? As the *hoofleier* of the NP Mr De Klerk will be the chief interpreter of the policy which is laid down by the party congresses. Yet he does not have the constitutional power to carry out the policy. You have that power. Do you not foresee that problems could arise in this connection?

A: I will take note of the NP congresses and will act on the assumption that I have a power base among all good South Africans. Every day I get evidence of goodwill and there are literally thousands of letters of support from the population, which are overwhelming. This makes me realise my responsibility more deeply and I will continue in humility to carry out my daily task.

#### Attending NP congresses

Q: Will you still attend congresses of the NP and address political meetings?

A: I hope they will invite me. I cannot think that a party which I have served for 50 years will cease to be interested in me.

I am frequently invited to economic congresses, businessmen's organisations, agricultural unions and labour organisations. I have always gone out of my way to make contact with different opinion groups and sectors of our national life.

# The PW Botha interview

Opt Times 30/4  
6/3/89

#### Attending NP caucus meetings

Q: Do you still intend in the future to attend the meetings of the NP caucus? Technically in law you are naturally no longer a member of the caucus.

A: I have regularly attended meetings of the caucus. I can see no reason why study groups of the caucus should not ask to see the State President. There is no reason why persons in the caucus cannot have open-hearted discussions with the State President.

I have a lively interest in Parliament and I hope to continue to enjoy the goodwill of other parties in the country.

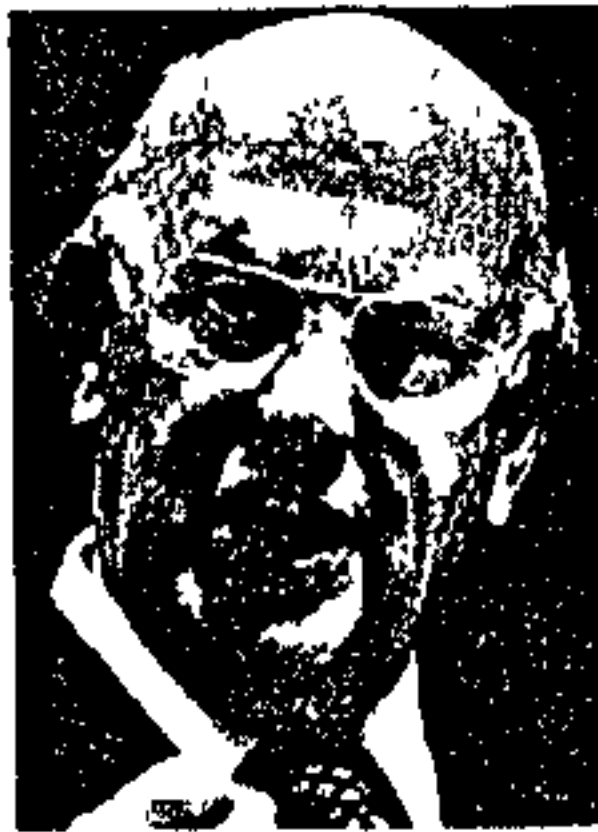
I would say this: Much of the propaganda revolves around my health. But Parliament itself, as the personification of a civilized community, makes provision for its members to get sick leave. Public service laws make provision for officials to recuperate. Big companies do the same for their employees and chiefs. If they can do this, why is there such a fuss about my temporary illness...?

Calling an election

Q: There is much speculation about an election and indications that many of your colleagues in the cabinet and Parliament favour an early election. What is your view?

A: There are always differences of opinion about when an election should take place. It can take place when a population group's representatives feel an election should be held. When the State President dissolves Parliament, an election is held if it is in the interests of the country.

But elections can only take place when it is in the interests of the country. What must also be considered is for example whether the funds exist for the state or the ruling party. These are all consider-



President Botha ... disquiet

Corruption: 'What disturbs me is there are elements who ... want to transform the proceedings of commissions into inquisitions'

ations which must be discussed and debated at the leadership level.

To hold an election merely for the sake of an election is frequently just a contribution to disturbing stability, and South Africa is in need of stability. South Africa needs to reflect a spirit of confidence to the outside world.

#### Corruption

Q: Will you comment on the allegations of corruption in the administration of the country?

A: Among the first matters which I will attend to when I return to office are aspects surrounding the allegations of corruption. It is known that I am unshakably opposed to any form of corruption and hold that it must be eradicated root and branch.

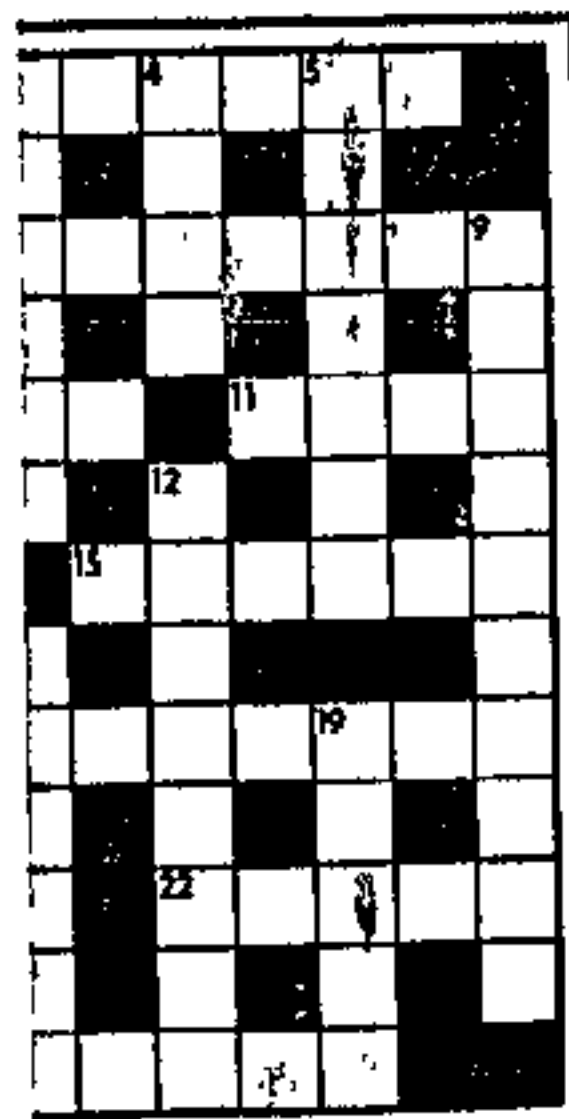
But what disturbs me is that there are elements (instances) who out of malice want to transform the proceedings of commissions into inquisitions. In this process untested evidence is sent into the world irrespective of the damage which is done to honourable people. Even ministers have not been spared. This will have to stop.

#### Another term

Q: Will you consider another term as State President?

A: It is absolutely too early to decide now. I think of these matters continually. I have had an interest in public life all my life. I will continue to maintain that interest as long as I have the strength.

8042



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TO CRYPTIC CLUES No. 10041:  
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15 Flying start, 17 Potential, 19 Tot,  
Clearly, DOWN: 1 Paris, 2 Can, 3  
dry, 5 Rockery, 8 Repeat, 11 Polico-  
14 All over, 16 Bowls, 18 Ally, 20

#### Target

HOW many words of four letters or more can you make from the letters shown here? In making a word, each letter may be used once only. Each word must contain the white letter, and there must be at least one 10-letter word in the list. No plurals, no foreign words, and no proper names.

TODAY'S TARGET: 23 words, good; 28 words, very good; 34 words, excellent. Solution tomorrow.

SATURDAY'S SOLUTION: Engulf ENGULFMENT feel felt funnel flee fleet flue fluent flume flung flute fuel fulgent fume funnel gulf left nerful unfelt.



#### Black Viewpoint

THE meeting over the past weekend of 30 trade unions representing more than a million workers heralded a new era in the conduct of struggle, New Nation commented in an editorial.

The summit had to be seen "as a concrete step towards forging greater unity in the ranks of the oppressed. We can no longer delay addressing the need for maximum unity in our ranks because it is central against oppression and exploitation."

"It is particularly significant that the need for unity should be taken up rigorously by organisations of the working people since they constitute the major component of the struggle."

□□□

New Nation continued: "Surely there is more that unites us than divides us, but unity will not come easily or even naturally. It must be striven for. Popular slogans around the leadership and unity of the working class must be transformed into tangible realities."

"But for this unity to be real, it must be expressed in action, must be disciplined and must submit to the majority view."

□□□

Sowetan said: "We have stated before that the reinstitution of the old petty apartheid signs in Conservative-controlled towns was now becoming ridiculous."

"Not only that. The whole thing is becoming violent. Adult whites demonstrating their failure to uphold their adulthood when they chose to exchange blows with some blacks in the centre of Carletonville."

"The danger of such violent eruptions is that they could easily spread to other towns, including those not necessarily subscribing to the CP's mentality of yesteryear."

"If that were to happen, the government would lose out on the little it may have thought it achieved through its reform policies."

#### From the Bible

"The Lord is my rock, my fortress and my deliverer, my God is my rock, in whom I take refuge."

(Psalm 18:2)

## Heunis a key figure

By BARRY STREEK

MR Chris Heunis is emerging as a key figure in the growing crisis over President P W Botha's decision to resume office after Easter.

In his capacity as acting State President Mr Heunis constitutionally has the full powers of the president — and this includes the power to call an election and to appoint members of the cabinet.

With many senior Nationalists itching for an early election both because this would force the election of a new president and because they believe the NP currently has advantages over the opposition to its left and right, pressure could mount on Mr Heunis to exercise his legal power to call on early poll.

However, last night the PFP's constitutional expert Mr Nic Olivier said that while Mr Heunis had the legal authority to call an election, he believed this would be politically impossible.

"Politically, I cannot conceive of the acting state president doing something that he knows would not be supported by the state president."

"Say Mr Heunis were to proclaim an election. Immediately, his appointment as acting state president could be revoked and his announcement of an election also revoked. Where would we be then?"

"I don't think the acting state president will take any fundamental decisions which would not have the support of the state president," Mr Olivier said.

However, the fact remains that Mr Heunis does possess the full constitutional powers of the president, and with the increasing tensions over the leadership of the party and government, he could be pressurised to use them.

KEN OWEN's column has been held over and will appear at a later date.

## CP did best in municipal poll?

THE CP thrashed the NP in last year's municipal elections, a CP study on the poll results has said.

A CP Information article said the CP took control of 101 of the Transvaal's 150 councils, health committees and local area committees.

The election results have been disputed by the CP and NP with the NP claiming it halted the CP advance.

Analysis of the province's results have been bedevilled by the fact that most NP candidates stood as independents.

The article, researched by CP-

PETER DELMAR 304/17

nominated MP Clive Derby-Lewis, said the CP took control of 101 local authorities and the NP just 32, while independents took nine, and eight were now coalition-ruled.

After independents had shown where they stood, the CP had 671 councillors to the NP's 403 with 42,4% of the vote, marginally ahead of the 42,1% for the NP.

In the Free State, the CP won in 22 local elections. Official NP candidates took only five or six.



PW, FW shape up for major clash

# Govt faces leadership showdown

CAPE TOWN — There are growing indications government is facing an unprecedented leadership struggle.

NP leader F W de Klerk is to raise the issue of the division of power between himself and President P W Botha with the party caucus this week.

De Klerk told Rapport it was clear after talking to Botha last week that he was recovering sufficiently for this issue to be addressed.

The time for discussing the implications of Botha's resignation as party leader was also drawing near.

Botha said in an interview published in Beeld, Die Burger and Rapport at the weekend that he would definitely be serving out his full term — and left open the door to serving another term.

In a clear swipe at De Klerk, he said the new NP leader's call for a Great Indaba was not new.

Botha said he had called for an Indaba in Parliament last year and the idea had



● BOTHA

MIKE ROBERTSON

originated with former Lebowa leader Cedric Phatudi.

Botha said it was also clear he was "in the way of some people", without specifying who those people were.

De Klerk chose not to respond to Botha's statements.

In spite of no longer being NP leader, Botha said he still had a power base in that he enjoyed the support of all good South Africans. He said he could not believe the NP, which he had served for 50 years, would now no longer be interested in him.

● Comment: Page 6

Botha said he would handle the question of an election and vacancies in the Cabinet when he returned to his office.

He said he would also deal with allegations about corruption including deliberate attempts to turn proceedings at inquiries into inquisitions.

However, in spite of Botha's clear message that he intended holding onto power, it was clear from articles in the same newspapers just how far support for his leadership had been eroded.

● To Page 2

## Govt faces showdown over leadership

In an editorial article, Dawie, political commentator for Beeld and Die Burger, came close to suggesting that Botha should retire. Much importance is being attached to this as the two papers are seen as official NP mouthpieces.

Dawie noted the climate for reform had improved recently and strong determined action needed to be taken to take advantage of that. But, he said, De Klerk's problem in his new role was that he had responsibility without power. This was totally unacceptable.

The NP had elected De Klerk as leader and needed now to give him the ammunition to carry out that task.

Rapport's leading article yesterday

questioned the wisdom of separating the roles of President and leader of the ruling party. It said while this might have some attractions, separation in itself created problems which needed to be thoroughly thought through before the division became permanent.

While Botha had indicated he wanted the presidency to become a unifying force in SA, Rapport questioned whether someone elected primarily by one party could then be dealing in a way that would convince all South Africans he was now above party politics.



# Reflection of apartheid found in West Indies

30418  
Star 2/1/87

**ROBERT GODDARD**, a West Indian journalist and broadcaster who is visiting South Africa as part of the centenary of the SA Cricket Union, gives his initial impression of the country considered by the mostly-black West Indian population to rate "somewhere below Hades".



In South Africa, it goes without saying, racial integration is likewise a promise unfulfilled, although the use of the word "promise" in this case is patently ridiculous.

Racial separation has been the whole point of social organisation for a length of time that exceeds the lifetime of the Republic.

And yet the scene in the shops, workplaces and nightclubs of central Johannesburg is reminiscent, at first glance, of the social situation at home.

There are far more whites, of course, but the interaction between the races from middle-class backgrounds would not be that out of place in a Port-of-Spain shopping mall.

But it is quite a different story with the working class blacks I have seen around the hotel where I am staying.

For, although everywhere I have walked I have been met with civility from the black working-class South African, there has been no warmth behind the welcome. The courteousness is a dissembling facade and nothing more. It is an accommodation to the reality that he has been dispossessed and is all the more haunting because the facade is so undemonstrative, so mute.

The black West Indian, on the other hand, knows he runs the show. Even if he is poor, he can take comfort in the fact that his vote and those of others who think like him can throw politicians out of office in the most emphatic fashion imaginable outside of a coup or a revolution. And this does make a difference: A tremendous, enormous, absolute difference.

From a Caribbean perspective, it is hard to imagine a South African future without a "we are all South Africans" approach, fostered by full equality. And by this I do not mean a "we shall all one day be South Africans, sometime in the bye-and-bye, but in the meantime only some of us are". If anything, it must be "We are all South Africans today".

It is hard to describe one's first impressions of South Africa without first mentioning one's pre-conceptions: Especially if one comes, as I do, from the Caribbean, where the so-called apartheid republic is located somewhere below Hades in the minds of the mostly-black West Indian population.

A sort of "Botha's Inferno", you might call it.

In many ways it is only to be expected that South Africa in general, and the system of racial separation in particular, provokes very strong emotions among West Indians.

The mere mention of the word apartheid conjures up a host of painful associations which have as much to do with our own past as perhaps it has to do with southern Africa.

## Slavery

For in the Caribbean we also have a white minority and a black majority, who have been bound together in our case for much longer, and much more intractably, by the

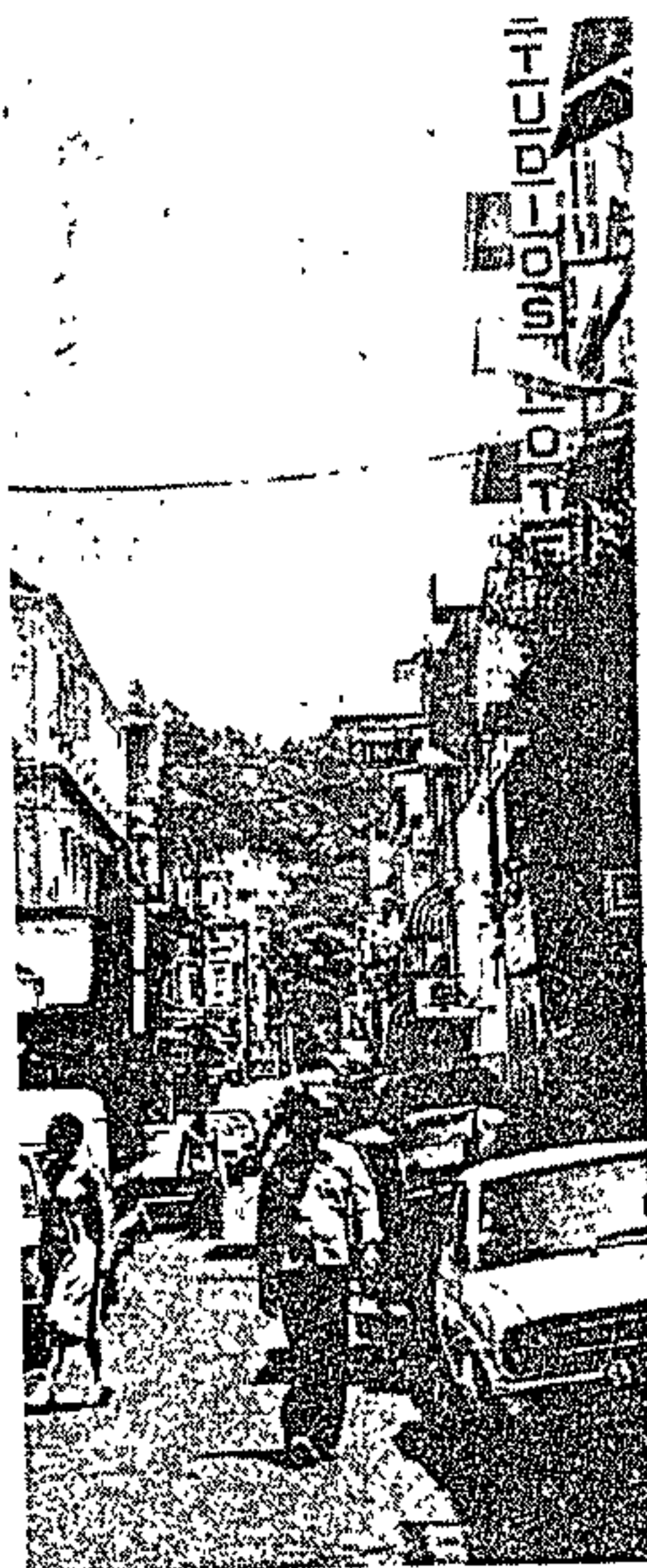
abomination of slavery. And many racial barriers that began with slavery still exist today.

In Barbados, where I am from, marriages (and even sexual liaisons) between white and black locals are extremely rare. Many nightclubs tend to cater either for a mostly white or a mostly black clientele, and even sporting clubs tend to have a reputation for being "black" or "white" (white in this case means fielding a team of eight blacks instead of eleven).

Many black Barbadians refer to this situation as "social apartheid", a rather misleading term, but one which gives some idea of the dissatisfaction they feel about the state of race relations in the country.

And on the economic front, blacks are clamouring for more say in the way the island's mostly-white corporate structure is run.

So in Barbados, when one speaks of the very considerable gains that have been made in the past 40 years in achieving racial equality, one needs to remember that full integration is still a promise unfulfilled.



This scene from Barbados is typical of many narrow Caribbean streets.

## the small society

by Brickman

IF IT WEREN'T FOR THE NEWSPAPERS BLOWING IT ALL OUT OF PROPORTION, YOU WOULDN'T KNOW THERE'S A RECESSION ON -

ESPECIALLY IF YOU'RE STILL WORKING -



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where the body was lying, he found a freshly fired empty cartridge in the chamber op-

...a romp before Mrs Krebs attacked her husband, smashing a bottle of wine over his head. The court has heard Mrs Krebs

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## Trade unions 'vital factor' in SA

304 (1) Staff Reporter

The Anglo American Corporation was committed to trade union rights for all South Africans, Anglo chairman Mr Gavin Relly told a group of post-graduate students from the United States Wharton School of Business in Johannesburg yesterday.

While 65 percent of all buying power was in the hands of blacks, trade union power, unless damaged by sanctions, would increasingly become a vital factor as an instigator of change.

The corporation had advocated the extension of trade union rights to all South Africans, despite initial strong opposition from Government and from some colleagues in the business community long before the seminal Wierhahn Commission of 1977-1979.

"We did not believe that dealing with

developing trade unions would be a comfortable experience.

"Indeed, we anticipated the real problems and tensions that the absence of political rights for black South Africans would create in politicising unions, but we thought there would never be a sound base to an industrial democracy unless we embarked on a process of helping develop trade unionism," Mr Relly said.

It was no exaggeration to say that there was a nascent industrial democracy at the heart of South Africa's modern economy. Given encouragement, this industrial democracy could be of vital importance in helping to create and sustain a wider political democracy, but Mr Relly warned that its contribution would naturally be diminished by sanctions.

Star 7/3/89

304A

## PW's move on Nat leadership 'arrogant'

The State President Mr P W Botha's decision to resign his leadership of the National Party to become a "unifying influence" in South African politics was an act of "breath-taking arrogance", the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said last night.

Dr de Beer, who shared a platform with National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan, said at the public meeting in Randburg last night that NP members heard of the decision only 20 minutes before the issue was due to be discussed at a meeting.

"If Mr Botha wants to be a unifying influence, he should re-

sign from the National Party and declare himself to be in favour of just and equal treatment for every South African", Dr de Beer said.

"Tainted with corruption on the part of their own political leaders, they persist in keeping our nation divided just so that they can rule it", he added.

Using the analogy of a rugby game being played in the mist, Mr Malan said that whites in South Africa should accept that they could not see the whole game.

People must be given the right to express themselves in order to see the whole picture, he said. — Staff Reporter



# Govt is urged to 'come clean' by left and right

Step 1/3/89 Parliamentary Staff

Opposition MPs to the left and right challenged the Government to "come clean" and answer wide-ranging allegations of corruption and irregularities, and also take stronger measures to ensure a clean administration.

But, in a series of front bench counter-attacks, the Government insisted it had taken the initiative in investigating claims of misconduct and criticised its opponents for seeking to "convict" public figures on the basis of rumour and suspicion alone.

Yesterday's debate centred on a private member's motion by Mr S C Jacobs (CP, Losberg), who warned that South Africa was experiencing the biggest wave of corruption in its history.

## SIX COMMISSIONS

The track record of the Government was evident in the fact there had been six commissions into alleged corruption and misconduct in only a few months. In any other Western country, the Government would have resigned.

What South Africa lacked, argued Mr John Malcomess (PFP, Port Elizabeth Central) was the "proper machinery" to investigate and root out corruption and he suggested the appointment of an ombudsman in terms of an Act of Parliament.

The Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, warned against prejudging people. Culprits should not go unpunished, but there were mechanisms through which investigations could be conducted.

But Mr Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) said it was clear the Government was "soft on corruption" and that "the foul odour of dead rats hangs heavy over the corridors of power in South Africa".

● See Page 6.

# Top Nats may ask P.W. to go

AR665 7/3/89 304A

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

A senior Cabinet delegation, probably of provincial leaders of the National Party, may see President Botha soon to persuade him to step down to avoid a constitutional crisis.

While there are fervent hopes among Nationalist MPs that a confrontation can be avoided, tensions over the crisis in the party are still building up.

There is an intense debate in the party about the positions of Mr P W Botha and Mr F W de Klerk, the new party leader.

MPs feel that the present arrangement whereby Mr Botha retains executive powers while Mr de Klerk as party leader is supposed to be in charge of government policy cannot continue indefinitely.

## In the dark

They are apprehensive about the harm a clash with Mr Botha can do at a time when there are signs that the National Party has the Conservative Party on the run on some issues.

While they hope that the problem can be amicably resolved rank-and-file Nationalist MPs are largely in the dark about moves their leaders may be planning. Their main interest is in Thursday's parliamentary caucus meeting when the matter will be raised.

Whether the meeting between Mr Botha and provincial leaders will take place before then depends on Mr Botha's availability.

There are no indications that Cabinet tensions which came to the boil at the end of last year are again surfacing as a result of the uncertainty.

Nationalist sources indicated today that the entire Cabinet with the possible exception of the acting State President and Cape leader of the party, Mr Chris Heunis, were in favour of Mr Botha stepping down.

They would like him to go gracefully, probably after a general election which most Nationalists want to have as soon as possible.

The main reasons being given for the demands are the slowness of moves for further constitutional changes and the imperial and often bullying style of control of Mr Botha.

Some Nationalist politicians are complaining that for the past 18 months virtually nothing has happened in the field of reform.

## Under attack

Mr Heunis, who last year became the subject of widespread speculation that he was to be dropped as Minister of Constitutional Development, is again becoming the target of sections of the National Party.

He is being criticised as a stumbling block in the way of getting negotiations with blacks off the ground. Other Nationalist members dismiss this charge, saying that Mr Heunis has been hobbled by the preconditions of many who could take part in negotiations.

Although at this stage the supporters of Mr Barend du Plessis, who ran a close second to Mr de Klerk in the leadership election, are supporting Mr de Klerk they are apparently making this conditional on there being movement.

There is no full conviction in the Du Plessis camp that Mr de Klerk is fully committed to proper power-sharing.



## Showdown looms between PW & NP

# Who's the boss?

## Meanwhile FW chills on the side

Sowetan  
Correspondent

FOCUS

THE leadership struggle in the Government is rapidly moving to an explosive showdown and the National Party caucus could finally back new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk against President Botha in its meeting on Thursday.

NP sources said yesterday that a damaging confrontation between Mr Botha and the National Party was almost inevitable after Mr Botha made it clear in an interview over the weekend that he intended serving out at least his present term.

There is now a strong possibility that after the meeting of the NP caucus and other NP organisations this week, a delegation could be sent to Mr Botha to ask him to stand down.

### Decide

NP sources said yesterday that the caucus would probably be asked to decide whether or not the offices of party leader and State President should be separated — as Mr Botha intends — and if not who should fill both posts.

It is highly probable they will decide that the posts should not be separated and that Mr de Klerk should fill both.

It has now become evident that the entire National Party establishment is fast deserting Mr Botha to back Mr de Klerk.

### Clarity

Over the weekend the powerful Nat-supporting Nasionale Pers group clearly swung its considerable weight behind Mr de Klerk.

And even the SABC in an editorial yesterday lent tacit backing to Mr de Klerk by praising the new spirit in the party since he took over.

The NP caucus has also been giving clear signs some time that it will back him too.

Mr de Klerk has been lying low for some time, attempting to get greater clarity from Mr Botha about their relative positions.

But stung into action for the first time by an



FW de Klerk, the man who would be king lies waiting in the wings.

interview Mr Botha gave to *Die Burger* spelling out his future plans, Mr de Klerk announced over the weekend that the time had come for "penetrating" discussions with Mr Botha over the implications of Mr Botha's resignation as NP leader last month.

Mr de Klerk said he would pursue the matter in NP circles. This is interpreted to mean that it will be discussed at the caucus meeting this week.

Mr de Klerk also said yesterday that he intended to discuss the matter with the party's provincial leaders and its federal council — the party's highest body.

Observers have been astonished at how openly the NP press has suddenly come out in favour of Mr de Klerk.

In an editorial yesterday the Johannesburg *Natpers* daily, *Beeld* told Mr Botha to follow the advice of his mentor

Dr D F Malan, that "there is a time to go"

and strongly hinted that it was now.

And both *Beeld* and *Die Burger*, official mouthpiece of the Cape NP in front page articles on Saturday "seriously questioned" Mr Botha's intention of returning to his office full-time after the Easter weekend.

### Power

They asked whether it had been conveyed strongly enough to Mr Botha how damaging his determination to stay in power could be to the party's new momentum.

Yesterday *Die Burger* said in an editorial that in the end the National Party itself would have to decide the leadership issue.

It also implicitly backed Mr de Klerk for the presidency by saying that the NP chief leader had to have the power to execute NP policy.

NP sources said yesterday that "political blood" would flow if the NP clashed with Mr Botha, as now seems inevitable.

They said his "stubbornness" was highly regrettable.

If Mr Botha refuses to stand down it is by no means certain what will happen next as Mr Botha has all the power in his hands.

### Unlikely

But it is considered unlikely that he will continue to resist the will of the whole NP.

The leadership crisis was precipitated over the weekend when President Botha made it clear that he intended to remain in office at least until the end of his present term — which could be as late as May next year. He also made it clear that he regarded the separation of the offices of NP leader and State President as permanent.

Though Mr Botha did not explicitly spell out his view of the relationship between himself and the new leader of the NP Mr de Klerk, NP sources said that reading between the lines it was clear that Mr Botha saw him "as just another official dealing with matters he himself did not have time for"

In the interview Mr Botha suggested that the NP leader would simply be the representative in his cabinet of one population group along with the representatives of other population groups, such as the Indian and coloured and in the future black groups.

Mr Botha simply brushed aside the role of the NP leader when asked the crucial question, how he thought the separation of the two offices could work when Mr de Klerk was the chief interpreter of NP policy while only he (Mr Botha) had the power to carry it out. Mr Botha said that he would "take note of NP congresses and proceed from the standpoint that I have a power base among all good South Africans."

NP sources said last night that though the party accepted that some time in the future the NP could merely be one among many representatives of population groups in the cabinet, this could not happen until the powers of the State President had been reduced through constitutional changes.



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

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# Gerrit has to go, says opposition



3064

Political Staff

THE Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, should immediately resign following the tabling of the first report of the Van den Heever Commission; opposition parties said last night.

The Conservative Party spokesman on education and development, Mr Schalk Pienaar, said the report demonstrated Dr Viljoen's unsuitability for office.

PFP spokesman on black education Mr Ken Andrew said the DET had been "devastated by incompetence, irregularities, dishonesty and nepotism" and that the minister should resign. This was "the only honourable thing to do".

Mr Pienaar said Dr Viljoen's actions throughout his tenure had been ineffective.

Mr Andrew said allegations made by the PFP had been proved correct. The party's insistence on an in-depth inquiry — persistently resisted by Dr Viljoen — had been fully vindicated.

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7/3/89 306A

## Govt attacked on corruption

Staff Reporter

THE Gereformeerde Kerk has sharply criticised the government in the light of numerous recent press reports about corruption.

"Corruption is bribery and depravity," said an editorial in the latest issue of the Kerkblad, mouthpiece of the Gereformeerde Kerk.

The church is one of the three mainstream Afrikaans churches, but smaller and more conservative than the NG Kerk.

"God hates bribery," the article said.

● A spokesman for the Kerkbode, the NG Kerk journal, declined to comment on the criticism.

# Van Gend must testify to Harms or accept statement

306A  
Cape Times 7/3/89

From BJ DU PLESSIS MP,  
Minister of Finance (House  
of Assembly):

IN REACTION to your report on March 3, on allegations by Mr Jan van Gend, MP for Groote Schuur, in connection with the interview I granted to Mr Albert Vermaas, I wish to place on record my strong objections to certain statements made by Mr Van Gend.

Firstly, I gave Parliament a full statement on the matter. Mr Van Gend therefore has no excuse for not knowing all the relevant facts. If he is of the opinion that I misinformed Parliament, he should testify accordingly under oath to the Harms Commission.

I saw Mr Vermaas because I have a duty to hear the representations of anyone with a difficulty falling in my broad area of responsibility. I have done it a thousand times and will continue to do so while I hold public office.

When realising the nature of his problem I arranged for him to see the proper person at the Reserve Bank, namely Dr Van Greuning. This is common practice — I have referred countless petitioners whose first reaction was "to see the Minister", to the relevant top officials, and I shall continue to do so.

In fact I have little choice, since many of my statutory responsibilities, particularly those of a technical nature, are either by law explicitly vested in certain senior officials or are formally delegated to officials. Arranging the interview was in any event a completely superfluous step since, without my knowledge, Mr Vermaas himself had already, earlier that same day, arranged an interview with Dr Van Greuning. Mr Vermaas did not tell me about it. Why did Mr Van Gend ignore this important fact in his statement to the Cape Times?

And, by the way, Mr Van Gend apparently does not even know that Reserve Bank officials are not Government officials! Does he not know that the Reserve Bank is

## LETTERS

Box 11  
CAPE TOWN  
8000

entirely private sector owned?

Secondly, Mr Van Gend states that Mr Vermaas, with the "aid of the Minister of Finance", was "given audience by two highly-placed Government officials, among others Mr Van Greunen (sic) from the Reserve Bank". Can Mr Van Gend please tell us or the Harms Commission who the second official (apart from Dr Van Greuning) was with whom I supposedly arranged an interview?

Thirdly, I must strongly object to the inference arising from Mr Van Gend's statement to the Cape Times that I had previous knowledge of the alleged "fairly dubious business dealings" of Mr Vermaas and that I must have known that Mr Vermaas "had not filed tax returns for many years".

I find it absurd that Mr Van Gend could come to the conclusion that "the Government should have exercised more caution in dealing with him" (Mr Vermaas) when he himself says that he founded his conclusion on the evidence given to the Harms Commission. If the alleged transgressions of Mr Vermaas only came to light in the course of the evidence before the Commission, how could I have known about these things before I spoke to him on that Sunday — before the Commission began its investigations? Does Mr Van Gend claim prescience regarding alleged fraudulent acts perpetrated by those

with whom he may have contact? Or does he expect me to try and establish everybody's bonafides prior to my seeing them? I take it he does not treat his own voters in this way.

I fail to see how I can do my duty without being accessible to the public.

As far as the tax returns of Mr Vermaas are concerned, of which, according to Mr Van Gend's statement, I should also have been aware, he should know that the Income Tax Act (1962) provides for the utmost secrecy with regard to the knowledge and duties of the Commissioner of Inland Revenue. The relevant clause in the Act says the Commissioner "shall not communicate any such matter to any person whatsoever other than the taxpayer concerned or his lawful representative" (emphasis added).

There is therefore no way in which I, as Minister of Finance, should or could have known, prior to the investigation by the Harms Commission, whether Mr Vermaas had filed tax returns or not. Would Mr Van Gend be happy if the Minister of Finance were to have access to his or anybody else's income tax files?

As far as I am concerned, I find the continued attempts to link me with the Vermaas saga not only contrived but by now also somewhat puerile. If Mr Van Gend or for that matter anybody else believes he has knowledge of new facts in this connection, I challenge him to give evidence under oath to the Harms Commission.

If Mr Van Gend is unable to do so, he is clearly obliged to accept my account as the truth and to refrain from trying to flog this dead horse.

**P W must step down to give the Nation a chance**

are reported by scientists to have





STATE LEADER ...  
Mr P W Botha

PARTY LEADER ...  
Mr F W de Klerk

## Growing Nat caucus backing for De Klerk

*CNC Trial 7/3/89 3044*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

NATIONAL PARTY leader Mr F W de Klerk — bolstered by growing caucus backing — appeared determined yesterday to stick to his guns in his power-struggle with President P W Botha for control of the country.

Many Nationalists were anxious to not to compound the crisis by engaging in a bloody confrontation with Mr Botha but were adamant that the current uncertainty could not continue.

Intense interest is being focused on Thursday's crucial caucus meeting at which Mr De Klerk plans to thrash out the issue with MPs.

The mood in the NP yesterday appeared to be that if the President was not prepared to compromise, the

party might have to resort to more forceful methods to defuse the leadership impasse.

The drama has been heightened by the division in parliamentary circles about who would emerge the victor in a PW/FW showdown.

There is also the possibility that the current opposition to Mr Botha's decision to cling to power would begin to crumble if the imperious Mr Botha cracked his whip or decided to spring a surprise visit on Thursday's caucus.

Parliamentarians were also concerned that Mr Botha's close circle of advisers — who would be without a job if he left — were keeping up the pressure for him to stay on at all costs.

CAPE TIMES 1/3/89

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# Corruption thrives under the Nats, says CP

SOUTH AFRICA was experiencing the biggest wave of corruption in its history under the present government, Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) said yesterday.

Introducing a debate on his motion that the government be condemned for its inability to ensure clean administration, he said that in any other Western country such a government would have resigned.

It was only because of the NP's arrogance that it was not resigning.

Mr Jacobs said that in only a few months, six commissions of inquiry had investigated alleged corruption in South Africa and across its borders.

"This is the track record of this government."

He said a "cardinal aspect" of the Pallazo affair was that a French company's name was being mentioned as having given R42 000 to the NP in East London

City.

In the light of the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Bill, he wanted to know from the leader of the NP in the Cape, Mr Chris Heunis, whether he denied that the party had fought an election with foreign funds.

Referring to a statement by the State President, Mr P W Botha, in *Nasionale Pers* newspapers on Saturday that there were institutions who maliciously wished to turn commissions of inquiry into inquiries — and that Mr Botha wished to put an end to this, Mr Jacobs said this was a "holier than thou attitude from someone who forced out Dr Connie Mulder on the untested evidence of the Erasmus Commission".

Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan) said that among allegations of corruption was that a swimming pool had been built at the house of the Minister of Defence, General

Magnus Malan, and was described in the budget schedule as improvements to a shooting range.

He said the use of Defence Force helicopters for ministerial hunting parties was also mentioned.

Mr Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said the National Party was soft on corruption.

South Africans were tired of many things but they were most of all tired of corruption in government.

There had been rumours of irregularities for easily two years before the former minister of manpower and public works, Mr Pietie du Plessis, had resigned.

"It does not help now, after 10 years of P W Botha administration, to speak out against corruption and that it will be rooted out."

"It is already written on the wall that the NP government is soft on corruption," Mr Langley said. — Sapa

## Corruption: Law 'not always adequate'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Those who attempted to make political capital when the government's attempts to halt corruption and other malpractices did not succeed, should remember that South African society and South Africa's image were the victims of their conduct, the Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

In debate on a member's motion by Mr S P Jacobs (CP Losberg), Mr Heunis said that instead of ridiculing and criticising the government they would be well advised to assist government in its efforts to rid society of the menace of corruption.

"They will also be well advised to refrain from disseminating unfounded rumours which serve only to undermine confidence in our collective ability to manage the public affairs of our country in a fashion which will do us all proud."

The government's efforts in its quest for clean administration were sometimes frustrated or perceived to be inadequate because conduct which seemed morally reprehensible was not always punishable by law.

No civilised legal system could punish on the grounds of suspicions alone, only on tried and tested facts.

Since evil men were ingenious and morally bankrupt, occasions arose where one was faced with the dilemma that existing law and law-enforcement agencies were inadequate to cope with what was perceived as reprehensible conduct.

## 'Ombudsman' can stop corruption

Political Staff

THE MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess, yesterday called for the appointment of an ombudsman as a defence against corruption.

Speaking to a private member's motion on corruption, Mr Malcomess said that while corruption was not peculiar to South Africa, what was different was that no proper machinery existed for investigating and rooting it out.

He said an all-party committee of Parliament should be appointed to investigate steps taken by other countries to combat corruption, particularly through the use of ombudsmen.

Where, he asked, was the government's commitment to clean administration when the state president attacked a commission chaired by a judge of the Supreme Court?

● Corruption in government departments, involving members of Parliament and by people well-connected in the corridors of power, had become so commonplace it could almost be described as boring, Mr Jan van Gend (PFP Groote Schuur) said yesterday.

"Boring were it not for the far-reaching consequences of those immoral and unscrupulous activities."

If evidence had been led before the Harms Commission and reported in the press which suggested links between a "scoundrel" like Mr Albert Vermaas and the departments of Foreign Affairs, Defence or any other department or minister, "then it is the duty of the minister to address this evidence and explain to Parliament and the public exactly how he or his department are linked or not linked to this man".



# Glasnost 'could influence attitudes to SA'

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8/23/87

By Dan Side

Glasnost, perestroika and their contribution to the probable end of the cold war era could place the so-called South African problem even more prominently in the world spotlight, said Mr Len Abrahamse in his presidential address to the annual meeting of the South Africa Foundation in Cape Town yesterday.

"To invoke the threat of communism may no longer have the relative currency it once had," said the retiring president, adding that in a more peaceful world the stresses within South Africa would attract even more attention overseas.

He anticipated no startling changes within Russia, but said Soviet President Mr Mikhail Gorbachev had captured the imagination of the world by becoming a symbol of change.

This was of importance to South Africans, because his position was perceived by many to be the same as that of State President Mr P.W. Botha.

"Both face strong opposition to their policies, have released prominent dissidents, have kept and put others behind bars, have softened their stance on external issues, and both have brought troops home.

"Yet Mikhail Gorbachev is feted in the West while P.W. Botha is not," he said.

Shared leadership is ruled out

# Election plan to heal crisis over President

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

An early election, and President Botha's retirement after it, have become key issues in efforts being made to resolve the leadership crisis in Government.

Top government sources have revealed that the enormous tension between President Botha and new National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk has now been partially defused through indirect communication.

Mr De Klerk hinted at this in a statement last night when he said the NP should be given a chance to "continue its dialogue with the State President".

But sources said a resolution of the untenable relationship between the two leaders was still a long way off.

The thinking in the upper echelons of the NP seems to be that a power-sharing arrangement between the two men — as has been suggested in some quarters — is impossible.

## Crucial question

They believe the crucial question now is when President Botha goes away this will probably be done is for Mr Botha simultaneously to call an election and announce that he will retire after it.

This will make it clear to the NP electorate that Mr de Klerk is to be their leader — and will also allow Mr Botha to serve out his term as State President with dignity.

Party sources said the NP couldn't go into an election with two leaders.

"This would be silly. And we also couldn't go to the polls without a clear idea in the electorate's mind of what would happen afterwards."

The sources said this seemed to be the only alternative to an ugly confrontation.

The date of an election has therefore become the "burning issue" in efforts to resolve the crisis which has increased once again and put on the pressure for an early election.

It seems unlikely now that there will be dramatic developments at tomorrow's NP caucus where an ultimatum was expected to be handed to President Botha to go.

Mr Botha is expected to return to Cape Town "for some occasion" next week — possibly to attend Parliament.

It is unlikely he will make any announcements then. He will then return to The Wilderness and come back to his office after Easter.

President Botha is reported to be feeling lonely and isolated after the angry reaction to his interview over the weekend when he made it clear he intended to serve out his present term in full.

Last night Mr de Klerk significantly confirmed impressions that he and Mr Botha were talking — even if indirectly. He made an appeal for the NP to be given a chance to deal with the matter in an orderly manner and to "continue its dialogue with the State President".

It has become clear that Mr de Klerk enjoys the overwhelming support of the NP caucus and press.



Batting for the SACU Centenary. Two of England's fast bowlers were part of the South African Cricket Union's guests but will be stored with SACU mementoes of 100 years. Mike Procter who is playing for the SA Golden Oldies.

## Complaints over remark on TV

By Dan Side

Viewers complained to The Star today after overhearing what they considered a derogatory, impromptu remark on "Good Morning South Africa".

The remark, said one viewer, was heard following a regular feature on child care, screened just before the 7 am news.

A middle-aged black woman had finished commenting on the problem of where to leave children during the day and while the switchover was being made to the studio presenters, a voice was heard to say "I'll bet you she's got 14 children and each has a different father."

The viewers, without exception, identified the voice as belonging to presenter David Hall-Green.

## Restricted

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

## Two 'open' areas be proclaimed

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Diepsloot and a small area between Johannesburg and Cape Town are likely to become the first officially proclaimed by the Free Settlement Areas Board for the first time in Cape Town.

The board has already received applications for free settlement areas and yesterday local authorities, Ministers' Offices and bodies to send further applications to Government sources said the 6001 and one near the new Development on the Ben Schoeman Highway were about 1 000 residential sites and were proclaimed within a few months.

Other priorities likely to be considered are Hillbrow, District Six, Fairview in Port Elizabeth and Bloed. Other places in the Johannesburg area are parts of Doornfontein, Joubert Park.

In Durban, priorities are Maryvale and parts of Mariannhill and Harrison. Board chairman Mr Hein Kruger said for some of the areas were already proclaimed.

Acting State President Mr Chris van der Westhuizen said the board meeting the Act was an important step but the board would have to use it to affect "voting rights".



## AWB chief in court next month

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche is expected to appear in court early in April in connection with the Paardekraal incident, a spokesman for the office of the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand said today. (304 n)

He said Mr TerreBlanche had to be given 14 court days' notice before actually appearing.

Mr TerreBlanche faces a charge of malicious damage to property after he allegedly smashed his car through the gates of the Paardekraal Monument several months ago.

A *Sunday Times* journalist, Jani Allan, was with him at the time.

# What kind of president would De Klerk make?

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There is tension within the NP over the content and tempo of reform, as manifested in Barend du Plessis's near-victory in the leadership election in the NP caucus. He is a symbol of the anti-FW lobby and of more radical reform.

De Klerk has, in very broad terms, four choices. He can hold the middle ground by means of clever footwork, small compromises, drawn-out studies and planning processes, effect diplomacy, and growing authority through balanced leadership and control.

I think this is the most likely scenario. This is his style, his nature, his talent and his conviction. For him, the continued unity of the NP and the holding in equilibrium of the forces and currents in the country are important priorities.

## 'Secret partitioner'

His other choice is to move to the right, in the sense of placing a more right-wing accent on the NP's dogma of racial groups. By doing so, he may be able to win back a small percentage of CP supporters, but the Barend faction will then precipitate a crisis and the DP may expect a rich harvest. I don't think this will be his choice. He is too sober and pragmatic for that.

Moreover, FW is a kind of scapegoat in the CP's eyes because he is one of the most acute critics of CP policy. Suggestions that he is really very conservative and secretly nurtures the ideal of partition are simply untrue. Incidentally, a split in the NP under FW's leadership is highly unlikely in the short term.

In the medium to long term, the NP may gradually dissolve into the CP on the right and the DP on the left. This will depend on how mobile or hidebound the NP is going to be, and how dynamically the DP is going to project itself.

The third choice facing FW is to move quite a few degrees to the left

**DR WIMPIE DE KLERK**, professor of communications at Rand Afrikaans University and former editor of Rapport, examines what kind of president his brother, Mr FW de Klerk, the new leader of the National Party, would make. This is part of an article originally published in Leadership magazine.



Wimpie de Klerk . . . "My brother FW is fair, friendly and humble, but not weak in any respect. He will not easily walk too far ahead of his people."

by quickening the pace of reform, continuing the abolition of discriminatory legislation, introducing more effective negotiations and concentrating on the broadening of political vision.

I expect some movement in this direction, also due to pressure from the NP's left wing. But it will be a slight movement, meted out in small dosages.

However, I do believe that FW has the political honesty to know that shifts must take place in order to accommodate black demands.

As a good negotiator he is certain, within the system, to defuse some of the tension that has accumulated under the Botha regime.

I don't expect him to make the fourth choice at all. This will be to

make a sharp about-turn and to hazard a leap of faith, away from the idea of racial groups, in the direction of the DP's principles.

He is too dismissive of a more radical style. The NP is too strongly wedded to race federation as its ideal state. Apart from FW's dedication to the idea of racial groups, he is a politician with his ear to the ground. He is finely attuned to the political climate, and will not easily walk too far ahead of his people.

What will FW's particular stamp and grasp on the country prove to be? Every NP leader has had his own distinctive grip on the party and government.

Malan found his through Afrikaner unity; Strijdom the Republican ideal; Verwoerd through ideolo-

gy; Vorster through pragmatism coupled with security action; P through strategy, "total onslaught and militarism against the enemy."

FW de Klerk will have to develop his own stamp. If he were merely to perpetuate existing NP rhetoric -- policy, his regime will hold little excitement. It will probably move away from the securocrats, from the military preponderance, the arbitrary decisions and the dictatorial secretiveness.

He is by nature a democrat, an advocate who brings things into the open by talking, a parliamentarian, a sensitive jurist who has respect for the law and legal principles.

He has no hang-ups, either in his education or in his person. He is fair, friendly and humble. He is even gentle, but not weak in any respect.

His personal stamp will therefore already be a welcome change. And he is likely to obtain the willing cooperation of all sectors.

## In a corner

The question is, will this be enough to carry us through? Politically, we have incontestably been driven into a corner.

I wish to say it again: only a leap will carry us out of it -- a leap towards the establishment of black rights, the eradication of the remnants of apartheid, the breakthrough in negotiations and the exorcising of international isolation.

If FW can give the NP a new credibility among all the population groups, and in international politics, he will herald a breakthrough towards a new future.

But if FW continues along the old path he will be merely a transitional figure who will let us keep treading water.

South Africa is waiting to see what leadership, by what person or party, is in the offing.



## Opposition thrusts at Broederbond links

# Viljoen rejects demands for Cabinet resignation

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Minister of Education Dr Gerrit Viljoen yesterday rejected renewed opposition demands for his resignation and for the sacking of Dr Dirk Meiring, Deputy Director-General of Education and Training, after the damning report of the Van den Heever Commission report.

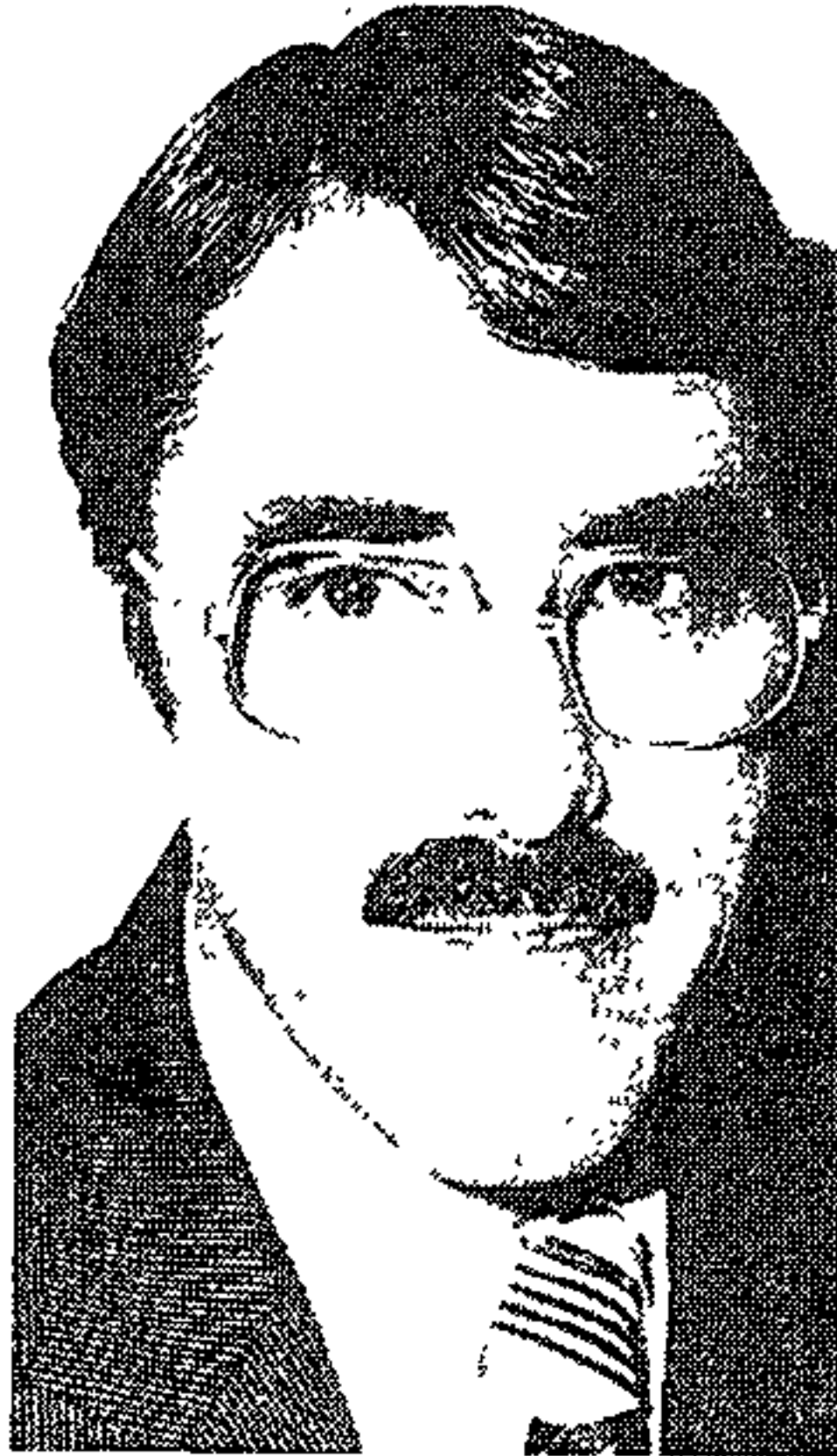
### Loyalty query

He dismissed opposition suggestions that his Broederbond loyalties — as a former chairman of the society — could have played a part in his lenient treatment of officials involved in the DET scandal.

Dr Viljoen said Dr Meiring — who was transferred as a result of the commission's report — should be given a chance to defend himself.

He said in reply to queries: "Broederbond connections never play any role in my decisions or those of the Government."

He did not reply directly to opposition questions about



Dr D H Meiring ... found to have stated untruths.

whether DET officials had been given lenient treatment so that they would not lose their pensions.

But both the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party rejected the steps taken by Dr Viljoen as inadequate —



Dr Braam Fourie ... son had financial interest.

especially his announcement that Dr Meiring would be transferred elsewhere in the public service to a post of "appropriate grading".

This was after the commission found that he had "stated untruths", and had known that

the DET's purchase of a R4,8 million computer system was irregular.

The system was bought from a company in which the son of the former director-general of the DET, Dr Braam Fourie, had a financial interest.

Mr Schalk Pienaar (CP) said his party demanded the immediate resignation of Dr Viljoen, and at least the suspension of Dr Meiring.

PFP spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said Dr Viljoen should resign and Dr Meiring should be fired.

### Office vacated

● The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports that Dr Meiring had vacated his office yesterday morning, and the new director-general, Dr Bernard Louw, was in the process of taking over the reins.

● The Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr Don Brunette, yesterday moved to prepare an investigation into possible prosecution of DET officials.

Mr Brunette said he had requested copies of the 100-page Van den Heever report, which would have to be considered.

# Boksburg whites to help Indian neighbours

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — White families in Boksburg's Windmill Park are preparing to share their stoves and baths with their Indian neighbours, whose lights and water will be cut in two weeks time if the Boksburg Town Council carries out its threat.

Almost all white residents interviewed yesterday expressed support for their neighbours — but their first concern was that the controversy in their tiny suburb be settled as quickly as possible.

The CP-controlled Boksburg Town Council, claiming the Indian residents are illegal in terms of the Group Areas Act, have threatened to cut lights and water from March 20 in an effort to force the people out of their homes.

## CONSULTED LAWYERS

The chairman of the Indian Home Owners Association, Mr Clemens Padiachy, said yesterday that his organisation had consulted its lawyers on the legal grounds of defence against this action.

"Meanwhile, every white family in the neighbourhood has offered help if our services are cut. We intend staying through thick and thin," he said.

Mr Jaap van Veen, one of the first people to settle in the area, said the white community would "object strongly" if services were cut.

"We'll string up cables, take extension cords for electricity and run hosepipes from our homes to help our Indian friends," he said.



# Election date key to PW's future

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Botha takes  
lagoon strolls  
— page 2.

By TOS WENTZEL,  
Political Correspondent

AN early general election date and the retirement of President Botha have become the key elements in a search for a compromise to resolve the crisis in the National Party.

Tensions in the party were said to be diminishing and Nationalist MPs were hoping today that a compromise could be reached which would avoid a confrontation with Mr Botha.

They felt that only an arrangement about an early election followed by Mr Botha's retirement could defuse the tension.

A power-sharing deal would not suffice, sources said.

## One leader

The feeling was that there could only be one real leader and this had to be the party leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

This could only happen if Mr de Klerk became President because Mr Botha, as Head of State, held all the executive power.

According to top Nationalist sources there has been indirect contact between Mr Botha and Mr de Klerk through a go-between. Mr de Klerk has made it clear that there must soon be "penetrating" discussions between the two.

Mr Botha was said to be feeling "lonely and isolated" this week. He was taken aback by reaction to his weekend interview in which he announced his intention to return to his post after the Easter weekend and was vague about the relationship between himself and Mr de Klerk.

## Compromise

Mr Botha may visit Cape Town tomorrow from his home at Wilderness and he may meet Mr de Klerk.

He is not expected to attend tomorrow's caucus meeting and it now also appears as if there will be no major debate on the matter at the caucus.

Instead Nationalist MPs expect that they will be given some details about the efforts to reach a compromise.

Rank-and-file Nationalist MPs are largely in the dark about the matter but the feeling among them remains that Mr Botha must step down at some stage and it is a question of "how and when".

# It's strange bedfellows

WHITE families in Boksburg's Windmill Park are preparing to share their stoves and baths with their Indian neighbours whose lights and water will be cut in two weeks' time if the Boksburg Town Council carries out its threat.

Almost all white residents *The Star* spoke to yesterday expressed support for their neighbours — but their first concern was that the controversy in their tiny suburb be settled as quickly as possible.

The CP-controlled Boksburg Town Council, claiming the Indian residents are illegal in terms of the Group Areas Act, have threatened to cut lights and water from March 20 in an effort to force the people out of their homes.

The chairman of the Indian Home Owners Association, Mr Clemens Padiachy, said yesterday that his organisation has consulted its lawyers on the legal grounds of defence against this action.

"I am very optimistic that our services will not

## SOWETAN Correspondent

be cut. If they are, I will look forward to a showdown the CP has never seen before.

"Meanwhile, every white family in the neighbourhood has offered help if our services are cut. We intend staying through thick and thin," he said.

Mr Jaap van Veen, one of the first people to settle in the area, said the white community would "object strongly" if services are cut.

## Friends

"We'll string up cables, take extension cords for electricity and run hosepipes from our homes to help our Indian friends," he said.

Mrs Belinda Baxter said she would allow her neighbours to "come and use the stove and bathroom."

"We have never had any trouble in this suburb. Our Indian neighbours are wonderful people," she added.

Support was also pledged by Mr and Mrs

Bill Mawdsley, Mr Casper Labuschagne and Mr Jaap Truter, according to Mr Padiachy.

However, not all Windmill Park's white families felt the same.

Said Mrs Tammy Collosche: "The Indians started moving into the area *en masse* and are determined to buy all our houses. They are always looking over the fences into our house and we

keep receiving sale propositions.

"If services are cut, we would rather keep to ourselves and not interfere."

Mr Manny da Silva said he didn't care "one way or the other" the fate of his Indian neighbours. "I just want this thing to be settled so I can start developing my property with confidence in the future."

30415



# CP calls on SAP in Carletonville

THE CP-controlled town council of Carletonville has appealed to the police to arrest people seen encouraging others to boycott white-owned shops.

Frustrated by the success of the nine-day protest by the black consumer, the council will see businessmen at a meeting tomorrow to devise ways to end it.

A spokesman for the Western Transvaal Police, Captain B van Heerden, yesterday said eight people have so far been arrested on charges of intimidation.

By late yesterday all was quite in the town, according to Captain van Heerden.

The arrest of the

By JOSHUA  
RABOROKO

people comes after the chairman of the Carletonville Management Committee, Mr Koos Nel said the best way to crack the boycott was to arrest those people believed to be encouraging others to boycott shops.

## Network

A spokesman for the group spearheading the boycott said a network had been set up to monitor arrests so that

lawyers could be arranged. Among the people arrested were two taxi operators.

The president of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, Mrs Annetjie Claasen confirmed that a delegation of business people would see the council on Thursday.

She said 98 percent of about 350 businesses canvassed had been seriously affected by the protest action and reported between 10 percent and 100 percent drops in turnover.

Of the 93 businesses, 23 said they would have to close if the boycott continued.



THIS apartheid sign, re-erected at the instruction of the CP Carletonville Town Council, bars black people from using this park



By Dr A P TREURNICHT  
Leader of the Opposition

DURING the debate of the acting State President's speech in Parliament this year, I remarked that the role of the politician in this country was being regarded as something of a joke.

Many voters are now saying "all politicians are dishonest" and that there is no point in changing the Government because "we'll still have the same sort of crookery".

For this sorry state of affairs, I place the blame squarely at the door of the National Party Government whose "reform" era will go down as one of the sorrier episodes in this country's contemporary history.

Today's National Party has brought South African politics and, by extension, the whole fabric of South African public life, into disrepute.

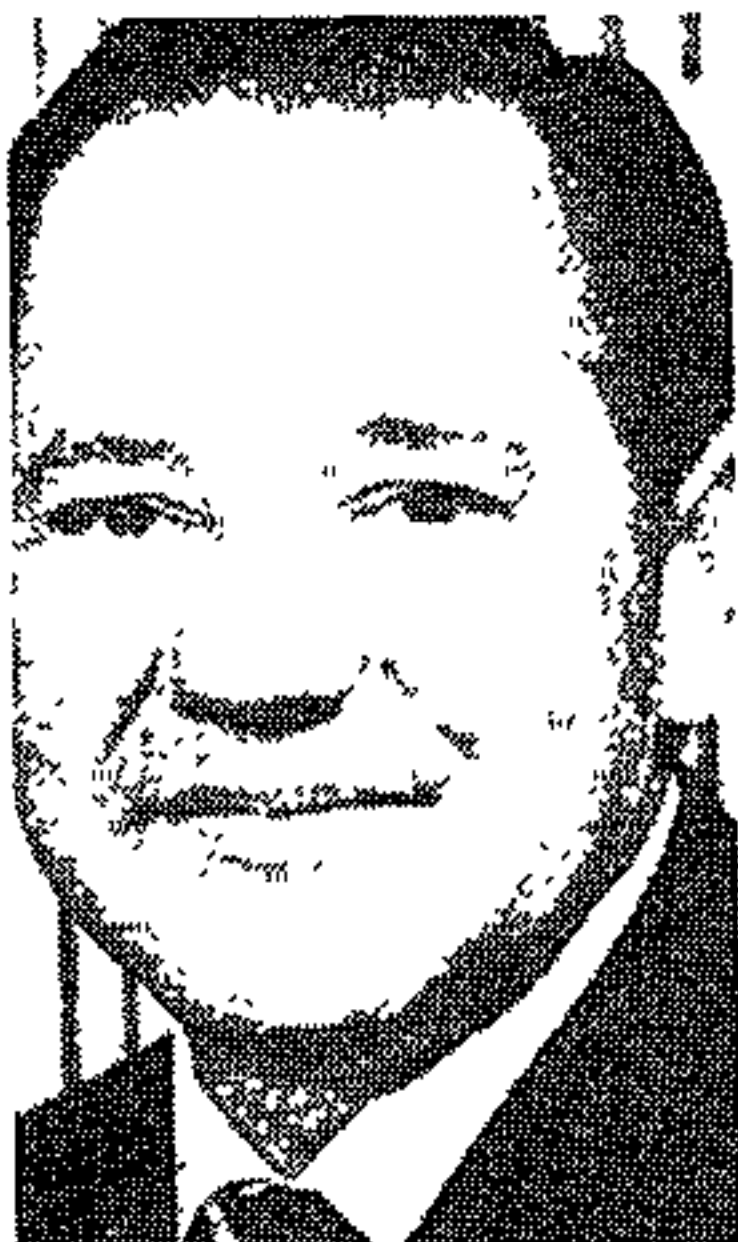
Tales of wholesale corruption, mismanagement, nepotism and double-speak grace the pages of our newspapers.

The NP Government has become the "say one thing, do another" party and any good which may have emerged over the past few years has been submerged in a sea of distrustful cynicism which the Government's actions have created among both its voters and other groups in the country.

### Questioning

The fact that so many erstwhile Nats stood under an "independent" banner in the October 1988 municipal elections says a lot for the current perception that something is rotten in the state of Denmark. This action is symptomatic of the sinking ship syndrome, where many candidates stood purely to get themselves a position on a council and not to promote the NP's policies (or lack of them).

The fact that it took assiduous questioning by the opposition parties as well as relentless Press digging finally to bring the numerous financial scandals involving



Pietie du Plessis... retained his position.

Government officials and representatives to book does not say much for the "new broom" image which Mr P W Botha punted.

The Botha Government continued to harbour in its inner circles people about whom scandal stories were circulating years before they were brought to account. The Press should not have to be the prompter of Government to "come clean"; the Government should have pre-empted the blood-letting to show the public it believed in clean administration, as promised.

### Effectuated

By not taking action until the last minute it has precipitated an aura of mistrust to the extent that the public is now asking: who's next? This conduct is coupled with clear proof that the Government has been misleading the voters for years; consider its non-application of its own laws — instructions have been given to the police not to arrest offenders against certain statutes; there has been a stealthy move to the left which is a patent ploy to hang on to some Conservative voters too trusting to perceive what is going on.

This change has not been effectuated boldly, with each move spelt out clearly and unambiguously to the voters, but has been accomplished clandestinely.

Corruption: When a party has been in power for 40 years, it loses its grip on itself. It ceases to be a band of "lean and hungry men" and becomes obese, self-centred, careless and arrogant.

# SA politics in disrepute after NP's ignoble era



Amichand Rajbansi... P W's protection.

The fact that Minister Pietie du Plessis retained his position for years in the Cabinet is a problem greater than his alleged offence. Ex-Minister Fanie Botha was publicly endorsed by Mr P W Botha during the first by-election in Soutpansberg, when the whole of the Northern Transvaal was talking about a scandal which was about to explode. Mr Amichand Rajbansi enjoyed President Botha's protection months after the House of Delegates indicated it no longer had confidence in him.

Hypocrisy: nothing has brought NP hypocrisy more into the limelight than the CP's actions in Boksburg and other areas of control. By applying the law, we somehow expected a liberal hue and cry but to witness poker-faced NP representatives decrying the CP's actions when it is their own laws which are being put into practice is perhaps unprecedented in this country's history.

Hypocrisy has permeated many facets of South African life, particularly the business sector. For years, businesses profited under apartheid.

Now that profits are down and labour problems endemic, many businesses are using the CP and apartheid as an excuse to get out of the country. Because others believe that an ANC takeover is around the corner they are hedging their bets with "corporate social responsibility" programmes to, hopefully, buy a place in the "new South Africa".

The CP is presented to the voters as the catalyst of the revolution, yet during the past four years, a total of 20 512



Fanie Botha... publicly endorsed.

buildings and vehicles were destroyed or damaged in political conflict in this country. The CP is also presented as a narrow-minded, platteland, Afrikaans-only party, yet in the four Big City municipalities of Germiston, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Roodepoort the CP obtained three votes for every four obtained by the NP in the October 1988 municipal elections.

Our political processes and structures have been hobbled by a government intent on holding on to power at all costs: we have experienced intimidation, indoctrination and the abolition of democratic second-tier government.

### Shadow

A committee system where parliamentary issues are discussed behind closed doors has been introduced; the traditional No-Confidence debate in Parliament has been abolished and now we have the crimping of the number of questions which may be asked by opposition parties in Parliament.

South Africa has become a shadow of its former self. Self-gratification is the current norm; words don't mean what they used to mean and people change principles at the drop of a hat.

Mr F W de Klerk has now risen from the ashes of conservatism to become the shining star of verligtheid. In his first speech in Parliament as new NP leader he talked of a country free of racism, discrimination or domination, with a just and equitable dispensation in all fields for all South Africans. Unfortunately, he forgot to spell out how this will be implemented.



# Nat deal on PW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

**THE National Party was yesterday working on an 11th-hour compromise deal to defuse the leadership crisis which is threatening to tear it apart.**

The deal, essentially a power-sharing arrangement between President PW Botha and new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, has the short-term goal of avoiding a "blood and guts" confrontation within the ruling party.

It aims at resolving the crisis without either Mr Botha or Mr De Klerk losing too much face — and easing the way for Mr Botha's "graceful" retirement before the next general election.

Mr Botha will thus not have another term as head of state.

As one Nationalist put it: "As sure as God made little green apples there will be no PW by March next year."

March 2, 1990, is the very latest on which a general election can be held.

Some Nats were hopeful that the divisive conflict might be a thing of the past by tonight.

In terms of the compromise package, Mr Botha and Mr De Klerk would agree to a clearly demarcated division of power in the months leading up to the next general election.

With Mr Botha out of the way, Mr De Klerk, as State President, will avoid a potentially embarrassing battle with the Conservative Party in his marginal Vereeniging seat.

## Overwhelming support

Mr De Klerk last night made a significant appeal for the NP to be given a chance to deal with the matter in an orderly manner and to "continue its dialogue with the State President".

Speculation was not in the national interest, he said.

SATV news last night also took the unusual step of openly acknowledging the tensions in the NP and broadcasting Mr De Klerk's appeal — without any matching statement about Mr Botha's side of the affair.

At this stage, Mr De Klerk has the overwhelming support of the caucus, but should Mr Botha dig in his heels and refuse to go, there appears little Nationalists can do — other than vote him out of office after the next election.

The delicately poised initiative could still founder and fail to stave off a messy confrontation at tomorrow's crucial caucus meeting.

It is unclear when Mr Botha plans to make another trip to Cape Town from his Wilderness retreat. A spokesman for his office said he would not be returning to Tuynhuys today.

Not a single Nationalist has publicly welcomed Mr Botha's decision to resume his duties and unless a mutually acceptable compromise is reached before tomorrow's meeting, the current mood in the NP would appear to militate against Mr Botha being invited to the caucus meeting.

Ormande Pollok writes that at this stage it is not known who is playing "honest broker" but in political circles it was being said that various people had approached Mr Botha and that he was "willing to talk".

Among those said to have spoken to him was Professor Piet Cillie, former editor of the Burger and now chairman of Nasionale Pers.

The two Naspers newspapers, the Burger and Beeld, have spearheaded the campaign against Mr Botha's resumption of power at the expense of Mr De Klerk.

However, Professor Cillie said yesterday that this speculation was "without foundation".

"I have not seen him since his illness," he said.



**UNDERSEA GIANT...** This huge sunfish, about 1½ metres long and broad, was washed ashore yesterday on Bakoven beach, much to the surprise of sun-worshippers. Here English visitor Mr Mike Wilson of Norwich (right) and a City Council worker inspect the unusual fish, which weighs about 180kg. It was later removed by men from the council's cleansing department.

Picture: CHRISMAN STANDER

## Province hammer Transvaal again!

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Western Province beat Transvaal for the second time in four days last night when they won by three wickets in the Benson & Hedges cricket match at the Wanderers.

Opening batsman Lawrence Seeff was the Province

hero, with his innings of 71, holding the batting together when it threatened to fall apart.

This victory comes on the heels of Saturday's convincing win in the Nissan Shield final, also at the Wanderers.

Last night's victory gives WP a 1-0 edge in the day-night competition's semifinal clash between the two teams. The second leg will be played next week at Newlands. — Sapa

● Report, scores — Back Page

## Stock market moves higher

THE Industrial index on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange reached a new high of 2297 yesterday, 33 points higher than Monday's close and 29 points above the previous high recorded before the crash of October, 1987.

Dealers attributed the surge in the value of industrial shares to in-

**City water tariffs up by 12%**

Municipal Reporter

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# Sabre rattling over — NP chiefs set to compromise

CAPE TOWN — After a day of intense lobbying it seemed last night the NP was on the verge of negotiating a deal to prevent a showdown between President P W Botha and new party leader F W de Klerk.

Details were scant as Ministers and MPs were doing their utmost to prevent the conflict over who decides government policy spilling further into the public.



● DE KLERK

MIKE ROBERTSON

However, it now seems likely that Botha will return to serve out the full term of his presidency. An election has to be called by March next year.

The compromise is that Botha will hand over some power to De Klerk and will not stand for another term. As one NP source said: "As sure as God made little apples there will be no PW Botha after March next year."

Although some De Klerk supporters are still keen to push for a showdown with Botha this week, the new leader is

said to have accepted the compromise to prevent further damage being inflicted on the party.

A factor which has worked against a showdown this week is that a band of up to 50 NP MPs, among them acting President Chris Heunis, are believed to remain loyal to Botha.

The NP, party sources said, was keen to resolve the leadership battle by Thursday when it will be put to the caucus for its approval.

A spokesman for the State President said he would be back in Cape Town within the next few days.

(304A)



These include free market-oriented economics, the role of parliament and links with extra-parliamentary

cies in DP policy. "They put special emphasis aspects are welcome to the DP," Worrall said

## PFP call for Magnus to resign

15/12/87

Political Staff

30/11

12/12

CAPE TOWN — Defence Minister Magnus Malan admitted yesterday that he was only informed of the SADF's involvement in distribution of smear pamphlets on an End Conscription Campaign (ECC) fête more than a year after the incident.

Tian van der Merwe (PFP Greenpoint) said Malan's statement had displayed such incompetence that he and his deputy, Wynand Bretenbach, who both refused to accept responsibility for the incident, should resign.

"SA cannot afford to have people of their ilk in highly responsible positions," Van der Merwe said.

The smear pamphlets were dropped from a private helicopter over an ECC fête in Cape Town in May 1987, and the next month both Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok were questioned on the incident in Parliament. Malan said he was only told of SADF involvement in the affair late in June 1988.



Mr Louis le Grange ... no racist tendency.



Mrs Helen Suzman ... will use another tactic.

# Suzman in new bid to debate actions of controversial judge

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

Opposition MP Mrs Helen Suzman is to press ahead with new moves to debate the controversial actions of a judge following a ruling by the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday rejecting her impeachment petition.

Mr le Grange gave reasons for his ruling in the parliamentary minutes tabled today. Mrs Suzman had submitted a petition asking for a parliamentary committee to be appointed to consider charges against Mr Justice J J Strydom and, if necessary, to ask the State President to remove him from office.

She said Mr Strydom was "guilty of conduct in his judicial capacity amounting to misbehaviour or evidencing incapacity of a serious or material nature".

After Mr le Grange's ruling, Mrs Suzman said she

was now going to use the other avenue of parliamentary procedure open to her, to move a substantive motion asking Parliament to appoint a committee to investigate Mr Justice Strydom's conduct.

This would have the effect of leading to a public debate on his actions.

Explaining his ruling, Mr le Grange said a racist tendency could not be substantiated by only five judgments, given during the period of 15 years, without indicating whether these were a substantial proportion of judgments given by the judge in that period.

One of the two cases quoted by Mrs Suzman involved a civil matter, which was not relevant, and included only one case where the accused were black.

No tendency to exercise extreme harshness could logically be inferred from a single case.

As far as the controversial case of the State versus Vorster and Leonard in the Louis Tri-chardt Circuit Court was concerned, he said Mrs Suzman's complaint related to the sentence only.

Even if this case was an example of extreme leniency, it could not be taken as evidence of a tendency to leniency, said Mr le Grange.

Mrs Suzman said the first case on which her petition was based was the trial involving Jacobus Vorster and Petrus Leonard, heard on November 1 last year.

The two men tied a farm labourer to a tree and assaulted him extensively over a long period which resulted in his death.

Vorster was found guilty of culpable homicide and sentenced to a five-year prison term, suspended for five years, with one of the conditions being that he pay R130 to the deceased's family, with a further fine of R3 000 or 12 months' prison payable in instalments.

Leonard was found guilty of assault and fined R500 or three months.



**Nat leaders**

Star 9/3/89

304A

**to confront**

**Botha today**



**The National Party is likely to tell President Botha today that he must stand down from the Presidency soon.**

But the indications today were that Mr Botha might well refuse to accept the party's decision.

Senior party sources said that the four provincial leaders of the party were likely to meet Mr Botha in Cape Town today to convey this message.

A senior member of the party said: "We are going to have a difficult day."

Today could be crucial for the outcome of the turmoil in the NP over the leadership tussle between President Botha and the new party leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

Though tension has been considerably defused in the party since Mr Botha announced at the weekend that he intended staying in the job, party sources said an ugly confrontation could not be ruled out at today's meeting.

It is expected that the four party leaders will inform the 130-member NP caucus at its weekly meeting in Parliament today of its plans to resolve the crisis.

## Solution

The proposed solution is likely to be for Mr Botha to stay on in office for a brief period and then simultaneously to call an election and announce that he will retire immediately afterwards.

Party sources believe this will be a compromise that will allow Mr Botha to bow out with dignity while giving Mr de Klerk the executive power they feel he ought to have in his capacity as NP leader.

Some sources said they did not expect Mr Botha to accept the plan and a stormy confrontation seems a distinct possibility.

However, other sources believe the tension has been sufficiently defused for a deal to be worked out at a more leisurely pace over the next few weeks.

However, either way it is ob-

**By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent**

vious that the negotiations would be extremely difficult.

It seems unlikely now that any form of power-sharing compromise deal between Mr Botha and Mr de Klerk is possible.

Senior party sources said that it was impossible to divide the supreme executive office of the State and the only question now was when Mr Botha steps down.

The NP caucus met at 10.45am today and party sources said an important statement could be announced after it.

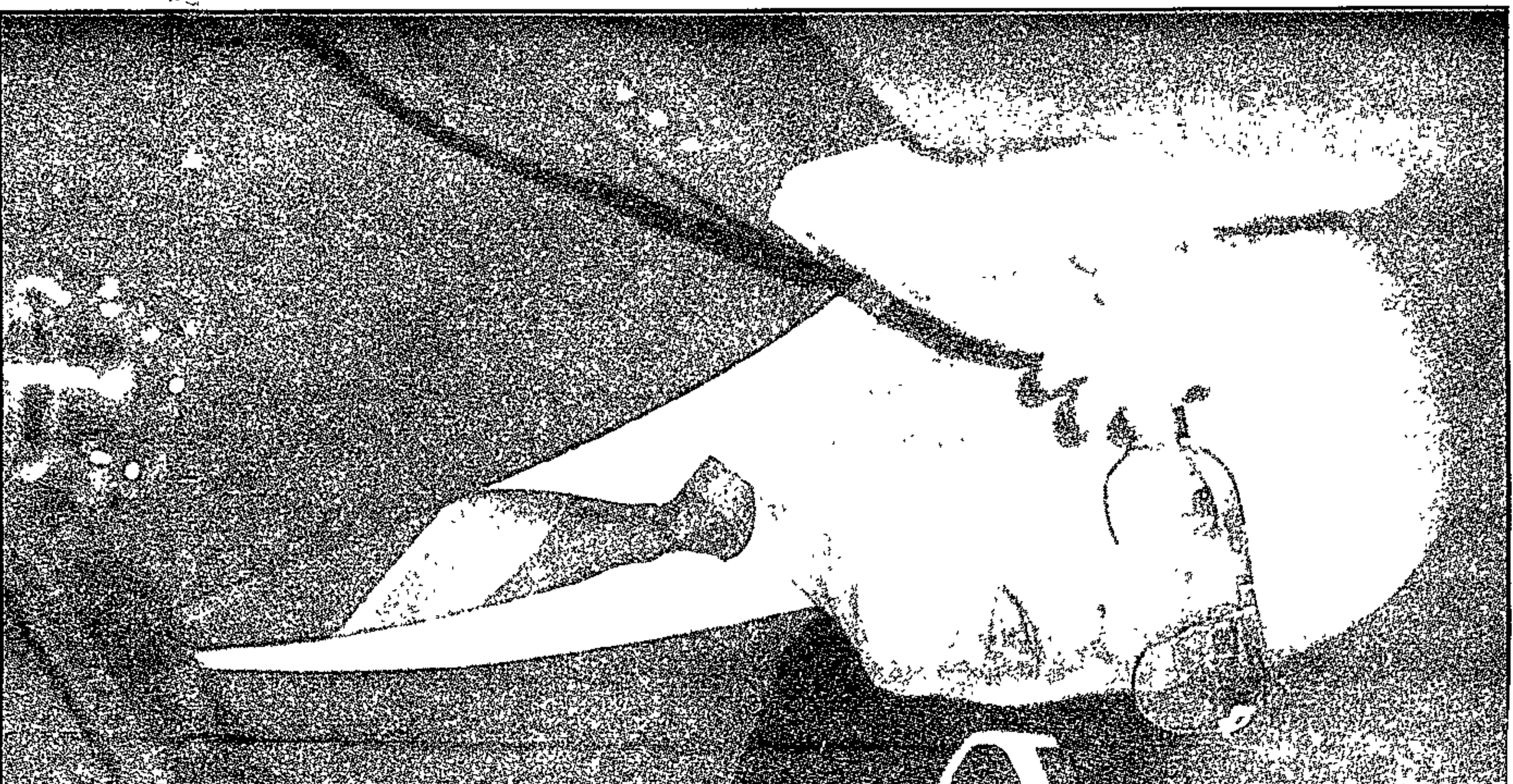
It seems unlikely that the caucus will have a stormy debate over Mr Botha's resignation as has been expected.

Instead it is likely the provincial leaders will inform the party of its proposed solution and ask for its endorsement.

One likely spin-off of the deal to resolve the leadership crisis could be an early election.

This would remove Mr Botha as soon as possible while still allowing him to serve out his present term which automatically expires with the end of the present Parliament.

Senior NP sources also say Mr Botha is likely to attend Parliament next week, probably to hear the Budget speech of Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis.



**Mr F W de Klerk (left) and President Botha ... their leadership struggle is likely to be resolved today.**



## CP ruffles Witbank feathers

WITBANK — Feathers have been ruffled in Witbank by Conservative Party claims that they control the town council. 8/11/89

In their latest newsletter, CP Information, the party has Witbank listed as one of the towns it took in the October municipal election. (304A)

However, Witbank's Nationalist-supporting mayor-elect Mr Jockie Shill says: "No ways."

"Witbank is not controlled by any political party, you could say there is an impasse." — Highveld Bureau.

# PV Summit

M645  
9/3/89

3644

## Nats' big four stand by for Tynhuys showdown with President



By TOS WENZEL  
Political Correspondent

IN an atmosphere of high drama, the four provincial leaders of the National Party prepared for a high-stakes summit with President Botha in Cape Town today to put proposals to him for an early election and for his subsequent retirement.

This will be their first meeting since Mr Botha created a crisis in the party by making it clear that he intends returning to his post full-time soon.

Today's summit will take place after the weekly meeting of the National Party's parliamentary caucus where the question of the relationship between Mr F W de Klerk, new leader of the National Party, and Mr Botha as the president with executive powers will be discussed.

There are strong feelings against the division of the posts of party leader and head of state among Nationalist MPs.

### Succession

They believe that Mr de Klerk must be given powers and that the only way this can be done would be for him to succeed Mr Botha as president.

The provincial leaders, including Mr de Klerk as the Transvaal leader, are expected to give strong guidance to their followers.

This may in the end avoid a major debate on the issue. Some MPs feel that a long debate on the issue could cause an unpleasant situation. They believe that a face-saving solution which could lead to Mr Botha retiring with some dignity must be found.

They maintain that tensions in the party have subsided in the past few days and that there will be no political fireworks at today's caucus meeting.

### Adamant

Senior Nationalists were adamant today that what would be proposed to Mr Botha would not be a power-sharing compromise between him and Mr de Klerk but a proposal hinging mainly on an early general election and his subsequent retirement.

Some expected Mr Botha to resist such a proposal and were not clear what could be done in such a situation. An extreme possibility was that the party would not have Mr Botha as a candidate if he chose to stand for re-election.

The President was expected to arrive in Cape Town from his private home in Wilderness by lunchtime today. This will be the third week running that he has been in Cape Town for a day.

Mr Botha may show more of a presence at Parliament.

He is expected to be in Cape Town for a few days next week and could attend the Budget debate on Wednesday. He could

also attend the Cabinet meeting which is held before the Budget.



Sowetan 9/3/89 304A

## Mkwanazi calls for pressure

By JOSHUA  
RABOROKO

THE president of the Black Management Forum, Mr Don Mkwanzazi, yesterday called on big business to pressurise the Government to release all detainees, political prisoners and to abolish apartheid.

Speaking at the launch of the East Rand Branch of BMF, Mr Mkwanzazi said big corporations should help blacks in their opposition to apartheid. If they did not, the Government will continue with its discriminatory policy.

He said by releasing detainees, including those on hunger strike, the Government will be showing its *bona fides* to change in the wake of protest from the local and international communities.

The Government would also have to act against the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act which have made the Conservative Party "political lunatics."

Mr Mkwanzazi also challenged the corporate world to help develop the country economically. Many foreign companies have pulled out of South Africa and were bought over by local concerns. The new owners of some of these enterprises did not have the interest of blacks at heart.

"We want to extend our hand of friendship to them to help develop blacks. Corporations that feel they have a future in black South Africa, must acknowledge that one of the propitious sectors for success is the incorporation of blacks," he said.

# Heunis to open Ulundi Assembly

Political Staff

THE acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, will open the first session of the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi on Tuesday.

Political observers see this move as highly significant, following the first meeting in Cape Town last week of the joint committee of the South African and KwaZulu governments.

Earlier this year Mr Heunis, who is Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and they decided to appoint the committee to investigate obstacles to negotiations for a new

constitutional dispensation for South Africa which would include all population and cultural groups.

This joint effort will be one of the matters to be discussed during the session.

The present situation regarding the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba is also expected to be raised.

The achievements of the KwaZulu/Natal joint executive authority are also likely to come under scrutiny, as well as the concept of the "Greater Indaba" enunciated last week by the new leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk.



# High noon for the Nats

CAT Tim's  
9/3/89 3047

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**IT'S high noon for the National Party, as President P W Botha and the newly elected NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, prepare for a make-or-break meeting in Tuynhuys today on the leadership crisis.**

Nationalists said yesterday that a positive sign in the "peace initiative" was that the two leaders had once again "started to talk" on the phone. A telephone discussion between Mr Botha and the NP's provincial leaders on Tuesday night is also understood to have "gone well".

But whether the two protagonists in the political drama are able to finally clinch a compromise deal is only likely to become clear at this afternoon's meeting.

## Backfired

The other provincial leaders — Mr Chris Heunis, Mr Stoffel Botha and Mr Kobie Coetsee — are also expected to be present.

Nationalists expect Mr De Klerk to spell out the parameters of a possible peace package to the NP's 130 member caucus this morning and get a mandate from MPs before heading off to Tuynhuys.

The weekend's newspaper interview in which Mr Botha blithely spoke of resuming power and even of a second term, has backfired badly on him.

While the majority of MPs want to see him go with "grace and honour", he has apparently also been informed that the party would in no way back him for another presidential term.

Mr Botha is, however, a fighter who rarely backs down under pressure and many Nationalists remain apprehensive about the success of a compromise.

The "securocrats" and the close circle of advisers surrounding Mr Botha

To page 3



**DRN AMONG THE ROSES?** . . . The official logo of the Cape Festival is a flower seller and yesterday festival director die Barlow visited the flower sellers in Trafalgar Place. With him are (from left) Mrs Susan Fredericks, Mrs Mina Williams, Sally Williams and Mrs Maggie van Schalkwyk, and behind, Mrs Fatima Jacobs. The festival, to be managed for the first time by die Barlow, will run from September 23 to October 10 — spring flower season.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

From page 1

are increasingly being seen as playing a significant role in his decision to cling to power.

If an undertaking can be extracted from Mr Botha to retire before the next election, the prospects of a partial compromise between the government and the Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse appears a strong possibility.

Indications yesterday were that should Mr De Klerk become the country's new ruler and give a clear sign that the Separate Amenities Act will

be scrapped, the LP would be prepared to stop blocking the new provincial quota system for parliamentary seats.

Under this scenario the three Houses of Parliament could go to the polls later this year after a redelimitation in terms of the new system.

● PW's cabinet talks 'unconstitutional'

— Page 5

## Official discussions 'unconstitutional'

*2 Dan 9/3/89*  
CAPE TOWN — Convalescing President P.W. Botha was acting unconstitutionally and improperly by holding official discussions with Cabinet Ministers, CP constitutional expert Fanie Jacobs said yesterday. *3044*  
Jacobs said if Botha had discussed official matters with Ministers, he

would be improperly and unconstitutionally meddling with the authority of acting President Chris Heunis.

PFP constitutional expert Nic Olivier agreed that if the discussions had been of an official nature, Botha would indeed have acted unconstitutionally.  
— Sapa.



FW, provincial chiefs to confront PW

# D-Day for Nat party leadership

304A  
B/Dan 9/3/89

CAPE TOWN — The NP faces the crunch today as leader F W de Klerk and his provincial chiefs confront President P W Botha to sort out who decides government policy.

The showdown will be preceded by a meeting of the party caucus, where De Klerk will have the difficult task of persuading angry MPs the compromise deal, which has been worked out during the past few days, is in the best interests of the NP.

Few details of the deal have leaked as party members have responded to the call by their new leader to keep quiet about the leadership battle, but it is understood the main thrust is that Botha will stay on until the next election before bowing out to allow De Klerk to go to the voters as President-elect.

MIKE ROBERTSON

It is still clear, though, that a substantial number of NP MPs want Botha to go now. The minimum they say they are prepared to accept is a commitment from Botha to resign by a specific date prior to the next election. These MPs simply do not trust that Botha will bow out without a fight.

Calmer heads have decided, however, that there is no way to force Botha to go without provoking a constitutional crisis. Instead, De Klerk, Cape leader Chris Heunis, Free State leader Kobie Coetsee and Natal leader Stoffel Botha will present the compromise proposals to Botha today after the NP caucus meets.

It is understood the four provincial

● To Page 2

## NP faces crunch meeting on leadership

leaders met on Tuesday to discuss the leadership question. That meeting is said to have "gone well".

The compromise will include:

- ☐ Botha staying on until the next election, which will be called this year, and not making himself available for another term;
- ☐ Some division of power between Botha and De Klerk;
- ☐ An agreement that Botha will not attend caucus meetings.

There have also been reports in Parliament that Botha's friends, who are on the fringes of the NP, have been in touch with him during the past week in an attempt to persuade him it would be in the best interests of the NP and the country if he avoided a bitter confrontation with De Klerk.

De Klerk also met with LP leader Allan Hendrickse on Tuesday. The meeting is said to have gone well and to have been free of the acrimony which has characterised the relationship between Hendrickse and Botha since the Kings Beach swimming incident.

One possible scenario arising from this meeting is that the LP will be prepared to accept the additional seats which the NP wants in return for a firm commitment to scrap the Separate Amenities Act.

An election for an expanded Parliament could then be called in either September or October.

● Comment Page 6



Early election now seems to have been ruled out

# Nat leadership crisis drags on

Star 10/3/89

304 A

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

President Botha's dramatic decision to cut short his convalescence to head the Government from next Wednesday has prolonged the political crisis in the National Party.

Talks between Mr Botha and the Nationalist leadership ended inconclusively yesterday, postponing the crunch to at least next week — and probably eliminating the likelihood of an early election as a device for resolving the impasse.

Party sources indicated the crunch would come when the discussions were resumed about who should be head of state.

The NP rank-and-file was today disappointed and impatient after a first meeting between its new leader Mr F W de Klerk and President Botha to resolve the crisis ended in impasse.

It seemed Mr Botha stood his ground against first attempts to dislodge him, although exactly what happened at the meeting is not known.

## How long

Although the problem was not resolved, it is now just a question of how long Mr Botha remains in office.

The feeling in the NP caucus seems to be that he could be tolerated for a few months more — but no longer.

Certainly there is no chance that the party will nominate him for another term.

Mr de Klerk announced after the meeting — where he was accompanied by the three other provincial leaders — that the talks had been held in a good spirit.

They were "extensive and incisive and it was agreed that further discussions would take place".

The statement did nothing to dissipate the tension in the party which is impatient that the uncertainty should be cleared up soon.

The NP caucus held two meetings yesterday to discuss the problem. "We're anything but happy," one MP said as he stalked out of the second meeting where Mr de Klerk reported back on the outcome of the meeting with Mr Botha.

Senior party sources said the crisis could come to a head



Gerhard Uys receives his gold medal after finishing third in the Iron Man triathlon. He was later penalised 30 min for being "pulled" during the canoeing section, and placed at 11th position.

## Iron Man gets life for doping

By Phil Harg

Triathlon star Gerhard Uys banned for life by the Triathlon Federation held after the Iron Man triathlon proved positive.

"I had a single use of steroid Triabolin in December to alleviate a foot injury I've had for a year and thought it would be out of my system by now," Uys admitted yesterday. "I became desperate," he said.

"I don't support the use of drugs to gain an unfair advantage. I wouldn't do it again and I'll get back into the sport."

But the tests run by the Orange Free State only laboratories are not equipped to conduct tests for the presence of another substance, durabolin.

## APPEAL AFTER 1

Uys finished third in the Iron Man triathlon but was pushed down to 11th place after being penalised 30 minutes in the canoeing section. Hayward, Uys's "tug" from the Iron Man event.

The 25-year-old school teacher from Johannesburg can appeal the ban after two years.

"A life ban is harsh, but we must be clean," said SATF vice-president Steve Britten, yesterday. "We don't just sentence a man to rot. We'd like to help him get two years to think."

Uys is the second triathlete banned for drug-related offences. Last month Natal's triathlete tested "positive" after the triathlon and received the same ban. "Our federation is prepared to sweep the under the carpet, and other sports' bodies to follow our example."

35 held in Cape  
demonstration

Budget may bring relief to pensioners

82 pc of staff tal



solving the impasse.

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Senior party sources said the crisis could come to a head again next week when Mr Botha was back in office.

### Duties

He announced yesterday that he would take up his presidential duties next Wednesday, chairing a Cabinet meeting and attending the parliamentary debate on the Budget.

Some Government sources are now beginning to say that Cape NP leader Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, is bedevilling the negotiations by taking Mr Botha's side.

Sources said no firm agreement had been reached about how to resolve the crisis, although they were clear that the present relationship could not continue for much longer.

There was also agreement that Mr Botha should be allowed to go with dignity.

In NP circles it is also being said that the failure to resolve the crisis yesterday has also greatly reduced chances of an early election.

It now seems certain that the main Budget will go ahead as planned next week which makes an election unlikely before the second half of the year.

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Boksburg National Party MP Mr Sakkie Blanche called for the help of the security police in an attempt to get the town council's support for the reproclamation of controversial "white-controlled" Windmill Park as an Indian residential area, sources have claimed.

This is the latest development in the row which had erupted over Mr Blanche's efforts to have the area reproclaimed, even after a Government announcement last year that the area's constitutional status would not be altered.

### **'Holy war'**

The sources said Mr Blanche, accompanied by a member of the security police, attended a council meeting in February 1986 at which Mr Blanche had made a representation to the council about the desirability of having Windmill Park declared an Indian residential area.

According to the sources, three councillors were privately approached by the security policeman, who warned them that "a holy war of Indians" had

# Boksburg MP denies asking for security police help

erupted in crowded Indian residential areas on the East Rand because different ethnic groups had been forced to live among each other.

The council at the time opposed the reproclamation, but later resolved to support it.

However, the Government last year announced that Windmill Park would remain "white-controlled".

Mr Blanche, an ardent campaigner for such a reproclamation, denied that he had involved the security police.

"I deny the allegation. In fact, I can't even remember attending that meeting," he said.

Mr Blanche is currently locked in a bitter battle with Boksburg's Conservative Party-controlled council.

The council had requested the Government to launch an investigation into Mr Blanche's "persistent efforts" to have the area reproclaimed for Indian living and his "commitment to put Indians in the possession of occupational permits to live in a white-controlled area".

304 B

SKW 10/3/89



## Alleged CP election fraud probed

STE 10/3/89  
A complaint in connection with possible election fraud is being investigated against a Krugersdorp councillor after information in a pre-election Conservative Party publication proved to be incorrect.

3044  
A West Rand Police spokesman said a complaint was being investigated

against Mr Ceward Thornhill after it recently came to light that he is not a University of the Orange Free State graduate as was claimed in the news sheet. The Conservative Party news sheet was delivered to most houses in Krugersdorp before the municipal election last year. — West Rand Bureau.

## CP retains Ward 7 in Sasolburg

SASOLBURG — The Conservative Party has retained its seat in the municipal by-election in Ward 7 at Sasolburg — but with a reduced majority. (304/8)

CP candidate Mr Hennie van Stryp polled 430 votes to the 397 of Mr Jan Coetzee, an independent with National Party support. The percentage poll was 37.7. 8/19/3/87

The vacancy on the Sasolburg Town Council arose when Mr Roelf Pienaar resigned because of ill health. — Sapa.



# New hope for settlement in Carletonville

2048 By Kaizer Nyatumba

The Conservative Party-controlled Carletonville Town Council might rescind its Verwoerdian-style apartheid policies which triggered a black consumer boycott of the town a week ago, the chairman of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, Mrs Annetjie Claasen, said.

In an interview with The Star following the Chamber of Commerce's hour-long meeting with the Carletonville management committee yesterday evening, Mrs Claasen said she was optimistic.

Star 10/3/89  
The management committee would respond to the Chamber's requests today, she said.

The Chamber confronted the management committee with the findings of a survey it conducted this week.

The chairman of the Carletonville management committee, Mr Koos Nel, refused today to comment on the meeting. He confirmed, however, that the committee would respond to the Chamber's requests today.

● In another development, Khutsong Township youths outside Carletonville this week set alight a white farmer's bakkie and robbed the man of R360.

A police spokesman confirmed that Mr R van Wyk was robbed by six youths who then set his bakkie alight after he had driven into the township to sell mealies.

● A Johannesburg weekly newspaper reported today that the Cosatu Local Action Committee and labour and community organisations will meet today to assess the success of the Carletonville boycott.

Action committee spokesman Mr Hlubi Biyana was reporting as saying a one-hour "peaceful defiance protest" will be held tomorrow at Carletonville Park.

# A recipe for revival

9/10/3/89

30419

South Africa's material resources alone were not enough to pull the country out of its economic difficulties and make it sufficiently economically viable, the chief economist in the planning and economic research division of Standard Bank, Mr Nic Czipionka, said this week.

Addressing an economic seminar at the University of the Witwatersrand on "Prospects and Problems of the South African Economy," Mr Czipionka said it was usually coun-

Now is the time for the Government to stop giving lip service to reform and actually bring about major political change so that the country's economy can stabilise, a senior Standard Bank economist told an economic seminar at the University of the Witwatersrand. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** reports.

tries without a good material resource base which "made it" economically.

Mr Czipionka said despite inflation and high interest rates, the South African economy showed unusual resilience and there was no significant drop in business activity

in the country. He forecast that 1989 would see a reasonably high growth rate of about 2 percent.

The main reason for South Africa's woes was not sanctions — "which, admittedly, exacerbated the situation" — but rather very high Government spending. Government spending kept increasing tremendously from the early 1950s and it was now reaching critical levels. This was made worse by the duplication of facilities such as education and health for the different population groups, Mr Czipionka said.

"Within the original borders of South Africa alone there are more than 10 Ministers of Education, all driving expensive BMWs at the taxpayer's expense," he said.

Some of the main reasons for the country's economic underperformance, according to Mr Czipionka, were structural shifts in world economy, inability to adjust swiftly to new world patterns, a desire to keep the growth potential up for social reasons, serious prolonged drought, serious internal and external political pressure and a lack of decisive economic and political policies.

## Revival

The country's economy could not be revived by short term adjustments alone, but a comprehensive recovery strategy was needed instead.

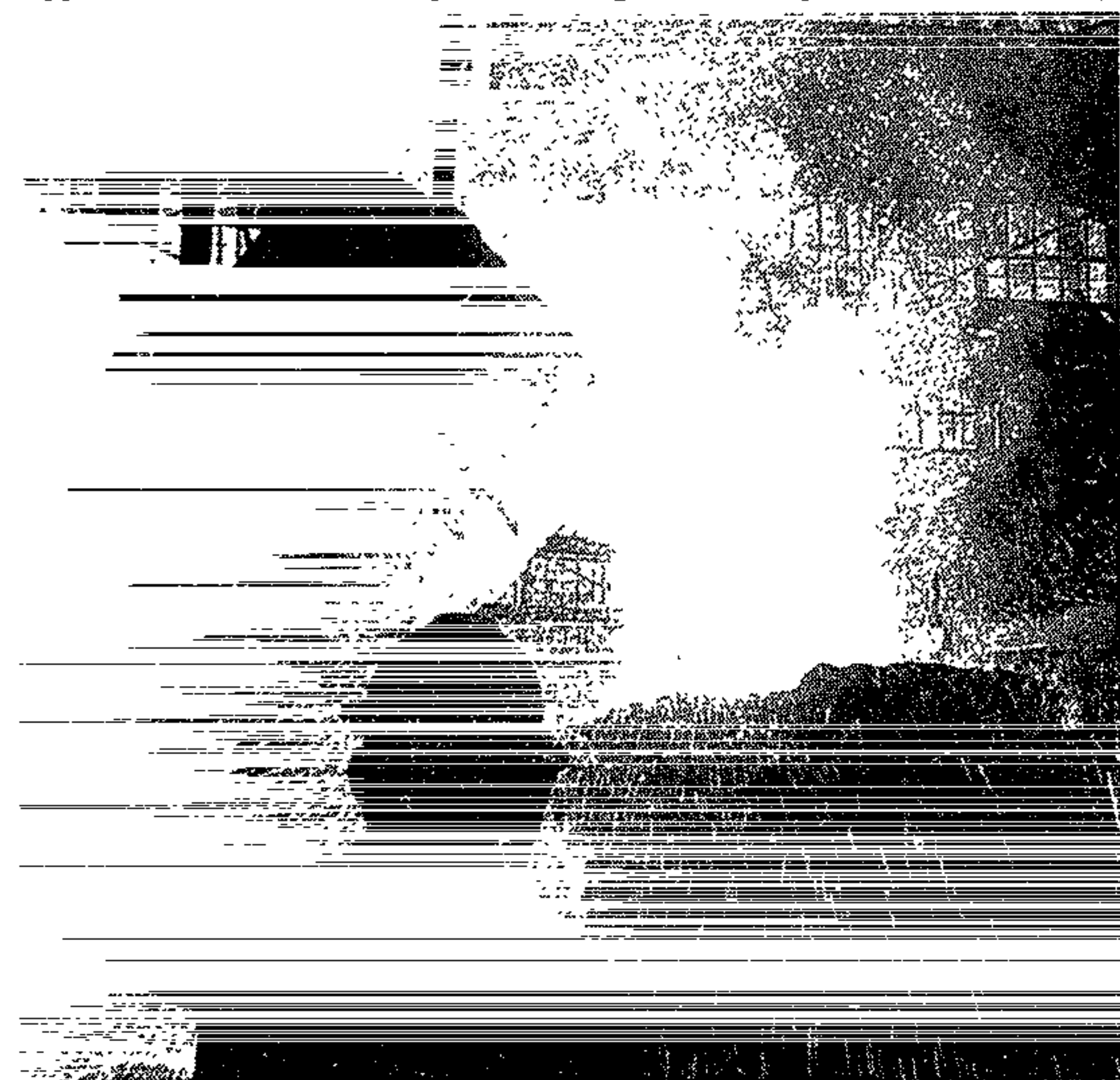
For the economy to be strong



Mr Nic Czipionka says major changes are necessary.

and viable again, the Government had to do the following:

- Put economic goals above politics and abandon all impeding political laws.
  - Provide dynamic and credible political and economic leadership.
  - Enhance democratic processes to achieve the acceptance of common goals and positive participation by all in the economy.
  - Act to remove sanctions and regain access to world markets.
  - Encourage the underground and Third World components of the economy, but simultaneously enhance First World structures.
  - Drastically reduce the size of the entire Government structure.
  - Make a massive effort to improve education and training as a basis for improving the country's productivity.
  - Remove ideologically based multiplications of (Government) structures.
  - Look to Africa to break into the world economically and politically.
  - Abolish wasteful decentralisation policies and accept urbanisation as the main plank for economic development.
  - Consider land use and remove limitations of the Land Act.
  - Aggressively promote exports of industrial goods.
  - Swiftly privatise, de-regulate and remove distortions and cross subsidisation for industrial development.
- Mr Czipionka emphasised that these were sound economic policies, and he spoke strictly as an economist and not as a member of a certain political party.



South Africa's material resources alone are not enough . . . economic goals should be above politics and impeding political laws abandoned.

## the small society

by Brickman

ZELDA AND I HAVE COME TO AN UNDERSTANDING —



I DON'T TRY TO RUN HER LIFE — AND I DON'T TRY TO RUN MINE —

12-2

BRICKMAN - Yates



# POWER OVER,

MR 645 10/3/89 3084

## PW!

### PW misled by selfish aides — claim

THERE was a growing conviction in parliamentary circles today that President Botha's apparent determination to defy the will of the National Party caucus and cling to power was based on incorrect information given to him by a coterie of his advisers.

The basic miscalculation, senior Nationalists say, was the measure of support Mr F W de Klerk had mustered since his

election as party leader-in-chief, a selection which has apparently displeased Mr Botha.

The second mistake Mr Botha's advisers made was in their estimate of the extent of caucus support for the President on the basis of which he was encouraged to issue statements expressing an ever-increasing determination to return to office earlier.

Senior party sources said today it was clear there were those among the advisers who had obviously begun to feel the inevitable approach of their removal from office by a new regime and had acted in self-protection without regard for the position of Mr Botha.

"Heads will roll, and they know it," one NP source said. — Sapa.

By IOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent  
NATIONAL Party MPs are determined to continue pressing President Botha to make way for the National Party's new leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

Some are disappointed and impatient, and the feeling remains that the situation cannot continue indefinitely.

According to top Nationalist sources, the party's four provincial leaders, including Mr de Klerk, yesterday indicated that the caucus did not want to give Mr Botha another five-year term even if he wanted it.

So far Mr Botha has brushed aside demands for clarity and further discussions are to take place.

Before the second report-back caucus meeting yesterday Mr Botha released a letter, dated March 6, to acting-President Chris Heunis, in which he told him that he would take over again next Wednesday when he would chair a Cabinet meeting.

Nationalist MPs said today that Mr Botha may have won one battle but that he would eventually lose the war.

They stressed that there was a strong desire in the National Party to avoid an unpleasant situation and that all attempts would be made to enable Mr Botha to retire with dignity.

The party would be willing to tolerate a stand-off situation for a while to allow this.

### Election unlikely

It was felt, however, that Mr de Klerk could not lead the party into an election unless he had real power.

While there is still a feeling that there should be an early election, this now appears unlikely.

A statement issued by Mr de Klerk said the discussions were held in good spirit and were "extensive and incisive". It was agreed that further discussions would take place.

The first caucus lasted from 10.45am to 12.45pm.

The four leaders went across to Tuynhuys to talk to Mr Botha during the lunch hour. The meeting lasted more than an hour.

At 6pm there was a second caucus meeting which lasted 25 minutes.

Some Nationalist MPs were suspicious about the role Mr Heunis is playing as Mr Botha's adviser, while support for Mr de Klerk is virtually consolidated in the caucus.

Some MPs hoped that Mr Botha's presence in Cape Town from next week would bring him back to reality.

They felt it was an unhappy situation which would not continue indefinitely, but were not sure how it would develop.

Mr Botha, meanwhile, has returned to his private home at the Wilderness.

● The National Party-supporting Afrikaans morning newspapers are reflecting

(Turn to page 3, col 6)

P.T.O.

AKC 10/3/69  
NATIONAL

## Move to defuse Windmill Park row

### Political Staff

THE government has stepped into the Windmill Park crisis by taking steps to grant permanent residence to the 10 Indian families under threat there.

It has asked the Administrator of the Transvaal to give occupation permits to the families whose municipal services are to be cut off by the Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council on March 20.

The action has been taken "on humanitarian grounds", pending the possible declaration of the suburb as a free settlement area, said Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday.

### Opportunity

He said all interested parties would be given the opportunity to comment on the recommendation to declare Windmill Park a free settlement area.

Mr Meyer said he had requested occupation permits for all the families whose municipal services the council had threatened to cut off on March 20.

Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg North, welcomed Mr Meyer's "concern and compassion" in asking for the occupation permits to be granted.

The move was condemned by Mr Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) who said last night that on August 29 last year Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk had given a written undertaking to the residents of Windmill Park that permit applications by Indians would not be approved.

"According to him the approval of permits would have been contrary to a government decision that Windmill Park should remain a white area," said Mr Mentz.



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POLITICS

# Judge 'lenient to whites but very harsh to blacks'

6/Day 10/3/87 10/3/89

CAPE TOWN — Mr Justice JJ Strydom had a tendency to exercise extreme leniency where the accused were white people and extreme harshness where the accused were black, Helen Suzman (PFP) contended in her attempt to have him impeached.

This tendency, she said yesterday, "violates the most elementary concept of impartial, colour-blind justice."

"It does great damage to race relations in SA and invites condemnation of SA from abroad, bringing our much-vaunted higher courts and judicial system into disrepute."

On Wednesday the Speaker, Louis le Grange, turned down Suzman's petition, saying she had not succeeded in establishing against Mr Justice Strydom a prima facie case of improper discrimination in criminal matters.

He said Suzman's contention that facts and cases cited in the petition evidenced grounds for a finding of serious misbehaviour and incapacity on the



● LE GRANGE

## Political Staff

part of the judge was "a general statement not regarded as a complaint".

In order for an MP to proceed by way of motion, a prima facie case would have to be established, and Suzman had not done this, the Speaker ruled.

Suzman said her complaint was founded on the judicial behaviour and conduct of Mr Justice Strydom, which "manifests serious misbehaviour and incapacity for office," warranting removal from office by the State President.

Mr Justice Strydom was appointed a judge in 1974 by Prime Minister John Vorster, when Jimmy Kruger was Justice Minister.

"He sat on the Namibian bench for about 8 years and when his appointment as Senior Judge there was imminent, the Namibian Bar considered protesting against it, but he was transferred to the Transvaal Provincial Division."

"The then Judge President, Justice Boshoff, refused to have him sit on the Bench. When Judge Boshoff was elevated to the Appellate Division, Judge Moll replaced him, and he permitted Judge Strydom to serve on the Bench of the Transvaal Provincial Division."

"Judge Strydom was appointed chair-

man of the Group Areas Committee in 1981.

The gravamen of the present charge involved two decisions by the Judge in which his findings evoked criticism in "most severe and unprecedented terms" by the Appellate Division in one case, and the Johannesburg Bar Council in the other.

In the most recent case, when Judge Strydom imposed sentences of such leniency on two Northern Transvaal farmers, Jacobus Vorster and Petrus Leonard, the Johannesburg Bar Council described the sentence as "so grossly inappropriate as to induce not simply a sense of shock, but one of outrage and concern."

## Set aside

In the case of the State versus Mgedesi and others, death sentences were set aside by the Appellate Division after Judge Strydom imposed death sentences on three black men for murders committed during a faction fight at Vaal Reefs Gold Mine.

"The Appeal Court found Mr Justice Strydom's reasoning was 'fundamentally fallacious', and observed the Trial Court's failure to consider the evidence of the accused separately, constituting serious misdirection," said Suzman.

## Buthelezi is firm

Acting State President Chris Heunis may have wagered his political survival on the outside chance of delivering KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi to government's proposed National Council — its forum for giving blacks a say in the affairs of State. If so, history may judge it was a hand Heunis had to play, but was bound to lose.

Bagging Buthelezi's participation on the mooted council is the grand prize which has so far eluded Heunis — at direct cost to his status in the Cabinet and the National Party.

But since it is generally agreed that the Zulu leader's backing is the key to successfully launching the council, Heunis has no option in present circumstances but to keep raising the stakes. Accordingly, since the start of the new year, he has:

- ☐ Agreed jointly with Buthelezi to establish a committee "to identify the obstacles to negotiation;"
- ☐ Agreed, after months of delay, to formal-

10/3/89.

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ly meet the promoters of the KwaNatal Indaba to discuss their proposals for power-sharing at a regional level; and

☐ Extended an olive branch to Buthelezi and other black leaders in his opening speech to parliament, in which he hinted that government was not inflexibly wedded to the Group Areas Act, a major target of Buthelezi's scorn.

In a typically encoded aside, Heunis raised the remarkable possibility of securing undefined rights for a new "group" of individuals who choose to associate across present racially classified lines. This is a direct echo of provisions contained in the KwaNatal Indaba constitutional model.

However, if Heunis believes his overtures are having the desired effect, he'd better think again. In an interview with the *FM* last week Buthelezi bristled with indignation when asked whether he viewed these events as an attempt to lure him on to the National Council.

"I have been in politics for 30 years. You may jump to your own conclusions, but I am not able to be lured. No carrots will attract me. I want to see action, not words," he said angrily.

Buthelezi added that his frequently stated preconditions for joining the council remain unaltered. He would not do so until and unless the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts are scrapped, all political detainees including Nelson Mandela are re-

leased, and all black political movements, including the ANC, are unbanned and free to join the negotiation process — should they choose to exercise this option.

There seems little doubt that Buthelezi is not merely indulging in brinkmanship. As Zulu leader he is presently involved in a titanic power struggle in the townships with the UDF and its affiliates, and he has correctly judged that his political reputation would not survive if he retreated from these conditions. ■



DEMOCRATIC PARTY

## Defending Sampie

Wynand Malan, co-leader of the Democratic Party (DP), to be launched on April 8, last week came to the defence of Stellenbosch economist Sampie Terreblanche. He spoke in support of an economic philosophy, which while paying due deference to individual entrepreneurship and growth, still believes there is a role for the post-apartheid State in the redistribution of wealth ("upliftment") given the historic racial inequalities of SA society.

Malan's intervention comes in the wake of a sustained free market attack on Terreblanche's vision of the economic system in a democratic SA by *Business Day* editor Ken Owen. "Owen takes the line that in appointing Terreblanche as economic adviser we have discarded all principles of liberal freedoms, including that of the economy," said Malan, addressing a group of Johannesburg business people at the speaker's forum, Rostrum at the Yard.

"We all, inclusive of Terreblanche, believe that there should be opportunity for all individuals to have access to and participate in the economy of SA. But having said that — and having spelled out our clear preference for individual entrepreneurship in order to achieve a high rate of economic growth, which we believe to be absolutely necessary

— we are also saying there needs to be an assessment of the demands of democracy on an economic system for the future."

While the DP believes in an economic system promoting private initiative, it also takes cognisance of the State's important function in human development and upliftment, Malan argued.

Anyone will agree, he said, that it is impossible simply to superimpose a democratic system on SA realities which leave the economic infrastructure unscathed. "The fundamental dilemma is that Ken Owen puts a high premium on the idea of entrepreneurship, going as far as talking about the State's total withdrawal from these processes.

"But he has never expressed himself about the effects of democracy. He has never made a case for the real democratic community. He only keeps on talking about a market community — with the individual always getting all the opportunities."

Malan felt that Owen puts too stark and simplistic a choice before Terreblanche: a high rate of growth, or a fair distribution of wealth. "I think it is important to say that if we cannot have a balance between a high rate of economic growth and equitable distribution of wealth, we will have nothing. I think it is time to ask Owen where he stands on democracy in SA," Malan challenged the feisty editor.

Turning to criticism of his meetings with the ANC abroad, Malan reiterated that the

DP will talk to anyone, from the far-Right to "even those who are perceived to be dangerous blacks . . . Nobody in SA can afford not to talk to the ANC. I believe that they are indeed a political factor."

Malan said that in discussing the "nauseous dimensions of violence" (soft targets like the Ellis Park bomb) with the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, the SA delegation warned the Lusaka group that a continuance of this policy would cause people to move away from the politics of negotiation to a confrontational stance. "We have also brought these views back to the internal debate when speaking to the UDF and Cosatu about violence, especially the civil violence."

At a subsequent meeting, Mbeki told members of Malan's National Democratic Movement that the ANC had received a delegation from Cosatu, as well as a message from the UDF, demanding that such bomb blasts be stopped. Mbeki promised that this would come to an end.

"I told him that I was sceptical about whether they would be able to control it. The fact is, however, that since the end of October last year these incidents have virtually disappeared. I'm not making any promises. All I am saying is that if we, through contact and discussion with them, could make a little contribution to minimise maiming and killing, then I believe South Africans will be thankful."

At question time, Malan poured cold wa-

ter on suggestions that the relatively more liberal language of new National Party leader F W de Klerk was cause for reformist hope. A look at the fine-print and codicils to those statements gave them the lie, he suggested.



## THE PRESIDENCY

# A time to go . . .

■ The political crisis forced by P W's obduracy will have major repercussions



It really is a sorry, undignified business — the sight of an ailing State President clinging to power in the teeth of opposition from his own party and press. The matter could come to a head this week. Even so, P W Botha, one-time reformer turned autocrat, has lost at least one opportunity to retire with some dignity.

Any back-down by Botha now will be seen as weakness, a quality he appears to despise. So a back-down should not even be expected. The real question is whether he and F W de Klerk, his perceived successor, will manage between them to work out a formula for dividing the immense power hitherto concentrated in the presidential office; pending, of course, Botha's actual retirement. Or whether the confrontation will be brutal and unseemly.

Botha's career in public life has at all times been marked by overt displays of his awareness of the uses of power. He began an early political apprenticeship at the knees of D F Malan, the first Nat PM, spearheading violent break-ups of United Party meetings. And — jarringly for the man who was later godfather to the tricameral constitution — he was indifferent to the plight of thousands of District Six coloureds. As the young deputy minister of community development and coloured affairs, he presided over this notorious removal — the effects of which have never subsided.

Although he never served on the battlefield, the portfolio of defence minister suited his personality and later style of governing well. As PM and more notably as State President — surrounded and increasingly isolated by a regiment of securocrats and sycophants in Tuynhuys — he left the path of his ascendancy strewn with the ruined careers of political foes.

John Vorster and Connie Mulder; SABC director general Riaan Eksteen and board member Sampie Terreblanche; Cabinet members Lourens Muller and Allan Hendrickse — all were casualties of his style. Even lifelong friend Alwyn Schlebusch — who had acted as a hatchet man in P W's quest for the prime ministership — got the boot when he later dared to oppose Botha on a SABC matter. Grown men wept at his rebukes; the caucus crumbled into submission — only allowing the notes of dissent to emerge when the January stroke appeared to lay him low.

Yet throughout all this political carnage Botha could at least count on the steadfast support of chairman Piet Cillie and his group of newspapers in the Nasionale Pers stable. But recently a dissonant voice — that of *Beeld* editor Willem Wepener — made itself heard. Starting with calls to reconsider the Group Areas Act and jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela's position, Wepener earned the wrath of P W, who publicly called on Cillie to deal with the offending editor.

In what can in retrospect be seen as the first sign of this week's open rebellion on the part of Naspers against Botha rule, Cillie declined to act against Wepener. Accordingly, freed of the shackles of their Tuynhuys connection, the Naspers papers, including the Cape party mouthpiece *Die Burger*, have all come out in clear support of newly-elected National Party (NP) leader F W de Klerk.

Two events in the sorry history of the decline and (what will in the end follow) the fall of P W Botha stand out. On Thursday February 2, in the parliamentary caucus room of the NP, there came the surprise announcement that he had decided to resign as party leader.

For once Botha's political astuteness deserted him. His decision to distance himself (at least officially) from the day-to-day running of the party, suggests plainly that he

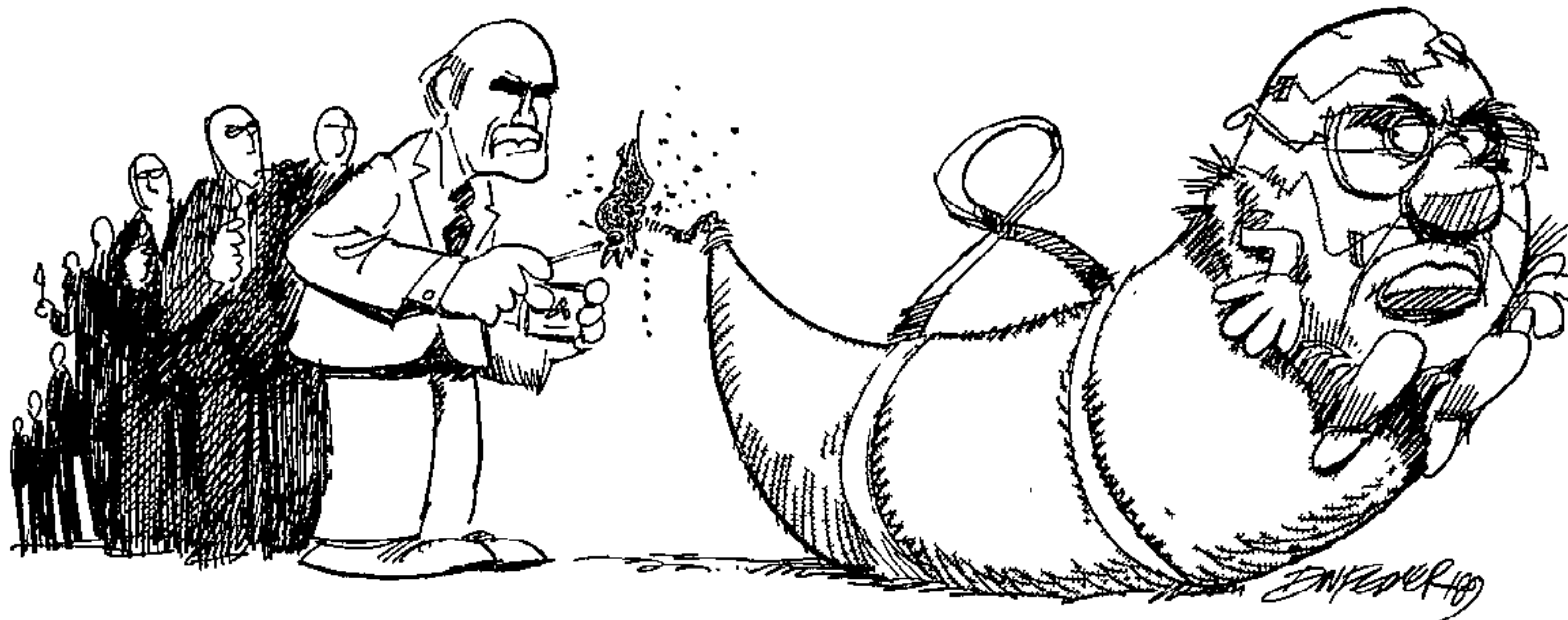
failed to realise how deep the resentment against his authoritarianism had run. He left himself without the all-important power base of the caucus — which from all accounts has since rallied around De Klerk. His decision may have been accelerated by the stroke which paralysed part of the left side of his body — medical details about his condition have been unforthcoming and there is too much speculation on the topic. Whatever the case, for the first time during his rule, Botha suddenly appeared vulnerable.

Botha's determination to cling to power has confirmed the worst nightmare of many Nat MPs. It has again also vindicated critics of the tricameral constitution who warned in 1984 that an executive president could become a virtual dictator. Unless he agrees to step down, or the NP attempts a drastic constitutional manoeuvre to unseat him, he could stay on for a week after the next general election — the timing of which he can directly influence.

This is a problem the NP never believed it would have to face — and therefore no clear-cut constitutional ruling was made for its solution. The only constitutional provision for unseating a State President needs all three Houses of Parliament to request the Chief Justice to constitute an electoral college which can decide that the president is unable to perform his duties efficiently. But apart from the drastic nature of such a move, some analysts believe that the onus to prove inefficiency could land up in a messy court wrangle.

The "worst case" scenario — in which Botha refuses to quit regardless of what action the NP takes and clings to power with the backing of the security establishment he has nurtured for more than 20 years — seems unlikely at this stage.

Perhaps realising the growing concern in the caucus over his position, Botha committed what seems to have been another blunder. He decided to grant the Naspers papers an exclusive interview to dispel speculation that he would relinquish power, making way for De Klerk. "I have to go back to continue my work," he told senior journalist Alf Ries. "I see the separation (of the positions of president and party leader) as a first step . . . which has been underlined by the caucus . . . I think they have accepted joint responsibility for that (separation)." And he went on to undermine De Klerk, saying it was he who





There is always some difficulty in deciding whether a new company with executives who have no track record is a high-flier — or the empire of tomorrow. When rapid acquisition and rationalisation borders on the labyrinthine, that decision not only becomes more difficult but can too easily deteriorate into no more than an informed guess.

Keeping track of the developments is no easy task. Assessing their potential is even more difficult. Some of the deals seem to go full circle. Take Drivotech. A large part was originally in the Davgra group as Invicta Bearings. Davgra was taken over by Gant's and used as its listing vehicle. Invicta management then took a major stake in Drivotech after Gant's sold it the Invicta interests. Drivotech then became part of the Duros group, in which the Invicta management also had an interest.

Tollgate itself was for many years a trans-

For anyone who has not followed the group's developments — and the careers of the various directors — step by step, the restructuring is difficult to take in at a glance.

In about 1985 Claassen bought control of Arwa and then decided, with Key, to form an industrial holding company. Sherrel and Turner were invited to form an issuing house as part of the new company, called Duros, and McCay also became a founder-shareholder, though without executive capacity. Gant's chose Davgra for a listing via a reverse takeover, with the understanding that it would sell the bearing interests of Davgra, namely Invicta. These were then sold into Drivotech, which McCay and his consortium

When Duros bought 29.9% of Tollgate, investors realised there was considerably more to Duros than the issuing house, so conspicuous during the stock market boom. Duros thought it had control of Tollgate; but this proved incorrect and, after some altercations with the existing board, Duros filled board vacancies with its own directors. There was simultaneously a struggle in the market: and a mystery buyer began acquiring Tollgate shares, driving the price up from 225c to a high of 410c in April.

Meanwhile, Tollgate had bought United Passenger Transport, which increased its fleet and inter-city services, while the sale of some of its assets reduced the net cost.

and 25% of Gant's from Lougant, the Gant family holding company. The Gant's deal amounted to Tollgate acting as white knight, according to Claasen, as the rival Delpont family were attempting to gain control. In the process, Duros's holding in Tollgate was reduced to 32% because of additional shares issued.

In a later circular, it was revealed that Claasen was selling the Tollgate shares he had thus acquired to Duros in exchange for Duros shares, and that Duros would buy the shares Tollgate had issued to Lougant for cash, an offer also extended to minorities. Control was thus returned to Duros. Duros had meanwhile obtained a banking licence and formed a bank. The issuing house consortium sold their Duros shares to Claasen and Key, using the funds to take a 35% stake in the unlisted





first dreamt up the Great Indaba. "I am glad to see that there is support for this idea of mine." (An idea, incidentally, that had become a lame duck under his rule.)

Adding to an extraordinary performance, Botha admitted that he is the target of "scorn and attacks." Self-pity was evident: "I am sorry if I am in the way of some people, but I have a task to fulfil and as my strength improves, I will continue with that task... (I) take the view that I have a power base among all good South Africans."

He accused opposition newspapers of "misusing" the present situation. How disillusioned he must therefore have been when both *Die Burger* and *Beeld* carried the interview; for, as *Rapport* pointed out, it was placed alongside editorials — "carefully planned and worded" — which came within a "width of a hair from openly requesting that President Botha resign in favour of Mr De Klerk."

Last Monday *Beeld* went further. It recalled the words of Botha's political mentor D F Malan: "There is a time to come and there is a time to go... and the concerned person should act with a feeling of responsibility and unselfishness towards the public. He should himself know when to retire and act accordingly..."

Why Botha won't go remains a mystery. One popular theory is that De Klerk's election is so unacceptable to the president that he is willing to precipitate a major crisis in the party to destroy his successor and allow a more acceptable (to him) leader to take over — Barend du Plessis, perhaps.

The argument put forward by Botha — that he has long wanted the offices of party leader and State President separated — holds no water. He knows the posts are inseparable unless the Nat leader is such a spineless lackey that he takes orders unquestioningly from the president and passes them on as decrees to the caucus and congresses. De Klerk is not in that mould.

There is also growing concern in the NP that Botha is being badly advised by the small coterie of personal staff with which he has surrounded himself at Tuynhuys. Unlike previous executive heads of government who have relied largely on career bureaucrats to staff their departments, Botha has seconded technocrats from other spheres to fill important posts and act as key advisers. Head of the department is Jannie

Roux, a doctor of psychology and general in the Prisons Service before being taken into Tuynhuys. Neil Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service, is a former Free State university professor — and of course press spokesman Jack Viviers, also a close confidante, is a former journalist seconded to Tuynhuys by Naspers.

Some Nat MPs (and increasingly the Nat press) blame the "Tuynhuys clique" for Botha's isolation from the day-to-day realities of SA and in particular for his current apparently irrational behaviour towards De Klerk. They are convinced

that if he received sage advice he could not fail to see the new spirit that De Klerk's election has instilled in the NP — and move over graciously to allow his successor to become president and continue with the reform process that became bogged down in the second half of the Botha presidency.

Yet it seems matters have gone too far for such an amicable resolution. A showdown with De Klerk, regardless of the consequences for party or State, looms. Just how far Botha is prepared to go remains to be

seen. It is a big gamble: either the caucus backs him and humiliates De Klerk, or it closes ranks behind the new leader and becomes even more blunt with its message that Botha must go.

For De Klerk, the next few days are undeniably the most crucial of his political career. If he is to retain stature in the NP he must take on Botha and win. For that he needs caucus backing. Indications as the *FM* went to press were that he would get it at the weekly caucus meeting on Thursday.

He has a few important cards to play. Not least of all, it is understood, is a firm commitment from Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse to co-operate on the key constitutional changes the Nats need to increase the number of seats in parliament and to provide for the office of PM. Hendrickse has apparently indicated to De Klerk that if Botha comes back the deal is off. More seats and a delimitation are needed by the NP to



**'Just when we thought it was safe to breathe again!'**  
**The campaign in the Afrikaans press against P W Botha was illustrated by Rapport's political cartoonist's comment on newspaper reports that Botha plans to return to office.**

thwart the growing Conservative Party (CP) challenge, particularly in the Transvaal. Some Nat MPs believe a delimitation can effectively pin down the CP in the areas it currently controls and secure marginal NP seats that may otherwise have been lost to the Right in the next election.

The caucus is also firmly behind De Klerk's refreshing new line on reform. It may be mere rhetoric at this stage, but it's better than utter stagnation.

But if the caucus backs De Klerk, what will he actually have backing for? In simple terms: for telling Botha to pack up and go. But how does one tell a man like Botha to go, and what does one do if he refuses? Should De Klerk see Botha personally, or send one of the president's old and trusted friends like Naspers's Cillie? Should De Klerk (or his emissary) threaten or plead? Should De Klerk try to compromise by suggesting that Botha return to office for a few months and then retire before the next election (which now seems likely to be in September or October)? Wouldn't both Botha and De Klerk see any compromise as a back-down?

So far De Klerk has tried to handle the situation as tactfully as possible. At the weekend he told Nats at a sports function in Stellenbosch that the party is experiencing a "very difficult phase" and is under "considerable pressure." He added in effect that the interests of party and State and respect for Botha had to be reconciled.

Can they be? It seems not. Someone is going to get hurt. De Klerk's men say it won't be him and Botha has never yet suffered a political beating. The major power-play of white politics this decade is under way, and its repercussions will be profound.

What does the *FM* think? That F W is the better man for the job right now. But like many observers at the moment, we feel, rather uneasily, that the impact of all this infighting could be retrogressive. After the Rubicon speech in 1985, you could hear the rand fall. A rampant P W, back in full power and enraged with his "enemies," would be the worst possible outcome for everyone. ■



**F W de Klerk**



**P W Botha**



# Killing the golden goose!

THE POLITICAL "monopoly" of the Afrikaner-orientated National Party over the last 40 years made an important contribution to the relative improvement of Afrikaner per capita-income vis-à-vis the English-speakers.

Almost immediately after taking office in 1948, the NP put a three-pronged programme into operation. New discriminatory laws were added to the existing arsenal and also extended to coloureds and Indians; the bureaucracy was systematically enlarged and additional parastatals developed to create lucrative employment, mainly for Afrikaners; while a variety of welfare programmes were launched to redistribute wealth and uplift poor whites, who were largely Afrikaners.

But it will be wrong to conclude that it was only Afrikaners who used discriminatory, bureaucratic and fiscal (or redistributive) political strategies to improve their relative economic position. It is probably also

true of the English-speaking whites.

The English-speaking whites played a dominant role in the political arena during the first half of the century and we have ample reason to believe that they also used their political and parliamentary "powers" to promote their economic interests and to improve their relative economic position.

Before anyone can start to look at solutions for the problem of mainly black poverty and for the unequal distribution of income, it is important to acknowledge that these problems are to a very large extent the result of the relentless economic and political "power struggle" between the different population groups.

In these "power struggles" some groups, mainly the English- and

## SAMPLE TERREBLANCHE

Afrikaans-speaking whites) have mostly been on the winning side, while the majority of the blacks were mostly on the losing side.

If black workers are paid in accordance with their (marginal) productivity (or their true scarcity value) and this wage proves to be lower than the living wage, should it be paid?

From a purely economic (or private enterprise) point of view the answer ought to be positive. But one cannot answer such a question in

purely economic (or private enterprise) terms only.

If the (marginal) productivity of black workers is lower than the living wage, who is to be blamed? Was enough spent on their education? If not, government should then either subsidise the in-service training of blacks or pay a subsidy to make it possible for the employers (in either the private or public sector) to pay a living wage.

Given the sad economic and political history of SA and the existing economic and political structures, government has the additional responsibility to see to it that all people can satisfy their basic human needs. In a civilised country nobody should live in absolute poverty.

I suppose all of you will ask from where government would get the

money to subsidise the poor to enable them to satisfy their basic human needs. The only way to get the necessary fiscal means will be to tax those that have been (economic) winners and have a tax capacity.

But will it not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs? Yes, in all probability. But if we want to be a civilised country we must try to satisfy the basic human needs of the total population.

The problem of "the living wage" in a declining and a too capital-intensive economy cannot be redressed without adequate political reform.

If one takes the poverty and the social tensions in SA into consideration, SA desperately needs an economic and political framework that will be conducive for maximum international co-operation and for a very high growth rate.

This is an extract from a paper Professor Terreblanche delivered to the "living wage campaign" seminar in October 1988.

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High drama as Nats meet Botha

# Defiant PW to return early

B/Dan 10/3/89

304A



● BOTHA

CAPE TOWN — After a day of high drama in Parliament yesterday, President P W Botha announced he was coming back to office next week. NP sources said, however, the entire party caucus, with the exception of acting President Chris Heunis, had told him to go.

The NP caucus met yesterday to discuss a division of power between Botha and new leader F W de Klerk. MPs were tight-lipped after being warned that under no circumstances should the contents of the discussions be made public.

However, MPs, prepared to challenge the order, said that with the exception of Heunis the entire party rallied behind De Klerk and gave the delegation of party leaders, which met Botha later, a mandate to tell him the party wanted him to go.

The delegation, led by De Klerk, who was accompanied by Heunis, Free State leader Kobie Coetsee and Natal leader Stoffel Botha, met Botha after the

MIKE ROBERTSON

caucus meeting.

They later relayed the result of the meeting to an extraordinary meeting of the party caucus.

However, the statement issued by the leaders gave no indication of what had actually transpired or how power was to be divided between Botha and De Klerk.

It said: "The discussions between the President, the National Party leader and the leaders of the Cape, the OFS and Natal were held in good spirit. These

● Comment: Page 6

talks were extensive and incisive and it was agreed that more discussions would take place.

"This has been conveyed to the caucus of the NP and the caucus has noted this with understanding."

However, prior to the release of the statement, Botha's office released a letter he had written to Heunis at the start

of the week.

In the letter, Botha said that after careful consideration of the facts relating to the condition of his health, he planned to attend the pre-Budget Cabinet meeting on March 15.

If he does return then, it will be two weeks ahead of the day he gave last week for his return to office.

Botha said that after presiding over that Cabinet meeting he would attend the parliamentary sitting when Finance Minister Barend du Plessis delivered his Budget.

The presentation of the Budget and what followed was of great importance for the country and he believed that he, as President, should be present.

He would, therefore, resume his presidential duties from March 15.

Botha asked Heunis to "inform his Cabinet colleagues of his intentions. At the same time, he wanted to thank

● To Page 2

## Defiant P W Botha is to return early

Heunis for filling the role of acting President while he was indisposed.

NP sources, angered by the release of the letter, said the caucus, with the exception of Heunis, had been adamant the leaders should tell Botha the time had come for him to go.

They also said the NP wanted Botha to go soon, to allow an election to take place in May. If Botha refused to go, the NP realised there was little it could do about it, but party members were prepared to ostracise him.

If he agreed to go, he would be allowed to bow out gracefully and be accorded every honour the NP could give him.

They also said that after his support

for Botha, Heunis would face the wrath of the NP. His chances of retaining the post of NP leader in the Cape were minimal. Administration and Privatisation Minister Dawie de Villiers would replace him as leader.

NP caucus chairman Boet Bothma said: "The division of the responsibilities of the President and those of the national leader of the NP, since February 2 last, was discussed by the caucus this morning."

The discussions had been marked by their frank and cordial nature and a complete absence of disagreement.

● From Page 1

# Suspend Hall-Green, says LP

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party yesterday called for the immediate suspension of SABC-TV presenter David Hall-Green following remarks he made on Good Morning SA on Tuesday.

In a statement, Peter Hendrickse, LP MP for Addo, said Hall-Green should be suspended while the SABC investigated the circumstances.

The outcome of the investigation should be made public.

Hendrickse said the LP had noted the

incident with "shock, anger, disgust and concern".

The SABC confirmed that Hall-Green was responsible for the off-screen remark about a domestic servant having "14 children ... each from a different father", and said the matter was being dealt with as an in-house affair.

Hall-Green did not appear on Good Morning SA yesterday. The SABC said he had taken a few days' leave for "health reasons". — Sapa.

## Defiant P W Botha





ROZANNE BOTHA . . . "worried" about her father's health

# Rozanne worried about Dad

By CARLA DE VILLIERS

10/3/89

2041

A GLAMOROUS but tearful Rozanne Botha, daughter of President P.W. Botha, said last night that she was "extremely worried" about her father's health.

Speaking at an M-Net function, Miss Botha told the Cape Times: "I am not allowed to disclose anything about my father until I've been given permission.

"However I can say that I am extremely worried about

his health. I love him very much as only a daughter can do," said Miss Botha before her handsome but aggressive escort lead her away.

Miss Botha may soon be joining the M-Net team — but has decided to hold fire on her decision until her father has recovered fully from his recent stroke.

In a strapless pink-and-gold chiffon evening gown, showing a bikini-bra tan, Ms Botha was the centred of attraction as guest of honour of M-Net chiefs who introduced her officially, via anchor man Derek Watts, to the media and M-Net sponsors.

Miss Botha, who is 29 but

looks 18, said she would be granting interviews to members of the media and television personalities once her long-playing record was released in April — perhaps sooner, depending on her father's health.

Asked about criticism of her poetry by leading South African author Andrej Brink, she laughed and said: "I take it as a compliment that he bothered to read my poetry."



# NP can't get rid of P W Botha

Capt

Trips  
10/3/89

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**A DEFIANT President P W Botha yesterday brushed aside an effective call from the National Party caucus to pack his bags and instead announced his early return to Tuynhuys next week.**

The ruling party now sits with a State President it does not want but with no clear game plan of how to get rid of him.

The typically pugnacious decision of the increasingly isolated President to cling to power as plunged the government into a fresh round of "tremendous uncertainty", as one National-

ist put it last night.

It has also bloodied the nose of the President's aspirant successor, Mr F W de Klerk, but Mr De Klerk's backers are unwilling to describe the latest setback as a defeat.

Mr De Klerk — who yesterday received the overwhelming support of the caucus for a proposal that included Mr Botha's early retirement ahead of an election — now plans to strike back, NP sources said last night.

Nationalists said last night that one of the few party members to go against the popular sentiment in yesterday's crucial caucus meeting was the acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis — a stand that could cost him dearly if Mr De Klerk should emerge the victor in the power play.

Mr Botha arrived in Cape Town yesterday morning as Nationalist MPs were trying to

settle on the best strategy for informing the President that he was no longer wanted as ruler of the country and that Mr De Klerk should take over.

After the caucus meeting the provincial leaders of the party went to Tuynhuys to present Mr Botha with "proposals as to how the situation should be handled".

But as one disconcerted Nationalist said later: "It is obvious at this point that the State President seems determined to stick to office."

While attempts were made to convey the message that power should be handed over to Mr De Klerk "with a strong feeling of affection and understanding" for the President, it was "obvious that Mr Botha felt very hurt".

One MP attributed the delicacy of the situa-

To page 3

From page 1

tion to the fact that Mr Botha had until yesterday been "wrongly informed about the mood of the caucus" which was "95% plus" behind Mr De Klerk's bid for power.

Rather than push for a confrontation, it was decided to "let the matter stew on for a while".

However, one NP source noted last night that "nobody expects this situation of uncertainty can last much longer", adding: "There is no way we can go into the next election with the State President (Mr Botha) being the leader of the National Party — this is vitally important."

Another put it this way: "It is only a matter of time before F W become the next State President."

In the meantime, the NP's provincial leaders are expected to mull over ways out extricating the party from the latest impasse, while rank-and-file MPs are set to engage in "a lot of think-tank activities as to how the situation can be defused".

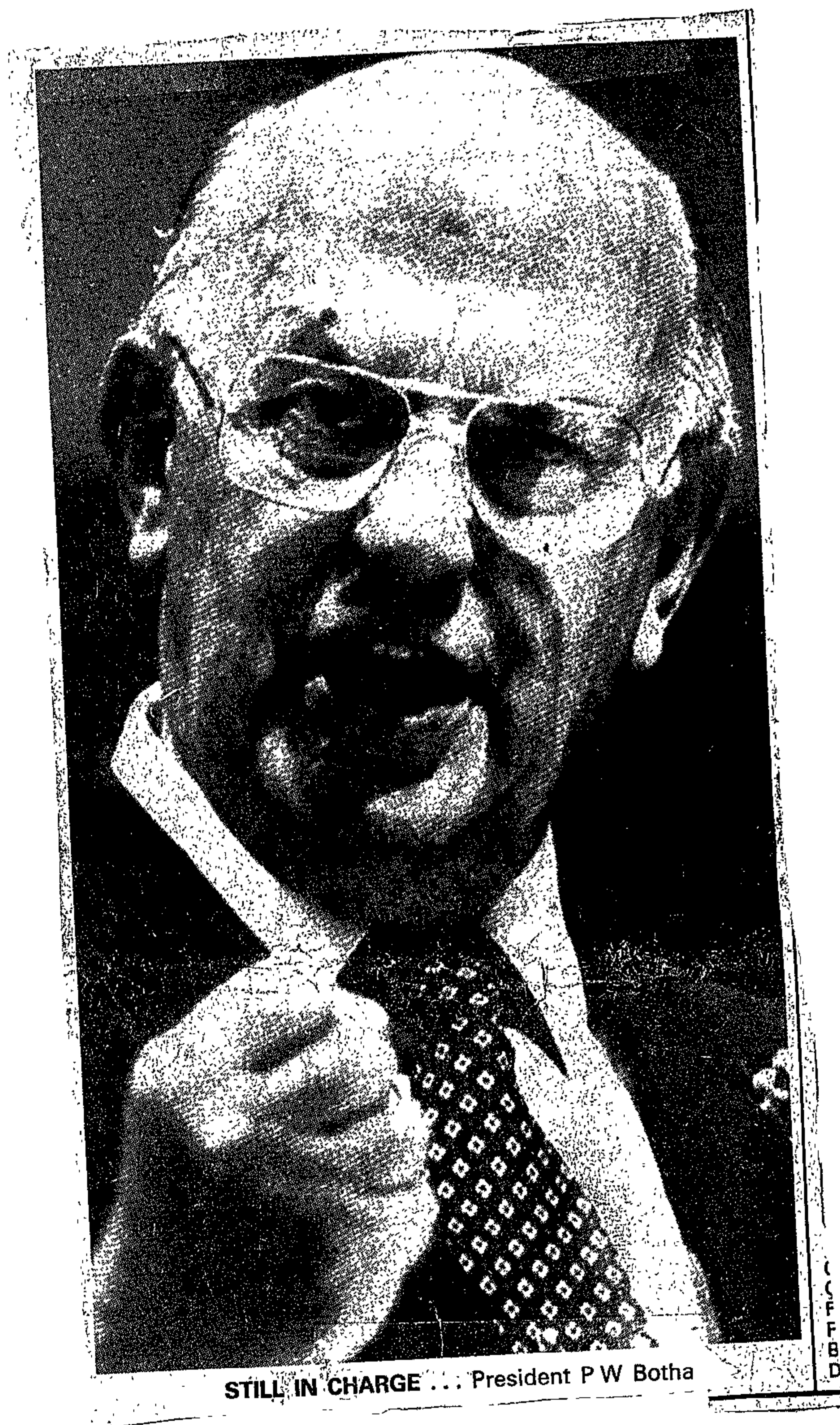
Following the Tuynhuys meeting between Mr Botha and the NP's provincial leaders, Mr Botha authorised the release of a letter which he had written to Mr Heunis in which he boldly signalled his intention to return to office.

The March 6 letter, which was circulated at Wednesday's cabinet meeting, notes that "after very careful consideration of the facts in connection with my health, as well as other factors that I have taken into consideration" he would not only chair the cabinet meeting on March 15, and attend the budget debate, but resume his duties as State President.

The timing of the public release of the letter as he returned to the Wilderness was seen in Mr Botha to his detractors who wanted him out of the way.

Mr Botha's decision to change his return date to office from after Easter to next week was also seen as a sign of his determination to get closer to the scene of the political action as he fights for his political life in the weeks ahead.





**STILL IN CHARGE ... President P W Botha**

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**In brief**

*CP 7073 10/3/89 (304A)*  
**CP retains Sasolburg**

**SASOLBURG.** — The Conservative Party has retained its seat in the municipal by-election in ward seven here, but with a reduced majority. The CP candidate, Mr Hennie van Stryp, polled 430 votes to the 397 of Mr Jan Coetzee, an independent candidate who had National Party support.





Mr Colin Eglin

# P W Botha's position is *CAP 7/12/89 14/3/89 3647* 'unassailable'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE absolute powers vested in President P W Botha placed him in a "virtually unassailable" position in his battle with the National Party, the PFP's spokesman for constitutional affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

Meanwhile, the new NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, has been left to "play second fiddle while playing first fiddle in terms of political responsibilities".

Commenting on the ongoing leadership crisis rocking the party and the country, Mr Eglin said: "By his unilateral decision to resign as leader of the NP but cling on to the office of State President, Mr Botha has placed Mr De Klerk in an untenable position.

"Mr De Klerk as head of the

party has to carry the can as far as the electorate is concerned, yet Mr Botha, who does not have to face the electoral music, is the man who calls the shots."

Mr Eglin said that at the time of the next election Mr Botha, as State President, would be running the government from Tuynhuys, while Mr De Klerk would be fighting for his political life in his Vereeniging constituency.

"The NP has been hoisted on its own petard."

In the 1983 the NP, "with consummate cynicism", placed absolute powers in terms of the tricameral constitution in the hand of one man — the State President — who it took for granted would be the leader of the NP and a member of its caucus.

"But, by his unilateral decision to resign as NP leader but cling on to the post of State President, Mr Botha has turned Nationalist

plans upside-down.

"More than this, Mr Botha — without consulting anyone in government or Parliament — has severed a critically important link between the Presidency and Parliament," he said.

Mr Eglin said Mr Botha had freed himself from the constraints there were on him by the virtue of his membership of Parliament.

In doing this he has also raised the whole issue of ongoing presidential accountability.

"The harsh fact that Mr De Klerk and his cabinet colleagues have to face is that they can only compel Mr Botha to stand down by getting all three Houses of Parliament to pass a vote of no confidence in the cabinet of which they are members.

"In the meantime, the country suffers from a leadership crisis," Mr Eglin said.

ation



Security bosses 'seeking to prolong Botha's hold on power'

# Iron fist behind PW

SA 11/3/89

3040

PATRICK LAURENCE, PETER FABRICIUS  
and SAPA

**POWERFUL** vested interests in the Presidential Office and the security forces are struggling to prolong President Botha's tenure in office to extend their own hold on power.

Their influence on Mr Botha — hinted at twice in the past fortnight by the pro-government Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld* and confirmed independently by a well-placed Afrikaner observer — forms the backdrop to the tussle between Mr Botha and National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

It is a struggle that is shaking party structures right down to provincial level. From Cape Town, it is reported that the Cape National Party leader and Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis faces a revolt in the Cape after apparently backing President Botha in the NP leadership struggle.

And it seems that Mr Barendt du Plessis — who came within eight votes of beating Mr F W de Klerk in the National leadership election on February 2 — has rapidly thrown his weight behind Mr de Klerk. This could put him in a strong position to make a bid for the NP Transvaal leadership if Mr de Klerk, the present leader, gives it up, as he is expected to do.

Party sources say that he is now in a considerably stronger position than any of the three deputy leaders of the Transvaal party — Mr Pk Botha, Dr Gerrit Viljoen and General Magnus Malan.

The blessing of Mr de Klerk would probably be enough to tip the scales in his favour.

Party sources say that Mr Heunis's apparent backing of Mr Botha — in a caucus which has rapidly united behind Mr de Klerk — could cost him the Cape leadership this year and generally damage his political career.

## Rising star

At this year's Cape congress, the leadership could go to deputy leader in the province and fellow Cabinet Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, who is considered a rising star in the party.

According to NP sources, Mr Heunis pulled a rope

## Groote Schuur Hospital boss gets job back

SHARON SOROUR

CAPE TOWN — The ousted medical superintendent of Groote Schuur Hospital, Dr Jocelyn Kane-Berman, has been fully reinstated.

In terms of an agreement with the provincial administration she has dropped legal proceedings over the sacking controversy.

She retracted certain public comments made in the *Weekend Argus* in October last year and apologised to "those persons and offices embarrassed thereby".

This was announced last night by the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gen Louw, in what he described as "the final statement to be issued on this matter".

The full statement said: "Dr Kane-Berman withdraws legal proceedings instituted against the CPA and other respondents.

"A mutually satisfactory arrangement has been reached regarding costs ... Dr Kane-Berman is restored to her previous position as medical superintendent of Groote Schuur Hospital by the CPA as of the issuing of this statement."

## Cup run glut likely

BARRY GLASSPOOL

CAPE TOWN — The South African Cricket Union's centenary Currie Cup final could be heading for a run-feast if the controversial St George's Park pitch remains as placid as it was on the first day.

Home team Eastern Province made 227 for two after Kepler Wessels won the toss.

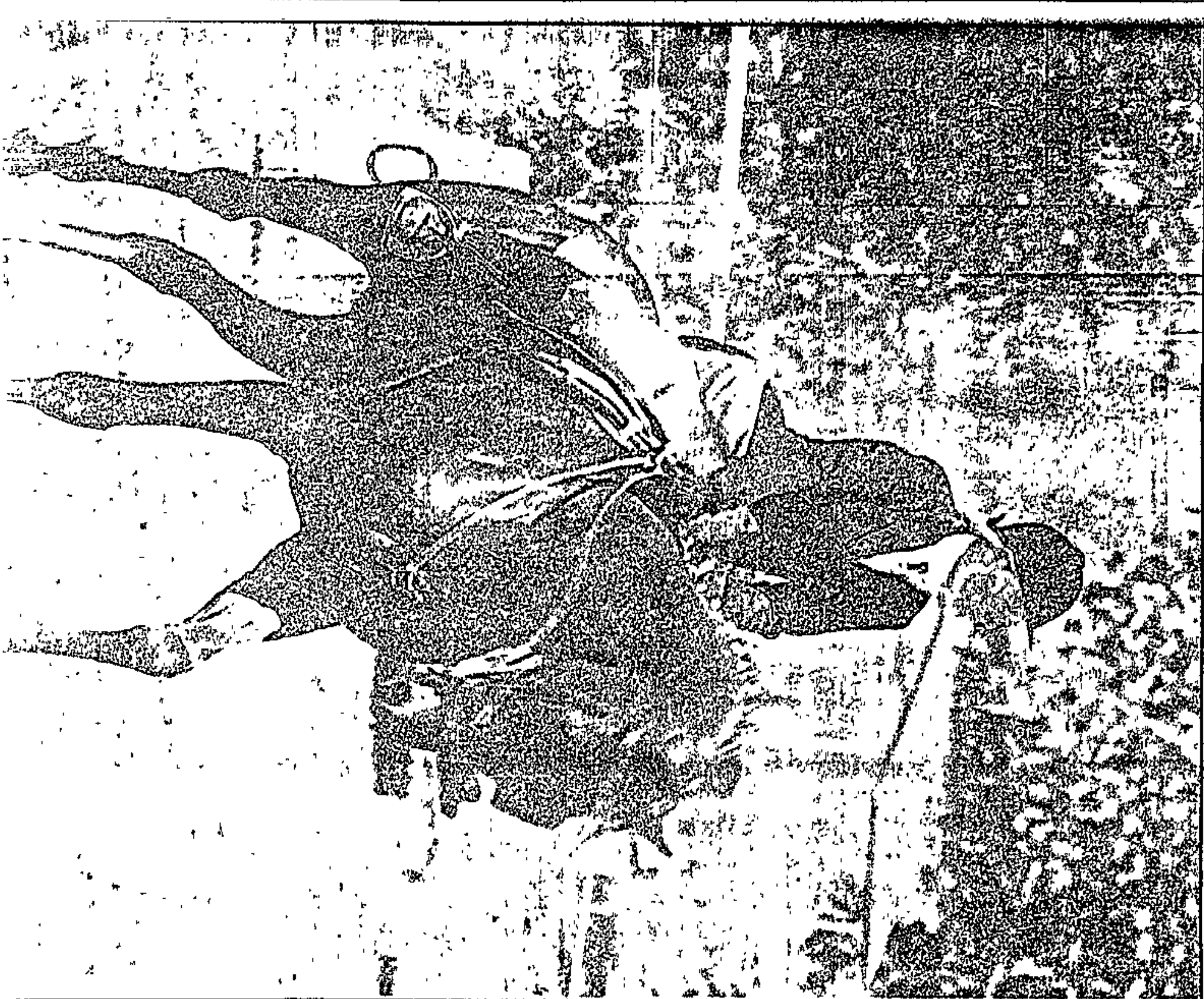
Transvaal captain Clive Rice believes the wicket will take spin.

SEE BACK PAGE.

## Rands and sense Budget

AN ELECTION may be round the corner, but it is no time to hand sweets to voters as these will give the economy serious indignation after any election, says PFP finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz.

SEE PAGE 9.







## 'Securocrats' behind PW's bid to hold power

● FROM PAGE 1.

carried over into the political arena.

Addressing the first annual meeting of the newly founded Confederation of South African Sport (CSS), he said: "Like athletes in their starting blocks, we are tonight experiencing a sense of excitement ... a new era in sport."

"The steps that South African sport has taken to eliminate discrimination serve to confirm that South Africans of all population groups can stand together in their desire to achieve common goals. The Government welcomes and supports this because it is to the benefit of South Africa."

Mr de Klerk said a new beginning was also a time to take stock.

"This philosophy of developing autonomous societal systems goes hand in hand with the spirit of democracy and the free market system ...

"Having given due consideration to the role which the State should play in society, the Government acknowledged the autonomy of sport."

Another analyst, Mr James Selfe, research officer with the Progressive Federal Party,

agrees that the leadership struggle masks a deeper, structural conflict between rival interest groups in Afrikanerdom.

"The national security management system was created and is sustained by Mr Botha," Mr Selfe said. He has no doubt that when Mr Botha goes, the system he established — and the men who man it, the "securocrats" — will decline in influence.

The securocrats are drawn from the military, the police and, to a much larger extent than is generally known, the National Intelligence Service.

Rattled against them is an impatient and angry NP caucus. Increasingly sidelined during Mr Botha's rule, it will almost certainly move closer to the centre of the stage under Mr de Klerk.

Mr Selfe points out that the assassination of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd in 1966 marked the start of the decline of his bureaucratic empire, the Department of Bantu Affairs.

Verwoerd's once all-pervasive department, having undergone several changes of name after his death, no longer exists.

Similarly, Mr Selfe adds, the resignation of Mr B J Vorster as

Prime Minister was followed by the rapid disappearance from the stage of the dreaded Bureau for State Security (Boss).

Under Mr Botha's aegis a new instrument of power emerged, the National Security Management System. The National Intelligence Service (NIS), which replaced Boss, was assigned a central role within the system.

Mr Selfe calculates that the NIS provides about 80 percent of the men who staff the secretariat of the State Security Council, the supreme policy-making body in the National Security Management System.

It is an open secret that the NIS head, Dr Neil Barnard, enjoys Mr Botha's confidence. Another man who has won Mr Botha's trust is General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence. He served as the Chief of the Defence Force when Mr Botha was Minister of Defence.

Another identifiable group which stands to lose when Mr Botha goes is the staff of the President's Office, particularly those who hold the rank of deputy director-general or above (35 according to *Sunday Tribune* journalist John MacLennan).

There is little doubt among well-placed observers that Mr

de Klerk, a modest man with no obvious liking for pomp and ceremony, will cut back on the presidential staff.

Beeld did not specify who it had in mind when it hinted that Mr Botha was being influenced to stay in office, perhaps against the advice of some of his doctors and certainly against the wishes of the caucus.

But its carefully chosen words left no doubt about its anxiety that Mr Botha might have been influenced against his own best interests.

In one editorial, it said: "We hope there are not toady advisers who, for their own reasons, want different ideas to take root with him."

It returned to the theme a week later after Mr Botha had himself announced that he planned to return, again noting that there were "perhaps people who, for their own reasons, are giving him advice that he wants to hear".

Beeld itself counselled Mr Botha to heed the words of Dr D F Malan, who served as his mentor more than 25 years ago. Dr Malan said when he quit as Prime Minister in 1954: "There is a time to come and time to go."

## Suzman wants judge inquiry

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY** — The Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, has given notice that she will call for the appointment of a committee to investigate and report on whether Mr Justice J J Strydom had administered justice in accordance with the oath he took in terms of the Supreme Court Act.

Mrs. Suzman said the committee should have the power to take evidence into Mr Justice Strydom's judgments in certain cases.

She said the judgments handed down in the cases of the State v Jacobus Vorster and Petrus Leonard; the State v Mgedesi and others; Wood and others v Ondongwa Trial Authorities and an-

other; the State v Louis Conrad Nagel; and the State v Louis Edward Conradie, Jacobus Havenga and Petrus Nel, had done great damage to race relations in South Africa and Namibia, had brought wide condemnation from abroad and brought the much-vaunted higher courts and system of justice in South Africa into disrepute.

The committee should inquire into whether or not Mr Justice Strydom had failed in certain instances to observe the oath he had taken in his capacity as a judge. *See 11/3/82*

In terms of the oath he had undertaken to "administer justice to all persons alike without fear, favour or prejudice". — Sapa.



# 'Privatise' best route to change

Star 11/3/89  
304M  
**TIM COHEN**

"If anyone calls me an extreme, theoretical, evangelical free marketer I will probably shoot them," Don Cadwell said last night at the launch of his book "South Africa: the New Revolution".

"If they read what I have to say they will see that it contains practical, real life solutions to practical, real life problems," said Mr Cadwell, who is the associate economics editor of the *Financial Mail*.

One of Mr Cadwell's many contentious real-life solutions is to "privatise blacks".

"Apartheid has nationalised black South Africans: the Government owns their land, housing, schools and hospitals," Mr Cadwell writes.

If blacks were "privatised" they would "get the Government off their backs. And the Government would lose the headaches that come from ruling angry township dwellers."

"A government pledged to suppress communism, spends white tax money and sheds black blood to preserve socialism in the townships."

Despite denying that he is an evangelical free marketer, Mr Cadwell is a staunch proponent of privatisation.

"Everything from the Kruger Park to Eskom to SAA could be privatised by issuing shares to all South Africans," he writes.

The book also asserts that South Africa's worst sanctions are self-imposed, that civil servants should be paid to quit, that all company taxes should be abolished and that South Africa could become the richest, most stable country in the world.

The book is "not deliberately cute, but is definitely easy to read", he says, because "any person on the street can understand South Africa's problems."

The book is published by the Free Market Foundation.

# CHIPS DOWN FOR PW

W/C ARGUS  
11/3/89  
3047

Weekend Argus Political Staff

**THE chips are down for President Botha and the National Party.**

The choice confronting the ageing president is: step down now with dignity or face the prospect of being a constitutionally powerful, but isolated, ruler with no political friends.

On Wednesday, for the first time he will face his full Cabinet since his stroke on January 18 and his subsequent resignation as Nationalist leader, which brought on the protracted and increasingly serious turmoil.

He will chair the Cabinet meeting and it is likely that the matter might be raised there although it is meant to be mainly a pre-Budget meeting.

The previous evening he is to have a party at Westbrooke to celebrate his 46th wedding anniversary. It is not clear who will be invited to attend.

## NP "powerless"

Just how drastically the party mood against him has deepened was made abundantly clear today in Die Burger, the Cape mouthpiece of the National Party.

The paper's political columnist, Dawie, states that people come and go and, however useful individuals are, they are a passing phase.

He adds that the NP itself is now powerless because its leader-in-chief, Mr F W de Klerk, has no power. And, because the NP is the ruling party, this means frustrating the will of the people. "This cannot be tolerated."

He makes it clear that if the Nationalist caucus had to choose a presidential candidate today, Mr de Klerk would probably not even be opposed.

From all accounts, by Nationalist sources and Nationalist newspapers, President Botha already stands in marked political isolation, except for his immediate aides and seemingly also his old friend, Cape Nationalist leader Mr Chris Heunis, who is the acting State President.

However, Nationalist politicians are becoming increasingly concerned at the damage being done to the party by the lingering leadership crisis and there is growing feeling that it has to be resolved without delay.

There is no sign yet of a compromise. But speculation is that even this weekend attempts might be made by "elder statesmen" to try to see President Botha at his holiday home at the Wilderness to try to persuade him to step down and clear the way for Mr de Klerk.

The Nationalist Press today gave prominence to what it described as "great ferment in the inner circles of the party".

Tensions in the party around Mr Heunis continued today. While some Cape Nationalist MPs dismissed the suggestion that there was a "revolt" against him, they conceded that there had been some "grumbling" against him, especially among some of the younger members of the caucus.

They said that some of these MPs had become more "cocky" while Mr Botha has not been on the scene. They were demanding some clear message they could take back to their constituencies.

Mr Heunis's attitude has been that the question of Mr Botha's position should only be discussed after the President has returned to his post full-time.

He has felt that Mr Botha deserves to be on sick leave while he recuperates from his stroke. He was unhappy about the fact that the caucus discussed the matter before Mr Botha was back at his post full-time.

He put this view to a meeting of Cape MPs after the second meeting of the full caucus of the party on Thursday. At this meeting, some of his Cape colleagues disagreed with him.

He also made it clear that he was not in favour of confrontation, but that he wanted a solution to the problem.

## Difficult position

There also does not seem to be any prospect of Dr Dawie de Villiers challenging Mr Heunis for the Cape leadership at present. MPs said the Cape National Party did not operate like this.

They felt that Mr Heunis had been in a difficult position as acting President in Mr Botha's absence. While he has limited support in the Cape, there are some strong feelings about him among other MPs, in the Cape as well as the Transvaal.

They are suspicious about his attitude towards the separation of the posts of party leader and head of state.

He is said to have sympathy with the views of President Botha that there could be two posts and some MPs feel that he could make a play for the presidency if Mr Botha stepped down, although he was highly unlikely to get the party's nomination.

These MPs feel that the present situation cannot continue indefinitely and that the leader of the party must also become the President with the executive powers.

Mr Heunis has denied that there has been a revolt against him.



# A PRESIDENTIAL

**N**ATIONALIST MPs and newspapers expected the problems surrounding President Botha's position to be resolved last week. Failing that, they thought it would definitely happen this week.

They meant they hoped President Botha might be brought round to seeing the untenability of him sitting with all the powers as head of government, leaving their newly-elected leader, Mr FW de Klerk, with no more than the party-political authority.

To their astonishment and growing anguish President Botha has responded to their kindly phrased but increasingly pained overtures with as much defiance as ever during his stormy political career.

It has forced the Nationalist caucus into successive intense discussions, and the party's four provincial leaders had lengthy talks with him. But to no avail. Rather than back down, he has made it known that he not only intends returning to office but intends doing so no later than Wednesday — more than two weeks ahead of schedule.

Now it is back to the drawing board for Mr De Klerk and his caucus supporters to see if other ways might be found of moving him aside. While they initially hoped it might be done in as respectful and painless a manner as possible, there now looms before them the growing spectre of a prolonged power struggle of unpredictable outcome, with the rest of the country and the world already looking on in increasing fascination.

**I**T is more than a month ago that Nationalists were first sent scuttling in confusion by the unpredictable actions of their long-serving leader.

It began on the Thursday morning of February 2 when, 15 minutes before their first Parliamentary caucus meeting of the year, caucus chairman Marthinus "Boet" Botma was summoned by telephone to Tuynhuys.

He rushed over and on arrival was handed a letter by President Botha's private secretary, Captain Ters Ehlers.

To Mr Botma, MP for Walvis Bay, the 18 lines written under the Presidential coat of arms came as a complete bombshell, as it would to the 130 members of the caucus, including Cabinet ministers. They listened in stunned silence as he read the message.

*In my opinion the office of State President and the office of leader-in-chief of the National Party should now be separated.*

*Consequently I would appreciate it if the caucus of the NP can now*

## PROBLEM

THE stand-off between President Botha and the Nationalist Parliamentary caucus is one of the most extraordinary turns in the party's 74-year-old history. It is so for the speed at which it happened as for the intensity of feeling that surrounds it.

Weekend Argus writers LEON MARSHALL and FRANS ESTERHUYSE look at how it happened and at the implications.



*fill the post of leader-in-chief so that it will enable me to continue only with the office of State President.*

*The State Presidency then becomes to a special extent a unifying force in our country.*

*I thank all my friends for their trust and friendship of the past...*

**"I**T hit us like a bolt out of the blue," confessed the party's senior information director, Dr Boy Geldenhuys, afterwards. Other caucus members echoed his remark. Even Acting State President and Cape Nationalist Mr Chris Heunis and the other provincial leaders said they had been totally unaware of Mr Botha's intentions.

The provincial leaders consulted urgently and decided to proceed with the leadership election. In the scramble to get organised, ballot papers had to be prepared and a party whip had to go in search of a ballot box, which he eventually found in one of Parliament's storerooms.

In the first round of voting Foreign Minister Pik Botha fell out, then Mr Heunis and finally it was Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr de Klerk who managed to scrape home by 69 votes to Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis' surprising 61.

In the shock and confusion over the instant leadership election sprung on them, and in the amazement over Mr

Du Plessis' strong showing, initial speculation was that President Botha did it to save the party a prolonged and divisive leadership struggle, which had already started showing signs of threatening shortly after his stroke on January 18.

Others thought it quite unfair that he should have done it without consultation or warning. But few seemed at that stage to realise the full implications of what the President had done. And increasingly it is wondered whether even President Botha himself had foreseen the consequences, for himself as for his party successor.

**H**AVING been the party's undisputed leader for so long, and having given it a life-time of service, he could hardly have guessed that his own Cabinet colleagues, his caucus following and even government-supporting newspapers would turn against him in the way that has happened.

It is ironic that while he had hoped to turn the State Presidency into a "unifying force" by relinquishing the Nationalist leadership, he had ended up turning it into a catastrophically divisive force between him and the National Party.

As one Nationalist newspaper put it in an editorial: *No matter who occupies those offices and what party is in power, there will always be a built-in potential for tension and even conflict between the party and its leader on the one hand and the*

*President on the other, with possible crippling consequences for the country.*

Reflecting the view of many Nationalist MPs, the newspaper asserted that a lot could be said for the separation of the two offices. But before that could become the rule, all the consequences and implications of such a separation should be considered.

Quite clearly, Nationalists themselves are now staring with some horror at yet another product of the impossible constitution that is of their own making. After four decades of being in power, they have become used not only to ruling but at seeing their elected leader being the supreme ruler. And what they see now is the baffling spectacle of their newly chosen leader being rendered powerless by their former leader's refusal to hand over the reins, all through the constitution's workings.

**F**OR the country and indeed the constitution itself the implications are important, as for the first time there will be a head of government who need not take instructions from any political party. In certain respects it might even have been the ideal to have an all-powerful President, uncumbered by party-political constraints, use his authority towards initiating negotiations and reform.

But whatever dangers that might hold of autocratic and even dictatorial rule — of which no mean measure exists already — what really seems to be troubling Nationalists is the political question: What happens to their role as ruling party if their leader is made simply to dance to the tune of the supreme governor?

By severing his executive role from that of leader of the National Party Mr Botha has set himself beyond the dictates of his party, granting himself a free hand to form his own policies and to veto Nationalist congress decisions, if he deemed it necessary. If any clash ensued, he would have the last word.

For Mr De Klerk it is an impossible situation to find himself in. As the new leader he cannot be seen to be weak and at the same time he dare not risk acting too harshly in challenging President Botha, for fear of alienating his own following.

His immediate dilemma is that if he wished to lend new impetus to negotiations and change, he would hardly have the power to do so. As one commentator put it, it would help nothing if he negotiated but lacked the power to do what he said had to be done.

**H**OWEVER impossible as this situation might seem now, it would become grossly more so in an election, with voters asking whose policy they were being called upon to vote for — the NP's or President Botha's?

It is a tight rope for him, and one that is going to be a severe test of his political and diplomatic skills. But clearly it is a situation which he cannot allow to endure.

If President Botha is not going to heed appeals to retire gracefully, the time will come when Nationalism's young bull will be left with no other choice but to lock horns with him, whether he likes it or not. And that could happen sooner rather than later.



# Natal Review

Mr. Tyn's  
11/13/89

2644

## Heunis faces Cape rebellion over PW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**MR Chris Heunis's political future is in danger after Cape Nationalists yesterday rebelled against him for his defiant support of President P W Botha against Mr F W de Klerk.**

Yesterday angry Nationalists said they believed Mr Heunis had been playing "a dangerous game of brinkmanship" and could be ousted as Cape leader later this year.

There were also strong sentiments in NP ranks that Mr Heunis's controversial role in the leadership fight would "put his future in an F W de Klerk cabinet in jeopardy".

Not only were "the knives out" for Mr Heunis, but they were already pointed at his back, said one Nationalist. Sources claimed

that not one member of the Nationalist caucus backed the Cape leader's support for the President.

However, observers in Parliament yesterday noted that Mr Heunis was a tough political fighter and predictions about his political demise could be premature.

The mounting tension against Mr Heunis was fuelled by his decision at Thursday's crucial NP caucus meeting to go out on a limb by siding with the increasingly isolated Mr Botha, who the overwhelming majority of MPs felt should retire early.

Nationalists were also angered by the Cape leader's endorsement of the separation of the positions of president and NP leader — the very issue that has thrown the party into turmoil in recent weeks.

But after Mr Heunis's stand was rejected by the caucus, the Cape leader persisted by calling a separate caucus as part of a last-ditch attempt to get Cape MPs to rally round the isolated President Botha, a former Cape

leader of the party.

However, Nationalists said that Mr Heunis's appeals — which effectively amounted to vote of no-confidence in Mr De Klerk — fell on deaf ears.

Indeed, Cape MPs made it clear they would rather back Mr De Klerk than their own provincial leader.

A growing number of MPs also feel that Mr Heunis — who has been in close contact with Mr Botha during his illness — has not adequately conveyed the sentiments of the caucus to the President.

They feel he may have to pay a high political price for backing the losing candidate in the leadership stakes and turning his back on Mr De Klerk against the wishes of caucus.

Nationalists see the latest controversy as heralding the further dispensability of Mr Heunis within the party, particularly since it comes so soon after his sound defeat in the recent caucus election for a new NP leader. In that contest most of Mr Heunis's Cape

colleagues voted for the Transvaal candidates.

As the infighting in the NP intensifies, a key kingmaker emerging in the drama is the Cape's deputy NP leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers — a long-time De Klerk backer.

Some Nationalists yesterday predicted that Dr De Villiers would challenge Mr Heunis for the provincial leadership of the party at the congress later this year.

However, others see him as a relative political lightweight who could well be outmanoeuvred by the wily Mr Heunis before then.

As Mr Botha spends the weekend at his wilderness retreat mulling over his fall from grace within the NP, his rival is visiting Natal for discussion with political leaders.

Political tensions within the NP are likely to reach new heights early next week when all four provincial leaders will be back in Cape Town to discuss the political crisis before Mr Botha's return to Tynhuys on Wednesday.



ly positions were in danger.  
 ion of MPs is the knowledge  
 l constitutional mechanism  
 nt out of office.  
 l leaders will try again this  
 botha to accept the peace

Theresa Player ... she's flying home from her mod

# Law Commission calls for Bill of Rights in SA

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE South African Law Commission has called for a negotiated Bill of Rights protecting individuals from arbitrary State actions to be introduced as soon as possible.

And the distinguished body urges the extending of an equal and equivalent franchise to all citizens — irrespective of race.

The landmark report by the commission — established by law to advise the Government on legal matters and headed by two Appeal Court judges — was released last night.

The remarkable document, drawn up by a working group of the Law Commission led by Mr Justice P J J

Olivier, says: "There is no way in which the withholding of the vote from black persons can be legally justified."

It urges the Government "to purge the statute books" of all discriminatory laws and to state its acceptance in principle of a Bill of Rights "as soon as possible after the tabling of the commission's final report."

Such a Bill should be the result of thorough negotiation and eventually approved "by the entire nation, regardless of race and colour."

Judge Olivier's task group was appointed in 1986 after

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee requested the SA Law Commission to investigate and make recommendations on the protection of group rights in the present constitutional set-up.

The Olivier Report is published as a working paper of the commission and comments are invited until the end of August after which a final report will be submitted to Parliament.

The commission proposes a five-phase plan to introduce a Bill of Rights into South Africa:

● Parliament should endorse the idea of such a Bill as part and parcel of a future

□ To Page 2

# Bill of Rights call

From Page 1

constitution for South Africa;

● All legislation that is inconsistent with such a Bill should be summarily repealed;

● A massive educational programme should be launched to inform the public about the aims of the Bill;

● The actual contents of the Bill and the constitutional future of South Africa should be negotiated;

● The new constitution should be ratified by way of "a single, general, open referendum."

The report stresses that a Bill of Rights should be accepted by "the great majority of the population" and it will not gain legitimacy "if the black people in South Africa are not given the vote."

"The right to vote is a fundamental human right that should be enshrined in the constitution and the creation of a parliamentary system that will satisfy everyone is therefore a prerequisite."

Referring to present laws on the statute books that "infringe basic human rights" the commission recommends that it should be repealed in lieu of the introduction of a Bill of Rights.

"We consider that the purging of the statute books should go hand in hand with



MR JUSTICE OLIVIER  
The vote for all races

the process of negotiation."

As an added safeguard the courts should be empowered with a substantive testing right to declare invalid any legislation or executive act inconsistent with the Bill of Rights.

Concerning security laws, the report states that there should be a balanced relationship between human rights and state security. Public order is not synonymous with state security.

It is the extent to which the security of the State is threatened or endangered that determines the extent to which basic human rights should be curtailed.

"Such a limitation must,

however, itself be limited: Even security legislation must not be unbounded."

The commission states that while there should be protection of the interests and values of groups and minorities this should not mean a continuation of apartheid or minority privilege.

It comes out strongly in favour of voluntary association and the formation of "natural groups" as opposed to legally defined racial groups as is enshrined in the Population Registration Act.

In a draft Bill proposed by the Law Commission it provides for a detailed set of human rights to be protected, including:

● The right to human dignity and equality before the law;

● The right to privacy including a prohibition on the arbitrary entering and seizing of a person's property;

● The right to freedom of speech;

● The right to freedom of choice with regard to education and training;

● The right to freedom of movement;

● The right not to be refused a passport or be exiled;

● The right to private property;

● The right to assembly and peaceful demonstrations.



Nat MPs seething as PW spurns caucus peace deal

# BOTHA

5 Times  
12/3/89  
3048

AGED AND AILING  
PW Botha, who is  
refusing to give up  
the presidency  
against the wishes of  
his own party



# THE DOUBT

By LESTER  
VENTER  
Political  
Correspondent



**PRESIDENT BOTHA** has brushed aside a peace package from the National Party caucus — and it has left MPs seething.

In a week of high drama, Cabinet emissaries failed to reach a compromise with the aged and ailing president.

He is stubbornly refusing to leave office. Yesterday party sources described Mr Botha as "dispirited, isolated and lonely."

On Monday, it is understood, President Botha contacted Cabinet colleagues to ask them to ensure the caucus did not turn against him.

Fresh attempts will be made this week to persuade Mr Botha to accept the handing over of real powers to the new NP leader, Mr F.W. de Klerk.

The past week saw frantic efforts to resolve the political impasse that developed after the State President, aged 73, suffered a stroke almost two months ago.

Nat MPs are impatient for Mr De Klerk, aged 53, to take over the reins of government.

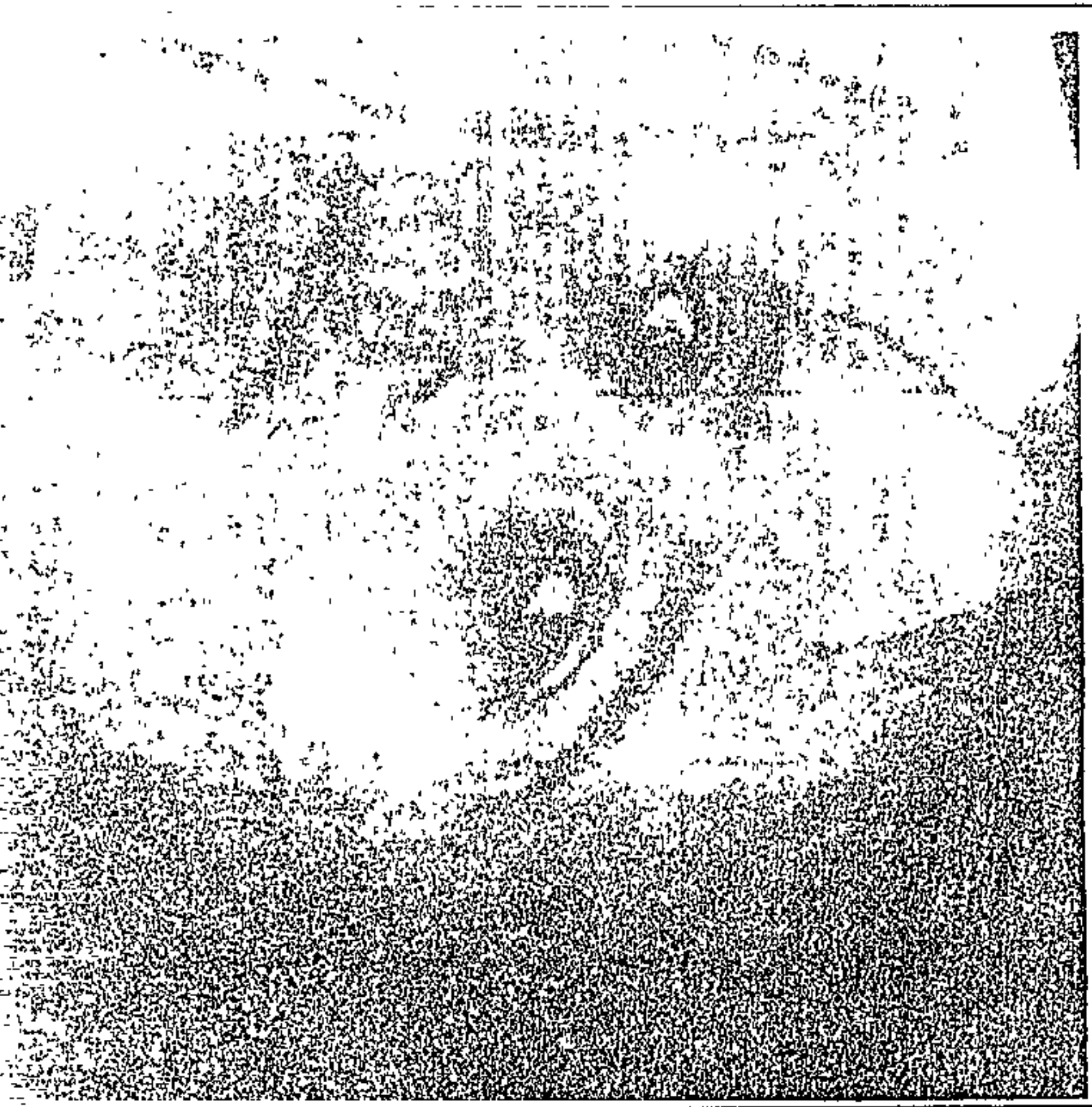
Most were still willing to allow Mr Botha to return briefly to office "so that he can retire with dignity."

The delicate task of conveying the caucus message to Mr Botha was assigned to the four provincial

**WHAT MAKES PW CLING TO POWER? See Page 14**

leaders, Mr De Klerk (Transvaal), Mr Koble Coetsee (Free State), Mr Stoffel Botha (Natal) and Mr Chris Heunis (Cape).

## Gary's girl Theresa bids to be Miss SA



## TENNIS WARMS RACIST CLUBS OF AKE

By RAY WILLIAMS: Sports Editor

ALL South African tennis clubs must now be fully multiracial — or face expulsion from the national union.

SA Tennis Union president Johann Barnard is determined to sweep apartheid off his courts — even if it means sacrificing a third of his 40 000 registered members.

The first victim is the Nelspruit tennis club, which rejected the membership of Indian businessman Mohammad Minty. But this is merely the opening shot in what is likely to provoke a bitter war between the all-white and multiracial factions.

Mr Barnard is adamant that clubs which





# OF AXE

By RAY WILLIAMS: Sports Editor

ALL South African tennis clubs must now be fully multiracial — or face expulsion from the national union.

SA Tennis Union president Johann Barnard is determined to sweep apartheid off his courts — even if it means sacrificing a third of his 40 000 registered members.

The first victim is the Nelspruit tennis club, which rejected the membership of Indian businessman Mohamad Minty. But this is merely the opening shot in what is likely to provoke a bitter war between the all-white and multiracial factions.

Mr Barnard is adamant: Satu clubs which don't toe the line are out.

"The time for just talking about change is past," he said yesterday.

"In December last year we issued a declaration of intent in which we made it clear that we would not tolerate any form of discrimination.

"The whole thrust of the Satu is multiracialism. We will expel any club which does not open its doors to all."

The battle lines have already moved to Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg, where no less than seven of the town's eight clubs belong to the municipality — the sole exception being the small mining club at ERPM.

## Certain

"Unless Boksburg's management committee has a sudden change of heart, I'm afraid those seven clubs will be out as far as we are concerned," said Mr Barnard. "And that could just be the beginning."

Eastern Transvaal president Robert Beale says the expulsion of the seven clubs — Van Dyk, Witfield, Dayan, Boksburg North, Boksburg, Parkrand and Atlasville — is virtually certain.

With similar situations almost certain to arise in the Nigel, Delmas and Brakpan areas, Mr Beale estimates the Eastern Transvaal could lose up to 13 clubs — about 800 members out of a total of 3 730 — before his leagues get underway next month.

Mr Barnard believes similar problems could arise in Carltonville, Krugersdorp and Randfontein.

## Rebel

He fears that the Satu could lose close to 15 000 of its 40 000 registered members.

"That's a rough estimate," says Mr Beale, who believes that many top players from expelled clubs will join others.

There is already talk of a rebel all-white league in Boksburg.

Good players, young and old, will be forced to adapt if they want to get anywhere in the game.

Expulsion from Satu means expulsion from all official league, district, provincial or representative tournaments.

But an unrelenting Mr Barnard insists: "Our decision was unanimous. We are prepared to make sacrifices. No matter what, we will stick to our guns. There's no room for racism in tennis."



A LAUGH outside court: Marla Krebs. P

## THE SUNDAY TIMES ALAN PATON PRIZE

THE SUNDAY TIMES proudly announces a distinguished new literary competition — the Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize. Each year R15 000 will be awarded to the author of the best non-fiction work. The late Alan Paton remains a symbol of the finest non-fiction writing in our history. It is the same qualities of style, incisiveness, authority and compassion that the Sunday Times seeks to encourage. At the same time we will sponsor a competition for original and unpublished essays on non-fiction themes. The prize will be R1 000 and the winning work will be published in the Sunday Times.

● Full details: Page 16.

## PICK 6

### TURFFONTEIN:

Fifty-seven lucky punters shared a gross pool of R976 832 and came away with a dividend of R17 137,40. The winners numbers: 2, 3, 11; 15; 8; 3; 1.

### SCOTTSVILLE:

Eighty-six winners received R3 308,60 from a gross pool of R364 798,50. Winning numbers: 4; 1; 3; 1; 6; 7.

### MILNERTON:

Twenty lucky ticket holders won R12 165,00 from a pool of R324 402,00. Winning numbers: 2; 3; 7; 9; 7; 3.

### ARLINGTON:

One punter won R23 190,30 from a pool of R30 920,50. Winning numbers: 5, 7, 11; 2; 8; 8, 10; 8, 11; 2, 3, 6.

## Death crash

SIX people, including a child, were killed yesterday in a head-on collision at Agter-Paarl in the Cape.

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

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L

## PW the defiant

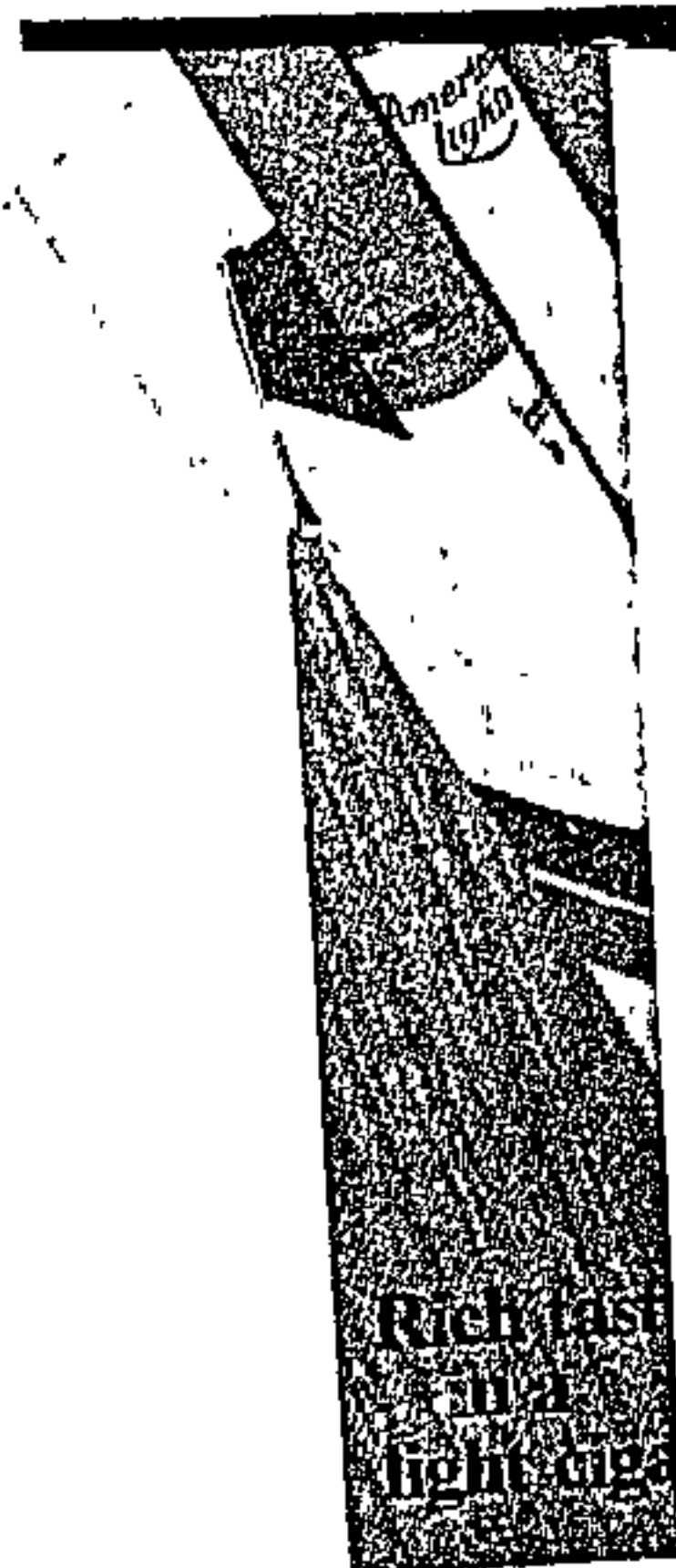
From Page 1 isolating him now that his position is just as much under threat as their own.

Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk's hand continues to strengthen. On Tuesday he met Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who has made it clear that he favours dealing with Mr De Klerk — and refuses to deal with Mr Botha.

Reaching agreement with Mr Hendrickse is a key to many of the Government's constitutional plans, not the least of which is to postpone an election to 1992.

Nationalist MPs now face another dramatic week of hope mixed with anger.

Ministers and other top party members will meet Mr Botha and his wife, Elize, when the presidential couple celebrate their 46th wedding anniversary at a party in their Westbrook home on Tuesday night — the day before Mr Botha's return to Parliament.



Rich last night

ARL/BEU

ess Times



# New party faces election dilemma

12/5/88  
304A  
5/1/88

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

**THE Democratic Party, to be formed at a congress next month, is divided over whether the new party should contest seats in the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament.**

The division reflects two schools of thought on participation and resistance politics encompassed by the new party, to be formed of a union between the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party, the National Democratic Movement and a "fourth element" of former Nationalists.

When the DP is formed on April 8, it will automatically have three seats in the Indian House of Delegates. The PFP has two sitting members there and the IP one.

Party sources say the DP already has pending membership applications from other members of the House of Delegates and members of opposition parties in the House of Representatives.

The DP is under pressure from these sources, and from IP and some PFP members, to fight for seats in at least the House of Delegates.

The DP could restore credibility and dignity to the House that has been racked by corruption and vacillations in party allegiances.

The proponents of the strategy are, however, wary of upsetting the Labour Party of the Rev Allan Hendrickse, with whom they hope to form an alliance.

## Embroided

Opponents of the strategy, mainly in Mr Wynand Malan's NDM, say the DP cannot risk alienating extra-parliamentary groups like the Natal Indian Congress and the United Democratic Front.

These groups are embroidered in a debate on the merits of participation and the DP would damage itself by anticipating its outcome, say the opponents.

Both sides of the DP debate have influential backing.

Dr Denis Worrall, of the IP, and Dr Zach de Beer, of the PFP, favour at least limited participation in the tri-cameral system's coloured and Indian houses.

Mr Wynand Malan and the DP's adviser on strategy, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, want the extra-parliamentary debate on participation settled first.

The DP is unlikely to resolve its dilemma before or at its congress on April 8 — but it will have to do so before a general election.

A similar divide in the party involves economic policy.

## Traders

A polemic between Business Day editor Ken Owen and the DP's economic adviser, Professor Sampe Terreblanche, is reflected in the DP.

Free marketeers are allied against Professor Terreblanche's "democratic capitalism" ideas.

They hold a prospering nation needs no more than to be free of regulations and practices that hinder opportunities for wealth creation.

There are signs the free market group will lobby for an official adviser.

● The three DP leaders, Dr Worrall, Dr De Beer and Mr Malan, and other representatives met yesterday in Mr Louis Luyt's home in Johannesburg where they agreed on the final draft of the party's policy.

A spokesman said the leaders were particularly pleased at the smooth integration of structures of the three parties at constituency level.



# Hendrickse: I'll deal after Botha!

LABOUR Party leader Allan Hendrickse has offered to deal with the National Party on constitutional changes — but not before President P W Botha has retired.

Mr Hendrickse said he was not prepared to "bargain" on the issue with Mr Botha because in all his dealings with him in the past, Mr Botha had treated him "like the underdog".

In return for this gesture — the LP's consent to a change to the Constitution that would make the enlargement of the Assembly possible — the LP would want the immediate scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act.

Mr Hendrickse said his bottom-line demand for consent to have white elections postponed until 1992 remained the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

## Scrapping

He said any "visible movement" he would expect from NP leader F W de Klerk would, at the very least, be the scrapping of the Amenities Act.

The Government has already placed a moratorium on arrests for "transgressors" of the Amenities Act and has ordered that all complaints be referred to the Attorney-General.

Mr Hendrickse said: "I have never felt so alive to the situation as I am feeling now. Things are moving."

He said since the resignation in early 1988 of the former Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

Ebrahim, he had on "several occasions" — the last time in September last year — approached Mr Botha to have two more deputy Ministers appointed and certain portfolios reshuffled. "Every time Mr Botha threw a different spanner in the works."

Last week, in Mr Botha's absence, he approached the acting President, Mr Chris Heunis, on the issue and his request for two more deputy Ministers was granted. Mr Abe Williams, MP for Marnre, was appointed Deputy Minister of Education and Culture and Mr Miley Richards, MP for Toekomsrus, was appointed Deputy Minister of the Budget.

Mr Hendrickse also said the LP's first choice for a successor to Mr Botha would have been Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

## Rapport

"But I accept the NP caucus's wishes."

He had had discussions with Mr De Klerk "to establish a rapport. Unlike the talks between me and Mr Botha during which Mr Botha 'talked down' at me, Mr De Klerk and I had an eyeball-to-eyeball, man-to-man, talk".

# Recipe for causing revolt

MOST people don't care about governments as long as governments don't care about them: But this is precisely what governments can't allow.

Governments stir people up as much as possible by following two theories of statesmanship.

The first theory is that government is justified theft (the hijacker's theory of government).

The second theory is that government means telling people what to think (the teacher/preacher theory of government).

These theories of government are held by nationalists, communists, liberation movements, military dictators and many others. The only reason they don't all end up with revolutions is that some hold these theories less strongly than others and are lazier about putting them into practice.

How do governments use these theories to create a revolutionary situation?

First, the hijacker's theory is applied by every gang that takes over the state. They see it as a way of robbing some class, race or ethnic group to enrich some other group, and usually they justify it by saying they are superior, have a

**Peter 30417**

**du Preez**

51 Times  
12/3/89

of UCT, looks at two theories of revolution

better religion or nicer manners.

The problem starts when those being robbed gang up and stage a revolution, whereupon the new gang starts robbing the former robbers.

The teacher/preacher theory of driving people to revolution is applied by people who wag their fingers, ban contrary opinions and think highly of themselves. They try to found the state on *truth* and burn all the heretics. The worst of it is that the teacher/preachers usually combine preaching with robbery, so that one ends up with a most-pretentious class of pontificating thieves.

How does one deal with such revolutions? The government usually responds by locking up all its friends and buying off the enemy. Why its friends? These are the peo-

ple loyal enough to want to displace the government by the ballot. This the adherents of the teacher/preacher theory of government cannot tolerate, and so the democrats go first.

Then the government tries to buy off those who don't care too much about democracy — usually they don't care about anything much, except money. Of course, such friends cannot be trusted and they snigger at the bribery behind their backs.

Once all the decent people have been locked up and their peaceful organisations destroyed, only the determined and fanatical remain out of reach of the government. This is what the Shah of Iran did to all moderate opposition.

He left the mosques and ayatollahs untouched so that they were ready to take over when he fell. Knock out the democrats and you will leave the field to the fanatics.

This is what is known as coping with a revolutionary situation.

So there you have it: A recipe for causing revolutions. It takes a lot of work to produce a good revolution, and yet it is surprising how many governments become expert at it.



REPORTING

# What makes PW

S/Tues

3048

12/3/89

# clinging to power?



THE explanation for President Botha's most recent behaviour probably lies in the realm of geriatric psychology rather than political analysis. What else, in heaven's name, would make an elderly, ailing leader cling to power long after the game is up?

Until a few weeks ago, perhaps even until late this week, most of Mr Botha's supporters were willing, indeed anxious, that their leader should be allowed to retire gracefully and with ceremony fitting for a man who has spent a lifetime in public service.

These sentiments have all but evaporated in the face of conduct that is almost studiously contemptuous of his caucus and statements which suggest that the new leader of the majority party is regarded as little more than an upstart who must know his place until the Great Man has completed his work.

## Divisive

Only a person of surpassing arrogance — or one so isolated that he believes self-important courtiers who tell him, mystically, that "the people" still need him — would so alienate his comrades.

Worse, the NP is now possibly only days away from a messy, divisive succession struggle, with the inevitable loser blundering off into history, unrenowned and unloved, as an autocratic old man remembered largely for his unbecoming recalcitrance.

When respected newspapers in one's own camp start quoting selected readings from D F Malan — especially passages about a time to come and a time to go —





even the most obstinate, power-obsessed leader must start getting the message.

So much for the unedifying personal tragedy that now seems to be playing itself out. What of the country at large?

Surely the affairs of South Africa cannot simply be placed on hold while the occupant of Tuynhuys and a single political party engage in an internal tug-of-war that grows more tawdry by the day.

As it is, Mr Botha has sought — by means of a peremptory letter to his caucus — to bring about, on an unacceptably ad hoc basis, an important change in the country's constitutional arrangements.

## Alarming

If the powers of the majority party leader and the executive President are to be separated, this must surely be a matter for thorough public debate — not something arbitrarily imposed by one of the players imperiously dictating missives from a sickbed.

What is more, Mr Botha has made it plain that — in separating the powers of party leader and President — he does not see himself as a largely ceremonial figure taking it easy, a person above partisan politics with a programme chiefly devoted to



## Tertius Myburgh

wonders why President Botha will not retire gracefully

kissing babies and opening fetes. No, he wants his hands freed to negotiate South Africa's constitutional future.

Does he really believe that serious leaders of colour will go to a table with yesterday's man? That anyone of importance will do a deal with someone who is now without a power base and so patently unlikely to regain one?

Even to harbour such fantasies is to display a *folie de grandeur* that is, quite bluntly, alarming.

Still, this being the Sabbath and all, let us not take a wholly uncharitable view of events.

One is told that there are still optimists who believe that, despite his recent lack of thoughtfulness towards his successor and his caucus, Mr Botha nevertheless does have a personal timetable for a graceful exit (although he will have to hurry if he wishes to rescue much dignity).

This scenario has Mr Botha returning to the Cabinet room on Wednesday, revealing his departure plans to his colleagues, making a few public appearances and then announcing his retirement.

We can only hope that this comes to pass for there is much for which the nation does owe Mr Botha gratitude and respect. It required much courage and political skill to make a U-turn out of the cul de sac of ideological apartheid. He risked, and survived, a major split in his party and we believe he meant it when he warned his followers that they must adapt or perish, even if this warning became notable for a lack of follow-through.

The Botha chapter in our history is an important one — and it would be a pity if its memory were marred by recollections of its author's reluctance to stride quietly off the stage, a man

unwilling to acknowledge that no one is indispensable, in statecraft as in anything else.

The inventory of undone Government business daily grows longer and more urgent. The electorate is confused about the date, or even the likelihood, of an election. Fiscal reform, now a dreadfully urgent concomitant to monetary measures, is desperately needed.

## Uncertainty

The time for the Big Indaba to begin — never mind who invented the word — has indeed arrived. The outside world searches anxiously for signs that the "Prague Spring" of recent weeks will continue and grow into a flowering of substantive reform.

Unfortunately, paralysing uncertainty will persist until clarity is obtained about who is in charge of the South African Government.

Almost 30 years ago Dr Malan wrote that, in deciding when to leave the public stage, leaders "should act with a feeling of responsibility and selflessness towards the public".

These words, written by a man whom Mr Botha professes to have admired above all others, are worth recalling at this time.

Labour boss says he'll deal with Nats only if President Botha resigns

# I WANT PW BOTHA OUT, SAYS HENDRICKSE



□ REV Allan Hendrickse: He's willing to negotiate with F W de Klerk, but not with P W Botha

**LABOUR** Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has given the National Party a stark ultimatum: No more deals with President P W Botha.

However, says Mr Hendrickse, he is prepared to deal with the new NP leader, Mr F W De Klerk.

Mr Hendrickse's views follow a successful meeting between the two men this week.

In one of the first bargains that could be struck, Mr Hendrickse would allow Mr De Klerk to make changes in Parliament that would increase the NP leader's strength in the Transvaal.

In an exclusive interview, Mr Hendrickse said he was not prepared to bargain any further with Mr Botha, because in all their past dealings, he had been treated "like the underdog".

## Co-operation

In return for its co-operation on constitutional changes that will add extra Transvaal seats to the House of Assembly, the LP would seek the immediate scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act.

Mr Hendrickse said his demand for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in exchange for the postponement of white elections until 1992 remained.

The LP leader is looking for what he terms "visible movement" toward the abolition of Group Areas.

The scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act would be such an initial step, which Mr Hendrickse hopes he can negotiate with Mr De Klerk.

The Government has already placed a moratorium on arrests for "transgressors" of the Separate Amenities Act and ordered that all complaints be referred to the Attorney-General.

Said the LP leader: "I have never felt so alive to the situation as I am now. Things are moving."

He said since the resignation (in early 1988) of education Minister Carter Ebrahim, he had on "several occasions" approached Mr Botha to have two more deputy Ministers appointed and portfolios reshuffled.

"Every time, Mr Botha threw a different spanner in the works."

Last week, in Mr Botha's absence, Mr Hendrickse's requests were granted.

Mr Hendrickse said: "We would have no problems with Mr De Klerk as NP national leader or as future State President."

He said he had held private discussions with Mr De Klerk this week "to establish a rapport".

## Election

"Unlike Mr Botha, who 'talked down' at me, Mr De Klerk and I had an eyeball-to-eyeball, man-to-man talk."

On elections, Mr Hendrickse said: "We bound ourselves at our Eshowe Congress in January 1983 to take part in the tricameral Parliament for five years and then seek a fresh mandate."

"Nothing is going to change that."

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter



Dismay over President's determination to stay on

# Nats press FW to confront Botha

304A  
8/13/89

Cape Town

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk is under enormous pressure this week to confront President Botha, who defiantly announced on television last night he would stay in power until at least March next year.

Mr de Klerk has called a meeting of the NP's influential 34-man federal council — the party's highest body — for seven tonight, apparently hoping to get the party's clear support for him in the leadership tussle.

The council is the party's highest advisory body containing seven representatives from each province, and its opinion will be difficult to ignore.

If it comes out in favour of Mr de Klerk, Mr Botha will be facing virtually the entire national Party.

Party sources, dismayed by Mr Botha's impressive performance on SABC-TV, said today that if Mr de Klerk failed to confront Mr Botha he could begin to lose the large support in the caucus.

Mr Botha's interview has now set the stage for one of the most dramatic weeks in South African politics as he returns to office on Wednesday amid mounting party pressure to retire.

He will meet the Cabinet for the first time on Wednesday in what is expected to be a tense encounter. The provincial leaders will also meet him this week to discuss the leadership question before reporting back to the caucus on Thursday.

The NP expressed grudging admiration today for Mr Botha's performance last night in the interview.

"He used every trick in the political book," one member of the federal council said.

They said he had very shrewdly appealed over the heads of the NP to the public.

NP MPs said today that Mr Botha was playing a dangerous game of brinkmanship, by preempting the discussions this week on his position.

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

They were hoping that a compromise deal could be struck this week for a general election in about September, after which Mr Botha would retire.

The Cape NP leader, Mr Chris Heunis, is still facing mounting discontent in the Cape NP for his role in the crisis.

Today, Cape MPs said they believed that Mr Heunis had seen Mr Botha at his Wilderness holiday home at the weekend and there was some suspicion that he may have helped arrange the interview.

Mr Heunis confirmed that he had seen Mr Botha but denied he had had anything to do with the interview.

In the interview, Mr Botha said that he would not call an election this year because there had yet to be a re-delimitation of constituencies.

And he said he would follow the constitution by serving out the term for which he had been appointed, which expires with the present Parliament.

Mr Botha denied that he was clinging to power and said that he was merely following the constitution by serving out his term.

Asked about the fact that 90 percent of the NP caucus did not want the office of State President divorced from the NP leadership, as he did on February 2, he said this was a constitutional problem.

He said he would have liked to speak to the caucus about the separation of the two posts but had been unable to do so because of his illness.

He hoped he would still get an opportunity to do so. Now that he was healthy he also wanted to speak to the Cabinet and to other population groups about this problem. Confrontation would not help.

Mr Botha also suggested that Mr de Klerk was being "misused" by certain people.

However, he said that he was "not living in conflict with Mr de Klerk. That would be a terrible charge against him and me".

He said his approach was to live in harmony to maintain stability in South Africa.

Asked about the feeling in the NP caucus that a new momentum had been given to reform since Mr de Klerk took over, Mr Botha said there was a general feeling that more progress should be made in reform.

That was "the right note to strike," he said.



Refusal to be accountable for their officials could undermine system

# Ministers should 'carry can'

STAFF  
13/3/89  
304#

Cabinet Ministers should bear the responsibility when officials within their departments fail, says PFP MP Mr Ken Andrew. Bruce Cameron reports.

CAPE TOWN — The refusal of National Party Cabinet Ministers to take responsibility for the actions of their departments could undermine the parliamentary system, according to Mr Ken Andrew, PFP MP for Gardens.

Mr Andrew said if Ministers, such as Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and of Development Aid, refused to take responsibility for what happened in their departments the result would be the politicisation of the civil service.

"If Ministers are no longer accountable then officials must be directly accountable to Parliament."

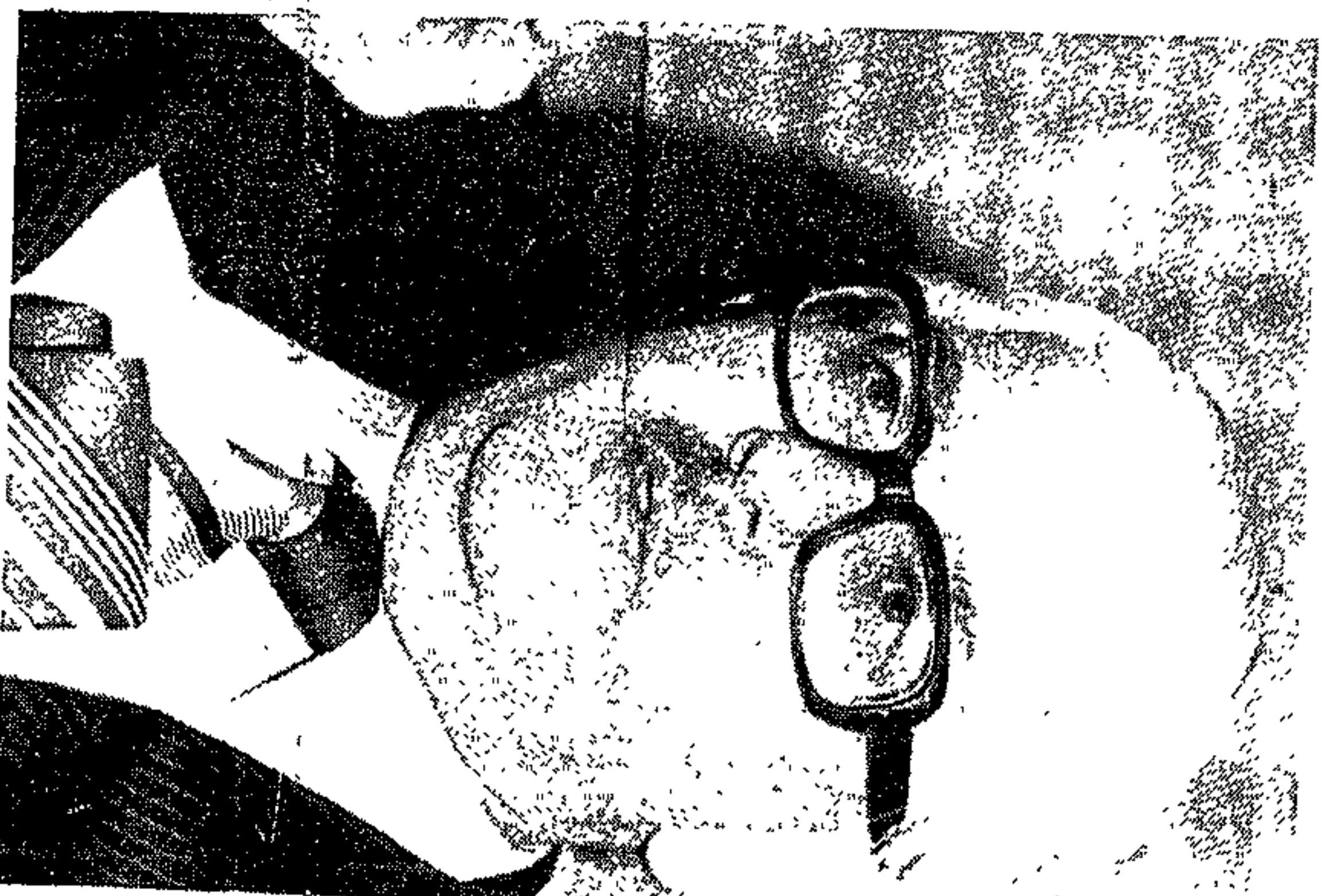
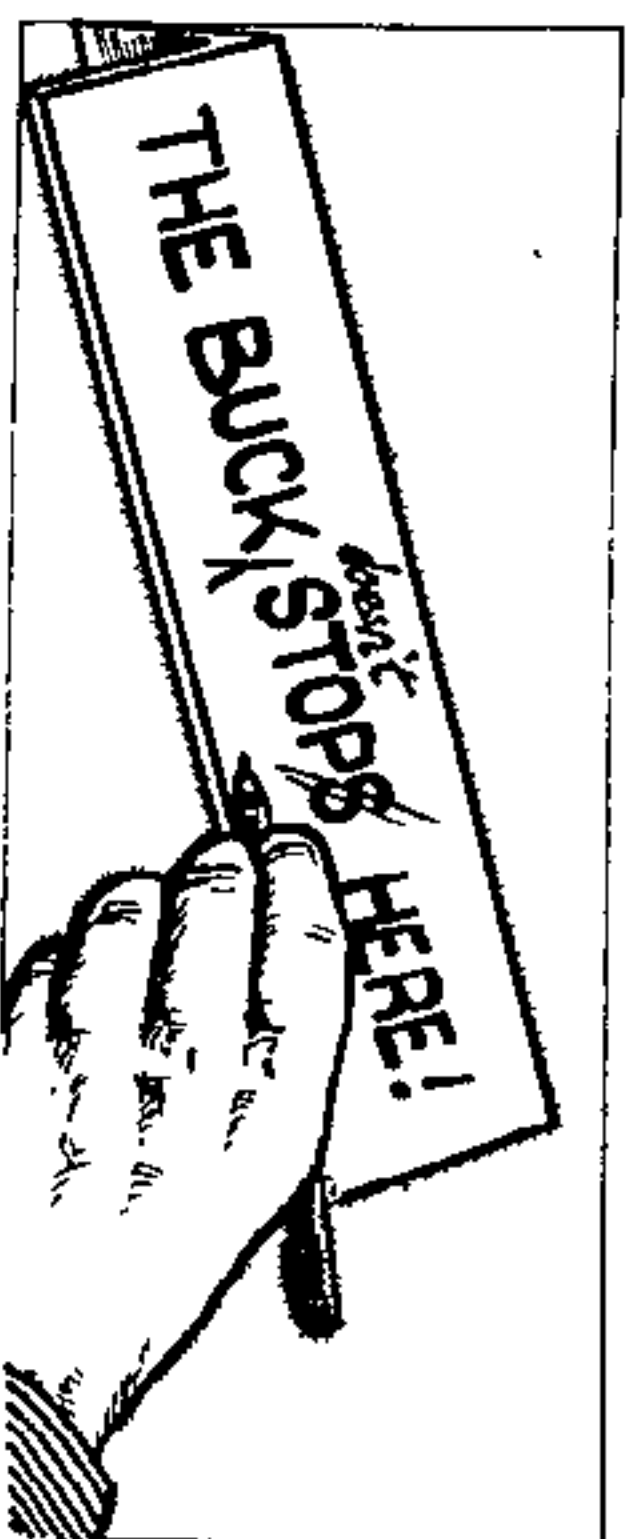
## System devised

Mr Andrew said the system was devised in such a way that, indirectly, Ministers were appointed by Parliament.

"Parliament indirectly elects Ministers from its own numbers to be directly accountable and responsible for the administration of functions with which they are entrusted."

"They are accountable not only for the administration of their departments, but are also accountable to tell the truth and give correct information about their departments."

"Obviously a Minister is reliant on his officials for much of the information, but he is supposed to have sufficient skill and judgment to carry out his job effectively. To the extent that his



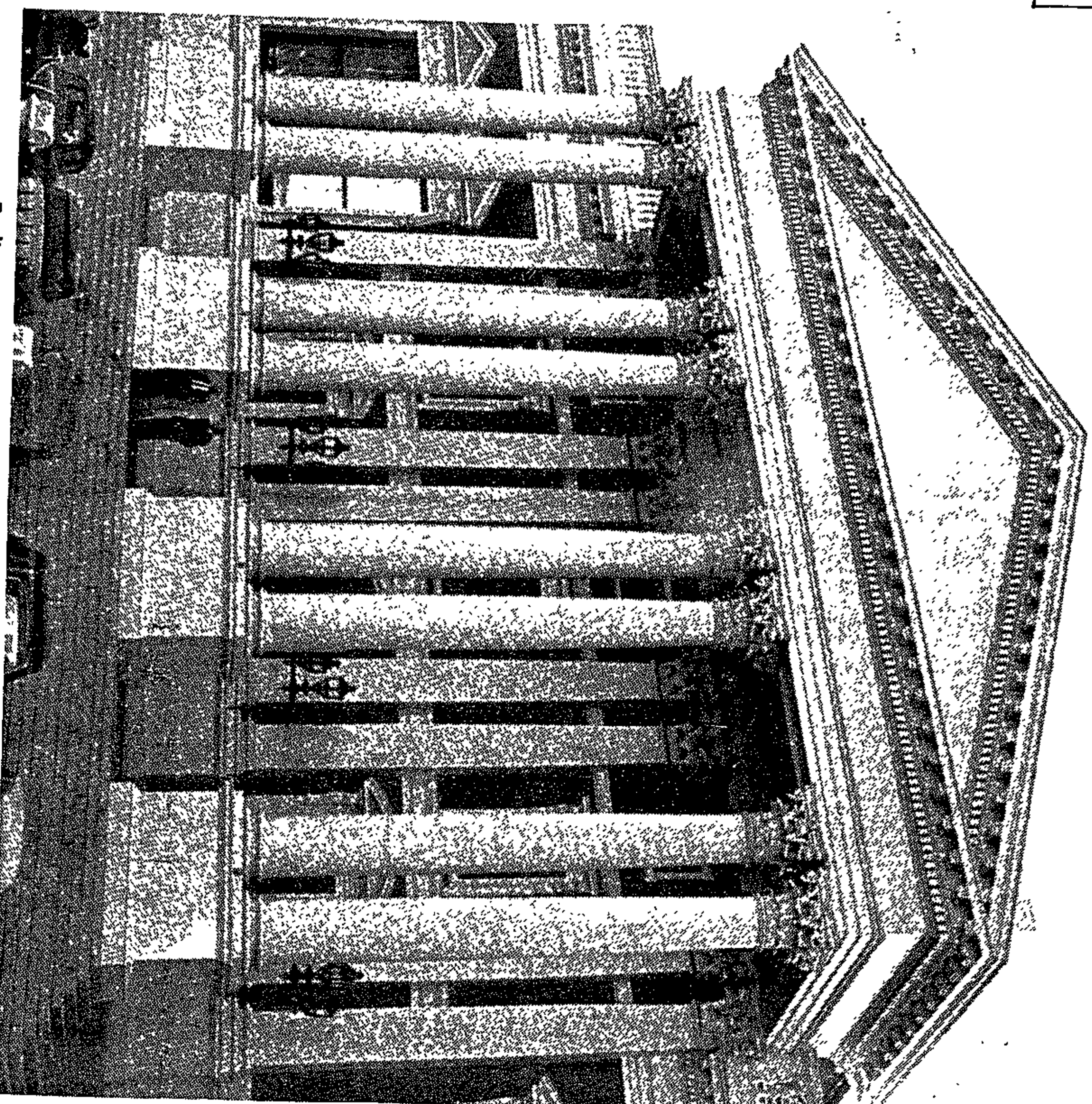
Dr Viljoen . . . called on to take responsibility.

department or officials fail in any significant way, he bears the responsibility."

The director-general of a department was by law the chief accounting officer. The essence of

the parliamentary system was that the Minister was responsible for all aspects of the functioning of his department.

This applied particularly to the control of



Parliamentary system could be undermined, says Mr Ken Andrew

money allocated to a department by Parliament.

In the nature of the parliamentary system the strictest control Parliament had on the Government of the day was on the voting and control of funds.

It was also for this reason that the Auditor-General reported to Parliament and not the administration.

Only in extreme circumstances could officials be the subject of di-

rect criticism, "but, generally, one steers clear of this."

"It would clearly be undesirable and unfair if the system were such that parliamentarians were required to criticise officials rather than

the Minister, particularly as they would have no right of reply."

Mr Andrew said this system had been upheld in parliaments around the world to the extent that a Minister of Development Aid, and the Minister had to take responsibility and resign.

ed a few days earlier, resigned after a major air-crash.

In March 29 last year, after a report of the Advocate-General, who was also an official of Parliament, indicating that something was amiss, Dr Viljoen issued a statement about taking internal steps.

## Select committee

Again, on May 4 1988, Mr Andrew raised the matter and called for a parliamentary select committee. Dr Viljoen had replied that the subject was on the agenda of the Parliamentary Joint Standing Committee.

The committee recommended further investigations should be undertaken. Dr Viljoen had responded saying a parliamentary investigation would take too long and he would refer the issue to the Commission for Administration.

But after the PFP had hammered Dr Viljoen in Parliament, with President Botha sitting in "looking like grim death", he reversed his decision.

Not only was the Minister responsible for the original chaos that caused the maladministration in his departments, but he virtually invited the opposition to attack his officials by not having a proper investigation immediately.

It had now been revealed that there was a chaotic lack of control in the Departments of Education and Training and of Development Aid, and the Minister had to take responsibility and resign.



# Lawyers hail 'bold' Bill of Rights report

By Tim Cohen

Lawyers have welcomed the "bold and forthright" report of the South African Law Commission which suggests that the introduction of a Bill of Rights should be linked to a new constitution and universal franchise.

The report, which is the product of more than two years' work and is nearly 500 pages long, was requested by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

The document, already dubbed "remarkable", states: "The present constitutional deadlock on the black vote will have to be resolved to the satisfaction of all if the Bill of Rights is to have credibility, for the simple reason that the right to vote is one of the fundamental human rights that must be enshrined in any constitution."

## Delighted

Mr Andries Geyser, head of the Association of Law Societies, said that although he had not had an opportunity to study the report in detail, he was "delighted" by it because an attorney's primary function was to protect individuals' rights.

He congratulated the Minister for requesting the report and the SA Law Commission for its "exciting ideas".

"We hope that the Minister will give the matter his direct and immediate attention."

Head of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Jules Browde, said the commission's report was "one of the most important documents that has emanated from a commission in the last 40 years".

"If some of the recommendations are implemented, they

could transform this country overnight.

"From a human rights point of view, it is what we have been working for for years," he said.

"Fundamental to us is the commission's suggestion that group rights are best protected by entrenching individual rights in a constitutional Bill of Rights."

The project leader of the investigation is Mr Justice P J J Olivier.

Interested parties are invited to comment before the final report is laid before Parliament.

It was released on Saturday and was welcomed by parties to the left of the Government, but it also reflected recent statements by National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

Professor Etienne Mureinick of the University of the Witwatersrand law faculty said the report was a "deeply impressive document" which was "meticulously researched and very thoughtful".

"Although not everyone will agree with all the commission's recommendations, opponents in principle of a Bill of Rights will find it very difficult to resist the commission's principal arguments. The proposed Bill is not perfect, but it is invaluable as a charter for reconciliation."

Professor Johan van der Vyver of the University of the Witwatersrand said the commission's instructions were to investigate the feasibility of protecting group rights within a Bill of Rights regime.

"It was quite clear as far as I was concerned that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, hoped that the human rights ideology could provide a front for perpetuating a political system

founded on race.

"In that sense, the commission's report boomerangs rather dramatically against initial intentions.

"It is quite clear that Judge Olivier quite rightly regards the perpetuation of apartheid in any form as being incompatible with the idea of human rights. Group rights can be adequately protected through the entrenchment of individual rights.

"If South Africa is to have a Bill of Rights, we will have to concede the system of universal franchise irrespective of race, and until such time as such a political system is introduced, a Bill of Rights is simply not on.

## Constitution

"So what he is telling the Government is to get on with setting up a representative body to draft a new constitution for South Africa that would include a Bill of Rights."

The committee responsible for the document consists of Mr Justice G Viljoen (chairman); Mr Justice H J O van Heerden (vice-chairman); Mr Justice Olivier, full-time member of the commission; Mr G G Smit, SC, senior government law adviser and full-time member of the commission; Professor David Joubert, dean of the faculty of law at Pretoria University; Mr Monty Knoll, a Pretoria attorney; and Mr P J Kotze, president of Johannesburg Regional Court.

Chairman of the Black Lawyers' Association, Mr Keith Kunene, said last night that the commission's suggestions "just about break the foundations of apartheid", but he was pessimistic about the Government's accepting them "in one gulp".

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# Wide-ranging moves will effectively end apartheid

By Norman Chandler

A Bill of Rights, a new constitution and a universal franchise are recommendations made by the South African Law Commission in a dramatic report published at the weekend.

The wide-ranging moves, which will effectively end apartheid because it is also recommended that discriminatory legislation should be abolished, have caused a sensation in legal and political circles.

The laws which should be abolished include the Constitution Act of 1983, the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act.

The document is regarded as a working paper specifically designed to elicit further comment, contributions and suggestions.

The Law Commission report, prepared at the request of the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, says a Bill of Rights — a "limited version" of which should be introduced immediately — would protect minorities just as cultural, religious and linguistic values would be protected, but not as group rights since a group is not a legal person.

Such a document would also need to be approved by Parliament as well as "the entire nation, regardless of race and colour". It suggests a referendum be held.

The Law Commission, the government's legal think-tank, says that no matter who governs South Africa, "it goes without saying that if we are to avoid dictatorship — even the dictatorship

of the democratic majority — we need such a Bill".

It adds: "Too long has there been no concerted, conscious action on the part of the State to put human rights first and to protect them, with the result that in our society insensitivity to those rights has taken root."

There is considerable practical advantage to be gained from its adoption, it says.

It says: "... the resultant image of justice and respect for the dignity of man that would thereby be promoted would invalidate many of the arguments of our critics."

"The courts are severely hampered as regards the protection of individual and group rights in the face of legislation which curtails these rights."



Mr Kobie Coetsee ... requested the report.

The Law Commission says that a court's competence to test the validity of parliamentary legislation and provincial ordinances is at present extremely limited.

No legislation or executive act would discriminate against or give privileged treatment to the culture, religion or language of any individual.

The report also recommends that everyone over the age of 18 should have the vote, and adds: "It must be laid down that the constitution shall provide for the composition of the parliament within which equal and equivalent franchise can be realised."

APARTHEID NOT



# How to stop those who 'opdonder'

Cape Times 13/3/89

304A

THE Second Horseman of Wynand Malan's liberal apocalypse is the political semanticist Wimpie de Klerk, who has secured his footnote in history by inventing the terms *verlig* and *verkramp*. De Klerk's views are not in dispute, only the label that should be applied to them.

Since his appointment as one of the four advisers to the Democratic Party (with Sampie Terreblanche, Van Zyl Slabbert and Marinus Wiechers), he has been using the term "Calvinist liberal", which is apt for so devout a man, but politically confusing.

Writing in *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, he explains (my translation): "The political liberalisation of National Party Afrikaners, and Afrikaners who have found their home in groups to the left of the NP, is still related to the fundamental principle (*uitgangspunt*) of group survival... Nationalism is still at the root of it... a nationalism that does not seek political hegemony but which does seek a political voice, and cultural entrenchment of language, education, church and community life."

## Nat tactic

I had not intended raising the political definition of liberalism until after the founding congress of the Democratic Party, but the issue has been forced on me by Malan and Terreblanche, who have been demanding that I declare where I stand on democracy. Malan says I keep talking about a market community "with the individual always getting all the opportunities", and he claims that I have never expressed myself on the effects of democracy.

The challenge is not seriously intended — I am not running for office — but is intended to discredit a bothersome critic. It is the sort of tactic which young Nationalists learn before they join the Rapportryers. So let's get rid of this red herring at once.

My opposition to

In the late 1950s I came under the influence of Alan Paton and the Pretoria liberal, John Lang, and by 1964 — as bright-eyed and

The principal question is no longer how to overthrow apartheid but how to achieve a transition from national-socialism to democracy.



By KEN OWEN

bushy-tailed with virtue as Malan is today — I was trekking to Lusaka to see the first wave of ANC leaders who rode the wave of independence to "the front line". In fact, I tried rather foolishly to get to an ANC camp near Mkushi River and, I suspect, my life was saved by Tension Makiwane, then a member of the OAU liberation committee, who rescued me from some edgy guards. He was later assassinated for challenging the communist control of the ANC.

## Jackboot

Flipping through the files, I find I was calling publicly for one man, one vote in a unitary state while Vorster and Jimmy Kruger strutted around Biko's body, and while Malan and Terreblanche were still complacent members of the crypto-fascist party that had had its jackboot on my neck since 1948. Indeed, I recall being lectured by Terreblanche over lunch on the incorrigible political stupidity of the English.

However, it is to the experience of being *opdondered* by the Nats that I owe my deep conviction that liberalism concerns, above all else, the liberty of the individual. Like Senator Sam Irwin of North Carolina and Watergate fame, I have come to believe that tyranny derives from the State; unlike him, I have practical experience of the problem.

Now to the future. Most political observers accept these days that apartheid is collapsing.

Or, to put it differently, how do we ensure that the power to oppress, and to *opdonder* weaker communities, does not simply pass from one gang of thugs to another?

This is where economic freedom under law comes into the equation. Hayek, the author who currently obsesses me, writes (in 1989, not 1889): "As we now know, in the evolution of the structure of human activities, profitability works as a signal that guides selection towards what makes man more fruitful; only what is more profitable will, as a rule, nourish more people, for it sacrifices less than it adds."

## Survival

Peru's Hernando de Soto, a second author who has lately captured my interest, has shown that the poorest classes, fighting for very survival, quickly discover that survival depends on free markets, and therefore on the institution of private property. A free market without private property is, of course, an absurdity.

These ideas are not new, though they barely penetrate the intellectual darkness of this country. Strabo, writing 2 000 years ago, observed that ancient Crete took it for granted that liberty was the state's highest good, and for this reason made property belong to those who acquired it "whereas in a condition of slavery everything belongs to the rulers".

To put it succinctly: without markets, society cannot discover the most fruitful means to orga-



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The challenge is not seriously intended — I am not running for office — but is intended to discredit a bothersome critic. It is the sort of tactic which young Nationalists learn before they join the Rapportryers. So let's get rid of this red herring at once.

My opposition to apartheid (for quite the wrong reasons) dates back to May 27, 1948, when I watched my teachers cavorting drunkenly through the corridors in celebration of the Nationalist election victory the previous day, stopping occasionally to tell me how they would now *opdonder die Engelse*.

lanche were still complacent members of the crypto-fascist party that had had its jackboot on my neck since 1948. Indeed, I recall being lectured by Terreblanche over lunch on the incorrigible political stupidity of the English.

However, it is to the experience of being *opdondered* by the Nats that I owe my deep conviction that liberalism concerns, above all else, the liberty of the individual. Like Senator Sam Irwin of North Carolina and Watergate fame, I have come to believe that tyranny derives from the State; unlike him, I have practical experience of the problem.

Now to the future. Most political observers accept these days that apartheid is collapsing. Even the rightwingers like Carel Boshoff, trying desperately to establish a utopian Kalahari-*stan* for an endangered Afrikaner species, see that whites are losing the capacity to control the black masses. Unless the country collapses into anarchy, power will pass quite soon from white to black.

who has lately captured my interest, has shown that the poorest classes, fighting for very survival, quickly discover that survival depends on free markets, and therefore on the institution of private property. A free market without private property is, of course, an absurdity.

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To put it succinctly: without markets, society cannot discover the most fruitful means to organise economic activity; without private property, markets cannot exist; without legal protection of individual title, private property is meaningless; and without freedom, no system based on choice can operate. To succeed, a society must treat individual liberty as "the highest good".

### Emigrate

None of these ideas is compatible with the notion of a state organised, as De Klerk insists it must be, primarily to protect "groups". In fact, he warns in *Die Suid-Afrikaan* that the entry of Afrikaners to liberal politics cannot be taken for granted. Their participation depends, among other things, on whether the Democratic Party's various elements stick to "old-style liberalism", or compromise with the claims of group and culture.

For English South Africans, this hardly matters. They have been so well and truly *opgedonder* that their elites are emigrating — faster when things go badly — leaving behind only the detritus of a shattered community, a rabble of individuals incapable of acting in unison. Their only bequest to this country, if liberal ideas do not take root, will be the new form of pidgin in which black people and Afrikaners, increasingly, communicate with each other.

However, for the group-conscious Afrikaners it is literally a matter of life and death whether post-apartheid society is organised to protect the liberty of individuals, or whether the instruments of oppression with which the Nationalists *dondered-op* the English pass intact into the hands of another powerful "group".

Liberal democracy protects the individual against groups, of which the most tyrannical is the group wielding the power of the state. As we poor *donders* know.

## le US ys, but oscow lls the ne

Murmansk will problem. And if they need it will be delivered within the hour by the Commissar of Smolensk."

"What about Raisa's?" I asked.

le there have been critical of Raisa for wearing expensive clothes Soviet *couturiers*, her ers insist that she has a demand for Russianations that no other mist first lady ever efore. Even Mrs hchev didn't do as or fashion as Mrs Gorhas."

it with the perks and rowing, it's hard to that any chief of a ower could not make eet on \$30 000," I add-

said: "I haven't told big surprise yet. The ng that keeps the Gors alive and well is American Express low they got the card ry in itself."

y agreed to pose for "I suggested.

The CIA went to an Express and said ted the company to

Issue a card to the Supreme Leader of the Soviet Union. American Express replied that it had had very bad luck with Soviet credit. Brezhnev stuck them for three airline tickets to Tashkent, and once they had to send a bill collector to Moscow to find Kosygin when he stiffed them for 20 dinners in Bulgaria. The collector disappeared and was never heard from again."

Newsom continued: "The CIA was adamant that the Gorbachevs receive a credit card and told American Express that the agency would guarantee the unpaid accounts. American Express put the CIA's name into the computer and it turned out that its credit wasn't any better than the Kremlin's."

"Only after intervention from the White House was a card issued to the Gorbachevs. Mikhail was surprised to receive it, but Raisa told him not to ask any questions. So Gorbachev decided to use the American Express card as a test of sincere relations between the US and USSR."

"He told Raisa, 'If we can charge and they don't ask us to pay that means the Americans really want *glasnost*. If they keep demanding the money, we'll know that when it comes to arms reduction that they are just faking it.'"

"Well, the rest is history. All Gorbachev's American Express bills are paid for by the CIA. The arrangement has worked out so well there is talk that if an agreement is reached on long-range missiles, Mikhail and Raisa will be issued a Gold American Express card — the highest honour that any country in the Free World can bestow on a foreign leader."



# Think tank' report could kill apartheid

## SOWETAN REPORTER

THE South African Law Commission, the Government's legal think tank, has recommended that all discriminatory laws be purged from the statute book.

This is contained in an acclaimed epic-making report published over the weekend on a Bill of Rights for South Africa that could shatter the foundations of apartheid.

The working paper, now open for public comment, proposes outlawing all statutory discrimination.

It even proposes penalising those who practise discrimination, by withdrawing their public or state funding.

Among the laws that the commission believes will have to be abolished before an anti-discrimination Bill of Rights can be implemented are:

- The Constitution which deprives blacks of a parliamentary vote. All citizens over 18 should vote on a basis of equality, it recommends.

### Controls

- The Population Registration Act which classifies people by race.
- The Group Areas Act which controls land ownership and occupation on a racial basis.
- Aspects of security laws including prolonged detention without trial.

The commission also supports the classical liberal view that group rights can only be protected in a Bill of Rights by protecting the rights of the individual.

If the Government accepts this plan it would be a remarkable leap in moving away from the group-based thinking of apartheid.

It also accords with recent statements by National Party leader Mr F. W. de Klerk and Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Chris Heunis on softening the group-based approach.

The commission's draft Bill of Rights is

worded so strongly against any form of racial, religious, language or cultural discrimination, that it contains a penalty clause against any person or group which practises discrimination.

The draft Bill grants the right of every person or group to "disassociate" from others. But if this amounts to discrimination, then no public or state funds shall be granted directly or indirectly to promote the interests of those who discriminate, the commission proposes.

This means in effect that any school, town council or other body that practises apartheid, would be cut off from public funds.

### Paper

The report was requested by Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice and was prepared for the Law Commission by a team under Mr Justice P J J Olivier. The SA Law Commission consists of judges, magistrates, lawyers, law academics and officials of the Department of Justice.

The nearly 500-page working paper, including a draft bill of rights, was published this weekend for further public comment which must be in by August 31. Then a final report to the Government will be completed.

### Welcomed

The working paper has been acclaimed by anti-apartheid opposition parties in Parliament and welcomed by verligte Nationalists.

Dr Zach de Beer, Progressive Federal Party leader, welcomed the finding that group rights could only be protected through individual rights. He also welcomed the proposal to purge all discriminatory laws from the statute books.

304A

# Botha no longer the tough at the top

304A  
Sowetan  
13/3/89

SINCE his recent stroke, President P W Botha has lost his stature as the domineering master of South African politics. Suddenly, he is depicted as a tragic figure, clinging to power against the wishes of former loyalists.

The men who have done Botha's bidding for a decade are now engaged in a concerted campaign to push him into retirement. Last week, he signalled his intention to fight back, but there has been a dramatic lack of public support for the man whose tough tactics earned him the nickname "the great crocodile."

The result, for the moment, is an unprecedented power struggle between Botha and his heir apparent, Education Minister, F W De Klerk.

## Stroke

De Klerk took over as leader of the governing National Party when Botha resigned that post on February 2, two weeks after his stroke.

Since then, De Klerk has consolidated his support among Nationalist members of Parliament and has made no move to disallow reports that he wants Botha to quit the Presidency as soon as feasible.

Botha (73), struck back last week by announcing that he planned to return to work on Wednesday, two weeks earlier than expected. He gave no indication he was considering early retirement or a power-sharing arrangement with De Klerk.

## Talks

De Klerk and three senior party leaders emerged tight-lipped from talks with Botha on Thursday. The talks were "incisive", De Klerk said, and would resume at a later date.

"The crisis continues," said the front-page headline the next day in *Beeld*, a pro-government daily.

Members of the National Party caucus were briefed by De Klerk about the talks with Botha. Although sworn to secrecy, several of the

## SAPA-AP

MPs were quoted anonymously in the Press as saying there was almost unanimous support in the caucus for De Klerk and widespread anger at Botha's perceived intransigence.

South African political correspondents reported that many caucus members blamed Botha's attitude on misleading information provided by his inner circle of advisers during his convalescence at a vacation home. Because of his misinformation, several reports said, Botha had underestimated the depth of caucus support for De Klerk and overestimated its loyalty to the president.

In the aftermath of the De Klerk-Botha meeting, there was sympathy for the President among party officials, wrote *Business Day* political reporter, Mike Robertson, "because, having been sheltered by his personal staff, it was probably the first time he had been confronted with the reality that virtually the entire caucus wanted his reign to end."

## Sympathy

But there is no evidence that any such sympathy translates into active backing. There have been appeals for Botha to be allowed to step down with dignity, but there have been virtually no calls for De Klerk to pull back and leave Botha in total command.

There are also doubts about the President's health. Botha indicated in his statement that doctors feel he is ready to resume work. But his left arm was trembling markedly during his only post-stroke public appearance last month, and his daughter Rozanne, was quoted Friday as saying she was "extremely worried" about her father's condition.

Also in this  
of 20

Eng  
Mabuth



## Soviet-SA meeting held in secret

LONDON — Senior Soviet and SA delegations met in secret at a hotel outside London last week in a conference which could signal an extension of glasnost to southern Africa.

The three-day talks, conducted with British Foreign Office knowledge and encouragement, but unannounced at the Soviet delegation's insistence, constituted the most significant contact between Moscow and Pretoria in 25 years.

Former Soviet President's son Anatoly Gromyko, Moscow's Africa Institute director and key adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev on African affairs,

Own Correspondent

led the Russian delegation. The talks follow Soviet endorsement of the UN settlement for Namibia and Angola. British peace-keeping personnel were due in Namibia last night.

The meetings, at secluded Woodlands Park Hotel in Stoke D'Abernon in Surrey, were chaired by Sir John Killick, former British Ambassador in Moscow, subsequently Britain's envoy to Nato,

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b/day 12/3/87  
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## Soviet-SA meeting held in secret in UK

and a former director of Dunlop South Africa. 3049  
b/day 12/3/87

In a major reversal of Soviet thinking on southern Africa, the Russian delegation made clear the Kremlin's commitment to a negotiated settlement of the region's problems and Mikhail Gorbachev's own determination to abandon costly armed struggle against Pretoria.

The SA delegation was jointly led by Soviet scholar Professor Philip Nel and

former reform bureaucrat Professor Willie Breytenbach — two of the country's most influential academics of Stellenbosch University, long used as a think-tank by the Pretoria government.

According to Sir John, Moscow's support for the Angola-Namibia peace accord should be taken as a marker of future Soviet policy in the area.

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● From Page 1

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Cape Times, Monday, March 13, 1989 5

## DP policy document to settle differences?

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A draft document on Democratic Party (DP) policy would be sent out today to Progressive Federal Party, Independent Party and National Democratic Movement constituency committees for their comment and input, IP leader Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday.

This followed a meeting at the weekend between leaders and representatives of the three parties and the so-called "Fourth Force" group of Afrikaner academics, at the Johannesburg home of top businessman Dr Louis Luyt.

Dr Worrall said they would meet again before the DP's founding congress to again hear sub-committee reports.

He would not disclose or comment on the contents of the draft policy document as they wanted to hear from the constituency committees on it and it could still be revised before the founding congress.

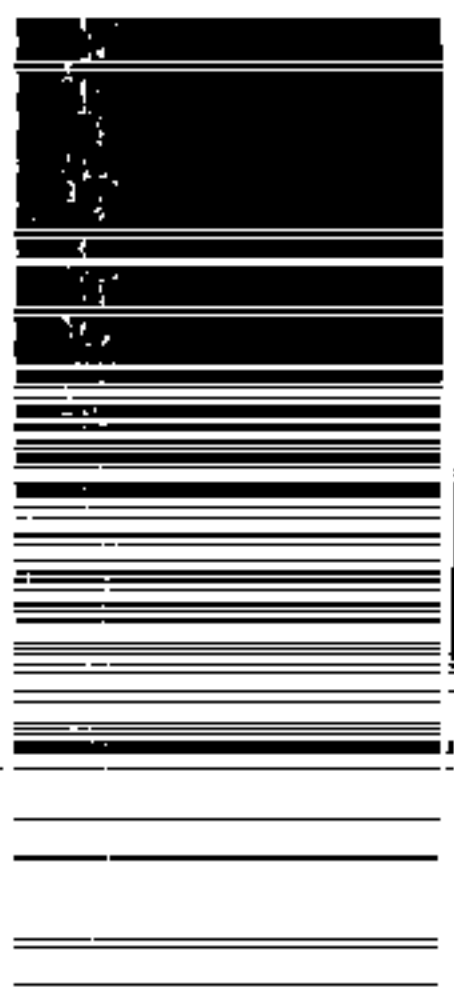
He said the weekend meeting had reaffirmed the DP's unambiguous commitment to the primacy of free enterprise and private initiative, while recognising the importance of job creation and growth and government's role in the upliftment of SA.

Dr Worrall said progress toward the setting up of the new party was on track and the founding congress promised to be "quite an event".

He felt that public response to the new party had been extremely encouraging so far. He expected more excitement would be generated once the party moved into high-profile politics.

However, he believed that circulating the document would help to answer the understandable frustration felt by members of all three parties who had not been able to see all the activity involved in setting up the new party.





PW's TV

interview

increases

AKGAS 13/3/89

306/2

infighting

**By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent**  
**INFIGHTING** in the National Party over President Botha's latest statements and his determination to stay on in his post was increasing today.

Swift moves were expected from Nationalist leaders who wanted to counter what is seen as a shrewd move by Mr Botha in his TV interview last night.

While saying that they were extremely upset about his attitude last night, some Nationalist MPs today also conceded that Mr Botha had been clever to put over to the public a reasonable approach.

Some MPs have had telephone calls from members of the public expressing sympathy for Mr Botha.

The politicians said Mr Botha had been particularly shrewd. The public could see nothing wrong in his wanting to explain his position to the caucus and wanting to talk to the party's federal council and consult other groups.

### **Snap meeting tonight**

But what upset many MPs was the fact that the vast majority of the caucus wanted him to make way for Mr de Klerk as President had apparently not got through to him.

A snap meeting of the federal council of the party is being held tonight.

If Mr de Klerk did not get this council to come out firmly in favour of a consolidation of the positions of party leader and President, his political future could be wrecked.

The 34-member council includes the provincial leaders of the party. Although it cannot take binding decisions, it is the party's top co-ordinating body and is regarded as being very influential.

A meeting of the Cape executive committee of the party will also be held today.

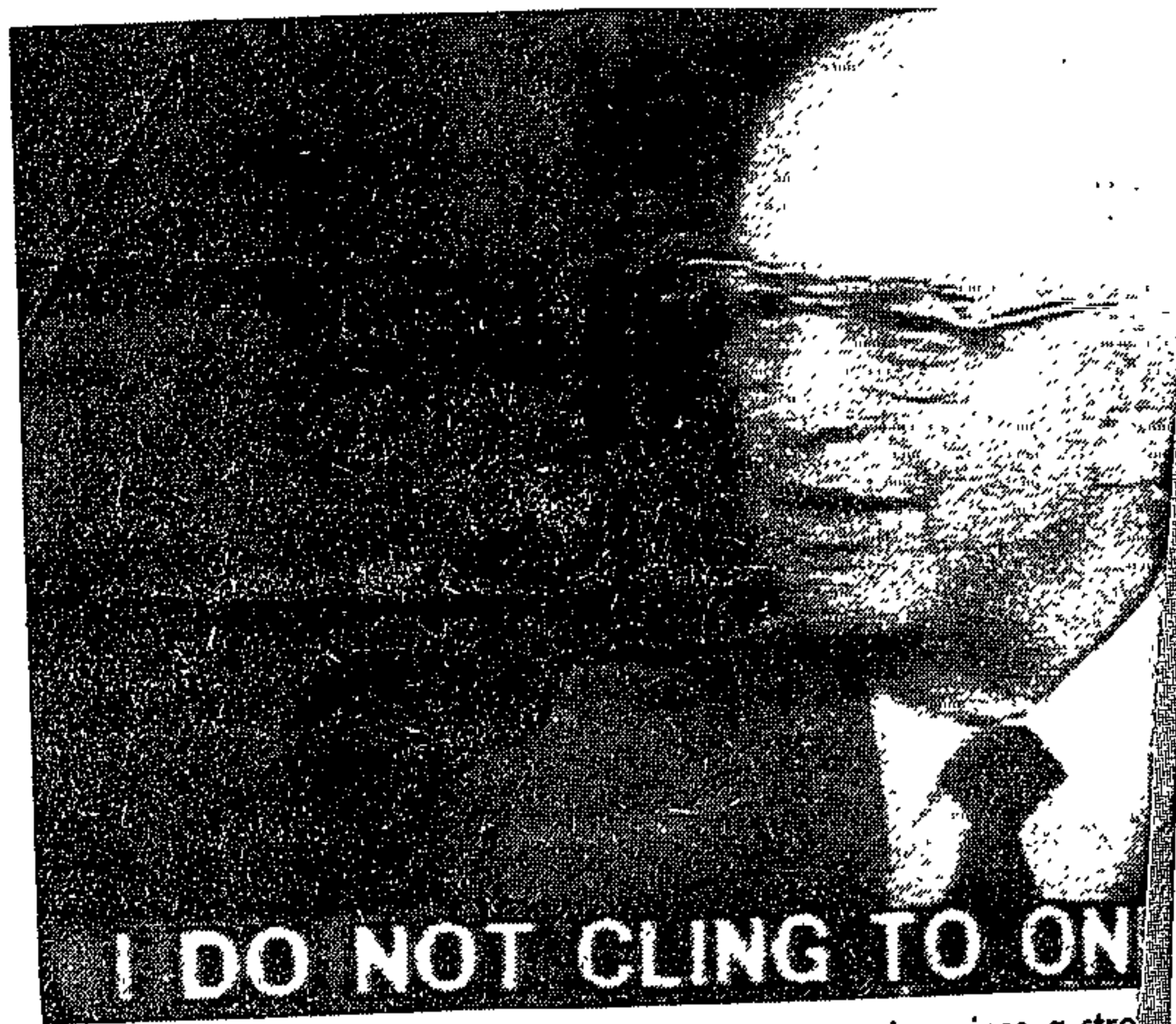
There is still suspicion in some National Party circles about the role of Mr Chris Heunis in spite of his weekend denial that he was supporting Mr Botha against Mr de Klerk.

Some of these MPs found it suspicious that Mr Heunis visited Mr Botha at the Wilderness yesterday, as Mr Botha was expected to be back in Cape Town tomorrow.

They wondered if this did not have something to do with Mr Botha's TV interview and whether Mr Heunis had assisted with this.

Mr Heunis today confirmed that he had visited Mr Botha and said that, as Acting President, he discussed affairs of state with Mr Botha from time to time. He said he had visited Mr Botha after the TV interview.

**FW IN NAMIBIA:** The leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, meets reporters in Windhoek, where he had talks with United Nations representatives. With him is the Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Louis Pienaar.



**BOTHA ON THE BOX:** In his first television interview since a stroke, he says he plans to remain in power until at least next year.

### **Private debate**

Some MPs were apprehensive about the effect Mr Botha would have on a caucus meeting. He could well sway many of the MPs at present supporting Mr de Klerk.

They resented the fact that the caucus debates were private while Mr Botha lashed out in public.

The MPs are also upset that Mr Botha has indicated that there will not be an early election this year.

They dispute his statement that there has to be delimitation first.

They were also angry because Mr Botha seemed to have given away the one advantage a government had when it came to an election date — surprise.

They also pointed out that he had now made it easier for the new Democratic Party to establish itself before an election.







Carletonville businessmen tell of heavy losses, staff cuts

# Black boycott bites

CARLETONVILLE. — Businessmen here have started counting their heavy losses, and many others contemplate closing their businesses, as the two-week old black consumer boycott continues to bite.

Businessmen told last week of turnover losses ranging from 25 percent to 100 percent, and some revealed they had already laid off their employees. If the situation did not improve soon, they would be forced to close, they said.

Streets in the town were deserted, taxis stood empty and idle at taxi ranks and some store employees were seen dusting around while others were engaged in painting their nails.

## Fear of victimisation

Businessmen interviewed were willing to talk openly about their problems, but many consistently refused to be named out of fear of victimisation.

A butcher said he had purchased less stock last week and had also sent some of his staff members on leave. His turnover had dropped by 25 percent, he said.

The manager of a pharmacy, who said he spoke "from the heart", said he hoped the government would intervene and clip the Conservative Party-controlled town council's wings.

"This is a sad story, really," he said. "I would like to see the government stripping all municipalities of political power."

## "Childish municipality"

"As for this particular municipality, it is a childish one. I wish they could apologise and admit they made a mistake, thus defusing this volatile situation. But a council which acts this way is an irresponsible and immature council, and one cannot expect an irresponsible council to apologise."

Another businessman said: "The council must change otherwise the government must step in immediately. Right now the future doesn't look promising."

● The Conservative Party-controlled Carletonville Town Council will never rescind its Verwoerdian-style apartheid policies, the local chamber of commerce was told on Friday.

Following an hour-long meeting between the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce and the management committee here on Thursday night in an attempt to reach a compromise on the crippling consumer boycott, the town council informed the Chamber on Friday it would never bow to pressure to rescind its unpopular apartheid policies.

The president of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, Mrs Annetjie Claasen, said the Chamber "noted with great shock and disappointment" the council's decision to retain petty apartheid "notwithstanding the fact it agreed with the content of a memorandum submitted by the Chamber" at the meeting on Thursday.

"The Chamber firmly believes that the council's actions will have adverse economic and other effects in so far as business and the community in Carletonville are concerned," said Mrs Claasen.

She said the Chamber has written to the mayor, Mr Gert Jacobs, asking him to "exercise his statutory power to convene a public meeting."

Mrs Claasen said that she, presidents of other Chambers of Commerce on the East Rand and Assocom officials, had held informal discussions with Mr Oulas van Zyl, Transvaal Provincial Administration MEC in charge of local government, in Pretoria last Tuesday.



**BUSINESS CLOSES:** Businessman Rolf Kotze, left, stands at his Carletonville shop as workers remove furniture and equipment. Mr Kotze was forced to close his business after losing R40 000 during the last month because of the boycott.

# Park sit-in cancelled after warning

CAT  
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CARLETONVILLE. — Blacks planning a sit-in demonstration at a "whites only" park here on Saturday cancelled the protest after police warned organisers they would be held responsible if any trouble broke out.

Police intervention put an end to the 1950s-style "defiance campaign", thus averting a possible confrontation between white right-wingers and the black community of the mining town in which a consumer boycott against white businesses has entered its second week, City Press reported.

Only a handful of blacks showed up to participate in the planned sit-in at the Carletonville Civic Centre Park.

Cosatu's president, Mr Elijah Barayi, told would-be protesters that a Captain Mynhardt of the Potchefstroom security branch had warned members of the action committee they would be held responsible for the defiance and for any violence or damage to property that might result from the sit-in.

A local Cosatu action committee member, Mr Hlubi Biyana, said that although the sit-in had been suspended, the exercise was viewed as an on-going campaign whereby people would from time to time decide to sit in the park.

On Saturday, whites dressed in khaki — believed to be AWB members — were seen in the vicinity of the park. — Sapa-AP



# Bill of rights plan for SA hailed by many

Cape Times 13/3/89  
252 (3067)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Curren, said the call by the Law Commission for a negotiated bill of rights is "probably the most profound and brave document ever produced by the SA government".

He said it would be a tragedy if the report, which gave the Freedom Charter and ANC constitutional proposals "a lot of space", lay and gathered dust.

He said the report was significant in that it created a starting point for a political solution in SA given the need for creative political developments to end the political stalemate in SA.

Mr Curren said that if the bill of rights recommendations were taken further by the government, it would do much to break down legitimate fears in blacks about bills of rights.

In Cape Town yesterday Professor Charles Villavicencio, head of the department of Religious Studies at UCT, said the proposed bill of rights was yet another moment and opportunity for peace. The government should declare its bona fides by creating conditions for open and honest debate, he said.

Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy last night hailed the report and said it gave a "new hope for the future" for all South Africans.

Mr Peter Soal, the PFP information officer, welcomed the report and said it "was a vindication of what this party has been preaching for over 30 years".

● Suzman backs 'bill of rights' — Page 5

# Equal voting rights needed for legitimate bill of rights — commission

SUSAN RUSSELL

PFP law and order spokesman Helen Suzman yesterday gave her "whole-hearted approval" to the Law Commission's call for a negotiated bill of rights validated by a single, nonracial referendum.

The commission's proposals were published in a working paper released at the weekend. It is open for comment until August 31, after which a final report will be submitted to Parliament. The report, compiled by Mr Justice Olivier, said that without the recognition of equal voting rights, a bill of rights

would not have credibility or legitimacy.

It also appeared to be necessary, for practical reasons, first to purge the statute book of provisions likely to be declared invalid by the courts. Once that had been done, a bill of rights could be put into operation without large-scale disruption of the courts.

Suzman said the report gave tremendous impetus to the movement towards the development of a bill of rights. "From what I have read, it is an enlightened document."

She cautioned, however, that it could not be assumed the commission's recommendations would be translated into reality.

"Parts of it will probably be approved

See Pages 4 and 6

in principle by government, but group rights are still all important to it. The commission gets away from entrenched

group rights, and there is a conflict there."

The commission comprises members of the judiciary, legal profession, academic lawyers, the magistrates' bench and Department of Justice officials.

In April 1986, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee asked it to investigate and make recommendations on the definition and protection of group rights within the context of SA's constitutional structure. The commission was also asked to look at the possible extension of the protection of individual rights, and the role of

the courts.

The seven-man commission was under the chairmanship of Appeal Court judge Mr Justice Viljoen. Another Appeal Court judge, Mr Justice van Heerden, was deputy chairman.

The other members were: Mr Justice Olivier, senior government legal adviser G G Smit, Pretoria attorney Monty Knoll, Pretoria University law faculty dean David Joubert and Johannesburg Regional Court president P Kotze.

To Page 2

## Bill of rights hinges on equal voting rights

Mr Justice Viljoen has since retired and is no longer chairman.

In its working paper, the commission said a bill of rights which protected individual rights and recognised an equal and equivalent franchise for all citizens was a necessity. The advantages far outweighed the alleged disadvantages and dangers.

The Supreme Court should have the right to test legislation and executive and administrative acts according to the bill of rights. If any of these conflicted with the bill of rights they could be declared invalid.

The commission considered it neces-

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13/Dec/87

From Page 13/2/87

sary to distinguish between political group rights and other group values.

The protection of minorities was also essential because to ignore their rights would invite endless conflict.

Cultural, religious and linguistic values should not be protected as group rights because a group was not a legal persona.

These rights should be protected in the bill of rights as individual rights and could be protected without identifying a group.



# Protest by rebel fans halts kick-off

13/3/89 304A

DURBAN. — A sit-down strike by spectators at the National Soccer League Castle fixture between Amandhla AmaZulu and Cape Town Spurs halted kick-off for almost an hour here yesterday.

The protesters were supporters of the "rebel" faction of AmaZulu, at present involved in a court case over who is the rightful owner of the club.

As the game at King's Park rugby stadium was about to start, 18 stick-wielding supporters climbed over razor-wire and advanced towards the AmaZulu players. They were soon joined by 200 other fans.

NSL security officials and four policemen failed to clear the field.

The rebel faction of AmaZulu is headed by the chairman of the supporters' committee, Mr Albert Masinga. Last week club chairman Mr David Dlamini was granted an interim interdict preventing Mr Masinga from interfering in the running of the club until the court case is over.

In yesterday's disturbance, the protesters waved their admission tickets in the air and demanded that their money be returned if their choice of AmaZulu players did not play.

Eventually the NSL chief gate controller, Mr George Govender, called officials of the supporters' committee on to the field to clear the field.

After the game teargas, smoke and purple dye were used to break up a running battle between the two rival factions of spectators. At least one fan was injured.

● Spurs survive 'sit-in' — Back Page

## 'Geriatric psychology' the answer?

SUNDAY TIMES editor Tertius Myburgh suggested in an article yesterday that the explanation for President P W Botha's most recent behaviour probably lay "in the realm of geriatric psychology".

"What else, in heaven's name, would make an elderly, ailing leader cling to power long after the game is up?"

Nationalist weekend newspapers continued to urge a quick solution to the leadership crisis.

Nasionale Pers political columnist Dawie said the will of the people, as expressed through the ruling NP, was being frustrated. As things stood, the NP was powerless because its leader, F W de Klerk, had no power. This could not be tolerated, he said.

Rapport said a situation where Botha could rule by "the grace of himself" was

Business Day Reporter

not in the interests of the country or the NP. *61 Day 12/3/89*

Beeld, quoting Shakespeare on the "Ides of March", expressed surprise Botha should take control on Wednesday "against the background of restless turmoil within the ruling party ..."

Dawie detailed deep discontent among NP MPs. There was no doubt the leadership question had to be resolved as soon as possible.

The caucus had consolidated itself behind De Klerk and if it were to choose a candidate for the presidency today, he would probably be unopposed.

Rapport focused on the isolation of NP Cape leader Chris Heunis, and raised the question why he had felt it necessary to issue a statement on Saturday.



## Democratic Party policy draft out today

A DRAFT document on Democratic Party (DP) policy would be sent out today to PFP, IP and NDM constituency committees for comment and input, IP leader Denis Worrall said yesterday.

This followed a weekend meeting between leaders and representatives of the three parties and the so-called "Fourth Force" group of Afrikaner academics, at the Johannesburg home of businessman Louis Luyt.

He would not disclose or comment on contents of the draft policy document as they wanted to hear from the constituency committees on it, and it could still be revised before the founding congress.

Worrall said much of the controversy

ROGER SMITH

304.8

over policy centred on DP economic adviser Professor Sampie Terblanche's views and interpretation of them.

"It should be pointed out Terblanche is but one adviser, and the policy of the DP is in fact determined by the three parties, not by an adviser."

He said the weekend meeting re-affirmed the DP's unambiguous commitment to the primacy of free enterprise and private initiative, while recognising the importance of job creation and growth and government's role in the upliftment of SA.

B/Dany 13/3/89

Compromise attempt at weekend fails

# Top Nats to meet today on PW crisis

B/Dam 13/3/89 304A

CAPE TOWN — NP leader F W de Klerk will today ask the party's federal council to add its weight to moves to persuade President P W Botha to go.

After a weekend when more attempts were made to get the increasingly isolated Botha to put the interests of the party first, he still appeared intent on clinging to power, and returning to Parliament on Wednesday — Budget Day.

The constitution allows the NP little scope to get rid of Botha before March next year when an election has to be called, but party leaders believe he can still be persuaded to hand over power to De Klerk, thereby avoiding a showdown with the party caucus he led for 10 years until resigning on February 2.

The caucus is virtually unanimous in opposing any move to separate the roles of President and party leader. While there is sympathy for Botha, MPs have made it clear De Klerk is their leader and they want him to have executive power now.

A delegation of elder statesmen was reportedly dispatched to the Wilderness at the weekend to again put a compromise package to Botha, but as he had already rejected appeals to hand over power to De Klerk when he met party provincial leaders on Thursday, there were no indications last night that he had had a change of heart.

After the meeting with the leaders, Botha said he would return to office,

MIKE ROBERTSON

three weeks earlier than he had first announced, to attend the pre-Budget Cabinet meeting on Wednesday.

NP MPs said it had to be established before then whether Botha was prepared to compromise.



● DE KLERK

If not, the stage would be set for a confrontation between the President and the NP.

Although the provincial congresses are the final decision-making bodies of the NP, the federal council is a powerful party organ. Rapport said yesterday moves to convene a council

meeting today were set in motion after Botha rejected the compromise proposals on Thursday.

A decision by the council today to support the caucus in opposing any move to separate the functions of President and party leader will give De Klerk powerful ammunition with which to confront Botha, when next he and the three other provincial leaders, meet the President.

With MPs adamant on getting clarity on the leadership issue before Botha re-

● To Page 2

## NP federal council to meet about crisis

turns, it is likely that meeting will take place tomorrow.

It is not clear what action the NP will take if Botha refuses to hand over to De Klerk, but some younger MPs are already talking of taking action to ostracise him.

Questions were also being asked about the role played by acting President Chris Heunis after it was disclosed he had called a special meeting of the Cape caucus on Thursday at which some MPs said he had sided with Botha.

In a weekend statement, Heunis said

that in his capacity as Cape leader and as Minister of Constitutional Development, he had taken part in discussions with De Klerk and Botha to establish the practical implications of the separation of the post of President and party leader.

He had called the Cape caucus meeting to make it clear he wanted to be part of a solution to the problem and not a party to confrontation.

● See Page 3

From Page 1



## Heunis says he did not defiantly support P.W.

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis on Saturday refuted "certain false media allegations" concerning his role in relation to the positions of President P.W. Botha and the leader-in-chief of the NP, F.W. de Klerk.

In a statement released here, he said the reports cited unidentified sources and were published without verification of the contents being referred to him.

A Cape Town morning newspaper reported on Saturday that Heunis's political future was in danger after Cape Nationalists rebelled against him for his defiant support of President Botha against De Klerk.

"It is untrue that I defiantly support President Botha against Mr de Klerk. As far as I am concerned this has never been an issue," Heunis said.

### Relationship

He said that when Botha resigned as leader of the NP he intimated that he favoured a separation of the positions of President and that of leader in chief. Also that he would remain serving in the former capacity.

After his election as NP leader, De Klerk said he would discuss with the President the practical implications of the separation of the two positions, and their relationship.

"Both in my capacity as leader of the Cape National Party and as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, I have participated in discussions with both leaders in an effort to facilitate this process in the interests of the National Party as well as those of the country," Heunis said.

He said it was also false to suggest that his so-called endorsement of the separation of the positions of State President and NP leader was rejected by the NP's parliamentary caucus, "since I did not discuss the issue there".

He did meet Cape members of the caucus, and told them he sought a solution, not a confrontation, a position that was unanimously supported, he said. — Sapa.

## NOW it's President P W Botha versus the National Party.

He bluntly told the NP and the country last night that he is well and that he is here to say — a move that is in defiance of the NP caucus's clear wish that he hand over power as soon as possible to the party's newly elected leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

In a feisty interview on SABC-TV, Mr Botha brushed aside mounting calls from within the NP for his early retirement and a snap election. He also made several condescending references to Mr De Klerk, his main rival in the leadership battle.

### ● Heunis denies 'defiant support' for PW — Page 7

Should Mr De Klerk — who Nationalists insist enjoys the backing of "95% plus" of the party caucus — fail to stand up to the latest challenge to his authority, his stature could be irretrievably damaged in the party.

The embattled president's TV interview — which comes at a time when he is being deserted by the traditionally loyal NP press — revealed that Mr Botha:

- Had no intention of calling a general election this year — not withstanding the widespread support for an early poll within the NP. He insisted that a delimitation had to be completed before an election could take place and criticised what he termed "reckless" talk about an early poll by those who favoured using a "magic wand" to bring this about.

- Condescendingly stated that he believed that Mr De Klerk had been "misused by certain elements" in the current crisis, noting that many of the leadership posts now enjoyed by the NP's new leader had been granted thanks to the courtesy of Mr Botha himself.

- Appeared largely unaware of the feelings within the NP caucus, particularly the insistence that he step down as soon as possible and the overwhelming backing now enjoyed by Mr De Klerk.

- Dismissed suggestions that he might be receiving incorrect advice from his close circle of advisers as "skinder stories".

- Revealed — after declaring that "I am now healthy" — that he wished to hold talks with the caucus, the cabinet, other unnamed leaders and with the NP's Federal Council, which is to meet in Cape Town to discuss the leadership crisis tonight.

The NP was forced to convene a snap meeting of the parties' high-powered Federal Council at the weekend in its latest bid to break Mr Botha's resolve to cling to power.

However, the meeting — originally called to find ways of reaching a compromise — might well be compelled to adopt a gloves-off approach in the light of Mr Botha's decision to use SATV to stave off all attempts to have him removed.

The 29-member council — in theory and advisory body but in practice the party's supreme policy formulating institution — has, as one senior Nationalist put it yesterday, "a lot of clout", and has yet to have any of its recommendations quashed.

The council could even go so far as to call for Mr Botha's summary resignation — "and it is unlikely that the NP provincial formations would not endorse this" — depending on the mood of the party following Mr Botha's interview last night.

One senior Nationalist said yesterday before the president's fight back on SATV: "The real objective of the meeting will be to show a front of solidarity for the party leader, Mr F W de Klerk".

To page 3

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

# Fiis PW's rethinks

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Mr. Trites 13/3/89

304A

# Suzman backs 'bill of

# rights'

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP's spokeswoman on law and order, yesterday gave her "wholehearted approval" to the Law Commission's call for a negotiated bill of rights validated by a single, non-racial referendum.

The commission's proposals were published in a working paper released at the weekend. It is open for comment until August 31, after which a final report will be submitted to Parliament.

The report, compiled by Mr Justice P J J Olivier, says that without the recognition of equal voting rights, a bill of rights would not have credibility or legitimacy.

It also appeared to be necessary, for practical reasons, to first purge the statute book of provisions likely to be declared invalid by the courts. Once that had been done, a bill of rights could be put into operation without large-scale disruption of the courts.

Mrs Suzman said the report gave tremendous impetus to the movement towards the development of a bill of rights. "From what I have read, it is a very enlightened document."

She cautioned, however, that it could not be assumed the commission's recommendations would be translated into reality.

"Parts of it will probably be approved in principle by the government, but groups rights are still all important to them. The commission gets away from entrenched group rights, and there is a conflict there."

The Law Commission comprises members of the judiciary, legal profession, academic lawyers, the magistrates' bench and Department of Justice officials.

In April 1986 the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, asked it to investigate and make recommendations on the definition and protection of group rights within the context of SA's constitutional structure. The commission was also asked to look

at the possible extension of the protection of individual rights and the role the courts should or do play.

The seven-man commission was under the chairmanship of Appeal Court judge Mr Justice G Viljoen. Another Appeal Court judge, Mr Justice H J O van Heerden, was deputy chairman.

The other members were: Mr Justice Olivier, senior government legal adviser, Mr G G Smit, Pretoria attorney, Mr Monty Knoll, Dean of Pretoria University's law faculty, Prof Dawid Joubert and the president of the Johannesburg Regional Court, Mr P Kotze.

In its working paper the commission said a bill of rights which protected individual rights and recognised an equal and equivalent franchise for all citizens was a necessity. The advantages far outweighed the alleged disadvantages and dangers.

The Supreme Court should have the right to test legislation and executive and administrative acts according to the bill of rights. If any of these con-

flicted with the bill of rights they could be declared invalid.

A bill of rights would enable the courts to invalidate laws which conflicted with the bill and entrenched group rights such as the Group Areas Act and Population Registration act.

The Supreme Court, however, was not able to put anything in the place of laws it had declared invalid. This could create confusion and uncertainty, and create the wrong impression there was large-scale conflict between the legislature and the courts.

The commission recommended that for purely practical reasons it would be necessary to first purge the statute books of laws likely to be invalidated by the courts.

"Once that has been done, a bill of rights can be put into operation without large-scale disruption or a rush on the courts," the commission said.

The commission considered it necessary to distinguish between political group rights and other group values.

GERALD REILLY

## POLITICS

PRETORIA — The Law Commission has pleaded for a negotiated bill of rights which would give expression to the needs, fears and aspirations of all South Africans.

In a working paper released at the weekend, the commission stressed the need for such a bill "and to a large extent the goodwill needed to bring it about already exists."

"Project leader in the investigation ordered by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee into the protection of group rights and the role of the courts was Mr Justice Olivier."

"We consider the formulation of a bill and the purging of the statute book of provisions conflicting with a bill of rights

# Call for a bill of rights for all

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should go hand-in-hand in the negotiations. "The commission believed the legitimisation of a new constitution, including a bill of rights, should take place by way of a single general open referendum which was not restricted and did not discriminate among voters of particular groups or races because this, like no other process, would give legitimacy to a constitution."

The commission's unqualified standpoint was that only the Supreme Court should be able to test the bill.

Because of the parliamentary sovereignty system, the courts were severely hampered in protecting individual and group rights in the face of legislation

which curtailed these rights. Evidence before the commission showed an almost universal acceptance and insistence that human rights be recognised and respected in SA.

The commission believed the necessity for such a bill far outweighed the alleged disadvantages and dangers.

It also set out a range of "considerations" which made it necessary to provide better protection.

These included that the bill meet the requirements of the concept of the rule of law, that it met the social norms and expectations of the black population and that it strengthened confidence in the courts.

The commission recommended a three-quarters majority of those entitled to vote and who had been elected directly by the electorate in Parliament should be needed for an amendment which in any way derogated from the rights granted by the bill.

Recognised in the bill, too, should be equal and equivalent franchise for all citizens over 18, people of all races.

"Like a refrain, the warning was sounded by numerous witnesses and contributors that a bill of rights must have unimpeachable legitimacy."

"Absolute fearless and equal treatment were essential or else the whole effort should be abandoned."



**T**HE Second Horseman of Wynand Malan's liberal apocalypse is the political semanticist Wynand de Klerk, who has secured his footnote in history by inventing the terms *verlig* and *verkramp*. De Klerk's views are not in dispute, only the label that should be applied to them.

Since his appointment as one of the four advisers to the Democratic Party (with Samjee Terreblanche, Van Zyl Slabbert and Marinus Wlechers), he has been using the term "Calvinist liberal," which is apt for so devout a man, but politically confusing.

Writing in *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, he explains (my translation): "The political liberalisation of National Party Afrikaners, and Afrikaners who have found their home in groups to the left of the NP, is still related to the fundamental principle (*uitgangspunt*) of group survival... Nationalism is still at the root of it... a nationalism that does not seek political hegemony but which does seek a political voice, and cultural entrenchment of language, education, church and community life."

I had not intended raising the political definition of liberalism until after the founding congress of the Democratic Party, but the issue has been forced on me by Malan and Terreblanche, who have been demanding that I declare where I stand on democracy. Malan says I keep talking about a market community "with the individual always getting all the opportunities," and he claims that I have never expressed myself on the effects of democracy.

The challenge is not seriously intended — I am not running for office — but it is intended to discredit a both-ersome critic. It is the sort of tactic which young Nationalists learn before they join the Rapporteurs. So let's get rid of this red herring at once.

In the late fifties I came under the influence of Alan Paton and the Pretoria liberal, John Lang, and by 1964 — as bright-eyed and bushy-tailed with virtue as Malan is today — I was trekking to Lusaka to see the first wave of independence to "the front line". In fact, I tried rather foolishly to get to an ANC camp near Mushi River and, I suspect, my life was saved by Temison Matriwane, then a member of the OAU liberation committee, who rescued me from some edgy guards. He was later assassinated for challenging the communist control of the ANC.

**F**ipping through the files, I find I was calling publicly for one man, one vote in a unitary state while Vorster and Jimmy Kruger strutted around Biko's body, and while Malan and Terreblanche were still complacent members of the crypto-fascist party that had had its jackboot on my neck since 1948. Indeed, I recall being lectured by Terreblanche over lunch on the incorrigible political stupidity of the English.

However, it is to the experience of being *opgedonderd* by the Nats that I owe my deep conviction that liberalism concerns, above all else, the liberty of the individual. Like Senator Sam Irwin of North Carolina and Watergate fame, I have come to be-

# Second Horseman rides against the individual

KEN OWEN



□ DE KLERK ... "Calvinist liberal"

lieve that tyranny derives from the State, unlike him, I have practical experience of the problem. Now to the future. Most political observers accept these days that apartheid is collapsing. Even the rightwingers like Carel Boshoff, try-

ing desperately to establish a utopian Kalahari-istan for an endangered Afrikaner species, see that whites are losing the capacity to control the black masses. Unless the country collapses into anarchy, power will pass quite soon from white to black. The principal question is no longer how to overthrow apartheid but how to achieve a transition from national-socialism to democracy. Or, to put it differently, how do we ensure that the power to oppress, and to *opgedonder* weaker communities, does not simply pass from one gang of thugs to another?

This is where economic freedom under law comes into the equation. Hayek, the author who currently obsesses me, writes (in 1989, not 1889): "As we now know, in the evolution of the structure of human activities, profitability works as a signal that guides selection towards what makes man more fruitful: only what is more profitable will, as a rule, nourish more people, for it sacrifices less than it adds."

**P**etrus Hernandez de Soto, a second author who has lately captured my interest, has shown that the poorest classes, fighting for very survival, quickly discover that survival depends on free markets, and therefore on the institution of private property. A free market without private

property is, of course, an absurdity. These ideas are not new, though they barely penetrate the intellectual darkness of this country. Strabo, writing 2 000 years ago, observed that ancient Crete took it for granted that liberty was the state's highest good, and for this reason made property belong to those who acquired it "whereas in a condition of slavery everything belongs to the rulers". To put it succinctly, without markets, society cannot discover the most fruitful means to organise economic activity; without private property, markets cannot exist; without legal protection of individual title, private property is meaningless; and without freedom, no system based on choice can operate. To succeed, a society must treat individual liberty as "the highest good".

One of these ideas is compatible with the notion of a state organised, as De Klerk insists it must be, primarily to protect "groups". In fact, he warns in *Die Suid-Afrikaan* that the entry of Afrikaners to liberal politics cannot be taken for granted. Their participation depends, among other things, on whether the Democratic Party's various elements stick to "old-style liberalism," or compromise with the claims of group and culture.

For English South Africans, this hardly matters. They have been so well and truly *opgedonderd* that their elites are emigrating — faster when things go badly — leaving behind only the detritus of a shattered community, a rabble of individuals incapable of acting in unison. Their only bequest to this country, if liberal ideas do not take root, will be the new form of pidgeon in which black people and Afrikaners, increasingly, communicate with each other.

However, for the group-conscious Afrikaners it is literally a matter of life and death whether post-apartheid society is organised to protect the liberty of individuals, or whether the instruments of oppression with which the Nationalists *donderd* the English pass intact into the hands of another powerful "group".

Liberal democracy protects the individual against groups, of which the most tyrannical is the group wielding the power of the state. As we poor *donders* know.



# Heunis denies 'defiant support' for Botha

APC Times 13/3/89

3044

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, at the weekend denied "certain false media" allegations concerning his role relating to the position of the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the leader-in-chief of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk.

He said the reports cited unidentified sources and were published without the contents being referred to him.

The Cape Times reported that Mr Heunis's political future was in danger after Cape Nationalists rebelled against him for his defiant support of President Botha against Mr De Klerk.

"It is untrue that I defiantly support President Botha against Mr de Klerk. As far as I am concerned this has never been an issue," Mr Heunis said.

He said that when Mr Botha resigned as leader of the National Party he intimated that he favoured a separation of the positions of state president and that of leader-in-chief. Also that he would remain serving in the former capacity, a fact which he later confirmed.

Subsequent to his election as leader of the National Party, Mr De Klerk said he would discuss with the state president the practical implications of the separation of the two positions, and the relationship between the two offices.

"Both in my capacity as leader of the Cape National Party and as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, I have participated in discussions with both leaders in an effort to facilitate this process in the interests of the National Party as well as those of the country.

"The implied suggestion that loyalty to one precludes loyalty to the other is so much nonsense," Mr Heunis said.

He said it was also false to suggest that his so-called endorsement of the separation of the positions of state president and National Party leader was rejected by the National Party's parliamentary caucus, "since I did not discuss the issue there."

"I did, however, convene a meeting of the Cape members of the caucus and made my position and role clear, namely to be part of a solution and not a party to confrontation."

This point of view was unanimously supported, he said.

Mr Heunis said he had also wrongly been criticised for not having adequately conveyed the sentiments of the caucus to President Botha since, apart from the fact that he had no mandate to do any such thing, "there had been no caucus meeting prior to last Thursday at which any such sentiments had been articulated."

Mr Heunis said that subsequent to Thursday's meeting, he and Mr De Klerk as well as other provincial leaders had a discussion with the state president.

The allegation in this regard also ignored the fact that a number of cabinet ministers — including Mr De Klerk — have had occasion to speak with the president during his absence from office, "and I am not aware that any of them conveyed such a sentiment to the president."

"My actions as leader of the Cape party are subject to review by the head committee and congress of the Cape National Party, not by nameless individuals who, if one newspaper report were to be partly believed, by their

own admission do not have the courage to voice their criticism within the party's institutions," Mr Heunis said.

He said he had not been a party to the state president's decision to relinquish his position as leader of the National Party and to retain the position of head of state.

"I was, and still am, prepared to discuss the merits of the consequences of this decision rationally in order to assist both leaders in an effort to convert the present situation into a meaningful and efficient working relationship between the two offices. As I understood him, this is entirely in accordance with Mr De Klerk's stated objectives.

"Lastly, to suggest, as has been done, that my present actions might endanger my future membership of the cabinet, completely ignores the fact that my conscience, and neither ambition nor any desire to indefinitely extend my political career, determines my conduct.

"If I am to be indicted for playing the political game according to the rules and my perception of right and wrong, then so be it," Mr Heunis said. — Sapa



Star 14/3/80

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NP braced for collision if State President digs in his heels

# Essays to PV: Please go!

rise.

pc  
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**abricsius,  
respondent**

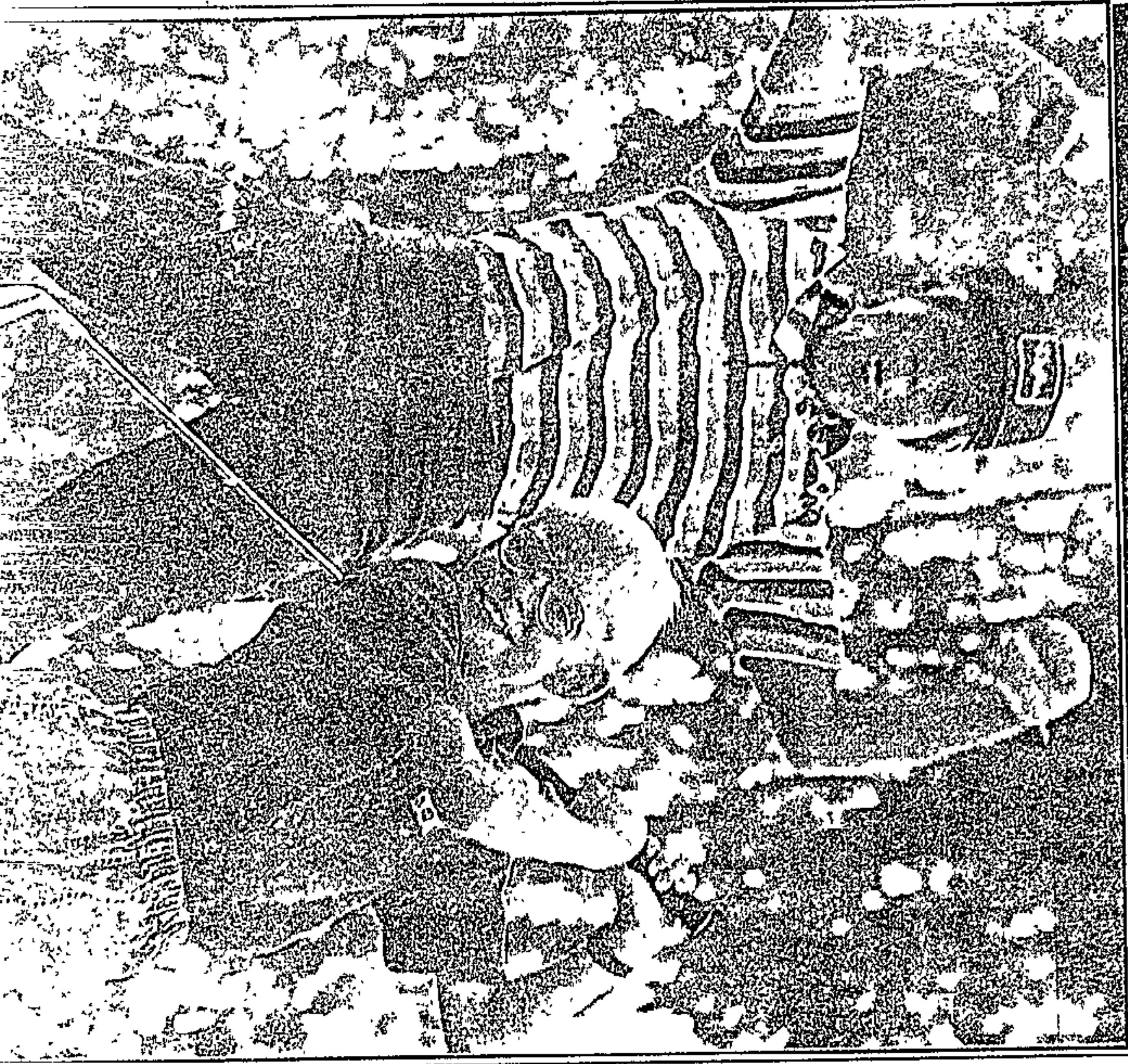
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# Getting into the swing of things



**By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent**

The battle lines in the power struggle between the National Party and State President Mr P W Botha will be determined by Mr Botha's reaction to last night's decisions by the party's federal council which were a clear message to him to stand down in favour of Mr F W de Klerk.

NP MPs said the crucial decisions by the party's 34-man federal council — the party's highest advisory body — and the NP caucus last night were a clear message to Mr Botha to step down in favour of Mr de Klerk.

However, they admitted they did not know what would happen if Mr Botha dug in his heels. The NP's chief information officer, Mr Con Botha, has conceded the party might have to wait for Mr Botha to serve out his present term.

Indications were today that the rank-and-file of the party would be unhappy with this arrangement, but might accept it as an interim measure if Mr Botha made it clear that Mr de Klerk would be consulted on political decisions such as the timing of elections.

MPs said last night's decisions meant the NP would definitely not back Mr Botha for another term as State President. Party members now expect the Cabinet to thrash out with Mr Botha when he will go and under what conditions.

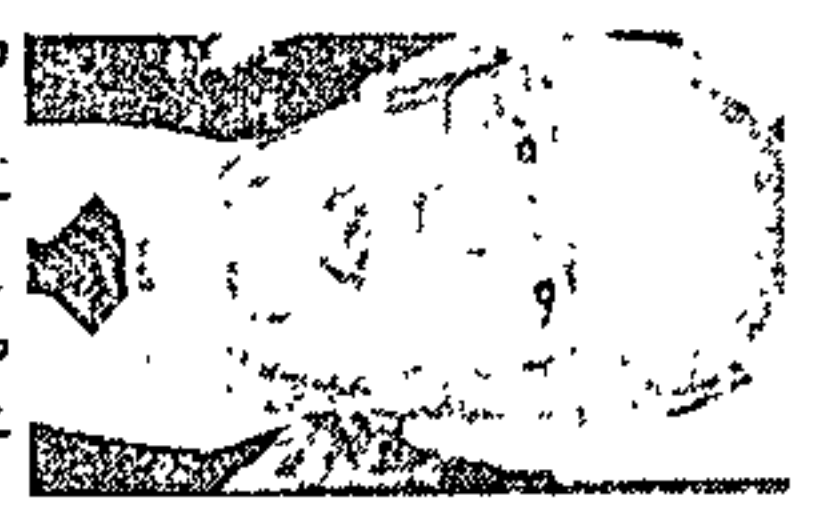
## Caucus unanimous

The party also decided last night that Mr Botha would be invited to discuss with the caucus and the federal council how to implement its decision.

After a last-ditch action by the Ministers -- apparently including Cape leader Chris Heunis -- the federal council firmly repudiated Mr Botha's idea of a separation of the powers of the State President and the NP leader. The decisions were carried by a "substantial majority" in the federal council and unanimously accepted by the caucus.

In effect Mr de Klerk laid claim to the presidency by saying at an informal press conference after the decisive meetings "I am the leader of the Nation."

**In 'best interests' of SA  
and the National Party**



President Botha  
... may dig in his  
heels.

A statement released by Mr. F. W. de Klerk last night said: "The Federal Council of the National Party believes that at this stage of our constitutional development it is, in principle, in the best interests of the country, and the National Party that the national leader of the National Party as the majority party in the House of Assembly should fill the office of the State President.

his principle stated, "I have great appreciation for the position of the serving State President, he promoted in consultation with the Cabinet and the State President."

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by both the Federal Council and the parliamentary caucus: "The Federal Council expresses its full confidence in Mr F W de Klerk as national leader of the National Party and offers him its full and wholehearted support in the handling of the interests of the National Party in its future activities."

## Beld raps 'delaying tactics'

In a hard-hitting editorial today the Johannesburg Nationalist newspaper *B Zuid* challenged Mr Botha on his claim that it was "fckless" to talk now about an election. It was known, the paper said, senior members of the NP wanted an election "immediately" (300)

The reasons were obvious: the right-wingers were staggering under their petty apartheid boards, the left-wingers were again regrouping and there was a danger of the economy weakening further. ~~Beard~~ And with a final biting insinuation, *Beard* wrote of



State President. Party members now expect the cabinet to thrash out with Mr Botha when he will go and under what conditions.

### Caucus unanimous

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In effect Mr de Klerk laid claim to the presidency by saying at an informal press conference after the decisive meetings: "I am the leader of the National Party. The decision (of the caucus) was that the leader and the State President should be one person, in terms of the constitution."

The stage has been set now for a final confrontation with Mr Botha if he does not bow out.

The ball is clearly in his court and he will return to office on Wednesday facing a National Party virtually united against him.

He returned to his official Cape Town residence Westbrooke last night where Mr de Klerk telephoned him to inform him of the decisions last night.

Mr Botha's first meeting with the Cabinet will be at his 46th wedding anniversary party tonight at his official Westbrooke, which is likely to be a very chilly affair.

The party has been especially rankled by Mr Botha's weekend statement that an election is impossible this year because a re-delimitation must first be completed.

This angered them not only because it was wrong — they pointed out that an election could be called — and because they want an election, but also because the decision was made without consulting the party.

Mr de Klerk, said last night no decision had been made that Mr Botha should step down, but he would be asked to discuss this with the party.

Mr de Klerk said a new constitution was required which would affect all leadership positions, but indicated this could not happen soon enough to resolve the present impasse.

The NP has now taken up the gauntlet thrown down by President Botha by giving its new leader a clear mandate to demand an end to the separation of the offices of State President and NP leader.





# New party is under fire from IP rebels

Sk 114/2189 (3041A)

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Disillusionment with the Democratic Party (DP) was publicly expressed yesterday in an open letter by the Concerned Independent Democratic Lobby (CIDL), a recently formed lobby of mainly Independent Party (IP) members.

In the letter to the IP leader, Dr Denis Worrall, an executive member of the CIDL, Mr Gavin Weiman, expressed severe disappointment with the new party to be founded on April 8.

The much-debated economic principles of the new party, a merger between the Progressive Federal Party, the IP and the National Democratic Movement, particularly came under fire.

The DP's broadly defined economic principle supported "an economic system promoting pri-

vate initiative without conditions beneficial to a high rate of growth and with recognition that the State has important functions of human development and upliftment".

Mr Weiman said this principle did not reflect the IP's stated principle of a free market economy, maximum deregulation and privatisation, and a non-interfering government.

The DP's principle "emphasises the wishy-washy PFP-leftist-socialist-statist-interventionist position. Free markets, deregulation and privatisation are not even mentioned. Devolved democracy is not even alluded to," he said.

He said the five DP principles which had been expressed in a letter to IP supporters did not bear the stamp or character of the IP.

Dr Worrall declined to comment.

# CP vows to 'remove' Boksburg's Indians

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

Jubilation over the imminent legalisation of Indian families in Boksburg's "white-controlled" suburb of Windmill Park could be short-lived.

Boksburg's Conservative Party-controlled town council — which earlier this month threatened to cut water and electricity supplies to Windmill Park's Indians — has vowed to continue the battle to have the 22 families removed.

At a special town council meeting tonight, the council is expected to accept a motion recommending the granting of temporary occupational permits to Indian families in Windmill Park — but only for a period of one year from the proclamation of Villa Liza, a proclaimed Indian area, as a township.

This would give Windmill Park's Indian families time to buy land and build houses in Villa Liza, after which they would be removed from the controversial "white-controlled" suburb — if the CP has its way.

## FAMILIES JUBILANT

Yesterday, the 22 Indian families in Windmill Park were still jubilant after the announcement by the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer, that he would recommend to the Administrator of the Transvaal that occupational permits be granted to them.

But spokesman Mr Clemens Padiachy warned that they would not move to Villa Liza.

"They're putting pressure on us to move to Villa Liza. But I am not white or black. I'm a South African. And I'm here to stay," he said.

Mr Henry Ford, the local estate agent from whom the Indians are renting their houses, said he had already applied to the Free Settlement Areas Board for the proclamation of Windmill Park as a free settlement area.

● The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer, yesterday visited the area to meet residents and the management committees of Boksburg and Reiger Park.

He said the Government's decision to legalise the position of the Indian families indicated it was confused about the application of the Group Areas Act.



# Party stands by FW

CMT Tink's  
14/3/89

3044

## Experts predict tough budget

By AUDREY D'ANGELO  
and MEG BRITS

**TOMORROW'S** budget will be aimed at putting a stop to South Africa's spending spree — either by making sure the man in the street has less money in his pocket or by pushing up indirect taxation, most economists say.

Some believe the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, will give some relief from fiscal drag by raising the income levels which put people into a higher tax bracket.

But most think this will be counteracted by raising general sales tax (GST) to about 15%, or increasing some customs and excise duties.

They say the country cannot afford an expansionary budget because of the need to maintain a large enough surplus on the bal-

### On Page 8

Gordon Kling 1.2.2. at op. ons avail- able to the Minister of Finance in tomorrow's budget and suggests a restructuring of government spending from a zero base to facilitate relief for taxpayers through huge cuts in state spending.

### Thursday

Thursday's Cape Times will contain the budget and its implications. The full budget speech will be carried in a special eight-page supplement.

ance of payments to repay foreign debt.

And although they expect Mr Du Plessis to try to limit increases in government spending to below the inflation rate of 15%,

they are doubtful whether it will be possible to stick to this.

Most of them believe he will use the windfall of extra tax collected this year — due to higher than expected growth, the 16% surcharge on imports and the levy on petrol — to repay public debt rather than give relief to the taxpayer.

Sanlam economist Mr Johan Louw said: "I don't think there will be much good news for the man in the street. Tax concessions, if any, will be limited."

Professor Attie de Vries of the University of Stellenbosch Graduate School of Business said he expected the budget to be "a fairly restrictive one".

Professor De Vries thought fiscal drag might be reduced but GST increased by 2% or 3%.

● Right budget? — Page 10

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE National Party** last night overwhelmingly backed Mr FW de Klerk against President P W Botha.

Both the 130-member NP caucus and the powerful 29-member federal council called for the reunification of the post of NP leader and president — and made it clear that Mr De Klerk was their choice.

Their stand amounts to an effective call for Mr Botha to pack his bags and relinquish control of the government.

While President Botha continues technically to rule the country, it was clear after a series of dramatic meetings last night that he has lost the support of both the NP caucus and federal council.

It is understood that Mr De Klerk last night called Mr Botha at his Wilderness retreat to inform the president that the party had rejected his plans to separate the post of president and leader of the NP.

### Meeting to be held

Mr De Klerk told journalists the party decision was that "the leader of the NP should be state president".

Asked whether Mr Botha would be told that he had to step down, Mr De Klerk said discussions would have to be held with the president and that a meeting with the federal council would be arranged at a future date. He said a decision had been taken



**Demand for  
apology after  
Curry walkout**

CMT Tink's 14/3/89 124 114

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Asked whether Mr Botha would be told that he had to step down, Mr De Klerk said discussions would have to be held with the president and that a meeting with the federal council would be arranged at a future date.

He said a decision had been taken in principle and that details would have to be worked out with Mr Botha, adding that special provisions would have to be made in the case of the serving state president.

The decision of the party to fight back against Mr Botha's bid to cling to power marks the first time in recent weeks that the party has seized the initiative from the president.

### Expressions of relief

Details of the remarkable fight-back by the party against the all-powerful president emerged after the crucial 150-minute federal council meeting, which lasted an hour longer than scheduled.

After the meeting, members, including several senior ministers, emerged with expressions of relief on their faces.

However, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who has been under pressure for his perceived role in the leadership crisis, appeared tense.

The NP's senior information officer, Mr Con Botha, explained last night that "this decision of the caucus and the federal council leaves the door open for the president to retire early if he chooses to do so".

It was clear from the demeanour of members of the party hierarchy last



# 'Only Govt and ratbags in favour of apartheid'

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

MELBOURNE — Almost everyone in South Africa except the people who count and "a fair handful of extreme ratbags" agree with the rest of the world that apartheid is wrong.

So wrote *Brisbane Courier-Mail* columnist, Lawrie Kavanagh, in a dispatch from Port Elizabeth published today.

Kavanagh said what could not be agreed was how to get rid of it "because South Africa is without doubt the most complex and confusing place on earth".

Kavanagh added: "In South Africa, people of every conceivable colour, creed and race argue, slander and kill one another and their own over the system."

He said blacks, probably more than anyone, wanted an end to apartheid but even they could not agree on what course.

He said most agreed apartheid was here for the foreseeable future unless there was a miracle or massive bloodshed.

He continued: "Miracles don't happen in real life and even the supporters of an armed uprising fear to take that step because of the might of the South African Government forces".

# 'Troublemaker'

THE National Party federal council met for a marathon two and a half hours last night while the party's Parliamentary caucus waited for the party's senior body's decision to be made.

When they finally emerged at 9pm, there were no statements forthcoming barring a comment from the Cape National Party leader, Mr Chris Heunis, who, on seeing the TV interviewer, Johan Pretorius, said good humouredly: "You've caused us some trouble tonight."

The meetings are dealing with the problem the State President, Mr P W Botha's, persistence in separating the party leadership and the State Presidency.

Mr Pretorius interviewed Mr Botha on Sunday when the State President announced there would be no election this year, a crucial issue for the National Party.

The last to emerge from the federal council meeting was the new Party leader, Mr F.W. de Klerk, who said:

"I do not believe it will be a long (caucus) meeting but you can never predict." — Sapa.



# PW SLATED OVER POLL DELAY

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, has angered National Party members by venturing directly into party domain by refusing to hold an election until next year.

Yesterday's morning senior National Party members said his TV interview now illustrated clearly that the division of the two top positions — party leader and state president — was intolerable.

The interview has sparked a flurry of high-level action which included a federal council meeting, the highest party authority, and a meeting of the Cape party's executive council.

"An election is a party matter and by making statements that there will be no election until next year, he has ventured directly into party domain," one senior party man said.



**PRESIDENT Botha . . .**

"The situation is intolerable (onhoudbaar) and will have to be settled this week," he said.

Mr Botha had now placed himself squarely between the party and an election and he would now come under increased pressure to lay down the presidency, sources said.

An election is now clearly emerging as the central issue around which the dispute between party and president is likely to be developed and driven home.

Although some provinces, such as Transvaal, are in favour of a new delimitation before going to the polls, the general feeling in the party is that an earlier election is preferable to waiting for delimitation.

"But an election in the first half of the year now definitely seems improbable," a party official said. The party would now probably set its sights on early in the second half of the year.

"But next year is simply not on," he said.

Howard

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False Bay: illegal culling of seals

\*13. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

- (1) Whether his Department has been informed of the alleged illegal culling of seals in False Bay recently; if so,
- (2) whether his Department has investigated the matter; if not, why not; if so, with what result?

B335E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS AND OF LAND AFFAIRS (for the Minister of Environment Affairs):

- (1) Yes.
- (2) No, but the matter was dealt with by the Department of Nature and Environmental Conservation of the Cape Provincial Administration who has investigated the alleged irregularities.

Angolan war: equipment seized

†14. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Defence:†

- (1) Whether he will furnish information on equipment seized by South African forces in the course of the Angolan war; if not, why not; if so,
- (2) whether it is the intention to return any of this booty to Angola or any other authorities; if so, (a) what booty, (b) to what other authorities, (c) what is the value of this booty and (d) why?

B368E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) No, because it is considered not to be in the public interest to divulge this information. I am however, prepared to supply the information to the hon member in confidence.
- (2) Falls away.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, may I ask him in connection with the second part thereof, whether he is aware of the fact that a photo of a train packed full of damaged and used military vehicles, as well as seized vehicles, that was apparently on its way northwards on the rail from Windhoek in the direction of Grootfontein, appeared in a South West newspaper? A caption

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to that photo suggests that these goods are being transported back to Angola. What is the comment of the hon the Deputy Minister on this?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, my reply to that would be that everything that has been said, is based on mere speculation. [Interjections.]

Mr H H SCHWARZ: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, as it was common knowledge that there was an Angolan aircraft that was in the north of South West Africa, would he like to tell us where that Angolan aircraft is now?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, according to my information, that aircraft is at Grootfontein, but it is the subject of negotiations at the moment and accordingly, I am unable to divulge any further information in this regard.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister where he said that it is merely speculation, I would like to ask him whether he is aware of the article in the *Windhoek Observer*, dated 8 October, consisting of a photo as I told him, where the caption reads:

Now train loads of wrecked army trucks are running from the south to the north. Is it a return to Angola of motorized units captured from it? A reporter called witnesses to tell him if in fact he were looking northwards. The witnesses confirmed it.

I should like to ask him what his reply to that is.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: I should just like to repeat that I do not read the *Windhoek Observer* — or whatever newspaper he mentions there. Our movements in that area are based on the factual situation, and these are movements that I am not prepared to make known.

Detainees released

\*15. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (a) How many detainees were released between 16 February and 2 March 1989 and (b) how many such detainees had been on hunger strike immediately prior to their release?

B374E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) 235 Detainees. However, I would like to

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add that from 16 February 1989 up until today, I have, in the normal course of events, already ordered the release of more than 400 emergency regulation detainees. Amongst those who have been released in this manner, are also youths. At present there are only one 16-year-old and thirteen 17-year-olds in detention. No person below the age of 16 is at present being detained in terms of the emergency regulations.

- (b) None. Persons who participate in a hunger-strike cannot be released as long as they do not eat. Their release only took place after they had begun eating and, in the majority of instances, after they had been examined by a district surgeon and found fit to be released.

Mrs H SUZMAN: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply does he consider that the number of detainees who have been released conforms with the promise which he made to churchmen and the lawyers representing the detainees that a significant number of detainees would be released?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the words relating to the number on which we agreed, were "a substantial number". We did not name a specific number on that occasion. I was under the impression that 100-150 would be sufficient.

Mrs H SUZMAN: Oh, never!

†The MINISTER: According to the newspapers some of the church leaders said later that they would be satisfied if 100 detainees were released. When they saw that I was releasing more than 100, because we could manage to do this within the prescribed time, they started saying that the "substantial number" was not sufficient. I am quite satisfied that I have carried out all the promises which I made to the churchmen. [Interjections.]

Mrs H SUZMAN: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, have the people who are still on hunger strike been informed that they will not be released until they cease continuing with the hunger strike? Have they all been informed that that is a condition for their release?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it is not a condition but they know that they cannot be released before they have started eating.

Mrs H SUZMAN: How do they know?

By-elections: date set

\*16. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether he has taken the necessary steps to set a date for by-elections in (a) East London, (b) Hillbrow and (c) Lydenburg; if not, why not; if so, when will such elections be held or the date of such elections be announced?

B375E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The Electoral Act, 1979 provides for strict procedural requirements which have to be met before a proclamation to proclaim a by-election can be issued. At the same time the determination of various dates, such as polling day and nomination day must be planned with regard to public and school holidays, as well as the imperative provisions of the Act, such as the days on which the issuing of special and postal votes commence and terminate.

The matter is receiving my urgent attention and proposals with regard to the issuing of a proclamation will be submitted to the State President as soon as possible.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to know whether he is suggesting that should he want to call a snap general election, he would not be able to do it in the time it is now taking him to call a by-election in three constituencies.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not prepared to speculate with the hon member over these matters. I do not think it is relevant to the reply to this question.

Mr R R HULLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, in view of the fact that it is now seven weeks since we first heard that these by-elections were going to have to take place, can the hon the Minister give us the assurance that his department has done absolutely everything that needs to be done to facilitate the holding of these by-elections at this stage?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I can give the hon member the assurance that

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ance that I have been acting strictly in accordance with the terms of the relevant Act and that we have been giving the matter proper and serious attention.

†Prof S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask him whether his department has recently received a letter from a legal firm in regard to these by-elections.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the answer is yes, I did receive the letter. [Interjections.]

*Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C(3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament*

#### Monitoring standards: produce

\*17. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) Whether produce for consumption on the local market is subject to the same monitoring standards in terms of controlling the abuse of pesticides as are produce for consumption on the export market; if not, (a) why not and (b) what standards apply in each case;
- (2) whether produce for the local market is monitored at the market place; if not, why not;
- (3) whether the same monitoring standards apply in each province; if not, (a) why not and (b) what are the differences?

B376E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes, except in extraordinary cases, (a) generally there is an agreement between the monitoring standards of different countries, as most like the RSA, base their standards on the Codex Alimentarius of the World Health Organisation and the Food and Agricultural Organisation. Occasionally countries may in specific cases, however, differ from the requirements of the RSA, and in such instances, the exporter must conform to these specific requirements,
- (b) the most recent set of monitoring standards for the RSA has been published as Government Notice R2160

of 2 October 1987, as amended by R1939 of 23 September 1988. Regarding the export market, exporters must themselves determine what the requirements of the importing country are. The Department of National Health and Population Development does not keep copies of these requirements;

- (2) yes;
- (3) yes, (a) and (b) fall away.

#### Misuse of pesticides

\*18. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Agriculture:

How many cases of (a) agricultural and (b) domestic misuse of pesticides were reported to the Registrar of Pesticides in 1988?

B377E

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE:

- (a) Four; and
- (b) seven

#### Portugal: shipment of cycads

\*19. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 8 on 28 February 1989, the shipment of cycads to Portugal from the Cape Province in 1988 was for Madeira; if so, (a) what was the nature of the shipment, (b) what species of cycad were included in it and (c) who applied for the permit for the shipment?

B378E

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

This matter vests in the Administrator of the Cape Province and he has furnished the following information:

Yes. Cites export permit — Cape Province: 133/1988 dated 19 September 1988; Portugal Cites import permit LI-191/88

- (a) Private collection of cycads legally acquired for donation to the Botanical Gardens, Madeira.
- (b) *Encephalartos altensteinii* 20  
*E. caffer* 29  
*E. arenarius* 29  
*E. cupidus* 9

E. cycadifolius	17
E. eugene maraisii	20
E. ferox	17
E. frederici-guilielmi	20
E. ghellinekii	25
E. heceni	6
E. horridus	21
E. humilis	10
E. inopinus	13
E. laevifolius	7
E. lanatus	8
E. latifrons	31
E. lembomboensis	28
E. lehmannii	17
E. longifolius	26
E. natalensis	16
E. ngoyanus	12
E. paucidentatus	9
E. princeps	32
E. transvenosus	13
E. trispinosus	41
E. umbeluziensis	8
E. villosus	12
E. manikensis	12
E. pteragonus	1
E. muschii	7
E. concisus	5
E. lehmanniariensis	2
E. gracilis	2
E. elizabethalis	1
E. hildebrandtii	2
E. altensteinii x E. latifrons	4
E. altensteinii x E. trispinosus	27
E. altensteinii x E. villosus	11
E. altensteinii x E. arenarius	16
E. altensteinii x E. princeps	8
E. altensteinii x E. spp (uncertain)	13
E. arenarius x E. trispinosus	19
E. eugene-maraisii x E. spp. nova	6
E. ferox x E. natalensis	4
E. horridus x E. longifolius	7
E. horridus x E. spp. (uncertain)	1
E. horridus x E. lehmannii	13
E. latifrons x E. trispinosus	4
E. lehmannii x E. longifolius	2
E. woodii x E. natalensis	2
E. longifolius x E. arenarius	1
E. longifolius x E. spp. (uncertain)	1
E. longifolius x E. trispinosus	1
E. laevifolius x E. sp. nova	1
<i>Strangeria entopus</i>	16
E. natalensis x E. villosus	2

(c) Mr J M R Berardo

#### Ozone layer

\*20. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) When is it anticipated that South Africa will sign the Montreal Protocol on Chlorofluorocarbons to the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer (1985);
- (2) whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 5 on 12 April 1988, South Africa has acceded to the Vienna Convention; if not, when is it anticipated that it will do so?

B379E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) As soon as the administrative requirements have been completed by the Department of National Health and Population Development, my Department will proceed with the necessary steps to accede to the Montreal Protocol.
- (2) No. As soon as the Department of National Health and Population Development completes the necessary administrative requirements, my Department will proceed with the necessary steps to accede to the Vienna Convention. The Vienna convention and the Montreal Protocol will be acceded to simultaneously.

*Medical Schemes Act: representations for amendments*

\*21. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) Whether he has received any representations for amendments to be effected to the Medical Schemes Act, No 72 of 1967; if so, (a) from whom and (b) what was (i) the purport of and (ii) his response to each such representation;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B380E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes, subsequent to those mentioned in my reply to question 2 on 23 June 1987, representations from the following parties were received:

## Beeld raps 'delaying tactics'

In a hard-hitting editorial today, the Johannesburg Nationalist newspaper *Beeld* challenged Mr Botha on his claim that it was "feckless" to talk now about an election. It was known, the paper said, senior members of the NP wanted an election "immediately" (30/11)

The reasons were obvious: the right-wingers were staggering under their petty apartheid boards, the left-wingers were again regrouping and there was a danger of the economy weakening further.

And with a final biting insinuation, *Beeld* wrote of "an unavoidable impression that the election is being delayed as long as possible to extend the term of office of the State President as long as possible".



later.

# PW SLATED OVER POLL DELAY

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PRESIDENT Botha...

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An election is now clearly emerging as the central issue around which the dispute between party and president is likely to be developed and driven home.

Although some provinces, such as Transvaal, are in favour of a new delimitation before going to the polls, the general feeling in the party is that an earlier election is preferable to waiting for delimitation.

"But an election in the first half of the year now definitely seems improbable," a party official said. The party would now probably set its sights on early in the second half of the year.

"But next year is simply not on," he said.

# Overhaul producer subsidies'

CAPE TOWN — Government subsidies should have a limited life span because they interfere with market forces and thus tended to be counter-productive, the President's Council recommended yesterday.

It also called for the introduction of an alternative to the subsidy system, such as a voucher system, to assist the needy.

In its report on "a strategy and action plan to improve productivity in SA", tabled in the council yesterday, the PC's economic affairs committee said the evidence it had heard on the effectiveness of producer subsidies — whose ultimate aim was to reduce the cost of basic products and services to the poor — was that they worked against productivity.

It was stated that producers are given an incentive to show higher cost increases in order to claim an increased subsidy.

It was alleged that cost figures could be boosted by incurring unnecessary expenses such as generous entertainment allowances, luxurious

offices and expensive vehicles.

Examples were quoted to show that subsidised bread costs more than non-subsidised bread in the informal sector and that the most expensive bus tariffs are on the most heavily subsidised routes.

The committee could not verify these claims but felt that subsidies should be targeted by introducing a voucher system or similar approach to assist the needy, rather than indirectly through the subsidisation of the costs of producers.

However, the administrative burden of various systems of direct subsidisation must be considered.

"Subsidies basically interfere with market forces and therefore tend to be counter-productive, which suggests that all subsidies should have limited life span."

The committee said it heard evidence that the agricultural sector should in principle be subject to normal market forces.

Political Staff



# The struggle

14 March 89

**P**RESIDENT Botha has taken the line of one of America's most popular leaders, President Reagan, in dealing with the present upheaval over his future as South Africa's leader.

## PRESIDENTS

When- ever Ronald Reagan was politically in trouble in his eight years at the White House, he turned to the people.

So too has P W Botha, raising the curtain on what looks like a pivotal week in the tussle between himself and National Party leader F W de Klerk over who should hold executive power.

Mr Botha, 73, was all aplomb, and every bit presidential on television on Sunday night, as he stepped beyond the NP structures that had bound him for 52 years to the country's most powerful body, the electorate.

His clarity and apparent calm served to dispel fresh memories of the doddering old man with a palsied left hand who left for his holiday home at the Wilderness on February 17 to recuperate from a stroke.

It was, Mr Botha's critics in the NP grudgingly admit, a masterful performance.

His responses and decisive, unhurried manner seemed to diminish the turbulence around him, as though to ask: "Storm? What storm? It's nothing I cannot deal with. So sit back, everything is under control ... my control."

□□□□

How often Mr Reagan's adversaries on Capitol Hill watched impotently as he did that at times of crisis. It was a tactic which infuriated Democratic lawmakers because his appeal was over their heads, directly to the voters. Most times it worked.

Polls would blip in his favour, his 63 percent or so popularity rating would rise, and his opponents would have to back down.

"Taking it to the people" was a Reagan signature, one which quickly instilled caution in his detractors before they entered the arena with him on any issue.

It often made him untouchable.

Mr Botha, a leader who for years has contained his NP grapplings behind the high walls of party confidentiality, reached for popular appeal on Sunday in his struggle to retain the presidency against NP wishes.

A relaxed, fireside-type chat, where he was after all talking about his own political survival, was most un-Botha-like.

But it hit several other targets simultaneously:

□ It allowed him access, albeit electronically, to the NP caucus.

□ It let voters and colleagues, who have not seen him in months, have a lingering look at Mr Botha's convalescence.

Mr Reagan would address the nation plainly, talking with rather than at viewers. It was both disarming and warming, and most of the time when he was in political trouble, it worked. Whether it will work as well for Mr Botha remains to be seen, but there is no doubt even among his opponents that his *Network* interview was a masterful performance, writes **ALAN DUNN**.

□ It gave him 25 minutes to portray himself as eminently reasonable, prepared to talk to anybody, not the fearsome autocrat he is said to be.

□ It provided the opportunity to downplay Mr de Klerk's role as "a senior Minister in my Cabinet" who shared his ideas, and assert Mr de Klerk was being misused by some.

□ It deftly placed his colleagues in a vice of guilt by saying they "have never abandoned me or given me reason to distrust them".

□ And, most important, it fired a very loud shot across the bows of his numerous opponents who thought Mr Botha's ailment had robbed him or his advisers of some of his wiliness.

## US watches but stays silent

**T**HE United States government is keeping well clear of any public comment on the political power struggle taking place in the National Party.

And, in the US Congress, politicians who have a deep interest in South African affairs are — for a change — asking newsmen questions about the situation rather than issuing statements.

The power struggle is being watched with close scrutiny. American newspapers have published detailed accounts of President P W Botha's comments on television this week and of efforts in the party to replace him. On radio and television newscasts, it has been a routine item.

The belief here appears to be that, while the outcome of the clash will have little immediate effect on white control of the South African government, it will probably have a profound effect on the prospects for major reform.

Some analysts argue that a

### The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington

change of leadership is just what the National Party needs now to break up the logjam that has stalled reform, and that a switch to a younger man like Mr F W de Klerk could serve that purpose.

Conservatives and moderates are hoping for reform moves in 1989 that will help the Bush Administration hold off the liberal Democrats in the Congress and radical anti-apartheid activists who are pushing hard for tougher sanctions and accelerated disinvestment.

Many of them have their doubts that President Botha has the capacity or the inclination to take the reform movement far enough. They do not know enough about Mr de Klerk to be confident that he will be the man for the job. But they are hoping that, if Mr de Klerk does emerge as the winner, he will be able to end South Africa's political stalemate.

## 'Fire in party's belly'

**P**RESIDENT BOTHA'S performance on television on Sunday night has "clearly put fire in the party's belly for the first time in several years," according to Graham Leach, the BBC's Southern Africa correspondent.

But he added: "It's not clear how MPs will employ their new-found virility to remove the man they no longer want, yet who is seemingly inviolable as a result of the awesome powers he's accrued to himself under the constitution he introduced five years ago."

Leach's report on the latest development in South Africa's leadership battle was the main item on the BBC's late night radio news bulletin. The subject was also at the top of both BBC and Independent Television news bulletins, which showed clips of Mr F W de Klerk speaking after the meeting of the National Party's Federal Council.

Introducing a report on the party's meeting, Leach said:

### The Argus Foreign Service reports from London

"South Africa is now locked into its most serious constitutional crisis in its recent history, with a head of state who refuses to retire now publicly rejected by the party which elected him.

"It's an unprecedented development in the country's white politics."

In his comment on television, the BBC's James Robbins said: "Tonight's extraordinary party meeting means that Mr de Klerk is effectively President-Elect. Mr Botha looks more and more a lame duck."

The leadership battle is also prominently reported in today's Fleet Street newspapers under such headlines as "De Klerk rallies party 'in chaos'" (The Times) and "Botha faces rebuff from de Klerk" (Financial Times).



# for the presidency

14 March 89



**CONFIDENT LEADER:** Mr F W de Klerk emerges smiling from the 2½-hour meeting of the National Party's Federal Council last night.

## Cheerful faces after meeting

**N**ATIONALIST MPs were cheerful when they emerged from the caucus meeting at 9.30 last night.

The federal council first met in the parliamentary building.

The meeting, first scheduled to last for an hour and a quarter, went on for 2½ hours. Coming out, Mr de Klerk avoided questions.

After the 25-minute caucus meeting immediately after the federal council meeting, Mr de Klerk emerged some time after the other MPs.

He was friendly and gave the impression of a man who had won a victory.

He answered questions from journalists and said the caucus had decided unanimously that the posts of President and party leader must be reunited.

A spokesman for the President's office said today that at this stage no comment from Mr Botha was available.

Friendly greetings were ex-

Political Correspondent  
**TOS WENTZEL** reports

changed between senior National Party members and Cabinet Ministers as they arrived yesterday evening for the federal council meeting.

Security police kept a handful of Parliamentary journalists at a discreet distance as Council members arrived for the meeting.

Mr F W de Klerk, who was waiting for other members to arrive, spoke briefly but cordially with newsmen, to inform them no news was likely to be released until after the NP's Parliamentary caucus meeting.

The acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, nodded to newsmen and smiled as he turned to enter.

As far as could be ascertained, all members of the Council, with the exception of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who is abroad, were at the meeting.

### The full statement:

“The Federal Council of the National Party believes that, at this stage of our constitutional development it is, in principle, in the best interests of the country and the National Party that the national leader of the NP, as the majority party in the House of Assembly, should fill the office of State President.

This principle should, with appreciation of the position of the serving State President, be promoted in consultation with the Cabinet and the State President.”

## Timetable of high drama

Political Staffer **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** relates how events unfolded in the drama surrounding President Botha's decision to hold on to power.

**JANUARY 18:** President Botha suffered a mild stroke at his Westbrooke residence and was admitted to 2 Military Hospital in Wynberg. Information about his illness was concealed from the public for more than eight hours.

**JANUARY 19:** Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, was sworn in as Acting State President in a ceremony at Tuynhuys.

### FEBRUARY 2:

● In a surprise move President Botha announced his resignation as leader-in-chief of the National Party and requested the NP's parliamentary caucus to elect a new leader.

He made the announcement in a letter handed to caucus chairman Mr Marthinus (Boet) Botma about 15 minutes before the first caucus meeting of the year.

In the letter Mr Botha referred to his health setback and suggested that in his opinion the office of leader-in-chief of the NP should now be separated from that of State President, the position in which he would continue.

Mr Botha's decision came as a complete surprise to the entire caucus and to the provincial leaders of the party, including Acting President Chris Heunis.

● The 130-odd members of the caucus proceeded with the election of a new NP leader. Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the NP, was chosen.

In the first round of voting Foreign Minister Pik Botha fell out, then Mr Heunis, and finally Mr De Klerk scraped home by 69 votes to Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis's 61 votes.

● A statement from the State President's office said Mr Botha had been advised to rest for at least another month.

**FEBRUARY 5:** The new NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, said greater clarity on the role and responsibility of the State President, acting State President and the NP leader should emerge "this week". He would see President Botha soon.

**FEBRUARY 17:** President Botha, looking relaxed but clearly still far from full fitness, left Ysterplaat Air Force base for his private holiday home in the Wilderness to recuperate further from his stroke.

A statement issued from Tuynhuys said the President would "convalesce at his private home until such time as he feels able to resume his task as acting head of state". The statement also said his doctors were of the opinion that he no longer needed specialist medical treatment, and he would remain in touch with his colleagues from time to time.

**MARCH 1:** At a meeting addressed by Mr de Klerk in Nigel, former Cabinet Minister Mr Hendrik Schoeman said the feeling in many Nationalist circles was that Mr Botha should retire.

**MARCH 2:** President Botha arrived in Cape Town from the Wilderness. Among people he saw were Mr F W de Klerk, and Mr Chris Heunis, Mr Barend du Plessis, and Mr Pik Botha.

Afterwards President Botha issued a statement that he would return to his post after the Easter weekend. Nationalist MPs expressed disappointment and surprise.

**MARCH 4:** In a wide-ranging interview published in Nasionale Pers newspapers, Mr Botha made it clear he intended to hold on to the reins of power.

He also voiced a thinly veiled threat to silence or close down the Harms commission of inquiry into corruption scandals in which names of Cabinet Ministers have been mentioned. In a side-swipe at Mr de Klerk's new initiatives, notably his call for a "great indaba" to start, Mr Botha said he had already called for a "big indaba".

The published interview and Mr Botha's defiant stand drew critical comments from Nationalist newspapers and political commentators.

**MARCH 9:** In a day of drama two NP caucus meetings were held to discuss the issue of the Presidency, and a delegation of the four provincial leaders of the party had talks with Mr Botha at Tuynhuys.

Afterwards it was said the matter had not been resolved and discussions would continue this week.

**MARCH 12:** In a SABC-TV interview President Botha again expressed his determination to stay in power till the end of his term and ruled out the possibility of an election this year.

**MARCH 13:** In another day of high drama, the NP's two key bodies — the parliamentary caucus and the high-powered federal council — decided that the posts of State President and NP leader must be re-united. In effect this meant the party clearly stated its position on the side of Mr F W de Klerk.



# P W 'brought about his own downfall' by resigning as leader

Staff Reporter DENNIS CRUYWAGEN talks to political scientists about Mr Botha's position

**P**RESIDENT BOTHA had "brought about his own downfall" by making the fatal mistake of separating the office of leader of the National Party from the Presidency, according to one of the country's leading political scientists.

## OPINION

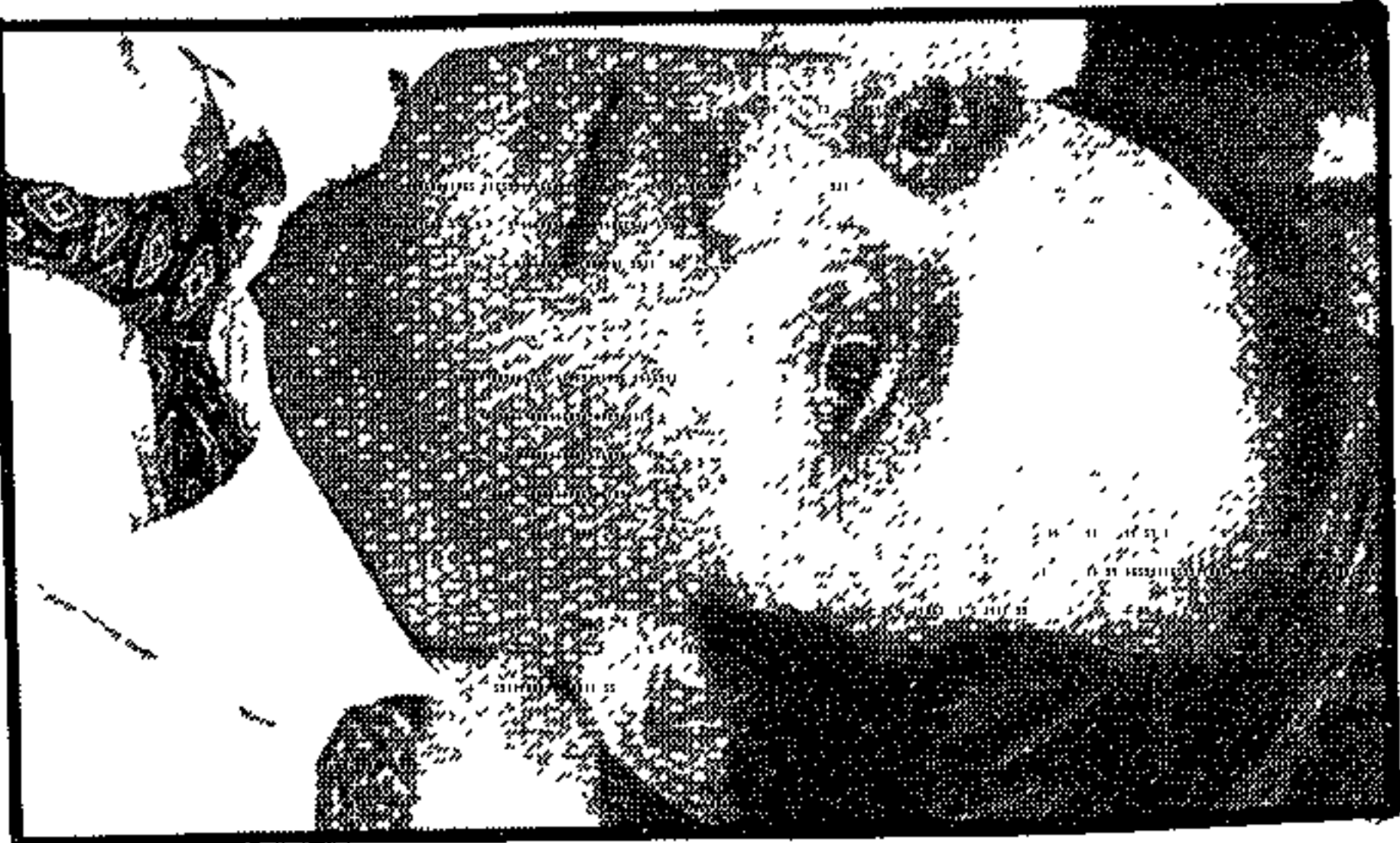
Professor Robert Schrire, Director of the Institute for the Study of Public Policy in the department of Political Science at the University of Cape Town, said the controversy around Mr Botha's position was good soap opera.

One important lesson of the whole saga was the dangers inherent in creating an imperial, isolated and authoritarian presidency.

It also showed the cynicism of those who wielded power and the importance of putting their personal interests above the national interest.

"But it showed that President Botha had miscalculated badly when he assumed his leadership of the National Party was one of the minor burdens which he attempted to shunt off.

"This was fatal because he was a child of the party and not its creator. His wound is self-inflicted. Had he retained the leadership of the party no-one would have challenged him," Professor Schrire said.



Professor Robert Schrire

Assessing the dynamics of the situation, he said there was no way in which NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, would lose. "He has united the party caucus behind him."

Technically nothing much could be done to remove Mr Botha from office, but if he chose not to leave he would find that it would be an "emasculated presidency until the next general election."

His personal feeling was that there was more bravado than sub-

stance in Mr Botha's posture and he would get the message once Afrikaans business, church and cultural leaders and newspapers started telling him he was doing irreparable harm to Afrikanerdom.

The head of the University of Stellenbosch's political science department, Professor Hennie Kotze, said the caucus's decision was more than just a separation between the National Party and President Botha.

"Now it is all about the rejection of President Botha... it looks like a way of getting at him," he said.

It was ironical that that the NP was making such a fuss now.

"This whole thing centres around the personality of President Botha rather than the interests of the party which was being used as a smoke-screen. This would never have happened if he had not taken ill... he would not have allowed it."

Professor Kotze said it was up to Mr Botha to decide if and when he wanted to go.

"After all, he's been making decisions on his own for the past 10 years."

Last night's caucus decision was a friendly message to Mr Botha to go, said Professor Lourens du Plessis, Professor of Public Law at the University of Stellenbosch.

"It is a pity that he had not left sooner — then he would have been spared this embarrassment. The caucus has moved in a way as to save him from being humiliated. However, there was no other way of getting the message across than to humble him," he said.

Mr Botha was unpredictable and he did not know how he would react, but in the end the message would sink in.

"The whole episode had damaged the NP and been to the advantage of the Conservative Party with its image of strong party leaders. The soon-to-be formed Democratic Party would not benefit much from the NP crisis because it had not got its act together."

"The crisis around Mr Botha epitomised petty, small-minded government at its worst. It is a stain on the country's leadership and has given us a bad name."

Mr De Klerk was a man of integrity who would bring some style to the presidency.

However, political philosophy was rooted in apartheid.

Professor Willem van Vuuren, head of the department on Constitutional Law at the University of the Western Cape, said that NP's dilemma over P W Botha was the same as the country's one with the ruling party.

"Just like the NP, PW has constitutional powers but very little moral support from the majority of people. The NP wants him to go, but the so-called mass democratic movement also want the Nats out."

Mr Botha could wreak a lot of damage if he wanted because his power base had moved from the NP to the security forces surrounding him.

"PW lives in a nether world. He cannot but believe that the country is facing a total onslaught... how else could he sleep at night."



IT was over to an embattled President Botha today as the nation awaited his decision on the leadership crisis.

After a night of high drama in which the National Party federal council and the caucus rallied behind party leader Mr F W de Klerk in their wish to unify the offices of President and party leader, there was no immediate reaction from Westbrooke, the presidential residence.

A spokesman for the President's office said today that at this stage no comment from Mr Botha was available. He could not indicate when there would be any comment. A spokeswoman at Tuynhuys said she was not sure whether the President would come to work today.

Was she expecting him? "Possibly," she said.

Another spokeswoman said the atmosphere at Tuynhuys this morning was "very normal".

Nationalist MPs were fervently hoping that President Botha would "get the message" and retire, but they conceded there was no guarantee of this.

Technically, they said, Mr Botha held the strongest cards and could not, in terms of the constitution, be forced to retire. He has indicated that he intends to serve out his present term.

There will soon be negotiations with him through the caucus and the federal council of the party, according to Mr de Klerk. He said dates suitable to Mr Botha would be found.

The matter could also come up tomorrow when Mr Botha chairs his first Cabinet meeting since his illness.

Mr Botha returned from the Wilderness yesterday. Mr de Klerk spoke to him on the telephone last night and told him of the federal and caucus decision.

### Unity of leadership

Tonight Mr Botha is hosting a party at Westbrooke to celebrate his 46th wedding anniversary. Members of the Cabinet will be among the guests.

Mr de Klerk has moved swiftly to maintain and assert his authority as party leader. MPs said had he not done this support for him could have drained away. Now he has the Nationalist caucus more solidly behind him.

Mr de Klerk has emphasised that in resolutions passed yesterday by the caucus and the federal council there was nothing saying Mr Botha must step down. These bodies had, however, decided that the leader of the National Party should also be President.

The resolution also said there must be appreciation of the position of President Botha and that the principle of unity of leadership must be promoted in consultation with the Cabinet and the President.

There was some difference about this concept in the federal council, where a vote was taken.

"Botha men" such as acting-President Chris Heunis, Minister of Health Dr Willie van Niekerk and Minister of Environment Affairs Mr Gert Kotze tried some rearguard action in the federal council, mainly aimed at people in the party who wanted to drive out Mr Botha.

In the caucus there was unanimity. A motion of confidence in and support for Mr de Klerk was also passed.

The federal council sat from 6.30 until 9 last night and the caucus then met until 9.25.

Nationalist MPs said today that tension in the party had now been greatly reduced.

It was hoped that the retirement of Mr Botha later this year could be amicably facilitated.

### Election still possible

They thought Mr Botha would now get the message in view of the federal council and caucus resolutions and the approaches that would be made to him.

They pointed out that Mr Botha had in his TV interview indicated that he remained near to the National Party and that he would like to have talks with bodies such as the caucus.

There was also the hope among Nationalist MPs that it could still be possible to have an election this year.

They conceded, however, that technically Mr Botha could not be forced out. In terms of the constitution he can be removed only on the grounds of misconduct or inability to perform his duties efficiently.

The alternative to a compromise with Mr Botha would in the end have to be confrontation, but Nationalist MPs stressed that at present the approach remained conciliatory in the hope that a way could be found to make it possible for Mr Botha to retire with dignity. There was no deadline for this.

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

# It's Over to P

CAPE TOWN | TUESDAY MARCH 14 1989



31 Day 14/3/87

## Call to investigate judge turned down again

CAPE TOWN — A motion by Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton), calling for an investigation into conduct of a Transvaal judge, Mr Justice JJ Strydom, was not admissible, the Speaker in the House of Assembly Louis le Grange ruled yesterday.



● SUZMAN

He ruled that the substantive motion, which called for a select com-

### Political Staff

mittee to investigate whether Mr Justice Strydom had failed in certain instance to obey the oath he took to administer justice without fear, prejudice or favour, was not admissible and should be scrapped from the order paper.

He said it did not comply with the procedure in terms of a ruling he gave last week, when Suzman submitted a petition calling for an inquiry into Mr Justice Strydom's conduct.

304A

Suzman then asked the Speaker to reconsider his ruling on the grounds that a substantive motion was the only way a Member of Parliament could criticise a Supreme Court judge.

She quoted various authorities on parliamentary procedure and said she had followed the recognised and historical method for an MP to criticise a judge.

The Speaker said he would consider Suzman's request and give his ruling this afternoon.

## PFP call for by-elections

CAPE TOWN — PFP national chairman Colin Eglin yesterday called for parliamentary by-elections to be held as soon as possible in three seats vacated by former NP MPs.

Eglin said in a statement that he was calling for the by-elections in view of the announcement by President P W Botha during an SATV interview on Sunday evening that there would not be a general election this year.

Eglin said: "In view of the State President's announcement, I call on the government to proceed immediately to set a date for by-elections caused by the resignation of the three Nationalist MPs in the seats of Hillbrow, East London City and Lydenburg.

He continued: "In the circumstances, it would be a disgrace if the NP is not prepared to face the electorate on the issue of corruption and give the voters in these three seats an opportunity to elect new MPs to represent their interests." — Sapa.



## Nats angry at PW's TV swipe at De Klerk

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — There was widespread anger within the NP last night at President P W Botha's TV interview in which he said party leader F W de Klerk was being misused by some people.

At the time of going to press, the NP federal council was holding an emergency meeting at which it was expected to come down firmly in opposition to splitting the roles of leader of the ruling party and President.

CAPE TOWN — The NP's federal council and Parliamentary caucus last night decided to invite President P W Botha to meet them for discussions on the country's divided leadership issue.

After the lengthy talks, NP leader F W de Klerk said the discussions at both meetings had been conducted in a "good spirit, with understanding, and in the interests of the country". — Sapa.

Apart from taking offence at the swipe at De Klerk, NP MPs also hastened to point out there were a number of inaccuracies in Botha's interview.

They said to say that he had never thought of delaying an election until 1992 was simply not true. It was he who had said government would introduce an amendment to allow each House to serve for five years on August 13 1987.

● Comment: Page 6

# New party gives 'ray of hope'

Star 1978  
Political Reporter

304A

The new Democratic Party, to be founded on April 8, was already providing a ray of hope for South Africans disillusioned with the governing National Party, Mr Hans Strydom, chairman of the party's Johannesburg West steering committee, said yesterday.

"The launching of the DP seems to have come at a very

opportune time. The average voter is sick and tired of all the stories of corruption.

"He is sick of being taxed to death, of the lack of progress towards reform, and of the constant bickering between the various NP leadership factions."

Mr Strydom said the DP had held a highly successful voter registration campaign in Melville last weekend.



State President faces Cabinet today

Nats poised

star 15/3/89

304A

for the final

shootout with PW

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent  
Cape Town

A decisive showdown is expected today when President Botha faces his Cabinet for the first time since the National Party told him it no longer wants him.

The encounter could determine how the leadership crisis and Mr Botha's political career are decided.

Most NP MPs and observers expected Mr Botha to come out fighting to save his political life, but there was also a possibility that he might realise that without the NP's support he is finished — and retire.

He returned to his duties today after his stroke on January 18 — facing a National Party virtually united against him after the NP's high-powered federal council and the caucus decided this week that Mr FW de Klerk should be State President.

"Anything could happen," one Nat MP said. "We have no idea what he will do."

The atmosphere at the Cabinet was sure to be tense as Mr Botha faced a room full of men who were all part of the unanimous caucus decision backing their leader Mr FW de Klerk for the presidency.

After the Cabinet meeting, Mr Botha is to attend Parliament to hear Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis deliver his Budget speech.

NP MPs expected today's Cabinet meeting to be decisive.

However it is also possible that Mr Botha might address the NP caucus and the federal council to take the issue further.

He has expressed a wish to do this and Mr de Klerk said earlier this week he would be wel-



Mr Barend du Plessis ... must work within narrow confines.



Australian members of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group sort out the Galaxy aircraft in the background.

African Bank chief seeks  
legal advice after dismissal

58

star 15/3/89

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However it is also possible that Mr Botha might address the NP caucus and the federal council to take the issue further.

He has expressed a wish to do this and Mr de Klerk said earlier this week he would be welcome to do so.

Mr Botha's office said he had no comment to the decision by the federal council and caucus rejecting his idea of separating the powers of the State President and the NP leader.

### Psychological pressure

The party is prepared to negotiate a compromise with him on the basis that he should not stay long, and should in the meantime devolve important political powers to Mr de Klerk.

Sources say the party is "fervently hoping" that Mr Botha will graciously step down but if he doesn't no definite action to drive him out is expected.

However the prevailing view is that the psychological pressure of being isolated from his party will eventually force him into retirement.

What is bothering the party is that Mr Botha may decide that he does not need the power base in the NP that he has now lost — and might fight back from the imagined power base of his popular support.

Party sources said Mr Botha's reference to his "power base among all good South Africans" had probably been strengthened since his television interview.

The party also believes that Mr Botha is still being influenced to stay on by an inner circle of advisers who are protecting their own jobs.



# Council denies electricity to blacks — Leon



Mr Tony Leon ... the National Party-controlled Johannesburg Council is no better than the CP in Boksburg.

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The Johannesburg city council refused to supply blacks living in "white" areas with electricity unless they could provide proof of exemption permits in terms of the Group Areas Act, the Progressive Federal Party revealed yesterday.

Mr Tony Leon, PFP chairman in the city council, said the city treasurer's department demanded proof of permits from blacks who wished to pay deposits for the connection of electricity supplies to homes in "white" areas.

This was done on instruction from the National Party-controlled management committee, he claimed.

City treasurer Mr T. Rabe was unavailable for comment yesterday.

Mr Leon said: "I have further established that should an Indian, coloured or black person be unable to show that they have an exemption in terms of the Group Areas Act, the council will not supply that household with electricity."

## 'NP doing same as CP'

"This means that the council, under NP control, is doing exactly the same as the Conservative Party in Boksburg."

"Whereas in Boksburg so-called illegal residents have their electricity cut off, in Johannesburg the council simply refuses to supply it."

A row erupted recently after Boksburg's council had threatened to cut off electricity and water supplies to Indian families in the "white-controlled" suburb of Windmill Park.

A spokesman for the anti-eviction organisation Actstop said: "This is the racist attitude from a council which is clearly out of touch with reality. Literally thousands of people live under this threat."

"If the council wants to cut electricity to 60 000 people, it must clearly say so. If the world talks about Boksburg, it should now start talking about Johannesburg."

# Pik in UK for talks with Howe

star 15/3/89  
30.1.89

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha arrived here yesterday for a meeting with his British counterpart, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Discussions are expected to focus on Namibia, the National Party's leadership struggle and Pretoria's agenda for reform.

Earlier yesterday, Mr Botha met Belgian Foreign Minister Mr Leo Tindemans. They discussed the case of Miss Helene Passtoors, the ANC activist jailed for 10 years in 1986 for smuggling weapons to the ANC.

She is a Belgian national and a Belgian Foreign Ministry spokesman said Miss Passtoors was expected to be released "as soon as possible". She is said to be in poor health.

Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher said yesterday that "encouraging changes" were taking place in South Africa.

"There is a great deal of room for hope as far as South Africa is concerned," she said in reply to a question in Parliament.



3040

SOWETAN, Wednesday, March 15, 1989

# BOTHA POPS INTO OFFICE 'BRIEFLY'

## 'Anniversary bash a private affair'

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, visited his office, Tynhuys, briefly yesterday morning, a spokesman said.

He was expected to arrive for his first day back on duty at around 8am today.

"Around eight is his usual time for coming to the office," said his Press liaison spokesman, Mr Jack Viviers.

Mr Botha had not commented on any of Monday night's events in the National Party and had nothing in particular to communicate, he said.

The function scheduled for Westbrooke last night was a private one as it was the presidential couple's anniversary.

Mr Viviers said that at private functions, the catering was done privately by Mr and Mrs Botha, "just like you do it at home at your private functions."

There was thus no official involvement in the event, he said. Members of the Cabinet were among the invited guests. — Sapa.

SAPA

# AWB sides with P W

THE EMBATTLED State President, Mr P W Botha, received a message of support from an unexpected source last night — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Mr Eugène Terre'Blanche, who told him: "Hang on in there."

"The AWB will get rid of F W de Klerk. You don't have to do it."

Mr Terre'Blanche was addressing a public meeting in the Pretoria City Hall. The hall was almost filled to capacity.

*South African 15/3/89*  
**Vow** 2049

Mr Terre'Blanche said he had made a personal vow that Mr F W de Klerk (the leader of the National Party) would never again be elected in his constituency, Vereeniging.

Mr Terre'Blanche told Mr Botha: "Constitutionally, F W does not have the right to push you out of your post — stay there, because you are less bad than F W."

He said the NP was trying to drum out Mr Botha, "a sickly old man" in a shameful manner. — Sapa.



# Govt <sup>15/3/89</sup> acted correctly

THE Minister of Education and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday said he and the Government had acted correctly following the disclosure of irregularities in the Department of Education and Training.

Speaking in an interpellation debate, he said he and the Government had taken the initiative in identifying problem cases.

# USSR 'committed to negotiation'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

304A

The Soviet Union was committed to a negotiated political settlement in South Africa which would not necessarily result in African National Congress rule, leading South African academics said yesterday.

Stellenbosch academics Professor Willie Breytenbach and Dr Philip Nel spoke of their impressions of Soviet thinking after returning from a three-day academic conference in Britain. *Star 15/3/89*

Professor Breytenbach, head of the University of Stellenbosch's Department for Africa Studies, said the Soviet Union was "becoming less enthusiastic" about Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

"The Soviet Union's support for the ANC is support for its political aims and not its armed struggle."

Asked whether Soviet resistance to the armed struggle would lead to deteriorating relations between the superpower and the ANC, Professor Breytenbach said a changed atmosphere was possible after the Soviet Union had endorsed the Angolan peace treaty which, among other things, called for the closure of ANC bases in Angola.

## NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT

Dr Nel, head of the Institute for the Study of Marxism, said delegates had agreed a negotiated political settlement should be achieved in South Africa.

"It was also agreed that the superpowers should leave it to South Africa to reach such a settlement, but that they could contribute in various ways to improve the climate for negotiations."

His personal evaluation of Soviet/ANC relations was that the USSR would not terminate its arms supply to the ANC, but would "link that to certain preconditions", including a clear commitment to negotiations and "a limitation of violence to hard targets".



# Heunis criticises ANC on link to violence

THE ANC's continued commitment to violence was the only factor that was keeping it from the negotiation process in South Africa, the Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Opening the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly he said the ANC's absence from the list of participants in the negotiation process was seen by some of the essential participants in the process as an obstacle to progress.

"On the other hand there are those whose participation is equally essential, who in turn do not see their way open to participate in the process if the ANC were to be present in the prevailing circumstances."

However, historically the ANC was a nationalistic movement which

had in the past suspended its own political activities in support of the national interest when South Africa was at war.

Meanwhile, the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday confronted Acting State President

Heunis with an urgent plea for the National Party to seek a white voters' mandate to free Nelson Mandela, scrap the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts and negotiate a non-racial democratic future for the country.

## 3 men executed

THREE men were executed in Pretoria yesterday bringing the number of executions this year to seven.

Two of the men were hanged after a last-minute plea for a stay of execution failed.

An urgent application for Dawid Temba Kekana (20), and Jacobus Konzi (22), was turned down by Mr Justice Kriegler.

The third man was Raymond Shozi (30), who

was twice sentenced to death for murder. — Sapa.

## Warning

RESIDENTS of Protea North, Mapetla, Protea South, Phiri and the northern part of Chiawelo are warned that on March 29, between 8am and 5pm, the main water supply line in the area will be cut as a result of work on an additional supply line.

ANNESBURG

**D**R Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, predicted in Durban on Monday night that the day would come, sooner than many people believed, when the Government would have to eat its words regarding the African National Congress.

Speaking at an Idasa seminar, Dr Boraine said the Government would have to eat its words in exactly the same way that it is now dealing with the so-called Marxist-Leninist state of Mozambique; in the same way it had sat down with Cubans and Angolans who had previously been shooting at South African soldiers; and in the same way it was dealing with Swapo and the Soviet Union.

### Sincere

All of these people had been painted by the Government as monsters "determined to destroy everything we hold precious".

The seminar focussed on constitutional proposals put forward by the ANC, and Professor Dawid van Wyk, director of the KwaZulu/Natal indaba, who was among the speakers, said white South Africans should accept the ANC guidelines "as a serious and sincere contribution to the constitutional debate".

Dr Boraine, in an opening address, said: "The real question facing South Africa today is: do we reach the negotiation table before war, thus preventing a war, or do

we have to go there after a civil war?"

Idasa stands for negotiation politics and aims at encouraging and developing a suitable climate for genuine negotiations to take place, he said.

Such a climate does not exist at present, but students of history know that in any conflict-ridden society, the day inevitably comes when people go to the negotiating table, he said.

"It is our hope we don't have to go there via a war as has happened in so many parts of the world down the years".

He said the ANC cannot be ruled out as a legitimate participant at the negotiating table.

"On the basis of analysis, scientific as well as subjective, there is no doubt in my mind that the ANC, despite the fact it is banned and its leadership is in exile or in jail, holds a majority of support in the total South Africa today."

"The ANC itself is unable to present its constitutional proposals in this country, and thus

## Better we should talk now than arrive at the negotiating table bloodied by civil war

the idea was born that Idasa should make it possible for groups throughout South Africa — like this one here tonight — to examine them.

"Idasa does not slavishly follow the

# Why Pretoria must deal the ANC in

FOCUS

in South Africa appears to be very favourable.

He said there is much in the ANC proposals that can be accepted by "non-racial and democratic whites".

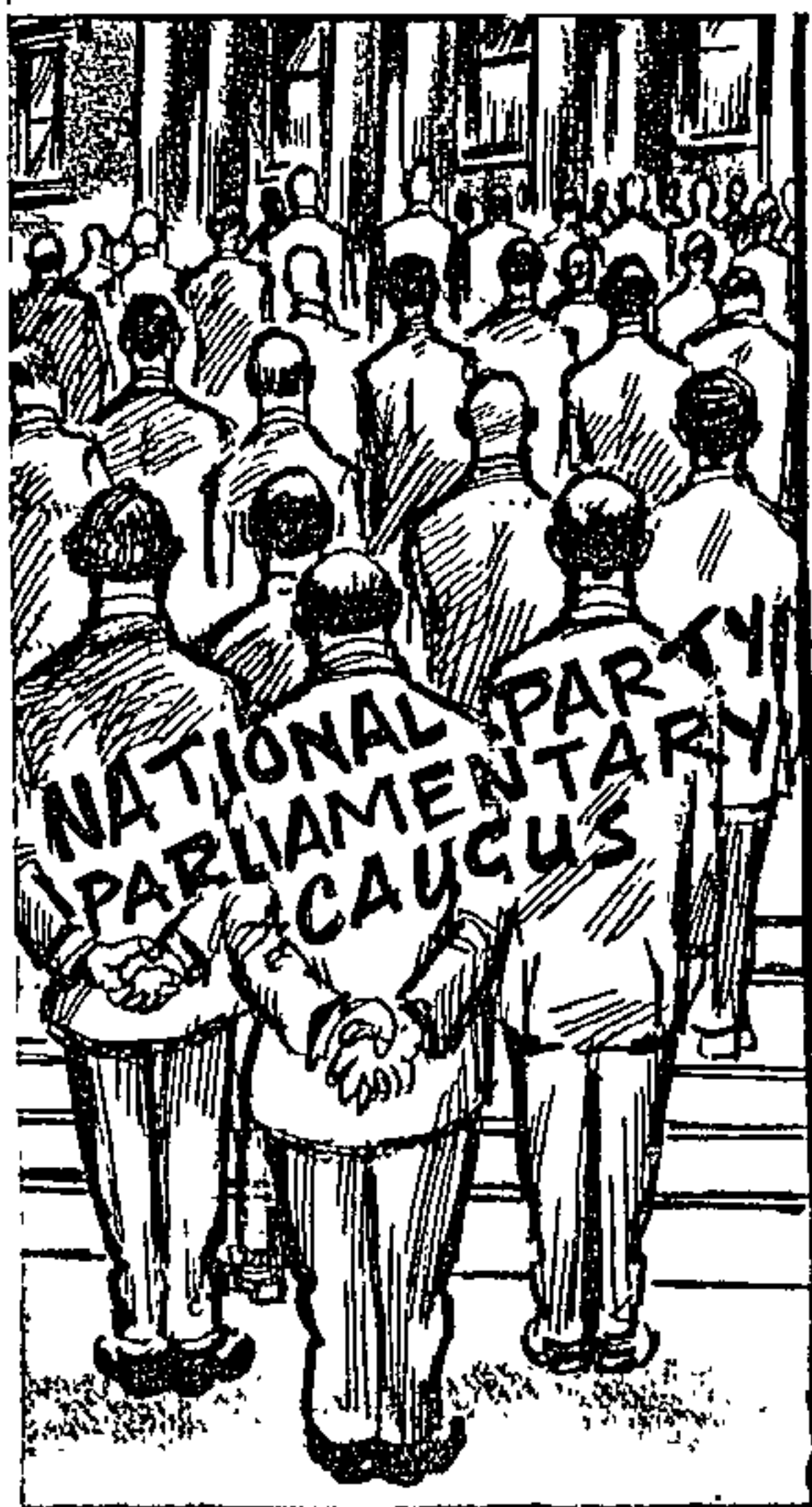
"White perceptions of the ANC, and hence any product emanating from the ANC, are heavily influenced by the way in which the organisation is portrayed as a violent and therefore "non-negotiating" organisation, bent on a revolutionary takeover.

"In the process, whites ask: Is our opinion truly relevant to the ANC, or for that matter any other 'black' organisation?"

### Information

"A massive positive educational process should be conducted to convince whites they are needed and wanted in a non-apartheid South Africa. An important part of this process would be to make information (including the guidelines) available in languages other than English, notably Afrikaans".

A question which whites would ask regarding the guidelines, he said, is whether the "principle of one person, one vote" meant one person, one vote, once — or whether there would be some guarantee of regular, periodic free and general elections. — Sapa



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

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**"THERE is no doubt in my mind that the ANC, despite the fact that it is banned and its leadership is in exile or in jail, holds a majority of support in South Africa today" — Dr Alex Boraine**



# 'Violence keeps' ANC from SA negotiations'

B/day 15/3/89

30417

ULUNDI — The ANC's commitment to violence was the only factor keeping it from the negotiation process in SA, acting President Chris Heunis said yesterday.

Opening the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he said the ANC's absence from the list of participants in the negotiation process was seen by some essential participants in the process as an obstacle.

On the other hand there were those whose participation was equally essential who refused to join negotiations if the ANC took part.

Heunis said the only factor preventing the ANC from joining any negotiation process

was its continuing commitment to violent confrontation and "terrorising the population in an effort to seize power".

However, historically the ANC was a nationalistic movement which had in the past suspended its own political activities in support of the national interest when SA was at war.

"If the ANC now wants to act in SA's national interest it can best do so by abandoning violence and declaring itself in favour of the peaceful process of



● BUTHELEZI

political negotiations together with other political leaders in SA," he said.

At the Legislative Assembly opening, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi confronted Heunis with an urgent plea for the National Party to seek a white voters' mandate for a new SA.

He urged the NP to get electoral support for releasing Nelson Mandela, scrapping the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts, and for negotiating a non-racial democratic future.

He assured government that if it sought such a mandate it would get support not only of a majority of whites but of blacks who did not have the vote.

"You must put yourself in a position where you can campaign in black society against the far right and the far left from whatever political faction opposition comes," Buthelezi said in remarks prepared for delivery.

Democratic ideals could not be preserved by dictators or fascist governments, and they could not be presented when they were in a kind of suspension while the government ruled through emergency powers.

The KwaZulu leader said his people were encouraged by NP leader F W de Klerk's recent policy statements, as well as those by Heunis. He hoped to meet De Klerk soon.

He warned that time favoured revolutionaries, and that the longer the de-

lay in reform the more strength they would gather among the masses.

"We cannot get on with the job of tackling poverty, ignorance and disease until we have developed a national will to do so and make a united effort to succeed ... it is at this juncture of SA history that the government should be re-examining itself very critically."

Buthelezi said it would not be possible to negotiate a new political dispensation without government and the NP being party to the negotiations.

"The South African government is a *de facto* and *de jure* government. It is childish to jump up and down and call it an illegitimate government."

"I have not heard one person describe military juntas, which we have in such abundance in Africa, as 'illegitimate' once they become *de jure* and *de facto* governments of their particular countries."

"The government is wrong, it is not representative, it is not democratic — but it is the government of the day and it is a government of the day which must be salvaged from the consequences of its own actions." — Sapa



● HEUNIS

# Treurnicht and TerreBlanche support PW

The callousness of the National Party and its newspaper mouth-pieces in the handling of the leadership crisis was shocking, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in Carletonville last night.

President Botha had not been allowed to recover from his illness, he said.

Not enough thought had gone into the implications of Mr Botha's retirement as head of the party and the caucus had rushed into naming Mr F W de Klerk as his successor.

"I don't think PW realised what he gave away and FW realised what he didn't get."

Although newspapers were still speculating that Mr Botha would be forced out of office, it appeared an understanding had been

star 15/3/89  
reached between the State President and the NP.

Mr Botha would serve his term of office after which Mr de Klerk would take over the reins.

However, this indicated a high degree of optimism in the NP — Mr de Klerk still had to avoid a defeat at the polls in a general election.

● President Botha received a message of support from an unexpected source last night. Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche told him: "Hang on in there."

"The AWB will get rid of F W de Klerk. You don't have to do it."

Mr TerreBlanche was addressing a meeting in the Pretoria City Hall. — Staff Reporters.

3049



nesday, March 15 1989

POLITICS

81 Day 15/3/89 3049  
**Ruling on Windmill Park sought**

CAPE TOWN — The future status of the Boksburg suburb Windmill Park had been referred to the Free Settlement Board, and meanwhile Transvaal's Administrator had been asked to grant permits for 10 Indian families to live there, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He was speaking during an interpellation debate during which Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said Meyer had somersaulted after a senior government spokesman said before the October municipal elections that the suburb

Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) said the CP-controlled Boksburg town council's actions had been "inhuman, racist and unapproachable".

The only meaningful solution was to scrap the Group Areas Act.

Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan) said the basic transgression in Windmill Park was that the law had been broken and a "festival" had been subsequently celebrated.

In terms of the devolution of powers, Meyer asked the Administrator to grant permits for the 10 Indian families. "Otherwise I would have issued

# ANC 'cannot be ruled out'

DURBAN. — Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), predicted last night that the day would come, sooner than many believed, when the government would have to eat its words regarding the African National Congress.

Speaking at an Idasa seminar, Dr Boraine said the government would have to eat its words in exactly the same way that it was now dealing with Mozambique, with Cubans and Angolans, and with

Swapo and the Soviet Union.

At the seminar on the constitutional proposals put forward by the ANC, the director of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, Professor Dawid van Wyk said white South Africans should accept the ANC guidelines as "a serious, sincere contribution to the constitutional debate".

Dr Boraine said: "The real question facing South Africa today is: Do we reach the negotiation table before war, thus preventing a war, or do we have to go there after a civil war?"

The ANC could not be ruled out as a legitimate participant at the negotiating table.

"In the end you have to negotiate with people who have a mandate, who have the necessary support to make a bargain stick."

Professor Van Wyk said he believed the climate for shaping white opinion in respect of fundamental constitutional and political issues in South Africa appeared to be very favourable.

White perceptions of the ANC were heavily influenced by the way in which the organi-

sation was portrayed as a violent and therefore a "non-negotiating" organisation.

"A massive positive educational process should be conducted to convince whites they are needed and wanted in a non-apartheid South Africa."

A question which whites would ask regarding the guidelines, he said, was whether the "principle of one person, one vote" meant one person, one vote, once — or whether there would be some guarantee of "regular, periodic, free and general elections". — Sapa

## Whites 'wanted, needed' in a non-apartheid SA

Political Staff

A MASSIVE positive educational process should be conducted to convince whites that they were needed and wanted in a non-apartheid South Africa, Professor Dawid van Wyk, director of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, said in Durban last night.

Speaking at a seminar on the ANC's constitutional guidelines, Prof Van Wyk said white perceptions of the ANC, and hence any product of the ANC, were heavily influenced by the way the movement was portrayed as a "violent, and, therefore, non-negotiating organisation bent on a revolutionary take-over".

White South Africans should accept the ANC's guidelines as a serious and sincere contribution to the constitutional debate.

## Heunis remarks on ANC

ULUNDI. — The ANC's continued commitment to violence was the only factor that was keeping it from the negotiation process in South Africa, acting State President Mr Chris Heunis said yesterday.

Opening the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he said the ANC's absence from the list of participants in the negotiation process was seen by some of the essential participants in the process as an obstacle to progress.

"On the other there are those whose participation is equally essential, who in turn do not see their way open to participate in the process if the ANC were to be present in the prevailing circumstances."

He said the only single factor that was now preventing the ANC itself from joining the process was its continuing commitment to violent confrontation and "terrorising the population in an effort to seize power".

However, historically the ANC was a nationalistic movement which had in the past suspended its own political activities in support of the national interest when South Africa was at war.

"If the ANC now wants to act in South Africa's national interest it can best do so by abandoning violence and declaring itself in favour of the peaceful process of political negotiations together with other political leaders in South Africa," he said. — Sapa





# Boksburg drops plan to cut off Indians' electricity

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party controlled Boksburg town council has abandoned its decision to cut the electricity supply of Indian families living in Windmill Park, but vowed to continue their fight to have the families removed.

At a stormy special meeting last night the head of the management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, referred to a letter written in August by Mr F W de Klerk, then the Transvaal leader of the National Party, denying occupation permits to 200 Indians.

Mr de Klerk said the granting of permits to the 200 applicants would in effect contradict the government's decision that the area should remain white controlled.

## "Undemocratic"

The council resolved to recognise the "undemocratic" decision by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer, that he would recommend the granting of temporary occupation permits to the Indian families.

But the council also decided to suggest to the Administrator that the permits be valid for only one year after the Indian area Villa Liza is proclaimed a township.

The council resolved to take immediate action against any other person who attempted to move into Windmill Park illegally, and to inform the government of their "total opposition" to the area being declared a free settlement area.

The council's resolution, opposed by the National Party and independent councillors, named 10 Indian residents, despite claims that 22 Indian families live in the area.

A spokesman for the families, Mr Clemens Padiachy, warned yesterday that they would not move to Villa Liza.

"They're putting pressure on us to move. But I am not white or black. I'm a South African. And I'm here to stay," he said.

● See page 10.

## Suzman's call to charge judge rejected

D 10am 15/3/84  
CAPE TOWN — The Speaker today rejected a point of order by Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) that Parliament be allowed to criticise or lay charges against a judge.

Immediately after his ruling, and following a further attempt to raise points of order on the issue by party colleagues, she gave notice that she would move a motion tomorrow criticising Mr Justice J J Strydom and "noting with dismay" the damage his judgments had done to race relations in SA and abroad.

The Speaker ruled that an MP should

not criticise or bring charges against a judge unless his conduct was so objectionable that he could be dismissed on the grounds of misconduct.

However, he said his ruling did not say a prima facie case could or could not be made out against the judge concerned.

Suzman said justice should always be dispensed without regard for colour or race. The judge's approach had caused widespread condemnation abroad and brought SA's much-vaunted system of justice into disrepute. — Sapa.



# Thatcher sees hope for SA

31 Day 15/3/89  
LONDON — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said yesterday "some encouraging changes" were taking place in SA.

Citing Namibian independence and the SA Law Commission's recommendation to abolish discriminatory laws, Thatcher said there was "a great deal of room for hope as far as SA is concerned".

She was responding to questions in the House of Commons.

Thatcher said the law commission had called for an end to apartheid by a process of negotiation and added: "We are fully in support of that."

IAN HOBBS reports from London that Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha is expected to give a detailed account of the NP leadership struggle when he meets his British counterpart Sir

Geoffrey Howe today.

Botha arrived unannounced in London from Belgium yesterday.

A spokesman for Thatcher said there was no plan for her to meet Botha.

However, his visit could arm her with vital information on SA policy before she leaves London on March 28 to visit Morocco, Nigeria, Malawi and Zimbabwe.

There is speculation that while in London Botha may sound out the prospect of F W de Klerk visiting Britain when — and if — he becomes state president.

Senior British sources make it clear that a low-key visit by De Klerk would be welcomed by Thatcher.

But, they warn, there would be no purpose in such a visit unless De Klerk was bringing word of significant and tangible reform in SA.

# Leadership crisis: President meets Cabinet

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE first meeting between President Botha and the Cabinet since Mr Botha's illness in January began at Tuynhuys this morning.

All Ministers except Mr Pik Botha, who is in London, attended the meeting, which was expected to be on the confrontation between Mr Botha and the National Party.

President Botha, back at work full-time from today, may soon announce a Cabinet reshuffle because the Manpower and Public Works portfolios are vacant following Mr Pietie du Plessis's resignation.

This afternoon Mr Botha will be in Parliament for the Budget speech.

## DISCUSSIONS

He is also to have discussions with the party's caucus and federal bodies, which have thrown their weight behind the party leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr Botha has not yet reacted to the decision of the two bodies that the party leadership and presidency must be united, carrying as this does the implication that he should retire.

Mr Boet Botma, MP, chairman of the caucus, said no arrangement had been made to have Mr Botha at a caucus meeting.

Mr de Klerk might extend such an invitation today and a date suitable to Mr Botha would have to be found.

In his television interview Mr Botha indicated that this would not necessarily be the weekly caucus meeting.

Some Nationalist MPs said it was clear that Mr Botha still had a lot of fight left and that he would not simply accept the decision.

Some said he could argue that the caucus had, by implication, accepted the arrangement to separate the two posts when he retired as party leader

on February 2.

There had been no objections at the time and MPs voted for a new leader.

The NP feels that some dignified solution must be found.

● The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg that the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, had sharp criticism for the "callousness" with which the National Party and Press were handling the crisis.

He said there had not been enough thought about the implications of Mr Botha's party retirement.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that the BBC last night highlighted the South African right wing's enjoyment of the crisis.

"Turning the clock back has tarnished the far right, but now President Botha is rescuing them, creating a national, not a local crisis," said the report.

## HUMILIATION

The crisis is still big news in the British national newspapers and a Times editorial, headed "Mr Botha's bad faith" says:

"The seeds of (Mr Botha's) humiliation and of the crisis which is paralysing his country at a critical moment in its history were sown in the new constitution which, five years ago, endowed South Africa's President, almost by accident, with most of the powers of an absolute monarch."

A leading British academic has predicted a new president within a fortnight.

● Support for the embattled Mr Botha came from an unexpected source last night: the message from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Mr Eugene Terre Blanche was "Hang on in there," according to Sapa.

Mr Terre Blanche said Mr Botha was "less bad" than Mr de Klerk.

3048

15/3/89



Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — No date had been set for the three House of Assembly by-elections, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said yesterday.

But, he said, the matter was receiving his urgent attention.

Vacancies exist in East London City, Hillbrow and Lydenburg after the resignations of three sitting NP MPs.

East London City was vacated when the MP, Peet de Pontes, resigned after he was criticised by the Harms Commission for his involvement in the Palazollo affair.

Hillbrow became vacant when the sitting MP, Leon de Beer, resigned

(3048) B/D 15/3/89  
No date set for  
by-elections

after being convicted of electoral irregularities and was sent to jail.

Lydenburg became vacant after the sitting MP, Pietie du Plessis, then the Minister of Manpower and Public Works, resigned after an investigation by the Advocate-General into property deals involving a company in which Du Plessis and his son have interests.

The opposition parties believe the NP could lose all three seats and have accused government of delaying the by-elections to avoid defeat.

# Crucial meeting today D-day for PW

One Times  
15/3/89  
30/4/89

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**TODAY's crucial ldes of March cabinet meeting at Tuynhuys could turn into a major test of strength between President P W Botha and the National Party's choice to rule the country, Mr F W de Klerk.**

One top Nationalist yesterday predicted that the encounter could turn into a classic case of "an irresistible force (the National Party) meeting an immovable object (Mr P W Botha)".

As an uneasy calm descended over Parliament yesterday in the wake of the stalemated leadership struggle, Nationalists were viewing today's

meeting — Mr Botha's first eyeball-to-eyeball contact with the entire cabinet for almost three months — with a feeling of trepidation.

Mr Botha, who made an unexpectedly early return to Cape Town on Monday, was at his desk yesterday preparing for today's pre-Budget cabinet meeting.

But he remained silent about the dramatic developments in Nationalist politics which have left him isolated as never before.

Press inquiries about the president's reaction to developments were greeted by a blunt "no comment" by spokesmen for Mr Botha's office.

While Nationalists emphasised yesterday that they were not looking for a showdown with Mr Botha, few expected the all-powerful State President to take the latest challenge to his hegemony lying down.

The question on the lips of many in

Parliament yesterday was when the seasoned political fighter would choose to strike back after the National Party effectively signalled its determination to have him replaced by Mr De Klerk.

Some Nationalist MPs were hopeful yesterday that Mr Botha would finally have digested the "formal message" sent to him by the party's parliamentary caucus and its federal council on Monday night.

But there were fears yesterday, even among members of the cabinet, that Mr Botha may use today's meeting to divide the party leadership corps which, with a few notable exceptions, has rallied solidly behind Mr De Klerk in his absence.

One possibility mentioned was that Mr Botha might adopt a strategy of questioning each member of the cabi-

To page 2

As tensions built up around the cabinet meeting, cabinet ministers were obliged last night to attend Mr and Mrs Botha's 46th wedding anniversary celebrations at Westbrooke in Cape Town. Some ministers had to cancel prior engagements.

Most MPs have no idea how they could get rid of Mr Botha if he decided to dig in his heels. An impatient few appear to favour the course of impeachment but most agree that such a drastic step could do more harm to the party than to Mr Botha.

Mr Botha's determination to cling to power against the wishes of the party — as well as his telegraphing of the timing of the next general election to opposition parties at the weekend — is being seen within NP circles as a clear sign that he places his own interests above those of the party.

2 Cape Times, We  
From page 1

net individually about his loyalty and party moves to oust him.

Should Mr Botha adopt such tactics, particularly against more junior ministers, the NP's new leader would be compelled to put his foot down, one senior Nationalist said yesterday.

## Eglin

Meanwhile, the PFP's national chairman and spokesman on constitutional affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday that the interests of the country would be best served if Mr Botha stood down in favour of Mr De Klerk.

Mr Eglin dismissed Mr Botha's statement that he wished to resign as leader of the NP so that "the State President could become a unifying factor" in national politics.

Mr Eglin said: "The State President will never be a unifying factor if he is nominated and elected by the majority of the white House in a constitution from which the vast majority of citizens of our country are excluded."

"Mr Botha's action has emphasised not only the State President's awesome powers but his fundamental weakness."



# ET tells PW: Hang in — we'll get rid of FW

*CHT Times 15/3/89 (304A)*

PRETORIA. — Embattled President P W Botha received a message of support from an unexpected source last night — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, who told him: "Hang on in there."

Mr Terre'Blanche, addressing a public meeting in a Pretoria City Hall filled almost to capacity, said: "The AWB will get rid of F W de Klerk. You don't have to do it."

The AWB leader said he had made a personal vow that Mr F W De Klerk would never again be elected in his constituency, Verzeniging.

Mr Terre'Blanche told Mr Botha: "Constitutionally, F W does not have the right to push you out of your post. Stay there, because you are less bad than F W."

He said the NP was trying to drum out Mr

Botha — "a sickly old man" — in a shameful manner.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the NP would find it all the more difficult to fight an election next year, after the results of the Namibian elections had become known.

He told the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok (who banned the display of firearms at AWB meetings): "You cannot throttle the AWB any further. The AWB is on the road to becoming the new government of South Africa."

He said conservatives should unite and support the CP in the next election, so that a Boer republic could be formed.

He warned that the government would lead South African whites into the same type of elections that would be held in Namibia, where Ovambos outnumbered "all the other parties together 10 to 1". — Sapa



SUPPORT FOR PW ...  
Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche



Mr Gatsha Buthelezi

# Buthelezi to Heunis: Seek white mandate for a new SA

*30/11*  
*CME Tint 15/3/89*

ULUNDI. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday confronted Acting State President Chris Heunis with an urgent plea for the National Party to seek a white voters' mandate for a new South Africa.

In an impassioned call following Mr Heunis's opening of the 5th session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly here, he urged the NP to get electoral support for releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, scrapping the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Act and for negotiating a non-racial democratic future for the country.

And he assured the central government that if it sought such a mandate it would get the support not only of a majority of whites but of blacks who did not even have the vote.

"You must put yourself in a position where you can campaign in black society against the far right and the far left (and) from whatever political faction opposition comes," Chief Buthelezi said.

Democratic ideals could not be preserved by dictators or fascist governments, and they could not be presented when they were in a kind of suspension while the government ruled through emergency powers.

The KwaZulu leader said that his people were encouraged by new NP Leader Mr F W de Klerk's recent policy statements as well as by recent statements by Mr Heunis. He hoped that he could meet Mr De Klerk soon.

Chief Buthelezi said it would not be possible to negotiate a new political dispensation without the SA government and the National Party being party to the negotiations.

"The South African government is a de facto and de jure government. It is childish to jump up and down and call it an illegitimate government.

"The government is wrong, it is not representative, it is not democratic — but it is the government of the day and it is a government of the day which must be salvaged from the consequences of its own actions," he said. — Sapa



Response likely at meeting today

# Silent Botha keeps the NP guessing

304A  
B/Dum 15/3/89

CAPE TOWN — The battle to determine who decides government policy appeared to have reached an impasse last night as NP members awaited a response from President P W Botha to their unanimous decision to oppose any move to split the roles of president and leader of the ruling party.

A spokesman for Botha's office said there was no comment from him on the caucus and federal council decision.

There was no indication when Botha, whose statements on splitting the roles in a TV interview on Sunday night clearly put him at odds with the NP, would react.

He was due to meet the Cabinet and leading party members at a private function at his Westbrooke home to celebrate his 40th wedding anniversary last night.

However, it is more likely he will give a response when he returns to office this morning to chair the pre-Budget Cabinet meeting.

NP MPs were confident yesterday that with the support of the federal council behind them it would now become increasingly difficult for Botha to continue defying the will of the party.



● BOTHA

MIKE ROBERTSON

They hastened to point out that no attempt would be made to force Botha to go now, provided he was prepared to accept the council's opposition to splitting the roles.

Special arrangements could be made to accommodate him and allow him to bow out gracefully, but party leader F W de Klerk had to be given real power now.

In the near future arrangements will be made for Botha to address the caucus.

Opposition party spokesman, however, said their NP counterparts were being unrealistically optimistic.

Deputy CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg said he did not see Botha taking the caucus and federal council decision lying down.

PFP chairman Colin Eglin said Botha was unlikely to yield to the kind of pressure being applied against him.

In a statement issued last night, Eglin said the interests of SA would be best served by Botha standing down in favour of De Klerk.

However, Botha's resignation in itself was not enough.

Eglin said the reasons Botha gave in his letter of resignation as NP leader opened up a number of important questions about the presidency which could not be left unanswered. He called for the issue of the presidency to be urgently

● To Page 2

## Silent Botha keeps the Nats guessing

304A  
B/Dum 15/3/89

referred to the Parliamentary committee on constitutional affairs.

Eglin said Botha's statement that he wanted to resign as the leader of the NP so that "the State President could become a unifying factor", cast serious doubt on the position of the president in the tricameral system.

"Amongst the questions which have come to the fore as a result of Botha's resignation and letter are: the role and function of the State President; his method of election and method of removal; his ongoing mandate; his accountability, and his relationship, not

only with the NP, but with Parliament and with the people of our country.

"One thing is certain and that is the state president will never be a unifying factor if he is nominated and elected by the majority of a white house in a constitution from which the vast majority of the citizens of our country are totally excluded."

Eglin said Botha's actions emphasised not only the President's awesome powers but his fundamental weakness as a unifying factor.

● From Page 1

# Opposition parties both unimpressed

Political Staff

The one percent GST increase announced by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis yesterday was "entirely undesirable" and unnecessary, Mr Harry Schwarz, Progressive Federal Party financespokesman said.

And the increased personal tax rebate was "insignificant".

It was only a fraction of the amount budgeted to be collected from GST and was "minuscule" compared to the increase of R3,14 billion in personal tax last year.

The Budget was "disappointing" and a "failed opportunity to determine real priorities".

Mr Casper Uys, Conservative Party finance spokesman said the Budget was "very uninspiring", especially for farmers, and the underprivileged.

There was nothing in it for social pensioners and the increase in GST would hit the less privileged and social pensioners and would fuel inflation.

As a result of fiscal drag, net personal income tax would in effect increase, in spite of the increased primary rebate.

He welcomed the concession to working wives but said he criticised it because it only applied to those earning a salary. If a working wife was a partner in a professional practice, for instance she would not benefit.



Mr Schwarz ...  
tax rebate is  
"insignificant".



Mr Uys ...  
nothing for  
pensioners.



# Police thwart demonstrator

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A screaming anti-apartheid demonstrator climbed over a security barrier and ran to within metres of Mr Pik Botha as he left the South African Embassy last night.

Mr Botha was on his way to a meeting with his British opposite number, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

The demonstrator broke from a mob that had been chanting "kick Botha out of Britain".

Carrying a "Botha must go"

poster, he clambered over a security railing and ran towards the Foreign Minister. 3047

## OVERPOWERED

He was stopped and overpowered by police as he approached another security railing only metres from Mr Botha.

Two other demonstrators were also arrested after breaking through the police lines, but failed to get near the departing Minister's car.

Star 16/7/89

# Council 'does not give damn about Boksburg'

By Esmaré van der  
Merwe,  
Political Reporter

A war of words has erupted between Boksburg's Conservative Party-controlled Town Council and the National Party MP for Germiston District, Brigadier Kobus Bosman, about the town's controversial suburb of Windmill Park.

Following the Government's bid to legalise the position of Indian families living in the "white-controlled" suburb, the council this week demanded Brigadier Bosman's resignation because he had "misled" local voters by assuring them that the area's constitutional status would not be altered.

In a statement, Brigadier Bosman said his divisional council had earlier been opposed to the reproclamation of Windmill Park as an Indian area because neighbouring Villa Liza had already been proclaimed an Indian area and would have sufficiently provided for their needs.

However, new group areas legislation and the council's "irresponsible" decision to cut electricity supplies to the Indian families had changed the situation.

The Government had to intervene by supporting the temporary granting of occupational permits to the families to prevent the



NP's Brigadier Bosman ...  
CP discrediting both their  
town and South Africa.



NP's Brigadier Bosman ...  
CP discrediting both their  
town and South Africa.

council from "discrediting Boksburg and South Africa any further" he said

Brigadier Bosman said the Free Settlement Areas Act provided for new alternatives.

Referring to a local estate agent, Mr Henry Ford, he said: "We are fully aware of the continuous efforts of an estate agent to try to force the Government to give up this area for Indian housing. We have empathy with the individuals who have consequently found themselves in an invidious position.

"We will submit evidence in this regard to the Free Settlement Areas Board."

Brigadier Bosman said the Windmill Park issue was a matter of economics. "I regret the irresponsible decisions of a town council which evidently doesn't give a damn about its town or South Africa, and which is trying to gain cheap political mileage out of this issue."

● The CP's chief whip in the council, Mr T J Ferreira, said yesterday he was "formulating a case of fraud" against Brigadier Bosman, NP leader Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Roelf Meyer, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Meyer had earlier assured Boksburg and Germiston residents in writing that Windmill Park would remain "white-controlled".



Crucial, buoyant Botha-Thatcher meeting

# New thrust to find peaceful road for SA

Star 16/3/89

304A

The Star Bureau

London

A major new peace initiative in southern Africa is falling into place following a high-profile meeting in London yesterday between British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The unscheduled 1½-hour meeting took place significantly just ahead of Mrs Thatcher's planned visit to African Frontline states later this month, and could have a powerful bearing on its thrust.

The two government leaders each used the meeting to play important cards:

- Mrs Thatcher bluntly told South Africa the time had come for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and called for the opening of negotiations with representatives of "all groups".

- Mr Botha unveiled to Mrs Thatcher a new peace plan for Mozambique involving both South Africa and the United States.

A buoyant Mr Botha said after the meeting at 10 Downing Street that recent developments in

the southern African region indicated "the season of violence is over".

- At the same time as the meeting, Moscow announced that it did not want to escalate revolutionary violence in South Africa and negotiation — even over years — was the route to take.

Mr Botha has welcomed the apparent shift in Moscow's attitude towards South Africa, saying it "will help us to find a solution to our problems".

Mrs Thatcher's intervention before a long evening of talks and dinner between Mr Botha and Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, is seen by commentators as underlining the importance she attaches to resolving the South Africa problem.

John Dickie, diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Mail* said in a report this morning that Mrs Thatcher said she could not go to the Republic unless there was a clear commitment to change.

Dickie says Mrs Thatcher's move was shrewdly timed to have the maximum effect on the Nationalists' disarray over President Botha's reluctance to give up power.

"Reaffirmation of her willingness to play a role in setting South Africa on a new path could strengthen the backers of the new party leader Mr F W de Klerk, whose more flexible approach is thought more likely to promote progress towards ending apartheid."

"The South Africans see the value of heeding the advice of Mrs Thatcher, since she could use her meeting with Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev next month to urge a more co-operative role by Russia in southern Africa."

He adds that Mr Pik Botha's experience with the Russians in the Namibia negotiations, which were made possible by Soviet influence on the Cubans to withdraw from Angola, "is liable to make him take a positive stand in delivering the Thatcher message to Pretoria".

Mr Botha, at an international press conference at the South African Embassy later said he would welcome Nelson Mandela's unconditional release because "he's doing us much more harm in prison than out".

But he said this had to be done in circumstances that would not be "accompanied by violence" which might lead to the jailed ANC leader having to be arrested again.

The Foreign Minister also took the opportunity of a live appearance on British television to heap praise on Mrs Thatcher.

He said he had never come across a leader as well versed on southern Africa.

Referring to the ANC he said developments in the region and the Soviet Union's recent statements on the armed struggle indicated that the "season for violence is over".



Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, accompanied by Mr Charles Powell, private secretary to the British Prime Minister, leave 10 Downing Street last night after a surprise meeting between Mr Botha and Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

## Police thwart demonstrator

Star 16/3/89

304A

The Star Bureau

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Mr Botha was on his way to a meeting with his British opposite number, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

The demonstrator broke from a mob that had been chanting "kick Botha out of Britain".

Carrying a "Botha must go"

poster, he clambered over a security railing and ran towards the Foreign Minister.

**OVERPOWERED**

He was stopped and overpowered by police as he approached another security railing only metres from Mr Botha.

Two other demonstrators were also arrested after breaking through the police lines, but failed to get near the departing Minister's car.

3049 87er 16/3/89

By Dan Side

In response to the reimposition of petty apartheid by certain Conservative Party-controlled town councils, the giant Anglo American Corporation will not provide support to councils which racially restricted facilities or activities.

In a communique to group employees, Anglo chairman Mr Gavin Relly said the corporation could only achieve its aim in a society freed from racial barriers.

The corporation's aim, he said, was to create wealth in ways that were beneficial not only to shareholders, but to all employees and the South African community as a whole.

## Anglo refuses support for 'apartheid' councils

He felt there was little good in Anglo doing everything it could to employ, train, promote and reward its employees irrespective of race, when those employees had to contend with racial discrimination in the communities in which they lived.

"Anglo's relationship with all levels of government, especially town councils, is governed by the corporation's desire to encourage in a constructive way the end of racial discrimination," said Mr Relly.

"The corporation will accordingly not provide any support to town councils for racially restricted facilities or activities."

However, Anglo would not take action against individuals with whom it conducted business, simply because they served on town councils promoting the reintroduction of petty apartheid.

"We believe individuals are entitled to their own political beliefs and our main concern is that they conduct them-

selves in a businesslike, ethical way," he said.

"Naturally we reserve the right to act if they fail to meet these standards, or undermine the progress we have made."

Under the same philosophy, Anglo felt it was up to the individual to decide whether or not he wanted to join a trade union — and to have the right to have that decision respected by both trade union and employer.

A society free of racial barriers would not be advanced by punishing individuals who did not share the view that prosperity for all depended on an end to such discrimination, he said.



# Nats think P W will retire soon

Star 16/3/89 By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

304A

CAPE TOWN — National Party sources now believe that the State President, Mr P.W. Botha — bereft of his NP power base — will “fade away” from office and retire in a few months without dramatic confrontation with the party.

This was the view expressed after Mr Botha's return to office yesterday passed without incident.

NP sources believe Mr Botha will not meet the NP caucus today — the last opportunity before the two-

week Easter recess which starts next week. It also seems unlikely he will discuss his position with the federal council soon.

Although Mr Botha expressed a wish to address both bodies, it is possible that the decision by them on Monday to back NP leader Mr F.W. de Klerk for the State Presidency has now made such meetings superfluous.

“He's got the message now, I think,” a senior Government source said last night.

The tension around Parliament was palpable yesterday as Mr Botha faced his colleagues at a Cabinet meeting and attended the parliamentary session, for the first time since the party made it clear it no longer wanted him as President.

Some sort of confrontation or fight-back was expected at the Tuynhuys Cabinet meeting, but reliable sources said the leadership crisis was not even raised.

They also said Mr Botha was a model of charm at the party he gave for Cabinet colleagues and others at his official residence Westbrook on Tuesday night to celebrate his 46th wedding anniversary.

# PW's big mistake in power struggle

Behind the power struggle at the heart of the Government lies a gross miscalculation by the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, of his ability to wield the instruments of power and influence without reference to anyone.

He gave power away when no one in the National Party expected it. His age and his illness combined to make the party unwilling to give it back.

The pressing political need to restart the process of reform persuaded him in his illness to proceed with a dream to place the presidency above party

BY JOHN PATTEN

3044

politics (on the presumption that the NP agreed with this strategy), but he soon found he had overplayed his hand.

And he is discovering to his cost what his predecessor Mr John Vorster always warned against: "Once you have given up power, you will never get it back!"

The unfortunate way in which Mr Botha has clung to his post, even when it should long since have been clear to him that he no longer had a power base, has been decisive in turning the tide of public opinion against him.

It should not, however, obscure from public attention the fact that Mr Botha was actually addressing an issue in need of urgent resolution.

In confronting Mr Botha for the power showdown, the National Party federal council highlighted the flashpoint. It said: "The federal council of the National Party believes that at this stage of our constitutional development it is in principle in the best interests of the country and the National Party that the national leader of the National Party, as the majority party in the House of Assembly, should fill the office of State President."

That statement should raise eyebrows. In a trilateral system supposedly constructed to promote consensus, the ability of one part to monopolise power should hardly be seen as "in the best interests of the country".

But that is how the Government deliberately structured the tricameral system — to ensure the National Party maintained control of the country. What Mr Botha was beginning to see was that Nationalist monopoly of power was causing the failure of the constitutional system and was itself a major obstacle to reform.

## Stonewalling opposition

It is ironic that Mr Botha's belated attempt to bring consensus back into the system has led to his almost certain downfall. His obsession with security had produced stonewalling opposition from the coloured and Indian parties, an obstructionism he was hoping to overcome by placing himself outside the ruling party.

While his motive may have had some merit, it was extremely doubtful that he would have been able to achieve what he was attempting (even if he had not suffered a stroke). His half-hearted moves on group areas and separate amenities, and the continued imposition of the state of emergency, still remained as major barriers to the co-operation of other groups.

Mr Botha has himself to blame for the constitutional system descending into a state of logjam. From the start he gave consensus very little chance. He gave no portfolio in his Cabinet to a coloured or Indian Minister, and accepted the Reverend Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajpansi into the Cabinet initially only as *ex officio* representatives of the coloured and Indian Ministers' Councils.

He gave only nominal representation to other groups at Deputy Minister level. He later clashed with and fired Mr Hendrickse, and was forced to sack Mr Rajpansi. And he used the President's Council on several occasions to ride roughshod over coloured and Indian objections to important pieces of legislation.

## Original plan

Mr Botha's original plan, to create a Prime Minister under him so he could put some distance between himself and party politics, was blocked by the House of Representatives. Mr Botha arrogantly decided to find another way of doing it, and came unstuck in the process. There is poetic justice in that outcome.

There should also be a message for the NP from the whole affair.

Mr F.W. de Klerk has a much better negotiating style than Mr Botha had, and may make some reform headway on the strength of that fact.

But very soon Mr de Klerk, too, will find progress to further reform blocked by the shackles of his National Party connection. While he cannot break free of his power base under the present system (as Mr Botha has demonstrated), his aim must be to persuade the NP to change the constitutional structure so that no party has the monopoly on power. He would be able to do so only by winning safeguards for the worried white (and particularly Nationalist) electorate from other race groups in exchange for sharing power.

The big reward from such a strategy would be to win the co-operation of moderates across the colour line. While the NP clings to monopolistic power, that co-operation is likely to remain out of reach.



# Constitution will be used for FW's gain

CLB  
Mar 16/3/89

3048

Our Constitution, like any country's constitution, regulates the distribution and exercise of all government power. This is why the present dilemma in the Nationalist Party, namely the power struggle between the State President and the leader of the party, is immediately perceived as a constitutional problem. Is it really?

On the face of it, the South African Constitution of 1983 created a powerful executive presidency. Some constitutionalists aver that it was moulded and shaped around the personality and stature of one person, Mr P W Botha. However, unlike the American president who derives his strong, independent executive position from election by the people, our State President's strength flows from the fact that he is supported by the majority of members of the white House of Assembly.

Stated differently, the President's powerful position is secured not only by the formal provisions of the Constitution, but also by his leadership of the party. This is indeed the unwritten, efficient secret of our entire system. Once this underlying assumption of a coincidence of state presidency and party leadership falls away, the political support system of our constitutional fabric is jeopardised.

Of course, this schism of constitutional presidential authority and party political power need not be fatal. If the President and the party leader can find a way of cohabitation the possibility of a clash can be averted.

## Subjecting party leadership

In practical terms this would mean that both the President and the leader would have to work together to serve the wishes and interests of the party. In a real sense, the leader would still have to subject his party leadership to the wishes and final say of his ex-leader and ensure that his party following still accepted the de facto influence of his predecessor.

What, however, if the new party leader wishes to "do his own thing"? What if he wants to decide on elections, opt for a different style and manner for reform, is set on reorganising the State administration, elects to shuffle the Cabinet, and altogether chooses to project a different style of government? What if he rallies the support of the party to follow a totally new course of constitutional development? In short, how does Mr F W de Klerk, with the support of his party, embark on a new era of change if his President is in disagreement?

On the face of it, the Constitution does not assist the party leader to exert his own wishes. In terms of the Constitution the President's position is apparently entrenched.

net, unlike the President under the previous constitution. He need only act in consultation with his Cabinet, which does not mean he necessarily has to follow advice.

Indeed, he can legislate on his own — thereby repealing and amending laws of Parliament — if circumstances have arisen which seriously threaten the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order, and if the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the Government to ensure the safety of the public and to maintain public order within the Republic. All in all, it seems that the President's position is unassailable and cannot be threatened by the leader of the governing party.

What is more, the President has done nothing to raise claims of misconduct and has shown no inability to perform the duties of his office efficiently. All he did was a perfectly human thing. He became temporarily ill. At the present moment removal from office by the electoral college which elected him seems out of the question.

Constitutionally, it would seem that the party leader is in the weaker position and must obey the wishes of the President. In truth, this is not wholly accurate. If the leader can rally substantial party solidarity to vindicate the breach of the aforementioned efficient secret of our constitutional system, the Constitution can be mobilised to make the President's position untenable.

- This can be effected in various ways:
- The leader can persuade the House of Assembly and the other Houses to reject a money bill, in which case the President must dissolve Parliament and call a general election at which point his term of office will terminate automatically.
  - The entire Cabinet can resign. If this



PROFESSOR MARINUS WIECHERS,  
Head, Department of Constitutional  
and International Law,  
University of South Africa.

occurs and no other members of Parliament are prepared to become members of the Cabinet, the President will be left high and dry without a Cabinet to consult.

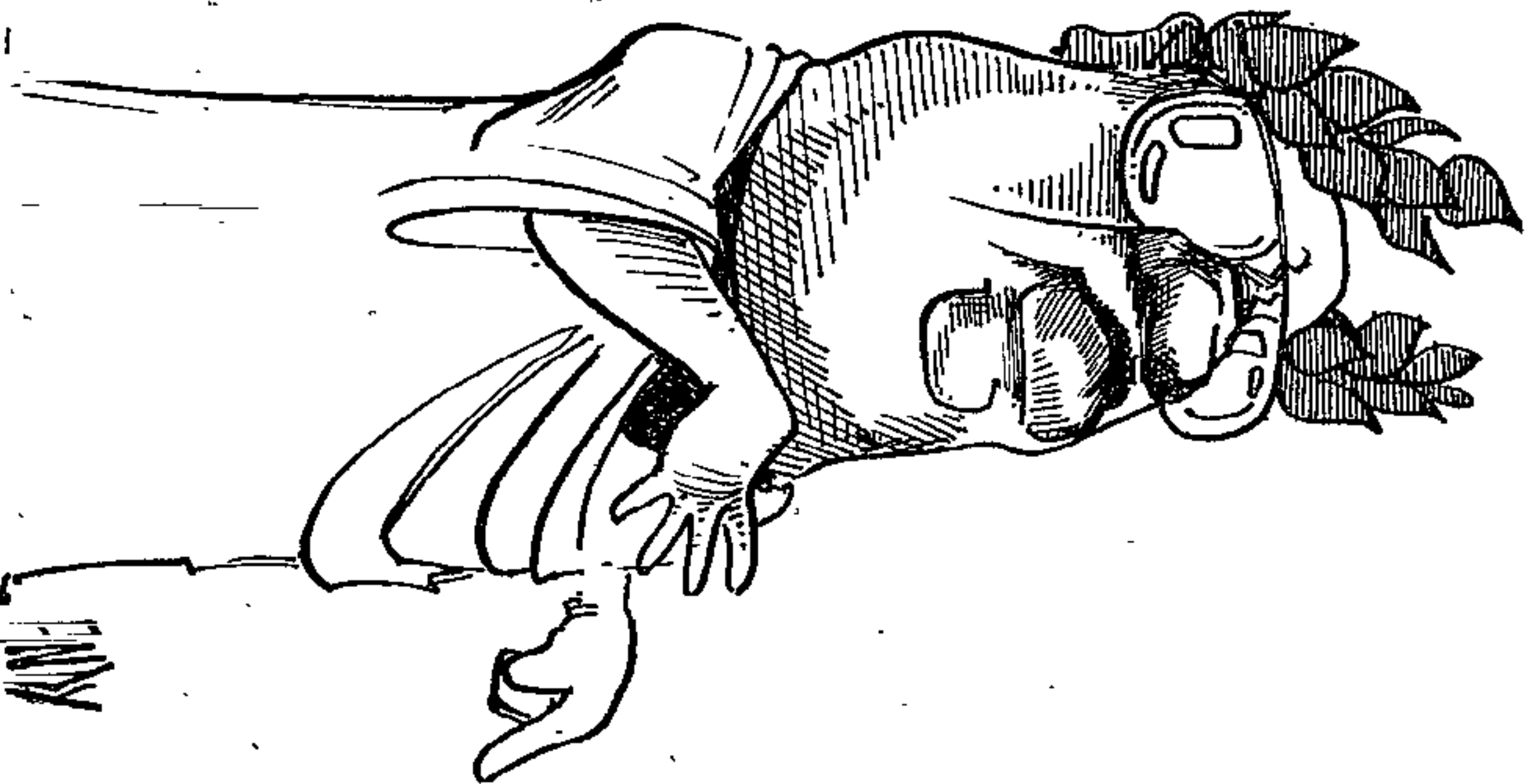
- The leader, with the support of the Cabinet, can propose a constitutional amendment to the effect that the President must always act on the advice of his Cabinet. If he refuses to assent to the amendment, he clearly rejects his duty to "obey, observe, uphold and maintain the Constitution", and makes it possible to have him removed from his office.

## Reaching a political accord

The present dilemma facing the leader of the Nationalist Party and his President can be solved party politically. This is apparently what the party wishes to do. This will require an agreement between the President and Mr de Klerk to work together in party political harmony but, with Mr Botha still having the ultimate say.

Alternately, they may reach a party political accord that the President resigns graciously. On the other hand if this living together proves too tenuous and finally inoperative, or the President refuses to resign, the party leader can put the Constitution to work either to reduce the President to his former position of a parliamentary head of state with no effective executive powers, or to force him out of office.

This proves that ultimately it is the party which gives strength and legitimacy to the presidency and which must therefore finally win.





# Nothing comes from violence

30/4/89

**MOSCOW —** The Soviet Union called yesterday for political dialogue rather than intensified military action to end apartheid in South Africa.

Senior officials, addressing a round table discussion, appeared to confirm a shift away from support for armed action by the banned African National Congress to topple white domination.

They also pledged further meetings with liberal white South Africans opposed to the Pretoria government, following talks held in Britain and West Germany.

"We would prefer a political settlement and want apartheid to be dealt with by political means. Any solution through military means will be shortlived," said Yuri Yukalov, head of

Sapa-Reuter

the Foreign Ministry's Department of African Countries.

"We do not want to emphasise the need to enlarge the armed struggle. South Africa should not be destroyed. It should also be spoken to not only through threats or pounding our fist on the table. There should be dialogue."

Yukalov's comments contrasted with a statement last week in Moscow by ANC president Oliver Tambo calling for an intensification of its military campaign to end apartheid.



OLIVER Tambo

But Yukalov said Moscow saw no contradictions over policy with the ANC and said the black nationalist group had been warmly welcomed during its talks with Kremlin officials.

At the conclusion of last week's talks, the Soviet news agency *Tass* said the ANC and Soviet officials had stressed the need to end apartheid

through political means and called for more effective use of sanctions against Pretoria.

Anatoly Gromyko, director of the Academy of Sciences' Africa Institute, said majority rule in South Africa could only be achieved through stages.

"There would have to be a programme of reforms submitted to nation-wide discussion at which all sections of society would be represented," said Gromyko, head of the Soviet delegation at last week's talks with South African academics and businessmen near London.



# SA not the problem, but part of the solution

*Sowetan 16/3/89* *30419*

THE picture of South Africa as arch-destabiliser of the southern African region was attacked by Deputy Director General of Foreign Affairs, Glen Babb in London this week.

Babb painted an optimistic picture of recent developments in southern Africa, driving home his belief that South Africa is part of the solution rather than the problem.

There is, he told an audience of 150 MPs,

businessmen and journalists at the South African embassy, a new feeling in the rest of Africa towards South Africa, which was now being seen in its proper role of leading builder rather than destroyer-in-chief of the sub-continent.

In pressing ahead with independence for Namibia, South Africa has proved she is serious about negotiating an end to regional conflicts. South Africa has also ended aid to the MNR

and Unita and is now in regular contact with the leaders of Angola and Mozambique.

However, he defended Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, accused this week of atrocities against Unita members, saying he was "honourable and loyal" and a strong champion of regional co-operation.

## Rhetoric

Asked about the "torrent of hate" which came South Africa's way from Africa's Commonwealth members, Babb said there was often a dichotomy between their rhetoric and reality.

Views of the ANC were also changing, he said. "No one believes anymore that revolution is around the corner or that the ANC can cause South Africa to become ungovernable. The promises of the ANC to the African states are no longer believed."

— *Sowetan Foreign Service.*

# SA TOLD NOT TO INTERFERE

**BRUSSELS** — The European Commission has warned South Africa that any attempt to "interfere" with its multi-million rand aid programmes for the victims of apartheid would lead to "serious complications" in relations between the two powers.

The warning was given by Manuel Marin, European Commissioner in Charge of Development Aid, when he called in Bhadra Ranchod, the South African Ambassador to the European

Community to complain over the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act.

A commission statement after the meeting said that Marin "reiterated the importance the commission attaches to the continued smooth implementation of the community's special programme."

"The commission will continue to support the work of its partners in South Africa to bring about the peaceful end of apartheid and the creation of a multi-racial society for the benefit of all South Africans."

The commission said that the Council of Churches, the Catholic Bishops Conference and the Kagiso Trust, three leading recipients of aid, had said they "could not comply with the information-gathering aspects of the new legislation."

But South African diplomats in Brussels suggested that the organisations were jumping the gun. One said that the laws requiring disclosure of foreign funding gained widespread parliamentary support and their effect was still not known.

It remains for the registrar, still to be appointed under the Act, to decide which organisations will be required to disclose information. EC funding of anti-apartheid organisations was expected to reach R70-million in 1988.

The EC programme to give aid to church and trade union organisations for legal and welfare payments has been fraught with problems. The largest recipient, the Kagiso Trust, was raided by security forces during 1987.



# Worse before it gets better

EVERY South African will have to make a sacrifice in the battle against an economic onslaught which is being organised against the country internationally and which could not have come at a worse time for the Government, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis said in the Budget Speech.

## Sacrifice

Introducing his 1988/89 budget, he said the sacrifice South Africans were being called upon to make would manifest itself in lower living standards, fewer job opportunities and dearer goods and services for all.

"It is remorseless. It spreads the burden throughout the economy, particularly on those least able to protect themselves against it such as the young and the frail."

# The boss is back!

AN APPARENTLY self-assured President P W Botha returned to Parliament yesterday for the first time since his mild stroke earlier in the year, and drew homage from all sides of the joint chamber.

Ministers and MPs from the Assembly and the Houses of Representatives and Delegates strolled across the floor to wish him well.

Striking in a dark suit, the old man of the National Party entered the Great Hall at 2,10pm

With a smile  
on his face,  
PW strolls into  
Parliament

as MPs and visitors assembled for the Budget.

Smiling and shaking well-wishers' hands, he took his place at the head of the government in the

first front row bench.

There was little evidence of the NP leadership conflict as President Botha exchanged remarks in an apparently friendly manner with the leader of the party, Mr F W de Klerk and next to him Mr Chris Heunis, who acted in the capacity of Acting State President during Mr Botha's absence.

When Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis stepped up to the podium to deliver his Budget speech, the joint chamber expressed general agreement with his opening remark that Parliament was thankful that the President had recovered sufficiently to take his place in the building.

President Botha acknowledged the "hoor hours" with a nod, then leaned forward to devote his attention to the budget speech.

LONDON — South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said late last night that there was a dilemma over the leadership issue in South Africa, but he believed that with understanding it could be resolved without anyone getting hurt.

Mr Botha, who held talks earlier yesterday with British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher, confirmed that constitutionally the State President, Mr P W Botha, could not be forced to leave office against his will.

But he told report-

Pik  
admits  
dispute

ers: "There are more ways with understanding that this matter could be resolved in such a way that no one gets hurt."

"I remain convinced that we can do so because of the great appreciation for the President and the work he has done. I believe it could be done."



# Making our way in the world

## FACE TO FACE

A weekly feature in which personalities at the centre of the news are questioned by an Argus panel



with **KURT VON SCHIRNDING**  
Director General, South Africa Foundation

**W**ITH sanctions and isolation ever-present dangers to South Africa, the Face To Face panel sought the opinions of Kurt von Schirnding, former South African ambassador to the United Nations and now director general of the South Africa Foundation, on current trends and options.

### The panel



**TIM PATTEN**  
Assistant Editor



**DALE LAUTENBACH**  
A sub editor



**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**  
Political Staff

kind of things, this Third World wasteland, that we want to avoid.

**DALE LAUTENBACH:** When you took up the directorship you said, and I quote you here, "I've always felt that the SA Foundation could play a penetrative role in encouraging reform." Can you outline what political and economic mandate you have from business, generally considered a conservative grouping, and how much leeway have you had in encouraging reform?

■ I stand by what I said, but the council of the South Africa Foundation represents the top echelon, if you will, in the business community in South Africa. Therefore it represents various forms of political ideology as well, from what we might term white politics to the left, to the centre, to the right — they're all represented on our council.

You can never get consensus from the business community as to where you should go but what I felt very strongly was that if one of our main goals — and it is a goal, I say it myself — was greater black participation, meaningful black participation in the dealings of the foundation, we would have to have a somewhat stronger profile on domestic developments in South Africa.

**ESTERHUYSE:** To what extent do the current investigations into corruption affect our image in the world?

■ I don't think to the extent that we really think it would. You know, corruption in government and circles surrounding government is so prevalent overseas that I think this is just considered to be a storm in a teacup, really. I don't think this will have any major repercussions.

**PATTEN:** You mean corruption is standard practice in many countries?

■ I think there is that aspect. I think we tend to be more shocked in South Africa because we have had the sort of a history, at least until quite recently, where you don't expect corruption at the highest levels in government or in the civil service.

But I don't think that that particular aspect will have any negative impact at all.

**ESTERHUYSE:** Does the SA Foundation get adequate recognition from the government for its efforts?

■ It's very hard to say. I think that generally — and I'm not just blowing our trumpet — the foundation doesn't get enough credit for its efforts, because the manner in which we have to operate, particularly overseas, makes it very difficult for us to shout our own praises from the rooftops.

We've got some very important contacts at a very high level who are happy to see us, but they

wouldn't like it to be broadcast and it would destroy in a sense our efforts and our credibility if we were able to really say what we were doing.

This is the kind of on-going credibility problem we have overseas and here: that we can't say, you know, we've opened these doors lately to Anglo American, to Rembrandt or whatever and they have seen so many people, because it would militate against that sort of approach next time round.

In government I think that we've had a number of meetings of senior members of our council with Ministers, Cabinet Ministers, in long, off-the-record discussions, which I think have been quite productive but we would like to see a little more credit for what we are doing.

**LAUTENBACH:** Isn't contact with the "democratic movement" one of ways in which that credibility problem could be tackled?

■ I think it is, but on the other hand I think there is a limit to what one can do. It's no good the foundation leaning over backwards to try to make contact. We've put out feelers ... and we've had a pretty clear indication that they're not interested. So it is difficult, but I see your point, I think it would make it quite a lot easier.

**LAUTENBACH:** The independence of Namibia issue was always high on the agenda during your term (as UN ambassador). Can you comment?

■ Overall I think that the negotiations went well. I think it's long overdue ... it was inescapable.

We have always been on record that we wanted an independent Namibia and that we'd participate in so-called free and fair elections. We were party to Resolution 435.

The conditions which we set have been met, a few withdrawn, and we must now hope that the whole issue will be followed through to its logical conclusion. And I think it will be. I don't think that there's any chance the thing will now be derailed intentionally from the South African side.

And so it's all on course and I think it's the right way to go. How the future will turn out in South West Africa is a different matter. If we're going to be looking at a Swapo government, that is not necessarily from our point of view obviously the desirable outcome, but it may be a situation which we won't have to face.

We've lived with similar governments elsewhere on our borders and I've no doubt we can cope with a Swapo government as well. But one may yet be surprised — the elections could take a slightly different path. Maybe the other parties will do better than anticipated in South West Africa.

**TIM PATTEN:** In your address at the (South Africa Foundation) AGM you spoke of a need for fundamental negotiated change in South Africa. How fundamental does this have to be?

■ I said it should be fundamental, but I also said it must be visible, because we can't afford, I don't believe, in this country to indulge in reform. It's the sort of thing we've done before where we've got rid of quite important discriminatory legislation.

But we're doing it in such a stealthy way that by the time anyone becomes aware of it overseas it's already been discounted.

So I think we've got to grasp the nettle and not start talking about power-sharing if we're not clear on what power-sharing means. I personally am not convinced that, historically, any government has ever shared power.

By sharing power you are actually giving up power, so without that fundamental change I believe you would have to find some sort of constitutional dispensation in which all the various groups of people are happy to participate.

Now whether that is going to mean that in five or 10 years' time we are going to have a majority of blacks in government — I would differentiate there between black majority government and a majority of blacks in government — or a black president, or, I don't know, half the cabinet black ... well then, that's what we've got to face.

**PATTEN:** What is the minimum requirement to restore South Africa to international credibility?

■ Let us say that the absolutely bottom line requirement is that all discriminating legislation which still exists must go. Nobody is going to look at South Africa seriously until you get rid of Group Areas, Population Registration and Separate Amenities.

I think those will have to go. Now that has implications electorally, but you have to face it, because one of the greatest Achilles' heels that we have abroad is the

fact that when we say we are moving away from discrimination, people say: "But how can you have these laws on your statute book?"

It also makes a nonsense of the law because much of it is not enforceable. I mean, if you agree to get rid of mixed marriages, for instance, but the Group Areas prevents people legally living in certain areas ... it makes a nonsense of getting rid of one or the other.

The other is more of a perception thing, and I don't believe in this business of a blueprint — what you're going to do in five years' time — because five minutes in politics is a long time.

The third point is the release of Nelson Mandela. The sooner the better. Not that that would be the be-all and end-all of our problems, or that it would necessarily solve very much, but it would be seen as a signal to the outside world that we are serious when we talk about negotiating.

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE:** Does that mean it's necessary for them to have Mandela and the ANC included in negotiations?

■ I think it's just a fact of life that we can't escape, because you've got to be very careful that, if you enter into negotiations, you don't only enter negotiations with the sort of people who are seen abroad at any rate as being either co-opted or, you know, puppets.

You've got to get the genuine leaders, the accepted genuine leaders, involved in discussions.

Now that may mean that you're going to deal with a lot of people that you don't want to deal with, but that is after all the whole basis of negotiation. You're not the only players; they must be included. In the same way you're going to have representatives of the churches, of the various groups that are all part and parcel of the power base in South Africa.

I cannot see that you can leave out these groups. I don't think that they should come ... I mean, let me qualify it by saying I have sympathy with the point of view that you cannot negotiate with people who come to the confer-

ence table to say "We believe in a violent solution."

The fact that you come to a conference table by invitation means that you renounce violence. If you, after that, go back into a violent situation, well that's just too bad, but you've got to take that risk.

**ESTERHUYSE:** What do you think of Third World status and do we stand to lose anything by getting such status?

■ Yes. What I was trying to say was that — back to the dangers of isolation in the international sphere for South Africa — we are a trading nation. We do depend on foreign capital and investment for growth in this country. We can't afford to allow our economic growth, which has already run down to about 2.5 percent, to slip below, and it's showing all signs of doing that.

If we land ourselves in a situation, by simply adopting an obdurate sort of "do your damndest" attitude to the outside world, then the outside world may just do that. And if we don't show sufficient impetus, movement towards reform, and get back into acceptable constitutional mode, we will be increasingly ostracised.

The dangers of sanctions are not altogether past. I mean, it still hangs like a sword of Damocles over our heads and despite the positive recent developments — Angola, Namibia and so on — it still remains a very, very dangerous situation for South Africa.

In other words, if we accept isolation — and there are some people that appear in this country to feel that way — we'll slip behind in technology, we'll slip behind in education. Already in the housing sector there are enormous backlogs. If we allow this to happen we will descend into what would amount to a Third World type of society. Already, you know, you can't always buy the book you want to buy, you can't necessarily see the film you want to see, or the play. You're living under the state of emergency, your Press is censored, you don't know that you're hearing the truth because you can't judge — those are the



# PW keeps NP guessing over leadership

CML TINTS  
16/3/89  
304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday kept the nation and the turbulent NP — guessing about his future plans.

In a shrewd tactical move, Mr Botha kept the party stewing in uncertainty by sidestepping the question on the mounting leadership crisis at yesterday's crucial cabinet meeting.

A number of NP MPs have indicated that they expected the uncertainty to be cleared up by today's caucus meeting but their chosen replacement for Mr Botha, Mr F W de Klerk, is now likely to arrive empty-handed at today's meeting.

Moreover, senior Nationalist said they did not expect the burning issue to be on the formal agenda today.

Since Parliament will be adjourning for the Easter recess a day before the NP's next caucus, it appears that Mr Botha will be able to keep Mr De Klerk and the party on the hook for at least the next three weeks. Nats agreed yesterday that the longer the uncertainty continued, the more Mr De Klerk's stature would "wither away".

Mr De Klerk yesterday declined to say whether he would have discussed the issue with Mr Botha before today's caucus meeting.

Mr Botha was greeted with warm handshakes by MPs from a number of parties when he made an appearance in Parliament for yesterday's budget speech but observers noted that he did not take Mr De Klerk by the hand.

Instead, the two protagonists for the national leadership chose to keep their distance during yesterday's proceedings in the House.

The ball remains in Mr Botha's court, but Nats are worried about whether he intends to play it in the foreseeable future.

● Picture — Page 2

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CME Times 16/3/89 304A

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Mr De Klerk yesterday declined to say whether he would have discussed the issue with Mr Botha before today's caucus meeting.

Mr Botha was greeted with warm handshakes by MPs from a number of parties when he made an appearance in Parliament for yesterday's budget speech but observers noted that he did not take Mr De Klerk by the hand.

Instead, the two protagonists for the national leadership chose to keep their distance during yesterday's proceedings in the House.

The ball remains in Mr Botha's court, but Nats are worried about whether he intends to play it in the foreseeable future.

● Picture — Page 2

# Grand

Supermarkets

# Caught in the middle

THE "whether or not" debate about parliamentary participation may soon become a contentious issue in extra-parliamentary circles with the formation of the proposed Democratic Party.

And a person likely to be caught up in the middle is Claremont's Independent MP Jan van Eck, who has close links with the extra-parliamentary movement.

But Van Eck, still considering the possibility of joining the Democratic Party, feels the debate is no longer over whether people are for or against participation in principle.

"It is more about the extent to which participation can be used to gain certain results for the democratic movement," he says.

"My understanding is that with increased state repression and the narrowing scope of political activity, there is a general re-evaluation of parliament and the extent it can be used to promote the cause of the democratic movement.

He believes it could be possible for the Democratic Party to link up with extra-parliamentary organisations.

"It is clear that the Democratic Party will be overwhelmingly white, simply because the majority of the people are against participation, and those who do participate already have their own parties, like the Labour Party.

"But the Democratic Party could become the rallying point for white democrats, and it would be desirable that a party representing white democrats should link up with black democrats."

Van Eck believes the role of the Democratic Party would be to provide a home for more whites, to prevent them from "drifting into the Nationalist laager".

"It should be a broadly based political group, and include a wide spectrum of political opinion to the left of the government.

"Whether it will play a constructive role in the long-term will depend on its ability to link up and form a relationship with extra-parliamentary organisations.

**The new Democratic Party will only survive if it has a broad base, says Independent MP Jan van Eck. But the new party could also revive a contentious debate among extra-parliamentary groups. RYLAND FISHER reports:**

"The involvement of people like Van Zyl Slabbert indicates that the broad base option is viable.

"It can't be a verligte Nat party. That will be a recipe for failure.

"They can't merely draw in frustrated Nationalists who are disillusioned with the way the government is running the country, but who do not really want to replace it with a truly democratic government."

He believes people joining the Democratic Party would have to work together despite their differences.

"The crisis is so severe that one has to sacrifice a certain amount.

## Narrow

"I believe that for the sake of unity, I should be prepared to sacrifice the luxury of being an independent.

"A broadly based party can work if there is acceptance of the political diversity it will contain."

However, some people were trying to keep the party's perspective as narrow as possible.

"The people who don't want me to join are trying to prevent it from being broadly based.

"If they succeed in keeping people like myself out, it will become just another white political party.

"My reading of the leadership thinking in the new party is that they are aware of the importance of

actively inter-acting with extra-parliamentary groupings.

"They have shown a refreshing understanding that political developments in South Africa are no longer controlled by parliament. Parliament reacts to what happens outside."

Van Eck believes the new party can still "go in any direction".

"But this is probably the last opportunity one still has to create a party with substantial white support while being unambiguously in favour of a non-racial democracy.

"If this initiative fails because those who want a narrow-based grouping wins, we will have a situation like in Rhodesia under Ian Smith where virtually all the whites will join the government.

"One really hopes this can be prevented."

For the new party to succeed, they would have to accept certain non-negotiable minimum demands.

"They'll have to accept the demands that the state of emergency should go, that there should be no detention without trial, that political prisoners should be released and organisations unbanned, and that there should be real freedom of the press. Emergency regulations regarding the press should be removed.

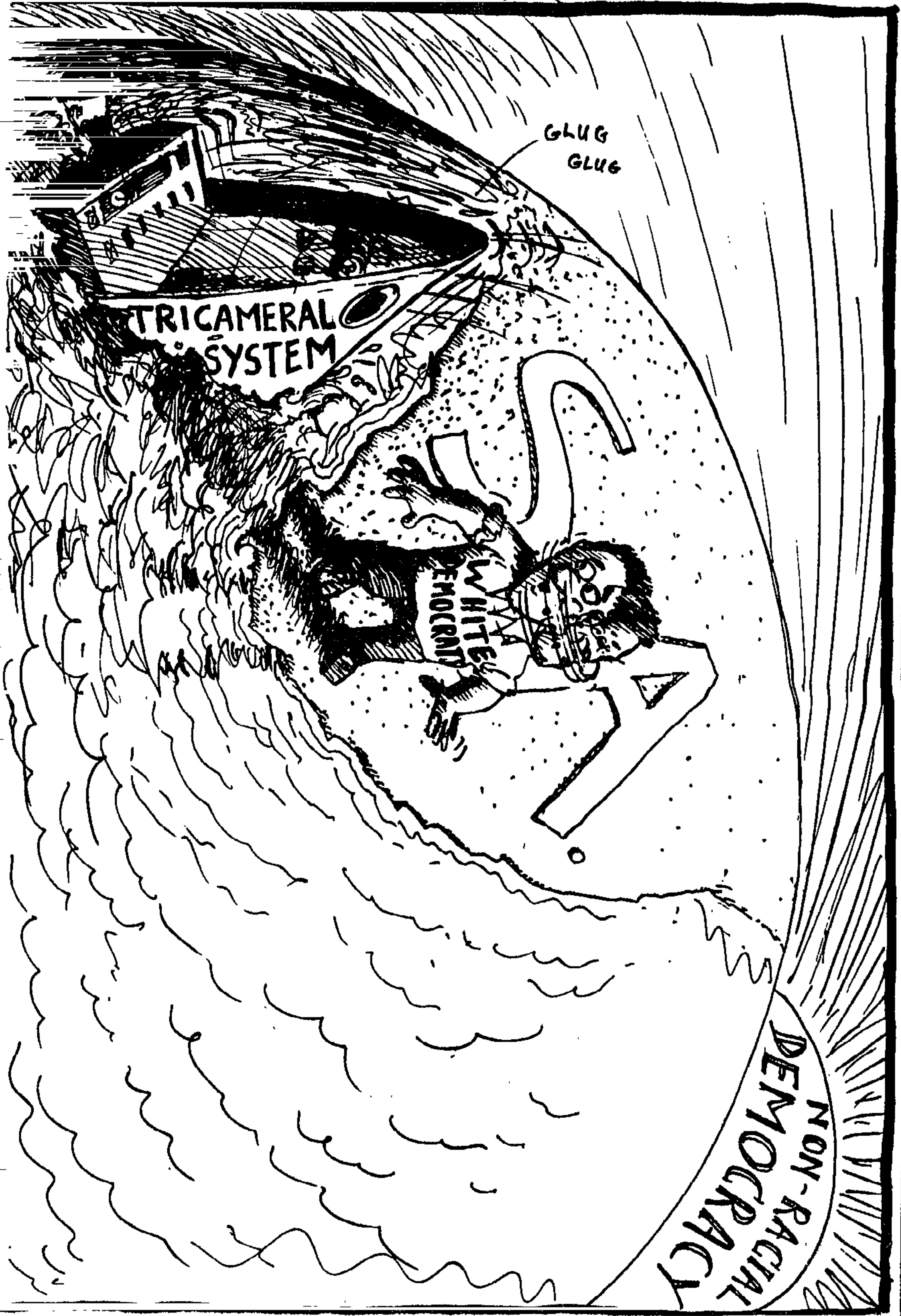
"These are all non-negotiables. We will have to see whether the Democratic Party will agree with this."



304A

# SOUTH VIEW

SOUTH, March 16 to March 22 1989 25



8/2/17/3/89 (304A)

# SA is to have a little comic relief (at last)

By Melanie Gosling

Rising crime, falling rands, inflation, floods and drought — the South African scene is pretty sombre.

National Comic Relief Day on April 1 will be a welcome change when South Africans all over the country will shed their cares and raise a few laughs by wearing big, red "clown" noses.

The publishers of the *Early Times* newspaper for teenagers have secured the rights to the National Comic Relief Day trademark in South Africa and will be responsible for the sale of 400 000 red clown noses.

*Early Times* editor Ms Robin Comley said the BBC had sponsored National Comic Relief Day in Britain last year and raised R50 million from the sale of red noses.

Thousands of people wore them, from small children to men in suits and bowler hats.

"It's high time South Africans developed a sense of humour.

"We hope everyone will really get into the spirit of things and get out into the streets on April 1 wearing red noses.

"As the proceeds from the sale of the noses goes to child welfare, they will be helping 10 500 children."

M-Net will hold a comic relief "telethon" on April 1. During the programme, listeners will pledge money for child welfare.

Red noses are on sale at R2 each at all Wimpy Bars and CNA stores.

S  
P



# Leadership crisis in NP under attack

Political Correspondent

The leadership crisis in the National Party is the target of a combined opposition attack in Parliament today.

Leaders of both the Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party are expected to highlight the NP's embarrassment during the debate on the House of Assembly administration budget.

And new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk is expected to reply to the attack.

PFP leader Dr. Zach de Beer leads the attack from the PFP side, sources said yesterday.

The CP attack will probably be led by deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, one of the party's most effective and damaging speakers.

Both the PFP and the CP have taken the line that the NP caucus has stabbed President Botha in the back.

## PW not at caucus

3048

CAPE TOWN — President Botha did not attend the weekly National Party caucus meeting yesterday and MPs learnt no more about the leadership crisis. *Star 17/3/87*

They were told the position had not changed since Monday night when the NP federal council and caucus decided the posts of State President and NP leader should not be split, and they wanted their new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, to be State President.

They also expressed a wish for Mr Botha to attend the caucus and the federal council to discuss the leadership crisis. Mr Botha had said previously he would like to discuss it with them.

There has been no indication whether a formal invitation has been extended to Mr Botha.

National Party MPs said yesterday there was no mention of such an invitation to Mr Botha at the caucus meeting, the last before Parliament's Easter recess.

They were told nothing had changed since Monday night and were asked to give their leaders time to sort out the problem. — Political Correspondent.



## **'Rooi Rus' is AWB's new security head**

By Esmaré van der  
Merwe,

Political Reporter

Brigadier Theuns "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel (60), the feared former security branch chief interrogator who this week became the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's security chief, enjoys war.

"It is a game with death and a question of outwitting your enemy," he said in 1987 when he took on Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in the Westdene election.

For several years now, he has been a member of the AWB's Grootraad.

But it was as founder and commander of the anti-terrorist unit Koevoet and as the chief interrogator of the Rivonia trial accused and many others that he made his name.

In charge of the police in the 1976 Soweto uprising, he claimed the credit for crushing the revolt.

In 1987 he said: "The police did not use enough force and in the end the unrest spread all over the country."

# Carletonville council faces legal action

By Joe Openshaw

The Carletonville Chamber of Commerce and Industry is instructing lawyers today to go ahead with legal action against the Conservative Party-controlled town council after receiving support for the move at a meeting of 500 white and Indian businessmen last night.

The businessmen enthusiastically contributed R23 000 for the cost of the action.

It was said at the meeting that 251 people had been put out of work because of the black boycott of shops.

It was also claimed that half the businesses in town were experiencing an 80 percent decline in trade.

"We will stick by our guns and are ready to contest any legal action the chamber may bring against us," Mr Koos Nel, Carletonville management committee chairman, said today.

Businessmen were taking legal steps against the wrong party, he said.

They should "go for Cosatu because it is behind the boycott".

He claimed that the figures regarding decline of trade were "grossly exaggerated".



# Police question MPs on boycott

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Security Police have questioned two MPs about their alleged incitement of a consumer boycott of Brakpan businesses — following a decision by the Conservative Party-controlled town council to re-introduce petty apartheid.

Mr Arthur Roper, MP for Alra Park, said last night he and Mr Don Mateman, MP for Eldorado Park, had been ques-

tioned about their attendance at a meeting in the Geluksdal community hall, near Brakpan, on December 1 last year.

The two House of Representatives MPs denied calling for boycotts or inciting the crowd in any way, and said they realised to do so would be contrary to the oaths they had taken as MPs.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the matter was being investigated.

## Pik Botha gets the message at Downing Street

LONDON — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has told South Africa the time has come for Nelson Mandela to be freed.

She stressed the importance of the ANC leader's release during her 90-minute meeting with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha here on Wednesday and also called for the opening of negotiations with representatives of "all groups in South Africa."

Her intervention before a long evening of talks and dinner between Mr Botha and Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, is seen by commentators as underlining the importance she attaches to fresh moves

# Maggie: Free Mandela now

**SOWETAN  
Foreign Service**

to resolve the South Africa problem.

She also indicated her readiness to play a role personally, according to John Dickie, diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Mail*.

But he says she said she

could not go to South Africa unless there was a clear commitment to change, with freedom for Mandela and willingness to open negotiations with all groups.

Such moves are vital for the South Africa Government to avoid becoming totally isolated, Mrs Thatcher said.

Dickie says Mrs Thatcher's move was shrewdly timed to have the maximum effect on the National Party's disarray over President Botha's reluctance to give up power.

"Reaffirmation of her willingness to play a role in setting South Africa on a new patch could

strengthen the backers of the new party leader Mr F W de Klerk, whose more flexible approach is thought more likely to promote progress towards ending apartheid.

"The South Africans see the value of heeding the advice of Mrs Thatcher, since she could use her meeting with

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev next month to urge a more co-operative role by Russia in Southern Africa."

He adds that Mr Pik Botha's experience with the Russians in the Namibia negotiations, which were made possible by Soviet influence on the Cubans to withdraw from Angola, "is liable to make him take a positive stand in delivering the Thatcher message to Pretoria."

And he says Mrs Thatcher's concern to end the stalemate is underscored by the recall of Sir Robin Renwick, the British Ambassador in Pretoria, to review the situation before Foreign Minister Botha arrived.





Mr CHRIS Heunis, who was then Acting State President (centre), with KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Speaker, Mr S T Mthimkhulu (right), and presidential aide, Mr T Butler, stand in attention as the national anthems are sung.

# ANTHEMS SIMILAR - HEUNIS

Sowetan 17/7/89

3047

IS THERE any similarity between the black national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, and the white *Die Stem*?

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr

By THEMBA MOLEFE

Chris Heunis, says the two have a lot in common.

Mr Heunis drew attention to this when he

opened the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi on Tuesday.

Speaking of the abundance of common aspirations and beliefs among "all South Africans" he said: "Just as an example I invite you to compare the words of *Die Stem van Suid Afrika* with those of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*."

"I have studied the words of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*."

"Ignoring the political relevance that has become attached to the song, there is nothing in these words with which I cannot associate myself with. There is nothing in *Die Stem* with which any black South African cannot associate himself," Mr Heunis said.

He said *Die Stem* and the last seven verses of the black anthem were written at about the same time, "both by well-loved poets."

"Both contain the same yearnings, the same aspirations and the same submission in prayer to the hand of the Lord."

"The fact that one sings *Die Stem* and another *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* is no indication that their strivings and aspirations are different."

"Enoch Sontonga in writing the first verse of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* asked the Lord to bless Africa; in the other seven S E K Mqhayi prayed for the Lord's blessings and guidance for the leaders, the men, the women and the children, and again for Africa," Mr Heunis said.

"Langenhoven concluded the prayer in the last verse of *Die Stem* with the words:

"As our fathers trusted humbly, teach us, Lord to trust Thee still;

"Guard our land and guide our people in Thy way to do Thy will."

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# Financial Mail

THE RETURN OF P W BOTHA

## De Klerk must stand and fight

It was P W Botha himself who once said of his political enemy Andries Treurnicht that he was the kind of man who wanted to be the bride at every wedding, the corpse at every funeral. The jibe was a typically blunt exercise in political humiliation; it can now be applied to the State President. For this week saw him bouncing back to preside over a Cabinet that doesn't want him, and to sit in on a Budget that actually demonstrated the fiscal sterility into which he and his policies have led us.

The *FM's* verdict on that Budget is given on the following pages; but its underlying economic basis serves to place Botha's arrogance in an altogether different perspective than the mere embarrassment he has brought to his party and his office.

What have his years of power given us? A savagely declining currency; high and sustained inflation; political turmoil and the debt crisis. SA's net reserves (gross reserves minus the banks' foreign liability) have fallen from R16,6bn in 1980 to an estimated -R308m last year.

It was therefore bizarre that this ageing and ill man should sit smugly in parliament — facing a silenced and tremulous National Party caucus — listening to Barend du Plessis present an intellectually threadbare Budget which few will recognise as the admission of failure it really is. And in which few will place much credibility, anyway.

No new ideas; no serious attempt to reduce the scale of government spending or the size of government and its attendant civil service; no suggestion that the most valid way of tackling the problems of an over-heated economy lies in the implementation of supply-side policies. Indeed, the Budget does the opposite: it will not reduce demand, but rather curb supply.

The drift towards poverty has not been arrested; it could well be aggravated the longer the Botha era endures.

Botha sees none of this.

The NP and its press have revealed their choice unequivocally — for F W de Klerk, for party leader as chief executive. Botha, with the authority of the constitution, and a kind of emotional blindness, has chosen not to believe this. Or he knows it, but cannot admit it.

The tone and emphasis of his Sunday night interview with the appallingly obsequious SABC reveals the depth of his arrogance or ignorance. He is not clinging to power, he said. F W de Klerk was being "used," he said. By implication, the country would fall apart without him: "My message to the public is: be calm, we live in dangerous and difficult times. A great sense of responsibility, great discipline and great teamwork are now more than ever necessary if we want SA to move forward."

But it is Botha — surrounded by his generals, toadies and securocrats — who is being "used." Afrikaans press reports have revealed far more than the "liberal" newspapers the extent to which his entourage, reliant on him for their jobs, has shielded him from the full force of an antagonistic public opinion. The NP's virtually unanimous support for De Klerk

indicates full well its desire to "move forward" — and that it sees this as being possible only without the Great Crocodile.

"Parliament," he said, "is the body that appoints a State President, generally after an election. The lifetime of the current parliament expires early next year." This is pure semantics: the wishes of the dominating party, his party, have been made absolutely clear.

What is to be done? So far De Klerk — in practically an unassailable position, even if there was to be a showdown with Botha — has played his familiar role of conciliator. His behaviour has been exemplary; he has not lost his cool; in accepting the judgment of the NP's caucus and federal council, that as their leader he must be president too, he has been excessively self-effacing.

All of which is nice; but in the end niceness shouldn't come into it. Model behaviour can easily be construed as weakness — and the NP has never chosen a leader for his weakness. If Botha is allowed to get his way for another year — prolonging the election agony for the Nats, running the Great Indaba further into the ground, smudging our international relations with his prickly and erratic responses to events — De Klerk's claim on the presidency will erode.

Another year of Botha will be another year of drift. At best. There are matters of such urgency to be dealt with — the need for a political settlement, to stabilise prices, to tackle corruption, to reduce government — that the tensions within the NP and the country over the presidency could flare into crisis.

Without movement on the core issues of apartheid and the economy, serious unrest could return as poverty deepens. We know what Botha's response to that would be; and what international penalties would result.

Therefore this is the time — perhaps the only time — for De Klerk to assert himself. Within its parameters, the NP functions democratically: its leaders are supposed to consult it on such matters as the timing of an election, and its leaders are chosen from its ranks.

By holding fast to a technicality, Botha is seriously misreading the way in which the tide has turned against him. It is almost as if he can no longer look ahead.

De Klerk, of course, may not by temperament be inclined to assert himself. He may choose to manipulate and compromise — but there are no signs that Botha is in any mood to compromise. If he turns upon those he perceives as opposed to him — guided as he is by some quasi-divine mandate — the consequences will be appalling for the country; and for the party on whose behalf he became a political bruiser 50 years ago, though that is of less concern to us.

The path of "damage control" should not be taken by De Klerk. He needs to face down Botha, soon. It may be a bitter and anguishing experience for the Nationalists; but it may also be the only way to escape from the extraordinary liability Botha has become.

For the rest of us, it seems to be the only rational path towards economic and political sanity again. ■



Buyers was on the Bench.

# 'Just pathetic,' say schoolgirls from Boksburg

Staff Reporter

McG 17/3/89

SCHOOLGIRLS from a non-racial private school have been raising eyebrows in Cape Town — because they are from Boksburg.

The St Dominic's Convent girls are on a tour to compete with debating teams at convents similar to their own.

What do they say about their town bringing back petty apartheid?

Their teacher, Miss Carole Doig, requested a no-names interview before the girls were allowed to let off steam.

"Most of us think it's really just pathetic," said one.

"It just makes you embarrassed to say you're from Boksburg. We just say we're from the East Rand," said another.

"It makes me so angry," said a third. "Most people didn't care enough to vote. It was only the Conservative Party who voted."

The girls recount stories of empty shops, a family whose lights and water were about to be cut off and busloads of people going to shop in Benoni.

Sport is one area which has affected the school since the CP took over the municipality.

The government schools will not always agree to compete against St Dominic's and special permission was necessary to hold a swimming gala.

Miss Doig said the school did not know where to hold its prizegiving, normally held in Boksburg Town Hall.

Pupils from the black and Indian community tell of the strong feelings and of a growing anti-white sentiment.

"Even if the CP goes, people say they still won't buy in Boksburg," an Indian girl said.

Her friend added with passion: "The adults make all the decisions, but it's the children who are feeling threatened and taking the rap."

# Soviets: 'violence can't win in SA'

RAMSAY MILNE

NEW YORK — Setting out a major shift in Soviet policy towards South Africa, a senior government official in Moscow yesterday ruled out any prospect of violence succeeding in South Africa.

He said: "In our opinion, we doubt that revolution in South Africa is possible if you are talking of revolutionaries storming Pretoria."

Mr Boris Asoyan, deputy chief of the Department of African countries in the Foreign Ministry, said that while Moscow would continue to support the African National Congress, which, he said, Moscow regarded as "the main force in contemporary political life in South Africa", the Soviet Union believed there "is really no alternative to a peaceful solution".

Mr Asoyan made these comments in an interview with the Moscow correspondent of *The New York Times*.

They give new weight to reports of a major Soviet policy shift that have been circulating for some time.

There is a growing belief among Western officials that as the Kremlin disengages itself from other regional conflicts around the world, it is eager to re-position itself on South Africa, and ultimately to establish the diplomatic ties that were broken in 1956.

Mr Asoyan's candid remarks, expressed freely and confidently, according to the *Times* reporter, John Burns, were an acknowledgement that violence in itself will not overturn white rule.

"This is not a war that will go on for one year or two," said Mr Asoyan. "It could go on for generations, not as a raging inferno but as a smouldering fire."

At one point, Mr Asoyan implied that part

● TO PAGE 2.

## Soviets change tune

FROM PAGE 1.

of a Soviet reconciliation with South Africa might be an agreement to scale down the Kremlin's military backing of the ANC.

Western diplomats are reported to be "intrigued" by the new Russian stance.

One expressed it this way: "You cannot separate their policy on southern Africa from the rest of the 'new political thinking' under Mr Gorbachev."

"They want to concentrate on domestic problems, they don't want to mess around with regional conflicts and they don't want to unsettle relations with the United States."

"Overall, what is involved is a very clear trend towards a more realistic approach, and in southern Africa they have recognised that has to include some dealings with South Africa," he said.

Western officials emphasise, however, that there are major stumbling blocks, not the least the necessity for the South African government to meet the Kremlin halfway by taking bold steps that until now it has resisted. These would include releasing Mr Nelson Mandela and a commitment by Pretoria to talk directly with ANC leaders.



# Bid to end NP crisis

18/3/89 • FROM PAGE 1

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With other Nat MPs, Mr de Klerk expressed great "esteem and respect" for President Botha and his 50 years of faithful service to the NP.

Meanwhile the hints continued of a great constitutional shake-up.

Mr de Klerk told yesterday's House of Assembly debate a drastic review of the office of State President and a new, substantially different, constitution would have to be negotiated.

The decision of the party's Federal Council earlier this week (that the National Party leader should also be State President) was not aimed at getting at President Botha, or to drive him out, said the new NP boss.

Meanwhile, the Government would continue in the normal way and the NP would not be rushed by the Opposition's opportunistic abuse of the situation, nor would it accept responsibility for the "malicious interpretation" given to its Federal Council decision by opposition parties and newspapers.

The National Party was offended by the destructive criticism of the State President prevalent in certain circles. This had to end.

There had of course been a debate developing around the division of the two positions and this had gone way beyond the ranks of the NP caucus.

Said Mr de Klerk: "It was inevitable that the NP had to take a position on the question on the table. The conclusion reached is well known."

Mr de Klerk repeated the Federal Council decision and added: "Built into it is the fact that there must now be consultation between the honourable State President and the Cabinet."

Naturally the Opposition would try to exploit the situation, but petty politics could not change a fundamental truth — that the NP decision had created a principle at a particular juncture of the country's constitutional development (that the two offices could not be divorced).

Mr de Klerk continued: "The NP resolution does not mean the party is clinging to a dominating role. There is no doubt in my mind that the office of the State President — his role and functions — will have to be reviewed drastically in tandem with other constitutional developments and reforms."

It was the culmination of a week of indecision which began with the landmark decisions by the NP Federal Council and caucus to back Mr de Klerk.

The prevailing Cabinet view seems to be that the crisis will be resolved by an election later this year, after which President Botha will step down.

# De Klerk urged to act

MICHAEL MORRIS  
Parliamentary Staff

NOW is the time for the leader of the National Party Mr F W de Klerk to free Nelson Mandela and begin talks on a new South Africa, says Mr Harry Schwarz.

"I appeal to Mr de Klerk that he, as the new leader of the NP, should say to Mandela: 'Leave that prison, come and participate in the politics of South Africa and come and sit round a table with me'," Mr Schwarz said during the first reading debate on the House of Assembly Budget.

The Yeoville PFP MP said of Mr de Klerk: "Having now started the leadership of the National Party with what I thought were

18/7/89  
interesting and stimulating speeches which showed a high degree of enlightenment, we would now like to see some action. The time for action is here.

"What is his approach to negotiations? I would like to see a thawing of relations with the Labour Party.

"I would like to ask him, whether he doesn't think the time has come that he and Nelson Mandela should be talking. I make that appeal to him."

● From London it is reported there was intense speculation yesterday that Mandela would be released soon. The South African Embassy received calls from newspapers asking whether it was true he would be released within 48 hours.



# 'Peace in the offing'

LONDON — South Africa believes that it now has a better chance than ever before of finding a peaceful, negotiated settlement to the country's problems and of normalising relations with its African neighbours.

"We're in a spring which promises a good summer," the Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, told *The Independent* in an interview published yesterday.

"Developments in the region might persuade the ANC to 'come to the table'," he said.

"One wants to keep one's feet on the ground, but the temptation is quite strong to feel that we are moving into special times. If the Namibian thing goes well, which we of course hope it will, it could set the scene for a general relaxation in southern Africa," said Mr van Heerden.

## SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said on his diplomatic sweep across Europe this week that the Namibian settlement, developments in Mozambique and Moscow's new interest in South Africa indicated "we are at the beginning of a new era".

He was particularly pleased about the Soviet Union's shift in its stance on South Africa, and greeted the news by saying that it increased the chances of a peace.

Mr van Heerden told the *Independent* that Pretoria even had an interest, in principle, in opening diplomatic relations with Moscow, but that it was "early days yet." He noted that "given the new world we are living in, which is strongly bi-polar, having relations only with one of the super powers is clearly not an ideal situation".

Mr van Heerden is to fly to Cuba on the first such visit by a South African Government delegation on Monday. He said he would hold bilateral talks with Soviet officials, as well as meeting the Cubans and Angolans.

"It has been my impression from talking to the Soviets over a period of eight months now that they are doing a retake of their position on southern Africa and, along the way, they seem to have come to the conclusion that the theory 'revolution today and evolution the day after' is not so valid anymore. And I suspect they are telling their clients the same thing."

"If the ANC is convinced by what the Soviets are telling them, then presumably they will find a way back to a position which meets the — I don't want to use the word 'conditions' — requirements which would enable them to come to the table," Mr van Heerden told *The Independent*.

## SA needs a young man — Schoeman

THE man who nominated P W Botha for Prime Minister 10 years ago has said: "We need a young man now."

Botha had been an "excellent man, but his health is not right", former Transport Minister Hendrik Schoeman told Radio 702 Newstalk yesterday.

Schoeman said "all SA" wanted F W

304 ARIJAN SMIT

de Klerk to become State President.

"He (was) elected as leader in a democratic way and (there is) a new breeze in South Africa with an exceptional man such as De Klerk. I would really enjoy serving under him."



# A week of long knives and short memories

THE past week has seen amazing developments in this country (to borrow a word from a well-known Sunday newspaper). First, it seemed that the knives were all ready to be plunged into Mr P W Botha's back. Then the knives were back in their sheaths. This put paid to the confrontation that was largely expected when the Big Crocodile made his way back into office and duty.

The drama, however, came from what occurred over the knife-drawing exercise. I bet even PW did not know he had friends and sympathisers in certain quarters. Who would, for example, have thought that PW would get a message of sympathy from AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche? This is what he is reported to have said: "Hang on in there. The AWB will get rid of FW de Klerk. You don't have to do it."

## Sudden sympathy

He then went on to say that PW was "less bad than FW", and added that the Nats were trying to drum out a "sickly old man in a shameful manner". Also quick on the draw was Dr Andries Treurnicht, who accused the Nats and "NP newspapers" of insensitivity towards Mr Botha. So, too, was Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Why, then, all the sudden sympathy for a man all these parties accused of selling out the Afrikaner? It is all perhaps reflected in Mr Marais' theory: the Nats want PW out because he is a security man. The "Left" wishes to get rid of him in a co-ordinated plan so that the state of emergency can be lifted, which would result in the freeing of detainees, the freeing of Nelson Mandela, and unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and the SACP in preparation for the Great Indaba — with the ANC and Mandela.

Now that's a pretty devilish plot on the part of FW, isn't it? One could almost say it is treason. But then, what can one expect from the leftwing Nats?

**Write On!**

Joe  
Latakomo



ported to have asked for forgiveness for maintaining apartheid. Now just imagine that. Please, the church could have said, forgive us for having believed that apartheid is justified by the Good Book. Forgive us for not treating you as equals, as being, all of us, equal creations in the image of God. Please forgive us for the way we treated you when you tried to pray with us.

Many will recall the kind of treatment blacks were given for wanting to go to church. No, a little garage in the backyard was okay for them if they wished to pray. Those black journalists who tried to show the way in the 1960s, by going into the so-called white churches, must be turning in their graves.

They were beaten up by people who claimed to be Christians. They were thrown out physically from churches which did not want to be tainted by black skins. Okay, so not all of them threw out blacks. Some kept them while a discreet telephone call was made to the police to come and remove the people while they were praying.

But now, to admit that they were wrong in the first place is simply amazing — almost 25 years after being told that it was wrong and un-Christian for whites to claim the House of God as their own, separate facility. I don't think people realised at the time the pain they caused blacks; the bitterness they created over the years.

## Good heavens!

How often have we not seen whites, still in their Sunday best, emerging from their churches, and engaging in beating up blacks for one reason or another that same evening or night? This, after having prayed for forgiveness of their sins, and dedicating themselves to serve God.

Worse, still: while all this is going on, we are told that there is even apartheid in heaven. Just a thought, though: imagine the reception at the Pearly Gates (it must be gates if there are separate entrances) for those who have so persecuted the people of God. I suspect it will be something like "go to hell".

Well, it was an amazing week. The country is, however, still a geriatric. Old crocodiles never die, they simply fade away.

I knew that the word "indaba" would get FW into trouble. The problem is that people tend to try to get away from words which they suspect their constituencies do not like. Power-sharing has become a swear word. Democracy has become just another Greek word. One-man, one-vote simply turns people to their guns. Human rights is a communist plot.

And, even while all this was going on, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk was re-

# Nat leadership rift brakes Mandela's release

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE Government is edging towards the release of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, partly of its own volition and partly in response to pressure.

But no major step is likely to be taken until the leadership dispute between President Botha and the newly elected leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, is resolved.

This is how political analysts and diplomatic observers yesterday interpreted the up-beat statement by British Premier Margaret Thatcher to the House of Commons that Mandela would soon be freed.

Speaking after a 90-minute meeting with Foreign Minister Mr P. W. Botha in London, Mrs Thatcher confirmed she had pressed for the release of Mandela as an indispensable step towards meaningful negotiations in South Africa.

"I think a number of people in South Africa in very high places take the same view but have not been able to bring it about," she said.

Different explanations were offered for Mrs Thatcher's public optimism — described by one observer as unprecedented — that Mandela's release was high on the agenda.

Mr Kurt von Schirnding, director-general of the SA Foundation and a former SA Ambassador to the United Nations, said: "It sounds as if she was given some sort of assurance."

## Two points on Mandela

Mr von Schirnding had earlier drawn attention to Mr P. W. Botha's remarks at a news conference after his meeting with Mrs Thatcher at 10 Downing Street.

Mr Botha reportedly made two key points on Mandela's release: first, that he would welcome Mandela's unconditional release because "he is doing us

much more harm in prison than out"; second, that the release would have to be made in a peaceful atmosphere to eliminate the risk of having to re-arrest him.

But Professor John Barratt, director-general of the SA Institute of International Affairs, was more sceptical. Noting that the leadership dispute was unsettled, he said: "I cannot believe that P. W. Botha would have given her any assurance."

Professor Barratt saw Mrs Thatcher's sanguine statement as an attempt to encourage the pro-release lobby in the upper rungs of power in South Africa. He thought it was merely the first in a series of moves to nudge the major adversaries in the South African conflict, the Government and the outlawed ANC, towards the negotiating table.

While Mr Botha was in London, the Soviet Union announced that it did not favour an escalation in revolutionary violence in South Africa and that it was worth trudging along the route to a negotiated settlement, even if it took years.

The Soviet Union, under Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, played a constructive role in the settlement of the Angolan and Namibian disputes by pressing the Angolans and Cubans along a similar route.

Professor Barratt predicted yesterday that pressure from the Soviet Union on the ANC — the Soviets have served as the main arms supplies to ANC fighters — to negotiate would be matched by equal pressure from the West on Pretoria.

Mrs Thatcher's statement should be assessed as an opening gambit towards that objective, he contended.



A MAJOR new drive for peace is in the making for South and southern Africa.

This is evident in this week's succession of events on the local and the international front.

Confirmation that government, too, is preparing for a renewed attempt at change has come from new Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk. He gave Parliament the assurance yesterday that his party remained committed to "power-sharing without domination" and "regards development in this direction as a matter of urgency".

A complicating factor for the government, as evidently also for other prospective players in the new peace initiatives, remains the position of President Botha, on which Mr de Klerk urged: "Be calm. We will find a sensible path."

### Mandela release

While analysts believe the government is edging towards releasing Mr Nelson Mandela — partly of its own volition and partly in response to pressure — it is believed that this step, too, might only be taken once the Nationalist leadership dispute had been resolved.

The renewed speculation about Mr Mandela's position follows the statement by British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher to the House of Commons that Mr Mandela would be freed soon.

Speaking after her 90-minute meeting with Foreign Minister Mr P. W. Botha in London, she warned she had pressed for Mr Mandela's release as an indispensable step towards meaningful negotiations in South Africa.

Different explanations were offered for her public optimism — described by one observer as unprecedented — that Mr Mandela's release was high on the agenda.

Mr Kurt von Schirnding, director-general of the SA Foundation and a former SA Ambassador to the United Nations, said: "It sounds as if she was given some sort of assurance."

### Sceptical

However, Professor John Barrett, director-general of the SA Institute of International Affairs, was more sceptical. He thought it was merely the first in a series of moves to nudge the major adversaries in the South African conflict, the government and the outlawed African National Congress, towards the negotiating table.

He predicted that pressure from the Soviet Union on the ANC to negotiate would be matched by equal pressure from the West on Pretoria.

For negotiations to start two conditions had to be fulfilled: Mr Mandela had to be released and the ban on the ANC lifted.

The Weekend Argus bureau in London reports that after his 90-minute meeting with Mrs Thatcher, Mr Botha was moved to use phrases like "the beginning of a new era" and "the season of violence is over" on the subject of southern Africa.

## Big push for peace in SA

■ From page 1.

While Mr Botha was in London, the Soviet Union announced that it did not favour an escalation in revolutionary violence in South Africa and that it was worth trudging along the route to a negotiated settlement, even if it took years.

● South Africans representing a wide range of political views and interests will be in Bermuda at the end of the month for a conference on peace prospects. They will brief US congressmen interested in southern Africa.

### NP, CP and ANC

Mr Herman Jay Cohen, US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, will attend as an observer and congressmen will meet the different interest groups at separate meetings.

Among those invited are Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP, Mr Piet Coetzer of the NP, Mr Koos van der Merwe of the CP, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert of Idasa, Mr Thabo Mbeki, director of information of the ANC, Prof Willie Breytenbach of the Africa studies department of the University of Stellenbosch, Mrs Mary Burton, president of the Black Sash, Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana and Mr Sam Mabe of The Sowetan.

● A joint commission from Angola, Cuba and South Africa will convene in Havana on Monday to report on its monitoring of the Angola and Namibia peace accords.

● Idasa leader Dr van Zyl Slabbert has announced that he and three other South Africans — University of the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerwel, Professor Johan Degenaar of Stellenbosch University and Kangwane Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza — are leaving for a 10-day visit to Moscow on April 1.

Dr Slabbert said once Namibia was independent, the world would focus on a similar outcome for South Africa.

● Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano has welcomed the Soviet Union's recent call for political dialogue to end apartheid in South Africa.

It became clear that something was in the air. Observers here are convinced an international peace initiative on South and southern Africa is being reached for in capitals from Maputo to Moscow. There were hints that Mrs Thatcher might be prepared to expand her own role in the region.

■ Turn to page 3.

Weekend Argus Reporters

# Major moves on various fronts point to... 3044 NEW BID FOR PEACE IN SA

*One Times*  
*18/3/89*

# Coloured DP MPs hindered by LP deal

*306A*

Political Staff

COLOURED members of the soon-to-be-formed Democratic Party (DP) are not going to be allowed to stand for public office, because of an "agreement" with the Labour Party (LP).

And labelling the move as "racist", one PFP MP has already threatened to resign should an independent MP in the House of Representatives, Mr Charles Redcliffe, not be admitted to the party.

Mr Redcliffe is MP for Schauderville.

Mr Redcliffe's membership application has now been with PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer for nearly two weeks. He stated yesterday that he would deal with it "in my own good time".

He said an application by a public representative such as Mr Redcliffe was obviously different to that of an ordinary member of the public.

It is understood that the "deal" between the DP and the LP is based on co-operation because both parties have the common goal of bringing an end to apartheid.

It involves working out joint strategy in Parliament, although no move to merge the two parties is anticipated.

## Counter-productive

The LP is adamant that the implication of the "deal" is that the DP does not oppose them at the polls. If this did happen, an LP source said yesterday, it would be regarded as a "hostile act".

It is understood that the DP will not oppose the LP for seats in the House of Representatives, as this would be counter-productive.

Meanwhile, there is apparently tension within the ranks of the DP over the extent to which the party should participate in the tricameral Parliament.

It is understood, the National Democratic Movement wants to stay clear of the coloured and Indian chambers because the ANC is opposed to any kind of link with the tricameral system.

Dr De Beer said yesterday that the party would not be "dictated to by Lusaka".

The PFP leader remains confident that the DP is going to work and that it is "greater than the sum of its parts".



# De Klerk hints at big changes

Cape Times

18/3/89  
Political Staff

3044

THE National Party's new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday hinted that there could be sweeping changes to the constitution if he became president.

He also told Parliament that he was committed to bringing about drastic changes to the role of president.

Speaking during the own affairs budget in the House of Assembly, he said that the party's recent resolution to re-unite the posts of president and NP leader did not mean that the NP was clinging to a dominating role.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the office of the State President — his role and functions — will have to be reviewed drastically in tandem with other constitutional developments and reforms.

"Finally a new constitution, differing substantially from what we have today, must come about," Mr De Klerk said.

● NP taunted in Parliament — Page 2

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about 100 people had been injured, but Ms Mara said the exact number of injured now stood at 72. Most of the injured were treated at the Bara

## Mandela release may be on agenda

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

20/3/89 206A  
The question of releasing Nelson Mandela could be discussed by the State Security Council in Cape Town today.

This follows discussions last week between Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Mrs Thatcher told parliament afterwards that she was confident Mandela would be released soon. This has been interpreted by some observers as suggesting that Mr Botha had given her some form of assurance.

Mr Botha would not comment on this today. However, after meeting Mrs Thatcher he indicated that though he was in favour of releasing Mandela unconditionally — because he is "doing us more harm in prison than out" — the South African Government had to consider security implications of the move.

This is likely to be the substance of the SSC discussion today if the Mandela question is raised as expected.



## Corruption boom - survey

Star 20/3/89 • Staff Reporter

Most white South Africans believe high-level corruption has increased during President Botha's term of office, according to a poll.

A Sunday newspaper reported that a poll by Research Surveys found 60 percent of white male respondents and 50 percent of the women felt Mr Botha had not kept his promise of a clean administration.

About 51 percent of white female respondents and 53 percent of white males thought corruption had worsened. About 65 percent of the white male respondents thought present laws and punishments were inadequate to deal with corruption.

Politicians topped the list as the most crooked South Africans, followed by government officials, businessmen, church leaders and the police.

# Du Plessis next on list for Downing Street?

LONDON — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis may be the next SA politician to be received at Downing Street, after Foreign Minister Pik Botha's visit last week, reports here suggest.

Whitehall sources said invitations may be issued in the next few months to a number of other leading SA politicians.

An article in the Sunday Times said that apart from Du Plessis, Downing Street was also considering inviting NP leader F W de Klerk, once he succeeded to the presidency.

The paper said: "At present, it is felt

such an invitation may be damaging to De Klerk's prospects in the power struggle with Botha."

A Downing Street spokesman said yesterday he was unaware of any such invitations, which he described as pure speculation.

However, they have been heard with increasing frequency on the political grapevine in the past week, which has seen a number of political developments in southern Africa and Moscow.

This culminated in the visit of Botha, which was also seen here as pure speculation until the last minute. When Botha's meeting at Downing Street was eventually announced, most of the media were caught on the hop.

A Whitehall source said Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher not only wanted to discuss with Botha the issues she would be addressing with other African leaders, but was anxious to dispel any notion that SA had been snubbed.

● See Page 3

ROBERT GENTLE



# DP/LP deal on elections

13/Jan 20/3/87  
CAPE TOWN — Coloured members of the soon-to-be-formed Democratic Party (DP) are not going to be allowed to stand for public office, because of an "agreement" with the LP.

Labelling the move as "racist", one PFP MP has already threatened to resign should an independent MP in the House of Representatives, Charles Redcliffe, not be admitted to the party. Redcliffe is MP for Schauderville.

Redcliffe's membership application has now been with PFP leader Zach de Beer for nearly two weeks. He said on Friday he would deal with it "in my own good time".

He said an application by a public representative such as Redcliffe was obviously different to that of an ordinary member of the public.

It is understood the "deal" between the DP and the LP is based on co-operation

Own Correspondent

because both parties have the common goal of bringing an end to apartheid and establishing a non-racial democracy.

It involves working out joint strategy in Parliament, although no move to merge the two parties is anticipated.

The LP is adamant the implication of the "deal" is that the DP does not oppose it at the polls, and if this does happen, an LP source says, it will be regarded as a "hostile act".

There is also tension within the DP over the extent to which it should take part in the tricameral Parliament.

It is understood, the NDM wants to stay clear of the coloured and Indian chambers because the ANC is opposed to any kind of link with the tricameral system.

Economic recovery 'must be primed by Europe'

304A

# Regional peace plan: Pik moots foreign aid

B/Dam 20/3/89

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha has called for Europe to mount a financial rescue operation for southern Africa in the same way that the US did for Europe after the Second World War.

Botha, speaking on his return at the weekend from a tour to Britain, Belgium and Italy, said peace could only come to the region if economic recovery was primed by rich European states.

"My idea was to get Europeans to interest themselves in this new opportunity, which is opening up for them... to provide the funds to try to get the states of southern Africa together to co-operate," Botha said.

"Let us call it a Marshall Plan for southern Africa, a plan which certainly can succeed," he said, referring to the US economic plan which underpinned the recovery of Western Europe after the Second World War.

SA's economy was the richest on the continent, although it was shunned by most of the world because of Pretoria's

apartheid race policies.

Black states in the region were heavily dependent upon SA to prop up their ailing economies.

Turning to his discussions with other European leaders, Botha said he had asked them to be part of the new spirit of co-operation between countries in southern Africa.

He said there was great interest and appreciation in Europe for developments both in SA and southern Africa.

## Expectation

Botha said he had briefed his counterparts in Italy and Belgium on the progress made with implementation of the UN settlement plan for Namibia.

There was also a mood of expectation among European leaders about movements in SA to solve the country's internal problems, he said.

There was great interest overseas in the Law Commission report on human rights, real appreciation for the Nami-

bia peace plan and great interest in what could be done to bring about peace in Mozambique.

There were also expectations abroad that there would soon be discussions in SA between whites and blacks about a new constitutional set-up for the country.

Asked if party political developments in SA had any influence on South Africa's image abroad, Botha said he had convinced leaders that, in SA, there was no political difference between the State President and the leader of the National Party.

There was no detrimental effect, as far as SA was concerned, as a result of the leadership in Parliament.

Botha said the position of Nelson Mandela was one of the most important issues he discussed with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in their talks last week in London.

He was reluctant to give details of their discussions, but said he would report to the State Security Council. — Sapa.



**T**HIS COUNTRY has lately been so full of surprises that I sometimes wonder whether we should not change its name right now — call it Azania, and be done with it. At least we could look at it with fresh eyes.

It might help us to shed some obsolete assumptions, such as the notion — demonstrably false — that SA-Azania is so rigid that it will take a mighty revolution, on satellite television and in full colour, to overthrow apartheid. Or the companion notion, equally false, that we are becoming steadily more polarised.

The tenacity of such assumptions is remarkable, suggesting that they are emotional rather than rational. Any evidence to the contrary tends simply to be ignored because, one suspects, it upsets the ritual dance of good-guy bad-guy which is known to all true believers as "the fight against apartheid".

That, in any event, is the best explanation for the astonishing silence that has followed publication of the Law Commission's Working Paper 25, commissioned by the Minister of Justice, which "pleads" for a bill of rights, puts forward a draft bill and outlines a plan of action to implement it.

**T**his plan of action calls for a joint sitting of Parliament, as soon as possible after publication of the commission's final report, to adopt a statement of policy accepting a bill of rights that will protect "generally accepted individual rights".

The joint sitting would be followed by the systematic purging of the statute book of laws likely to conflict with the bill of rights. Among them, the Law Commission itself has identified such favourite targets of the liberals as the security laws, including prolonged detention without trial, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Republic of SA Constitution Act 110 of 1983.

While this is happening, the commission suggests, the country should embark — with the help of churches and educational institutions — on an

# If free Azania looks like this, what are we all waiting for?

**KEN OWEN**

endeavour to educate the populace on the workings of a bill of rights. The final stages would be to negotiate a new constitution incorporating a bill of rights, and to submit it to national referendum.

In short, the Law Commission has laid before government the sort of programme for change which has repeatedly been suggested by sympathetic foreigners as the means to stop sanctions, reintegrate SA into the family of democratic states to which it once belonged and to bring down on our heads the mixed blessing of an international army of do-gooders and well-wishers.

Except for the first, sketchy news reports, the whole idea has been stonily ignored. Yet there was more to it. Far more exciting than the reform programme, however, is the fact that the Law Commission has based its recommendation firmly in the concept of individual rights, treating the notion of "group rights" as the sort of nonsense that should be left to politicians.

To put this in perspective, it may be

useful to recall the evidence given to the commission on behalf of the Argus company, publishers of a chain of newspapers that have castigated government for a generation, by its managing director, Peter McLean.

According to the commission's report, he said his company felt it necessary to recognise "group rights," because it was the only way white South Africans would accept majority rule, and because otherwise the National Party would not even negotiate.

**T**o this, the commission appends its own, devastating, comment: "However, there is a danger that this (approach) could lead to further racial division. A better solution would be to try to protect group rights in such a way that there is no reference to race."

More important, the commission became convinced "that there is strong support in this country for the idea that individual human rights ought to be better protected," but that

cultural, linguistic and religious interests must be protected as individual rights. It rejected the suggestion of special "group protection" of those interests.

This is a far more "liberal" stand than the position taken not only by McLean on behalf of Argus, but also by the political adviser to the unborn Democratic Party, Wimpie de Klerk. De Klerk in particular has been insistent on the need for the entrenchment of *(verskansing)* in any new system of "language, education, church and community life".

There is, naturally, some outright opposition to the suggestion that the Nationalists start preparing the ground for a bill of rights. The ANC, says the commission, wants a bill of rights but insists that it cannot be introduced by a government or under a constitution which it regards as lacking legitimacy. It must emerge from the liberation struggle.

The ANC's anxiety at the prospect of having its clothes stolen by the Nats, of all people, is understandable,

but that does not stop government from purging the statutes of those laws which would block a bill of rights. Anthony Mathews of Natal University put forward, some time ago, an innovative set of suggestions to bring the security system under control of the law. He called it a "qualified due process model" because it fell short of the standards of due process required in most Western systems. At the time, I supported him out of despair that — between the hammer of Nationalist rule and the anvil of black resistance — any truly civilised system could be maintained.

Now the Law Commission has moved past us both, and put forward a draft bill of rights which includes the right to freedom except on "lawful arrest or detention ... effected in order to cause him to appear before a court of law on the ground of a reasonable suspicion that he has committed a crime" or may do so. In addition, the commission says, such prisoners should be treated with dignity, informed of the charges against them, told of their right to remain silent and generally to be treated as a prisoner in any civilised country.

**T**he interesting question, now, is how government will react to a document that, in effect, overturns the Rabbie Commission's appalling standards for the treatment of prisoners, commits the society to repeal of racist legislation and shifts the debate from questions concerning the power of the State to questions about the right of the individual.

A heavy onus falls on political and other elites to deal with this report, and not to bury it from public view. For one thing, it confirms the observation made a few years ago by Charles Simkins, during his seminal lectures on the reconstruction of South African liberalism, that all South African communists hold basically liberal views. For another, it offers an acceptable future. If this document were to be adopted as policy by the leaders of the Democratic Party, it would be pretty hard for any liberal to refuse to support them.

# Botha and Cabinet to meet over leadership

ARGES 20/3/89  
364A

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha and the Cabinet will meet on Wednesday to discuss the division of the posts of National Party leader and President.

The Nationalist caucus meeting on Thursday was told that there were no new developments since its previous meeting on Monday.

At that meeting it was told of an NP federal council decision that the two posts should be unified and the caucus unanimously passed a motion of confidence in NP leader Mr F W de Klerk.

Parliament adjourns on Wednesday for the Easter recess and the next caucus meeting will be on April 6.

The Nationalist leadership is stressing, as Mr de Klerk did in Parliament on Friday, that there is no attempt to drive Mr Botha out.

Mr Botha is likely to be pressed on the issue of an early election. There is a feeling

among Nationalist politicians that there must be an election this year in spite of the fact that Mr Botha has indicated that this is not likely.

In an effort to find a respectable solution for the leadership crisis, Nationalist leaders are willing to have Mr Botha serve out his term of office until after an election.

They say that Mr de Klerk could lead the party in an election while Mr Botha occupied himself with the duties of the Head of State such as exploring possibilities to start negotiations on constitutional reform.



# White fears must be addressed, says Gastrow

Mr. G. 20/3/89 3047

DURBAN. — The challenge for any political party which intends to break the "political logjam" in South Africa is to address white fears because whites form the backbone of National Party support, according to Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central.

Speaking at the Independent Party's anniversary dinner, which was attended by many members of the Progressive Federal Party and the new Democratic Party, Mr Gastrow said in order to allay white fears any new party would have to install confidence in a shared future in the country and also "recognise and accommodate the legitimate aspirations of our black population".

"This is the road which the Democratic Party will take," he said.

Mr Gastrow said the Democratic Party accepted that South Africa was composed of different ethnic, language, religious and cultural groups.

Dr Denis Worrall, the leader of the Independent Party, said the coming together of the three parties — the

Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the New Democratic Movement — to form the Democratic Party was a "political necessity", as it was answering a very real need in South Africa.

He said the recent budget was another reason showing the need for a new party.

"All the strong points in the budget are the strong points in the country and its people, businessmen and workers in particular.

"All the weak points — the excessive taxation, rising costs, inflation, the grossly expensive public sector, the overspending and the plummeting currency — are directly due to National Party mismanagement and apartheid," he said.

"This country needs a party which is favourably committed to a free-market economy and to policies which generate jobs — a party which supports policies which encourage individual initiative and reward individual effort, and which upholds the right to private ownership." — Sapa

# Blacks not convinced of F.W.'s leanings

From DAVID CRARY  
of Associated Press  
in Johannesburg

**T**HE selection of a shrewd, affable pragmatist as President P.W. Botha's apparent successor has contributed to a surge of hope for a peaceful breakthrough in South Africa's political stalemate.

Thus far, however, the optimistic musings are coming almost exclusively from whites.

Black leaders have made clear they will be relieved when Mr. Botha steps down, but they suspect his heir apparent, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, will preside over changes that are more cosmetic than substantive.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu political leader denounced by many black activists as too conservative, said he will oppose Mr. de Klerk until the government gives blacks full

voting rights. There has been no sign Mr. de Klerk would contemplate such action.

At the other end of the black political spectrum, the banned ANC movement says any changes under Mr. de Klerk would be in personal style, not National Party policy.

Mr. de Klerk, who turned 53 on Saturday, has never been viewed as liberal, even within the context of the National Party. But supporters and skeptics alike depict him as more open-minded and less imperious than Botha, who has headed the government since 1978.

After becoming party leader, Mr. de Klerk called for a South Africa "free of domination and oppression." Other party officials have said at least some of the remaining apartheid laws — those dealing with segregated residential areas and public facilities — may be modified.

Mrs. Helen Suzman, F.P.P. MP said about Mr. de Klerk: "People are being too optimistic if they think he is going to throw fundamental policy overboard."

"But I think he's pragmatic and intelligent," she said. "He realizes that change is absolutely inevitable, that the sooner we get on with it, the more chance there is that change and reform will be accomplished peacefully."

Mr. de Klerk does not have the same close ties to the military and police establishment that Mr. Botha nurtured. But he is firmly committed to the concept of segregated neighborhoods and schools for whites who want them, and his proposal for "genuine power sharing" with blacks as yet has no substance.

His ascendancy coincides with other developments that have induced the broadest optimism about South Africa since black unrest

broke out in 1984. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, for example, said last week that "encouraging changes" were unfolding in South Africa.

These changes include major foreign policy initiatives, such as independence for Namibia and rapprochement with Mozambique after prolonged hostility. But some seemingly notable domestic developments are viewed with skepticism by anti-apartheid leaders.

For example, a government-appointed law commission attracted international publicity this month when it called for a bill of rights, abolition of apartheid laws and full voting rights for blacks. Human rights activists doubted the proposals would be implemented, and the government reacted with silence.

Similarly, black clergymen were unimpressed when delegates from the white Dutch Reformed Church,

to which most National Party officials belong, issued a statement describing apartheid as a sin. Last week, the full policy-making body of the Afrikaner church balked at endorsing the delegates' stance.

One of most informed assessments of Mr. de Klerk came in a recent magazine article by his brother, Willem, a former newspaper editor who quit the National Party out of disenchantment with apartheid.

"If F.W. can give the National Party a new credibility among all population groups, and in international politics, he will herald a breakthrough towards a new future," he said.

"But if he continues along the old path, he will merely be a transitional figure who will let us keep treading water."





# Traders lash out at Treurnicht's good

The Argus Correspondent

BELEAGUERED and desperate Carletonville traders are angry at Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's statement that his party believes in "the good" of white South Africa before profit.

"They are taking the bread from our mouths," said Mr Steven Rapelas, owner of Jacob's Cycle.

Due to the CP-controlled town council's actions in enforcing petty apartheid, Carletonville is reeling under a black consumer boycott that has already put 251 people out of work and caused many traders to lose over 90 percent of their business.

More than 500 boycott-hit Carletonville traders have resolved to sue the town council and R23 000 was immediately contributed and a further R27 000 pledged.

Pretoria attorney Mr Piet Strydom has been instructed to institute legal proceedings on behalf of the business people of Carletonville and Mr Constantine Galatis will be the applicant.

Meanwhile, for the traders of Carletonville, the grim reality of total boycott means that shops are

empty and shopkeepers are being deprived of the basic right to earn a living.

"It's all very well for the CP, but business is 90 percent down and if the boycott continues we'll be bankrupt in six months," said Mr Rapelas, a 38-year-old father of two.

"Everyone is suffering," he said. "The Indians, the whites. We're all in the same situation. We're caught in the middle of a political struggle and all we want to do is earn a living. This town council is taking our bread and butter."

## "Innocent victims"

In order to survive, Mr Rapelas is trying to sell a plot of land in Carletonville.

"But I'm lucky, I can still do that. Not everyone is in that position. Property values are already dropping. In three weeks a four-bedroomed, three-bathroomed house with a flat selling for R106 000 has dropped to R71 000."

Mr Galatis of AC Radio is angry. "The traders of Carletonville are the innocent victims of the extreme right and the extreme left."

"All we want to do is earn a living. We do not

agree with what the CP are doing but we also have a different view point to Cosatu. Every white businessman is not responsible for the CP council's actions. And the Indian traders certainly are not.

"Ninety-five percent of businesses are closing down. But at least we are putting our money where are mouths are and we are taking legal action against the town council. We sympathise with the aspirations of the blacks and we have shown our sincerity. But we want the boycott to stop immediately. The wrong people are being harmed."

Meanwhile, outside the empty stores, black staff sit on wooden crates and watch the empty streets. Most traders are trying to keep their staff employed but as the situation worsens, they are being dismissed.

Dr Andries Treurnicht



# Presidency: It's the party that holds the power

MEK  
20/3/89  
30/8/89

OUR Constitution, like any country's, regulates the distribution and exercise of all government power. This is why the present dilemma in the National Party, namely the power struggle

## POLITICS

between the State President and the leader of the party, is immediately perceived as a constitutional problem. Is it really?

On the face of it, the South African Constitution of 1983 created a powerful executive presidency. Some constitutionalists aver that it was moulded and shaped around the personality and stature of one person, Mr P W Botha.

But unlike the American president, who derives his strong, independent executive position from election by the people, our State President's strength flows from the fact that he is supported by the majority of members of the white House of Assembly.

Stated differently, the President's powerful position is secured not only by the formal provisions of the Constitution, but also by his leadership of the party.

This is indeed the unwritten, efficient secret of our entire system. Once this underlying assumption of a coincidence of state presidency and party leadership falls away, the political support system of our constitutional fabric is jeopardised.

Of course, this schism of constitutional presidential authority and party political power need not be fatal. If the President and the party leader can find a way of cohabitation the possibility of a clash can be averted.

In practical terms this would mean that both the President and the leader would have to work together to serve the wishes and interests of the party.

In a real sense, the leader would still have to subject his party leadership to the

**PROFESSOR MARINUS WIECHERS**, head of the Department of Constitutional and International Law at the University of South Africa, reviews the constitutional implications of the power struggle between State President P W Botha and National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

wishes and final say of his ex-leader and ensure that his party following still accepted the de facto influence of his predecessor.

What, however, if the new party leader wishes to "do his own thing"?

What if he wants to decide on elections; opt for a different style and manner for reform; is set on re-organising the state administration; elects to shuffle the Cabinet, and altogether chooses to project a different style of government?

What if he rallies the support of the party to follow a totally new course of constitutional development?

In short, how does Mr F W de Klerk, with the support of his party, embark on a new era of change if his President is in disagreement?

□ □ □ □

On the face of it, the Constitution does not assist the party leader to exert his own wishes. In terms of the Constitution, the President's position is apparently entrenched.

He does not take advice from his Cabinet, unlike the President under the previous constitution. He need only act in consultation with his Cabinet, which does not mean he necessarily has to follow advice.

Indeed, he can legislate on his own — thereby repealing and amending laws of Parliament — if circumstances have arisen which seriously threaten the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order, and if the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the government to ensure the safety of the public and to maintain public order.

All in all, it seems that the President's position is unsailable and cannot be threatened by the leader of the governing party.

What is more, the President has done nothing to raise claims of misconduct and has shown no inability to perform the duties of his office efficiently. All he did was a perfectly human thing. He became temporarily ill. At present, removal from office by the electoral college which elected him seems out of the question.

Constitutionally, it would seem that the party leader is in the weaker position and must obey the wishes of the

President. In truth, this is not wholly accurate.

If the leader can rally substantial party solidarity to vindicate the breach of the above-mentioned efficient secret of our constitutional system, the Constitution can be mobilised to make the President's position untenable.

This can be effected in various ways:

□ The leader can persuade the House of Assembly and the other Houses to reject a money bill, in which case the President must dissolve Parliament and call a general election, at which point his term of office will terminate automatically.

□ The entire Cabinet can resign. If this occurs and no other members of Parliament are prepared to become members of the Cabinet, the President will be left high and dry, without a Cabinet to consult.

□ The leader, with the support of the Cabinet, can propose a constitutional amendment to the effect that the President must always act on the advice of his Cabinet. If he refuses to assent to the amendment, he clearly rejects his duty to "obey, observe, uphold and maintain the Constitution", making it possible to have him removed from office.

The dilemma facing the leader of the National Party and his President can be solved party politically. This is apparently what the party wishes to do. This will require an agreement between the President and Mr de Klerk to work together in party political harmony, but with Mr Botha still having the ultimate say.

Alternatively, they may reach a party political accord that the President resigns graciously.

On the other hand, if this living together proves too tenuous and finally inoperative, or the President refuses to resign, the party leader can put the Constitution to work either to reduce the President to his former position of a parliamentary head of state with no effective executive powers, or to force him out of office.

This proves that ultimately it is the party which gives strength and legitimacy to the presidency and which must therefore finally win.

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## ANC, SA govt officials to attend conference

*Chc Times 20/3/89* Own Correspondent *304A*

LONDON. — The ANC and South African government officials are to attend a four-day conference in Bermuda on March 27 — the first time the two parties have agreed to appear at the same forum.

The conference, organised by the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, took a year to set up and is said to have the approval of the National Party.

According to a report in the Independent on Saturday, the South African delegation will include Conservative MP Mr Koos van de Merwe and one as yet unnamed National Party MP.

The paper said Information Minister Mr Stoffel van der Merwe was to have attended the conference but, because of the leadership crisis, had agreed to send an NP MP in his place. It is understood that Mr Van der Merwe's only condition was that the ANC representative, information secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, should not appear on the same platform.

# Commission's bill of rights a way to the future

THIS country has lately been so full of surprises that I sometimes wonder whether we should not change its name right now — call it Azania and be done with it. At least we could look at it with fresh eyes.

It might help us to shed some obsolete assumptions, such as the notion — demonstrably false — that South Africa-Azania is so rigid that it will take a mighty revolution, on satellite television and in full colour, to overthrow apartheid. Or the companion notion, equally false, that we are becoming steadily more polarised.

The tenacity of such assumptions is remarkable, suggesting that they are emotional rather than rational. Any evidence to the contrary tends simply to be ignored because, one suspects, it upsets the ritual dance of good-guy bad-guy which is known to all true believers as "the fight against apartheid".

That, in any event, is the best explanation for the astonishing silence that has followed publication of the Law Commission's Working Paper 25, commissioned by the minister of justice, which "pleads" for a bill of rights, puts forward a draft bill and outlines a plan of action to implement it.

## Laws that conflict

This plan of action calls for a joint sitting of Parliament, as soon as possible after publication of the commission's final report, to adopt a statement of policy accepting a bill of rights that will protect "generally accepted individual rights".

The joint sitting would be followed by the systematic purging of the statute book of laws likely to conflict with the bill of rights. Among them, the Law Commission itself has identified such favourite targets of the liberals as the security laws, including prolonged detention without trial, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Republic of SA Constitution Act 110 of 1983.

While this is happening, the commission suggests, the country should embark — with the help of churches and educational institutions — on an endeavour to educate the populace on the workings of a bill of rights. The final stages would be to

negotiate a new constitution incorporating a bill of rights and to submit it to national referendum.

In short, the Law Commission has laid before the government the sort of programme for change which has repeatedly been suggested by sympathetic foreigners as the means to stop sanctions, re-integrate South Africa into the family of democratic states to which it once belonged and to bring down on our heads the mixed blessing of an international army of do-gooders and well-wishers.

Except for the first sketchy news reports, the whole idea has been stonily ignored. Yet there was more to it.

Far more exciting than the reform programme, however, is the fact that the Law Commission has based its recommendation firmly on the concept of individual rights, treating the notion of "group rights" as the sort of nonsense that should be left to politicians.

To put this in perspective, it may be useful to recall the evidence given to the

commission on behalf of the Argus company, publishers of a chain of newspapers that have castigated the government for a generation, by its managing director, Peter McLean.

According to the commission's report, he said his company felt it necessary to recognise "group rights" because it was the only way white South Africans would accept majority rule and because otherwise the National Party would not even negotiate.

To this the commission appends its own, devastating, comment: "However, there is a danger that this (approach) could lead to further racial division. A better solution would be to try to protect group rights in such a way that there is no reference to race."

More important, the commission became convinced "that there is strong support in this country for the idea that individual human rights ought to be better protected", but that cultural, linguistic and religious interests must be protected as individual rights. It rejected the suggestion of special "group protection" of those interests.

This is a far more "liberal" stand than the position taken not only by McLean on behalf of Argus, but also by the political adviser to the unborn Democratic Party, Wimpie de Klerk. De Klerk in particular has been insistent on the need for the entrenchment *verskansing* in any new system of "language, education, church and community life".

There is, naturally, some outright opposition to the suggestion that the Nationalists start preparing the ground for a bill of rights. The ANC, says the commission, wants a bill of rights but insists that it cannot be introduced by a government or under a constitution which it regards as lacking legitimacy. It must emerge from the liberation struggle.

The ANC's anxiety at the prospect of having its clothes stolen by the Nats, of all people, is understandable, but that does not stop the government from purging the statutes of those laws which would block a bill of rights.

Anthony Mathews of Natal University put forward, some time ago, an innovative set of suggestions to bring the security system under control of the law. He called it a "qualified due process model" because it fell short of the standards of due process required in most Western systems. At the time, I supported him out of despair, that — between the hammer of Nationalist rule and the anvil of black resistance — any truly civilised system could be maintained.

## Debate shifted

Now the Law Commission has moved past us both and put forward a draft bill of rights which includes the right to freedom except on "lawful arrest or detention... effected in order to cause him to appear before a court of law on the ground of a reasonable suspicion that he has committed a crime" or may do so. In addition, the commission says, such prisoners should be treated with dignity, informed of the charges against them, told of their right to remain silent and generally to be treated as a prisoner in any civilised country.

The interesting question, now, is how the government will react to a document that, in effect, overturns the Rabie Commission's appalling standards for the treatment of prisoners, commits the society to the repeal of racist legislation and shifts the debate from questions concerning the power of the state to questions about the right of the individual.

A heavy onus falls on political and other elites to deal with this report, and not to bury it from public view. For one thing, it confirms the observation made a few years ago by Charles Simkins during his seminal lectures on the reconstruction of South African liberalism that all South African communities hold basically liberal views.

For another, it offers an acceptable future. If this document were to be adopted as policy by the leaders of the Democratic Party, it would be pretty hard for any liberal to refuse to support them.



## **Pik, Magnus to testify today**

CAPE TOWN — Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha are to testify today for the first time before the Harms Commission in Cape Town.

Both Ministers have already given evidence in the form of written statements, but have not yet testified.

Their evidence so far has been on their connections with Mr Albert Vermaas, the Pretoria lawyer whose financial dealings have been the main focus of the commission's inquiry to date. — Political Correspondent.

# Lobby discusses its objections to new party

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Tension is mounting between Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall and the Concerned Independent Democratic Lobby, a group of IP supporters disillusioned with the formation of the Democratic Party.

Lobby chairman Mr Kieran O'Malley yesterday said the lobby's executive committee met Dr Worrall in Johannesburg last week to discuss the DP's "unity-at-all-cost appearance".

One issue which had been discussed was the lobby's view that the DP — to be formed on April 8 — appeared to have been hijacked by Mr Wynand Malan's

National Democratic Movement which emphasised extra-parliamentary politics, he said.

Members of the lobby also held discussions with NDM MP Mr Pierre Cronje last week.

Mr O'Malley said the DP was contradicting itself by claiming to be a free-market party while it had appointed Stellenbosch academic Professor Sample Terreblanche — "a social democrat" — as its sole economic adviser. However, Dr Worrall had indicated a "free marketer" could soon be appointed as a co-economic adviser.

Mr O'Malley said the DP was interested in power politics, but had appointed Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slab-

bert as an adviser who "continues to ridicule Parliament".

He said the lobby had told Dr Worrall of its concern about the DP's "unconditional acceptance of 'extra-parliamentary liberals' whose emotional protest-type politics has not proved conducive to winning increased white support for a non-racial South Africa".

He said the IP's policies and image "were diluted in the DP", particularly the IP's firm commitment to free market economics, devolution of power and a willingness to stand up to undemocratic sections within the broad extra-parliamentary movement.

Dr Worrall declined to comment.



# CP, NP and ANC to speak (separately) at conference

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent  
CAPE TOWN — A number of South African parliamentary and extra-parliamentary leaders have been invited to a conference on southern Africa in Bermuda organised by an American organisation.

But both the National Party and the Conservative Party last night denied that they would have any contact with the ANC at the seminar, arranged by the American Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and several academics have also been invited to the conference, which starts on March 27.

The conference had been deliberately engineered so that the NP and CP representatives did not attend on the same day as the ANC, said Mr Piet Coetzer, the Nat MP for Springs who will be attending the conference.

The CP said its representatives would not even be on the island at the same time as the ANC.

Mr Coetzer discounted

reports that the conference was part of a peace initiative or an attempt to get the Government and ANC together.

It was merely an opportunity for various South Africans to put their viewpoints to American legislators.

He said that he, Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP MP for Overvaal, and Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana would put their points of view, separately, on March 31.

The ANC representative, executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki, would be speaking on March 29 and would have left by the time they arrived.

The object would be to expose a group of US legislators — apparently about 30 of them — to various shades of opinion on southern Africa.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the party had "demanded and been given a written undertaking" that the ANC would not be present when the CP "puts its case with confidence before any critical tribunal".

# Figures that mock Group Areas

30419

Some fear 21/3/89

IN spite of the increased "fuss and irritation" about Group Areas, there were only seven prosecutions for offenders last year — much the same as in the last few years.

Mr. Tian van der Merwe, the Progressive Federal Party's Group Areas spokesman, said yesterday: "It is obvious the degenerative trend in the administration of the Group Areas Act is continuing."

"The degree to which this system is untenable, is borne out by the Government's own record in administering it."

"Group Areas offenders have not got much to fear from effective prosecution."

He based his views on an analysis of statistics supplied in Parliament in answer to questions.

He said the number of police investigations into Group Areas offences during 1988 was 1641 — higher than it had been in the previous five years.

But it was lower than expected when one considered the amount of spying and vigilante activity by supporters of the Government and the far Right wing elements during 1988.

Only six prosecutions were effectively concluded in 1988, which was in line with the record for recent years when the number varied between 0 and 7.

He said the low number of prosecutions was especially significant considering the Government's attempt last year to tighten up the provisions of the Group Areas Act by introducing the Group Areas Amendment Bill.

The decision to abandon this Bill would inevitably contribute to the further collapse of the Group Areas system.



# The West has power to end apartheid — Tutu

PANAMA CITY — South African Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said that his country's racial policies would change immediately if the United States and other Western nations demanded.

Tutu, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 for his active opposition to apartheid, said the policy of strict racial

segregation that gave the white minority authority over the black majority was maintained because of "immense economic interest" by Western governments.

"If the United States and the Western countries wanted, apartheid would end tomorrow," Archbishop Tutu said at a news conference in Panama City.

## Dollars

Saying that "some actions taken by the Western governments have a background of racism", Archbishop Tutu told reporters, "they say that dollars are more important than people, especially when those people are black."

Archbishop Tutu and six other Anglican officials arrived in Panama from Nicaragua, where they toured the country for five days.

In Managua on Saturday, the clerics issued a statement praising the Sandinista government's recent reforms and calling on the United States to help resettle the 11 000 Nicaraguan rebels in Honduras.



ARCHBISHOP Tutu

An agreement signed on February 14 by five Central American presidents sought to disband the US-backed Nicaraguan rebels and bring democratic reform to Nicaragua.

The Anglican officials are visiting Latin America at the invitation of the Rev Sturdie Downs, Bishop of Nicaragua's Episcopal Church.

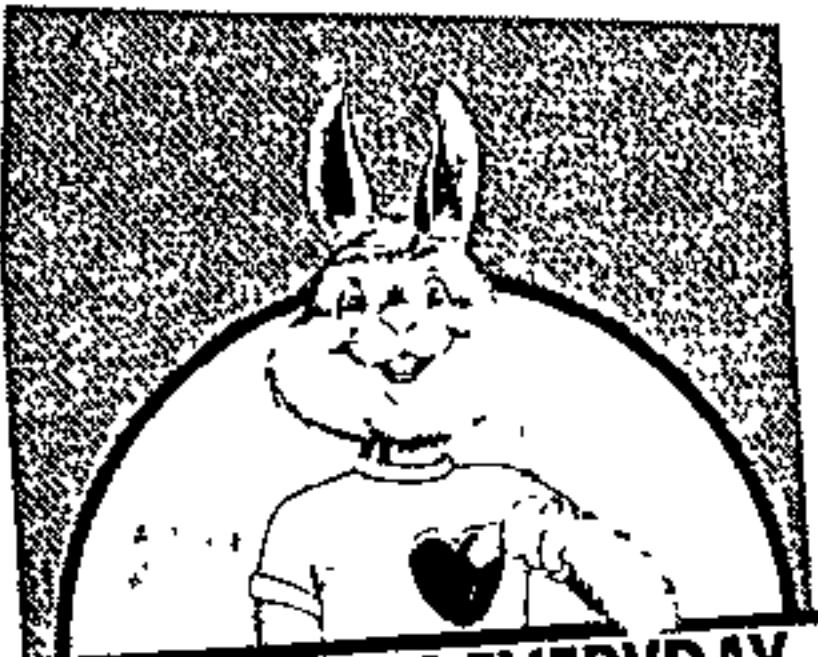
The religious leaders were due to meet with General Manuel Antonio Noriega, head of Panama's security forces and the country's de facto leader.

The US Government imposed sanctions against Panama in April 1988 to oust Noriega. A court in Florida has indicted Noriega on charges of drug trafficking.

The US sanctions have seriously damaged Panama's economy, but Noriega remains in power. — Sapa-AP.

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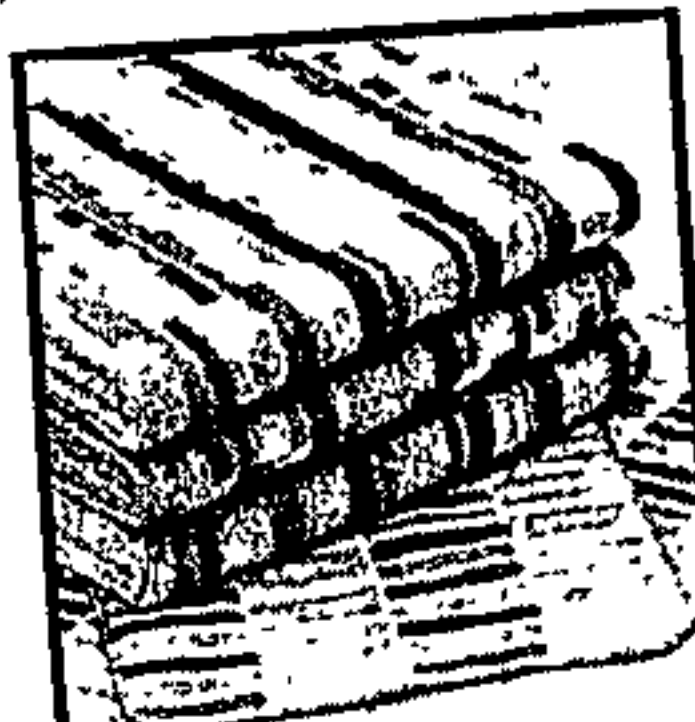


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# De Klerk is Washington's hope for a good relationship between SA and the USA

Sowetan 20/3/89

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FOCUS

WASHINGTON — A respected American observer of South African affairs, Robert Rotberg of Tufts University, suggested in the *New York Times* that Mr F W de Klerk could turn out to be South Africa's Richard Nixon.

He was not referring to President Nixon's disgrace — having to quit the White House in mid-term because of his involvement in the Watergate affair.

Rather, he was recalling Mr Nixon's enormous foreign policy achievement in re-establishing ties between the United States and communist China.

The former President had the Conservative credentials to break through the emotional and psychological barrier that separated the world's most powerful country from its most populous. A liberal Democrat — such as Jimmy Carter — probably would not have been able to get away with it.

In terms of Mr Rotberg's scenario, Mr de Klerk has the authentic rightwing credentials to be the leader who could bring white South Africa closer to Lusaka, or to Soweto.

As Mr Rotberg put it: "Mr de Klerk's elevation could signal the most important shift in white politics in years. At 53, he is a full 20 years younger than Mr Botha."

"His generation of whites understands that it can no longer expect to dominate blacks indefinitely, and certainly cannot continue to dominate them without incurring enormous costs."

"Whether or not Mr de Klerk does emerge as South Africa's next State President and whether or not he has the vision and

**SOWETAN FOREIGN SERVICE**

political muscle to lead — or drag — the country into a new, more racially content era, and whether or not he will be the Afrikaner Richard Nixon, are questions that will be answered soon enough.

But there is a growing belief in Washington that a switch of South Africa's leadership at this stage, even one that leaves unanswered the fundamental question of what the change will mean for power-sharing among all races, will be good for relations between the US and South Africa.

Something is needed to lift the relationship up to a healthier level. Bush administration spokesmen say repeatedly that SA policy is being reviewed along with all other foreign policy. The fact is that no real review is taking place at all and an effective SA policy remains an elusive item on Washington's wish list.

As Secretary of State James Baker has told the Congress: "We must think long and hard about how we can help best to end apartheid in South Africa." The Americans are still groping for something

that will work.

Even though the policy that will emerge eventually is likely to be a clone of President Reagan's constructive engagement approach, the chances are that President Bush will have an easier time than his predecessor in selling it to a sceptical Congress.

A senior Democrat explained it this way: President Reagan was perceived as a man who railed against apartheid but clearly preferred to do nothing about South Africa. President Bush also rails against apartheid but actually does want to do something — even though he does not know what to do.

It is a case of perception politics and it gives Mr Bush the benefit of the doubt in the

Congress when it comes to assessing his intentions. For this reason, he is likely to be more persuasive than Mr Reagan in arguing against sanctions and forced disinvestment.

But the Bush administration needs some element, something new that will inject some energy into its relationship with South Africa. During 1988, the Angola/Namibia negotiations were a useful new element but they have served their purpose now and have no real impact on South Africa's internal situation.

A switch of leadership at this time could be the element that it needed.

Mr de Klerk is a conservative, but he has made some remarkable liberal noises in some of his speeches. Could he

F W de Klerk has the conservative credentials to lead the majority of whites, says America.

be, if not another Nixon, perhaps another Gorbachev, the communist who made remarkably liberal noises in his speeches?

Mr Gorbachev turned the relationship between the US and the USSR on its head. Harsh rhetoric and mutual threats have been replaced by cautious expressions of understanding and co-operation.

Could Mr de Klerk, through his deeds, restore a happier relationship between Pretoria and Washington?

One senses in discussions with Republicans and Democrats alike that Americans would like nothing more than a normal relationship with South Africa, ties that include mutually beneficial trade, cultural and sporting exchanges. They do not see this happening with P W Botha in charge.

They don't know for sure about F W de Klerk, but maybe there is a chance that things could better with a younger, more flexible, leader at the helm in Pretoria.



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

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# SA will need outside help to end apartheid

By GERHARD ERASMUS, Professor of International and Constitutional Law at Stellenbosch University

"If the right things are done in time, then all population groups will have their rightful place and a new South Africa, free of domination by anyone, will come into being." This is the belief of the new National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

What are these "right things" and how much time is still available?

## POLITICS

According to Mr de Klerk himself there must be genuine sharing of power and white domination must go. The implication is that discrimination must be done away with completely. But he will have to go much further and create a completely new governmental dispensation that will bring black South Africans into Parliament and the executive. And resolute action will have to be taken against the white right wing.

Whether the present NP government can really bring about such sweeping restructuring is doubtful. It will remain doubtful as long as they entertain the belief that short cuts are possible and that the concept of groups can constitute the building blocks of a new society. The notion of the group can have no innocent and neutral meaning, simply because it is the heritage and the essence of apartheid.

Therefore, it is of very little significance for Mr de Klerk to state that he has no obsession with groups but

that it remains a fact of life.

The other fact of life is that the great majority of South Africans and the international community have an obsession with what was, and is, being done through apartheid to secure the privileges of the white group.

Are the terms for a new South Africa not too harsh? Is it indeed possible for the present government, to quote President Botha, gradually to "govern itself into a new dispensation"? The reasons why this seems unlikely

are twofold: Time is of the essence and our problem has become completely internationalised. The latter factor means that South Africa will need help from outside.

To govern yourself into a new dispensation means that certain black leaders will have to be co-opted into central government. They will have to be "real" leaders with "real" powers in order to convince the black majority and the international community. Where will they come from?

The government's present policy excludes the ANC, the oldest black political organisation. Are there really any other leaders who can compete with the legitimacy and credentials of the mass democratic organisations which have been banned or effectively silenced? Homeland leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Enos Mabuza are apparently too astute to fall for the Muzerewa trap. Furthermore, if the ANC and the other 18 local democratic organisations remained banned, the government's schemes will definitely not meet with any international recognition.

## Sanctions

Why all the emphasis on the international dimension? Because apartheid is an international concern and a domestic political issue within many other countries. This is why the US Congress has imposed sanctions against and why organisations such as the United Nations adopt scores of resolutions, including the arms embargo of 1977.

The reason why Pretoria wants to abandon apartheid is because the price has become too high. The quid pro quo the government wants for abolishing apartheid is largely to be provided by the international community. Only they can lift the sanctions and provide the investments and technology essential for restoring economic growth. And without that growth all the government's plans to win "the hearts and minds" of blacks through increased education, better living conditions and more employment, can never materialise.

The international community can also exercise considerable influence over other actors such as the ANC, should real negotiations be started.

It therefore seems inevitable that some form of combined international initiative is necessary to bring the parties to the conference table. This was the recipe that brought peace to Zimbabwe and which is being repeated in Namibia.

The truth is that once problems of this nature have become internationalised they cannot be solved as if they were purely domestic affairs.

Then it becomes a hollow slogan to maintain that foreigners should not interfere. This is one of the lessons from Namibia. The further internationalisation of the South African issue by one of the main actors in the equation, the ANC, and the fact that South Africa desperately needs international trade and investment, make it even more hollow.

## Advantage

Some will argue that we could put our own house in order and that the international community would then restore us to respectability. That would, of course, carry the advantage of not having to swallow unacceptable terms. But that is the hub: unacceptable to whom?

What Pretoria would perceive as unacceptable, the ANC could see as absolutely necessary. The fact is that Pretoria is not free to unilaterally determine who the other players, or what the terms of a settlement, will be.

That the present South African government would sit down with, for instance, the ANC and negotiate a truly democratic dispensation, is not part of political reality. Such a bold initiative does not now form part of the thinking of the present white government, and in terms of their exclusive support base and their track record it cannot.

## Irrevocable

The real danger is that unless steps towards a negotiated settlement are taken in time, the destruction of the local economy, the polarisation of society and the escalation of violence and white laagerism can become irrevocable.

If it is left to Pretoria alone, no initiatives towards a true settlement will come about before they have ex-

hausted all other "possibilities". But then only an empty shell might remain. And this is the reason why the international community has an interest in the outcome of events here.

Another violent regional conflict, and violent it inevitably must be, cannot be in their interest. It would draw neighbouring countries into the ensuing war, it would destroy local economies and peoples and create a far bigger problem that would eventually land in the lap of the big powers in any case.

## Exploited

Would the present South African government be interested in an international initiative? We won't know unless it is tried. Many unique factors exist at present. The Namibian settlement created a favourable atmosphere that should be exploited. Conservative governments are in power in the major Western capitals while the Soviet Union has never before shown such realism and support for a "political settlement".

The vital question is whether Pretoria is ripe for such an initiative. Do these other countries enjoy enough leverage? Perceptions about leverage, pressure and vulnerability are delicate matters. What is true, however, is that South Africa's international position is extremely sensitive. Sanctions, capital outflow and the international debt position should make Pretoria more susceptible to a realistic offer.

That is why such an initiative would have to be broadly based, well-planned and attractive enough in terms of guarantees and other carrots.

## Overall

Although the emphasis has mainly been on Pretoria, just as much planning will have to go into deliberations with, for instance, the ANC and other democratic movements. Their strength, weaknesses and demands form just as much part of the overall picture.

It is for this reason that the Soviet Union will have to play a vital role — together with the US, West-Europe and perhaps Japan. And when they have succeeded in bringing the parties together at the conference table, only then will the real South African indaba start.



# My friend Vermaas and I — by Magnus Malan

304/1  
AGUS 21/3/89

By ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan today revealed to the Harms Commission details of hunting trips and other involvements with Pretoria attorney Mr Albert Vermaas who faces fraud charges totalling nearly R300-million.

According to evidence before the Harms Commission into cross-border irregularities, Mr Vermaas also owes the Receiver of Revenue R44-million in tax.

In an affidavit handed in to the commission in Cape Town today, General Malan revealed that he and Mr Vermaas had been friends for the past 13 to 15 years because of a "common interest in nature conservation".

General Malan recalled accepting seven invitations to hunt on Mr Vermaas's farm during which he shot a total of six buck, he said in the statement.

## Present of good wines

"On each occasion when I went to hunt with Mr Vermaas, I gave him good wines to show my thanks and appreciation. In his turn, during a hunting trip in South-West Africa, Mr Vermaas presented me with a rifle."

The rifle had been written up in a register of the Ministry of Defence and would become the property of the South African government when General Malan retired or died, he said.

"I wish to state that Mr Vermaas made a very good impression on me. It is still difficult to believe all the allegations made against him," General Malan said.

"He was a good church man, always calm and balanced and gave the impression of wisdom one would expect from a great businessman. As an attorney and businessman who was also involved in international trade he made a big impression on me."

On the basis of this opinion, General Malan requested Armscor to consider establishing Mr Vermaas as a director of a company and as a result Mr Vermaas was appointed director of Eloptra (Pty) Ltd for a period of two years.

In November 1988, General Malan told Mr Vermaas that he could not ratify his directorship and his appointment was terminated by the chairman of Armscor, the Minister, told the commission.

## Expropriation

General Malan recalled seven occasions when Mr Vermaas approached him for help.

When Mr Vermaas experienced problems with the proposed expropriation of his farm Shenandoah, General Malan referred the matter to the appropriate Minister.

Both he and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha had made a statement to the commission about the matter, he said.

Mr Vermaas "was not favoured in any way", General Malan said.

An offer by Mr Vermaas to hire aircraft to the Defence Force was referred to Major General C J van Tonder, chief director of Intelligence Operations in the SADF.

In an accompanying affidavit Major-General van Tonder submitted that aircraft were hired from Mr Vermaas's company Chieftain Air for six out of 500 flights during 1987 and 1988.

## Sell aircraft

An offer from Mr Vermaas to supply weaponry and aircraft to the SADF was also referred elsewhere, according to General Malan's evidence.

"In this regard I want to emphasise that I never bought any parts, weaponry or aircraft from Mr Vermaas or made any promises in this regard on the behalf of the SADF," General Malan said.

General Malan refuted earlier evidence before the commission which suggested that during a hunting trip Mr Vermaas was confident of obtaining a contract to sell aircraft to the government.

"I don't know what he based his confidence on but wish to categorically deny that I made any promises to Mr Vermaas," General Malan said.

A request to ensure that a senior receiver of revenue inspect Mr Vermaas's books was referred to Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis.

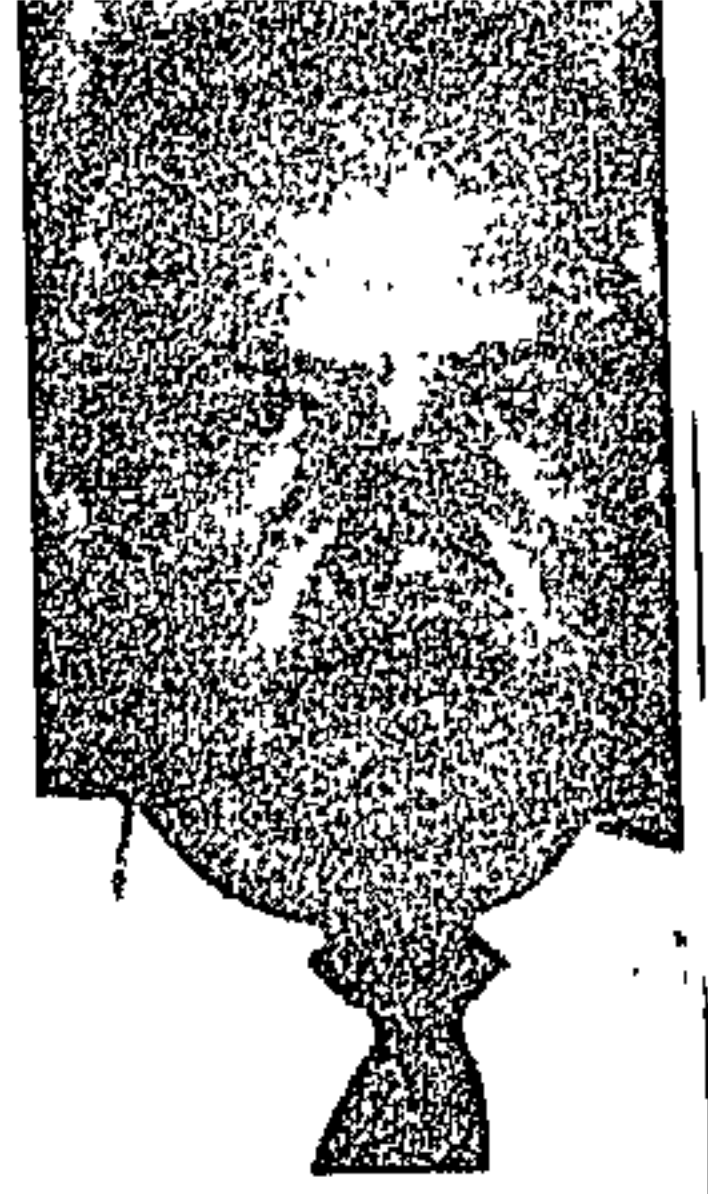
General Malan helped Mr Vermaas find a person to open his prestigious game auction and had once had a deed of sale drawn up by Mr Vermaas for the purchase of a house, he submitted.

Explaining rumours that a fishing trip to Mauritius was financed by Mr Vermaas or Jalc Associates, General Malan said a group of 10 personal friends had financed the trip themselves and happened to charter a plane from Chieftain Air.

"I made no financial transactions with Mr Vermaas and no investments of any kind. I never allowed Mr Vermaas to abuse my position as Minister of Defence," he concluded.



General Magnus Malan



Mr Albert Vermaas

## Jalc 'pay-offs' to SADF man

By ANDREA WEISS  
Staff Reporter

AN SA Defence Force brigadier on a tour of duty to Transkei was given a beach house worth R150 000, the Harms Commission into cross-border irregularities heard today.

Brigadier M J Deyzel who was appointed to Jalc Associate by the Department of Military Intelligence, fell from grace when he accepted pay-offs from the organisation.

Jalc was recently investigated by the Harms Commission.

During his four-month tour of duty with Jalc Brigadier Deyzel was given a beach house in Haga-Haga worth R150 000, had his wife flown down for a party in Blisbo in Mr Sol Kerzner's private aircraft, took a free five-day holiday to Mauritius and flew to London at Jalc's expense.

SADF officials said in statements to the commission that Brigadier Deyzel signed an agreement with the SADF that he would avoid obligating the State to Jalc in any way, would not take any Jalc-financed trips and would not leave the country without permission.

## TELEPHONE TAPPED

He also agreed to make his findings known only to the SADF.

However, Brigadier Deyzel did not know his telephone conversations with his wife were being tapped.

In February 1987 Vice-Admiral Andries Putter, SADF Intelligence Chief of Staff, prematurely ended his six-month term with Jalc.

Brigadier Deyzel was offered the option of retiring or facing a court martial.

(Turn to page 3, col 3)



RECUS 21/3/87

# What Vermaas told the general . . .

By ANDREA WEISS  
Staff Reporter

PRETORIA attorney Mr Albert Vermaas told a Defence Force general last month he had "sensitive information which could embarrass the South African government internationally", the Harms Commission was told today.

Major-General Christoffel van der Westhuizen said in an affidavit Mr Vermaas telephoned him in February to say

he had the information.

A few days later he met Mr Vermaas, who showed him "certain photographs of aircraft and helicopters", some with military markings and colouring.

## AMERICAN ORIGIN

"I did not have the necessary knowledge but they were clearly freight aircraft and other smaller aircraft," said General van der Westhuizen.

"Mr Vermaas told me he had

bought these aircraft from someone in America. The aircraft were apparently of American origin and had been used in Australia and a South American country."

A purchase price of 32- or 35-million US dollars was mentioned. According to Mr Vermaas the money was in Switzerland. Half would be transferred to America.

"Mr Vermaas asked me to pass this information to the Minister of Defence, General

Magnus Malan, so that he could arrange an appointment with him.

"Mr Vermaas told me the matter was very sensitive as a result of his involvement in Armscor and his friendship with General Malan. He also mentioned the transaction was sensitive because of the weapon boycott."

## TRANSPORT CONTRACTS

Mr Vermaas told General van der Westhuizen he had internal transport contracts for the aircraft.

"These contracts definitely not military."

In another affidavit before the commission, the Chief of the Defence force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, denied the SADF had bought any aircraft or sophisticated weaponry from Mr Vermaas or his companies.

"I further deny there were ever any agreements about the proposed purchase of such aircraft or equipment. All purchases of this type are made by Armscor for the SADF."

General Magnus Malan always insisted on strict procedure when it came to the purchase of equipment.

# Harms told of 'pay-offs' to SADF man

(Contd from page 1)

He retired in September 1987, almost 11 months after the idea of his association with Jalc was first mooted.

Evidence was that Brigadier Deyzel, whose wife was a former secretary to Mr Albert Vermaas, invested a "lump sum" of his pension in Mr Vermaas's Eurobank which now faces liquidation.

Affidavits from Defence Force Chief Major Jannie Geldenhuys and Vice-Admiral Putter submit that the Defence Minister General Magnus Ma-

lan was not informed of the Deyzel fiasco.

"In the matter of Deyzel's placing as information gatherer at the company, I confirm that his service was terminated before ministerial permission for the finalising of his placing was obtained," Major Geldenhuys said in his affidavit.

"Jalc was not a front for the SADF," he said.

General Malan told the commission that he first heard of the Deyzel affair in February this year and had no prior knowledge of the Jalc company.

"I wish to make no further comment on the matter and will await the findings of the commission in this regard," he stated.

# NDM under attack from 'allies'

CAPL Tint's  
21/3/89  
304A

Political Staff

THE yet-to-be-born Democratic Party faces another crisis — once again on the key issue of participation — with the National Democratic Movement insisting that the DP fight seats only in the House of Assembly.

The two PFP MPs in the House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingam and Mr Mahmoud Rajab, are excluded from the ban.

With the founding congress less than three weeks away, the leaders of the three parties which will merge into the DP are to meet today in an attempt to resolve the issue.

The PFP caucus will also meet today to discuss the matter.

All three parties agreed in principle to contest all three Houses but the question of participation burst into the open when the NDM stated that it was opposed to fighting further seats.

Amid accusations that the NDM was "taking instructions from Lusaka", an angry Mr Poovalingam attacked NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan, accusing him of taking an arrogant and paternalistic stance.

It is understood that at least three other "Indian" members of the PFP are hoping to stand for election and both the PFP and the Independent Party of Dr Denis Worrall are behind them.

The NDM, however, wants as little as possible to do with the other two Houses in the tri-cameral system, in line with general ANC thinking.

PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday that the matter was being dealt with at leadership level, adding: "I think it is unfortunate to speculate before a decision is made."

A number of PFP MPs are unhappy with the line being taken by Mr Malan and it is understood that today's caucus meeting could be a heated affair.





Mr. Pik Botha

# Pik: Day of white domination in SA 'over'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE days of white domination were over and a new constitutional system without racial discrimination and without laws with racial barbs had to come into existence, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said at the weekend.

The new system in which achievement, standards and values counted, would be free of the burdens (belad-ing) of the past.

Mr Botha, who spoke at a National

Party rally in Piketberg, was reported as saying that the country stood at the beginning of a new era and "the hour has come for it".

In a feisty statement of intent, Mr Botha said: "Do not let people bluff you that white domination (baasskap) can last longer. I say to you it is over.

"I do not say this out of despondency, but from a feeling of excitement. Even the Russians state that things cannot be solved with violence.

"We must stop being afraid of our own achievements and (look to) a

future in which power is shared with others."

Mr Botha said black people only wanted a better life than their parents had had. They also wanted to live in justice without conflict.

"I have never met a black leader who says he wants to drive us out of the church or the school board."

Black leaders only asked that the racial barb (angel) be taken out of South Africa.

As long as there were whites who wanted white domination, the tension

would remain, but as long as enough blacks, browns and whites decided that a balance of interests was possible, South Africa would come into a new period of development in its own right.

"South Africa will first come into its own right when all forms of racial discrimination are ended.

"Racial discrimination makes it impossible to go into the promised land. "Friends, there is no manner in which South Africa can stay behind in the old season," Mr Botha said.

Cape Times 21/3/89 5044

# No <sup>not 7/19/85</sup> <sup>21/3/89</sup> 'peaceful change' under <sup>30/4/89</sup> CP govt?

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says that if the Conservative Party becomes the ruling party in South Africa, he has a gut feeling that even those people committed to peaceful change might be forced to reconsider that commitment.

Delivering his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, the KwaZulu Chief Minister replied to a weekend-statement by Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP.

Dr Treurnicht had challenged the KwaZulu leader to say if he stood for a black-dominated South Africa, whether he recognised the rights of the white community and whether he wanted blatant black "baas-skap" in the guise of power-sharing.

Chief Buthelezi said the whole world knew that he stood for a domination-free South Africa. He strove for a multi-party democracy, the rule of law and the freedom of political association.



## Ucag posts off thousands of US magazines

SKV  
21/7/89  
By Carina le Grange,  
Religion Reporter

The right-wing United Christian Action Group (Ucag) is responsible for sending out some of the thousands of free copies of a controversial United States right-wing magazine on liberation theology which have been received country-wide this month by individuals and churches.

The executive secretary of Pretoria-based Ucag, Mr Dunmar Wiebalk, yesterday said his organisation had sent out about 15 000 copies of the magazine, but he had heard that about 350 000 copies had been distributed by other religious groups country-wide, each paying independently for postage.

At \$2,95 per issue, that means magazines worth about R2,63 million in local currency have been distributed free to South Africans, with postage estimated at R87 500.

The Star has not been able to determine who financed the project.

Questioned on who asked Ucag to distribute the magazine, Mr Wiebalk said: "We are not under orders from anybody. It was certainly not the Kremlin (that asked us). We did it in order to defend South Africa. South Africa is under attack from politicised clergy so a magazine of this calibre can only help."

The magazine, called "Family Protection Scoreboard — Special Edition on Liberation Theology" is published by Mr David W Balsiger of Costa Mesa, California.

# The cautious thawing of SA-Soviet relations

304A  
22/3/87

LONDON — A friend recently remarked of the present state of East-West relations that it is rather as though in a long tug-of-war the other side has suddenly let go of the rope. The home team naturally falls over backwards in disarray and needs a bit of time to collect itself.

Certainly there is a good deal of falling about the place in response to the rabbits which keep coming out of the Moscow hat.

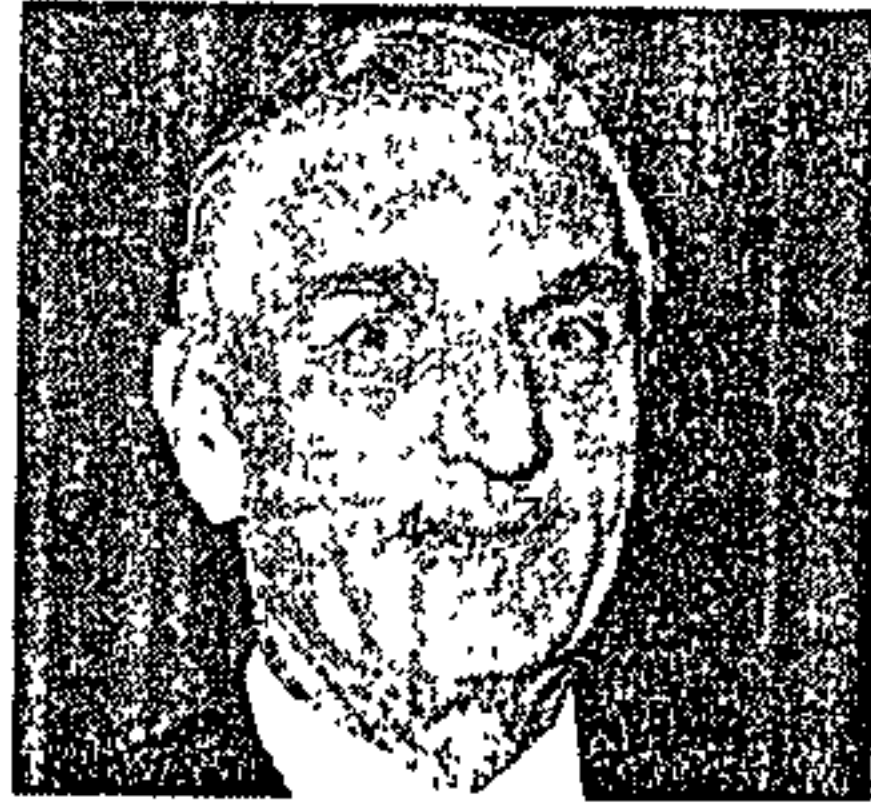
I confess to being a bit off balance myself, and was correctly described in the British press as finding recent first-hand experience of Soviet academic thinking about South and southern Africa "absolutely extraordinary", even though I had for some time been aware of significant changes.

They are, none the less, important for having been grossly overstated by some of the media.

## Direct contact

It is remarkable enough that Soviet and South African academics should be in direct contact and speaking their minds freely on both sides. This can only serve to further one of the unexceptionable aims voiced by Mr Gorbachev in his December speech to the United Nations — the abandonment of stereotypes and outdated views.

There was an evident Soviet awareness that there is more to South Africa's internal problem than a straight transfer of power to the African National Congress.



By SIR JOHN KILLICK, former British ambassador to the Soviet Union. Sir John, who lived for a while in South Africa, was recently instrumental in bringing about a meeting of senior Soviet and South African academics.

Beyond that I detected a realistic recognition of the role South Africa could and should play in resolving the problems of the region.

There seemed to me to be a genuine interest in working relations with South Africa, particularly in the economic field, based on common interest in gold, diamonds and minerals. Even a hope perhaps of the ultimate establishment of diplomatic relations.

But — and there are some very big buts — this all presupposes a "post-apartheid" South Africa, and although there is recognition of the changes away from apartheid that have been made, Moscow still awaits the ending of "political" apartheid.

The difficulties are acknowledged, evolutionary change is to be encouraged, but the precondition is firm. It requires the abandonment of outmoded ideas by Pretoria.

However, there is no question of withdrawing support from the ANC,

even though compromise and non-violence are to be the order of the day, and others (like Mangosuthu Buthelezi, presumably) must be invited to the "round table", which should discuss the country's future.

Moscow disclaims any wish to dictate solutions, but would simply like to facilitate the internal process.

It would be a mistake for South Africans or others to rush to premature conclusions.

## Constructive role

Moscow seems to have played a constructive role over Angola/Namibia, but basically because it is judged to be in the Soviet interest to extricate the country from an expensive no-win situation. The same was true of Afghanistan.

It remains to be seen whether there can or will be full co-operation in establishing peace and stability in these regional situations.

The Middle East will be the real

test. I judge the minimum Soviet objective to be to retain all that can be rescued of a regional political role in order to give effect to Mr Andrei Gromyko's old assertion that no problem of importance in the world can be solved without the participation of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet "super-power" is trying to gather its tattered garment about its person with as much dignity as it can! Ideology might be taking a back seat, but Soviet interest will remain a powerful factor.

It would be no less mistaken to assume that nothing has really changed and that, for South Africa, "godelose Marxisme" is still the root of all evil. As Dr Philip Nel, of the Stellenbosch Institute for Soviet Studies, recently commented, it is high time for white South Africans to revise their own stereotypes of the USSR, just as one Soviet writer has urged his Moscow readers to do of South Africa.

The right response, for South Africa as indeed for Western Europe, the United States and others, is to take up the positive elements in Mr Gorbachev's "new thinking" and build on them — sensibly, cautiously, and even warily.

The proof of the pudding will be in the eating, and to swallow it too avidly will only cause indigestion, but let us at least taste it.

Behind the propaganda which is still a feature of Moscow's performance, the Soviet attitude will be no less wary. Towards South Africa, there will be continued scepticism and even distrust.

Any attempt to play one super-power off against the other will be resisted. But sensible diplomacy — possible from a platform of sensible domestic policies — offers the prospect of useful results.

The meeting of British, South African and Soviet academics, which I recently chaired near London, was not some kind of Kissingerian exercise in political negotiation. It was a modest beginning. I hope it will be followed by further meetings. What has anybody to lose? All concerned will be keeping their hands firmly on their wallets.



# Ordinary people will lead SA into the future

Political Reporter

2044

Ordinary South Africans would lead the country into the future, the leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, said on Monday.

Addressing the political students' organisation, RAU-Pols, at the Rand Afrikaans University, he sketched three scenarios for South Africa.

In the first unlikely one, the Government takes the lead, opening itself to negotiation and not trying to dictate its view of the future.

In the second, the world takes the lead because of the lack of internal political reform.

In the most likely scenario, South Africans across the board take the initiative to develop a forum in which most political groupings will participate.

Mr Malan said the new Democratic Party had a major role to play in bringing about such a representative "alternative" parliament.

## DP document 'omits key liberal values'

Political Reporter

The omission of key liberal values in the proposed Democratic Party's statement of principle has prompted a Sandton councillor to resign from the PFP.

Mrs Elizabeth Clogg said yesterday a Bill of Rights, a federal system of government and a clearly-defined voting system had been omitted from the document.

"If they omitted a Bill of Rights by mistake, I don't want to have anything to do with them. And if they omitted it on purpose I also want nothing to do with them."

To define the principles of a political party in terms of group rights and race was "the politics of yesterday".

Mrs Clogg added that she might reconsider her resignation if the DP took a clear stand on liberal values.

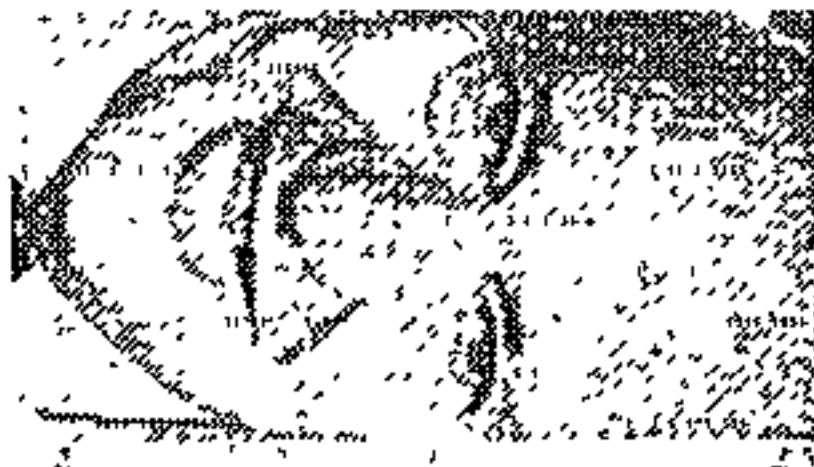


## **DP will be next official opposition**

Mr FW de Klerk would outmanoeuvre the State President within the next few weeks after which a general election would be called for October 25, Independent Party co-chairman, Mr Jan-nie Momberg, predicted last night. **30419**

Addressing a meeting in Queenstown, he said the new Democratic Party would then oust the Conservative Party as the official opposition.

"It is not wishful thinking. With a 7 per-cent increase on votes which the NRP/PFP alliance got in the last election, combined with the three independent candidates, the Democratic Party will win as many as 41 seats." — Political Reporter.



# 'Naked racism' at council level slammed by both the Nats and PFP

24/2/89

304A

Racial discrimination at town council level dominated the second day of debate on the local government budget.

National Party MPs hit out at the Conservative Party's "naked racism" while both drew fire from opposition to the left.

The debate between the NP and CP, said Mr Jan van Gend (PFP, Groote Schuur) was like a dispute between a builder and a

sub-contractor. "The builder starts off with poor foundations and the sub-contractor builds wonky walls and a fight ensues as to who is right and who is wrong."

The Conservative Party's policy, said Dr Jacobus Delpoort (NP, Sundays River) in a reference to the Opposition's view of segregated sport, was "not only simple, it is sick".

The Government, he said, would continue to foster free participation in sport. But, asked Dr Marius Barnard (PFP, Parktown) if people of different races could play rugby and box together, why could they not live together?

Dr Barnard cautioned against the assumption that merely scrapping the Group Areas Act would solve all the problems as-

sociated with it. Scrapping of the Act should go hand in hand with detailed, sympathetic planning.

Highlighting another aspect of discrimination at local level, Mr Jan van Eck (Independent, Claremont) said: "If there is one thing we have learned from the debacle of Boksburg and Carletonville, it is that one cannot delegate power downwards to

local authorities unless their power to discriminate is curtailed by a Bill of Rights."

Holding up a photograph of a Strand beach apartheid sign, he accused the NP of "gross hypocrisy" in attacking the CP for ap-

plying park apartheid. Mr Pieter Cronje (NDM, Greytown) said the Government had made South Africa the "Boksburg of the world".

Mr Jan van Eck ... lesson from Boksburg



Nowakbaso



## Bermuda briefing to be confidential

22/3/89 By David Braun, The Star Bureau 304A

WASHINGTON — South African politicians from across the spectrum, including the Conservative Party and the African National Congress, will be briefing American legislators in Bermuda next week.

According to the organisers of the five-day conference, the Washington-based Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, no details will be made public.

CP and NP participants have already stated they have been given assurances they would not be involved in dialogues with the ANC.

A spokesman for the institute in Washington said if individuals wanted to identify themselves, that would be fine, but the institute was respecting their privacy. He added that the conference was an ongoing project which brought a large number of US legislators together from time to time with bodies of experts and principal players from various parts of the world.

American legislators would be talked to for their own education in the hope that better-informed policy-makers would make better policies.

Among the South Africans who will attend are Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Mr Piet Coetzer (NP MP for Springs), Mr Koos van der Merwe, (CP MP for Overvaal), Mr Thabo Mbeki, representing the ANC, and Dr Nthato Motlana, the Soweto leader.

# NP crisis — Stev 22/3/89 compromise is expected

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A compromise solution to the National Party leadership crisis with President Botha stepping down after a general election in October could be reached by the Cabinet today.

This would allow new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk to lead the party into the election with general agreement that he would be its candidate for the presidential election afterwards.

It is a compromise which is believed to offer a "dignified solution" to the problem, allowing Mr Botha to step down without undue haste and giving Mr de Klerk the executive power the party feels its leader deserves.

The disadvantage for Mr de Klerk is that he would have to risk losing his marginal seat in Vereeniging. If Mr Botha stood down before an election and Mr de Klerk were elected to replace him, he would not stand for election.

The compromise was thrashed out in a series of meetings this week in which Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis was believed to have played a key role.

It is understood Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha held a vital meeting to settle the agreement, although this could not be confirmed officially.

The agreement might be ratified by the full Cabinet today, when it is expected the leadership dilemma will be raised for the first time.

Mr Botha could then inform the NP caucus of his decision at its first meeting after the parliamentary recess, which starts today.

Sources said last night that Mr Botha realised the extent of the NP caucus feeling that he should step down and was deeply hurt by it.



Nov 22/3/89

304A

## DP row over participation simmers on

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The row in the embryonic Democratic Party about participation in the Indian and coloured houses of Parliament simmers on despite a conciliatory statement yesterday by the leaders of the three constituent parties.

The statement confirmed that the DP was in favour of participation in all three houses of Parliament.

But it left wide open the question of how this would be done in practice and said this would depend upon "overall strategies of the party in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics."

Party sources said that this in effect meant that the views of extra-parliamentary groups would still be taken into account in deciding on the rules of participation.

The statement was signed by Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement and Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party.

It followed a row between Mr Pat Poovalingam — a PFP MP in the House of Delegates — who favours full participation and Mr Malan, who believes this should be subject to consultation with extra-parliamentary groups.

Last night Mr Poovalingam released letters written by him to Mr Malan recently, attacking him for his stand against participation.

In them he says: "anyone who holds that it is right for whites to sit in Parliament but wrong for blacks to do so 'is either a racist or a hypocrite.'"

21/04/89 22/3/89  
**Renamo holds  
four Red Cross  
employees**

GENEVA — Guerrillas fighting the Mozambican government are holding four International Red Cross workers, a Red Cross spokesman said yesterday.

Juerg Bischoff, of the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross, said the four were captured when Renamo guerrillas took the town of Memba in Nampula province on Thursday. The ICRC was talking to Renamo about their release.

They were identified as Claude Felix, a Swiss national; Friedrun Medert-Le Borgne, a West German; Liselotte Bosma, a Dutch national; and Januario Mpatua, of Mozambique. — Sapa-AP.

20/4/89 22/3/89  
**Govt approachable on  
political, civic affairs**

ALAN FINE  
CONSTITUTIONAL Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said yesterday that while government — and regional and local authorities — were open to approaches on civic and political affairs, a negotiator with a clear mandate would always have a better chance of success.

He was responding to a question from Business Day as to whether government would advise the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the NP-led Johannesburg City Council to negotiate with the Soweto Delegation on its proposals for unifying Johannesburg and Soweto into a single city.

The delegation, led by SACC general secretary Frank Chikane, has also made proposals on the transfer of ownership of Soweto's housing stock to inhabitants, the improvement of infrastructure, and service charge structures.

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# Vermaas asked: Are you doing anything wrong?

McG 22/3/89

3064A

By ANDREA WEISS  
Staff Reporter

MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said he had questioned Pretoria attorney Mr Albert Vermaas directly about the legitimacy of his activities after reading an article about Eurobank in an Afrikaans business magazine last November.

Mr Botha was testifying about his part in three of the cases which have come before the Harms Commission of Inquiry into cross-border irregularities.

His testimony came after Defence Minister General Magnus Malan yesterday gave details of his friendship with Pretoria attorney Mr Albert Vermaas, who faces fraud charges totalling R300-million.

Mr Botha said he had not discussed business with Mr Vermaas until he read the article on Eurobank in *Finansies en Tegniek*.

"I asked him categorically: 'Are you busy with something wrong?'" Mr Botha said. Mr Vermaas told him that Eurobank's problems were purely technical and involved an application for registration with the Reserve Bank.

Mr Botha recalled a phone call he received from Mr Vermaas on November 20 1988.

## "Run on bank"

Mr Vermaas told him he was worried there would be a "run on his bank".

Mr Vermaas had not told him the Harms Commission would be sitting the next day or that he was having problems with the police, Mr Botha said.

Describing Mr Vermaas as "a friend of many years", Mr Botha said Foreign Affairs had often taken guests to his farms.

He stressed that Foreign Affairs paid all costs so that there would be no "moral debt" to Mr Vermaas.

Mr Botha said he had pursued the matter of the State's wish to expropriate Mr Vermaas's game farm to ensure



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

**ALL SMILES:** Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha leaves the Ned Geref Synod Hall in Queen Victoria Street where the Harms Commission is sitting.

that he was not done an "injustice".

He often received requests from people he did not know and dealt with them all — whether it was a businessman from the South African Black Taxi Association, a Conservative Party man from the Kalahari or a member of the Progressive party.

Explaining his part in connection with the Jalc group of companies, which are also being investigated by the commission, Mr Botha said he had never acted on behalf of Jalc.

Referring to the withholding of an R11 million payment to Jalc for incomplete work on a housing project, Mr Botha said he had raised the subject at a meeting with Major-General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei military council, at the request of the MP for East London North, Mr C Badenhorst.

"I would not have raised the matter of the housing project if Mr Badenhorst had not rung

my office a few minutes before the start of the meeting requesting specifically that I do so," he said.

Mr Badenhorst led him to believe that the Transkei government and Jalc both stood to lose large amounts if the matter was not settled.

"I handled this matter as I have other matters. As Minister of Foreign Affairs I could certainly not ignore or reject a request from an MP who specifically asked me to raise the matter," he said.

Given an opportunity to reply to a newspaper report which linked him and the State President to alleged Mafia man Vito Palazzolo, Mr Botha said he had found the news report with the headline: "Pik/PW with Mafia Boss" particularly hurtful.

Attorney-General Mr Frank Kahn said the commission had found no indication that Mr Botha had had anything to do with Palazzolo.

# ANC on F W

*50w/24/87*  
LUSAKA — The African National Congress has ruled out speculation that the appointment of Mr F W de Klerk to head the National Party in South Africa will lead to dramatic change in South Africa.

In a resolution adopted at a conference of ANC chief representatives and regional treasurers held in Oslo, Norway, from March 15 to 21, the organisation notes that real change would only come about when "practical steps are taken to create a climate conducive to dialogue".

The conference, which was officially opened by Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr Thorvald Stoltenberg, noted: "The people of South Africa will continue to suffer under the system of apartheid. This system is facing a permanent and deepening political and economic crisis which has been brought about by the struggle inside and outside South Africa."

The delegates at the conference also lauded the ANC for appointing former chief of information and publicity, Mr Thabo Mbeki, to replace the late Johnny Makatini as head of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

According to a statement issued by the ANC national executive in Lusaka today, the conference also acknowledged the successes which the organisation has achieved recently.



# ays stunned

3048

Sowetan 22/3/89

## • From Page 6

country a new dispensation.

If, too, De Klerk intends to downgrade the security establishment (as reports suggest) parliament will be the only power institution through which he can do it, and reassert civilian rule. Who was it who said parliament was "irrelevant?"

The NP's embarrassing confrontation with the Old Crocodile then may will prove to be the best thing that has happened to it for a long time.

It knows now that if it

wants to retain any kind of control over white politics and the direction and timetable of reform, it must recast the mould of the race problem. So hail the second purification.

There is chance then that the NP, if it survives the approaching identity crisis, can emerge in a modernised shape, and continue to deracialise the race problem (while retaining the vote, of course — that particular reform comes last).

Assuming all this happens, and a modernised NP is reborn in the primordial thunderstorm now raging out there: do

South Africa's problems become any more manageable? Just because they have been modernised and deracialised?

I asked myself this question as I was leaving South Africa: where will the jobs and houses and amenities come from, regardless of whether the people who will need them are white, African, coloured or Indian? In other words, will South Africa in the immediate post-apartheid years become ungovernable, regardless of who rules it or under what system?

I am still looking for the answer to that question.

# Govt, CP deny ANC meeting

3048  
Sowetan 22/3/87

BOTH the National Party and Conservative Party have strenuously denied that they will have any contact with the banned African National Congress at a conference next week in Bermuda on Southern Africa.

The conference had been deliberately engineered so that the NP and CP representatives did not attend on the same day as the ANC. Mr Piet Coetzer, the NP MP for Springs who will be attending the conference said.

And the CP has announced that its representatives would not even be on the island at the same time as the ANC.

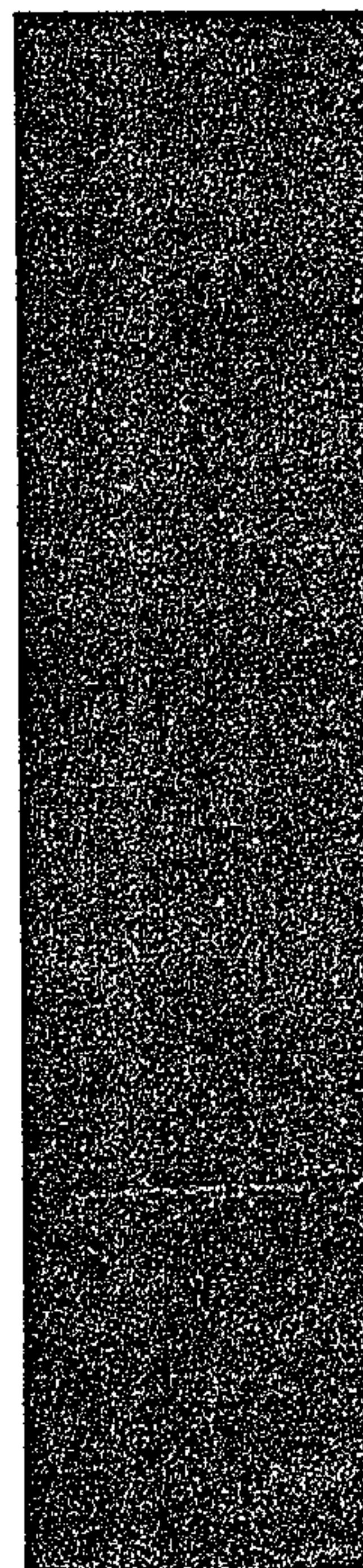
Mr Coetzer denied reports that the conference — organised by the American Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies — was part of peace initiatives or an attempt to get the government and ANC together.

## Opportunity

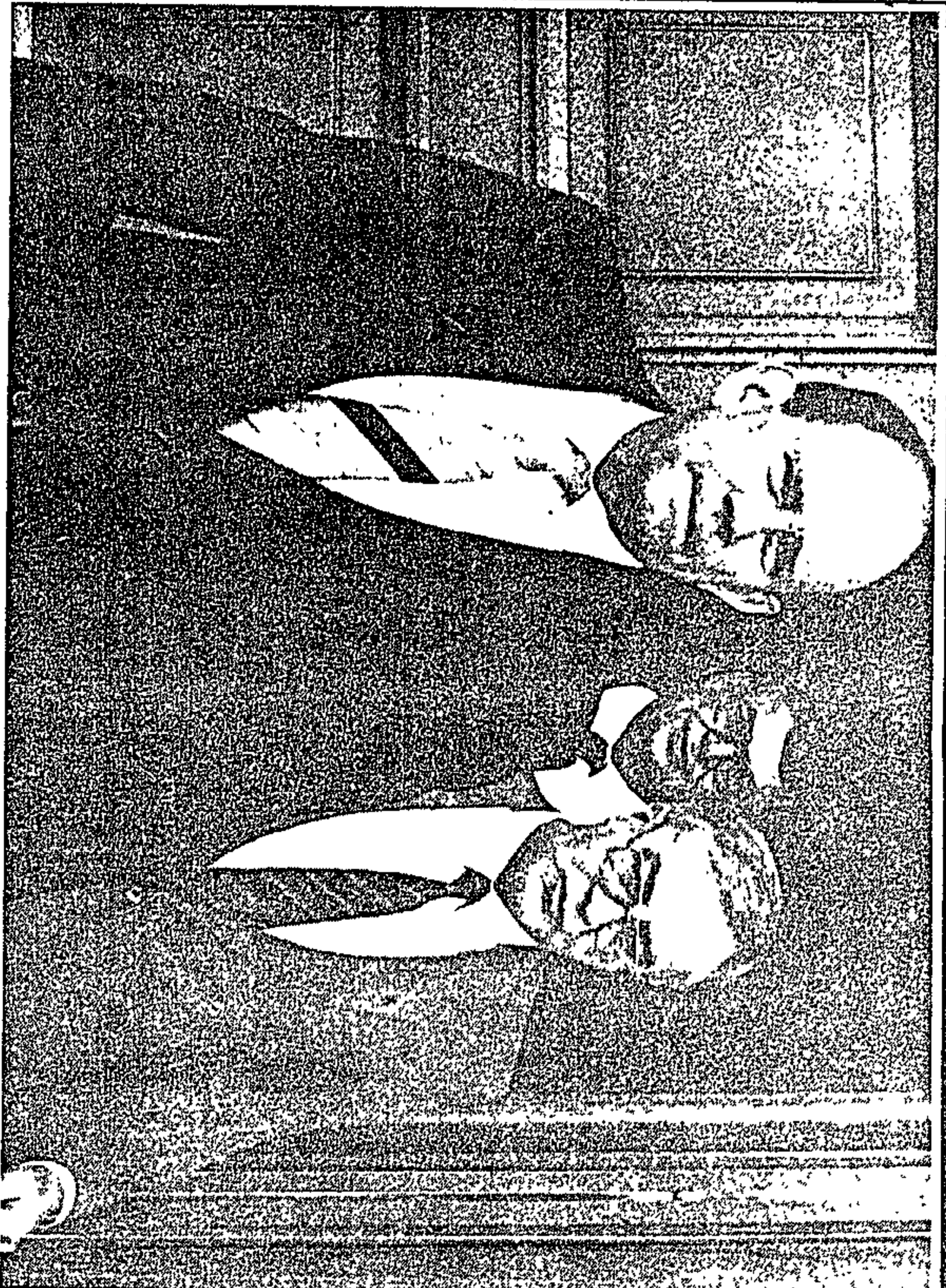
It was merely an opportunity for various South Africans to put the points of view to a panel of American legislation.

He said that he, Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP MP for Overvaal, and Soweto civic leader, Dr Nthato Motlana, would put their point of view, separately, on March 31.

The ANC representative, information officer and executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki, would be speaking on March 29 and would have left by the time they arrived.







**MALAN SPEAKS** ... The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, leaves the Ned Geref Synod Hall in the city yesterday after testifying before the Harms Commission. With him is his press secretary Dr D A S Herbst, and behind him is the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach.



**LOOKING CONFIDENT** ... Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha leaves the Ned Geref Synod Hall in Cape Town yesterday after testifying to the Harms Commission.

Pictures: ANNE LAING

# Just friends

## Ministers give evidence on Vermaas

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INSIDE BY MANDY JEAN WOODS

Public hearings in Pretoria

Tam Lillod



From page 1

investigations of Mr Vermaas and his companies.

Mr Vermaas got both Gen Malan and Mr Botha to visit former minister Dr Piet Koornhof to support him with his complaint about the price paid for his farm Shenandoah, which was expropriated by the government.

Although both Gen Malan and Mr Botha's departments occasionally used Mr Vermaas's company Chief-tain Aviation for official trips, no favours were given in doing so, the commission heard.

Gen Malan wove a story of friends, favours and fun times.

"I hunted on Mr Vermaas's farm at least seven times and every time I went hunting with him I gave him good wine as a present to express my appreciation. Once he gave me a rifle," Gen Malan said.

He also passed on a request by Mr Vermaas to Mr Du Plessis to ensure that a senior tax inspector was assigned to investigate Mr Vermaas's tax returns.

Gen Malan stressed that he never promised, favoured or instructed that Mr Vermaas's aircraft be used or defence contracts be given as alleged in earlier evidence.

The two ministers told the commission they were not aware of Mr Vermaas's investment scheme until stories of it appeared in the press.

## Phone call made Pik mention the R10m issue

By MANDY JEAN WOODS

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday that had it not been for a phone call from MP for East London North Mr Callie Badenhorst minutes before he was to meet Trans-kei leader General Bantu Holomisa, he probably would not have discussed "the issue".

He was testifying before the Harms Commission on his intervention in the dispute between Jalc and the Trans-kei over an instruction from General Holomisa to withhold a R10m payment for housing deemed inadequate.

Mr Botha said he met General Holomisa on June 8 last year to discuss state matters of mutual concern.

But in view of the call from Mr Badenhorst, and considering Jalc director Mr Chris van Rensburg's desperation at facing possible bankruptcy, he decided to discuss the matter with General Holomisa at the meeting that day.



## HARMS COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

### Vermaas wanted senior man for returns

By MANDY JEAN WOODS  
PRETORIA businessman Albert Vermaas used his friendship with cabinet ministers to request the Pretoria Receiver of Revenue assign a senior inspector to work on his tax returns, the Harms Commission was told yesterday.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan testified that Mr Vermaas approached him some time during the latter half of last year and asked him to approach Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis about his tax returns.

#### 'Sensitivity'

He said Mr Vermaas asked him to ask Mr Du Plessis to ensure that a senior official be assigned to inspect his books. This he did, Gen Malan said.

When questioned by the Commission's chief investigating officer Mr Frank Kahn, Gen Malan said Mr Vermaas told him there were a "lot of junior people going over his books" and that in light of the "sensitivity" of his business it would be appreciated if a senior official were put in charge.

Gen Malan said he was not aware of what "sensitive" work Mr Vermaas was allegedly involved in, nor did he question Mr Vermaas about it.

#### Difficult

Mr Kahn told Gen Malan that the Pretoria Receiver of Revenue, Mr Dries Viljoen, eventually handled Mr Vermaas's tax returns personally.

Mr Viljoen told the Commission in January that Mr Vermaas had not filed tax returns for three years because, Mr Vermaas alleged, the "sensitive" nature of his business made it difficult for him to complete the documentation required.

Mr Viljoen said he did not know what was "sensitive" about Mr Vermaas's business.

Mr Vermaas has subsequently filed tax returns for all the outstanding tax periods, Mr Viljoen said.

# Harms: Brigadier implicated

#### Political Staff

A FORMER Defence Force officer, Brigadier M J Deyzel, accepted overseas trips and a cottage on the Wild Coast from Jalc, one of the companies investigated by the Harms Commission, but was trapped by military intelligence.

Affidavits submitted to the commission yesterday by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, reveal that Brig Deyzel was kept under surveillance and had his telephone tapped even though he was still in the Defence Force.

Brig Deyzel had been "placed" with Jalc to investigate a scheme suggested by him and the company.

Vice-Admiral A P Putter, head of military intelligence, said in an affidavit that Brig Deyzel had been given verbal instructions not to compromise the SADF in any way and not to accept any trips offered by the company.

However, he subsequently learnt that Brig Deyzel had been to London at Jalc's expense and that a house at Haga-Haga had been presented to him.

Adm Putter said he did not know if the house had been transferred to Brig Deyzel but he nevertheless felt that he

was a security risk and ended his duties with Jalc. He also requested him to resign or face a court martial.

Brig E H Nieuwoudt said in another affidavit that he had been assigned to "monitor" Brig Deyzel and that on February 23, 1987, Brig Deyzel had telephoned his wife from the home of Mr Chris van Rensburg of Jalc and requested her to fly to Bisho for a party in hotel magnate Mr Sol Kerzner's private jet.

He telephoned her again on February 24 and said that Jalc had concluded a big deal and that Mr Van Rensburg had given him a house worth R150 000.

Jalc had earned R27 million.

On February 27, Brig Deyzel telephoned his wife again and invited her on an all-expenses paid holiday in Mauritius paid for by Jalc.

From the surveillance it had emerged that Brig Deyzel's wife had once been private secretary to Mr Albert Vermaas, the Pretoria businessman now being investigated by the commission.

She had worked for him on a commission basis afterwards and after Brig Deyzel retired he invested the "lump sum" of his gratuity with Mr Vermaas, who is facing liquidation.

## Vermaas 'tried to sell planes to SADF'

By MANDY JEAN WOODS

PRETORIA attorney Mr Albert Vermaas attempted to sell aircraft worth an estimated \$35m (R89,25m) to the SA Defence Force about two weeks ago, the Harms Commission heard yesterday.

In a statement, Witwatersrand Command commanding officer Major-General Christoffel van der Westhuizen — with whom Mr Vermaas has been friends for 12 years — said Mr Vermaas had approached him around the beginning of March, claiming to have "sensitive information which could embarrass the SA government internationally."

"I agreed to meet him and he showed me pictures of aircraft and helicopters — which had military markings on and were painted in military colours — which he wanted to sell."

#### Cargo planes

General Van der Westhuizen said he could not identify the aircraft but it was evident some of them were cargo planes. Mr Vermaas said that although he purchased the aircraft in the United States, they had previously been deployed in Australia and South America.

Since his arrest on fraud and other charges last December, Mr Vermaas has been trying to sell aircraft he allegedly purchased for R100m in the US for his airline, Chieftain Aviation.

The selling price was R155m. But although several contracts with an overseas purchaser — of which only one or two were signed — were produced to support his attempts to stave off final liquidation of his estate and companies, the deal apparently never went through.

The Harms Commission heard evidence last month that these alleged planes — many of which were ageing former military cargo aircraft and helicopters — were in fact never purchased outright by Mr Vermaas but he had merely paid downpayments on them.

General Van der Westhuizen said Mr Vermaas told him the purchase price for the aircraft was between \$32m and \$35m and the money must be paid in Switzerland. Between \$12m and \$15m was to be transferred to the US.



COMMISSIONER ...  
Louis Harms



MINISTER ...  
Magnus Malan



BUSINESSMAN ...  
Albert Vermaas

### Magnus 'thankfully' 'clears air'

Political Correspondent  
DEFENCE MINISTER General Magnus Malan yesterday said questions had been "hanging over" him during the whole Harms Commission inquiry and he expressed his thanks for being given the opportunity "to clear the air".

Speaking to journalists after giving evidence yesterday, General Malan said: "I believe in democracy."

"The democratic process today took its full course."

"I am glad I could participate."

"In this whole inquiry certain questions hung over myself, over the South African Defence Force and Armscor."

"I thank the commission for the opportunity given to me to clear the air today."

He then added: "Obviously, I will not comment any further — the judge will now make his findings."

## Pik, Magnus face the music

By MANDY JEAN WOODS

YESTERDAY was the day of reckoning for Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan as they finally testified in person before the Harms Commission.

Both came away victorious.

Their names had come up in evidence to the commission last year during hearings on Pretoria attorney Mr Albert Vermaas and his companies.

Gen Malan was the epitome of a professional soldier as he delivered his evidence — of which several bound

volumes were given to the commission — leaving little for the commission's chief investigating officer, Mr Frank Kahn, to cross-examine him on.

In contrast, Mr Botha ad libbed most of his testimony in his usual charismatic manner.

Aside from a nervous start reading from his four-page testimony Mr Botha, smoking heavily, appeared calm and collected.

While Gen Malan's presence at the commission had a sombre effect, Mr Botha had the commission, press and members of the public in stitches of laughter with several comments.

### Magnus used his influence

By MANDY JEAN WOODS

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan yesterday told the Harms Commission that he had been instrumental in assisting Pretoria businessman Mr Albert Vermaas get someone to open his "prestigious" game auction last year.

Reserve Bank governor Dr Gerhard de Kock opened the auction held in May at Mr Vermaas's Middleburg farm, Sebaka.



# Disagreements dog Democrats

AK43 22/3/89 306A

## Political Correspondent

**DISAGREEMENT** on participation is complicating the formation of the Democratic Party.

This is in spite of a conciliatory statement yesterday from the leaders of the three parties which are to merge to form the new party.

The issues — which included participation in all houses of Parliament and contact with extra-parliamentary movements — were the subject of a PFP caucus meeting yesterday which Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, attended.

They issued a statement af-

terwards, along with Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Progressive Federal Party saying the meeting had been a "useful discussion".

It was agreed the Democratic Party would be in favour of participation of all three houses of Parliament.

### Party strategy

The nature, extent and timing of such participation depended upon a number of factors, including the overall strategies of the party in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

The DP would make detailed decisions in due course.

While the feeling in IP and NDM circles is that participation strategies in the House of

Representatives and House of Delegates must be kept vague at this stage, some PFP supporters feel the new party must be more specific.

They are also suspicious of the contacts the NDM has with extra-parliamentary bodies such as the African National Congress.

One PFP MP predicted today that there could be casualties — party supporters who would not go along with the new party — when the PFP held its disbanding congress in Johannesburg on April 7.

This would not, however, be sufficient to wreck the formation of the new party.



304A

**SOUTH VIEW**

*[Handwritten signature]*

WHEN PW Botha passes the baton to FW de Klerk, or rather when FW takes it from PW, South Africa will not have entered a new era.

Of course, there will be changes. There would have been, no matter who had taken over from the authoritarian, prescriptive Botha. That is in the nature of things.

Yet for those who would look to a fundamental shift away from the bedrock of Nationalist Party philosophy there is cold comfort.

For the NP, groups, and then legally defined groups, are the basis for its approach.

And there is no indication that FW de Klerk is prepared to move off that base.

In fact, this is the dividing line between the De Klerk brothers.

Willem, former Rapport editor and presently adviser to the Democratic Party, believes in individual rights with the recognition and protection of religious, language and cultural rights.

FW has said in parliament and on TV immediately after being elected National Party leader that groups are not a ideological matter for him.

Most newspapers saw this as a significant shift, forgetting that he had added that groups are a natural phenomenon in South Africa and that he does not feel more strongly about groups than any other Nationalist.

What FW was saying, then, was that he does not belong to the rightwing of the NP but that he is in the main stream.

Moreover, never forget that it was he who more strongly than most insisted on the clear division between "own" and "general" affairs.

No, there is no indication that FW de Klerk is going to be different

# 'President in-waiting'

**PW Botha and president-in-waiting FW de Klerk have much more in common than their bald heads. But there may be some political changes when FW takes over, argues HARALD PAKENDORF**



The president-in-waiting and his first lady. FW with Marike

on the basic issue.

The beginning of a more open approach is, however, beginning to appear. But it predates FW's election as party leader.

This is a thought which Information Minister Stoffel van der

Merve has been pushing for some time, namely the right to disassociate.

It is the concept of the non-group. If you do not wish to be in the group into which the State has defined you, you may voluntarily

define yourself out.

Of course, where you vote and your children go to school is not clear.

Theoretically, and in the very, very long run this could result in the majority in the country having

defined themselves out and thus that they may be making the running in the country.

But that is very theoretical.

For the immediate little will change on this score. Yet other changes are possible, resulting mostly from a difference in style.

FW, other than PW Botha and John Vorster before him, has no connection with the security apparatus. Vorster's base was the Security Police, that of PW the Army.

De Klerk will rather look to party caucus and Parliament, and to the civil administration. This does not mean a considerable diminishing immediately of the influence of the bureaucrats but does imply that their influence has peaked.

It may be heralded as an important beginning of a shift away from the authoritarian approach which presently is so dominant.

Also de Klerk is a compromiser rather than one to prescribe. It should make negotiations within Parliament (with the Labour Party for example) and outside (to get the National Council off the ground) easier.

So, look to shift following on a change in style, which may yet lead to shifts of substance. But do not expect them soon.

Within the white political scene, FW's ascendancy will also have immediate effect.

He does appear to be reasonable and this will undermine the short term growth potential of the Democratic Party and even hurt the Conservative Party for PW Botha's style has meant a drift to left and right.

And if he does appear to be stronger on reform than PW has been of late, he will consolidate National Party support and even hurt the DP in the medium term. (Harald Pakendorf is former editor of *Die Vaderland*)



## Jan asks to be part of DP

Political Staff

THE independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, this week formally applied to become a member of the soon to be formed Democratic Party.

Should Mr Van Eck's application be accepted, it would break a spell of 19 months as an independent in one of safest opposition seats in the country. He was elected in September 1986, seven months after former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert resigned.

The DP will hold its founding congress in Johannesburg on April 8.



Dr Denis Worrall



Mr Pat Poovalingam



Mr Wynand Malan



Dr Zach de Beer

# PFP MPs oppose Malan demand

CAPL- Tm/15 22/3/89 30 CA

Political Staff

A DEMAND by NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan that the new Democratic Party contest only the two seats which the PFP holds in the House of Delegates in a future general election is threatening the merger.

A number of PFP MPs, already unhappy at the way the party's negotiators have traded away its power, are now intent on making a last-ditch stand to oppose merger on these terms at the party's winding-up congress in April.

These MPs, who claim to have majority support in the party caucus, say the demand is "racist" as it is tantamount to saying to the PFP's two Indian MPs, Mr Pat Poovalingam and Mr Mahmoud Rajab, that the new DP will be prepared to have them contest elections but no other Indians.

The PFP caucus met yesterday to discuss the mounting tension that has developed as a result of

the NDM demand.

For the first time Mr Malan and Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall attended the PFP caucus meeting.

After the meeting they and PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer issued a joint statement which said detailed decisions on the matter would be taken in due course. However, other PFP MPs said the meeting had not come close to resolving the problem.

The statement said:

● "The Democratic Party is in favour of participation in all three Houses of Parliament."

● The nature, extent and timing of participation depends upon factors such as overall party strategies in parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

Mr Malan is understood to have argued that the "people" do not support participation in the House of Delegates and House of Representatives.

PFP members, who are upset at the NDM demand, are interpreting

the reference to the "people" as meaning the ANC or UDF.

They are saying Mr Malan hopes to convene a forum at which groups ranging from Inkatha through the UDF to the ANC will discuss participation.

PFP members' response is that they are not prepared to take orders from Lusaka. Their party has a clear policy which is different to that of the ANC or UDF. They want it put to the electorate at large.

At this stage Dr Worrall is said to be siding with Mr Malan, a move which some PFP members are interpreting as having something to do with his campaign to win the DP leadership.

The PFP also faces a problem as a result of the application by Mr Charles Redcliffe, MP for Schauderville, to join the party.

Mr Redcliffe was elected on a Labour Party ticket and were he to contest the next election under a DP banner it would clearly be seen as a hostile move by the LP.

ons

## LATS

AD, RONDEBOSCH  
(Schoor)

E WILL SUBMIT

## IEUS COURT

UBLIC AUCTION  
N THE SPOT

**TUESDAY**  
**APRIL 1989**  
**30 am SHARP**

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galloning inflation are well

...and ... 'Anorthoid's sin' ...



among party colleagues" over the issue, makes it clear that party loyalty is with Mr F W de Klerk.

nationally- and provincially-controlled welfare organisations which rendered family care services were informed by letter in December last year and were invited to take part in the project.

CP/6 Tm/5 22/3/89 80/220/304A

## Vlok: Boycott a contravention

PARLIAMENT. — It would appear that the propagation of the consumer boycott in CP-controlled Carletonville was a contravention of the emergency regulations and it was therefore being investigated by the police along with a number of other charges which stemmed from it, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

He said in reply to an interpellation from Mr Frank le Roux (CP, Brakpan) that a number of suspects had already been taken into custody and had already appeared in court.

Among others, five charges of intimidation, one of public violence, one of robbery and one of malicious dam-

age to property were also being investigated.

While the police prescribed to no one where they should make their purchases, they were not prepared to allow anyone to be intimidated into not buying goods from a particular outlet.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point) said boycotts and sanctions were blunt political weapons which penalised the innocent along with the guilty. In the present case, however, there was no question that the community behind the boycott was one that found itself politically powerless and was therefore using one of the few, if not the only, political weapons it had to defend itself.

CP/6 Tm/5 22/3/89

## White local authorities Chopper 'was effectively control RSCs' not looking

# Malan demand a threat to three-party merger

CAPE TOWN — A demand by NDM leader Wynand Malan that the Democratic Party (DP) contest only the two seats which the PFP holds in the House of Delegates in an election is threatening the three-party merger.

Several PFP MPs, already unhappy at the way the party's negotiators have traded away its power, are now intent on making a last-ditch stand to oppose the merger on these terms at the party's winding-up congress in April.

These MPs, who claim to have the majority support in the party caucus, said the demand was "racist" as it was tantamount to saying to the PFP's two Indian MPs, Pat Poovalingam and Mahmoud Rajab, the DP would be prepared to have them contest elections but no other Indians.

Were the same proposals to be put to other minority groups, they would be rejected out of hand.

The PFP caucus met yesterday to



● MALAN

MIKE ROBERTSON

discuss the tension that has developed as a result of the NDM demand.

For the first time, Malan and IP leader Denis Worrall attended a PFP caucus meeting. After the meeting, they and PFP leader Zach de Beer said detailed decisions on the matter would be taken in due course. However, other PFP MPs said the meeting had not come close to resolving the problem.

The leaders said it was clear that:

- The DP was in favour of participation in all Houses of Parliament;
- That the nature, extent and timing of such participation depended upon a number of factors, including the overall strategies of the party in parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics;
- The DP would take detailed decisions in due course.

Malan was understood to have put forward an argument that the "people" did not support participation in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

PFP members were interpreting the reference to the "people" as meaning the ANC or UDF.

They said Malan hoped to convene a forum at some stage in the future at which a disparate number of groups ranging from Inkatha through the UDF to the ANC would discuss the issue of participation.

Their response to that was that they were not prepared to take their orders from Lusaka. Their party had a clear policy which was different to that of the ANC or UDF. They wanted it put to the electorate at large.



● WORRALL

At this stage, Worrall was said to be siding with Malan, a move which some PFP members were interpreting as being opportunistic and having more to do with his campaign to win the DP leadership.

The PFP also faces a problem as a result of the application by Charles Redcliffe (Ind Schauderville) to join the party.

Redcliffe was elected on an LP ticket and if he was to contest the next election under the DP banner it would be seen as a hostile move by the LP.



# DP policy document is pro-federal — PFP man

THE draft Democratic Party policy document being circulated among IP, PFP and NDM constituencies spelt out an explicitly pro-federal stand, PFP Johannesburg city councillor Ian Davidson said yesterday.

Davidson said in an interview that policy proposals envisaged a future constitution providing for "a federal system in which the powers of authorities on various government levels are entrenched".

He slammed former PFP Bryanston chairman Elizabeth Clogg, who resigned from the PFP after disagreeing with aspects of DP policy. Davidson said Clogg had quit before policy was defined.

"She has pre-empted the situation. I am one of the people who has a copy of the detailed proposals and I can assure her every single point she raised, including a Bill of Rights and federalism, has been catered for in a way of which she would approve," Davidson said.

## Further light

There was also no question of group rights over-riding individual rights. "Although it talks about representative government and the need for different cultural groups to live in harmony, that's the closest we come to it," Davidson said.

IP leader Denis Worrall shed further light on DP policy directions at a meeting in Gardens, Cape Town, last night.

He disclosed that various people had been approached with a view to possible appointment as advisers to the DP. "The appointment of advisers is the start of an advisory committee system and in due

PETER DELMAR

time other advisers will be appointed."

The recent debate about liberal values, conducted primarily in Business Day, had been "extremely useful and important", he said.

"It has been important for the simple reason that while we can accept that the SA of tomorrow will be apartheid-free and, we hope, democratic in a conventional Western sense, the nature of the economy is going to be critical.

"The debate, however, has unfortunately taken the focus away from the DP's own economic policy and turned more on the views, purported and otherwise, of (DP adviser) Sampie Terreblanche."

The DP, Worrall said, was committed to an economic system and strategy which was market-oriented and based on the principles of private ownership and free enterprise.

"We also go on in our policy statement to say 'the involvement of the state in the economy should be kept to a minimum'."

In this the DP's economic policy statement recognised the following state functions:

- The creation of the necessary security and administrative infrastructure, the provision of limited welfare services, human upliftment and development.
- The performance of the development role and provision of necessary institutional infrastructure to support private initiative and train manpower; and
- The state's role in the development of an industrial labour relations framework.



DE KLERK

**SOUTH** African President P W Botha met his rival National Party leader F W de Klerk on Tuesday but they failed to resolve their leadership struggle, sources at Parliament said yesterday.

No agreement was reached but they made progress towards a division of

# Nat row rages on

Sowetan 23/3/8

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responsibilities until a general election later this year or in March 1990, the sources added.

Botha and De Klerk discussed the dispute for the first time just a day before South African legislators left for a two-week Easter break.



BOTHA

The ruling National Party (NP) wants Botha (73), to step down after 10 years as head of the government in favour of De Klerk, who was elected party leader on February 2 after Botha suffered a mild stroke on January 18.

Botha rejected the demand and returned to work last week.



# CP, ANC, Nats to brief Americans in 'closed door' meeting

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From DAVID BRAUN

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — South African politicians from across the spectrum, including the Conservative Party and the African National Congress, will be briefing American legislators behind closed doors in Bermuda next week.

According to the organisers of the five-day conference, the Washington-based Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, no details will be made public of exactly who and how many people will take part in the discussions.

CP and National Party participants have already stated in South Africa that they have been given assurances they will not be involved in dia-

logues with the ANC.

According to a spokesman for the institute in Washington, the organisation was not prepared to state which American legislators would be involved in the conference.

The spokesman said the conference was a project being conducted by the institute which brought US legislators together with bodies of "experts and principal players" from various parts of the world.

## Better policies

"We are doing the same thing with the Soviet Union and with China," he said.

"The project we are doing with South Africa is one of many conferences we will do from time to time."

The spokesman said there

was nothing secret about the conference. American legislators would be talked to for their own education in the hope that better-informed policy-makers would make better policies. The exercise was purely for the education of the legislators.

Among the South Africans known to have accepted invitations to attend the Bermuda conference are Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, a former Leader of the Opposition and founder of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Mr Piet Coetzer, National Party MP for Springs, Mr Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Overvaal, Mr Thabo Mbeki, representing the ANC, and Dr Nthato Motlana, the Soweto civic leader.



Election before end of October key to leadership solution

# Nats, PW agree

## Party pledges to take dual route

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

The new Democratic Party is to commit itself to parliamentary as well as extra-parliamentary politics.

In addition the party will stand for the establishment of a genuine South African democracy which will reject race as its basis.

These are some of the points in a final draft of principles and policy of the DP which will be submitted to its founding congress in Johannesburg on April 8.

It has been drawn up by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Willem de Klerk.

As part of a programme of action the party commits itself to:

- The development of strong power bases in Parliament and in other representative bodies with the objective of gaining control.

- Greater interaction with groups and individuals — whether these share its goals or not — with the object of promoting negotiation, agreement, compromise and reconciliation.

- The development of a broad front for peaceful coexistence, joint strategies and alliances with organisations both within and outside Parliament which are pursuing the same objectives.

### INTERACTION

The party believed that all South Africans shared a common desire for peace, freedom, justice and prosperity and that this would provide the essential national accord.

It said cultural diversity was a national asset which could be developed.

It stands for the protection of representative government on the basis of general adult franchise for all South African citizens as one South African nation in which different cultural groups can live in harmony.

It favoured the limitation of the authority of the central government by the establishment of authorities on various levels which would bring the government as close as possible to the people.

In its economic policy the party stands for the principles of private ownership and free enterprise "as far as is humanly possible", with State involvement in certain key areas. Among these are:

- Birth may be messy, page 14.



DEVASTATION: Vehicles and buildings are transformed into a sea of debris after a tanker exploded in Peterborough, England, yesterday.

## Fireman killed as gelignite lorry explodes

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — A fireman died in a horrific blast that damaged surrounding buildings after answering an emergency call which said only "Tanker, alight".

He and his colleagues were not told that the blazing tanker was packed with more than 700kg of explosives.

When fire officer John Humphries investigated the unmarked van yesterday its load exploded. The 41-year-old father of two died instantly.

Another 80 people, including 11 firemen, were injured and more than 20 buildings in the Fengate industrial estate in Peterborough were badly damaged in the explosion, heard more than 10km away. About 100 vehicles were damaged by flying debris.

Cambridgeshire fire chief Alan Gray said later "I have very strong feelings about what happened here but I must leave it to the official inquiry to establish the exact details."

### RAISED ALARM

"If we had known the van was carrying explosives we would have tackled the fire in a far more cautious way."

The van, belonging to ICI's Nobel Explosives Company at Fisherwick, Staffordshire, was carrying gelignite for quarry-blasting and detonators. The driver had pulled in to a factory on the outskirts of Peterborough to ask directions.

His passenger noticed sparks and raised the alarm.

Workers at nearby factories dived for cover as the blast tore the lorry apart, ripped the roofs off nearby buildings, smashed windows and brought down power and telephone lines.

## Fire at SA nuclear pilot plant confirmed

Political Staff



DEBRIS: A bunch of daffodils among the rubble alongside a fireman's helmet.

## Banker expects new rise in interest rates

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South African consumers could face another rise in interest rates.

According to new Trust Bank chairman Dr Chris van Wyk, the rate at which credit continued to explode during January and February suggested that the prime overdraft rate must rise from 19 to above 20 per cent in order to keep the economy on an even keel.

Overall financial policy during 1989 will have to be tight enough to correct the country's present financial imbalances, he told the Randburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

To achieve this, both the fiscal policies announced in the Budget and the money supply

in the growth rate of credit extension from 17 per cent to zero in just ten short months.

"If such a dramatic reduction is to be achieved, no room whatsoever will be left for interest rate declines this year."

"In fact, it suggests that the prime rate must rise to 20 per cent — later perhaps even higher — and remain at such higher levels for the rest of 1989."

He said too the inflation rate was likely to rise to about 15 per cent in the second half of 1989 in response to the weak exchange rate and higher GST and fuel prices.

Dr van Wyk forecast that import volumes will drop noticeably — showing up in a

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent  
THE leadership crisis in the National Party has been largely resolved and an announcement is expected after the Easter recess of Parliament, top Government sources said today.

The solution to having the posts of party leader and head of State separated will probably hinge on an election date later this year.

Final decisions on the leadership issue and an election date could come at a caucus meeting of the National Party on April 6, which will be attended by President Botha.

These moves follow talks between Mr Botha and the new party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, on Tuesday and at a Cabinet meeting yesterday.

Yesterday's Cabinet meeting was unusually long and lasted for more than five hours.

### Formula found

There will also be an expanded Nationalist caucus meeting on April 8 when office bearers of the party, MPs and its members in the President's Council will attend.

Announcing this extraordinary caucus, Mr de Klerk said the decision to have it had been taken some time ago.

It was a continuation of a custom started last year to have extensive discussions on matters of national importance and of interest to the party without the formalities and limitations of an ordinary caucus meeting.

A formula has been found to allow Mr Botha to retire with dignity later this year. A Nationalist leader said today that "the fight is over".

At Tuesday's meeting Mr Botha and Mr de Klerk agreed on a compromise thrashed out by senior Nationalists who acted as mediators.

### FW "very pleased"

The compromise is said to be for President Botha to step down after a general election before the end of October.

No announcement is expected until April 6, when the details will be discussed with the caucus.

Mr de Klerk is believed to be "very pleased" with the deal but it has been accepted rather reluctantly by Mr Botha.

He is reported to be hurt at what he feels is a rejection by the Nationalist caucus and the federal council.

The compromise would allow Mr de Klerk

to lead the National Party into the election campaign with general agreement that he would be its candidate for President afterwards.

It is a compromise which is meant to offer a dignified solution to the crisis that developed when Mr Botha suddenly stepped down as party leader on February 2 but retained the presidency with its sweeping executive powers.

The agreement will allow Mr Botha to step down without undue haste. He will be allowed to serve out his present term as President but it will not extend to March next year as he had recently indicated.

The disadvantage for Mr de Klerk is that he will have to risk his marginal Vereeniging seat in an election.

If Mr Botha stood down before an election and Mr de Klerk was elected to replace him he would not have to stand.





# DP's birth may prove messy

AKW 23/3/89  
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**T**HE birth of the new Democratic Party may well be more difficult than had been anticipated at first.

Tensions and differences of emphasis are emerging among supporters of the three parties that are to merge on April 8.

What could have been made to look like a far more exciting venture is now beginning to look messy because it has dragged on for so long.

While conceding this, some of the politicians involved point out that it would not have been possible to form a new party at short notice as various personalities and viewpoints had to be brought together.

The main bone of contention is the approach to participation in the three Houses of Parliament.

Some PFP supporters, including MPs, also have misgivings about the NDM's attitude to consulting extra-parliamentary organisations on the question of participation.

In some PFP circles there is the feeling that the party's stand on this must be made more clear right away. The NDM and IP attitude is that there are practical diffi-

By  
**TOS WENTZEL**  
Political Correspondent

culties and situations that must be taken into account.

A caucus meeting of the PFP, which was attended by Dr Denis Worrall of the IP and Mr Wynand Malan of the NDM, discussed the question of participation in the three Houses this week.

A joint statement from the three leaders said afterwards that the DP was in favour of participation in all three Houses of Parliament.

The nature, extent and timing of such participation depended upon a number of factors, including the overall strategies of the party in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

The DP would take detailed decisions in due course.

The row that is brewing in the embryonic party has been highlighted by correspondence and talks between Mr Pat Poovalingham, PFP MP in the House of Delegates and Mr Malan.

Mr Poovalingham has attacked Mr Malan for being opposed to participation in all Houses.

In correspondence to Mr Malan which he released this week he said that he did not have the slightest doubt that any person who would sit in the pure-white House of Assembly segment of Parliament and held that it was wrong for those who were not white to belong to other segments of the same Parliament was a racist or a hypocrite.

He said that, unlike the NDM he did not take instructions from the African National Congress but made up his own mind.

Mr Malan denied that the NDM took instructions from

the ANC but he believed that other organisations should be consulted on the question of strategy.

The NDM's stand was that the new party should avoid strategies that would cause extra-parliamentary groups to break off communications.

While the party believed in a power base in Parliament it also believed in inter-action with other political groupings inside and outside Parliament and wanted to enter into agreements and alliances in order to achieve its goals.

Dr Worrall, who is largely in agreement with Mr Malan, said that, as the political future of the country had to be negotiated, relations had to be established with political organisations inside and outside Parliament.

In the case of the House of Representatives factors such as the strength and standing of the Rev Allan Hendrickse and the Labour Party and the need to have relations with them had to be considered.

While the services of the two PFP MPs in the House of Delegates were valued and the new party would be pleased to have them there the general situation here, too, was unclear.

While Dr Zach de Beer, the PFP leader, has also stressed the need for wide-ranging contact some PFP MPs have misgivings about the NDM's approach as they see it.

In some PFP circles there are also doubts about what assets the NDM and the IP will contribute to the merger.

They go as far as to predict that there may be "casualties" at the PFP congress on April 7, when the three parties will have their disbanding congresses.

There is general agreement, however, that the merger will go ahead and that the DP will formally be established on April 8.

**POLITICS**

# Nats hope to solve PW problem soon

## Political Staff

NATIONAL PARTY members were hoping yesterday as Parliament went into the Easter recess that a compromise solution to the leadership impasse was in the making.

If the speculation is correct it could mean an election this year, possibly in October, with Mr F W de Klerk in Tuynhuys as president soon afterwards.

Hopes for a dignified end to the issue were boosted by a meeting which is said to have taken place between Mr De Klerk and President P W Botha on Tuesday and

an apparently longer-than-usual cabinet meeting yesterday.

Mr De Klerk added to the speculation about a possible deal with a statement late yesterday that the National Party is to hold a special caucus meeting on April 8.

He said, however, that the decision had been taken "some time ago" and continued the practice of holding such meetings for "extensive talks on matters of national and party importance without the formalities of a normal caucus meeting".

While it was confirmed that the meeting had been in the pipeline for a while, it was also said that it would be an opportunity to discuss the leadership issue and any pos-

sible solution.

An October election would enable both sides to extricate themselves without loss of face. Mr Botha would be able to see out his five-year term as president and the party would get the election it has so badly wanted, at least before March next year.

The mood in the party has clearly been not to attempt in any way to force Mr Botha out and it was generally felt that nothing further would happen until after Mr Botha had had the opportunity of addressing the caucus and the federal council.

The special caucus on April 8 could provide the opportunity for at least one of these meetings.



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Sape Times, Thursday, March 23, 1989 3

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, moved to defuse the growing row in the emergent Democratic Party by defending participation in all three Houses of the tricameral Parliament.

The statement was described in parliamentary circles as a "backdown", though Mr Malan insisted that this approach had always been his position "publicly, privately and in Parliament".

Mr Malan also dismissed as "simply absurd" suggestions doing the rounds within certain sections of the PFP "that the NDM takes its orders from the ANC or Lusaka".

Mr Malan said yesterday: "The NDM has always taken its own decisions, based on an assessment of the situation and consequences — always pursuing our own programme and goals.

"The DP will do exactly the same, and as far as we are concerned, we will not be dictated to

# Malan statement 'no backdown'

by any person or any other political force."

The NDM leader's statement follows charges of "racism" against the NDM, threats by sections of the PFP to stage a last-ditch stand to prevent the formation of the DP and a challenge to Mr Malan to resign his seat in Parliament.

Members of the PFP, the NDM and the IP were yesterday upset by the ructions within their ranks just three weeks before the parties are due to merge. But party members were confident that "teething troubles" would not jeopardise the formation of the new party.

One source said that any attempt by a group of disenchanted

PFP MPs to prevent the merger at the party's dissolution congress on April 8 would be dealt with very severely.

Mr Malan's statement yesterday came after the release earlier in the day of private correspondence to the NDM leader from the PFP MP for Reservoir Hills, Mr Pat Poovalingam.

In one of the letters Mr Poovalingam states "... I do not have the slightest doubt that any person who would sit in the pure-white House of Assembly and holds that it is wrong for those who are not white to belong to other segments of the same parliament is either a racist or a hypocrite".

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SA AND THE WORLD

## Releasing P W Botha

How pleasant to see at least one Cabinet minister hard at work despite the eerie stasis at the top of the power pyramid. Good work too — Foreign Minister Pik Botha, leaving behind the dust of the leadership struggle, has earned himself and SA some plaudits from Britain's Margaret Thatcher, whom, unexpectedly, he saw after breezing through rather more familiar parts of Europe.

After meeting Botha (the discussion centred on the release of Nelson Mandela and, presumably, the state of our nation) Mrs Thatcher expressed optimism that the ANC leader would soon be free: "I think a number of people in SA in very high places take the same view, but have not been able to bring it about."

She must mean that the major remaining obstacle to Mandela's release lies in the attitude of P W Botha and those who advise him. A change in the presidency, and the release becomes possible — an event which would "change the atmosphere completely" because it would open the door to realistic talks on a political settlement.

Three other developments — which Botha explained or brought to the attention of his counterparts in Italy and Belgium — are also affecting foreign perceptions that SA could be on the point of nudging back towards international respectability. There is the movement towards peaceful resolution in Namibia; slowly improving SA-Mozambique relations; and the report of the Law Commission on a Bill of

individual rights for SA.

For once, in other words, Pik Botha has been able to go abroad with firm assurances and evidence of progress in both the diplomatic and human rights arenas. His suggestion — that the Europeans should bankroll a "Marshall Plan for southern Africa" — is doubtless asking for the moon, but some movement here would re-open traditional trade routes, defuse sanctions, see bank debt satisfactorily rescheduled, and assist in creating the preconditions for new loans.

With the Blue Berets in Windhoek, the effort towards the restabilisation of Mozambique, and promises of legislative reform to come; all of this — with Mandela's freedom as a profoundly symbolic gesture of goodwill just up the street — and Mrs Thatcher's optimism would seem well-founded.

But there remains the problem of the crusty old codger in Tuynhuys. Added to all the other cogent arguments for P W's well-deserved retirement, the Foreign Minister this week had the opportunity — via the State Security Council, to which he reported on his return — to plead the case for harvesting the benefits of the slow but relatively favourable overseas reassessment of our position in the world.

If this case is dismissed, the opportunity may not soon come again. Mrs Thatcher is not forever. It all rests in P W's hands; and one can only hope for a blaze of enlightenment to strike him. He needs to release Mandela; he also needs to release himself. ■



# Human rights study 'most important task'

CAP- Times  
24/3/89  
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Mr Justice P J J Olivier

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — The study on Human and Group Rights that resulted in the Working Paper issued this month was the most important task undertaken by the South African Law Commission, as it affects the whole community, Mr Justice P J J Olivier, vice-chairman of the commission and project leader on the issue of human rights told the academic conference on the Working Paper in Bloemfontein this week.

The commission worked openly and concealed nothing about what it did. When it took a point of view this was its honest opinion and was done fearlessly.

On the question of human and group rights it had made tentative proposals that had been published worldwide. Comments and suggestions were required before August 31, after which the final report would be compiled.

## Voting rights

The commission hoped to start the debate on the proposals on an intellectual level, with the hope that it would continue in large and small groups countrywide. Discussion should be as wide and open as possible so that the commission had the assurance that the final report presented to the government would contain proposals that have been tested at high intellectual level.

Mr Justice Olivier told the academic representatives that the commission had concluded that one of the basic human rights that was universally recognised was equal voting rights, where there was no discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, sex or religion. There would be no credibility and acceptance of a Bill of Human Rights if that principle was not accepted.

The mere fact of recognition of uni-

versal franchise did not mean an end of the constitutional problem. "You have only said who the participating players are, you have not said how the game is to be played or who the management team must be", Mr Justice Olivier said.

All the Law Commission said was that the future dispensation must be negotiated. However, if there was not a basic consensus on a Charter of Human Rights, there could be no progress on the constitution of the legislative body — of whatever sort, the provision of administrative policy or the system of the law courts, which were all steps in the dispensation.

## Honest standpoint

If consensus could be reached on basic values, it would be easier to reach consensus on other aspects of the constitution.

In the process to reach consensus on basic human rights norms, there was naturally a challenge to everyone to say, on an honest basis, where he stands, said Mr Justice Olivier.

The fact that the SA Law Commission had accepted, as an honest standpoint, that there must be a universal franchise did not mean that it had already written a constitution for South Africa. Its task stopped at human rights. If Parliament, after it received the final report, was of the opinion that human rights needed better protection in South Africa, it should, in principle — without compromising itself — make a statement that it was prepared to look at this issue.

An acceptance of a principle of universal franchise did not mean that constitutional models or possibilities were limited. It opened new vistas, Mr Justice Olivier said.

On the question of dissociation be-

tween groups, Mr Justice Olivier said that Clause 17 of the concept made provision for this. It recognised the right of dissociation but this was a private choice for individuals or groups. It could not be expected that the State should fund this choice.

## Proud tradition

South African law had certain norms and values. Society must be true to its moral, ethical and aesthetic values. South African law is individual-oriented and did not recognise legal sovereignty of undefined or amorphous groups. These were practical realities. The values of the individual had to be protected to protect those of the group.

On a proposition that the courts would become politicised if a Bill of Human Rights gave them the right to test legislation, Mr Justice Olivier said South African judges had a proud tradition of independence. He did not think the possible politicisation of the courts was a valid argument against the institution of a Human Rights Act. The courts already had the right to express themselves about laws. A court could interpret a law and give effect to it and thereby politicise it.

Mr Justice Olivier suggested that a better system would be if there was a clearly defined guideline rather than a random interpretation. — Sapa

# DP works out draft principles

Political Correspondent

THE new Democratic Party has committed itself to the establishment of a single democratic nation, free of racism or the use of violence as a political instrument.

These are among the major points in the draft of principles and policies that will be submitted to the founding congress of the DP in Johannesburg on April 8.

The five key principles the party purports to adhere to are:

- Representative government for all the peoples of South Africa.
- Independent judiciary and rule of law.
- Maintenance of law, order and security.
- Basic freedom of speech, voting, association, private ownership, elections, faith and culture.
- An economic system promoting private initiative, with conditions beneficial to a high rate of growth and with recognition that the state has important functions of human development and upliftment.

In order to achieve its aims, the party will attempt to influence change through a programme of action which will include:

- The development of strong power bases and other statutory bodies with the object of gaining control.
- The development of interaction with groups and individuals, whether or not they share in the state mission and goals, to promote negotiation, settlement and agreement.
- The development of a broad front of co-operation, relationships, joint strategies and alliances with organisations and individuals inside and outside Parliament, who are striving to achieve the same goals.



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# De Klerk won't have to fight election

## Political Staff

MR. F. W. de Klerk, leader of the National Party and president-in-waiting, is not expected to fight a potentially embarrassing election in Vereeniging, whether it comes later this year or early in the next.

Nationalists were more firmly convinced than ever yesterday that an amicable solution to the leadership impasse was in the making following the announcement that President P. W. Botha is to attend a caucus meeting on April 6.

Speculation was that he would agree to step down and call an election later this year—possibly in October.

Nationalists said yesterday the caucus would have to deal with the leadership problem and the election as one issue.

However, whenever the election comes, it

seems that Mr. De Klerk will not have to face a strong onslaught and potential defeat in Vereeniging at the hands of the Conservative Party.

The CP has made it clear it intends throwing all it can at Mr. De Klerk and believes it can defeat him.

But, come what may, Nationalists say Mr. De Klerk will be the NP's candidate for the presidency—whenever President Botha steps down—and therefore it will not be necessary for him to fight an election.

They point out that even if he won he would have to resign to become president.

Not having to fight a seat would leave him free to campaign around the country without having to tend to his own constituency.

Mr. Botha will attend the April 6 caucus meeting but is not expected to be at the special caucus

two days later which will include not only MPs and members of the President's Council but office bearers as well.

If a way has been found for Mr. Botha to make a dignified exit from public life, the April 8 meeting could be used to discuss election strategies.

A strong pointer as to whether or not the leadership issue has been resolved and if an election can be expected later in the year will be whether the government announces by-elections in three vacant Assembly seats soon.

There has been strong speculation that the by-elections would be held on May 24 but today is the latest it could be announced for that date.

It is suggested that if a September or October election is on the cards the government will not bother to call by-elections in Leydenburg, Hillbrow and East London City in May.

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140 constitutions studied

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# 'Universal voting a must in Rights Bill'

BLOEMFONTEIN — The South African Law Commission, in its working paper on group and human rights, had expressed the view that one of the basic clauses in a Bill of Rights should be universal franchise, Mr Justice Olivier, vice-chairman of the commission and project leader for the working document, said at a press conference in Bloemfontein yesterday.

The commission had expressed the view that a Bill of Rights would have no legitimacy or credibility without such a clause.

Mr Justice Olivier said that the proposals for a Bill of Rights were linked to a new constitution. The commission had made it clear that a Bill of Rights was part of the constitutional machinery of the country.

He said the proposals contained in the working paper would have a political impact, but there was also the reason that the values, rights and norms enshrined in a Bill of

Rights reflected some of the most valuable rights of all communities.

To identify the basic values that should be protected in a Bill of Rights, the most careful attention had been given to each of those rights and values.

On the question of the franchise, the committee had endeavoured to make an objective and comprehensive study of all political systems in the world. An analysis had been made of more than 140 constitutions.

The question of universal franchise had been given the most anxious legal and philosophical attention.

Mr Justice Olivier said that should such a Bill of Rights be accepted, the immediate legal effect would be that the sovereignty of Parliament would be curtailed, the Supreme Court would get a right of review — a testing right — on all legislative, executive and administrative Acts.

The Bill of Rights proposed

by the commission was therefore an honest and full-fledged Bill of Rights.

In response to a question on whether the proposals would not be "watered down" in negotiations after the submission of the report to the Government, Mr Justice Olivier said negotiation always entailed compromise.

It was foreseeable that in the process of negotiation, some of the principles would change and be adapted.

The commission had stated clearly that the Bill of Rights should be negotiated by all South Africans or their representatives. If not, the Bill, as part of a new constitution, would have no legitimacy or credibility.

The commission's last recommendation was that if consensus was reached through negotiation, the new constitution should be legitimised by a referendum that did not discriminate among voters of particular groups or races. — Sapa.



# Challenge to FW on suburb in Boksburg

By Esmare van der  
Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The Ratepayers' Association of Dawn Park, a residential area in Boksburg, has challenged National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk to fulfil his promise not to declare controversial Windmill Park an Indian or free settlement area.

In an open letter, the association's chairman, Mr Billy Hilder, said Mr de Klerk had given a written undertaking in 1988 that no occupational permits would be granted to Indians.

However, the Government announced this month that occupational permits would be granted to Indian families and that the area would be considered a free settlement area.

Mr Hilder said the association believed that neighbouring Villa Liza would provide for the housing needs of the Indian community.

"The Ratepayers' Association, representing 1 000 households in Dawn Park, has no objection to the issuing of temporary permits to Indians to remain in Windmill Park until alternative accommodation can be found for them.

"We understand that they will relocate to Villa Liza as soon as housing becomes available. The first houses are due for occupation in July this year."

He said business interests had bought up houses in Windmill Park at greatly inflated prices and had sold them to Indians at exorbitant prices.

"Uncertainty is killing Windmill Park, nothing else," said Mr Hilder.

# Even small parties would have a say in running the country

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's new moderate Democratic Party wants a system of government that will give even the small parties a say in the running of the country.

But it has dropped hotly debated Progressive Federal Party policy of giving minority groupings a veto right on government decisions.

This is revealed in the final draft of the policy that will be

put before the party's founding congress on April 8.

The party aims at a non-racial voters' roll in a system where political parties will form through free association.

Although racially constructed forms of government would be totally outlawed, the policy allows for "cultural, religious and linguistic diversity". This "right" had to be protected by the constitution.

With the election of legisla-

five bodies, the policy remains the same as that of the PFP with the number of representatives proportional to the number of votes gained by a party.

A major change however comes with the election of executives including Cabinet to ensure that "the greatest degree of political diversity" and that minority parties are represented in all tiers of government.

It is proposed that a "multiple voting system" would be used to

elect executives.

The policy document gives no detail as to how this would work, but indications are that the system would be used to give all parties a say in the election of the executives at all levels of government and even to provide for their representation.

Most multiple voting systems work on giving people entitled to vote a first, second and even third choice, and then the votes are added together in attempt to

get the most representative reflection possible.

The policy document states that all racial institutions such as the tricameral Parliament, separate bureaucracies, local authorities and racial legislation such as the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts would be rejected.

Individual rights would be protected by a Bill of Rights which would be upheld by an independent judiciary.



March 23 1989

# DP will also take extra-parliamentary route to win support

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The fledgling Democratic Party will seek to use both the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary avenues to advance its cause.

This is spelt out in a programme of action contained in the final draft policy of the party.

In its programme of action, the document states the "party does not believe that parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics can or should be divorced".

The party would strive to attain three objectives.

- "The development of strong power bases in Parliament and in

other representative bodies with the objective of gaining control."

No mention is made of the current controversy of whether seats should be contested in all the chambers of Parliament.

- "The extension of interaction with groups and individuals — whether these share our goals or not — with the object of promoting negotiation, agreement, compromise and reconciliation.

- "The development of a broad front for peaceful co-existence, relationships, joint strategies and alliances with organisations both within and outside Parliament which are pursuing the same objectives."

## Need for emergency powers is recognised



Suzman ...  
principle not  
mentioned.

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party accepts that the State needs to assume emergency powers in extraordinary circumstances to guarantee security.

But these powers must be available "in limited measure and for an appointed time", the DP's final draft on policy and principles says.

It states two other principles: "the maintenance of law, order and security by defusing conflict, combating inequalities and protecting civil rights"; and the rejection of violence as a political mechanism.

The document does not mention a principle agreed recently by a PFP commission under Mrs Helen Suzman that groups which practise violence can be banned by court judgment.

Star 23/3/89

## Race will play no part in 'genuine' democracy

304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The main principle of the Democratic Party is the establishment of a "genuine South African democracy" in which race will play no part.

Nine principles derived from this main principle, according to the final draft of the party's policy, are:

- The protection of fundamental human rights and liberties, including freedom of speech, franchise, association, religion, language and culture.
- Representative government on the basis of general adult franchise for all South African citizens.
- An independent judiciary and the rule of law.
- The maintenance of law, order and security.
- The limitation of the authority of the central government by the establishment of authorities on various levels.
- Negotiations to facilitate the orderly transition to a fully participative democracy.
- The rejection of violence as a political instrument.
- Sound industrial relations based on free collective bargaining.
- A system of private enterprise promoting a high rate of growth but recognising the State has important functions in human development and upliftment.



Star 23/3/89 30pA

## 'Stay out of this House' warning to new group

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The simmering row in Democratic Party circles on the proposed party's participation in the Indian and Coloured



Hendrickse ... warned Democratic Party.

Houses of Parliament intensified yesterday, with the Labour Party warning the DP to keep out of the House of Representatives.

LP spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse warned that the

DP's entry into the House would "not be conducive to an atmosphere of co-operation" between the two parties.

"It would be ridiculous for the DP to put up candidates merely for the sake of putting up candidates. There are no policy differences between Labour and the DP," Mr Hendrickse said.

A row erupted between Mr Pat Poovalingam, a PFP MP in the House of Delegates who favours full parliamentary participation, and National Democratic Party leader Mr

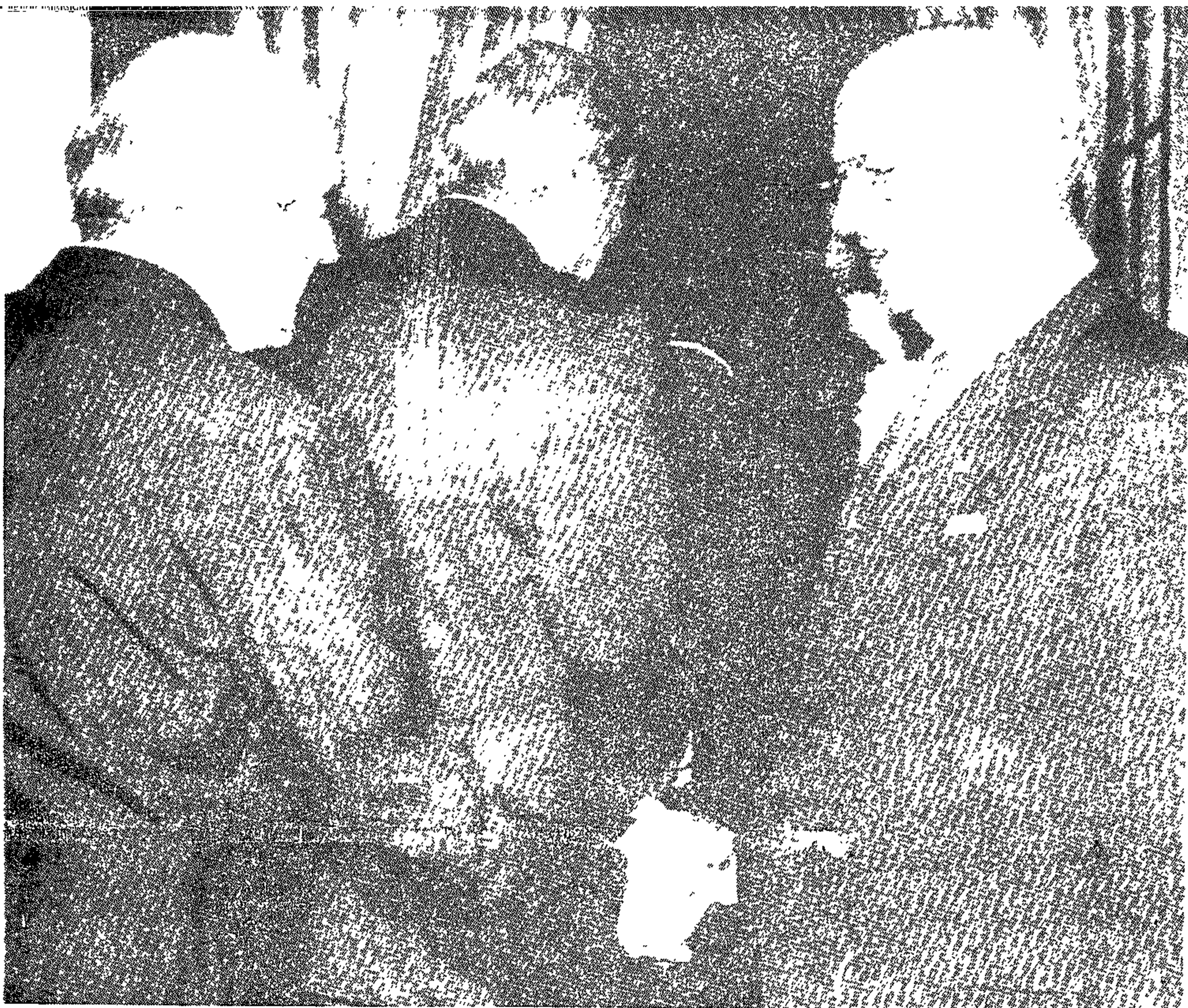
Xi and Malan, who believes this should be subject to consultation with extra-parliamentary groups.

Leaders of the PFP, NDM and Independent Party this week confirmed the DP favoured participation in all Houses.

Differences on the matter were threatening the three-party merger planned for April 8, sources said.

In another move, IP supporters calling themselves The Concerned Independent Democratic Lobby has accused the DP of "tolerating" extra-parliamentary "bias".





Let's be friends . . . President Botha and National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk shake hands before yesterday's Cabinet meeting.

# PW, De Klerk shake hands on NP compromise solution

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The leadership crisis in the Government has been resolved and an announcement is expected after the Easter parliamentary recess, top Government sources said last night.

"The fight is over. No one will be hurt and there will not be an unduly long period of delay," the sources said.

It is understood that President Botha and new National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk met on Tuesday to clinch a compromise thrashed out by senior Nationalists who acted as mediators between the two leaders at the centre of the crisis.

The compromise is for President Botha to step down after a general election during the second half of the year.

No announcement is expected before April 6, when the NP caucus will meet again to be addressed by President Botha.

This will be the first caucus meeting he will address since his stroke on January 18 and his retirement as NP leader on February 2.

An extended and extraordinary NP caucus — to include not only MPs but also NP members of the President's Council and other officials — has been scheduled for April 2.

NP sources said this had been arranged long ago and was intended to give the party an opportunity for discussions on national and party matters without the formal constraints of a normal caucus meeting.

Mr de Klerk is believed to be "very pleased" with the deal struck this week.

It is understood that Mr Botha himself has accepted it reluctantly after finally accepting the NP no longer wants him, something reported to have hurt him deeply.

The compromise will allow Mr de Klerk to lead the NP into a general election on the understanding that he would be its candidate for the presidential elections afterwards.

It is a compromise which is believed to offer a "dignified solution" to the leadership dispute.



## New party to aim at liberal democracy

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party, to be formed on April 8, will aim at a classic, liberal, free enterprise democracy with federal elements.

This emerges from the final draft of a statement of policy and principles that has just been thrashed out by the constituent parties.

It makes no mention of the minority veto policy of the Progressive Federal Party, but says the right to cultural, religious and language differences must be protected.

The DP's programme of action will be based on the principle that parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics cannot and should not be divorced.

It will strive to gain control in Parliament, but will interact with groups and individuals "whether these share our goals or not".

Some of the main features of the policy are:

- A multiple voting system for the country's executive which provides for the most broadly acceptable executive authority.
- Proportional representation for the legislature to ensure that minority parties are represented
- A federal system with entrenched powers for lower levels of government.
- A market-orientated economy based on private ownership and free enterprise.
- A State welfare and development function, taking account of the population's taxation capacity, but also the need for upliftment of deprived communities.
- Emergency security powers to be granted to the State in extraordinary circumstances, subject to limitation and the authority of the courts.
- A Bill of Human Rights to be upheld by the courts.

● See Page 6.

## SA politicians mystified by tour claims

Prominent South Africans whom an American travel company said would address tourists on their new "Black Door" tours of South Africa, know nothing about the proposed tours.

Lindblad Tours have claimed tourists visiting Johannesburg and Soweto would be addressed by six South Africans.

Today Dr Zach de Beer said he was unaware of the tours, as did the private secretaries of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Rev Allan Hendrickse — three of the speakers mentioned — Staff Reporter.



It's as if a new world is waiting to be born there

# Maggie backs SA summit

LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has again promoted the idea of a regional conference to thrash out the problems facing South Africa and her neighbours — and promised full British backing for such a meeting.

## SUE LEEMAN SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN SERVICE

And in an interview with BBC radio's Africa Service on the eve of her departure for an African tour, Mrs Thatcher also delivered another clear-cut statement of her intent to continue opposing economic sanctions.

She stressed that she believed they were counter-productive and harmful to the very people they were supposed to help.

"This is a point she will be making to African leaders during her safari, which takes in five states — Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria, Malawi and Morocco."

A negotiated settlement, Mrs Thatcher told her interviewers, was the best route to peace in South Africa — and the process would be set in motion with the release of Nelson Mandela.

## Leadership

She stressed that she would not be going to South Africa until the ANC leader was out of jail and "free to give his own views."

However, she praised Mr P W Botha for implementing "considerable" reforms. She said she believed that not even the current leadership battle with Mr de Klerk could derail South Africa's drive for change.

"I think most people accept change must happen and it will happen. It's as if a new world is waiting to be born."

The bottom line, she said, was "one person, one vote (but) that does not necessarily mean in a unitary state."

But she insisted that she was not advocating a federal system and local leaders must work out their own solutions.

Mrs Thatcher, who was

## Pik in sight of foreign affairs coup

### BRUCE CAMERON POLITICAL STAFF

CAPE TOWN — South Africa could be on the brink of a major breakthrough in foreign relations following an unexpected meeting in Mozambique between Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Soviet deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamshin.

Following an interview given by British Premier, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, on the eve of a visit to southern Africa it is obvious the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela is the crucial factor.

In an exclusive interview last night, Mr Botha declined to say whether he met Mr Adamshin in Maputo the previous day. He confirmed he had seen Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, but added "I am not pre-

## Easter road death toll is already at 36

At least 36 people have been killed and 61 injured in road accidents since the start of the Easter weekend, according to figures received by Sapa.

The National Road Safety Council reported 16 fatalities on major routes, in its latest traffic report.

Updated reports indicate 22 people were killed and at least another 24 seriously injured when a truck overturned on a mountain gravel road near Vryheid in northern Natal.

## Midday

A Vryheid police spokesman said the accident happened just after midday on Thursday on the road between Vryheid and Ngome.

Eleven people were seriously injured in four other road accidents near Vryheid.

The latest report from the NRSC said three women passengers died instantly in Benoni when a drunken driver lost control of his vehicle and crashed into a pole on Thursday.

Also in Natal, three people were killed and 18 injured when a bus overturned at Wilson's Cutting on the Port Shepston-Harding road on Thursday night.

## Price for Papenfus: 23 POWs

### BRUCE CAMERON POLITICAL STAFF

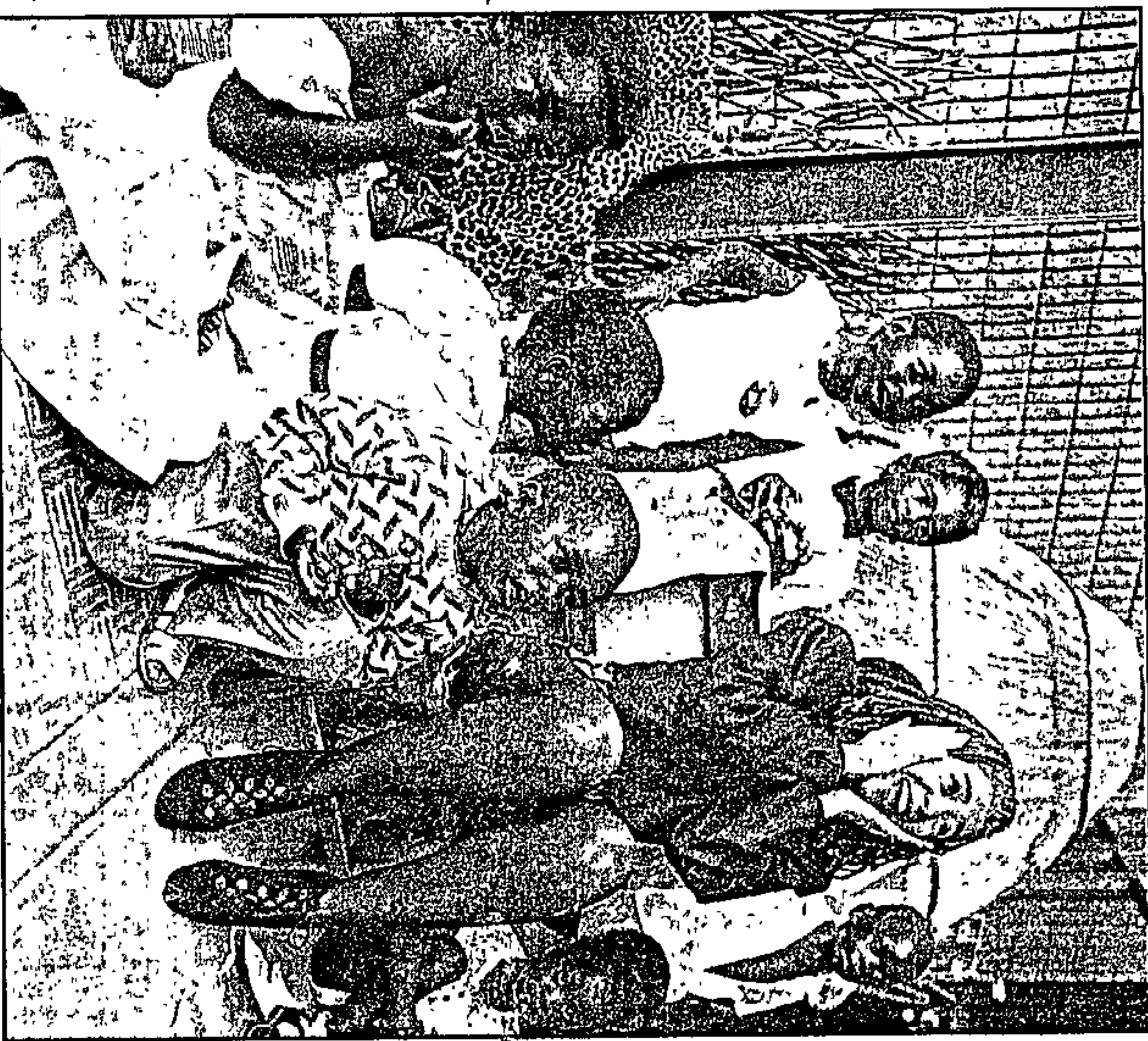
CAPE TOWN — Three Cubans and 20 Angolans are to be swapped for South African prisoner of war Johan Papenfus, currently being held in Cuba.

The prisoner swap will not include Belgian citizen Helene Passtoors, who is serving a jail sentence for treason.

According to a South African Foreign Affairs spokesman, the prisoner exchange is likely to be a low-profile affair.

Apart from one Cuban pilot, the other Cubans and MPLA prisoners are held by UNITA.

The Cuban pilot held by South Africa was captured after he made a forced landing in Namibia when his MIG fighter



A SONG IN HER HEART: A superstar with the common touch... that's Irene Caru as she gets to know the little ones of the Mimbodana Cultural Centre in Mimbodana this week. See story on Page 5. Photograph: JOHN HOGG.

## Nine dogs in minibus hijacked

### Janet Heard

Nine pampered pooches in a minibus were hijacked by three men in Johannesburg on Wednesday. Despite a total reward of R900, by late yesterday afternoon they were still missing.

They were on their way to the Shamposh Doggie Parlour in Kibler Park for a monthly shampoo and haircut. The woman driver of the minibus had collected the ninth dog when a man accosted her and

## Man feared drowned

CAPE TOWN — A Port Elizabeth holidaymaker, Mr Andre du Plooy (23), is believed to have drowned while diving at Llundudno in the Cape yesterday.

Mr du Plooy was at the Llundudno wrecks with his cousin, Shaun, when

NOW from the American Cigarette Company

# American Lights



Star 28/3/87 (304A)  
**Pik near a breakthrough**

● FROM PAGE 1.

pared to disclose all my appointments."

But diplomatic sources indicated it was virtually certain he met Mr Adamishin.

The USSR has recently hinted at a reassessment of its role.

Mr Botha has had contacts with Mr Adamishin in Brazzaville and New York, and the Russian arrived in Maputo a few hours after Mr Botha.

Mr Botha said in the interview that South Africa was going through "an amazing period in history".

He welcomed Mrs Thatcher's latest opposition to sanctions and her call for the renunciation of violence.

He added: "They (the Soviets) have said they are against violent solutions and... are against sanctions."

Mr Botha confirmed that he had told Mrs Thatcher he favoured the release of Mr Mandela and this could open the way to real negotiations.

But, he said, possible consequences of such a release created problems for South Africa.

Said Mr Botha: "The State President... has told me he would like to see Mandela released unconditionally if it could be done without more violence and his possible re-arrest."

Mr Botha said positive proposals had been made at his meeting with President Chissano that could bring an end to the war in Mozambique. He declined to give details.

Star 28/3/87 (304A)  
**Pik in sight of foreign affairs coup**

**BRUCE CAMERON  
POLITICAL STAFF**

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He confirmed he had seen Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, but added: "I am not pre-

● TO PAGE 2.



SAW 25/7/87

## Township's white priest tells why he's 'an enemy'

MAMELODI Ned Geref Church in Africa minister Dr Nico Smith says he is regarded as an "enemy of the system" because he does not oppose black people's sentiments.

Dr Smith was commenting on an allegation by independent MP Mr Jan van Eck in Parliament that national servicemen had been shown video film and photographs of him and other whites visiting the area and told they were "the enemy".

An SADF spokesman said videos and briefings were routine and aimed at orienting new troops into the area in which they were to operate, but denied the briefing officer referred to those concerned as the "enemy".

Dr Smith is the only white living in Mamelodi and is often the only white who attends township gatherings.

"That is part of my duties as a minister here," he said. "The people accept me as part of the community."

He said he often had to attend events such as



Dr Nico Smith.

burials of political activists where, "from the nature of things", there was a lot of emotion, such as showing of ANC flags.

This was "a political expression".

Dr Smith said he was regarded as an enemy because he did not object to this and did not pull down ANC banners.

"It seems that where they regard the ANC as the enemy, they also regard me as the enemy."

He said most of Mamelodi supported the ANC "and one must understand this".

During World War 2, Afrikaners had in the same way often showed the Vierkleur — the flag of the old Transvaal Republic — as a form of political expression, he said.

He added: "Therefore it is surprising that they (the authorities) do not understand this. They have no understanding that these are the people's sentiments which find expression in the showing of ANC flags."

Dr Smith said the authorities felt all instigators of unrest were enemies and part of the "total onslaught".

But "the presence of soldiers and the Defence Force will not get this out of the people".

He added: "The more they try to suppress these sentiments, the stronger they grow." — Own Correspondent.

# PW may announce poll

CAPE TOWN — President P W Botha is scheduled to address a joint session of Parliament on Thursday April 6 at which he could possibly announce a general election.

His speech to the joint session will follow his appearance at a National Party caucus meeting earlier in the day.

## Meeting

His acceptance of an invitation to attend the caucus meeting follows the defusing of the crisis in the National Party after top-level talks culminating in a face-to-face meeting between National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Botha on Tuesday.

Top Government sources indicated last night that President Botha's

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**BRUCE CAMERON  
POLITICAL STAFF**

speech to the joint session would finally resolve the conflict within the party.

He would however remain in office "for a couple of months".

It is possible that he could announce an election for August or September.

Mr de Klerk would lead the party into an election with the understanding that he would be the party's candidate for the next general election.

The crisis was resolved this week after senior members of the Cabinet, understood to include Mr Pik Botha and Mr Barend du Plessis, acted as mediators on a "face-saving solution" which was put to Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha.



# More Canadians take a stand on apartheid

WASHINGTON — Hostility towards South Africa has increased markedly among Canadians, a recent national survey of Canada has found.

According to the results of an opinion poll published this week in the *Toronto Star*, 50 percent of Canadians believe Canada should take a tough stand against apartheid.

The Gallup poll found they favoured economic sanctions such as imposing a trade embargo and ending Canadian investment in South Africa. Support for such measures was up from the 40 percent in a similar poll conducted in 1987.

The newspaper pointed out trade figures between South Africa and Canada for the first 11 months of 1988 showed exports to South Africa

had increased 44 percent while imports from the country were up 68 percent.

More than a third (35 percent) of Canadians surveyed in the latest poll wanted Canada to condemn apartheid and cut all ties with South Africa, compared with 28 percent two years ago.

On the other hand, 47 percent wanted to maintain relations with South Africa while urging the country to 'abandon its apartheid policies'. Only 13 percent of Canadians believed their country should not interfere with South Africa, compared with 20 percent two years ago.

DAVID BRAUN

SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN SERVICE

# The Mandela Option AND HOW PW MAY PLAY IT

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

S/Times 26/3/89

PRESIDENT P W Botha plans to bow out of office in a shower of accolades, which may include the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader.

Expectations have grown among National Party MPs and internationally that this is the hand Mr Botha will play as the only means of getting his Great Indaba plan launched.

This, in turn, will allow him to retire with honour, leaving the country with a measure of hope and earning himself international plaudits.

Many politicians and senior diplomats believe Mr Botha is now resigned to the inevitable: that after the next general election he will not be the NP's candidate for the presidency.

But before that happens he is determined to rehabilitate his image as the man who set SA on the path to reform, and write his name large in the final chapter of his 10-year history as head of government.

Mr Botha has often set as the ultimate goal of his administration the creation of an Indaba where South African leaders will work out a new constitutional deal.

## Precondition

Mr Botha would also be able to see out his term, which expires in September, having seen Namibia on the road to independence, the ending of the Angolan war and the positioning of SA as a regional power.

However, senior NP men close to Mr Botha accept — and they say he does, too — that he cannot realise his plans for the Indaba without Mr Mandela's release.

Several prominent black leaders have made it clear this is an absolute precondition for sitting down with the Government.

The prospect of Mr Mandela's release caused a high level of expectations in foreign capitals this week.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, on her way to several important meetings in Africa, talked hopefully about Mr Mandela's release soon after her meeting with Foreign Minister P W Botha 10 days ago.

## Discussions

She said she would not contemplate visiting SA while Mr Mandela remained a prisoner and that his release would "facilitate" the par-

ticipation of black leaders "who have indicated their willingness to join discussions if Mr Mandela is released".

● PETA THORNYCROFT reports from Harare the ANC believes the release of its leader is "imminent".

A senior ANC source in Lusaka said it would "not be surprised" if Mr Mandela's freedom coincided with Mrs Thatcher's visit to Zimbabwe.

Intense interest will now focus on Parliament when it re-convenes in Cape Town on April 6.

MPs will be seeking confirmation of reports that Mr Botha has conceded to the wishes of NP leader F W de Klerk for an election later this year.

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P W BOTHA AND GOVERNMENT

# Why are we waiting?

P W Botha's apparent refusal to retire from office has created an unprecedented crisis for the National Party (NP) — and no one seems to know how to resolve it.

The situation is being exacerbated by Botha's near-total isolation from his Cabinet colleagues and the uncertainty that has permeated the Nat parliamentary caucus.

In an unprecedented editorial, the leading Afrikaans newspaper, Nasionale Pers's Johannesburg daily *Beeld*, this week questioned the wisdom of a statement saying that Botha will return. "If it has been the aim of the statement to bring about greater clarity on his condition, it did just the opposite." The statement only resulted in new questions being asked about the handling of urgent problems, the paper observed.

It is clear that most Nat MPs — including Cabinet ministers — want Botha to retire gracefully and make way for new NP leader

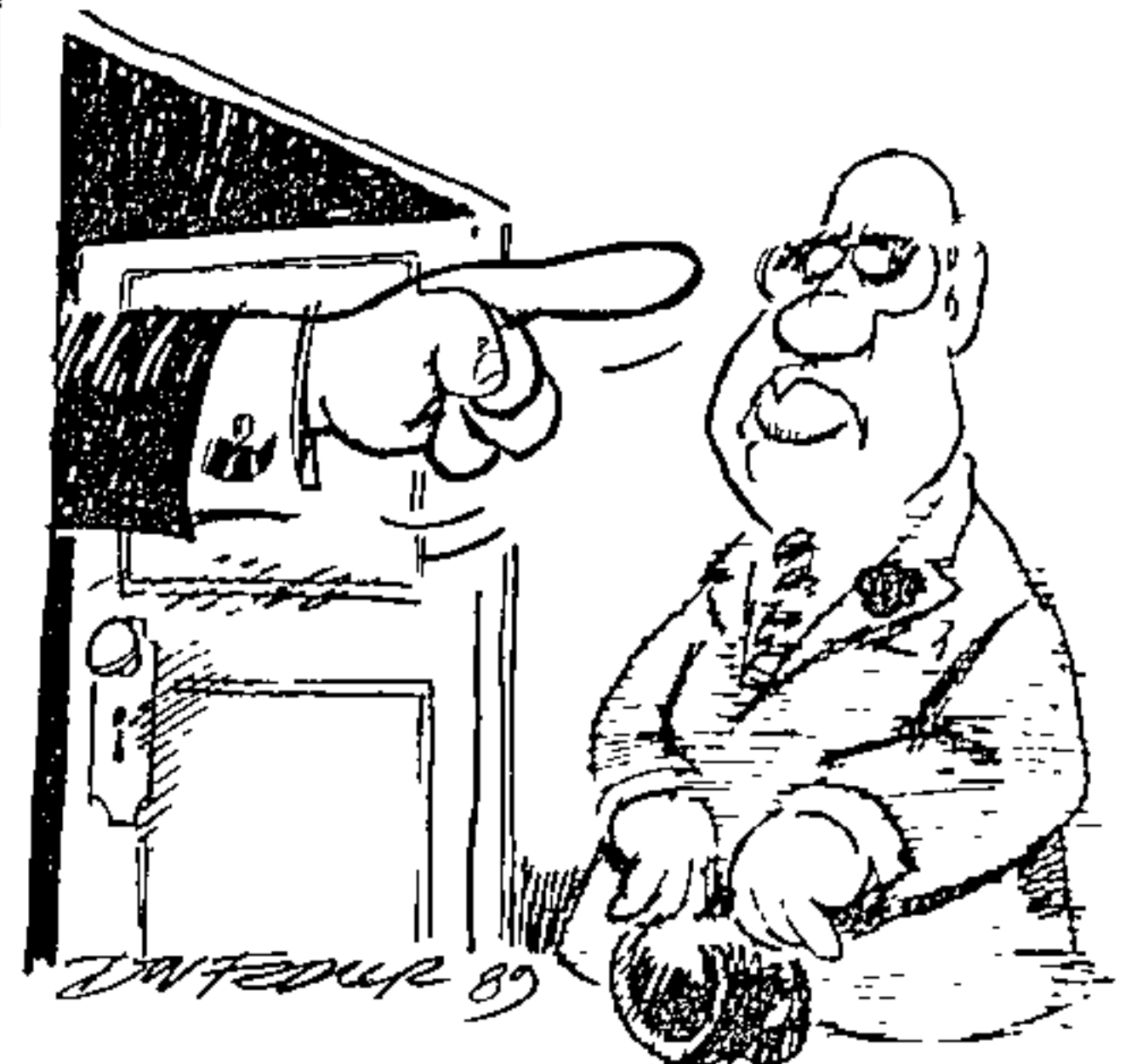
FW de Klerk to become State President. Most Nats also want a general election as soon as possible — with May 24 as the favoured date.

But Botha, for reasons that are unclear, seems unwilling to accommodate his party. His media liaison official, Jack Viviers, is reported to have said that Botha is definitely returning to Tuynhuys as soon as he is fit enough. It is understood, however, that Viviers' reported comments are the *only* indication the Cabinet has so far had of Botha's intentions. He has apparently not conveyed them personally to any minister. It is also understood that it is extremely difficult for senior ministers to get appointments to see Botha and that De Klerk has not seen him since their meeting in the first week of February.

Naspers's partly owned Sunday stablemate *Rapport* ran a banner headline, "Die

P W Dilemma," above a story saying that if Botha decides to return to office he and De Klerk should at least talk to each other — "now, before President Botha's return," it said.

Meanwhile, opposition MPs are having a field day in parliament. During a debate on the Group Areas Act, the National Democratic Movement's Peter Gastrow (Durban Central) taunted government members, asking: "The Honourable State President has



for their own reasons might instil various ideas in him. "Someone like him, presently reasonably isolated from the viewpoints of his political colleagues and supporters, is particularly vulnerable to the advice of those who do not necessarily put his welfare foremost," it opined.

*Beeld* went on: "Will it be too much to ask from someone in his position to discuss the matter openly with those on whose trust he had to rely for years? Such as his Cabinet?"

Some observers believe the exposure of Botha to the media when he left from Ysterplaat airforce base in Cape Town for Wilderness was meant to show how well he had recovered — but the exercise backfired when it became apparent just how ill Botha actually is. It is possible that his media men then tried to rescue the situation by having Botha fly unexpectedly back to Cape Town two days later, adding to the confusion. This is speculation, of course.

But the lack of communication between the State President and his most senior ministers is unprecedented. Some Nats believe a "showdown" between De Klerk and Botha is inevitable and they have little doubt that De Klerk will fare best. The renewed impetus he and Acting President Chris Heunis have given to the party's reform initiative has been widely welcomed in the caucus and there is concern that if Botha returns that initiative will be lost.

Meanwhile, Anglovaal and First National Bank chairman Basil Hersov was quoted in London this week as saying it was likely Botha would formally step down "within a month or so." Hersov was reported to have said he had met De Klerk four days earlier and had found him pragmatic, politically motivated and aware of the need for change.

*Beeld* warned against the loss of the refor-

mist momentum evident in the first week of parliament. And already there is a feeling of uncertainty over how and by whom those promising initiatives will be carried further. "Such an impasse in our politics could be fatal if allowed to carry on for too long," *Beeld* concluded.

The NP wants an early election and regards Botha's indecision as the only obstacle to this. Though it is argued that as Acting State President, Heunis has the power to call an election, the situation is not yet considered serious enough to openly oppose Botha on the issue.

It is possible for parliament to unseat Botha constitutionally if a majority of members of an electoral college constituted by the Chief Justice, at the request of all three Houses of parliament, decide that the president is unable to perform his duties efficiently. But again, the situation is not serious enough to warrant such a drastic option. ■

become an embarrassment, an albatross around the neck of the new NP (under De Klerk's leadership)."

Gastrow asked who was making party policy. Whereupon Springs Nat MP Piet Coetzer interjected: "*Die hoofleier, die hoofleier* (the leader in chief)."

Botha's jetting to and fro between Cape Town and his holiday home at Wilderness has added to the confusion in the NP. MPs were initially led to believe that he went off to recuperate. His unexpected return to Cape Town, and a visit to his office "to deal with correspondence" only two days later, surprised even senior Cabinet ministers — some of whom were unaware that Botha was back in town when asked by journalists for comment.

Some Nats are asking why Botha will not address the caucus on his future plans or at least see a delegation of ministers if he is apparently well enough to travel to Tuynhuys, which is right next door to parliament.

It has been suggested that Botha is being deliberately kept away from ministers and the caucus by his personal staff who have a vested interest in him staying in office. A few of them, like Viviers, who was (ironically enough) seconded from Naspers to Botha's office, depend on Botha for their jobs.

*Beeld* says it hopes that Botha will not be guided by *leke-adviseurs* (lay advisers) who



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# 'Don't reject friendship'



## Buthelezi warns whites

THERE will be no future for white South Africans if they reject the black hand of friendship held out within a framework of democratic ideals.

This was said this week by the KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in reply to accusations by CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

At the first session of the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi, Buthelezi said he was "deeply saddened" by the reports of Treurnicht's reaction to a section of a policy speech in which Buthelezi made remarks about the Conservative Party.

He said Treurnicht was objecting to the fact that he had said, "there is no prospect whatsoever of anybody succeeding in dragging South Africa back to the politics of the heyday of apartheid", and that whoever attempted to do so would be crushed by the vastness of mass opposition to

apartheid.

"I must pause to see whether there is anything that I can humanly do to salvage Treurnicht and his Conservative Party from the disaster to which they are heading," he said.

"Unless all South Africans begin acting responsibly and reject the political madness from the far left and from the far right, it is South Africa that will suffer.

"When the far left and the far right want to batter their way into their own crises and confront South Africa and the world, we could stand by and let them do so.

"History could march on without them.

"I reject both the far right and the far left - because both could thrust South Africa to ongoing revolution and counter-revolution," he said.

He said Treurnicht was quoted as saying: "It is strange that he (Buthelezi) still threatens militant black op-

position."

Buthelezi said: "He either cannot read English or he is grabbing any pretext that presents itself to distance himself from me by lambasting me

"I never threatened militant black opposition.

"Treurnicht expects blacks to fragment themselves into ethnic groupings while the heterogeneity of white ethnicity is swept under the carpet.

"There is no such thing as white ethnic group

"Even Afrikaners are not ethnically pure."

Buthelezi challenged Treurnicht to say that the "so-called" white ethnic group had any moral right to claim domination in 87 percent of the country's land area.

"I challenge Treurnicht to tell the world that he does not seek to perpetuate white decision-making dominance in control of the South African Army, the control of the South Afri-

can Police Force, the control of the South African civil service, the control of South Africa's electricity supply system, the control of South Africa's water supply system and in fact the control of everything that goes to make for domination of the country's domestic and foreign policy.

"Treurnicht is playing with words when he talks about black rights to self-determination and then denies blacks the right of self-determination, even in his sense of the words, in 87 percent of the land of their birth.

"The years of apartheid are very limited and Treurnicht just does not have the political time in which to undo the progress that has been made in moving away from apartheid.

"If the Conservative Party ever becomes the ruling party in South Africa, I have a gut-feeling that even those of us who are committed to peaceful change may be forced to reconsider that commitment," Buthelezi said. - Sapa



# New party spells out its 'one man one vote' policy

THE Democratic Party, to be formed in two weeks, will commit itself to a universal adult franchise and links with extra-parliamentary groups.

A policy document currently being circulated, and to be presented to the formation congress on April 8, calls for a universal franchise "on a common voters' roll for every level of representation and for all adult citizens of South Africa".

It also says: "The party does not believe that parliamentary or extra-parliamentary politics can or should be divorced."

It says it will strive for contact, with the aim of promoting "negotiation, settlement, compromise and reconciliation".

To achieve these aims, the

Political Correspondent

party will reject race as a basis for any policy formation or strategies.

But, it says, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity must be recognised and individuals' rights in this respect must be reflected and protected in the constitution.

The party will aim to limit the authority of central government and devolve its functions to lower levels to "bring government as close as possible to the people".

Political parties will be formed on the principle of free association, and the document indicates that the DP favours a voting system of proportional representation.

In such a system, parties

are accorded seats in the legislature according to the percentage of support they get from voters — rather than on a constituency-by-constituency basis, as at present.

A Bill of Rights will uphold the rights of citizens and be enforced by an independent judiciary.

The economic system will be based "as far as possible on the principles of private ownership and free enterprise" — but the DP foresees State functions including "the great necessity for the upliftment of deprived communities".

The State should also provide the infrastructure and manpower training to encourage the participation by all in the mainstream of economic activity.

# Labour rejects Bill on black ministers

THE deputy leader of the Labour Party and newly appointed deputy Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives, Mr Miley Richards, said yesterday his party would reject any Bill making provision for black Ministers.

This was because of the "negative response" from black leaders the Labour Party had consulted on the matter, he said.

The Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has stated he will under no circumstances agree to serve under the present tricameral parliamentary system as he is against the co-option of blacks as members of the Cabinet.

## Guidance

The Government has announced it intends creating a position for a black Minister or Deputy Minister, probably to take charge of the education portfolio for blacks.

Dr Buthelezi said that although relations between his Government and the Labour Party of the Rev Allan Hendrickse were still "strained"

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

after the January 1983 decision of the LP at Eshowe to participate in the tricameral Parliament, Mr Hendrickse had sought his guidance on how to respond to the Second Constitution Amendment Bill, which provided for the appointment of a black to the Cabinet.

Mr Hendrickse was unavailable for comment yesterday but his deputy, Mr Richards, MP for Toekomsrus, said apart from Dr Buthelezi, the views of other black homeland leaders had also been sought and because of the unanimous "negative" response from them on the issue "... the Labour Party won't even take a second look at the Bill".

"We are not going to clash with the wishes of black leaders as it had been our own experience when Mr Hendrickse was a member of the Botha Cabinet that his presence made absolutely no difference to the direction the National Cabinet wanted to steer the country in."



By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

A REBEL faction within the Progressive Federal Party could break away from the proposed Democratic Party before its official formation on April 8.

The handful of PFP supporters are said to be increasingly unhappy about the direction in which the new party is moving.

Tensions are likely to come to a head the day before the PFP's dissolution congress on April 7.

Faced with the prospect of finally burying the PFP standard along with many of its traditions, the die-hard group may make a stand against the proposed unification with Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Party.

Although the "independent" faction may break away, this is not expected to affect the merger.

Opposition politicians have named the PFP discontents as Mr John Malcomess, MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr Rupert Lorimer, MP

## PFP rebels plan a last stand

for Bryanston, and, to a lesser extent, Mr Ray Swart, MP for Berea.

One of the primary issues over which the prospective members of the DP have split is whether the new party should contest seats in the coloured and Indian Houses of the tricameral Parliament.

The PFP faction objected to an NDM view that the DP wait until the "participation debate" among extra-parliamentary groups is settled.

They accused the NDM of wanting to impose the dictates of the African National

Congress on the DP.

The NDM vehemently denied this.

The cracks were papered over after an announcement by the three DP leaders that the party would contest such elections — but the decision would depend on prevailing conditions.

However, party insiders say the dispute reflects deep philosophic divisions and is far from over.

There is a similar division over economic policies.

Social democratic principles involving a distributive role for the state — introduced by Professor Sampie Terreblanche — are vigorously resisted by PFP free market capitalists.

Although there is a group within the IP agitating for the exclusion of any factions that would hinder the DP winning white votes from the Government, the IP and Dr Worrall himself have managed to maintain their distance from the conflict between Mr Malcomess's group and the NDM.

Mr Malcomess and Mr Lorimer were not available for comment yesterday.



# BREAKING THE MOULD

5/Times  
26/3/89

304A

SOUTH AFRICA'S foreign relations are becoming a kaleidoscope — a fascinating, intricate pattern from which an unexpected picture could yet emerge.

Two recent, seminal occurrences have splintered the pattern of the country's foreign affairs, previously set in a depressing cycle of confrontation and defiance.

The two landmark developments, a long time in the making but now sudden realities, have become the pivotal factors in the two primary areas of foreign relations — regional diplomacy in southern Africa and relations with the major foreign powers, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union.

On the regional front, the successful withdrawal from the Angolan war and the accession to Namibia's independence have projected SA into an entirely new regional role and image.

While it remains an unloved member of the region, SA is now recognised as a regional force that can contribute meaningfully to peace and economic prosperity.

On the wider international front, the USSR has changed the cast of the die by qualifying its stance on one of the main players in the South African drama, the African National Congress.

By distancing itself from violence and calling instead for a domestic settlement to SA's domestic crisis, Moscow has opened the way for a co-operative policy, with Washington, towards Pretoria.

Faced with the two super-powers acting in concert, SA could find itself facing an unprecedented — and probably irresistible — wave of foreign pressure.

Pretoria's immediate foreign concerns, and goals, lie in regional affairs.

## Necessary

It is too early to tell for sure, but the success of the Angolan and Namibian exercise probably spells the end of the Government's destabilisation strategy in the region.

This certainly would be necessary if the view of the Department of Foreign Affairs — which favours diplomacy above military sorties — is to dominate.

In this view, SA is starting a reverse play of the domino theory which it fell victim to a decade-and-a-half ago.

When the Salazar Government fell in Lisbon, it set off the independence of Mozambique and Angola. This led to a ring of hostile states on SA's borders, with exception only of the mandated, but disputed, territory of South West Africa.

Critics of the conversion of SWA to independent Namibia have argued it concludes the sickle of enemy states.

But by going through with the exercise, SA has gained a credible enough image to begin propping up the dominoes that fell 15 years ago.

In practice this has meant swinging attention from the south-western coast to Mozambique.

Early successes there, and they have been considerable, have come not only through SA's new image of a "baddie" you can, nevertheless, do business with — but through Mozambique's dire economic need.

Much tension attaches to the Mozambique exercise because, important as Mozambique is and



by **Lester  
Venter**

Political Correspondent

as great as the benefits of more productive economic ties are, beyond it lies the ultimate prize in regional diplomacy — Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe is important from an economic point of view. If it were a commercial undertaking, it would — unlike other states in the region — be in business. But more than that, its government is headed by one of Africa's most influential statesmen, Robert Mugabe.

His influence extends even beyond Africa: He is a leading figure in the Commonwealth.

By all accounts, there is not yet much of a plan on how the diplomacy toward Zimbabwe will eventually be tackled. But with successful ventures bagged in regard to Angola, Namibia and Mozambique — and with 50 per cent of Zimbabwe's external trade already being with SA — Pretoria will be well positioned.

Namibia's independence, and everything that flows from it, was always regarded both by Pretoria and foreign governments as the first prize in sub-Saharan politics. The abolition of apartheid was regarded as a more distant ideal.

## Prize

As it has turned out, however, the National Party Government's biggest foreign policy success in 40 years is a paradoxical one. Because with the success in Namibia, the once-distant ideal of apartheid's end is being pulled rapidly into focus.

All the dynamics of the Angola situation reflected and entrenched super-power conflict: the Soviets backed the MPLA, operating through Cuban surrogates; the US feared the destabilising influence of the expeditionary force of Cubans, backed Unita and at least tacitly supported SA.

Some noted analysts, like R W Johnson, maintained that US perception of the situation extended to Washington having a direct interest in seeing Pretoria remain stable, and this explained much of the Reagan Administration's antipathy towards sanctions.

But all this will now cease to be the case. With Namibia independent, Washington has little need to uphold stability in a SA Government as presently constituted.

Indeed, it now has an interest in bringing about a more equitable balance of power in the region, to make SA more susceptible to pressure and negotiations.

The major new factor will be the role of the Soviets. Against a background of seeking co-operation and understanding on regional conflicts, the two super-powers are now developing a like-mindedness on SA.

The USSR's recognition of the futility of the armed struggle

## Delicate

leaves Moscow, as its leading functionaries have just recently stated, with the negotiated option for peace.

In that case, not only do the Soviet Union and the US have the same diplomatic goal in SA, they favour the same technique of achieving it.

Should they do what many now regard as entirely possible, if not likely, and present a joint policy front on dealing with SA, Pretoria could find itself in a very delicate situation indeed.

One of the first moves in such a joint policy is already taking shape. Moscow may soon pressurise its client, the ANC, to forswear violence, or at least suspend its armed struggle — and the US will urge SA to make good its undertaking of negotiating a new future with all who eschew violence.

Much of what will happen depends on many, as yet untested, developments. But while the colourful elements of a new picture fall into place, the least that is true is the observation of SA's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha: "Things are changing more than most people realise."



"OF COURSE credit is due to the leader, and it is considerable. But our success has really mostly been the success of the people and the strength that sustains us has been derived from the Party". Fascinating thoughts indeed.

And it could so easily have been uttered by any number of National Party leaders today, explaining the impasse over Mr P W Botha's stubborn refusal to return power to the Party. But, in fact, it is not a transcript of Mr F W de Klerk's speech to a secret NP caucus meeting.

It is an ageing Nikita Krushchev sitting in forced retirement in his dacha by the Black Sea, reminiscing about the bad old days under Joseph Stalin.

This is not to suggest that Mr Botha can in any way be equated with Stalin nor Mr De Klerk with Krushchev, but still, there are interesting parallels that just beg to be drawn.

I believe a fair number of South Africans must have been startled by the way in which the party apparatus Mr Botha so carefully built up turned on him with vengeance once his health began to falter.

There were the obligatory courteous noises and unctuous wishes for speedy recovery, but most of it was damnation by faint praise. Behind the scenes the pot was stirred.

The networks were activated and the message was sent to all the faithful — if you want to get a piece of the action you better attach yourselves to the new man in town.

A de-Bothafication was started with a vehemence that belied the overt so-called efforts to smooth out the differences and establish a *modus vivendi* between President and party leader De Klerk.

"How much of a genius was Stalin really?" asked Krushchev rhetorically. "What sort of a 'dear father' was he to us? The covers over these answers should be ripped away. Stalin should be shown to the people naked so that he can occupy his proper place in



# Dries van Heerden

s / Times 26/3/89

## It's like a playback of Krushchev and Stalin

304A

history." This is hardly the time to get sentimental about Mr Botha.

After all, he wrote the book on the usurping of political power. Look what happened to Mr John Vorster and Mr Lourens Muller on his road to unfettered power.

Mr Botha is a past master in the game of political hardball and he has played it according to rules which would not have been approved by the Marquis of Queensbury.

Nevertheless, the speed with which the knives were drawn must even have surprised his

most fervent opponents outside the NP. And serve as a sobering warning to those who in future want to aspire to higher office.

The quickest to switch allegiances were the Afrikaans newspapers who for so long served Mr Botha with *bruisende geesdrif* and who prided themselves in the fact that the President once promised to defend them "with every fibre in my body".

Hosannahs turned into barely-veiled calls for his resignation almost overnight.

The reasons why "Botha must go" varied from the sublime to the ridiculous. Among others, a speech by a senior diplomat was trooped out to conjure up vivid images of how South Africa would have been awash with black African leaders toasting the health of the Republic... if only it wasn't for Mr Botha's health problems.

Krushchev himself remarked on this: "For years the propaganda agencies had been trumpeting that Stalin was a genius, the friend and father of our people, the safeguard of the very air that we breathe. Then suddenly there was no more Stalin."

Politicians know that short-term ambitions call for the strangest of bedfellows and the present succession struggle is no exception. It is difficult to imagine how Mr Botha can make a political comeback against the odds stacked against him.

Neither could the Georgian, Josef Djugashvili, who later became known as Stalin. But he still had the last laugh. Eleven years after his death, his protegee Alexei Kosygin called on Mr Krushchev rather unexpectedly to inform him that he had just been relieved of his job as first secretary of the Communist Party.

He must then have thought back to that day in 1951 when he was visiting Stalin at his holiday home in Afon, and the ailing leader told him: "Comrade, I trust no one, not even myself."

ES 3

THE National Party is dying on its feet. And the person who is doing the dirty deed is P W Botha.

We have now the unprecedented situation that the constitutional Head of State has executive authority without any political basis whatsoever, whereas the political head of the dominant party in Parliament has no constitutional executive authority.

P W Botha now moves around in a self-delusionary state of grace between the good-news brigade of Tuynhuys and the bucolic peace of Wilderness.

It would appear that for him even the limited form of civilian and accountable Afrikaner politics has become a bore. He floats above its concerns like an old-fashioned Roman emperor en route to the next banquet.

He presides over Cabinet meetings, and mature intelligent colleagues pretend that there is nothing really to talk about — (according to reports "the matter wasn't raised"). He comes back into Parliament to hear the Budget speech like a judge at an Eisteddfod listening to recitation.

He does not bother with the caucus of the party which helped him, way beyond his own competence, to get where he is today.

He is not a member of the caucus, holds no position in it, and is not even a representative of any constituency in Parliament. He is alone and in charge. The last squawking chicken of tricameral politics has finally come home to roost.

Let us count some of those chickens since the implementation of this constitutional abortion:

- It destroyed the National Party's sense of ideological purpose. Its policy is neither partition nor integration but partitioned integration, and induced a state of political rabies among its supporters. They could not, and still cannot, explain to others or themselves what exactly they are trying to achieve.

- It generated a polarised mass mobilisation against parliamentary government. If "broadening democracy" is to generate revolt and polarise society, it has been a resounding success.

- It led to an enduring state of emergency in which normal civilian government moved more and more into the hands of securocrats with enabling powers that could not be called to account either by the courts or Parliament.

- It led to a massive clampdown on information where more and more people know less and less of what is going on.

- It created an awesomely powerful executive President that on critical occasions could, and did, bypass Parliament and most of the Cabinet.

But it also killed off old-fashioned parliamentary party politics. It was not only the opposition parties that were kept in the dark or sometimes even lied to, it was the National Party itself.

Ordinary Nat MPs sat in a caucus that was increasingly not



## F van Zyl Slabbert Beginning of the end for the NP

taken into confidence or even indirectly into the decision-making process. Even Cabinet members were not aware or not informed of certain actions and decisions that had been taken at an executive level.

And now "El Supremo" has dealt the National Party a final blow.

He says to them: "You are not only not part of decision-making and confidential political information; you cannot even be part of the decision of when you are to have your next election. Usually this has been the prerogative of the leader and he would take your party's interests into consideration. Now your leader cannot take that decision. I can, and I am not your leader."

The National Party, as we know it, is finished. Its political hacks and columnists may jibe and jeer at the confusion and dilemmas of the yet to be formed Democratic Party, but it itself epitomises the confusion and dilemmas of our time.

It has no executive authority, is rudderless, directionless and clueless. Its leader has less autonomy and policy clout than the "troika" forming a new party. And it did not come about by accident, but by deliberate design. The Conservative Party and Democratic Party have more vision and clarity of purpose than the National Party.

And the longer it allows an old man with delusions of grandeur to continue with this farce, the more painful and ungraceful its demise is going to be. The irony is, of course, he is not only messing the National Party about, but all of us. And at a time when we dare to begin to hope against hope.



# Democratic Party moves meeting from Boksburg to Reiger Park

Political Reporter

29/3/89

The proposed Democratic Party's unofficial Eastern Transvaal launch will take place in the coloured township of Reiger Park this week after attempts to hire a non-racial venue in Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg failed.

The chairman of the DP's Eastern Transvaal steering committee, Mr Andrew Thatcher, said Wednesday night's public meeting would be a test as to whether the DP could draw white supporters into a non-white area and could attract large numbers of non-white supporters.

Speakers included the party's pro-

posed "troika" of leaders — the Independent Party's Dr Denis Worrall, the Progressive Federal Party's Dr Zach de Beer and the National Democratic Movement's Mr Wynand Malan.

Dr Louis Luyt would represent the "Fourth Force" of former Nationalists.

Mr Thatcher expressed disappointment about the refusal of State schools to allow the DP to use their facilities.

Reiger Park Management Committee Chairman Mr Boet Jantjies, has invited the NP and CP to also use the township's community centre for their meetings.

Jan 28/7/77

304.8

Strict security at Bermuda conference

# S Africans of all political hues meet

By Ramsay Milne,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

BERMUDA — It is hardly a repeat of the historic first Bermuda conference, when Sir Winston Churchill met President Eisenhower and the French Premier, Mr Joseph Laniel, in December 1953, to discuss the future of Europe.

But in southern African terms, the five-day meeting here, between influential US congressional and academic leaders and as wide a range of South African political opposites that could ever be brought together to define "the South African problem", might well turn out to be of much greater historical impact — certainly for South Africans.

The first of this week's de-

bates got under way today under strong local security surveillance at one of Bermuda's most luxurious hotels, with delegates ranging from South Africa's liberal left, represented by Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Nthato Motlana, to the radical right, represented by Mr Koos van der Merwe of the Conservative Party.

## ANC waiting

In the wings, waiting, is the ANC. It, too, will have its say.

Influential Americans who are here include such powerful Democrats as former Senator Dick Clark, of Clark Amendment fame, and Congressman Harold Wolpe, the man of whom President Botha once said: "There is no greater enemy to South Africa, even in the Kremlin."

Then there is black Congressman William Gray, former chairman of the Black Caucus, leading spokesman on African policy in the House of Representatives, and author of the Anti-Apartheid Acts of 1985 and 1986.

Also present is Mr Herman "Hank" Cohen, US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

The Americans have come to listen and to learn. Ranged before them in closed sessions disparate groups of black and white, English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans will present their conflicting stories.

Not all will be believed. Those that are, may be given other conflicting power plays along the way in Washington, written into US policy that may just decide what happens to South Africa in the next decade.

The Bermuda conference is a reflection of present American uncertainty about South Africa.

It is also a remarkable example both of the American think tank syndrome — when powerful, privately funded organisations like the Aspen Institute, host of this week's talks, set out to explore one of the world's problem areas.

Where else, and under what other circumstances except a national convention, would Mr van der Merwe break bread with Mrs Suzman? Dr Motlana with Mr Piet Coetzer?

If there is a Bad Fairy in this island Utopia it is the Conservative Party. When Mr van der Merwe gets here tomorrow, a carefully orchestrated manoeuvre will ensure that he does not have to share any part of this Bermudan paradise with the ANC, because the ANC representative, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in a similarly orchestrated manoeuvre, will have left Bermuda — as a condition of the CP's presence.



# Thatcher set to push for peace conference

LONDON — UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is expected to encourage a southern African regional peace conference when she arrives in Harare today on the main leg of her whirlwind five-day African tour.

Thatcher is believed to be determined to explore and promote all possible means of opening communication between SA, its neighbours and the ANC. In a BBC radio interview yesterday she said the peace process could begin if, for a start, Nelson Mandela was released and the ANC abandoned its "armed struggle".

Her insistence on the ANC abandoning or suspending armed violence is expected to cause fierce arguments, with the tone already set at the weekend by Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira, who told the BBC: "I don't think the ANC should be required to take that step in advance of any movement on the part of the (Pretoria) regime." Shamuyarira said Thatcher should support sanctions as "the only peaceful way of pressurising" SA, but she had refused to do so.

ANC executives who visited Harare last week told the Zimbabwe government and Organisation for African Unity (OAU) leaders, who supported them, that they could not even consider abandoning the "armed struggle" as it would be seen by SA's black majority as treacherous.

The ANC also indicated that it is not opposed to SA evolving a federal government as long as divisions are not made on racial or ethnic lines.

● Comment: Page 6.

● THATCHER



# Matie student leaders defend Eastern bloc meetings

3/10/84 25/3/84

WINDHOEK — Defiant Matie student leaders have defended their meetings in Lusaka with Eastern bloc diplomats and ANC members, claiming the contacts as a victory for Stellenbosch University over SA's politically enforced isolation.



The 18-member group, expecting a "hot reception" in Stellenbosch, tried yesterday to cool the campus row triggered by their four-day Zambian trip that included a three-hour breakfast with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and passing contact with ANC leader Oliver Tambo.

KEVIN JACOBS

But they defiantly pursued meetings with a broad range of political interests, arriving in Windhoek yesterday hoping to meet Swapo officials, former members of the disbanded Koevoet police unit, labour leaders and farmers, during the switchover to UN stewardship in the territory.

The dissident students, among them eight SRC members, are considering accepting further invitations to visit Angola and Zimbabwe.

SRC chairman Pierre van der Spuy and colleague Mark Behr yesterday de-

fended the Lusaka visit. "It is widely acknowledged inside SA that the country's future lies on the path through Africa. As Matie students we are proud to be part of that process," they said.

Behr led a similar Matie mission to Maputo last September for meetings that included ANC members.

Sidestepping a decision by the SRC to avoid contact with the ANC, the latest group accepted personal invitations from Kaunda to attend four days of specially arranged discussion forums that began last Wednesday, Behr said.

"The goal of this tour, and the reason

for President Kaunda's invitations to Zambia, was to expose us to the rest of the world's perceptions of South Africa and to meet diplomatic and African leaders," he said.

"The forums created to facilitate those discussions were not ANC-based forums but forums at which ANC members were present."

Officials and diplomats from Angola, Zimbabwe, Cuba, East Germany and Tanzania also attended the brainstorming sessions.

Van der Spuy said foreign diplomatic sources paid the group's expenses.



# Tightrope act for chairman

HEIN KRUGER realises he does not have a popular task as chairman of the eight-member Free Settlement Areas Board.

"Of course, we expect a lot of criticism. For most people it is either too little too late, or too much too early," Kruger said in an interview.

Kruger's board is a statutory body created to advise government on establishing SA's first legal mixed suburbs in four decades of NP rule. The Free Settlement Areas Act was one of the trilogy of Group Areas Bills which dominated politics last year.

Kruger, 58, a President's Counsellor and former Transvaal MEC, was intimately involved in the investigations which culminated in the legislation. He says it has many detractors and few enthusiastic supporters.

The board will assemble in Pretoria this week for its second meeting, and Kruger expects the first formal applications to be on the table.

The next concrete step is likely to be advertising which areas are to be investigated, and calling for reaction from "interested parties".

Kruger does not perceive Free Settlement Areas as an end in themselves. "It's a fact that there are many people who want to protect their own communities, but there is also a growing number of people who don't feel that way. Both groups must be accommodated."

Kruger says he is a "pragmatic idealist". Peers say he is a staunch verligte. It is this quality of pragmatism, he says, which sets the NP apart from its political adversaries on the left and right.

Kruger believes Free Settlement Areas should not be seen in isolation from a broader strategy on housing and improving social conditions, including site and service schemes.

His new responsibilities aside, Kruger is also engaged in a PC social affairs committee investigation into

PETER DELMAR

devising practical ways of improving racial attitudes. He freely acknowledges the part group areas have played in fostering racial animosity.

"Originally one of the main reasons for the Group Areas Act was to prevent friction between the races, particularly in slum areas. Now, however, there are some cases where keeping the races apart will create more friction than letting them live together."



Hein Kruger... no popular task.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

No-one knows how long the procedure of opening residential areas will take and when the first Free Settlement Areas will be declared.

Legally the board will act on applications from the President, any of the three Ministers' Councils, Constitutional Development (when an area falls outside the jurisdiction of any of the Ministers' Councils), local authorities, or private developers.

The board will then make a detailed study of the area concerned, investigating socio-economic conditions, services and infrastructure, the effect of declaration both on the area and in the broader context, as well as canvassing people's views. A detailed

report, including a recommendation, will then be submitted to the President for a final decision.

In September last year Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis identified 14 areas, including Hillbrow, Mayfair, District Six and Woodstock, which could be considered. Apart from Johannesburg, most mentioned by Heunis are in opposition municipalities. How they will respond is uncertain. The PFP opposition in the Johannesburg council proposed at the weekend that all Johannesburg be considered as a free settlement area.

Kruger has an open mind on this particular subject. "Of course we might get an application from Cape Town, for instance, for the whole city to become a Free Settlement Area. Such an application will be investigated along with those for smaller areas," he says.

Behind the PFP proposal is the "pressure cooker" argument that small Free Settlement Areas will draw thousands of black, coloured and Indian people from all over the region and that legal mixed areas will be "punished" by overcrowding.

Kruger points out that parts of Hillbrow are already over-crowded. But can anti-overcrowding by-laws or regulations be effectively enforced in existing high-density areas?

Kruger thinks so.

"With sufficient money and manpower, it can be done," says Kruger. Asked whether he believed government was going to pour money into its first free settlement to make them work, Kruger said he had no indication that this was on the cards.

And would the chairman of the Free Settlement Areas Board like to live in one of his creations? "Before I moved into an area, the first thing I would look at is the environment, standards, that sort of thing — not my neighbours' colour," he says.

LONDON — The Soviet Union "has no stake" in destroying the South African economy, and will do nothing to undermine Western pressure on Pretoria to reach a settlement with the black majority, a top Soviet official has told the *Observer* newspaper.

Professor Anatoly Gromyko, head of the Africa Institute in Moscow, added that Moscow had no ambition to shape the socio-economic and state structure of South Africa, and that Soviet support for the ANC "in no way means that we see the future of South Africa exclusively through the eyes of our South African friends."

Though not specifically disavowing the ANC's policy of armed struggle, Mr Gromyko's words are further evidence that Moscow now favours a negotiated settlement.

First evidence of this shift came after ANC President Oliver Tambo got the promise of the weapons he wanted in Moscow earlier this month and left satisfied.

Later, however, the Soviet stand appeared somewhat more equiv-

## Soviets backing off

ocal when Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov was asked about the armed struggle. He replied: "What armed struggle? How can one support something which doesn't exist?" (304A)

Mr Gromyko, son of the former President Andrei Gromyko, and a senior adviser to Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, says the Soviet Union is anxious to develop economic ties with South Africa, but cannot do so at present.

"Such a turn may do harm to our relations with the non-aligned countries, and to a certain extent undermine the trust of our Western partners," he says. They would see it as "a desire of the Soviet Union to line its pockets at their expense."

The new policy, Mr Gromyko says, is part of the Soviet Union's "new thinking."

28/3/89  
so refer





# Political opposites meet to define 'SA problem'

MS 28/3/89 3044

From RAMSAY MILNE  
The Argus Foreign Service

BERMUDA. — In terms of a global power struggle, it is hardly a repeat of the historic first "Bermuda Conference," when Sir Winston Churchill met President "Ike" Eisenhower and the French Premier, M Joseph Laniel, in December, 1953, on this beautiful mid-Atlantic island to discuss the future of Europe.

But in southern African terms, the five-day meeting here this week between influential US Congressional and academic leaders and as wide

a range of South African political opposites who could ever be brought together to define "the South African problem" and its new, evolving solutions, might well turn out to be of much greater historical impact — certainly for South Africans.

The first of this week's debates got under way under surprisingly strong local security surveillance at one of Bermuda's most luxurious hotels where delegates ranged from South Africa's liberal "left" represented by Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Nthato Mot-

lana, to the radical Right represented by Mr Koos van der Merwe, of the Conservative Party.

In the wings, waiting, are the ANC. They will have their full and free say, too. And the influential Americans who are here, everyone from such powerful Democrats of influence as ex-Senator Dick Clark, he of the "Clark Amendment" fame, to Congressman Howard Wolpe.

Then there is the black Congressman William Gray, former chairman of the Black Caucus, leading spokesman on

African policy in the House of Representatives and author of the Anti-Apartheid Acts of 1985 and 1986 — forerunners of all the punitive measures since adopted by the US, including today's sanctions and the basis of other measures that may yet come.

The Americans have come to listen and to learn. Ranged against them in the next five days in closed sessions these disparate groups of black and white, English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans will present their conflicting "stories".

# PFP congress to debate DP economic policy

PFP chief financial spokesman Harry Schwarz will table a motion about the draft economic policy of the DP at the PFP dissolution congress on April 7 in Johannesburg.

The economic policy of the DP should resemble the PFP's policy of "economic democracy" as drafted by a party commission five years ago, Schwarz said yesterday.

He described the policy as "a market oriented economy, but also a caring economy". He said he had "grave differ-

RIAAN SMIT

ences" with people who wanted to throw this policy overboard.

He would table the motion because there was "a fairly strong feeling among a lot of PFP members that you cannot go into an election with the one page of economic policy in the DP's draft policy document".

□ Asked to comment on a report in the Sunday Times that a rebel faction in the PFP could refuse to join the DP before

its official formation on April 8, PFP leader Zach de Beer said he was not aware of such a faction.

"It is always true of negotiations that some people want more change than others. I am not going to say that everybody (in the PFP) is happy with the way (merger) negotiations have been conducted," he said.

MPs would probably use the PFP's dissolution congress to air differences with DP policy, he said.

● Comment: Page 6



# Koos of the CP is bad odour in paradise

## SOWETAN Correspondent

**BERMUDA** — The five-day meeting which began here yesterday between influential US Congressional and academic leaders and as wide a range of South African political opposites as could ever be brought together to define "the South African problem" and its evolving solutions, might well turn out to be of great historical impact for South Africans.

The first debate got under way under strong local security at a luxury hotel where delegates ranged from South Africa's liberal 'left' —

represented by Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Nthato Modlana — to the radical "right" represented by Mr Koos van der Merwe, of the Conservative Party.

In the wings, waiting, are the ANC. They will have their full and free say, too. And the influential Americans who are here, everyone from such powerful Democrats of influence as ex-Senator Dick Clark (of the Clark Amendment fame) to Congressman Harold Wolfe, of whom President P W Botha once said:

"There is no greater enemy to South Africa, even in the Kremlin, than Harold Wolfe."

The Americans have come to listen and to learn. Ranged against



them in the next five days in closed sessions, these disparate groups of black and white, English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans will present their conflicting "stories".

Not all will be believed. Those that are may be, given other conflicting power plays along the way in Washington, written into US policy that may just decide, or help to decide, what happens to South Africa in the next decade.

If there is a bad fairy in this island utopia it is the

## Conservative Party

When its representative, Mr Koos van der Merwe, arrived today, a carefully orchestrated manoeuvre will ensure that he does not have to share any part of this Bermudian paradise with the ANC, because the ANC representative, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in, a similarly orchestrated manoeuvre, will have left Bermuda — as a condition of the CP's presence.

Well, that's South African reality, too. And their American hosts will have taken note of it.

# Matie students' 'controversial' Lusaka meetings spark row

Own Correspondent and  
Esmaré van der Merwe

CAPE TOWN — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia would be prepared to meet his counterpart in South Africa if the country fulfilled its commitment to free elections in Namibia.

This was revealed yesterday by the chairman of the Students' Representative Council (SRC) at the University of Stellenbosch, Mr Pierre van der Spuy.

He was one of 18 Matie student leaders who visited Lusaka last week at the invitation of Dr Kaunda.

Speaking from Windhoek — the second leg of the students' southern African tour — Mr van der Spuy said that during a three-hour meeting, President Kaunda expressed hope that South Africa's political problems would be solved. He urged South Africans of all races to become true Africans.

President Kaunda told the students that he did not "hate Afrikaners, but rather the things President Botha and his regime are doing".

The Zambian visit, which included talks between three student leaders and the ANC, has sparked a controversy because the students did not inform the university authorities of the planned meeting with the outlawed organisation.

The students also met representatives of the Zambian Youth Movement, the Netherlands, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

Tour leader Mr Mark Behr, a former Nusas chairman, said the ANC had "excellent and well-considered proposals and



President Kaunda ... "I do not hate Afrikaners."

constitutional guidelines" for South Africa. A future political dispensation would not be negotiated successfully without the ANC's participation.

The student group expect problems at Stellenbosch because they are accused of ignoring an SRC motion not to speak to the ANC.

Mr Behr said: "As a group, we are distressed by the way our statement has been manipulated by newspapers. We explicitly stated that the tour can be seen as a victory for the University of Stellenbosch and South Africa, and not as a victory for the ANC.

"It's a pity that certain members of the SRC said they felt betrayed, and spoke to the press without discussing the exact dynamics of the tour."

He said many of the issues had been cleared up at an SRC meeting before the group left for Lusaka. One of these was that the group was not sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), but rather by Western governments.

Regarding the SRC's motion not to speak to the ANC, five SRC members, including Mr van der Spuy, who were in Lusaka as "individuals", did not participate in the forum with the ANC delegation.

Mr Behr said: "The fact that these issues had been cleared up, but are now being brought up again by some members of the SRC, reeks of a move to discredit the ultimate value of the tour, which was to break the country's isolation."

He said the meeting with President Kaunda had been very fruitful.

## Further rise in interest rates likely

Finance Staff

An increase in interest rates is looking probable as bankers demand a higher prime overdraft rate to protect them from soaring money market rates.

The three months Bankers' Acceptance (BA) rate closed at the crucial 17 percent mark for the first time in almost four years yesterday, as analysts predicted further upward pressures on interest rates over the next few weeks.

Bankers have already indicated that an increase in the prime overdraft rate to 20 percent is necessary to protect their margins.

The prime rate is currently at 19 percent and a rise is usually followed by higher general interest rates, including bond and hire-purchase rates.

Mr Louis Geldenhuys, economist at stockbrokers George Huysamer and Partners, said last week interest rates were still under upward pressure.

● The gold price has fallen by about \$10 over the last 24 hours, in response to a seven-month high in the US dollar.

Bullion, often held by speculators as an alternative to dollars, slipped to a close of \$382.75 in New York last night, after closing in London on Monday at around \$394. In Hong Kong today the price opened \$7 down at \$384.60.

● See Page 11.

Prices



Message to whites: 'Way open for change — we'll help you'

# Negotiate! Thatcher tells SA

3 Jan 27/3/89 304H

By Robin Drew,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

**HARARE — Negotiate! Negotiate! Negotiate!** That's the message Mrs Margaret Thatcher has brought to southern Africa and which she gave to President Mugabe within minutes of her arrival at Harare Airport last night.

In unscheduled remarks on the tarmac after a hectic welcome, the British premier returned to the word "negotiation" several times when asked about a solution to the South African question.

## Invitations

And Mrs Thatcher continued to deliver an unequivocal message to anxious white South Africans: "The way is open now for change. And we are here to help you."

And to underline her determination to assist, she has announced her most far-reaching plan yet — to meet a series of senior South African Ministers in London to help plan a future without apartheid.

Mrs Thatcher said several Cabinet Ministers would be welcomed by Downing Street for talks in the next few months. None had yet been invited, but

she would welcome any SA Cabinet members visiting Europe.

She was particularly keen to meet Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, she said.

As she stepped on to the tarmac from the Royal Air Force VC10, Mr Mugabe shook hands warmly with her and said: "At last, at last."

Mrs Thatcher was obviously delighted with the warm welcome from children, black and white, who danced for her to the sound of pipes and drums.

The two leaders got down to serious talks today when matters to be discussed will include an offer of British Harrier jets to bolster Zimbabwe's air strength.

This afternoon, Mrs Thatcher and Mr Mugabe will be joined by President Chissano of Mozambique at the battle camp on the eastern border where British military instructors are helping to train Mozambican forces.

● From London, The Star Bureau reported that The Sun newspaper said in a leading article that Mrs Thatcher was making the wrong trip to Africa. Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Malawi are "little more than no-hills in the scale of importance," said the paper, adding, "the Prime Minister should be going to South Africa."

"Nelson Mandela will certainly be released soon. The South Africans would prefer it to be their idea. Nor need she ask for an advance commitment to 'one man one vote'."

The Republic is at last on the move, The Sun observes.



A beginning Mrs Margaret Thatcher being welcomed by Zimbabwe's President Mugabe at Harare Airport last night.



# Talk to every black leader urges journal

SAW 29/3/87

Own Correspondent

POTCHEFSTROOM — Mr F W de Klerk, the new NP leader, will have to take somebody like Archbishop Desmond Tutu as leader into account, says Professor Jacques van der Elst, the chief editor, in the leader of the latest issue of the reformist magazine *Woord en Daad*.

"Even when it is alleged that Archbishop Tutu is lacking in influence to the interior, his influence to the exterior cannot be underestimated. Archbishop Tutu is a leader."

Professor van der Elst accepts the Government is trying. The State President had visited African states where he held talks with their leaders.

"But what about the talks to the inside? Why does the State President, for example, not talk with Chief Buthelezi? The conversation is necessary, in public please, and not secretly."

"At the opening of the kwaZulu legislative assembly by Mr Chris Heunis, an inkling of the Government's intentions to talk again came forward, but when will it come to constructive talks where hard nuts can be cracked?"

He said Mr de Klerk's idea of a big indaba cannot be faulted. It was very necessary. One hoped the Minister would have a "broad vision with the choice of the participants" and cast away the blinkers mentality.

"It is a fact that the country's leaders are sitting not only in Parliament or in the governments of self-ruling states: the spectrum is much wider," concludes Professor van der Elst.



Star 29/3/87

3048

Congressmen briefed on SA

# Tight security surrounding island 'indaba'

By Ramsay Milne,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

BERMUDA — Bermudan police applied a massive clampdown today on all media and public access to the hotel where US congressmen and widely divergent groups of South African MPs, political figures and academics are meeting to discuss South African issues.

The clampdown comes on the eve of the arrival of an ANC delegation led by Mr Thabo Mbeki, a member of its national executive, though it is not known whether the stringent security restraints, virtually without precedent for a conference of this type, relate specifically to the ANC presence.

## Private briefings

The aim of the conference organisers is to provide a forum amid the serenity and beauty of this distant, mid-Atlantic island for the American legislators to be briefed privately and in seclusion by a wide spectrum of South African parliamentarians, including members of the Conservative Party, labour experts and academic specialists.

Some restraints were, thus, expected. But whether acting on undisclosed information or a tip-off, or merely to implement what the police insist is a wish by the conference organisers to maintain a tranquil and private atmosphere, rigorous security steps were imposed today, with plainclothes security squads

ejecting all visitors or others seeking to enter the hotel grounds and brusquely ordering TV crews and journalists away.

All incoming telephone calls to conference delegates are being diverted to a single source for screening and delegates themselves, especially the big South African contingent, are being asked not to divulge information on the conference, though those wishing to respond to telephone messages are not being prevented from doing so if they so wish.

Police will not comment on why these tightened measures are being applied — or on the legality of the hotel which is the convention centre turning away even tourists and locals wishing merely to enter for a meal or a drink.

One conference source, however, suggested that the tough security precautions arose "through general fears about so mixed a bag of South Africans".

If that conjecture is right, part of that atmosphere may have been contributed to by the assurances sought by both Nationalist and Conservative Party participants that they would not be involved in any dialogues with the ANC.

In the case of the CP, it has insisted, as a condition of the presence of Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, that no ANC members will be on the island at the same time.

Mr Mbeki will thus present "an ANC perspective" to the conference today and then fly out before Mr van der Merwe's arrival tomorrow.

# This is as far south as Maggie goes

HARARE — In an interview with the *Herald's* London correspondent, published here yesterday, Mrs Margaret Thatcher says a visit to South Africa by her would not be right under present circumstances because it would be misinterpreted as an endorsement of the present situation.

"Were Nelson Mandela to be released as a prelude to opening negotiations on South Africa's future with representatives of all races, the situation would be different," she said.

She said the need for tact and persuasion was greater now than ever.

Mrs Thatcher, who arrived here last night from Nigeria for a two-day visit, ruled out a Lancaster House-type conference for South Africa, saying it was for South Africans to work out their own future.

In Harare there is speculation that were South Africa to make a dramatic move during Mrs Thatcher's African journey, she would have the time to go there after her Malawi visit which follows the Zimbabwe tour.

She had set aside time to go to the Sudan, but this part of the itinerary was cancelled because of the troubled situation. — Sapa.



# BLACK

# TOWN

# VENUE

Soweto 29/3/89

30/4/89

THE steering committee of the Transvaal region of the proposed Democratic Party is to hold a public meeting at the Reiger Park Community Centre near Boksburg today.

The meeting will be addressed by Dr Louis Luyt, Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Dennis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

The steering committee, in its search for a suitable venue, tried several places without

success. The aim was that no racial restrictions would be tolerated.

State schools, who have previously hosted the whites only National Party and Conservative Party, refused to allow the DP to use their facilities.

The meeting, which will be held at the well located and secure Community Centre, will also be the unofficial launching of the DP in the Eastern Transvaal.

'SA trade links open to all'

# Reform only way to end isolation, says Meiring

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The days of South Africa not negotiating or trading with Marxist or unsympathetic governments were long gone, according to the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus Meiring.

"Sanctions have forced us to find other markets ... we are prepared to trade with any African state as long as it is prepared to pay."

In an extensive interview in the latest edition of the Bureau of Information publication *RSA Policy Review*, Mr Meiring discussed the country's relations with Africa and the international world.

He said the only way in which to put an end to South Africa's isolation was to continue with reform and to show the world that the country and the rest of the continent were interdependent.

"However, it is of no use that we show the world we can live peacefully with our neighbours while we are unable to live peacefully with our own

people.

"Our path back to international recognition indeed runs through Africa. But there is a second, more important, element: Our path to Africa runs through South Africa."

The country could only regain international recognition if the Government continued implementing political reform.

The Government was keen to substitute political rhetoric with practical co-operation.

He revealed that 28 African countries had been visited by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, himself or senior officials last year.

However, these visits often had to be kept secret because South Africa did not want to embarrass these countries which publicly condemn "that hated, racist bunch".

He claimed that not one of these African countries insisted on the immediate transfer of power to a black majority, and that all these countries agreed that South Africa should become a member of the Organisation of African Unity as soon as possible.

3048

24



## Govt attacked over bank rate

An increase in the bank rate would cause "a tremendous amount of hardship" to consumers, bond holders and hire purchase buyers, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, said yesterday.

He slammed the Government for being unable to cut down on its expenditure, which he regarded as the main reason for the feared rise, which the Reserve Bank is at present resisting. — Political Reporter.

# Change is within grasp — Thatcher

HARARE — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher last night signalled her support for co-ordinated efforts by Western powers and the Soviet Union to resolve the problems of southern Africa.

In the keynote address of her African tour, Mrs Thatcher told a banquet in her honour, hosted by President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, that the Namibia settlement, developments within South Africa and the constructive role of the Soviet Union held out greater hope for peace and stability in the region.

Speaking after a conference with Mr Mugabe and President Chissano of Mozambique, at a site on the countries' joint border, Mrs Thatcher added: "We must make use of these new opportunities."

She said southern Africa's problems would be high on the agenda for her discussions with President Gorbachev in London next week.

Mrs Thatcher praised the Soviet Union for its role in the Namibia negotiations and welcomed what she called the greater realism of its recent statements about the region.

## NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT

Over the past few months Moscow has been stressing the need for a negotiated settlement in South Africa and appears to be nudging the African National Congress away from a military confrontation with Pretoria.

Striking an upbeat, almost exhortatory note, Mrs Thatcher declared: "A new mind, a new heart and a new spirit is what we now need in southern Africa as a whole. I believe great changes for the better are within our ability to bring about."

Mrs Thatcher made it clear that she was determined to increase contacts with Pretoria.

"It is not through South Africa's isolation or through sanctions that we will achieve what we most want to see — the release of Nelson Mandela, the suspension of violence, and the opening of negotiations about a political future," she said. — The Financial Times News Service.

# Economists call for rise in sales tax

By Sven Lünsche

Economists have called for a further rise in GST to limit to reasonable levels an almost inevitable rise in interest rates.

Calls for a higher bank rate, which would allow commercial banks and building societies to raise a wide range of interest rates, emanated from economists and bankers this week in the wake of a continued strong demand for credit.

Government sources, however, seem adamant that a further rise in interest rates should be held back as long as possible.

The Director-General of Finance, Dr Chris Stals, said yesterday that there was no real upward pressure on interest rates, as money and capital markets had risen to unrealistic levels and were not based on sound facts.

The Reserve Bank was also taking pressure off the money markets to curb the upward trend in short-term interest rates.

Despite these moves, industry sources feel interest rates need to be raised, but should not be the only method in curbing expenditure. They fear bond rates above the 20 percent level could lead to numerous house repossession.

● The gold price in Hong Kong slid back today to an opening rate of \$484,10.

● See Page 12.

## Restrictions

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



# Uproar over SA flag at Democratic meeting

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

A South African flag displayed at a Democratic Party meeting in Boksburg's coloured township of Reiger Park last night caused an outburst of indignation from members of the multiracial audience.

And the troika leadership of the merger party — the Progressive Federal Party's Dr Zach de Beer, the Independent Party's Dr Denis Worrall and the National Democratic Movement's Mr Wynand Malan — came under fire for speaking Afrikaans to an audience that featured blacks.

Shouts of "Viva" greeted the speakers shortly after entering the hall to the music of "Chariots of Fire".

Some members of the 600-strong audience demanded that the flag be removed immediately.

## LACK OF KNOWLEDGE

However, meeting chairman Dr Louis Luyt called on the audience to reserve their comments until question time.

Several Reiger Park residents voiced their anger about the "patronising" attitude of the speakers, and white people's ignorance of the hardships caused by apartheid and their lack of knowledge about township life.

One resident accused the speakers of "not having done your homework" by speaking under the South African flag.

"If you want to reach out to the black community you must obey the basic rules. One ground-rule is that we do not gather under that flag. You should have an understanding of the hostility towards that flag," he said — in Afrikaans — to loud applause.

The DP was also criticised for co-operating with the Labour Party

which, according to one resident, had done the coloured community great harm.

Other residents demanded clarification of the DP's policy on the redistribution of land, the state of emergency and participation in the tricameral system.

The meeting, which was the DP's unofficial launch in the eastern Transvaal, was held in Reiger Park because no multiracial venue could be found in Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg.

But one resident boldly told the speakers: "You have come here by mistake. This meeting was intended for white people."

The DP leaders urged the audience to accept the party's bona fides in its attempts to create a nonracial, democratic dispensation through negotiation across the political divide.

In his speech, Mr Malan said the DP would enter into talks with all political groupings in South Africa.

Dr de Beer said huge effort was needed to break the logjam of racism, and apartheid in the country.

Dr Worrall spelt out a reform agenda to which the National Party should commit itself in the current favourable international attitude towards South Africa.

He urged the NP to adopt such an agenda at a special caucus meeting on April 8, including:

- The ending of the state of emergency, the release of all political detainees and prisoners, and the restoration of press freedom.

- A clear commitment to the abolition of all apartheid laws, and a willingness to negotiate a dispensation based on nonracialism, democracy and free enterprise.

- The amendment of the constitution to allow for the election of a black state president.

- A commitment to a bill of rights and a new constitution, as spelt out recently by the SA Law Commission.

- The release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

- The adoption of the Indaba proposals for kwaZulu/Natal.

## New MEC named

CAPE TOWN — Bosveld Regional Services Council member, Mr SES Ferreira, a former provincial councillor, has been appointed as a member of the Transvaal Executive Committee from April 11. Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis announced yesterday. — Sapa.

# 'British investment' needed in SA

8/15 20/3/87  
THE STAR'S FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — British Premier Margaret Thatcher should offer British investment in South African enterprises in which workers of all races are promoted on merit, the *Independent* newspaper said in an editorial yesterday.

The newspaper said the survey it commissioned on black South African opinion "raises serious difficulties for supporters of economic sanctions".

But the results also suggested Mrs Thatcher has failed to convince black South

Africans of her good faith.

"Mere opposition to sanctions is a mean-spirited position to adopt. It is amply justified in theory: The more a country is cut off from the outside world, the greater the scope powerful bigots inside it enjoy to impose their narrow-minded prescriptions.

"But in practice, hostility to sanctions can appear indistinguishable from support for racism. Mrs Thatcher is right about sanctions, but so far she has failed to convey repugnance for apartheid, still less to

show imagination in seeking ways to hasten its end."

It suggested vast economic development was needed in South Africa. This would dissolve opposition from poorer whites afraid of losing their jobs to black competition.

"Capitalism is colour-blind. This is the point Mrs Thatcher should be making on her present tour, and to prove her good faith she should offer additional British investment in South African enterprises in which workers of all races are promoted on merit."



Survey commissioned by UK newspaper and TV network produces startling statistics

# Most SA blacks oppose sanctions

A poll by a London newspaper and British television network shows resistance to sanctions by black South Africans. They also oppose violence.

Most black South Africans oppose economic sanctions and violence as a means to end apartheid, according to a poll conducted on behalf of *The Independent* newspaper of London and the independent ITN television station.

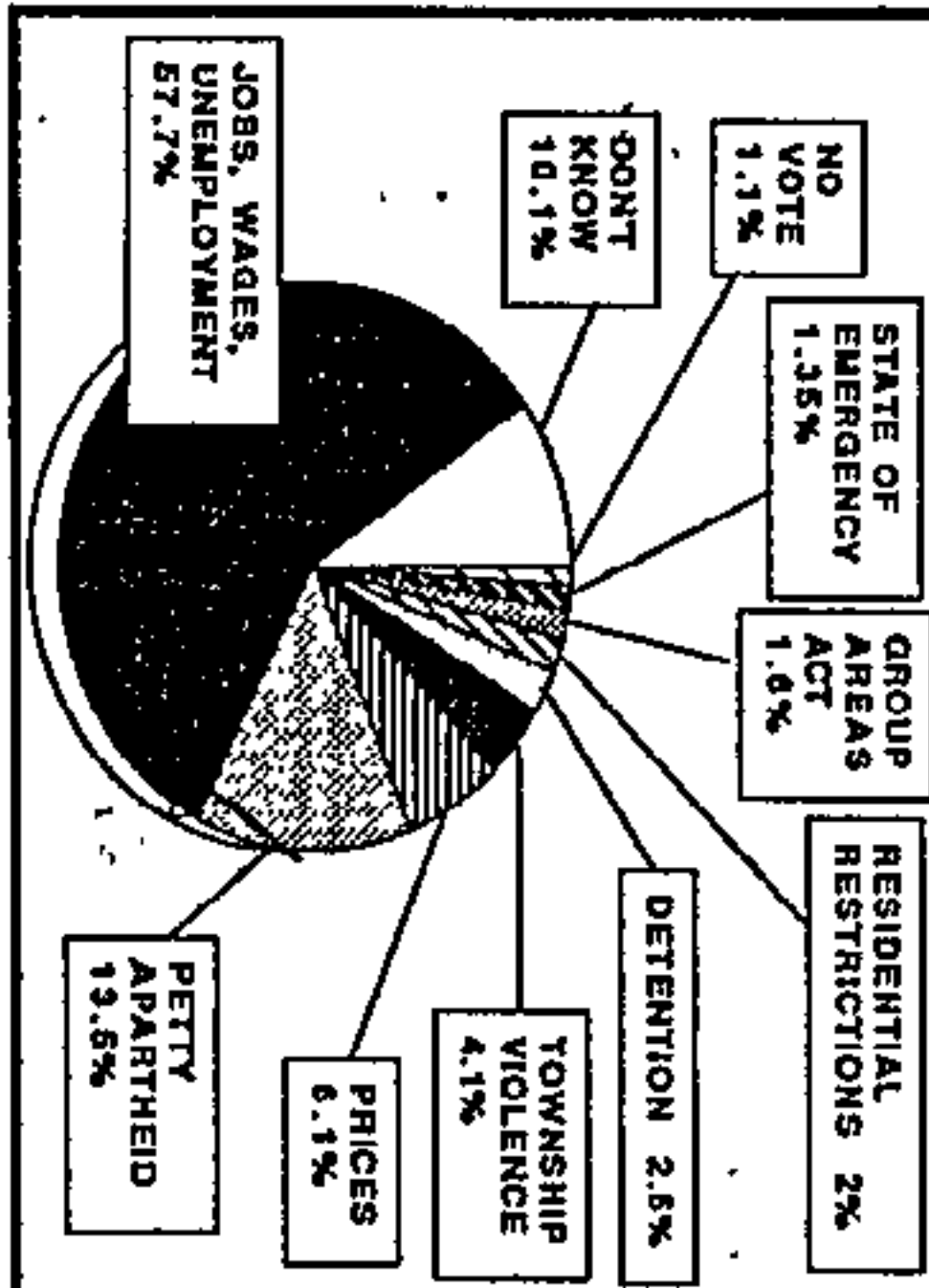
Although a minority of blacks said sanctions should be imposed on South Africa — even at the cost of their jobs — the findings reveal that most are unwilling to jeopardise work opportunities and financial well-being, and see the presence of foreign companies in South Africa as helping to sponsor change rather than support apartheid.

## Job sacrifices

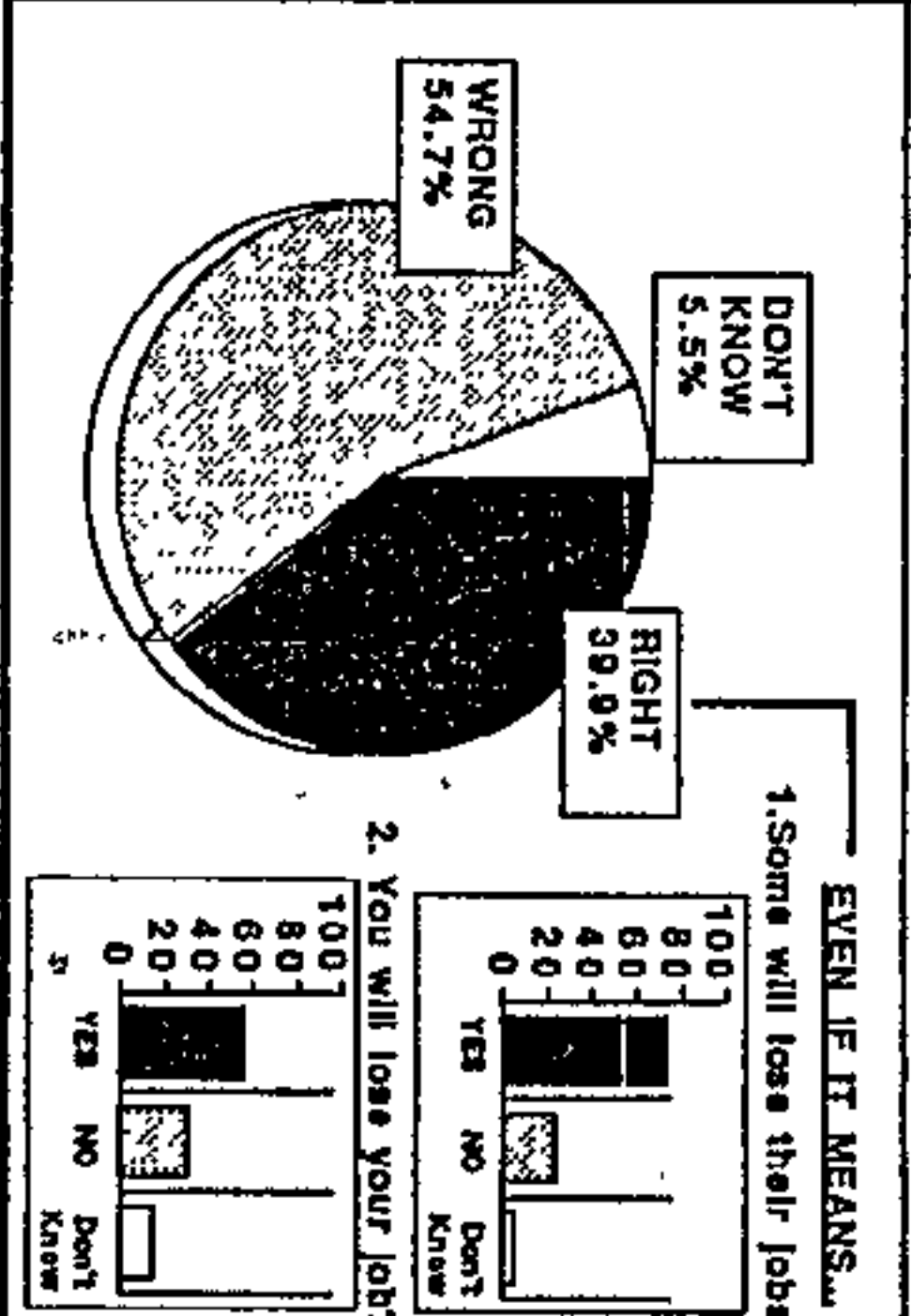
The survey by Martinor, an independent South African research company, of 550 black South Africans living in all the main metropolitan areas, showed that 54.7 percent were against economic sanctions to bring about the abolition of apartheid.

The survey said that not only

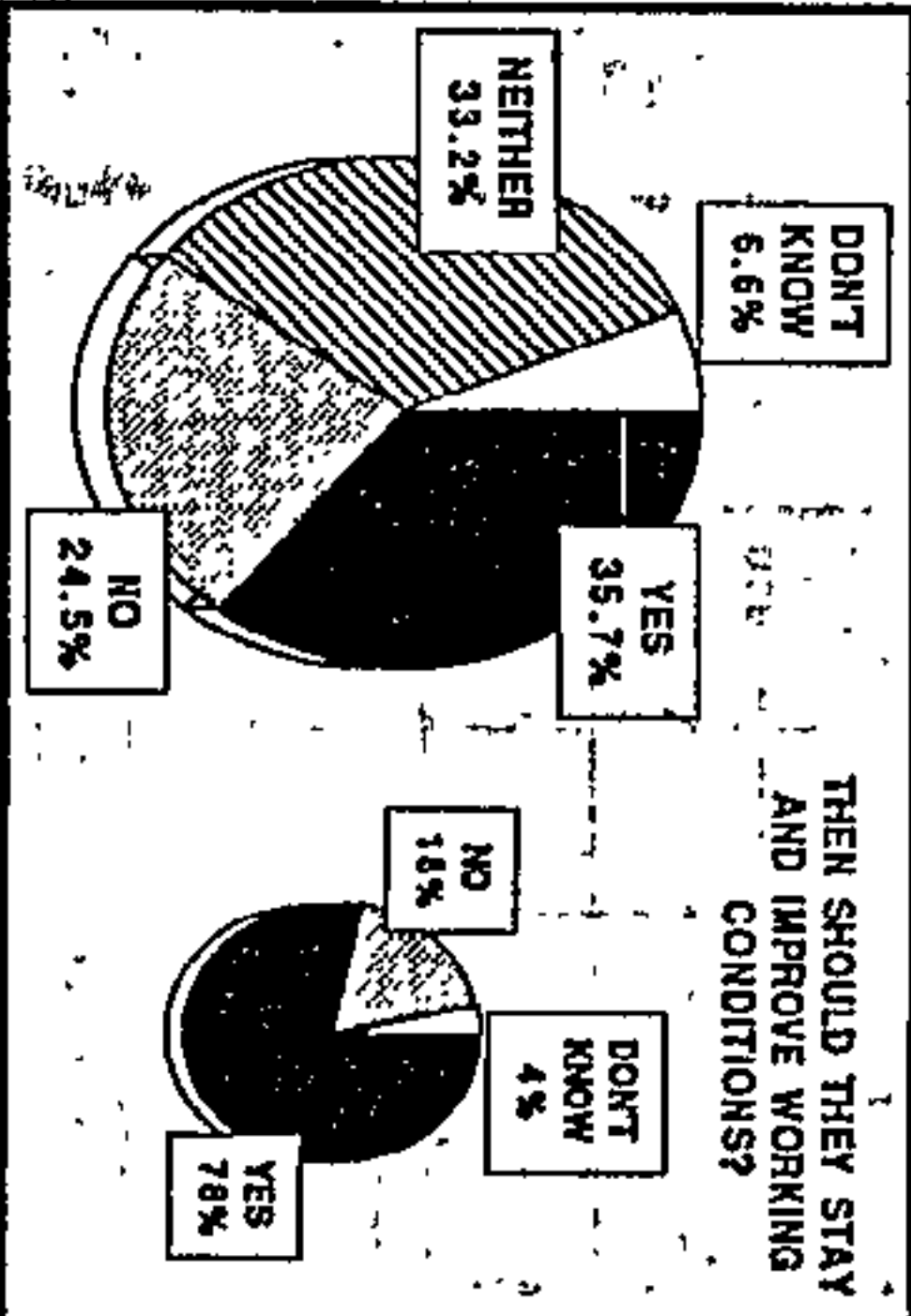
WHAT IS THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM FACING BLACK PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY?



ARE OTHER COUNTRIES RIGHT OR WRONG TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS UNLESS SOUTH AFRICA AGREES TO GET RID OF APARTHEID?



ARE OVERSEAS COMPANIES WHICH RUN BUSINESSES IN SOUTH AFRICA HELPING TO END APARTHEID?



do most blacks dismiss sanctions as a solution to the country's racial problems, they are also opposed to violence as a means of ending apartheid.

More than 61 percent said it was wrong to use violence. About a third of the more radical respondents (those who support sanctions even if this caused unemployment) believed violence was justified.

The survey shows that most

blacks believe South Africa's most pressing problems are economic rather than political. Almost 58 percent said their biggest concern was either jobs, wages or unemployment. Only 13.5 percent mentioned petty apartheid regulations, and a surprisingly small 1.6 percent mentioned the Group Areas Act, which demarcates residential areas on racial lines.

Regardless of attitudes to sanctions, nearly a third singled out unemployment as their key concern — partly a reflection of the fact that more than 60 percent of those polled were unemployed.

The primacy of economic over political considerations was also reflected in answers to the question: "Which aspect of apartheid affects you most?" More than 40 percent said it was the wage differentials between black and white.

Only 17.3 percent said it was having to live in separate areas, and 12 percent said that not having the vote was the greatest handicap.

In the context of these concerns, it is not surprising that nearly two-thirds of those polled said that a boycott of South African exports by foreign countries would not be help to end apartheid.

their businesses and leave South Africa. There was also considerable support — 57.3 percent — for the notion that foreign companies had a beneficial role to play in helping to end apartheid. Under a quarter saw foreign businesses as supporting apartheid.

## Radical groups

Some 46 percent said sanctions would not help to end apartheid, while 43 percent said they would. But the 46 percent includes a disturbing 82.4 percent from the more radical group who support sanctions even if it leads to job losses.

More than a third of those polled said the British government was helping to support apartheid.

The poll indicates that blacks living near Cape Town are more radical than in other parts of the country. Cape Town is the only metropolitan region which shows a majority in support of sanctions and an end to foreign imports.

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100% 304A

# Americans exposed to SA political realities

By Ramsay Milne,  
The Star's Foreign News Service  
BERMUDA — The large and influential contingent of senators and Congressmen and leading US academics attending this week's "Bermuda Conference" were exposed yesterday to what one delegate described as "the full blast of South African political realities" and were reported to have been impressed by what they heard.

The realities came in what delegates agreed were brilliant presentations by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former Progressive Federal Party leader, and Mr Thabo Mbeki, a member of the ANC's national executive committee.

One conference source said it was surprising how the views they expressed shared common ground on so many issues.

"It is clear that black and white South Africans are not only seeking a negotiated settlement to their political differences, but are able to articulate them very clearly," said one observer.

"The ANC, for instance, though not willing to abandon its declared

right to use armed struggle when and if needed, sees very clearly that the best way is through peaceful negotiation.

"In that sense, the ANC remains unaffected by the new, more moderate stance on southern Africa adopted by the Soviet Union because it also believes the road to a peaceful settlement can be opened."

Releasing Nelson Mandela by itself was clearly not enough, said the conference source.

## Reasonable

"There are other specific barriers to negotiation. One is continuing to deny the right of peaceful assembly to blacks. Another is a denial of free speech. How does one negotiate a settlement under these impediments?"

"But," said the source, "it seems to us the ANC has some effective and reasonable suggestions to make to remove these obstacles and so open the way to fuller negotiation."

"They are worth talking and listening to because they can make a truly useful contribution towards a

peaceful process in South Africa."

The American Congressional leaders, invited to the conference by the Aspen Institute, a major US "think tank", to "listen and learn" from the wide array of South Africans present in Bermuda, were reported to be equally impressed by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's enunciation of the new political opportunities now opening in South Africa.

He told his American audience that Mr F W de Klerk's emergence as the leader of the National Party would spell the end of the "militarily-tinged rule by edict" practised by President Botha.

The five-day conference, held under stringent security, has been carefully structured to avoid any semblance of suggestion that any of the delegates, especially NP and Conservative Party members, might be thought to have had any contact with the ANC representatives, Mr Mbeki and Mr Tebogo Mafole, head of the ANC's observer mission at the UN.

Both ANC representatives fly out tomorrow, just hours before the CP representative at the conference, Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, flies in.



Rev 30/3/89

304A

# Talks snub not an oversight – Schwarz

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Tension in Democratic Party (DP) circles about the policies of the proposed party intensified yesterday with the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, hinting that he had deliberately been excluded from talks on the party's economic policy.

Mr Schwarz said he could not accept that his omission from the talks had been a "regrettable oversight", as Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall had said.

"My voice has been heard on economic matters in Parliament, at the southern Transvaal region relating to the very issues, and in the caucus in the presence of persons who were involved in the formation of the new party."

He remained adamant that the PFP's economic policy had stood the test of time and dealt with the major issues which confronted the country.

Mr Schwarz said the majority of PFP caucus members had not been consulted on the proposed principles and policies of the DP, which is to be formed on April 8.

He would propose to the PFP's dissolution congress on April 7 that PFP policies should apply to the new party until such time as the DP formulated its own policies on issues which had been omitted or not been clearly defined in the proposed statement of principles.

"I may say, without any hesitation, that there are many aspects which are not covered (in the proposed policy document)."

Difficulties were not only related to economic policy, but to other important fundamentals which would be debated at the PFP congress.

SOUTH Africa is on the verge of a dramatic initiative which could change the face of the country's politics — if behind-the-scenes moves towards an all-party summit are successful.

Key person in the move is certain to be British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who has risked the wrath of Commonwealth and Third World countries to flirt publicly with the National Party government.

While nobody is prepared to be specific in public, after discussions with diplomatic personnel and South African exiles abroad in the past few weeks, an outline of proposals that may be in the pipeline has been pieced together.

The proposals are based broadly on those of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group, which failed as a result of the intransigence of the Nats under State President P W Botha. With Mrs Thatcher

# The dawn of a new South Africa

seen to be leading the initiative, they would be more easily acceptable to white South Africans, many of whom view her as a person more understanding of them than other Western leaders.

And the imminent settlement in Angola and Namibia is being heralded as a sign that the NP government may in fact be more flexible in trying to set up a summit

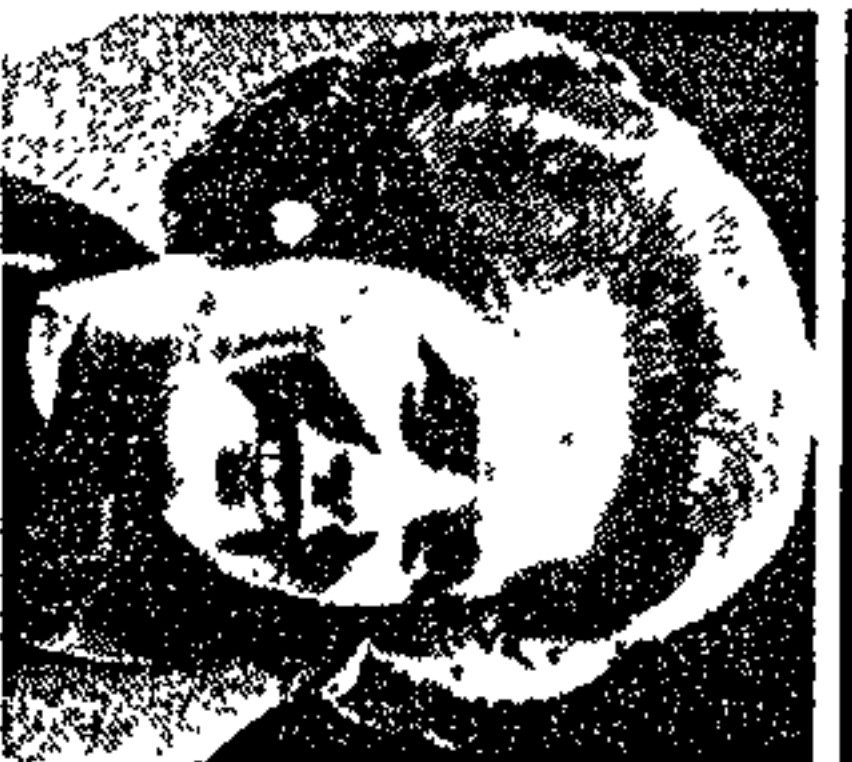
here. Among the proposals are that:

• ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other jailed political leaders would be released.

• The ANC and PAC would be unbanned and exiles allowed to return home. However, the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and probably the SA Communist Party, would remain outlawed.

This would be done to circumvent the insistence of the National Party and Mrs Thatcher that the ANC renounce violence, which it has refused to do.

Mrs Thatcher's compromise would be on the basis that the political wing of the ANC would be distinct from its military wing. In Ulster, the IRA is banned, but not its political wing, Sinn Fein.



## Thatcher is the catalyst in moves towards all-party summit

**Sowetan Correspondent**

In return for an ANC undertaking to suspend violence, the National

Party would agree to pull out — or at least scale down the number of — security forces in the townships.

The NP government would also suspend detention without trial, and urban internal South African leaders.

The NP government, which claims that apartheid is dead and that there is universal franchise in the country, would give a commitment to move towards some form of majority rule.

While it would maintain its public insistence of white self-determination and guarantees of minority rights, it would be prepared to negotiate in private.

Among key figures likely to be involved in the initiatives are Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert of Idasa, Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Mr Wynand Malan MP.

A major problem so far has been the effective

banning of internal organisations and their leaders, and the constant banning of public meetings called by them.

If internal organisations are not allowed to obtain mandates from their followers, the initiatives could founder. The resultant acrimony could in turn lead to dramatic political realignments within the country.

### Vigil

Commonwealth diplomats have undertaken to step up their vigil to "ensure that black South Africans are not caught in a trap that would give the impression that change is taking place while white domination is maintained".

Well-placed exiles confirmed that "something important is afoot" regarding negotiations. "Important moves towards a solution will take place sooner than most people think," the *Sowetan* was told.



# Bermuda indaba

By SAM  
MABE

THE conflict in South Africa's system of government and how it is viewed by both black and white came under the focus at a conference in Bermuda this week.

The conference, organised by the Washington-based Aspen Institute, is attended by members of the US Congress and about 20 representatives of major South African political groups. It opened on Tuesday and will end tomorrow.

## Journalists

The South African representatives include members of the ruling National Party, the Conservative Party and the Progressive Party. Other representatives include academics; civic leaders; journalists; clerics; and lawyers representing a wide range of political opinion.

The most prominent extra-parliamentary organisation at the conference is the ANC represented by Mr Thabo Mbeki, who is the organisation's information director and secretary for presidential affairs.

A spokesman for Aspen Institute, who emphasised that the conference was not open to the Press, said the fact there were representa-



Mr FREDERICK van Zyl Slabbert.

tives of government and of extra-parliamentary groups did not suggest that the conference was trying to bring the two parties together for negotiations or to find solutions to South Africa's problems.

"The purpose of the conference is to educate US Congressmen about developments in Southern Africa with the hope that they will use this new-found knowledge when formulating US policy on South Africa.

"It is for this reason that the speakers are

speaking in separate sessions so as to ensure there will be no debates between groups that are in variance with one another," said the spokesman.

## More time

By late yesterday, Mr Thabo Mbeki, who was given more speaking time than any of the other speakers, was due to deliver a paper on the role of the ANC in the South African conflict. He was followed by Mr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa).

Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative Party, and Mr P W Coetzer, National Party MP and also committee member for Constitutional Affairs, will be among the last speakers tomorrow.

REPORTS, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

# 'FED UP WITH SA'

LONDON — Mrs Thatcher's insistence on the release of Nelson Mandela before she will visit South Africa, illustrates her "disillusionment" with the South African Government, says Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira.

In a BBC Radio interview, he said he was pleased to hear that she had made this a condition for a possible visit, but added:

"That statement shows her disappointment, or at least illustrates her disillusionment with the South African regime.

Asked if the African National Congress should be prepared to renounce or suspend violence to secure Mr Mandela's release, he said:

"I don't think the ANC should be required to take that step in advance

of any movement on the part of the regime.

"I don't see why the victim should be the one who is asked to make the first moves."

In his view, the release of Mr Mandela would be a pre-condition of any suspension of violence.  
— *Sowetan Foreign Service.*



CAPE TIMES  
30/3/89 2044

## Decision on caucus shows NP concern —Worrall

**Political Correspondent**

THE National Party's decision to hold a special caucus meeting on the same day as the Democratic Party's launch congress showed how concerned the government was about the emergence of the new party, IP leader Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

Speaking at a meeting in Boksburg, Dr Worrall said it would not be sufficient for the NP to announce after its special caucus meeting on April 8, that the succession struggle was over and that an election would be held later this year.

"It will also not be enough for the NP to announce next week its plans for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"This will not take us across the Rubicon. It will only generate hostility in South Africa and disappointment abroad, and bring on greater international pressure."

Dr Worrall said that if Mr F W de Klerk wished to take South Africa across the Rubicon he would have to commit his government to an agenda next week which included the ending of the state of emergency, the release of all political detainees and the ending of the hounding of newspapers.

*CME Tapes 30/3/89 3064*

## Not sensible for DP, UDF to link up — De Beer

Political Staff

ALTHOUGH the new Democratic Party shared many aims and objectives with people in the UDF and the trades union, it was not sensible for them to be part of the same organisation, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said last night.

"But we must seek to work in unison towards the creation of a new, just South Africa.

"We must find the means to co-operate where it is right for us to do so," he said at a Democratic Party rally in Reiger Park near Boksburg.

He also said the National Party did not want to scrap its apartheid laws but it no longer knew what its policies were.

The NP was cross with the Conservative Party because they wanted to apply apartheid and it was fighting with the Democratic Party because it wanted to scrap apartheid.

What was now necessary in South Africa was that everyone who was convinced in their hearts that apartheid was wrong, and who believed that every person was a human being first before they were a member of a group, should come together in a powerful movement to bring a new South Africa into existence.

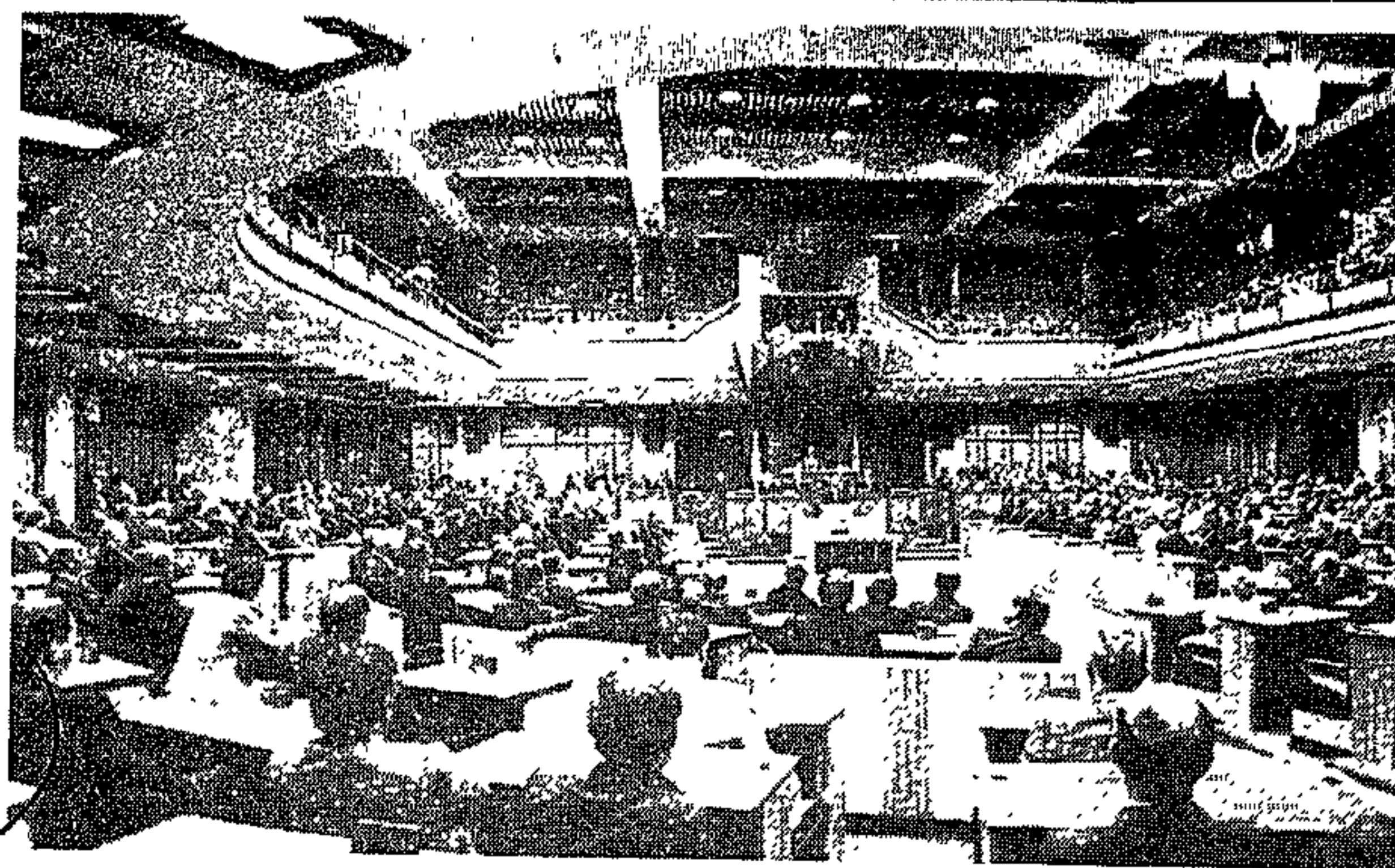
"I accept, for example, that while Inkatha and the Democrats may wish to have an alliance it would not be feasible for them to become a single party.

"I accept that while we may share many aims and objectives with people in the UDF or in the trades union, it is just not sensible at this time for us to be part of the same organisation."



# Parliament: How it has changed in two years

*CAF TMT 30/3/89*  
*3041*



The vast new Chamber of Parliament ... remote from the action for some but the scene of on-going change.

DURING the first week of Parliament this year PFP MP for Gardens Ken Andrew did a strange thing...

While Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was addressing all three houses in joint session, Mr Andrew rose from his seat and gazed at the ceiling. He seemed to be giving some sort of demonstration for the benefit of his fascinated party colleagues.

I asked him afterwards what he had been up to. He said he was showing them how to say "Hail Caesar" (no prizes for guessing who Caesar was, even if he was off sick).

## Joint chamber

But the point about this bit of tomfoolery was that it demonstrated how remote from the action MPs feel in the vast new joint chamber. Mr Andrew felt as little observed near the back of the ethnic-decorated auditorium as many members feel heard when they mount the podium and read set speeches to an inattentive audience.

And yet the joint chamber, for all its inadequacies, represents the most exciting development during my 30-month absence from the Press gallery. Even in the six weeks before Easter recess it further extended the degree to which white, coloured and Indian parliamentarians debate and legislate together rather than apart.

Only two weeks after the opening of Parliament did MPs return for the first time to their racially segregated chambers. The fact that they had been debating together uninterrupted for so long heightened the subsequent unreality of "own affairs".

Ever since the new constitution was introduced the standing committees have been racially mixed. But open joint session enables MPs of colour — most specifically the outspoken Labour Party — to harangue an uncomfortable Conservative Party in public, eyeball to eyeball.

Nationalist, for their part, take good care to be as verlig as possible in their Chamber of Parliament pronouncements or they too receive a chorus of Labour jeers.

The Nationalist Government's fear in the old days was that the coloured people would join forces with the United Party and "plough them under". Now coloured MPs are clearly seen as potential Government allies in the struggle against the CP.

Should the Conservative Party increase its parliamentary strength, however, there is no way in which the Nationalists can call on the coloured MPs to help ward off a change of government.

## JOHN SCOTT takes a fresh look at changes in the Chamber

The racially stratified constitution sees to that.

It would be a classic case of petard hoisting. It could explain, in part at least, why F W de Klerk is now talking about the necessity for a new constitution.

Meanwhile, within the framework of the present one, mixed participation is becoming the norm rather than the exception. Joint meetings at first only took place for budget speeches, presidential announcements and to save ministers from having to introduce the same Bills three times. The houses later met separately to debate them.

## Central podium

Then members of all three houses were allowed to debate together, especially on budget items, SATS and the Post Office, but had to disperse to vote separately. The electronic voting system in the joint chamber, with all its flashing lights and multi-coloured buttons, now allows the different houses to vote separately while sitting in the same chamber.

Another difference between separate "own affairs" debates and joint "general affairs" debates has been that MPs may stand and make speeches from their seats in

their "own" House but have to mount a central podium to speak in the Chamber of Parliament.

That ruling, too, was amended after a few weeks this year. In the committee stage of the mini-budget, held in joint session, members were invited to speak from the various microphones scattered about the floor. But there is also an interesting corollary to this, borne of the Government's obvious need to prove that mixing has not gone as far as its right-wing opponents claim.

Parliament now divides up into what are known as "extended public committees" to debate one department or another. These extended public committees consist of members of all three chambers. Sometimes these committees meet in the chamber of the House of Representatives, formerly the old Senate chamber, but because they constitute a joint session members may not speak from their benches but have to come to the microphone at the secretary's table. It is a nicety that fools nobody.

Significantly, the House of Assembly chamber has not yet hosted an extended public committee. Perhaps the *nolk* are judged unready.

But the overriding impression of a mere observer, back

on the scene after an absence, is that the system is an on-going process — rather like a bather entering the sea and discovering after each new step that the water hasn't suddenly got colder and a shark hasn't yet bitten off a limb.

## Overlordship

Possibly the public, for instance, is unaware that chairmen of the Houses of Representatives and Delegates also take turns, with House of Assembly chairmen, in presiding over joint sessions of Parliament. And why shouldn't they? But the situation becomes piquant when Conservative Party speakers must abide by rulings of a chairman of colour.

As Mr De Klerk says, the constitution needs drastic changing. You cannot go on pretending for ever that black people don't exist. Nor can you sustain indefinitely any constitution with a built-in white overlordship.

But the "evolutionary unfoldment" (to quote a phrase once beloved of Nationalist politicians) of the existing constitution, particularly within the parliamentary context, is undoubtedly of educative value — for whites as much as for anybody.



# CP refuses to hire halls in Boksburg to DP

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

A DEMOCRATIC PARTY meeting in Boksburg was held last night in Reiger Park, officially a coloured area, after the Conservative Party town council refused to hire out any of its halls unless the DP guaranteed that only whites would attend.

This was disclosed last night by the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer.

There is no way that any Democrat would demean himself or herself by giving such an assurance," he said.

This was one of the reasons why last night's meeting was held in Reiger Park, Dr De Beer added.

"As everyone knows, the reason why we felt that we ought to come to Boksburg and hold this meeting is that Boksburg has been made famous — or I should really say notorious —

by its CP municipal council, which enforces strict apartheid in the town, and in so doing puts the name of Boksburg on front pages all round the world.

"The first thing we need to say is that we reject all apartheid, with a determination even greater than that which the CP shows in upholding it."

Dr De Beer said the Democratic Party believed that all beaches, sports fields, picnic places and all other public amenities, includ-

ing public halls, should be open to all races.

"One reason why we are here in Reiger Park is that the CP would not let us hold this meeting in any of their municipal halls."

"They would actually have required us to give an undertaking before the meeting that no people of colour would be admitted."

The DP was grateful to the Reiger Park authorities who believed the hall at which last night's meeting was held should be for all God's people, Dr De Beer said.



# De Klerk's speech on education welcomed

By Sue Valentine

The Black Sash education committee has welcomed Mr. F W de Klerk's call for "cost effective, quality education", but warned that it could not be implemented by the Government from the top.

Commenting on Mr de Klerk's address at the opening of the new campus of the Pretoria Teachers Training College recently, Ms Judith Hawarden, education co-ordinator and Transvaal regional chairman of the Black Sash, said genuine participation by all interested parties including professional educators, parents, students, teachers and civic organisations was needed.

## RESTRICTIONS

"The first step is to unban the National Education Crisis Committee and other organisations involved in education, to lift the restrictions on NECC leaders and to allow them to start participating.

"Schools should be open and non-racial so that children can prepare for a new South Africa."

General secretary of the Transvaal Teachers' Association, Mr Hugo Ackerman said the TTA was very concerned about the availability of finance for education — and in the country generally.

Mr Joe Muller, co-ordinator of the education policy unit at Wits University, said the speech seemed to be too full of generalities to speculate on the NP leader's intentions.

"Although they've increased the education budget, it is nowhere near close to providing enough to cope with the growth of black student numbers in the education system."

# Democrats 'at fulcrum' of SA politics

By SHARKEY ISAACS  
Staff Reporter

MANY challenges faced the Democratic Party before it reached a point where it actually shaped the future of South Africa, said Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, political research analyst and UCT theology lecturer.

Speaking on the Democratic Party at UCT last night, Dr Hofmeyr said he believed the DP had the potential to introduce a new direction in politics in South Africa.

Dr Hofmeyr, a DP steering committee member and also a member of the National Democratic Movement, was addressing a current affairs platform of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa).

In his opinion, the Democratic Party was "precisely at the fulcrum" of politics in South Africa.

He believed it was also essential for whites to be brought into the process of change, and a realistic assessment of the power of black liberation movements had to be made.

It was simply not possible for the DP to deliver non-racial politics by itself, and the DP was going to have to work with those organisations which were equally committed to the creation of a non-racial, harmonious, and just society.

One of the fundamental goals of the DP was to establish a "truly South African democracy", which rejected race as its foundation, protected the dignity and freedom of all its citizens, acted in the general public interest and was based on the fundamental values which underpinned democracy.





# DP's multiracial meeting banned

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A Pretoria City Council ban on a multiracial Democratic Party meeting in the City Hall has sparked a row with National Party councillors speaking out against the decision of the management committee.

And the Conservative Party is accusing the NP-controlled council of "double standards".

The monthly council meeting was told last night that the management committee had refused permission for the Democratic Party to hold the meeting in the City Hall on April 18.

The management committee advised the Democratic Party's steering committee to make an application to lease the Skilpad Hall at Pretoria's showgrounds instead.

## Permission given

CP member Mr Joseph Chiole told the meeting that in Maritzburg, where the NP was also in control, the Democratic Party had received permission to hold a meeting in the City Hall.

The management committee member responsible for the city secretary's department, Dr Gerhard Davidtsz, said it was the council's policy to refer applications for racially mixed meetings

to the Skilpad Hall, as had also been done with the Labour Party on a previous occasion.

Two Pretoria NP city councillors, Mr Justus van Zyl and Mr Lappe Laubscher, said today that this policy would have to be changed.

Mr van Zyl said he had nothing against multiracial meetings in the City Hall.

## Leaders under fire

Meanwhile, a South African flag displayed at a Democratic Party meeting in Boksburg's coloured township of Reiger Park last night caused an outburst of indignation from members of the multiracial audience.

And the troika leadership of the merger party — the Progressive Federal Party's Dr Zac de Beer, the Independent Party's Dr Denis Worrall and the National Democratic Movement's Mr Wynand Malan — came under fire for speaking Afrikaans to an audience which contained blacks.

Some members of the 600-strong audience demanded that the flag be removed immediately.

Several Reiger Park residents voiced their anger about the "patronising" attitude of the speakers, white people's ignorance of the hardships caused by apartheid and their lack of knowledge about township life.

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## The essential for good govt

Business Day Reporter

GOOD government was not possible without a well-informed public, Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday. *Day 30/3/87*

He told a two-day communication and local government seminar at RAU: "Without an informed public, the democratic processes cannot proceed."

"Without an informed public, good government is virtually impossible."

The role of the mass media in this process was to communicate information about government, its actors and intentions, as well as the effect which its actions had on the community and the reactions of the community. Van der Merwe said: "Government therefore communicates policy matters to the public in order to inform the public and ensure democracy."



# Timing of NP caucus shows concern over DP'

THE NP's decision to hold a special caucus meeting on April 8 — the same day as the Democratic Party's launch — indicated its concern about the new party, IP leader Denis Worrall told a public meeting in Reiger Park, Boksburg, last night.

Worrall said the NP had a golden opportunity to effect change, with unprecedented goodwill towards SA. However, it would not be enough for the NP caucus to announce next

PETER DELMAN

week that its internal power struggle was over, that an election would be held this year and that Nelson Mandela would be released.

If NP leader F W de Klerk wanted to be true to his rhetoric, he would announce a series of sweeping changes next week, Worrall said.

These included ending the state of emergency, releasing political prisoners and a clear

commitment to repealing all apartheid legislation and negotiating a future constitution.

PFP leader Zach de Beer and Wynand Malan (NDM) shared the platform with Worrall at last night's meeting — the first time a white political party has held a public meeting in a black area.

De Beer called for co-operation between those with shared values and aims — from so-called New Nats to those in Charterist and Black Consciousness movements.

# **'Left out' Thatcher anxious for big role?**

star 3173189  
Political Reporter ~~ib~~ 304A

Mrs Margaret Thatcher has been readying herself for some time to start negotiations on South Africa's future because she has felt "left out" by America's high-profile role in the region's peace talks.

This is the view of Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, at the launch last night of a new book on negotiations in South Africa.

"Negotiating South Africa's Future", co-edited by Professor Schlemmer and Cape Town academic Professor Hermann Giliomee, provides a focus on the prospects for negotiation, not confrontation.

Professor Giliomee said South Africa was now ready for negotiation. The book was an attempt to find "a synthesising principle which could blend Afrikaner nationalism and African nationalism into a transcending South African nationalism".



# Confusion over DP's tricameral strategy

Political Reporter

Renewed confusion about the new Democratic Party's strategy on participation in the tricameral system was sparked off this week.

Contradictory interpretations of the DP's policy on participation in the Houses of Delegates and of Representatives were given by two of the party's three leaders, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall.

At a public meeting in Reiger

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Park on Wednesday night, addressed by Mr Malan, Dr Worrall and Dr Zach de Beer, Mr Malan said the party would not contest seats in the Indian and Coloured Houses other than the seats now held by Indian PFP MPs Mr Pat Poovalingam and Mr Mahmoud Rajab.

The three leaders last week issued a statement saying the party was in favour of participation in all three Houses of Parliament.

They added that the nature, ex-

tent and timing of participation would depend on a number of factors.

Asked to comment, Dr Worrall yesterday said he "did not pick up" Mr Malan's words last night. He stressed that the DP, to be launched on April 8, would "go for power in all three Houses".

"The basis of Parliament needs to be expanded as part of our strategy to break down the divide between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics."

# Worrall hits out at ban on DP meeting

Pretoria Correspondent

The Pretoria City Council's banning of a multiracial Democratic Party meeting in the city hall was yesterday slammed as "a disgraceful position for the city fathers of the South African capital city to adopt".

Dr Denis Worrall, a co-leader of the Democratic Party, noted that the Independent Party — of which he had been leader up till now — had had this problem once before.

"Pretoria should be setting an example and not following Boksburg, Carletonville and others," Dr Worrall said.

However he said that there were councillors who wanted to rethink the matter.

NP councillors Mr Justus van Zyl and Mr Lappe Laubscher — who were both elected to the city council for the first time last year — said yesterday that the council's policy would have to be changed.



# SA group visits Bermuda barracks of Boer PoWs

304A

By Ramsay Milne,  
The Star's Foreign News Service

Star 31/3/89

BERMUDA — It was a sombre reminder of sad and distant events when a group of South African parliamentarians and academics visited what remains of the barracks here in which thousands of Boer War PoWs were imprisoned in the dying months of the Boer War.

In a little-known chapter of South African history, six small islands in Bermuda's Great Sound were chosen by the British as settlements on which to imprison captured Boer soldiers.

In all, 4 590 men were shipped in crowded British vessels from Cape Town and deposited in hastily-erected barracks, the remnants of which still stand. Thirty-four died at sea during the voyage. Thirty-five died in captivity, all but one of natural causes.

The lone exception was prisoner No 16870, F Bosch, a 16-year-old Boer soldier who touched the prison fence as a prank and was shot by a sentry.

Through the years, a few South Africans have come here to pay homage to their kin. But this visiting group is the largest party of South Africans to visit the PoW sites. They learnt of the men's longing for home, their thoughts and plans for escape and of the kindness shown them by many local British and American citizens.

The prisoners turned their hands to that most English of games, cricket, and to carpentry, converting some of the islands' fine cedar trees into exquisitely-carved furniture.

The South African visitors were all members of a parliamentary group attending a US political think tank and saw Bermuda's final tribute to the island's unexpected guests: "The camps brought our island once more into the orbit of world history and demonstrated how men on both sides of the fence could cope — and cope extremely well — with an unpleasant situation."

"Fate had cast these fellows upon our shore and they deserve to be remembered."

# DP plans a showpiece start

NEXT weekend's Democratic Party launch will be a showpiece affair with loads of razzmatazz, according to organiser and Independent Party co-chairman Jannie Momberg.

Momberg said in an interview yesterday about 1 500 people, including 825 delegates from the PFP, IP and NDM, were expected at the launching congress at the Linder Auditorium, JCE, on April 8.

The new party's logo and colours would be kept a closely guarded secret until they were unveiled in spectacular fashion later in the day. The hordes of newsmen expected would receive press releases in plain, unmarked folders, Momberg said.

The three parties would formally dis-

PETER DELMAR

band the day before the launch. While the PFP would probably have more delegates than the IP and NDM, Momberg pointed out that no important votes would be held at the launching congress.

Momberg said he agreed with other DP and NP leaders that important announcements — on the State Presidency, an election date and possibly the release of Nelson Mandela — could be made at an NP caucus meeting two days before the DP's launch.

He was not concerned that a special caucus meeting on April 8 would steal the DP's thunder.



## The Associated Manganese Mines of SA Ltd

Reg No 05/07343/06

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Notice is hereby given that the transfer books and register of members of the Company will be closed from 18 April 1989 to 24 April 1989, both dates inclusive, to determine the members entitled to attend the annual general meeting of members to be held at 75 Fox Street, Johannesburg on Monday, 24 April 1989 at 10h00

Johannesburg, 31 March 1989

(Pw) 59763



**T**HE PAST eight years have wrought fundamental changes in the relations between the US and Africa. I believe the prospects for this relationship have never been as bright as they are now. For the first time in our history, the US has a President who knows firsthand Africa and its enormous diversity, problems and potential.

As a direct result of a decade-long US diplomatic effort, Namibia will soon become independent, completing the decolonisation of Africa. But the post-colonial history of Africa demonstrates that independence does not in itself solve a nation's underlying problems. It merely transfers the responsibility for dealing with problems to new, indigenous leadership.

There is a great deal at stake in how Namibians choose to govern themselves. Namibians, like Angolans, need to learn how to resolve their differences through political debate rather than through violent confrontation. Namibians, like Angolans, need to find their way to national reconciliation.

**A** stable and prosperous democratic society in Namibia would be an inspiration to fast, peaceful change away from apartheid in SA. An unstable and impoverished Namibia would set back the prospects for such change and would also threaten the stability of Botswana, one of Africa's few genuine democracies and the only one in Southern Africa. Careful work with the UN, with our allies and with sympathetic neighbours such as Botswana will be needed to get Namibia off to the right start as an independent nation.

SA and its regional role seems likely to remain a shared African and US obsession for the foreseeable future. From the beginning, the Reagan administration had a twofold agenda with regard to SA. To the extent we could, we have sought to help insulate from the death throes of apartheid the states in Southern Africa whose fates are inextricably connected with that of SA.

To this end, we have worked to help these states achieve a *modus vivendi* with SA that, without eroding their principled stand on the issue of apartheid, would enable them to enjoy sufficient security and domestic tranquillity to pursue effective economic and political development.

So we have worked to buttress the independence, democratic institutions and market economic systems of Bot-

swana and Zimbabwe, while seeking to ensure the continuing ability of Zambia, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique to pursue similarly effective courses of political and economic development as they choose to do so.

The Nkomati Accord and the rapprochement between Mozambique and SA that it has made possible, as well as the Angola-Namibia accords, are especially visible monuments to this sustained US diplomatic effort. But there is a great deal more that has been done — and much more effort that lies ahead.

In SA itself we have sought to promote the most rapid possible admission of all South Africans to an equal role in the political and economic life of their country.

This is easy to say, but it amounts to attempting to play a constructive role in the re-engineering of the political culture and constitutional system of a country separated from us by 13,000km, centuries of estrangement from Western values and a dramatically different history.

The difficulty is magnified by the small — and now rapidly declining — US presence on the ground in SA, and by the obvious tensions in relations between our governments, reflecting profound differences between us. In

# Americans must work with SA to create a democracy

10 May 31/3/87

## CHESTER CROCKER, retiring US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs



CROCKER... constructive role

these circumstances, we must recognise some plain truths:

- No-one other than South Africans can remake South African political culture or the South African constitution. We cannot compel them, but we can and should help them move towards fundamental change, in ways consistent with our own values.
- The South African government runs SA and cannot be ignored or written off. It sets the pace of change in the

country. It remains the only institution what the power to repeal the oppressive system it now so effectively enforces, and it is the key to more cooperative and less threatening South African relationships with neighbouring black-ruled states.

□ Ordinary South Africans (black, white, coloured and Indian), and a wide range of non-governmental and private organisations, set the political climate within which the South African government operates. While their direct impact on current governmental decisions is limited, we should encourage dialogue and creative thinking wherever it may take root and not give a distracted government a pocket veto over the society as a whole.

**W**e need to talk to both the government and the groups opposed to it, and to encourage them to talk to each other. We have a constructive role to play in helping South Africans to break down the racial and political barriers to dialogue about the future of their country.

- We cannot hope to make any real difference in SA unless Americans are actually there to share their experience, set an example and, yes, work alongside South Africans as they make the decisions they must make to create a democratic, post-apartheid SA.
- The more effectively we can co-

ordinate our policies and activities in SA with those of allies with equal or greater influence there, the better our chances of having a real impact on the course of events in that country.

These are rather obvious points. Many or all of them could be made with respect to Eastern Europe or other areas where we seek to promote an evolution towards more open and democratic societies. But SA is different.

I would like to be able to say we have had a serious debate in the US about how to advance our interests in SA. There certainly have been a lot of words expended on the subject. But, frankly, most of the debate has been about sanctions, which no serious observer of the South African scene — and none of our major allies — considers to be a viable answer to a problem that is clearly going to require much time and considerable diplomatic and political ingenuity to resolve.

Some of the proponents of sanctions in the US and abroad are well-meaning, and I share their sense of frustration with the slow pace of change in SA and the elusiveness of any denouement to the South African drama. But, again quite candidly, there has been no serious discussion of what role, if any, different kinds of sanctions might play in helping South Africans to resolve the dilemmas they face.

Instead, sanctions have become a symbol of the frustration they are designed to address. They have been advocated as an article of faith, as an end in themselves. No credible case has been made for broad, open-ended sanctions against SA.

Our experience with such sanctions to date is that they are counter-productive. The argument for them has seldom risen above the level of a kind of junior-college Marxism, economic determinism of a simplicity that would make a Communist blush.

Be that as it may, it is obvious we as a nation need to engage in serious reflection on how we deal with SA on the two issues of greatest concern to us: Pretoria's regional behaviour and institutionalised racism in SA.

Reaching consensus in the US on these issues will tax the political skills of the new administration and the willingness of Congress to work with the White House. But there is so much at stake that we cannot afford not to try.

Extract from an article by Dr Crocker in the Centre for Strategic and International Studies' publication, Africa Notes.

# SA's soul laid bare

BERMUDA — The large and influential contingent of senators and congressmen and leading US academics attending this week's "Bermuda conference" were exposed to what one delegate described as "the full blast of South African political realities."

They were reported to have been deeply impressed by what they heard.

The "realities" came in what delegates agreed were brilliant presentations of their differing political points of view delivered by Mr F van Zyl Slabbert, former Progressive Party leader, and Mr Thabo Mbeki, a member of the ANC's national executive committee.



MR Thabo Mbeki . . .  
ANC delegate.

Though their presentations were unrelated and not intended to complement each other's, one conference source said it was surprising how the views they expressed shared common ground on so many issues.

"It is clear that black and white South Africans are not only seeking a negotiated settlement to their political differences, but are able to articulate them very clearly," said one observer.

"The ANC, for instance, though not willing to abandon its declared right to use armed struggle when and if needed, sees very clearly that the best way is through peaceful negotiations.

"In that sense, the ANC remains unaffected by the new, more moderate stance on Southern Africa adopted by the Soviet Union because it also believes the road to a peaceful settlement can be opened," he added.



# Worrall hits at DP meeting ban

*Sowetan 31/7/89*  
*3049*

THE Pretoria City Council's banning of a multiracial Democratic Party meeting in the City Hall was yesterday slammed as "obviously a disgraceful position for the city fathers of the South African capital city to adopt."

Dr Denis Worrall, one of the co-leaders of the Democratic Party, said: "Pretoria should be setting an example and not following Boksburg, Carletonville and others."

"This kind of attitude, aside from the harm which it does overseas, is completely insulting to our fellow South Africans who are not white."

He said he had noted, however, that there were

councillors who wanted to re-think the matter.

"It is in everybody's interest, not just the Democratic Party's, that they succeed in persuading the council to adopt a sensible and realistic approach and make available the City Hall to all persons regardless of their background."

NP councillors Mr Justus van Zyl and Mr Lappe Laubscher — who were both elected to the City Council for the first time last year — said yesterday the council's policy would have to be changed.

Mr van Zyl said: "It must be changed and we are busy reconsidering it," he said. — *Sowetan Correspondent.*

# That's not OUR flag!

*Sowetan 3/13/84*  
*30 APR*

A SOUTH African flag displayed at a Democratic Party meeting in Boksburg's coloured township of Reiger Park on Wednesday night caused an outburst of indignation from members of the multi-racial audience.

And the troika leadership of the merger party — the Progressive Federal Party's Dr Zach de Beer, the Independent Party's Dr Denis Worrall and the National Democratic Movement's Mr Wynand Malan — came under fire for speaking Afrikaans to an audience which featured blacks.

Shouts of "viva" greeted the speakers

## Take it down, demands crowd at DP meeting

**SOWETAN  
Reporters**

shortly after entering the hall to the music of "Chariots of Fire."

Some members of the 600-strong audience demanded that the flag be removed immediately.

However, meeting chairman Dr Louis Luyt called on the audience to reserve their comments until question time.

Several Reiger Park residents voiced their anger about the "patronising" attitude of the speakers, white people's ignorance of the hardships caused by apartheid and their lack of knowledge about township life.

A resident, Mr Henry Jefferies of the Urban Foundation, accused the speakers of "not having done your homework" by speaking under the South African flag.

## The rules

"If you want to reach out to the black community you must obey the basic rules. One groundrule is that we do not gather under that flag. You should have an understanding of the hostility towards that flag," he said. — in Afrikaans — to loud applause.

The DP was also criticised for co-operating with the Labour Party, which, according to one resident, had done the coloured community great harm.

Other residents demanded clarification of the DP's policy on the redistribution of land, participation in the tri-cameral system and the state of emergency.

## Launch

The meeting, which was the DP's unofficial launch in the Eastern Transvaal, was held in Reiger Park because no multi-racial venue could be found in Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg.

But one resident boldly told the speakers: "You have come here by mistake. This meeting was intended for white people."

The DP leaders urged the audience to accept the party's bona fides in its attempts to create a non-racial, democratic dispensation through negotiations across the political divide.

In his speech, Mr Malan said the DP would enter into talks with all political groupings in South Africa.



# Krugersdorp excludes blacks from amenities

Capl. Times 21/3/87

KRUGERSDORP. — All public amenities here have been reserved for use by whites, the SABC has reported.

The town council also decided at its monthly meeting to refuse entry to blacks at the five halls under its control and the Krugersdorp game reserve.

The acting mayor, Mr Karel du Plessis, declared an amendment asking for a referendum on the decisions.

A town council member, Mr B Greyvenstein, said he believed the council's decisions on separate amenities did not take into account the wishes of residents and businessmen, whose opinions should be obtained.

He said he would present a lawyer's letter to the council in which he would ask for a special meeting to discuss a possible referendum. — Sapa

*SAPL Times 31/5/89*  
**Bid to save Indian business**

Own Correspondent

*306A*  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Carletonville Cosatu Local Action Committee and youths from black townships near the CP ruled town will today go on a campaign to save Indian-owned businesses from being ruined by the consumer boycott, Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi said yesterday.

Today's campaign is also aimed at saving jobs of hundreds of blacks employed by 76 Indian traders in the town.



# Thatcher 'magic' won't change SA, says Mugabe

AKGWS 31/3/89

From RICHARD DOWDEN,  
of The Independent,  
in Harare

As Margaret Thatcher left Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe expressed his deep scepticism towards her policy of trying to persuade South Africa to give up apartheid.

"If she thinks she can wield some magic wand and make apartheid disappear like a political magician, we want her to be that magician, but we don't think she is," he said.

In an exclusive interview, Mr Mugabe spoke warmly of the Prime Minister's two-day visit and said it had been very successful. Their differences over how to deal with South Africa are still wide, but have caused no rancour. There is no difference in the demands both are making on Pretoria — only on the way they can be achieved.

Describing Mrs Thatcher's policy towards South Africa as "persuasive engagement", Mr Mugabe said: "I told her I was not optimistic, if she can do it, fine, but a year or two ago she said she was in contact with President P W Botha and there was a furore of correspondence between them. She hoped then that Nelson Mandela and others might be released."

Asked if Britain was encouraging Zimbabwe to sit down with South Africa, he said: "Mrs Thatcher made mention of the international atmosphere of negotiation and thought it necessary to try on South Africa. We don't say no to negotiations, but negotiations between who and who?"

"It has to be the South Africans themselves, however defined, African National Congress, Pan-Africanist Congress, United Democratic Front, Inkatha or the National Party or the Conservative Party. Why should they come to seek a solution from us? We won't talk until they talk to Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and the rest. Only then can any discussion with us serve any purpose."

Zimbabwe has been seeking an air defence system and Mr Mugabe said Britain was offering one. "We are currently trying to find our choice," he said. Mrs Thatcher "did whisper to me at dinner that she has this in mind."

She said the whole world is discussing peace and she found it difficult to make the suggestion to me, but if we feel we need one, as she believed we might because of our situation, Britain would be willing to sell whatever it could to us".

Mr Mugabe also revealed that the Frelimo government in Mozambique is opening the door to negotiation with the Renamo rebels.

"The leadership of Renamo should present their grievances and I happen to know that President Chissano is willing to listen." But Mr Mugabe said that if Renamo had a leadership, surely

ly it should realise that all it was doing was destroying the country and that it could not win.

"The problem is that we don't know what Renamo stands for," he said.

Mrs Thatcher also met President Joaquim Chissano during her stay in Zimbabwe, and Britain has offered to increase assistance to the Mozambique army, which is helping to keep open rail and road links between Zimbabwe and the Indian Ocean ports.

They are a vital lifeline for Zimbabwe, which has several thousand troops in Mozambique also fighting the rebels. Mr Mugabe said that he and President Chissano had raised the issue of South African support for the rebels with Mrs Thatcher and that she had said she had talked to Mr Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, when he visited Downing Street recently.

Mr Botha, she said, had assured her that Pretoria had stopped supporting the rebels and would not support them in future. The United States said recently that South Africa was still supplying Renamo, but Britain has been alone in not publicly acknowledging this support.

On Namibia, where the process for independence begins tomorrow, Mr Mugabe said he had been reassured by Mrs Thatcher that Britain would not stand in the way if the United Nations Secretary-General thought it necessary to send extra UN troops there for the elections.

#### Political Staff

**DIVISIONS** among members of the embryonic Democratic Party have flared into the open again over the issue of taking part in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

Natal Progressive Federal Party members held a special meeting last night to express dissatisfaction with a speech on the issue made in the Transvaal by National Democratic Party leader Mr Wynand Malan.

In spite of the meeting, the troika leadership of the Democratic Party, which is to be formally launched next week, were attempting to deflate the issue today.

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

#### Clear agreement

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

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

"The criteria for fighting each seat in a specific election must be those applicable to any election — assessed support, suitable candidate, funding and workers.

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

#### Had no problem

"We believe this work should be continued after April 8 by the DP and we will ensure this happens."

Mr Malan said today he had no problem with the statement.

"It will be anyone's right to pursue whatever policies they see fit through the proper channels of the party."

But if the PFP members were arguing that only parlia-

mentary strategic considerations should be taken into account and not extra-parliamentary issues "I don't believe that to be a correct interpretation".

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

He said, however, that the Labour Party was already well established in the House of Representatives.

"We are talking to the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, about an arrangement.

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

# DP over role in Houses Dissent flares again in

30/4/8

31/3/89

NRCS

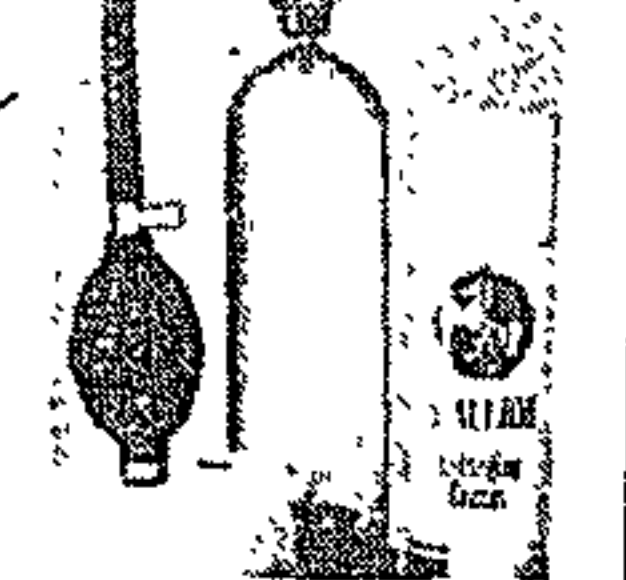


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BRITISH Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher will visit Namibia over the weekend, her office at Number 10 Downing Street in London has confirmed.

Reporters covering the United Nations supervised Namibian independence exercise phoned her office yesterday afternoon and it was

## SA Press Association

confirmed that Mrs Thatcher would be visiting the territory where the independence process begins tomorrow.

Her programme while in Namibia was not disclosed.

Meanwhile, South African Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, and Defence Minister, Magnus

Malan, are also expected in Windhoek today on an unspecified programme.

Botha confirmed last night that the South African Government had been consulted about her visit to the territory and "reacted positively to the suggested visit of Mrs Thatcher to the British contingent of Untag."

At the same time Mr Botha will be in Namibia today to witness the prisoner exchange to take place at the border with Angola.

It is known that Mr Botha will stay in Namibia for the weekend.

## Ambassador

It is not yet clear whether Mrs Thatcher will be flying to Windhoek or directly to Grootfontein where most of the British Untag contingent is based.

But diplomatic sources and British journalists accompanying Mrs Thatcher said she would almost likely travel to Windhoek on Saturday after leaving Malawi on the last leg of her four nation African tour during which South Africa was the main topic of discussion.

The British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Ron Renwick, is in

Namibia at present, reportedly to open the British liaison office in Windhoek.

He did not return to Pretoria despite a diplomatic crisis caused when six activists sought refuge in the British Embassy in Pretoria on Wednesday.



Mr PIK Botha...

## Chikane e 'acti' from



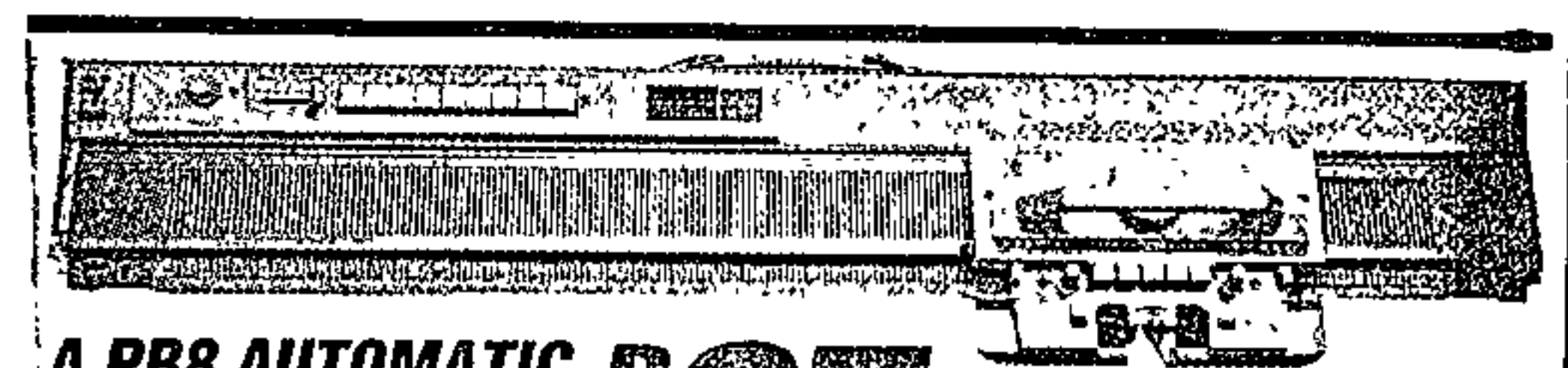
REV Frank Chikane.

THE general secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, said "expected" "some action" within the next few days" after he and other church leaders discussed the situation of detainees with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in Pretoria last night.

The delegation, which also consisted of Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Anglican), the Rev Ron Steel (Congregational Church), the Rev Michael Mokoena (Presbyterian), and Archbishop Denis Hurley (Catholic), met with Mr Vlok for about two hours at police headquarters.

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