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THE DE KLERK-KAUNDA MEETING

Presumptions in Livingstone

Kaunda had sound reasons to seek the meeting — but he was upstaged by F W



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

What can F W gain from such forays?

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

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

In the event — and Kaunda could not have foreseen this — the Livingstone summit was pre-empted by the hastily convened tête-à-tête on the banks of Lake Kivu in Zaire between Mobutu Sese Seko and De Klerk last Friday. Then, on Sunday, came top-level discussions between Unita's Jonas Savimbi and the De Klerk-Pik Botha duo.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nor should De Klerk be forgotten.

There is, therefore, a widespread belief within the diplomatic fraternity that in Monday's meeting with De Klerk, Kaunda may have believed there lay an opportunity to promote at least some of his unfulfilled aspirations. The Africa Institute's Erich Leistner agrees: "Despite their hatred of SA's racial policies, a meeting with the SA head of State enhances the political stature of African leaders. The southern African region is where the action is and there remains a respect for SA's economic power."

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

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

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

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

This raises the all-important point about sanctuary for the ANC. While they have no hard evidence, SA diplomatic



F W and Kaunda ... mutual benefits in prospect

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observers think that Kaunda *has* asked the bulk of the ANC presence to leave Zambia. Kaunda could certainly still state publicly that he would never kick the ANC out — but what remained, if the bulk of the fighters left, would be a notional presence only.

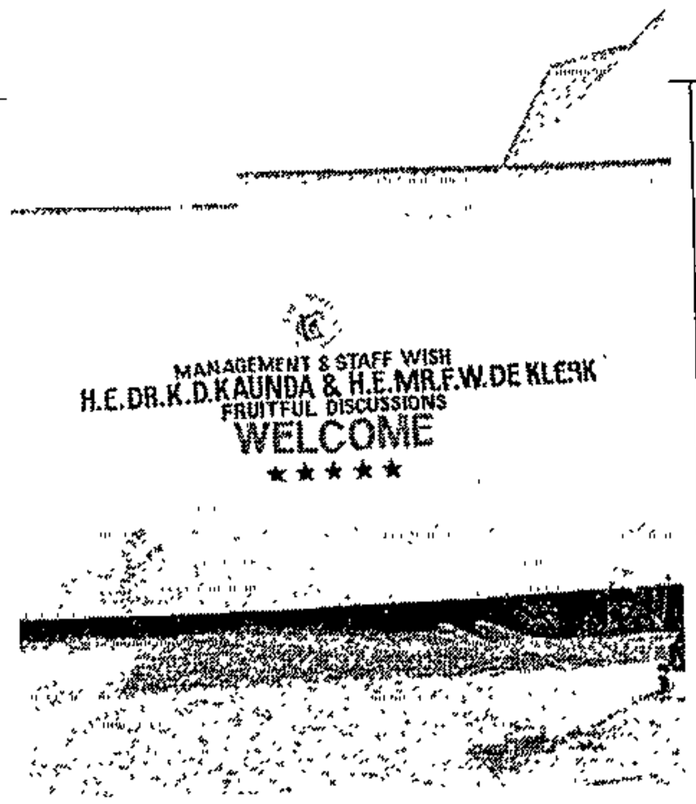
If this is so, the ANC in Zambia is set to endure the fate of the PLO in Jordan. Should Kaunda "deliver" this to De Klerk, in return for unspecified economic aid, it would enable the SA president to negotiate from strength.

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

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

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

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



Banner welcome in Livingstone ... 'fruitful' they were

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

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

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

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

(3044) mail 1/9/89.

TONY LEON

Redistributing power



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

***FM:* What is the DP's constitutional platform?**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

How would the DP handle the interregnum?

We accept the necessity that the DP would operate as an essentially interim government on the basis of the present constitution, with all its imperfections, while the process of negotiation was carried to conclusion.

What body or bodies would actually conduct the constitutional negotiations?

There would have to be an assembly elected on a full universal franchise to operate as a constituent assembly.

How would your type of constitution operate to restrain radical redistributive forces if a Marxist party won power?

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

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

The DP also obviously hopes that any government that might come to power in a post-apartheid SA would value the effectiveness of the private sector as an engine for economic growth and job creation above the ideological gratification of nationalisation.

And swingeing levels of taxation a Marxist government might impose to fund social expenditures?

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

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

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

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

(3544) Fmail 1/9/89.

Anything can happen

■ Why the Nats are keeping their heads down

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

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

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

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

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

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

POSSIBLE GAINS FOR NATS

Swings needed for Nats to gain seats from CP

	2%	4%	6%	8%	10%	12%	14%	16%	18%
CP Present seats 22	Delmas Roodepoort Soutpansberg Nigel Brakpan* Middelburg*	Carletonville Schweizer-Reinecke Bethal Overvaal Pietersburg	Barberton Ermelo Losberg Ventersdorp Witbank*	Standerton Potgietersrus Brits	Waterberg	Lichtenburg	Randfontein		
Possible gains	6	11	16	19	20	21	22		

Swings needed for Nats to gain seats from DP

DP Present seats 21	Green Point	Cape Town Gardens Greytown Port Elizabeth Cent		Durban Central Durban North Mooi River*	Pinetown Randburg*	Pinelands	Constantia Berea	Houghton Bryanston	Parktown Johannesburg North
Possible gains	1	4	4	7	9	10	12	14	16

* Indicates that the swing required is a rough estimate, because the CP or DP did not fight the seat in 1987, or there are special local conditions.

NB Mooi River is regarded as a DP-held seat

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(24%), Vryburg (14%), Bethlehem (18%), Sasolburg (17%) and Klip River (16%) — an average of 19%. This trend was confirmed in the 1987 election, with an average swing of 18% to the Right in the Transvaal.

These statistics suggested that the bulk of CP supporters had made their break in 1982 and that the party had perhaps hit its ceiling before 1987. The additional swing of 7% in Randfontein last year would seem to contradict that, of course. But it is a seat in natural CP territory; the swing reflected a Nat stayaway rather than CP growth; and by-elections usually favour the opposition parties. It is in the marginal seats that swings matter; in safe seats (like Randfontein), the strong party tends to get stronger.

So the by-election evidence suggests it would be reasonable to expect CP support to increase by around 5% on 1987 levels. That would give it between 41 and 48 seats — dangerous to the NP, but contained.

And now we can see why the NP continues to look over its right shoulder. A swing of 5% or 6% can be absorbed; but a general shift of Randfontein proportions (7%-8%) could deliver another 10 seats — and a 10% swing a further seven. In such a case, there would be a hung parliament even if the DP gained nothing. In addition, several Nat seats in the danger zone are even more vulnerable to the CP, because the DP may split the vote after staying out in 1987; the HNP is moribund.

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

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

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

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

The statistics show that none of these scenarios can be safely predicted; but that none can be ruled out. The fluidity in white party politics is unprecedented. ■

WHAT IS SWING?

We have defined "swing" as the percentage increase in a party's share of the total votes cast in a particular constituency. For instance, the DP got 64% of the vote in Berea in 1987 to the NP's 36%. So the NP needs a swing of 14% to win Berea in 1989. And if it wins Berea, it will probably win Constantia (see table 1).

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

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

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

WHAT MUST HAPPEN FOR A HUNG PARLIAMENT

Swings needed for CP to gain seats from NP

	0%	2%	4%	6%	8%	10%	12%	14%	16%	18%	Safe
CP Present seats 22	Stilfontein Wonderboom Hercules Rustenburg* Pretoria West Parys Sasolburg (vote split in 1987)	Lydenburg* Krugersdorp Meyerton Roodeplaat Kuruman Potchefstroom Newcastle	Springs Gezina Heilbron Innesdal Ladybrand*	Nelspruit Vereeniging Maraisburg Smithfield Geduld* Klerksdorp* Koedoespoort*	Oudtshoorn De Aar Fauresmith Vryburg Primrose Boksburg Welkom Bethlehem* Brentwood* Alberton*	Vanderbijlpark Uitenhage Umfolozi Winburg Germiston Germiston District* Kempton Park*	Gordonia Prieska Bloemfontein East Graaff-Reinet Kroonstad Queenstown Helderkruin	Virginia Langlaagte Namaqualand Pretoria Central Verwoerdburg Sunnyside Klip River	Pretoria East Beaufort West Florida Rissik Modderfontein Humansdorp Bloemfontein West Sundays River Mossel Bay	Swellendam Cradock Kimberley North Ceres Vryheid*	Algoa Aliwal Bloemfontein North Turffontein Kimberley South Jeppe Rosettenville Walvis Bay Piketberg Paarl Port Elizabeth North Worcester Vasco Wellington De Kuilen Bellville Parow
Running Total	29	36	41	48	58	65	72	79	88	93	

Swings needed for DP to gain seats from NP

DP Present seats 21		Wynberg Hillbrow Edenvale Simon's Town Walmer Helderberg*	Umhlanga North Rand Maritzburg North Umbilo*	Maritzburg South South Coast*	Albany Waterkloof Durban Point* Amanzimtoti*	Stellenbosch Bezuidenhout* Umfolozi	Benoni King William's Town	Helderkruin	Newton Park Umhlatuzana Port Natal East London North Westdene	Queenstown Johannesburg West East London City Maitland	Umlazi* Durbanville George Malmesbury Caledon False Bay Tygervalley
Running total	21	27	31	33	37	40	42	43	48	52	
Combined total	29	63	72	81	84 95	105	114	122	136	145	

* Indicates that the swing required is a rough estimate, because the CP or DP did not fight the seat in 1987, or there are special local conditions

NB Mooi River is regarded as a DP-held seat

* Matching colour keys indicate combination of swings needed for hung parliament.

Ball is in ANC's court — F W's reply to D P letter

ARGUS 1/9/89

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bid to have candidate's nomination nullified

By LINDA GALLOWAY
Supreme Court Reporter

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

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

According to papers, Mr Gert Jeremias Kotzé wants Mr Willem Jacobus Botha's nomination to be declared null and void because he



alleges he is an unrehabilitated insolvent who may not stand for parliament.

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

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

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

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

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DESMOND COLBORNE — IN MY OPINION

Reformers' dilemma



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

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

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

The two men are of similar age and share a party-faithful provincial background, topped off by legal studies and a steady climb up the apparatchik ladder. They are treading similar tightropes, spanned between continuity and reform, trying to reconcile loyalty to their past with the growing challenges to their countries' future. Can they open up their societies and achieve wider political participation without either chaotically losing control or provoking a hardline backlash?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Europe was broken asunder after World War 2 by the Yalta agreements. A world came into being where "East is East, and West is West and never the twain shall meet." All this now seems to be changing.

There are still many in the West who resist what is called Gorbymania. The West, they warn, is being charmed by expert media manipulation into dropping its guard. They fear that Europe and, particularly, a neutralised Germany, is being set up as a fat economic cow ready for milking, with the US, far away across the Atlantic, disengaged from Europe and displaced there by the Soviet Union. So say the pessimists. But their suspicions are steadily being stilled as Gorbachev's reformism gains momentum and a changed mentality in the Soviet Union looks more and more irreversible.

And even if there are zig-zags and some reforms are reversed, things in Europe, say the optimists, will never be the same again. Throughout the Eastern Bloc, even if camouflaged as a socialist renewal, capitalism is slowly being reinvested. The 20th Century has a chance of trading on a high note.

Chikane 'poison' no trace was found

NEW YORK — University of Wisconsin (UW) officials in Madison say tests failed to find the cause of an illness that struck the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

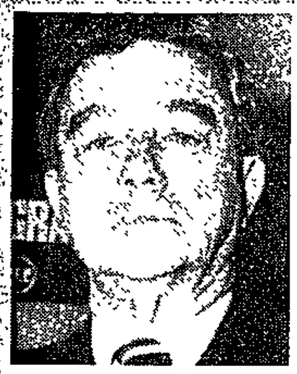
Mr Chikane, who was in the United States visiting his wife — a UW graduate student — collapsed a few weeks ago during a reception at a Madison restaurant. He was in and out of several hospitals over the next week, and doctors said the symptoms resembled those of pesticide poisoning.

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

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

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

The final political articles in our series are contributed today by Mr Barend du Plessis of the [illegible] of the Democratic Party.



Voters really feeling NP induced pain

Star 11/9/89 304A

By ZACH DE BEER,
Co-leader of the Democratic Party

More than any election since 1948, this one has been fought on economic issues. The statistics of our decline are dramatic — growth rate down from 6,7 percent to 1,2 percent, inflation up from 1,7 percent to 16 percent, and so forth.

But statistics do not win votes. The question is whether voters are really feeling pain. We think they are.

There have indeed been attempts by Nationalist spokesmen to allay the hurt that the voters feel. Thus, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was reported by more than one newspaper as having said: "And 15 percent inflation is a rate not too high for our comfort."

The Financial Mail wrote an editorial attacking him and I did so, too, at Florida on August 16, comparing him with Marie Antoinette. On August 18, Mr du Plessis wrote to *Business Day* to say: "I deny the accuracy of this quotation. It was taken out of context." That is as may be.

Deeper aspect

Still, as Mr du Plessis concedes, the inflation rate is at least 15 percent, and people are hurting. That fact alone justifies the inclusion of the economy among the major election issues.

But there is a deeper aspect to the matter. Poor economic statistics do not, in general, reflect uncontrollable circumstances. Far more often — and South Africa today is a case in point — the bad figures indicate general misgovernment of the country.

A sick economy in a healthy society is rare, as is the reverse condition. The reason for this is fairly simple: economic performance depends heavily on the attitudes and behaviour of people.

Good government makes people feel that they are fairly treated and willing to cooperate, that they have full and equal opportunities and that there are rich rewards to be had for hard work and thrift. These attitudes are the pre-requisite of economic progress.

Against that background, let us consider how most South Africans feel and act today

Despite the Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk's, assertion that all South Africans must have a vote, the vast majority actually have no political rights of any value. They are forced into ghettoes by the Group Areas Act, and denied access to parks and other facilities in terms of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

Worst of all, they are governed in terms of the now virtually permanent state of emergency, subject to frequent arbitrary detention without charge or trial, the victims of equally arbitrary restriction orders when freed from detention, for all practical purposes denied the protection of the rule of law.

Small wonder that our economic performance suffers.

There are three main reasons for our economic retrogression: excessive government expenditure, capital outflow and low productivity.

Duplication of facilities in terms of the apartheid or own affairs policy is a major cause of the first; apartheid is virtually the sole reason for the second; and the causes of low productivity are largely apartheid-based.

The creeping poverty from which we all suffer is not something separate from government policy: it is the fruit thereof.

To prosper, we must become a nation of free people, willing to work together in trust and mutual confidence, each seeking his or her own path to success. We shall not achieve trust unless we fully grant and accept one another's human dignity. And human dignity is not achievable without human rights.

We all want law and order, but the foundation of both law and order is justice. Only a just society can uphold dignity, nurture trust, and, in the result, prosper.

These are the reasons why the Democrats — and only we — can offer economic recovery through just government.

(Submitted by Z de Beer, Anchor Towers, 2 Plein Street, Johannesburg.)



Don't blame sons for their fathers' sins

304A Star 11/9/89.

By BAREND DU PLESSIS

The National Party has now been in power for over 41 years. Yet, in that time the country has had five distinctly different governments. Each Prime Minister/President had his own emphasis, his own style and his own policies.

It is therefore a mistake to burden the future government of Mr F W de Klerk with the mistakes of D F Malan or H F Verwoerd. Nobody blames Mrs Thatcher for the mistakes of Churchill, Eden or Macmillan.

The National Party offers the country a brand new government under a dynamic and young yet experienced leader in the person of Mr de Klerk, while at the same time backing him up with its basic principle of "South Africa First".

This change of government takes place at a time when momentous decisions have to be made — decisions that will change the face of South Africa for generations to come

The main challenge before us is to create a full-scale democracy in South Africa. If we succeed in this respect, our present economic and security problems will become much easier to handle.

A full-scale democracy means that every person must participate at all levels of government that affect his interests. But it also means that such a democracy must be so constructed that it can survive in the exotic soil of Africa. Not many democracies in the past were able to pass this test.

The failure of many experiments with democracy was due to the fact that the structure of such systems was not properly adapted to the circumstances of the societies they were supposed to serve. Most of them degenerated into one-party states or even further into dictatorships.

The main problem was that they did not make sufficient provision for the protection of minorities. The vast majority of African states have the problem that they consist not of one type of people only, but in fact, span over more than one ethnic or cultural group.

Within the framework of the traditional Western type democracies, whether unitary states or federations, this led to power struggles between the different groups, precisely because of the majoritarian way of decision-making which does not discount the interests of minorities in an adequate way.

South Africa has a population structure that is more diverse and more complicated than most other states in the world and more than most African countries.

If we want to create a lasting democracy, we therefore have to pay particular attention to the problem of the protection of minorities.

In this we actually have an advantage in that no one cultural group has been even near to a majority position — we are actually a country of minorities.

The traditional way in which the world solved the problem of the coexistence of diverse peoples, was that of partitioning. This is how the different nation states of, for instance, Europe came into being.

This option is, however, not available to us for a variety of reasons. The most important reason is the fact that most of the various cultural groups are not confined to one geographical area but are in fact living in a diffuse manner all over the country. Efforts to unscramble the egg proved costly and unattainable.

The problem therefore is to find a way in which people of a variety of cultures can live together in a harmonious way and with new in a free democracy. This will require newly thinking. We will not be able to simply apply existing democratic models. We will have to go back to the basics and construct our own model through new creative thinking.

Both the Democratic and the Conservative Parties fail this test. Their models for South Africa are merely applications of models which have failed repeatedly in Africa.

The National Party is the only party which has the proven ability to think anew and which has the men and the policies that can grasp the golden opportunities to create a new South Africa that can bring peace and prosperity to all its people.

(Submitted by B J du Plessis, 551 Marks Building, Cape Town)

304A

'No point giving De Klerk a chance,' Suzman tells meeting

FW's promises 'totally meaningless'

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk's fine sounding promises of reform were totally meaningless unless four pillars of apartheid were removed, Democratic Party Houghton MP Mrs Helen Suzman said last night.

She received a standing ovation from about 400 people in the Greenside Primary School at her last public meeting as an MP, in support of DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Another fellow-founder of the Progressive Party, Mr Colin Eglin, also addressed the meeting.

Mrs Suzman said the four pillars of apartheid were the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Land Act.

Until these were scrapped and blacks were allowed to vote in the parliament that governed their lives, and the system of own and general affairs was abandoned, Mr de Klerk's fine reform sentiments would remain "just mother love and apple-pie".

Mrs Suzman said she had heard that the National Party intended to make propaganda out of a message she had just sent to the United Nations Human Rights Commission asking the international community to stop sanctions.

In the message she had also asked the international community to try to encourage Mr de Klerk to make changes.

"I hear the NP hopes to interpret this as my saying to the electorate, 'Give F W a chance'.

"I want to state unequivocally that giving F W a chance was not remotely in my mind. I was motivated only by the desire to prevent more punitive sanctions which would have hardened attitudes and harmed the DP."

She believed two considerations might "stay the hand" of people who were considering voting for the DP. Some might want to give Mr de Klerk a chance while others might vote NP to keep the Conservative Party out.

She said Mr de Klerk had been a member of the Cabinet for years where he had had the opportunity to abandon apartheid. He had given no indication that he intended doing so, and in fact had said he was in favour of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

She warned those who were considering voting NP to keep the CP out that the "lesser of two evils is still an evil".

She was astonished to hear NP MP, Mrs Sheila Camerer, say on television that the Government should be judged on its track record. "I've had the dubious honour of a ringside seat at that track for 36 years and can assure you the record is abysmal."

The damage wreaked by 30 years of active implementation of apartheid "will be with us for a long time to come," she said.

Dr de Beer said the NP's attempts to lump the DP with the Mass Democratic Movement was just another version of the "swart gevaar" tactics.

Sea Point MP Mr Eglin, said the NP was pinning its hopes on Mr de Klerk who was being billed as their "political saviour". Yet he had had an "undistinguished career" in the Cabinet for 11 years.

(News by P.Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)



A standing ovation for Mrs Helen Suzman at her last public meeting where she referred to Mr de Klerk's reform sentiments as "just mother love and applie-pie".

CP may contest Pretoria Supreme Court decision

304A

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"This means a different judge could use a different discretion and a conservative judge could decide to uphold separate facilities."

Welcoming the judgment, Democratic Party justice spokesman Mr Dave Dalling agreed with the CP that the Supreme Court had come "pretty close" to challenging the validity of the Act.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And on the basis of the court ruling, the Government came under fire from parliamentary political leaders for its handling of the Mass Democratic Movement's campaign of defiance against the application of the law on beaches.

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

(News by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria, and B Cameron 85 Field Street Durban)

Star 1/9/89. 304A

Organisations must abandon violence – FW

Political Staff and Sapa

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

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

He said the Government's stand was that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Besmirching DP

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

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

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

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

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and K Daniels, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

Court stops Carletonville council

C.T. Tues 1/9/89

Ditch 'whites only' signs, judge orders

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

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

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

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

Mr Justice Eloff declared null and void the decisions of the town council taken on November 29, 1988, and March 20, 1989, to reserve public parks solely for whites in terms of the regulations of the law on separate amenities. He ordered the council to pay the costs of the application for the order.

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

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

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

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

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

He also said his black employees often used parks during their lunch breaks but since the decision to allow only whites they had no alternative facilities and were forced to sit on sidewalks and traffic islands.

STATE OF THE PARTIES ONE WEEK BEFORE THE POLLS ...

Never underestimate the

FW DE KLERK had one moment of public spontaneity in his two days of talks in Zambia and Zaire. As he made his way towards the buffet table after his summit with Mobutu Sese Seko, he hesitated for a moment to gaze at some red flowers on the banks of Lake Kivu.

"Pragtig," he said to the scores of assorted journalists, microphones and cameras hanging on to his immortal words. "Are they bougainvillaeas?"

For the rest, nothing escaped Acting State President De Klerk, his entourage or his hosts that was not part of a slick, stage-managed performance that proved academic Herman Gilliomee's "iron law" of South African politics — never underestimate the National Party.

Having set up negotiation as, perhaps, the issue of the elections, De Klerk walked straight into the superbowl that the party itself erected. In one week he met Zaire's President Mobuto, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and Lesotho's General Metsing Lekhanya.

Pik Botha was always at his shoulder, chaperoning novice De Klerk through the highways and byways of African diplomacy. On the plane on the way back from Livingstone, Botha sang the acting state president's praises, patronisingly describing his endeavours in heroic terms. If he wins big next week, De Klerk will be in debt to the Department of Foreign Affairs and its minister.

Botha was able to produce a line-up of black leaders in the absence of the government having anyone major from inside the country to wheel into a summit the week before the election. By rights, that should be regarded as pathetic for a party that has been strenuously trying for years to win over black negotiating partners.

Instead, the summits represent a victory of sorts for the NP. The Angolan crisis broke with perfect timing, providing De Klerk with a platform to show off his new-found skills as a diplomatic fixer.

With chaperone Pik Botha at his side, FW de Klerk has had a splendid week to play international statesman and put the Nat election campaign back into gear. PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports

Most importantly, Angola overshadowed the question of negotiations with the African National Congress which former President PW Botha, in his angry last stab in De Klerk's back, had inferred would be on the agenda with Kaunda.

De Klerk was able to build the image of himself as a statesman and a negotiator without dwelling on the specifics of what that would mean if real negotiations are ever to start in South Africa.

On Monday he was quick to dispel any notion that indirect contact with the ANC had taken place via Kaunda. He said of the ANC plan, adopted by the Organisation of African Unity last week: "It didn't come up, it wasn't on the agenda and it wasn't discussed."

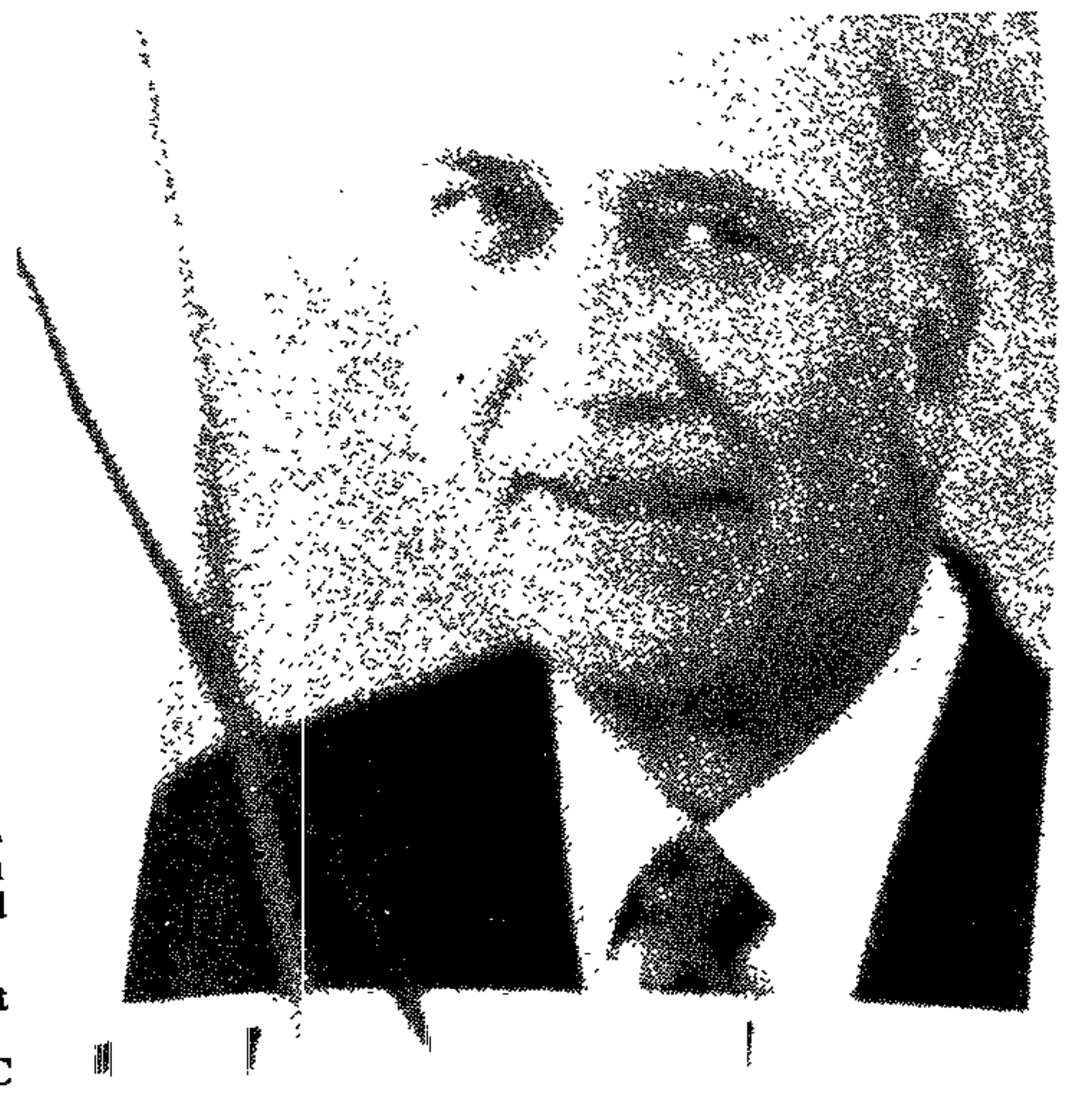
Making an issue of negotiations, and showcasing it with meetings with black African leaders, is a sophisticated but risky strategy in a white election. Backed up with a modicum of the iron fist, it is intended to harm the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party at the same time.

In 1987 the government and the SABC scared whites so effectively with the black/red *gevaar* bogeys, that they stampeded them into the far right parties. If white voters want rulers who can bust heads, why not go for the real head busters? Well, 29 percent of them did.

This time the approach is more subtle. The NP want to show they're tough and able to crack down on the mass democratic movement. But they also want to show that they can negotiate and in so doing, they are stealing the clothes of the DP.

In their campaign speeches, DP candidates such as Wynand Malan are being forced onto the defensive, having to counter that the NP is engaging in sham negotiations and the DP is the party of serious negotiations. That they have to make the point at all proves the Nat campaign is hurting them.

Meeting black leaders is more dicey



Among the vote tents, the no-vote tent

By CARMEL RICKARD

A BRIGHTLY coloured tent at Durban's Shallcross polling station is a constant reminder to voters to think twice about participating in the elections.

Erected by Natal Indian Congress members supporting the call not to vote, the tent sports posters of past NIC heroes instead of the current hopefuls who beam down from the tents of participating candidates.

It was put up early this month when the special voting started, along with the tents housing the candidates and their workers.

This week, the NIC tent was almost pulled down.

On Wednesday police told NIC

remove it or the police would do so. However, a laywer at the scene told the police they could not pull it down without a court order.

The police left, saying they would soon be back with the necessary documentation.

But they did not return. NIC officials — still in their tent — said they were informed by police that they would not take the matter any further. It was up to the election officer to decide whether the tent was illegal and then to act against it.

Allegations of illegal conduct have been flying furiously during the pre-election campaigns of a number of House of Delegates candidates.

Today, for example, an urgent application asking for some of the candidates standing in Phoenix to be restrained will be heard in the Durban Supreme Court.

The application was brought earlier this week by officials of the NIC, but the judge said the respondents — all three of whom are House of Delegates candidates — had to be given notice of the action against them.

It is alleged that the three and their agents or canvassers were involved in a campaign of harassing NIC activists.

Report by Carmel Rickard, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

New Drive

'New Drive': National Party's Boksburg candidate Sakkie Blanche demonstrates the new style

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

Everyone's chasing the Hillbrow gay vote

SHAUN DE WAAL reports on the battle for the gay vote

THE National Party and the Democratic Party are making a strong play for the votes of gay residents in Hillbrow.

Nobody knows how many gay voters there are in Hillbrow. No survey has been done, and few people are willing to hazard a guess, but the NP and DP are certainly taking the gay vote seriously, both parties having placed ads in the gay publication, *Exit*.

Candidates and campaign workers say that many voters who are registered in Hillbrow are no longer resident there, and at least half are as yet untraced, increasing the importance of the Hillbrow gay community's vote. It is the general opinion among gay voters that it was their vote that put Leon de Beer (NP) in parliament in 1987. He was the first parliamentary candidate to advertise in *Exit*.

One of the DP's adverts says that the party plans to take the issue of the criminalisation of gay activities to parliament, and will support all plans to open a full-time Gay Crisis Centre in Johannesburg.

The DP's standpoint is that gay rights fall under the broader human rights for which the party is campaigning.

"We are against discrimination of any kind," says Lester Fuchs, DP candidate in Hillbrow. Fuchs has also promised to pay attention to the lowering of the age of consent for gay sex.

"Don't use gays in elections!" shouts the full-page advert placed in *Exit* by Tony Wasserman (NP), somewhat cryptically. In clarification, Wasserman told the *Weekly Mail* that he was paying no special attention to gay voters or specifically addressing himself to any gay issues. It was part of an all-over election strategy to reach as many voters as possible, he said.

"They are playing a game," was the comment of TJ Ferreira, CP candidate for Hillbrow.

In his view, the DP is being "dishonest", as they will not be able to address these issues in parliament.

"We know that the DP would also like to take the MDM issue to parliament," he said.

Commenting on the anti-gay sentiments expressed by CP members such as Fred Rundle in the past, Ferreira said that "each person has the right to his own thinking".

Ferreira said that if he felt it would benefit his business, he himself would advertise in *Exit*.

Exit (itself under threat of banning, because of action instigated by Rundle) has paid significant attention to the upcoming election, with the headline "Vote for gay survival" on an editorial in its latest edition.

The response of gay voters to the election farrago is not, however, very enthusiastic. One gay man of 42 who has lived in Hillbrow for 14 years said: "Maybe the DP can come up with something, but in any case maybe a lot of gays in Hillbrow will even vote CP, because they don't want the area to go black."

"A lot of gays are very conservative and they vote Nat without thinking," he added.

Report by Shaun de Waal, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

THE REAL WILDCARD IS THE DEMOCRATIC VOTE

THE Democratic Party remains the wildcard of the election, with predictions of its likely September 6 tally ranging from 20 (*Frontline* editor Dennis Beckett) to up to 44 (party co-leader Dennis Worrall).

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer has been quoted at pegging the likely total at 30, while DP national research director James Selfe puts it at between 32 and 35. Worrall has said the DP is reasonably certain of winning 35 seats and could win up to 44.

"The conventional wisdom is that our campaign has run out of steam," said Selfe. "I believe this doesn't reflect the situation on the ground, but in politics perceptions are important."

Over the next five days, his party will aim its artillery directly at De Klerk who on Wednesday turned down a debate with one of the DP's leaders.

"We're going to be telling the voters their leader is too chicken to face us in public debate, and we'll use this opportunity to ask some of the tough questions we would have raised in debate."

He said the DP's campaign coffers were close to dry, but they would run one more advertisment asking why 47 percent of the NP caucus voted against FW. And they'll answer that the reason is because of De Klerk's consistently pro-apartheid stances.

He said it was possible the unrest in the Cape, and the security situation generally, could have a minor negative effect, "but we're not too worried".

"At the moment the Nats have the upper hand with the security issue, but we're definitely on top over the economy."

Report by Gavin Evans, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg



Nat machine

for the Nats on the right. It is not the kind of visceral issue that has the *volk* stamping in the aisles. It is wide open to exploitation by the CP.

Ferdi Hartzenberg, CP deputy leader, this week raised the spectre of Jan Smuts, the international statesman who neglected his own people and paid the price. Speaking in Carletonville, Hartzenberg asked: "What kind of leader is it that goes and asks Margaret Thatcher and Kenneth Kaunda and Joachim Chissano first what they think of his five year plan?"

One suspects, though, that the round of summits in the past days has helped the NP immensely, and that they, despite De Klerk's denials, planned it this way.

The party want pundits to underestimate them, to get swept away by the euphoria of the prospect of a hung parliament, so that an NP loss of a few seats will be interpreted as a victory. In every election since 1953, the hopes of the well-meaning that the NP would be swept out of power have been cruelly dashed. But many pessimists will be watching on their television sets anyway, just in case. Just in case, white people will finally have had enough.

This time, even if Wednesday night is a bad one for the DP, however, there is a dimension to the campaign that extends beyond September 6.

De Klerk has used the election to try and buy time for himself. Wherever he has gone, he has spelled out a "positive vision" — to British Prime Minister Thatcher, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Mozambique's Chissano, Kaunda, United States assistant secretary of State for Africa, Hank Cohen et al — but said he cannot begin to implement it until the election is out of the way.



Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seso and FW de Klerk negotiate lunch Picture: Reuter

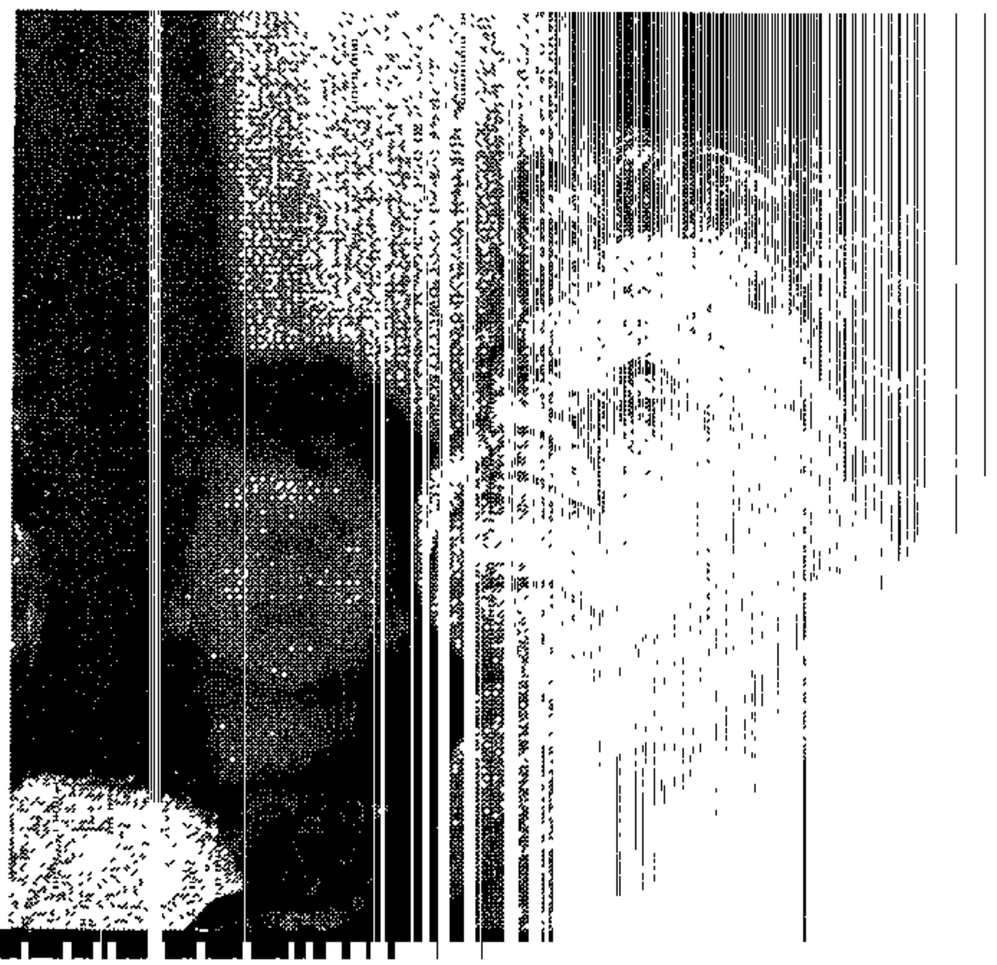
After Wednesday, there will be no excuses. De Klerk will have to start delivering with specific advances. Congressman Howard Wolpe says he has little more than six months to get moving before a multilateral, bipartisan ton of sanctions bricks comes crashing down on his head.

And there is only one way he can start to move, in the next six months to a year. That is, to at least pretend to be serious about negotiating with the ANC and the MDM. The ANC already have a peace plan on the table that could have been drawn up by Thomas Jefferson. It will be hard for the NP to reject that one out of hand and still maintain the diplomatic high road that De Klerk has come into power on.

Slick trick or not, by having chosen negotiation as their rallying cry and garnished it with summits in Goma and Livingstone, the NP will quite simply have a mandate to negotiate after September 6.

They will have less explaining to do when that inevitable day dawns and they have to sit down to talk to the ANC. They will owe nothing to the extreme right, who did not vote for them anyway.

Report by Phillip van Niekerk, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg





What do the candidates care about ecology? Not much

ECOLOGICAL scandals have toppled governments in Europe and may even have forced the conservative British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, to reshuffle her cabinet this year.

But in South Africa, a country plagued by a series of wildlife scandals and some of the highest levels of air pollution in the world, politicians appear to be untouched by the "greens" awareness sweeping the rest of the world.

This week the Wildlife Society of Southern Africa released preliminary results of a survey conducted to test the environmental attitudes of the 752 candidates standing in the general election.

By the end of this week a mere 55 questionnaires had been received.

Acting State President FW de Klerk, whose constituents in Vereeniging are up in arms about the detrimental effects of industrial pollution on their health, had not replied. Nor had the Minister for Environment Affairs, Gert Kotze.

"The extensive survey, to which only seven percent of the country's candidates had responded to by early this week, shows that many politicians have little awareness of conservation concerns," said Wildlife Society director Keith Cooper.

Of the replies received, 26 percent were Democratic Party candidates, nine percent were from the National Party and five percent from the Con-



Dreaming of *volk en voorvader* ... Carletonville tannies wish for a return to the days of Verwoerd Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

The ghost of Verwoerd puts a spell upon Potch

The CP is more confident than ever, says SHAUN JOHNSON

IT was the diminutive Dr Andries Treurnicht who stood before the right-wing faithful at the Conservative Party's climactic rally in Potchefstroom on Wednesday night, but the town hall was really under the spell of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

As Treurnicht told the hushed crowd of some 500 whites that he had "come here to stake a claim ... to say that Potchefstroom is now CP country", an expectant frisson ran through the audience: never mind the polls and projections, they believed that here was South Africa's next president.

Here was the man, moreover, who would lead the *volk* back on to the path of Dr Verwoerd — the apartheid path from which it had so dramatically strayed. The memory of the shock Nationalist victory of 1948 was very fresh, but turned on its head this time, as the idea of the defeat of the NP itself was relished.

Treurnicht's choice of Potchefstroom as the venue for what was effectively his valedictory appearance in the 1989 campaign was anything but accidental. It is a key constituency, and the result on Wednesday will say a great deal about whether the CP — the fastest-growing party South Africa has seen since Union in 1910 — has peaked, or whether Treurnicht is really on his way to eventual power.

There is now little doubt that the CP will be Wednesday's biggest winner. The seven-year-old party is likely to emerge, according to University of the Witwatersrand policy researcher Richard Humphries, as "the strongest white opposition since the decline of the United Party in the 1970s".

Nevertheless, there is a sense in which the CP has not lived up to its own projections: Treurnicht has too often forecast the collapse of the NP, and no-one takes seriously the possibility of an outright CP win this time.

Hence the importance of results in "barometer" constituencies like Potchefstroom. In order to sustain its own momentum, the party must at least be able to demonstrate that it is, as it were, incrementally "liberating" areas in all four provinces, and holding on to them once won.

So the big guns were brought out in support of the CP candidate, Dr Ben van der Berg, who is challenging speaker of the House of Assembly and former Nationalist minister, Louis le Grange.

There is every indication that he will win and that next month, Potchefstroom will join Boksburg and nearby Carletonville as part of the recalcitrant right-wing heartland.

Treurnicht's address was state-of-the-art — as opposed to vintage — CP Verwoerdianism. While continually harking back to *volk en voorvader*, the CP leader struck topical chords among his largely lower middle-class, middle-aged admirers.

There was evil afoot, he said again and again, drawing horrified gasps and hisses of "Skande!" as the words *"liberalisme"*, *"korrupsie"*, *"ekonomiese chaos"* and — most emotively — "Pik Botha" were incanted.

Humphries believes the CP's best hopes lie in securing the "grievance vote" and Treurnicht seems to concur: little time was spent discussing the CP alternative for South Africa — partition — while hours were devoted to invective against the NP.

Treurnicht's training as a *predikant* led to snatches of soaring oratory: "I ask the NP — did you not get the message from Donkerhoek on December 16? And I warn the NP: the heart of the *volk* is no longer with you, because your heart is no longer with the *volk*." And, with this audience, tellingly: "The sell-out of white South Africa is now, in its own words, the policy of the NP."

Treurnicht played on his people's prejudices with marked sophistication. He mocked Acting State President FW de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha for "taking advice" from Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and Mozambique leader Joachim Chissano. He "could not understand how a white party can sacrifice its leader to have a meeting with a black leader." He sneered at the government's weakness in offering "hospitality to a terrorist" at Tuynhuys.

But always he ended with the CP's Biblical qualifier: "Of course, we believe that all men were made in the image of God ... However it is natural that they should be separate."

The CP's blend of *baasskap*, xenophobia, and concern for the "little" white man is a powerful thing to behold in its natural habitat, which is undeniably expanding.

But Potchefstroom is not South Africa and 26,4 percent of the white electorage is still well short of a majority. For the moment, Treurnicht's claim — made in March 1982 — that "(CP-style) nationalism is aflame from Waterberg to Table Mountain", continues to ring hollow. He has yet to earn his praise-name "Lion of the North". The question which will be answered on Wednesday is how quickly the cub is growing.

Report by Shaun Johnson, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

From the small number of replies that had come in, Cooper said the level of awareness of environmental issues was generally poor.

"Despite South Africa's declining ecological state, 31 percent of the politicians across the political spectrum rated as high priority 'keeping things the way they are'," he said.

"Revealingly more than a quarter of the 55 candidates countrywide who responded to the questionnaire rate 'visiting the Kruger National Park' of more importance than improving the quality of life."

Most of the replies supported policies such as taxing those who pollute the environment, effective air pollution legislation and increased penalties for rhino poaching.

The trends displayed in the survey have been confirmed by parties contesting the elections. Of the three white parties, only the Democratic Party has issued an election manifesto dealing with environmental issues.

Chief Secretary for the Conservative Party Andries Beyers said his party had not identified the ecology as an issue to contest in the election campaign.

However CP spokesman on the environment Karel Schoeman said the party was did have a general concern for the environment and was especially worried about air pollution over the Eastern Transvaal Highveld.

The National Party has also not included the environment in any of its election manifestos, according to chief secretary Lukas Malan.

The DP manifesto outlines four main ecological principles it will follow if it comes to power:

- An environmental protection body will be set up to act as a watchdog and represent ecology groups.
- Strong action will be taken against poachers and dealers in illicit ivory and rhino horn.
- The DP will promote the use of lead-free petrol.
- Necessary steps to curb all other forms of pollution.

Report by Eddie Koch, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

Ulundi revives a harsh law Pretoria's scrapped

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kwaZulu's Justice Department was asked for comment on the re-introduction of the law, but had not replied at the time of going to press.

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A finely tuned hullabaloo

For the first time in years, a good old-fashioned, no-holds-barred media war rages between the parties. But fear not: the Nats have it all under control
IVOR POWELL reports

ROLL up folks! It's the first all-singin', all-talkin', all-American media show in South Africa's political history!

Now we have party commercials at the cinema. Now we have televised, no holds barred debates between party functionaries in our very living rooms. Now we have the various parties openly attacking one another on billboards around the towns and cities — "Du Plessis, De Beer, De Pontes, De Next? Vote CP"; the notorious "Three Blind Mice" representation of the DP leadership by the NP; the DP's "Send your candidate to parliament not to jail" in Hillbrow, once NP member Leon de Beer's constituency. (It is, as media watcher Chris Moerdyk noted on radio, the first time blatantly comparative advertising has been tolerated in this country, and may well set precedents in the industry which will be hard to override.)

But we still have the SABC. And though its approach has been somewhat less banana republic in this election than in previous ones, there is little to make one doubt that the government is still paying its bills.

The SABC approach to the 1989 elections has been both simple and effective. allow the various parties more or less equal time on *Network/Netwerk*, create some kind of impression of fairness and impartiality during the second half of the 8 to 9pm slot — but save the first half hour, the news slot, for government electioneering.

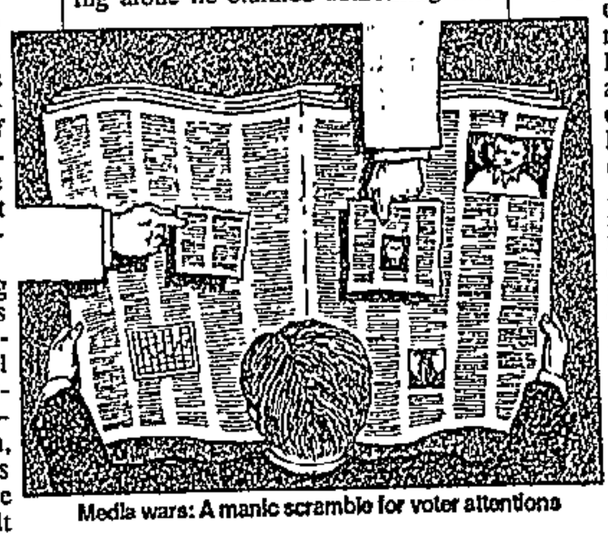
An example of NP electioneering under the guise of newscasting is the enormous hullabaloo surrounding the threatened eviction on racial grounds of a single Taiwanese family from their rented home — owned by CP MP for Brakpan, Frank le Roux. Their eviction was news of such national importance that Foreign Minister Pik Botha felt called upon to bewail it at some length on national TV, all but weeping with shame as he apologised on behalf of South Africa to the Taiwanese government. Who needs to be reminded of how many people Pik's government has evicted from their homes on racial grounds?

Similarly Acting State President FW de Klerk and Pik were granted many valuable minutes of news time to refute potentially harmful allegations — emanating from ex-President PW Botha and enthusiastically picked up by the CP — that talking to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda could be equated with talking to, or at least about the African National Congress. The distinctions which De Klerk and Pik drew were fine and scholastic, to be sure, but at length the voting public was convinced that FW was able to dance with Kaunda and the angels on the head of the proverbial pin without allowing the ANC to join the party. And another potential election crisis was averted.

Such delicate argumentation of course takes time, and we should not be surprised to note that between them FW and Pik were given, in total, something more than 20 minutes to put their points across.

What makes the affair even more extraordinary is the fact that while FW and Pik were earnestly reassuring their voters that the August 28 visit to Lusaka was really nothing more than a social call, Kaunda himself was repeatedly quoted as saying that the ANC peace initiatives were in fact on the agenda. But no pretence of objective reporting was allowed to cloud the SABC mind and Kaunda was simply not quoted.

According to Wits University media expert, John van Zyl, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok is winning the newshog of the month award for the month of August Last Saturday evening alone he claimed something like



Media wars: A manic scramble for voter attentions

seven minutes of the prime time slot. His subject, of course, the latest in a long lineage of sinister incarnations of the monster *Swart Gevaar*, the mass democratic movement.

As the government's election machine cranked into motion earlier this year, it appeared that for once at election time we would be spared the spectre of the *swart gevaar*. The NP, under the leadership of FW de Klerk, was going to focus its efforts almost exclusively on reform initiatives, conciliation and the NP's five year plan. The "new leader, new vision" image of the NP was carefully nurtured with De Klerk being shaped as an international statesman capable of reintegrating South Africa into the African and international communities.

More recently though, a refinement has been introduced. The functions of reform and repression, basic to the NP's identity since PW first took office, were split. A political strategy something like the sinister game of "good policeman/bad policeman" played by interrogators started to emerge in the ranks of the NP.

FW would continue to be the benign guy, mouthing off about democracy and negotiation. But lest anybody thought the NP were going soft, or thought they no longer needed "NP security", there would be Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan standing right behind him. In the old days, the two functions would have been embodied in the single person of the old crocodile.

Over the past few weeks (generally quoted addressing their constituents at election meetings, though slotted into the news), the two strongarm ministers have pulled every tired old white paranoia rabbit out of the hat that ever their party had hidden there: communist onslaught, armed struggle, mass unrest, South African Communist Party control of the internal resistance.

But there has also been a certain semiotic subtlety. As Van Zyl and his coworkers point out (specifically referring to the July defiance centred around hospitals) in an interim report on the elections in the media: "... Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok repeatedly (characterised) the MDM as 'radical', engaged in an 'armed struggle' and part of 'mass militant action'. No representatives for the MDM or Namda (National and Medical and Dental Association) were accessed, though rejection of MDM violence by Masa (Medical Association of South Africa) and Ishmael Omar was reported. The press statements by Dr Max Price about the limited and peaceful nature of the sit-ins at hospitals was ignored. The result was the demonstration appeared to have been controlled by police action.

"The news about the proposed sit-ins was linked to the explosion of three bombs in Johannesburg so that they appeared to be part of the same movement.

"The repeated appearances of Vlok commenting on the violence of the sit-ins criminalised the action rather than politicising it and probably contributed significantly to creating an atmosphere of fear before the election." The pattern noted by the Wits researchers has been repeated on many occasions in recent weeks: during the beach defiance in the Cape, the various self-unbannings, the Shareworld summit last week end.

The SABC's and Vlok's treatment of the MDM has depended upon a simultaneous publicising of and silence about the movement. On one hand Vlok (in his election rhetoric and to his constituents, remember) gives the movement an unprecedentedly high profile by constantly raising it as a threat On the other the movement is never properly identified, its leadership never interviewed or given any kind of human face. Thus while it exists as a real threat in the minds of potential voters, it also occupies that shadowy area of the subconscious in which nightmares are born.

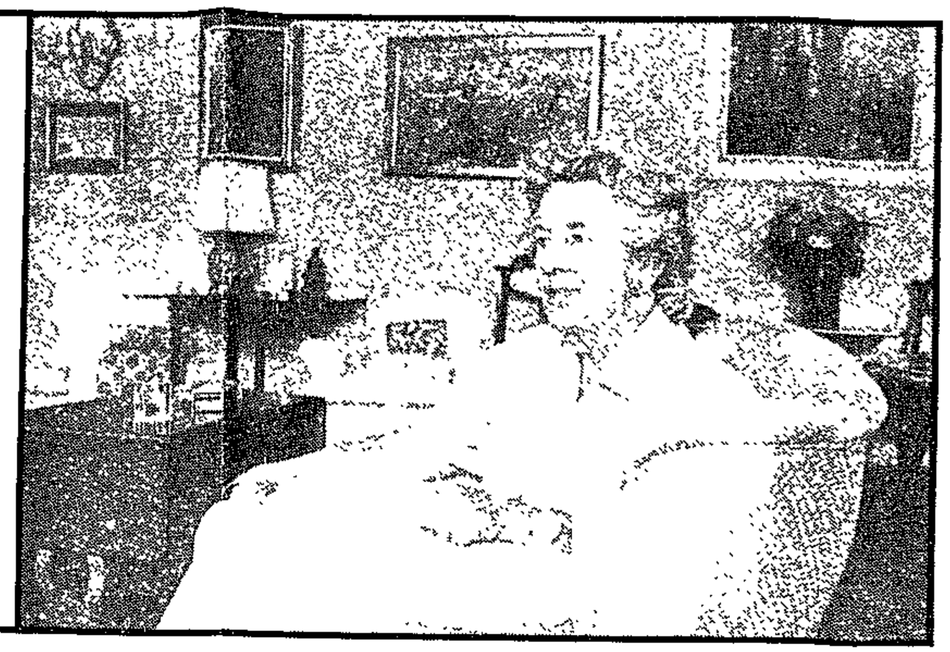
It's the same old election stuff. But the government has learnt its semiotic lessons well.

Ivor Powell, 127 Anderson St, Johannesburg

STATE THEATRE

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

The views of veteran civil rights campaigner and MP for the past 36 years Mrs Helen Suzman, who is in her early 70s, are still in great demand despite her decision to retire from parliamentary politics earlier this year. In the past 48 hours, and as the climax to the general election reaches its peak, Mrs Suzman spoke on two Democratic Party platforms and granted four interviews to journalists, including Saturday Star reporter JANET HEARD.



VOTERS should look at the disastrous results the Government's legislative entrenchment of apartheid has had on the economy when deciding who to vote for on Wednesday, the veteran civil rights campaigner and MP for the past 36 years, Mrs Helen Suzman, said yesterday.

Speaking to the Saturday Star from her home, Mrs Suzman — who officially retires as MP on Wednesday — said South Africa had "lurched from crisis to crisis since Sharpeville 1960".

She said this dissatisfaction on the part of the majority of South Africans had resulted in the erosion of the law.

"The average voter's threshold of tolerance for the Government's actions has risen. If you ask the average citizen what they thought of the state of emergency, which has now entered its fourth year, they will say it is nothing special."

She said when considering who to vote for, the electorate should consider what the Government had committed itself to.

"So far, we have had a lot of fine-sounding phrases — a better, stronger and more prosperous South Africa — but we are not told which laws it plans to repeal."

She said for the first time the elections were being fought largely on economic issues, partly due to rising inflation, which hits most voters.

People were also more aware of widescale corruption and resented Government's "high-handed way of using their taxes, very often to their own advantage".

A striking feature of this election, she said, was its fluidity — the fact that so many people, within the few months of the Democratic Party's existence, had joined its ranks.

She said the DP had provided a new vehicle for the "many people, who for their own and often misguided reasons, felt they could not join the PFP because it was too 'English' and too 'elitist'.

"I just hope that the people who have joined the DP have done so not only because they are against the Government, but because they are for the policy and principles which the DP has enunciated."

Another feature of these elections, she said, was the "hardening of attitude of the right-wing South Africans, who see their white minority domination under threat simply because of the fine-sounding phrases of Mr de Klerk".

Predicting the outcome of the elections, she said for the first time since she had been consciously politicised, there was talk of a hung parliament.

"I think everyone accepts the Nats will be returned to power, but with a reduced majority, and the 64 000-dollar question is whether they will have a sufficient majority to govern without alliances with the other parties.

"The worst outcome would be a very considerable increase in right-wing representation, which would stop the Government in its tracks of any reform it intended, or that the NP could face such a sweeping victory that it would again decrease the positive influence of the liberal views of the DP."

She predicted the DP would win a few more seats and regain a few of the seats the PFP had lost in the 1987 general elections.

She said it was the duty of whites to vote and she believed it was unacceptable for those who had the vote not to exercise it.

While extra-parliamentary politics played a crucial role in shaping the future, she did not think it should compete with parliamentary politics. Rather, the two should complement one another.

She said the MDM defiance campaign, which has swept through the country over the past few weeks in the build-up to the elections, was an indication of the frustration of the voteless majority whose organisations had been banned.

The words of Dr D F Malan, addressing the 1940 NP Congress, were ironic in this regard and she quoted him saying: "If the Government should ban the Ossewabrandwag then I say that it is time to call a halt, that the Afrikaner owes no obedience to the Government. If the holding of meetings is banned, I shall give my full moral support to passive disobedience. I am willing to attend such meetings and to participate in them, let the consequences be what they may."

Although Mrs Suzman has no quarrels with the defiance campaign, as long as it is non-violent action, she said it would "unfortunately swing the electorate to the right".

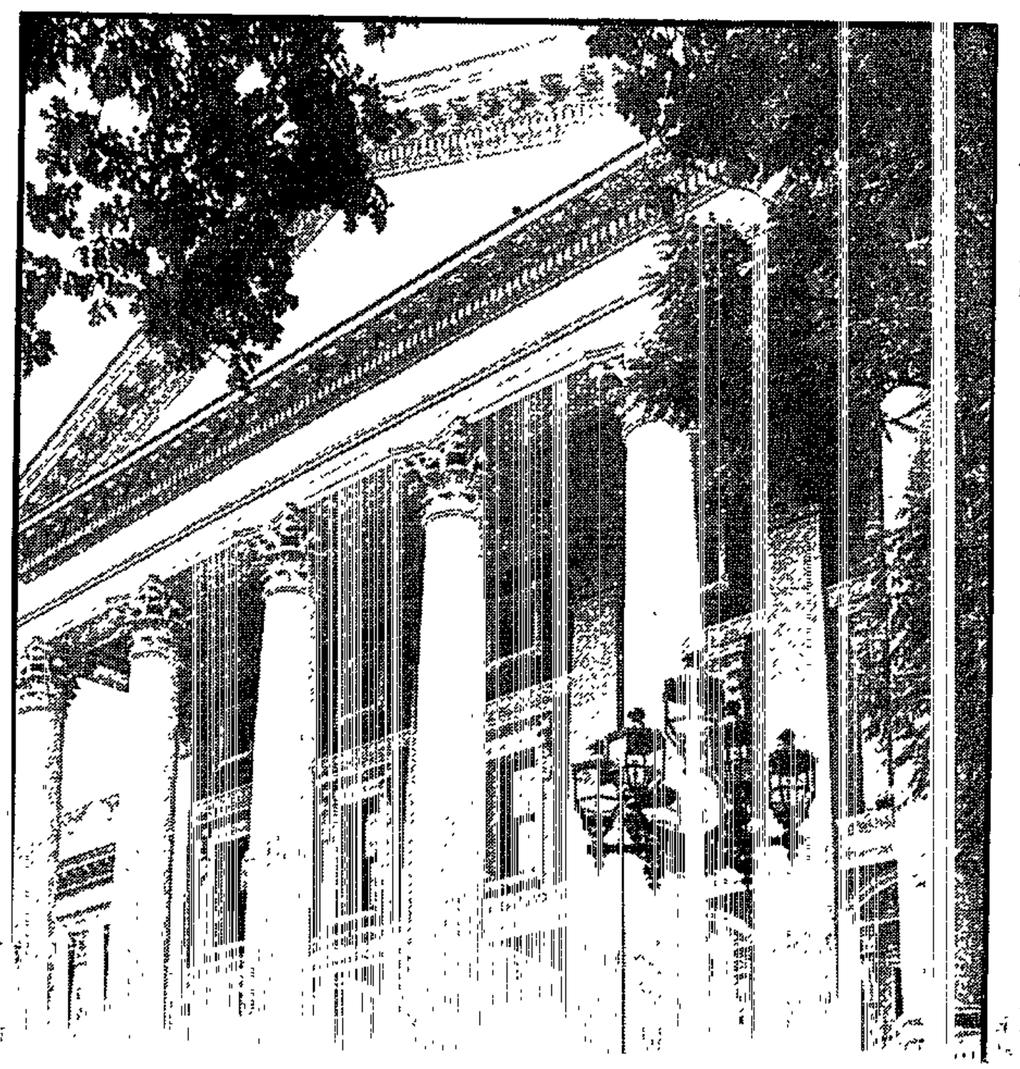
Looking to the future, Mrs Suzman said there would be attempts to get negotiations going, which would include Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC, and some but not all of the laws would be dismantled.

"Unless the Government is prepared, and I don't believe it is, to overthrow its basic principles, I don't see any dramatic change in the immediate future. Rather I see ongoing confrontation."

On her departure from Parliament, Mrs Suzman said, she had not experienced withdrawal sypmtoms and had been kept busy in the build-up to the elections. But, she admitted, "it does seem a little strange. After all I have been in Parliament since 1953."

How the contenders weigh up

Voters' options: Go back, forward or just sideways



THE attention in this election is focused primarily on the House of Assembly where the National Party holds 123 of the 166 elected seats.

It will face challenges from the Conservative Party (22 seats) and the Democratic Party (20 seats). One seat was held by the now defunct New Republic Party.

● The National Party has proposed a five-year plan for bringing black people into the political system, but has pledged to protect white interests and to ensure blacks cannot overrule them. It wants to maintain segregated schools and neighbourhoods for whites who want them.

In power since 1948, the party is associated with the implementation of apartheid and the racial segregation policies devised under Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd.

The party has in recent years become more pragmatic in its approach — shifting away from the strong Verwoerdian dogma. Among the apartheid measures that went were the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act and Influx Control.

The NP was led from 1978 to 1989 by Mr P W Botha, who ruled as Prime Minister and then State

Hands unsullied by the NP's past



FOR THE first time since 1948, South Africa has a national leader who was not directly involved with the imposition of apartheid.

Acting State President and leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk (53) is too young to have been squeezed through the Verwoerdian mincer.

Mr de Klerk does however come from staunch National Party stock — his father, Mr Jan de Klerk, being a Cabinet Minister and also president of the Senate.

The man most likely to be the country's next State President remains wedded to the principle of racial classification and says the application of one-man one-vote in a unitary system would mean black domination. Since becoming NP leader he has, however, adopted a more pragmatic stance — promising to give blacks a role in government.

"Apartheid is a Conservative Party policy. Don't try to hang it around the National Party's neck," the bald lawyer from the Transvaal told the country recently.

Mr de Klerk, who also holds the National Education

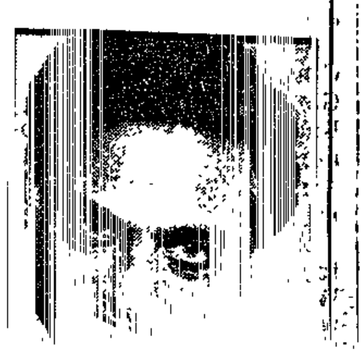
Veteran who challenged the president



LABOUR Party leader in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse (61), studied at Fort Hare University and is a contemporary of Zimbabwe leader, Mr Robert Mugabe, and the leader of the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He became a minister in the Congregational Church and a school teacher. In 1961 he was a founder member of the Labour Party. He served on the Coloured Representative Council until 1980. He was detained for two months during the unrest in 1976. He was elected leader of the Labour Party in 1978. In 1984 he was elected MP for Swartkops and became chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives and a member of the Cabinet.

He resigned from the Cabinet in 1987 after a showdown with former State President, Mr P W Botha. He is perhaps best known for his swim on a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth. His refusal to extend the life of the tricameral Parliament by three years is one of the main reasons why voters are going to the polls for the second time in two years.

He believes in participation



SOLIDARITY Party leader in the House of Delegates Dr J N Reddy (63) is a firm advocate of participation politics. He became a member of the South African Indian Council in 1968 and was chairman between 1973 and 1980. He resigned to devote more time to his family and business. He was instrumental in establishing the Indian Industrial Development Corporation and served as its executive director. In 1971 he launched the New Republic Bank. He was elected to

he set the "reform" process in motion.

A TOTAL of 763 candidates are contesting 166 seats in the House of Assembly, 40 seats in the House of Delegates and 80 seats in the House of Representatives. According to government figures, 3 170 667 of the country's five million whites are registered to vote. Of the three million coloured people 1 775 751 are registered and of about a million Indian people about 665 870 are registered. DAWN BARKHUIZEN reports on the major parties and their leaders.

It was under Mr Botha that the Tricameral Parliament was introduced.

He also introduced the State of Emergency in 1986.

He quit the party leadership after suffering a stroke in February this year and last month quit the presidency in favour of Mr de Klerk.

Mr de Klerk remains committed to a multiracial solution for South Africa, based on groups.

● The newly formed Democractic Party stands to the left of the National Party.

It was formed in February from a merger of the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement. The three co-leaders are Dr Zach de Beer and two former NP members, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

They are expected to choose a single leader once the election is over.

The party has 20 seats in Parliament.

The Democracts are strongly opposed to apartheid, favour abolishing all segregation laws and granting universal political rights, with some provisions for ensuring that whites and other minority groups have proportional representation.

It would devolve much of central government power into federal states.

The party embraces a wide spectrum of attitudes. It hopes to attract wider support, especially among Afrikaners, than did the PFP.

More segregation

The need for a wider appeal became clear after the PFP were knocked out as the official opposition in the 1987 election — having failed to effectively rebut accusations that they were soft on security.

● The official Opposition in the House of Assembly, the Conservative Party, is demanding that segregation laws be tightened up.

They believe blacks should excercise political rights in their own homelands.

The party holds 22 seats in Parliament.

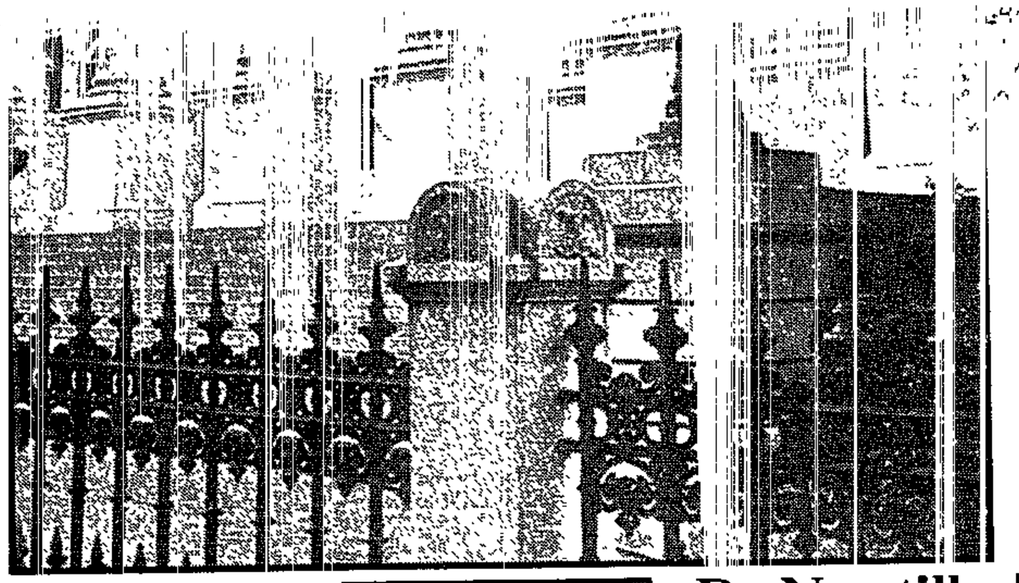
Leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has accused the Government of going too far in reforming apartheid. The party says stringent apartheid laws should be re-introduced. Should they come to power, they would re-introduce influx control and effectively return South Africa to the era of Verwoerd.

The Conservatives want to divide the country into race-based mini-states. They would halt the developing contacts between whites and the African National Congress.

Dr Treurnicht was extremely critical of the visit by acting State President Mr F W de Klerk to the Zambian premier, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, saying Mr de Klerk was clearly taking the country to the left.

Town councillors from this party elected to power in the 1988 municipal elections are responsible for re-implementing petty apartheid in towns throughout South Africa.

The party was formed in 1982 after Dr Treurnicht, then a senior Minister on Mr P W Botha's Cabinet, clashed with the Prime Minister.



From UP to DP, he's still speaking out



IN February this year, as Progressive Federal Party leader, former senior executive of the Anglo American Corporation Dr Zach de Beer helped form the Democratic Party: a merger of the PFP, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement. He became a DP co-leader. While the "troika" will take the party into the election, it is expected one leader will be chosen later. Recent surveys estimate 33 percent of DP members want him as leader, 48 percent back Dr Denis Worrall and 19 percent Mr Wynand Malan. The 61-year-old Dr de Beer is a skilled politician. In 1953, aged 24, he became the youngest-ever MP, for the old United Party. In 1959, as UP MP for Maitland, he was a founder of the PFP.

Charismatic, US-style campaigner



THE most popular of the Democratic Party leaders, Dr Denis Worrall, is a man with wide political experience. He crossed the floor on several occasions before quitting the National Party and his post as ambassador to Britain to form the Independent movement with Mr Wynand Malan. When the movement disbanded, he formed the Independent Party and contested the 1987 election. In Heldeberg he came within 39 votes of unseating Mr Chris Heunis. He is polished and charismatic, known for his "American-style electioneering". Although an English speaker, he is popular among Afrikaners who regard him as middle-of-the-road. The 54-year-old politician, academic and lawyer supports free enterprise, opposes sanctions and would give the vote to black people. He seeks a decentralised federal constitution.

Dr No still believes in apartheid



THE one-time chairman of the Broederbond and leader of the official Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Andries Treurnicht (68), is the man dubbed "Dr No" because of his opposition to any easing of apartheid. One-time Cabinet Minister for the National Party, Dr Treurnicht says the NP has "lost control and has left the white man in the lurch". He quit the NP in 1982 and formed the CP after clashing with P W Botha over "power-sharing". In 1987 he went to the polls without a pact demanded by the Herstigte Nationale Party and came out clear winner. He is a former Minister of Bantu Administration, a dominee in the N G Kerk and a former editor. He contends that racial barriers between population groups must not be lowered.

Wynand — believer in negotiation



ADVOCATE of "process politics", Mr Wynand Malan (46) is the third member of the Democratic Party troika. He quit the National Party at the beginning of 1987, prior to the general election, in protest against the Government's harsh handling of security. He also believed that there should be equal rights for all. He was publicly humiliated by the State President, Mr P W Botha, who said Mr Malan had left his office in tears. In 1987 he stood as an independent in Randburg, holding the seat against the NP. He has communicated extensively with extra-parliamentary groups. He was among the first to hold high profile talks with the African National Congress. In July this year he held talks with Zambian president, Mr Kenneth Kaunda — prior to the visit by Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

to his current position. He was elected MP for Vereeniging in 1972, a member of the Cabinet in 1978 and leader of the NP in the Transvaal in 1982.

He became head of state last month after a dramatic showdown with the outgoing State President, Mr P W Botha.

A bitter feud between the two men rocked the very fibre of the party only weeks before the general election when Mr Botha publicly objected to Mr de Klerk's plans to visit Zambia. But the entire Cabinet stood solidly behind the new young leader and he not only went ahead to visit Dr Kenneth Kaunda, but also took over Mr Botha's position.

In this election he has a five-year plan promising to give everyone a vote, but preventing any one group from dominating another. Although he has pledged to deal firmly with unrest, violence and terrorism, he does not have the strong ties that his predecessor had with the military.

leader of the opposition. After Mr Amichand Rajbansi, he became chairman of the Minister's Council.



Man with a colourful past

SUSPENDED chairman of the House of Delegates Mr Amichand Rajbansi (48) is standing for Parliament as leader of the National People's Party. Mr Rajbansi has a colourful history in politics. He joined the South African Indian Council in 1974 but resigned two years later. In 1981 he stood for the SAIC again, was elected and then formed the National People's Party. With the help of independents he took control of the SAIC and became chairman. In 1984 he stood for Parliament, becoming chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates and a member of the Cabinet from which he was later sacked.

PUBLIC AUCTION SALE — WITHOUT RESERVE

128 PERSIAN, 7 ORIENTAL CARPETS, RUGS AND RUNNERS, BEING THE REMAINING STOCK — PLEDGED TO THE CREDITORS AND STORED FOR THE PAST 10 MONTHS

AT: AFSHIP FORWARDING WAREHOUSE, 16 FOUNDRY ROAD, ISANDO, JOHANNESBURG
ON: SATURDAY 2nd SEPTEMBER 1989 AT 10.30 am SHARP
VIEW: DAY OF SALE

AN AUCTION SALE WITH A DIFFERENCE TO CELEBRATE OUR 45th YEAR OF TRADING. WE ARE ALLOWING A 10% DISCOUNT ON EACH INVOICE. PAYMENT BY CASH OR CHEQUE LESS 10%, PAYMENT BY CARDS 5%. THE DISCOUNT WILL BE OFF-SET BY OUR COMMISSION.

THIS CONSIGNMENT HAS BEEN RELEASED FOR IMMEDIATE SALE BY PUBLIC AUCTION AS THE CREDITORS HAVE BEEN PAID (BY CASH AND GUARANTEES). FOR THE PAST YEAR, OWING TO THE HIGH COST OVERSEAS AND THE DUTY AND SURCHARGE IN THE REPUBLIC, THE CASH FLOW HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY DISRUPTED. TO ENABLE OUR CLIENT TO CONTINUE TRADING IMMEDIATE CASH MONIES MUST BE DEPOSITED TO HIS BANK ACCOUNT. OUR INSTRUCTIONS ARE TO SELL WITHOUT RESERVE. THE 10% DISCOUNT WILL BE OFFSET BY OUR SELLING COMMISSION.

1) PERSIAN, ARDEBIL, KERMAN, MESHAD, KESHAN, QUM, HAMADAN SHIRAZ, KASHGAI, BACHTIAR, TABRIZ, ISPAHAN, ETC.
2) ORIENTAL SILK HEREKES, SILK KASERIE, SILK ISTANBUL, SILK KASHMERI, BADOHI, IMPERIAL BOKHARA KARACHI, JAIPUR, TASPINAR, ETC.
3) INVESTMENT RUGS, SILK QUMS, SILK HEREKES, S/FIELD ARDEBIL, S/BASE ISPAHAN, RUSSIAN BOKHARAS.
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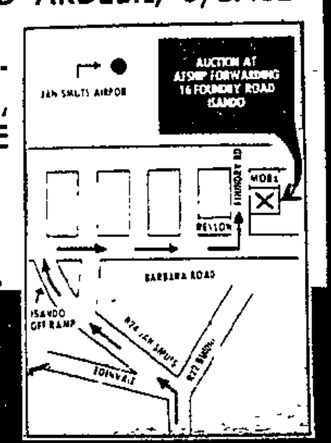

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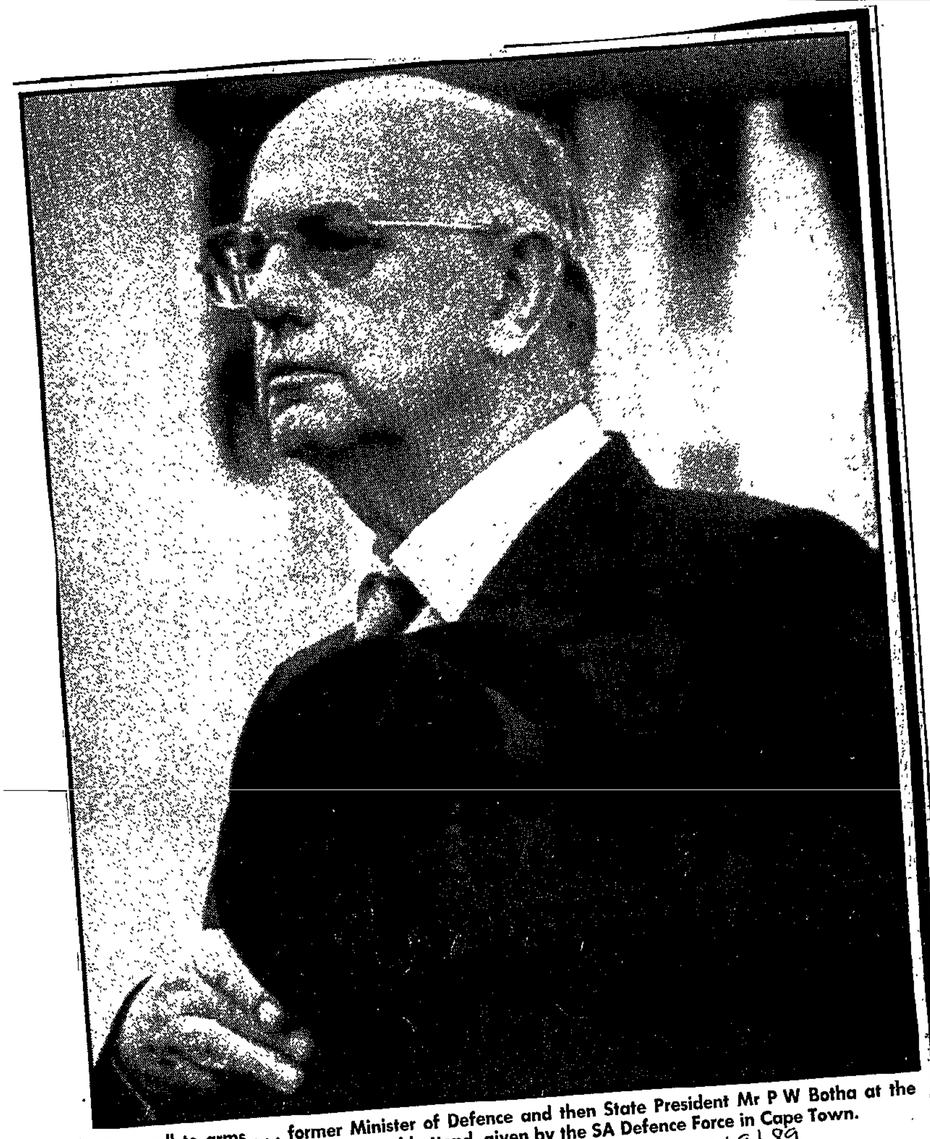


Farewell to arms . . . former Minister of Defence and then State President Mr P W Botha at the only official farewell he would attend, given by the SA Defence Force in Cape Town.

Star 2/9/89

The fallen leader may have had more than one stroke (3049)

PAT DEVEREAUX

ON Wednesday the National Party goes into the elections with it's image severely dented by the dramatic departure from the political arena of the once all-powerful former State President, Mr P W Botha.

An intriguing aspect of the resignation, and a question still without any satisfactory answer from even the most informed political sources, is whether the former President had a "warning" stroke prior to the much-publicised one that heralded the end of his career.

In what appeared to be a reluctant resignation from office, Mr Botha, who was said to have suffered a "mild" stroke on January 18, seemed to believe he was perfectly able to see his party through the elections.

Whether he was capable of remaining in office until his expected retirement after the elections, or whether he was abandoned by party members because he was a liablity to the NP's election campaign, will remain a mystery.

Mr Botha accused his colleagues of trying to force him to retire to his Wilderness home citing ill health.

Prior to his stroke, tension within the party was said to be unbearable because of the President's reported "volatile temper and dominance". The tension reached breaking point soon after Mr Botha hastily resumed office in March, two weeks earlier than planned.

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

Months later it was announced that the President had on January 18 — a week after his 73 rd birthday — suffered what was described as "a light stroke".

An examination at the time showed he had a lesion in the motor area of the right side of the brain, which resulted in his left arm and left leg being weakened but there was no speech impairment.

The critical question remained whether he could continue working and making party decisions.

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

A Professor of Neurology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Vivian Fritz, said minor strokes could often go unnoticed. A stroke, she said, was caused by any abnormality in the brain resulting in the brain tissue being deprived of sustenance.

"A clot travelling to the brain caused by a break, rupture or lesion of the blood vessel could result in a stroke or a brain vessel could burst because of high blood pressure," she said.

"The damage caused by a stroke depends on which blood vessel is damaged and the extent of damage depends on what part of the brain is deprived of sustenance.

"This could result in malfunctions, including emotional and psychological impairment such as memory loss," she said.

She compared the brain's blood vessel structure to a tree and said "having a stroke was like chopping off a limb or branch of that tree. It could be a minor twig or it could be the whole trunk".

"People can have such minor strokes that they are unaware that it has happened," she said. "A mild stroke, if not noticed, is often followed by other more severe strokes."

Fall was in the stars

MICHAEL SHAFTO



P W Botha left hospital looking gaunt and frail after his stroke.

THERE was just no escaping it; it was written in the stars. The 292nd edition of Old Moore's trusty almanac had it right.

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

For South Africa, the "summer quarter" of 1989 — the period June 21 to September 23 — would be particularly significant, according to the almanac's astrologers. The report, strongly hinting at the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in that period, says 1989 is generally a "year of dissolution" when old and tired institutions will vanish.

Governments and business organisations that refuse to adapt will be "swept away".

But even before Mr Botha's January 18 stroke, in what he called "the Year of the Sleeping Woman and Running Man", Credo Mutwa, the historian, traditional doctor and soothsayer in Bophuthatswana, prophesied that the former State President would resign.

Throwing the bones for the Bop newspaper, *The Mail*, Mutwa predicted the Nationalist Party would "lose much authority" in April. "It will stagger along but it will never be strong at all."

304A

ELECTION FOCUS

With the possibility of the Linden spill-over effect, Popular Pik can't be certain of his seat

NOT MANY people believe that an election shock awaits Mr Pik Botha, the popular Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Westdene on Wednesday.

For despite strong support for opposition parties to both the left and right in the urban Johannesburg constituency, Pik is Pik. South Africa's Pik. The every-day man's political hero.

But Democratic Party and Conservative Party workers in Westdene are both holding their breath for what they believe could be the surprise of the general election. Both claim they can win. And if not, they say, the outcome will be much closer that the 4 353-vote majority Mr Botha obtained in 1987.

Asked why the optimism, the DP's Mr Chris van Niekerk and the CP's Dr Tobie Hart cite various reasons.

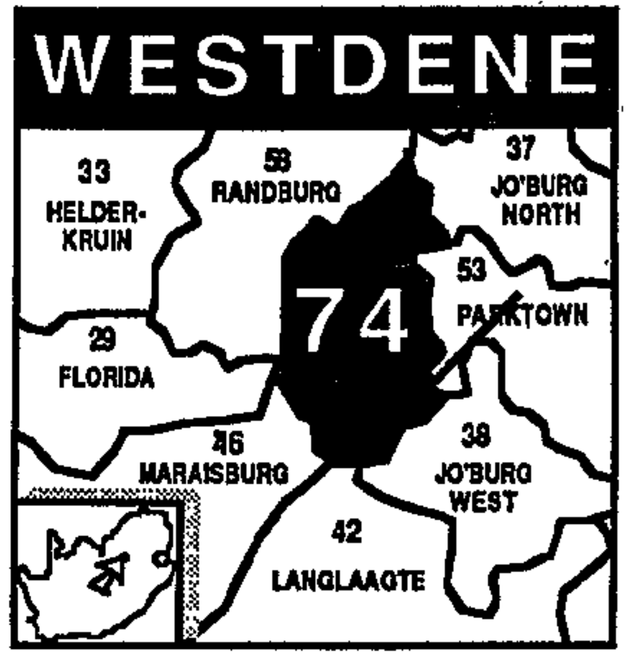
Mr van Niekerk, a well-known actor making his first bid for parliament, mention the "hypocrisy" of the Nats, their muffled policies and lack of direction — but above all the DP's capability of uniting South Africans, getting the economy back on track and creating a prosperous and peaceful society.

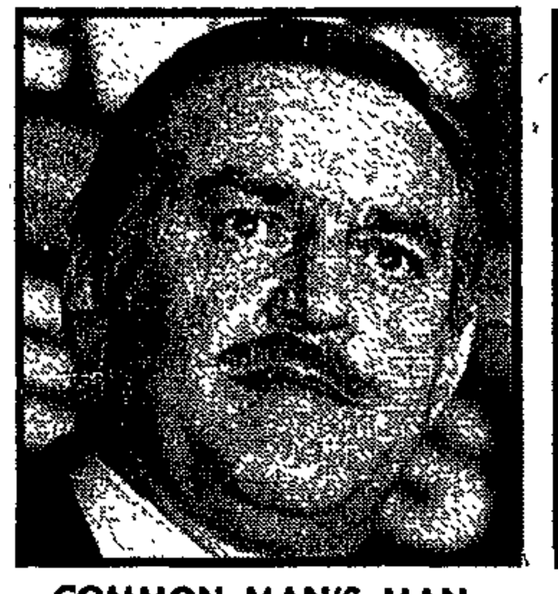
ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

"The enthusiasm for the DP is unbelievable. Voters want something new, something that gives hope. And that is the DP. Therefore we put strong emphasis on the DP's enormous alternative to the Nats. We are the only party that can provide a home for all South Africans."

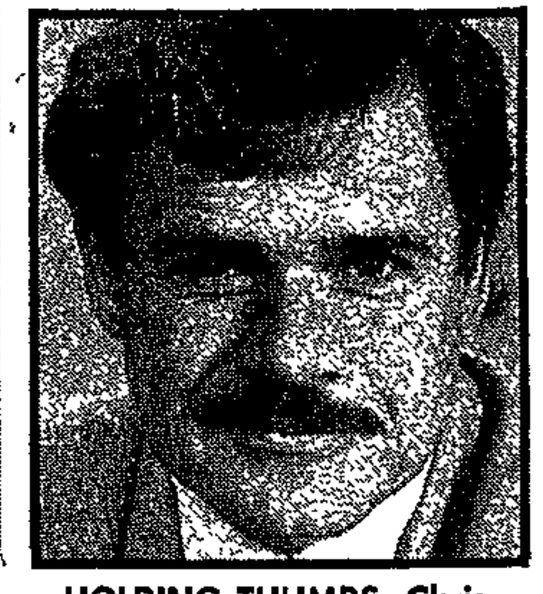
The DP, which had it first, and unexpected, victory at the polls with the Linden municipal by-election this year, is holding thumbs that the "Linden effect" will spill over into the rest of the constituency.

Says Mr van Niekerk: "Our figures are looking so good that we don't know what's going on. This result could just be a second Linden."





COMMON MAN'S MAN: Pik has been busy.



HOLDING THUMBS: Chris van Niekerk confident.



BREAD AND BUTTER: Dr Hart claims wide support.

Dr Hart, a Pretoria academic who came close to ousting the Nats in Roodeplaat in the 1987 election, mentions "enormous dissatisfaction" with the NP's economic and constitutional plans as key factors in the election.

Conceding that bread-and-butter issues dominate in the poorer areas in the constituency — to the CP's advantage — he says: "The NP says only poor people vote for the CP. This is not true. Our support is widespread. At stake is not only sala ry increases and a better living standard, but voters are concerned about the unworkability of NP structures."

The NP seems to realise the extent of the challenge from the inspired opposition camps. Mr Botha — who became MP in 1977 when he obtained an almost 9 000-majority in a by-election — has spent many hours of canvassing.

The NP's divisional council chairman, Mr Neels Meiring, is adamant that their man will romp home to a comfortable win.

He denies opposition claims that the Nat campaign is centred on the person of Mr Botha rather than the NP — recent propaganda material and posters don't even carry the NP logo — but concedes that "some people vote for the NP and others for Pik".

Mr Meiring said the NP picked up a significant floating vote among the 20 000 voters at the beginning of the campaign. "But then our organisers climbed in, and 80 percent of the uncertain voters said they would vote for Pik."

He adds that the "virtually painless manner" in which the P W Botha/F W de Klerk leadership crisis was settled has boosted the NP's chances.

Contrary to popular belief, both Mr van Niekerk and Dr Hart believe Mr Botha is not unbeatable.

Mr van Niekerk says at first the idea of taking on Popular Pik was "a little scary". But as the DP's campaign intensified, and hope soared, the spirited DP camp forgot about Mr Botha and concentrated on promoting DP policy for which it found unprecedented support.

Comments Mr van Niekerk: "I know Mr Botha is popular, good and verlig. But if he is so verlig, why does he stand for the NP? His policy is not that of the Nats; just look how often he has been repudiated."

Dr Hart says the many voters "have never accepted the NP's modern approach", thus Mr Botha could be beaten.

Roughly equally divided between Afrikaans and English speakers, the constituency covers a wide range of socio-economic standards varying from upper-income areas such as Linden and Northcliff to poorer areas such as Newlands and Albertskroon.

In 1987, the NP polled 7 531 votes, compared with the former Progressive Federal Party's 3 178 and the CP's 2 666.

With politics as fluid as it is in Westdene, it is not even safe to predict that this order will be retained. For there's a war going on in Westdene.

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

Agony behind the

NP posturing may win election battle but lose crucial hea

PATRICK LAURENCE

ACTING President F W de Klerk is deploying a strategy which may win the battle on Wednesday at the risk of losing the campaign over the coming months and years.

As political manoeuvring for next week's general election enters its final phase, negotiations to end South Africa's intensifying conflict have emerged as the major issue of the election

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

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

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

The NP and DP want to negotiate an agreement with black leaders to include the black majority in a future constitution The manner of inclusion will, however, differ greatly, with the NP stressing the inclusion of blacks as a group or series of groups and the DP emphasising the participation of blacks as equal citizens.

The CP, in contrast, hopes to negotiate the partition of South Africa into a white volkstaat and similar — but much smaller — states for the black, coloured and Indian people

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

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

An NP advertisement proclaims: "Dialogue and negotiations are the key to the future. We are going to turn the key."

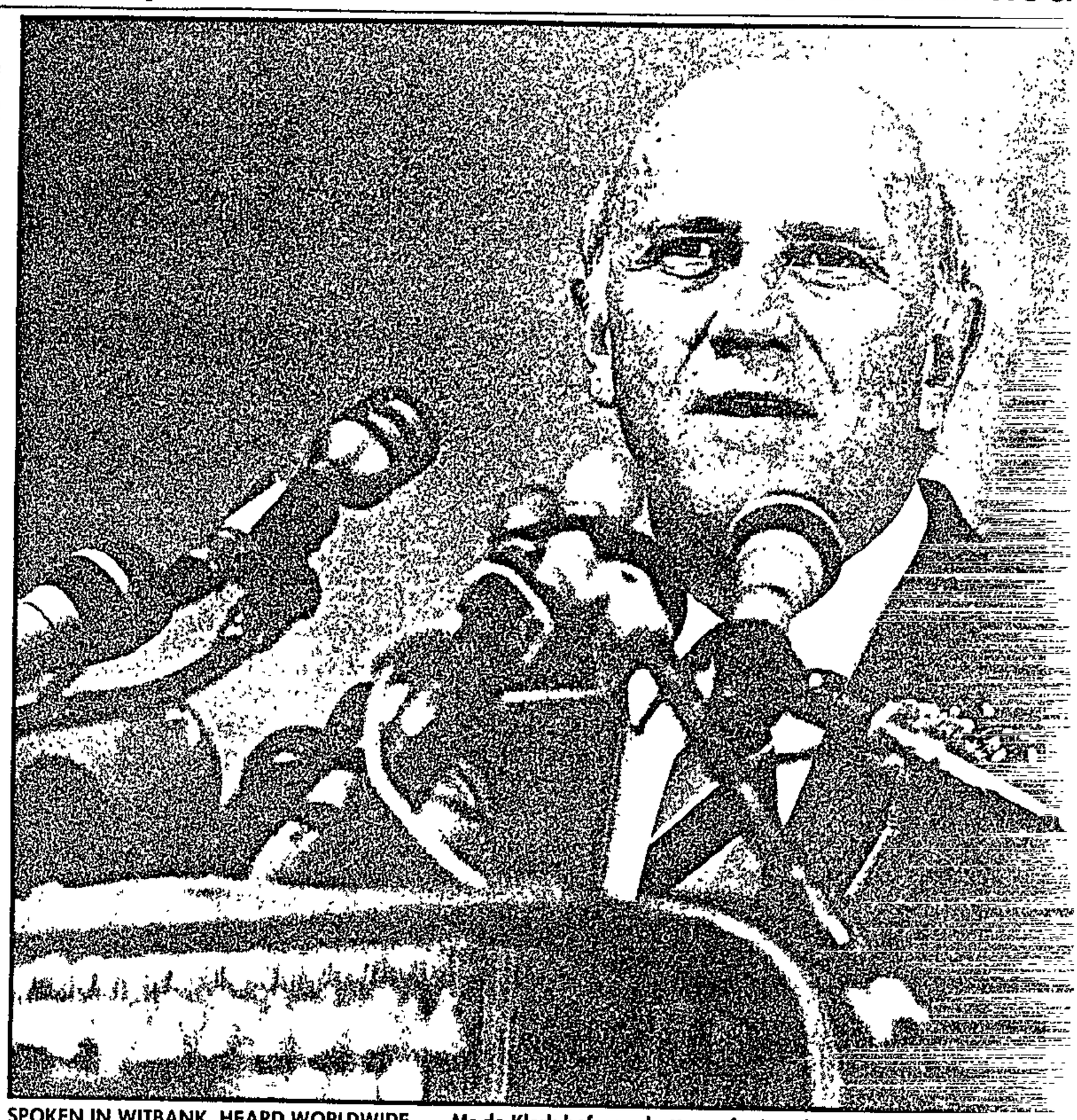
Most whites know in their bones, if not their heads, that inclusion of the outlawed African National Congress and its ideological allies in South Africa is a sine qua non for a endurable set tlement.

Mr Ton Vosloo, now managing director of the powerful, pro-government newspaper company, Nasionale Pers, acknowledged that much as long ago as 1981. Writing as editor of *Beeld*, he warned whites to brace themselves for the day when they would have to sit around the negotiating table with the ANC.

Ex-President Botha's surprise talks in July with the incarcerated ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, presaged the same eventuality.

It is precisely here where Mr De Klerk, instead of preparing for the inevitable, seems bent on immediate electoral gains at the expense of an enduring long-term settlement.

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



SPOKEN IN WITBANK, HEARD WORLDWIDE . . . Mr de Klerk before a battery of microphones at an election meeting His words to the party faithful went far beyond the whites-only hall, to be digested and analysed by friend and ... will "negotiate by concensus" with the voteless, suspicious black majority, his country's future.

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

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

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

It is worth examining the ANC position briefly, if only to highlight the difficulties which lie ahead for Mr de Klerk should he emerge on September 14 as South Africa's new President. Three points are particularly pertinent.

- First, the "present regime" should release all political prisoners and detainees, unfetter all restricted people, unban all out lawed and restricted organisations, withdraw troops from the townships, lift the state of emergency and end all political trials and executions.
- Second, the immediate purpose of talks between the "regime" and the "liberation movement" should be the suspension of hostilities *on both sides* through an agreed and mutually binding ceasefire.
- Third, the aim of the negotiations should be the transformation of South Africa into a "non-racial democracy" rather than "amendment or reform of the apartheid system."

Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party and now an untiring protagonist of a negotiated settlement, labels the pre-conditions listed in the first point the "mantra" of anti-apartheid forces throughout the world. It is an apt description.

It depicts the fervour with which they are held.

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

In is in that context the ... objective of achieving a ... ly binding ceasefire ... seen. From that perspective, ANC aim is seen as both and reasonable; conversely, de Klerk' reiteration of the ... dard NP demand for a ... al laying down of arms by ANC appears both sterile unreasonable.

These perceptions are ... to be heavily reinforced as ANC campaign for world ... tance of its negotiating ... gathers momentum.

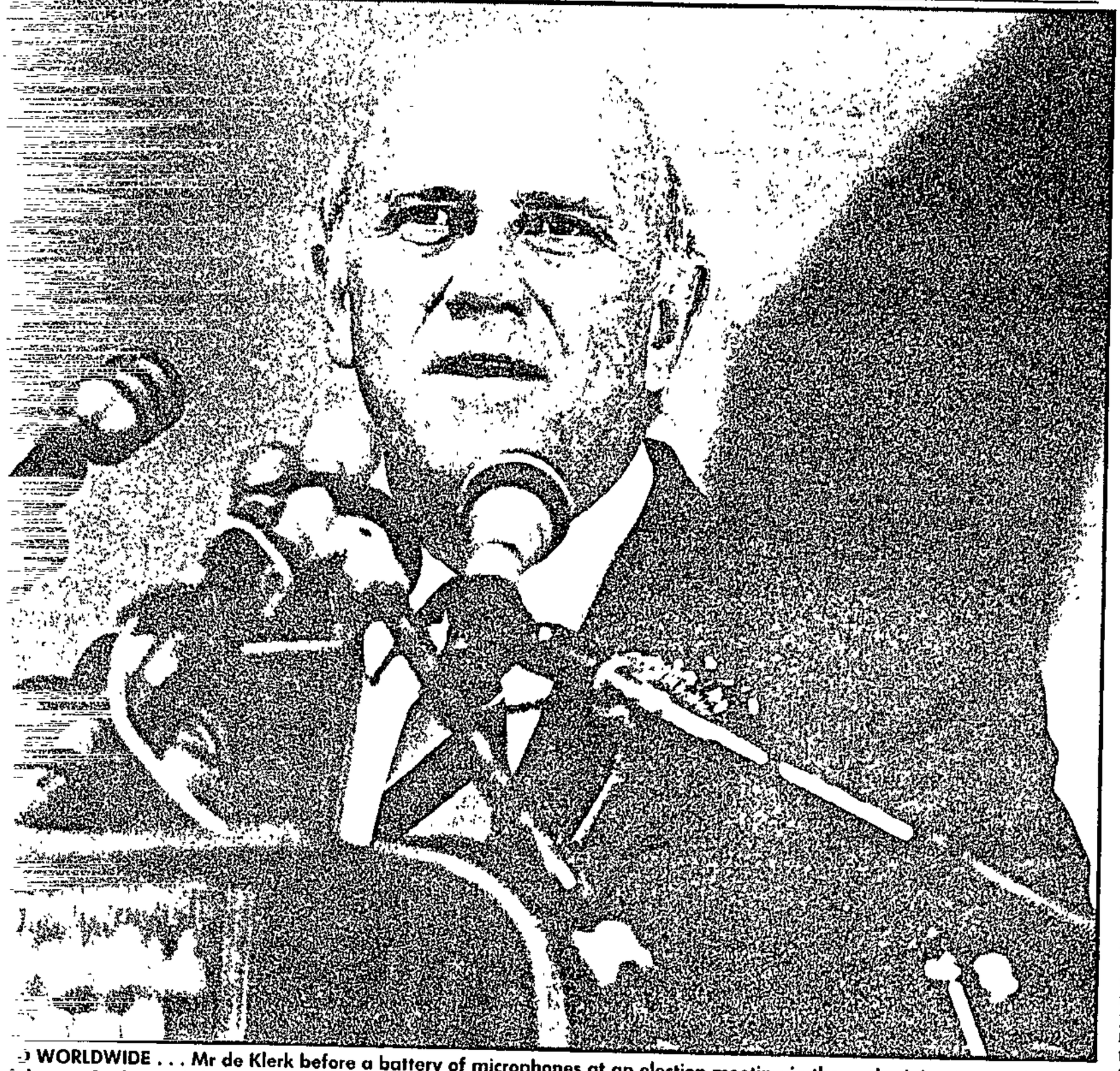
As the DP points out in open letter to Mr de Klerk, "mantra" of pre-condit... not confined to the outlawed ganisations and their allies. the accepted axiom of "vi... all meaningful political ... sations in the black, ... and Indian communities in outside the parliamentary tem."

Mr de Klerk, however,

behind the ecstasy

304A Star 2/9/89

election battle but lose crucial hearts and minds



WORLDWIDE . . . Mr de Klerk before a battery of microphones at an election meeting in the coal-mining town this week. ... went far beyond the whites-only hall, to be digested and analysed by friend and foe alike, sifting for clues to how he ... with the voteless, suspicious black majority, his country's future. ● Picture by John Hogg.

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In is in that context the ANC's objective of achieving a mutually binding ceasefire should be seen. From that perspective, the ANC aim is seen as both just and reasonable, conversely, Mr de Klerk' reiteration of the standard NP demand for a unilateral laying down of arms by the ANC appears both sterile and unreasonable.

These perceptions are likely to be heavily reinforced as the ANC campaign for world acceptance of its negotiating stand gathers momentum

As the DP points out in an open letter to Mr de Klerk, the "mantra" of pre-conditions is not confined to the outlawed organisations and their allies. It is the accepted axiom of "virtually all meaningful political organisations in the black, coloured and Indian communities in and outside the parliamentary system."

Mr de Klerk, however, has done nothing to prepare his constituents for that reality.

Instead he has insisted on making unilateral renunciation of violence by the ANC a precondition to negotiations; he has simultaneosly unleashed his lieutenants — chiefly Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan — to demonise the MDM and the ANC as reckless organisation intent on violence at all costs.

The vilification of the MDM and ANC has short-term political aim. It is, as a recent article in *Rapport* made clear, to discredit the DP by portraying it as the ally of these organisations. Dr Zach de Beer, a co-leader of the DP, describes the NP stratagem as a modern variant of the *swart gevaar* tactic used by the NP in the past.

NP propaganda presents the violence of recent weeks as the inevitable consequence of the MDM's defiance campaign against segregation and injustice. The implication is that violence is an item on the MDM's hidden agenda. The MDM has repeatedly stressed that its campaign is non-violent.

A DP statement notes appositely that little or no recognition is given by Mr de Klerk or the NP to political factors which promoted the MDM campaign: exclusion of blacks from the pending election and closure to them of normal channels of protest

But in his eagerness to denigrate the MDM, Mr Vlok overstepped the mark. Faced with demands from lawyers representing the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Vlok retracted accusations that Cosatu — a major component of the MDM – was planning violence

Problems lie ahead for Mr de Klerk Assuming the NP wins the election, he will have to fulfil promises to "launch a great Indaba" and "remove obstacles on the road to peace".

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

Having demonised the ANC and having insisted that ANC unilaterally renounce violence, he will have to do a volte face It may fatally damage his credibility with his own constituents.

It may also arouse opposition in the powerful security establishment.

It is not coincidental that the chief demonisers of the ANC-MDM axis have been Mr Vlok and General Malan

Ex-President Botha built up the "securocrats" into powerful men They may — probably will, predict some analysts — balk at negotiations with the ANC on the conditions laid down in the OAU-approved document.

Mr de Klerk does not seem equipped to impose his will on them.

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

Mr De Klerk has nothing comparable.

It is true that he used the NP skillfully to pry Mr Botha out of the Presidential Office. But even the NP anticipates that it will lose seats on September 6. A weakened NP seems a puny instrument against the securocrats, especially in the hands of the essentially cautious Mr de Klerk.

A consensus man anxious to include all factions in his administration, Mr de Klerk may end up as the captive, rather than the controller, of the powerful security forces.

304A

Intrigue marked SA venture into 1939 conflict

Storm before the war

TOS WENTZEL recalls a September 6 that proved a fateful day in our history.

SEPTEMBER 6 is doubly significant for South Africa this year.

Not only is it the date of one of the most important general elections in our history, but it was the day South Africa declared war on Germany in 1939, just three days after England had done.

By a remarkable coincidence, Parliament was in session in Cape Town at that unusual time of the year and a major political upheaval over five days led to South Africa going into the war against Germany right at the start.

German ruse

The incident which led to World War 2 occurred on the night of August 31, when the Germans staged an incident on the German-Polish border, which gave it the excuse to invade Poland the next day.

German SS troops took 12 prisoners from a concentration camp and had them dress in Polish uniforms. They injected them with poison and shot them. The 12 "Polish casualties" were dumped near the German-Polish border, where they were exhibited to the foreign press. Then Germany invaded Poland and met with ultimatums from England and France.

When no reply had been received by noon, South African time, on Sunday September 3 the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, announced in a radio broadcast from 10 Downing Street that England was at war with Germany.

South African Members of Parliament were gathered in Cape Town to deal with a constitutional technicality. It had been found that the term of office of the Senate would expire on September 5 and Parliament had to pass a motion extending it. The Assembly was due to sit for only two days.

At the first session on Saturday, September 2, the then Leader of the Opposition, Dr D F Malan, referred to war conditions already existing in Europe and asked the Government to make a statement covering, among other things, the case of a possible declaration of war between England and Germany.

The then Prime Minister, General J B M Hertzog, replied that he would reply at an appropriate time, which would be on the Monday.

It was a weekend of political intrigue as General Hertzog found that there was a split in his Cabinet on the question of whether South Africa should stay neutral.

Neutrality

This was the option he favoured. The other was that it should enter the war on the side of England, an option the Minister of Justice, General J C Smuts, and his followers favoured.

At 4 pm that day a Cabinet meeting was held at Groote Schuur.

General Hertzog spoke in favour of neutrality and said he would introduce a motion along these lines in Parliament the next day.

General Smuts spoke in favour of South Africa declaring war on Germany. In the end, the Cabinet split by six votes to seven in favour of a declaration of war.

There was a feverish counting of heads among the two factions that night, with both sides hopeful that they could win in Parliament. General Hertzog let it be known that, if he lost the vote on Monday, he would ask the Governor-General, Sir Patrick Duncan, to dissolve Parliament and to call an election.

Applause

On September 4, the Assembly began its debate. The two generals maintained the stances they had adopted at the Cabinet meeting. General Hertzog lost the vote by 80 to 67 and General Smuts's motion against neutrality was adopted.

The members of the Labour Party and the Dominion Party supported General Smuts along with some members of the then ruling United Party.

There was a burst of applause in the House just before it adjourned at 9.10 that night and outside in Parliament Street a crowd cheered General Smuts. General Hertzog was met with cheers and boos.

The next day General Hertzog offered his resignation after having been Prime Minister for almost 16 years.

The Governor-General exercised a constitutional prerogative by not accepting a recommendation from General Hertzog to dissolve Parliament on the ground that a general election at that time would not have been desirable.

He then summoned General Smuts and entrusted him with the task of forming a new Cabinet. On the afternoon of September 6, General Smuts and his war Cabinet were sworn in and immediately afterwards there was a meeting of the Cabinet. Then South Africa's declaration of war was announced in a Government Gazette Extraordinary.

In the war that followed about 186 000 South Africans enlisted in the armed forces and almost 35 000 died. Internally the war resulted in marked industrial development, increased employment, especially for women and people of colour and greater urbanisation.



OLD WARRIOR: Field Marshal Smuts, the man who led SA into war, arrives at a battlefront.

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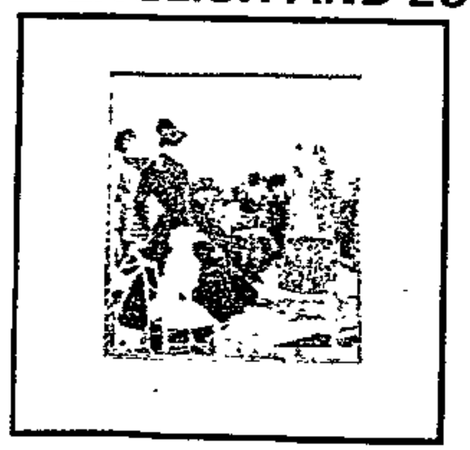




CONTINUES DAILY AND WEEKENDS MONDAY-SUNDAY 10 am-6 pm

"HALLMARKED SILVER"

GEORGIAN — VICTORIAN — EDWARDIAN — CONTINENTAL — ORIENTAL

Afrikaner yuppies go DP

w/t AR645 7/9/89 3064

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Reporter

SOUTH Africa's future looks Democratic with a capital D if several mock elections at local schools are anything to go by.

They seem to reflect what has also become evident in the hustings ... youngsters like the DP.

In the traditionally National Party Afrikaans community it is the young who have been singled out as the most likely source of en-bloc support for the DP.

National Party candidates in Peninsula seats have observed peevishly that young Afrikaner yuppies are solidly behind the DP ... "because it's fashionable," as one said.

Campaigners in towns like Stellenbosch report a big swing to the left among the youth.

A further reflection of this is the resounding support that has emerged for the DP in some local school "elections" among those not yet eligible to vote.

In one 92 percent poll at Herzlia High School 331 pupils supported the DP, 71 the NP and eight the CP.

At Rondebosch Boys' High 92 matrics voted for the DP, seven for the NP and five for the CP.

However, an inkling of the "voting pattern" in a neighbouring Maitland school's mock election was given recently by the local DP candidate, Dr Esther Lategan. The principal of the school had told her about their mock election.

While she didn't give the tallies, she recounted his remark that "the clever ones supported the DP".

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

— The Star

w/t Argus 7/9/89 3044

F W THE TRAVELLING SALESMAN

LONDON. — Something new is happening in South Africa. For the first time since it came to power in 1948 the National Party is trying to win support by appealing to flexible, rather than inflexible, white voters, and is basing its appeal on the promise of talking to blacks, not yelling at them. In this unusual campaign lies the possibility of change for the better — and also the possibility of dashed hopes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

■ The Economist, London.

What is jet-setting F W De Klerk up to?

W/E ARGUS 3/9/89/ 30(A)

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

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

So what is Mr De Klerk up to?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

■ The Economist, London.

It's still a long road to peace in our time

304A

S/Times 3/9/89

by John Barratt

Director-General, SA Institute of International Affairs

THE current peace moves in Southern Africa are not an isolated occurrence in today's changing world. In many regions there are discussions to resolve long-standing conflicts. There has even been talk of a global "outbreak of peace".

Behind this hopeful new mood is the burgeoning rapprochement between the two superpowers, a product of the "new thinking" of the Soviet Union since the advent of Gorbachev in 1985.

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

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

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

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

Essential

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

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

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

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

This was in spite of the current domestic unrest. They know they will have to deal with him in the future, and for the time being they, like the major Western leaders, seem prepared to "give FW a chance".

Who would have expected that these two African leaders and Dr Chissano of Mozambique would combine with Mrs Thatcher and Mr Kohl of West Germany in giving Mr De Klerk and his party such a boost in the election campaign by their meetings with him?

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

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

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

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

Credibility

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

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

All the major external powers, including the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, Germany, France and Japan are now promoting the concept of negotiations for a political settlement.

As vague and unspecific as this concept may still be, it is still seen as an alternative to escalating violence and to ideas of a revolutionary change. Within southern Africa this approach is also receiving growing support, and the ANC has been persuaded to produce a declaration on its negotiating position.

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

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

Its declaration may make some demands which no white government could realistically be expected to consider seriously, but the ANC has at least placed its initial position on the table.

Pretoria will be expected to respond and to acknowledge that the ANC is one of the parties which will have to be involved in any realistic negotiations in the future.

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

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

However, for the time being the region appears to at least be going in the right direction.



S/Times 3/9/89. 304A

The road to hell on earth

By David Carte

South African Environments into the 21st Century — by Brian Huntley, Roy Siegfried and Clem Suntor, published by Human & Rousseau Tafelberg

CLEM Sunter and his colleagues are the temporal prophets of our age. They analyse present behavioural trends, project them and (one hopes) frighten us into action.

This book reached the stores the very week in which both Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, and Anton Rupert, chairman of Rembrandt Group, made powerful pronouncements on an environment, which their companies, together with thousands of others, have raped for decades.

After years of exploitation and neglect, the environment has become a burning business topic It is common cause that all of us, and not merely green freaks, need to worry about the environment We cannot go on destroying nature which sustains us.



CLEM SUNTER



BRIAN HUNTLEY



ROY SIEGFRIED

Options

Mr Sunter's first book, The World and South Africa in the 1990s, looked at economic and political options and where they might lead us. He sketched his now famous low road and high road alternatives.

The low road was to a wasteland through continued conflict The high road was to the good life for all, through negotiated social and political peace and high economic growth.

The latest book is an attempt to superimpose high and low road options on the SA environment Once again, forecasting is eschewed. The authors depict the future in a broad range of (mostly depressing) possibilities. They admit their scenarios can be thrown out by wild cards, such as Aids.

Mr Sunter was one of the first commentators to draw attention to the possible seriousness of Aids. In this book he gives it relatively short shrift as a "great unknown".

Roots

It is surprising, given his Anglo roots, that Mr Sunter does not directly address possibilities for gold and commodities prices. They could have a greater bearing on SA's long-term future than anything else

Mr Sunter has collaborated in this book with Roy Siegfried, an ecologist of the University of Cape Town and Brian Huntley, manager of ecosystem programmes in CSIR's Foundation for Research Development

The scientists appear to have provided the information and Mr Sunter to have organised the material and done the writing — the style is unmistakably his.

A critic of Mr Sunter's first book said it contained little that the informed reader did not know. But that was to diminish the achievement of Mr Sunter and his research colleagues at Anglo American in selecting relevant global and SA information, organising it and interpreting it clearly and succinctly

This book also contains much that we know Most readers will know that global warming, climatic changes, population growth, desertification and pollution are the most acute environmental problems of our age

But, like its predecessor, the latest book is a must because it crystallises the issues so well and shows us fairly convincingly where we could be heading Only the relevant is selected from a mound of information. Brevity is one of its merits, for it is only a two- or three-hour read

The authors kick off with a description of global problems — the unthinkable possibility of a nuclear winter, the impact on an already stretched globe of population growth.

"The statistics are daunting," they write. "The human population took 4-million years to reach 1 000-million In 1850, doubling to 2 000-million in 1925, reaching 3-million in 1962, 4 000-million in 1975 and an awesome 5 000-million in 1987. Despite lower population growth, the global population will increase by 1 000-million every 12 years to the middle of the 21st century."

Africa, the world's poorest continent, has the highest population growth

"Malnutrition and related afflictions at present acount for over 5-million deaths annually in Africa. This is equivalent to 45 jumbo jet crashes every day with no survivors and with more than 50% of the victims under 15 years of age Forty-five Helderbergs or Lockerbies a day every day — and not a tear shed."

Disasters

Closer to home, in a chapter titled, The Decade the Environment Hit Back, the authors cite 13 natural disasters in SA in the 1980s — floods, droughts, sandstorms, locust swarms, veld fires and cholera and other diseases in squatter camps from polluted water after floods Exotic invasive plants, fire, overgrazing and bad farming threaten the world's richest flora

They analyse the natural status quo of SA — its diversity, weather patterns, farming methods, population migration and urbanisation trends, self-sufficiency in food and the mismatch of industrial growth points and water availability.

We are informed that the Eastern Transvaal Highveld suffers some of the worst air pollution in the world More than 80% of SA's electricity is produced in this area, where the climate is the world's worst for dispersing airborne pollution

Emissions on the Highveld total 125-million tons of gas a year. For every square kilometre of surface area, 30 to 40 tons of sulphur dioxide are emitted. About 70% of SA's population is excluded from Eskom's network and 12-million use wood as their primary energy source The advance of SA's deserts is equally alarming.

Treasure

The high road scenario presumes SA using its modern infrastructure, its treasure trove of mineral resources and its relatively well educated and industrious peoples to achieve high economic growth while managing exercising conscientious environmental management

Technology is not only an environmental problem. It offers solutions. There are nine conditions for getting to the high road:

- A process of negotiation and the building of alliances across the colour line must continue, bringing us closer to the core problem — "the sharing of political power"
- A multi-party political system must be entrenched in the constitution.
- Central government power should be limited by an independent judiciary and a constitutional bill of rights.
- The Government's role in the economy should be focused on setting fiscal and monetary policies.
- The Government's Budget must be gradually cut in real terms
- A free-enterprise dual-logic economy must be allowed to thrive.
- Sanctions should be reversed and foreign capital inflow encouraged.
- Inflation must be brought below 5% a year.
- SA must embark on mass education programmes similar to those of Japan and South Korea.

The low road scenarios prompt thoughts of hasty emigration — but then one remembers that conditions in most other places are equally unpromising

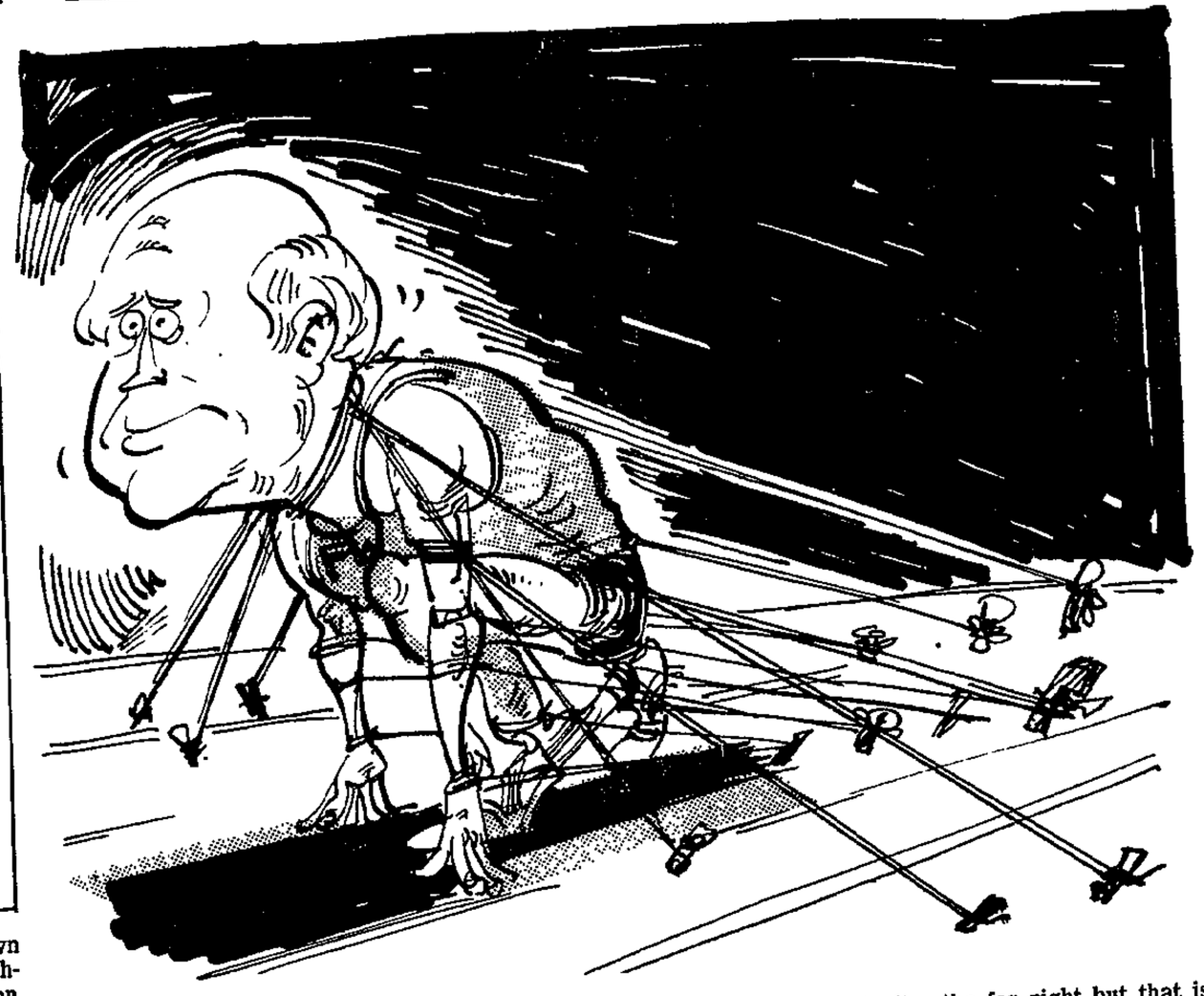
A REAL VISION FOR A NEW SA

ST Times 3/9/89 (3044)



by David Welsh

professor of Southern African Studies, University of Cape Town



LIKE most South Africans, I will heave a sigh of relief when September 6 passes. It has been a long — absurdly long — campaign that has placed a strain on our society and aggravated its fundamental conflicts.

Can one at least hope that this will be the last election fought under the monstrous tricameral system, or will the NP's next effort at constitution-building be, equally, an exercise in futility? I do not know; but I am reasonably certain that the next few years will be the most crucial in our history.

I do not share the view one often encounters in America, that white rule is crumbling, requiring only a last kick to break through the rotting timbers, but it is scarcely deniable that our conflict has assumed crisis proportions, and that South Africa will bleed fearfully unless the cycle of violence and economic decline can be ended.

National Party posters tell me that the party is "Ready for the Future" and a benignly smiling F W de Klerk is presented as Action Man. How comforting it would be to believe that, after 41 disastrous years, the NP could transform itself into a party of vision, creativity and boldness.

It suffers from a debilitating sclerosis which has become obvious in this campaign. The party machine remains strong, but where has the élan gone? It drifts along with what sounds like a self-proclaimed divine right to rule.

The structural transformation in white politics has placed the NP in the centre of the parliamentary spectrum but, like the United Party in the '40s and '50s, it is unable to decide where exactly its ideological centre of gravity lies.

Incoherent

It offers voters spurious options: Power-sharing (of a sort) but the simultaneous retention of white control; the abolition of racial discrimination but the simultaneous retention of the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts (even if subject to minor modifications); it proclaims a "broadening of democracy" but cleaves fast to principles that make such a process impossible.

A curious feature of the NP's campaign is the extent to which [illegible] favours the retention of the "own affairs" concept and its entrenchment in any future constitution. Mr De Klerk, in the past, has supported the extension of the principle to encompass yet other functions of government and, so far as I know, he has not repudiated this view.

South Africa is supposedly entering the era of negotiation politics but no black leader with the slightest credibility would risk accepting the basic principles laid down in the plan.

As in the 1987 election, the NP has tried to stampede voters with "swart gevaar" and "wit gevaar" stories. Its tactics have been both reprehensible and irresponsible. How can you simultaneously com[illegible] release Nelson Mandela and other prisoners, but can he release them into a political vacuum?

One might have hoped that prudent and sensible leadership would have avoided demonising and criminalising the ANC. This approach merely strengthens its commitment to violence and enlarges its domestic constituency.

If South Africa is to have any hope of peace and a political accommodation, the Nationalists will have to do far more than condemn violence; they will have to take the initiative in creating conditions that make a peaceful nego[illegible] proce[illegible] feasible. They will

Chinese students and much of South Africa's MDM.

In all three cases, tyrannical government becomes intolerable and the vision of a democratic alternative takes hold. The vision will not disappear, and it is not amenable to being smeared as a communist plot.

I will avoid predictions about the outcome of the election. The probabilities are, though, that the NP will have a reduced majority, with both the CP and the DP making gains.

If he has vision, F W de Klerk will welcome a strong showing by the DP. It will not be easy to r[illegible] ginalise the far right but that is what must be done. South Africa needs to develop a coalition of reformists; ultimately a government of national reconciliation that includes credible leaders from all political groupings.

There is little room for manoeuvre because ours is a society of tight political constraints. The Nationalists are incapable of pulling South Africa out of its steep decline by themselves. They need allies, but no worthwhile ally will help in the futile task of shoring up a social order that is based on discrimina[illegible]



Dries van Heerden

FW strikes it lucky

WITH four days to the result of the election, politicians could do well to heed the words of Yogi Berra, the famous American baseball coach and master of the mixed metaphor.

"Success," he once opined after his New York Yankees won another important title, "is 90 percent hard work. And the other half is luck."

How much hard work the National Party has put into its campaign is difficult to ascertain. No campaign can continue running without vast amounts of planning, organisation and good, old-fashioned leg-work.

However, when on Thursday morning the signal beeps across the airwaves to indicate that the National Party has reached the magic number of 84 seats required to carry it over the top, Mr F W de Klerk should also be grateful for quite a number of windfalls.

● The campaign has proved to be about two weeks too long for the Democratic Party. It may still reach about 32 seats — no mean feat in itself — but the Government crying "wolf" on the Mass Democratic Movement and the unexplained decision by the DP to stop hammering the Nats on economics have halted its momentum.

● The departure of Mr P W Botha from the scene proved a blessing rather than a curse. No longer had the NP to live in fear of sudden, irrational behaviour emanating from Tuynhuys.

[redacted]

Mr De Klerk could be marketed as the Man of the Future without fear that the Great Crocodile was still lurking in the shallow water, ready to snap at unprotected heels.

● In a perverse way, the talk about a hung Parliament has helped the NP. Now all it has to do is get more than the required 84 seats and triumphantly claim victory — conveniently forgetting what could be the biggest loss of seats suffered by any party since 1910.

● The new leader emerged as a relatively competent administrator — an amiable man who doesn't wag his finger at you from the TV screen or answer questions with threats. All in all, a man, as the Americans would say, who can walk and chew gum at the same time.

He knew instinctively that all the political honeymoon required of him was to occupy the crease like a veteran batsmen on the last day of a crucial Test, until stumps were drawn.

● His sudden forays into Africa provided him with the opportunity to act presidentially and enabled the SABC to send back feel-good pictures of the new leader on the wo[illegible]

There he was shaking hands with Mr Mobutu in Zaire, and there gazing over the Victoria Falls with Mr Kaunda — enough to make prospective Democratic Party supporters waver but not enough to send the Conservative Party's temperature soaring.

● And what is more, it turned the new leader's weakest points into his strongest assets.

Blotting his copybook like an ugly coffee stain has always been his perceived inability to negotiate across the colour line in southern Africa.

Inside the party, he was always the man opting for "own affairs" over "general affairs", for white exclusivism versus a broader South Africanism.

Even a cursory glance at his track record proves this: In 1985 he nearly scuttled the negotiations on the repeal of the Political Interference Act; he tried to force racial quotas down the throats of universities; he refused to register multiracial private church schools ...

But now the Nat propaganda machine would like the voters to believe all this has changed overnight. The Five Year Plan is designed to commit homicide on apartheid, and the smiling Minister of Own Affairs will pull the switch.

And like that unfortunate lady of Riga who hitched a ride on a big Bengal tiger, South African voters may, too, find themselves inside after September 6 ... with the smile on the face of the tiger.

Four more days to go. And a last bit of advice from the irrepressible Yogi Berra — this he must have uttered after his wife dragged him along to a Wagnerian opera at the New York Met: "It ain't over till the fat lady sings."

S/Times 3/9/89

304 A

been underplayed.

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

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

It is also apparent that the NP "cognised" leaders of all groups but refuse to negotiate with movements that represent 60 percent of the black population?

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

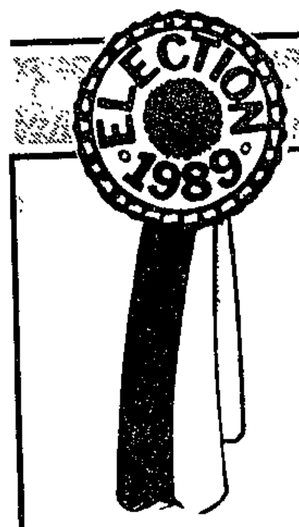
Assuming Mr De Klerk becomes State President some time after September 6, he — and white South Africa — will face the real Rubicon fairly soon. He must have to allay considerable black suspicions about their bona fides.

Tyrannical

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

I have been reading Lech Walesa's autobiography, A Path of Hope, as well as material on China's pro-democracy movement, and have been struck by the similarities between Solidarity, the

(304A)



Three roads

THE MAJOR PARTIES EXPLAIN WHY

into the future

YOUR CROSS WILL COUNT ON WEDNESDAY

golden opportunity — an opportunity to bring peace and prosperity to all the people of our country.

The solution will not descend from heaven.

It will require a great deal of hard work on our side.

The time for bickering and the scoring of political points is past.

We have to tackle the realities of South Africa with resolve and without faltering.

Towards this goal, we should field our first team with a resounding mandate to get on with the job.

Some voters will waver and try to turn the clock backwards.

They are part of the problem, and should be treated as such.

Some voters will try to lead the first team from the back seat.

They prefer to be in a position where they can give gratuitous advice without being saddled with the responsibility.

That creates a problem in its own right.

Dangerous

Some voters are prepared to grasp the nettle and deal with the problem head-on without shirking their consequent co-responsibility for the imperfections of reality.

The National Party, after a period of soul-searching, has reached the point where it knows what to do and how to do it: We aim to create a democracy involving all the people of South Africa, and we aim to do that through a process of talking and negotiating with legitimate leaders of all communities who are committed to peaceful solutions.

Support for the NP can be interpreted in one way only: "Go ahead and do it. Don't delay. That is what we want."

A vote for the DP is not a vote for constructive, systematic reform but rather a vote for a dangerous flirtation with people and organisations that have as their aim not the creation of democracy, but the seizure of power by whatever means.

The argument that the country needs a strong opposition to the left of the National Party in order to offset the opposition to the right and to sound the voice



by Barend du Plessis, National Party Information Chief

Rely on the 'first team' to press on with negotiation

of liberalism just does not hold good.

The case for the left is being put loud and clear by many other people and organisations.

This has perhaps been one of the deadly sins of previous parties to the left, such as the Progressive Federal Party, the Progressive Reform Party, the Progressive Party and their previous ancestors: They continuously arrogated to themselves the right and the holy duty to speak on behalf of the "disenfranchised masses".

Part of the reason for the demise of the late PFP was that it continued to try to speak on behalf of the coloured people even after the latter had entered Parliament and started speaking for themselves in no uncertain terms.

The time has now come to enable the other parts of the population to participate in the formal political process in order to speak on their own behalf.

On whose behalf will the Democratic Party then speak?

The total commitment of the National Party to reform by way of negotiation, coupled with its young and dynamic leadership and its broad base of support, makes it the ideal vehicle for the process that is set to gain momentum after the coming elections.

Energetic

If all people who have an interest in serious reform would throw their weight behind this effort, one could see a real take-off within a relatively short period of time.

The National Party needs the active support and energetic input of all such people.

One cannot make a useful input from the pulpit of a minority opposition party.

My call to all reform-minded people is not only to vote for the National Party, but to become actively involved and, therefore, to become part of the solution.

AS little as three months ago most informed political commentators would have reacted sceptically to the suggestion that the election on Wednesday might produce an Assembly in which no party has a majority, resulting in a "hung" Assembly.

Many people concede that this is now a likelihood. One experienced analyst gives the Nationalist Party only 79 seats — five short of the 84 needed for an overall majority.

A "hung" Assembly is not an end in itself for the Democratic Party. What is important to us is that this should result in a new political alignment and the adoption of a fresh approach and of fresh policies — because it is crystal clear that the NP has become part of the problem.

The NP is responsible for the economic mess we are in. It has failed to curb public sector spending and destroyed international confidence in the country. Hence the weakness of the rand and the fact that we are failing to get any foreign investment.

Crippling

Despite the advice of organised commerce and industry and the warnings of leading businessmen, the Nat gravy train has rolled on and on — and ordinary South African families and individuals have had to bear the cost through crippling taxation, soaring food and petrol prices, inflationary costs and impossible mortgage bond rates.

After 41 years in office the NP has forgotten the difference between private interest and public interest, between what is political and what is the State's.

Examples abound: President Botha using SAP vehicles to convey the buck he shot; Stoffel van der Merwe sending party political messages to businessmen on official stationery; Barend du Plessis using official channels to send criticism of DP economic policy to newspapers; Magnus Malan using SADF planes to get to political meetings.

The NP can't clean out the stables. A new broom is needed for that.

If it does not have answers, the DP does. And we spell them out in our election manifesto.

If we don't get the economics and politics of the situation right as whites we will enjoy only Mr Adriaan Vlok's ersatz kind of security and not real security — the peace of mind which comes from knowing that the economy is growing faster than the population; and the peace of mind which comes from knowing that we live with our black fellow South Africans on a basis of justice, harmony, and mutual respect.

The future political system must be negotiated, and the DP has ideas it will put into the process.

We say to the whites: "Don't look at the colour of your skin. If you do that you are a minority. Look rather at what you want for yourselves and see how many millions of black people share those values."

Black people also want the security of their private property and persons. They want essential services in their homes. They want neighbourhood schools and community centres (playing fields, libraries, swimming pools).

They want freedom of worship and political freedom. None of these things has anything to do with colour. They are shared by millions of South Africans.

When whites recognise this they recognise that they are part of a majority. This is what the DP is telling white South Africans. And this is the critical difference between the NP and CP on one hand and the DP on the other.

The choice before white voters on Wednesday is clear. The CP is irrelevant and, in any event, its support peaked a long time ago. It is not a factor. A vote for the NP means that things just stay the same. We won't get any overseas loans. Inflation will continue. We'll go on paying heavy taxes. We'll experience another five years of Chris Heunis-type non-negotiation. And no doubt there will be further bouts of unrest.



by Denis Worrall, co-leader of the Democratic Party

We will stop 'gravy train' in its tracks

Message

Only the DP can improve things. We have the credibility to get the negotiation process going. And we can also turn the situation around internationally.

So I ask you to support your DP candidate. This is what Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, one of this country's most respected black leaders, urges white voters to do. He pleads with them to take a stand against apartheid and unrepresentative government. The NP's five-year plan, he says, is anachronistic — 20 years too late.

Let us therefore send a message on Wednesday to the international community and, more importantly, to our fellow black South Africans: "Goodbye and good riddance apartheid! We are ready to build a future South Africa — together!"

THE reasons why white voters should support the Conservative Party in this election are plain for all to see. There simply must be a new government.

Since 1981 our country's economy has gone down the drain. Elements of socialism — the redistribution of wealth following in the footsteps of the politics of power-sharing — has led to the impoverishment of the whites and a decline in foreign confidence.

Any foreign investor must take fright at the announcement of a policy of political power-sharing in South Africa because he will inevitably see the Third World examples looming before him.

The Conservative Party will restore political stability and white government over white South Africa which in turn will lead to new confidence.

Our salvation does not lie with international bankers who are trying to install a black ANC government.

A vote for the Conservative Party is a vote for an own community life and a vote against the NP's *laissez-faire* social policy as allowed in Hillbrow and elsewhere.

Action

Only through the rigid enforcement of separate residential areas can separate schools, an own community life, own voters rolls and own political representation be guaranteed.

A vote for the Conservative Party is a vote against the NP's sell-out policies in South West Africa, where our forces have been withdrawn, where thousands of trained Swapo terrorists have entered the territory, where all the sacrifices of lives and money were apparently for nothing, and where the principle of self-determination for every nation has been completely crushed.

A vote for the Conservative Party is a vote for firm action against corruption which is seriously damaging our country's image and undermining foreign confidence. South Africa is a strong country and deserves a strong government.

A vote for the Conservative Party is a vote for real self-determination of all peoples. In this regard the Conservative Party's strivings are completely in line with the most logical and justified development in the relations between peoples.

The Conservative Party acknowledges the variety of peoples in the broad southern African population. We acknowledge the right of all other communities not to be



by Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party

Whites must be free to rule themselves

dominated by whites. We also maintain with great conviction the right of the white community to its own self-determination.

A vote for the Conservative Party is a vote for an own geographical area. That area has already long been in existence. This is the land which remains over after the borders of the national states and the areas of other population groups have been drawn.

We expect black leaders who already possess their own states and who have received more from the whites by means of consolidation, to wait a moment and say: In the same way that we possess our own ground, so we acknowledge the whites' right to their own state.

The Conservative Party rejects the idea of a unitary South Africa in which all racial groups have an equal say.

A vote for the Conservative Party is a vote for a white head of state and government. It is an essential part of self-determination. Members of other races cannot rule over our people, because of our own nature, our own educational requirements, ideals and political strivings; and for the same reason we cannot rule over them.

A vote for the Conservative Party is a vote for an own sovereign white parliament, with the same right for other peoples to have their own legislative authorities. We reject a hollow democracy where 25-million non-whites must rule with 5-million whites in one undivided South Africa. That is not a democracy, but simply a recipe for black government.

Control

A vote for the Conservative Party is a vote for an own budget and the right to determine the taxation levels of our own people. There will be aid to other population groups, according to our ability and our own decision, without encouraging permanent dependence on the part of the other states.

A vote for the Conservative Party is a vote for own security forces which will be under our own control for the protection of our own people's rights and freedoms. We are in favour of co-operation with other states in the fields of defence, on the basis of allied operations, but always maintaining our own country's sovereignty.

A vote for the Conservative Party is a vote for an own, free [illegible]ture.

Savings & Investment
A Business Times Survey September 3, 1989

Terminally ill are paid out before death

S/Times 3/9/89.

300

By Anthea Duigan

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

It means those afflicted can receive their money before death.

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

Strain

Apart from the distress, diseases such as cancer can cause extreme financial hardship, especially if the breadwinner has to stop work.

The bills which need to be paid include the life assurance premiums and high medical costs.

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

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

It has been suggested that assurers have rested on their laurels since the introduction of the universal life policy, but AA Life managing director Brian Benfield denies the charge.

Dr Benfield says: "South Africa certainly does not lag behind the rest of the world in product development. In fact, our industry tends to remain at the forefront.

"The dread disease benefit was developed here, universal life was introduced in the US and at the same time was developed in this country."

Stroke

An area of rapid development has been that of living benefits.

Originally, life companies only offered benefits after death, but now the world is looking at living benefits where the assured can gain in life-threatening events or crises.

In the case of dread diseases, cover benefits are payable in the event of cancer, a stroke and cardiovascular disease (to which AA Life has included urban terrorism).

A major new area is that of people over 50 years of age — known as the grey market. As people reach this age they start to take a serious look at their retirement provisions and seek cover for the possibility of disablement, long-term illnesses, accidents and dread diseases.

The main role of the life industry is to provide benefits in the event of death or disability, but also to provide retirement benefits.

The industry has moved into the savings market and has been able to provide policyholders with a real rate of return on their investments. Banks and building societies, because of Government control on the way they invest their funds, are unable to match assurers' returns.

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

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

"It is often cheaper to buy now at 20% rate of interest than for cash in 12 months' time when the rate of price increases could have been 33%."

Direct

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

A large proportion of the population feel a need to be advised.

Few people have Beltel. Only a few of those who do are interested in looking up life assurance, finding out the details and making out an order.

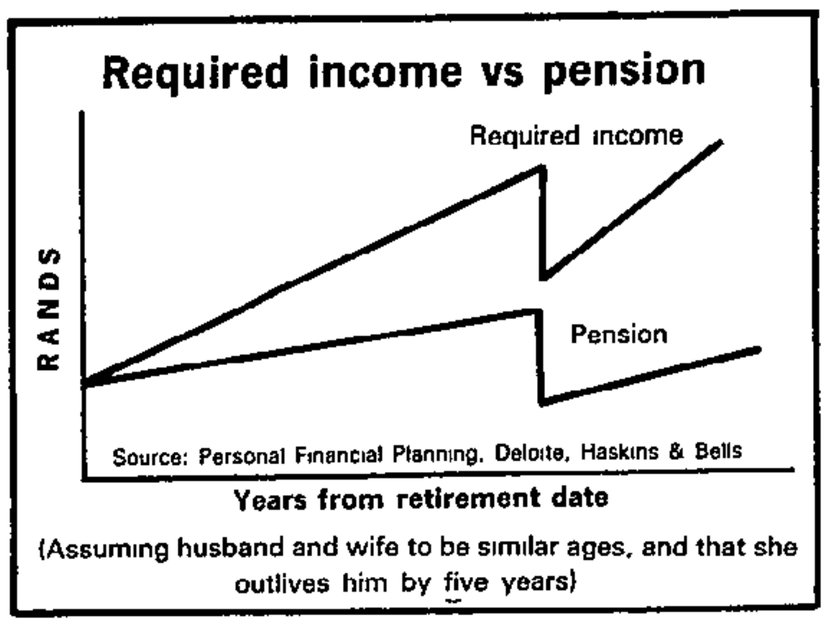
AA Life is the only office to make this facility available, but Dr Benfield says it has generated few new policies.

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

Dr Benfield has returned from visiting the Mercantile & General Reinsurance Company in London where he was told that Aids worldwide is nothing like the problem it was thought to be.

By ROBIN BEALE, director, personal financial planning, at accountants Deloitte, Haskins & Sells

More than a pension is needed



(Assuming husband and wife to be similar ages, and that she outlives him by five years)

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

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

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

Tailored

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

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

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

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

Property

Elements in such a portfolio will embrace tax, retirement and estate planning, the co-ordination of investment portfolio management — insurance, shares, unit trusts, property syndication etc.

A personal portfolio must be updated regularly and revised according to both personal and market circumstances.

Frightening

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

It is a frightening thought that many readers of this article may not be in this position — unless they take action now.

By ROBIN BEALE, director, personal financial planning, at accountants Deloitte, Haskins & Sells

More than a pension is needed

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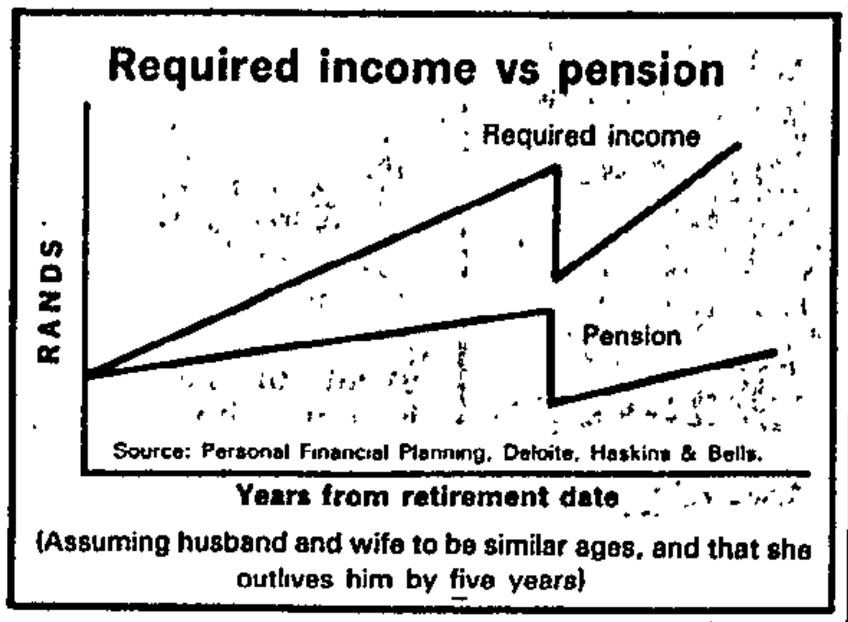


304A

Egg on Nat faces in letters debacle

By DRIES van HEERDEN

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

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

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

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

□□□

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

This letter was signed by a P J du Toit of Elise Road in Fontainebleau.

A thorough search of both the Johannesburg telephone directory and the Randburg voters' roll could find no trace of the mysterious Mr Du Toit. A Mr D du Toit living at 8 Elise Road denied having written the letter or ever having heard of a P J du Toit in his street.

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

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

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

□□□

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

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

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

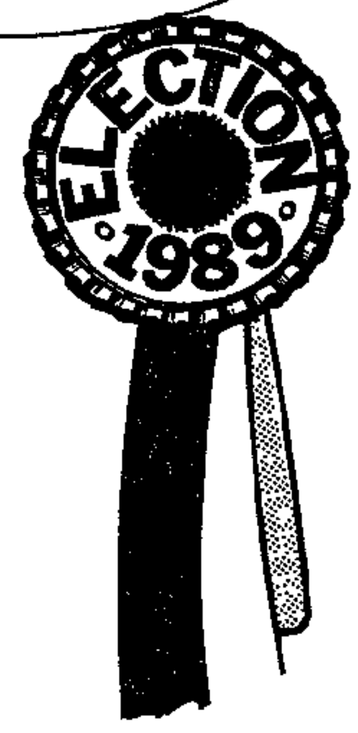
"It shows the level to which the Babb campaign is prepared to stoop in its efforts to make short-term gains," he said.

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

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

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

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



Ex-aide claims FW was not always a reformist

Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

"This is not true of Mr De Klerk."

Report by L Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

, September 3, 1989

'Wit Wolwe don't exist'

Rightwing terror on increase, no arrests

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hunt for 'genuine' black leaders

ST Times 3/9/89

(30 FA)

Political Correspondent

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

The elections are central to the Government's plan to launch negotiations for a new constitutional dispensation, it has been learned from senior Government sources.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Report by L Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

'Lie factor' has partie

S/Times 3/9/89

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S white voters have never been in a more unpredictable mood. Three days before a general election, unprecedented numbers are simply refusing to tell party workers which party they support.

All over the country canvassers have recorded the highest number of "undecided" voters in four decades. And along with the "undecideds" goes the possibility of a massive "lie factor" — in which voters fail to declare switched allegiances. These unknowns are sending the parties to Wednesday's poll more anxious and uncertain about their fate than at any time since the National Party came to power in 1948.

On the eve of the poll, few politicians will even venture to guess how the 166 Assembly seats will be divided.

At stake for the **NATIONAL PARTY** is the success of the image of its leader, Mr F W de Klerk, as a Government head who can bring about real and lasting reform — balanced against a record of constitutional and economic mismanagement that many NP candidates have admitted has embarrassed them.

The **DEMOCRATIC PARTY** carries the banner for a nonracial democracy. This avenue of enlightened opposition has never had better prospects — and if the DP fails to gain more than 30 seats, the prospects for these principles in South African white politics will be seriously dimmed.

The **CONSERVATIVE PARTY** sees itself as the custodian of white nationalism. If it fails to at least double its present representation — from 22 to 44 — this will confirm the view of many analysts that the growth of the white rightwing has reached its ceiling.

Most analysts expect an NP victory, but the party's winning margin will be of crucial importance.

If it fails to gain at least 84 seats, it will lose its majority over the combined opposition.

Yesterday, DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said he believed a hung Parliament was "still not out of the question".

However, most observers expect the number of NP seats to be somewhere around the 100 mark. This means it will have a parliamentary majority of fewer than 20.

This will tend to strengthen the tendency towards factionalism in the NP caucus.

Only Wednesday's ballot will show whether the late boost in the NP's campaign will benefit the party.

The NP campaign surged only three weeks ago — after an uncharacteristically lack-

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



● Chasing up the last doubtfuls this week, TV personality-turned-politician Carole Charlewood spent yesterday canvassing in the Umbilo constituency where she represents the DP.

● Her male opponents simply refer to her as "THAT woman" but she is confident her foot-slogging campaign will earn her a seat in Parliament.

● Here she is chatting with Mrs Carol Skinner and her daughters, Lee-Ann, 12, and Kirsty, nine.

Picture: JIMMY HUTTON

P.T.O

tizzy

lustre start — when the Cabinet forced the resignation of Mr P W Botha from the presidency. This allowed Mr De Klerk to present himself as "the man in charge".

Battles

For the NP, an added worry about the late surge in its campaign is the extraordinarily high number of votes that have already been cast under the new system of prior, special votes.

According to government statistics, by the beginning of this week more than 4 000 votes had already been cast in each of more than 40 constituencies in the election.

Early voting was most intense in seats where the NP and CP are meeting head-on — raising fears that the early vote may be working in favour of the CP.

In Vanderbijlpark, where Cabinet Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen is defending his seat against the CP, 9 128 people had already voted by the end of last week — fully 36 percent of voters registered there.

Similar battles are being waged in Welkom, where 31 percent had voted a week ago, in Vereeniging 27 percent, in Brits 21 percent and in Barberton 28 percent.

In the final stages of the campaign, the parties agree on only one thing — it has gone on too long.

The DP peaked three weeks ago in its attack on the Government's economic record.

Then the "De Klerk factor" came to the fore.

However, senior NP men believe that the "give F W a chance" sentiment was at its peak a week ago — and the initial euphoria has tailed off since then.

Report by LJ Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

● See Labour will win but lose a moral battle: Page 29

(304A)

The 'how much' election!

KNIFE-EDGE SEATS

	NP	DP	CP
ALBANY	*	●	
BETHLEHEM	*		●
BOKSBURG	*		●
BRENTWOOD	*		●
CARLETONVILLE	●		*
DELMAS	●		*
E LONDON CITY	*	●	
EDENVALE	*	●	
FAURESMITH	*		●
GEZINA	*		●
GREEN POINT	●	*	
HEILBRON	*		●
HELDERBERG	*	●	
HERCULES	*		●
HILLBROW	*	●	
INNESDAL	*		●
CT GARDENS	●	*	
KRUGERSDORP	*		●
KURUMAN	*		●

JUST as in many elections before it, the issue in Wednesday's poll is not who is going to win — but by how much.

The margin by which the National Party will win has become critical for South African politics. Never before has the NP had to deal with such powerful opposition forces — both to its left and its right — in the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party.

This means its majority in Parliament becomes more vital a factor than it has ever been. At one end of the scale, the NP's majority on Thursday morning could fail to outweigh the combined total of the DP and the CP — the so-called hung Parliament.

If this happened the NP would be unable to govern — the DP and CP would combine to vote the NP down in everything from choice of a President to the Budget — and so it would be forced into a deal with one group, most likely the DP.

At the other end of the scale, the NP could have an overall majority — but much smaller than ever before

If the majority is cut to between eight and 20, as most analysts consider likely, the NP parliamentary caucus could be a far more interesting political body than it has been for years.

The party has not been threatened by splits and breakaways since 1982. But

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

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

the DP is up against a solid NP majority. But as the former seat of the disgraced NP man, Mr Peet de Pontes, it is the focus of the campaign against government corruption.

The DP is fielding a strong candidate in Mr André de Wet, a former rugby Springbok, and a win there would point to the "gatvol" factor running high among voters.

The DP candidate in EDENVALE, Mr Brian Goodall, lost the seat to the NP two years ago. He needs to serve only one more day in Parliament to qualify for an MP's pension. Before that, he needs only a two percent swing in his favour to pocket the seat.

In GREEN POINT a two percent swing is needed by the NP to snatch the seat from the DP's law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe.

HILLBROW, also within two percent swing range of the DP, will show how nominally "liberal" white voters are responding to the growing presence of black residents in their suburbs.

Yet another Government-held seat within two percent range of the opposition is NEWCASTLE. It is vulnerable to the CP and a win there would give the right-wing party its first symbolic breakthrough into Natal.

POTCHEFSTROOM is the seat of the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange. His defeat, within four percent swing range of the CP, would be a wounding blow to NP morale.

QUEENSTOWN is a seat on which the DP is pinning special hopes. It needs a major swing of 18 percent to fall from NP hands — but the DP is fielding a particularly strong candidate in Dr Theuns Schlebusch, a former Nationalist MPC. The party is hoping for an upset victory.

RANDBURG is the flashpoint of the election. Early in the campaign, DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan was being tipped to lose to the former diplomat, Mr Glenn Babb, standing for the NP. But as their respective campaigns peaked, punters were giving the edge to Mr Malan.

Hopes

In SIMONSTOWN and WYNBERG the DP is making a bid to win back the Peninsula — lost to the NP two years ago. Failure here would augur very badly for the DP's chances in the rest of the country.

SOUTPANSBERG is a far-north rural seat — regarded as traditional CP territory. But the NP is holding out cautious hopes for an upset here. Success for the NP will suggest the CP's hold on rural SA is far from cast-iron.

The heartland seat of STELLENBOSCH says much about where the Afrikaner intelligentsia currently stands. Although the seat is regarded safe for the NP, the margin of its victory will be significant.

In UMHLANGA one of the Government's top former constitutional technocrats, Mr Kobus Jordaan, is standing for the DP against Mr Renier Schoeman, one of the NP's rising young stars. It's a tough battle in which the DP is given the pre-election edge.

Another top Government constitutional man and Cabinet Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is fighting to retain his political credibility against a CP onslaught in VANDERBIJLPARK.

WALMER has Bob Rogers, one of two former SADF generals standing against the Government, fighting the seat for the DP. He is being tipped for a clear victory.

Report: L Venter, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb

Party heavyweights to dominate TV

By DRIES van HEERDEN

SMALL fry, get off the box. The big guns are taking over the last two days.

With the last of the TV election debates already decided on Friday between Pik Botha and Denis Worrall, tomorrow and Tuesday's TV time will be reserved for the party leaders.

SABC political editor Johan Pretorius said yesterday that in tomorrow night's newscasts, leaders of parties contesting seats in the House of Delegates and House of Representatives will have their final say.

And on Tuesday the four white party leaders make their final appearances.

According to Mr Pretorius, the leaders have been asked to include brief summaries of why voters should support them in their campaign speeches on Monday night. Extracts of these speeches will be shown on the Tuesday news bulletins.

The SABC's live election night coverage starts at 9.30pm on Wednesday and will continue until 6am on Thursday.

LADYBRAND	*		●
LYDENBURG	*		●
MARAISBURG	*		●
MEYERTON	*		●
NEWCASTLE	*		●
NIGEL	●		*
NORTH RAND	*	●	
OUDTSHOORN	*		●
PARYS	*		●
PMB NORTH	*	●	
PRETORIA WEST	*		●
QUEENSTOWN	*	●	
RANDBURG	●	*	
ROODEPLAAT	*		●
ROODEPOORT	●		*
RUSTENBURG	*		●
SASOLBURG	*		●
SIMONSTOWN	*	●	
SMITHFIELD	*		●
SOUTH COAST	*	●	
SOUTPANSBERG	●		*
SPRINGS	*		●
STELLENBOSCH	*	●	
SUNDAYS RIVER	*		●
UITENHAGE	*		●
UMBILO	*	●	
UMHLANGA	*	●	
VANDERBIJLPARK	*		●
VEREENIGING	*		●
VRYBURG	*		●
WALMER	*	●	
WINBURG	*		●
WONDERBOOM	*		●
WYNBERG	*	●	

* Seat held by
● Vulnerable to

Compiled by Dries van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

ticularly if there were a strong DP on its flank, breakaways would become feasible for strong NP reformists.

For now, however, white South Africans are in the most unpredictable election since most were old enough to vote.

In the early stages of the campaign it looked distinctly as if a surprise result, similar to that of 1948, was possible.

But then things seemed to change Mr P W Botha tried to trip up the NP's new leader, Mr F W de Klerk — and ended up falling himself.

Mr De Klerk has made the most of the situation, and the DP the least of it.

Events

The Mass Democratic Movement tried to defy apartheid — and brought old-style repression on its head, a show of force that has always driven jittery white voters into the protective laager of the NP.

However, only September 6 will show to what extent voters made up their minds relatively early — or were influenced by later events.

A factor suggesting last-minute decision-making by voters is the biggest group of "doubtfuls" political parties have ever encountered in canvassing.

These people must make up their minds by polling day. Meanwhile, their votes are "floating".

The "doubtfuls" are generally regarded as former NP supporters, now no longer inclined to support the party — but haven't quite committed themselves to the DP.

Mr De Klerk's strong showing late in the campaign could persuade many "doubtfuls" to stay with the NP.

Canvassing, too, is less reliable than before.

That is because it can be accepted that along with a large "doubtful" segment will go a big lie factor — in which voters are reluctant to tell canvassers they have deserted the party, when in fact they have decided to vote for the opposition.

This factor would work against the NP.

Early results can be expected on radio and TV from shortly before midnight on Wednesday. Some results will give early clues to a reasonable anticipation of the final picture.

Solid

If, for example, the DP fails to win Wynberg, Hillbrow, Edenvale, Simon's Town or Walmer, it may end up with fewer than 30 seats.

If the CP fails to win Lydenburg, Krugersdorp, Meyerton, Roodeplaat, Kuruman, Potchefstroom or Newcastle, it is unlikely to reach a total of 40 seats.

A hung Parliament could be in sight if early results throw up any of the following combinations:

For the CP: Oudtshoorn, De Aar, Fauresmith, Vryburg, Primrose, Welkom, Bethlehem, Brentwood or Alberton,

In conjunction with, for the DP: Waterkloof, Durban Point, Amanzimtoti, Stellenbosch or Bezuidenhout.

Among other seats to watch are CARLETONVILLE and BOKSBURG.

If the CP loses Carletonville, or fails to win Boksburg, it would suggest it has been hurt by its bids there to reimpose petty apartheid — and this disenchantment with CP policy may be reflected in other seats.

In EAST LONDON CITY

Veterans gear up to settle scores with old enemies

By DRIES van HEERDEN

OLD politicians seldom retire — they merely take time out to plan their comebacks.

And Election '89 sees the rematch of many long-time foes.

In 1987 the DP candidate in Edenvale, Mr Brian Goodall, was defeated by a mere 168 votes by Mrs Joan Hunter of the NP. But he lost more than an election — he needed just one more day as a Member of Parliament to qualify for a full pension.

Wednesday sees Mr Goodall and Mrs Hunter in a revenge match

Two high-profile former Deputy Ministers are attempting comebacks to the front benches of Parliament.



BRIAN GOODALL
Lost out on pension

Clash

Mr Louis Nel is taking on the CP's Mr Arrie Paulus in his stronghold, Carletonville.

Mr Ron Miller, who was Mr Pik Botha's deputy in the Department of Foreign Affairs, is contesting the marginal seat of Cape Town Gardens against Mr Ken Andrew of the DP.

In 1987 five seats were won with majorities of less than 100 votes. Three of these are now the scene of grudge rematches.

In Krugersdorp, Deputy Minister Leon Wessels is defending his 55-vote majority against the CP's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis.

It's déja vu in Green Point

for Mr Tiaan van der Merwe and Mrs Esme Chait, with only 39 votes in it, and in nearby Wynberg the DP's Mr Robin Carlisle and sitting NP MP Mr David Graaff will continue their battle.

But all these are amateurs compared to the two original HNP stalwarts Mr Jaap Marais and Mr Louis Stofberg.

September 6 will see the fifth head-on clash between Mr Marais and Dr Andries Treurnicht in Waterberg, while Mr Stofberg faces a rematch with the NP's Dr Willem Odendaal in Sasolburg.

First elected as NP Member for Worcester in 1966, Mr Stofberg broke away with the HNP in 1969; fought and lost numerous elections for more than a decade; gave the HNP its only victory in history in a by-election in Sasolburg in 1985; lost it two years later to the NP and soon after that joined the CP.

Report by Dries van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Dead man told he can vote!

By PIETER VENTER

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

Mr Kobus van Zyl, 49, from Kempton Park, was declared dead by the Department of Home Affairs in 1982 after he had "died of palsy".

ered dead and not eligible to vote.

Only when he took his identity document to the department to prove his existence was it established that Mr Van Zyl — christened Jacobus Adriaan van Zyl — was declared dead after Mr Jakobus Adriaan van Zyl had died of palsy in 1982.

The two men were born on the same date

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Vote for right 'will burn SA'

Sunday Times Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

"There can be no other destiny for South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi appealed to the United States to back all moves aimed at "depolarisation" and getting negotiations on track.

Riddle of poisoned cleric

S/Times • 3/9/89. (304)

By PATRICIA CHENEY
and HERMAN JANSEN

THE general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, WAS poisoned earlier this year — but the mystery of how he came into contact with the toxic substance may never be solved.

A second urine test has shown without doubt that the black churchman was poisoned by a deadly chemical usually found in pesticides, the University of Wisconsin announced on Thursday.

But tests on his clothes have remained inconclusive, shedding no light on how he might have come into contact with the poison.

Professor Fred Hayward, dean of the university's international studies department, said that because there were so many ways the poison could have entered Mr Chikane's system, it may never be determined how he was exposed to it.



Churches chief Frank Chikane, who was exposed to poison

NO CLUE TO HOW TOXIC CHEMICAL GOT TO CHIKANE

Lethal

In a statement passed on to SAP Major-General Jaap Joubert this week, Mr Chikane said he had not been near a farming area or war zone where such chemicals could have been used in the six months preceding his illness.

He said the most logical conclusion was that the toxic substance had been deposited on his clothing.

Mr Chikane fell ill while in Namibia in April this year, and collapsed on a visit to the United States in May.

According to the test, Mr Chikane was exposed to either parathion or methyl parathion — chemicals that are lethal to humans in concentrated form.

Preliminary water tests of the churchman's personal effects have been negative, Professor Hayward said. The university's laboratory had been hesitant to perform chemical tests because they were so destructive.

The clothing is now being examined by the FBI on the orders of director Mr William Sessions who, according to Professor Hayward, is taking "a personal interest in the case".

However, an FBI spokesman in Milwaukee denied his office had received any special instructions to pursue the Chikane case.

"We cannot find anything to warrant an FBI investigation," said Mr Paul Schumaker, media representative in the Wisconsin office.

He added that it was FBI policy not to test evidence that had already been tested elsewhere.

Speculation

"At this point, we are not even sure the FBI has jurisdiction over the affair," Mr Schumaker said.

There was speculation that the clothes would be turned over to the South African Police but the university said this would not happen.

"We want to make it clear that the investigation is being handled by the local police and the FBI, that there are no plans to turn Mr Chikane's personal effects over to the South African Police, and that we would not do anything with his effects without his permission," Professor Hayward said.

● Mr Chikane could not be traced for comment.

Labour will win, but lose a moral battle to non-voters



by Norman West

Sunday Times Political Reporter

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

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

The average percentage of registered voters who cast their votes countrywide in 1984 was 30,7 percent while the total percentage of eligible (potential) voters who bothered to cast their votes was only 18,4 percent.

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

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

Defiance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Challengers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Grudge

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

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

Last time around Mr Isaacs won Bishop Lavis for the LP with a majority of 735 in a 17,7 percent poll against Mr Peter Marais, who was then leader of the People's Congress Party.

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

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

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BOKSBURG NEXT

Petty apartheid to be challenged in a court

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

THE Conservative-controlled Boksburg Town Council is to be challenged in the Pretoria Supreme Court about petty apartheid in the town after the general elections on Wednesday.

This was confirmed yesterday by the chairman of the Reiger Park management committee, Mr Butch Jantjies, who said they had been encouraged by the Pretoria Supreme Court's ruling that CP-controlled Carletonville Town Council's racial segregation actions were invalid.

He said: "Prior to the Carletonville case we had planned to fight the actions of our own town council. We regard their case as a victory. We hope it will set a precedent for other councils in South Africa that are dehumanising black people.

"Our lawyers are working on the case. We want to restore the dignity of black people that has been destroyed by the reimposition of the old style apartheid in the town," he said.

Meanwhile the Carletonville Town Council has announced that it will appeal against the Supreme Court's decision, according to the CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He said the judgment also had far reaching implications, especially for the National Party.

The president of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, Mrs Annetjie Claasen, yesterday said the council must remove the "white only" signs in the town. "We will not let the signs stay until the hearing.

Star 4/9/87

NP hoping to win 100 seats in the election

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Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

● See Pages 6, 10, 11, 13.

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The Star has approached the major political parties, as well as the Mass Democratic Movement and the African National Congress, to respond to a list of questions dealing with important issues in Wednesday's general election.

Here are their answers, which were limited to 70 words. At the time of going to press, no responses were forthcoming from the MDM and the ANC.

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

The parties reply

Election 1989

The Questions	National Party	Conservative Party	Democratic Party	Labour Party	Solidarity Party
CONSTITUTION **1) What sort of basic constitutional system do you envisage for South Africa? (One-party, multi-party, unitary, federal, single or multi-chamber, all races or separate constitutions after partition?)**	The NP is committed to the retention of South Africa as one unitary, undivided State with one citizenship for all its citizens The NP acknowledges the right of all South Africans to participate in political decision-making on all levels of government. However, because the NP rejects domination of any group by another, we favour a constitution which will ensure that as many powers as possible will be devolved to regional and local authorities.	The CP envisages separate constitutions for the separate peoples or population groups in southern Africa which will enable every nation to rule themselves in their own fatherland	We stand for constitutional democracy. There must be a negotiated, written, totally and strongly entrenched constitution incorporating a Bill of Rights setting forth the basic rights and freedoms of every citizen, to be protected by the courts of law. Naturally, this will include the right to vote on common voters' rolls, for anything less insults human dignity. The structure will be federal, and voting by proportional representation.	The constitution even if only in the transitional period will have to take cognisance of white fears. But black aspirations cannot be ignored. The LP believes in a non-racial geographic federation of states within South Africa. South Africa could be divided into 20 states and each state would have upward representation on the national legislature (congress) on an equal basis irrespective of size or population. One person one vote (universal suffrage) would apply in each state.	Multiparty federal constitution in a single South African parliament with representation for minorities at all levels of government.
2) In terms of your policy, would the country have an executive or constitutional Head of State? Could the position be filled from any population group, irrespective of race, sex or creed?	Precisely because we reject the concept of group domination, we shall take steps to ensure that the office and the functions of the State President cannot become instruments of such domination. Indeed, the office of State President can and should be an important symbol of national reconciliation It is therefore necessary that the electoral procedure, as well as the character and responsibilities of the office of the head of state, be reconsidered and, if necessary, redefined	The CP would prefer an executive president for white South Africa, with powers subject to the authority of the legislative and executive institutions. Only a white can fill the position of State President in white South Africa. The CP cannot prescribe to the other independent black states what their constitutional models should be.	The question whether the Head of State should be executive or constitutional will be for negotiation at the constitutional conference, but we would favour a constitutional president, with the Prime Minister holding the executive power. Since we reject racism and believe that all South Africans must be equal in dignity and rights, it follows that the Head of State may be any citizen, regardless of race, sex or creed.	The LP envisages a constitutional head of state — one elected on a national basis. Being a South African is the criterion and race, colour, culture, language and sex will be irrelevant.	Constitutional or executive head of state from any group irrespective of race, religion or creed.
3) What is your policy on voting rights? Does it incorporate protection for minority groups? If so, how will the groups be defined and how will the protection be given?	The NP favours a dispensation which will make provision for franchise rights of all citizens and their representation through their recognised leaders at all levels of government Minority groups, as all population groups in South Africa are, will be protected by the provision of constitutional structures which will recognise their identities. Thus, each group will have its own voters' roll, elect its own leaders, and, through their leaders, jointly decide about general affairs on a basis of consensus	We believe in full democratic rights for every population group within their own fatherland. This includes for example, one man one vote for the Tswanas in Bophuthatswana, and for the whites in white South Africa.	Our policy on voting rights is that every adult South African is entitled to a vote of equal value. Every South African is entitled to the full protection of his or her rights through the constitution We reject the present system of forcing people to belong to groups based on race classification We say that there must be freedom of association, the right to join political parties of one's own choice — or not to join them	The LP believes that constitutionally groups are artificial in some cases, that in others they are existent. However, protection of rights in terms of what is popularly called minority rights becomes unimportant in the light of protection of individual rights.	One man one vote with protection for minorities — details are for constitutional experts to work out and subject to a process of negotiations.
4) Will courts have the power to test all legislation against a Bill of human rights and the basic constitution, that is, will the courts, the legislature or the executive be sovereign?	The South African Law Commission recently published a report after a comprehensive study which was commissioned by the NP Government. Among the recommendations of the Commission appear suggestions that cultural, religious and language rights of individuals should be enshrined in a Bill of Rights, subject to judicial supervision These recommendations suggest an important supervisory function of the courts in respect of individual rights.	We believe in the maintenance of judicial independence. A court of law will have no power to test legislation passed through the legislative process.	Yes. This is the Western democratic method of protecting people against unfair treatment	A judiciary free of the legislature is important in order to allow the courts to have testing rights on legislation. The legislature must therefore be sovereign.	Courts should have the right to test all legislation against the Bill of Human Rights.
5) Are you in favour of a Bill of Rights? Why/why not?	The NP is committed, in the words of its Plan of Action, "in order to stimulate the negotiating process among leaders, to instruct credible and independent experts to study all possible constitutional models, and to define the implications, advantages and disadvantages of each model". The advisability or otherwise of incorporating a Bill of Rights into a future constitution would obviously also come within the ambit of such a study.	The CP is not in favour of a Bill of Rights, as it believes in the sovereignty of Parliament.	Our support for a Bill of Rights is one of our most basic beliefs. This is the tried and trusted democratic method of protecting human rights. We reject enforced grouping of citizens by race, and stand for free association. We shall protect the basic rights of all people, including their cultural, linguistic and religious rights through the Bill of Rights and the constitution	A Bill of Rights is absolutely essential to protect the rights of the individual as the latter is of paramount importance.	Solidarity is in favour of a Bill of Rights for the protection of human rights against the abuse of power and executive authority.
NEGOTIATION **6) What is your strategy for negotiating a new constitution? Who will you negotiate with and on what terms?**	Negotiation on the provisions of a new constitution can only be entered into between the various population groups as represented by their recognised leaders All groups and organisations will be welcome at the conference table, provided they share a commitment to the peaceful and constitutional resolution of political differences The NP stands firm in its conviction that the use of violence to achieve political objectives is in essence in conflict with the fundamentals of democracy	The CP is prepared to negotiate with blacks and other groups over their constitutional development. The right of the whites to rule themselves in their own fatherland is, however, non-negotiable	Our strategy for negotiation is first to allow normal black political organisation by unbanning organisations presently banned or restricted. We would then negotiate with the leaders of parties as they emerge, whether national or as a result of apartheid institutions. We would establish a neutral negotiating forum while government continues, and implement measures as and when consensus is achieved towards a constitution based on universal franchise, federalism, and the avoidance of majority domination.	The National Council already approved by Parliament could become the starting point for negotiation. It is essential that the negotiation must start within the parliamentary process, but negotiation must be broadened to include extra-parliamentary forces and especially the African National Congress.	Release Nelson Mandela and political detainees and prisoners, unban proscribed organisations and create a climate conducive to negotiation. All parties must ensure peace and stability. Law and order must be maintained. All parties including exiles abroad who wish to negotiate a new political dispensation must participate in a forum to draft a new contitutional framework which will be acceptable to all South Africans.
7) How do you regard the role of (a) Parliament and (b) extra-parliamentary organisations in bringing about change?	The NP Plan of Action states categorically. "Parliament is the only institution which can ultimately effect amendments to the constitution" That being the case, it follows that extra-parliamentary organisations can participate in prior negotiation about a constitutional dispensation, but the ultimate enactment of such a dispensation will be the prerogative of Parliament	Parliament is the only instrument whereby change in the direction of partition can be realised. Under CP rule it will be possible for extra-parliamentary organisations to bring their ideas to the attention of the legislative body. The opinions of terrorist and subversive organisations will, however, not be taken into account.	The distinction between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations is an artificial one which leads to polarisation. Both sets should be involved in the political process, interacting and managing change towards a First World society and constitution. We do not believe in radical change, but change is inevitable. The challenge remains to direct the change and not be mastered by it, and this can only occur when the efforts of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations are synthesised.	Parliament has a recognised and constitutional right to change existing legislation, and peaceful change can only take place constitutionally. Extra-parliamentary groups can keep alive the resistance to laws that enforce apartheid. However, the resistance must not be violent.	Parliament must play a pivotal role in bringing people to the negotiating table as any new constitutional framework which is approved by a constitutional forum must be approved by Parliament for it to be translated into law. Extra-parliamentary forces must be part of the negotiating process and the constitutional model worked out must be acceptable to all the parties involved in the discussions. Before discussions can commence, violence must be brought to an end.
8) How do you view the role of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in a negotiation process?	The Government has repeatedly said that Mr Mandela may be part of the negotiation process if, by his commitment to peaceful negotiation, he himself makes his release possible His voluntary statement after his recent meeting with the former State President offers grounds for optimism in this regard	Nelson Mandela is leader of the ANC. The CP will not negotiate with the ANC or any other terrorist or communist organisation.	Mr Mandela's release is the key to successful negotiations getting off the ground Only then will other leaders and organisations be prepared to get involved in the process Mr Mandela will determine his own role in the negotiations We see this as being part of the leadership of the Charterist group of organisations	The LP has always maintained that Mr Nelson Mandela has a significant contribution to make in the peace-finding process The Government has made him the international figure he is by continued incarceration He has international support and commands the respect of the majority of South Africans.	Nelson Mandela can and must play a dominant role in working for reconciliation amongst the various groupings in South Africa He has indicated that our problems must be resolved in peace He could be a catalyst for national reconciliation.
ECONOMIC **9) What kind of basic economic system do you envisage for SA? (Capitalism/socialism/something in between).**	Again, the NP Plan of Action is quite explicit: "A free enterprise economy is the most important source of economic growth and development." Therefore, the NP commits itself to reduce the State's share of the economy through a policy of privatisation, deregulation and fiscal discipline. This commitment implies, *inter alia*, the optimal application of the means of production through the promotion of free enterprise and effective competition within a market-orientated economic system.	The CP believes very strongly in the furtherance of the capitalist system and orderly free enterprise, while at the same time it will not allow power-hungry monopolies to be formed. The CP acknowledges that there must be certain state enterprises such as posts and telecommunications, transport services and so on.	The DP believes in the free enterprise system and would like to see a properly functioning market economy. However, it also requires from such a system that equality in the market place is ensured, that there is free and fair competition, that monopolies, price-fixing and other activities which impair such competition are eliminated to the extent that is possible, and that consumers are protected against exploitation.	An economic future lies in a free enterprise system which could be incorporated into a South Africanism based on the acceptance that the mineral wealth of the country must be exploited to the advantage of all South African states.	The free enterprise system and state participation in economic activity only when the private sector is unable or unwilling to participate. Even while the State pioneers a business development for strategic reasons the enterprise should be privatised as soon as it can stand on its own feet. However, South Africa will need a mixed economy for many years to come to redress racially inspired economic imbalances.

ow can you fight inflation and keep taxes affordable?	A single-digit inflation rate is an NP priority. We aim to involve the entire community in efforts to expose unjustifiable price increases. The easing of the tax burden will be pursued by efforts to keep State expenditure within the means of the country by the proper establishment of priorities Unnecessary duplication of services will be reduced to a minimum, and privatisation will be encouraged as a means of spreading the tax burden more widely	Government overspending will be stopped and the redistribution of income without taking into account productivity will also be stopped, thus pegging inflation and excessive taxation.	The DP would make the Reserve Bank a totally independent body not subject to political influences. Money supply would be controlled and government spending contained. Wasteful expenditure will be eliminated — in particular, expenditure related to apartheid and other ideological extravagance. The DP aims to reduce taxes. This can be achieved by greater business confidence, steps to encourage economic growth, privatising appropriate government services and by establishing a leaner public service.	The demise of apartheid and the restoration of our international image will contribute to greater investment and economic support.	...ation can be addressed in part by greater productivity.' The way to keep taxes affordable is to rapidly move away from socialist leanings, by affording all people an opportunity to acquire the best possible skills and to create an economic climate in which trade and industry grow at a steady rate giving employment and paying reasonable wages — enabling citizens to take care of themselves instead of being a burden to the State. Individual rates of taxation will have to be lowered to encourage initiative.
11) Do you seek a redistribution of wealth between black and white? If so, how would you set out to achieve it?	No The poor are not enriched by impoverishing the wealthy Moreover the concept of a redistribution of wealth is a socialist dream, a philosophy to which the NP does not subscribe Instead, the NP is in favour of economic policies which will promote job creation. In that way new wealth can be created in South Africa, so that all South Africans may prosper, rather than one group at the expense of others.	The CP does not seek a redistribution of wealth between black and white. The CP believes in compensation according to productivity.	The DP does not believe in a physical redistribution of wealth. It does believe that services provided by the state must be non-discriminatory, and that there must be equal opportunities for education and training for all. There is always a redistribution of wealth through the medium of taxation, where taxes paid by the wealthier section of the population is used to provide social services for those in need There will, through this medium, be a redistribution of wealth.	The LP believes in the redistribution of wealth. This can be achieved in terms of narrowing the profit margin and increasing wages and salaries — also by greater participation by workers by investing in the firm and sharing in the profits. Redistribution of land, particularly agricultural land, will assist in the redistribution of wealth.	Blacks should have an opportunity to become a part of the free enterprise system by removing all impediments and recognising the need for interaction between white and black business for the mutual benefit of both the haves and have-nots. Blacks will have to be assisted to participate fully in wealth creation and to share in the prosperity generated. State-assisted programmes aimed at full black participation in economic activity and prosperity will be necessary.
12) What is your policy on nationalism or privatising industries?	The privatisation policy of the NP is aimed at denationalisation of as many State undertakings as is practicable This will contribute to relieving the tax burden, and ensuring that scarce capital resources will only be applied where the need is greatest. The proceeds of the privatisation of State enterprises will be applied to reduce the national debt, which will further reduce the tax burden on the taxpayer Furthermore, these proceeds will also make the development of new capital projects possible.	The CP is not opposed to certain forms of privatisation. We are, however, opposed to the government policy of selling State assets to cover current expenses and to finance the redistribution of income. Any profits from privatisation must be used for the creation of further infrastructure assets.	The DP does not believe in the nationalisation of industries The means of production should be owned by private enterprise. We believe that those parastatals which are capable of being privatised should be privatised, but not in such a way to replace a public monopoly with a private monopoly. Therefore, we believe that the shares of such enterprises should be spread widely amongst the public and those employed by the enterprise. Out of their very nature, there are some functions which cannot be privatised.	We believe in privatisation of industries.	Privatisation is a necessity provided that equity in the business does not go from a State mokopoly to a private monopoly It must not be at the expense of job creation. The first priority of scarce capital is to facilitate the launching of new enterprises which will provide new work opportunities rather than transfer ownership from the State to the private sector without contribution to job creation
SECURITY 13) What sort of defence force do you think is necessary? (Call-up/voluntary, etc)	The NP is firmly of the opinion that the maintenance of our Defence Force as a people's army is in the best interests of the security of South Africa. It guarantees a far greater involvement of the public in security matters than a professional army alone would be able to. While we will jealously guard the readiness of our Defence Force in terms of both manpower and equipment, the party will endeavour to limit the use of Citizen Force and Commando members	The CP is in favour of the call-up system as this ensures greater stability	South Africa requires a strong, non-racial, well-trained and properly equipped Defence Force consisting of a professional standing army backed up by volunteer reserves. This concept envisages the phasing out, as circumstances permit, of military conscription. The reserves should be recruited on a non-racial basis to provide for cases of sudden threat escalation Until conscription has been phased out, the DP recognises the right of those who do not wish to be conscripted to specified alternative service.	Any country will always need a Defence Force. It must be voluntary particularly now when a just society is non-existent and therefore cannot be defended.	In a normal society during the time of peace a voluntary force would suffice and a call-up would be necessary in times of war. Compulsory military service in an equal society would pose no serious problem A small permanent force might suffice in post-apartheid South Africa.
14) What is your attitude to the use of emergency powers in times of unrest?	The first duty of a government is to protect people and their property against enemies and criminal elements. Normal security legislation and the maintenance of a strong and independent judiciary are usually sufficient to meet those demands. However, sometimes special measures such as the regulations proclaimed in terms of the state of emergency are temporarily justified in order to restore conditions of stability in the interests of normal living conditions and development	The CP believes that the Government should have sufficient authority to act against subversion and unrest. The CP therefore feels that these powers should be available to the Government at all times, under all circumstances. It should therefore not be necessary for a government to call a state of emergency just to secure certain powers.	The DP accepts that government should be able to deal quickly and expeditiously with threats to the internal security of the country. We are of the opinion, though, that the present emergency regulations bring the law as a whole into disrepute. All security laws and regulations must be brought in line with accepted tenets of the rule of law. These include the right to access of the courts, to habeus corpus, access to legal representatives, safeguards against inhumane methods of interrogation, etc	The LP has always been against the state of emergency. Remove the causes of unrest and the response — sometimes violent — will be absent. Any country must have the right, if it is a just society, to implement emergency regulations. This is true all over the world.	In any free society emergency powers would only be imposed in extreme situations and for a short duration.
APARTHEID 15) What is your policy on segregation or integration of facilities such as residential areas, hospitals, parks, schools, hotels, etc?	The NP rejects discrimination against individuals or groups on the basis of race, sex or religion. Where it still exists, it must be eliminated in an orderly way However, we respect freedom of choice. Therefore, provision is made for an own community life and own residential areas and schools for those who so prefer, as well as for a pattern of free settlement, together with a system of subsidised private schools for those who prefer to live outside a specific group context	The CP stands firm on the right of whites to their own separate community life. Therefore separate public facilities, separate residential areas, hospitals, schools and the like are vital. Provision can be made for international facilities with regards to hotels, but only in such a way as not to threaten the concept of an own community life.	The segregation of residential areas and public facilities is the visible face of apartheid. We reject apartheid entirely, as it insults human dignity. More than this, it impoverishes us. It increases the cost of decent, affordable housing, of education and of health service. It prevents us from understanding each other and forming a common nationhood. The DP stands for an open society, in which individuals are free to live where they want and can afford, and in which facilities are provided on a non-racial basis	The South African society must be an open society. The right of the individual is paramount and he/she must have the right to exercise the freedom to live where he/she wants to live. All facilities, schools, hospitals etc must be open to all South Africans at all times and there must be no discrimination on the basis of race, colour and creed.	The State should not regulate by law the behavioural patterns of people on the basis of colour. People must be free to purchase or enjoy services purely on the basis of an economic decision. The philosophy should apply equally in regard to homes, hospitals, parks, schools etc,
16) Do you regard free settlement areas as an acceptable compromise between those who promote and those who oppose the scrapping of statutory group areas? Why/why not?	Not only do free settlement areas represent an acceptable compromise, it also offers an opportunity for the various communities to demonstrate by their actions whether they prefer exclusive or shared neighbourhoods and community facilities. In that way the South African population as a whole may exercise the principle of voluntary association or dissociation, setting the pattern for the future	The CP is completely opposed to free settlement areas which can only lead to the eventual opening of all residential areas It is declared policy of the CP that the Group Areas Act will be maintained and enforced.	No. There is no compromise between tolerance and intolerance. We wish the Group Areas Act to be repealed entirely. In this way, the "trauma" of residential integration is spread across the entire country gradually and evenly. Contrary to popular belief, free settlement areas are not a compromise. The establishment of FSA's unleashed the pressures of enormous numbers of blacks, coloureds and Indians in need of housing on a very limited number of residential areas and invites instant slums.	Free settlement areas are not acceptable for it is part of the concretisation of the Group Areas Act. All South Africa must be free to all its people. The Group Areas Act is an act of discrimination, an act of theft, of denial of freedom; unchristian and ungodly.	Free settlement areas offer no solution since it is clear that white racists can campaign vigorously to negate the provisions in the law for the proclamation of free settlement areas and thereby increase interracial conflict instead of getting to grips with the problem.
17) What is your attitude to race classification?	The NP freely admits that the present basis in terms of which groups are defined for the purpose of political participation creates many problems. Therefore, it proposes to revise that basis in a process of negotiation, so that greater freedom of choice can be ensured. The Plan of Action stipulates certain guidelines. Freedom of association and of dissociation, the free movement of persons between groups and the recognition of the right of a group to maintain its own identity and values are among those.	It is vital that the Population Registration Act be maintained, in order to differentiate between the different communities.	We reject race classification entirely and would immediately repeal the offensive sections of the Population Registration Act which give legality to race classification.	The law of race classification must be repealed as it makes a farce of our personhood. The so-called coloured people are non-existent anthropologically. It is a mockery when, as happened this year, 13 whites are classified coloured, 347 coloureds are classified white, 11 Malay are classified white, 63 coloureds are classified Indian and 240 blacks are classified Cape coloured! We one and all have to be South Africans. Why classify blacks into ethnic groups and not whites — who have many ethnic groups?	Race classification must be scrapped since it has been the basis of discrimination and compulsory cetegorisation of people Work opportunities must be available to all without discrimination on the basis of colour
LABOUR 18) What is your policy towards workers' and trade unions' rights?	The NP is justly proud of its achievements in the field of labour relations Not only has our manpower legislation internationally been acknowledged as being the basis of one of the most advanced systems in the Western world, but the NP Government has also accomplished the seemingly impossible in the wake of the Wiehahn Commission recommendations the black labour movement was brought into the manpower scene with a minimum of disruption.	When the CP comes to power, black and mixed trade unions will not be allowed to function inside white South Africa as they are being used as political instruments. Alternative channels for the settling of labour disputes will be made available.	Workers should be free to organise freely into unions of their choice. The state has a role in providing and sustaining a labour relations system in which organised labour and organised industry can negotiate to the benefit of both The Industrial Court has performed an important function and its role is able to be expanded. We are concerned at the levels of industrial disputes but attribute this principally to the fact that blacks lack other effective ways of displaying political frustrations.	We endorse emphatically the right of workers and trade unions especially in terms of bargaining.	Workers must have the right to organise trade unions for purposes of collective bargaining
19) Will you abolish or uphold capital punishment and, if the latter, for which crimes?	Capital punishment has not featured in the election campaign as an issue, and it would serve no purpose to drag it into the political arena at this late stage. For the time being, the NP is in favour of the retention of the status quo.	The death penalty will be maintained.	The DP has not as yet adopted a final stance on the issue of capital punishment, and members are free to propagate their personal viewpoints, as a matter of their own consciences It is however DP policy to: appoint a commission of inquiry into the continued usage of the death penalty, amend the law so as to allow an automatic right of appeal in all matters carrying the death penalty; revise the law in regard to mitigating factors so as to give judges full discretion in regard to the imposition of the death penalty.	We do not support capital punishment at all.	Solidarity has not taken a position on the vexed issue of capital punishment.
ELECTION 20) Do you forsee a "hung Parliament" after September 6? In the event of no party having an outright majority, which parties should form a coalition government?	No, even before the NP reasserted its dominant position in the election campaign, a "hung Parliament" existed only in the over optimistic dreams of Dr Worrall. The National Party never believed such an outcome to be more than a remote possibility Consequently, we never indulged in the purely hypothetical exercise of putting together a coalition government, and we are not about to begin now, at a stage when the current is running strongly in our favour	A hung Parliament is a possibility. The NP and the DP share the same basic principles and therefore it will be easier for them to form a coalition than say the CP and NP.	Yes A hung parliament is certainly a possibility, and it is currently the most realistic hope of breaking the logjam in white politics It is probably the only way to terminate the stagnation which typifies NP rule Real change can only come about a a result of realignment, and this will occur as a result of a hung parliament	The LP does not envisage a hung parliament. In the event of a hung parliament, all dominant parties together from all three Houses of Parliament must form a coalition government	Solidarity does not foresee a hung parliment after the election. In the event of no party having a outright majority, Solidarity will support a coalition of forward-thinking South Africans in parliament to steer the country through this critical period we face.

The Star

A message from the courts

NOT QUITE a Jericho trumpet for apartheid, perhaps — but last week's Supreme Court judgment that Carletonville must reopen its parks to blacks could become a landmark. And not just for reasons of law.

At the heart of Mr Justice Eloff's ruling was the issue of fairness. Describing as unbearable the Carletonville Council's decision to bar blacks from a park hardly ever used by whites, he ruled: "A town council has ... a duty towards the public as a whole, not only whites." Not surprisingly, the CP-controlled council plans to appeal. It has suffered a setback not just to petty racialism, but also to any pretence that what it was doing was somehow fair and moral. The judge disbelieved the claim that the council had acted because of abuses by blacks. With that tawdry justification nailed, the parks decision was revealed for what it was: a shabby attempt to consolidate white privilege at the expense of others.

Perhaps the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht — who approved Carletonville's actions — will explain now how he reconciles the judgment with his claim to having a "fair" policy.

Because the overall judgment took account of aspects specifically applying in Carletonville (the applicants said that the council's actions had caused them loss of business) it may not apply automatically to other towns where apartheid is entrenched; towns like Vereeniging, represented until recently by the new leader of the "new era" National Party, Mr F W de Klerk. This should not diminish its import.

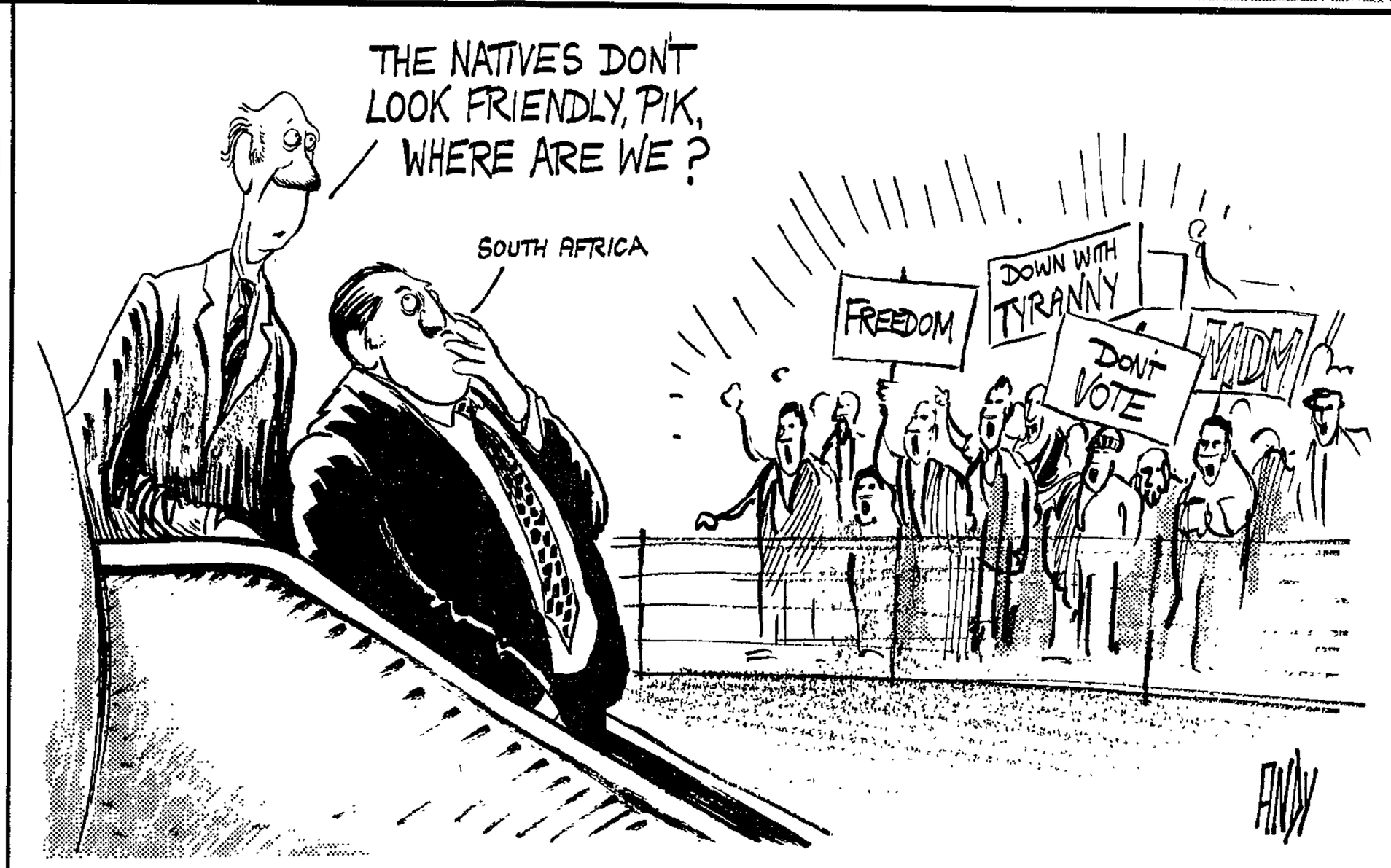
A judge seems to have found the reintroduction of this kind of apartheid morally abhorrent. That is a powerful message from the courts — and one that should contribute to an even earlier demise of the Separate Amenities Act. But even if the judgment should be overturned on appeal it would prove nothing more than that the law itself is abhorrent too.

Synfuel for thought

THE VIABILITY of synthetic fuel projects in South Africa has always been in doubt, so eyebrows will be raised anew at the Government's decision to approve in principle a new Natal project to produce ethanol from sugar cane.

Domestic oil and synfuel projects owe their existence to South Africa's embattled international status, which makes Africa's political isolation will continue for many years ... a sad commentary on prospects for change.

There are, however, advantages that should not be ignored. One is the potential for savings in foreign exchange at a time when South Africa badly needs this relief. Another is the benefit of job-crea-



Poignant exposé of expediency

The Manzoni Family by Natalia Ginzburg (Paladin R29,99)
Reviewed by FRANK JEANS

While the central figures of this cellent family portrait are Manzonis and in particular writer Alessandro, the rea gets a vivid insight into the ha ship and pathos of nineteenth c tury life — even at a bourge level.

Ginzburg has researched her s ject splendidly and the result fascinating account of the M zonis.

It is, on one hand, a poignant posé of blatant disregard human affection and the cast aside of young ones in the na of expediency. She conjures too, the constant battle for sur al in an age all too short in expectancy.

Alessandro, the son of a castav mother consigned to a life domestic slavery, emerges as of Italy's most notable writ who had struggled out of what regarded as the "filthy sheepf of monastery life.

Forsyth hits the target again

The Negotiator by Frederick Forsyth (Bantam Press R49,99)
Reviewed by MARTIN REICHMAN

With the abysmal rand the price of a book is high. R49,99 (with GST to come) is more or less the bottom line in hardbacks — and usually only with writers the publishers hope will sell well.

In Frederick Forsyth, of course, there are absolutely no doubts. You might as well ask if turkeys sell well over Christmas or cold beer in a pub on a hot summer's day.

This is his sixth novel and will join the best-seller ranks of the five that went before it, starting with **The Day of the Jackal.**

His style is spare (hardly a word let alone a page wasted), the pace unrelenting and the characters credible. And his observations and insights are those of the first-class newspaper reporter he once was.

Like describing the US Secretary of State, a tall, thin angular man always dressed in a three-piece charcoal-grey suit, gold fob watch-chain and stiff white collar as "resembling a flamingo en route to a funeral" or the fact there are "few more awesome sights than the combined forces of the world's media w... they have completely lost any



50 years ago: new books on World War 2

"Underneath the lantern, by the barrack gate, Darling I remember the way you used to wait ..." the haunting melody of Lili Marlene was common to both Allied and Axis troops in the North African campaign of World War 2. Words and music are collected in *'Bless. 'em All'*, by Denis Gifford, to be reviewed next Monday when the trials and tribulations ... and also the few lighter moments of 50 years ago ... are remembered in a selection of new books about the wa that changed the world. They include H I Willmott's *The Great Crusade* and the massive *Total War* by Calvocoressi, Windt, and Pritchard, both of which books attempt with varying success, an overview of the war. Then there's Godfrey Smith's *How i was in the War*, which lets us feel how peo

Twin letters used in attack on Malan

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(By E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Big drive to find voters in Pietersburg

Star 4/9/89 (304W)

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal Bureau

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NP candidate Mr Vic Borchers is confident of victory while CP leaders predict an increased majority for Mr Tom Langley, who won in 1987 by 250 votes.

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

(By D Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg.)

Star 4/9/89 (304A)

Nelspruit trio expect tough tussle

By Clyde Johnson,
Lowveld Bureau

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

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

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

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

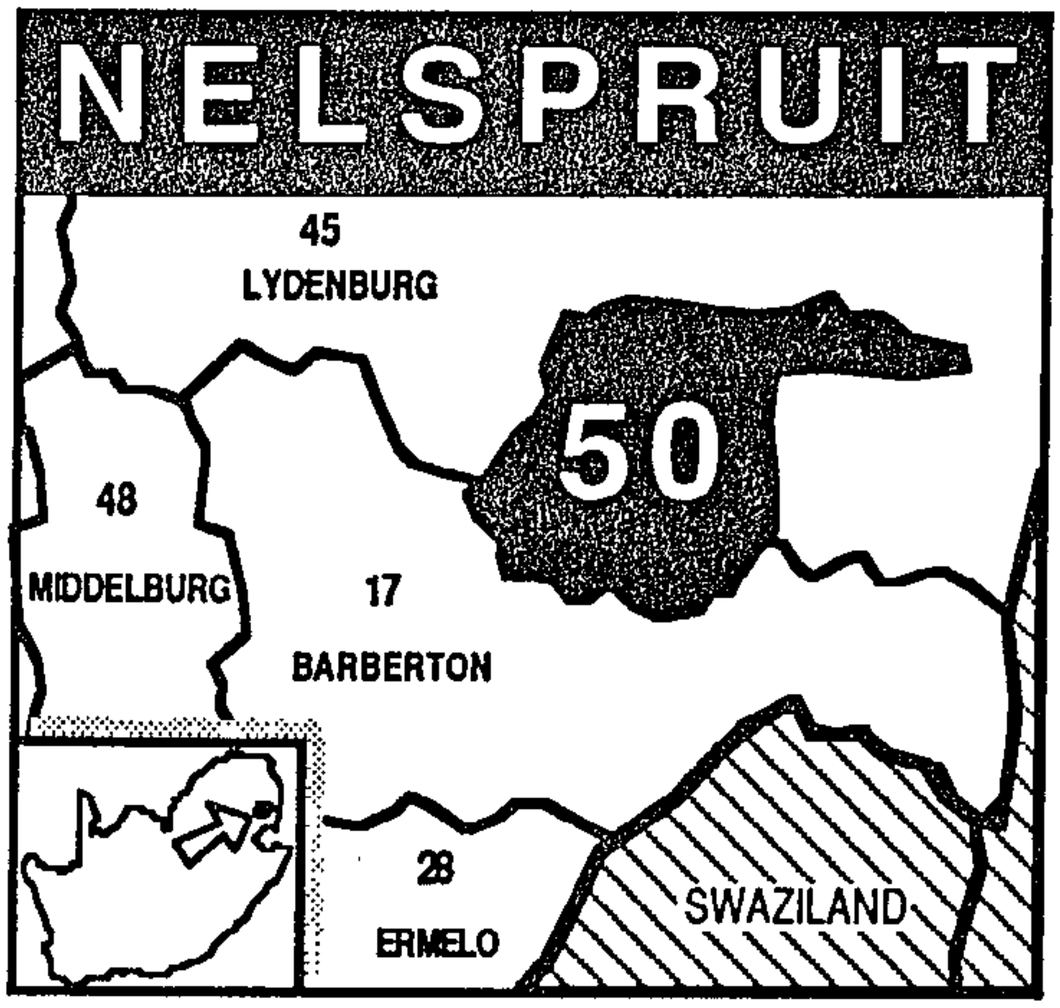
The constituency can be described as a highly productive area in a sub-tropical and forested region.

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

A high percentage of its 21 405 voters are qualified, managerial and entrepreneurial people.

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

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





Mr Stefan Grove of the Democratic Party . . . inherited problems but is still confident.



Mr Dolf Mare of the National Party . . . "I'm not an old-style fire-and-brimstone politician."



Mr Christo Smith of the Conservative Party . . . claims support from the ordinary worker.

Election 1989



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

DRAMATIC INROADS

In the last election, with a 70,94 percent poll, the NP obtained a 2 126 majority.

The breakdown in the four-cornered contest was: NP 7 335, CP 5 209, PFP 1 006, HNP 713.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRACK RECORD

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

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

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

● See Page 13 for more constituency profiles.

504A

FW and CP leader involved in bitter broedertwis

Brothers do battle across white political spectrum



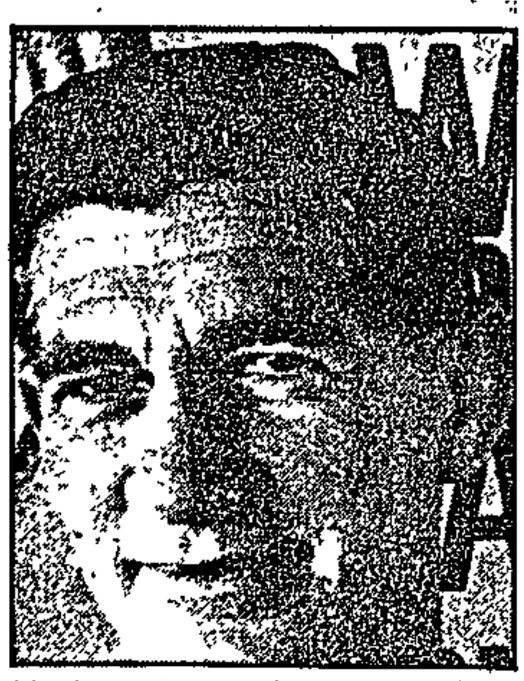
Mr F W de Klerk . . . still enjoys support in terms of "being given a chance".



Dr Willem "Wimpie" de Klerk . . . opposed to the racial political basis of groups.



Dr Andries Treurnicht . . . spoke against brother Attie while still a member of the NP.



Mr Attie Treurnicht . . . standing for HNP in Boksburg — "No power-sharing whatsoever."

Pat Devereaux

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Protecting jobs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"This is unacceptable to an overwhelming majority of South Africans. It is rooted in an enforced racial base, it is unpracticable and unaffordable, it is morally indefensible, and therefore it is no solution but an important part of the problem.

"I support a policy for a non-racial democracy composed of political parties formed through free association."

New home

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

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

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

(Report by P Devereaux, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Bastion of Pretoria's public servants

Star 4/9/89

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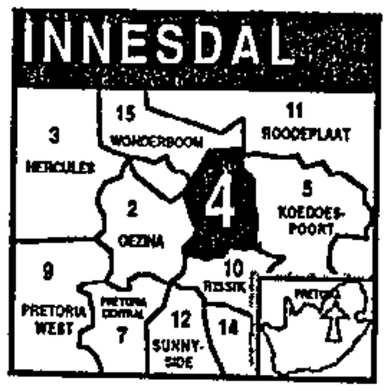
By NORMAN CHANDLER, Pretoria Bureau



It is one of the nicest middle-class areas anyone could wish to find in Pretoria.

If one cannot aspire to the plush eastern suburbs of the city, the Innesdal parliamentary constituency, which stretches from the elegant Union Buildings to the rugged Magaliesberg range, is probably the next best bet.

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

Innesdal — made up, in the main, by the suburbs of Villieria, Rietondale, Riviera, Deerness and a part of Wonderboom South — is home to thousands of public servants, particularly nurses, teachers, policemen, researchers, and employees of the parastatals and control boards which cluster on the west side of Meintje's Kop.

It is those people whom three political parties are trying to influence in the final days before the election.

The views expressed by the 19 983 electorate — overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking — indicate very clearly what their preferences are: limited reform as long as it doesn't affect their lifestyles, higher salaries and a virtual elimination of inflation, better facilities for the elderly (there are many aged in the constituency) and security of tenure.

They are also well aware of the importance of voting in general elections. Since the constituency was established in 1958, there have been regular turnouts of 70 percent or more. In 1958 it was more than 90 percent.

The seat is held by the National Party. The previous incumbent, Mr Albert Nothnagel, was appointed South African Ambassador to the Netherlands. He beat his main rival in 1987, the Rev C L van den Berg (Conservative Party) by 1 024 votes.

On Wednesday Mr van den Berg will again be at the hustings, representing the CP against the NP's Dr E H (Rina) Venter, and the Herstigte Nasionale Party's Mr Louis van der Schyff.

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

Day-care centres

To a large extent Dr Venter, a former president of the Vrouefederasie, has made the aged and children a priority on her election programme.

"I have identified a key element in the constituency the importance of specialised day-care centres for these people, and particularly children of working mothers," she says.

Mr van den Berg, on the other hand, believes the 30-year grip the Nationalists have held on Innesdal seat is over.

He believes his basic Afrikaner attitudes and background will help swing the vote. He was a member of the 1980 Paardekraal festival trek from Potchefstroom to Heidelberg, and of last year's Far North trek during the "Great Trek 150" celebrations.

A minister in the Hervormde Church for 36 years, he believes the public-sector wage-earner must be placed on an equal footing with those of the private sector, and is campaigning hard on this aspect.

"I am concerned about the lot of nurses, teachers and policemen," he says. All three make up a strong proportion of the constituency's electorate.

During his campaign, Mr van den Berg has also courted pensioners, the aged in general and the infirm. "I believe these people need a cut in housing and medical costs, and I will be fighting for that."

Mr van der Schyff (39) will be trying to emulate Mr Louis Stofberg, who was chief secretary of the HNP when he won Sasolburg in 1985.

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

Mr van der Schyff is realistic about his chances: "I don't really think I will be able to swing it, but we will give it a good try. It will be a dramatic victory if we pull it off."

(Report by N Chandler, 218 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Every vote should count in Edenvale

Star 4/9/89

304A

By JOE OPENSHAW

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

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

The constituency has a history of being represented by nearly every major party which has contested elections. In 1948 it was taken by the Labour Party. Twice it returned UP candidates — in 1953 and 1974. In 1958 an NP candidate took it. Mr Goodall has twice taken it for the Progressive Federal Party. In the previous election Mrs Joan Hunter of the NP won the seat with a slim majority of 168.

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

Something of an enigma

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

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

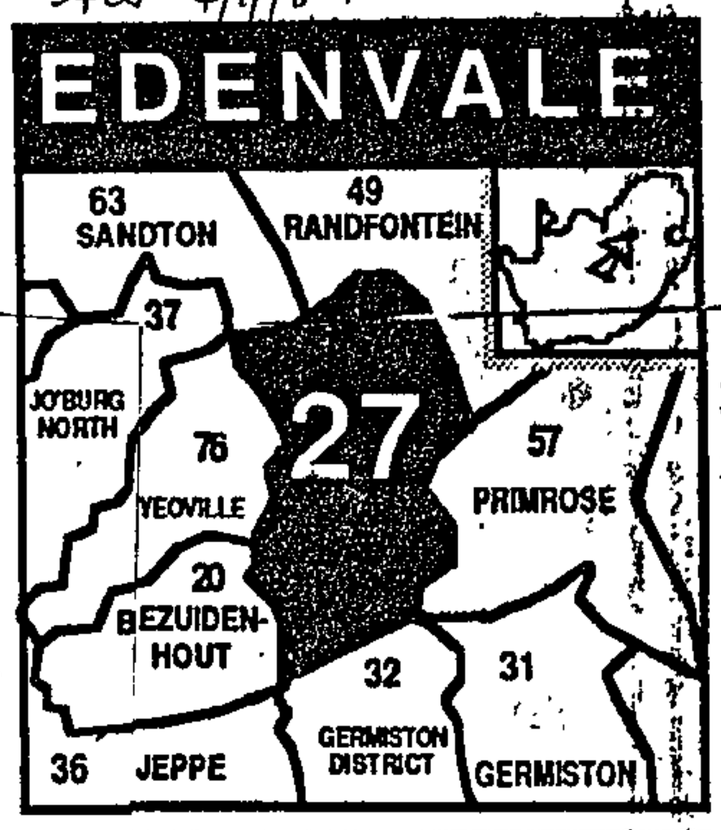
Sitting MP Mrs Hunter believes Mr Venter is standing to cause confusion among the voters.

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

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

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

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





Mrs Joan Hunter.



Mr Brian Goodall.



Mr P Venter.

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

In 1987 there was a 65,1 percent poll and the NP collected 6 902 votes, the PFP 6 744.

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

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

"It is estimated that the cost of disinvestment and sanctions have cost us R60 billion since 1976," he says.

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

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

(Report by J Openshaw, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

NP faces onslaught from both sides

Argus Political Staff

THE National Party is this year facing a challenge in the rural areas of the Western Cape which is unequalled since the days of the tough fights between it and the old United Party in the thirties through to the sixties.

ELECTION

The onslaught comes from the left as well as the right in a region where the National Party has for a long time made a clean sweep.

The Swartland, where the constituencies of Piketberg and Malmesbury lie, is traditionally, and strongly, Nationalist. The winning margins in the last election — more than 5 000 votes in each seat — testify to that.

The incumbents, both Cabinet Ministers, are not expecting defeat. Minister of the Environment Mr Gert Kotze held the seat two years ago with a majority of 7 415, while the new Cape leader of the NP and Minister of Administration and Privatisation, Dr Dawie de Villiers, was clear by 5 314 votes.

But there is little doubt the Conservative Party and Democratic Party challenges this time around have brought a certain edge to the contests.

The CP fought both seats in 1987 — polling 2 896 votes in Piketberg and 1 435 in Malmesbury — but they are perceived as a greater threat this time. Party sources say plattelanders whose traditional political home was the right of the NP are now dissatisfied with the pace at which the NP has moved away from its earlier policies, to embrace more far-reaching power sharing.

The CP, in fact, is not contesting Malmesbury this time, but is putting up a determined fight in Piketberg.

A CP source said: "The Nats are worried because they know we are a threat. We are going all out."

Two years ago, the PFP put up a candidate only in Malmesbury, polling 1 486 votes (30-odd more than the CP), but the DP is fighting both seats this time.

Like the CP, but from the left, the DP is determinedly eroding the Swartland's NP tradition.

Said Piketberg DP candidate Mr Attie Engelbrecht: "We are going very well. Of course, we don't expect to win, but we are getting very good support. A lot of it is 'underground' ... people don't want to admit openly that they support us because of the way it might affect their businesses or jobs."

The economy — and how it affects farmers — has emerged as the chief issue.

Mr Engelbrecht says: "The farmers are really struggling, they can't make ends meet. The CP are picking up a lot of support because of this."

He says the CP is bound to do well because it has a bigger campaign.

Down the road towards Cape Town, in Malmesbury, Mr Jan van Gend has found pockets of "exceptional support" in the southern, urban portions of the constituency.

Near the end of the campaign the National Party has come with a pamphlet which the DP says is "fighting dirty".

Among other things it alleges that the DP is in favour of forced school and residential integratiuon and that it is league with danmgerous elements that practise violence..

In Swellendam too, it is more of a question of showing the flag as far as the D P and the CP are concerned.

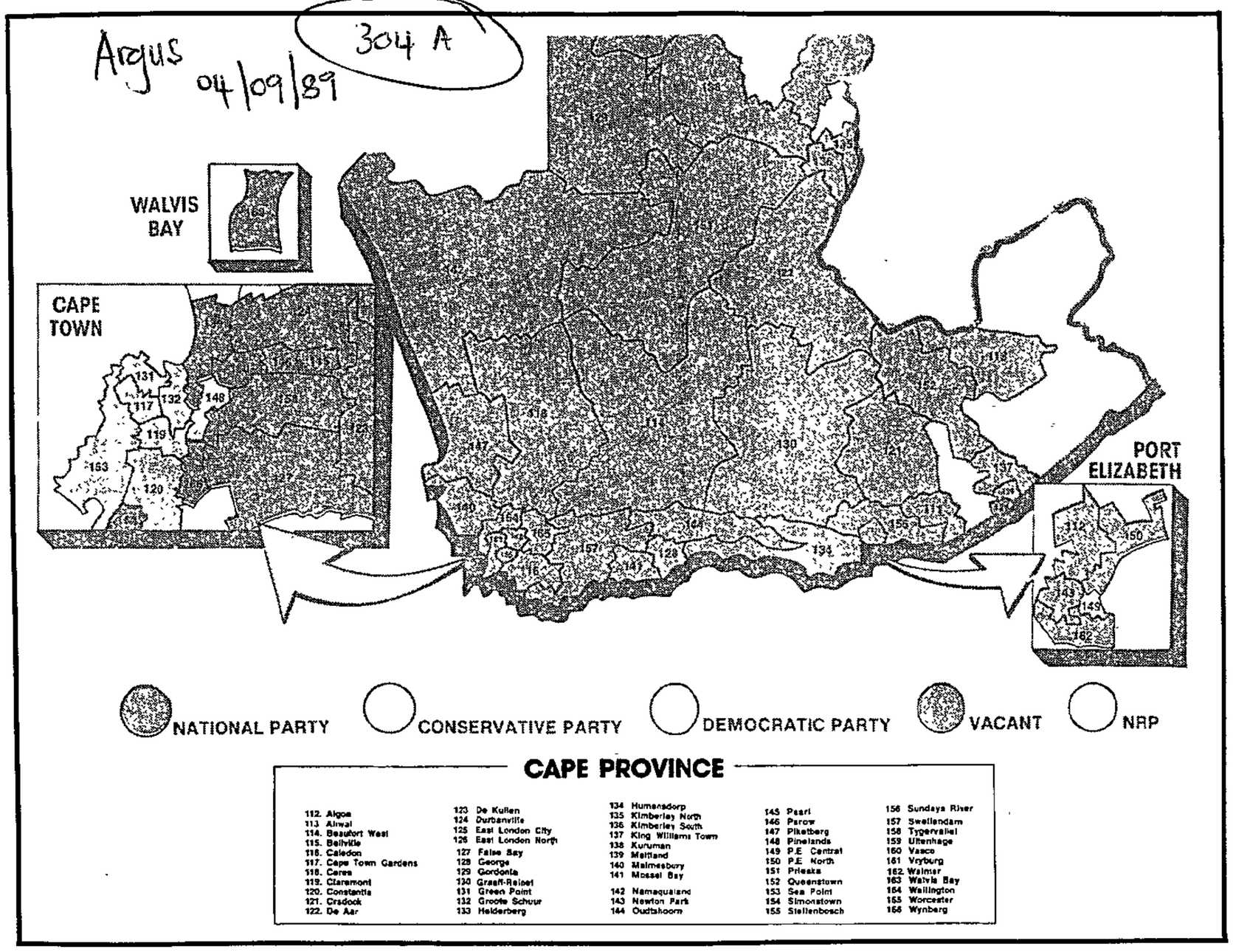
Swellendam is a strongly export-orientated constituency, producing as it does fruit, wine and wool.

The DP is being perceived as a genuinely and serious new party which appeals to more verligte Nationalists, yet many of these Nationalists who are dissatisfied with their party will probably abstain from voting.

According to Dr G Duvenhage, the CP candidate, the issues in the campaign have been mainly the economy and constitutional reform,. especially the National Party's concepot of power sharing.

He maintained that there was noticeable growth in the support for the CP.

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



CAPE PROVINCE

112. Algoa	123 De Kuilen	134 Humansdorp	145 Paarl	156 Sundays River
113. Alnwal	124 Durbanville	135 Kimberley North	146 Parow	157 Swellendam
114. Beaufort West	125 East London City	136 Kimberley South	147 Piketberg	158 Tygervalei
115. Bellville	126 East London North	137 King Williams Town	148 Pinelands	159 Uitenhage
116. Caledon	127 False Bay	138 Kuruman	149 P.E Central	160 Vasco
117. Cape Town Gardens	128 George	139 Maitland	150 P.E North	161 Vryburg
118. Ceres	129 Gordonia	140 Malmesbury	151 Prieska	162 Walmar
119. Claremont	130 Graaff-Reinet	141 Mossel Bay	152 Queenstown	163 Walvis Bay
120. Constantia	131 Green Point	142 Namaqualand	153 Sea Point	164 Wellington
121. Cradock	132 Groote Schuur	143 Newton Park	154 Simonstown	165 Worcester
122. De Aar	133 Helderberg	144 Oudtshoorn	155 Stellenbosch	166 Wynberg

THE results in a number of key constituencies throughout the country will give an indication on Wednesday night of how the voting in the general election has gone.

These are seats where the NP, the DP and the CP have been involved in tough fights.

The indications are that the National Party will lose a large number of these seats to the opposition parties.

Seats to watch for when the results come out on Wednesday night and Thursday morning are:

CAPE PROVINCE: Simon's Town, Wynberg, Green Point, Helderberg, Walmer, Albany, King William's Town, Queenstown, East London City, East London North, Port Elizabeth Central, Kuruman, Vryburg, De Aar, Oudtshoorn, Uitenhage and Sunday's River.

TRANSVAAL: Lydenburg, Rustenburg, Randburg, Stilfontein, Wonderboom, Hercules, Pretoria West, Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom, Meyerton, Geduld, Springs, Krugersdorp, Maraisburg, Roodeplaat, Innesdal, Gezina, Edenvale and North Rand.

NATAL: Umhlanga, Umbilo, Durban Point, Pietermaritzburg North and Pietermaritzburg South, Newcastle, Umfolozi, South Coast and Mooi River.

FREE STATE: Sasolburg, Parys, Heilbron, Fauresmith, Ladybrand, Bethlehem and Welkom.

Gains can be expected in Cape key seats

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE National Party stands to lose a few Cape seats to the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party in the general election but the mainstay of its support in the country will remain in this province.

In the House of Representatives election in 60 seats in the province the Labour Party is assured of a virtual clean sweep.

With one vacancy in the old Assembly the National Party held 48 of the seats in the province and the Democratic Party 7.

The DP's best chance of winning appears to be in Simon's Town, which some Nationalist politicians are now conceding the NP will lose.

There is also a close contest in Wynberg which the Nationasl Party won by only 97 votes from the PFP in 1987, but here both sides are claiming that they can win.

There is another needle contest in Albany, a seat the PFP lost to the National Party by 844 votes in 1987.

In Port Elizabeth the DP is confident of winning Walmer, but the National Party maintains that it can hold the seat and that it has a good chance in Port Elizabeth Central where the PFP majority was 596.

In the Border area the DP seems to have the best chance in East London Central where the Nationalist MPs, Mr Peet de Pontes, retired after a scandal. In the municipal elections last year National Party candidates in East London lost. This was seen as a sign of disgruntlement among voters following the De Pontes affair.

There are also hard fights in East London North, King William's Town and Queenstown, but it appears as if the National Party will hold these seats.

The Conservative Party has never been able to make a breakthrough in the Cape but it stands a good chance of winning at least one seat, Kuruman, this time.

In the last election the NP held on to this seat by only 352 votes.

The CP is also strongly challenging the NP in Oudtshoorn but the NP feels that it can hold on to this one as well as to Uitenhage and Sunday's River where it is also involved in tough fights against the CP.

In the House of Representatives election campaign the candidates have concentrated on house meetings rather than public meetings and the biggest effort has gone into getting people to bring out special votes.

This has been aimed at countering boycott efforts by some organisations and the response has varied greatly from the rural areas where in some cases more than 5 000 special votes have been recorded to areas like Mitchell's Plain where only a few hundred have voted.

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

NP's last rally disappoints, DP 'sold out'

Star 5/4/89. Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

NO EUPHORIA

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

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

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

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

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

LETTER FROM MDM

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

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

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

(Report by P Fabricius E van der Merwe, and M Moroke, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Experts predict between 20 and 60 seats will fall to CP, DP

304A

Star 5/9/89

NP braced for battering

Political Staff

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

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

The Conservative and Democratic parties believe they will take at least 28 seats from the NP, and possibly as many as 60

Most commentators believe the NP will lose about 26 of its 122 seats to end with about 96, the CP will gain 19 to get 41 and the DP will add at least 10 to its present 19 to end with 29

This is the average of predictions by the leading political commentators and the parties themselves

Nearly 40 percent of white voters in the Transvaal and Free State have already cast votes for tomorrow s election, with an astonishing 58 percent recorded in Soutpansberg and 53 percent in Parys

With election fever gripping the country, electoral officers expect a rush before the special polling booths close at 2 pm today.

Parties are still bidding for last-minute support The election is seen as one of the most vital in our history

By yesterday morning, 740 173 whites in the Transvaal and Free State (38 percent) had cast special votes.

A large uncertain vote, probably still as high as 20 percent on average, is making for one of the most unpredictable elections in years

Hung Parliament

The biggest question mark hanging over the election is how well the CP can do, with predictions ranging from under 30 seats to over 60. The CP itself believes it can win from 42 to 72 seats, and the NP concedes the CP could win 40, a substantial gain of 18.

NP sources are also prepared to concede in private that the DP could increase its representation from 19 to about 27. This would mean a nett loss for the NP of 26 seats

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

CP information officer Mr Koos van der Merwe, however, said today the CP was still sticking to its predictions of winning about 60 seats This would make a hung parliament almost inevitable, as the DP ought to get at least 23 to deny the NP an overall majority

DP chief secretary Mr Neil Ross yesterday predicted the DP would win 35 to 42 seats. Less optimistic DP sources put the figure closer to 30

The three parties are now turning their attention to the work of urging voters to the polling booths tomorrow

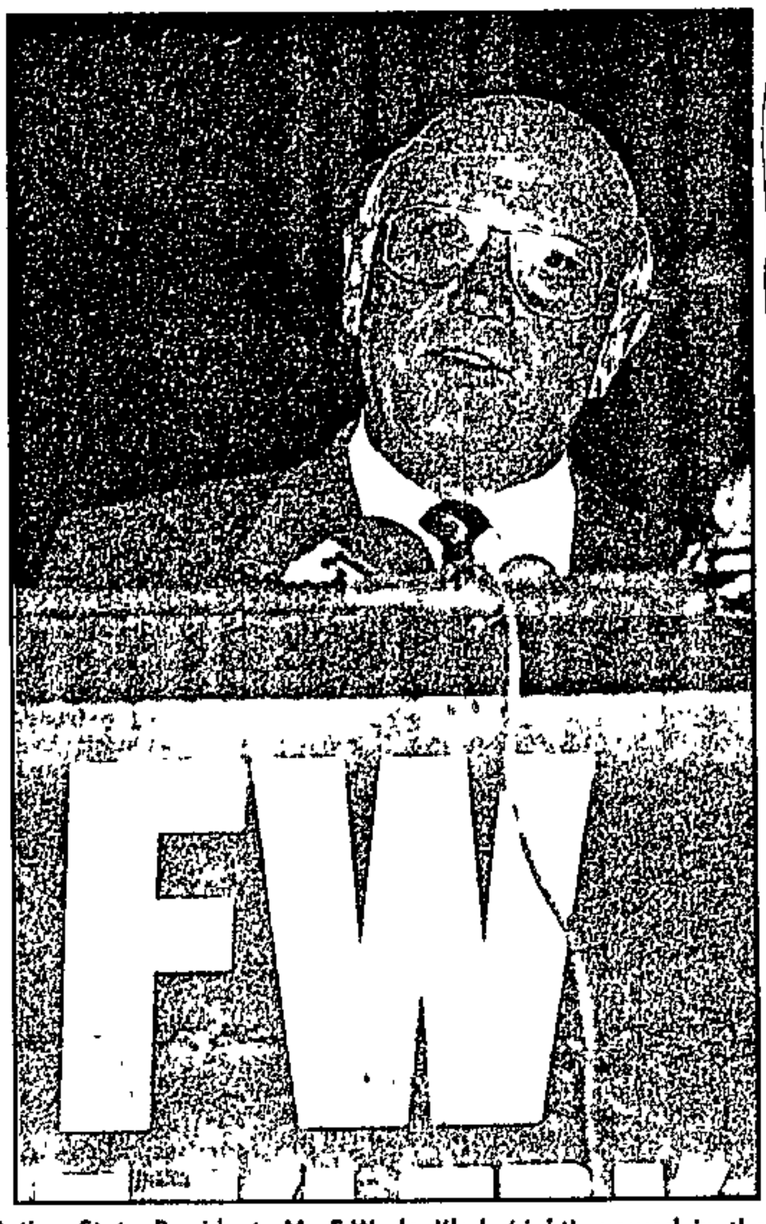
● In the House of Delegates and House of Representatives elections, the turn out has varied greatly One of the main reasons for the new special vote system was to minimise intimidation by people opposed to the elections

The MDM's call to coloured and Indian voters to ignore the elections seems to have had an effect Voting has varied from 3 percent in the Delegates seat of North-Western Transvaal to 35 percent in Actonville

(Report by P Fabricius 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria and E van der Merwe 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

● See Page 6.





Wrapping up their parties' election campaigns last night, the Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk (right), vowed in the Johannesburg City Hall that there would only be snap elections in future and Dr Zach de Beer (left), seen here speaking in Dewetshof, Johannesburg, appeared at meetings in three constituencies.

Police swoop on activists as election protests mount

Star 5/9/89

By Craig Kotze

Police arrested scores of protesters yesterday in a continued crackdown on those taking part in the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign.

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

Yesterday, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said the SAP had information that children would be used to disrupt the elections and warned that police were prepared for any eventuality

Brigadier Leon Mellet, Mr Vlok's press secretary, said police action would "include the arrest of certain ringleaders and persons behind the misuse and abuse of children for political propaganda purposes"

It is not yet known how many have been detained

Archbishop Desmond Tutu Dr Allan Boesak and Dr Beyers Naude were arrested in Cape Town yesterday after police banned and broke up an anti-election meeting at the Central Methodist Church The banning was overturned by the Cape Supreme Court last night

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

"The SAP sank to new depths last night when they desecrated my cathedral, used a Casspir armoured vehicle to blockade the Buitenkant Street Methodist Church and arrested a group of church leaders and lawyers who were taking exception to their action," he said in a statement

FRESH CRACKDOWN

The fresh crackdown was announced after a meeting in Cape Town yesterday between Mr Vlok, his deputy, Mr Leon Wessels, senior police officers and Mr Abe Williams, Deputy Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives

Developments in the defiance campaign yesterday included.

● Ten anti-election protesters were arrested in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, and 24 students were arrested in Durban yesterday

● Pupils yesterday erected a flaming barricade in Athlone

● At the nearby Hewat Training College about 300 students and pupils staged a rally, where they danced and sang freedom songs

● The ANC in Lusaka urged South Africans to reject the Government's reform plans

● The MDM in the southern Transvaal pledged to continue the process of dismantling apartheid and to intensify its efforts to "peacefully rid ourselves of all discriminatory and restrictive laws"

● About 2 000 pupils from high schools in Actonville, Benoni, began a stayaway yesterday in protest against plans to have a polling booth at the Liverpool High School

● TPolice banned a Cape Democrats meeting at the city hall last night, which was to have been addressed by Dr Beyers Naude

● About 700 Indian students attended an anti election rally in Lenasia Sapa reports more than 2 000 pupils are boycotting classes in the area

● The Azanian Student Movement has called on black students to observe September 6 and September 12 — the anniversary of the day of Steve Biko's death in detention — as national days of protest

● Scores of anti-vote demonstrators took to the streets during the afternoon peak hour in Durban's CBD yesterday



MDM defiance 'could boost NP'

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

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

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

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

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

But the opposition parties' spokesmen on law and order, Mr Tian van der Merwe of the DP and Mr Moolman Mentz of the CP, dismissed this argument, although for different reasons.

Mr van der Merwe said the NP's propaganda against the "DP/MDM alliance" had not been effective. He conceded that incidents of unprovoked violence could affect the DP.

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

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

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

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



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

DP is 'party of new era in SA'

NP govt unable to effect change, says Dr Worrall

Star 5/9/89

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Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Babb rises to Malan's challenge

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

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

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

Mr Babb yesterday offered several examples of changes:

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

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

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

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

"Now he blames the security police for security operations against extra-parliamentary organisations bent on provoking bloodshed," Mr Babb said.

Unpredictable far E Rand in for close fight

304A Star 5/9/89

Special Correspondent

The election contest in Springs, heart of the far East Rand mining and industrial region, is desperately close and unpredictable.

The "Boksburg factor" could give it to the Nationalists. The "DP bandwagon factor" could give it to the Conservatives.

There could even be a "United Party factor". The Democrats claim to be winning back stalwarts of the old United Party, which could bring them about one-third of the vote.

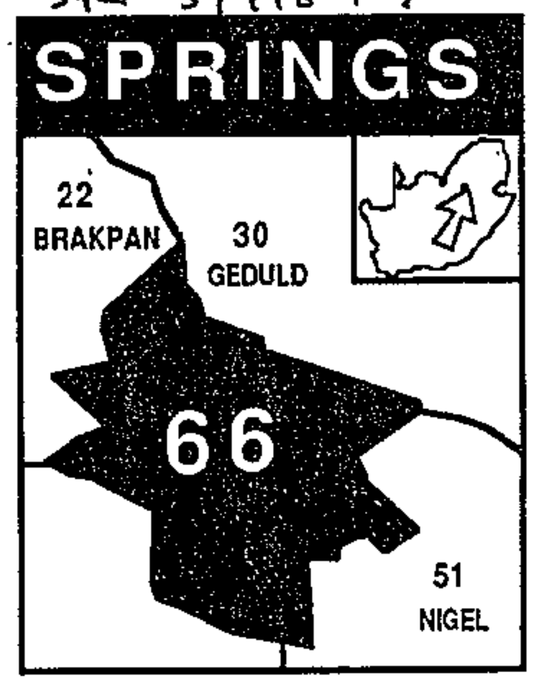
In a by-election in 1985, sitting Nat MP Mr Piet Coetzer (the party's Transvaal information chief and a 41-year-old "new Nat") came in 749 votes ahead of the Conservatives. In 1987 he inched his majority up to 884.

In the municipal election of 1984, the CP took control of Springs Town Council, winning 10 of the 13 wards. This was part of a significant breakout from a rural Afrikaner power base to urban blue-collar communities with a strong English-speaking component.

In theory this should make the Springs parliamentary seat a push-over for the CP, but there are complicating factors.

One is the low percentage poll in the municipal election. The NP believes its supporters will not show the same apathy in a parliamentary poll.

Another is the Boksburg factor. The lessons of CP-controlled Boksburg, and its financial hardship because of a black consumer boycott, have not been lost on Springs.

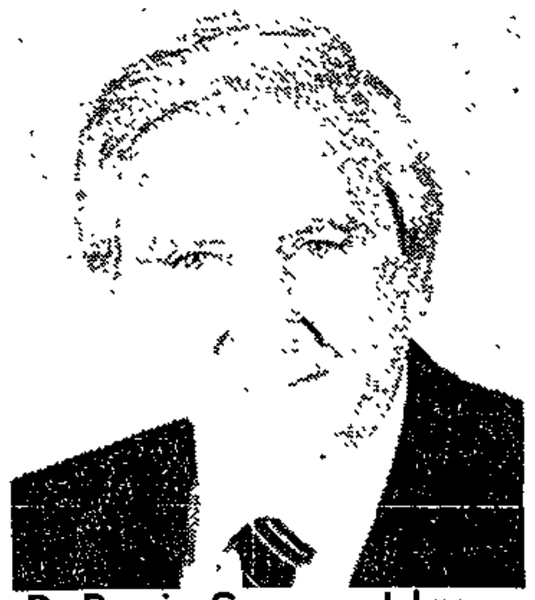


The CP council in Springs has insisted that sports bodies which lease municipal grounds should insert a racially exclusive clause in their constitutions, which could have a catastrophic effect.

Mr Coetzer believes these developments will sway CP-inclined voters back to him, and that businessmen and others who support the DP will vote for the Nats to save the town from a total CP takeover.

If they do that, he should be home and dry. But the DP bandwagon factor is the great unknown. The candidate, 32-year-old businessman Mr Derry Byrne, insists he is going for one-third of the vote.

He argues that the DP is broader-based than the PFP and points to the support of two Springs aldermen, Mr Tonk Meter and Mr Alec Hynd, former UP stalwarts who went to the Nats when their party disbanded, but have now switched to the DP



Dr Dawie Gous . . . I know the people are suffering.

If, in spite of the Boksburg factor, the DP bandwagon has started rolling in Springs, it would be bad news for Mr Coetzer.

The CP has what one might call the "*huisbesoek* factor". The CP candidate is 62-year-old specialist medical practitioner and town councillor Dr Dawie Gous, who in his younger days was a champion racing driver.

Both the NP and DP say he is conducting an extraordinarily low-key campaign. Dr Gous just chuckles wryly.

"I've been doing *huisbesoek* for 40 years. There's hardly a house in this town that I haven't been into."

Springs is a town which began as an outspan and watering point for wagon teams from the eastern Transvaal goldfields. It became a coal-mining centre, then developed important deep-level gold mines. Over the past 20 years it has converted from gold mining to heavy industry.

Springs has suffered in the recession. Some children go to school barefoot and many families live on charity.



Mr Piet Coetzer . . . banking on the Boksburg factor.

The constituency is about 40 percent English-speaking, which makes the seat something of a litmus test of industrial South Africa as a whole.

Mr Coetzer epitomises the young get-up-and-go generation of new Nats.

Mr Byrne represents a dogged political streak which has for decades presented alternatives to Nat values.

His late father stood for the PFP in the 1977 election, which was suspended when Nat candidate Dr Robert Smit and his wife were murdered.

Dr Gous represents the gritty Afrikaner struggle against adversity.

"I came to Springs from the Kalahari in 1942. We Afrikaners were poor and I've never forgotten it, not like some of these arrogant so-and-so's today."

(Report by G R Linscott, 85 Field Street, Durban)

LP can set co-operation price

(304A Star 5/9/89.

White Assembly still faces blocking power

By PATRICK LAURENCE

An overseas visitor observing the countdown for tomorrow's parliamentary elections could easily conclude that seats in only one of three Houses or chambers are at stake.

The media have concentrated almost exclusively on the poll for the white chamber or House of Assembly.

Its selective focus is understandable; the tricameral Parliament accords pivotal importance to the white chamber. The party which captures the majority of its 166 seats can impose its will on the majority parties in the coloured and Indian chambers in most matters.

But the elections for 80 seats in the coloured House of Representatives and the 40 seats in the Indian House of Delegates are not totally irrelevant. Tomorrow's election itself is proof of that.

Former State President Mr P W Botha wanted to postpone the election to 1992. But, as that required an alteration to the constitution, he needed the consent of all three Houses to do so.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the majority Labour Party (LP) in the coloured House, put a price on his agreement. He wanted Mr Botha to scrap the Group Areas Act Mr Botha was unwilling or unable to pay the price; he was thus forced to call the election more than two years early.

The blocking power of the subordinate coloured and Indian chambers will still be in place after tomorrow, but it may be more rather than less relevant.

All three major white political parties — the ruling National Party (NP), the Conservative Party (CP) and the Democratic Party (DP) — are committed to fundamental constitutional change.

The NP and DP offer different formulas for the inclusion of black people in central government. The CP wants to partition South Africa and to establish uniracial parliaments for each of the major races.

But to alter the constitution, all three parties need the approval of all three Houses, voting separately.



The former State President, Mr P W Botha.



Leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

There are about 1 775 750 registered coloured voters. Nearly 180 candidates are standing for the 80 seats in the coloured chamber. They are largely drawn from three parties the Labour Party, the Democratic Reform Party and the United Democratic Party.

These opposition parties were formed by Labour Party malcontents who quarrelled with Mr Hendrickse.

There are no prizes for predicting the winner. It will be the Labour Party. The only question is whether or not it will improve on its 1984 performance when it won 76 of the 80 seats.

Mr Hendrickse is helped by his 1987 decision to protest publicly against racial segregation by diving in "God's own sea" from a beach set aside for whites only.

He was Minister without Portfolio in Mr Botha's Cabinet at the time. His protest cost him his cosy post but may have saved him politically. It helped counter accusations that he had become a servile junior partner in Apartheid Inc.

The LP stands for a universal adult suffrage in a non-racial and undivided but federal South Africa. Its broad objective is shared with a wide spectrum of political forces from the parliamentary Democratic Party to the outlawed African National Congress.

If the NP's leader, Mr F W de Klerk, takes over as President after the election, the LP will be in a position to set a price to its co-operation and nudge him closer to the establishment of a non-racial South Africa.

Mr Hendrickse told The Star his party's immediate aim was the abolition of three legislative pillars of apartheid: the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act. The LP was prepared to withhold its assent from vital but non-controversial legislation to achieve this aim.

A total of 158 candidates are appealing to 665 670 registered Indian voters to elect them to the 40 seats at stake in the House of Delegates.

That averages out at nearly four candidates for each seat, well above the average for both the white (2,6) and coloured (2,2) chambers.

The architects of the tricameral constitution thus do not have to face the acute embarrassment of being unable to attract occupants for the seats in the Indian chamber, even though the House of Delegates has the reputation in extra-parliamentary circles of being the most contemptible of South Africa's apartheid institutions.

The reason for that lies largely in the personality of controversial Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party (NPP) and the first Indian to be appointed to the national Cabinet.

He was sacked from the Cabinet last December after a judicial inquiry into allegations of irregularities in the House of Delegates.

Mr Justice James recommended that Mr Rajbansi be excluded from any official post which called for integrity; Mr Rajbansi has since been charged in court with fraud, defamation and making conflicting statements under oath.

Members of the Indian chamber were elected on a low poll of 20 percent in 1984. It fuelled charges from extra-parliamentary opposition organisations that Indian MPs have no roots in the Indian community.

Mr Rajbansi's behaviour sharpened the charges. A related accusation is that the differences between the various Indian parties are marginal and overshadowed by their common opportunism.

One of the issues at stake in the elections for the subordinate houses in is whether or not they can improve on the 1984 percentage poll. The coloured poll was 30 percent in 1984

An increased poll may make them more accountable to the electorate and thus encourage them to fulfil election pledges to fight apartheid vigorously from within the system.

The extra-parliamentary opposition, however, does not think so. It believes they are incorrigibly servile and self-seeking.

Star 5/9/89 304A

Fraud conviction: CP drops support

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

Pieters could not be reached for comment.

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

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

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

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

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

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Boksburg is braced for election

304A Star 5/9/89

BY DAWN BARKHUIZEN

Tomorrow 24 000 white voters in Boksburg will go to the polls and deliver judgment on the changes made in their town in the past year — changes that have swamped the town with controversy.

As the four candidates for the House of Assembly prepare to do battle at the polling stations, members of the Boksburg business community and coloured residents are bracing themselves to fight the town council in court.

The main issue of concern is the decision by the Boksburg Town Council to enforce the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

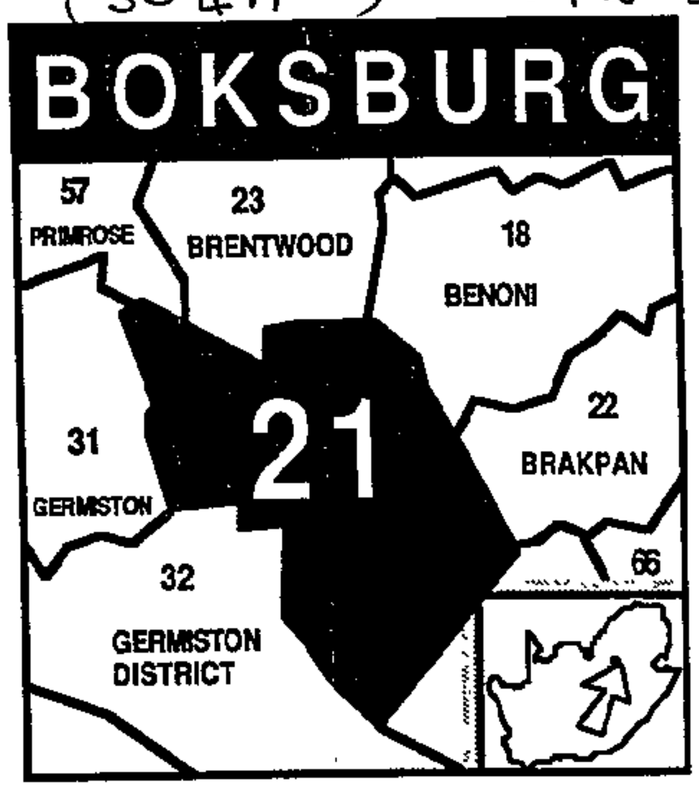
Drop in turnover

Since the CP took control of the council last year and reserved certain amenities for whites, the town has been blighted by consumer action, a 70 percent drop in turnover in some businesses and closure or relocation of others.

Property development schemes have collapsed and there has been disinvestment. Sporting bodies have become embroiled in controversy as the council refused to reopen amenities to all population groups.

The council has come under heavy criticism both internationally and locally — with even the far-right wing Herstigte Nasionale Party candidate in this election, Mr Attie Treurnicht, accusing the CP of acting too forcefully.

While he agrees with their stance, he says a more subtle approach should have been adopted, "not one that would make



our town the laughing stock of the international community".

CP candidate Dr Sias Nothnagel defends the actions of his fellow party members, saying they had done "the only thing for whites in this country in years".

Should the CP halt their scheme to develop separate residential areas and schools for whites, the whole of South Africa would wind up looking like Hillbrow in the next few years, he says.

The Brakpan-born medical doctor and one-time farmer believes the actions of the council have, in fact, garnered more support for his party.

He believes he has a good chance of winning the seat — an opinion sharply contested by the sitting National Party MP, Mr Sakkie Blanche, and the Democratic Party candidate, Mr Sirk van Wyk.

Boksburg-born Mr Blanche believes he will once again win with an easy majority.

"The election in Boksburg is the most important in the country. A vote for the NP will be a clear signal to the world that the white community of South Africa has departed from the policies of apartheid," he said.

Although he will leave the Separate Amenities matter to the courts, he has applied for the racially mixed suburb of Windmill Park to be declared a free settlement area.

The DP's Mr van Wyk believes the CP and the NP have both been damaged by the actions of the town council. He believes he is running neck-and-neck with the NP candidate.

"Many of those who voted CP councillors into power in the municipal elections are not registered within the Boksburg constituency for the parliamentary elections," he said.

Carry the can

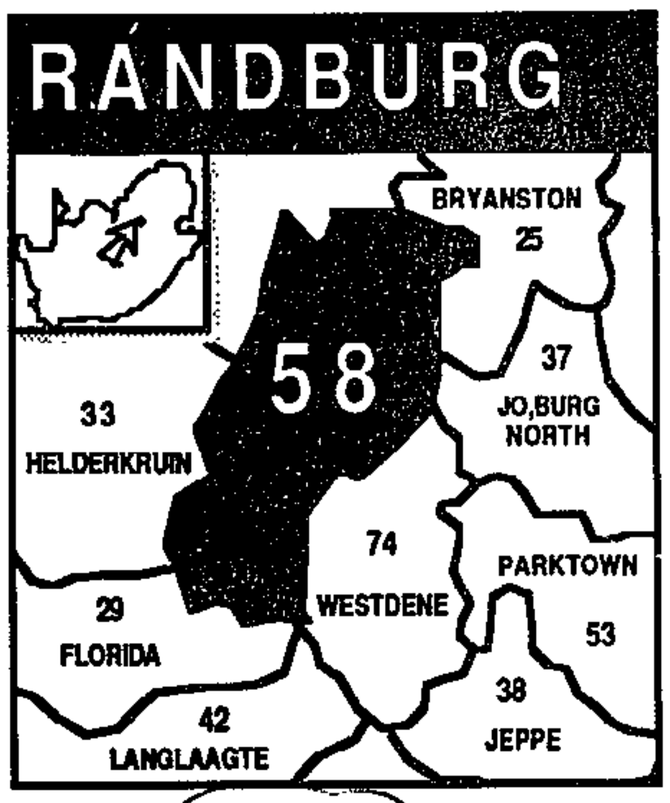
Mr van Wyk says local issues are an echo of national issues, believes the NP should "carry the can" for a CP-run Boksburg and makes it clear that he stands for change and the repeal of separate amenities.

In the 1987 general election the National Party candidate, Mr Sakkie Blanche, scored 7 198 votes, winning with a majority of 2 790 votes. There were 2 055 votes for the now-defunct Progressive Federal Party, 4 408 for the Conservatives and 556 for the Herstigte Nationale Party. There was a 66 percent poll.

Political acid test for Wynand



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





Mr Glenn Babb . . . reputation as top diplomat has been an advantage.

BY TONI YOUNGHUSBAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In 1987 Mr Malan, a National Party MP, left the party to stand as an independent. He obtained a comfortable 2 647 majority.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Behind locked doors

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

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

He has lived in the town since 1967, was a town councillor and chairman of the management committee.

CP candidate Mr Willem Grobler (33) says he's not exactly packing his bags for Parliament but does not exclude any surprises.

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

He says 85 percent of his supporters are English-speaking. They support the CP because they are tired of living in fortresses behind locked doors.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Star 5 | 9/89

Boksburg deadline approaches

By Dawn Barkhuizen

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

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

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

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

GROSS INSULT

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

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

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

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

According to the chairman of Boksburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Johann Viljoen, at least nine businesses have closed in the last year and turnover has dropped considerably.

Voters ignore weather to be counted in watershed election

Queues at marginal seats

304A

Star 6/9/89

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

Early morning voters braved zero temperatures on the Reef today to queue for the opening of the polls in one of the most crucial parliamentary elections in South Africa's history.

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

In the Cape Peninsula, voters endured bitterly cold weather and intermittent drizzle. In Pretoria, the cold weather was proving to be a deterrent in most constituencies.

In Randburg, the focal point of the election on the Reef, DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan and NP candidate Mr Glenn Babb visited the three polling stations early.

Both were confident of victory, and said last-minute canvassing last night had swayed doubtful voters in their favour.

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

See pages 5, 6, 16, 17 and 19.

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

In the marginal North Rand constituency, the wind played havoc with election posters at a Randpark Ridge polling station.

Despite the weather, long queues formed before the booths opened at 7 am. Half an hour later, there was still a steady stream, particularly at the Democratic Party tent.

A sign that voting will be heavy in the marginal Edenvale seat was that at the M G de Wet Primary School polling station, voters were queueing to go to the booths.

In Lenasia, three army trucks with about 20 armed soldiers, as well as a new-style riot police vehicle with about eight policemen, and a large number of plainclothes and uniformed police, were deployed.

Numbers of yellow "Don't Vote" stickers were placed strategically on township buildings

In Pretoria, Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk and his wife Marika (who voted in Waterkloof), were among the early voters.

Two of the three candidates in the Waterberg constituency took to the skies today to monitor polling in the huge area of the north-western Transvaal.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht chartered a helicopter to fly to outlying polling stations in the area, which stretches from Nylstroom in the east to the Limpopo River.

Dr Treurnicht's NP opponent, Mr Z F van der Merwe, is using his private plane.

Voting in Vanderbijlpark got off to a particularly brisk start with a large group of close on 100 — mainly Iscor employees — having cast their ballots within minutes of the constituency's main polling station opening.

While most people headed for the NP caravan, business at the CP tent was noticeably quiet

Though many of the 5,5 million voters registered for the tricameral elections had used special votes ahead of polling day, there was still a steady stream of people eager to place their crosses on the ballot papers from the time the polls opened at 7 am.

In the largest ever SA election, 271 constituencies in the three Houses are being contested — 164 seats out of 166 in the House of Assembly, 67 out of 80 in the House of Representatives, and all 40 in the House of Delegates.

In the event of a very close result in any of the Houses, the nominated and indirectly seats could be crucial for overall political control.

Voting closes at 9 pm and the first results results are due an hour later. By midnight, it is expected computers will be able to forecast, at least for the white House of Assembly, how the crucial poll will turn out.

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

Several commentators consider there is an outside chance that the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party might together take enough seats from the NP to deny it an outright majority — forcing a hung Parliament and the possibility of a coalition government.

(Report by P Fabricius and E van der Merwe, 47 sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Early bird . . . One of the first people in Hillbrow to cast a vote this morning was Mr John Malamoelou. Despite a titanic battle in the marginal constituency, the candidates (inset) consented to a friendly embrace at the Johannesburg Girls' High School polling booth. From left are Mr Lester Fuchs of the Democratic Party, Mr T J Ferreira of the Conservative Party and Mr Tony Wasserman of the National Party.

● Pictures by Etienne Rothbart.

Streets quiet as workers heed call for stayaway

Star 6/9/89

Staff Reporters

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

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

An Associated Chambers of Commerce spokesman, Mr Vincent Brett, said today "The stayaway is quite obviously very, very substantial"

South African Transport Services reported a drop in rail services and many trains were running empty through Soweto stations Putco did not have figures at the time of going to press, but services were expected to be much diminished from yesterday.

Many Soweto shopping centres, retailers and service stations closed their businesses today. In Dobsonville, taxis stood idle and buses ran 98 percent empty The Baragwanath bus and taxi terminals were deserted and only nurses were seen reporting for duty.

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

NO VIOLENCE

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

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

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

Pretoria townships were quieter



Don't back rightwingers, Buthelezi tells white voters

Star 6/9/89.

By Helen Grange

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Report by H Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Star 6/9/89 304A

SA dominates UK newscasts

Star Bureau

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Police investigate 'boycott poll' pamphlets

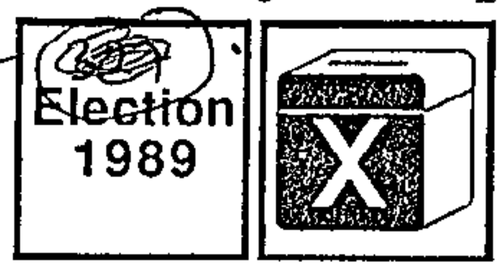
By Dawn Barkhuizen

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

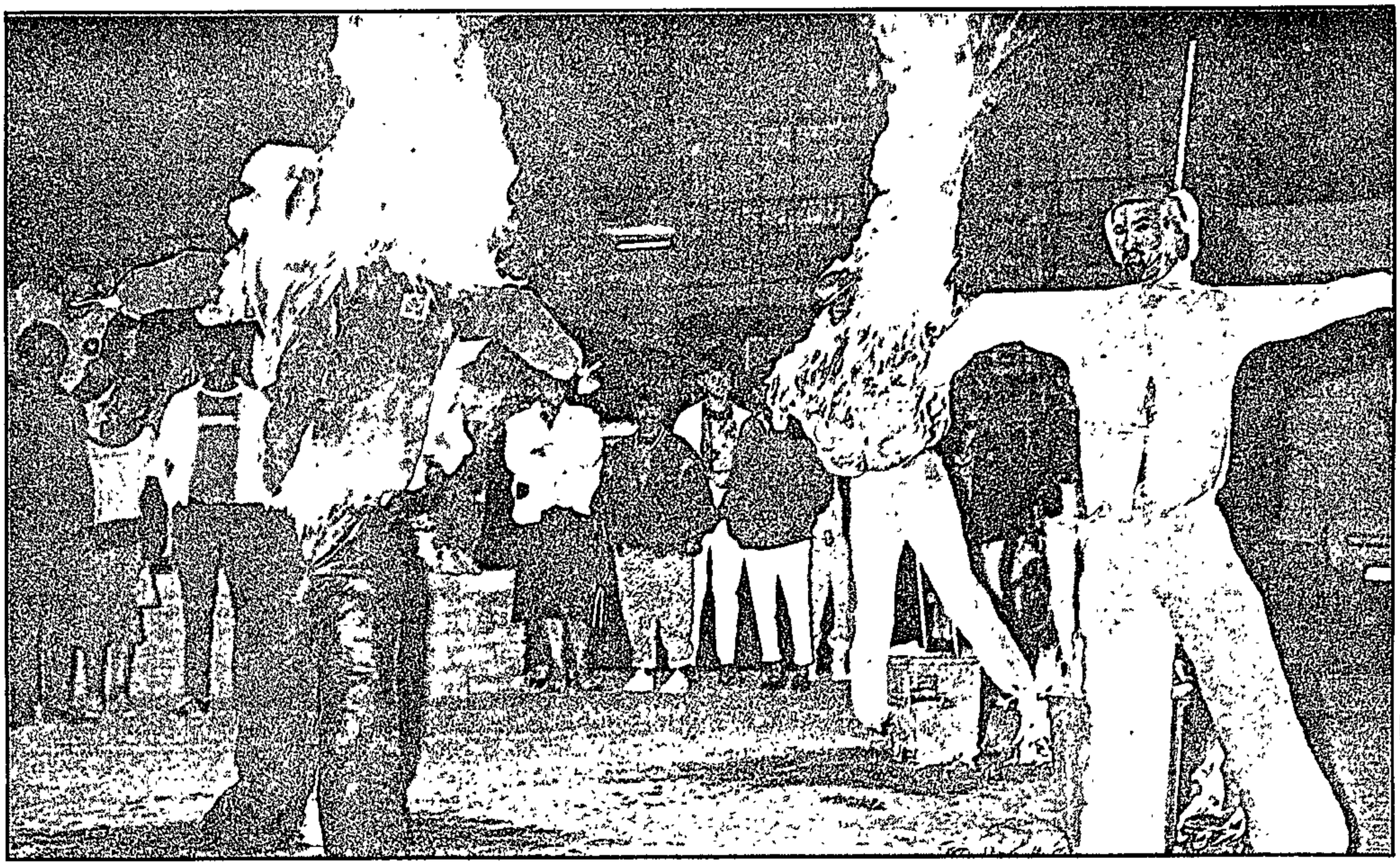
NP candidate, Mr Glen Babb, expressed shock at the "MDM interference in the campaign", but said he was not sure "they have done this on their own".

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

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

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

(News by D Barkhuizen, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Fiery protest . . . effigies of the leaders of the three Houses of Parliament, Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Amichand Rajbansi and the Rev Alan Hendrickse, burn during an anti-election protest in Lenasia last night. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Star. 6/9/89

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Burning, Tutu and election seen on UK TV

The Star Bureau

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Star 5/4/89

Experts predict the poll tallies

304A

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Pollsters predictions for the crucial elections tomorrow for the House of Assembly are that the National Party will lose 27 seats and end up with 95; the Conservative Party will gain 19 for a new total of 41, and the Democratic Party will gain 11 for a increased tally of 30.

This will give the NP an overall majority of 24.

That is the average forecast of 11 well-known analysts and political scientists representing a wide range of opinion.

Their predictions indicate an enormous uncertainty about the outcome of the election, particularly in forecasting the likely successes of the CP.

Forecasts of the CP's final total range from 52 — predicted by veteran pollster Mr Harry Laurie — to only 19, forecast by Mr Tony Twine of EconoMetrix.

Forecasts of the DP's performance fall within a narrower range — from 30 to 40, by Mr Mark Swilling of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, to 24 by Dr Wimpie de Klerk, academic and former editor — and brother of Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk.

Predictions are:

- Professor Hermann Giliomee, head of political studies at the University of Cape Town: NP 95 to 100, CP 35 to 45, DP 25 to 35.
- Professor Hennie Kotze, head of department of political science at the University of Stellenbosch: NP 95 to 100, CP, 40 to 44, DP 25 to 30.
- Professor David Welsh, head of southern African studies at UCT. NP 83 to 98, CP, 40 to 50, DP 28 to 33.
- Dr Wimpie de Klerk: NP 104, CP 38, DP 24.
- Professor Laurie Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Policy Studies, Wits: NP 92 to 98, CP 38 to 42, DP 28 to 32.
- Mr Mark Swilling, researcher at Centre for policy Studies, Wits: NP 90 to 100, CP 40 to 50, DP 30 to 40.
- Mr Harry Laurie: NP 79, CP 52, DP 35.
- Mr Tony Twine of Econometrix: NP 115, CP 19, DP 32.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Star 6/9/89

Scenarios abound – from business as usual to CP win

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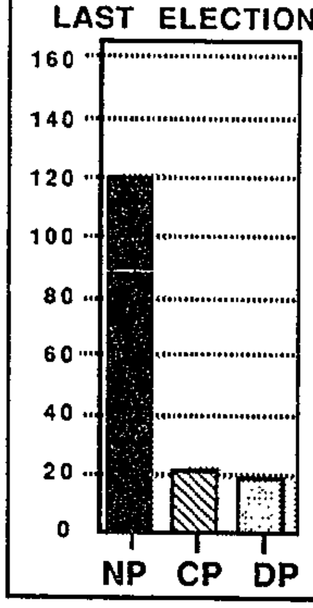
ELECTION AT A GLANCE

HOW THE PARTIES STAND SINCE THE LAST ELECTION



THE KEY SEATS TO WATCH

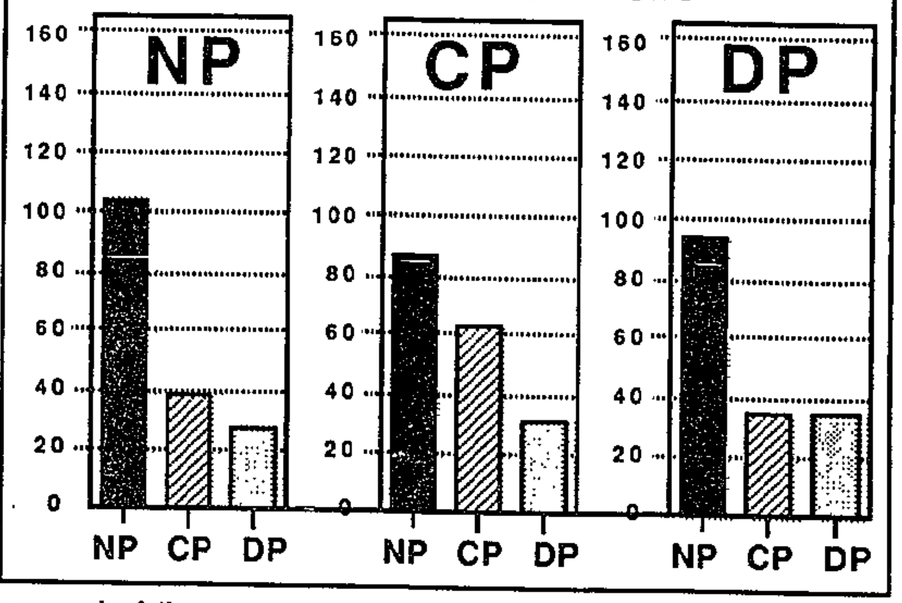
The Nats will win power with more than 100 seats if they:

1. Capture such seats as: Randburg and Green Point from the DP, and Soutpansberg, Middelburg, Ermelo, Barberton, Brakpan and Carletonville from CP.
2. Or retain: Innesdal, Krugersdorp, Lydenburg, Meyerton, Potchefstroom, Springs, Kuruman, Parys and Fauresmith against the CP, and Albany, Simonstown, Wynberg, North Rand, Walmer, Edenvale, Umbilo, Umhlanga, Pietermaritzburg North and South against the DP.

A Hung Parliament is possible if, in addition to marginals:

1. The DP captures seats such as: King William's Town, Maitland, Newton Park, East London North and East London City, Queenstown, Bezuidenhout, and Waterkloof;
2. And the CP captures such seats as: Newcastle, Vryheid, Nelspruit, Klerksdorp, Geduld, Brits, Brentwood, Boksburg, Welkom, Uitenhage and Oudtshoorn.

HOW THE PARTIS PREDICT THEIR POSSIBLE CHANCES



As whites, who have not already cast special votes, go to the polls, forecasters have come up with widely varying possibilities, reports **Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS.**

An uncertain vote averaging about 20 percent of the electorate, and a lie vote which could favour both the CP and the DP, have kept parties guessing right up to the last minute.

Three-cornered fights between the NP, DP and CP in 72 of the House of Assembly's 166 directly elected seats have also confounded forecasters. But most pollsters have abandoned the rather adventurous prediction of a hung Parliament.

But the final predictions of party organisers still depict a wide range of scenarios of what the political scene will look like tomorrow — with the NP predicting a clear majority over the other two parties of 40 seats, and the CP believing it can force a hung Parliament by winning 62 seats to about 30 of the DP, leaving the NP with 74.

The DP is less optimistic, but is still predicting it will win 28 to 35 with a possibility of up to 42, the CP 35 to 45 and the NP 86 to 103.

The NP believes it will win 103, the CP 37 and the DP 26.

The CP believes it will take between 55 and 72 — probably 62 — the DP 26 to 30 and the NP 64 to 85.

Pollsters have made a wide range of forecasts, and predicting the likely performance of especially the CP has baffled the pundits, with Mr Terry Twine of Econometrix giving the party 19 seats and veteran election forecaster Mr Harry Laurie giving it 52.

Several very different scenarios of what the political landscape will look like tomorrow have been envisaged:

● A slight drift to the Left leaves the NP with 110 seats and a very comfort able majority of about 54 seats, restricting the CP to 19 to 26 seats and the DP to about 30. Only Professor Dirk Laurie, the well-known Potchefstroom University election analyst, and Mr Twine envisage this possibility.

This will be the best possible result for the NP which will then be "rampant", predicts political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans.

NP majority

The looming CP threat would have been neutralised and the NP's hands freed to implement whatever mandate it chooses. The DP would become the official Opposition.

● The NP sheds some support to both sides, especially the Right, and ends up with about 103 seats to the CP's 37 and the DP's 26 — an overall NP majority of 40. This is the NP's own prediction and is shared by Dr Willem de Klerk. It also falls within the range of forecasts by Professor Hermann Giliomee of UCT.

The NP would be under some pressure, especially from the Right.

If the DP wins 25 or less, some commentators say it would split because the merger of the three component parties would have proved a failure.

● The NP sheds some support to both sides — though more to the Right — but wins 95, giving it an overall majority of about 26 over the CP, with 41 seats, and the DP with 30.

This scenario falls within the prediction of most pollsters and of the DP.

Professor Kleynhans predicts this sit uation would be dangerous for the NP, though it would certainly interpret this as a mandate to implement its policies.

He says the majority of 26 would not be good enough for NP stability, and the forces of disintegration on both sides of the party would intensify.

● The NP wins with an overall majority of about six, holding about 86 seats to about 50 to 55 for the CP and about 25 to 30 to the DP.

This scenario falls within the predic tions of Professor David Welsh of UCT, researcher Mr Mark Swilling and Professor Kleynhans, and is also the CP's own "worst-case".

Profesor Kleynhans predicts the NP would then be highly unstable and subject to intense erosion on both sides.

The NP has hinted that if it is left with a tiny majority it would "buy" MPs from both sides to bolster its majority. If this does not work, it might call for a snap election.

Professor Kleynhans predicts this would not work and the NP would be forced to enter a coalition with the DP.

● The hung Parliament with a simple NP majority. The CP wins between 50 and 60, the DP between 30 and 40, leaving the NP short of the 84 seats needed for an overall majority.

This scenario has been envisaged by Mr Harry Laurie and falls within the range of predictions by the DP and CP.

If this happens, the NP cannot operate, as it can be defeated by the DP and the CP voting together on a motion of no confidence in the Government.

The NP has warned it would go back to the electorate for a new mandate in this eventuality. Opposition parties believe the NP would be forced into a coalition — probably with the DP. Professor Kleynhans believes the concessions the NP would have to make to DP policy would precipitate a split in the NP. The CP believes this would happen to such an extent that it would eventually have an overall majority.

CP majority

● A hung Parliament with a CP majority. The CP wins about 70, the DP 40 and the NP 56 which means the DP and NP can together out-vote the CP.

Only the CP considers this a possibility. The pressure on the NP to form a coalition with the DP would then become irresistible.

● An overall CP majority. A landslide election gives it slightly more than the 83 needed for an overall majority.

Again, only the CP is now predicting this, at the outer edge of its forecasts.

If the CP wins, there is clearly real danger of a crisis, with massive capital outflows, disinvestment and emigration driving SA into complete isolation and the threat of insurrection multiplied.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria.)

Nats look left

Argus 7/9/89 304A



Picture: DANA le ROUX, The Argus

TURNING TIDE: Victory was sweet for Simon's Town DP candidate Mr Jannie Momberg and his wife Trienie when they turned the tide against the NP's Mr Harry Dilley in a tough election battle.

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

A BATTERED National Party was today tentatively looking to the left rather than the right wing after losing 30 seats to the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party.

The National Party, for the first time since 1953, yesterday drew less than 50 percent of the white votes cast.

It is significant that today the party's leader — and South Africa's likely next State President — Mr F W de Klerk lumped together the votes cast for the National Party and the Democratic Party to make the point that 75 percent of the white electorate had voted for reform and renewal and for political rights for all in the country.

He said the Conservative Party had suffered a shattering defeat.

He said he was not disappointed with the result as the NP had had much counting against it including economic factors and the state of emergency. The party had expected the result. He said that the National Party had gained the great majority of the 75 percent of votes cast for "reform."

He modified his lumping of NP and DP votes together by saying that the DP policy was "fatally flawed" and dangerous.

But the Natal leader of the National Party, Mr Stoffel Botha, today offered NP co-operation with the DP after each party had won ten seats in the province.

He said the two parties obviously had different philosophies but that did not mean that the two could not work together for the good of the province.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall, who won the Berea seat in Durban, said there were now

the makings of a new political alignment in South Africa.

He was not over-disappointed that his target of a hung parliament had not been achieved as the country was still looking at a whole new political ball game.

Move ahead

Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, today urged Mr De Klerk to come with a clear statement of intent and to move ahead swiftly with reform measures.

He said expectations had been created both internally and in the outside world and it was now a matter of make or break for Mr De Klerk.

It was clear today that the low percentage polls scored in the voting for many seats for the houses of Representatives and Delegates and the bitter violence which racked the Cape Flats last night would put severe pressure on Mr De Klerk to move swiftly with his reform plans.

The new parliament starts a short session in Cape Town next Wednesday during which an electoral college to elect the new President will be convened.

With the National Party having gained an overall majority it is now certain that Mr De Klerk, as its candidate, will be elected as the new State President.

In the most dramatic general election for more than 41 years the National Party the

(Turn to page 3,col 7)

● More election reports and pictures: pages 9 and 21. Results: pages 12 and 13.

NP looks to the left

(Continued from page 1)

party has so far lost 30 seats — 17 to the CP and 13 to the DP. The DP also won the last NRP seat Mooi River.

With five results outstanding the National Party had 90 seats in the Assembly, the CP 38 and the DP 33.

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

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

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

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

LABOUR VICTORY

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

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

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

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

The prospects of a hung parliament, however, faded after the first results and by 3.30am the National Party had an absolute majority of 84 in the Assembly.

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

UNPRECEDENTED

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

In Green Point the DP candidate, Mr Tian van der Merwe, won by 1 823 votes after an unprecedented last-minute propaganda blast by his Nationalist opponent, Mrs Esme Chait. In 1987 the majority of Mr Van der Merwe, standing for the PFP, was 39.

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

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

The National Party also lost Hillbrow to the DP by 1 054.

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

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

The DP's first gain from the National Party was in Umbilo, where former TV personality Mrs Carole Charlewood took the seat by 698 votes. In 1987 the Nationalist majority was 480.

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

In Sea Point Mr Colin Eglin's majority increased from 4 934 to 6 561.

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

In Helderberg the Nationalist majority went up to 2 048. In 1987 it was 39.

In the Vasco seat the Nationalist majority was down to 3 899 from 5 243 in 1987.

In Parktown the co-leader of the DP Mr Zac de Beer had a majority of 6 065 as against a PFP majority of 3 953 in 1987.

The other DP co-leaders Dr Denis Worrall in Berea and Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg had majorities respectively of 4 279 and 1 714.

In Potchefstroom Mr Louis le Grange, the Speaker of Parliament, won by 1 583 votes, up from 558 in 1987. The CP had high hopes of winning this seat.

The National Party also did well by winning Krugersdorp with a majority of 949. In 1987 its majority was 55.

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

In Arena Park Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party , increased his majority from 689 to 1 562.

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

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From page 1

Swing away from NP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Reiger Park, another controversial politician, Mr Jac Rabie, the leader of the United Democratic Party, retained his House of Representatives seat with a 514 majority.

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THE TIMES TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 5 1989

Pincer movement on de Klerk

De Klerk wagers against the platteland whites

FW taking 'dangerous gamble'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk has taken the dangerous gamble of pitching his election message at the country's white urban heart instead of the bedrock of rural Afrikanerdom — and it seems set to cost him a significant number of seats.

This is the view expressed in several British newspapers yesterday as they speculated on his party's chances.

Most newspapers predict he will emerge with a much reduced majority.

Stephen Robinson of the **Daily Telegraph** says Mr de Klerk's strategy of wooing urban voters at the expense of rural Afrikaners is a "high-risk" one.

He says two factors have made the election the "most exciting and unpredictable" since 1948.

The first is that Mr de Klerk has chosen to fight most of his campaign north of the Zambezi. The second that, for the first time in 41 years, there is a prospect, however remote, that the Nats could lose their overall majority.

If disaster befalls the Nats, writes Robinson, "historians will link the two factors and blame Mr de Klerk for taking too great a gamble".

Robinson says it is clear that Mr de Klerk "appears determined to turn his support among the sophisticated urban white voter against the rural heartlands of conservatism. It is a dangerous strategy. The results will reveal much of his long-term prospects of success".



British headlines concerning tomorrow's election . . . most papers predict that the National Party will emerge with a much reduced majority.

John Ellison writes in the **Daily Express** that the NP, in embarking on reform, "has sacrificed its role as the conscience and the cornerstone of Afrikanerdom".

The Nats, he says, have "lost their soul and are desperately trying to replace it with a mission".

"Some say (Mr de Klerk) cannot win because the more he reforms, the more support he loses to whites who sense a sell-out, and move to the Right. So we could be witnessing the beginning of the end of the NP's monopoly of power."

The Independent says in an editorial that the National Party will also suffer from trying to appease both international opinion and Nat supporters at home.

"It seems likely that when the votes are counted, the NP will pay the price of trying to face both ways, and lose seats to Right and Left, but especially to the Right.

"For Mr de Klerk, the logic of the likely post-election scene is inexorable: unless his reforms are fundamental enough to extend full voting rights to blacks, the CP will gain power. It happened in Rhodesia. It could happen again in South Africa, as it did in 1948."

Such a result, says the newspaper, would result in "extreme political polarisation, repression, urban warfare, total sanctions and, perhaps, a military takeover".

"The end result can only be black majority rule. Unless Mr de Klerk acknowledges that, his attempts to walk the tightrope between reform and white privilege are doomed."

Christopher Munnion of the **Evening Standard** says the NP has rallied well after the "debacle" of Mr P W Botha's departure.

"(Mr de Klerk's) African safaris followed a successful European tour.

"The poll will show whether such statecraft has impressed the electorate. My guess is that it has, and that the NP and Mr de Klerk will once again get their overall majority."

(Report by S Leeman, 32/33 Hatton Garden, London)

Election interest will focus on scores of knife-edge seats

Star 6/9/89

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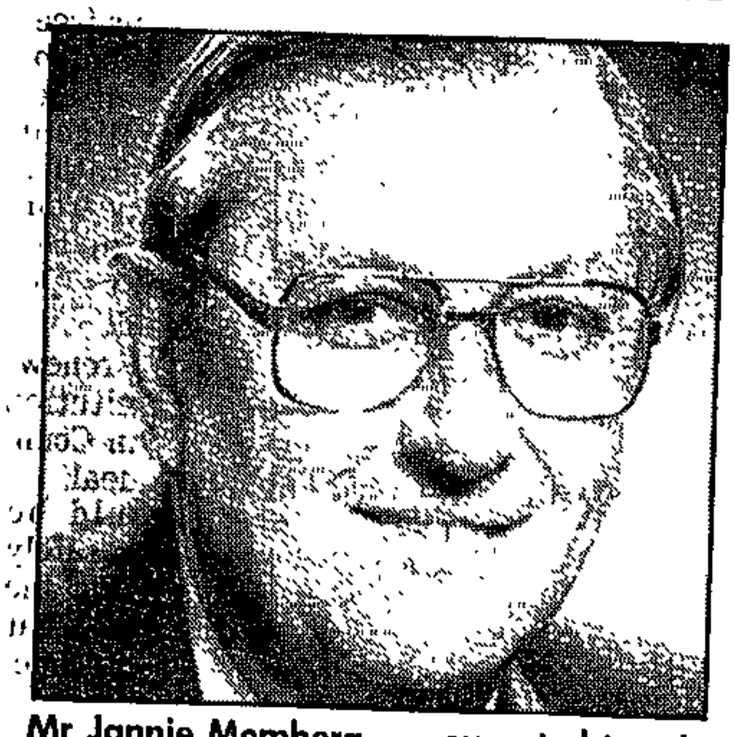


Mr Jannie Momberg . . . expected to win conservative Simonstown seat.

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

An electorate in an unusually unpredictable mood has left scores of seats marginal and created many cliff-hangers.

These are some of the key seats where the outcome will be most closely watched.

TRANSVAAL

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

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

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

By all accounts, a cliff-hanger.

Krugersdorp: A seat which the CP should win on paper. Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Leon Wessels clung to it with a 55 majority in 1987 and it should fall in the slightest swing to the CP.

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

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

Boksburg: Though Boksburg is widely considered very much CP country because of the controversial decisions by the CP-controlled town council to re-introduce petty apartheid — even the CP do not think they will wrest this from the NP.

The reason is that the boundaries of the parliamentary constituency are very different from those of the municipality.

Vanderbijlpark: On paper a predominantly blue-collar seat the CP should have won. The CP's decision to withdraw its support from its candidate after he was found guilty of fraud has almost certainly handed it to the NP.

Geduld: Deputy Minister of Education Mr Sam de Beer has a tough fight in a seat which he won by 1 723 in 1987.

The old PFP stood back for him then but this time the DP is fighting and this could cost Mr de Beer the seat.

He has nonetheless fought a hard fight and could just hold it.

Innesdal: The knife-edge of the battle between the NP and CP in Pretoria. The NP won a majority of only 153 over the combined rightwing in 1987 and a slight swing to the CP will carry it away. A Star poll showed it staying NP by a small majority.

Delmas: A mostly rural seat, taken by the CP in 1987, largly because of the 1 058 seats won by the old PFP in the section of the constituency which stretches into Pretoria's eastern suburbs. The DP pulled out this time which should return it to the NP.

Soutpansberg and Barberton: Both CP seats which the NP is confident of winning back, largely, they say, because MPs have not done enough for their constituencies.

Carletonville: Won by the CP fiery mineworkers unionist Mr Arrie Paulus with a 98 majority in 1987. The NP sent in one of its toughest campaigners, former Deputy Minister Mr Louis Nel, to try to dislodge him. But the CP seems to be ahead and unless Mr Nel can produce a technical knockout, it will probably remain CP.

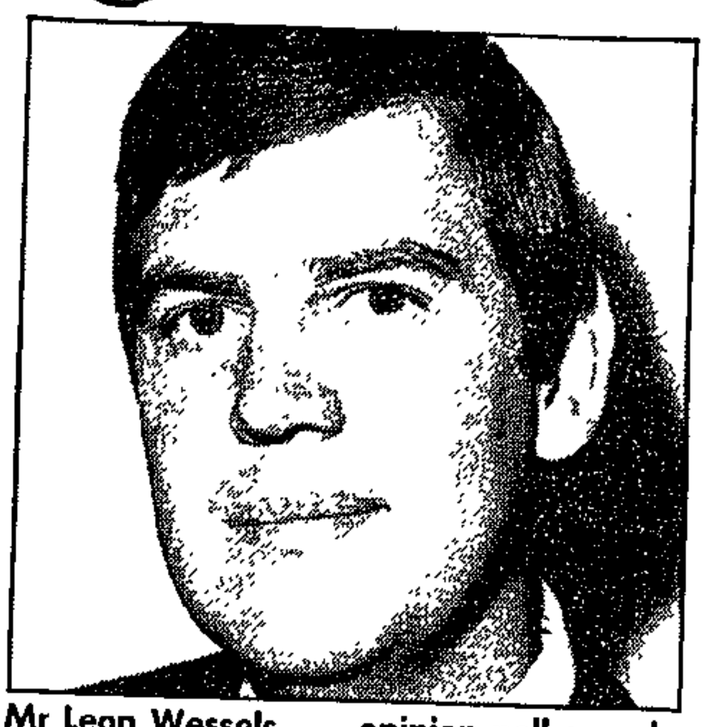
Edenvale: Lost by the PFP in 1987 in a swing to the NP. The DP is confident of winning it back and most NP observers think they will.

North Rand: The largest constituency in the country with over 43 000 voters, it is so large that no-one has canvassed it completely and predictions are wary. But the DP seems to be the favourite.

Hillbrow: A traditional PFP seat, lost to the NP in 1987 in one of the shock defeats of the election. Tracing missing voters is the key here and the DP has worked hard at it and should win. The NP is equally confident.

Bezuidenhout: A PFP seat lost to the NP in 1987 and now closely fought. The DP believes it can win but population shifts are unfavourable and it might just stay NP.

Potchefstroom: The seat of the Speaker of Parliament Mr Louis le Grange held with a majority of 558. A Nat island in the western Transvaal CP platteland which the CP has selected as a target, partly, it seems, from personal animosity towards Mr Le Grange and he will be lucky to hold it.



Mr Leon Wessels . . . opinion poll says he will keep Krugersdorp seat.

FREE STATE

Parys and Sasolburg: Both seats which the NP won in 1987 only because the HNP split the rightwing vote. Sasolburg is the only seat the HNP has ever won in a by-election — in 1985 when the CP stood back for Mr Louis Stofberg, now the CP candidate. These ought to go CP but the NP is surprisingly confident of holding both.

Heilbron and Fauresmith: Rural Free State seats which the CP expects to win. A swing of a few percent will do the trick.

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

NATAL

Umhlanga: A traditional opposition seat, won in 1987 by the NP's Mr Renier Schoeman through a campaign fought cleverly on local party issues. The DP has a good candidate and should win it back.

South Coast: The DP is confident of winning this fairly conservative area through its candidate with a military background, General Wally Black. Very close.

Newcastle: A likely gain for the CP in the conservative and largely Afrikaans-speaking mining area in northern Natal.

WESTERN CAPE

Simonstown: The DP believes it will win this fairly conservative English-speaking seat through the popularity of its candidate Mr Jannie Momberg, former sport administrator and chairman of Dr Denis Worrall's old Independent Party.

NORTHERN CAPE

Kuruman: A likely gain for the CP, making a breakthrough into the Cape Province for the first time.

EASTERN CAPE

East London City: Considered a fairly safe Nat seat until recently when the then Nat MP resigned in disgrace amid a corruption scandal. This and the new impact of the DP on more conservative English-speaking voters seem likely to make it a DP gain. The NP concedes this is possible.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria.)

Our Brave New World of 1994

Star 6/9/89

3044

What will South Africa look like, politically, in five years from now? **JAN STEYN, chairman of the Urban Foundation**, gave this fascinating forecast during a speech in Pretoria last night.

Very tentatively, I can project forward and say that in five years time, if the current processes unravel and develop as one would expect them to, we will have a society with the following major features:

- A government drawn from all groups, probably with provision for an executive drawn from the major black and white political parties. It could take many different forms, it will understandably be highly controversial, but it will constitute a substantial measure of power-sharing between major political interests.
- A Bill of Individual Rights will have strengthened the rule of law and opened the way for much fuller equality of opportunity in society.
- Open residential areas subject to the qualification that some deeply conservative white suburbs may exercise, formally or informally, a right to remain exclusive. In other suburbs a lesser or greater degree of integration will have taken place, although informal ethnic clustering, as one finds in the USA, will probably occur.

'Over-arching'

- In a combination of State subsidised private schools and even some State schools, one will find an increasing proportion of education occurring on a non-racial basis.
- Over-arching forms of metropolitan government will draw together formerly white and formerly black municipalities under the umbrella of common local fiscal resources. The powers of metropolitan authorities will tend to increase and local government will increasingly be devoted to attempts to upgrade less-developed urban areas.
- The economy, although beset by uncertainty, will be stronger than it is at present, primarily because investors and foreign finance houses will have become aware of the fact that movement is occurring in the direction of longer term stability.
- Blacks will be divided on the reforms and changes, and some will participate while others will choose to remain outside the system of government and administration as a vocal dissenting bloc. This dissent and protest will tend to maintain pressure on the whole system for further change.



Dr Jan Steyn ... if the economy deteriorates, it will crush hopes of concessions and compromises.

- South Africa will still be in transition but it will be less easy to make the accusation that the system is white-dominated. The political centre of gravity will be shifting towards effective participation by the majority. A post-apartheid South Africa will be emerging, still untidily, but in the end convincingly.

Many people will question this broad prediction on the grounds that it is too qualified and constrained by past structures.

It will not approximate to the heady idealism and the understandable desires, both here and abroad, for a transformed and remade society. Others will, with equal conviction, consider the scenario to be radical and a handover to black domination.

In response, I will make two simple points. Most successful modern democracies emerged in political fits and starts as a result of unwilling concessions by ruling groups. At the time of their emergence, these societies were also riven by protest, defensive rhetoric, thwarted interests and frustrated expectations. There are countries in Europe which have only truly been democratised in the past decade or two.

Furthermore, virtually all those societies which have undergone quick and radical transformation have proved incapable of sustaining the freedoms which the transformations have promised.

State bureaucrats have filled the positions of power and privilege that the former so-called bourgeoisie have been forced to vacate. Indeed, few Third World countries are fortunate enough to be part of a broader socio-economic and political region as influential and mature as western Europe. Radical transformations, especially in developing countries, have a poor track record.

Finally, two developments could abort the process I have tentatively sketched. One danger would be if the change takes place within a deteriorating economy.

If both blacks and whites suffer increased privation, they will become more competitive with regard to one another and less inclined to make concessions or accept compromises.

Second danger

A second danger will arise if the outside world and all the various movements for change in South Africa push too hard to a way which arouses fear among whites that their interests and security face serious jeopardy or destruction. An unthinking, emotionally based resistance could occur, just as happened in the old Rhodesia leading to the UDI in 1965.

I cannot say more about these dangers, except to say that they are latent in our social life and in our brittle economy at the moment. Most influential South Africans, white and black, are aware of the dangers, as are many seasoned political leaders abroad. In other words, there is a web of influence capable of sustaining South Africa's progress towards a unified and equal society.

South Africa will change; apartheid is in the final five years of its tragic and perverse existence; and progress towards this goal can be protected against aggressive and confrontational activism from the right, the left and abroad.

We all, as South Africans, or those of you who visit us from abroad, have a role to play in this process.

Now you see it, now you don't

304A

The election has been characterised by deliberate blurring of issues by the Government, who make no bones about the fact that they seek chiefly the votes of the Democratic Party. The Conservative Party has been left on the sidelines. The Star's **POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT** reports.

The choice of voters today is essentially between no apartheid (Democratic Party) grand territorial apartheid (Conservative Party) and functional apartheid (National Party).

This has not always been clear during the long drawn-out election campaign where issues have been blurred.

The campaign started off very badly for the NP, timed as it was to solve a power struggle in the party and not to take advantage of a favourable economic or political climate.

The economy was teetering on the brink of a downslide and it was clear that bread-and-butter issues would dominate — to the detriment of the NP.

Unseemly struggle

The unseemly struggle by the NP to unseat President Botha also counted heavily against it.

The NP seemed paralysed by the leadership crisis but took the initiative for the first time in late June with its five-year plan of action.

It became clear then that the NP was competing for the same votes as the DP.

From that point the National Party presented the campaign largely as a choice between its own sensible and moderate plan to get rid of apartheid — and the DP's drastic plan which, they said, would lead to surrender to the radicals.

The NP criticised many of its own policies, both political and economic — but with promises to correct them.

The DP picked this up very quickly and finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz asked from the start why the NP was promising to cut taxes and State spending in five years when it could do it immediately with the stroke of a pen.

And DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said NP leader Mr F W de Klerk had in effect indicted his own party by focusing his campaign on five main issues — the deeply-divided country, the breakdown in negotiations, poverty, unequal distribution of political power and the revolutionary climate.

These were admissions of failure by the NP, he said. And he and other DP leaders said that the NP was running away from its own track record.

The NP also presented itself as more liberal by vague promises to relax rigid race classification and introduce an open group and some form of voluntary group formation.

It also laid claim to the SA Law commissions Report recommending a Bill of Human rights — without officially endorsing it.

The NP believed it had wrested the initiative from the DP late in the campaign when the mass democratic movement launched its campaign of defiance against the elections.

The NP revived the old "soft on security" argument against the DP.

Though the strategy clearly paid some dividends, it did not seem to be as effective as it was in 1987.

This was partly because the DP had anticipated the strategy by heavily stressing security in its election manifesto.

And the issue had some advantages for the DP too. The MDM campaign focused attention the government's practice of petty apartheid.

Mr De Klerk was whisked around Europe and southern African for a bewildering series of meetings, designed to boost his "negotiator" image.

F W Factor

By the end of the campaign the NP was boasting that the "give FW a chance" factor had wiped out all DP gains.

On the CP side, the NP concentrated it attack on the "Boksburg syndrome" — the inevitable consumer boycotts and white hardship which would follow from implementing CP policy.

It had an advantage that it lacked in 1987, in the form of evidence of what happened when the CP took control.

The CP hit back by focusing on the P W Botha/Mandela meeting which, it said, showed the NP's willingness to capitulate.

Swing away from Nats

Cart- Tim Fs
7/9/89
3047

By George! PW flies to the polls after all

Staff Reporter

MR P W Botha was yesterday flown to George by special jet to vote at Wilderness in the George constituency, Colonel Les Weyers, director of public relations for the SAAF, confirmed yesterday.

The Cape Times yesterday reported that an SAAF Falcon jet had been standing by at Ysterplaat to fly Mr Botha and Mrs Elize Botha to George yesterday morning, but that this arrangement was apparently later cancelled after inquiries from the Cape Times on Tuesday night.

'Flight authorised'

An air force spokesman at Ysterplaat told the Cape Times on Tuesday night that Mr Botha had amended his plans and would drive to George.

However, yesterday's short statement read: "An SAAF spokesman confirmed that the flight in question did take place. Mr P W Botha was flown to George this morning and will return to Cape Town later.

"As was previously stated by the Minister of Defence's office and another senior SADF officer, the flight was authorised in terms of existing treasury regulations and authorities."

Earlier, Mr Botha's personal assistant, Commodore Tertius Ehlers, had confirmed that Mr and Mrs Botha would vote in Wilderness "where they are registered".



IN THE WILDERNESS . . . Former State President Mr P W Botha after casting his vote in Wilderness yesterday. Picture CATHY HOOPER

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

THE National Party seemed set for a major setback as polls closed last night, with voters deserting the ruling party in droves to both the CP and the DP.

In the first results, the NP majorities were slashed by between 20% and 30% and the DP, which retained Johannesburg North, increased its majority by about 40%.

These results seemed to reflect the national trend

Early last night it was still unclear whether the Nationalists would be able to stave off a "hung Parliament" in the most bitterly contested election since 1948.

After a day of frantic electioneering in 164 white constituencies which took place against a backdrop of a massive worker stayaway and clashes across the country between police and anti-vote protesters, both the CP and the DP were convinced that they had dealt the once all-powerful NP a body blow.

The general strike of more than two million workers began on the eve of the polls in a climax to the defiance campaign that sparked one of the sharpest security crackdowns in three years and a new wave of political unrest in the townships that left more than 70 people dead.

The work stayaway caused severe disruption, crippling transport, idling dozens of factories and disrupting production at mines.

At South Africa's emergency election drew to a close, CP sources were confident that they would push their seat tally from 22 to between 45 and 50 seats by the time voting ends today.

Party sources in Pretoria predicted that the CP had a good chance of winning about 40 seats in the Transvaal alone. The CP was also confident that it would make its first inroads into the other three provinces as well, and pick up about five seats in the Free State, one in Natal (Newcastle) and one in the Cape (Kuruman).

The DP, on the other hand, appeared to have given up any lingering hope of becoming the official opposition and were hoping to push the tally of seats from 20 to about 30.

The National Party believed that its strongest showing would be in the Cape, which is set to become the dominant power base for the ruling party after expected losses of around 21 seats in the Transvaal and at least five seats in Natal.

However, Nationalists were confident that the party machine would be able to restrict the CP to no more than one seat in the Cape and hang on to a number of seats which the DP had targeted, including Helderberg, King William's Town, Queenstown and East London North.

To page 5

Nurse strangled in bedroom: Police hold man

Staff Reporter

A MAN is being held by police for questioning after a Blackheath nurse was found dead in her bedroom, with a pillow over her face and marks on her neck indicating she had been strangled

Mrs Angela Phillips, 31, of Rooiberg Street, Greenfield, Blackheath, was last seen alive by neighbours on Monday morning

On Tuesday morning, she was discovered on the bed in the main bedroom of the house by her husband and a friend of his

Her head was covered by a cushion. She had marks on her neck and face and appeared to have been strangled with a fishing line, police said.

She was a nurse at Tygerberg Hospital for 11 years, a hospital spokesperson said

JSE share prices firm

SHARE prices on the JSE were firm in quiet trading yesterday as world markets focused on the SA elections.

In European bond markets, traders bought local bonds through the finrand, causing the currency to appreciate.

● Report — Page 14

Dentist witness

THE man accused of attempted murder in the "Poison Chocolates" case, dentist Dr Thinus Stublinger, gave evidence for the first time yesterday He told of how upset he was when Mrs Estelle Thiersen told him she was going to marry Mr Chris Taylor, one of the poison-chocolates victims.

● Report — Page 3

Trapped hikers airlifted to rescue by helicopter

Staff Reporter

SIX hikers trapped in the snow-covered Cedarberg mountains since Saturday were airlifted by helicopter from the hut where they had sought shelter

A spokesman for the Metro Emergency Service said the hikers were not injured and they had been taken to a farm in Citrusdal at 6pm and were "safe and sound"

Dr Piet Lückhoff of Grabouw led the hiking party, which included four children and an unidentified man.

The hikers had gone for a weekend excursion in the Kouebokkeveld ranges of the Cedarberg between Ceres and Citrusdal when they were caught in heavy snowfalls

On Saturday they crossed from Citrusdal to Dr Lückhoff's hut at the Suurvlakte range near Clanwilliam where they sheltered until they were rescued last night.

Syfrets Cape Times
Share Challenge
TODAY'S PRIZE: R1 400
TODAY'S INDEX: (+) R2,43
There were no winners yesterday
If your share price total movement equals exactly R2,43 today, you are a winner! Call (021) 208 4702/4760 between 9am and 2pm today to make your claim. If you haven't already applied call 208 4760 for a free card. No queries or requests for cards will be dealt with on any other telephone numbers.

DAILY LISTING — Page 16
STOCK PRICES — Page 18

Man dies on N7

Milnerton police are investigating a charge of culpable homicide after a man was killed and another badly hurt in an accident on the N7 near Milnerton.

Botswana to vote

GABORONE. — Botswana will hold a general election on October 7, President Quett Masire's office announced yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter

Gold (Ldn close)	$360,25
Gold (NY close)	$361,00
Rand	R2,7985/8000
FT index (close)	1978,70
BD 100	3317,10
Dow Jones	2719,79

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Dutch faced a big choice

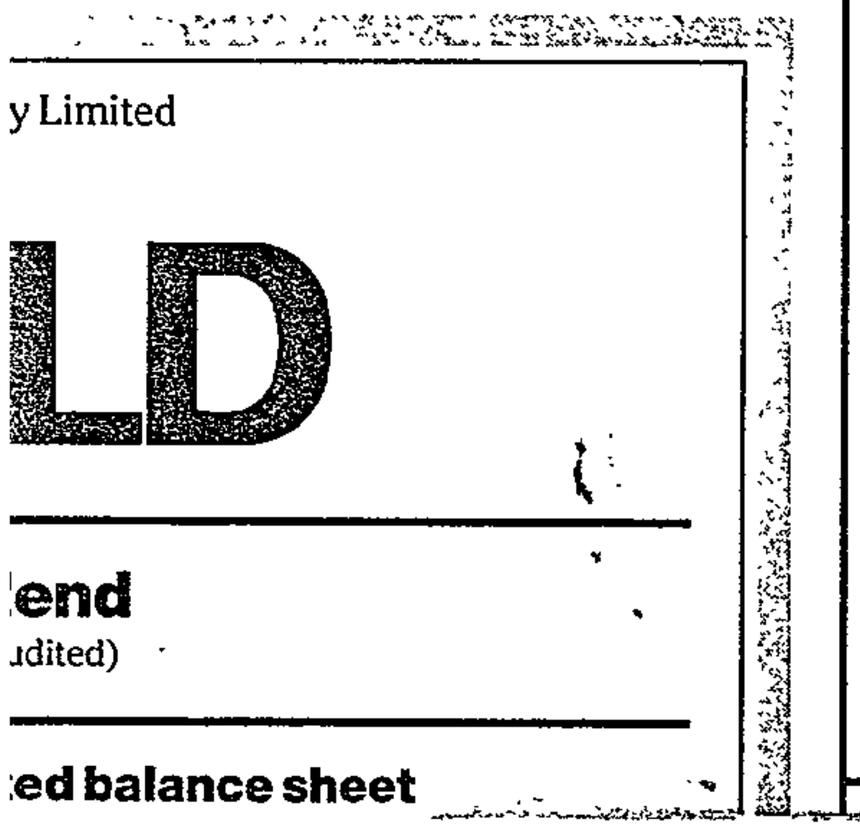
B'Day 7/9/89

VEENENDAAL — Like some South Africans, Dutch voters went to the polling booths yesterday. But that's where the similarity ended.

Voters in the Holland could choose from a whopping 22 parties — literally something for everyone.

Apart from two Greens parties, the leading contenders were the CDA, the PvdA and the VVD.

Dutch women could elect a Women's Party parliamentarian, and the Bejaarden Partij was expected to big support from pensioners. — Sapa.



Hung parliament could cause crisis

B'Day 7/9/89

THE NP seems to have avoided the nightmare of a hung Parliament, which could have plunged the country into political uncertainty and possibly a constitutional crisis.

However, it may want to change the 1983 constitution to provide for eventualities nobody envisaged. The NP cannot rule as a minority government and faces constitutional blocks leading to some bizarre possibilities if it ever fails to gain an outright majority.

Had it happened yesterday, Acting President F W de Klerk would have had to do a rapid deal with opposition parties or see a coloured man, Allan Hendrickse, installed in the presidency and choosing a new Cabinet.

He might have dissolved Parliament immediately for another election, but only at the risk of flouting a constitutional requirement that an electoral college must sit to choose a new president within a month of an elected president vacating the office.

Former President Botha resigned on August 14 and the Chief Justice has announced that the

MICHAEL ACOTT

electoral college will sit on September 14.

De Klerk said a coalition government would be the NP's last option if it failed to gain the 84 seats needed for an overall majority of the 166 elected Assembly seats.

College

304A

NP rule as a minority government is precluded by the constitution. The functioning of the tricameral Parliament is dependent on the President — and the NP cannot elect the President without a majority in the Assembly.

The electoral college comprises 50 members of the white Assembly, 25 members of the coloured House of Representatives and 13 members of the Indian House of Delegates.

The majority party in each House chooses all the electoral college members from that House and the Assembly has an inbuilt majority in the college.

The drafters of the constitution foresaw that the Houses of Representatives or Delegates might refuse to participate in the election of a president. So there is no quorum for the electoral college, and any House may send some delegates, or none, to the college.

The idea was that Nationalists from the Assembly would choose their president, whatever else happened. What was not foreseen was that the electoral college might have no Assembly members.

In a hung Parliament, all parties would be minorities. The CP and DP together would vote down the 50 members proposed by the NP, while the CP and DP proposals would also be defeated.

Unless a deal was struck, the Assembly would not be represented on the electoral college, which would consist only of members from the other two Houses.

Allan Hendrickse, leader of the coloured Labour Party and the candidate likely to be proposed by the House of Representatives, could have been elected State President on September 14.

If De Klerk dissolved Parliament before September 14, he might have faced a constitional challenge for preventing the electoral college from meeting. If he announced before September 14 that Parliament would dissolve after that date, Hendrickse might have ruled until the next election.

Faced with these possibilities, De Klerk would have had to move quickly, firstly trying to entice opposition members to join the NP and give it a majority.

Possibility

If nobody took the bait, he would have to consider a coalition government with the DP or the CP, or a deal with either party for support of a Nationalist president in return for Cabinet posts or policy concessions.

Given the problems in calling an election, and the possibility that a new poll could return a CP government, a hung Parliament would have forced De Klerk into the horse-trading he did not want.

54 arrested after election-linked protests

Votes cast amid massive stayaway

B/Day 7/9/89. 304A

VOTERS went to the polls yesterday amid continuing unrest and a massive work stayaway.

Police said they arrested 54 people in election-related unrest.

Police unrest reports said one man was burnt to death, about 12 people were injured and about 368 arrested in unrest-related incidents in the 48-hour period to yesterday afternoon.

There were also two railway line blasts in the western Cape. Nobody was injured and damage was minimal.

Increased participation by black workers in the anti-election stayaway was most marked in the PWV region.

Soweto and Alexandra pupils joined in the stayaway, with DET regional director Peet Struwig reporting a 100% absentee rate at the 62 secondary schools in the areas.

The two-day anti-election stayaway appeared stronger than the May 1987 election protest, but less widespread than the June 1988 demonstration against the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

The Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) said the stayaway rate in the PWV had reached 72% yesterday, compared to 39% on Tuesday. It was up from 68% to 80% in Durban, and from 24% to 41% in Cape Town. It remained constant in Port Elizabeth, where the LMG gave a revised figure of 90% for Tuesday.

The survey figures for the PWV were backed up by figures supplied by passenger transport groups. Sats said trains to Johannesburg carried only 35% to 40% of their normal passenger loads, compared to 70% on Tuesday. There had been little change in other areas, a spokesman said.

MIKE ROBERTSON, ALAN FINE and TIM COHEN



Acting President F W de Klerk reaches out to shake hands with a supporter as he and his wife Marike arrive at the Randburg constituency. Picture: REUTER

Putco said use of its Reef buses was "very low", yesterday, compared with almost normal the previous day. Its southern Transvaal region carried about 50% of normal loads. In Durban there was a 100% stayaway of passengers and staff for the second consecutive day.

The cold snap affected early voting, except in key seats, but it picked up later in the day and because of changes to the special voting procedures, election officials expected a higher than average percentage poll.

● Reports: Pages 2 and 4
● Candidates: Page 17
● Comment: Page 16

Before the close of polling the CP expressed confidence it would win more than 40 seats, while DP chief organiser Neil Ross said the party would win at least 30.

In Randburg, where DP co-leader Wynand Malan was being challenged by former Foreign Affairs deputy director general Glenn Babb, Ross was confident of a comfortable victory for the DP. NP spokesmen said they was very optimistic about Babb's chances of victory.

Ross said his figures showed the DP would also win Mooi River, Maritzburg North, Umbilo and Umhlanga in Natal; Alabany and Walmer in the eastern Cape; Simon's Town and Wynberg in the western Cape and Edenvale and North Rand on the

☐ To Page 2

Stayaway B/Day 7/9/89

☐ From Page 1

Witwatersrand.

At 5pm, he said the DP was marginally ahead in Helderberg, the seat where former Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis beat Denis Worrall by just 39 votes in 1987. Maritzburg South, Durban Point and South Coast were too close to call, Ross said.

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

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

Hanekom said the NP was extremely confident on winning back Soutpansberg, where a 70% poll had been recorded by midday, from the CP. Seats such as Lydenburg and Pretoria West (also won on a split vote in 1987) were looking "dicey", as was Roodeplaat.

Kemp and Hanekom agreed that voting in Speaker Louis le Grange's Potchefstroom seat was running neck-and-neck.

Hanekom was confident Deputy Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer would retain his Geduld seat. The NP would also win the neighbouring Springs seat, he said. The NP had an 884-vote majority over the CP in Springs in 1987.

ELECTION

Viljoen tipped to get top job in new Cabinet

MIKE ROBERTSON

EDUCATION and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen is set to take over the Constitutional Development portfolio in F W de Klerk's envisaged new Cabinet.

Viljoen, a close confidant and adviser of De Klerk, has received widespread praise for his handling of the black education portfolio despite problems with corruption.

When the NP launched its 5-year-plan, Viljoen dealt with the constitutional section. He is regarded as almost certain to take over Chris Heunis's role in spearheading government's negotiation efforts.

Besides Viljoen, the most powerful members of the new Cabinet will be: Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who has guided De Klerk in his successful first ventures abroad; Privatisation Minister and Cape leader Dawie de Villiers; Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee who will take charge of moves to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Du Plessis will concentrate on reducing government expenditure.

Security chiefs Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok will continue to wield influence. However, they are not expected to be as influential as they were under P W Botha.

It also seems likely that De Klerk will break up Heunis's empire, which includes the Department of Development Planning and the Commission for Administration.

Gene Louw, who took over from Heunis is likely to have a new portfolio in which he takes charge of development planning, the Commission for Administration and possibly the development aid arm of Viljoen's present portfolio.

Natal

Transvaal MEC John Mavuso is widely tipped to as the first black Cabinet Minister. He is expected to take over the Department of Education and Training.

The Natal branch of the party has no representation on Cabinet following Stoffel Botha's resignation and will have to be given at least one post.

NP information spokesman Con Botha is the frontrunner. It is most likely that he will take over Botha's Home Affairs portfolio.

But, another Natal NP member, Deputy Economic Affairs and Technology Minister George Bartlett, is tipped to fill the vacancy in his department created by Danie Steyn's resignation.

His fellow deputy Minister Theo Alant is also fancied to take over the portfolio.

Deputy Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk is the frontrunner to succeed Greyling Wentzel who has retired.

De Klerk's elevation to acting President leaves the National Education portfolio vacant. Ami Venter, the white Minister of Local Government and Housing, is tipped for the post.

Deputy Health Services Minister Michael Veldman is still tipped to fill the vacancy created by the retirement of Pietie Badenhorst, his Minister in the present white Ministers Council. However, he might not win his Rustenburg seat.

Depending on whether Bartlett or Alant gets the post of Economic Affairs and Technology Minister, the other could be given a post on the Ministers Council.

There is no clear indication who will take over from De Klerk as chairman of the council, although Venter, if he gets the National Education portfolio, could fill the role in the way De Klerk did.



Placard warnings were enough to keep election fever going for some, but West Rand DP worker Catriona Watt's blanket saw her through early morning polling. Pictures: ROBERT BOTHA

UK Press queries the value of SA defiance

B | Dan : 7/9/89 ROBERT GENTLE

LONDON — The Guardian yesterday became the latest British paper to question the usefulness of the mass defiance campaign, which it described as counter-productive in the short-term.

"Watching SA's defiance campaign unfolding, one is tempted to recall the French general's comment as he witnessed the 500 hurtling down the valley of death: 'It's magnificent, but it's not war'."

Referring to the thousands who confront the whips, dogs, shotguns, batons and watercannons of the SAP, the paper's correspondent David Beresford said: "Heroic, certainly, but how does it help the liberation struggle?"

He says in the short-term the effect will be to stampede wavering voters into the "safety" of the status quo. It is in the long-term that he sees the payoff of the campaign, because it has forced the government "to defend the indefensible" and shown up "the inherently violent nature of the state".

Beresford raises the spectre of a hung parliament, because, he says, the great divide in SA runs right down the middle of the NP itself.

The Times said marginal seats would hold the key to the pace of change, while The Independent said "as in all countries, the result will turn on voters' perceptions of what party will better manage the economy".

It devotes an article to the fascination in SA's political arena with the personality of Margaret Thatcher, whose name all three parties have invoked, claiming her as a patroness.

It suggests the reasons are she has stood up like no other world leader against sanctions, and more importantly, is felt to possess *kragdagdigheid* — "which whites here admire and De Klerk is seen to lack".

The Financial Times, which devoted its leader page feature article to the election, saw the immediate effect of the defiance campaign as a spur to wavering voters to flee to the relative "safety" of the NP.

It illustrated the point with a photographs of the three protaganists — Andries Treurnicht, De Klerk himself in the middle, and Dennis Worrall.

"Democratic Party election posters call on South Africans to vote with their hopes and not their fears. The NP, wisely, is appealing to both those sentiments," said the FT's correspondent Patti Waldmeir.

Records expected to fall in Pretoria area

B/Day 7/9/89 (3044)

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Heavy voting in Pretoria's 15 constituencies pointed to polls of more than 80% percent in some cases, party officials said.

By 3pm more than 50% of voters in five constituencies had voted.

In Waterkloof the polls could exceed 80%. Observers said polling records were certain to be set due to the large number prior votes.

The NP has shed support to left or right in virtually all Pretoria constituencies according to veteran political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans.

"There has obviously been a big swing to the CP and moderate swing to the DP and although it is unlikely the DP will win Waterkloof, support given to the party yesterday is far greater than that given to old PFP," he said.

Between 1% and 20% made use of special or prior votes

BDay 7/9/89 TANIA LEVY 30 CA

SPECIAL and prior votes in House of Delegates and House of Representatives constituencies ranged from under 1% to 20% before polling day yesterday.

A 20% poll was recorded in the House of Delegates' last election in 1984. The poll was 30% for the House of Representatives.

About one-fifth of voters in House of Delegates and House of Representatives constituencies in Johannesburg voted prior to the election yesterday.

In Lenasia, 16,3% of 28 253 House of Delegates voters had voted before election day. In House of Representatives constituencies in Johannesburg, 13% voted early.

The lowest early voting was recorded in Maritzburg, where less than 1% of the 107 316 voters in six House of Delegates seats made prior votes.

In Durban, 15,5% of 551 304 voters cast special votes in 23 House of Delegates constituencies.

A 9,6% poll was recorded in 32 House of Representatives constituencies in Cape Town. In Rylands, the only House of Delegates constituency being contested in Cape Town, 11% of voters went to the polls before yesterday.

A 19,8% poll was recorded in the only House of Delegates constituency in the Port Elizabeth area, and nearly 20% of House of Representatives voters had cast prior votes.

Rivals confident in Geduld

IN THE East Rand constituency of Geduld, where Deputy Minister of Education Sam de Beer is fighting for his political life, both the CP and NP were confident of victory yesterday. B(Pau 719189

By 6pm 56% of the 26 000 voters in the constituency had cast their votes and all parties were predicting a poll of between 67% and 70%. DP candidate Chris Pinto said the DP had had a very strong showing in some areas, especially in the more affluent suburb of Rynfield.

De Beer's campaign manager Nilo Botha said: "It's a tough, tough fight and there won't be a big majority. If there is a surprise, it will be a positive one."

She said a conservative estimate of the majority would be 600 votes.

CP candidate Derby Maree predicted a win for the CP by about 600 votes.

ADELE BALETA reports from Krugersdorp that voting picked up late yesterday afternoon after a slow start. Sitting NP MP and Deputy Law and Order Minister Leon Wessels was defending his 55-vote majority in a rematch against the CP's Clive Derby-Lewis.

MANDY JEAN WOODS

Late yesterday the CP appeared to have the upper hand in West Krugersdorp, while the NP seemed strong in the east. Both sides claimed to have the edge in the remaining areas of the West Rand constituency. (304A)

Wessels said voting was not as brisk as he had hoped. He said the fact that 31% of votes (special and postal) had already been cast could have been the reason for slow voting. He said a total of 45% of votes had been cast by about 3.30pm.

The CP controlled town council was a major part of the campaign, he said. "A major election issue is the way the CP is running this town and the way they have utilised the Separate Amenities Act".

Clive Derby-Lewis, the CP's economics affairs spokesman, said he expected to win by 1 500 votes.

B|Day 7|9|89 (304A

Randburg fight rages till close

RIAN SMIT

THE outcome of the close Randburg contest between DP co-leader Wynand Malan and the NP's Glenn Babb was still open for hot debate before polls closed last night.

Both parties claimed they were ahead.

Malan retained the seat as an independent in 1987 with a 2 647 majority over the NP.

DP organiser and Randburg town councillor Andre Jacobs claimed the voting ratio throughout the day was one DP vote for every 0,71 to the NP. He predicted the DP would win by at least 1 000 votes.

NP campaign manager Hein Kruger said the party was "slightly ahead" by late yesterday afternoon. He declined to say by how many votes.

A total of 3 500 voters had cast post and special votes at Tuesday's 2pm close.

These votes and votes cast at Fountainbleau, Risidale and Northcliff primary schools meant 43% of 22 000 voters had voted by 4pm yesterday.

Both parties expected an increase on the 69,29% poll recorded in the 1987 election.

Jacobs said an increased poll would help the DP because canvassing had showed undecided voters were leaning towards the party.

Babb said it was doubtful which party would be favoured by a higher percentage poll.

"There are many imponderables here. It is going to be on a knife's edge; we know that," said Babb.

As a sign of how serious the NP was about winning the seat, acting State President F W de Klerk lunched at the main polling station, Fountainbleau, yesterday.

He greeted NP voters and briefly spoke to Malan, wishing him well.

Battle of Hillbrow set for another nail-biting finish

B/Day 7/9/89 3049

THE NP was still confident of victory in the marginal seat of Hillbrow late yesterday, while the DP said the outcome was going to be very close.

"Look at my opponent's face and tell me how I am doing," said the flushed NP candidate Tony Wasserman indicating the white-faced Fuchs.

"I'm winning," said Fuchs.

The voting took place at Johannesburg Girl's High School, which is threatened with closure, and a campaign is being fought to open it to all races. Three schoolchildren spent the morning on the hall steps getting signatures for a petition to keep the school open.

Welcomed

The CP's T J Ferreira said he expected to poll 1 500 votes in total. Ferreira, chief whip in the Boksburg Town Council, promised he would "do for Hillbrow what he did for Boksburg". However, he conceded yesterday he would not win the Hillbrow seat.

A DP campaign worker observed that the CP had not done what was expected in taking away NP votes.

Unopposed Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz welcomed voters at the steps to the polling hall, while President's Council member Issy Pinshaw assisted elderly voters.

Schwarz said he felt the race between the DP and the NP was even. A DP worker held up a poster "Send your MP to Parliament . . . not to jail".

EDYTH BULBRING

The NP's Leon de Beer, who won the Hillbrow seat from Alf Widman by 89 votes, was sentenced to jail last year after being found guilty of electoral fraud.

More than 2 000 people had voted by 5pm. With four hours to the count, Fuch's campaign manager Paul Asherson claimed 1 000 of the votes, while Wasserman's camapign manager Kevin Wearing claimed 900 votes for the NP.

Wearing said the NP were 500 votes ahead on the special and postal votes, of which 3 300 were polled. Over 2 800 came from the Hillbrow area, the majority from the residential hotels, Wearing said.

Of 18 000 voters on the Hillbrow voters roll it is estimated only 9 000 still live in the area and the DP's hopes of capturing the exile vote has not seemed to materialise. Howver, Asherson claims the DP has 50% of the special and postal votes.

The CP did not have any figures on the day's voting, although it seemed they had had polled less than 200 by 5pm.

□ SUSAN RUSSELL reports that most voters in DP co-leader Zach De Beer's Parktown constituency had cast their votes by 6pm last night. "Things are going well, rather beyond expectations in the sense that the number of voters has been higher at this stage than expected, he said.

At 3.45pm the NP had counted 1 773 voters. Of these 273 were expected to be for the NP.

304A B/Day 7/9/89.



Former President P W Botha at a polling station in George.

SA Air Force did fly Botha to George

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — SA Air Force public relations director Col Les Weyers confirmed yesterday that former president P W Botha had been flown to George by special jet to vote at Wilderness, in the George constituency.

This was contrary to earlier reports that, after Press inquiries about the flight, Botha had opted to drive to George.

Yesterday's short statement read: "An SAAF spokesman confirmed that the flight in question did take place. Mr P W Botha was flown to George this morning and will return to Cape Town later."

"As was previously stated by the Minister of Defence's office and another senior SADF officer, the flight was authorised in terms of existing Treasury regulations and authorities."

Earlier, Botha's personal assistant, Commodore Tertius Ehlers, had confirmed that Botha and his wife Elize would vote in Wilderness "where they are registered".

Sapa reports that Botha and his wife were among the first voters in the southern Cape this morning.

The couple voted at the church hall in the Wilderness Heights in the George constituency.

The two were accompanied by George MP Hennie Smit and other NP officials.

After casting their votes, the couple also visited CP and DP helpers at their respective tables.

Tenders for Khotso House

304

Soweten 7/9/89

THE South African Council of Churches said tenders had been called for the rebuilding of Khotso House, the SACC headquarters in Johannesburg wrecked by a large bomb a year ago.

The reconstruction should be completed by May next year, making re-occupation of the building possible by June.

The SACC said in a statement it had not been informed lately of any progress in police investigations into the bombing.

"We note with interest that when the Wit Wolwe claimed responsibility for the bombing of Khotso House the police were quick to deny the existence of the right-wing group.

"A year later the Wit Wolwe are terrorising church people such as Dean Robin Briggs, the Reverend Ivor Jenkins and Bruce Reed. - Sapa.

Zach de Beer takes Parktown at a walk

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Dr Zach de Beer was elected Democratic Party MP for Parktown with a majority of more than 6 000 votes.

Compared with the Progressive Federal Party majority in 1987, Dr de Beer found the 8 864 votes cast in his favour "highly satisfactory".

His opponent, Colonel Basil Ginsberg of the National Party, polled 2 800 votes He was disappointed with this number but said: "We'll be back".

Dr de Beer hoped his success would be reflected countrywide and felt his substantial majority indicated Parktown was a strong DP seat.

NICE PEOPLE

Dr de Beer spoke highly of his NP opponent "I have nothing but regard for Colonel Ginsberg and his wife — but should the NP go on sending nice people to Parktown to be treated in this way?"

The percentage poll of 65 percent was slightly lower than in 1987 Dr de Beer said he had hoped for a higher percentage but it was impossible because the voters roll was "in a mess".

There were 108 spoilt ballots.

Meyer unruffled by right

By Dawn Barkhuizen

Johannesburg West National Party MP Mr Roelf Meyer held his seat with a majority reduced to 1 328 against strong opposition from the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party.

Mr Meyer, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development won 4 247 votes against 2 919 for CP candidate Mr Andrew MacQueen and 2 370 for DP candidate, Mr Willem Hefer.

The poll was 55.1 percent, five percent more than in 1987, with 52 spoilt papers

Both the CP and the DP were standing for the first time.

Voting trends in the constituency which includes Mayfair, Brixton and Wits Univeristy swung from the left to the right by about 1 000 votes.

Hoisted shoulder high and surrounded by cheering, chanting supporters, Mr Meyer said the diverse constituency represented a good cross section of South Africans and he had no doubt that just as he had held his seat, so would the Nats win the election.

He told The Star he had fought the election on a platform of reform and that the CP swing would not influence this direction. He said it had been a tough fight with all sides confident of putting up a good fight.

Pik's majority is slashed

By Sue Olswang

South Africa's future was in the National Party's hands, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said when the NP's majority was announced in the Westdene constituency last night.

"The 'Linden factor' was quoted for months after the last municipal election, but the DP's promise to take Westdene has failed," Mr Botha said.

The DP's Mr Chris van Niekerk, who was pleased at his first attempt at gaining a seat in Parliament, said it was sad to find that people were "scared to change".

"They don't want to change and that makes my heart sore. But I will fight Westdene until I win it," said Mr van Niekerk, who reduced the NP majority by 1 706.

Mr Botha polled 6 974 votes, Mr van Niekerk 4 327 and Dr T M Hart of the CP 2 691. The percentage poll was 70,46, there were 27 spoilt papers and the NP majority was 2 647.



Carole Charlewood, MP . . . the TV journalist turned DP politician celebrates her win in Umbilo, with her husband Geoffrey at her side.

CP finishes a poor third

Jubilant DP takes Hillbrow from the Nats

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The Democratic Party's Mr Lester Fuchs reclaimed Hillbrow from the National Party with a majority of 1 054 in a three-way contest.

Mr Fuchs received 3 917 votes, NP's Mr Tony Wasserman 2 970 and the Conservative Party's Mr T J Ferreira 1 079.

Earlier in the evening a number of enthusiastic Democratic Party supporters and organisers shouted happily at the entrance to the polling station, urging people to vote for the DP.

Their organisers, mostly Wits university students, told voters a vote for the National Party was a vote for corruption while a vote for the Democratic Party was a vote for progress

The organisers also circulated petitions to save the Johannesburg High School for Girls from closure.

Many people signed the petition.

Conspicuously absent at the entrance were National Party and Conservative Party organisers.

"I'm winning this seat," an excited Mr Fuchs told The Star.

More protestors arrested as police baton-charge crowd

By McKeed Kotlolo

Three more demonstrators were detained in Laudium last night, bringing to 18 the number of people arrested in that constituency since polling began in the general election yesterday morning.

Several other people were injured when police with dogs baton-charged and tear-gassed scores of people who waited outside the Pretoria Muslim Trust Mosque in this Indian township at about 10 pm.

Doctors rushed to the mosque to treat the injured, including women and children.

One of the demonstrators told The Star they had gathered outside the mosque after the police had allegedly promised to release the 15 demonstrators arrested earlier outside the polling station.

The defeated chairman of the House of Delegates, Mr Boeti Abramjee, said he accepted his defeat by the MP for Eastern Transvaal, Mr Akoob Abdo Sattar, by 95 votes because the two had been running neck-and-neck since the start of the election.

Mr Abramjee said: "Now I'll be able to effectively serve my people from outside Parliament."

The percentage poll was 3 while in 1984 it was 32,56.

Nats hold on to Springs in

Five-vote victory for

NP retains Alberton, CP



Carole Charlewood, MP . . . the TV journalist turned DP politician celebrates her win in Umbilo, with her husband Geoffrey at her side.

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The percentage poll was 38 while in 1984 it was 32,56.

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Nats hold on to Springs in 3-way battle

By Brendan Templeton

National Party MP for Springs Mr Piet Coetzer was returned to Parliament last night with a majority of 1 241 votes.

The National Party collected 6 622 votes to the Conservative Party's 5 381 and the Democratic Party's 1 473. There were 32 spoilt papers.

Mr Coetzer said on the announcement of the results that the campaign to put Springs first had won

Conservative Party candidate Dr D S Gous said he was disappointed and that hypocrisy had won.

Mr Derry Byrne of the DP said he was looking forward to the next election and the DP would definitely be back

Mr Coetzer noted in his victory speech that both the majority for the NP and the support for the DP had increased, which looked promising for the future.

The results followed intense campaigning by the three parties in a close election where the swing vote of the DP was considered by all parties to be a major factor

Five-vote victory for Nats in Vereeniging

By Melody McDougall, Vereeniging Bureau

An emotional outburst by CP candidate Mr Barend Keet last night marred Mr Tom Gunning's narrow victory for the National Party in the Vereeniging constituency when he squeezed home by only five votes.

Soon after the results were announced in front of the town hall, Mr Keet made allegations of irregularities in the counting of votes.

He received 7 194 votes while Mr Gunning polled 7 199 votes in the seat which was formerly held by acting State President Mr F W de Klerk.

The DP's Mr Chris du Preez polled 863 votes.

Although Mr Keet refused to elaborate on his dissatisfaction after the votes were recounted three times, he said he would "not let the matter rest here" and that he was going to take it to court.

The percentage poll in the constituency was 70,3 percent There were 36 spoilt papers. Mr Gunning was thrilled about winning but disappointed at the low majority.

Camerer retains Rosettenville

By Celeste Louw

The National Party comfortably retained Rosettenville, where Mrs Sheila Camerer won with a majority of 3 282 votes

The NP received 6 195 votes, a decreased majority of 1 074

Ms Mia Euvrard of the Democratic Party received 1 945 votes and Mr Torrie van Tonder of the CP 2 913.

There were 30 spoilt papers.

Mrs Camerer said although the result came as no surprise, she was very pleased. The NP was, however, sorry about its reduced majority, she said.

NP retains Alberton, CP holds Nigel

East Rand Bureau

The National Party retained control of Alberton with a majority of 698.

The winning candidate, Dr AJG Oosthuizen, polled 7 106 votes, Dr Servaas Latsky (CP) polled 6 408 and Mr EA le Roux (DP) 1 325

The percentage poll was 66,8 percent and there were 13 spoilt papers.

In another borderline constituency Nigel was retained by Mr CB Schoeman of the CP by a 1 207 majority.

He polled 9 466 votes, Mr Craig Williamson (NP) polled 8 259 and Mr HE Hofmeyr (HNP) 193

The percentage poll of 75,34 percent was among the highest on the East Rand and there were 51 spoilt papers.

In Germiston District a fierce battle ended in victory for Brigadier Kobus Bosman (NP) who polled a 926 majority

He polled 6 994 votes, Mr Wouter Scholtz (CP) polled a close 6 068 and Mr Ian Uys (DP) polled 2 089.

The percentage poll was 64,2

Last all-white election, says envoy

HARARE - The whites-only elections in South Africa will be the last segregated elections and Mr F W de Klerk the last white president, Bulgarian ambassador, Mr Alexander Atanassov said at a Press conference here yesterday.

"The whole world cannot tolerate the sinister system of apartheid," said Atanassov at the conference called to mark the 45th anniversary of Bulgaria's national day, *Ziana*, Zimbabwe's news agency reported.

Atanassov said developments in South Africa were connected to what was happening on the international scene to "find solutions the political way."

He predicted there would be no swift and revolutionary changes.

Atanassov said the Frontline States were "tired of this useless war," in South Africa where there would be no winner.

"The military struggle and all forms of struggle must continue," he said. - Sapa.

(News by Val Leveson, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg).

Landmark election

304A

THE most crucial Parliamentary election in many years closed yesterday when voters went to the polls for the final day of voting.

In the largest ever SA election, polling stations in 271 constituencies of the three houses of Parliament opened at 7am and closed at 9pm. The first results in urban constituencies were expected to start coming at about 10pm last night and the pattern of the election should start emerging before midnight.

By then South Africa should have an inkling of just how this most unpredictable of elections - at least in the House of Assembly - is going to turn out.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Outcome

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

For the first time in decades the possibility that the NP might not have an overall majority of seats has been seriously raised.

There is an outside chance that the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party might together take enough seats from the NP to deny it an outright majority - forcing a hung Parliament and the possibility of a coalition Government.

This has injected drama into the election results which they have not had in many years.

In any case even the NP itself has conceded that it will lose 20 or more of its present 122 seats to the Opposition.

All but 15 of the country's 286 constituencies in the three houses of Parliament are being contested.

Unopposed

Only two seats in the House of Assembly - Democratic Party-held Sandton and Yeoville - and 13 Labour Party-held seats in the House of Representatives - are unopposed.

A record total of 751 candidates were standing and 480 of them will have been defeated.

For all candidates from 19 different parties the close of the campaign will come as a huge relief.

It has been one of the hardest and longest election campaigns in South African history and Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk probably spoke for all politicians when he vowed at a Johannesburg public meeting on Monday night that in future there would only be snap elections.

Wessels ups majority

3049

19189 · **West Rand Bureau**

Krugersdorp's National Party member of Parliament retained his seat with a majority of 949 votes over his Conservative Party rival.

Mr Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of Law and Order, beat Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, a nominated MP for the CP.

A jubilant Mr Wessels said after the results were announced that the town had shown support for the NP's proposed plan of action and that he had an obligation to honour the support he had received from Krugersdorp voters.

He promised to activate everything he had campaigned for during the election run-up.

"The results tonight show that the public is tired of the confrontation politics practised by the CP, both on a local government level and on a central government basis," he said.

"I expected to win but did not expect such a majority," said Mr Wessels, who won the 1987 election in Krugersdorp by 55 votes.

"It just goes to show that the CP policy is not a dream, it's a nightmare."

Mr Derby-Lewis, looking tired, said he did not wish to make any comment after his defeat.

Mr Wessels polled 8 188 votes and his opponent 7 239. The polling percentage was 69 and spoilt papers numbered 91.



Govt has minority support of voters

Nats mauled on left and right wings

Star 7/9/89.

304A

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government's overall majority in the House of Assembly has been slashed overnight from 80 to about 20 in the most dramatic turn of the electoral tide since 1948.

The National Party has lost 12 seats to the Democratic Party and 17 to the Conservative Party with a few results still outstanding.

The final tally of seats was likely to be NP 94, CP 39 and the DP 33.

A remarkable feature of the election was the strong showing by the DP, which took Bezuidenhout, Hillbrow, North Rand and Edenvale in the Johannesburg area with substantial majorities, and made breakthroughs in Natal and the Cape.

The CP broke out of its Transvaal heartland for the first time, taking six seats in the Free State, with an astonishing dead-heat in Fauresmith, and winning both Kuruman and Uitenhage in the Cape.

Despite the substantial NP losses, the NP leader and Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, nonetheless today interpreted the results as a "clear and resounding" mandate to the NP to implement its five-year plan.

He said it had been "encouraging" that the two reform-[illegible] parties — the NP and DP — had won

Indecisive result in House of Delegates

Political Staff

DURBAN — Solidarity, as the largest single party in the House of Delegates, was today considering asking the Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, to call a snap election following an indecisive result yesterday.

The House has no party in the majority and could delay plans to elect the State President next week if no party can clinch a majority alliance.

If Solidarity does not go for another election, the House of Delegates is set for another five years of intrigue, instability and chaos with no party winning an outright majority.

By early today, Solidarity had a simple majority with 14 seats, Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party taking seven of the 40 constituencies, the Democratic Party three and most of the rest being held by smaller parties and independents.

Final tallies were expected later today.

A Natal Indian Congress spokesman, Dr Farouk Meer, today claimed victory for the NIC and MDM, saying: "The Indian community has unequivocably pronounced its rejection of the House of Delegates with about 80 percent refusing to vote."



Triumphant ... Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan and his wife Judy share his victory in Randburg. Disappointed NP candidate Mr Glenn Babb is in the background. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

nearly 75 percent of the vote.

In the House of Representatives the Labour Party lost seven seats but ended with 69, a clear majority of the 80 seats in the House.

The Democratic Reform Party won five seats to remain the official opposition.

In the House of Delegates the majority Solidarity won most seats with 14, but this was not enough for an overall majority. The position there remained confused.

For the first time in decades the NP failed to win 50 percent of the vote, with the DP capturing about 25 percent the CP about 28 percent.

The DP confounded NP predictions that it would suffer from the effects of the MDM defiance campaign against the elections and the "give FW a chance" factor.

Randburg triumph

It kept all its seats, won back all the seats it had lost to the NP in 1987 and added Simonstown and Umbilo for good measure, plus the last of the New Republic Party seats, Mooi River.

It won Simonstown with a convincing majority of 3 362, turning around an NP majority of 268.

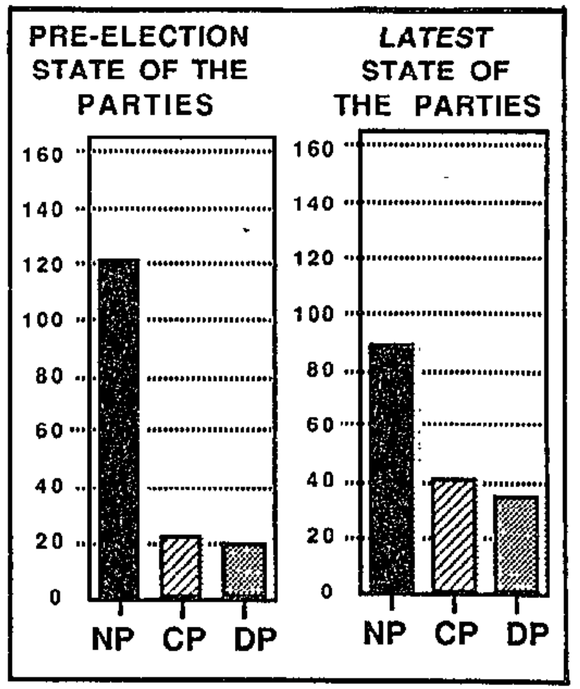
DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan won the bitterly fought contest in Randburg against the NP's glamour candidate, Mr Glenn Babb, with a convincing majority of 1 714.

The DP's full tally of gains was Bezuidenhout, Hillbrow, Edenvale, North Rand, Randburg (Independent in 1987), Wynberg, Simonstown, Umbilo, Umhlanga, Pietermaritzburg North, Pietermaritzburg South, Mooi River, Walmer and Albany.

In Green Point, expected to be a cliff-hanger, the DP increased its tiny majority of 39 to 1 823.

The DP also increased it majorities sustantially in Johannesburg, especially where co-leader Dr Zach de Beer pushed up the Parktown majority from 3 953 to 6 064 and Mr Peter Soal lifted his Johannesburg North majority from 4 488 to 6 205.

Results at a glance



With 161 seats in the House of Assembly announced, the National Party had 90 seats, the Conservative Party 38 and the Democratic Party 33.

The DP's tally of about 25 percent of the vote was up 11 percent on its performance in 1987.

The CP kept its full 22 seats and won all the seats where it and the HNP together achieved an overall majority over the NP in 1987.

The CP made major inroads into the Free State, winning six of the province's 14 seats with one result, Fauresmith, a tie. The CP captured Smithfield, Welkom, Ladybrand, Heilbron, Sasolburg and Parys. The Conservatives also broke into the northern Cape by taking Kuruman and its first seat in the eastern Cape, Uitenhage.

But the CP failed to take several marginal seats which it had expected to take, including Potchefstroom, where Mr Louis le Grange, Speaker of Parliament, tripled his previously small majority, and Krugersdrop, where Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Leon Wessels increased his majoirty from 55 to 949.

The CP was also repulsed in Geduld and Springs, two seats with small majorities.

In Geduld Deputy Minister of Education Mr Sam de Beer scraped in with his majority reduced from 1 723 to 377.

In Springs, NP Transvaal information officer

See Pages 2, 3, 10, 17, 18, 19 and 21.

Mr Piet Coetzer increased his majority from 884 to 1 241 despite the presence of the DP.

One of features of the election was heavily-slashed majorities.

In NP leader Mr F W de Klerk's old seat, Vereeniging, the NP held on by the skin of its teeth to win by just five votes.

The CP also had a few close calls. It won Meyerton by only seven votes.

The DP appeared to make most of its gains in English-speaking seats which the PFP or the old New Republic Party had held previously.

DP economic advisor Professor Sampie Terblanche said it seemed the support from English-speaking South Africans for the National Party in the previous election had been stopped.

"Unfortunately, Afrikaner support for the DP was and is not as high as we had hoped for," the professor said.

Pienaar holds Potgietersrus

By Marlies Liebenberg

POTGIETERSRUS — The Conservative Party's Mr David Schalk Pienaar retained his seat in the Potgietersrus constituency with an increased majority of 3 141.

Mr Pienaar polled 9 090 votes to the National Party's 5 949 votes for candidate Mr Hardus Pretorius.

There were 107 spoilt papers and a high percentage poll of 80,79 percent was recorded.

Star 7/9/89 (304A)

NP, CP and DP satisfied with results

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The three major parties in the House of Assembly expressed satisfaction today with their performances in the general election, but the Herstigte Nasionale Party conceded its poor performance at the polls.

With some results still outstanding, political leaders commented as follows:

● Mr F W de Klerk, National Party leader and Acting State President, lauded the result as a "resounding victory" for the NP and a strong mandate for its new five-year plan.

REFORM

His analysis of the result was that nearly 75 percent of the white electorate had voted for reform. Of that percentage, the NP had obtained nearly 50 percent of the vote.

Despite heavy losses to the Left and the Right, the NP had not been forced to form alliances with other parties.

However, Mr de Klerk said, his party would seek the co-operation of "chosen leaders who represent majorities". Leaders of all population groups would be drawn into negotiation on a new dispensation.

Yesterday's ballot had dealt the CP a "devastating defeat" in terms of the CP's own predictions. The CP had only received 25 to 30 percent of the vote, Mr de Klerk said.

● The NP's director of information, Mr Con Botha, said he was relieved that the NP had obtained a workable majority.

"The people of South Africa have firmly expressed themselves in favour of constitutional reform. The NP will take cognisance of that."

● Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer was thrilled with the fledgling party's performance.

But he expressed disappointment with the outcome in Helderberg and Stellenbosch, especially in the light of the DP's solid majorities in constituencies such as Simonstown, Constantia and Sea Point.

Said Dr de Beer: "A significant portion of the electorate has swung towards a perception of South Africa as one nation. There is more than enough encouragement for the DP to fight on towards the day when it will become the government of South Africa."

● DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said South Africa faced a whole new political ball game: "We clearly have the makings of a new political alignment in South Africa."

The DP had lived up to expectations both in terms of the number of seats won and majorities obtained.

He was not overly disappointed that his target of a hung Parliament had not been achieved as the country was still looking at "a whole new political ball game".

The party even performed well in constituencies where it had not won, such as Westdene where it had cut Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's majority by about 2 000.

● The CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said the CP had slashed the NP's majorities in most seats. Many seats had become marginal.

PROPAGANDA

"We have grown since 1987 despite the media propaganda against the CP. Many factors will work in the CP's favour in future, such as the South West Africa issue and the prospect of negotiations in South Africa."

● HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, who lost his deposit in Waterberg, said the countrywide swing to the Left and the NP's continued path of reform had created the need for a "new situation" on the Right. In the light of this, the HNP still had a significant role to play, although it had done poorly.



A jubilant Mr Geoff Engel after his unexpected win last night.

'NP's biggest scare since 1948'

The Star Bureau (304A Star 7/9/89)

LONDON — The National Party may be back in power, but it has just "had its biggest scare since it took power in 1948".

That is how the result of the general election was reported in Britain early this morning as the results showed that the party had secured 84 seats, one more than needed for an overall majority.

Scenes from the polling stations were featured on all British television newscasts, with a smiling Mr F W de Klerk confidently predicting that his party would do well.

But Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who has been shown on television here every night this week, said he was not concerned about how many people had voted but how many had stayed away from work.

British viewers were also shown scenes of yeterday's black unrest, including crowds scattering from armed police and tyres being set on fire in the streets, sending palls of black smoke into the sky.

The most remarkable development of all, said a BBC commentator, were reports that a police lieutenant had tried to intervene to stop riot squads whipping people. "They were hitting innocent bystanders, enjoying themselves," he said.

Another thought the sharp NP losses would reduce, not increase, the tempo of reform.

● WASHINGTON — The US media gave the election wide coverage showing scenes of whites voting counterpointed with voteless blacks demonstrating. One TV channel, CNN, interviewed Archbishop Tutu.

He said Mr de Klerk could have asked for a mandate to lift the emergency, unban political organisations and release political prisoners and detainees. Instead, he had offered the same iron fist one had been accustomed to from the racist minority white government.

Jubilation greets DP triumphs on the Reef

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Five Democratic Party victories on the Reef were greeted with wild jubilation from cheering DP supporters last night.

Three new faces in Parliament will be those of businessman Mr Louis de Waal, who ousted National Party MP Mr Attie Grobler in North Rand; Johannesburg city councillor Mr Lester Fuchs, who won a resounding victory in Hillbrow; and Mr Geoff Engel, who narrowly ousted Mr Sam Bloomberg in Bezuidenhout.

Returning to Parliament will be DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, who fought off the NP's Mr Glen Babb in Randburg, and former Edenvale MP Mr Brian Goodall, who regained the seat he lost to the NP in 1987.

Shortly before the Randburg result was announced, a victorious Mr Malan emerged from the voting hall and hugged his wife, Judy. This was the sign the nervous crowd of DP supporters was waiting for.

Their frantic cheering marked the end of a tussle which led many observers to believe former diplomat Mr Babb could snatch the seat.

Mr Malan's message was: "It is clear that if not in the short term, then at least in the long term, we are on our way to a democratic government."

An obviously disappointed Mr Babb said he had no future plans at this stage..

In North Rand, the triumphant Mr de Waal said: "We came from nothing with diverse forces and bridged a cultural and language gap to build on a central belief that we must all be together.

"Today we have achieved a true central South African identity. It's a dream come true. We can now go forward and unite English and Afrikaans in one South African society. This is a chance for all people of all races to go ahead."

Mr Grobler, who served North Rand for less than two years, lost despite pushing up his support from 9 940 to 11 237. The Conservative Party's Mr Fritz Meyer pushed up his party's support from 5 543 in 1987 to 6 901.

In Bezuidenhout, a jubilant Mr Engel shouted above the cheers of his supporters: "We are established now and this seat is just a start. We have found credibility in this constituency."

● A blow was struck against petty apartheid as Boksburg National Party MP Mr Sakkie Blanche scored a solid majority over the CP, which took local government control last year.

The NP's victory as well as the support shown for the DP was seen as a clear rejection by Boksburg residents of the town council's return to a policy of strict segregation.

● The CP yesterday made its biggest urban advance when it took four of Pretoria's 13 parliamentary seats and turned others into marginal seats.

It won Hercules, Pretoria West, Roodeplaat and Wonderboom from the NP. It narrowly lost Gezina by seven votes after a series of recounts and cut 4 500 off the NP majority in Innesdal.

The NP retained the Waterkloof, Sunnyside, Innesdal, Verwoerdburg, Koedoespoort, Gezina, Pretoria Central, Pretoria East and Rissik seats.

In Gezina, the CP's Mr H van der Merwe watched counters first give him victory and then take it away. There were three recounts of special votes and two of votes cast yesterday before the former MP, Mr K D Swanepoel, was declared the winner by seven votes.

Mr van der Merwe intends to petition the Supreme Court for a further recount or to declare the result null and void and order a by-election.

Brand new party captures Lenasia

By Paula Fray

A party founded less than three months ago took all three seats in Lenasia yesterday.

The Merit People's Party (MPP) won Lenasia Central, East and West constituencies.

Lenasia East candidate Mrs Rashida Ebrahim became the first woman to be elected to the House of Delegates when she polled 494 votes for a 341 majority.

She said was not disappointed with the 9,04 percent poll as it had trebled since 1984.

Police regularly dispersed groups of children and two Transvaal Indian Congress members were detained.

304A

Election 1989

Result much better than we expected, says surprised winner

It's Goodall all the way in enthusiastic Edenvale

By Joe Openshaw

The Democratic Party turned the tables on the National Party in resounding fashion in Edenvale by taking the seat with a majority of 3 551.

Mr Brian Goodall regained Edenvale for the DP by polling 9 358 votes in a hectic day of voting marked by surprising apathy among NP supporters.

Superb DP organisation and an enthusiastic turnout of young voters in support of the party won the day for Mr Goodall.

In the 1987 election Mrs Joan Hunter of the NP won the seat with a slim majority of 168. Yesterday the NP polled 5 807 votes.

"The result is much, much better than I expected. I imagined the DP would get a 1 500 majority, but never 3 551," Mr Goodall said.

This is the fifth time he has stood in Edenvale. He won the seat in 1979 and was returned to Parliament in 1981.

Alternative to NP

Independent candidate Mr Piet Venter polled 451 votes and lost his deposit.

"The DP is rolling and it is time for us to drop the opposition mentality and act as the alternative to NP rule," Mr Goodall said last night.

"We are not, as the PFP was, a protest-vote party. We are a worthwhile alternative party. Clearly, NP supporters feel they can no longer support the Government and its policies," he said.

The massive support expected from Nat voters in the evening at the main polling station — the M G de Wet Primary School in Edenvale — never materialised and the lead the DP had built up carried the day.



A jubilant Mr Brian Goodall after the official announcement that he had won Edenvale for the Democratic Party, from the National Party. ● Picture by Joe Openshaw.

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Polls show opposition, says TIC

By Kevin Udemans and Paula Fray

The national percentage polls in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates once again show that the overwhelming majority of eligible voters have rejected the tricameral system said Mr Cassim Saloojee, the president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, this morning.

"They have also thereby shown their support for the Mass Democratic Movement," he said.

He said the election in the House of Assembly showed that the ruling group was hopelessly divided: "The gains by the so-called rightwingers and the Democratic Party leave the National Party in a weak situation and this in itself reduces the legitimacy of the 'white' House.

"Given these results we still maintain that at this juncture in the history of South Africa, the forces of change to the system will not come from within the system but from the vast majority of the Mass Democratic Movement," he said.

Mr Saloojee said it was hoped the Democratic Party would pressurise the Government to create a situation which could make negotiations for a non-racial and democratic South Africa possible.

"We would like to say to the collaborators in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, who are junior partners in apartheid, that this is the second time the majority have rejected the tricameral system and we demand that they accept the will of the people and resign from the positions," he said.

The secretary of the TIC, Mr Ismail Momoniat, said that the percentage poll for the House of Delegates in the Transvaal had dropped from 23 percent in 1984 to 21 percent this year.

He said 86 percent of votes cast in Transvaal were special votes.

"The TIC does not accept special votes as genuine votes as we have evidence that many of these votes were secured through threats, bribery and blackmail," he added.

Mr Momoniat said the high poll of 42 percent in Actonville could be ascribed to the housing problem. Voters had been promised houses in a new area called Villaliza.

Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of The Indicator in Lenasia, said the polls proved there had been a "massive thumbs down to ethnic apartheid politics".

"If all the candidates in the House of Delegates had any moral accountability they would give up their seats in Parliament ... but it goes to prove, in South Africa the minority rules," he said.

Mystery of 'false votes'

By REHANA ROSSOUW

IT was a case of "thanks for the congratulations -- but no thanks" for at least three Bonteheuwel residents involved in an election mystery.

Mr Paul Scott of Vyeboom Street, Mrs Milita Gray of Elder Street and Ms Gilhan Hayward of Firethorn Street, all received letters from the Labour Party candidate, Mr Patrick C Mckenzie, congratulating them for having cast their votes.

None of them had voted.

The letters were signed by McKenzie, whom they had never met.

"On behalf of myself and the community, I wish to express my sincere appreciation that you came to cast your vote," said McKenzie in his letter.

"You know my record and my work and therefore I am appealing to you to encourage the rest of your family and friends to come and vote for me tomorrow.

"I really need their vote. We must and will win this election and therefore I would appreciate your assistance."

Scott said he had confronted McKenzie with the letter and demanded to see the voters' roll to check if his vote had been recorded

"McKenzie refused to show me and said I must bring a lawyer if I want to see," Scott said.

"I can't afford to pay a lawyer and even if I did get one now, it would be too late as my vote would already have been counted.

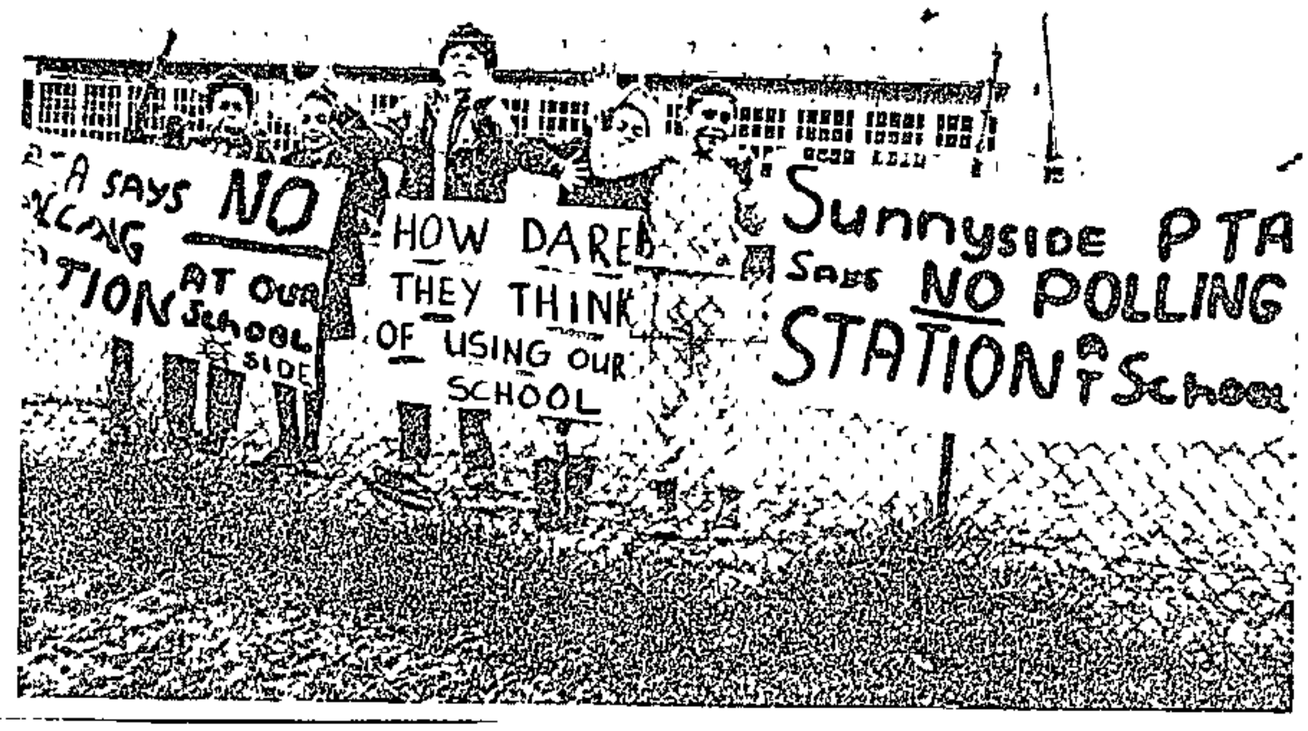
"Maybe that's why the percentage poll was so high in Bonteheuwel," said Scott.

McKenzie said the letters to Scott and Hayward were a "mistake" and he had sent another letter to them, apologising

He denied that there had been votes cast for them.

He also denied that he knew who had voted for him in the secret ballot, but said he had sent letters to everyone who had come to vote





LEFT: MDM supporters took to the beaches in a peaceful protest in Durban BELOW: The PTA of Sunnyside Primary in Athlone took a firm stand against their school being used as a polling station

Workers hurt in anti-LRAA action

By CHIARA CARTER

THE widespread industrial action at factories and businesses throughout South Africa since last Friday has been the most sustained in the country's history.

The protests followed the call by the workers' summit for national protest action against the Labour Relations Amendment Act and elections.

A spokesperson for the Congress of South African Trade Unions said that thousands of workers took part in work stoppages and demonstrations in major centres throughout South Africa.

He said that police took action against hundreds of workers who protested on the Witwatersrand.

In the Western Cape a worker was hospitalised and several others seriously injured in clashes.

A Cosatu Western Cape spokesperson said more than 1 000 workers were baton-charged and teargassed after they had taken part in street demonstrations in Paarden Eiland, Ndabeni and Maitland on Friday.

He said that two workers were injured in the incident.

The protesters were members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union of South Africa and the South African Municipal Workers Union (Samwu).

A Cape Town City Council employee was hospitalised after police took action against about 150 Samwu members who marched outside the council depot in Ndabeni.

The march was part of protest action taken by Samwu members at nine council depots as well as at the Civic Centre

In Epping Industria a water cannon was used against hundreds of metalworkers who were demonstrating in the streets, and workers from McCrawl Timbers were beaten after they also protested outside the factory.

Demonstrations and stoppages also took place at several other Epping factories including Bokomo, Duens, Dairybelle, Premier and Pepsi

At the FNP factory in Epping, workers refused to handle egg yolks from Lemoenkloof farm where about 60 workers are on strike.

More than 1 000 members of the Health Workers' Association downed tools to take part in protests at Groote Schuur, Somerset and Woodstock hospitals.

In the Boland, about 1 000 members of the Paper, Print Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Ppwawu) stopped work for two hours

There was also a two-hour stoppage at the Matco supermarket in Paarl

About 2 000 construction workers at several companies also downed tools for two hours.

Members of the Transport and General Workers Union took protest action which varied from stoppages to go-slows.

There were also demonstrations by workers at the University of the Western Cape, Cape King Foods in Bellville, factories in Montague Gardens and at four factories organised by the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union.

A Garment and Allied Workers Union spokesperson said that Gawu members took part in lunch-time demonstrations at factories throughout the Peninsula.

304A Smith

STAYAWAY

FROM PAGE ONE

on Wednesday.

Early on Wednesday morning, stations and taxi ranks in Cape Town's townships appeared deserted and the streets were eerily empty.

Many factories and businesses closed early; others did not bother to open at all.

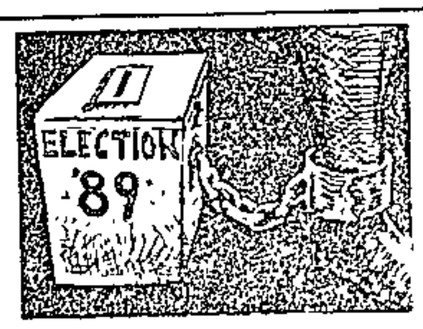
Among those who did not open their doors on Wednesday were members of the Western Cape Traders Association who put up signs saying their shops would be closed in line with the MDM call.

There was also a sharp increase in the number of workers who stayed away on Wednesday in the Transvaal, where businesses came to a virtual standstill.

A spokesperson for the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) said that about 78 000 miners downed tools on Tuesday in support of the two-day protest.

7-13/9/89

The tyres and teargas elections



304A South 7-13/9/89.

By REHANA ROSSOUW, CHIARA CARTER and MONO BADELA

ELECTION '89 was not fought in the polling booths but on the streets.

According to reports, four people were killed and more than 100 injured in widespread protests against the tricameral elections yesterday.

Palls of black smoke hung over the Peninsula's townships as barricades flared in most areas.

The elections in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates were characterised by extremely low polls with only a trickle of voters going to the polling booths at constituencies in the Western Cape.

In Khayamandi near Stellenbosch, Liziwe Masokanye, 23, a mother of a three-month-old baby, died when she was hit by birdshot in the forehead.

Critical condition

The shooting happened after a group of people had gathered in the street and were toyi-toying. Eight people, including Masokanye, were injured.

Mosakanye died on the way to hospital. Several people were arrested.

Three-year-old Megan Anders, the daughter of Horizon singer Dezi Anders, is in a critical condition at Red Cross Hospital after birdshot fired into her Woodlands, Mitchells Plain home hit her in the head.

Her grandmother, Mrs Valerie Herman, said Megan had been standing in the doorway of their house at 5pm when they heard shots fired.

"Megan was still eating and her plate smashed on the floor. Her mother ran to pick her up."

Doctors said Megan had nine birdshot pellets in her head. She was undergoing a brain scan to determine if any had penetrated her brain and whether there would be any damage.

"We are all still very upset. Dezi can't even talk. Why must they shoot innocent children?" Herman asked.

There were barricades in Mitchell's Plain, Athlone, Manenberg, Heideveld, Retreat, Guguletu, Nyanga, Hanover Park, Bonteheuwel, Valhalla Park, Elsies River and Bellville South.

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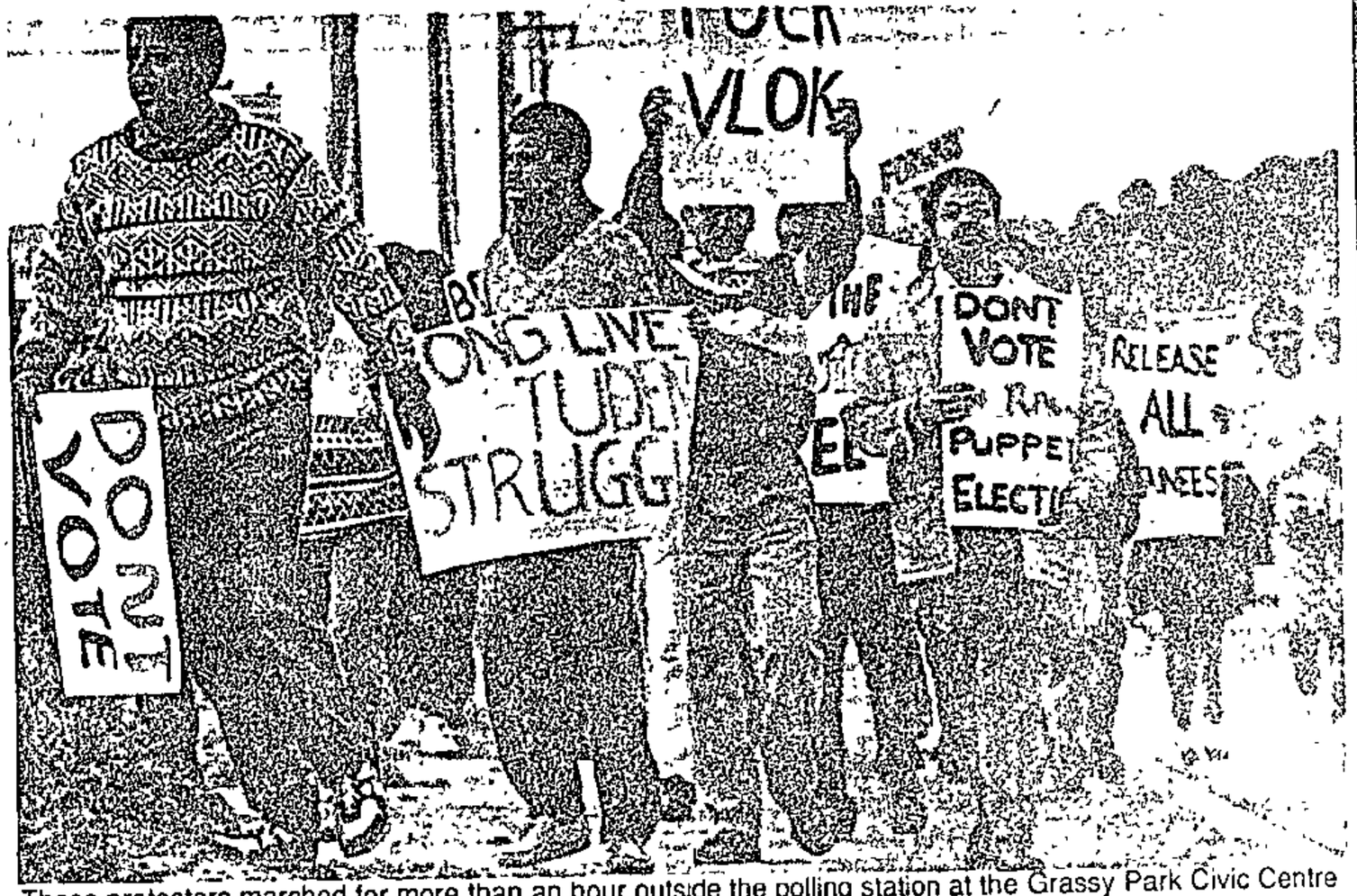


These protestors marched for more than an hour outside the polling station at the Grassy Park Civic Centre
PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

STAYAWAY BIGGEST EVER IN WESTERN CAPE

BUSINESS and industry throughout the country ground to a halt this week as an estimated two to three million workers staged a massive stayaway over two days in protest against the Labour Relations Amendment Act and the elections.

The stayaway, which followed a call by the Mass Democratic Movement for national protest action on Tuesday and Wednesday, was one of the largest in South Africa's history.

The University of the Witwatersrand's independent monitoring group estimated that between two and three million workers stayed away, while a spokesperson for the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Mr Vincent Brett, described the stayaway as "obviously very substantial".

The biggest stayaway was in the Eastern Cape where almost the entire African workforce stayed away on both days.

Mr P Cronje, spokesperson for PE Tramways, said there was a very poor demand for buses in the townships.

He placed passenger levels at between 10 and 20 percent in PE townships and about 30 percent in Uitenhage.

Many of the drivers were also absent, he said.

There was also an exceptionally high absentee rate in Natal where thousands did not report for work.

A spokesperson for the Natal Chamber of Industry said there was an almost 100 percent stayaway in the textile industry.

There was also an absentee rate of between 60 and 95 percent in the milling, rubber and oil industries.

For the first time ever in the Western Cape, there was a large scale stayaway by workers, particularly

TURN TO PAGE 5

FROM PAGE ONE

TYRES AND TEARGAS ELECTIONS

Police took action in most areas and there were widespread arrests, shootings and injuries.

A special night court was convened in Wynberg yesterday to hear cases of public violence.

In Hanover Park, 42 people were arrested early yesterday morning when they held a placard demonstration outside the polling booth at the Civic Centre.

In Grassy Park, 400 people gathered outside the polling booth at midday.

They marched for more than an hour around the civic centre while police watched. There were no arrests.

Residents in Heideveld marched to the polling station at Welcome Primary School after a mass meeting at St Theresa's Catholic Church. Police refused them permission to hand over a list of demands to the candidates.

In Bonteheuwel, about 300 people marched to the heavily-guarded polling station at the civic centre after a prayer service at the Congregational Church.

The candidates fled into the hall and bolted the door when the marchers neared the centre. A woman was arrested.

By nightfall, almost all the major roads in Mitchells Plain were blocked by barricades.

Most of the injured were children shot with birdshot.

At the Mitchells Plain Crisis and Relief Centre parents and relatives waited anxiously for news of children shot.

Mrs Rachel Peters said she was told that her son Darryl had been shot.

"They say he's been hit by more than 50 pellets. I feel terrible. Nothing like this has happend to us before. I'm waiting for news from the hospital."

Two children injured by birdshot in Manenberg were admitted to the Gatesville Medical Centre yesterday afternoon. Residents reported that more than 50 people were injured.

"Manenberg is like a war zone," many residents claimed late yesterday afternoon.

A pall of black smoke hung almost permanently over the area as tyres blazed in the middle of Manenberg Avenue and Duinefontein Road.

Duinefontein Road was impassable for most of the afternoon as barricades burned from the police station down to Nyanga station.

White plumes of teargas rose over most of the area and gunfire echoed through the flats.

In response to queries, a police spokesperson referred SOUTH to their unrest report issued at 5pm.

The report mentioned two incidents in Khayamandi, where police dispersed stone-throwers with teargas and birdshot was fired at a group building a barricade.

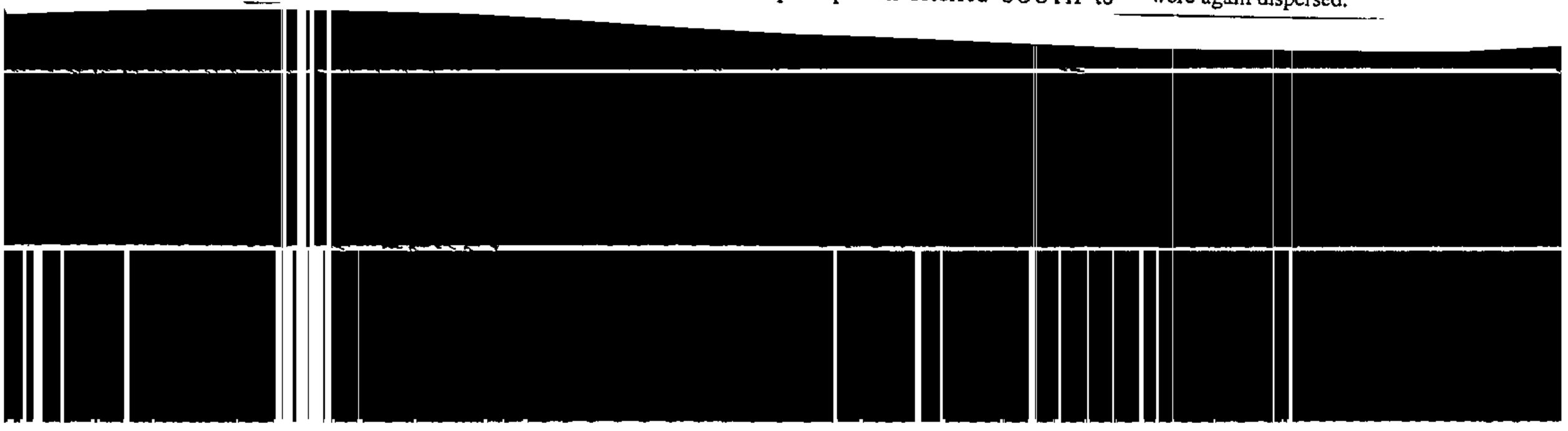
"At Parow, the driver of a delivery vehicle sustained an eye injury when his vehicle was stoned.

"At Guguletu, a bus was damaged in a stone-throwing incident. No injuries were reported. At Pacaltsdorp (George) a man was arrested after he protested with placards near a voting booth.

"At Roodewal (Worcester) a private vehicle and a police vehicle were damaged in separate stoning incidents. A youth was arrested after the police vehicle was stoned.

"In the Transvaal, police teargassed and sjambokked about 250 people who had demonstrated with placards in the main street in Boksburg.

"Later, another group gathered and were again dispersed."



It's Stoffel at a canter in Helderkruin

304A

By Gien Elsas,
West Rand Bureau

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe retained his Helderkruin seat by a comfortable 5 748 votes over his closest Democratic Party rival Star 7/9/89

The Minister received 12 113 votes, Dr Theunis de Bruin of the DP 6 365 votes and Dr G J Venter of the CP 5 302.

There were 52 spoilt papers and the polling percentage was 73,85.

Dr van der Merwe said after the results were announced that he planned to carry out his election manifesto.

He described the election as a good, clean fight between the parties.

The other candidates were not available for comment.

From page 1

If the CP has problems as a result of Wednesday's election, so does the National Party. Its new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, has to face the hard political reality of a party caucus reduced to its 1953 size and a party which has lost the support of majority of white voters for the first time since 1958.

In addition, the NP has thoroughly lost its grip on the most populous province, the Transvaal, where it no longer controls the majority of seats and where it only won 46% of the vote.

Mr De Klerk yesterday described the outcome of the election as "a tremendous win" for the NP and he said he was not disappointed at the loss of the NP seats.

"We will move forward with confidence and strength," Mr De Klerk said.

Despite putting on a brave face, Mr De Klerk will lead the NP and the government at a time when it has been demonstrably weakened and could not afford the luxury of any defections without its majority in the House of Assembly being threatened.

Moreover, the second consecutive and decisive rejection of the tricameral system by coloured and Indian voters, as reflected in the low polls for the other two Houses, has exacerbated the legitimacy crisis of government-created constitutional structures.

When Parliament reconvenes next week to elect Mr De Klerk as president, the problems facing the CP and the NP will not be immediately evident and they will be glossed, but they are bound to come to haunt them.

NP loses Jhb votes hand over fist

By Kevin Udemans 3041

The National Party lost three parliamentary seats in the Greater Johannesburg area yesterday and held on to six seats, five with reduced majorities.

In the 16 seats in the area, the swing has been mainly in favour of the Democratic Party.

The ruling party lost Hillbrow and Bezuidenhout to the Democratic Party and Maraisburg to the Conservative Party, the only seat the CP won in the area.

The NP held on to their seats in Jeppe, Johannesburg West, Rissik, Rosettenville, Turffontein and Westdene but in five of the six cases their majority was greatly reduced.

In the Westdene constituency Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, won by 2 647 votes as opposed to the 1987 majority of 4 353.

In Jeppe, Mr Hennie Bekker's majority was reduced from 4 231 to 1 922; Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, won by 1 328 votes in Johannesburg West as opposed to 3 566 in 1987; Mrs Sheila Camerer retained her Rosettenville seat with a 3 282 majority in comparison with her 5 042 advantage in 1987. In Turffontein Mr Andre Fourie's majority was reduced from 5 859 to 3 958.

The only exception was the Rissik constituency where Mr Chris Fismer's majority of 3 533 showed only a 313-vote decrease from his majority of 3 846.

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DP WINS

The DP held on to to seven of their seats, retaining Bryanston (Mr Rupert Lorimer), Houghton (Mr Tony Leon), Johannesburg North (Mr Peter Soal), Randburg (Mr Wynand Malan), Parktown (Dr Zach de Beer), Sandton (Mr Dave Dalling) and Yeoville (Mr Harry Schwarz).

Mr Schwarz and Mr Dalling were unopposed after convincing victories in the 1987 election and Mr Malan's majority was reduced after his tussle with the National Party's Mr Glenn Babb in the election. In the other four constituencies their majorities increased dramatically.

In Bryanston the DP majority increased by 4 109 votes, in Houghton 2 450, in Johannesburg North 1 717 and in Parktown 2 111.

The gains for the DP came in Hillbrow where Mr Lester Fuchs regained the seat lost by the Progressive Federal Party in 1987 by a majority of 1 450 and Mr Geoff Engel ousted sitting Member of Parliament for Bezuidenhout, the National Party's Mr Sam Bloomberg, by 356 votes.

The only gain for the CP in Johannesburg came in Maraisburg where their candidate, Mr Pieter de la Rey, was elected to Parliament ahead of the NP's Mr Pieter Pretorius by a 214-vote majority.

Labour Party welcomes the votes for change

Star 8/9/89

304A

Pretoria Correspondent

The Government has received the nod from the electorate to go ahead with reform.

Labour Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said this in commenting on the election results.

He said that if the votes received by the Democratic Party and National Party were added, there was a clear message for reform.

It was clear that the Government had to scrap apartheid laws, he said.

Of the Labour Party's performance, he said there was some disappointment at not winning more seats. "But we have more seats now then when Parliament was disbanded."

Mr Hendrickse said it was significant that more people voted than in 1984.

SUPPORT ENTRENCHED

"We are not discouraged by low polls in some areas. The voter corps has grown, and in most cases the rolls were not updated. It would be fair to say that most coloured people want change through negotiation."

Transvaal LP leader Dr Willie Hoods said he was pleased with the party's performance.

"It was significant that many more people voted. It was encouraging to see that our candidates entrenched their support."

Mr Jac Rabie said coloured people had given a clear message that apartheid belonged to the past.

"We want a new constitution, and to look at solutions through peaceful means."

He said that the large voter turnout showed that coloured people did not want violence as a solution.

Sketw 8/9/89 (304A)

'SA must step up communication'

The issues facing South Africa in the 1990s were complex and challenging, and the future depended largely on effective communication between all race groups, the chairman of Eskom, Dr John Maree, said in Sandton yesterday.

Dr Maree was named Communicator of the Year by the South African Association of Industrial Editors and the Public Relations Institute of Southern Africa (Prisa) for his contribution to changing Eskom's image.

"The challenge in the 1990s is how well we are going to talk to one another ... our whole survival depends on communication and negotiation."

Lack of effective communication would prevent SA from achieving its goals. Communication had to start in the workplace and at a national level.

Mandela is key to urgent tasks ahead

FW faces 'Five-year Plan' poser

Star 8/9/89

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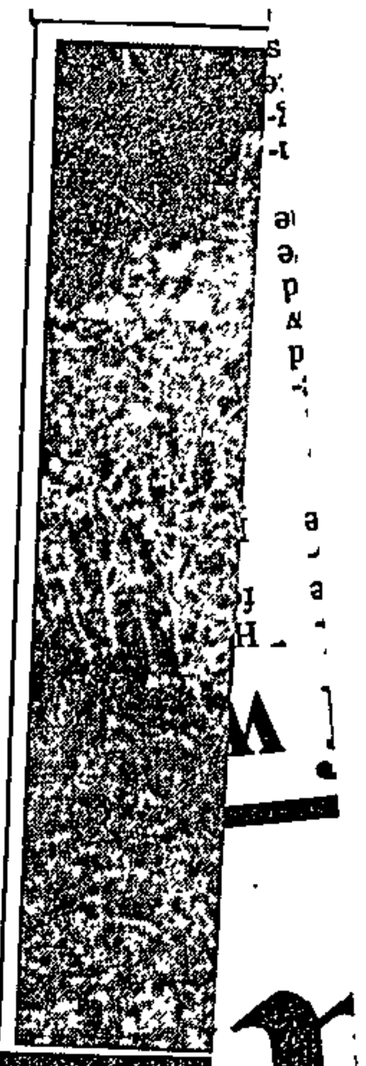




The Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, faces urgent decisions on how to implement the National Party's five-year reform plan following the shock setbacks his Government received at the polls on Wednesday.

Although Mr de Klerk claimed the election result as a mandate for reform, opposition leaders have expressed doubts whether he will risk any bold ventures now to break the negotiation deadlock.

● The key to this is the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, but NP sources said today they doubted whether Mr de Klerk would move very quickly to do this before consolidating his position.

● Mr de Klerk's other major initiative to promote reform depends on the Cabinet he appoints. Whether or not he will appoint leaders of colour to his Cabinet is uncertain. NP sources said today the appointment of a black to the Cabinet merely as a token was unlikely.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, whose party won the House of Representatives election, has already vowed he will not serve in the Cabinet and the position in the House of Delegates is still confused.

One of his first major tasks will be to appoint a new Cabinet and to fill the five posts which are vacant. The crucial decision will be who he appoints to tackle the vital task of negotiation.

Although Mr Gene Louw is the Minister of Constitutional Development, the post closely associated with the negotiation effort, there is strong speculation in the NP that Mr de Klerk will either keep the job for himself or give it to one of his own close advisers in the Cabinet.

Mr Louw was appointed by Mr de Klerk's predecessor, Mr P W Botha, in a move which was widely interpreted as a snub for Mr de Klerk. It is expected Mr De Klerk will re-arrange the portfolio, leaving Mr Louw with the less important components, such as provincial affairs.

Staff Reporters

The names of Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr Kobie Coetsee (both close to Mr de Klerk) have been mentioned as possibilities to fill the vital negotiation portfolio.

There were suggestions that a black might be apointed to take the black education portfolio, allowing Dr Viljeon to be appointed to a more senior position.

Wide credibility

NP sources believe that this is now unlikely and that Mr De Klerk would only be prepared to appont a black Minister who had wide credibiility.

Parliament meets on Wednesday to appoint the electoral college which will elect the State President the next day. Since 50 of the 88 members of the electoral college are chosen by the NP, Mr De Klerk is assured of victory.

The other business of the short session of Parliament next week will be to appoint the indirectly-elected MPs.

In the House of Assembly there will be eight of these allocated to the different parties according to their numbers of directly elected members. It is expected that the NP will get four indirectly elected members, and the other two parties two each.

● The British Foreign Secretary, Mr John Major, has described the election result as "a powerful and comprehensive mandate for change" and has urged Mr de Klerk to get reform rolling.

The State Department said in Washington that the US government has congratulated Mr de Klerk on the NP's victory, but it said promises of reform now needed to be followed quickly by concrete specific action.

The US was willing to work with the new Government and all other parties together in a substantial effort to end apartheid.

● The Mass Democratic Movement said in a statement that more people had taken part in its protest action against the election than had voted.

More than 3 million workers and students had demonstrated their opposition, it said.

"Despite all the election hype, over threequarters of the registered coloured and Indian voters refused to vote."

● See Pages 2 and 6.

Though CP gained seats, its power 'will now shrink'

Star 8/19/89

(304 words)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Although the Conservative Party almost doubled the number of its seats in the House of Assembly this week and remains the Official Opposition, it has reached its peak — from now on it will shrink, political analysts told "Post-Election Seminar 1989" in Johannesburg yesterday.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, of the University of Stellenbosch, said personalities had played a major role in the elections, making it possible for Cabinet Ministers to retain their seats in constituencies where the CP posed great threats.

Personalities had also played a role in the Democratic Party's good showing in Natal, where co-leader Dr Denis Worrall's influence was felt, and in Randburg, where co-leader Mr Wynand Malan beat charismatic NP challenger Mr Glenn Babb.

NEGOTIATION TIME

The CP, which had now become "the true repository of Afrikaner nationalism", had failed to live up to its own expectations.

"I suspect that the CP profile peaked during the October 1988 municipal elections and is now shrinking — and will shrink further after the delimitations," said Professor Breytenbach.

The collective 70 percent poll of the NP and the DP, as opposed to the CP's 30 percent, showed clearly that the white electorate wanted to negotiate an undivided South Africa.

By insisting on partition, the CP had effectively excluded itself from negotiations.

Just as the 1980s were characterised by limited reform, the 1990s would be characterised by negotiations, said Professor Breytenbach.

White South African parties at the moment were generally insincere and dishonest, he added:

The CP had grave reservations about the practicality of its partition policy, but would not admit it;

When the NP talked about power sharing, it had in mind co-option of blacks into the system, but would not admit it;

The DP knew a black majority government was inevitable, but did not say it publicly.

For the first time, the NP had actually asked the electorate for a mandate to relinquish full control and share power — and had got it.

The NP had also successfully distanced itself from the CP, and leant towards the DP.

Professor Breytenbach said two important issues, Mr Nelson Mandela's release and the Namibian independence process, had been ignored in the election campaigns. That was probably because all parties regard the issues "as unstoppable and irreversible".

Professor Breytenbach said the CP's poor performance could lead to leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's position becoming vulnerable — somebody younger might take over.

The director of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, said the electorate's shift had been more to the Left than to the Right since 1987, and the Right had been effectively stopped.

But voters still cast their ballots along language lines, with still fewer than 10 percent of Afrikaners having supported the DP, despite the fact that some of the ablest Afrikaners were already in the party.

Whites voted to end apartheid – ANC

LUSAKA — A senior African National Congress (ANC) official said yesterday South Africa's whites, in segregated elections, had voted to end apartheid.

"The people who voted clearly voted for the process of dismantling apartheid to begin immediately," said Mr James Stuart, a senior member of the national executive committee of the Lusaka-based ANC.

Mr Stuart said the National Party and its leader, acting President F W de Klerk, had campaigned on a platform of dismantling the country's apartheid system.

3049

LAST CHANCE

He said the mandate given to De Klerk was the whites' last chance to solve the problem of apartheid peacefully — and the process could no longer be postponed indefinitely.

"It's obvious the time has now come for De Klerk to implement decisively what he had promised the electorate and the international community." Star 8/9/89

Mr Stuart said the SA Government must now the ANC's accept terms, backed by the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement, for a negotiated end to apartheid.

The ANC wants Pretoria first to end the state of emergency, free political prisoners, lift a ban on political organisations like the ANC and withdraw troops from black townships.

"He (Mr de Klerk) must make clear that he is ready to create the conditions to make dialogue — real dialogue — possible in South Africa," Mr Stuart said.

The ANC must be included in any negotiations between the Government and the black majority. "We can't be wished away and it's about time that De Klerk accepts that reality," he said.

He dismissed suggestions that the ANC terms were too tough and that it should perhaps soften its stance by suspending its guerilla war, one of Pretoria's main demands.

"It's not up to us, it's up to them to decide. As far as we're concerned the struggle continues."

● Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) leaders meeting in Belgrade have condemned Wednesday's elections. According to the NAM declaration on southern Africa, leaders meeting on the last day of the ninth summit condemned the elections, saying they were held under a constitution declared null and void by the United Nations. — Sapa—Reuter.

Political reform the key to cut Govt overspending

Stw 8/9/89

304A

Economic issues featured more prominently in the 1989 election than in any previous general election. Nevertheless, the relevance of the result to the long-term future of the South African economy is open to debate.

Many would have us believe that the problems facing the economy have been brought about by external pressures such as economic sanctions and the refusal of overseas banks to lend South Africa money.

According to this line of reasoning, an election result favouring the idea of political reform would see an end to sanctions and result in a huge new inflow of foreign capital, which would enable the economy to return to its former path of growth and prosperity.

Conversely, a swing to the right would result in an outflow of capital and lower economic growth.

Misses point

However, this argument misses the point. From an economic view, political reform is essential, not to please the outside world but to reverse the long-term trend of rising government expenditure.

It is the latter that has brought this country's economy to its knees.

To finance its growing expenditure, government has had to raise taxes continually through fiscal drag, higher GST and hikes in other forms of tax — all cutting into people's spending power.

Moreover, it has driven people to save less and borrow more than they could afford to compensate for the erosion of their incomes.
comes.

Increased credit demand has in turn led to sharp growth in the money supply. The end result has been lower economic growth and higher inflation.

There have been other deleterious structural side effects too. Increased taxation and inflation have diverted savings away from green-



Dr Azar Jammine . . . 'Reverse trend of government spending.'

By DR AZAR JAMMINE, Director of the Econometrix research unit.

field wealth-creating investment projects into a paper chase of share and other financial assets.

This has been killing entrepreneurship while leading to ever more power flowing into the hands of fewer and larger financial institutions, mining houses and industrial conglomerates.

The ability of the monopolised big business sector to sidestep taxes through ingenious tax schemes and accounting practices has resulted in the proportionate burden of tax shifting significantly away from the corporate sector to the individual.

In addition, monopoly power has assisted the process of inflation: directly, as cost increases automatically come to be passed on to consumers; and indirectly, in the sense that powerful trade unions have grown in reaction to the growth of business concentration.

These unions have now themselves become a further source of inflation as they have pressed for wage increases that have not been matched by increases in productivity.

All these enormous structural distortions have developed from years of government overspending. They cannot be eliminated overnight, no



Dr Chris Stals . . . more chances to make a real start.

matter which government is in power.

In the aftermath of the election, the most one can hope for in terms of a return to long-term prosperity is that a meaningful start is made towards reversing the trend of government spending via political reform.

In the short term, a cut in government spending should not be too difficult as political pressures will have receded.

Discipline

But can fiscal discipline be sustained in the longer term? This is the key issue.

The principal cause of growing State spending appears to have been the extraordinary growth of the Public Service in both central government and the homelands.

Whereas employment levels in most of the private sector have either remained static or declined, employment in central government has risen by no less than 57,4 percent between 1980 and 1988, and in local administration and the homelands it has increased by 39,1 percent.

In large measure this development must be attributed to the complex political and administrative structure of government, which has led to multiple duplication of so many functions and massive frag-

mentation of controls.

While government has sought to please everyone, it has ended up pleasing no one.

Handouts of any kind are costly, seldom appreciated, often abused and often yield few real benefits.

If new political reform merely results in the addition of further tiers of bureaucracy, it will achieve nothing economically and in all probability will harm the economy still further.

Rationalisation

If, however, it results in rationalisation of administration and functions in the state sector, it will negate the need for government to continue spending vast quantities of taxpayers' money on wasteful and inefficient bureaucracy, and the South African economy could enter a new growth era.

Only then will foreign capital begin flooding back into the country to assist growth further.

The solution to the country's economic problems lies from within not without the economy. Much will depend on the nature of political reform which the new government will pursue.

In spite of all the euphoria surrounding the election, the results still tell us little about the path which the new government will follow. Only time will tell.

However, now that the elections are over and there is an abatement in political pressures to stimulate the economy to win ballot box approval, at least the new government has wider scope to exercise more discipline in the management of the economy.

The Minister of Finance will be in a far better position to resist demands by Cabinet colleagues for more and more money.

In turn, it should provide Dr Chris Stals, the new Governor of the Reserve Bank, with much better opportunities to make a real start to *the war on inflation that he has promised.*

NP in House 'to increase by at least 8'

Star 8/9/89

Political Reporter

(304A)

The National Party will increase its representation in the House of Assembly by at least eight through the system of four nominated and eight indirectly-elected MPs, according to Professor Nic Olivier, a former Progressive Federal Party MP and an expert on the constitution.

By comparison, the Conservative Party will probably have two indirectly-elected MPs and the Democratic Party one — with the remaining one being decided between the NP and the DP.

STATE PRESIDENT

The four nominated MPs, one for each province, get nominated by the State President. They will thus naturally be Nationalists.

The eight indirectly-elected MPs are elected by the 166 directly-elected MPs on the principle of a single transferable vote for each MP in a proportional representation system. This will happen within seven days of Parliament re-assembling on September 14.

After this process has been completed, the party breakdown in the Assembly is expected to be: NP 103, CP 41 and DP 34.

NP losses may harm council caucus

DP 'is waiting for control of Jo'burg'

Star 8/9/89 (304A)

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The dramatic loss of support suffered by the National Party in every Johannesburg constituency would seriously harm the party's ailing city council caucus, predicted Democratic Party council leader Mr Ian Davidson.

"Do not rule out a repeat of the caucus split which erupted in the NP ranks earlier this year," he warned.

Mr Davidson said it was being speculated openly that at least three NP councillors, including Mr Howard Bloomberg, would seriously reconsider their position in their caucus.

But Mr Bloomberg commented: "At this stage I am remaining where I am."

Mr Davidson continued: "In addition there are certain NP seats which have become marginal, including Mrs Julie Coetzer's Ward 11 where Mr Pik Botha did badly."

Events had proved that the DP, with 20 councillors to the NP's 24 and the CP's four and three independents, was now a "party in waiting".

"The NP rallied after the threatened split in the caucus but now, faced with further electoral setbacks, the old divisions will reappear with the conservative-minded members led by arch-conservative Mr Cecil Long at loggerheads with the moderates."

More responsible

Debate during the monthly council meetings had sunk to its lowest possible level.

"While the NP places the blame on the DP, the truth is that the management committee will have to become far more responsible in its attitude to the problems of this city.

The NP electoral record in the largest urban area in the country included the DP ousting the Nats in Hillbrow and Bezuidenhout and Maraisburg falling to the CP. Another major NP setback was the slashing of its majorities in all the remaining nine constituencies.

There the Nat majority dropped from 5 859 in 1987 to 3 958 while in Rosettenville a 5 042 majority was cut to 3 282.

Even the magic touch of THE Foreign Affairs Minister faltered in Westdene where his previous 4 353 majority was knocked down to 2 647.

By contrast the DP scored record highs in several areas.

Former DP council leader Mr Tony Leon got a resounding nod for his past performance in the city council, topping Mrs Helen Suzman's 3 851 majority in 1987 with a whopping 6 301.

Former Berea city councillor Mr Lester Fuchs also trounced the Nats in his race to Parliament via Hillbrow where he reversed the 89-vote Nat majority in 1987 to win by 1 054 votes.

Councillors will have to be chosen to replace these two Parliamentarians in Mr Leon's Highlands North ward, which Mr Davidson believed would not be contested by the Nats, and Mr Fuchs' Berea council seat.



Triumphant . . . Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan after his election victory in Randburg on Wednesday night. Next to Mr Malan is disappointed NP candidate Mr Glenn Babb. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Election briefs

Fauresmith will vote again

In Fauresmith in the Free State, there was a dead heat between the National and Conservative parties in Wednesday's poll and another election will have to be held there.

Mr J M Aucamp (NP) and Mr F W A Danzfuss (CP) tied with 4 519 votes.

Mr N J Saunderson of the HNP collected 120 votes.

Yesterday, the NP and CP candidates agreed not to call for a recount, saying they were happy with the original count, according to Fauresmith's electoral officer, Mr P C Nel.

In the last election, the seat was won by Mr P J S Olivier (NP) with a majority of 1 048. — Sapa.

House of Assembly results

HELDERKRUIN

* Dr C J v d Merwe (NP)	12 113
Dr G J Venter (CP)	5 302
Dr T F de Bruin (DP)	6 365
majority	5 748
spoilt	52
poll	73,53%

Last election Dr C J v d Merwe (NP) 9 815, J F Marais (CP) 5 198, A L Marais (PFP) 4 572. NP majority 4 617.

PRETORIA WEST

P F Smith (NP)	5 937
J Chiole (CP)	3 085
CP majority	2 148
spoilt	127
poll	59,26%

Last election: Z P le Roux (NP) 6 998, J J C Botha (CP) 5 672, A S Treurnicht (HNP) 1 509. NP majority 1 326.

VENTERSDORP

* S P van Vuuren (CP)	7 488
I D van Zyl (NP)	5 332
J A Fourie (HNP)	152
CP majority	2 106
spoilt	61
poll	77,93%

Last election B H Wilkens (NP) 5 173, S P van Vuuren (CP) 6 704, M H Potgieter (HNP) 448 CP majority 1 531.

NAMAQUALAND

* E v d M Louw (NP)	4 353
Dr N S Burnett (CP)	3 304
NP majority	1 059
spoilt	14
poll	77,32%

Last election: E v d M Louw (NP) 4 489, Dr N S Burnett (CP) 2 640 NP majority 1 849

PORT ELIZABETH CENTRAL

E W Trent (DP)	5 505
Mrs A M C Nash (NP)	3 635
DP majority	1 870
spoilt	88
poll	62,63%

Last election D J N Malcomess (PFP) 4 714, Mrs A M C Nash (NP) 4 118. PFP majority 596.

GRAAFF-REINET

J L Retief (NP)	3 991
R van Heerden (CP)	2 610
S B Fitzhenry (DP)	1 922
NP majority	1 381
Spoilt	0
poll	80,62%

Last election: J L Retief (NP) 4 268, J C R van Heerden (CP) 2 340, F A Rubidge (IND) 1 035, W A Botha (HNP) 181. NP majority 1 928.

We'll change it around, says Dr No

'Power-sharing is lie of SA politics'

Star 8/9/89

304A

Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

National Party "power-sharing" was described yesterday as "the big lie of South African politics" by the Leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He told a post-election Press conference in Pretoria that even if power-sharing did come about, "everything the National Party does (in that regard), we can change. We will act accordingly."

Mandela irrelevant

Dr Treurnicht, speaking at CP headquarters, said his party did not believe that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela had any real role to play in white South African politics.

Discussing power-sharing, Dr Treurnicht said he did not think real power-sharing was possible.

"The National Party are trying to share power between five million whites, 21 million blacks, three million coloureds and one million Indians. We don't think that would be real power-sharing.

"If they try to share it, then they will no longer be in control. Power-sharing is in fact the big lie of South African politics.

"We have already warned about this concentration of power from various groups."

Dr Treurnicht expressed his disappointment that the CP did not win more seats, as had been expected, but was pleased that it had improved its vote total from 547 000 in 1987 to over 680 000 in Wednesday's general election.

"The 17 gains we achieved have made us a very strong official Opposition," he added.

The CP was pleased at its showing in the Free State and the Cape but was concerned at "the swing towards the liberals", and said the whole spectrum of South African politics appeared to have gone to the left.

Dr Treurnicht warned that the NP would continue to lose seats in future elections if it continued to lean towards the left and this could finally mean ANC rule.

"People don't realise that."

He dismissed the Democratic Party as "talking for the masses".

"It is not a democratic party, as such. In some instances it is revolutionary.

"Likewise the Herstigte Nasionale Party is no longer a factor in South African politics."

Candidate's feat with zero votes

Star 8/9/84

304A

By Joe Openshaw

Now the dust has settled and political analysts are making hay with the figures, spare a thought for Mr Gangiah Naidoo, an Independent who scored a political duck standing for the House of Delegates at Rylands, in the Cape Peninsula.

Incredible as it may seem, the election results showed a zero next to his name. He did not get one vote.

I wouldn't bet on it, but Mr Naidoo has probably made history. Why, one might ask, did he not even vote for himself? It is one of the great mysteries of modern politics.

Mr Naidoo can console himself with having bettered (or worsted) the record of Mr A G Ebrahim, also an Independent, who in the last Rylands election netted two votes.

● One of the lighter moments for me was when I was approached by a voter outside the polling booths in Edenvale. He had his ballot paper in his hand and asked me what he should do with it.

"Must I keep it?" he asked.

I said: "Fold it up and ask that policeman where to put it."



JAN STEYN

Apartheid in the last five years of its perverse existence

CAPE TIMES 8/9/89 3044

JAN STEYN, the chairman of the Urban Foundation, takes a look at the South Africa he expects to see five years from now. This is an extract from a speech he made to the South African Orthopaedic Association's 35th congress in Pretoria.

CHANGES in South Africa have increased pressure for more change, simply because new inconsistencies have been produced which have to be resolved and aspirations have been raised dramatically.

Government, having conceded the principle of a single nation and a common urban-industrial society, no longer has the major ideological commitment and motivation to prevent integration and open opportunity in society. In other words, the current pattern is one of the fragmentation of apartheid and the current phase is one of untidy transition.

Tentatively, on this basis, I can project forwards and say that in five years' time, if the current processes unravel and develop as one would expect them to, we will have a society with the following major features:

☐ A government drawn from all groups, probably with provision for an executive drawn from the major black and white political parties. It could take many different forms, it will understandably be highly controversial, but it will constitute a substantial measure of power-sharing between major political interests.

☐ A Bill of Individual Rights will have strengthened the rule of law and opened the way for much fuller equality of opportunity in society.

☐ Open residential areas subject to the qualification that some deeply conservative white suburbs may exercise, formally or informally, a right to remain exclusive. In other suburbs a lesser or greater degree of integration will have taken place, although informal ethnic clustering will probably occur.

☐ In a combination of state subsidised private schools and even some state schools, one will find an increasing proportion of education occurring on a non-racial basis.

☐ Over-arching forms of metropolitan government will draw together formerly white and formerly black municipalities under the umbrella of common local fiscal resources. The powers of metropolitan authorities will tend to increase and local government will increasingly be devoted to attempts to upgrade less-developed urban areas.

☐ The economy, although beset by uncertainty, will be stronger than it is at present, primarily because investors and foreign finance houses will have become aware of the fact that movement is occurring in the direction of longer-term stability.

☐ Blacks will be divided on the reforms and changes, and some will participate while others will choose to remain outside the system of government and administration as a vocal dissenting bloc. This dissent and protest will increase pressure for further change.

☐ South Africa will still be in transition but it will be less easy to make the accusation that the system is white-dominated. The political centre of gravity will be shifting towards effective participation by the majority. A post-apartheid South Africa will be emerging, still untidily, but in the end convincingly.

Serious jeopardy

Two developments could abort the process I have tentatively sketched. One danger would be if the change takes place within a deteriorating economy. If both blacks and whites suffer increased privation, they will become more competitive with regard to one another and less inclined to make concessions or accept compromises.

A second danger will arise if the outside world and all the various movements for change in South Africa push too hard in a way which arouses fear among whites that their interests and security face serious jeopardy or destruction.

An unthinking, emotionally-based resistance could occur, just as happened in the old Southern Rhodesia leading to the UDI in 1965.

Agressive activism

I cannot say more about these dangers, except to say that they are latent in our social life and in our brittle economy at the moment. Most influential South Africans, white and black, are aware of the dangers, as are many of the more seasoned and mature political leaders abroad. In other words, there is a web of influence capable of sustaining South Africa's progress towards a unified and equal society. These influences must promote good judgment and constructive strategy at every turn, here and abroad.

South Africa will change; apartheid is in the final five years of its tragic and perverse existence, and progress towards this goal can be protected against aggressive and confrontational activism from the right, the left and abroad. We all, as South Africans, or those of you who visit us from abroad, have a role to play in this process.

Democratic Party candidates win huge majorities in metropoli



A jubilant Mr Louis de Waal of the DP celebrates after winning the North Rand constituency in Johannes

The DP's suprising success in many areas may have been greater had there been delimitation of constituencies prior to Wednesday's election. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

Star 8/9/89

DP successes top 1981 liberal trend

30 yrs

The Democratic Party surprised many observers, and even some of its supporters, by winning 33 seats in the general election, thus easily surpassing the previous high-water mark of a liberal opposition party.

The old Progressive Federal Party, under the leadership of Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, set the earlier mark in the 1981 election when it notched 26 seats. At the time that was considered to be a solid achievement

But the DP's success on Wednesday would almost certainly have been even greater had there been delimitation of constituencies

As former President Botha made clear in March when he was resisting National Party pressure for an early election, a new delimitation of seats was overdue and necessary. The NP, however, backed its new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, in his demand for an early election.

The NP was motivated in part by a desire to rid itself of the brooding presence of a sick and irascible Mr Botha and the belief that if the poll was held after the Namibian election in November it might have had adverse repercussions on its election chances.

The NP feared that a Swapo victory in Namibia would have given the Conservative Party a stick with which to beat it.

Had the delimitation been held it would have resulted in a reallocation of seats to the Transvaal to reflect population shifts since the last delimination was held 10 years ago

According to a proposal mooted by a parliamentary select committee, the Transvaal — which has 76 of the present 166 seats — would have gained 15 new seats and Natal one. Under the same proposal, the Cape would have retained its present 56 seats and the Free State its 14 seats.

A provincial redistribution of seats to give the heavily populated Transvaal a greater number would not in itself have benefited the DP.

But there would have been a redistribution of seats within the provinces from rural to urban areas and that may well have benefited the urban-based DP.

Benefits

Two metropolitan areas with a strong DP presence would have gained seats. the Witwatersrand — where nearly a quarter of the white voters live, and the Cape Peninsula.

DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday. "Delimitation would have meant more urban seats and afforded us additional chances (of victory)."

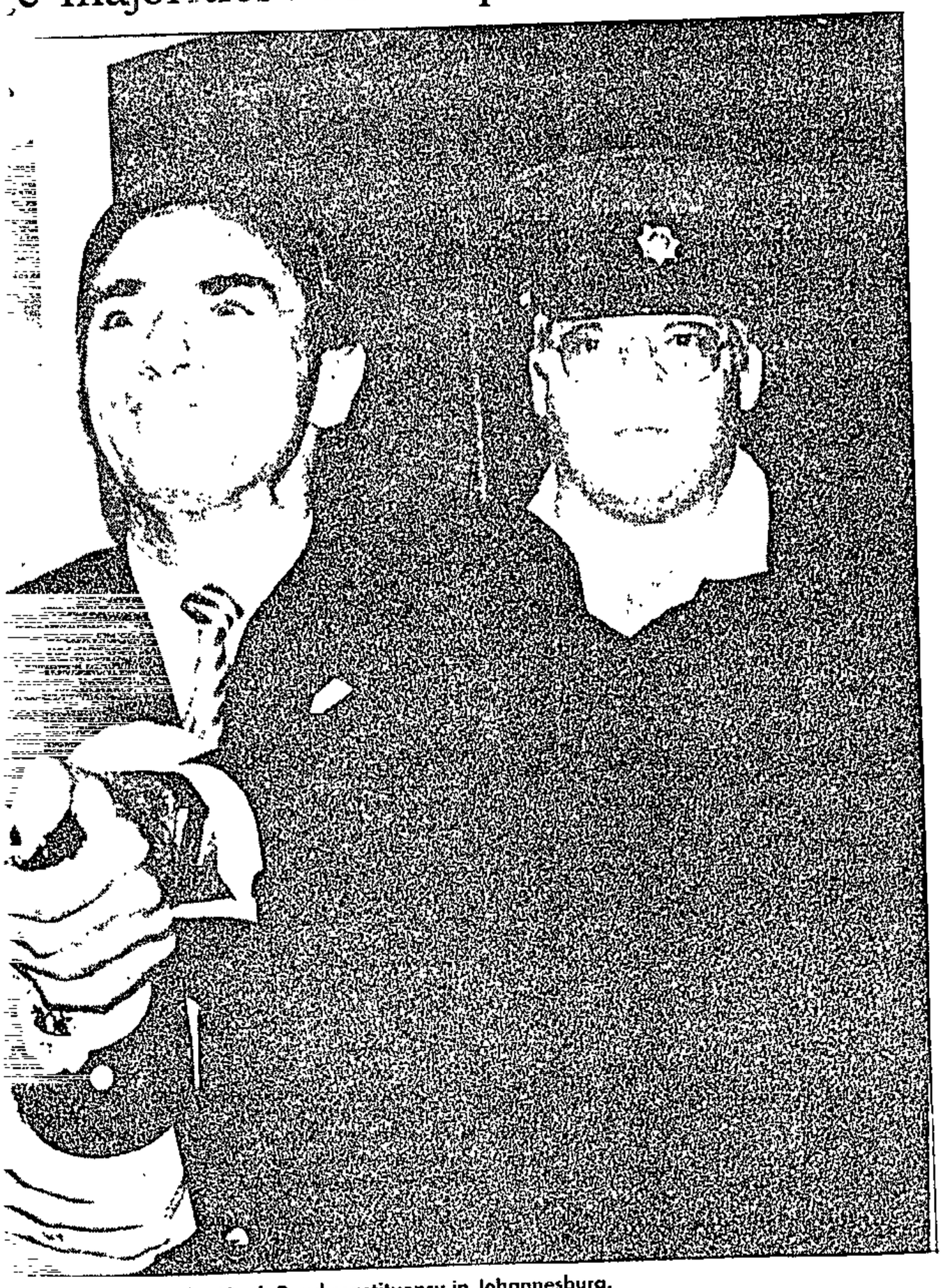
Several DP candidates in Johannesburg won huge majorities. Dr de Beer himself won by more than 6 600 votes in Parktown. A reallocation of seats might have secured one or two more MPs for the DP.

Even where the DP majority was narrower a re-delimitation may have benefited the DP.

Take North Rand where the DP candidate, Mr L A de Waal, attracted more than 13 450 votes to win by a majority of over 2 300. In slightly altered circumstances, the DP's 13 450 votes and a majority of 2 300 votes might have secured two seats.

North Rand, incidentally, can be used to illustrate the inequity of the present distribution of seats. It has about 44 000 registered voters against, say, about 9 000 for Graaff-Reinet, meaning that a North Rand vote is worth only one-fifth of a Graaff-Reinet vote.

...e majorities in metropolitan areas



... after winning the North Rand constituency in Johannesburg.

Star 8/9/89

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But there is another factor which counts against urban-based parties: the provision in the law which allows a urban seat to be "uploaded" by 15 percent and a rural seat to be "downloaded" by 15 and even 30 percent where the seat covers a large geographical area.

Thus, even when there has been a new delimitation of seats, there can be — and has been in the past — a difference of 45 percent between urban and rural seats.

The device was brought into electoral law when South Africa was a much less urbanised and industrialised country. But it remains on the statute book, presumably because it benefits the NP in the Cape.

According to Mr Tian van der Merwe of the DP when the issue was last discussed in Parliament, the NP wanted to increase downloading to a maximum of 40 percent in geographically large but sparsely populated constituencies The Bill, however, was blocked by the Labour Party in the House of Representatives.

The CP victory in the rural Cape seat of Kuruman may, however, persuade the NP to ditch its proposal.

Mr van der Merwe rejected the idea of loading and unloading seats; it was bad in principle because it undermined the important concept of "equality in democracy".

'Mandate' for reform but trouble ahead

304A

To acting State President Mr F W de Klerk, the election result is a "clear mandate" for Nationalist-style reform based on its five-year plan of action. But his bland assessment obscures a serious dilemma, reports BRUCE CAMERON.

When he says that the combined vote for the National and Democratic parties is "75 percent" in favour of reform, acting State President Mr F W de Klerk cannot be faulted.

But he is going to have major problems within this "75 percent" constituency on the question of the extent and pace of reform — and criticism will come not only from traditional opponents of apartheid right across the political and racial spectrum, it will come also from within his own party.

There are to be enormous stresses in the National Party, with pressure being applied by those many, many MPs who now sit in Parliament with the narrowest of margins, such as Mr Tom Gunning, NP member for Vereeniging, who beat the CP by a meagre five votes.

There are plenty of examples of close shaves on both sides. These MPs will try to pull party policy in the way which they think will ensure their survival.

Empty schools

In this battle, Mr de Klerk has so far shown that he stands firmly on the Right, having gone round the country emphasising repeatedly that NP policy rests firmly on the foundation of group — even to the extent of it being to the disadvantage and expense of other groups

For example, he has shown no intention of doing anything about allowing blacks to use those desperately-needed empty, white schools and those underused white hospitals.

So emphatically has he spelt this out that former senior Government negotiator and now DP member of Parliament for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, warned in his campaign that Mr de Klerk was preparing to take South Africa on a new Verwoerdian detour in which "group" would be sacrosanct.

Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis, who came close to beating Mr de Klerk in the battle for the party leadership, gave early indication of the struggle looming in the party when he commented on his victory in his Florida constituency.

Referring to the fact that the Democrats had taken over from the CP as the second strongest party in the constituency, he said: "I interpret this as a clear message in my constituency to get the politics right so we can get the economy right."

And outgoing Natal NP leader Mr Stoffel Botha also gave an indication of the direction the party had to consider when he offered NP co-operation with the DP in the province.

But the potential for problems in his caucus pales against those Mr de Klerk has to get blacks to the negotiating table to bring real peace to South Africa.

After more than four years of the state of emergency, and a successful defiance campaign over the past few weeks, the NP must be starting to realise that brute force can keep only the lid on the anger of the majority of the population against apartheid — under whatever guise.

It must also be obvious that the Government will not be able to use the state of emergency to force everyone else to negotiate on NP terms — particularly terms that are basically a revised form of apartheid

Not only should the extent of the defiance campaign show this, but also the dismally poor turnout at the polls of Indian and coloured voters — despite a voting period lasting 35 days.

The DP said time and again throughout the election campaign that the Government would not in the end be able to avoid talking to the MDM and the ANC if it wanted real peace

White public opinion has clearly changed about talks with the MDM and ANC.

Scare tactics

After the Johannesburg municipal by-election in Linden three months ago, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha warned his party that scare stories about the DP associating with the ANC were not going to work. But this did not stop the NP from trying anyway — without success.

Both the NP and the MDM/UDF/ANC are being hard-headed about their preconditions for negotiations, clearly because both think they can win.

The DP argument is that the sides should at least start talking about their preconditions if nothing else — as the NP is already doing with Inkatha.

Also increasingly obvious to the NP is that it is not going to get many people to the negotiating table if it thinks, as Mr de Klerk seems to, that negotiations will take place only within the ambit of strict racial groupings

It is on the interpretation of the concept of "group" that Mr de Klerk's future — and that of the NP — will be decided.

Nats can't use old excuse – Barratt

By Jacqueline Myburgh (3049)

The results of the general election proved the National Party could no longer use the old excuse that right-wing reaction was holding them up, Professor John Barratt, Director General of the Institute of International Affairs, said yesterday.

He said the acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, had himself said that the electorate had given the NP a clear mandate to reform and he could "move forward and stop looking over his right shoulder". Star 8/9/89.

During a post-election briefing at the University of the Witwatersrand, a leading British commentator on southern African affairs, Professor J E Spence, discussed the implications of the election results for the country's international relations.

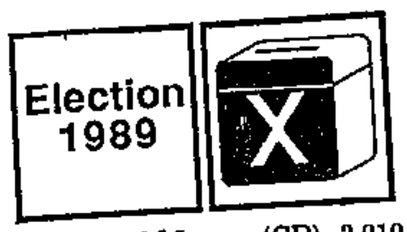
Head of the department of political studies at the University of Leicester, Professor Spence said the British government would have preferred a hung parliament to render the political situation more "fluid", but would give a cautious welcome to Mr de Klerk's victory.

"There is a considerable burden of expectation on his shoulders and he is clearly aware Western governments are expecting him to break through the stalemate on reform," he said.

"The message to South Africa from the international community is 'get on as quickly as you can'."

Mr de Klerk would, however, find himself in a difficult position if opposition from the MDM increased. He would have to "reform and suppress at the same time", Professor Spence said.

Late House of Assembly results



TRANSVAAL

PRETORIA CENTRAL

*G C Oosthuizen (NP).....5 916
L J Welmans (CP).....3 947
Mrs E M Neilson (DP).....776
P R Nell (HNP).....140
NP ..... majority.....1 969
spoilt.....33
poll.....57,37%

Last election: G C Oosthuizen (NP) 5 394, J P P Language (CP) 2 924, P J Barnard (HNP) 568, I D Neilsen (PFP) 502. NP majority 2 470.

CAPE

BEAUFORT WEST

A C Cloete (NP).....4 086
Dr C A v d Merwe (CP)..3 019
NP ..... majority.....1 067
spoilt.....50
poll.....80,16%

Last election: P F Hugo (NP) 4 568, J C S Marais (CP) 2 082, N Scholtz (HNP) 418. NP majority 2 486.

EAST LONDON CITY

W H Nel (NP).....4 807
A E de Wet (DP).....4 361
NP .....majority 446
spoilt.....0
poll.....56,67%

Last election: P de Pontes (NP) 7 035, I G Bassingthwaighte (PFP) 3 253. NP majority 3 782.

GRAAFF-REINET

*J L Retief (NP).....3 991
R van Heerden (CP).....2 610
S B Fitzhenry (DP).....1 022
NP ..... majority.....1 381
spoilt.....0
poll.....80,62%

Last election: J L Retief (NP) 4 268, J C R van Heerden (CP) 2 340, F A Rubidge (IND) 1 035, W A Botha (HNP) 181. NP majority 1 928.

● See House of Assembly results on Page 11.

Substitute the words "scale of benefits" for the words "tariff of fees" where it appears in the following regulations:

REGULATION 1
Paragraph (xxi).
REGULATION 11
Paragraph (2).
REGULATION 12
Paragraph (3).
REGULATION 13
Paragraph (1) (a) (i).
Paragraph (1) (a) (ii).
Paragraph (1) (b).
Paragraph (2) (c).
Paragraph (8) (a).
Paragraph (11).
Paragraph (12).
Paragraph (13).
Paragraph (14).
REGULATION 15
Paragraph (2) (a).
Paragraph (5).

No. R. 1973 8 September 1989

PENSION REGULATIONS.—THE RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS PENSIONS FOR NON-WHITES ACT, 1974 (ACT No. 43 OF 1974)—AMENDMENTS

By virtue of the power vested in me by section 3 (2) of the Railways and Harbours Pensions for Non-Whites Act, 1974 (Act No. 43 of 1974), I, Eli van der Merwe Louw, Minister of Transport Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, hereby approve, after consultation with the South African Transport Board, of the Pension Regulations published in Government Notice No. R. 303 of 14 February 1975 being amended as set out in the Annexure hereto with retrospective effect from 1 April 1989.

ANNEXURE

1. The following regulation shall be inserted after regulation 3:

"3A. INVESTMENT COMMITTEE

(1) The moneys of the Pension Fund not immediately required for current expenses shall be invested by an Investment Committee.

(2) The Investment Committee shall consist of—

(a) The Chairman of the Joint Committee;

(b) a member of the personnel of the Administration involved in the administration of the Pension Fund nominated by the Chairman of the Joint Committee; and

(c) two members of the Pension Fund nominated by the Joint Committee.

(3) The two members of the Investment Committee who are nominated by the Joint Committee shall have financial and investment expertise as well as practical experience regarding the making and handling of investments.

Vervang die woord "geldetarief" met die woord "voordeleskaal" waar dit in die volgende regulasies voorkom:

REGULASIE 1
Paragraaf (xii).
REGULASIE 11
Paragraaf (2).
REGULASIE 12
Paragraaf (3).
REGULASIE 13
Paragraaf (1) (a) (i).
Paragraaf (1) (a) (ii).
Paragraaf (1) (b).
Paragraaf (2) (c).
Paragraaf (8) (a).
Paragraaf (11).
Paragraaf (12).
Paragraaf (13).
Paragraaf (14).
REGULASIE 15
Paragraaf (2) (a).
Paragraaf (5).

No. R. 1973 8 September 1989

PENSIOENREGULASIES.—DIE WET OP SPOORWEG- EN HAWEPENSIOENE VIR NIE-BLANKES, 1974 (WET No. 43 VAN 1974)—WYSIGINGS

Ingevolge die bevoegdheid aan my verleen deur artikel 3 (2) van die Wet op Spoorweg- en Hawepensioene vir Nie-Blankes, 1974 (Wet No. 43 van 1974), verleen ek, Eli van der Merwe Louw, Minister van Vervoerwese van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, na raadpleging met die Raad van Suid-Afrikaanse Vervoerdienste, goedkeuring daaraan dat die Pensioenregulasies gepubliseer in Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 303 van 14 Februarie 1975 terugwerkend vanaf 1 April 1989 gewysig word soos in die Bylae hierby uiteengesit word.

BYLAE

1. Die volgende regulasie word na regulasie 3 ingevoeg:

"3A. BELEGGINGSKOMITEE

(1) Die gelde van die Pensioenfonds wat nie onmiddellik vir lopende uitgawes benodig word nie, word deur 'n Beleggingskomitee belê.

(2) Die Beleggingskomitee bestaan uit—

(a) die Voorsitter van die Gesamentlike Komitee;

(b) 'n lid van die personeel van die Administrasie wat by die administrasie van die Pensioenfonds betrokke is en wat deur die Voorsitter van die Gesamentlike Komitee benoem word; en

(c) twee lede van die Pensioenfonds wat deur die Gesamentlike Komitee benoem word.

(3) Die twee lede van die Beleggingskomitee wat deur die Gesamentlike Komitee benoem word, moet oor finansiële- en beleggingskundigheid, asook oor praktiese ervaring in verband met die maak en hantering van beleggings, beskik.

The railways reported southern Transvaal trains were about 70% full. Only the Germiston line saw a 50% passenger decline.

Assocom estimates a full national stayaway of black employees will cost R120m, and on the Witwatersrand R37,5m.

Putco MD Jack Visser said the East Rand and Soweto services were only 5% down on passengers and drivers on Tuesday. The Pretoria service was running "perfectly." He estimated Putco lost R250 000 to R300 000 on Tuesday and did not expect the amount to rise dramatically on Wednesday.

Black taxi drivers generally appeared to have heeded the call.

Durban & Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce's Geoff Tyler said a survey showed larger Cosatu-unionised firms to be hardest hit, experiencing 30%-70% stayaways. Smaller firms did not have the same degree of absenteeism. Tyler said attendance varied considerably, depending on workers' accessibility to railway stations.

Natal's Chamber of Industries said the region's industries experienced an extensive worker stayaway, with a 100% boycott at some companies.

Executive director and labour adviser John Pohl said refineries experienced a 50%-95% stayaway with 100% staying away from clothing companies. Some businesses would not open on Wednesday.

Surprisingly, Cape Town had a relatively low stayaway, according to the LMG, though the railways reported train commuters down by 40%.

A PE chamber spokesman said the stayaway was "quite extensive". The railways said PE trains had a 70% passenger drop while about 16,5% of black railway employees did not report for work. ■

ELECTION PROTEST

Voting by absence

Most employers expected a national work stayaway on Wednesday, election day. By Tuesday the stayaway, called by the MDM to protest at the poll, had taken hold — especially where Cosatu fields a strong presence. The black consciousness and Africanist unions were due to join on Wednesday.

In the PWV area employers reported sporadic absences, though metal workers stayed away in large numbers. Seifsa estimated absenteeism of metal workers on the Reef on Tuesday was 100% with an average of 90% nationally. According to figures from the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), about 10% of miners stayed off work.

Assocom manpower secretary Vincent Brett said some firms had a 97% stayaway while others saw 100% attendance.

The Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) said that firms in the PWV area with more than 100 employees had a 39% worker stayaway. Only 1%-2% stayed away in areas of the Transvaal where no unions operate.

Traffic from Soweto was lighter but some taxis and buses were operating. The bus and taxi terminals outside the JSE showed about 70% fewer passengers and vehicles.

CP now set to take a back seat

CNE-Tues 8/9/89

304

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

AS the National Party licked its wounds after yesterday's election setbacks, the biggest loser in the long-term could be the Conservative Party.

While CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday predicted that the party's 39 seats amounted to a foundation for future growth, election analysts believe the party had peaked.

Furthermore the new delimitation will cause the CP to lose both seats and its status as the official Opposition in the white House of Assembly.

As a result of the setbacks in the platteland, the NP is certain to reduce the extent of the loading of rural votes when the new delimitation is finalised.

While the Democratic Party will almost certainly benefit from a new delimitation removing the bias in favour of rural constituencies and allowing it to become the official Opposition, NP sources indicated they would prefer this.

● Business urges urgent reform — Page 7
● More election details — Page 7

Though CP made advances in the Free State, winning six seats, and in the Cape, with two seats, it made little headway in the Transvaal other than in those constituencies where the HNP split the right-wing vote in 1987.

Potchefstroom University election analyst Professor Donald Simpson said yesterday that if seats the CP forfeited in 1987 because of the split were taken into account, the CP in effect went into this week's election with 30, rather than 22, seats in the Transvaal.

With the changing face of the CP caucus, which has increasing numbers of younger MPs, it would not be surprising if moves were afoot to begin easing out Dr Treurnicht.

To page 3

304A Mail 8-14/9/89.

ELECTION FOCUS ... A VISIT TO A SMALL TOWN WHERE POLITICAL PASSIONS RAN DEEP

For a day, a small town

White River was one of the few rural Transvaal towns where wholly incompatible visions of the future were put to the voters: CP, NP and DP too. That made White River a favourite of political pundits for the way the votes went here, would say a great deal about the growth of the anti-Nat vote.

By SHAUN JOHNSON



A child plays on a cannon in the sun at the White River polling station while his parents make their crosses, presumably for the CP.

IN the baking heat of the first days of spring, the good burghers of White River in the Lowveld felt unusually self-important as they promenaded through the remote dorp this week.

Nobody had much cared about their constituency since the Nationalists wrested it from General Smuts' United Party in 1948: now pundits were taking its temperature hourly.

The Nelspruit seat — of which White River is a vital element — is white South Africa in microcosm, numbering among its 21 000 voters a blue-collar AWB contingent, poor and wealthy farmers, state employees, military personnel, a small managerial contingent and even some affluent, liberal entrepreneurs.

It was one of the few seats in South Africa's northern reaches to produce an election contest in which wholly incompatible visions for the future were put to the test. The way the votes went, everybody knew, would say much about the real growth potential of the far right wing.

The NP, CP, DP and their supporters in White River seemed to be enjoying their "barometer" status this week. Politics infused the picture-postcard sub-tropical town and the lush valleys beyond, where the business of growing tobacco, nuts, bananas, avocados and orchids was for once a secondary matter.

White River's elegant palm-lined avenues were were transformed into a sea of political posters; candidates' faces were even to be found grinning from isolated pine trees on country roads which appeared to carry one

A quiet vote with no ballot sheets

The nearby black township voted too, in its own quiet way: The people of kaNyamazane stayed at home on election day



kaNyamazane...The stayaway gives people a chance for blankets on the lawn and leisurely conversation

KANYAMAZANE threw a dignified garden party to mark this week's white elections.

There were no anti-voting marches in the sprawling township outside Nelspruit, nor were there any of the sorts of clashes with police which have characterised the defiance campaign elsewhere in the country. But this did not signal acceptance by kaNyamazane residents of their exclusion from the ethnic polling.

Rather, to show their protest, the people of kaNyamazane stayed at home, rolled out blankets on the postage-stamp lawns in front of their matchbox houses and had a day off in the fine Lowveld sunshine.

It was an unusual Wednesday in the lush Ngwane valley. Music wafted from house to house at midday, and men and women who would otherwise have been working until late in the town sipped beer, read books and relished the rare opportunity for leisurely conversation.

It is not clear how comprehensive the stayaway in the Nelspruit/White River area was, but it was certainly noticeable — and not just in kaNyamazane itself.

In Nelspruit, rows of buses stood empty at the town's main terminal, and taxis made the 30km run to and from the township with few passengers. While black staff at shops and filling stations were in evidence, factories and larger companies appeared to have been significantly affected.

Asked what the extent of the stayaway was, a (white) receptionist at one of Nelspruit's bigger concerns replied: "There's no staff here at all." She clearly defined "staff" as black employees, as her own presence at work was undeniable.

Local unionists, church leaders and lawyers also refrained from showing up at their offices — they were probably doing the done thing with the community in kaNyamazane.

On farms, as is usual, work attendance was unaffected.

Given the area's history of political volatility, there was an extraordinarily low-key security force presence in the towns that make up the Nelspruit seat. For the most part traffic policemen and reservists (referred to by white residents as *diensmanne)* kept half an eye on proceedings at polling booths, and only a single Casspir was seen during the day of voting.

It was parked outside the school which had been commandeered for Nelspruit's electorate, and was abandoned for most of the time.

Party officials were nonplussed by the stayaway — most had to be reminded that there was indeed one on the go — and they certainly had no fears of the "violent disruptions" which Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok had warned of so darkly. Those black people who were in the towns simply steered clear of the white antics.

In kaNyamazane, dismissal of the elections seemed for the day to outweigh resentment. "That's your business," said a young geography teacher who had been interrupted with a question by the only white people in the township. She was stretched out, comfortably, marking examination papers on a blanket on her front lawn.

"Nothing to do with us," she added. "That's for sure."

Election poll: we got it right

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter (304A)

The election poll commissioned by The Star in six House of Assembly constituencies six weeks before the election turned out to be remarkably accurate.

Though the survey was done far in advance to meet the requirements of new polling laws, Marketing & Media Research's predictions were within a few percentage points of the outcome.

MMR — which also correctly forecast the 1987 general election result in all constituencies polled on that occasion — was accurate in 1989 in its estimations of the outcome in Cape Town Gardens, Boksburg, Randburg, Pinetown, Krugersdorp and Innesdal.

MMR managing director Ms Jocelyn Kuper says the small discrepancies registered were within scientific margins of error. And most of the survey results proved to be "spot on".

"MMR attributes the success of its 1987 and 1989 political polls to a number of quality controls: scientific sampling procedures, carefully tested questioning techniques which enable the prediction of the direction of the floating vote and a great emphasis on assuring respondents of their anonymity," she said. Star 8/9/89

Two other polls, conducted by *Sunday Times* and *Rapport*, gave different results. The poll commissioned by the *Times*, for instance, gave Springs to the CP. In the event, the NP increased its majority over the CP.

OPINION POLL PREDICTIONS IN SIX CONSTITUENCIES

	ACTUAL OUTCOME %	PREDICTION EXCLUDING FLOATING VOTE %	PREDICTION ANTICIPATING DIRECTION OF FLOATING VOTE %
KRUGERSDORP			
WESSELS-NP	53	52	53
DERBY LEWIS-CP	47	48	47
GARDENS			
ANDREW-DP	63	72	63
MILLER-NP	37	28	37
BOKSBURG			
BLANCHE-NP	50	48	50
NOTHNAGEL-CP	35	35	33
VAN WYK-DP	14	11	13
TREURNICHT-HNP	1	4	4
RANDBURG			
MALAN-DP	53(56)	58	55
BABB-NP	42(44)	42	45
(GROBLER-CP)	5		
PINETOWN			
BURROWS-DP	61(63)	73	62
OLIVER-NP	37(37)	27	38
(VAYNOL-INDEP)	2		
INNESDAL			
VENTER-NP	54(55)	60	60
VD BERG-CP	44(45)	40	40
(VAN DER SCHYFF-HNP)	2		

* CANDIDATES IN BRACKETS HAD NOT BEEN NOMINATED AT THE TIME OF THE OPINION POLL THUS FIGURES IN BRACKETS INDICATE RESULTS EXCLUDING THE ADDITIONAL CANDIDATE.

304A
wmail
8-14/1/89

Election night 'war' leaves 23 dead and scores hurt

By GAYE DAVIS,
Cape Town

CAPE FLATS townships became battle zones on election night leaving at least 23 people dead and scores injured by police gunshots.

On Wednesday night, the greater Cape Town area exploded into violence on a scale eclipsing the political turmoil of 1985-86.

Church halls, creches and private homes were turned into emergency hospitals as doctors and health workers treated hundreds of injured.

Police have challenged the figure of 23 dead — given early yesterday by Archbishop Desmond Tutu — but confirmed 12 deaths. A prominent law firm, Essa Moosa and Associates, said that witnesses and activists told of 25 deaths.

Weekly Mail has obtained the names of 14 dead, and has reason to believe that there are at least nine others.

As preparations got underway late yesterday for the first of what will become a successsion of funerals, running battles between civilians and police continued in several Cape Flats townships.

THE DAMNING TESTIMONY OF AN ANGRY POLICEMAN
PAGE 2

Injured men, women and children were ferried to emergency clinics by community workers.

Yasmin Moolla, a member of the South African Health Workers' Congress who assisted at a clinic in Steenberg, south of Cape Town, said: "I thought I was watching a movie. It was horrific. You read about these things but you don't believe that adults can do this to children."

She and other members of the team treated about 50 children between 5pm and 11pm on Wednesday night. The children had been teargassed, shot at with rubber bullets, birdshot and buckshot. Earlier she had watched police line up and fire at children without warning.

She said police began using buckshot from about 10pm.

A 14-year-old who had been shot in his abdomen and chest, was brought in. Most of the children had facial injuries. "It looked as if the cops had aimed straight for their faces."

●To PAGE 2

[illegible] PAGES

More than 20 dead in election horror

●From PAGE 1

She said some of the children had been *toyi-toying* earlier and taunting the cops by shouting "Viva MDM!" and "Viva Cosatu!" but that many were just on their way home or watching from the sidelines.

Reverend Jan de Waal, who was at the Ned Geref Sendingkerk at Lavender Hill, which was turned into a makeshift hospital, said between 50 and 60 people were treated "for birdshot wounds initially and buckshot wounds later.

"There were a lot of children and people who were returning home from work and were shot as they were walking home," he said.

"Children sitting on the staircases of their homes were also shot," he said. "It looked like a battlefield."

A woman in her 60s had a heart attack after the trauma of the evening and died before an ambulance arrived, he said.

Faghied Johnson, of the Manenberg Advice Office, said more than 100 people had been reported injured by late Thursday afternoon.

"Manenberg was like a war zone," he said. There were barricades on "every street corner", even in the back streets, and one 100m from the police station in Duinefontein Road. People were teargassed, shot with birdshot and later, buckshot.

"The cops were shooting recklessly. They were getting out of their Casspirs and vans and aiming at people."

He said one young policeman, aged about 23, was "acting like Rambo", shooting at "anything and everyone".

"He then hit one woman over the head with a sjambok but she turned and beat him. Other women joined her and also beat him. He was bleeding from the mouth and cops had to rush to his aid."

People were stoning police vehicles continuously. "The cops would take action and then later the people would just come back. It was never-ending."

He described the situation in Manenberg yesterday as "tense". Barricades were still burning.

Dr Errol Holland, who manned an emergency clinic in a Manenberg church, said he treated extensive birdshot injuries, inflicted mostly on youths aged between 14 and 19.

"What was disturbing is that the concentration of the pellets — which normally spray out on discharge — indicated that many of those injured were shot at close range," he said.

At least 100 people were treated for injuries.

In Mitchells Plain yesterday, an advice office worker said the situation was tense. "Barricades are burning and students are being picked up."

She said more than 100 people appeared yesterday morning in the Mitchells Plain Magistrate's Court in connection with public violence charges.

Pedro Page, 18, of Fairmount Senior Secondary School was shot on Wednesday night in Parkwood Estate. He was yesterday reported to be in a critical condition in Victoria Hospital.

Advice office workers monitoring the situation reported about 12 people injured in Grassy Park and Lotus River.

In Mitchells Plain last night there were scores of blazing barricades and a large security force presence. Teargas canisters glowed in red arcs across the night sky.

Reverend Trevor Steyn, of St Mark's Anglican Church in Lavender Hill, said South African Defence Force troops entered the township early on Wednesday.

The day started "very quietly" but in the afternoon a 15-year-old was arrested in connection with public violence charges. Soon afterwards barricades went up.

"As night fell police started shooting teargas, birdshot, buckshot and rubber bullets," he said.

About 43 people were treated in an emergency clinic and 10 people with serious injuries were sent to hospital.

"One thing is clear to me," he said. "Whatever the police say, they are highly provocative."

He described how people would gather on pavements, drawn by the presence of army vehicles. "Then the police would come through in vans and stop where the people were standing. A loose stone might fly and it starts a whole war."

In Kaya Mandi township near Stellenbosch a 23-year-old mother of a three-month-old baby, Liziwe Masokanye, died of police gunshot wounds. Six others, including a nine-year-old boy and a 12-year-old girl, were reported wounded.

Mitchells Plain resident Sulaiman Martin, 26 died in Groote Schuur Hospital after being shot in the head.

His companion, Shirley Engelbrecht, told a doctor the couple were walking home when police drew up and people ran. Martin was shot while perched on a fence he was trying to climb over.

A Hanover Park advice office worker said about 30 people were arrested after a group marched on a polling station and about 25 more were arrested during a second attempt.

"People were burning barricades, rioting, there was teargas," she said.

Motorists were also reported injured in widespread stoning on Cape Town's major highways. Trains were stoned at Modderdam station.

● The police challenged Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Boesak to substantiate claims at yesterday's press conference that 23 people were shot dead, apparently by the SAP in the Cape Peninsula.

The police statement read: "Evi-dence at our disposal reveals that seven people were killed in Khayelitsha where two opposing factions have been involved in a longstanding feud.

"In the 'coloured' area of Eersterus, Bishop Lavis and Mitchells Plain five people were killed during mob and street violence. All had apparently died from gunshot wounds.

"The circumstances surrounding their deaths are still not known. Police, however, took possession of five 'zip-guns' (homemade firearms) found after the mob violence.

"Two policemen were wounded when they were shot at with shotguns. Police are also investigating allegations that members of the public had fired at mobs after their cars had been stoned and petrol bombed.

"We also have no knowledge of a 69-year-old woman whose headless body was found. We also await such evidence."

Athlone Attorney Essa Moosa said some of his staff were at mortuary yesterday when body of a nine-year-old child and those of four other children from Guguletu were brought in.

Iris Dyantyi, of Site C, Khayelitsha, said a five-year-old girl, Nomthunzi Matshebelele, was shot dead.

She named other dead Khayelitsha residents as Boyisi Madyongolo, about 25, who had gunshot pellets "in his head and back", and Mabhatyi Mdlazilwana, 25.

A paediatrician, Dr Louis Reynolds of the University of Cape Town's medical school, said he visited the family of an 11-year-old boy who said the child had been shot at his front gate.

Other victims who have been identified include:

● Elsie Chemfana, 69, of Khayelitsha. *The Argus* reported that her headless corpse was found riddled with bullets and that her family later found the head

● Joseph Michel Makoma, about 25, of Kalksteenfontein, who was wounded in the head

● Thanduxolo Hlonyane, 20, of Khayelitsha, with gunshot wounds in his chest

● Nomthunzi Matshebelele, 5, of Site C Khayelitsha

● Unidentified "coloured" child, about 11, Kalksteenfontein, wound in mouth

● Unidentified black male, about 25, Khayelitsha, gunshot wounds in back

● Unidentified black male, about 20, Khayelitsha, gunshot wounds in neck

● Unidentified "coloured" male, about 15, Eerste River, gunshot wounds in back and legs

● Unidentified "coloured" youth, about 16, Bishop Lavis, gunshot wounds in neck and back.

POLITICS

Negotiation: a way of wielding power

NOT for the first time, the government may be entering a new political phase with strategies that are far less sophisticated than they seem.

But, while this has strengthened prospects for change in the past, right now it might hinder them.

It has become almost trite to point out that pressure to create a negotiating climate could reshape politics. The past few weeks may have been a foretaste of what might be in store.

Extra-parliamentary movements have sensed that the government is under pressure to concede them more room to manoeuvre — they have, inevitably, begun to use it to mobilise.

Predictably, the process has been turbulent; defiance campaigns, marches and stayaways are again part of the political landscape. But, despite melodramatic headlines, the turmoil has been fairly restrained.



Worm's Eye

Steven Friedman

Extra-parliamentary groups have tried to ensure that protest remains disciplined; so far, dire predictions by securocrats of a return to 1984/86 have not been realised.

And, despite the inevitable resort to beatings, detentions and bluster, the authorities have avoided the sort of mass crackdowns which marked most of the Emergency.

Strategies on both sides may reflect pressures to create a negotiating climate which will grow in the months ahead.

As pressures to free political activity grow, so will the tempo of mobilisation. Will the process continue, leading to a freer political climate, or will the government crack down?

That will partly depend on whether it understands the process which is beginning to emerge.

A foreign academic who has been talking to government officials believes it doesn't. He compares their attitudes to those of Western European strategists when *detente* began: they understand that they have to reach some sort of accommodation with their adversaries but don't realise what this entails.

One official complains that he can't understand why the African National Congress is stepping up its rhetoric now that it has a chance to negotiate. Others don't understand why extra-parliamentary groups are mobilising while negotiation possibilities are opening up.

They imply that this shows that their opponents aren't serious about negotiation. In reality, it implies the opposite.

Negotiation is not a substitute for wielding power; it is another way of doing it. Its outcome is decided less by the negotiation skills of the parties than on the power they bring to the table.

Movements which are serious about negotiation will want to make sure that they are as powerful as possible when it happens — although they will want to build power in ways which do not make talks impossible.

A negotiating climate will, therefore, involve much more mobilisation — the advantage for the authorities is that it may become an alternative to more disruptive strategies.

It is tempting to see the apparent failure of government strategists to understand this as a sign not of naivety but of a cunning desire to ensure that talks happen on their terms alone.

Even if it is, their reaction is still naive because it is most likely to ensure that talks don't happen at all — and that the government will be blamed when they don't.

As long as the attitude persists, the government will lose chances to channel conflicts in a fairly manageable way — and will continue to face the threat of far more serious disorder.

The misunderstanding is not surprising. The government's failure to understand anti-apartheid politics is one of its most serious problems — naive expectations about what "moderate" groups such as Inkatha could settle for have, after all, prevented it from enticing them to the negotiation table.

But now the problem is not the government's alone. If it continues to see negotiation as an alternative to non-violent mobilisation, it is far more likely to crack down when mass activity increases — even if it is peaceful.

The process which began when black unions were officially recognised gives some idea of what may be at stake.

Most officials were initially as naive about freeing union activity as some are now about freeing political activity. They believed that unions who were allowed to bargain would have no reason to mobilise workers or to strike; the changes were supposed to usher in an era of eternal labour peace.

Inevitably, they did the opposite. Having been given the chance to mobilise, unions obviously took it; having been given the chance to bargain, they tried to make sure that they would do it from a position of strength.

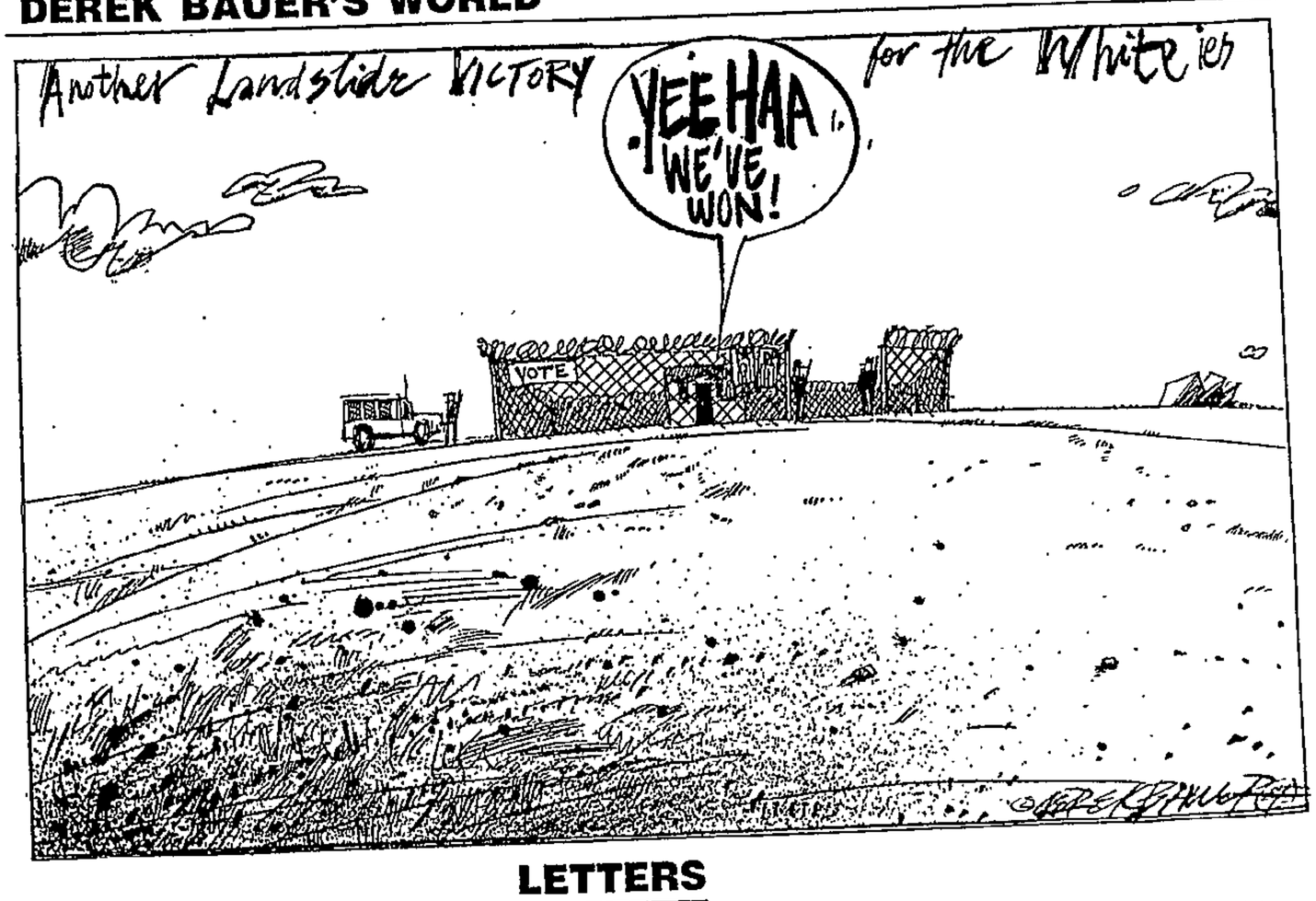
When the turbulence began, most officials wanted to crack down — to some extent, they did. But the government didn't halt the process and one reason was the influence of a group of officials who had a more realistic view of the turmoil.

They argued throughout that it was inevitable, that it was manageable, and that there was no alternative to allowing it. They also argued that unions who then rejected official bargaining channels would, if they were allowed to operate freely, eventually use them. They were, of course, right.

Freeing political activity is far more risky than recognising unions. But the chances for fairly orderly change may again depend on whether there are influential voices within the government arguing for a more realistic reaction to non-violent political mobilisation.

In the past, apartheid's critics have often feared that government strategies would become more sophisticated; right now, they might have cause to hope that they really do.

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



LETTERS

'It's time we stopped these barbaric punishments'

■SO the sjamboks have come out again. In several areas, police are dispersing peaceful demonstrations with the use of quirts, teargas, birdshot. Television cameras are forbidden, and we — and, significantly, viewers abroad — will not witness these horrifying scenes.

The Civil Rights League protests against this inhuman and degrading procedure. The authorities responsible are merely driving home the message that it is acceptable to break up meetings by the use of overwhelming force.

Specifically we ask when South Africa is going to relegate the whipping of demonstrators and of convicted prisoners to the realms of other barbaric punishments, such as breaking on the wheel, quartering and keelhauling. Whipping treats people as nonhumans, degrading the victim, the punisher, the onlooker and eventually the entire society. It has been abolished in many countries as repugnant to the consciences of civilised people.

We could follow Zimbabwe's example. Its constitution affords protection against inhuman or degrading punishment. In 1987 the Zimbabwe Supreme Court upheld a challenge to the constitutionality of a sentence of whipping and ordered the imposition of strokes to be deleted from sentences. Recently an amending bill has been adopted that ensures minors as well as adults are to be safeguarded against whipping. — **D Cleminshaw, Civil Rights League, Mowbray, Cape Town.**

■AMNESTY International has begun a worldwide campaign for the abolition of the death penalty, the ultimate form of cruel and degrading punishment. Amnesty International calls on all governments which retain the death penalty (these include the United States, USSR, China, Iran, Iraq, Nigeria and South Africa) to stop all executions immediately, commute all outstanding death sentences and to abolish the death penalty.

We are concerned that South Africa is one of the countries that is legally executing more than 100 people every year (117 people were executed in 1988).

As South Africa is a member of the United Nations it has to acknowledge the safeguards guaranteeing protection of the rights of those facing the death penalty adopted by the UN Economic and Social Council in 1984 and endorsed by the UN General Assembly the same year. Governments that retain the death penalty are obliged to ensure that everyone sentenced to death has the right to appeal to a court of higher jurisdiction and has the right to seek pardon or commutation of sentence.

Yet in South Africa people who are sentenced to death have no automatic right to appeal to a court of higher jurisdiction. In addition to the UN safeguards Amnesty International welcomes any measures which save the lives of prisoners who would otherwise have been executed and which bring closer the goal of worldwide abolition. Such measures include the establishment of an official investigation into the use of the death penalty.

This investigation should be carried out by an official commission or similar body with the task of examining aspects of the death penalty such as its relation to crime rates, its discriminatory application to various segments of the population and the suitability of alternative punishments.

There should be a moratorium on executions during the investigation and eventual public and legislative debate on its report.

In hope of a future world without a death penalty. — **J Witter, Wimmis, Switzerland.**

■I WRITE out of concern for the wilderness area of the Antarctica. This continent, which is presently protected by Antarctic Treaty Nations, of which South Africa is a signatory, is under threat of mineral exploitation. This threat is being strongly pursued by the industrial giants like the United States and the United Kingdom, who are presently lobbying the other signatory states to allow the mining companies to exploit this last remaining wilderness continent.

To date Australia and France have announced that they will not ratify such exploitation. We appeal to FW de Klerk and the Nationalist government to join these two countries in their efforts to get the Antarctic continent declared an international wilderness reserve.

In the light of the elections, I call on the acting state president, Mr FW de Klerk, to make public the position of the government on the mineral exploitation of the Antarctic, since it signed the convention last November, but has yet to ratify it. It is sincerely hoped that the government does not stoop to obtain international concessions, in exchange for ratification for the mineral convention.

I further call on all parties contesting these elections to state their position regarding the Antarctic and the exploitation of minerals in that area.

Address letters to Letters Page, The Weekly Mail, Box 260425, Excom 2023. Shorter letters will be given preference. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for clarity or space.

Lastly, I would like to compliment Greenpeace International for all their sterling work in fighting to keep this an unspoiled wilderness area and for exposing the government's and big business's inconsideration for the environment. — **D Dunlop, Gillitts, Natal.**

■I WOULD like to comment on the article entitled "Zim horror at grisly 'oven for dead'" in the *Weekly Mail* (August 8, 1989). Your story concerned the cremation of those tried, convicted and sentenced to death in Rhodesian courts and hanged by Rhodesian authorities. Capital punishment and cremation are, in themselves, grisly issues, and your story took them to town.

But against the background of the Rhodesian/Zimbabwean bush war, it is difficult to feel that sense of shock and horror which your correspondent strives to achieve. As you know many died in that war: they were shot, bayonetted, dismembered, buried alive, or burned to death in locked huts or at the stake. The killers were white and black, so were the victims.

During the insurrection in Matabeleland after Zimbabwe's independence, such killings and atrocities were continued. I do not know whether any records were kept of the casualties. In this setting one feels anger at your selective and cheaply sensationalistic journalism, which mocks Zimbabwe's reconciliation process.

Chikurubi was no Auschwitz; Zanla and Zipra were no innocents. — **Concerned, Amanzimtoti.**

■WHILE it is certainly true that Wits University students who disrupt meetings are intolerant and dangerous to the democratic movement, the larger part of the blame for Wits' image of creeping fascism must surely lie with the university administration.

Year-in and year-out these people with their secure government jobs have systematically refused to apply the universi ty's code of conduct to hooligans who were deemed to be in favour politically More recently the administration has ac tually joined the struggle against fre speech by simply refusing speakin rights to people even likely to be shout ed down.

The administration is the root of problem. What, though, can be d since as government employees the people are quite resistant to prog and civilised standards?

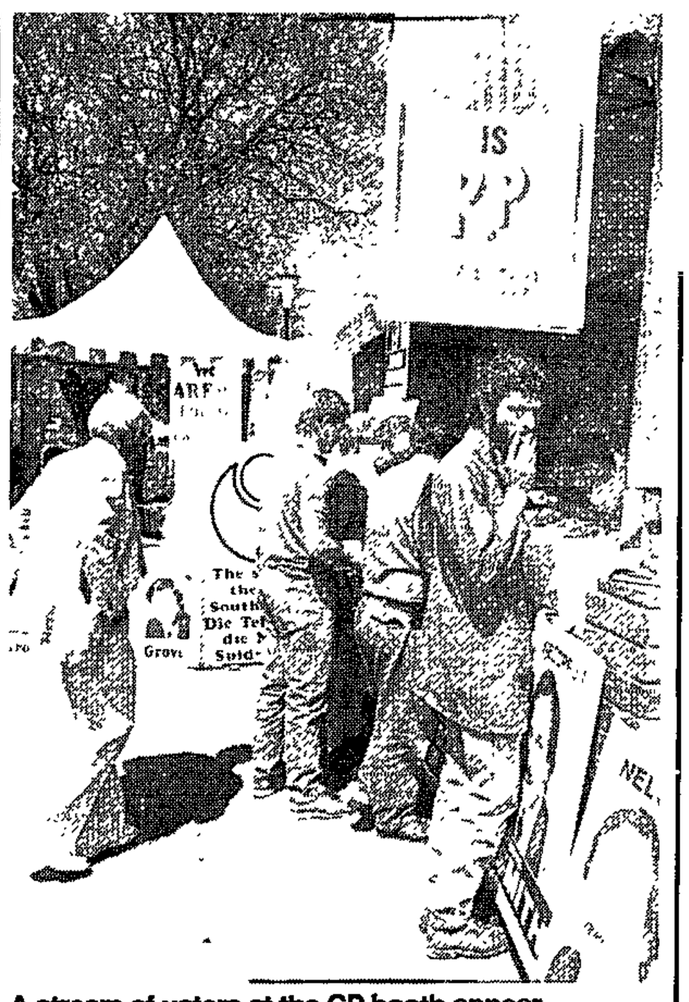
I would like to suggest that to off their excessive job security and indiff ence to public opinion, their salaries docked 10 percent every time some is refused permission to speak or d rupters of meetings go unpunished.

To avoid it becoming a political f ball the money so raised should be g en to charities in Soweto or Alex. — **C McBride, Bryanston, Johannesburg.**

becomes a microcosm of South Africa



Worried NP activists at White River welcome voters who register at the National Party tent just as the polls open in this Eastern Transvaal farming district



A stream of voters at the CP booth appear to confirm the claim on the poster

Pictures: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

vehicle an hour on average.

On the farms, in the streets and in the bars — especially in the bars — white allegiances were stated with the certainty that they really mattered.

On polling day there was a carnival atmosphere at the brightly-coloured voting booths on Krugerpark Street: rival organisers — dressed from head to toe in party colours — slapped each other on the back and joked about how one or the other would soon be consigned to the realms of "Africana". But the surface joviality barely belied the seriousness of the matter at hand.

If there was a genuinely cheerful registration tent, it was that of the DP. Knowing they couldn't win, officials were pleased with the vibrancy of the campaign, and convinced that their candidate, local attorney Stefan Grové, would increase the vote achieved by the Progressive Federal Party in 1987.

"We've got the Lowveld's intellectual vote," said campaigner Joan McGregor. Then, as an afterthought: "The CP's got the passionate vote."

The NP contingent looked genuinely worried as queues began to form in front of the CP benches. One rosette-bedecked organiser shook his head sadly as a woman who had just emerged from a brand-new Mercedes brushed off his advances and marched purposefully to the yellow CP tent.

Grace Terblanche, an NP organiser in the constituency for 46 years, put a brave face on things. *"Jaaaaa*, those CP's have grown a little," she said. "But we're not really worried."

Such was the depth of political passions that *The Lowvelder*, the area's thirty-old newspaper, felt the need to explain in a half-page editorial why it could not possibly say anything about the battle raging on around it.

With an eye on the uncertainty of the outcome, its shrewd proprietor advised that: "The country newspaper finds itself in a unique position ... A country newspaper can afford to oppose, either openly or surreptitiously, the side of any political party. The country newspaper is closely allied with the community which it serves, and a very intimate relationship exists between the newspaper and its readers."

Retiring NP MP Dolf Marais, in a spirit of candour, conceded both the importance of the contest and his vulnerability to Conservative Party candidate Christo Smith: the constituency was the "last bastion of the NP on the Transvaal *platteland*," he said, and the Nelspruit election the toughest in four decades.

On this at least, the puritanical, ultra-nationalistic CP activists concurred. They viewed the campaign as a *stryd* (struggle) as important as — and similar to — the famous Boer War battle of Berg-en-Dal, which took place nearby.

They made no bones about this: there was a CP wreath below the plaque at the Boer-baroque Berg-en-Dal monument, extolling the courage of Boers who fought the British there in August 1900.

"Inspired by a fiery nationalism," it read, "steeled by discipline and prepared to make the supreme sacrifice for their beloved fatherland ... they elected not to surrender and died as heroes on the battlefield."

The CP's sentiments exactly — except that it was now almost a century on, and the "enemy" was identified as an Afrikaner government that had "sold out" its own people.

"Don't you worry about this place," said one khaki-clad patriarch in the town on Tuesday, "it's ours. What we will be waiting for is the news from the south."

The issues in the polyglot constituency were fairly clear-cut. Beneath the overarching question of race were concerns about the ailing economy, corruption, and the *"verengelsing"* of the NP.

The CP's Smith was confident of turning the NP's 1987 majority of 2000 into one of about a thousand for himself. He didn't — but managed to slash the majority to under 500.

So now he looks at next time to reverse the direction of the Great Trek: his CP "pioneers" must secure this northern stronghold in order to be able to march down south to the Cape whence they once came.



Vincent and partners...When he's not selling hardware in a Nelspruit shop, he's trying to convince people to vote CP



Cecil...He puts up DP posters when he's finished repairing the tractors of the farmers in the lowveld

Blond hair and bangles. Now, which one is DP?

Two youngsters with long blond hair and bangles. One is CP, the other DP ... but neither looks the part

ON a farm just outside Nelspruit, there is Cecil, a young English-speaker who sports long blond hair and bangles. When he isn't fixing tractors, he is in charge of putting up posters for the Democratic Party's election campaign.

In a shop in the town, there is Vincent, another young English-speaker with long blond hair and bangles. When he isn't selling hardware, he is trying to convince people to vote for the Conservative Party.

It is an understatement to say that neither looks his political part. It is also an indication of the deep strangeness of this humid Lowveld constituency that no-one seems to pay any notice as Cecil and Vincent go about their contradictory tasks.

Unlike, say, Waterberg, there seems to be surprisingly little outright animosity between rival parties or their footsoldiers. It is partly because their working lives are so intertwined in this tiny community, and partly because all sides are fiercely loyal to the place in which they live. Take all this — and more — and you can understand how the sub-tropical torpor throws up, well, weirdos like Cecil and Vincent.

Taking a break from a welding job on one of the 13 tractors he services for the farmer, a grease-encrusted Cecil emerges to explain what on earth the DP is doing putting so much energy into a seat that's been Nationalist since the defeat of Jan Smuts.

"Of course we haven't got a hope in hell," he says with a grin, "but we're sure showing them we're here." The DP's campaign is certainly the most spirited liberal statement the area has ever seen, and Cecil feels hopeful about the future. Young Afrikaners are coming over, he says, and relations between black and white are good and improving.

Vincent, on the other hand, is scared of the future. Taking a break from a game of darts with his friends in a bar near White River, he explains that the "munts" cannot be allowed as much influence as the government's given them. The CP's on the right road back to the good old days.

Already, he says, blacks have too much buying power. His girlfriend comes from Rhodesia, he adds, and look what happened there. Vincent wouldn't mind a hung parliament with an NP/CP coalition, but the DP — "they're going to sell us out".

Vincent's a lot happier about Wednesday's result, of course — the CP gained 33 percent. But it's difficult not to conclude that Cecil's generally a happier chap, and likely to become more so. He and all his DP coworkers take an impish delight in flying their flag brazenly in enemy country, and it has paid obvious dividends.

It is also, probably, the one constituency in the whole of South Africa where the DP slogan, "Vote your hopes, not your fears", is most appropriate.

ELECTIONS: THE NATS FARE WORSE THAN IN T[illegible]E DECADES

The *gatvol* factor that knocked the Nats

The National Party took a hammering from the left and the right. They lost their traditional *volk* base to the Conservative Party. And Democratic Party supporters voted for change.
By GAVIN EVANS, SHAUN JOHNSON and IVOR POWELL

A MEAGRE six percent of adult South Africans put their faith in the Nationalists this week, and the ruling party produced its worst performance in nearly three decades.

Even considering the white electorate alone, Wednesday's poll was a slap in the face for the NP: only 48 percent voted for the party, making this the first election since the early 1960s in which it failed to achieve a majority.

But while the Conservative Party gained 17 seats (with Fauresmith awaiting a by-election to resolve a tied contest) for a total of 39, it was the Democratic Party which surprised observers with a final score of 33 seats — a gain of 13.

The CP, which increased its 1987 vote tally by 131 583 votes, a jump of 26 percent, did not do as well as it had hoped, and most others had expected.

But although it failed to live up to expectations, the party lost no fewer than nine seats by margins of 500 votes and under, and several seats by single-digit numbers.

With a Swapo victory imminent in Namibia and the prospect of Nelson Mandela's release — both issues which played a surprisingly small part in the campaigning — some observers believe it is too early to conclude the CP has reached its ceiling.

A two percent swing in the CP's favour in the next election could hand the party more than 50 seats. A similar swing for the DP would take it up to 36 or 37 seats.

But locally and internationally the story of this election is that of the DP's gains — a factor which can be expected to heighten expectations of rapid reform.

An early indication of this in the international sphere came in the form of new British Foreign Secretary John Major's first statement on South Africa. "The results of the election show that 70 percent of white voters (the combined NP/DP vote) want change, and so do 100 percent of those not permitted to vote," he said. "That is a formidable mandate for change.

"We look to the new government to take steps quickly towards this goal."

In his response to the final tallies, NP leader FW de Klerk said he was pleased with the result and concurred that it offered a "mandate for reform", and more specifically for the NP's five year plan. But in the last days of the election he had warned that "expectations" of dramatic changes should be "cooled".

The DP seems to have survived the NP's election onslaught on it. "The MDM's defiance campaign and the 'give FW a chance' factor hurt us much less than many expected," said DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer.

The DP retained NP targets in Randburg and Greenpoint with impressive margins and lifted Bezuidenhout, Hillbrow, Edenvale, Northrand, Wynberg, Simonstown, Umbilo, Umhlanga, Pietermaritzburg North and South, Walmer and Albany from the Nats. The DP also took Mooi River previously held by the now-defunct New Republic Party.

"We were helped by the *gatvol* factor through which the Nats lost votes to both the left and right, but the results also show that a growing number of voters realise that there is no other way than one man one vote," said De Beer.

The DP took 20 percent of the total vote, which would represent more than 21 percent if expected tallies in the DP's two uncontested seats were to be included

The party did not fare as well as it hoped in Helderberg and Stellenbosch, but made major gains in several other seats with Afrikaans-speaking majorities.

In Westdene, for example, it helped slash Foreign Minister Pik Botha's majority by 1 706 votes, while strong DP and CP performances in Johannesburg West cut Roelf Meyer's majority by 2 238 votes.

In Maitland the DP's Esther Lategan reduced the NP's lead from 4 280 to 1 405 votes.

But in constituencies where potential CP gains were looking likely, "tactical voting" for the NP counted against the DP.

One of the DP's surprise results was Geoff Engel's 356-vote win over Sam Bloomberg in Bezuidenhout. Bloomberg ran a robust campaign and had taken the seat from the PFP with a 2 442 majority in 1987.

The DP also achieved a swing of 13,7 percent in Wynberg; 13,5 percent in Edenvale; 12 percent in Simonstown; 11,6 percent in Umbilo; and 10,8 percent in Gardens.

In Randburg, Wynand Malan trounced former ambassador to Canada Glenn Babb by 1 714 votes in the "glamour" race of the election.

Said Malan: "It is clear that we're on our way to a Democratic government — if not in the short term then at least in the long term."

De Beer won his Parktown seat with a 6 604 majority (2 651 more than Marius Barnard's 1987 tally); co-leader Denis Worrall took Berea with a 4 279 majority (1 119 up on 1987).

Among the seats now in the DP's short-term range — if the current swing continues — are Kingwilliamstown (NP majority reduced from 2 731 to 401), East London North (3 873 to 500) and East London Central (3 782 to 446).

Longer shots include Helderberg, Stellenbosch, Maitland, Westdene, Johannesburg West, Benoni, Waterkloof, Durbanville, Queenstown, Durban Point and Umhlatuzana.

The CP succeeded in finally putting paid to its ultra right-wing opposition in the Herstigte Nasionale Party. Even party leader Jaap Marais failed to retain his deposit and the majority of candidates returned scores which would have been more appropriate in the House of Delegates Only the tied Fauresmith result was affected by the HNP's presence.

Before the elections CP sources had routinely been predicting that the party would win between 50 and 65 constituencies, consolidating its position in the Transvaal *platteland*, sweeping the farming and mining areas of the Orange Free State and making significant inroads into the more conservative urban regions. In the event, much of this did come to pass, although not to the extent predicted.

But the basis of the party's confidence was partly borne out in several cliffhanger constituencies which the CP lost.

Here is a sample: Vereniging (blue-collar urban), NP 7199, CP 7194; Gezina (conservative urban), NP 6 421, CP 6 414; Virginia (OFS mining/farming), NP 6 911, CP 6 864; De Aar (Northern Cape farming/blue collar), NP 4 402, CP 3 823; Namaqualand (Cape farming), NP 4 263, CP 3 304, Newcastle (Natal farming/industrial), NP 6 054, CP 5 093.

Most of the other NP/CP marginals turned in similar results.

It is worth noting that in the majority of new CP seats, the NP was defeated by relatively small margins.

But the significance of the two margins differs. The CP controls no significant media while the NP has enormous resources under its control. In addition the NP still carries a certain — though probably no longer very large — Afrikaner traditional vote.

The NP made no inroads into CP-held constituencies. Nationwide, in CP/NP contests, the swing was in the former's favour.

A significant exception to all these CP-favouring trends is Boksburg. The message to be drawn from the result — an NP majority of 2 390 votes against the background of a CP victory in last year's municipal elections — is that CP realities are far less seductive than CP dreams

Overall, the CP has had to face up

●TO PAGE 4

Few surprises in the other two Houses. Not that they were expected

By SHAUN JOHNSON and CARMEL RICKARD

THE House of Assembly poll was this year's electoral Cinderella, attracting much more interest and attention than its ugly sisters, the Representatives and Delegates.

As far as the "coloured" house is concerned, this is not surprising. Not much happened, very little changed, and we can expect more of the same until next time.

Less than 200 000 people cast their votes in the House of Representatives election — more than a million were registered — and emphatically returned the Labour Party to majority status: Rev Allan Hendrickse's party swept in with 85 percent of the seats.

Only four seats changed hands, the LP shedding one each to the Democratic Reform Party, the United Democratic Party, the Freedom Party, and an independent.

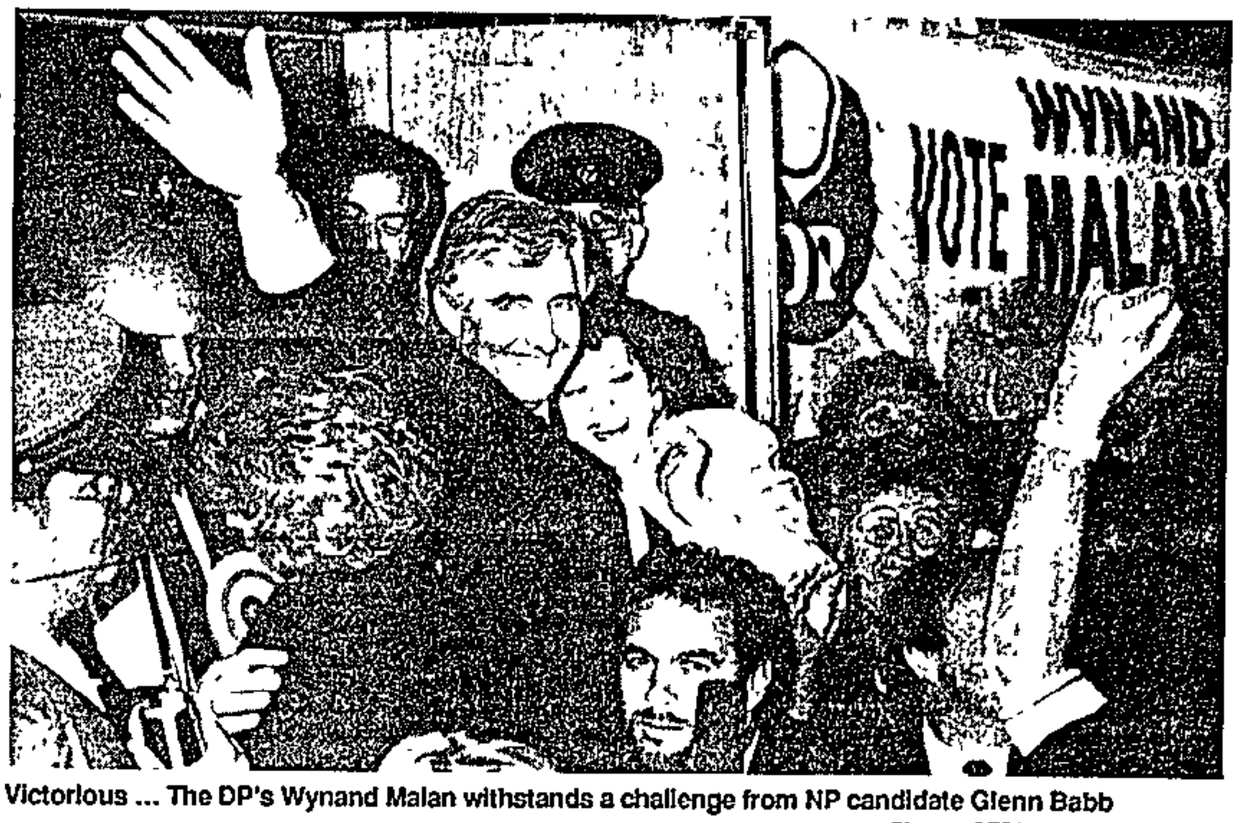
With the exception of Jac Rabie's Boksburg-based UDP, which hived off from the LP because of personality clashes, the rest are to the right of Labour. Practically all were one-time LP members.

Thus there were no salient ideological swings in "coloured" tricameral politics. Hendrickse and his well-organised party machine did enough to stick around and pursue the "change-from-within" policy for another five years, if it so chooses. (Hendrickse originally asked for a five-year mandate, but extended it when it ran out.)

Although the poll is down on 1984 — 17,58 percent as opposed to 30,7 percent — the number of actual voters is not much different from the previous ballot. The voters' roll has increased substantially due to the registration of people issued with new identity documents in the intervening period.

What all of this shows, according to South African Institute of Race Relations Policy Research Manager Steven Friedman, is that the LP has retained support in "a segment of the coloured community — there is a constituency of sorts out there."

But, he adds, "it is clear that after five years of the system being given the opportunity to deliver the goods and establish its credibility, it has failed to increase its legitimacy."



Victorious ... The DP's Wynand Malan withstands a challenge from NP candidate Glenn Babb

Picture: CEDRICK NUNN, Afrapix

It had been expected in some quarters, says Friedman, that the LP's relatively assertive stance within the tricameral parliament — such as bill-blocking exercises — could push up participation in the election, and therefore the poll percentages.

That this did not happen is an indication of the blanket rejection of the Representatives by the vast majority of "coloureds".

Friedman adds that government hopes — voiced during clashes with Hendrickse in 1987 — that a deal could be struck with right-wingers in the HoR, have been shown to be fanciful. Even the best-known of Hendrickse's opponents, Carter Ebrahim, was not returned on Wednesday

Thus the LP enters the new parliament in much the same state as it left: without a popular mandate, but with just enough support to ensure that its opponents in the Mass Democratic Movement cannot obliterate it.

It also re-enters with a stronger-than-ever contingent of Hendrickses. Besides party leader Allan, his sons Peter and Michael are in as MPs, as is son-in-law Desmond Lockey.

In the House of Delegates, wheeling and dealing will get seriously underway in the next few days as MPs start "negotiating realignments" to deal with this week's inconclusive election.

The 40 MPs will try to create a working majority from the eight parties that won seats in this house, to the bemusement of the 80 percent of the Indian electorate who distanced themselves from the tricameral parliament by not voting.

While Solidarity came closest to a majority with 16 seats, the rest are divided between the National Peoples Party (9), Independents (6), the Merit People's Party (1), the National Federal Party (1), the United Party (2) and the Democratic Party (2).

Few HoD votes were cast on election day, with candidates taking advantage of the long "prior vote" period to get their voters to the booths.

Said one candidate on Wednesday,. "What happens today is incidental; 90 percent of the votes are already in."

Natal Indian Congress executive member Farouk Meer said the high percentage who stayed away from the polls, was even "higher in quality" in

●TO PAGE 4

Elections are over but defiance goes on

By PHIL MOLEFE

THE elections may be over but the defiance campaign is set to continue.

Yesterday the mass democratic movement announced the campaign would be taken further "because it was not specifically targetted on the elections".

"We will continue with the defiance campaign until such time as we have political rights in the country," the MDM said in a statement issued by Murphy Morobe and Jay Naidoo.

The campaign derived from the lack of political and economic rights in the country and the MDM would continue "to target segregated hospitals, schools, beaches and symbols of oppression". The MDM reiterated its rejection of racist elections.

"The question which springs to mind is where in the entire civilised world can a democratic election be held where the majority of citizens are prevented from voting."

There was no reason to believe the National Party, given its history of apartheid and repression, was really prepared to negotiate with genuine leaders and organisations, the MDM said.

"It is therefore outrageous and an affront to the dignity of millions of oppressed in our country that the De Klerk regime should ask for another five years to lead us deeper into the crisis."

Meanwhile, the African National Congress has responded to the election results. ANC national executive committee member, James Stuart, said South Africa's whites had voted to end apartheid in segregated elections.

The NP and its leader, FW de Klerk, had campaigned on a platform of dismantling apartheid, he said.

South Africa "now has the chance to decide whether it wants war or peace ... the issue can no longer be postponed indefinitely," Stuart said.

"The time has now come for De Klerk to implement what he promised the electorate and the international community."

It was the *gatvol* factor that knocked the National Party

to the fact that once its practical policies are put to the test — as in Boksburg and Carletonville — many potential supporters get nervous. Arrie Paulus' less-than-overwhelming victory in Carletonville is a case in point.

Stellenbosch academic Professor Willie Breytenbach said yesterday he believed the CP had peaked in last year's municipal elections, and "was now shrinking and will shrink further".

Breytenbach said the CP had nailed its colours to the mast of "exclusionary" politics, while 70 percent of the electorate had opted for some form of "inclusion", and would therefore find itself sidelined in the 1990s — which would be dominated by the concept of "negotiations".

"The CP," he said, "is now the true representative of rural Afrikaner exclusivist nationalism — but that nationalism is no longer central."

The perception that the CP had per-

From PAGE 3

formed disappointingly, even though it doubled its seats, could lead to a shake-up in the party, he said.

Breytenbach said even the NP was realising that the future of South Africa lay in urban politics.

"We are now dealing with a smaller, leaner, younger party. It will be different in the way that it deals with the key issues of a constitutional future, negotiations, and the economy."

However, University of the Witwatersrand Centre for Policy Studies Director Professor Lawrence Schlemmer warned that there was no certainty that all people who had voted Nationalist would follow the reform path.

While he agreed that the CP had peaked, "it has peaked at a point where it remains potent. This will break down the thrust and coherence of NP moves toward reform."

304-A Mail
8-14/9/89.

THE CLOSER THE POLLING DAY CAME, THE MORE THE PROTESTS ESCALATED

Barricades and boycotts in the run-up to the elections

DEMONSTRATIONS, school boycotts and sporadic violence in the Transvaal marked the final days running up to this week's elections.

Schools in many of the black townships as well as in the Indian and "coloured" areas were closed following a protest call against the election by the mass democratic movement.

Students stayed away from five schools in Lenasia while in Eldorado Park and Kliptown, near Johannesburg, pupils set up barricades of burning tyres in protest against Wednesday's elections.

In Actonville, Benoni, more than 2 000 students boycotted classes from Monday, objecting to their school being used as a polling station. And more than 3 000 residents signed a petition calling on the Department of Education to withdraw permission for the school to be used as a polling station.

As protest action intensified, Wednesday's police "unrest" report for the 24-hour period listed 30 incidents around the country, from Vosloorus on the East Rand to Nyanga and Mannenberg in the Cape and Port Shepstone in Natal.

In Actonville placards saying "Do not use our school for your gain and our loss" and "This is a place for education not voting" were put up at the Liverpool High School.

On Tuesday, about 200 placard-carrying students from nearby Williams Hill High School marched to Liverpool High School chanting "Don't use our schools". There they joined fellow pupils sitting on the school premises as security police patrolled the area.

Students formed a human wall blocking a delivery truck which had arrived to offload a tent to be used on polling day

On Tuesday night an effigy of Acting State President FW de Klerk was burnt at an open air gathering in Lenasia. Effigies of the chairman of the House of Delegates, Dr JN Reddy, and Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse were also set alight at the gathering, organised by the MDM.

Said a representative of the MDM: "Here lies the remains of the tricameral system. A system which is a farce will lie in ashes."

On Wednesday Lenasia was tense with a heavy police presence. The South African Defence Force patrolled in army trucks, while the police — members of the riot squad and *kitskonstabels* — moved around the township on foot. In the morning more than 200 people, wearing "Don't Vote" stickers, gathered at the civic centre to demonstrate against the elections. Police ordered a crowd near the Milky Lane shopping complex to disperse and two people were reportedly detained.

The protests, burning barricades and boycotts spread from the Western Cape to the Transvaal during the week before the elections. PHIL MOLEFE and THANDEKA GOUBULE report

South African Police representative Major R Crewe said he had not received reports of the arrests.

Johannesburg journalist Mono Badela was detained near a Lenasia polling booth. A *Weekly Mail* reporter saw him being led to the Lenasia police station by two security policemen. He was later released.

A Soweto police liaison officer said neither he nor the security branch had any knowledge of the arrest.

In Laudium, near Pretoria, 15 people were arrested and police dispersed about 200 protesters who attempted to march to polling stations.

Later in the evening, protesters carrying candles marched to the polling booths. Scores of people were injured after the police let dogs loose. One person was arrested.

The SAP public relations division in Pretoria confirmed that a group of people gathered near a mosque were ordered to disperse. Police arrested 14 people when the crowd regrouped about an hour later. According to the police, six men, three women and five youths were arrested after stones were thrown at a police vehicle. Two policemen were injured and the police used "aerosol-type"cans of tearsmoke to disperse the crowd

In Reiger Park, Boksburg, the rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel, on Monday called on "coloured" people to boycott the elections. Addressing more than 1 500 people he said a vote in the election would "legitimise an illegitimate government".

By this week more than 1 300 Reiger Park residents had signed a petition saying they would not vote.

In Lenasia hundreds of students from various schools marched through the streets on Monday to protest against the House of Delegates involvement in Indian education.

They shouted "Open our schools to all". The children of Lenasia filed into the MH Joosub Technical High School where they held an anti-election meeting in the school hall.

And in Eldorado Park heated confrontations occurred between police and students protesting against the elections. On Monday afternoon youths staged a placard demonstration. Stones were thrown at police as they arrived. The police then drove through a line of about 100 demonstrators. Teargas was fired and the police sjambokked youths and arrested 10 people.

Crewe confirmed that 10 people were arrested for holding an illegal gathering but denied that sjamboks were used.

On Tuesday pupils, joined by students from Kliptown Extension whose protest was broken up by police earlier that day, staged a demonstration. Police arrived in a Casspir and again broke up the protest. Two people were arrested

After demonstrators were dispersed, barricades of burning tyres were erected.

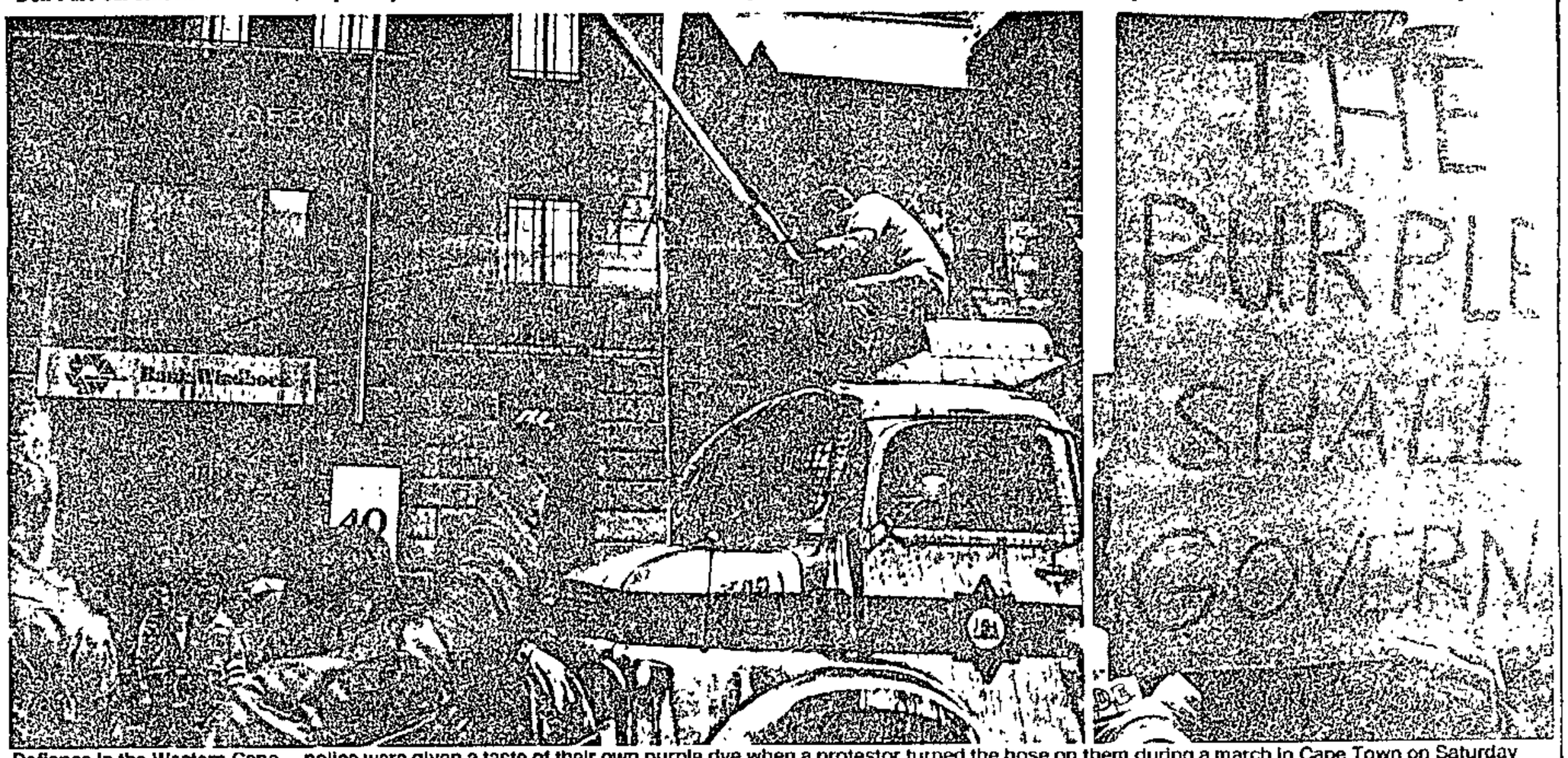
The police public relations division said they could not comment on the allegations as they had not received a report.

Police and demonstrators clashed this week in several other incidents around the Reef.

In Krugersdorp's Factoria township a man was arrested after residents staged a placard demonstration protesting against the elections.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed that one man was arrested after an illegal gathering was held in the area where placards were displayed.

Three youths were arrested in Sebokeng after police broke up a community protest meeting. This was confirmed by the SAP in Pretoria who said the three were arrested after stones were thrown at the police.



Defiance in the Western Cape ... police were given a taste of their own purple dye when a protestor turned the hose on them during a march in Cape Town on Saturday and, right, Stellenbosch workers and students showed their anger at Security Force behaviour on Monday. Police broke up both protests

Pictures: ROGER MEINTJIES and ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

Factories halt as E Cape workers stay out

By LOUISE FLANAGAN, KAREN EVANS and BEVERLEY GARSON

THE widespread resistance to the elections in the Eastern Cape has been met by an equally widespread crackdown.

Factories ground to a halt as thousands of workers stayed at home in protest, activists were detained, meetings banned and polling booths deserted.

In Port Elizabeth, a work stayaway culminated in a church service in St Augustine's Cathedral attended by thousands and closely watched by police. The service, which went off without incident, was the only mass democratic movement meeting in Port Elizabeth over the election period that wasn't banned.

A student rally planned to unban student organisations was itself banned before it started.

A Northern Areas Youth Congress and National Union of Metalworkers of South African (Numsa) rally was restricted to workers only. The rally was to discuss the problems at the local Eveready factory, where 800 people were dismissed. Marching workers were dispersed by police.

Another rally organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and Numsa, intended to be a report-back on the workers' summit, was also restricted to workers only.

Four people were arrested and police took action when they ordered crowds to disperse.

Shortly before the elections began, Labour Party posters were ripped down and police dispersed a group that marched on polling booths.

In Grahamstown, there was also a virtual total work stayaway and police confirmed that five people were detained.

Those detained were Edgar "KK" Papiyana, Elijah Ntentule, Tembinkosi Ngeleza, David Sandi and Zalisile Mkhontwana.

Journalist Peter Auf der Heyde was banned from the Grahamstown's Rhini township for 24 hours in terms of Section 9 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945.

Police also banned an election day meeting organised by the Grahamstown Soccer Association Journalists were told they would be detained under the Emergency regulations if they entered the township

Two clergymen were held over the weekend. Reverend Lulama Ntsingwa of Stutterheim and Reverend Zolile Mkentane of Adelaide were both part of the churches Standing for the Truth campaign.

East London was quiet over the election period. The Chamber of Commerce estimated that up to 60 percent of workers stayed at home.

A schools boycott in the East London area followed police disruption of student defiance marches last week. — Elnews

Power to the purples in the watery wars

GRAFFITI artists were quick to respond to Saturday's events in the heart of Cape Town. An Observatory wall now bears the legend: "The purple shall govern."

But Democratic Party workers were even quicker. In a deserted Burg Street, its mauve-tinted buildings testimony to the panic which had prevailed only hours before, they hoisted posters saying: "Nat policies cause conflict. Vote DP."

I did not see the police water-cannon, pumping powerful jets of purple water, inch its way down Burg Street towards defiant figures kneeling in its path.

I had been arrested minutes before, after watching police plunge, whips and batons flailing, into a column of several hundred marchers making their way past St George's Cathedral.

Along with the 51 other journalists, television crew members and photographers eventually rounded up by police that morning, I spent the several hours in a police recreation hall.

As journalists were brought in, they gave eye-witness accounts of events.

Drenched in purple dye, Visnews cameraman Jimi Matthews described events in Burg Street, where hundreds of marchers faced the water cannon before being routed with teargas and pursued by sjambok-wielding police.

He described how a young white protester leapt atop the water-cannon and directed the nozzle away from the marchers, drenching instead the building housing the National Party's headquarters.

We learned how police had first dispersed a group of marchers making their way from District Six before taking action against those marching past St George's Cathedral and those in Burg Street, two blocks away.

Later we heard how, after the Burg Street rout, people fled for the sanctuary of St George's Cathedral where Archbishop Desmond Tutu led a service.

When he asked worshippers to show him what they had in their hands, they shouted "nothing".

"Why are they so scared of empty hands?" Tutu asked

Gaye Davis

(304A) Wmail 8-14/9/89.

... AND A NATION-WIDE STAYAWAY ON POLLING DAY

Stayaway: Not as long as last year, but as sweeping

The labour stayaway was overshadowed by the elections, but observers believe that at least three million workers chose to stay away in protest. By EDDIE KOCH and CASSANDRA MOODLEY

STAYAWAYS in South Africa are becoming less frequent but bigger, better organised and part of a sustained programme of protest by organised labour.

That's the conclusion of the Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) in the wake of this week's protest by up to three million workers around the country to register their opposition to the elections and the Labour Relations Act.

While it did not last as long as the marathon three-day work boycott against the labour law in June last year, this month's stay-at-home was comparable in size.

And like last year's protest it was marked by co-operation and growing solidarity between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and a number of independent unions.

A novel feature of the stayaway was that it was conceived as part of a sustained campaign against the Labour Relations Act (LRA), rather than a one-off display of collective muscle. The wider campaign includes calls for an indefinite ban on overtime from September 13 and a one-month consumer boycott of stores in the CBDs of white cities.

Another characteristic was the relative absence of intimidation and violence — methods used frequently by township youth to enforce stayaways in the insurrectionary period between 1984 and 1986.

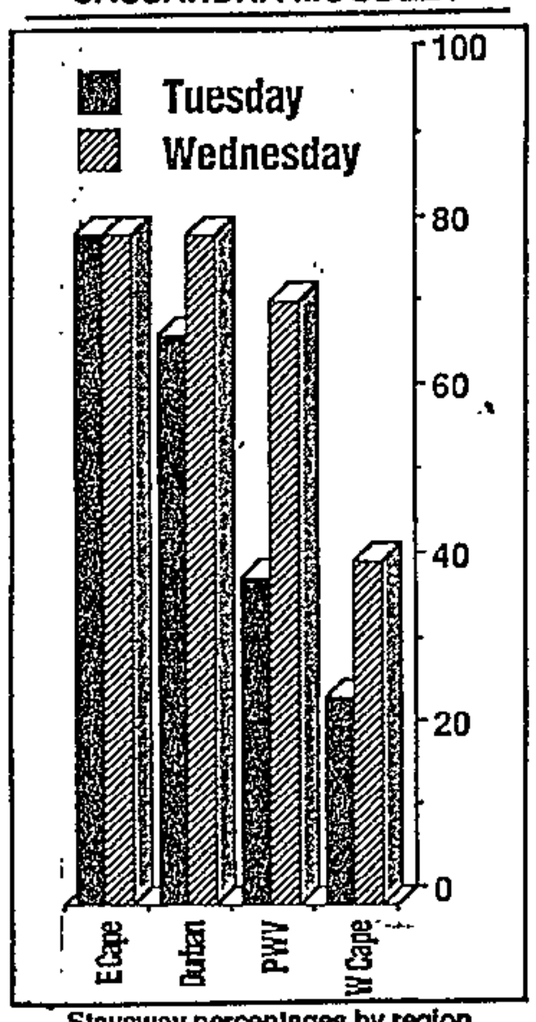
An in-depth survey by the LMG, an academic monitoring group, indicated an 80 percent stayaway in both the Eastern Cape and Durban and a 70 percent stayaway in the PWV area on Wednesday. Surprisingly the stayaway in Cape Town, the area which has become the centre of defiance, was less successful: only some 40 percent of workers did not go to work.

The mass democratic movement said in a statement this week that LMG figures were likely to be conservative as they were based on management sources.

"These protests must be seen against the backdrop of worker action against the LRA," the statement said. "This massive national action demonstrated our people's determination to commit themselves to and intensify a programme of united mass defiance which will result in the eradication of the crime of apartheid and the creation of a new South Africa."

Nactu general secretary Piroshaw Camay said the stayaway had been almost 100 percent firm on the PWV.

"The response to the stayaway call was marvellous and indicated that the vast majority is firmly committed to developing a government for the people and by the people."



Stayaway percentages by region, according to figures compiled by the Labour Monitoring Group

The LMG noted that the economic sectors most affected by the stayaway were the chemical, textile and clothing, and motor and metal industries. The food sector was hit to a lesser extent and there were indications that a higher proportion of miners responded than during the 1988 protest. The LMG said preliminary figures indicated a six percent stayaway on collieries and gold mines; Cosatu claimed 100 000 workers had taken part in the largest political protest ever in the industry.

Negligible action took place in the rural towns of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. "Although there was no widespread stayaway in Rustenburg a few companies were severely affected and in the Eastern Transvaal 19 percent of workers stayed away," the LMG said.

"On Wednesday, a 12 percent stayaway was reported in the Transvaal country districts while towns in the Orange Free State experienced a stayaway of less than 10 percent."

The stayaway was the outcome of a call, made at a workers summit in Johannesburg a fortnight ago, for trade unions and community organisations to consult on a programme of action against the September 6 elections and state repression.

Last week Cosatu called for a national stayaway on September 5 and 6, while Nactu urged that only September 6 be observed as a day of protest against the elections.

Confusion over the dates may have accounted for the extent to which the stayaway was observesd — patchy on day one and escalating on election day. Compared to the 80 percent stayaway on Wednesday, Durban recorded only a 68 percent stayaway on Tuesday. The PWV figure for absent black workers was 39 percent on Tuesday but rose to 72 percent on Wednesday.

The LMG listed additional reasons for this pattern as:

- The fact that Wednesday was election day gave a clearer political reason for the stayaway.
- Difficulty with public transport on Wednesday because Putco buses were not operating. However, taxis were less frequent on both Tuesday and Wednesday.

An LMG representative said the small response in the Western Cape was that the region comprised smaller factories organised by more conservative unions. "The workforce also comprised a considerable number of 'coloured' workers who were less supportive of the protest than other black workers."

A National Union of Mineworkers representative said workers in Western Deep Level, Saaiplaas and President Steyn goldmines had been forced underground by mine security. At Western Deep, mine security were assisted by the South African Police, said NUM press officer Jerry Majatladi. Chamber of Mines representative James Duncan categorically denied the allegations.

Management responses in the LMG survey indicated a general policy of no work/no pay/no penalty, the LMG said. However, "a small percentage of employers indicated they would be taking a harder line on absent workers".

Bobby Godsell, chairman of the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), said it was unclear to employers whether the stayaway was aimed at the elections or the labour law. He did think the action would strengthen the bargaining power of unions in negotiations with the employer body.

"Saccola is totally committed to negotiations with unions on the subject of the LRA and does not need to be pressurised into talks by a stayaway. We are ready to meet at Nactu and Cosatu's convenience," he said.

MAY HIDE? ASK A TAXI MAN

LABOUR TENSIONS ON THE EVE OF ELECTION ...

A tense backdrop to an election upset

Labour tension ran high in Rustenburg on the eve of an election upset. A white supervisor shot a black worker — then shot himself. And while reporter ***EDDIE KOCH*** *looked on, police broke up a black soccer match on a white high school field*

A WEATHER-VANE outside Rustenburg's town hall has a strange set of signposts attached to it that locate the town at the centre of the world. London is 9 900km due north. Sydney is 9 000km south-west. And Karachi is 9 912km to the north-west.

Nationalist candidate Michael Veldman's description of race relations in the Western Transvaal mining centre — delivered on election day from the steps of the hall that had been converted into a polling booth — was as incongruous as the outlandish roadsigns.

"I am continuously amazed at the adaptability of the people in this so-called conservative town," said Veldman, who is also the deputy minister of health. "If we ever get control of the city council, of course we will open municipal facilities to all races."

Only hours before Veldman spoke, I saw the local riot squad mount a raid on a soccer field in the white suburb down the road, where scores of black labourers had chosen to mark the day by staying away from work and playing a game of football.

And four days before the polls a black worker at nearby Rustenburg Refineries — who had been reprimanded for defying segregation in the work place by sitting in a foreman's chair — was shot dead by a white supervisor, who then put the gun to his own head and committed suicide.

This kind of racial tension provided the backdrop for a day of drama in which Rustenburg experienced one of the biggest upsets in the election and, for the first time in its history, witnessed black political protest in the heart of the all-white town.

Many of the soccer players and spectators who had decided to defy segregated recreational facilities in the town were union members from the strife-torn refinery. They have been on strike for six days to protest against the murder of their colleague.

About 10 minutes after the start of their game, while white townsfolk were at the polls to decide whether Veldman or one of his rivals from the Conservative Party or Herstigte Nationale Party should represent them in parliament, a convoy of police vehicles converged on the field.

The commanding officer shouted an inaudible order over his megaphone and I watched his squad set their dogs on the crowd and lashed at people with rubber batons and quirts. A woman was bundled into the boot of a police car and repeatedly beaten on the head and body. A unionist was set free, chased by sjambok-wielding policemen and dogs, caught, set free and again chased.

Members of the crowd, who fled in terror through the streets of the suburb, were pursued by police in cars. A large group of workers took refuge in National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) offices but were chased by policemen who loaded everyone on the premises, including a group of workers who had not been at the soccer field, into their vans.

Major Blackie Swart of the Rustenburg police later told the *Weekly Mail* that nobody had been arrested or detained and that 74 people had merely been held for questioning. Asked why workers had been assaulted after the crowd had already dispersed, Swart said: "You may say you saw assaults taking place but I know nothing about that."

The unrest report from police headquarters in Pretoria said: "In Rustenburg a group of blacks entered the grounds of a white high schol and began playing soccer. When they were warned by police to leave the premises, they sat down on the field. They were dispersed with quirts and 35 men were arrested."

Back at the polling booth, the *Weekly Mail* asked asked Veldman to explain the apparent gap between the government's commitment to non-racial municipal facilities and the strong police action to enforce segregation. "I don't know about it (the raid)," he said. "Maybe somebody phoned the police and made a complaint."

A NUM organiser, who asked not to be named, told the *Weekly Mail* the protests and police action had taken place against a background of escalating racial tension in the town.

"We are isolated here in Rustenburg and the conservatives harass us every day. We wanted to show the rest of the country that we have this problem. That's why we decided to defy the racism by going to play soccer on the white field."

Workers on many of the mines that surround Rustenburg have, in the past four weeks, been defying work-place segregation by using change rooms and other facilities reserved for white and skilled miners.

Last Saturday NUM member Jeffrey Nguza was shot dead in the purification plant of Rustenburg Refinery by a white supervisor, Ockert Vermeulen, after being warned not to sit on chairs in a canteen reserved for white officials. Vermeulen's body was found later in the plant.

The night shift stopped work immediately to protest against the murder and were joined by the rest of the workforce on Monday after management had rejected demands for adequate protection against right-wing attacks and the dismissal of two white supervisors, who workers say collaborated with Nguza's assassin.

JCI representative Anne Downes said police were still investigating the murder and no reason had yet been established for Vermeulen's suicide.

Union officials are now bracing themselves for an upsurge of recrimination in the wake of the election-day blitz — a fear confirmed by the sentiments of Veldman's opponents in the CP and HNP.

"There are just too many blacks into this town. The other day a white man was stopped in his car and assaulted near the black taxi rank," said the HNP's Matle Potgieter. "And when we get into power we will fight to get rid of these black trade unions."

CP candidate Willie Botha agreed: "The influx of blacks into this town has created a very high crime rate. You know a car is stolen every day here. There is even a suburb which is separated by only a road from the township. We will send those black people to a place near Bophuthatswana called Hartebeesfontein. They can build a shack there and there is no water or electricity so they won't even have to pay bills."

On a pole next to the road leading out of Rustenburg there is a sign that reads: "This is CP country". Its accuracy as a depiction of Rustenburg's reality was verified late on Wednesday night when it was announced that the CP had won by 1 502 votes.

> **'We will send these blacks to a place ... where they can build a shack and there is no water and electricity so they won't even have to pay bills'**

DID THE STAYA

IF you want to know whether a political stayaway has been a success ask a black taxi driver — the man who commutes to and from the township and whose livelihood depends on the travels of its residents.

On Wednesday in the empty streets of Johannesburg taxi drivers and owners looked lost in their empty minibuses.

By midday on Wednesday only three minibus taxis with passengers had left Noord Street for Mafikeng — less than half the usual number. Between 7am and midday no taxi ventured near Orlando, Soweto — there were just no passengers.

"The outskirts of Johannesburg to Fordsburg are quiet and empty," said one driver, describing the effects of the two-day stayaway called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions to protest this week's elections and the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

FW's big cabinet reshuffle

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

A MAJOR cabinet reshuffle, with at least five new cabinet ministers, and a number of other appointments, probably next week, will force Mr F W de Klerk to show his colours and put his personal stamp on government leadership for the first time.

All eyes will be on Mr De Klerk when Parliament meets next week to see whom he decides to appoint to — or drop from — the cabinet.

He could opt for promoting conservative party loyalists for key positions, such as the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, and the Minister of Local Government and Housing, Mr Amie Venter.

Both ministers, regarded as ultra-conservatives within the NP caucus, enjoyed positions of prominence when the NP launched its five-year plan at its federal congress in Pretoria earlier this year.

Alternatively, he could decide to promote younger and more verligte candidates, such as the Deputy Minister of Education, Mr Sam de Beer, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels, and the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer — all of whom performed better than expected in this week's election.

Mr De Klerk's appointments to the new cabinet will serve as a critical barometer of his future style and approach to government — and perceptions of the government's commitment to reform within the framework of its vague five-year plan.

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government and a new minister, probably Dr Viljoen or Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, being made responsible for constitutional negotiations.

Another F W de Klerk loyalist and Cape leader of the NP, Dr Dawie de Villiers, could well be in line for a more senior position, particularly after the way he backed the NP leader during infighting within the party earlier this year.

The existing vacancies in the cabinet are the Minister of Home Affairs in the place of Mr Stoffel Botha, the Minister of Manpower and Public Works in the place of Mr Pietie du Plessis, the Minister of Agriculture in the place of Mr Greyling Wentzel, the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology in the place of Mr Danie Steyn and the Minister of National Education in the place of Mr De Klerk.

At least one deputy minister will have to be appointed in the place of the Deputy Minister of Health, Dr Martin Veldman, who was defeated in Rustenburg, unless he is made a nominated MP.

From page 1

He may also be tempted to promote some English-speaking Nationalists, such as the Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr George Bartlett, and the Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly, Mr Kent Durr, after the NP's heavy losses in the predominantly English-speaking urban areas.

It is unclear, at this stage, whether he is considering appointing any members of the House of Representatives and House of Delegates to the cabinet.

The Labour Party leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, has made it clear in the past that he will not serve in the cabinet again, because he believes his position as chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives gives him more manoeuvrability.

But the Deputy Minister of Population Development, Mr Luwellyn Landers, the second most senior deputy minister after Mr De Beer, could be in line for promotion if the Labour Party agrees to his serving in the cabinet.

And constitutional amendments could mean that a black person will join the cabinet or be appointed to succeed Mr De Beer.

Black minister

The current Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has indicated that a black person will eventually take his job — and the minister is widely expected to be promoted to more a senior office under the De Klerk regime.

It is expected that a number of senior ministers will retain their existing positions.

If this is the case, Mr Pik Botha will remain Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Barend du Plessis will continue to be the Minister of Finance, Mr Eli Louw will stay as Minister of Transport, Mr Adriaan Vlok will still be Minister of Law and Order and General Magnus Malan will remain Minister of Defence.

However, it is expected that Mr Chris Heunis's former portfolio, Constitutional Development and Planning, will be split up, with his successor, Mr Gene Louw, being made responsible for provincial and local

Isabella to h[illegible]

Six key Argus predictions accurate

PREDICTIONS of the election outcome commissioned by The Argus proved accurate in six key constituencies.

The polls by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) focused on Krugersdorp, Gardens, Boksburg, Randburg, Pinetown and Innesdal.

In the face of the range of predictions that had occured from different opinion polls, MMR was asked to comment on their validity.

Explaining the method used to make election predictions MMR said that people's voting intentions were critical in correlating the outcome with the prediction.

"Over a number of years MMR has proved that one of the most critical variables is assuring respondents of their anonymity — that their voting intentions will never be linked to their name or address.

"This was initially established during the Soweto elections when MMR used a secret ballot box technique to reassure voters, and were accurate within 2% while another poll overestimated the voting percentage by approximately 300%."

In the 1987 and 1989 elections, another important factor was the selection of samples It is vital that the sample represents the constituency and that every voter has an equal chance of being selected.

"Thus for this poll a minimum of two households per street were contacted, with at least three calls back on subsequent nights before another household was substituted.

"The telephone was used for the interviewing because security systems prevent accurate door to door sampling. 9 in 10 white housholds have a telephone in the areas polled, people tend to be more responsive when telephoned, and strict supervision of the interviewers in the office situation is possible.

"In addition the questionnaire was designed to elicit in the shortest time possible the most truthful and useful information by the use of key questions. Not only did the poll ask about voting intentions, but also about the firmness of that intention and the extent of the floating vote.

"The direction that this was likely to take was assessed through questioning about traditional party identifications and inclinations to support specific candidates.

"As a result of the six constituencies polled, MMR analysts believed that CP support had peaked in all likelihood, and that the older voters who were wavering were likely to stay with their traditional party.

"Similarly they predicted that traditional PFP supporters would find an easy home in the DP and both these factors have been confirmed.

"MMR's researchers also did not predict a hung parliament as constituencies like Krugersdorp, Boksburg and Innesdal indicated a still entrenched vote for the National Party despite the existence of CP dominated local councils.

FW poser: How to deliver the goods?

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

AS Mr F W de Klerk ponders the outcome of the election, he must wonder: "How do I deliver the goods?"

Not only does he have to carry out lofty election promises To be a credible leader he must also live up to the Nationalist propaganda image of him as a great reformer, a man of action, a leader with a new vision.

Even more formidable is the task of meeting the expectations created by him and his associates during his pre-election trips to Europe and Africa.

Both inside and outside South Africa his early diplomatic initiatives have focused attention on him as the man who promises to break South Africa's political logjam, to get meaningful constitutional negotiations off the ground, and to provide the magic formula for a peaceful settlement involving all the country's people.

Hopes are fixed on FW, with his relaxed, "sweet reasonable" new leadership style, to fill the vacuum left by the departure of Mr P W Botha.

Politically and psychologically this is a major challenge, making it even more imperative for him to prove himself.

Now the big question is: can FW succeed where PW failed?

Critics of the man with the "Mona Lisa smile", as some describe FW, say it is hardly likely. As the Democratic Party's Mr Robin Carlisle put it during the run-up to the election "If this Mona Lisa becomes a successful negotiator, bulls will fall pregnant"

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressed it in another way: "I like what I see But I wouldn't carry his political bags for him."

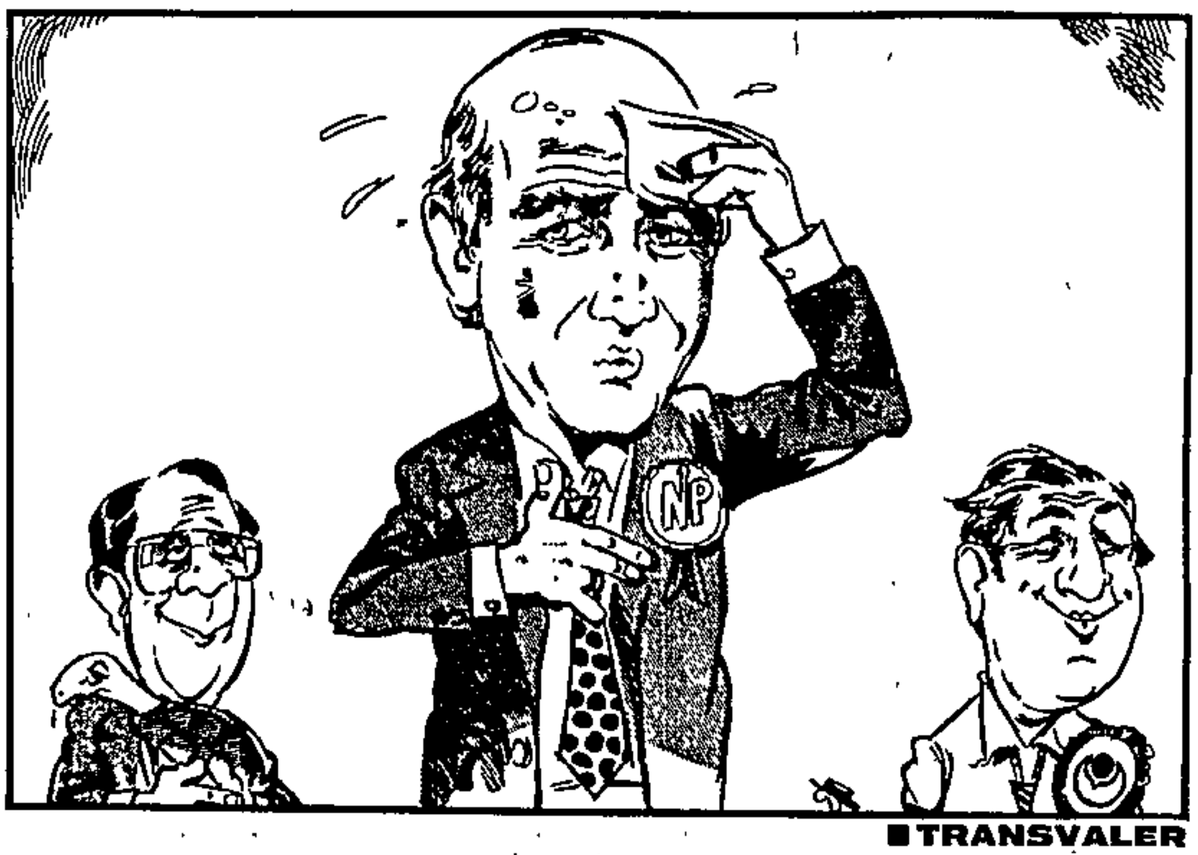
One of the reasons for the scepticism is that even if FW has the best of intentions — and the majority of white voters seem to think so — he remains handicapped by the thinking inside his own party. A DP election slogan summed up his dilemma as that of "a new jockey on a sick horse."

The most ominous sign that FW may represent little more than a continuation of the PW era was provided by the government's hamhanded handling of the MDM's protest campaign.

The impression was created that in spite of having a smiling Mr De Klerk at the helm, the old-style *kragdadigheid* remained unchanged.

Another ominous sign has been Mr De Klerk's emphasis on "own affairs" and "general affairs" — two controversial apartheid concepts which he seems determined to retain.

These concepts are, in fact, cornerstones of political apartheid which the government has kept firmly in place while dismantling some social apartheid measures. The most important cornerstone is the Population Registration Act.



■ TRANSVALER

Against this backdrop of a firmly established apartheid nucleus, another look at Mr De Klerk's promises makes it all the more difficult to understand the newness of his vision, let alone his ability to carry it out.

His five main promises, all widely publicised, are that under his leadership the government will:

- Bridge the dividing gap of distrust, suspicion and fear that exists among South Africans;
- Launch a great indaba;
- Open the door to prosperity and economic growth;
- Develop a new dispensation where everyone can participate without domination; and
- Control unrest, violence and terrorism with a firm hand.

By their very vagueness the promises may have raised more expectations than their substance warrants

Nevertheless, all eyes will now be on Mr De Klerk to see whether he delivers.

Even before his recent meeting with Dr Kenneth Kaunda, the Zambian President was quoted as saying that if he established that Mr De Klerk could not be trusted, he would not have any negotiations with him in the future.

The first promise — "to bridge the dividing gap of distrust ..." — clearly implies that the government must come to terms with the country's racial arithmetic and with the aspirations of the majority of the people How else can it bridge the divide? Or does Mr De Klerk think it can be done by way of tough police action, quirts, dogs, teargas, arrests and purple dye?

The second promise — for a "great indaba" — can only be carried out fully if all the relevant black groups participate, as former NP insider Professor Sampie Terreblanche of the University of Stellenbosch has pointed out. This implies participation by members of the Mass Democratic Movement and even the ANC, for that matter.

It also implies that requirements for entering into negotiations, as set by most of the country's black leaders, even the most moderate ones, would first have to be met: the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of apartheid laws, and the unbanning of banned organisations

The third promise — for economic prosperity and growth — and the ones that follow clearly hinge on the government's ability to carry out the first two promises

The outcome of it all will show those voters who heeded the call this week to "give FW a chance" whether they voted wisely or were taken for a ride.

by Crocker

How PW 'blew it' –

Star 9/9/89 (304A)

Blacks excluded from his vision of power-sharing

DAVID BRAUN

WASHINGTON — Mr P W Botha and his closest allies badly misjudged what would have been required to lead South Africa out of the political wilderness in the 1980s.

This is the opinion of former United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, writing in the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs*, an influential academic journal.

In an article reviewing his eight years as America's chief diplomat for Africa, Dr Crocker wrote that Mr Botha was a profoundly parochial man who had wasted much of his unprecedented opportunity for leadership.

"Having built up an extraordinary power base in 1980, Botha went on to create an imperial presidency — the ideal machinery for purposeful, autocratic political reform.

"A courageous man committed to a vague reformist platform, he split his own party in 1982-83 over a new tricameral constitution, giving the vote to coloureds and Asians to select their own Houses of Parliament. This action literally transformed the National Party overnight into a potentially moderate white party and fostered the emergence on the right of the new Conservative Party," Dr Crocker said.

But when it came time to exploit his new power base and define the direction and purposes of his centrist "adapt or die" message, Mr Botha fell short. "Botha's vision and sense of urgency did not take him to the point of seeking to engage blacks in a process leading to power sharing — until events got beyond him in 1984-85."

Dr Crocker said: "In retrospect, Botha may have simply discounted the black organisational potential to establish a credible national protest movement. Or he may have believed that Afrikaner interests were best served by isolating and excluding black activists and creating a durable majority from the country's moderates of all races. The effort failed because Botha's changes created a vacuum and a rallying point for black urban leadership.

"The results of all this were sadly ironic. The government which restored at least limited political rights to 4 million coloureds and Asians — reversing an NP injustice of 30 years earlier — had gone down in history as the Government that delivered the ultimate insult to the black majority, the catalysing rebuff to its nationalist aspirations."

The SA Government most committed to reform of any since World War 2 presided over a significant range of piecemeal changes improving the lives of blacks in many fields, removing some onerous apartheid practices and modifying others. Yet this was the Government that would be credited more often with a draconian state of emergency in which perhaps 30 000 people were detained, black groups put out of action and the press severely muzzled. By his repressive actions during the height of the crisis in the mid-1980s, Mr Botha drove away foreign investors and bankers, swept away the substantial gains he had made in regional diplomacy in 1984 and undercut those Western governments most important to him.

Dr Crocker said Mr Botha's attitude towards the US-South African relationship was but a microcosm of his broader approach. By listening too often to the wrong voices, he misread his margin of manoeuvre. Starting in 1981, he persuaded himself that he knew better than his best diplomats how to read Washington and get the answers he wanted. He once told Dr Crocker that sanctions were America's problem.

Dr Crocker describes Mr F W de Klerk as far more worldly than his predecessor. "He has told his party that it faces a great moment of truth, but the odds are high that he has no master plan for dealing with it.

"Known as a man of pragmatic toughness, he may listen — at least initially — to a wider range of voices than Botha did," he said.

Dr Crocker said the US should reject at every turn the notion that South Africa was an American problem — it was not. And it would not be solved in a bilateral negotiation with its government: After nearly 80 years as an independent state, it was time South Africa behaved like one and South Africans bargained with each other.

Negotiation and political solutions were possible at any point of relative equilibrium. They need not wait for some imaginery future stalemate, far bloodier than the present one.

Rhoodie tilts at libel, damning 'Botha's decade'

Star 9/9/89

GRAHAM LINSCOTT

DEFAMATION suits appear to hold no terrors for Dr Rhoodie. He makes it clear in his newly published book that he would welcome the opportunity for his account to be tested in court, nearly all the witnesses he would call being still alive.

It will be most interesting to see what happens.

Dr Rhoodie (who now lives in semi-exile in America) was formerly Secretary for Information and a central figure in the Information Affair of the late 1970s, which ended in the ousting and disgrace of Dr Connie Mulder, the ousting and disgrace of John Vorster and the accession to power of Mr P W Botha.

Dr Rhoodie himself did time behind bars for various offences connected with the scandal until he appealed successfully against conviction.

He treats the events of 1978 and the events of this year, when President Botha was ousted, as coups d'etat or palace revolutions. Whatever the full truth, his account of the machinations and wheeling and dealing surrounding the Information Affair are truly fascinating. But in order to avoid repeating possible defamations not much can be reported about its contents.

The people whose lawyers are likely to read this book with professional interest include ex-President Botha himself, Mr Justice Erasmus (who headed the commission of inquiry into the Information Affair), Mr Justice Lategan (also on the commission), former judge Mr Anton Mostert (who first revealed details of the illegal funding of *The Citizen*), advocate Mr Retief van Rooyen (who took details of the Information Affair to Judge Mostert), the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, the Ambassador to Washington, Dr Piet Koornhof, former Minister of Finance Professor Owen Horwood and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

The Information Affair aside, Dr Rhoodie provides a damning (and colourfully phrased) indictment of the P W Botha decade.

He accuses Mr Botha of abandoning the separate development of John Vorster and his predecessors without putting anything meaningful in its place. Separate development at least provided stability and credibility.

The book takes us right up to Mr Botha's resignation and one detects a sense of relish as Dr Rhoodie describes the fatal surrendering of his power base as leader of the National Party, then suffering the same political fate as John Vorster.

There are some interesting sidelights. He says Chris Heunis resigned from the Cabinet after a furious row with P W Botha which "bounced off the four walls", following his speech in Parliament in which he spoke of one Parliament for all.

F W de Klerk had nothing to do with the toppling of P W Botha, according to Dr Rhoodie. He describes him as an essentially decent and unambitious man who has landed in the top spot through the machinations of others.

Dr Rhoodie says the Nats failed in 30 years to implement separate development and P W Botha failed in 10 years to implement power-sharing. Mr de Klerk now has no option other than to bring blacks into central government — but he does not have five years in which to achieve it, only two. Otherwise he will be engulfed by events.

● *P W Botha: The last betrayal, by Eschel Rhoodie (SA Politics, R39,99)*

Now it's:

FW will struggle with smaller power

SPECTRUM

Forward crawl!

Star 9/9/89. 304A.

base and bigger problems than his predecessors

PATRICK LAURENCE

ACTING State President Mr F W de Klerk faces an awesome and unenviable task after securing a mandate — of sorts — for his battle-scarred National Party in Wednesday's parliamentary elections.

Peering into the future from the threshold of 1990, South Africa's problems are starkly silhouetted against the twilight of the 20th century: intensifying race and class antagonism — erupting into violence at ever-shorter intervals — increasing international pressure and isolation, huge foreign-debt repayments, declining economic growth and mounting unemployment.

Mr de Klerk contemplates these vast problems from a smaller and more insecure power base than those enjoyed by his immediate predecessors.

The NP is obviously weaker, having shed 30 seats to the Conservative and Democratic Parties in Wednesday's election to emerge with a total of 93 seats. With 48 percent of the white vote and 56 percent of the 166 seats in the white chamber, its power base in the white community is smaller than it has been since 1953.

Crudely expressed, Mr de Klerk's mandate from the white minority of 5 million can be summarised as one from a minority of a minority.

His problems do not end there, unlike his predecessors, he does not have a major power base within the bureaucracy.

Hendrik Verwoerd had the old Department of Bantu Administration, John Vorster the police, and P W Botha the defence force when they came to power.

Mr de Klerk, who is the Minister of National Education, has nothing comparable. His portfolio does not even include white, black, coloured and Indian education at school level; these are allocated to separate departments as "own affairs".

The present balance of power within the white House of Assembly is 93 for the NP, 39 for the CP and 33 for DP, with a cliffhanger by-election due in Fauresmith where the NP and CP tied.

It has created what sociologist and former opposition politician, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabert, calls a "hung NP".

He defines a "hung NP" as one in which some of its MPs are peering anxiously over their Left and Right shoulders, depending on which opposition party is strongest in their constituency, and flirting with the possibility of defecting.

But well-placed observers and analysts caution against attaching too much importance to Mr De Klerk's smaller power base. It does not necessarily mean, they argue, that he will be politically impotent.



Professor Albert Venter, of the Rand Afrikaans University, makes a simple point: a smaller NP may well be leaner, more disciplined and more cohesive.

A diplomat makes a similar point. The NP's vulnerability to attacks from the DP on the Left and the CP on the Right may well bind it together more tightly, minimising the danger of defections. He predicts: "The NP will govern for the next five years ... sheer terror will hold them together for the next five years."

Professor Venter recalls that the NP had a smaller majority when the NP came to power in 1948 under D F Malan, 41 percent of the vote and barely over 50 percent of the seats. The NP, he adds, did not win a majority of votes until 1960, when it won nearly 52 percent of the vote cast in the referendum over whether South Africa should become a republic.

A minority of votes, however, did not prevent Malan or his successors, J G Strijdom and Verwoerd, from governing effectively, Professor Venter notes.

Another point needs to be made: 12 nominated MPs still have to be appointed. Eight are allocated to the parties in proportion to the number of elected MPs. Four are nominated by the President.

The NP will be entitled to at least four of the eight MPs divided between the parties. President-designate De Klerk may not be so crass as to appoint defeated NP candidates. But he will certainly name men or women noted for their loyalty to the NP.

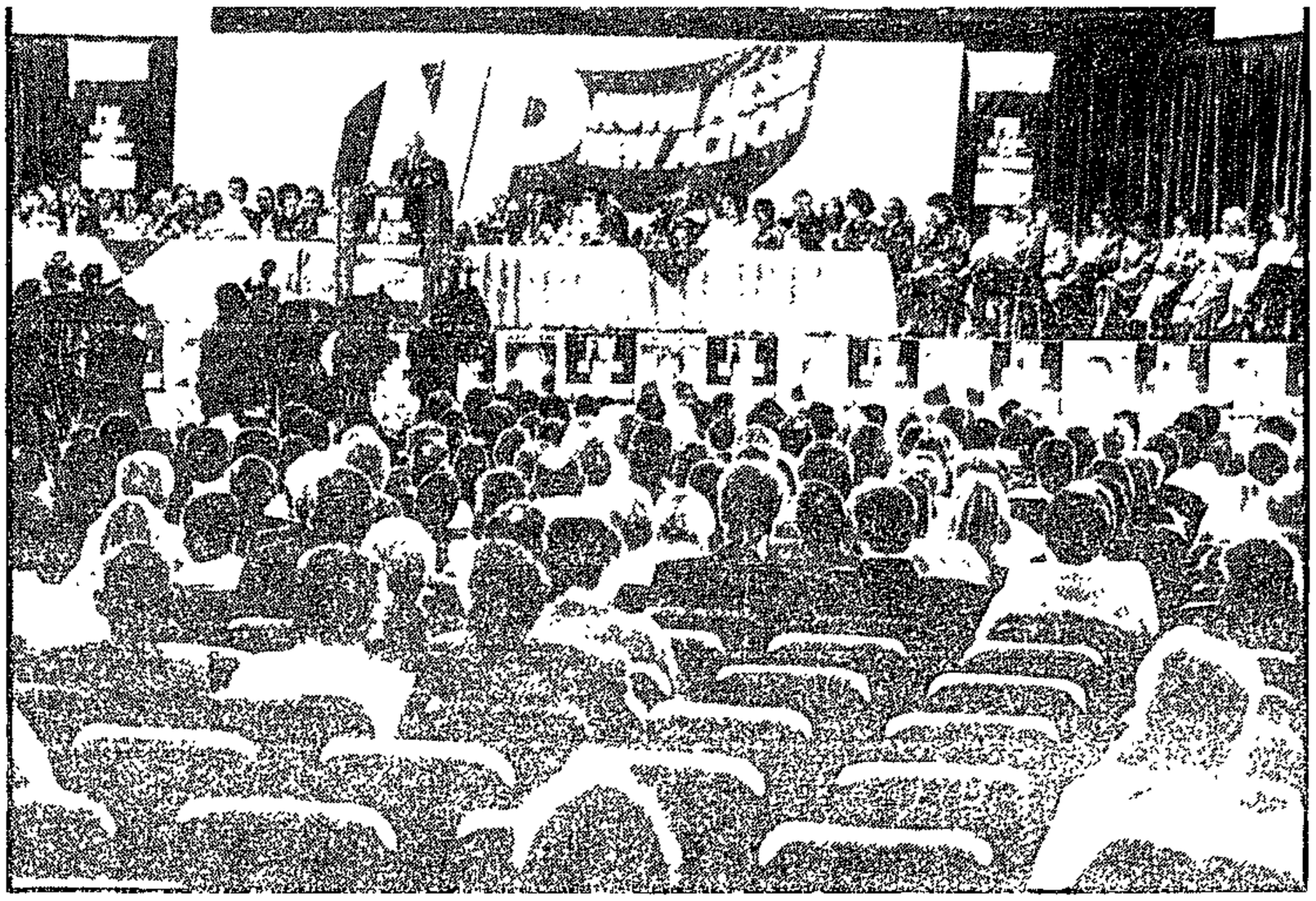
While Mr De Klerk does not have an administrative power base to match those of his predecessors, an astute foreign observer warns against under-estimating Mr De Klerk's control over the NP or the NP's loyalty to him.

Many political analysts, Professor Venter recollects, anticipated that Defence Minister Magnus Malan, because of his power base in the Defence Force and the "growing militarisation" in South Africa, would emerge as a powerful contender for the NP leadership.

General Malan, however, was not even a candidate for the post when the NP met on February 2 to elect a leader, the foreign observer muses.

Much emphasis has been laid by commentators, for good reason, on the power of the security establishment and the "securocrats" under the Mr Botha's "imperial presidency".

A corollary to that analysis is the conclusion that Mr De Klerk



SIGN OF THE TIMES: The National Party is weaker. Once its supporters more than filled the Johannesburg City Hall but, on the final night of its campaign, speakers Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha faced rows of empty seats. The fact is Mr de Klerk faces the future from a more insecure base than his predecessors. With 48 percent of the white vote his mandate is a minority of a minority. In addition, unlike Mr P W Botha who had the defence force, or Mr B J Vorster who had the police, Mr de Klerk has no power base within the bureaucracy.

may find himself co-opted and manipulated by the generals and their aides who hold central position in the State Security Council (SSC) and the National Security Management System (NSMS).

But in their new book, "From Apartheid to Nation-Building", professors Hermann Giliomee and Lawrence Schlemmer, challenge the oft-expressed view that the military are the *de facto* rulers of South Africa.

While conceding that the SSC has taken crucial decisions in recent years — including the decision to impose a state of emergency in 1985 and 1986 — and has submitted them to the Cabinet for formal ratification only, Giliomee and Schlemmer add an important rider.

They write: "... the key fact is that the SSC is a body in which civilian politicians take responsibility for decisions."

Of the NSMS, they state: "(It) is under the overall control of a civilian politician who has no security background ... Owing to limited financial resources, the NSMS can only concentrate on the worst trouble-spots: it lacks the means to become an effective alternative system of civilian administration throughout the whole country."

Giliomee and Schlemmer make another pertinent observation: "There are signs that F W de Klerk ... is keen to diminish the considerable influence which the security forces managed to gain during the 1984-86 unrest."

Whether he will succeed is debatable. Time will, of course, tell. But the loyalty of General Malan, who sided with Mr de Klerk against ex-President Botha, in the clash between the party and presidency, will certainly help the new NP boss assert the primary role of politicians over securocrats.

The diplomat quoted earlier sees Mr de Klerk, with his emphasis on civilian government and the party, as representative of a reaction to the "imperial presidency" and the clique who held power within it.

Mr de Klerk may be able to remobilise and reactivate another force which was marginalised by Mr Botha: the Afrikaner Broederbond.

While the Broederbond may not have the power it once had, it will certainly help to maintain cohesion and loyalty in the upper echelons of the NP.

There are signs that the Broederbond is re-emerging under Mr de Klerk's leadership. The NP's five-year "action plan" released on June 29, and a June 1989 Broederbond document overlap in many ways. The convergence in ideas and timing suggests that Broeders played an important role in formulating much of the "action plan".

The close personal and political friendship between Mr de Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Training and, more important, a past Broederbond chairman, is further evidence — albeit circumstantial — of the re-apperance of the Broederbond to centre stage.

To pull these divergent and often countervailing points together, and to make a general deduction from them, is not a simple task. But a tentative conclusion can be offered.

While Mr de Klerk's position may not be as strong as, say, Mr Botha's, it is not as weak as it appears on first glance. For the next five years he has some room to manouevre, even if it involves moving along the proverbial knife-edge.

Whether he will be able to move fast enough to deal with — or, better still, anticipate — the crises which lie ahead will depend ultimately on him. He is essentially a prudent man who seeks consensus wherever he can. But his clash with Mr Botha shows that he is not pusillanimous.

Mr De Klerk will be under immense pressures to move toward a more open society and — as important — to tackle the fundamental problem of seeking an accommodation with credible and representative black leaders and meeting the concommitment challenge of releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, unbanning the ANC and drawing its leaders into a negotiated settlement.

But he will be under counter pressure not to move too fast; 18 Nat MPs kept the CP out by majorities of less than 1 000 against a mere three who won with similar majorities against the DP.

An immediate challenge is looming for Mr de Klerk. The release of Mr Mandela before the Commonwealth summit next month in order to give the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, a potent argument for the efficacy of her anti-sanctions stand.

But because of the violence in the western Cape, and the anxieties of the police to keep it firmly under control, it is one which Mr de Klerk is likely to duck for a little while yet.

One seasoned observer predicted of Mr de Klerk's incoming government: "It will try to crawl forward."

Vereeniging poll objection

Star 9/9/89. 3048

PETER FABRICIUS

THE Conservative Party is expected to challenge the election results in Vereeniging, which the National Party won by five votes, and Gezina which it won by seven votes, CP sources said.

Under the Electoral Act objections to the results must be lodged within 42 days of the election.

The sources would not say in what way the votes were irregular but said they were especially confident of winning Vereeniging — the seat which Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk vacated. The CP has already charged Mr de Klerk "ran away" from Vereeniging because he knew he would lose it.

The challenges in Vereeniging and Gezina mean that three election results could be disputed.

In the Free State constituency of Fauresmith there is to be a by-election because the CP and NP polled exactly the same number of votes. But the NP may decide to challenge the electoral officer's decision that there should be a by-election.

Confident NP uncertain over future negotiations

CAPE TIMES 9/9/89 3 COL A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE leaders of pro-apartheid parties which failed to live up to their pre-election performance predictions remained upbeat about their parties' future prospects this week.

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, who described the outcome of the election in which the NP lost 29 seats as a "tremendous win", said the ruling party had received a mandate to implement its five-year action plan.

However, he declined to answer questions on how the NP would start negotiations.

Commenting on security action against the MDM in the run-up to the election, he said he did not believe that "such drastic steps" had been taken.

"The government handled the defiance campaign with aplomb and in a very reasonable way."

Mr De Klerk said the NP would have preferred a larger mandate from whites, but had nevertheless achieved a clear majority.

He said he believed the CP had already reached its peak in the Transvaal in 1987 and did not have growth potential.

He predicted that the DP did not have growth potential beyond the affluent parts of the metropolitan areas.

When asked by journalists if the NP would meet DP supporters' expectations of reform, Mr De Klerk reportedly said: "We have not won to implement DP policy. I think it is fatally flawed and we have no intention of taking that dangerous route."

He said the DP's policies were as "dangerous" as the CP's.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said his party's haul of 39 seats represented a stable foundation for future elections, but acknowledged that the party had hoped to win more seats on Wednesday.

The CP had made breakthroughs in the Free State and the Cape.

The NP on the other hand had long since reached its electoral ceiling, and there were now about 66 marginal seats.

"There is a fluid situation, and I don't think the NP can sleep very peacefully. Were it to put a foot in the direction of the DP, it will lose votes to the right," he said.



Mr F W de Klerk



Dr A P Treurnicht

Unfair election, says US; Nats scared UK

Argus 7/9/89

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States government does not consider the general election free and fair.

State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler said in a brief statement that the election offered only part of the South African community a chance to voice its views. The majority had to be given an opportunity to voice theirs peacefully.

She said the right to strike was widely accepted throughout the democratic world.

"We have repeatedly called on the government of South Africa to permit the fullest possible expression of peaceful, political dissent," she said.

In London observers said the National Party had just "had its biggest scare since it took power in 1948."

Earlier it had seemed to British commentators that against most expectations the party could be in danger of losing its overall majority. They instanced the fact that Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha's majority had been nearly halved.

Scenes from the polling stations were featured on all British television newscasts, with a smiling Mr F W de Klerk confidently predicting that his party would do well.

BBC television viewers were told that up to three million people had stayed away from work in "one of the biggest strikes in South Africa's history."

Viewers were also shown scenes of yesterday's unrest, including crowds fleeing from police and tyres being set on fire in the streets.

The scenes were described as part of "the most serious unrest nationwide in three years under the state of emergency."

The violence was "likely to add to the woes of National Party leader F W de Klerk", said Independent Television correspondent Mike Hannah.

In Windhoek Swapo's director of information and publicity, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, has said the election result is bad news for an independent Namibia and the whole region.

He said Namibia could expect "very little in terms of change" because South Africa was already reluctant to deal with such issues as disbanding Koevoet, it was dragging its feet over implementing Resolution 435, and it was indifferent about dismantling its security apparatus in Namibia.

The new line-up of forces in parliament would "definitely keep the National Party in check," Mr Hamutenya said, and he predicted that relations between Pretoria and its neighbours would also deteriorate because the Conservative Party would balk at every detente initiative.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of Swapo's main opposition in Namibia, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said he did not think the result would greatly affect Namibia.

Only five Ministers likely to retain portfolios

304A

Black could get post in big Cabinet shake-up

Star 9/9/89.

BRUCE CAMERON

CAPE TOWN — South Africa faces one its biggest government administration shake-ups, with the possible inclusion of the first black person, in the wake of the general election.

Within the next two weeks, Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk will announce a new Cabinet, a new white Minister's Council and a bevy of Deputy Ministers.

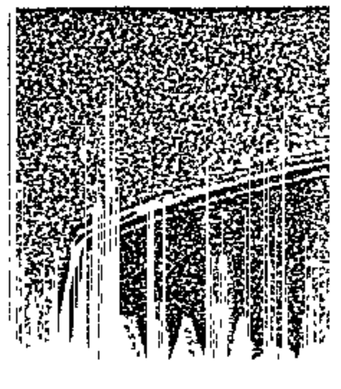
And in so doing, he is likely to re-design the portfolios of his administration.

The first black to be brought in would probably be given the post of Deputy Minister in charge of black education, National Party sources say.

With the inclusion of retired president Mr P W Botha, there were already five vacancies in the Cabinet.

And in re-designing his administration, Mr de Klerk will have take into account the altered provincial strengths of the National Party. The Cape now dominates the NP caucus with 42 members, as against 34 for the Transvaal, 10 for Natal and only seven for the Free State.

As a result, Natal should get an additional member either of the Cabinet or the Minister's Council, while the Cape should get at least an-



We'll cut income tax, vows Barend

Star 9/9/89.

FINANCE STAFF

FINANCE Minister Mr Barend du Plessis has promised to deliver on the National Party's election pledges of lower personal and company tax.

The Government would also take a new look at the whole question of subsidies, he said.

Stressing that the State would meet its manifesto obligations, Mr du Plessis said: "South Africa has few choices when it comes to economic possibilities. The money supply has to be kept under strict control and this has to be backed or underpinned by sound economic policies.

"We have to reduce the deficit before borrowing and instil a new ethos of cost conservatism," the minister said.

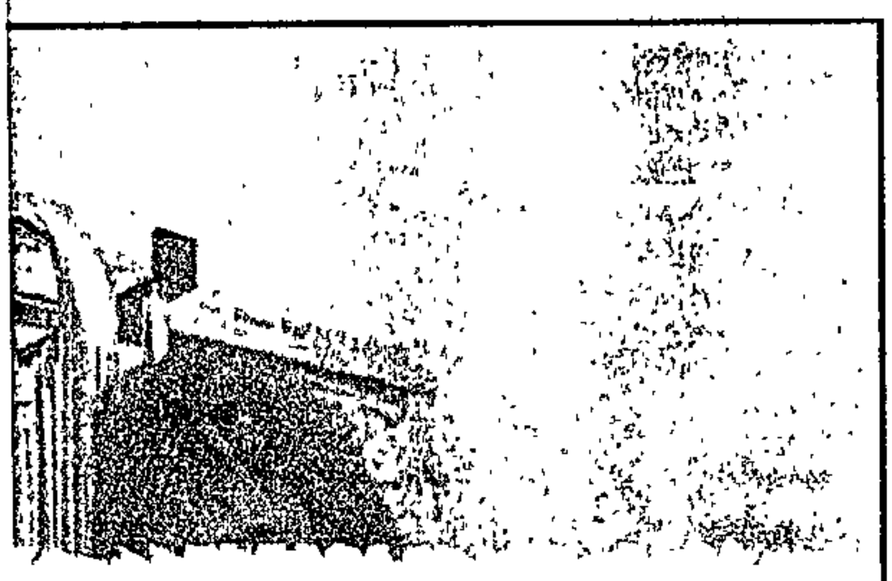
The Government's plan of action includes:

- A cut in personal income tax, with a reduction in the marginal rates to a maximum of 40 percent at the income level of R100 000, instead of the present 45 percent at R80 000.
- A cut in company tax to 40 percent from 50 per-

'Highway robbery' by traffic officers



net shake-up



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As a result, Natal should get an additional member either of the Cabinet or the Minister's Council, while the Cape should get at least another two members.

It is likely that only five members of the Cabinet will hold their current portfolios — Mr Pik Botha (foreign affairs), General Magnus Malan (defence), Mr Kobie Coetsee (justice), Mr Barend du Plessis (finance) and Mr Adriaan Vlok (law and order).

Another who may remain where he is is Minister of Environment Affairs Mr Gert Kotze, but speculation in NP circles is that he is likely to get the white own affairs portfolio of agriculture.

Mr de Klerk has many options and combinations of portfolio available to him, and speculation is rife and varied about what he will do.

The indications are that he is unlikely to make up his mind in a hurry and will probably

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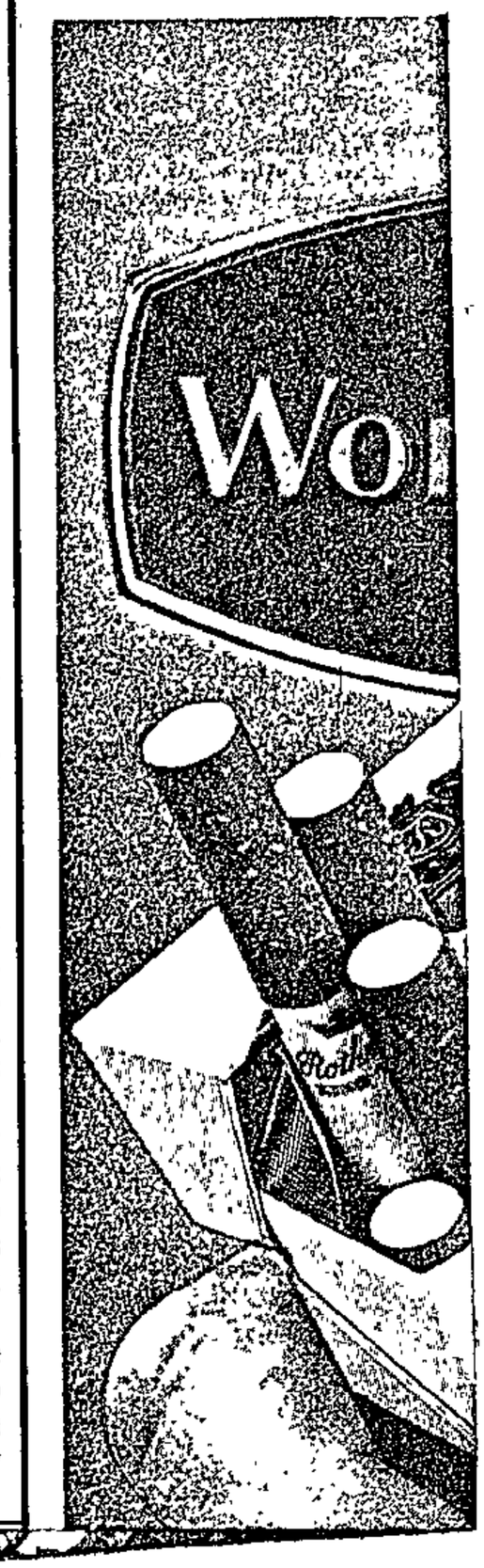


Black for Cabinet?

Star 9/9/89 304A

● FROM PAGE 1.

announce his administration after being sworn in as President on September 20.

It appears the man most likely to take over from Mr de Klerk in the key post of chairman of the white Ministers' Council is the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer.

The important Ministry of Constitutional Development and Planning appears set to be carved up, with Mr Gene Louw, who governs the portfolio at present, retaining the administration side, looking after local government and the provinces.

Although there have been indications that Mr de Klerk wanted to take over the negotiating aspect of the portfolio himself, Nationalists generally feel this task will be given to Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who is currently Minister of (black) Education and Development Aid.

New Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers is expected to take over from Mr de Klerk, at National Education, or from Dr Viljoen.

With the privatisation of South African Transport Services and the Post Office, one Minister is likely to be appointed for both. He would also deal with the Commission for Administration and privatisation.

A possible contender for this position would be the current Minister of the Budget and Works, Mr Kent Durr.

The front-runner for agriculture is the current Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Dr Kraai van Niekerk.

Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe could well be given Home Affairs, with the front-runner in the Natal NP leadership stakes, Mr Con Botha, taking over from him.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Technology could go to one of the current deputies, Mr Theo Alant or Mr George Bartlett. The latter is also a serious contender for the NP Natal leadership.

Transport Minister Mr Eli Louw is seen as the probable next Minister of Manpower and Public Works.

Other names to watch for promotion either to the Cabinet, the white Minister's Council or as deputies are Mr Roelf Meyer, currently Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development; Mr Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of Law and Order; Dr Boy Geldenhuys; Dr Rina Venter; and Dr Francois Jacobs.

DP makes major inroads on NP in W Cape

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party made major inroads on the National Party in the 22 seats the DP contested in the Cape Western region in Wednesday's election.

The NP won 130 662 votes in the area, the DP 102 485, the CP 18 897 and the HNP 1 020.

The ruling party won 13 seats in the area against the DP's nine — a two-seat gain for the DP.

However, the DP also managed to slash NP majorities in a number of seats, which shows that the swings towards the DP in the Western Cape were among the largest in the region.

DP 'confident'

In Maitland, 28 out of every 100 traditional NP supporters voted for the DP in the election, while in Tyger Valley 23 of every 100 NP supporters voted for the DP.

The DP's Cape Western regional director, Mrs Lois Harley, said yesterday: "The DP is confident of winning more votes in the seats we contest in the region than the NP in the next election — and we will certainly win more seats."

Prime DP targets for the next poll are the NP-held seats of Maitland, Durbanville and Stellenbosch.

The DP also hopes to improve on its showing in the Southern Cape seat of Helderberg, where it lost by 2 048 votes after coming within 39 votes of victory in 1987.

SSHHH! THERE GOES MP WHO NEVER SPOKE

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE sphinx of Parliament, former MP for Mid-Karoo (Prieska) Mr Roy Williams, has been forced into retirement as the undefeated champion of silence.

The voters of Mid-Karoo (Prieska) sent him packing and so enabled him to keep his record of never having spoken a word in 10 years of public life intact.

In one of the surprise defeats for the Labour Party, Mr Williams, who five years ago won the seat with a majority of 4 785, lost to newcomer Mr P W Saaiman of the United Democratic Party, by 2 335 votes.

Spurred

Mr Saaiman polled 3 985 against Mr Wiliams' 1 650 in a 33,1 percent poll.

Most parliamentarians achieve their fame through epoch-making speeches that sometimes change the course of history.

Mr Williams had fame foisted upon him by doing the opposite — not making a single speech, not even his maiden speech, in 10 years. He sat in the now-defunct Coloured Persons' Representative Council from 1975 to 1980 without uttering a word.

Then he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1984 and refused to say a word — except for one recorded interjection.

Even in 1986, when MPs received generous salary hikes, Mr Williams was not spurred on to break his silence.

Withdrawn

He said: "I keep quiet and do my thing while most other MPs talk too much and do too little to deserve their salaries".

● And the candidate who didn't poll a single vote on Wednesday claimed this week that "it did not matter" as he had withdrawn from the contest the day after nomination day.

Mr Gangiah Naidoo of Rylands, Cape Town, refused to elaborate on why he had allowed himself to be nominated to stand for the House of Delegates and had then withdrawn.

120-vote HNP in defiant stand over by-election

S\Times\10/4/89

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE Herstigte Nasionale Party yesterday threatened to contest Fauresmith again if a by-election results from the tie between the National Party and the Conservative Party.

In a statement after a meeting of the HNP head committee in Pretoria yesterday, the party said the expected by-election would take place in exceptional circumstances "which will give all parties a unique opportunity to state their case against the others".

In the election on Wednesday the Fauresmith poll ended in a dead heat, with both the NP and the CP candiates receiving 4 519 votes. The HNP's Mr N J Saunderson could only muster 120 votes.

Fauresmith is now the subject of a dispute on how to determine the winner. The NP candidate, Mr Inus Aucamp, has indicated that he is in favour of a recount. This may result in a lengthy procedure, with many of the special votes likely to be the subject of prolonged court hearings.

The CP candidate, Mr Alex Danzfuss, said he prefers a by-election to settle the issue.

The HNP yesterday accused the CP of sabotaging a possible rightwing victory at the polls on Wednesday by refusing to enter into an election pact with the HNP.

"Up to 19 more seats could have been won by the right if only the CP had co-operated and this could have resulted in a hung Parliament," the HNP said.

"The short-sightedness and political selfishness of the CP leadership did irreparable damage to the Afrikaner cause. The CP has disqualified itself from leading the nation in this time of crisis."

According to the HNP, some of its supporters have already indicated that they voted for the CP on Wednesday "in the mistaken belief that the CP would take over the government".

● The HNP fielded 22 candidates on Wednesday. All of them lost their deposits.

304A

DP leadership crunch: Troika or . . . who?

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

FLUSHED by its election successes this week, the Democratic Party must now deal with a problem left over from its formative days.

Should it have only one leader and, if so, who?

The party will hold a congress on October 7 — committed to sorting out the leadership issue.

The decision was postponed at the party's founding meeting in April.

The main body of opinion favours the idea of a single leader, although a strong lobby has emerged in favour of retaining the present troika of Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall.

The troika stood the party in good stead in the campaign, symbolising the DP's unifying role amid different groups of white South Africans, the argument goes.

Others agree — but say the election has effectively consolidated the party and, ultimately, only a single leader can effectively project the party's spirit and run it.

The main contenders for the position are Dr De Beer and Dr Worrall.

Mr Malan, who retained Randburg in a high-profile battle, is held in high regard and may be assigned to extending the party's extra-parliamentary contacts.

Dr Worrall clearly enjoys most public popularity. He increased this through his energetic campaign, visiting and speaking at virtually every DP branch.

But the leader is not chosen by popular vote.

Official party delegates, mainly members of the old Progressive Federal Party that forms the skeleton of the DP structure, will do so.

Old PFP loyalties to Dr De Beer still run high in the DP.

Furthermore, Dr De Beer emerged remarkably strongly from the television coverage of the campaign.

His cool, incisive debates — particularly that against Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis — greatly enhanced his party standing.

Before the leadership tussle, however, the party must elect a parliamentary leader when its new caucus meets for the first time tomorrow.

This is expected to be Dr De Beer, even though Dr Worrall, taking up his newly won seat, will be eligible.

But this election is regarded as having little significance on the October leadership showdown.

The caucus will also decide on its two nominated MPs.

Several strong candidates who lost but performed well in the election are in the running.

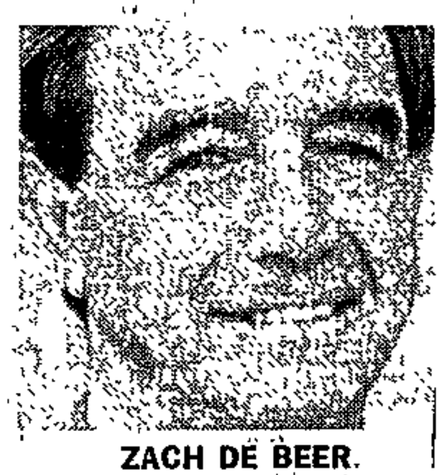
They include Mr Dave Gant, Dr Esther Lategan and Mr André de Wet, who narrowly missed winning the East London City seat.

Professor Nic Olivier, a party stalwart who gave up his nominated seat earlier this year to Dr De Beer, is also a contender.

The caucus will also discuss keeping the momentum of the party's growth alive — and will face calls from many members that the time is right to build more bridges with groups excluded from Parliament.



DENIS WORRALL



ZACH DE BEER

AFTER THE BALL IS OVER

Lawrie Schlemmer, Richard Humphries and Louise Stack

of the Centre for Policy Studies, Wits University, give an overview of the election results

THE DOMINANT perception of the outcome of the election is that the National Party has been decimated from both sides; that the Democratic Party made more headway than the Conservative Party which, although it won more seats from the NP, performed worse than expected.

This is both true and superficial. To the extent that it is true it has political implications. To the extent that it is superficial, it could create false expectations at a future election.

The valid aspect of the reaction is that there has been more of a swing to the liberal opposition than the conservative right since the 1987 election. The DP increased its support (from that of the PFP/NRP alliance) from 14 percent in 1987 to 20 percent on Wednesday. The CP cum HNP support increased from just under 30 percent to just over 31 percent — a marginal shift.

Clearly this creates a situation in which the NP will see droves of English speakers having deserted it because of its slow pace of reform, failure to commence negotiations with blacks and because of economic factors.

However, these supporters can be won back because the same degree of antagonism that exists between the NP and CP does not exist between new English-speaking DP supporters and the party they supported in 1987. So a political motivation for quicker reform is built into the result.

Furthermore, the fact that the CP failed to live up to its (and probably some NP) expectations means that earlier anxieties about the dangers of too rapid a pace of reform will be assuaged.

Shifted

In other words, a short-term restructuring of opportunities and constraints for F W de Klerk has occurred, in which both the freedom of the NP to deal effectively with the country's problems and expectations of it has expanded. It may be out of the trap of equivocation it has been in since 1987.

Another factor is that more conservative-leaning NP MPs lost seats than reform-minded MPs. Although we cannot be certain of the political sympathies of the new NP MPs, it might be that the NP caucus has shifted marginally to the left in a reform direction.

Underlying these patterns, however, are some more complex realities.

Firstly, English-speaking support for the NP, which stood at well over 40 percent in 1987 (according to Market and Opinion Research polls) has dropped to level of roughly 28 percent. Will this be seen as a lesson on the need for quicker reform, or as proof once again that the English are fickle and that Afrikaans core support deserves more attention?

However, the failure of the NP to win back any seats from the CP might mean that it has finally accepted that a sector of the Afrikaans voting group is finally beyond the NP.

Secondly, while the growth of the CP cum HNP from 30 percent in 1987 to 33 percent in the 1988 municipal elections has been reversed, there are now no fewer than 29 NP seats which are marginal to the CP with majorities of less than 1 500, and nine seats marginal with majorities of less than 750. This means that the NP dare not risk disaffection in its own ranks.

Thirdly, the performance of the DP might have been better. The combined PFP/NRP support in 1981 was 27 percent (when it won 35 seats). On Wednesday's results it is well short of that on 20 percent of the electorate.

The DP as a party is today left of the opposition combination of nearly a decade ago, but clearly it has not taken all these earlier voting types with it. Tactical voting by DP sympathisers possibly explains a large share of this drop in support. The National Party can congratulate itself on that achievement.

The National Party has also suffered greater damage in some regions than others, and this affects the claims it has to being a dominant party throughout the country. In the Transvaal and Natal the NP has less than 50 percent of the votes in those provinces leaving an inconsistent pattern of NP support across the provinces.

One should not expect the NP to gallop gaily ahead on a course of reform and attempted negotiation without a care for these realities. It has to attempt a task of reconsolidation of its support base as well.

Imperatives

Yet the party must act decisively as well. A perception has taken hold that it is on a steady course of decline, from 53 percent of the vote in 1987 to 48 percent on Wednesday. Now that it faces two strong opposition parties, it must re-establish its profile as the strong centre party.

Notions that the CP has "peaked" for all time are manifestly shallow. In 1987, and in by-elections in 1988, the CP showed that there is a margin that it can expand into. In fact, both the DP formation and the CP formation could theoretically gain roughly seven percent of total voting support each on the basis of past indications. This would mean the demise of the NP as the largest party and cause a hung parliament which could reconstruct itself to the left or right — the outcome simply cannot be predicted.

The NP has to bear in mind two imperatives. One is that a course of reform is indicated both by opportunities to win back DP supporters, and by the need to fundamentally address the country's conflicts and economic constraints. The other is that in the process it cannot afford to create uncertainty by equivocation and vacillation, because this is precisely what a strong centre party is not supposed to do.

Its tasks in this regard are forbidding. Perhaps the greatest disappointment of the campaign is that so few dynamic and concrete ideas on how to tackle fundamental issues emerged from any party.

The CP deviated not a jot from older Verwoerdian cum Vorsterian policy precepts and made very few attempts, except through the repetition of conventional conservative wisdom, to explain how white territorial integrity could be combined with economic and demographic realities.

The DP, while equipped with the best and most constructive intentions of all, seemed merely to take aspects of a constitutional textbook (federalism and proportional representation) and mix them with a great deal of arousing rhetoric about hope and reconciliation, but without indicating how the long-standing *realpolitik* anxieties of white voters, which hobbled the United Party and the PFP, could be specifically and persuasively addressed. Nor was it able to establish any common cause with the Mass Democratic Movement during the campaign.

Objectives

The National Party most certainly did no better. A commitment to negotiated power sharing with as yet unspecified black leaders, combined with white self-determination and presumably a retention of crucial powers, and a retention of formally defined voters rolls, is nothing new.

There was no indication of what specific techniques might be employed to structure seemingly opposite objectives into a coherent plan, and of how the process might commence with suspicious and cautious black opponents.

In our view, therefore, the election campaign delivered nothing new, apart from F W de Klerk himself as new leader of the Government.

It was an election par excellence of rhetoric and emotional mobilisation, peppered liberally with protest about economic grievances.

In his new role, F W de Klerk has to do a great deal better than this. He has the opportunity to rethink policies and, provided he does so thoroughly and with professionalism, he can build reform, negotiate and create security among his constituency at the same time.

The one thing he cannot do is stand still, because then his career will be limited to the next election.

Fairer voting system would have hit NP more

By LESTER VENTER (304A)
Political Correspondent

A FAIRER system of voter representation would have created a hung Parliament in this week's general election.

Under a system of proportional representation — favoured in most European countries — the National Party's 48 percent slice of the vote would have given it 80 seats in the 166-seat House of Assembly, four short of the 84 needed for an overall majority.

Of the 3,2-million registered white voters in the country, 66 percent went to the polls and 1 036 499 voted NP. ST Times 10/9/89.

The Democratic Party's tally of 441 371 votes gave it 20,5 percent of the poll, which would translate into 34 seats in Parliament. Interestingly, this is only one more than the 33 it got. If votes were cast in the two seats it won unopposed — Sandton and Yeoville — they would have increased its percentage slightly.

The Conservative Party's 673 302 votes made up 31,2 percent of the poll — equivalent to 52 parliamentary seats.

The 5 536 votes for the Herstigte Nasionale Party gave it 0,2 percent of the poll — not enough to qualify for a single seat.

As things stand, the NP escaped a hung Parliament by only 1 735 votes. If these voters — an average of only 145 in the NP's 12 most marginal seats — had voted for opposition parties instead, the NP would have failed to gain an overall majority.

The new Government is now constitutionally committed to a redelimitation of constituencies. Since the last one 10 years ago, there has been a major shift of the country's white population from rural to urban areas.

Such a delimitation would be completed only in 1991 — perhaps later if a new census is deemed necessary beforehand. It is expected the new constituency map would apply to the next general election, scheduled for 1994.

A unique agenda for the future based on our tough realism

304A

S/Times

10/9/89



Tony Leon

the new Member of Parliament for Houghton, spells out a positive role for the Democratic Party

THE HEADY aftermath of Wednesday's election brought a warm glow to Democrats everywhere.

The journey from a political wipe-out two years ago to a vibrant revival of parliamentary liberalism was a bumpy ride. En route, cherished political symbols and institutions were discarded, egos ruffled and compromises forged.

But a glittering prize was won: the chance to claim a quarter of the white electorate for a cause and a programme which frankly addresses the future of South Africa.

The road ahead offers Democrats opportunities that were scarcely conceivable a year or two ago. If we are to maximise our political chances then we must read between the lines on the electorate's crosses.

Firstly, a majority of voters are undoubtedly "pro-change" — whether of the ill-defined, incoherent National Party variety or the issue-specific Democratic Party alternative.

Consensus

As the NP stumbles into the future, the DP must "up the ante". We must anticipate the reform programme and be waiting and willing to inject content and reality into its detail.

For example, Mr F W de Klerk's "Great Indaba" seems little different from Mr P W Botha's National Council, announced with great fanfare in May 1987. However, the acceptance of negotiation politics at least means that the process required to achieve a consensus constitution is viable.

About 10 years ago, when the PFP pioneered a consociational package, it was felt that the process of negotiation required greater emphasis than the content of the party's specific proposals.

Therefore an emphasis on detail will ensure a place and prominence for the features of democratic liberalism at the negotiations themselves.

I was surprised during the election at the interest shown in our constitutional package. I was equally alarmed at how little of its content was known to the voter.

This is the time when many whites wish to cross the threshold from fear to hope and when many of our disenfranchised counterparts want clarification on our proposals.

The DP is neither pro-black nor anti-white. It starts with the assumption that the individual will flourish when the State itself is restricted. Equally it has an uncomprising view that the post-apartheid constitution must serve the people and not the party, that the instruments of State would check a DP government as vigorously as it would an AWB government.

That makes the DP as hostile to the tri-cameral constitution as it would be to the ANC constitutional guidelines, both of which are moulded in the image of their own sponsors and interests.

Thus, our commitment to proportional representation, federalism, a bill of rights and a market-driven economy needs to be emphasised.

Secondly, the election proved that the DP's strength lies in urban South Africa. Not just in the suburban enclaves of the society hostesses and the manicured lawns that the Nats caricature, but in middle South Africa itself.

Hillbrow, Bezuidenhout, Umbilo, Wynberg, Green Point and 10 other such seats are proof that the party has an appeal beyond the affluent fringes of white society.

There is no need to be embarrassed about this factor. Demographics and delimitations will rectify the disproportionate weight of the rural vote. The realities of South Africa's future will be forged in her cities. This was where Verwoerdian apartheid collapsed. This is where the forces of law and order confront the townships. This is where post-apartheid South Africa is emerging.

Housing, small business, community standards, crime-prevention and the political control of our cities offer the DP a significant agenda and major political opportunities for introducing practical policies which work and expanding its political base.

Thirdly, DP drew a political line in the election to its right and left. It overcame strenuous NP propaganda which sought to depict it as the bag-carrier of the ANC and a stalking horse for the MDM. It is necessary for this process to be extended.

Liberalism

We have, for example, much more in common with the DTA of Namibia than we ever would have had with Swapo. To recognise an organisation's importance is entirely different from subscribing to its principles. The first case is common sense, the second a weak-kneed opportunism which is politically pathetic.

Liberalism is not simply about tolerance. It is distinct in its viewpoint and not simply a compromise between left and right.

I believe the DP will promote a unique agenda for South Africa's future, based on a tough realism — not a gushing sentimentality. For many that dream seemed impossible two years ago.

With the renewed vigour demonstrated this week, no new dispensation can be negotiated without it.

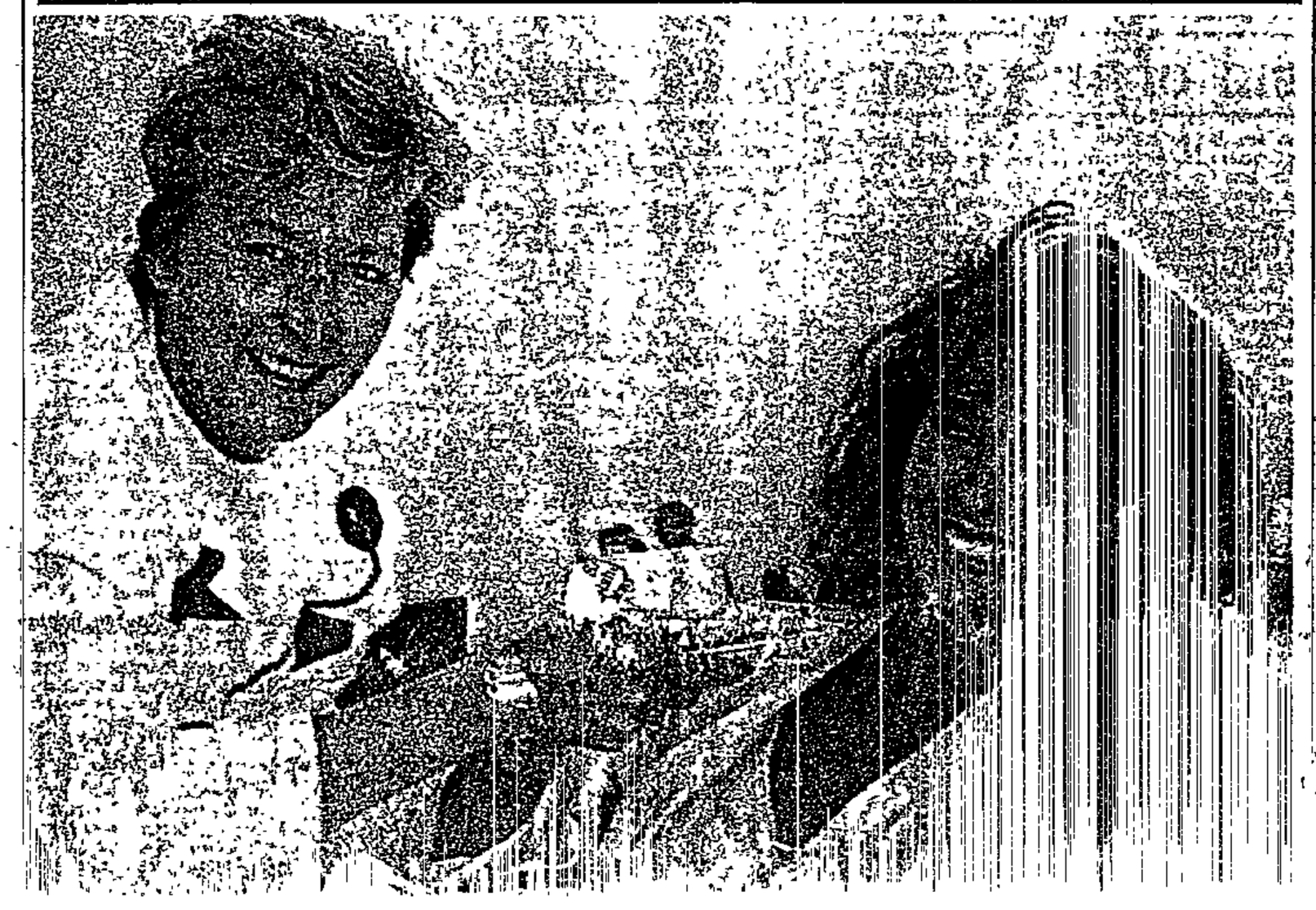
Revealed: Radicals won't be excluded in dramatic bid to identify true leaders

FW PLAN FOR BLACK POLLS

S/Times 10/9/89

304A

Cuppa cheer for ill Michelle



By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

THE NEW De Klerk Government will give priority to identifying true black leaders with whom to negotiate. Not even the most radical will be excluded.

But it will lay down one condition: those who lay claim to leadership must prove their standing in their communities, preferably in elections.

According to highly placed sources, this process will be preceded by talks with political figures right across the spectrum — possibly including the ANC.

A top Government man conceded: "For dyed-in-the-wool Nationalists this could be a fairly hair-raising process."

The aim of Mr De Klerk's strategy is to rebut allegations that Pretoria deals only with "puppets". The President-elect aims to ensure that leaders involved in negotiations have proven broad legitimacy.

The release of the imprisoned ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, will be an important element of the process.

Sources said Mr Mandela could be released "as part of the programme" in the first half of next year.

Fine-tuning of the Government's strategy will take place soon at a think-tank session for Mr De Klerk's new Cabinet (see page 2).

However, the outlines are already being worked on by Cabinet officials.

The game will be: Consultation before negotiation.

Watched

This means approaching the widest possible range of personalities — from homeland leaders through to the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC — to discuss who should eventually



UNBOWED ... Lt Rockman

Defiant cop says: 'They won't silence this Hotnot'

EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN and HAMISH McINDOE

DEFIANT police officer Gregory Rockman, the man who accused riot squad policemen of using brutal tactics, said yesterday he would not bow to pressure from his superiors to silence "the Hotnot".

Shunning an order to keep quiet, Lieutenant Rockman, 30, said that since he had spoken out on Wednesday, other policemen had called him to support his claims.

He disclosed that he had refused a request by his Cape superiors to travel to Pretoria to be interviewed by SAP top brass — because he saw it as "a joyride to keep the Hotnot quiet".

Lt Rockman, who is stationed at Mitchell's Plain, said his condemnation of riot squad police was not an impulsive act but the "last straw" after he was "sickened by continued excessive police violence in the townships".

When he made his defiant election-day public statement, the father-of-two said he expected to lose his job — "but I want the world to hear the truth.

"I don't care whether they lock me up or what they do. They can do as they please, but that won't change me," he said.

"The riot police play the role of oppressors and when we ask them why they behave like that they tell us, 'we're acting on instructions'.

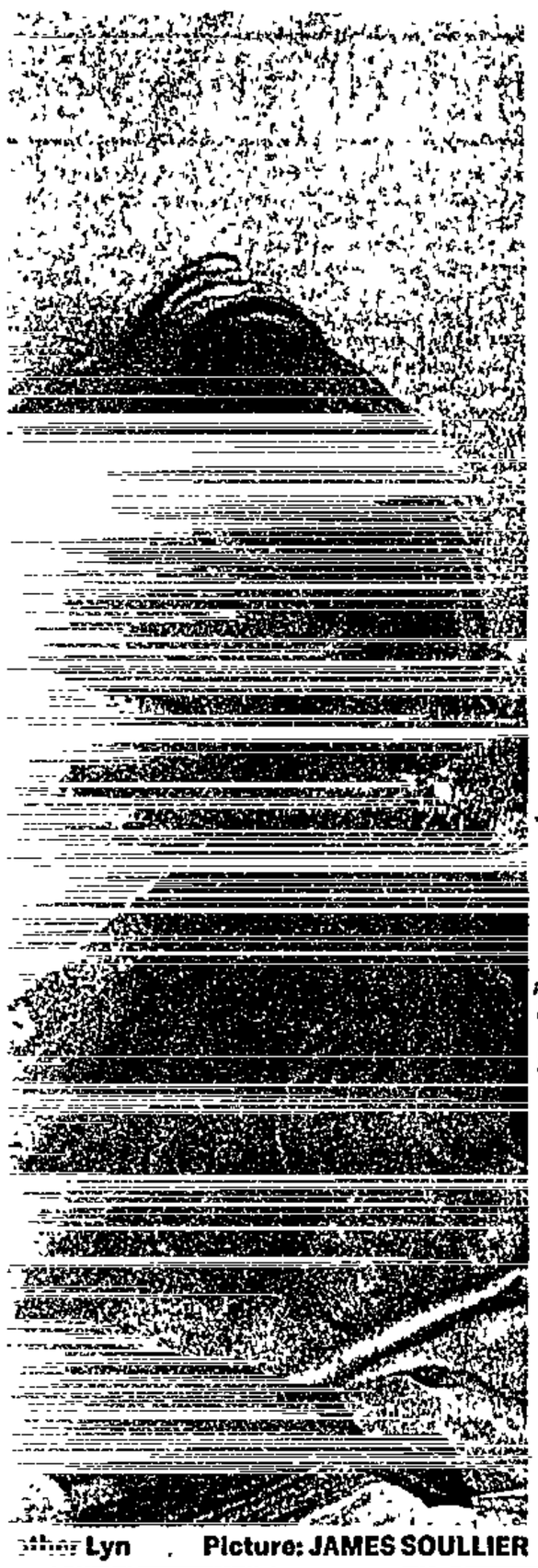
"This wouldn't have happened if our approach was correct from the start. But it was wrong, and that is why we have unrest.

"People should be allowed to protest peacefully. I have allowed it and there's been no trouble — the people are satisfied because they have got their viewpoint across."

Lt Rockman's intervention in attempting to prevent riot

□ To Page 2

Michelle



...ther Lyn Picture: JAMES SOULLIER

... outrage over ...ivists' raid on ...nish consulate

Times Reporter

African Govern... reacted strongly ... by 20 to 30 ... who broke down ... and rampaged the South African ... in Denmark.

... apparently pro- ... against Wednes... ...tion — stormed ... in Copenha... on Friday night, extensive damage, ... after the ... spokesman said ... of Foreign Affairs ... had instructed consul-general In ...k, Mr Anton ... to "object in the ... possible terms to ... violence and

... in front of ... in a truck, ... out and smashed the doors of the ... with wooden rams ... bars.

...ucture

... then vanda- ... violent confrontations with authorities in recent years.

BZ is believed to be responsible for a series of attacks on Shell petrol stations in Denmark, presumably to protest against the oil company's links with South Africa.

South Africa's Foreign Affairs spokesman said: "The Danish Government has been requested to provide more adequate protection for the South African consulate.

Damage

"Preliminary indications are that extreme damage has been caused to the building as well as to furniture and equipment.

"A thorough survey of the extent of the damage is being undertaken, after which the Danish government will be approached for appropriate compensation in terms of consular and diplomatic practice," the spokesman said.

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This means approaching the widest possible range of personalities — from homeland leaders through to the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC — to discuss who should eventually sit at the negotiating table.

While the Government favours identifying leaders by means of elections, it is also said to be open to other suggestions.

Meanwhile, developments within the ANC are being closely watched. The movement's old-school leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, is thought to be more seriously ill than has been conceded.

Much interest surrounds the succession. Strategists are anxious to assess the prospects of Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC foreign secretary, who has figured prominently in discussions with various delegations of South Africans.

He is widely regarded as a skilful — but reasonable — negotiator.

Government officials say "delicate diplomacy" will be undertaken to establish whether others, like Mr Mbeki, "cannot be persuaded by one means or another to make some contribution".

Justified

The aim of the strategy is to gain acceptance of the Government's bona fides in its willingness to talk with "genuine" black leaders.

In return, Pretoria expects acceptance of its view that these leaders should prove their standing.

The Government is placing high store on intensive research it has undertaken in the past 24 months. This is said to have revealed a major body of black opinion that rejects radical options.

If some black leaders who have gained great domestic and international recognition refuse to participate in talks, sources say the Government would feel justified in going ahead with those black leaders who do.



UNBOWED ... Lt Rockman

Defiant cop says: 'They won't silence this Hotnot'

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Lt Rockman's intervention in attempting to prevent riot

□ To Page 2

Pick 6

FAIRVIEW:
The R362,60 payout was collected by 88 ticket holders. Winning numbers: 1, 5, 6; 8; 1, 4, 5, 6; 3, 4, 3, 7, 8, 11; 3, 11.

TURFFONTEIN:
Four ticket holders shared the R1 151 463 pool collecting R287 865,90 each. Selection: 3; 3; 7 8; 10; 2; 10.

SCOTTSVILLE:
99 punters were rewarded with R9 983 apiece. Selection: 3; 8; 2, 1; 2; 3; 2.

KENILWORTH:
The 11 winning tickets collected R16 616.20. Numbers: 4; 9; 5; 1; 7, 10; 2.

Cape Currie Cup final?

THE Currie Cup rugby final seems set for Newlands as Northern Transvaal beat Free State 29-24 yesterday and look almost certain to face Western Province, who beat Eastern Province 64-12.

Plane crash

COASTGUARDS last night said there no hope of finding survivors from the Norwegian charter aircraft which crashed off Denmark with 55 people on board

Shootout

AN early-morning shootout at a Johannesburg liquor store yesterday ended in the arrest of three armed blacks after police used teargas.

Officer dies

SASOLBURG Det-Constable K S Radebe was killed and another constable seriously injured when their car crashed off the Sebokeng-Vanderbijl Park road.

MOVE TO EVEN MIL... CIGARET...



...ENSON & H...

ESTABLISHED 1873
OLD BOND STREET
LONDON

Ultra Mild...

BENSON & HE...

PUT ST...

SA outrage over activists' raid on Danish consulate

304A

Sunday Times Reporter

THE South African Government has reacted strongly to an attack by 20 to 30 activists who broke down the doors and rampaged through the South African consulate in Denmark.

The mob — apparently protesting against Wednesday's election — stormed the consulate in Copenhagen late on Friday night, causing extensive damage.

In a statement after the attack, a spokesman said Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha had instructed the SA consul-general in Denmark, Mr Anton Laubser, to "object in the strongest possible terms to the senseless violence and damage".

The mob arrived in front of the consulate in a truck, jumped out and smashed through the doors of the building with wooden rams and crowbars.

Puncture

The intruders then vandalised the consulate offices by pouring acid on the floor, smashing filing cabinets and scattering and burning papers.

Riot police arrived on the scene within minutes of the break-in but failed to make any arrests after steel blades were strewn across the road to puncture police cars' tyres.

Police said the raiders were members of a squatter movement known as BZ that had been in numerous violent confrontations with authorities in recent years.

BZ is believed to be responsible for a series of attacks on Shell petrol stations in Denmark, presumably to protest against the oil company's links with South Africa.

South Africa's Foreign Affairs spokesman said: "The Danish Government has been requested to provide more adequate protection for the South African consulate.

Damage

"Preliminary indications are that extreme damage has been caused to the building as well as to furniture and equipment.

"A thorough survey of the extent of the damage is being undertaken, after which the Danish government will be approached for appropriate compensation in terms of consular and diplomatic practice," the spokesman said.

Three die in

THREE miners were killed an security staff at Gencor's Kinr mine's management said yester

A Gencor spokesman said t injured, one seriously, during F

The spokesman denied claim Mineworkers that the company intimidate a protest" against Wed investigating the incident.

Five years for change? That's a bit optimistic!

S Times 10/9/89 304A

Norman West

reports on the low polls in the coloured and Indian elections



THE pitifully low polls in the coloured and Indian elections once again bring into doubt the relevance of a political system that is artificially sustained by large dollops of government patronage.

A question that must be answered is whether South Africa really does still have "five years" in which to keep the lid from flying off the simmering cauldron of mass resistance to apartheid.

The greatest challenge to Mr F W de Klerk after his inauguration could be how soon to pull the plug on a system stigmatised and ridiculed by an average of 80 percent of the so-called coloured and Indian population and an even bigger majority of voteless blacks.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said after the elections that he was "enthused and encouraged" because the LP captured 69 out of 80 seats.

"It does indicate," he said, that "the people the LP represents" are satisfied that the LP is doing what the people wanted in striving to dismantle apartheid and the uplift a community that has been left behind over the years.

That may be true — but the operative phrase is "the people the LP represents".

In Mitchell's Plain that means, in cold figures, 700 out of 41 000 voters. In Strandfontein it means 900 out of 41 000.

Unofficial estimates show that the House of Delegates poll was about 22 percent, slightly up on the 20,2 percent recorded in 1984, while the House of Representatives polled about 25 percent, decidedly down on the 30 percent recorded in 1984.

There were the one or two odd occasions where the percentage polls were reasonable, such as in Eersterust (Pretoria) where the turnout was 44,1 percent and in Actonville where the poll was 42,68.

Special votes could be cast over a period of one month — from August 3 to the afternoon before official polling day.

In Cape Town's urban constituencies, the percentages bordered on the farcical. In the greatest coloured dormitory suburb of Mitchell's Plain, part of a metropolis of 250 000 "coloured" people, only 731 out of 41 274 registered voters, representing 1,94 percent, cast their votes for the Labour Party's Mr Stanley Fisher.

In the other part of Mitchell's Plain, for delimitation purposes called Strandfontein, the winning candidate, Mr Peter Harris of the LP, received only 931 votes in his favour out of 40 902 voters — and it took him one month to secure them.

The LP has seen scorn heaped upon its much-vaunted ideals of helping to shape a new South Africa — in spite of knowing from past experience that it is virtually impotent when it comes to removing laws to break down apartheid.

Negative

So far, the LP's only high-profile demonstration of political clout was its obstruction of amendments to the constitution that would have made it possible for whites to postpone the past elections to 1992.

This was its reply to former State President P W Botha's refusal to scrap the trilogy of apartheid laws, the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and Population Registration Act.

But such negative power did not change the laws and the junior partners of Mr De Klerk are returning to the same system (for another five years, they hope) knowing they will not be able to bring about changes of a fundamental nature which Mr De Klerk does not consent to.

There are many other examples of rejection of the tricameral elections and, indeed, of tricameralism itself. One wonders, therefore, how Mr De Klerk can proclaim that he was "chosen" to preside over the tricameral Parliament with a "clear mandate" from "the people".

From the white electorate, yes. But he must know that his junior partners in that Parliament were soundly rejected by the majority of eligible coloured and Indian voters.

Their frustration manifested itself in mass work stoppages and stayaways, burning barricades, rioting, the arrest of thousands.

In the process, people died. The black masses were shut off in their townships, far away from tranquil white suburbs where privileged citizens sat glued to their TV sets following the results of the polls, unaware that the townships on their doorsteps were virtually being turned into burning war zones.

The Saturday before polling day, police used water cannons against protesters.

Yet Mr Hendrickse talks euphorically about "after the next five years" and Mr De Klerk of "the crucial next five years".

All of this sounds rather unreal, expressed as it is against a background of such energetic protest by a majority of people, both voters and voteless.

Five years? Is that possible when, in reality, the clock stands at five to 12?

S/Times 10/9/89 304A

ANC man agrees talks about talks are not impossible

By JAYNE LA MONT
London

THE ANC negotiating with the new F W de Klerk Government?

The prospects were canvassed in a lively debate before millions of British TV viewers this week between Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh and ANC foreign secretary Thabo Mbeki.

The two "met" via satellite link between Johannesburg and London for a live debate on BBC's Newsnight programme on Friday.

Ultimately both agreed — the banned organisation and Pretoria should not find it impossible to set terms for "talks about talks".

Mr Myburgh — who agreed that Mr Nelson Mandela's prompt release was necessary to take the peace process further — said the ANC leader had already broken the ice by talking to Mr P W Botha.

Why didn't Mr Mbeki follow his leader's example? Mr De Klerk said he wanted to negotiate about a new SA; so why didn't Mr Mbeki take him at his word?

Mr Mbeki's reply was interesting and seemed to reflect a measure of flexibility not hitherto discernible in the ANC's position — but his remarks may not be reported in SA, because he is a "listed" person.

Mr Myburgh called on the ANC at least to agree to suspend — if it could not yet renounce — the armed struggle.

Again Mr Mbeki's reply — also unreportable — suggested a degree of flexibility.

At the same time, however, he reaffirmed the negotiating position of the ANC that has now also been adopted by the OAU — that the ANC should maintain pressure on Pretoria as long as the structures of apartheid remained and Mr De Klerk insisted on ethnic groupings.

The lively, but generally amicable, exchanges between the two men were favourably received in London yesterday, with one ANC source saying that, if Mr Myburgh's attitude was an accurate reflection of current South African thinking, there was "cause for optimism".

Also appearing on the programme, in a separate interview, was Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe who said if a peacefully negotiated settlement in SA was possible, it had to be tried.

Reform, realism and the need for patience

(304A) S/Times 10/9/89.

Bruce Anderson

who reported on the general election for the Sunday Telegraph, London, argues that South Africa must be given time to reform

THE West is going to find it much easier to do business with South Africa's new administration — an experienced set of ministers with a belief in reform, plus a mandate to reform

But there is one danger. There are already signs of a divergence of time scale between Pretoria and London — not to mention Washington

The process of negotiating a new political dispensation here is likely to take much longer than many outside observers realise.

This is not because Mr F W de Klerk is half-hearted in his attitude to change.

When P W Botha used the word "reform" it was never clear what he meant

On some occasions it seemed that he was committing himself to fundamental change But on others he would talk as if all he meant by reform was a few minimal readjustments, to stabilise the existing sytem

The real problem was that Mr Botha himself did not know what he was doing, hence his increasingly curmudgeonly vacillations.

Mr De Klerk will not vacillate He is determined to create a South Africa in which all citizens enjoy eventual equality of civil, social, economic and legal rights and in which everyone has a vote that counts. But he is equally determined to ensure that whites have a substantial share of power

As regards white rights, leading Afrikaner politicians are surprisingly mealy-mouthed Many of them feel guilty about South Africa's past, and almost outdo white liberals in their reluctance to appear racist. And they do have a problem.

There is a contradiction between their sincere intention of making a fundamental break with apartheid and their equally strong desire to entrench white rights.

It is hard to do the latter without using apartheid's language and arousing apartheid's resentments.

In an attempt to get around this, the National Party has invented a number of euphemisms, such as "group rights", "free cultural association" and "minority rights".

But all this does is arouse insecurity among poor whites, who find the meaning unclear, and hostility among radical blacks, who think it is all too clear.

The Government itself cannot explain how these euphemisms are to be turned into a policy Ministers always strenuously deny that they have anything amounting to a constitutional blueprint, and insist that any proposals must emerge from prolonged, open-ended discussion — a "great indaba" in the African mode.

There is no doubting their sincerity in wishing to convene such an indaba, but many obstacles still lie along the road, the main one being that many blacks, especially among the younger detribalised urban elite, do not see the need to compromise

Despite the success of the state of emergency and the Government's obvious ability to maintain its authority, they still believe that white rule is doomed.

Needless to say, they are not prepared to entertain the possibility that blacks might not be able to run South Africa.

References to conditions north of the Limpopo are angrily brushed aside, and it is made clear that one is touching the raw nerve of racial pride.

It is easy to see why the blacks feel like that; in their circumstances, we all would. But in their circumstances, we would be wrong — and so are they.

Unless the whites are given entrenched powers out of all proportion to their numbers, so that they still have a decisive influence on large areas of government policy, South Africa will not be well governed.

Dynamic

After all, most of the other states in the area are either stretcher-cases or basket-cases, the only one which works is Botswana, which is under South Africa's shadow and part of its economy

A South Africa largely at ease with itself and still under white tutelage — though no longer white domination — could be an engine of economic dynamism for the whole region.

Indeed, that is probably the only hope for southern Africa.

But the whites will not surrender their power for paper guarantees a la Lancaster House — they would be crazy to do so.

This means that progress towards negotiations is likely to be slow, and could easily take years rather than months.

Reaction

As the South African Government reveals its hand, black radicals will react with fury, which will be echoed by their friends in the West, who by early next year at the latest will be insisting that F W is merely another sophisticated apologist for apartheid.

So the British Government and other realistic observers of South Africa had better prepare to face liberal outrage But for anyone who cares about the welfare of this country, that is a cheap price to pay.

There is no simple answer to the South African conundrum, and it certainly does not lie in white surrender.

Over the next few months, the British Government will no doubt feel on several occasions that F W is being too timid On some issues, Her Majesty's Government may well be right

But Britain should also be patient and recognise that when Mr De Klerk is intransigent on the big issues he is acting in the interest of all South Africans, black as well as white.

In the advice

recent addition to the "talking points" stored in the database of the department's Wang computer network

Given the likelihood that it would immediately be taken out of context and parsed as meaning a return to "constructive engagement", the formula could even be classed as bold, a recognition that the South African Government might indeed be quite an important player, not only in the region but in the ultimate dissolution of white rule.

The trouble lies in the surrounding phraseology, principally in the list of things Mr F W de Klerk must do for Washington to deign to "work with" him

Not that the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the emergency and the unbanning of political organisations are not necessary preconditions for negotiation.

☆☆☆☆

What disconcerts is the US administration's suggestion, first, that it cannot become seriously engaged until such time as the prescribed steps have been taken and, second, that it may well feel pressed by the "international community" to take steps of its own if Mr De Klerk does not comply quite swiftly

This overlooks the inescapable, if unpalatable, fact that profound understandings will have to be reached between Pretoria and its opponents in order for the preconditions to be met.

Understandings that actors like the US, its allies and the Soviet Union might logically, in their separate ways, have a considerable part in seeing reached.

Moreover, such understandings, being critical achievements in and of themselves, will take rather longer to develop than either the few months grace period Mr Wolpe and his ilk are prepared to grant before resuming the sanctions war or the administration, in its simplistic rhetoric, seems able to contemplate

There is worse.

Incapable of summoning the strategic vision and political courage to be of some use, the administration strays into the realm of doing real harm

For as irreproachable as many of the Mass Democratic Movement's demands are, its own analysis of how they may be won remains hopelessly confused and naive

Let the MDM believe that the rest of the world may yet bail it out by further impoverishing its inheritance and it will continue to defer the tough decisions which, like its opponent, it has yet to take

My advice to F W, for what it's worth, would be politely to forget about this country — Bush's felicitations notwithstanding — and, to borrow Dr Chester Crocker's phrase, "create his own facts"

Keep Archbishop Desmond Tutu off balance by not arresting him

If the defiance movement tries to board a whites-only bus, or sit on a whites-only beach, astound it, and the world, with quiet acceptance

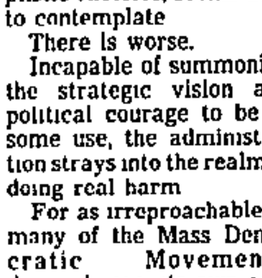
☆☆☆☆

Blithely endorse the Law Commission's bill of rights. Practise *glasnost*, emptying the political cells and candidly admitting, with Mr Gorbachev, past inhumanity.

Ensure that violence is demonstrably the fault of the other side.

In short, seize the agenda in such a way that everyone not directly affected is left behind and forced to remain a spectator

On current showing, one would not want the Bush administration to be anything else.



Simon Barber

Washington Diary



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England's ducking cricket

William Deedes

looks at the decline of cricket in England

IF I had to conduct a fundamental survey into the state of cricket in England after this reproachful summer, I would start with the schools and the decline in competitive team games which has been taking place there

In particular, I would seek to find out how far cricket has now ceased to be treated as part of the youth culture in England

It is strange if it has, for there are now many indigenous West Indian boys in English schools who, were they in the Caribbean, would be promising cricketers.

The vast majority, to judge from the composition of leading football clubs, have instead become enthusiastic footballers Yet I doubt if in one generation West Indian boys have lost all their feeling for cricket I think it more likely that, in common with other children in English schools, particularly the urban ones, they are not given the facilities or the opportunities

There is, I suspect, a changed attitude to cricket in many schools, where it is viewed as a predominantly middle-class sport, an elitist pursuit I doubt if many cricket coaches emerge from today's teacher training colleges. If there has to be competitive sport, football is the people's game

None of this, of course, applies to the independent schools which in their reactionary way continue to play competitive team games, including cricket, much as before. This leads to the possibility that in a few years' time first-class cricket in England will be heavily dependent on the public schools and universities

So much for Britain's social revolution The English are often mocked for believing that the state of their cricket reflects their national condition. But it does

City Press
10/09/89

304 A

Election – analysts still see confusion ahead

The National Party received a hammering in this week's election, losing seats to the left and right. It ended up with its smallest majority since 1954 – a majority of 80 in parliament was mercilessly slashed to only 21, which could change to a majority of 20 if it loses the Fauresmith seat where there was a dead heat. In what direction will future State President FW de Klerk move? Will he look over his right or his left shoulder? CHARLES MOGALE and CONNIE MOLUSI report:



THE elections have come and gone, and the question is: What now?

Although the National Party has managed to scrape through with its lowest margin since 1954, political analysts believe the possibility of the Government being dethroned has never been stronger.

They also believe that much as the results amplified the call for meaningful reform, the government's mandate has never been more confused.

The NP's losses to the Conservative Party in "blue collar" constituencies like Pretoria West and Carletonville might be interpreted as a mandate to halt reform and revert to grand apartheid.

"It depends on the direction future State President FW de Klerk wants to move in," said Gary van Staden, senior research officer of the SA Institute of International Affairs at a post-election briefing in Johannesburg this week.

The Government's position of strength was a stumbling block to negotiations.

"If you are in a position of strength, there is no point in negotiating. You have to be bleeding to negotiate. I think the Government is going to negotiate now, but they will negotiate with leaders they select, until they fail," Van Staden said.

De Klerk would have to stop plugging holes where they arise, as his predecessors before him.

"I don't think he has any plan of negotiating with the ANC," Van Staden said.

The director general of the Institute, Prof John Barratt, said if the government went ahead and introduced meaningful reform, there would be no need for De Klerk to be "looking behind his right shoulder" in the next elections, scheduled for 1994, because the CP would be "irrelevant".

Shortly after the announcement of the results, De Klerk went on TV and declared he had been mandated by more than 70 percent of the population to forge ahead with reform.

Analysts believe De Klerk, more than his predecessors John Vorster and PW Botha, has the chance and apparent sincerity to bring about reform.

Prof JE Spence, head of political studies at the University of Leicester in the UK, said the world wanted to give De Klerk a chance.

"PW (Botha) was believed by the West to have reached the peak of his potential as far as reform was concerned," Spence said.

Unlike his predecessors, Spence said, De Klerk had enhanced his image as an "imaginative risk taker". This was shown by his visits to African heads of state, and his apparent willingness to listen to even those he disagreed with.

While the West was still trying to figure out De Klerk's calibre, his profile was not helped by his performance at a recent Press conference in the UK where he walked out after answering "about three questions".

De Klerk's obsession with "group rights" also added to the confusion, although he has made it clear he wanted South Africa to be readmitted to the economic mainstream of the world.

South Africa's whites, he said, have not reached the "pain threshold".

"It doesn't seem the point has been reached where they will opt for something less painful"

Another dilemma facing the new government is the release of political prisoner Nelson Mandela.

"Mandela cannot be released into a vacuum. He has to released into a political process."

When British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher met De Kerk recently, she made it clear to him that Mandela's release was essential.

"You (South Africans) are not going to get anywhere unless black organisations like the ANC are brought into the picture," Spence said.

The election results were a watershed for negotiations and democracy, giving the National Party a mandate to sacrifice power in the resolution of the problems facing South Africa, said Professor Willie Breytenbach of the Department of African Studies at Stellenbosch University.

"The Conservative Party has excluded itself from negotiations."

Although the NP won, they lacked a central election campaign theme, unlike other elections.

There has been a stronger shift to the left than to the right and the NP has realised that change lies with the urban constituencies rather than the rural constituencies.

The CP did not do as well as expected and lost seats it believed possible to win, such as Boksburg, because voters had realised the impracticality of their policies.

Breytenbach said the elections had brought an end to the era of securocrats and ushered in an era of diplomaticians, the merging of diplomacy and politics.

It was unclear whether the perceptions of the DP and NP as parties interested in resolving the country's problems would be reconciliable. While the DP acknowledged the inevitablility of a black government, the NP seems interested in a co-optive system, said Breytenbach.

"They have asked the ANC and MDM to denounce violence, while not making it feasible for them to consider participative politics."

Breytenbach said the CP was ready for a shake-up, with implications for the leadership of Andries Treunicht, because the CP did not do as well as it had hoped.

The DP gained confidence despite lacking clarity on issues such economic policy, he said.

Prof Laurie Schlemmer of the Institute for Policy Studies at Wits said the elections results showed a 30/70 percent split between parties moving towards a solution of the country's problems and those which resist change.

The split has reinforced the alienation between the CP and the NP, who would never again see from the same side of the spectrum.

De Klerk's death row dilemma

And what about Mandela?

By CHARLES MOGALE and CONNIE MOLUSI

ACTING State President FW de Klerk faces his first challenge on reform tomorrow – days after his party won an election with a heavily reduced majority.

Families and friends of People On Death Row will go to the Union Buildings to present him with an open letter asking for a reprieve for the condemned people.

At the same time expectations of the release of Nelson Mandela, which have grown over the past year, have to be addressed.

Relatives of people on death row will be coming to Pretoria from all over the country to deliver the letter.

In a statement released to *City Press*, friends and relatives said the letter would express families' hopes that recent speeches by De Klerk would be backed by an end to hangings in the country.

"We have heard many things from FW de Klerk and his Foreign Minister Pik Botha – including the statement that the era of violence is over.

"If the era of violence is over, we wonder if the era of hangings is over. Those of us who have loved ones on death row have seen nothing more violent, more premedidated, more cold-blooded than murder by hanging," the statement said.

In July a similar appeal was made to the then State President PW Botha.

Another momentous task facing De Klerk is the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Political commentators see Mandela's release as inevitable but the black community question his release into a politically repressive climate.

Community leader Dr Nthato Motlana said: "I would hate to see the release of Mandela in the current state of emergency, where the ANC re-

They don't believe me, says cop

OUTSPOKEN Cape Town policeman Lt Gregory Rockman yesterday accused his superiors of refusing to acknowledge the truth of his complaints about riot squad brutality.

Despite an order not to talk to the Press, he said in an interview that "it seemed they did not realise the seriousness or significance of what I said".

Rockman said he had been summoned to police regional headquarters in Cape Town twice on Friday.

On the first occasion he had been urged to make a statement to be used to investigate charges laid by people allegedly injured in riot squad action, he said.

The second time he was told he had been booked on a flight to Pretoria to see Gen Mulder van Eck.

"I did not go," said Rockman.

■ On Friday, anti-apartheid groups in the Cape declared five days of national mourning and said mass funerals would be held on September 16.

■ See Page 2

"I'm four" shouts Muzi

By STAN MHLONGO

MUZI Surprise Pooe, Soweto's one-limbed baby, this week celebrated his fourth birthday by shedding a tear or two as the Drum Ladies Club presented him with a cake.

Muzi put on a brave face as his schoolmates from JC Merkins surrounded him with smiles and shouts of "Happy birthday Muzi!"

Perhaps Muzi was sad because he is still R32 000 short of realising his dream of going overseas next year to buy artificial limbs.

The absence of Muzi's teacher, PK Matthews, from the ceremony may also have caused his brief sadness.

But Muzi soon recovered and put some sparkle back into his birthday – when he shouted: "I am four! I am four!".



All smiles and having plenty of fun at Muzi's birthday party.

No date set for funeral

By SOL MORATHI

NO DATE has been set for the funeral of Bishop Simeon Nkoane, who died of cancer this week.

Nkoane, a prelate brother of the Community of the Resurrection (CR), devoted his life to the church.

He died at his KwaThema home on Tuesday night, three weeks after becoming seriously ill.

At the time of going to press the CR did not know where he would be buried and had not set a funeral date.

Nkoane, the son of a chef, was born in Johannesburg in 1929.

He took on his first parish in Tlhabane, Rustenburg, at the age of 25. When the congregation first saw him, they were worried the mother church had sent them a "boy priest".

He did pastoral work at Cardiff in [illegible] before a two-year [illegible] Oxford University.

In 1972 he was made Archdeacon of Germiston. In 1977 he became the first Dean of St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg and later Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg.

Nactu said in a statement: "We mourn his passing secure in the knowledge that his philosophy will help us in our struggle."

statement said.

In July a similar appeal was made to the then State President PW Botha.

Another momentous task facing De Klerk is the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Political commentators see Mandela's release as inevitable but the black community question his release into a politically repressive climate.

Community leader Dr Nthato Motlana said: "I would hate to see the release of Mandela in the current state of emergency, where the ANC remains banned. It means Mandela will not be able to consult the people to get a mandate on negotiations."

SACC director of communications Sakkie Macozoma said: "Mandela's release will be insufficient if he is unable to participate in the unfolding political process in the country."

National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) press officer Jerry Majatladi said: "To release a leader of Mandela's stature into a cloud of political repression is meaningless. He will be forced to join the present mood of defiance that has captured the people."

Over the past months speculation has been rife that Mandela would be released after this week's election. This was followed by widespread reports that the government intended to first release his right-hand man, Walter Sisulu, to test the waters.

Rumours of an impending release were fuelled by the meeting Mandela had with retired State President PW Botha at Tuynhuys in Cape Town.

However, it has been reported that the ANC and PAC are not optimistic after the election, in which the government lost 29 seats to the left and the right.

An ANC spokesmen said it was unlikely that FW de Klerk would now create a climate for the dismantling of "perpetual" apartheid and the release of political prisoners.

A PAC spokesman said: "No, we do not think De Klerk will act quickly to release political prisoners. He is the leader of the same old National Party that has been perpetuating apartheid."

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S/Times 10/9/89

The right may be reeling but it's still formidable

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THEY may be temporarily stunned but don't write off the right after their under-achievement on Wednesday.

The truth is much more ominous than the statistics show: With a little bit of luck — and slightly more than 1 000 votes — the Conservative Party could have picked up nine more seats.

This would have pushed its total to 48 and reduced that of the NP to a mere 84 — barely enough to have averted a hung Parliament.

The fact is that in a number of seats the NP only just scraped home, reducing substantial majorities to threadbare survival lines. Vereeniging — the hometown of President-elect F W de Klerk — had a paltry majority of five; Gezina had only seven after three recounts; Virginia — power base of white Education Minister Piet Clase — had 47.

Thrashed

Koedoespoort, Geduld, Bethlehem, Klerksdorp and Nelspruit all teetered on a knife-edge all through election day and the NP majorities eventually proved to be less than 500.

So for anyone to crow about the imminent demise of the CP — or even a permanent ceiling to its growth — is decidedly premature.

The most important features of the right's performance in Election '89 are:

● The umpteenth obituary of the Herstigte Nasionale Party must now be written — 23 candidates and 23 deposits forfeited to the State. However, chances are that everybody will desert the party, leaving only Mr Jaap Marais to continue his lone crusade.

Dries van Heerden

still sees a potential danger from the right after the election

● The ignominious escapades of AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre Blanche have hurt the CP. The AWB may never have boasted large numbers but they were the activists — also inside the CP.

They were the stormtroopers who disrupted NP meetings and the zealots who provided fire to CP campaigns. Without them, some of the CP efforts looked pretty tame.

● The CP made major breakthroughs in the Free State platteland. This was expected, as those constituencies have similar profiles to rural areas in the Transvaal. But, more importantly, the CP broke the NP's spotless record in the Free State by cutting it down to size from a full house to exactly half . . . Fauresmith pending.

● The CP had its first successses in the Cape by capturing Kuruman and the workers' constituency of Uitenhage.

● In spite of excellent NP campaigns, the CP not only held on to three important seats — Carletonville, Delmas and Soutpansberg — but actually increased its majority in all three instances. This says something about the solidity of its support.

● The only real disappointment for the right was the East Rand. It was soundly beaten in Boksburg, thrashed in Springs, humiliated in Brentwood and narrowly edged out in Geduld.

These were all in areas where the CP had taken over local authorities and started implementing its segregation policies. For the party, this must set warning bells ringing and raise important question marks over both the leadership quality of its representatives at local level and the distaste with which people who have actually been on the receiving end of CP policies view the party.

● In the final analysis, the CP has only itself to blame for its setbacks. The party and its leadership pumped itself into a frenzy of bravado.

Stuck

Instead of turning down the volume in the run-up and gloating afterwards, the CP eventually believed its own propaganda that it could capture in excess of 65 seats.

It is obviously wishful thinking to believe the CP has reached a ceiling, although its share of the popular vote fell from roughly 30 percent in 1987 to 28 percent.

It now seems as if the major move to the right occurred between the 1987 election and the municipal elections last year.

But potential for growth still remains. At most, it can be said that the right is presently stuck on an extended plateau.

If the economy goes down further and there is an increase in violence similar to that experienced in 1987, the CP's graph may start to rise again.

It WAS a damned close-run thing, but let's welcome the new politics

S/Times 10/9/89 (304A)

by Tertius Myburgh



WELL, it's all over and what have we got? Much chastened Nationalists, energised Democrats and Conservatives who, though strengthened, failed to achieve their much-advertised target of up to 60 seats.

In a leading article last Sunday, this newspaper urged voters to support the forces of enlightenment and to check the growth of the forces of darkness.

In high measure, that is what happened at the polls on Wednesday.

Afterwards Mr F W de Klerk — in a most unusual embrace by an NP leader of his left-of-centre opponents — was able to proclaim with satisfaction that about 70 percent of voters had supported renewal and reform.

But oh, how very differently it might have turned out!

Perhaps not enough people realise how close we came, not only to a hung Parliament, but to one in which the CP held dangerously strong sway. If, in about 16 seats, only a comparative handful of voters had swung to the right, Dr Treurnicht's menacing legions would have swollen to truly threatening proportions.

As a leader writer in Beeld correctly observed this week: "The (National) party is today licking wounds in places where, since 1948, it never even had wounds."

Had Mr P W Botha not resigned and the NP been compelled to go into the election burdened by the *gatvol* factor induced by his baleful presence in Tuynhuys, the matters we are discussing today might have been of a much more depressing nature.

Thankful, then, for such large mercies, let us examine some of the salient features of the 1989 election.

The DP feels chuffed — and deservedly so. If one includes the likely DP support in the uncontested seats of Sandton and Yeoville, the party attracted about 22 percent of the total votes, a thoroughly satisfactory performance.

Defiance

The DP not only kept all those seats it held in 1987, it also won back the ones it lost to the NP and added a few for good measure.

In the end, the defiance campaign by the MDM (which the NP had tried so assiduously to present as all but semi-detached from the DP) and the "give-FW-a-chance" line of thinking, did not inflict nearly as much damage on the DP as it had expected.

There is one line of argument — not at all unpersuasive — that the defiance campaign by the unenfranchised might actually have *assisted* the DP since it drove home to many voters the urgency of the need for reforms that would make future upheavals less likely.

A surprisingly large number of voters have given the lie to the old cliché in our politics that the mere taint of being associated, no matter how remotely, with the ANC or any of its allies is the political kiss of death. By sending people like Mr Wynand Malan and Mr Peter Gastrow to Parliament, they showed that they actually *want* political leaders to break the ice of negotiation with players on the far left.

However the DP — although it mobilised some very able Afrikaners as candidates — still remains an essentially English-speaking, urban party. It failed to establish a beachhead in any of the Afrikaans-speaking redoubts like Waterkloof or Stellenbosch.

Still, by reducing NP majorities in places like Durbanville, Westdene and Johannesburg West, the DP demonstrated that it could — in a future election — provide an alternative haven for urbanised, better-off Afrikaners if the NP under Mr De Klerk fails to delivers the goods.

Under present circumstances, the CP has clearly peaked in the Transvaal, and may even be stagnating in a province it hoped so utterly to dominate.

Its gains in the Free State and areas of the Cape do not so much indicate organic growth as a to-be-expected spread of support to rural and blue-collar constituencies elsewhere that most resemble, in socio-political terms, the areas in which it has prospered in the north.

The way in which CP support translates into numbers of seats could be affected by a delimitation next year, but not very much since it has now proved its ability to pull support in urban (largely blue-collar) seats as well as in the deep platteland.

Pounce

In an uncomfortably high number of seats it has garnered sufficient support to render them disquietingly marginal.

Thus Dr Treurnicht's CP still lurks in the wings, just offstage, ready to pounce if the NP should falter. It is enough to give a lot of Nats the wind-up, but we must accept Mr De Klerk's assurance that his party has forever stopped looking over its right shoulder.

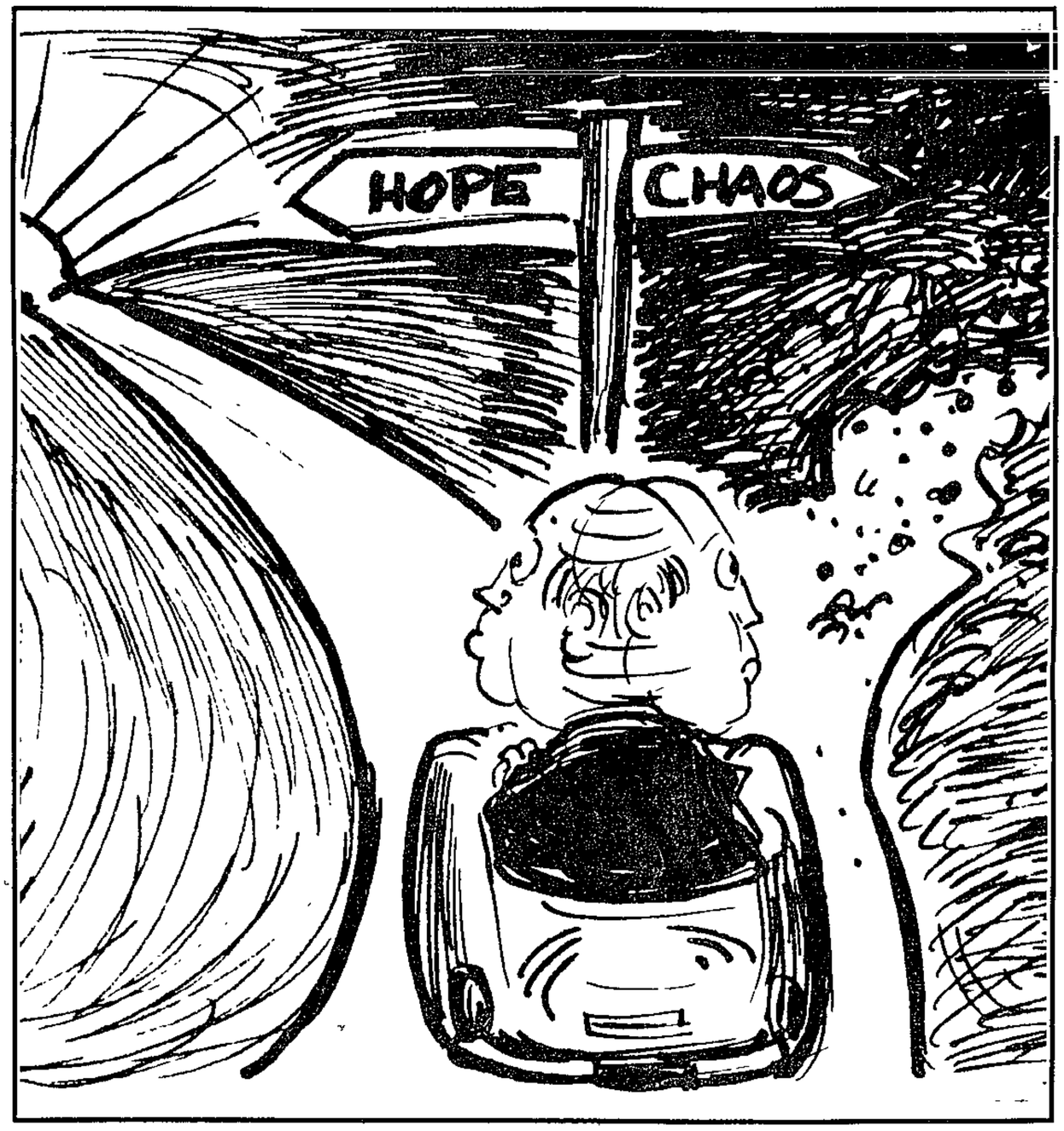
As the Duke of Wellington said after Waterloo, it was a damned close-run thing.

So close, indeed, that Mr De Klerk will be sitting fairly uneasily upon his throne.

But he's a smart enough politician to know that he and his party have probably been given what amounts to a last chance. Next time round, voters will either be stampeded by irrational fear into the arms of the CP or — if, as one hopes, they recognise the need for renewal — into the camp of the DP which has made candour and realism its allies.

Only one thing seems certain: September 6 was the last of the post-war white elections to be fought by parties divided along lines that we had come to accept as immutable.

Let us all say welcome to the new politics and pray that the slogan we saw on innumerable posters these past few weeks becomes an early reality: "New leader, new action!"



(304A)



Results show Nat bogeys were will-o'-the-wisps

By DRIES van HEERDEN

PET theories and pat predictions took a tumble this week when the closest-fought election since 1953 provided quite a few upsets for the books.

The first prediction to go up in smoke was the one from the National Party — repeated *ad nauseam* by its speakers and propaganda agencies — that the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party were in cahoots and that the split vote would lead to numerous constituencies being lost by the NP.

This gave rise to one of the clarion calls of the campaign directed at potential DP supporters: "Vote Nat to keep the CP out."

In the end, the NP tumbled to a 30-seat loss without a push from the split vote. In only two of the 166 constituencies — Meyerton and Ladybrand — did the presence of a DP candidate benefit the CP to the point where it captured an NP seat.

And, in Umbilo, the two Maritzburg seats, Hillbrow and Bezuidenhout the CP took enough votes to allow a DP candidate to get in by the side door. To deduce that all those CP suporters would otherwise have voted Nat is, however, a matter of conjecture and highly unlikely.

In some cases, the criticism levelled at DP candidates in so-called no-hope constituencies proved to have some validity. Prime examples were Klerksdorp, Koedoespoort, Lydenburg, Middelburg and Vereeniging where deposits were lost.

But, in other constituencies — including Boksburg, Geduld, Kempton Park, Meyerton and Turffontein — the DP's decision to contest the elections proved to be prudent. The party did better than expected and the groundwork for future growth has been laid.

The other fallacy that had a stake driven through its heart was that the DP was forever doomed to be a predominantly English-speaking, rich man's party. Enough results proved the opposite.

First, the DP showed its support was not localised by big wins in Natal, the Eastern Cape, the Peninsula and on the Reef.

Secondly, it won in both upper-middle-class constituencies like Houghton, Randburg, Umhlanga and Groote Schuur and more ordinary middle-class areas like Umbilo, Green Point and Wynberg.

It could not win in predominantly Afrikaans areas but took impressive second places in Westdene, Florida, Waterkloof, Durbanville, Maitland and Queenstown. Even in places where it came in third — such as Helderkruin, Modderfontein, Pretoria East and Turffontein — the party increased susbstantially on previous showings by the PFP.

The final myth to be shattered was that computers can adequately predict election results in South Africa.

The hype built around the prospects of a "hung Parliament" was the result of computers detecting swings among certain sections of voters and then projecting the trend on to the whole of the country.

The problem with computers is that they have no way of taking into account the effect of local issues on voter behaviour, the strength of individual candidates or the quality of campaigns.

Thus, computers predicted that Innesdal, Springs and Geduld would be lost by the NP.

But, in Innesdal, Dr Rina Venter ran one of the best campaigns of the election for the NP, in Springs Mr Piet Coetzer proved the prophets of doom wrong and, in Geduld, Deputy Minister Sam de Beer held on tenaciously to his slender lead.

THE DP GO-GETTERS!

Report by DRIES van HEERDEN, BILL KRIGE, RYAN CRESSWELL, TERRY van der WALT and ALAN DUGGAN

'Bengal Tiger' bares fangs for round 2

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

IN both the coloured House of Representatives and the Indian House of Delegates the protagonists might have altered their masks but the show will remain largely untouched as the actors ready themselves for the opening performance of their houseyhousey (Own Affairs) politics in their ethnic chambers this week.

And in fittingly theatrical style, the "Bengal Tiger" of Indian politics, former Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the Delegates, Mr Armichand "The Raj" Rajbansi, has warned he will be baring his fangs when he makes his grand entrance to a Parliament from which his former colleagues had him suspended by way of a House resolution last year.

He will be back he vowed on Wednesday night, soon after retaining his Arena Park seat against Mr A Naidoo of Solidarity Party (SP) with an impressive 1 562 majority in a poll of 28 percent — in spite of being publicly discredited by the James Commission.

□ □ □

With 16 out of the 40 seats in the House of Delegates secured, Dr J N Reddy's Solidarity Party seemed likely, over this weekend at least, to return to Parliament with more seats than Mr Rajbansi's NPP.

But this is cold comfort for Dr Reddy who has in the past proved to be no match for the wheeling and dealing skills of Mr Rajbansi, the man the James Commission described as "a ruthless bully in pursuit of power".

But if "the Raj" gets up to his old tricks and succeeds in consolidating his NPP into the majority party by an amalgam with minor parties and Independents, as he was busy doing this weekend, then only a rewritten Constitution will stop him from once more becoming the most powerful Indian politician in South African system politics — despite the James Commission.

The problem for Dr Reddy is that with only 16 victories, Solidarity is still far away from an outright majority.

The big constitutional puzzle is how State President F W de Klerk will decide who should be the Chairman of the Ministers' Council.

The chairman — equivalent to "Indian Prime Minister" — is, according to the Constitution, the person who in the opinion of the State President enjoys the support of the majority in a House.

□ □ □

The same applies to the coloured House of Representatives, except that there is no such constitutional dilemma here as Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, with 69 out of the 80 contested seats under his belt, clearly enjoys the support of the majority in that House.

A veteran but controversial politician who will not be returning to Parliament is the maverick Durban lawyer Pat Poovalingam, who stood as an independent in Reservoir Hills.

It was largely the probing courtroom-style inquisition conducted by Mr Poovalingam about allegations of irregularities against Mr Rajbansi that eventually led to the James Commission.

For Mr Poovalingam to have lost Reservoir against a Rajbansi candidate — a former Durban headmaster who was once photographed in his underpants with a striptease dancer — must have been a humiliating exit from Parliament for him.

In the House of Representatives things should remain comparatively more serene compared with the House of Delegates.

The official Opposition to the LP is likely to be the Democratic Reform Party (DRP) founded by former Minister of Education Carter Ebrahim, who was sacked by Mr Hendrickse after he had openly challenged the LP leader's authority.

Mr Ebrahim failed to be elected but his party managed to gain five seats. The United Democratic Party (UDP) of Mr Jac Rabie gained three seats — Mr Rabie himself retained his Reiger Park seat against an LP onslaught.

Two independents, Mr Hansie Christians and Mr C M George, are expected to join the DRP, which means that on Wednesday the state of parties in the House of Representatives should be LP 69, DRP (official opposition) 7, UDP 3 and FP 1.

What the state of parties in the House of Delegates will be is in the lap of the god



Happiness is .. Carole Charlewood's smile after capturing Umbilo, left, and Jannie Momberg's delight with his landslide victory in Simonstown

This Class of '89 made its mark before trying politics

IT WILL be quite a lively backbench when the new intake of Democratic Party MPs hits the green seats of Parliament this week.

They are a disparate group with widely divergent backgrounds, but the go-getting class of '89 has one major characteristic in common — they had all made substantial marks in other fields before they opted for party politics.

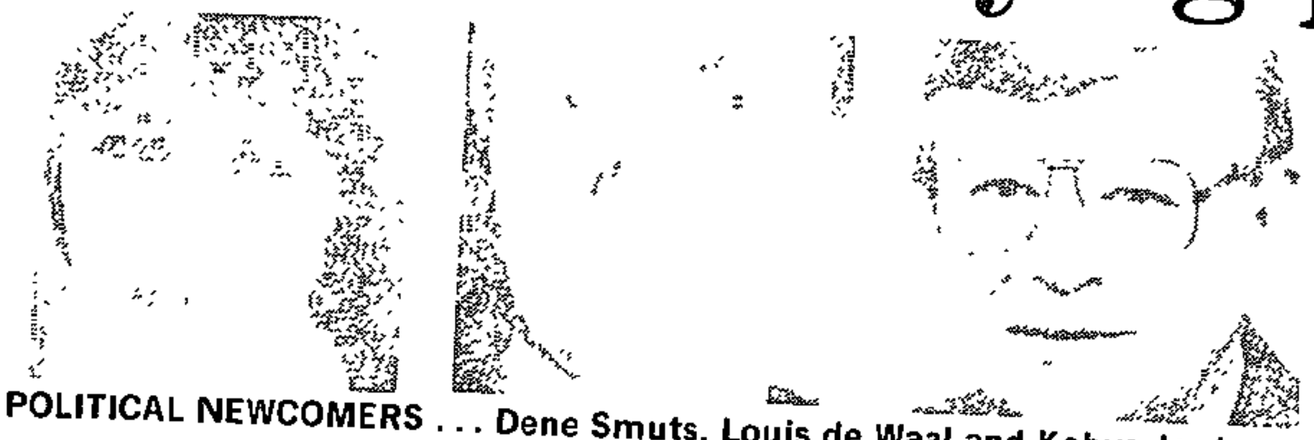
A former chief of the Air Force, a top executive of a major company, a magazine editor, a high-powered lawyer, and a well-known TV celebrity — all people who will add substance and considerable expertise to the DP caucus.

Convinced

General Bob Rogers, DSO DFC (awarded for exceptional bravery during the Second World War), at 68 the oldest newcomer to Parliament, still has to resign this week as deputy mayor of Knysna, where he has lived since his retirement after an illustrious career in the Air Force.

A man who chose the hurly-burly of politics at an age when most of his contemporaries prefer pruning roses, he is convinced South Africans "have got to get their country right".

Another who rose to the top of his profession is former businessman Louis de Waal who scored a stunning victory in North Rand — SA's largest constituency



POLITICAL NEWCOMERS . . . Dene Smuts, Louis de Waal and Kobus Jordaan

A man who is sure to make a huge imprint on Parliamentary politics, the amiable Mr De Waal — with a distinct Boland *bry* — is still stunned by his sudden immersion into politics.

"I entered politics to help carve out a secure future for my children," he said at his Bryanston home, "and this I am determined to do in Parliament."

Two years ago Mr Wessel Nel missed the boat in his first attempt to get elected, but this week the 35-year-old Stellenbosch-educated farmer paddled home with a massive majority in Mooi River.

Canoe-crazy Mr Nel, who has completed two gruelling Duzi marathons, beat his NP opponent with a 2 300 majority.

One subject very close to his heart is the environment and the pollution problems facing his constituency. His fellow DP MPs in Maritzburg can expect an earful from their colleague to get down to cleaning up the effluent and disease-plagued Duzi River.

Tony Leon comes to Parliament with a reputation that has preceded him. A lawyer-cum-lecturer, he earned his spurs in local Johannesburg politics — almost leading the old PFP to a stunning upset in last year's municipal election.

Ambitious

Leon is obviously one of the men to watch in the new caucus. A highly capable and ambitious politician, he is not the sort of man to languish on the back benches too long.

Another man with considerable political experience behind him is Mr Kobus Jordaan, who captured the vital

Umhlanga seat. A former NP senator, protegé of former Prime Minister John Vorster, and chief planner of the Department of Constitutional Development, Mr Jordaan returns to Parliament with a wealth of experience and political know-how.

A doughty opponent and formidable speaker with an insider knowledge of Nat thinking, Mr Jordaan is set to be one of the most valuable members of the new DP caucus.

Also no stranger to politics is former MPC Eddie Trent, who retained Port Elizabeth Central for the DP.

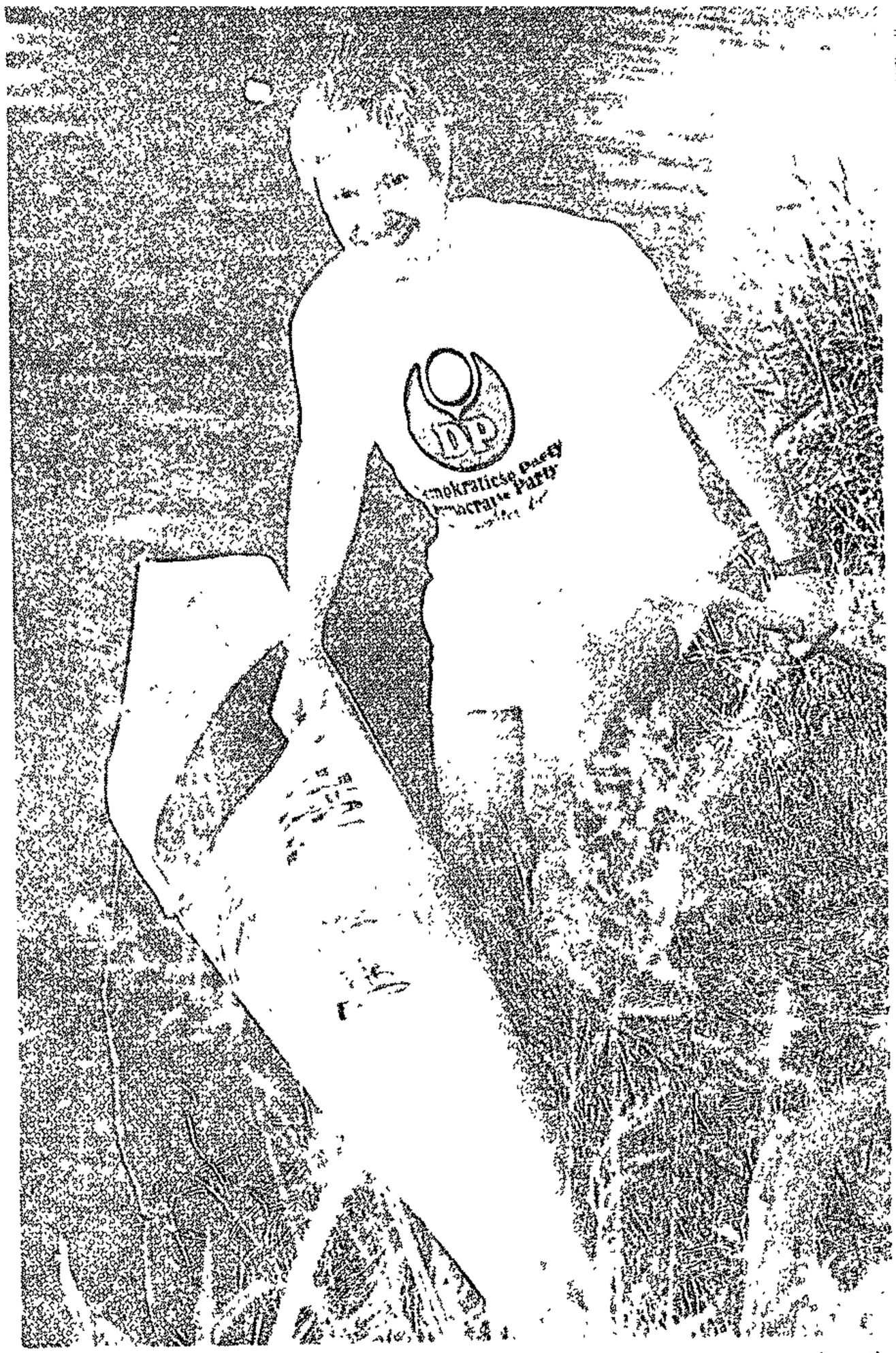
Mr Trent, a farmer from Uitenhage, intends to focus much attention on the plight of the elderly and pensioners. "My canvassing has opened my eyes to their problems, and I'm determined to do my bit to correct matters."

Upset

A major upset of the election came in Bezuidenhout where the DP's Geoff Engel sent the NP's Sam Bloomberg packing. Considered by his colleagues to be "one of the dark horses to watch" in the new DP caucus, Mr Engel received high marks for the competent and tenacious campaign he waged.

Wine farmer, sports administrator and now politician, Jannie Momberg romped home with a considerable majority in Simonstown. The ebullient Mr Momberg is another DP member with an insider's knowledge of Nat thinking, having served on the party's Cape head committee.

An energetic man who served simultaneously as president of the Boland Cricket Union and the Western Province Athletics Union, Mr Momberg is sure to make his mark in Parliament.



NEW WHIRLPOOLS . . . Mooi River's Wessel Nel, who is a canoeing fanatic

Elderly

Another upset winner was Mr Rob Haswell, who took Maritzburg South from the Nats in a closely fought battle. The former geography lecturer said his victory was the result of a major effort by the local community and Natal varsity students.

Mr Haswell says he intends to devote himself to Maritzburg's racial, educational and pollution problems, which "require urgent attention".

A face needing little introduction is that of Mrs Carole Charlewood, well-known TV producer and presenter who captured Umbilo for the DP.

In a constituency which has a substantial number of elderly people and pensioners, Mrs Charlewood's background as a former social worker will stand her in good stead.

"I have found it to be a wonderful constituency to canvass in," she said after the results became known. "The people are warm and friendly and I look forward to representing them in Parliament."

Another newcomer from the field of journalism is former Fair Lady editor Dene Smuts who won the safe seat of Groote Schuur.

However, she was not in the mood for champagne when interviewed after her landslide win on Wednesday.

"I'm glad I am going to Parliament, but it's hard to conjure up a smile when people are dying on your doorstep in the Peninsula," she said.

Switch

For her, politics is a serious profession. "I switched from journalism to politics because I am essentially a team player. I have seen and learnt enough to believe that grounds for optimism about the future reside in the DP — and that is why I am here. If the Government can't do their job properly, we'll have to do it for them."

The newcomers will boost an experienced caucus of 16 members who retained their seats on Wednesday.

Furthermore, five former MPs will make welcome comebacks to Parliament — Dr Denis Worrall, who was Nat MP for Gardens before being appointed ambassador; Mr Errol Moorcroft who recaptured Albany; Mr Brian Goodall who did likewise in Edenvale; Mr Robin Carlisle who won his rematch in Wynberg; and Mr Mike Tarr, who made a successful switch to Pietermaritzburg North after losing the South in 1987.

FW's new-look reform team

ST Times 10/9/89 (304A)

By LESTER VENTER and DRIES van HEERDEN

A BRAND-NEW CABINET will be a priority in the diary of Mr F W de Klerk soon after his election as the new State President this week.

And surprises are not out of the question. However, many observers believe the NP leader may opt for a "bridging team" in the present transition period, paving the way for a bigger reshuffle by the end of the year. Before he starts putting names to portfolios, Mr De Klerk will have to take a number of factors into account:

● First, there's his undertaking to overhaul the power-swollen executive presidency. It is an open secret that Mr De Klerk chooses to cast himself as a Prime Minister and favours the reintroduction of a titular President. His choice of Cabinet colleagues will probably reflect this;

● He is also said to be serious about making good on a promise his predecessor failed to keep — trimming down the size of the Government. Cutting back on the 18 existing Cabinet portfolios would set the scene;

● Almost as important, the new team will have to reflect the southwards shift of power in the NP caucus.

With 42 Cape members in his caucus against 34 Transvalers, 10 from Natal and seven Free Staters, it stands to reason that Cape Nats will head the queue for promotion.

Strongman

Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers will now emerge as one of the new strongmen in the Cabinet. The important portfolio of Home Affairs and Communication, previously occupied by Mr Stoffel Botha, may be offered to him.

One hotspot to be filled is that of a successor to Mr Chris Heunis as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Possibilities are legion. One is to leave former Cape Administrator Mr Gene Louw — appointed in the dying days of the Botha administration — in place.

Another possibility is to split the portfolio, with Mr Louw retaining the section that deals with regional and local government, and the [illegible] "one-man think-[illegible]

Stopgap Cabinet may pave way for reshuffle at the end of the year

cess, and that he will tailor his Cabinet to facilitate this.

The first few weeks of the new administration will be a period of adjustment and Mr De Klerk, who presided over the biggest election reversal in the NP's history, will have to consolidate his power, both in the caucus and the broader spheres of government.

It is unlikely that he will want to ruffle feathers unnecessarily by dropping or demoting former colleagues without apparent reason. But his task is made somewhat lighter by the fact that there are already six vacancies caused by Ministers who resigned or retired.

An electoral reality that has to be taken into account is that less than half the NP's support may now come from Afrikaans-speakers. English-speakers can now justifiably claim a stronger showing in the Cabinet.

Mr De Klerk's problem is the lack of English-speaking members of the NP caucus. Of the few, Mr Kent Durr, presently an "own affairs" Minister, is the strongest [illegible]kely, ther-

Mr Amie Venter, whose star has risen under Mr De Klerk.

For other vacancies the possibilities abound: Mr Eli Louw or Deputy Minister Leon Wessels for Manpower; Water Affairs Minister Gert Kotze shifting to Agriculture, with Dr Kraai van Niekerk to succeed him; two other able Deputies, Roelf Meyer and Sam de Beer, promoted to full Cabinet status.

Opposed

Dr Rina Venter, who scored a stunning victory for the NP in the marginal seat of Innesdal, may well become SA's first woman Cabinet member. She is tipped to become at least a Deputy Minister or to get a job in the "own affairs" Cabinet.

A black Deputy Minister is still on the Government's agenda, it is said, but Mr De Klerk will not be able to make such an appointment now because it requires a change to the constitution. So far, such a change has been co[illegible]ently opposed by the

[illegible]tank" Dr Gerrit Viljoen [illegible]fore to be promoted — possi- [illegible]Labour Party.
being drafted in to get vital [illegible]bly to oversee the privatisa- Another possibility is that
negotiations going. [illegible]tion process. Mr De Klerk may mend
NP circles also believe Another "own affairs" fences with the Rev Allan
that Mr De Klerk himself Minister expected to make a Hendrickse which will result
would want to play an active showing somewhere in the in the return of a top LP
role in the negotiating pro- new top management team is leader to the Cabinet.

From page 1

slashed the NP majority in Maitland; Mr Pieter Schoeman, who equally impressively reduced the NP majority in Durbanville; Mr Jan van Gend, the former MP for Groote Schuur, who not only impressed party members by the way he accepted his nomination defeat, but who went on to put up a credible fight in Malmesbury; Mr Douglas Gibson, the former PFP leader in the Transvaal Provincial Council; and Mr Nic Olivier, who gave up his nominated seat in favour of Dr De Beer when he became the leader of the PFP.

But instead of "rewarding" people for their service, the caucus may well make their decision on the basis of strategic grounds. If so, it may decide to appoint MPs in areas where the party expects to show growth and opt for someone from the Border area, such as Mr Andre de Wet, the defeated candidate in East London City, or Dr Theuns Schlebusch, the defeated candidate in Queenstown, and/or someone from the Pretoria region, such as Mr Martin Brink, the defeated candidate in Waterkloof.

Strategic

It could also make its decision on a strategic assessment of which groups were under-represented in the caucus, such as the youth, in which case the DP's national youth chairwoman, Ms Michelle Guttler, or Mr Hennie Bester, the defeated candidate in Stellenbosch, could be considered.

What is clear is that today's caucus meeting will have to take decisions which will influence both its role in Parliament, and its ability to demonstrate that it is a real alternative to the government.

3048

Polling results come under microscope

SA entering era of reform – professor

Staff Reporter

Academics are poring over Wednesday's election results in an effort to determine major trends such as the growth of the right wing and the performance of the Democratic Party.

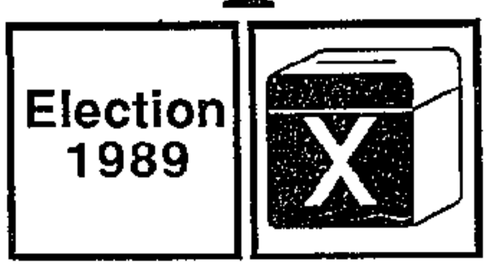
Figures show that the Conservative Party did not do as well as it expected, earning 30 percent of the overall vote.

'Peace breaking out'

That 70 percent of whites voted either for the National Party or the DP has been interpreted as a sign that the country is entering the era of reform, says Professor Willie Breytenbach of the University of Stellenbosch department of Africa studies.

"Peace is breaking out and the days of 'total onslaught' are now dead," he says.

According to Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, there has been a swing from the NP to the DP of 16 percent in Transvaal urban constituencies and 12 percent in Natal. Less than 10 percent of Afrikaans-speaking people support the DP.



With 165 results known, tne state of the parties in the House of Assembly is:

National Party 93
Conservative Party 39
Democratic Party 33

Overall percentage poll 66

The NP is likely to increase its representation in the House of Assembly by another eight votes — four nominated by the State President and four indirectly elected MPs chosen by the NP.

Both the CP and the DP are allowed to elect two indirectly elected MPs.

The 166th and final House of Assembly seat is still to be decided. A by-election will be held in Fauresmith, Free State, as there was a tie between the CP and NP.

The NP lost 29 seats — 17 to the CP and 12 to the DP — and made no gains.

The total number of votes cast in the Assembly election for the respective parties was:

NP ..... 1 036 499 (48 percent)
CP ..... 673 302 (31 percent)
DP ..... 441 371 (20 percent)
HNP ..... 5 536 (under 1 percent)

The breakdown by province is:

Transvaal:
NP ..... 523 911 (46 percent)
CP ..... 462 610 (40 percent)
DP ..... 161 022 (14 percent)

Free State:
NP ..... 93 109 (51 percent)
CP ..... 78 791 (43 percent)
DP ..... 10 278 (6 percent)

Natal:
NP ..... 107 527 (44 percent)
CP ..... 32 809 (13 percent)
DP ..... 103 547 (42 percent)

Cape:
NP ..... 311 952 (54 percent)
CP ..... 99 092 (17 percent)
DP ..... 166 524 (29 percent)

Nat scare tactics 'worked best on DP voters'

SEY 11/9/89 (3044)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Conservative Party's ambitions of taking the Transvaal and breaking into Natal were thwarted by Democratic Party voters who supported the National Party.

This is the view of Oxford academic Mr Bill Johnson, who is the author of "How Long Will South Africa Survive?".

Speaking at a post-election forum at the University of Natal, Durban, Mr Johnson said the NP use of the "Boksburg factor", which was supposed to frighten CP voters back towards the NP, seems to have worked best on DP voters.

This cost the CP its best chance of a seat in Natal where DP-oriented voters in Newcastle backed the NP against the CP.

The defiance campaign on the beaches the weekend before polling day also probably cost the DP at least one seat in Natal, he said.

DP leaders, who had privately expected the party to make no more than five gains, had every reason to be pleased, but there were disappointments in Natal.

"In beach constituencies like South Coast, Amanzimtoti and Durban Point the DP did considerably less well than they should have and the CP gained really strikingly in those areas. CP workers on polling day in Point said they were getting a lot of support from surfers and that the beaches issue was working their way."

The key to the election had been the development of the DP/NP swing vote, Mr Johnson said.

DP voters were frightened by CP propaganda that towns or constituencies would become irreversibly CP territory and then go to form part of the future "Boerestaat".

To non-CP voters it meant businesses going bankrupt and boycotts such as those in Boksburg or Carletonville.

He believed the DP vote cracked in many of the CP/NP marginals. In a seat like Newcastle the DP vote fell back badly from 1987 while it gained elsewhere.

With the sort of swing to the DP seen in Transvaal seats such as Bezuidenhout (11,4 percent), the DP should have been "roaring in all sorts of places" and also splitting the vote so badly with the NP that the CP should have taken a lot more seats, he said.

"The tighter it is between the CP and NP, the worse the DP does."

This was the case in seats like Boksburg, which the NP held despite a 9,4 percent swing to the CP, and in Potchefstroom where DP voters who did not vote in 1987 "were frightened out to vote for the NP".

This was the CP's last chance to win at the polls, Mr Johnson said, and Mr F W de Klerk "will have to consider changing the electoral framework, especially if he is involved in protracted negotiations with black political leaders".

"There is no surer way to lose a white election than to hold it while he is talking to the African National Congress. It may turn out that this was the white Right's last electoral chance and, if this is true, we may see a dangerous upsurge of rightwing extra-parliamentary activity."

A lecturer in political studies, Mr Alexander Johnson, talking on the international dimensions, said the notion that the NP was the only force to be reckoned with had gone for good.

Star 11/9/89

304A

New faces come in, and old ones return

By Peter Fabricius

The general election has brought more new faces into the House of Assembly than it has seen for many years.

When Parliament convenes on Wednesday to elect a new State President there will be 51 people in the House who were not there when it dissolved in May.

But not all of these will be sitting on the plush green leather benches for the first time. Several will be MPs defeated in previous elections, including three MPs, now Democratic Party members, wiped out in the 1987 slaughter of the old Progressive Federal Party.

They are Mr Brian Goodall, again elected MP for Edenvale, Mr Errol Moorcroft, elected as Albany MP, and Mr Mike Tarr, elected once again to represent Maritzburg North.

For Mr Goodall, it means he will qualify for the parliamentary pension which was snatched from under his nose. He was one day short of qualifying when he lost the seat in May 1987, so that he will qualify for the pension the day that Parliament reconvenes.

Other previously familiar faces in Parliament include Mr S P Barnard, the Conservative Party's former MP for Langlaagte who has now been elected MP for Hercules; Dr Rina Venter, the former nominated MP who left Parliament to become a ministerial representative but has now been elected Nat MP for Innesdal; and Mr Jan Hoon, the Cape CP leader and former MP for Kuruman who lost the seat in 1987 but has won it back.

Veteran MP Mr Louis Stofberg also returns, representing his third party in Parliament. Formerly National Party MP for Worcester, he walked out with Mr Jaap Marais to form the Herstigte Nasionale Party, spent many years in the political wilderness but in 1985 defeated the NP in a by-election in Sasolburg. He lost the 1987 election when the CP split the right-wing vote. He then joined the CP and won the Sasolburg seat last week.

The new Parliament will have five women MPs, including two journalists representing the DP: TV's Mrs Carole Charlewood, who won an upset victory in Umbilo, Natal, and former Fair Lady editor Ms Dene Smuts, who held Groote Schuur easily.

The others are Nationalists: Dr Venter, Kempton Park MP Dr Tersia King and Rosettenville MP Mrs Sheila Camerer.

Among the new faces in Parliament will be General Bob Rogers, former Air Force chief, who won back the Walmer constituency in Port Elizabeth for the Democratic Party.

De Beer is tipped to lead DP

Star 11/9/84 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Dr Zach de Beer seems likely to be ~~chosen~~ Parliamentary leader of the DP when the party's new caucus meets in Cape Town today.

DP sources said this was the likely outcome of a weekend of intense canvassing of support, mainly for Dr de Beer and co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

If Dr de Beer gets the post it will undoubtedly boost his chances of winning the party leadership which will be decided at a congress on October 7.

Between now and then will be another hectic "election campaign" within the DP among the three leaders.

Though theoretically the congress could decide to continue with the present troika, party sources said this was highly unlikely and that a single leader will be chosen.

The third leader, Mr Wynand Malan, represents the smallest group that went into the DP — the National Demoratic Movement — and is understood to support continuation of the troika.

Though Dr Worrall might be the most popular leader among DP supporters at large, Dr de Beer still seems to have support of the party organisation which was largly inherited from the Progressive Federal Party which he led.

Dr de Beer also boosted his leadership chances by doing well in the general election campaign, especially in TV debates and interviews.

The outcome of the leadership election at the congress on October 7 will be determined by the delegates to the congress.

FW faces Vlok poser

(304A) Sowetan 11/9/89

SOWETAN Correspondent

THE first and most crucial decision facing reform-minded Mr F W de Klerk this week is how to call to order his security establishment.

The question, with far-reaching implications for his leadership and the unity of his election-battered party, is whether to retain Mr Adriaan Vlok as Minister of Law and Order in his Cabinet.

Vlok is in the middle of the row about police action against protest demonstrators.

As Cape Town this week counted its dead from police actions and unrest, church leaders called on De Klerk to repudiate him.

For De Klerk, due to be elected State President on Thursday, the issue is of crucial importance to his image — in South Africa and abroad — as a leader committed to constitutional negotiations.

If he chooses to retain Vlok, it would be seen as a sign of weakness and an early failure to face up to the true challenges of reform.

His problem is a serious one.



Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok

While having to find ways of getting blacks to join him in negotiations, he seems faced by two conflicting mentalities within his own party — one seeking to knock political demonstrators into place by the hard-handed methods of the past, and the other seeking to handle security problems with more understanding.

Already during the election campaign, two senior Cabinet members, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Barend du Plessis, expressed their dissatisfaction with the handling of some protests.

Among those who believe De Klerk has no choice but to fire Vlok, is Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer.

Tragedy

He said yesterday: "While one cannot ascertain precisely who has done what in the Western Cape, it is clear that we are dealing with a human tragedy of major scale.

"Essentially the unrest is due to an unjust constitution, and De Klerk has the urgent duty to restore peace and then to reform the constitution with all speed.

"It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the dismissal of Mr Vlok would be a gesture of value at a time like this.

"At least it might buy a little time during which the task of constitutional reform can be tackled."



National Party leader F W de Klerk

REPORTS, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

Zach may retain DP leadership

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK.

THE Democratic Party's new parliamentary caucus meets in Cape Town today for the first time since last week's election, amid mounting speculation about who will be chosen as its first leader.

The DP caucus will have to choose a parliamentary leader, and this could turn into a run-off between the two front-runners for the leadership job, Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall.

But there is pressure within the party not to make any decision until the DP congress is held on October 7 in Durban.

Some caucus members believe the leadership issue should be resolved at a representative congress, and that the caucus should in no way preempt that decision by electing a parliamentary leader today.

Congress decision likely

If this view is supported today — and there were indications last night that this was the most likely decision — Dr De Beer is likely to be asked to remain the DP's parliamentary leader, at least until the congress next month.

Although there is some support in the party for a continuation of the "troika" of three co-leaders — Dr De Beer, Dr Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan — it is expected that the DP will opt for a single leader at its congress.

At one stage, it seemed that Dr Worrall was way out in front in the leadership stakes, but Dr De Beer's strong showing on television during the election campaign, particularly the way he handled aggressive questioning and forced the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, to distance himself from police actions during beach apartheid protests in the Peninsula, has changed the issue.

Today's caucus will also have to decide on who its nominated MP or MPs will be. The DP is entitled to at least one nominated MP and it may well get two, depending on negotiations with the other political parties and the interpretation of the constitution.

If the caucus decides to reward party loyalists, there is a long list of claimants.

They include Mr David Gant, who was defeated in Helderberg; Dr Esther Lategan, who impressively

To page 3

CAPE Times 11/9/89 (307)

Cape

More land may be given to Crossroads

Political Staff

AN investigation was being conducted into possible additional land for development in Crossroads, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Gene Louw, said at the weekend.

Mr Louw, who officially handed over the mayoral chain to the mayor of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, on Saturday morning, said that despite the violent intimidation of radicals the Crossroads Town Committee and community had continued, in a peaceful and legal manner, to work for the peaceful constitutional development of South Africa.

Crossroads became an independent local authority on May 1 last year, when the 15 045 registered voters were asked to nominate representatives and seven members of the committee were nominated unopposed, one of whom had since been murdered.

Mr Louw said Crossroads already had an approved establishment of 145 posts.

"The overwhelming majority of the residents of Crossroads pay their service fees regularly and this is an indication that the Town Committee, through its actions, really looks after the interests of the community, " Mr Louw said.

Almost R18 million had already been invested in providing services in Crossroads and in this process, 2 056 serviced plots had already been provided, about half of which had been made available to the private sector for development.

It was estimated that R10 million would be spent by three private developers and the Department of Manpower in the construction of houses on 881 plots.

In spite of these developments, it was clear that the existing Crossroads could not make provision for all the community's needs, and it was a fact that there was a natural increase in the population.

"I have consequently decided that an investigation into possible additional land for development in the immediate surrounds of Crossroads be undertaken," Mr Louw said.

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The Star

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CITY LATE

304A

Baker would like to meet De Klerk



Mr James Baker, US Secretary of State ... plans to meet FW "being broadly considered".

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State Mr James Baker would like to meet Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, at a mutually convenient time, a spokesman for the State Department said at the weekend.

There was, however, no word from the State Department as to where such a meeting was likely to take place.

It is considered increasingly unlikely that Mr de Klerk would be invited to Washington in the near future. Star 11/9/89.

The Bush Administration would not want to run the gauntlet of mass demonstrations and protests from the Congress that such a visit would generate, particularly after recent publicity of South African repression of unrest.

Plans for Mr Baker to visit South Africa have been broadly considered, although according to a State Department spokesman, nothing definite is on the cards.

The State Department has announced it will expand its contacts with the African National Congress in spite of differing strongly with the violent methods of the organisation.

A State Department spokesman said on Friday: "As the oldest African nationalist movement in South Africa, the ANC reflects the aspirations of many blacks for a just and democratic system.

"The ANC is one of several organisations with substantial political support in South Africa, particularly but not only among blacks. It is a political diverse organisation representing a range of views."

The spokesman said the Bush Administration intended pursuing dialogue with the ANC and other South Africans across the political spectrum.

"We strongly differ with the ANC on some of its methods for pursuing its objectives.

"We have condemned its use of violence, as we have all violence in South Africa, whatever its source," the spokesman said.

and author of "Black Economic

Time to free Mandela US President

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — One of the first things President George Bush would like to see Mr F W de Klerk do when he becomes State President is to free jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Bush said this in a TV interview with David Frost broadcast in America at the weekend.

Speaking from his Kennebunkport holiday home, he said the release of Mr Mandela "would help things a great deal".

"I'd like to think that he would do that," he told Frost.

Mr Bush said he had heard good things about Mr de Klerk.

REACH OUT

He had also noted Mr de Klerk's statements and the steps the National Party leader had taken, such as going to Zambia to see President Kaunda.

"Good. It's good to reach out to the Frontline countries," he said.

A spokesman for the State Department yesterday declined to comment on Mr de Klerk's election-eve statement that the time had come for apartheid to go.

State Department spokesman Ms Margaret Tutwiler did comment, however, on the detention of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

She said the United States had long supported the peaceful expression of political ideas.

"We urge the South African Government to permit peaceful expression of political dissent," she said.

Bush should learn his craft from the canny Crocker

B/Day 12/9/89.

$200

304A

SIMON BARBER in Washington

ONE can only hope that before George Bush finally strings together more than a few off-the-cuff sentences to David Frost about SA — possibly when he addresses the UN General Assembly later this month — he either reads Chester Crocker's article in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, or, better still, invites his friend and long-time political supporter round to the White House for a full briefing on the lessons of the past eight years.

It may be that "this president knows Africa, its leaders and its problems, better than any in our history", as Crocker puts it. Nonetheless, in dealing with the southern bit, he is being sadly ill-served by advisers who thus far seem either naively or cravenly determined to ensure that his expertise is for naught.

At the guidance of Secretary of State James Baker and his inner circle of grey, narrow-horizoned political fixers, Bush has now made two serious misjudgments on SA, which together betoken many more to come.

The first, of course, was the refusal — yes, it ultimately was that decisive — to see F W de Klerk, thus abandoning a serendipitously unique opportunity to engage with the SA leader on whose shoulders it has fallen to preside, in one way or another, over the dissolution of the existing order. And to what end such churlishness? Simply to appease a hard core of congressional opportunists who were themselves as stunned as the rest of their colleagues that the administration caved so easily to their squawking.

The second error was the administration's ex cathedra response to the elections.

This was not a routine pronouncement hastily cobbled together by a middle-level State Department bureaucrat in reaction to some unforeseen exigency. Its basic thrust had been under heated discussion for weeks. The administration had deliberately held back from saying anything too definitive until after the elections. In a real sense, therefore, Thursday's text was the formal opening shot of the Bush policy.

As Crocker points out in his article, one his successors' first obligations has been to perfect their "political imagery". What he means by this phrase is the formula of words and gestures needed to bridge the chasm between the political imperative to express credible loathing for apartheid and the practical fact that the transfer of power demanded by said loathing is going to be a long, difficult and highly complicated process that will only get more complicated if attempts to become involved in it are driven by loathing alone.

Crocker applauds much of what the Bush team has done to develop a new "imagery" — even though some of it has been at his expense — as "necessary if the administration is to move beyond the poisonous debates of the mid-1980s and the former president's sadly inadequate effort to convey his sensitivity to the outrage of apartheid". What worries him is that the administration may be going too far in its zeal to please domestic critics (even those it does not yet have), to the point where it is no longer credible with the SA government. "Failure to establish comprehension and predictability between Washington and Pretoria," he writes, "will spell the end of US effectiveness in southern Africa."

Just so, and last week's statement is a perfect illustration of what he is talking about.

The statement lays out in no uncertain terms (they were even less uncertain in earlier versions) what "concrete, specific action" De Klerk and his government must take if Washington is to "work with" them: release all political prisoners, permit the return of political exiles, end the emergency and related restrictions of freedom of expression and association and unban all political organisations, including the ANC.

No one disputes that the holding of political prisoners and the wholesale suppression of civil liberties are intrinsically wrong. Nor is there any question that the items enumerated by the State Department are essential prerequisites for negotiations leading to a settlement. However, the administration goes considerably further, stating baldly that unless its wish list is acted upon, there can be no dialogue in SA, period — nor, by implication, any constructive diplomatic role for the outside world to play in fostering that dialogue.

This is Carteresque in its fatuity, for it misses the fundamental truth that the full restoration of political freedoms is at least half the game and must itself be the subject of intense negotiation and reciprocal confidence building, processes that will in turn form the basis for working out a constitution. The "climate for negotiation" will not be created once Pretoria has met the preconditions outlined by the State Department (and, not coincidentally, by the ANC); it will develop as the terms and consequences of ending the emergency, releasing prisoners and unbanning parties become the subject of understandings.

The administration suggests that it has no interest in helping promote such understandings — it says it wants what ought logically to be its fruit up front, a downpayment for subsequent US diplomacy. If it is not forthcoming, well, the "international community" and the US House of Representatives are "watching carefully", and we all know what that means, don't we?

Crocker looks on such thinking with justifiable distaste. "We should continue to define constructive agendas that can induce leaders to explore fresh options," he writes. "Ours must be a voice in support of bridging gaps and removing obstacles, not one that ratifies them or erects new preconditions." Which, sadly, is precisely what his successors, in their terror of being thought "constructively engaged" by Congressman Howard Wolpe, are doing.

What earthly incentive can the ANC or the mass democratic movement have to adopt strategies that might encourage the lifting of the emergency if the Bush administration, ratifying its own preconditions for any sort of serious dialogue, intimates that the emergency, unlifted, will make it difficult to oppose more sanctions. This can hardly be classified as "inducing leaders to explore fresh options".

Crocker concludes: "The conflict in SA will not be 'solved' by crude American efforts to manipulate the distant and slippery levers of the SA power balance. An economically weaker SA will be a country with more suffering, anger and fear — not more statesmanship and vision. Negotiation and political solutions are possible at any point of relative equilibrium. They need not wait for some imaginary, future stalemate, far bloodier than the present one."

These lines might go rather well in a UN address. Here's praying that Bush has taken the time to study them and instruct his advisers accordingly.

Suspension of anaesthetist recommended

Staff Reporter

A CAPE TOWN anaesthetist was yesterday found guilty of disgraceful conduct by a disciplinary committee of the SA Medical and Dental council following the death of a woman in a dentist's chair.

The committee will recommend to the council that Dr Ivan Nurick of Higgovale be suspended from practising as an anaesthetist for six months.

This suspension in turn should be suspended for three years on condition that Dr Nurick did not appear before a disciplinary committee on a similiar offence, the committee ruled.

Mrs Hester Stead, 63, died of massive aspiration of blood into the lungs and asphyxia in the consulting rooms of Milnerton dentist Dr Harry Reich about an hour after sitting in the dentist's chair.

Dr Nurick had pleaded guilty to administering an anaesthetic to Mrs Stead in Dr Reich's surgery which was inadequately equipped with back-up facilities to resuscitate a patient in an emergency.

He also pleaded guilty to administering a general anaesthetic when the condition of the patient did not allow the anaesthetic to be administered.

The administering of general anaesthetics in dental surgeries occurred all over the country every day, Mr Deon Irish, for Dr Nurick, told the committee. He said that although specialist anaesthetists did not like dental work, medical practitioners would administer anaesthetics if the specialists refused.

● Dr Reich will appear before the disciplinary committee tomorrow morning.

DP caucus meets



DP MPs ... The full Democratic Party caucus met in Cape Town yesterday. It was the first meeting of the new party's parliamentary caucus since last week's election. Parliament resumes today.

Death of shooting suspect

Crime Reporter

THE 29-year-old man suspected of shooting a 20-year-old Kalk Bay woman in the mouth and stomach two weeks ago has died in hospital after apparently shooting himself.

He was found lying in a Wynberg flat with bullet wounds in his head.

Police yesterday identified the man as Mr Gavin Leonard Brown, of Wynberg.

Miss Megan Loxton was shot while leaving her flat with friends on September 1. She was admitted to Victoria Hospital and has since been discharged.

Killer's appeal turned down

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Appeal Court here yesterday dismissed the appeal of Willem Jacobus Bosman, who was a deserter from the Defence Force, against a finding that there was no extenuation for the murder of a man who gave him a lift.

Mr Izak Johannes Coetzee was shot and robbed at Kersefontein in the Hopetown district and sentenced to death by Mr Justice A J Lategan in the Cape Supreme Court on May 27, 1988. — Sapa.

DP's leadership contest shelved

CAPE TIMES 12/9/89 (30K4)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE leadership contest in the Democratic Party was placed on ice yesterday with a decision to opt for the status quo in the party hierarchy.

A meeting of the DP's parliamentary caucus yesterday declined to take sides in the leadership tussle between Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Zach de Beer.

The third co-leader of the DP troika, Mr Wynand Malan, has stated publicly that he does not harbour ambitions to become the sole leader of the fledgling party but he is on record as favouring the continuation of the joint leadership situation.

A statement released by the DP caucus after a 3½-hour meeting noted: "Bearing in mind that the national congress will review the leadership structure on October 7, the caucus requests Dr De Beer to continue as parliamentary leader of the DP until that date."

Intense lobbying is likely to continue for the next month among factions within the DP intent on punting their favourite for the overall leaderhip of the party.

Dr Worrall could be ahead in the leadership stakes among people who voted for the DP in the election, but among the signed-up members of the party who will have the powers to select candidates to attend the October congress, Dr De Beer appears to have the edge.

Most of the delegates from Indian areas and the Transvaal are expected to give Dr De Beer the nod. Dr Worrall's strongest support base is expected to come from the Border and parts of Natal.

In the election of another power position in the party, former PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin was unanimously elected chairman of the DP caucus.

Mr Harry Schwarz beat Mr Ken Andrew and Mr Peter Gastrow for the position of vice-chairman of the caucus. Another Transvaler, Mr David Dalling, won the job as chief whip of the party after beating off a challenge by Mr Roger Burrows, who was made the assistant chief whip.

Other whips selected by the party were Mr Peter Soal and Mr Jannie Momberg.

The DP selected Mr Andre de Wet of East London and Mr David Gant of Helderberg as its nominated MPs.

During the meeting yesterday the caucus also considered "the serious situation of the violence which has developed in the greater Cape Town in recent days".

The DP caucus decided to push for a snap debate on the situation in the Western Cape before Parliament closes this week.

● The National Party's Cape caucus yesterday nominated Mr David Graaff and Mr Piet Swanepoel as indirectly elected MPs. Both lost their seats in the election; Mr Graaff was beaten by the DP in Wynberg and Mr Swanepoel by the CP in Kuruman.

The Transvaal caucus nominated Mr Glen Babb, who was defeated in Randburg, and Mr Jacob de Villiers, who lost in Barberton.

The Natal caucus nominated Mr Renier Schoeman, the party's former provincial secretary, who lost the Umhlanga seat.

It is uncertain whether all five candidates will be confirmed as indirectly elected MPs when Parliament reconvenes.

The State President, virtually certain to be Mr F W de Klerk, is entitled to nominate four MPs.

They are expected to be the chief whip of Parliament, Mr Alec van Breda, in the Cape, Dr Willem Odendaal, the former MP for Sasolburg, Mr Schoeman in Natal and Dr Sampie Golden in the Transvaal.

Cape Times 12/9/87

30(A

Big reward for arson info

Crime Reporter

POLICE are offering a R5 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of people responsible for the fire on the Paarl farm of Democratic Party candidate Mr Graham Retief.

The blaze, which caused about R460 000 damage, was discovered shortly after 2am on Sunday when a farmworker woke to find a barn on fire.

A valuable wine collection, packaging material for winemaking and a computer were destroyed in the blaze, but Mr Retief saved two trucks.

Ousted MPs get big payouts and pensions

SEVEN of the 21 MPs who lost their seats in the election will receive a total gratuity of R716 140 and a total annual pension of R358 070.

NP MP for Kuruman Piet Swanepoel, who has been an MP for 17 years 4 months and lost his seat to the CP's Jan Hoon, will receive an annual pension of R86 685, which is more than his annual salary of R75 000 as an MP.

He will receive a R173 370 gratuity from the State Revenue Fund, which pays all salaries, pensions and gratuities of MPs and political office bearers.

RIAAN SMIT

The other 14 MPs, most of whom were elected in 1987, do not have the minimum pensionable service of seven years and six months required by the Members of Parliament and Political Office-bearers Pension Scheme Act of 1984.

Their contributions to the pension fund, 7% of their annual salary, will be refunded, plus 5% interest on the total contribution, amounting to R12 000 each.

Former NP MP for Pietermaritzburg North Danie Schutte, served 11 years five months in Parliament and will receive a R114 170 gratuity and a pension of R57 085.

Calculated at 7% of salary taken as R75 000 for each of the 11 years, he has contributed R57 750 in total.

NP MP Michael Veldman, who lost his seat in Rustenburg, will receive a gratuity of R98 280 and a pension of R49 140 after 9 years 10 months in Parliament.

Piet Pretorius (Maraisburg), Dawie le Roux (Uitenhage), Steyn Terblanche (Heilbron) and Willem Odendaal (Sasolburg), all NP MPs, will get a gratuity of R82 580 and a pension of R41 290 after eight years and three and half months in parliament.

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Business Day

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De Beer to continue as DP parliamentary leader

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party yesterday decided that Zach de Beer should continue as its parliamentary leader.

The 36-member DP caucus, which met here for the first time yesterday, decided not to elect a new parliamentary leader as its congress was to decide on the leadership question in October. De Beer was parliamentary leader of the DP before the election.

However, the feeling among caucus members was that if it had been put to the vote, De Beer would have won easily. Caucus members said De Beer's fellow co-leaders Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan were among those who opposed electing a new parliamentary leader now.

The NP nominated five candidates for indirectly elected seats yesterday.

The [illegible] Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Glenn Babb, who lost by 1 700 votes to Malan in Randburg, after reportedly spending more than R250 000 in a highly aggressive campaign; Piet Swanepoel, who lost Kuruman to the CP; David Graaff, defeated by the DP's Robin Carlisle in Wynberg; Jacob de Villiers, who was beaten by the CP in Barberton; and Renier Schoeman, who lost Umhlanga in Natal to the DP's Kobus Jordaan.

The DP decided to nominate Andre de Wet, who lost East London City by just 500 votes, and David Gant, its unsuccessful candidate in the Helderberg constituency, as its indirectly elected MPs.

It is still not clear whether the NP will get five or the DP two indirectly elected members.

The result will not be known until tomorrow when the actual election takes place.

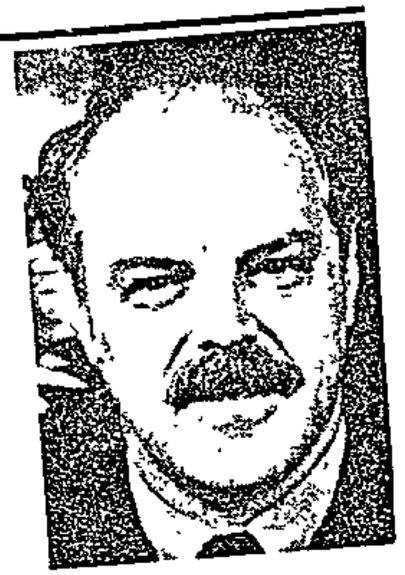
Depending on the voting, either the NP's Schoeman or the DP's Gant will not be elected as an MP.

De Wet was chosen because the DP believes the Border region is the area where it has the best chance of winning further seats at future elections. Besides East London City, the party also fared well in East London North, King William's Town and Queenstown.

Two veteran opposition parliamentarians, Colin Eglin and Harry Schwarz, were elected as chairman and vice-chairman of the DP caucus yesterday. Schwarz was opposed by Ken Andrew (DP Gardens) and Peter Gastrow (Durban Central), but won on the first ballot.

Sandton MP David Dalling was elected chief

☐ To Page 2



● BABB

Brink's bid to reach out

"A Dry White Season", the long-awaited film based on André Brink's novel, is due to make its debut on September 21 at the *Weekly Mail* film festival.

Director Euzhan Palcy, awarded first prize at Cannes for "Sugar Cane Alley", is certainly experienced in Third World situations.

Brink declined participation in the filming of his work. It would only have been frustrating for him as a writer and, besides, he had other work to pursue.

He is confident about its success. He has implicit faith in the company (MGR) and in the excellence of the actors — Marlon Brando, playing the lawyer who aids conservative schoolteacher, Ben du Toit, played by South African actor Winston Ntshona. Janet Suzman takes the part of Du Toit's wife.

In the past, Brink's life has been subject to much sensational publicity, which he ardently hopes will not be perpetuated by this film.

He refers to his last book "States of Emergency", not published in South Africa as part of his former wife's divorce stipulation. "States of Emergency", different from his earlier novels, was an important means of creative self-liberation for Brink.

This work was intended as a therapeutic attempt to overcome a nearly three-year writing block, to which he had fallen prey.

Post-modernist in style, it is an exploration of the act of writing in itself, Brink elucidates.

The writer is writing about a writer who is impeded in his task by incessant interruptions from the real state of emergency surrounding him.

One is constantly thwarted in one's attempts to touch the core of the true Brink because he reserves his essence for himself alone.

Brink has been described as ego centric, an ivory-tower intellectual whose one true love is his writing. He has been accused of always excluding his family from his writing.

He has been praised as an excellent literary critic whose truly brilliant observations are only published in Afrikaans.

He is internationally acclaimed,

By FELICITY LEVINE

Professor André Brink lounges in an armchair in his Grahamstown University study. He surveys his interviewer with polite deference. One is constantly thwarted in one's effort to touch the core of the true Brink, as he reserves his essence for himself alone.



Professor André Brink . . . simultaneously betrayer and defender of his race.

with his novels to date translated into 26 languages.

He was raised in an extremely conservative, traditional Afrikaner home — his father was a member of the Broederbond. Brink describes himself as a direct consequence of having grown up in a country like South Africa.

Political conversion

The springboard to subsequent political conversion was his boyhood which he spent in a succession of small inland villages. During this period he hardly heard anything but Afrikaans spoken and his "pals" were the black and coloured children later to appear as adults in his novels.

After seven years of study at Potchefstroom University — epicentre of higher Christian education — he emerged moulded exclusively by the values and thought patterns of Afrikanerdom.

His political liberation was spurred by the Sharpeville massacre, which he heard of while he was studying at the Sorbonne in Paris.

The final decision to come home, to leave the Latin Quarter and soulmate Breyten Breytenbach living in exile, stemmed from his need to confront the South African situation and accept his responsibility therein — as a writer, as a human being and as an Afrikaner.

Brink is staying in SA because he feels he can contribute as a writer by helping others to see what is urgent and worthwhile.

During the 1970s he was constantly harassed by security police — following him around, confiscating his notes and intimidating his children. But now he is left in relative peace.

The Afrikaner tribe has become more sophisticated, having come to terms with the fear of being racially polluted by the black man, Brink feels.

The conviction that the volk would become coloured within a few generations had led to the ban ing of works like "Looking on Darkness" and others of that period.

Those were among the first Afrikaans novels to consider the possibility of sexual relationships between black and white.

Since then, an entire generation of writers has taken up the issue. Now they are more concerned with the immediate issue of surviving as a political group.

Brink parries the accusation of cultivating the apartheid situation, of nurturing a tragic vision. Apartheid in his writing is but a metaphor for the "apartness" of people — the separateness and solitude of human individuals.

Invariably in his works one encounters a situation of extreme loneliness, an attempt to reach out across a chasm which can only temporarily be bridged. At the end there is always a sign of hope.

There is always an embryo of regeneration, of a child being born, of a new generation which will do better than the previous one.

Brink's inherent dualism manifests itself. Simultaneously he is betrayer and defender of his race.

Incessantly he denies, inexorably he reasserts his structure. The Afrikaner in power, he feels, has strengthened the most negative aspects of Arikanerdom.

He juxtaposes situations in history where Afrikaners have responded by taking liberal, even radical, stances.

Nineteenth century Cape leader Andries Stockenstroom was disliked for his radical ideas; Bram Fischer, leader of the SA Communist Party, came from one of the top Afrikaner families.

The Beyers Naudes and the Breyten Breytenbachs and the Van Zyl Slabberts are not exceptions.

Apartheid was really institutionalised during the British occupation with their Eastern Province policies, including separate territories for whites and blacks.

Even the strong Calvinist streak in the Afrikaner can be directly ascribed to the influence in the 19th century of a whole contingent of Scottish Presbyterian pastors. They indoctrinated the local Afrikaners to such an extent that they became rabid racists.

Brink pauses, muses and returns to himself.

His film, yes, his latest book, too, reflect the writer's own personal state of emergency in the growing awareness of his vulnerability and the process of ageing — of finding himself headed towards the latter part of his life with an entire life yet needing to be lived.

Show mercy FW de Klerk urged



F W de Klerk.

FAMILIES of people on Death Row yesterday submitted a petition to the acting State President, Mr F W De Klerk, requesting him to abolish the death penalty and to grant clemency to all condemned prisoners.

By MONK NKOMO

Four members of the Families and Friends of Prisoners on Death Row (Fopod), presented the petition to the State President's office at the Union Buildings in Pretoria at 10.15am yesterday.

Families and friends stood outside the office singing the national anthem. "Nkosi sikelil'iAfrica."

The four who were allowed to hand in the petition are Mr Aubrey Lekwane, the Reverend Robin Briggs, Mrs Winnie Meube, mother of condemned ANC member Mthetheleli Meube, and Mrs Irene Theseni, sister of Menzi Theseni who was sentenced to death in 1987 for a necklace murder in the Eastern Cape.

The petition called on De Klerk to grant clemency to all those on Death Row, 95 percent of whom are believed to be blacks.

"We have heard you promise that there is going to be a new era of justice, peace and reconciliation in South Africa. We have heard you call for an end to violence and a start to negotiations," the petition read.

"As the State President this is the power you have - the power to decide who is allowed to live and who must die. We think that doing this would be an act of compassion and mercy, and act of good faith."

Star 12/9/89

Tough fight expected in Berea poll

304A

Municipal Reporter

A tooth-and-nail fight is in the offing for Johannesburg's Ward 27 (Berea) after the election of sitting Democratic Party councillor Mr Lester Fuchs to Parliament last week.

It is believed Mr Joe Fink, the son of Joubert Park National Party councillor Mrs Desiree Simpson, is a NP front runner for the seat.

But, although she has denied speculation about an election deal whereby she agreed to stay out of the general election if he was given the Berea council seat, Mrs Simpson admitted: "It is no secret that I would like Joe to be the councillor in my neighbouring ward because he has been involved in my major investigation into slum landlords and prostitution over the past three years".

In the October 1988 municipal elections Mr Fuchs held Berea with a majority of 327, obtaining 1 175 votes to the NP's Miss Christine Burgess's 848 in a 35,72 percent poll.

Miss Burgess subsequently joined the DP and it is believed she has made herself available as a candidate for her new party in the coming by-election.

Another DP contender is said to be Miss Hillbrow, Melani Walker, who extended her interest in the area during her reign by establishing and chairing a committee to investigate problems unique to Hillbrow.

The DP caucus met yesterday afternoon to discuss what DP council leader Mr Ian Davidson termed "literally queues of excellent candidates" for Berea and Highlands North.

Ward 17 (Highlands North) is a DP seat which was held by the party's former council leader Mr Tony Leon, who was elected to Parliament with a 6 301 majority. It is believed unlikely the NP will put up a candidate in this safe DP seat.

In the 1988 municipal elections he won the ward with a majority of 1 599, only 160 fewer than the biggest majority in the election which went to the present DP leader Mr Davidson.

De Beer keeps job

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☐ From Page 1

whip to fill the vacancy created by the retirement of John Malcomess. Roger Burrows (DP Pinetown) was elected assistant chief whip, while Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) and Jannie Momberg (DP Simonstown) were elected whips.

The election of Momberg, a newcomer to Parliament, as a whip raised several eyebrows.

Sources said it had been decided each province should have representation among the whips. Jaspar Walsh (DP Pinelands) withdrew at the last moment leaving Momberg as the only Cape NP who had been nominated for a whip position.

Malan said last week he did not think it necessary to elect a parliamentary leader because Parliament would be sitting for only a short session.

● Comment: Page 16

Fauresmith: NP to seek court order for a recount

EDYTH BULBRING

THE dead-heat election result in the Free State town of Fauresmith will have a sequel in court when the NP attempts to get a court order overturning the returning officer's vote-recount decision.

The NP's Inus Aucamp and the CP's Alex Danzfuss tied with 4 519 votes, with the HNP polling 120 votes.

Aucamp said yesterday the only way to settle the stalemate was to have a recount as a mistake could have been made either way.

On Thursday, returning officer Theo Nel ruled there would be no recount, which meant there would have to be another election, Aucamp said.

The HNP and the CP were approached to support the court application but the NP had heard nothing from the parties by last night.

Support by the opposition parties would mean that there would be no prolonged court action, Aucamp said.

Danzfuss said last night it was a "pity" the NP had decided to take the matter to court. He said the court action would not be cheaper than an election or in the interests of the community.

The CP would decide today whether or not to fight the application.

Prince Harry in 'big school'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Prince Harry turned up for his first day of school this week like any other new boy, wearing a too-big blazer and an embarrassing lipstick smear on his cheek where his mother had kissed him goodbye.

At the school steps, Harry, who turns five on Friday, shook hands with the headmistress and then smiled at the battery of cameras present to capture his first day at "big school".

His seven-year-old brother, William, accompanied him through the gates of the R3 700-a-term school.

Report on girl's death 'changed'

NAIROBI. — A police pathologist admitted yesterday that a post-mortem report of the remains of Ms Julie Ward, a British woman found in south-western Kenya last year, was altered by his superior.

Dr Abdel Shaker told an inquest into her death that chief police pathologist Dr Jason Kaviti made the alterations on September 21 before examining the woman's remains.

"Only two words were changed and not the whole report," Dr Shaker insisted. — Sapa-AP

'Deep Throat' claim denied

WASHINGTON. — Mr Alexander Haig yesterday denied as "totally untrue" a published report saying he would reveal that he was the "Deep Throat" source for many reports about Watergate.

"My efforts then and now have been to preserve the presidency, not to tear it down," said Mr Haig, who was chief of staff to former president Mr Richard Nixon.

The New York Daily News newspaper said

DP fails to get seat for Gant

CAPE TIMES 11/9/89 13/9/89 3044

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party and its unsuccessful Helderberg candidate, Mr David Gant, suffered a setback yesterday when the party failed in its bid to get two indirectly elected MPs.

The DP candidate in East London City, Mr Andre de Wet, was yesterday confirmed as the sole indirectly elected MP for the DP. The DP won 33 seats in the election.

Five additional National Party MPs were confirmed yesterday by the director-general of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl. They are:

Mr Glen Babb, the losing NP candidate in Randburg, Mr David Graaff (Wynberg), Mr Piet Swanepoel (Kuruman), Mr Jacob de Villiers (Barberton) and Mr Renier Schoeman (Umhlanga).

The NP, which won 93 seats in the election, will also be getting another four MPs, to be nominated by Mr F W de Klerk.

The Conservative Party, which won 39 seats in the election, received two additional MPs yesterday: Dr Harold Pauw (Bloemfontein East) and Mr Daan van der Merwe (Gezina).

In the House of Representatives the Labour Party, on the strength of winning 69 of the 80 seats in the election, were allowed to decide on all three indirectly elected MPs for the House.

They were: Mr John Douw, the Rev Alwyn Goosen and Mr Sohorub Oosthuizen. The State President is still entitled to nominate another two MPs to the House.

In the House of Delegates, the successful Solidarity candidates were the former Minister of the Budget, Mr Ismael Kathadra, and Mr Yusuf Seedat, who stood for the Progressive Independent Party in the election.

The National People's Party choose Mr Preggie Padyachee as its indirectly elected MP. The State President still has to nominate two further MPs to the House.

Twist in Nat race in Natal

CAPE TIMES 13/9/89

THERE was a surprise twist in the race for the leadership of the National Party in Natal yesterday when a snap congress was called for this Saturday in Maritzburg.

A congress to elect a new leader to succeed retiring Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, was scheduled for October 6 — after the expected announcement of Mr F W de Klerk's cabinet.

Earlier it was felt the party should not compromise Mr De Klerk's cabinet appointments in any way by electing a provincial leader beforehand. The provincial leadership would virtually ensure promotion to the cabinet.

However, it is understood that Mr De Klerk himself intervened, saying he did not want to prescribe to the Natal party who its leader should be and that the party should go ahead with the leadership election.

Mr Botha has led the Natal party for the past five years. There are three main contenders to take over from him — Mr George Bartlett, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and MP for Amanzimtoti, who it

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"My efforts then and now have been to preserve the presidency, not to tear it down," said Mr Haig, who was chief of staff to former president Mr Richard Nixon.

The New York Daily News newspaper said Mr Haig would disclose that he was "Deep Throat" in his memoirs, to be published in 1992. — Sapa-AP

the House.

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Mr Botha has led the Natal party for the past five years. There are three main contenders to take over from him — Mr George Bartlett, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and MP for Amanzimtoti, who it seems is being pushed by the hierarchy; Mr Con Botha, the party's chief information officer and MP for Umlazi, and Mr Jurie Mentz, chairman of the Commission for Co-operation and Development and MP for Vryheid.

Keep it legal today, De Klerk tells protesters

IN the light of the government's clear commitment to negotiated change, it is not necessary for anyone to give vent to political aspirations through disorderly protest and rioting, says acting-President F W de Klerk.

Speaking at a Press briefing in Cape Town yesterday, he appealed to the organisers of today's planned march in Cape Town to pursue legal means to register their views.

"This is not the time to aggravate the differences that exist in our society," he said.

"This is the time for finding common ground and for peaceful dialogue. I shall make myself available to reasonable approaches to this end."

"MOMENTOUS" ELECTION

He said last week's "momentous" election was not about whether all South Africans should be accommodated in future elections, but how this should be done.

The electorate had declared itself overwhelmingly in favour of further reform and the government would continue towards a new South Africa in which all the people would be fully represented in government.

However, the election was marred by unrest in the Western Cape.

"During the night of the election deliberate attempts, including physical impediments and violent harassment of the people, were made to prevent citizens from voting."

Subsequent violent incidents led to the death of several and he wished to convey his condolences to the bereaved.

"Under these circumstances the police had to respond to restore order, to stop the escalation of violence and to prevent the further killing of innocent people."

The police unquestionably had a duty and the powers to proterct lives and property and deserved appreciation for the proper execution of their duties.

"If, however, powers have been or are exceeded, remedial steps will be taken as in the case of any other official."

The same principles applied to anyone who might disregard the law.

"In the light of the government's clear commitment to negotiated change, it is not necessary for any person to give vent to his political aspirations through disorderly protest and rioting.

"I want to appeal to those involved to encourage their leaders to come to the negotiating table," Mr De Klerk said.

"DOOR OPEN"

"The door to a new South Africa is open. It is not necessary to batter it down. We sincerely wish to discuss with leaders in South Africa how to achieve a new, fair and just South africa.

"The government has no objection to peaceful and orderly protest, provided proper cognisance is taken of the laws of our country.

"It is therefore unfortunate that plans have been announced for further mass demonstrations in Cape Town tomorrow, thus far apparently without complying with the law."

He appealed to the organisers to find legal means to convey the protesters' views to the authorities and pledged himself to be available to "all reasonable approaches". — Sapa.

NP's 5-year action plan rooted in group ideology

Star 13/9/89

304A

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

The blueprint for Government action during the life of the new Parliament elected this week is contained in the National Party's five-year action plan which it has now received a mandate to implement. The plan stresses economic reform, the need to negotiate a system of full political participation for all and a move away from rigid race classification. But groups remain, as solidly as ever, the basis for political participation.

The National Party's five-year action plan — which it now has been mandated to implement — breathes the air of conciliation. It promises to cut taxes, to relax rigid classification, to enter into real negotiations with the black community about giving it full political participation, and to return South Africa to international respectability.

But at the core remains a commitment to the group-basis for political participation and a promise to maintain segregated residential areas and schools "for those who want them".

The plan contains no commitment to scrap the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act though it does say that where amenities have been opened to all races, they will not be segregated again.

The main economic promises are:

- To lower personal tax, by reducing marginal rates to a maximum of 40 percent at the income level of R100 000, instead of the present 45 percent at R80 000.
- To reduce company tax from 50 to 40 percent and phase out tax abatements.
- To reduce the deficit before borrowing to 3 percent of the gross domestic product to relieve pressure on interest rates.
- To reduce inflation to single digits.

The plan notes that these goals will be pursued "providing there are no drastic adverse changes in prevailing domestic and foreign circumstances".

Constitutionally the most important part of the plan is a promise to revise the present system of rigid race classification by law — but without abandoning the principle of political particiaption through groups and not by individuals.

The plan suggests the following changes to the group-based system: a new definition of groups to be negotiated with the leaders of the existing groups; an individual should be free to choose which group he belongs to — if that group will have him, and a new open and multiracial "South African group" should be formed

All of these suggestions imply changes to the Population Registration Act.

There is no hint in the plan of what the new definition of groups might be.

But the plan also makes abundantly clear that the Government has not shifted from its present commitment to the principle of "own affairs" and "general affairs" whereby all political decisions are made on the basis of groups.

'Own affairs'

It promises that "group identity" will still be protected, and a separate community life — including separate residential areas and schools — will be maintained for those who want it

In fact it promises to extend this principle in order to give groups greater autonomy over their "own affairs".

But it says the NP will negotiate with the leaders of other groups to reach a "mutually acceptable" basis for maintaining own community life, own residential areas and own schools It also suggests that these negotiations will also be about amendment — rather than abolition — of the Separate Amenities Act.

Separate amenities will be further opened "where circumstances require and where this does not cause conflict", and amenities which have been "successfully" opened shall not be closed again", the plan promises

The political expression of the group-based policy is that each group will have its own governing body with sole jurisdiction over its "own affairs" and each group will participate as a group in central government to decide on "general affairs".

As happens now in the tricameral Parliament, there will be no counting of heads when general affairs are decided upon. On the consensus principle, all groups must agree before a decision is taken.

Deadlocks will be broken by an "objective, apolitical" institution, acting within the framework of the values enshrined in the constitution.

Though the plan does not elaborate on this point, Cabinet Ministers have suggested that this institution could be a kind of constitutional court which tests decisions against a Bill of individual and group rights, which is also a feature of the plan.

Implication

The implication is that the present deadlock-breaking body, the President's Council, will be changed or scrapped.

The plan also commits the NP to consider including a Bill of human rights (defined as group and individual rights) in a new constitution.

It also proposes to examine other methods of preventing group domination including veto powers, entrenched clauses, prescribed majorities, rotation of authority, devolution of power and reducing the powers of the executive presidency.

In the field of international relations the plan sets this basic goal:

- The return of SA to its rightful place in the international community.
- To promote peace and stability in southern Africa.
- To promote economic co-operation among all the countries of southern Africa.

One of the security goals is to limit Citizen Force and Commando camps as much as possible.

Black in Cabinet unlikely until after intensive talks

No black is likely to be appointed as a Cabinet Minister or Deputy Minister until the Government has had intense behind-the-scenes discussions to try to persuade credible leaders to participate in Government.

Senior Government sources said it was unlikely a "token" black would be appointed to the Cabinet — for instance as Minister or Deputy Minister of black education — as has been speculated.

They said this was the "co-optive" approach of the last administration and that new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk "would not be making the same mistake".

There was wide speculation earlier this year that someone like Mr John Mavuso, the present black member of the Transvaal executive committee, would be the first black to be appointed to the executive.

Legislation providing for this was published but was never passed, because of strong opposition from the majority Labour Party in the House of Representatives.

Before a black was appointed, this legislation would have to be resurrected. This could not be done before early next year and would almost certainly encounter resistance again from the Labour Party.

A senior Government source said that in any case Mr de Klerk had given the indication that he would be departing from the "co-optive" style of the last admininstration.

"I think his feeling is that this is not the appropriate time to appoint blacks to the Cabinet.

"Apart from the fact that the law has not been passed, he would prefer to achieve consensus first among moderate blacks. He doesn't want to get in token blacks."

Within the NP there is some speculation that Mr de Klerk might try to get a Turnhalle-type multi-party conference going to bring blacks into government, following the example of the conference in SWA/Namibia which eventually led to the formation of the multi-racial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance party which is contesting the November election. — Political Correspondent.

FW has not gone far enough – Boesak

Permitting Cape march is seen as sign of hope

Star 13/9/89

304A

Cape Town

Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk's decision to allow the right to peaceful protest has been widely welcomed by opponents of apartheid as a "hopeful sign" of its willingness to negotiate.

But they warned today that the Government would have to go much further to get real negotiations off the ground.

MDM leader Dr Allan Boesak, one of the organisers of the march, said the Government had made progress in that it was now talking to people who "do not fit its political mould".

But he said Mr de Klerk had not gone far enough to persuade "the people" that his offers of negotiation were serious

"We need some clear proof to show our people the extent of the seriousness of the offer. I hope this will be forthcoming – and soon."

By Peter Fabricius, Political Reporter

The concrete signs needed were an end to the state of emergency and the release of detainees. "The initiative to create the climate for negotiations is fully in his hands," Dr Boesak said.

Mr de Klerk said yesterday he hoped the gesture and the march would prove there was "a new spirit in which people who say they believe in peace will really reach out and start talking to each other".

The door to a new South Africa is open — it is not necessary to batter it down," Mr de Klerk added as he appealed to the organisers of protest to come to the negotiation table.

'No objection'

Mr de Klerk's decision to allow the protest march today has been welcomed in London.

BBC news last night said it was "the boldest political decision of his career to allow a protest march against his minority Government".

By allowing the march, the BBC said, Mr de Klerk was "hoping to rescue his plans to involve black leaders in negotiation" — something which had been threatened by the recent township killings".

In making his announcement last night Mr de Klerk said: "The Government has no objection to peaceful and orderly protest, provided proper cognizance is taken of the law."

He was speaking after intense behind-the-scenes negotiations with the march organisers, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Boesak.

Mr de Klerk said they had assured him that the march — to be led by the Mayor of Cape Town, Councillor Gordon Oliver — will be peaceful.

It is planned to be from St George's Cathedral to the City Hall at lunchtime.

Setting a conciliatory new tone for his administration, Mr de Klerk said. "This is not the time to aggravate the differences that exist in our country. This is the time for finding common ground and peaceful dialogue. I make myself available for any reasonable approaches to this end."

Mr de Klerk said the Government's decision to allow the protest today should be seen as its interpretation of the reform mandate it received in the elections last week.



Police put the body of assassinated Swapo leade

Police 'crying out' for info on brutal murder

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Investigations into the sadistic murder of Pretoria teenager Miss Johanna "Hanlie" Viljoen, whose battered and naked body was found south of Johannesburg this week, are being hampered due to lack of information.

"We are crying out for information. This is a very difficult investigation and we have had very little response from the public so far.

"We once again appeal to anyone who boarded train 0708 from Vereeniging on Sunday at 2.51 pm or who even dropped off someone at the station to contact us immediately," said Brigadier Colin Steyn, West Rand CID chief.

Brigadier Steyn is personally heading a team of about 40 detectives to crack the case he today called "a bad one".

Miss Viljoen's battered body was found along the Johannesburg, Vereeniging road on Monday. It is suspected she was forced off a train and then raped before being bludgeoned to death.

Brigadier Steyn told The Star today his team would be "going back to basics" in the investigation and a high-level conference would be held today to discuss strategy.

The team faces a mammoth task in an already-complicated murder investigation — piecing together the events, over a huge area, which led to the rape and bludgeoning of Miss Viljeon.

He said the starting point was interviewing everyone who was on the train

A national serviceman who was sitting opposite Miss Viljoen in her coach is also asked to contact police. Brigadier Steyn stressed he was not "pointing fingers" at the man.

No suspect has yet emerged.

● See Page 3.

Restrictions

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

Plan to test a softer approach

Government set to allow Cape march

B/Day 13/9/89.

CAPE TOWN — Government has decided to allow today's planned protest march in Cape Town to test the effects of adopting a softer approach in dealing with peaceful anti-apartheid demonstrations.

The decision marks a new conciliatory approach by acting President F W de Klerk and is in stark contrast to government's previous hardline position in dealing with peaceful protest.

De Klerk said at a parliamentary Press conference yesterday government had no objection to peaceful and orderly protest provided proper cognisance was taken of the laws.

He extended his condolences to the families of the people who died in western Cape election-day violence.

The march against police violence was set to begin at St George's Cathedral and to end at the city hall.

Government sources confirmed NGK moderator Prof Johan Heyns had played a significant role as a mediator between government and the march organisers, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

De Klerk said government had received definite assurances from the march organisers that the planned proceedings would be peaceful. Arrangements were being made to ensure the march took place within the ambit of the law.

A government spokesman said the decision to permit the march should be seen as a prototype of the approach government would like to adopt in future under conditions of co-operation.

MIKE ROBERTSON

De Klerk defended police action in the western Cape to restore law and order. But, he said, remedial steps would be taken in cases where police had exceeded their powers.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday appointed CID deputy chief Maj-Gen Jaap Joubert to investigate allegations of police brutality in the western Cape. He said the internal inquiry would also focus on charges by SAP Lt Gregory Rockman that police had used excessive violence while handling the defiance campaign against the elections.

Vlok met 40 senior coloured officers yesterday to discuss the unrest situation.

After the meeting SA's highest-ranking coloured policeman, Col John Manuel, said Lt Rockman had his full support and he called on the riot squad to behave more professionally.

De Klerk said in the light of government's commitment to negotiated change, he believed it was not necessary for people to give vent to their political aspirations through disorderly protest and rioting.

"The door to a new SA is open — it is not necessary to batter it down. We sincerely wish to discuss with leaders in SA ways to achieve a new, fair and just SA."

A government spokesman said the decision to allow the protest march was an attempt by government to prove it was

□ To Page 2

B/Day 13/9/89

Cape protest march

□ From Page 1

serious about looking for common ground and finding ways to avoid confrontation.

He said in future peaceful protests would be allowed if permission was granted by government.

Sapa reports that SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane has called on all church leaders to take apart in today's march to "express solidarity with the pain and grief of the people of the western Cape".

● Comment: Page 18

Friction over Fauresmith

EDYTH BULBRING

THE NP and the CP could not reach agreement yesterday at a meeting called by the NP in an attempt to persuade the CP to support its court application for a recount of election votes in Fauresmith. (304A)

CP candidate Alex Danzfuss and NP candidate Inus Aucamp tied with 4 519 votes while the HNP polled 120 votes in the constituency in last week's general election. B10a4 13/9/89.

Danzfuss said yesterday it was agreed during the meeting between himself, Aucamp and their legal representatives that the contents of the meeting should not be disclosed to the Press.

He said an agreement depended on one or two points and he would be in a position to clarify the CP's position today.

13 1989

BIDay 13/9/89 (30cA)

Nats get 5 of the 8 extra seats

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — The NP yesterday won five of the eight indirectly elected House of Assembly seats in Parliament.

DP nominee David Gant was the unlucky loser as the party was restricted to just one indirectly elected member, Andre de Wet, its unsuccessful candidate in the East London City constituency.

The CP won two extra seats. Its successful candidates were Dr Harold Pauw, who lost in Bloemfotein East, and Daan van der Merwe, who lost Gezina by just seven votes.

The successful NP candidates were Glenn Babb, David Graaff, Piet Swanepoel, Jacob de Villiers and Renier Schoeman.

Besides Babb, who lost to DP coleader Wynand Malan in Randburg, the others were all sitting MPs who lost their seats in the election.

At the moment the NP has 98 seats, the CP 41 and the DP 34. F W de Klerk will be in a position to nominate four more MPs for seats in Parliament after he is elected President, bringing the NP total to 102.

With the Fauresmith seat still to be decided, the NP will have a overall majority of 27 in the 178 seat Assembly.

De Klerk is expected to nominate Alex van Breda, the chief whip of Parliament, Sampie Golden who lost in Wonderboom, Willem Odendaal, the unsucessful NP candidate in Sasolburg, and Danie Schutte, who lost Maritzburg North, as MPs.

The indirectly elected members in the House of Representatives were John Douw, Alwyn Goosen and Sohorub Oosthuizen, all Labour Party members.

The indirectly elected members in the House of Delegates, were former Cabinet Minister Ismael Kathrada, who was elected as an independent with the backing of some Solidarity members, the NPP and the Merit Peoples Party. Yusuf Seedat was elected with the backing of Solidarity members. Henry Padayachee, a NPP nominee, won the third indirectly elected seat.

□ Our Political Staff reports a "snap" NP congress was called for this Saturday in Maritzburg to elect a new Natal leader to succeed retiring Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha.

Likely candidates are Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and MP for Amazimtoti George Bartlett, the party's chief information officer Con Botha, and Commission for Co-operation and Development chairman and Vruheid MP Jurie Mentz.

CP to seek legal advice

Star 13/9/87

3049

East Rand Bureau

The Conservative Party in the Boksburg Town Council out-voted the opposition by 12 votes to eight last night to seek further legal advice on a deadline to scrap petty apartheid in the town.

At a special council meeting, the CP decided to seek advice from senior counsel in Pretoria on the demands made my Mr Butch Jantjes, chairman of Reiger Park's management committee, to rescind petty apartheid measures in Boksburg.

The meeting was convened to discuss the demands to reopen amenities to all races.

If the council refuses to open the town's facilities to all races by Sunday September 17, it could be taken to court on the same grounds as those of the successful legal action against Carletonville two weeks ago.

Mr Jantjes said the CP was playing for time.

Star 13/9/89 304A

Apartheid cruel, unjust system – ambassador

The Star's Foreign News Service

THE HAGUE — Apartheid was a cruel and unjust system, Mr Albert Nothnagel, new South African ambassador to the Netherlands, said yesterday.

He vowed to continue fighting to eradicate it.

Since his arrival on August 31, Mr Nothnagel (50) has fielded a barrage of questions from the Dutch news media about alleged police violence against unarmed civilian protesters and the resulting deaths during last week's general election.

He has expressed "deep sorrow, great sadness, and indignation" about police violence.

"It was not the intention of the Government to use violence in order to maintain an unjust political system which it is anxious to change," he said.

Speaking at the embassy in The Hague, he said that the time for dramatic reform had arrived in South Africa. He added that he "stood 100 percent" behind the reform plans of Mr F W de Klerk.

Nothnagel slams police violence

The Argus Foreign Service

THE HAGUE. — Apartheid is a cruel and unjust political system, Mr Albert Nothnagel, South Africa's new ambassador to the Netherlands said — and he vowed to continue fighting to eradicate it.

Since his arrival on August 31, the 50-year-old ambassador has fielded a barrage of questions from the Dutch news media about alleged police violence against unarmed civilian protestors and the resulting deaths during the South African elections.

"INDIGNATION"

He has expressed "deep sorrow, great sadness, and indignation" about police violence.

"It was not the intention of the government to use violence in order to maintain an unjust political system which it is anxious to change," he said in an interview with a newspaper.

Speaking at the embassy in The Hague, he said the time for dramatic reform had arrived in South Africa. "I believe in my heart and soul in the full political participation of the black people of South Africa and that white and black nationalists must reach for one another's hands and together establish one South Africa for all its peoples."

Extra seats give Nats working majority of 27

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE National Party has an overall working majority of 27 in the House of Assembly after winning five of the eight indirectly elected seats in the House of Assembly.

With the four seats nominated by the President, the NP total will be 102, against the Democratic Party's 34 and the Conservative Party's 41.

The DP won one indirectly elected seat, which went to Mr André de Wet, defeated in East London City.

CP candidate

The CP won two, which went to former MP Mr Daan van der Merwe, the defeated Gezina candidate, and defeated Bloemfontein East candidate Mr Francois Pauw.

The indirectly elected seats are allocated according to the proportion of directly elected MPs of each party.

The NP won a fifth seat, which went to Mr Renier Schoeman, the former Umhlanga MP who was defeated last week by the DP.

The other NP indirectly elected MPs are Mr Glenn Babb, defeated in Randburg, Mr Jacob de Villiers, defeated in Barberton, Mr Piet Swanepoel, defeated in Kuruman and Mr David Graaff, defeated in Wynberg.

The NP will also get all four seats nominated by the President once he has been inaugurated.

102 seats

This will bring the NP total to 102 of the 178 seats in the Assembly, giving it an overall majority of 27.

In the House of Representatives the Labour Party, with 69 of the 80 directly elected seats, won all three indirectly elected seats.

They went to to former indirectly elected MPs Mr John Douw and the Rev Alwyn Goosen and Mr Sohbrub Oosthuizen from Malmesbury.

In the House of Delegates the indirectly elected MPs chosen yesterday were Mr Ishmail Kathrada, former Minister of the Budget, and Solidarity candidates Mr P Padiachey and Mr Yusup Seedat, who was defeated in Central Rand.



Pictures: DANA LE ROUX, The Argus

SWORN IN: Ministers and MPs stand before Chief Justice Corbett to take the oath.



Umbilo MP Ms Carole Charlewood arrives at parliament.

Many new faces at swearing in

By MICHAEL MORRIS,
Political Staff

CABINET ministers and MPs were sworn in this morning in all three houses at the start of the first session of the ninth republican parliament.

There were many new faces among them, particularly in the enlarged ranks of the opposition parties.

All MPs came forward, six at a time, to take the oath before Chief Justice Corbett and "solemnly promise" to perform their duties to the best of their abilities.

The first to take the oath were Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha; Speaker Mr Louis le Grange; Minister of Education and Training Dr Gerrit Viljoen; Defence Minister General Magnus Malan; Minister of Administration and Privatisation Dr Dawie de Villiers and Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee.

In the House of Representatives, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse was among the first to be sworn in.



Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall and his wife Anita arrive for the first brief session of parliament.



Former Fair Lady editor Ms Dene Smuts, Democratic Party MP for Groote Schuur, entering parliament.

Star 13/9/89 (304A)

Questions on legitimacy of signatures

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Extraordinarily low polling percentages in last week's tricameral election have led to questions being raised about the number of legitimate signatures obtained for candidates' nominations.

Questioned by The Star, a Department of Home Affairs spokesman has confirmed that 150 signatures are required for nomination as an independent in constituencies bigger than 25 000 sq km and 300 in constituencies smaller than 25 000 sq km.

INDEPENDENTS

However, some independent candidates polled less than 150 votes.

Why did people who supported a candidate's nomination fail — in droves, in some cases — to vote for him on election day?

The Home Affairs spokesman said one reason for the phenomenon could be that a candidate could have withdrawn after nomination day, in which case his name would have appeared on ballot papers although he had not actively taken part in the election.

"It is thus clear that it does not follow necessarily that irregularities took place."

Star 13/9/89 (304A

President's Council holds final meeting

CAPE TOWN — The President's Council yesterday met for the last time before its formal dissolution on September 20.

In terms of the constitution, the five-year-old PC's term expires on the day of the inauguration of a new State President.

The chairman, Mr Johann Greeff, told members that since it was constituted on September 21 1984, the PC had forwarded 11 reports to the State President and had received 14 Bills for decision. — Sapa.

Star 13/9/89 (304A)

NP majority in the Assembly increases to 27

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party now has an overall working majority of 27 in the House of Assembly after gaining five of the eight indirectly elected seats yesterday.

With four seats nominated by the State President, the NP total will be 102 compared to the Democratic Party's 34 and Conservative Party's 41.

The DP won one indirectly elected seat yesterday. It went to Mr Andre de Wet, who was defeated in East London City.

The CP won two. They went to former MP Mr Daan van der Merwe, who was beaten in Gezina, and defeated Bloemfontein East candidate Mr Francois Pauw.

This was decided when the 165 directly elected MPs met in Cape Town yesterday to choose indirectly elected MPs.

Proportionate allocation

Indirectly elected seats are allocated according to the proportion of directly elected MPs of each party.

The NP's five seat went to Mr Renier Schoeman, former Umhlanga MP, who was defeated last week; Mr Glenn Babb, who was defeated in Randburg; Mr Jacob de Villiers, defeated in Barberton; Mr Piet Swanepoel, defeated in Kuruman; and Mr David Graaf, defeated in Wynberg.

In the House of Representatives, the Labour Party, with 69 of the 80 directly elected seats, won the indirectly elected three.

They went to Mr John Douw, the Reverend Alwyn Goosen and Mr Sohbrub Oosthuizen.

In the House of Delegates, the indirectly elected MPs are Mr Ishmail Kathrada, former Minister of the Budget, and two Solidarity candidates, Mr P Padiachey, and Mr Yusup Seedat, who was defeated in Central Rand.

SA leaders slate assassination of Lubowski

Star 13/9/89 (304A)

The Star's Africa News Service

The assassination of white Swapo leader Mr Anton Lubowski in Windhoek last night has provoked strong condemnation from South African leaders trying to keep the Namibian settlement plan on track.

Mr Lubowski (37), an advocate, was shot dead outside his luxury home in the Namibian capital.

He was the deputy head of Swapo's election directorate and the first Namibian-born white man to join the organisation.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha today condemned the killing of Mr Lubowski as "simply senseless". An act of this nature "must be condemned irrespective of who perpetrated it", he said.

The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, also condemned the killing of Mr Lubowski, describing it as a "dastardly act", and pledging full SWA Police action to apprehend the killer.

Mr Lubowski's assassination came on the same day that Swapo and seven other parties contesting the Namibian elections pledged themselves to disciplined and clean campaigning free of intimidation.

HOMECOMING

The code of conduct was signed under the chairmanship of United Nations special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Senior Swapo official Mr Hage Geingob said today the assasination would not delay the homecoming of the organisation's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, who is expected back in Namibia tomorrow after 30 years in exile.

Police said Mr Lubowski was killed with an automatic rifle and the killer left the scene immediately.

According to witnesses, Mr Lubowski was shot about nine times at 8.40 pm outside his Sanderberg Street home.

He had apparently walked up to his front gate and was busy inserting a magnetic card to deactivate a security system around his home when shots were fired from a bush about 10 m outside his home

Mr Lubowski, who was Swapo's shadow Minister of Internal Affairs, had wounds to his body and a gaping wound in his head.

The murder has shocked Swapo members, who said they had recently received a number of death threats over the telephone by callers claiming to be the "Wit Wolwe".

Two weeks ago, Swapo sent Mr Lubowski to South Africa to lobby businessmen and investors to put their money into an independent Namibia under a Swapo government.

APPEARANCE

Mr Lubowski, who graduated with law degrees from the universities of Stellenbosch and Cape Town, was a familiar figure in Namibian and South African courtrooms, acting mostly for the accused in political trials.

His most recent appearance in a South Africa court case was during the closing stages of a trial of a number of Upington residents charged with the murder of a municipal policeman during unrest.

Late last night police were still searching the opulent suburb of Luxury Hills for clues. There have been no arrests

Mr Lubowski had been tipped as a possible Justice Minister in an independent Namibia.

A police spokesman, Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand, told Reuter that one or more occupants of a red Volkswagen Golf sedan were seen firing at Mr Lubowski.

He said several spent cartridges from an AK-47 assault rifle were found.



Mr Anton Lubowski greets Swapo colleague Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo at Windhoek airport on Monday.

FW has not gone far enough – Boesak

Permitting Cape march is seen as sign of hope

Star 13/9/89

(304A)

Cape Town

Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk's decision to allow the right to peaceful protest has been widely welcomed by opponents of apartheid as a "hopeful sign" of its willingness to negotiate.

But they warned today that the Government would have to go much further to get real negotiations off the ground.

MDM leader Dr Allan Boesak, one of the organisers of the march, said the Government had made progress in that it was now talking to people who "do not fit its political mould".

But he said Mr de Klerk had not gone far enough to persuade "the people" that his offers of negotiation were serious.

"We need some clear proof to show our people the extent of the seriousness of the offer I hope this will be forthcoming — and soon."

The concrete signs needed were an end to the state of emergency and the release of

By Peter Fabricius, Political Reporter



Police put the body of assassinated Swapo leader Mr Anton Lubowski into a body bag outside his Windhoek home last night.

Daunting task that lies ahead of Viljoen

304A

By ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE,
Political Reporter

Dr Gerrit Viljoen has reaped much praise for his handling of the thorny portfolio of black education over recent years.

In his new job as the government's chief negotiator on constitutional reform, the respected academic-turned-politician will need to muster every ounce of political clout he possesses.

The Minister of Education and Development Aid until last week, the new Minister of Constitutional Development and of National Education is held in high esteem by colleagues and opponents alike.

His aim is to negotiate a new dispensation incorporating blacks in political decision-making.

The task will be daunting.

Black activists have already warned that the man in charge of negotiations is not important. The only way in which to get negotiations off the ground is for the government to create the conditions for dialogue by unbanning organisations and releasing political prisoners, they say.

Comments Mr Cassim Saloojee, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress: "In the first place, Viljoen has



Dr Gerrit Viljoen ... esteemed by both colleagues and opponents.

the stigma of a former Broederbond chief. Secondly, he has failed in solving the crisis in our schools. He has listened, but that is all.

"Thirdly, he has been seen as part of the Nationalist establishment, and one of the chief administrators of apartheid, for many years. We have no reason to be terribly excited."

Dr Viljoen, who turned 63 last week, made a relatively late entry into formal politics when he was appointed Minister of National Education in 1980, months before being elected MP for Vanderbijlpark in 1981.

During his academic career — since 1955 lecturer and later Professor of Classics at the University of South Africa; and from 1967 to 1979 rector of the Rand Afrikaans University — he held many positions of importance.

He was, among others, chairman of the National Education Council, member of the Prime Minister's Scientific Advisory Council, chairman of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) in the late 1960s and chairman of the Broerderbond from 1974 to 1980.

In 1978, he was invited by the Prime Minister to become Administrator-General of South West Africa, a position he held until 1980 when he was appointed to the Cabinet.

Since then, his portfolios have changed titles, but he has always been closely involved with education.

He maintains that one of his greatest achievements was the new legislation on general education policy whereby a central ministry would be established binding the different education departments, thereby monitoring equal standards, examinations and certification, and formulating a general education policy.

Although firmly rejecting some proposals by black educationists on student representation in black schools, he has succeeded in improving the state of black education.

Much of this has been accomplished with a large increase in funds allocated to black education.

Dr Viljoen appears to be largely untouchable. The proven irregularities in his department have not even done as much as dented his image.

Observers say only the high personal esteem in which he is held has protected him to some extent against the damaging effects of the allegations of corruption in his department.

Insiders say he has consistently held himself aloof from faction-forming in the Cabinet. He was one of the few people to stand up to former State President P W Botha.

A close confidante of Mr de Klerk, Dr Viljoen is one of the architects of current National Party policy.

What will count if he is to be successful in his new job is not whether he has negotiation skills, commands respect or makes conciliatory noises.

The bottom line is that he will have to convince the government to meet some black demands before he can attempt the task he has been given.

The world must give FW a chance to act Relly

B/Day 14/9/89.

304A

BRUSSELS — The international community should accept acting State President F W de Klerk's serious intent to reform in SA and give him a chance, Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said yesterday.

It should also accept that every step he took towards reform would be a perilous one in view of the great increase in CP support shown by the elections.

"It will be fatuous to set preconditions and timescale demands that take no account of the environment in which Mr de Klerk will have to operate," he said in a keynote address to the Centre for European Policy Studies.

Post-apartheid

Relly called on the West to adopt a similar approach to SA as it was doing with the "Give Mr Gorbachev a chance" cry being applied to reform moves in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Relly said the drive to "talks about talks" on a post-apartheid SA was already starting, as shown by De Klerk's meeting on August 28 with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

"(But) it must be recognised (this) finds Pretoria with a weakened power base."

Relly said while racism was partly the basis of the CP's support, "there is evidence also that much is due not to ideological positions but to declining white living standards and fear about the future.

"Tragically sanctions, disinvestment and isolation have sharpened such fears and must be held responsible in part for the move to the right.

"The international community, which I believe should be convinced of Mr De Klerk's serious intent to reform, should damp unrealistic expectations and be sensitive to this dilemma."

Relly said the international community would also have to be even-handed in its condemnation of violence or other obstructionism.

"Despite the ANC's obvious importance, claims by it to be the sole representative of the majority, which are aimed at establishing itself as the only negotiating partner of Pretoria, are not realistic and should be firmly discouraged."



● RELLY

There was already sufficient evidence from Namibia of the dangers of such an approach.

A third aproach the international community should attempt regarding SA was to "not reject the good simply because it is not the best.

Advocating a "building block" approach, Relly said the "ritual mantra" of releasing politial prisoners, unbanning exiled movements and abolishing the state of emergency as essential prior steps to initiate negotiations should not be taken as a once-off package of immediate change.

It should "rather be seen as part of a purposeful process of change which is not amenable to simple timetabling".

Nelson Mandela's release would create new realities, one of which would undoubtedly be the need for opposition groupings to move away from the comfortable stance of protest politics and to recognise the hard realities of the SA situation.

"I should add that I can foresee a situation in which the South African state continues to provide security for Mr Mandela, enabling him to participate in the political process while safeguarding him from threats from the extreme left and right which, as recent events have demonstrated, are very real."

Jeopardise

He said it seemed as if the lessons pointing out the dangers of isolating, punishing and excluding a major actor from regional or global activity, as illustrated in European history, had been applied to Eastern Europe, but not to SA.

"Aside from prejudicing domestic change in South Africa, isolation and sanctions also jeopardise the essential role South Africa has to play if southern Africa is to develop."

He said trying to achieve EC economic integration without one of the major economies of Europe would be unthinkable.

"South Africa, if it manages a politial transition in the next few years, will enter the post-apartheid era with a low debt burden which will make it the envy of developing nations in the world." — Sapa.

B/Day 14/9/89 30417

'Release of Mandela is high on F W de Klerk's agenda'

TEL AVIV — South Africa's ambassador to Israel says the release of jailed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela is only a matter of time and will be high on the agenda of incoming President F W de Klerk.

"I just have a feeling that that's one of the important things that the government will have to consider in the next few weeks," Johan Viljoen told reporters in Tel Aviv on Tuesday night.

It was the first direct comment on the issue by a government official since De Klerk's National Party won general elections a week ago.

De Klerk is expected to be sworn in as president today.

Mandela, leader of the ANC, was jailed for life in 1964 for plotting against the government.

There has frequently been speculation that his release could be imminent, although Pretoria says he must renounce violence first.

"Mr De Klerk, shortly before the elections, said publicly that he would like to see Mr Mandela released," Viljoen said.

Asked if Mandela's release was a matter of when rather than if, Viljoen replied: "I think that one can safely say so, yes.

"Mr Mandela's position will certainly be one of the priorities of the new government after it has been sworn in ... I don't think that Mr De Klerk ... wanted to take the decision before the elections," he added. — Sapa-Reuter

Police deny spy

division.

Parliament is scheduled to adjourn this afternoon till September 26.

Parties tussle over Council nominees

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party's director of communications, Mr James Selfe, was a surprise nomination yesterday as one of the party's three representatives in the President's Council.

Mr Selfe, who stood for the PFP in Maitland in 1981 and twice lost nomination contests in Simon's Town, was head of the party's research team till he was appointed director of communications at the end of last year.

The party's other two nominations for the Council are Mr David Gant, a member of DP's national board and its defeated candidate in Helderberg, and Mr James Rennie, who is currently a member of the President's Council.

Another DP member of the President's Council, Mr Pieter Schoeman, unexpectedly lost his seat on the Council.

Mr Schoeman, who slashed the National Party majority in Durbanville last week and had previously fought safe NP seats in Randburg in 1981 and North in 1987, had been expected to retain his position on the President's Council.

The DP was yesterday faced with 10 nominations for its three nominees on the Council and its caucus decided on Mr Rennie, Mr Gant and Mr Selfe.

The CP announced that it had nominated its former indirectly elected MP and its defeated candidate in Krugersdorp, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, its defeated candidate in Alberton, Dr Servaas Latsky, and its defeated candidate in Sundays River, Mr Marius Oosthuizen, to the Council.

FW elected Head of State today

304A
Star 14/9/89

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk becomes State President today after election by the electoral college.

The college, chosen from members of all three Houses yesterday, met today under the chairmanship of Chief Justice M M Corbett to elect the new State President.

It was not known beforehand if there were any other candidates than Mr de Klerk. Labour Party sources would not disclose whether or not they would nominate their leader, Reverend Allan Hendrickse.

Since 50 of the 88 members of the electoral college were chosen by the National Party, Mr de Klerk's election is assured.

The electoral college was expected to inform Mr de Klerk of its decision at Tuynhuys.

Until his inauguration on September 20 Mr de Klerk will continue to sign documents as Acting State President.

March 'symbolic of capitulation'

Political Reporter

The Conservative Party has criticised Mr F W de Klerk's decision to permit yesterday's anti-apartheid protest march in Cape Town as "symbolic of the Government's capitulation before radicals".

In a statement yesterday, CP law and order spokesman Mr Moolman Mentz said by allowing the march, the Government had sanctioned open resistance to police action against rioters.

"The organisers of the march say it is aimed against the police who acted against rioters during election night.

"By allowing the march to go ahead the Government has sanctioned open resistance to this action by the SAP, while an official inquiry into the matter is still under way."

police. Medical University of Africa are

CHANGE NOW DE KLERK TOLD

By MATHATHA TSEDU

SOUTH African State President, Mr F W De Klerk, should not wait for pressure from the outside world before implementing the changes that will eventually destroy apartheid.

This was said by the State President of Venda, Headman F N Ravhele, at Thoho-Ya-Ndou yesterday when delivering the main address at the 10th anniversary of independence.

Ravhele said De Klerk had already started a process that will "eventually transform South Africa into one non-racial nation which will bring peace to this subcontinent."

De Klerk should now put into effect the promises he made to the world in his diplomatic manoeuvres in Western Europe and Africa before the general elections," Ravhele said.

Ravhele also announced a six months reduction in prison terms for certain categories of prisoners. But he did not say anything about the nearly 200 detainees currently being held in terms of security legisfation for opposing the independence celebrations.

The celebrations were attended by leaders from the TBVC states, South Africa and Taiwan. Traditional dances, military and police parades entertained the thousands that filled the stadium yesterday.

Star 14/9/89 (304A)

DP opposes Nationalist nominees

Chairmen of all 3 Houses are elected

CAPE TOWN — The three Houses of Parliament elected their new chairmen and designated their respective members of the electoral college yesterday afternoon to sit this morning to elect a new State President and Speaker of Parliament.

Only in the House of Assembly did an opposition party challenge the list of nominees put forward by the majority party.

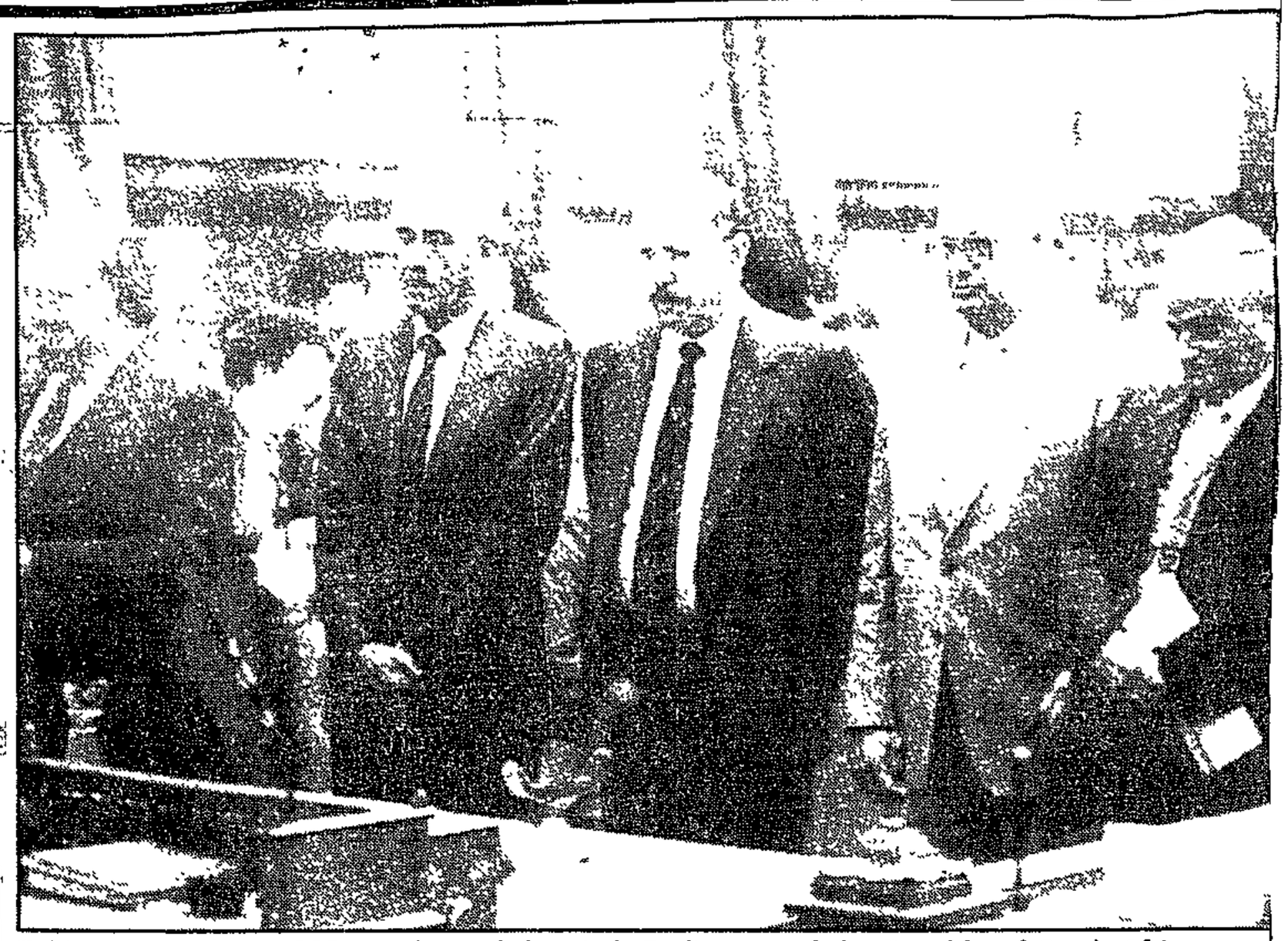
The Democratic Party moved an amendment substituting the first and most senior 10 names put forward by the National Party with those of the 10 most senior DP members. The amendment was defeated in a division.

In the House of Delegates the newly re-elected chairman, Mr Salamuddi Abram, took the chair and immediately called for a minute's silence in remembrance of those who died in unrest on election day.

Mr Philip Saunders was re-elected chairman of the House of Representatives while the former Chairman of Committees in the House of Assembly, Dr Helgaard van Rensburg, was elected chairman of the House of Assembly.

In the House of Assembly, the Conservative Party and the DP gave notice of several motions.

However, Parliament will adjourn after electing the State President and new Speaker today and reconvene briefly on Tuesday to elect a new President's Council before being prorogued until next year. — Sapa.



Taking the oath . . . 299 members of the ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa were sworn in yesterday during ceremonies in their respective Houses by Chief Justice M M Corbett.

Chief Justice swears in 299 MPs

CAPE TOWN — The 299 members of the ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa were sworn in yesterday in three separate ceremonies in their respective Houses by the Chief Justice of South Africa, Mr Justice M M Corbett.

Star 14/9/89 (304A)

In the House of Assembly, 173 elected and indirectly elected members were sworn in, with one more to be added after a recount or by-election in Fauresmith and four more by presidential nomination later this month.

In the House of Representatives 83 were sworn in. Two more, nominated by the State President, will be added later this month.

Likewise two nominated members are to be added to the 43 elected and indirectly elected members of the House of Delegates sworn in yesterday morning. — Sapa.

make their way from St George's Cath

FW elected Head of State today

(304A)
Star 14/9/89

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The college, chosen from members of all three Houses yesterday, met today under the chairmanship of Chief Justice M M Corbett to elect the new State President.

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Since 50 of the 88 members of the electoral college were chosen by the National Party, Mr de Klerk's election is assured.

The electoral college was expected to inform Mr de Klerk of its decision at Tuynhuys.

Until his inauguration on September 20 Mr de Klerk will continue to sign documents as Acting State President.

Restrictions

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

'Govt must create climate for talks'

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The climate in South Africa is not yet ready for negotiations, an SA Youth Congress (Sayco) delegation, which recently met the African National Congress in Lusaka, said yesterday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Sayco publicity secretary Mr Simon Ntombela read a statement saying both Sayco and the ANC remained convinced that the climate was still not yet ready for negotiations, and the onus was on the Government to create a situation conducive to talks.

LIFT THE EMERGENCY

If the Government was serious about negotiations, Sayco said, it would have to unban the ANC immediately, release Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees, repeal apartheid laws, lift the state of emergency, declare a moratorium on all political trials and executions, and take troops out of the townships.

The restricted Sayco, which recently "unbanned" itself with other extra-parliamentary organisations during the defiance campaign, said the meeting with the ANC was characterised by "a comradely spirit, unity of purpose and an unshakeable commitment by both sides to ending apartheid colonialism".

Give FW a chance, says Relly

CAPE Times 14/9/89

3044

BRUSSELS. — The international community should accept Mr F W de Klerk's serious intent to institute reform in South Africa and give him a chance, the chairman of Anglo American, Mr Gavin Relly, said yesterday.

It should also accept that every step taken by the acting State President towards reform would be a perilous one, in view of the significant increase in support for the pro-apartheid Conservative Party shown by last week's elections.

Mr Relly called on the West to adopt a similar approach to SA as it was doing with the "give Mr Gorbachev a chance" cry being applied to reform moves in the Soviet Union.

Mr Relly said the international community would also have to be even-handed in its condemnation of violence or other obstructionism.

The release of Mr Nelson Mandela would also create new realities, one of which would undoubtedly be the need for opposition groupings to move away from the comfortable stance of protest politics, he said.
— Sapa

And the winner was . . .



ISSUES

Hugh Roberton

THOSE who have been exposed to the daft theories which for so long have underpinned the police, army and intelligence community's strategy for dealing with the "revolutionary onslaught", will know that there must have been a sizeable number of generals and brigadiers seething with resentment at the decision to allow yesterday's massed march through Cape Town.

It defied some of the most sacred rules of the security establishment's dogma, among these that (a) "revolutionary elements" should not be allowed to freely organise or gather, (b) they should not be allowed to form alliances with "respectable" groups or individuals such as mayors and MPs, and above all (c) they should never be allowed to show their strength to the masses.

But organise, assemble, form alliances and show their strength the extra-parliamentary forces did on a scale never before witnessed in Cape Town or, I am told by veterans of the streets, in any other city in South Africa. And politically Cape Town, and South Africa, will never be the same.

Much of the power they demonstrated yesterday began to emerge during the general election campaign and in terms of new prestige and political influence the big winner of the campaign arguably was the Extra-parliamentary Left, going under its latest name, the Mass Democratic Movement.

The MDM virtually took over the "white" election campaign, dictating its atmosphere, many of its themes, dominating the news, and making it generally clear that no white party in future will be able to contemplate an election without taking into account the role which the Extra-parliamentary Left might, or might not, choose to play.

But that is only part of it. The MDM's defiance campaign — of which, after all, yesterday's march was but a part — has shown, too, that it will be in at least as strong a position to dictate the pace of political developments from now on as any of the white parties in last week's election.

The MDM will be able to influence the whole political climate, it will be the arbiter of whether or not there will be further sanctions and isolation. And the MDM (or its successors) will determine the international — and internal — response to future "reforms" and to future "negotiations".

Even more interesting was evidence of the MDM's ability to force division in the National Party and, indeed, in the Cabinet itself. For instance, Barend du Plessis, and Pik Botha, both conceded during television debates in the final days of the election campaign that the security establishment's handling of the defiance campaign (up to that point) had been "a mistake".

Compare this attitude with the clumsy justifications we had from Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan.

Thus can the forces of reasonableness and moderation in the NP be played off against the forces of repression and militarism — making the MDM (or its successors) at least as much of a danger to NP unity as any white political party.

Allowing yesterday's march suggests that the new NP leadership has come down on the side of the forces of reasonableness and moderation in NP ranks. But did the leadership have a choice? And have we heard the last of the NP's militarists and Total Strategists? All we can do is wait for a situation to arise where the NP leadership has more of a choice than it did in the case of yesterday's march. And that situation surely will come.

Apartheid's foes bury the hatchet

The defiance campaign and the fluid political situation in South Africa have created fertile ground for new, and even historic, political alignments.

Next month's Conference for a Democratic Future, a venture of the Mass Democratic Movement and black consciousness groupings, is expected to launch anti-apartheid action on an unprecedented scale by once bitter foes. QURAISH PATEL reports:

THE recent, sustained wave of anti-apartheid action seems to have redrawn the country's political terrain.

Slipping into focus almost unnoticed to alter the boundaries is the black consciousness movement which has thrown its weight behind the defiance campaign.

A few years ago the mere possibility of such an alliance would have evoked unquestionable rejection — from both "progressive democrats" and black consciousness groupings.

Adding to the latest broad front against apartheid is the Conference for a Democratic Future on October 7 which will bring together apparently conflicting political positions.

Black consciousness, based on the principle that black people themselves fashion and decide their future without reference to whites, appears to have changed its focus.

Tactical

At the same time, the "Charterists", who insist on the non-negotiable principle of non-racialism, seem to have embraced new allies.

A tactical move in each camp? Perhaps, but whatever the discussions were that surrounded the formation of the alliance, an unprecedented political maturity has surfaced

And the alliance signals a tough, uncompromising message to the South African government — that resistance has intensified.

However, in the closer co-operation of two formerly bitter ideological opponents, the question may well be asked whether unity towards a common society is within reach.

In spite of a vastly differing analysis by the two political traditions, acceptance of a future society in which the people govern is fundamental to both groupings.

That means that support for a democratic government is shared by anti-apartheid campaigners and that various theoretical constructions are possible.

Next month's conference will for the first time provide a forum in which the question of moving towards a democratic society will be attempted.

Central to that move is the possibility of negotiations.

The Mass Democratic Movement was part of the discussions that led to the African National Congress' proposals in this regard.

The attitude of the black consciousness movement to negotiations will be raised during talks in October.

Already Pan Africanist Congress president Zeph Mothopeng dismissed the possibility of negotiations during an address at an Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee meeting in Harare.

A national day of protest for September 12 — the day black consciousness leader Steve Biko was killed in detention — was planned to include the Mass Democratic and Pan Africanist movements.

Democratic society

Further proposals for action may flow from the October meeting. Co-operating politically with whites, once an anathema to black consciousness supporters, no longer seems to be at issue.

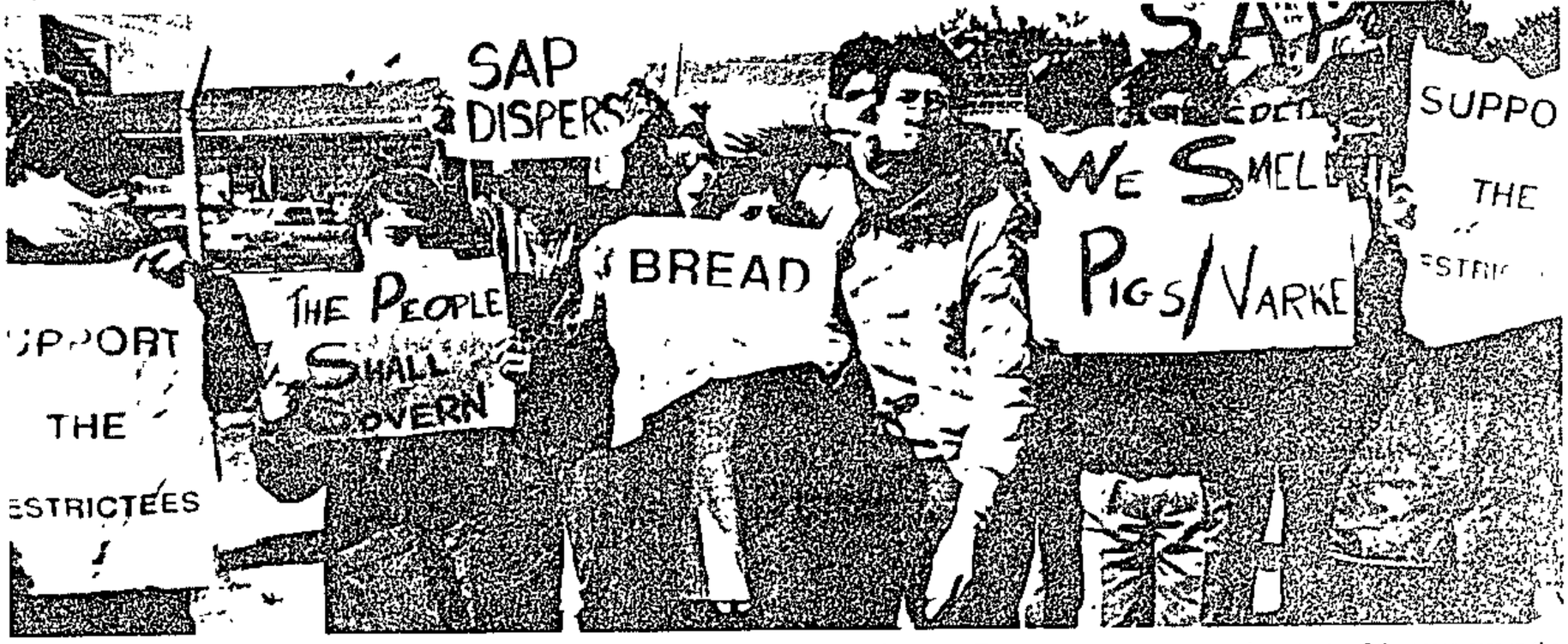
The removal of apartheid and mass preparation for the move towards a democratic society has eclipsed the fundamental differences for the present.

Just as black consciousness co-operation with the non-racial organisations may be a tactical move towards eliminating apartheid, deep-rooted concern about whites influencing the political terrain has been pushed aside

Some may see the two sides vie for control through a hidden agenda while appearing to co-operate against apartheid.

Others would suggest, however, the anger of people at the continued denial of their birthright and a single national problem outweigh conflicting views

Recognition of differences and realisation of common short-term objectives may establish wider and stronger political relationships

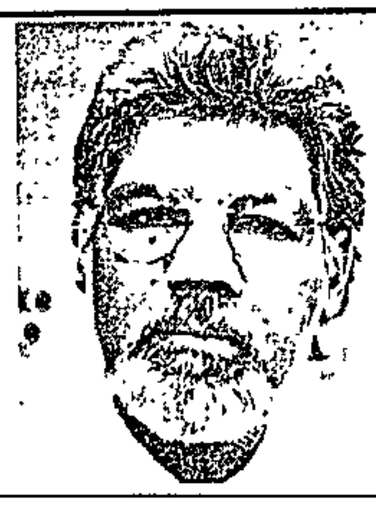


DEFIANT PROTESTERS: Peaceful protests throughout the country by students, parents, workers, professionals and church people against apartheid have become a common occurrence throughout the country in recent months

Defiance: Crucial role for supporters of non-violence

The undoubted success of the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign over the past few months has opened up exciting new political options for extra-parliamentary groupings.

Cornerstone of the campaign's success is its ability to involve a broad range of South Africans in peaceful anti-apartheid activity. Conversely, the State is seemingly unable to respond coherently to the campaign, with even Cabinet ministers and policemen disagreeing on counter-measures. RICHARD STEVENS, right, examines some features of the campaign and its deployment in the future:



THE timing of the defiance campaign could not have been more perfect, with South Africa in the grip of an all-embracing crisis.

Not a single institution, including the economy, the judiciary, education and religion, has been left unshaken. Nor has any other sector of the South African community.

The overriding factor in all this has been the violence endemic to this society.

In the State, it is reflected in growing militarism and security systems and the social, economic and political effects of apartheid.

This is met with oppressed people's resistance for their own survival and liberation.

The increase of violence demands a serious contribution from those who propagate the non-violent option, especially within the defiance campaign.

They should increase their own engagement in the campaign to lessen the possibility of uncontrollable violence

It is still true, as recent events have shown, that the majority of people inside the country have been and still are fundamentally non-violent in their resistance to apartheid.

The non-violent, direct actions throughout the current defiance campaign show obvious changes and differences from the defiance campaigns of the early 1950s.

In 1951, the ANC and the South African Indian Congress organised a joint planning council to formulate mass resistance to the pass laws, stock limitation laws (which limited the number of cattle Africans should own), the Bantu Authorities Act, the Group Areas Act, Separate Representation of Voters Act and the Suppression of Communism Act.

After the government refused to repeal these laws, the council of four ANC and three SAIC members started a campaign in which large rallies were organised during April, 1952 and people were called to voluntarily defy the laws.

The defiance was to be non-violent, with the aim of having protesters imprisoned on June 26, 1952.

More than 8 000 people, 6 000 of them from the Eastern Cape, were arrested.

The government used the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act to ban the campaign leadership and despite the clampdown, the ANC's paid-up membership grew from 7 000 to 100 000.

The current campaign is marked by participation from a broad range of South Africans.

The creation of "struggle centres" or bases at workplaces, schools, universities and in communities has greatly heightened political consciousness.

Another characteristic is the political creativity of the organisers in the face of bannings of events and other counter-measures by security forces.

Organisational gains have been made through grassroots participation by youth and community people in decision-making and strategic planning.

The same goes for organised labour, clergy and academics, and the important role whites have played has led to the enhancement of non-racial solidarity against apartheid.

This was especially evident in the "Purple Rain March" to Parliament on September 2.

In contrast with the Fifties campaign, it helped to overcome the generalisation of hating whites as "part of the system".

The government's vulnerability has also helped the present campaign

Extreme repression can torpedo relations with the West after the government promised major reform to the United States, United Kingdom and West Germany, among others.

The government has been forced to balance its internal actions with its international relations especially regarding the debt crisis.

As such, this may be a powerful factor in determining the potential and the space available to the defiance campaign as a vehicle of struggle.

(Dr Stevens is head of Biblical Studies at UWC and director of the Foundation for Contemporary Research)

Night of ballots — and bullets

THE black smoke of barricades hung like a pall over Cape Town last Wednesday and gunshots echoed in townships throughout the Peninsula.

At the end of the day, while election officers were busy counting votes, the city began counting its dead.

In Mitchells Plain, the crisis centre was overwhelmed by injured people streaming in during the early evening.

Doctors and first aiders battled to assist the injured in community halls all over the Cape Flats.

An ambulance spokesperson said he had lost count of the number of people ferried to hospitals with buckshot wounds.

By Thursday, community leaders were claiming the death toll had reached 23 and was still climbing.

The office of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has disputed this figure, claiming only 16 deaths.

Most of the names on the death list were of children.

Hundreds of other people, including toddlers, were reported to have been injured in a day of unparalleled violence in the city.

Eyewitnesses and victims of the violence gave accounts of random shooting by security forces.

By the weekend, anger and grief had replaced the stunned horror.

At an emotion-charged press conference at St Georges Cathedral last Friday, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and World Council of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak challenged the government to repudiate the actions of police on Wednesday and to fire Vlok.

"We challenge Vlok to come to this city and go to the mothers of these dead children and explain why police found it necessary to kill their loved ones," Boesak said.

His speech was punctuated by the sobs of the grieving mother of Yvette Otto, a 16-year-old shot in Kalksteenfontein while on her way to buy a maternity dress.

Doctors were unable to save the life of Otto's unborn child.

Community leaders declared this week one of mourning for those who died in what has become known as "the bloody poll".

WHAT exactly happened on the Cape Flats on election night last Wednesday?

Amid claims that up to 29 people had died and hundreds injured in the worst violence in the Western Cape since 1985, the police stated that the death toll was only 16.

Police claims that most of the dead were involved in "tribal faction fighting" in Khayelitsha — unrelated to the general unrest situation in the Peninsula — have been strenuously denied by community leaders in the area.

Police claims that deaths in other parts of the Peninsula were not all due to police action, have also been refuted.

SOUTH reporters CHIARA CARTER, REHANA ROSSOUW and DOCTORSON TSHABALALA this week tried to piece together the incidents in what has become known as the "night of the wild dogs".

In this special report, they provide names of some of the victims and the circumstances of their deaths.





The mystery of the 'white men in balaclavas'

FOR many residents of Khayelithsa, election night '89 will long be remembered as a night of terror.

At least 13 people died and dozens more were injured in the township last Wednesday as protests shook the Peninsula.

SOUTH has established the names of nine of the dead but "several" bodies are still unidentified at the state mortuary, according to a spokesperson for the Khayelitsha Advice Office.

Community leaders in Khayelitsha have refuted claims by Law and Order spokesperson Brigadier Leon Mellet that the killings arose from "tribal faction fighting".

The leaders claim that "kitskonstabels" collaborating with "disguised" white gunmen and "homeguards" attached to the Lingelethu West Town Council were responsible for the killings.

Political rival

Among the dead were several supporters of "Green Point" leader Prince Gobingca, the political rival of controversial Khayelitsha mayor, Mali Hoza.

The death toll so far includes Mrs Elsie Madubula, 69; Nomthunzi Matshebelele, five; Mr Tatane James Mathimba, 59; Mr Muziwamadoda Magxidolo, 26; Mr Cebisile Sandiba, 27; Mr Handuxolo Hlonyane, 20; Mr Boysie Mdyogolo, 21; Mr Fundo Bhontjies (age unknown); Mr Lubalo Mtirara, 20; and Mr Elland Gajana, 37.

Madubula, the mother-in-law of Gobingca, died after her daughter's home in Khayelitsha was attacked and torched by a group of men.

Madubula, formerly of Paarl, managed to escape from the burning house and hid under Gobingca's car which was parked in the yard. The gunmen allegedly sprayed her with bullets as



VICTIM: Mziwamadoda Magxidolo, aged 26

paraffin.

Nomthunzi, who attended a local pre-school, was shot from a moving car not far from her home.

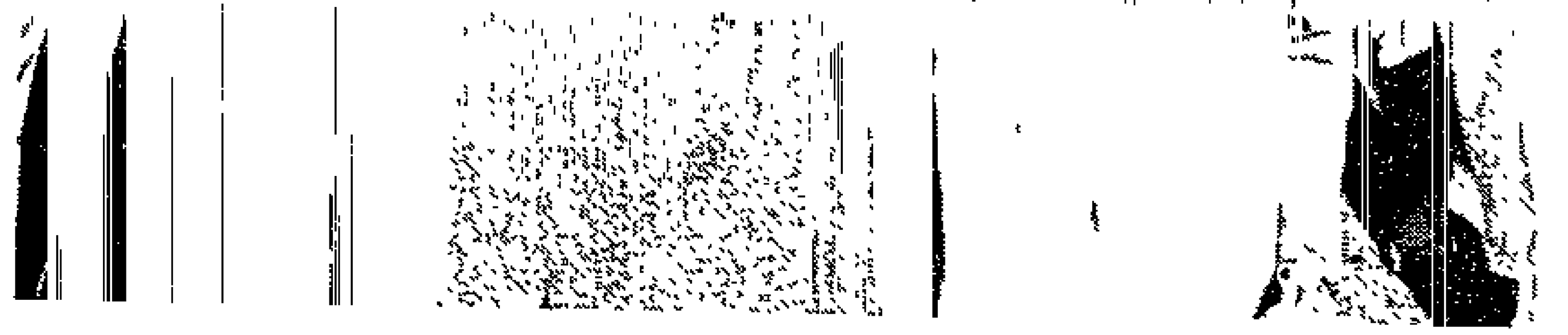
Witnesses said shots were fired indiscriminately.

wear ɔ ack armbands.

Church services have been scheduled throughout the week in different areas.

Shocked parents buried their dead and wept bitterly at services called to mourn the killings.

While some of the victims have already been buried, most funerals are due to take place on Saturday.



Imam Hassan Solomon (left) leads mourners at the funeral of Sulaiman Martin

Police: Illega behaviour will not be tolerated

RESPONDING to questions put to it by SOUTH, the Public Relations Division of the South African Police in Pretoria said:

"All unnatural deaths are, as a matter of course, investigated and the proper judicial authorities will eventually decide whether anybody acted illegally, without restraint or exceeded their authority in some way.

"This has been the case for years and has received special public and media scrutiny since the unrest of 1986 and onwards.

ɪ's o.ı ce w.sıes to re·terate tıaı illegal behaviour, even where members of the SA Police may have been involved in any way, will not be tolerated or condoned. The Police have a proven track record in this regard.

"We cannot, however, give a blow by blow account of investigations to the media or indulge in trial by newspaper."

'Where's Yvette's mother? Yvette is lying with a blanket over her body.'

YVETTE OTTO

YVETTE Otto, 16, was five months pregnant when she was shot in Kalksteenfontein on Wednesday night.

Her mother, Mrs Nellie Otto, said Yvette was on her way to a dressmaker at about 5pm on Wednesday.

"You could see her pregnancy clearly and she needed more dresses to wear," Otto said.

Yvette and a friend Joseph left her home and and went to River Road, Kalksteenfontein.

Yvette stood at the gate while Joseph walked towards Wayside Road.

The police came down Wayside Road and grabbed Joseph. They shouted at Yvette to stand still, but she ran away.

"I heard a shot being fired, but I was too scared to go and see what had happened because I was scared I would be shot as well," Otto said.

"Then Yvette's friend came running and shouted, 'Where's Yvette's mother, Yvette is lying there with a blanket over her body'."

Otto said she went to River Road and saw Yvette lying inside the gate of her friend's house. She had been shot in the chest and had an ugly gash on her forehead.

"Why did they shoot her, anyone could see she was pregnant," Otto said.

Otto said she had taken Yvette out of school when she was 14 to help support their family.

"She was my helper, now they have taken my helper from this earth. This would also have been my first grandchild," Otto said.

Yvette was buried in Riebeeck Wes on Sunday.

PATRICK MILLER

PATRICK Miller, 13, was walking to a shop to buy bread when he was shot two houses away from his home in Bellville.

Patrick's mother, Mrs Germaine Miller, said her son had left home with a friend at about 7 pm to go to a shop.

Patrick's friend told her that a police van came around the corner. People who were standing in the street began to run.

"My son's friend said that he and Patrick did not run because they were not doing anything wrong.

"They were only two houses away from our home when Patrick was shot. The bullet went through the front of his head."

Patrick died on Monday.

RICARDO LEVY

RICARDO Levy, 12, was shot in the mouth, allegedly by a member of a security firm whose van was stoned in Kalksteenfontein. The bullet exited through the back of his head.

Ricardo was a Std 4 pupil at Montana Primary School and a member of the under-12 soccer team.

His principal described him as a promising student with a great sense of humour.

He was buried on Monday.

LEONARD RASS.

LEONARD Rass, 13, was a mentally retarded pupil at Eros Cerebral Palsy School for six years.

At about 8pm on Wednesday, a group of Kleinvlei residents gathered spontaneously and marched towards the polling station at the Melton Rose municipal offices.

As they approached the offices, policemen appeared in Kool Avenue and started shooting at random, an eyewitness said.

The crowd fled in all directions. Leonard was left lying on the ground.

When his family's lawyer and his sister went to the mortuary to identify his body, they found he had been shot with birdshot in the back.

He was buried on Tuesday in Kleinvlei.

JOSEPH MAKOMA

JOSEPH Makoma, 25, was shot in the head with live ammunition in Kalksteenfontein.

PEDRO PAGE

PEDRO Page, 18, was a Std 9 pupil at Fairmount Senior Secondary School In Grassy Park.

He lived with his parents and sisters in Hoosain Parker Walk in Parkwood Estate.

On Wednesday evening, he and a friend, Farouk Viljoen, stood on the corner of Acacia Street and Blackbird Avenue, watching barricades burn further up the street.

Farouk recalls that quite a large crowd, including children, had gathered on the corner.

He saw a Casspir drive up Blackbird Avenue, and heard a shot.

Pedro was frightened and ran away. Farouk remained on the corner.

He saw a police van stop on the pavement of Acacia Avenue. A policeman got out.

Farouk said the policeman lifted his revolver and fired three or four shots. He replaced the revolver in his holster.

"I turned around and saw Pedro lying on the ground. I think he was dead already."

Pedro, who was shot in the head, died two days later.

Farouk said he wanted to stop rumours that Pedro had been throwing stones.

"I was there. He was just watching what was happening."

Staff and pupils at Fairmount Senior Secondary said Pedro's death was a great loss to the school and community. he was a talented soccer player who had not lived to realise his great potential.

Pedro's friends remembered him as a loving and caring teenager.

His funeral will be held on Saturday morning at the Anglican Church in Lotus River.

SULAIMAN MARTIN

SULAIMAN Martin, 26, was shot on Wednesday night as he was walking home accompanied by Miss Shirley Engelbrecht and her small daughter.

Engelbrecht said they were walking from Lentegeur to Tafelsig when they were fired upon.

"As we were crossing AZ Berman drive we saw people running and we started to run as well. There was a burst of shotgun fire. I didn't know I had been hit. I saw Sulaiman fall as he tried to scale a wire fence."

Engelbrecht said they were not throwing stones, they were simply walking home.

They were taken to the Mitchells Plain police station before they were moved to Groote Schuur Hospital, where a doctor told Engelbrecht that Martin was dead.

A pathologist described his head wound as a "marksman's shot".

Martin, who was married with two children aged four and six, was a first team rugby player for Collegians.

He was buried last Thursday.

LIZIWE MASOKANYE

LIZIWE Masokanye, 23, a mother of a three-month-old baby, was shot in Khayamandi on Wednesday afternoon.

A group of residents had gathered in the street in the morning and had toyi-toyied around the area.

Police arrived later and attempted to disperse the crowd.

They fired buckshot and more than eight people, including Liziwe, were injured.

She died on the way to the hospital.

derneath the car m nutes ɔe ore tıe cɑ was set alight.

Funeral arrangements for Madubela have not yet been finalised.

Gobingca's wife, Trusma, 39, who was shot repeatedly during the attack, was taken to Groote Schuur Hospital. Her condition was described by her husband as "serious but stable" this week.

April also came to the aid of 71 year-old Merriana Gobingca, who hid in a dog's kennel during the attack.

Gunshot wounds

Two neighbours who rushed to the assistance of the family, Mr Jerry Tutu, 45, and Mr Mamukile Mabethe, 49, were also taken to hospital with gunshot wounds, but were later discharged.

Residents reported having earlier spotted in the vicinity a four-wheel-drive bakkie driven by two men wearing balaclavas.

The number plates as well as the writing on the side of the bakkie were concealed with masking tape, residents said.

They also claimed that the men, whom they could see were white, "stopped to chat" with a group of armed men identified as "homeguards".

About five minutes after the bakkie drove away, the "homeguards" launched their attack on the Gobingca home and on other shacks in the area.

Some residents, such as 82-year-old Mrs Lydia Jafta, survived the attack even though their shacks were peppered with bullets.

Five-year-old Nomthunzi Mashebelele of Site C was shot in her stomach as she walked home from a nearby shop where her father, Mr Zolile Matshebelele, had sent her to buy

Matshebelele, who is separated from his wife, was in the bedroom of his shack when he heard three shots being fired. Neighbours came to tell him his daughter had been shot.

An unidentified group of people stoned a taxi summoned to take Nomthunzi to hospital. She died in the taxi, said Matshebelele.

Nomthunzi will be buried in Butterworth, Transkei, on September 23.

Mathimba, an unemployed father of four, was shot near his home in Site C and his body discovered by neighbours on Thursday morning.

He will be buried on September 23.

Magxidolo, a father of a 13-month-old boy, was shot in the back as he unlocked the door of his shack in the Taiwan area of Site C after returning from supper at the home of his sister, Thozama.

Magxidolo, who was employed by a Claremont restaurant, will be buried in Queenstown next week.

Sandiba, who arrived in Cape Town a year ago to seek work, was shot while returning from the Green Point area where he had visited a girlfriend.

He will be buried in King Williams Town on Sunday.

The chairperson of the Khayelitsha Committee of Ten, Mr Thomas Ngwane, who was wounded in an assassination attempt earlier this year, has called on the government to take action against the Lingelethu West Town Council's "homeguards".

Ngwane rejected the police claim that "tribal faction fights" had led to the killings.

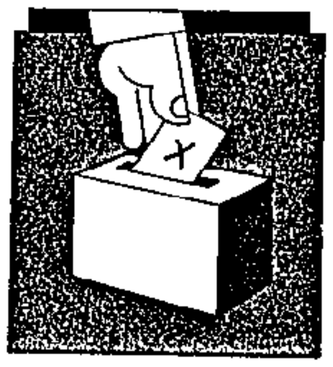
"Consider the small children, youth and the old women and men who were slain. None of them could have been involved in any faction fights," he said.

(3044) fmail

THE DE KLERK PRESIDENCY

Basic training for survival

F W can carry the country into reform — if he is quick and bold enough



Last week's general election results represent a dramatic break with the past — at least for most white South Africans. Though they may not yet realise it, NP supporters, in particular, took a giant leap forward. They chose to abandon the cosy cocoon of racial privilege in favour of seeking political accommodation with the black majority.

If the results are seen — as they must be — as a division between those who voted for the status quo (the maintenance of white political domination as represented by the CP), and those who accept the need for dramatic change (NP and DP supporters), it's clear that 70% of whites are now ready to cross the Rubicon. The question is: can F W de Klerk lead them to the other side?

Based on the NP's election propaganda and De Klerk's own commitment to "group" ideology, first impulse might be to say no. But it may be unfair to judge him too harshly — yet. De Klerk faced an unequalled test of his party's strength. To hold the line to the Right his rhetoric demanded conservatism. To retain support on the Left he needed to promise movement forward. Beneath it all, his verkrampte past notwithstanding, appears to be a genuine commitment to real and rapid change, a secret agenda of sorts.

De Klerk may well be the man to cross the Rubicon but he will need help from within his party and from without. In this the DP has a leading role to play; and behind the DP, in an equally important support role, will be the business community.

In theory, De Klerk has five years to transform SA. But in reality he has only a few months, perhaps a year at the most, to make significant progress towards the political and economic restructuring necessary to save the country from degenerating further towards Third-World chaos. Expectations of what he can deliver are extremely high.

In all likelihood there will not be another general election based on the current delimitation, and quite possibly not another one in which whites alone will decide which party gets political control. The CP's best chance of winning power has, therefore, gone. Hopefully, the party and what it stands for will be increasingly overshadowed by developments of more important national significance.

The DP on the other hand, with the backing of more than 400 000 white voters, can argue convincingly that its policies represent the direction in which De Klerk must move his own 1m supporters. Under the capable parliamentary leadership of Zach de Beer (now the favourite to be elected sole DP leader at a special congress on October 7), it can be expected to coax the NP forward with constructive criticism and support for positive change.



De Beer

De Beer has no problem in pledging his party's backing for any positive moves De Klerk may make: "We have declared repeatedly since the DP was formed that, whenever the NP acted in such a way as to promote the equal rights and dignity of all South Africans, we would support it."

He warns, however, that the DP will not support the "group" philosophy as propagated during the election campaign. "To promote separate group entities will be damaging and won't get blacks to the conference table. At this stage I will give F W de Klerk the benefit of the doubt and accept that it was electioneering."

De Beer says the DP will not approach government to offer support for reform. "The initiative must come from De Klerk. He has the office and the power." He believes that the attitude of the NP towards the mass democratic movement (MDM) during the election campaign, and the fact that certain "regrettable" statements were made, need not be obstacles to reform. "Mr De Klerk can eat his words — but will he?" is how he puts it.

De Beer agrees that economic reform goes hand in hand with political reform. De Klerk's commitment during the election campaign to bring money supply and State spending under control will be a "vast benefit" to SA and set the scene for political progress.

Along with the DP, the business community is a potential ally and De Klerk will do well to nurture its support through policies and actions amenable to their mutual interest. De Klerk has been generally well received by business leaders. In the main their attitude is that he must be given a chance. Substantial financial backing from big business for the NP's election campaign confirms this, though it could be a matter of hedging bets.

P W Botha's strategy of attempting to woo businessmen with fine-sounding promises at lavish showcase conferences was a poor substitute for sound economic policies and fiscal discipline. We hope De Klerk will heed the message he has heard repeatedly from businessmen in recent months, and allow the professionals, headed by Chris Stals and Gerhard Croeser, to determine economic and fiscal priorities.

On the political front, De Beer rightly argues the future cannot be negotiated on the basis of "group" representation. To suggest, as some Nat spokesmen have done, that government will negotiate only with leaders chosen "democratically" from racially defined groups is ludicrous. So, too, is the party's apparent commitment to accord special status and protection in the new SA to certain of these groups. The quicker De Klerk drops this line of thinking, the better.

He must know by now that SA cannot afford the luxury of merely continuing P W's version of incremental reform, couched in heunisbabble. A quantum leap forward is essential. The early release of Nelson Mandela; the lifting of the State of Emergency; public acknowledgement of the role in political reform of the ANC and its extra-parliamentary allies; and urgent moves to scrap as many apartheid laws as possible to set the



De Klerk ... reform gap to bridge

(304A) Financial 15/9/89.

scene for "negotiation" — these would finally represent a "step in the right direction."

The NP's two main supporters in the daily press, *Beeld* and *Die Burger*, effectively support this strategy. *Die Burger*'s respected columnist, Dawie, has suggested the early release of Mandela "to at least give him the chance to sit at the negotiating table," and *Beeld* columnist Willie Kuhn says quick action is now needed to remove what Minister Adriaan Vlok described during the campaign as the "albatross of apartheid." Says Kuhn: "The inability of the new government to achieve this will be fertiliser for the rapidly growing DP plant."



Defiance campaign . . . contact no longer taboo

It would be a risk. But the era of no-risk reform is over; indeed, a Broederbond document recently leaked to the London *Independent* states: "The greatest risk that we are taking today is not taking any risks." Botha's reforms, such as scrapping influx control and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, relied almost exclusively on white support. His tricameral parliament has an in-built safety valve to ensure the will of the dominant white party if "consensus" fails.

De Klerk's reforms will be far more difficult. They will depend in the main on black support if they are to succeed (which is why it is important to move away from "group" thinking as soon as possible). Statutory "escape routes" will be out of the question.

White politics alone will no longer dictate the pace or direction of change, says UCT political scientist Robert Schrire. But he wonders whether De Klerk has yet grasped the full implications. While conceding that the new president is pragmatic and intelligent, Schrire wonders if he is aware of the magnitude of the problems he faces. "In politics one can guarantee procedures, but not outcomes. Up to now the NP has been trying to dictate the outcome of the processes it has set up."

Schrire says an aspect of the election that gives him hope is that, for the first time, there appears to be a link between public policy and voter support. For De Klerk to consolidate his support he will have to create the perception among whites that the country is better off under him than it was under Botha. To do so, the economic situation must improve, blacks must be brought into government and racial tension must be defused.

"De Klerk has nailed his colours to his ability to negotiate an end to racial tension, and he will be judged in five years' time on that ability."

Schrire says he is encouraged by the unprecedented sense of urgency in SA politics. "In a sense, time has caught up with SA. P W Botha tried unsuccessfully for six years to bring blacks into the system. De Klerk won't have any longer than five years."

He believes that special privileges for groups, whatever their composition, cannot form the basis of negotiation. "If whites want exclusivity then they must pay for it themselves. If we are still talking about things like group areas, population registration and the Land Act, then we are wasting our time."

De Klerk will have to realise that he gets no prize for trying — nor credit for courage. South Africans will not judge him against the performance of his predecessors, but in terms of their perceptions of a just society.

What then are the prospects of national reconciliation? "Cautiously optimistic, but with qualifications," says Schrire.

He believes government has a "real problem" with the white electorate. "De Klerk will need all the help he can get from the business community, opposition politicians, the news media, black churchmen, trade unions, and so on."

At the very least, he will have to win the ear of the MDM. Perhaps it is significant, as Willie Kuhn points out, that DP MPs such as Wynand Malan, Tiaan van der Merwe and Peter Gastrow, with close ties to the MDM, scored convincing victories last week. He asks if this is not a message to government that the "old sensitivities about contact with traditional enemies" no longer exist. He says the NP will have to decide if the P W Botha-Mandela meeting changed the way in which the party should deal with leftwing opposition.

If the MDM rejects De Klerk's initiatives and continues to make unrealistic demands, his efforts will be futile. To succeed, De Klerk needs a degree of compromise from his adversaries. Schrire says this means De Klerk will have to display the sort of statesmanship that has been seriously lacking in our politics for many years.

Not least, De Klerk will have to curb police excesses in dealing with protest. Grievances against police action are undoubtedly the single biggest immediate obstacle to conciliation with the MDM (see ***Current Affairs***).

Schrire agrees that De Klerk is perceived as a long-time conservative, but believes the pressures on him are such that he cannot resist the changes being demanded.

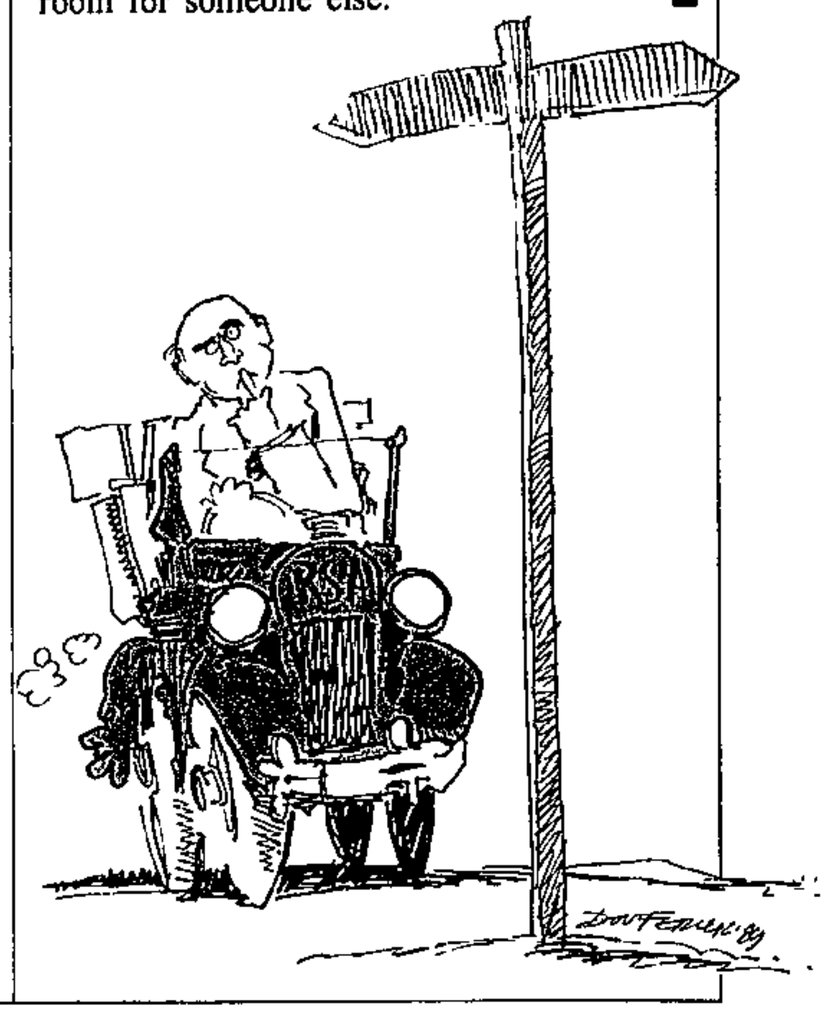
Canada-based SA-watcher Heribert Adam agrees: "Regardless of the ideological orientation of De Klerk and his colleagues, two issues are pushing them inexorably towards negotiation. One is that outside pressures have increased to the point where they are irresistible — short of going into a siege economy. The second is that Pretoria is bankrupt and desperately needs an inflow of foreign capital to generate economic growth.

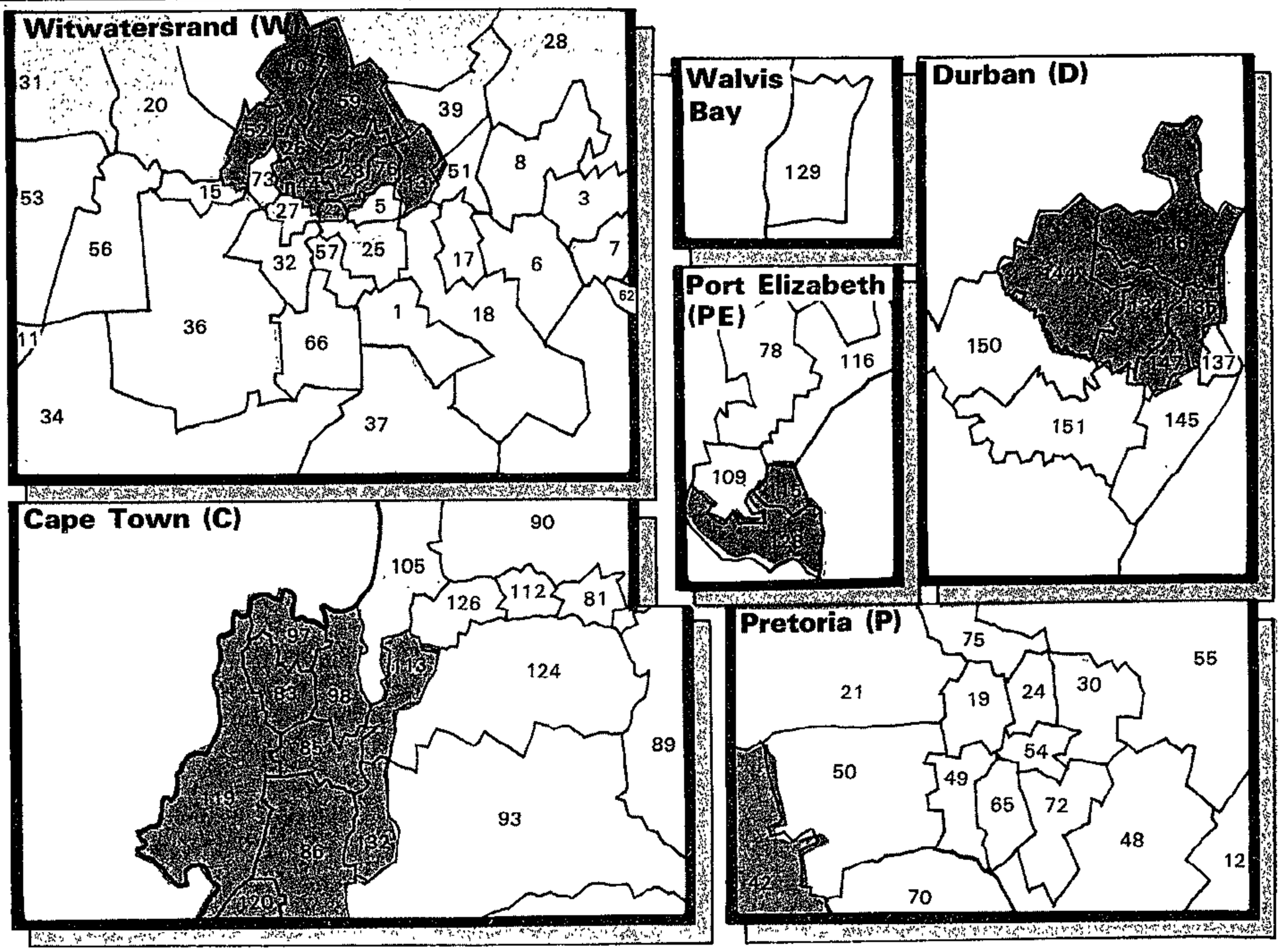
"In the past, economic growth has been seen as the solution to political problems. Now the opposite is true. Political solutions depend on a strong economy."

What if De Klerk resists the pressures for change? Unlike P W Botha, De Klerk's standing in the party and the caucus will be very much that of a team man rather than a Godfather. His senior Cabinet colleagues will be Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen, Barend du Plessis, Dawie de Villiers, Kobie Coetsee, Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok. With the possible exception of Malan and Vlok, all are regarded as more outward looking than De Klerk. There is little doubt that they will continuously push him forward and assist if he falters and falls. But if he digs in his heels and refuses to budge at any point, the chances are he will be ousted. Du Plessis, and now possibly De Villiers as well, have the caucus backing to replace him.

A more likely scenario is that De Klerk will use his more verligte colleagues to carry the day. Viljoen, in particular, has apparently been earmarked for a key role.

Assuming, then, that De Klerk is the man for the job, he faces an enormous task. In relative terms, as other analysts have already pointed out, it is as daunting as Mikhail Gorbachev's restructuring of Soviet thinking. It is a game of high risk — but with potentially high rewards. De Klerk must show that he has the courage and commitment to stick it out — or be prepared to make room for someone else. ■





Cape

- 74 **WITBANK** *W J D van Wyk
- 75 **WONDERBOOM** J J C Botha (from NP)
- **YEOVILLE** *H H Schwarz (1987: PFP)
- **ALBANY** E K Moorcroft (from NP)
- 78 **ALGOA** *F P Smit
- 79 **ALIWAL** *J F Pretorius
- 80 **BEAUFORT WEST** A C Cloete
- 81 **BELLVILLE** C Ackerman
- 82 **CALEDON** *L H Fick
- **CAPE TOWN GARDENS** *K M Andrew (1987: PFP)
- 84 **CERES** *Dr W A van Niekerk
- **CLAREMONT** *J van Eck (1987 PFP)
- **CONSTANTIA** *R R Hulley (1987 PFP)
- 87 **CRADOCK** *A T Meyer
- 88 **DE AAR** *J A Jooste
- 89 **DE KUILEN** *D M Streicher
- 90 **DURBANVILLE** *J van Deventer
- 91 **EAST LONDON CITY** W H Nel
- 92 **EAST LONDON NORTH** *C J W Badenhorst
- 93 **FALSE BAY** *A L Jordaan
- 94 **GEORGE** *H A Smit
- 95 **GORDONIA** *J A van Wyk
- 96 **GRAAFF-REINET** *J L Retief
- **GREEN POINT** *S van der Merwe (1987 PFP)
- **GROOTE SCHUUR** Mrs M Smuts (1987 PFP)
- 99 **HELDERBERG** Dr F P Jacobsz
- 100 **HUMANSDORP** *W D Meyer
- 101 **KIMBERLEY NORTH** *J A Brazelle
- 102 **KIMBERLEY SOUTH** *J J Niemann
- 103 **KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** *R J Radue
- 104 **KURUMAN** J H Hoon (from NP)
- 105 **MAITLAND** *K D S Durr
- 106 **MALMESBURY** *G J Kotze
- 107 **MOSSEL BAY** *Dr H M J van Rensburg
- 108 **NAMAQUALAND** *E v d M Louw
- 109 **NEWTON PARK** *I Louw
- 110 **OUDTSHOORN** A J de Jager
- 111 **PAARL** E Louw
- 112 **PAROW** *H J Kriel
- **PINELANDS** *J J Walsh (1987 PFP)
- 114 **PIKETBERG** *Dr D J de Villiers
- **PORT ELIZABETH CENTRAL** E W Trent (1987 PFP)
- 116 **PORT ELIZABETH NORTH** *G B Myburgh
- 117 **PRIESKA** *Dr A I van Niekerk
- 118 **QUEENSTOWN** Dr E A Schoeman
- **SEA POINT** *C W Eglin (1987: PFP)
- **SIMONSTOWN** J H Momberg (from NP)
- 121 **STELLENBOSCH** *P G Marais
- 122 **SUNDAYS RIVER** *Dr J T Delport
- 123 **SWELLENDAM** *N J J van R Koornhof
- 124 **TYGERVALLEI** I J Pretorius
- 125 **UITENHAGE** W A Botha (from NP)
- 126 **VASCO** *J H Heyns
- 127 **VRYBURG** *J H L Scheepers
- **WALMER** Gen R H D Rogers (from NP)
- 129 **WALVIS BAY** C L de Jager
- 130 **WELLINGTON** *G J Malherbe
- 131 **WORCESTER** R J King
- **WYNBERG** R V Carlisle (from NP)

Natal

- 133 **AMANZIMTOTI** *G S Bartlett
- **BEREA** Dr D J Worrall (from NP)
- **DURBAN CENTRAL** *P H P Gastrow
- **DURBAN NORTH** *M J Ellis
- 137 **DURBAN POINT** *J C Matthee
- **GREYTOWN** *P C Cronje (1987 PFP)
- 139 **KLIP RIVER** *J W Maree
- **MOOI RIVER** W U Nel (1987: PFP)
- 141 **NEWCASTLE** A Blaas
- **PIETERMARITZBURG NORTH** M A Tarr (from NP)
- **PIETERMARITZBURG SOUTH** R F Haswell (from NP)
- **PINETOWN** *R M Burrows
- 145 **PORT NATAL** J A Marais
- 146 **SOUTH COAST** *A G Thompson
- **UMBILO** Mrs C H Charlewood (from NP)
- 148 **UMFOLOZI** J Schnetler
- **UMHLANGA** J A Jordaan (from NP)
- 150 **UMHLATUZANA** *Dr P J Steenkamp
- 151 **UMLAZI** *C J van R Botha
- 152 **VRYHEID** *J H W Mentz

OFS

- 153 **BETHLEHEM** *P J Farrell
- 154 **BLOEMFONTEIN EAST** *Dr J J Swanepoel
- 155 **BLOEMFONTEIN NORTH** *Dr F J van Heerden
- 156 **BLOEMFONTEIN WEST** *H J Coetsee
- 157 **FAURESMITH** Tie. by-election to be held (1987 NP)
- 158 **HEILBRON** Adv C H Pienaar (from NP)
- 159 **KROONSTAD** *W N Breytenbach
- 160 **LADYBRAND** P H van Rhijn (from NP)
- 161 **PARYS** Dr P J Gous (from NP)
- 162 **SASOLBURG** L F Stofberg (from NP)
- 163 **SMITHFIELD** A P Oosthuizen (from NP)
- 164 **VIRGINIA** *P J Clase
- 165 **WELKOM** E J Jordaan (from NP)
- 166 **WINBURG** *P T Steyn

SEPTEMBER • 8 • 1989

Financial Mail

POST-ELECTION PROSPECTS

(304A)

Into terra incognita

In the run-up to the election, the question which must now be addressed with increasing urgency *was* raised — just what kind of SA do we want? But it tended to be obscured by the defiance campaign, the police response, the P W-F W showdown and so on.

Apartheid has always had two components: the legal framework of segregation and the repression ordered to defend it. Obviously, local discretion comes into play — witness the sane response of the Durban police to the beach protests (see "A tale of two beaches") compared to the massive over-reaction in the Peninsula. But for how much longer must the charade of reformist promises and the reality of a disgusting system be allowed to co-exist?

As in 1985-1986, there was a jarring incongruity between the image of this country which its inhabitants were permitted to see on TV (a lot of rugby interspersed with political soap opera) and that which shocked foreign audiences (arrested clerics and purple rain in Cape Town). Clearly, it will be up to F W de Klerk to sort matters out, if he can.

The State President will face — as did his predecessors — three "constituencies" whom he must please with something more than a nice smile. They are the Afrikaners, SA as a whole and the world out there. John Vorster and P W Botha crumbled and faded away as they successively failed the world, SA — and the Afrikaners. This fate is a prospect of which F W must be aware.

The trouble is that no diehard Nat leader can possibly please all three and survive — that is why the NP has twice split and why we, nonetheless, have sanctions, disinvestment and — if the cycle of dissent and repression plays itself out as in the past — further emigration and more despair.

The way out lies in an acceptable settlement — not to all, since that is impossible — but one which meets mass aspirations for freedom and dignity without triggering reactionary violence among Afrikaner *bittereinders* which leads to civil war.

To achieve this, F W needs to project himself in a way unprecedented in SA history — as a *national* reformer, not a tribal peacemaker. Perhaps he has a chance. At this stage it is understandable that he is unable or unwilling to renounce the emphasis on group rights which underlies his negotiating position, just as the ANC is unable or unwilling to renounce violence.

Negotiators have to come to the table with something to bargain with — power, whether economic or military, or the power of the boycott and the stayaway.

But it is notable that the fraternal forces of the MDM are far less willing to accept De Klerk's credentials as a reformer than certain African leaders — or, for that matter, those of West Germany and Britain. But then, none of us know exactly what the president-designate has been saying abroad. Will he let us know?

The test of action lies ahead. Specifically:

☐ The release of Nelson Mandela and all key players in the prospective negotiations;

☐ The abolition of laws such as Separate Amenities, Population Registration and Group Areas;

☐ The sacking of ministers habituated to the displays of a police state; and, of course,

☐ The ending of the State of Emergency.

Many radicals will not wish any of this to occur — and, unfortunately for a leader with the national good in mind but whose mandate rests with a minority, the majority evidently approves of those radicals.

For a time, De Klerk can set the agenda. Most think he has not more than five years. Unless he moves rapidly to defuse an extremely dangerous situation — and that requires some huge leaps of the imagination — he will not even have that.

And if he finds himself treading in the footsteps of Vorster and Botha, he will also find himself the prime symbol of national failure and destitution. ■

Hiatus over today's Jo'burg protest march

Star 15/9/87

304

Political Staff and Crime Reporter

Hours before the start of the big anti-apartheid protest march through the streets of Johannesburg today, the Government was still deciding whether or not to allow it to proceed.

By today no formal application for magisterial permission for the march had been submitted, according to Acting Chief Magistrate Mr Pieter Theron.

Asked if such an application would be approved, he said: "I cannot prejudge the issue. If such an application is received it will be judged on merit."

PERMISSION

One of the organisers of the march, South African Council of Churches secretary-general Rev Frank Chikane, vowed to go ahead with the march whether or not permission was granted.

He said State President-elect Mr F W de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok had been told of the march and asked to inform the police not to harass marchers.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said today the matter was being considered by him.

The Government would take into account not only security interests, but also the wider interests of the public and the impact of the march on traffic.

Other Government sources indicated that permission was sure to be granted as long as the Government was assured the march would be peaceful.

The Council for South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said its members would join today's march to John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg to demand the release of leading Mass Democratic Movement spokesman Mr Titus Mofolo and other detainees and an end to "police brutality".

The demonstrations follow Wednesday's Cape Town march in which about 35 000 people protested peacefully, with Government permission.

Government sources indicated yesterday that the peaceful outcome of the Cape Town march boded well for today's activities. This meant that if guarantees were received from organisers that the protests would be peaceful, there would be no objections to them.

LEADING FIGURES

The SACC spokesman said leading anti-apartheid figures would take part in the Johannesburg march.

The Mayor of Midrand, Mr Ian Lourens, was expected to join the march, as were several Democratic Party city and town councillors of Reef municipalities.

The SACC said scores of organisations would take part, including Cosatu and its affiliates, community organisations, the Five Freedoms Forum, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), the Black Sash, Wits-based Black Students' Interim Committee, the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), the SACC, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Methodist Church and the Anglican Church.

"We are also consulting the Black Consciousness Movement in the hope that it will participate. In fact, we call upon all anti-apartheid organisations to join," the spokesman said.

In Grahamstown, Rhodes University students, academic staff and workers are to hold a march through the city.

Meanwhile, the Human Rights Commission called upon Mr de Klerk yesterday to immediately institute an open and independent commission of inquiry into the conduct of police in unrest situations.

● The Five Freedoms Forum said yesterday it had not organised the Johannesburg march, but was "simply one of many" supporting and participating in the protest.

● See Page 2.

THE EXTRAORDINARY MARCH THROUGH CAPE TOWN ... AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR THE POLITICS OF PROTEST

A taste of FW glasnost. But

'Reform' as FW de Klerk, discovered this week, means defusing unexpected crises. It means having the resolve to continue, regardless of the setbacks. Mikhail Gorbachev has shown he has the mettle to do it. Has FW?
PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK *on the aftermath of the march*

IF he is a student of world politics, Acting State President FW de Klerk would have realised this week that he has a lot more in common with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev than a lack of hair. He would have seen that, as in the Soviet Union, to "reform" is not to direct change but to ease controls and wait for the unknowable to happen.

There was nothing in Wednesday's march through Cape Town that De Klerk could have planned. If he had had his way, it would not have gone ahead at all. But he never had that choice. The alternatives were repression of the march, accompanied by international damnation, or a leap into the future — a foretaste of what lies ahead for his administration.

Before he goes any further, De Klerk should be aware that the easing of controls in the Soviet Union have often produced what, from the point of view of the authorities, are undesirable consequences. An explosion of nationalist and separatist sentiment in the Baltic States, Georgia and Moldavia, and inter-ethnic conflict in Armenia and Azarbaijan are threatening to rip the empire apart.

But each step into the future becomes in itself a vindication. Two years ago, it was believed that though Stalin had his shortcomings he had at least solved the nationalities question. Now it is apparent that only repression kept a lid on the nationalism of Soviet minorities, and only a return to Stalinism will screw it back on.

The massive scale of Wednesday's march (though small by Soviet standards) is a fact of life that De Klerk has to accept. That it went ahead peacefully is a vindication of Lieutenant Gregory Rockman and all those who blamed the riot police for the violence.

The march was a finger pointed at Wednesday night's killers, including those of five-year-old Nomthunzi Mashabela who was discovered by Iris Dyantyies lying in a Khayelitsha alleyway, her stomach torn open by a bullet fired by a policeman. "Mama, I'm hurt," said Nomthunzi, who was carried to her home.

An attempt was made to drive her to hospital, out of the township, but the car was stopped by the police roadblocks and the burning barricades. Nomthunzi died in the car.

The march's implications are not comforting for the authorities. Conservative Party Law and Order spokesman Moolman Mentz put his finger on it when he said that by allowing the march to go ahead, the government had sanctioned "open resistance" to police actions on election night.

De Klerk made it clear that this kind of protest is not what he wants. He would prefer the representatives of the black majority to come forward and meekly present themselves for negotiation. "The door to the new South Africa is open," said De Klerk.

has he Gorbachev's resolve?

"It is not necessary to batter it down."

But, having sanctioned peaceful protest, it will be hard for De Klerk to crack down on the inevitable followups to Cape Town. The most powerful restraining force in his way will be the international community.

Western diplomats were decisive in persuading De Klerk to allow Wednesday's protest march, revealing the extent to which he is courting their favour.

The threat of further sanctions is dragging South Africa into the new era. If De Klerk moves as a reformist, foreign banks are unlikely to attach the political conditions to their debt rescheduling next year that anti-apartheid activists are demanding.

Similarly, opponents of sanctions such as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, have let De Klerk know that if he does not move towards reform and negotiation in the next six months to a year, they will not be able to save South Africa's hide from those wanting total sanctions. If De Klerk does move, their hand will be strengthened and they will be able to shield him.

At least part of De Klerk's success in convincing many in the outside world to give him time is his personal style which is in marked contrast to his predecessor, PW Botha. He has even been described as "un-PWesque". He displays none of the overweening ego, the childlike gratification that Botha attained from kicking his opponents into the ground.

But Botha also had his honeymoon with the international community when he was proceeding with reform in the early 1980s. Then, too, there were experiments such as the Cape Town march.

One remembers how, in early 1985, community leaders from volatile Alexandra, where more than 20 people had been killed by security forces, negotiated a deal with police to stay out of the township for a mass funeral.

That night Alex was a liberated zone. The comrades danced the *toyi toyi* while an Umkhonto soldier in full battle regalia addressed a midnight crowd in a stadium. There was no violence, only exuberance.

However, the new South Africa was not to be. When Botha discovered the phenomenon that you can't control real change, he reimposed control through the State of Emergency. In the end he was swayed by the security establishment and the party conservatives (including, at the time, De Klerk).

De Klerk would be reluctant to take South Africa down that same political and economic cul de sac that he now has to reverse it out of. The South African economy is hardly growing. It is bleeding vast amounts of capital. Unemployment, poverty and inflation continue to rise and gold, remaining at a mediocre price, is unable to come to the rescue as it has in the past.

Like Gorbachev, De Klerk seeks to revitalise the country's economy through a form of political *glasnost*. Like Gorbachev, De Klerk has a security establishment who prefer the old way of doing things and are alarmed by the widespread uncontrollable public dissent that *glasnost* has unleashed.

Perhaps the biggest question is whether De Klerk, backed by his kitchen cabinet, shares Gorbachev's resolve and wile to outmanoeuvre the "securocrats" whose roots are deep in the administration of this country.

groundswell of political

As Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak addressed the jubi-

The march made nonsense of

State of Emergency, he added.

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TOTAL:

DIDay 15/9/89

DP and CP have each nominated three members

RIAAN SMIT 304A

THE CP and the DP have each nominated three members for the 60-member President's Council by agreement between party whips, DP communications director James Selfe said yesterday.

The DP has nominated one of its national board vice-chairmen, David Gant, the party's unsuccessful Helderberg parliamentary candidate.

The other two DP nominations are Selfe and former DP President's Councillor James Rennie.

The CP has nominated former indirectly elected MP Clive Derby-Lewis, who was beaten by Law and Order deputy minister Leon Wessels in the Krugersdorp constituency.

Two other unsuccessful CP parliamentary candidates, Servaas Latsky, beaten in Alberton, and Marius Oosthuysen in Sundays River, Cape, were also nominated.

The NP is entitled to nominate 14 of the 20 councillors the House of Assembly may nominate in terms of the constitution. The House of Representatives may nominate 10 members and the House of Delegates 5.

President-elect F W De Klerk, who must ratify the 35 nominations of the three Houses, may nominate 25 members.

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Palestinian Abdel-Mahdi Ghanem, 24, is taken from court in Jerusalem yesterday, after pleading guilty to seizing the wheel of a Tel Aviv-bound bus on July 6, and overturning it into a ravine. He faces 16 charges of murder and 24 counts of attempted murder. Picture: REUTER

Pastoors gets new passport without curbs

ROBERT GENTLE

LONDON — Helene Pastoors, the Belgian national released from an SA prison earlier this year, had been given a new passport without any travel restrictions, the Belgian Foreign Ministry said in Brussels yesterday. (3 Sep)

"She is free to travel wherever she likes so long as she obtains a visa from the countries she intends visiting," a spokesman said.

The move represents an apparent climbdown by the Belgian authorities, who were expected to curtail Pastoors' movements in southern Africa as part of a deal struck with the SA prison authorities.

However, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said the decision to grant her a new passport was not in breach of this agreement. BIDay 15/9/87

"We only agreed to look into the legal possibility of doing so. Our inquiry showed there was no legal justification for this, and that is why she now has a normal passport, just like before," he said.

Goodyear bonanza

BIDay 15/9/87

From Page 1

All change as Members take their seats

B Day 15/9/89.

304ft

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — For the first time in more than 20 years opposition parties in the Assembly have members sitting on the cross benches.

Prior to the election, NP MPs occupied all the benches on the government side of the House, all the cross benches and three rows of seats on the opposition side.

Among the more amusing couplings in the new seating arrangements is that of Harry Schwarz and Wynand Malan, who have clashed on numerous occasions since the formation of the DP.

Kobus Jordaan, the triumphant DP candidate in Umhlanga, has been placed in the front row of the crossbenches. Sitting alongside him is Renier Schoeman, indirectly elected, the man he defeated.

At first DP co-leader Denis Worrall found himself sitting amongst the backbenchers, but later Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point) gave him gis front bench seat.

Tony Leon, who gave up his senior position as leader of the opposition in the Johannesburg City Council, has been given one of the most uncomfortable seats in the house — a commode on the back bench.

General Bob Rogers, the DP's successful candidate in Walmer, was one of two of the party's newcomers to Parliament to be given a position as a senior spokesmen.

He has taken over from Dave Dalling, the party's new chief whip, as defence spokesman.

Jordaan was made the senior spokesman on black affairs in Natal.

Worrall has replaced Helen Suzman as the DP's chief spokesman on law and order.

Leon was given responsibility as an alternate spokesman on planning, group areas and separate amenities, as well as manpower.

Of the other Transvaal newcomers, Lester Fuchs (Hillbrow) has been appointed as an alternate spokesman on law and order. Geoff Engel (Bezuidenhout) is alternate economic affairs and technology and information spokesman. Louis de Waal has been appointed as alternate spokesman on economic affairs, communication and broadcasting services.

Foreign interference in SA 'will increase'

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA's every action, internally and externally, would become inceasingly subject to international interference and even further sanctions, Small Business Development Corporation MD Ben Vosloo said here yesterday.

Speaking at an Afrikaanse Sakekamer function, he said this would include the activities of a hoard of private international and national organisations, as well as commercial and industrial corporations.

The result of increasing internationalisation of the SA situation was that moderate friendly Western powers would make demands for change on the SA goverment as a quid pro quo for the continuation of limited relationship and support.

Whites had to come to terms with the realities of a minority position in an overwhelmingly black continent. The black section of the population would have to learn in turn that prosperity and progress was not something that just landed in one's lap.

"It is not something you can take over from someone else. You have to work for it," he said. "The progress of blacks cannot be obtained through the decline of whites."

Blacks, Vosloo said, were no longer prepared to accept any form of subordination to whites.

He said political stability rested on a sound economy and a high rate of develoment. To achieve this, investments were necessary, but investors demanded a reliable stable climate and access to capital sources.

It was vitally necessary that savings were not frittered away through leaks such as an outflow of capital and/or the spending of loan funds by goverment on current services.

It was critically important, too, that existing savings were canalised to produce real capital formation and welfare. Today a large proportion of contractual savings, about R50m a work day, was canalised to the share market by institutional investors. Only a small percentage of savings got into the hands of entrepreneurs.

President for all — FW

3064

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — F W de Klerk sees his role as being President for all South Africans — not just those represented in Parliament.

He said this yesterday after being unanimously elected SA's second executive President. De Klerk was nominated by Pik Botha and seconded by Kobie Coetsee. Louis le Grange was re-elected as Speaker.

De Klerk will be sworn in at a ceremony in Pretoria on Wednesday, after which he is expected to announce the Cabinet.

Addressing newsmen at Tuynhuys yesterday, De Klerk said he had no illusions about the responsibilities attached to the post of President.

"Our country is going through one of the most decisive phases in its history. What happens in the next five years will be decisive for many decades to follow."

His government, he said, was committed to bringing about a new dispensation by peaceful means. He said the role of President was to represent all South Africans, not just those represented in Parliament.

"I will approach my task in that spirit."

Government's goal was to reach a stage where all South Africans could take part in decision making in a just and equitable manner.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said his party hoped De Klerk would serve the country better than his predecessor managed to.

"Certainly he has made a good start by permitting thousands of citizens in Cape Town and elsewhere the opportunity of political expression in a degree that has long been denied them.

"We welcome the fact that Mr de Klerk has taken this less repressive line. We trust that it will continue, and that he will fulfill his expressed hope of entering into truly meaningful negotiations with our fellow citizens, towards a united SA based on equal human dignity and rights."

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht expressed the hope that De Klerk would reconsider his vision of a future SA based on power-sharing.

Although De Klerk is refusing to say anything about the composition of his new Cabinet, it now seems certain that Deputy Economic Affairs and Technology Minister George Bartlett will take over as Natal NP leader and be appointed as a full minister in charge of the same portfolio.

NP information chief Con Botha, who was the main contender for the position, is expected to be given the position as Natal Administrator.

Maggie's weight behind SA reform

CAPE TOWN — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday congratulated President elect F W de Klerk on his election to the post of President, assuring him of Britain's support for moves away from apartheid.

"You face a formidable task in bringing about the fundamental changes in SA which are needed and to which you are committed," Thatcher said.

She added that De Klerk could be sure "of Britain's support for positive moves towards the creation of a just and democratic society".

Japan urged SA to begin democratic change by setting a clear agenda for abolishing apartheid, releasing political prisoners and entering into dialogue with credible black leaders.

"We strongly urge Pretoria to take substantive and effective moves toward dismantling apartheid," Japan's Consul-General said in a statement in Pretoria yesterday.

The statement also called on the government to free jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, lift the ban on anti-government organisations and lift the state of emergency. — Sapa.

B/Day 15/9/89

'Democracy a necessity'

304A

EDWARD WEST

THE development of democracy in SA is no longer a matter of political ideology but rather a demographic and economic necessity, according to PG Wood's productivity and quality director, Christo Nel.

Nel was speaking at the official opening of the SA Institute of Industrial Engineers Conference at Sun City yesterday.

He said all the players in any company should unite in a holistic approach towards company goals, while management should embark on value-sharing processes to break down negative social memories and decades of mistrust between races.

Democracy should be developed in the workplace because political ideals were being pushed into work arenas by unionisation.

Less than 1% of state managerial positions were held by blacks, he said. White social memories in SA were stuck on group rights due to, among others, the historical myth taught at white schools that whites must rule.

In 1989 23 000 artisans were trained when 100 000 were needed.

Capital productivity had dropped from a base of 100 in 1971 to around 65 in 1988 and, in GDP terms, SA had dropped to one of the lowest late developing countries in the world.

To promote democracy and productivity in the work place, managers should embark on progressive recruitment embargoes, employees should be rewarded for quality work while all employees should be united in the goals of the company, said Nel.

Star 15/9/89 304A

SA can ill afford violence – De Beer



PARLIAMENT
1989

PARLIAMENT — A judicial commission into the recent unrest was justified over and over again by the violence which had occurred during and since the elections, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, **Dr Zach de Beer**, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in debate on a motion on the security of the State, he said the simple fact that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had become involved in a war of words with leaders of extra-parliamentary groups over how many people died proved that the most serious acts of violence had indeed taken place.

South Africa could ill afford events such as these, and the accompanying publicity, at a time when it was being paralysed by the lack of investment capital, with a low growth-rate and high unemployment.

There were encouraging aspects to what had happened in past weeks. Everyone was surely thankful for the manner in which Wednesday's church service and march in Cape Town had been handled.

He said the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, deserved thanks for the tolerant attitude he and the Government had displayed.

The protests in recent weeks all arose from the decision by leaders of extra-parliamentary organisations to hold demonstrations in protest against the exclusion of their people from the election.

It had to be asked if adult human beings, parents, workers and taxpayers were entitled to ask for effective participation in the political process.

Surely there can be only one answer in terms of the Western civilised heritage which we all claim as our own."

— Sapa.

(304A

Difficult task facing FW, says Maggie

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, congratulated Mr F W de Klerk yesterday on his election as State President.

"You face a formidable task in bringing about the fundamental changes in South Africa which are needed and to which you are committed," Mrs Thatcher said.

She added that Mr de Klerk could be sure "of Britain's support for positive moves towards the creation of a just and democratic society".

Earlier, the parliamentary electoral college elected Mr de Klerk unopposed as South Africa's State President. He will be installed in office at a ceremony in Pretoria next Wednesday.

After his election, Mr de Klerk said he was committed to bringing about a just and equitable dispensation in South Africa in which all would have a part in decision-making processes.

Speaking at Tuynhuys, Mr de Klerk said he was accepting the position with humility and had no illusions about the responsibility attached to it.

He regarded himself as the leader of all in South Africa, not only those who were represented in Parliament, and he would approach the post in this spirit.

South Africa was going through one of the most decisive phases in its history.

Mr de Klerk said he was committed to a new dispensation by peaceful means, but this could be achieved only with the co-operation of responsible leaders.



Well done . . . Mr de Klerk gets a warm squeeze of the hand from his wife Marike.

Star 15/9/89 3044

'Govt has only acted weakly since polls'

PARLIAMENT — After warnings against the Mass Democratic Movement, the Government had only displayed weakness in dealing with demonstrations since the elections, particularly those near Parliament, **Mr Tom Langley, Opposition chief spokesman on foreign affairs**, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He moved a motion expressing concern at the Government's "apparent inability to stabilise the security situation", listing a number of items ranging from terror attacks across the Zimbabwe border; violations of Resolution 435 on the borders of Namibia; Cubans in Mozambique; unrest in the Cape Peninsula and the "denigration" of the police by the media and the actions of Lieutenant Gregory Rockman.

Mr Langley said the "toothless old hound" could not even bark, but "only wagged its tail" and said it would take up the matter of a cross-border attack on the Erasmus couple near Messina diplomatically.

"This is bedevilling the morale of farmers and through the media others are being scared away from the area," he said.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, should tell South Africa which conditions of Resolution 435 and accompanying agreements had been broken by Swapo, Angola and Untag thus far.

"We heard the threats made against the MDM, but just after the election they made only a gesture of weakness regarding demonstrations in South Africa, particularly those near Parliament."

Mr Pik Botha responded by saying that Mr Langley's motion expressed concerns based on fiction. There was no substantiation for his claims, he said.

violence is if you can show that violence has its limits." ■

NOMINATED MPs

Not his Pik?

The nomination of Glenn Babb (an ex-deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs) as an MP by the NP caucus this week has placed Foreign Minister Pik Botha in a delicate spot. Botha is known to be very keen to have former Nat MP Sampie Golden appointed as his deputy in the expected Cabinet reshuffle.

However, Babb, who gave up a promising career in the foreign service to oppose (unsuccessfully) the DP's Wynand Malan in Randburg, is strongly regarded as an NP wunderkind. Before his official adoption as an NP candidate, rumour had it that Babb had been promised some reward.



Babb defeated (1) ... but also rises

In certain Nat circles there is, however, a feeling that Babb was not the ideal candidate to have stood against Malan. Conducting a high-profile campaign, Babb used his TV and other appearances to castigate Malan's contact with the ANC and the mass democratic movement. This may have backfired on the Nats as there is evidence that the scare campaign based on the MDM's alleged threat to peace was rather overplayed.

As the *FM* went to press, all the nominations by the various parties had been made for the eight indirectly elected MPs. The four to be nominated by F W de Klerk — yet to be elected president by the electoral college — were still to be announced.

Four names being speculated on were: Golden, a Nat stalwart who lost in Wonderboom; Willem Odendaal, who lost Sasolburg to the CP's Louis Stofberg (having won it from Stofberg — then an HNP member — in 1987); Renier Schoeman, who lost Umhlanga to the DP; and Alec van Breda, parliamentary chief whip who did not contest a seat. Golden was previously nominated under P W Botha after he lost Potgietersrus.

Golden is highly regarded by Pik Botha, who feels the former minister of religion is a hard worker and has an amiable personality suitable for dealing with foreign leaders and diplomats. He compares well with former deputy minister Kobus Meiring, who has since been appointed Administrator of the Cape.

But a Babb appointment could present Botha with internal problems and discontent within his department. It would be difficult to see how senior diplomats like Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden and the other deputy DG, Herbert Beukes, would operate under Babb as their deputy minister.

Though Babb had been SA's envoy to Canada, both Van Heerden (Bonn) and Beukes (Washington) held more senior ambassadorial posts. In the department, it is known that Beukes, a brother-in-law of Privatisation Minister Dawie de Villiers, has also been interested in a political career (not necessarily in the NP), but resisted strong calls from the DP to contest Stellenbosch.

Another name mentioned as a possible nominated MP was that of regional services council chairman Gerrit Bornman. De Klerk felt that he had to reward Bornman for the major part he had played in the NP's successful fundraising drive. De Klerk apparently asked Pik Botha and Education & Training Minister Gerrit Viljoen to propose and second Bornman's nomination. However, Bornman lost against Babb, David Graaff, Jacob de Villiers, Piet Swanepoel and Renier Schoeman.

At the time of going to press there was uncertainty on how many indirectly elected members the Nats were entitled to. If four, the DP's Dave Gant would be the second member for that party, together with East London businessman André de Wet. If allowed five, Schoeman would be the fifth NP member at the expense of Gant.

Absent

A notable absentee from the nomination list was Deputy Health Minister Michael Veldman, who lost his Rustenburg seat to the CP. Veldman's inadequate handling of the JG Strijdom "own affairs" hospital issue may have earned him the chop.

Observers at the Hendrik Verwoerd Building, which houses various ministries, say that former deputy foreign minister Louis Nel, who lost a close race against the CP's Arrie Paulus in Carletonville, was seen calling on Pik Botha this week. Nel, who was discredited as Bureau of Information Deputy Minister, left politics in 1987 but attempted a comeback this year.

Another spin-off from the nominations and the general election could be felt in the Johannesburg City Council. In some circles it is expected that NP councillor Howard Bloomberg, son of the defeated Bezuidenhout Nat MP, Sam Bloomberg, may yet cross the floor to the DP in the wake of the NP caucus's failure to nominate his father. Insiders say that Bloomberg Jnr previously threatened to do just that when Nat organiser Alwyn Marx, husband of management committee member Mariette Marx, expressed a wish to oppose Bloomberg in a nomination contest.

Marx later withdrew his candidacy. Insiders at the Civic Centre say that Mariette Marx was on the phone to Pik Botha — leader of the NP in Johannesburg — this week. It is expected that the situation in the council must have dominated the conversation. A cross-over by another Nat in the council would be a major blow to the Nats.

In parliamentary circles surprise was also expressed by the omission of firebrand right-wing politician Clive Derby-Lewis as a nominee of the CP. It strengthened the belief that Derby-Lewis's racist attitude (in a recent magistrate's court case he was described as racist) has become an embarrassment.

☐ The NP is still awaiting legal advice on how to resolve the dead heat in the Fauresmith election result. The CP wants a by-election to be held while the NP wants a court ruling on the matter. ■

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CP DELAY ON PARKS

304M

KRUGERSDORP, which is controlled by the Conservative Party, has postponed, until March 28 next year its decision on the re-opening of amenities in the town to all races.

The town council is awaiting the outcome of the appeal by the Town Council of Carltonville against a judgment by the Pretoria Supreme Court ordering it to re-open its parks to all races.

However members of the National Party and Independents in the Krugersdorp Town Council who introduced the motion, maintained that a decision to re-open amenities should not be based on a court ruling affecting another town, but that such a decision should be taken in the best interests of the residents of Krugersdorp. - Sapa.

SEPTEMBER • 15 • 1989

Financial Mail

15/9/89. 3044

ECONOMIC POLICY

The time for rhetoric is past

A dangerous confusion seems to have crept into government's broad economic philosophy. As Gerhard de Kock pointed out years ago, political reform and economic reform are two sides of a coin; you can't have one without the other.

That was originally intended to underline the urgency of economic reform. But recently — especially in some of the pre-poll TV electioneering — the argument has been subtly twisted. The linkage is still inescapable but has become negative. We mustn't be too impatient with the slow pace of economic reform, we are told, because look how difficult we (that is, government) are finding it to introduce political reform. And until we get the political side right, we can't do much about the economy.

This may sound a plausible excuse for inaction, but it's really not good enough. There is, after all, no mystery about what economic reforms are needed. Many of them are already nominally government policy. True, they may not be the sort of reform that would be acceptable to an ANC-dominated government, but there's no indication that's the ultimate dispensation this government has in mind.

And whatever implications the result of the general election may have for political reform, one thing is generally accepted: Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has become a major power broker within the NP, and will have a far stronger position in F W's first Cabinet than in P W's last.

There is thus no excuse for not pressing ahead with the economic reforms we all know are necessary. Money supply growth must be cut back sharply, a sensible policy of positive real interest rates must be followed, distorting illogicalities — like import surcharges — must go, more of the Margo Commission tax reforms must be implemented, State spending must be curbed and there must be a conscious effort to step up the pace of privatisation and deregulation. It's a familiar litany but that does not invalidate it.

At least this week brings a major step forward in the Iscor flotation, but the timing of that has nothing to do with the election. There is in any event a vast difference between selling off a semi-autonomous corporation, that has for years behaved in much the same way as a private-sector company, and tackling bodies like the Post Office and some of Sats' fiefs. Nor is hiving off refuse collection and the management of swimming pools more than peripheral progress.

It may be a problem that Dawie de Villiers is in charge of both the civil service and privatisation. But that's easily solved, given the Cabinet changes F W will have to make.

If F W is to capitalise on the considerable initial fund of goodwill he's built up, he can waste no time in getting the negotiation process under way. But now the election rhetoric has faded we must also stop blaming our economic tribulations solely on those wicked foreign bankers. Du Plessis must move just as fast to overcome the ways we have contributed to our economic impoverishment. ■

Impressions of '89

(3044) Finance 15/9/89.

What made the biggest impression on voters when general election day finally came round? Was it the first TV debates or the DP's trendy cinema ads? A presidential resignation or three blind mice?

Traditional scare tactics provided the resounding background music to the campaign. Voters were encouraged to fear the MDM, ANC, DP, CP, NP, PW, FW, liberals, conservatives, Left, Right, new ideas, old ideas, beach apartheid, open beaches, Boksburg, Zambia — and just about everything else.

The NP somehow had to manage to portray itself as the reform party. It did that by negotiating with black leaders beyond SA's borders. It also had to portray itself as the party that would guarantee security to conservative voters. It did that by playing on white fears.

"Voters clawed their way back to old voting habits," says Keyan Tomaselli, director of the University of Natal's contemporary culture studies unit. "By playing on white fears the Nats will buy the party more time but not the country. How long will whites be mobilised on fear? In the end it will lead to our own destruction."

Scare tactics are obviously lowbrow but they are also effective. While the DP did improve on the number of former PFP seats in parliament, the CP did better, and the NP hung on to its majority. White fear remains a powerful campaign weapon.

As much as people hate to admit it, negative campaigning does work. Defining your opponents in unflattering terms forces them to answer those charges, keeping them from talking about their chosen issues. Michael Dukakis found that out the hard way last year when he ran for president against George Bush. Bush portrayed Dukakis as a man who let murderers out of prison and who refused to salute the American flag. Dukakis ignored the attacks, thinking voters wouldn't pay attention to scurrilous charges. He was wrong.

Attacking on the Right as well as the Left, the NP went after the CP on the issue of Boksburg, and all that it conjures up. "It was somewhat effective," says Andries Beyers, chief secretary of the CP. "They spread a lot of lies. The NP got away with murder. But our party grew the most."



Beyers believes the DP squandered an advantage by not striking back at the NP when the Democrats were linked with the MDM. "The NP has talked to the ANC on various levels; it's strange the DP didn't use that as an answer. The DP could have defended themselves better."

The NP's three-blind-mice cartoon campaign against the DP's triumverate of leaders got mixed reviews. Some thought it was clever and eye-catching. Others thought it backfired.

"The three-blind-mice campaign benefited the DP," says Richard Humphries, a researcher at Wits's Centre for Policy Studies. "Each of the three candidates is important in a different way and in a different area and with a different image."

James Selfe, the DP's director of communications, believes the campaign worked, at least for a while. "Once the novelty wore off it was jarring," he said.

"The most surprising thing was that the NP totally broke with the past," says Willie Breytenbach, head of the Africa studies department at the University of Stellenbosch. "In the past the NP relied almost entirely on people-to-people contact. This time they relied heavily on the media."

The NP's close ties with the SABC have always been a complaint of the opposition, squeezed out of TV coverage. But, with the institution of TV debates — though between the NP and Brand X — the cries of foul have died down.

That doesn't mean NP motives went without question.

"It was the first time the Nats agreed to a TV debate, which shows their measure of desperation," says Tomaselli. "This is the first election where the Nats were on the defensive."

Time will tell if the opposition will find a way to exploit that defensive posture.

THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Why it should be Zach

304A Fmail 15/9/89.

The role of an opposition party is to oppose — to expose the flaws of government and present alternatives. To do this, it must have alternatives; which is to say, it must have the ability to project itself as a credible alternative government. This the DP has succeeded in doing.

Its main patrimony came from the PFP; not just the numbers and organisational track record, but the strength of vindication. Simply, over the years, the Progs were right about apartheid. The Nationalists in effect concede this, but seek to cloud the issue with heunisbabble and semantic camouflage — calling a sjambok a quirt, so to speak.

But the Progs failed to capitalise on an equally potent vulnerability of government — the failing economy. This, in its incarnation as the DP, has been redressed and it made sense to the voters. The economic attack was led by Zach de Beer, which, coupled with his excellent showing on television, added gravitas to his claim on the party leadership.

This week, the caucus of the DP elected De Beer as interim parliamentary leader — deferring the vote on a single figure to replace the current troika until next month, when the party's congress will decide. This is not really surprising; the majority comprises re-elected PFP MPs. In itself, this would not be sufficient reason for choosing De Beer above Denis Worrall or Wynand Malan as the executive figurehead of the Democrats; but there are other reasons too.

For a start, De Beer has been politically consistent. Unlike the other contenders, he has never been a Nat — there was never any need for a Damascene conversion. A long career in parliamentary politics has habituated him to the rough and tumble of the hustings and the House and he has deepened his political understanding with well-publicised experience in the private sector, as a director, manager and marketer.

Worrall and Malan have political liabilities. Undoubtedly Worrall would be a popular choice — a kind of Democratic Pik Botha. But he has shown himself a little thin-skinned when it comes to taunts about his past; for too many years, he brought his qualifications as an academic and diplomat to bear on defending the indefensible.

Malan is a little fey to be a political heavyweight. He lacks the charisma of a Van Zyl Slabbert to sway a viable constituency outside the essentially provincial bailiwick of Randburg.

It makes sense — for these and other cogent reasons — for the DP to opt for De Beer. Worrall and Malan have important roles to play in the years ahead; but they have delivered their dowries. The *FM* believes that De Beer should be chosen and we suggest the sooner this is done the better. ■

Democratic Party lists new portfolios for MPs

304A

Sfw 15/9/87

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has chosen Dr Zach de Beer as spokesman on the portfolio of the State President with the other DP leaders, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, as alternates.

The DP announced all its new spokesmen yesterday.

Dr Worrall is principal spokesman on law and order, displacing Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe who retains the portfolios of group areas and home affairs.

Mr Malan is principal spokesman on Constitutional Development. Dr Worrall is alternative spokesman on this portfolio and on foreign affairs, where Mr Colin Eglin is principal spokesman.

Another major change is that the controversial defence portfolio which Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling took over just before the elections, now goes to General Bob Rogers, the new MP for Walmer and former Chief of the Air Force. Mr Dalling remains spokesman on justice but also loses the job of media spokesman to Johannesburg North MP, Mr Peter Soal.

Mr Soal remains spokesman on information.

The alternate media spokesman is Ms Dene Smuts, the new MP for Groote Schuur.

Umbilo MP Mrs Carole Charlewood is spokesman on women's affairs and Simonstown MP and former athletics administrator, Mr Jannie Momberg, is sports spokesman.

Yeoville MP Mr Harry Schwarz remains finance spokesman as expected.

Bryanston MP Mr Rupert Lorimer remains environment spokesman and Durban North MP Mr Mike Ellis speaks on national health.

Dr de Beer is also spokesman on the House of Assembly Ministers' Council.

FW's public relations coup replaced violence

THIS week we got an intimate view of National Party thinking when the acting State President Mr FW de Klerk called a Press conference to grant permission for the march in Cape Town.

He was repeating in so many words the party's refrain: "Don't judge us by our past - rather judge us by what we *intend* doing."

He leads a party that is truly hoist by its own petard.

Up to Monday it appeared there was going to be a head-on collision between the organisers of the march, "reclaiming the streets for our people and for peace," and the authorities.

The organisers were not prepared to get magisterial permission for it. They were also intent on marching to Parliament to protest against police violence on election day last week.

The law on the other hand is firm: there can be no open air gatherings without the permission of a magistrate and demonstrations in the vicinity of Parliament are prohibited.

All the ingredients for another Sharpeville or another Soweto 1976 were there.

It now appears that some people who were concerned that there would be more ugly scenes in the streets of Cape Town on Wednesday intervened and there was to-ing and fro-ing before the Government gave its permission for the march to take place.

I'd love to have been the fly on the wall in the room where the Cabinet took the decision. But in the end they decided, like politicians, to capitalise on the events: the magnanimous De Klerk was to call a Press conference for both local and foreign media to show that he was really serious about reform.

It is now history that they pulled off a public relations coup by allowing the march to take place.

In the conference De Klerk said very interesting things: "In the light of the Government's clear commitment to negotiate change it is not necessary for any person to give vent to his political aspirations through disorderly protest and rioting.

"I want to appeal to those involved to encourage their leaders to come to the negotiation table.

"The door to a new South Africa is open - it is not necessary to batter it down. (Impressive image, that.)

"We sincerely wish to discuss with leaders in South Africa ways to achieve a new, fair and just South Africa."

He said the Government had no objection to peaceful and orderly protest, provided proper cognisance was taken of the laws of the country.

Pshew, what logic!

Let's start with "peaceful protests": When did the Government have this sudden change of heart?

The Mashigo family in Naledi Extension are still in mourning for their son James who died at a music concert at the Orlando Stadium earlier this month. He died because the music fans would not disperse after they had exceeded the time the police had stipulated for the concert.

James died at a music concert. How many have died and have been injured at protest meetings?

Did the change of heart take place after the police had beaten up people who were defying apartheid laws at some beaches earlier this month?

Did it come after the police had dispersed a crowd that was remembering Steve Biko in the streets of Johannesburg this very Monday?

Just to change direction a little: when the Government says that protesters must take proper cognisance of the laws of the country, what does it mean? That they have to obey apartheid laws, comply with the apartheid signs, as they protest?

Does it mean that they have to apply for permission for open air meetings and when the magistrate arbitrarily refuses they have to comply with his order?



The logical thing to do would be to scrap all laws that prevent full political expression, starting now with the state of emergency.

De Klerk and his men did not have the time to go into all this, because they were forced into the concession against their will. Sanctimonious statements will not change that.

The majority of South Africans have protested vehemently, at times peacefully and at others violently, against the system of Government here, against unjust laws, against apartheid, against pass laws: they have begged to be treated as human.

Each time they met the violence of the State.

De Klerk should not be appealing "to those involved to encourage their leaders to come to the negotiation table," he should be creating the climate for such negotiations to take place. He should be calling for a ceasefire binding on both sides and he should stop prescribing the outcome of the negotiations. (The National Party's Five-Year Plan is such a prescription.)

FW is elected

MR FW de Klerk was unanimously elected second executive State President by the electoral college sitting in the House of Assembly in Cape Town yesterday. (304 A)

Mr Louis le Grange (MP Potchefstroom) was unanimously re-elected Speaker of Parliament.

In nominating De Klerk, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said the election of a head of state was a momentous occasion in the history of any country. In the case of South Africa it was of decisive importance.

The quality of leadership, together with the quality of leaders not represented in Parliament would have a decisive impact on the future of the country.

The nomination was seconded by Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice. Sowetan 15/9/89

Less than half of Afrikaners voted for Nats

Afrikaner voters have deserted the party which once claimed the soul of the *volk*. Less than 50 percent voted for the National Party, and a significant number of 'yuppie' Afrikaners switched to the Democratic Party.
GAVIN EVANS reports

AFRIKANER support for the National Party last week dropped well below the 50 percent mark for the first time since 1948.

But, according to NP sources, they still retain the support of half of the English-speaking voters.

Preliminary figures from the three parties suggest that just under 46 percent of Afrikaans speakers voted for the NP, 45 percent voted for the Conservative Party and nine percent for the Democratic Party.

Around 50 percent of the English vote went to the NP, 7,5 percent to the CP and 42,5 percent to the DP.

According to National Party information director Con Botha the language breakdown of the NP vote did not show a substantial change when compared with the last elections in 1987 — suggesting they lost votes in almost equal proportions to English and Afrikaans voters.

He said current estimates indicated that 61,16 percent of the total NP vote came from Afrikaans voters and 38,84 from English voters, compared with a 60:40 ratio two years ago.

These figures tally with the estimates of Richard Humphries, researcher at Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies, who said that just over 60 percent of NP support came from Afrikaans-speaking voters.

Botha said the DP did well in the urban areas but not as well as they had hoped in southern Natal and the Border area.

"At the most we lost 55 000 English votes to the DP and probably less. This works out to about one English voter for every nine," he said.

DP national information director James Selfe said about 30 percent of their vote came from Afrikaners. This would amount to about 130 000 votes — or more than three times the Progressive Federal Party's 1987 Afrikaner vote.

Selfe said that in 1981 and 1987 the PFP had received about four percent of the total Afrikaner vote.

"The increase in the DP's share of the vote of Afrikaans speakers was very significant and indicates a clear shift," he said.

NP figures also show a major growth in DP Afrikaner support.

"You must not underestimate the number of yuppie Afrikaners who shifted to the DP," said Botha. "Their Afrikaans vote could have been as high as 30 percent although it was probably closer to 25 percent."

The only seats with an Afrikaans majority which the DP won were North Rand, where they increased the PFP's 1987 vote by 4 789, and Randburg — a 241 vote increase.

They also made substantial inroads into several other Afrikaans seats.

Among the seats with an Afrikaner majority where they topped the PFP or New Republic Party's performance by more than 450 votes were: Germiston (549), Johannesburg West (485), Meyerton (779), Modderfontein (1 601), Nelspruit (490), Turffontein (1 628), Pretoria East (2 302), Rosettenville (485), Verwoerdburg (1 005), Waterkloof (773), Westdene (1 149), Belville (456), De Kuilen (861), Durbanville (3 638), Maitland (1 521), Malmesbury (1 998), Paarl (759), Parow (752), Swellendam (2 001), Tygervallei (842) and Wellington (487).

While the DP expressed disappointment in its performance in the Cape constituencies of Helderburg and Stellenbosch, it managed to increase its vote in both these areas — though by margins of only 92 and 42 votes.

The DP's hopes in these seats did not sufficiently count for the importance of the "independent factor" and the strength of Denis Worrall and Esther Lategan in the last election.

The CP's share of the English-speaking vote did not increase in percentage terms over the 1987 figure, although the total number of English votes did rise because of the higher poll.

CP press officer Arthur Kemp said their share remained constant in the Cape, Transvaal and Free State and rose in Natal.

"Our total vote in Natal went up by about 10 000 votes, and most of these were English speakers."

Figures from the three parties suggest that the CP gained less than 50 000 English votes — between 38 and 46 percent of the DP's Afrikaner vote.

Natal seats where the right-wing vote increased by more than 400 include Klip River (a 661 vote increase), Newcastle (444), Pietermaritzburg North (607), Pietermaritzburg South (805), Port Natal (435), Umfolozi (1 465), Umlazi (1 266) and Vryheid (553).

The CP's Natal total was 32 809 — 13 percent of the total vote in the province.

According to Botha, a total of just over 2.1 million people voted last week — about 125 000 more than in 1987. The poll was 69,7 percent, compared with 67,4 percent in the last election.

The NP received 48 percent of the vote, the CP 31 percent, the DP 20 percent.

Two DP seats, Sandton and Yeoville, were uncontested. Based on projections on the party's performances in these seats in the last election their total share of the vote would have gone up to more than 21 percent had these seats been up for grabs.

What RAs can do for you

They're far more than just private pensions

Star 16/9/89.

300

Carlos Amaral

IT is all too easy to forget how powerful and sophisticated retirement annuities (RAs) really are, especially because they hsve been with us so long.

An RA was originally intended to be a private pension fund for individuals without access to corporate pension funds. Today, RAs offer much more, specially in the following areas:

Tax planning

RAs are useful in creating a tax-efficient portfolio, because contributions are tax deductible based on the following formula:

Maximum: 15 percent of taxable income (where no pension or provident fund exists), or R3 500 less any employee pension fund contributions, where there is a pension or provident fund, or minimum R1 750.

A self-employed person earning R100 000 can claim a R15 000 RA contribution as a tax deduction. At a tax rate of 45 percent this means a saving of R6 750, an amount which would have otherwise been paid as tax. With the advent of SITE tax for married couples, both husband and wife can now claim tax deductions individually. In addition, when the wife receives a pension from the RA on maturity, that pension will be taxed at SITE rates in her hands. These rates will invariably be lower than those that her husband will be paying on his post-retirement income.

Finally, generous tax concessions apply to the one-third of the RA that may be taken as cash at maturity (a maximum of R120 000 tax free). Amounts in excess of this are taxed at average tax rates, which with some basic tax planning can be as low as 14 percent.

Investment planning

An RA is really just an endowment policy with special rules.

- It cannot mature prior to age 55 (except through disablement/death).
- It must mature before age 69.
- Only one-third can be taken in cash; the balance buys a pension for life.
- All investment profits accruing to the policy are tax free in the hands of the insurance company.
- Costs are kept low by statute.
- 53 percent of all investments made by the insurer must be invested in prescribed assets (eg government stock). However, this last restriction is in the process of being removed.

As a long-term investment, RAs have very few competitors and fund returns are often as high as 20 percent plus. The removal of the prescribed asset ratio should result in even higher returns. However, the real returns are actually much higher if one considers that contributions are tax deductible, and the cash returns favourably taxed. The following examples, taken from actual cases, illustrate this point.

In 1973 Mr E invested R100 a month for 14 years. It cost him only R7 058 in total because of his tax saving. The RA grew to R79 557,95, giving him a return of 28,2 percent. He took R26 519.31 in cash tax-free, and will receive R414,50 a month (after tax at 45 percent) for the rest of his life.

In another case, a client invested R1 500 per annum for 10 years, with a 30 percent tax rate; it only cost him R1 050 per annum. After 10 years, he was paid out R16 812 tax free, and guaranteed a pension of R577 80 a month (404,46 a month after tax) for the rest of his life, giving him an overall return of 22,5 percent after tax! Some people think RAs are not a good idea because of the tax paid at the end. This example proves that, despite tax, RAs are a sound investment.

Retirement planning

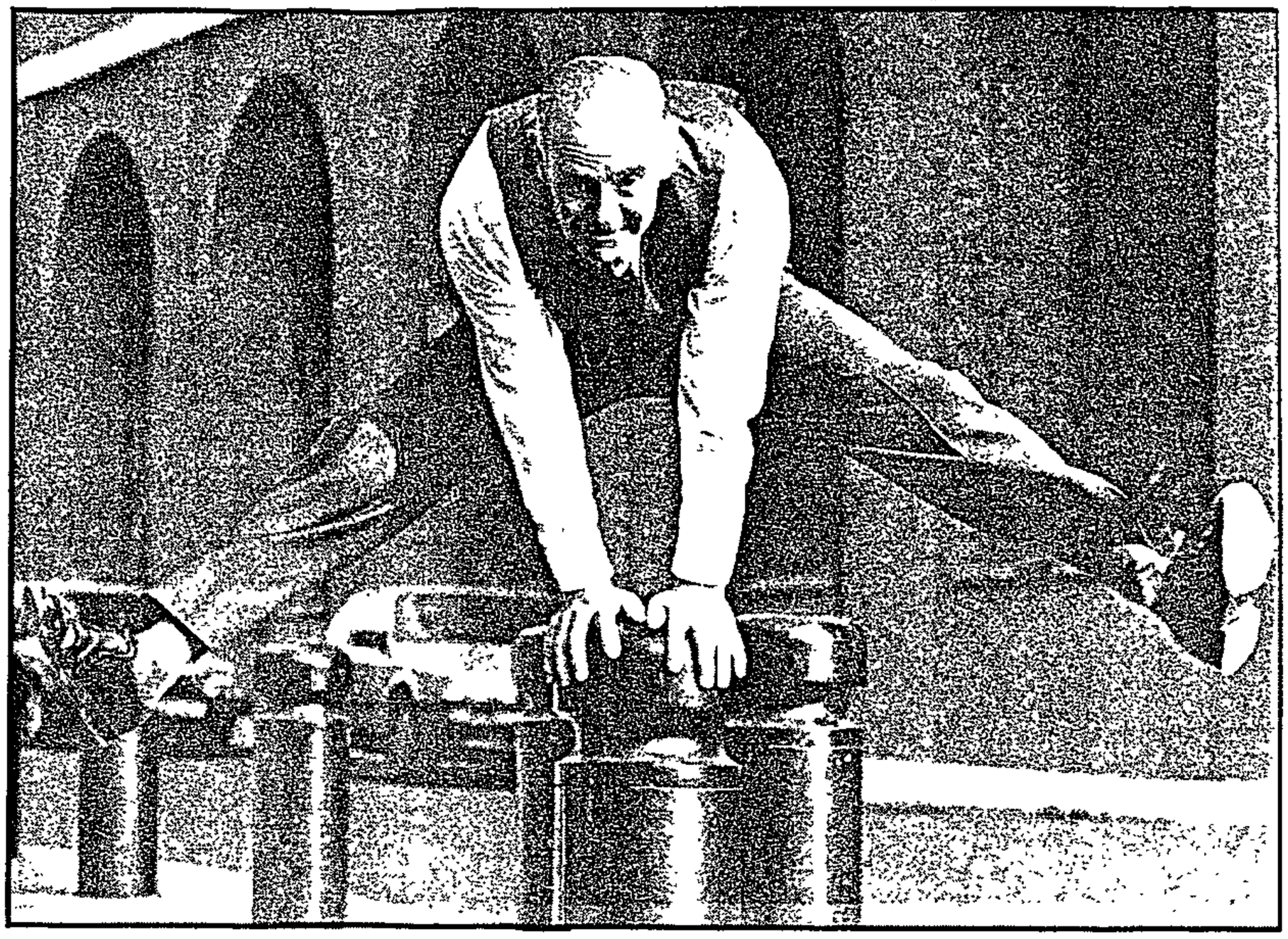
High inflation-beating potential combined with minimum performance guarantees make RAs an ideal vehicle to base retirement planning on. They can be used alone or to supplement other investments and are very flexible, allowing premiums to be varied easily or even to take a lump sum payments. Withdrawals from the pension and provident funds which would normally be taxable, are not taxed if preserved inside RAs. This makes RAs ideal for long-term continuity for the employee changing jobs.

Most modern RAs allow for gradual withdrawals after age 55 to allow for flexible planning and to overcome the effects of inflation. Continuous membership of an RA for a long term also affects tax-free concessions available from all pension type funsd at retirement. For example, 40 years contribution to an RA could mean increasing a tax-free withdrawal limit from R120 000 to R180 000: an additional R60 000 tax-free which, at a rate of 35 percent, would mean an actual tax saving of R21 000 at retirement.

RAs can incorporate most assurance benefits, for example, life cover, disability benefits etc. If one understands that the costs of these benefits are tax deductible (within the limits), it makes for very cheap costing. On the death of an owner, benefits are automatically made available for the decceased's dependants and family, and if taken in the form of a pension, will be totally exempt from state duty. Unlike most other investments, RAs are completely protected from creditors, thus a self-employed businssman who suffers insolvency, would still be assured of his retirement benefits.

RA pensions are also favourably treated from an exchange control viewpoint, allowing the monthly compulsory pension to be paid anywhere in the world.

- *Reprinted from Blueprint, the financial planning review published by FPS.*



LUCKY FELLOW: He took out a retirement annuity and will be financially secure during his old age. Many others will become increasingly poorer as inflation wears down their savings.

S/Times 17/9/89

Pension folly

By Robyn Chalmers

GOODYEAR employees may not benefit as much as they hope from a settlment in their favour.

Pension industry spokesmen call it extremely dangerous.

The agreement ended an 11-week strike in protest against Goodyear SA's American parent company selling its majority share ownership to Consol, a member of the Anglovaal group.

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) and Goodyear reached a compromise this week.

The agreement has been likened to one reached at Mobil whose employees gained a R6,5-million disinvestment package.

Goodyear will pay R1 000 for each of the 2 600 employees into the pension fund. They will be entitled to withdraw this amount, plus double what they have already accumulated in the fund, and either transfer it to a provident fund or use it.

Goodyear is thus paying R2,6-million into the fund. Workers will not receive a bonanza when they withdraw their funds because they will really receive only their own money.

Spokesmen in the pensions industry warn that using the pension fund for a payout is a dangerous practice, and could leave employees virtually penniless when they retire.

Although the actuarial reserve, which includes employer contributions before 1985, will be calculated and transferred into the provident fund, pension experts believe employees are playing with fire.

One spokesman describes it as madness, and says pension funds are governed by strict rules to prevent this type of thing from happening.

The rand's world value

	R1 equals		One foreign unit equals (R)	
	15/9 /89	15/9 /88	15/9 /89	15/9 /88
US $	0,3539	0,4072	2,8252	2,4552
UK £	0,2275	0,2430	4,3947	4,1150
Deutschemark	0,6988	0,7653	1,4310	1,3067
Japanese yen	51,92	54,76	0,0193	0,0183
Swiss franc	0,6030	0,6454	1,6584	1,5494
French franc	2,3561	2,6037	0,4244	0,3841
Canadian $	0,4194	0,4988	2,3843	2,0048
Italian lire	501,47	570,73	0,0020	0,0017
Zimbabwean $	0,7877	0,7555	1,2695	1,3238
Australian $	0,4549	0,9134	2,1983	1,9478

Trade weighted value of rand, % change against 1974 base 37/66

Domestic interest rates

MONEY MARKET

	Friday 15/9 /89 %	Friday 8 /9 /89 %	Friday 1 /9 /89 %
SARB accommodation: rediscount rate TBs	17,00	17,00	17,00
Treasury bill tender rate	17,14	17,12	17,19
Basic call of discount houses	17,00	17,00	17,75
Three-month banker acceptances	17,35	17,40	17,40
Three-month NCDs	18,25	18,35	18,35
Three-year RSA stock	15,73	15,94	15,88
Prime overdraft rate	20,00	20,00	20,00
All-in yield of finest acceptance credits	18,34	18,40	18,40

CAPITAL MARKET

SECONDARY MARKET — RATES ON MOST TRADED STOCKS

	Average Previous Month	As on Friday
Long-term RSA stocks	17,17	16,79
Long-term Escom stocks	17,08	16,72

Best sections this week

	Av % Mv	Av D/Y	Av E/Y
Food	2,9+	4,7	13,8
Insurance	1,6+	4,7	13,0
Banks and Fin Serv	1,4+	7,3	18,4
Development Capital	1,1+	5,2	14,7
Coal	0,8+	5,2	14,6

Overall market this week

(Ordinary Shares Only)

	Mining	Non-Min	Total
Volume	9 152 383	24 791 443	33 943 826
Value traded	R205 384 812	R109 708 719	R315 093 530
Up	27	136	163
Down	77	155	232
Unchanged	49	296	345
Number traded	135	483	618
New highs	2	40	42
New lows	5	19	24

London gold

	am	pm
Monday	$358,10	$358,35
Tuesday	$358,95	$358,60
Wednesday	$358,80	$358,50
Thursday	$359,80	$361,60
Friday	$359,65	$355,75

JSE Actuaries Index

	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK	WKS% MOVE
OVERALL	2731	2767	1,3–
MINING PROD	2732	2765	1,2–
COAL	2301	2278	1,0
DIAMONDS	10704	10903	1,8–
ALL GOLD	1559	1570	0,7–
RAND&OTHERS	491	497	1,2–
EVANDER	1425	1465	2,7–
KLERKSDORP	5016	5027	0,2–
O F S.	768	790	2,8–

	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK	WKS% MOVE
FINANCIAL	1829	1644	0,9–
BANKS&OTHER	1385	1402	1,2–
INSURANCE	1191	1185	0,5
INV TRUSTS	1827	1907	4,2–
PROPERTY	378	377	0,3
PROP TRUST	161	160	0,6
INDUSTRIAL	2735	2769	1,2–
IND HOLDING	2837	2929	3,1–
BEV,HOTL,LES	4772	4725	1,0
BUILD&CONSTR	1917	1932	0,8–

Like Gorbachev, FW deserves a chance



by Gavin Relly

chairman of Anglo American speaking in Brussels, Belgium, this week

S/Times 17/9/89.

30/9

WITHIN South Africa new opportunities and a hope for regeneration are apparent. While the run-up to the recent election has seen what appeared like something of a return to the violence and upheavals of 1985-87, the causality has been quite different.

Then, the extra-parliamentary opposition, with the support of the ANC, turned protest into a drive to make South Africa ungovernable with the expectation that what was called the "transfer of power" from the state to the opposition could be achieved in short order.

In '89, however, the upheaval can be attributed more to manoeuvring for advantage in advance of the political negotiations that all recognise will be inevitable.

And the ANC and the other opposition groupings have dropped the phrase "transfer of power" in the recognition that negotiations will be protracted and will not necessarily achieve such a clear-cut outcome.

Pragmatic

The international community, which I believe should be convinced of President-elect Mr F W de Klerk's serious intent to reform, should dampen unrealistic expectations and be sensitive to his dilemma.

It will be fatuous to set preconditions and time-scale demands that take no account of the environment in which Mr De Klerk will have to operate.

Similarly, it will have to be even-handed in its condemnation of violence or other obstructionism.

Despite the ANC's obvious importance, its claims to be the sole representative of the "majority" are aimed at establishing itself as the only negotiating partner of Pretoria.

They are not realistic and should be firmly discouraged: There is already sufficient evidence from Namibia of the dangers of that approach.

And finally, while a moral outcome must be the aim, pragmatic means, which do not always meet the highest test of immediate morality, will have to be sought if workable progress is to be made towards that end.

In other words, we must not reject the good simply because it is not the best.

Just as Mr Mikhail Gorbachev has found that perestroika cannot be achieved in the twinkling of an eye and that serious attitudinal and institutional obstacles have to be confronted and gradually overcome, so Mr De Klerk will have to confront difficulties of the same order.

In South Africa, the ritual mantra of releasing political prisoners, unbanning the exiled movements and abolishing the state of emergency as the essential preconditions to negotiations should not be taken as a once-off package of immediate change, but should rather be seen as part of a purposeful process of change which is not amenable to simple timetabling.

One way to take this process further would be to adopt a building-block approach, creating the climate in which common values and aspirations can be solidified by restoring the rule of law in areas where it has been eroded under apartheid.

Comfortable

So, for example, the process of negotiating the release of detainees held without trial — which was an encouraging sign before the turbulence of the election interrupted it — might be resumed and taken further.

The release of Mr Nelson Mandela will also create new realities, one of which will undoubtedly be the need for opposition groupings to move away from the comfortable stance of protest politics and the need to recognise the hard realities of the South African situation.

I should add that I can foresee a situation in which the South African state continues to provide security for Mr Mandela, enabling him to participate in the political process while safeguarding him from threats from the extreme left and right — which, as recent events have demonstrated, are very real.

Yet the positive Western attitude towards changes in Eastern Europe contrasts with that taken to South Africa. "Give Mr Gorbachev a chance" is the cry.

Understanding

In the case of Poland, the European Ccmmunity argued strenuously against the policy of mild (compared to the anti-South African) sanctions, preferring to seek to influence development through involvement.

And understanding is displayed where relations with the Soviet Union and the position of the communist-dominated bureaucracy — so threatened by the new order — are concerned.

Certainly no instant solutions are sought, but rather progress through pragmatic but principled change.

It is as if the lessons pointing out the dangers of isolating, punishing and excluding a major actor from regional or global activity, so dramatically illustrated in European history — Versailles is the obvious case in point — have been applied to Eastern Europe, but not to South Africa.

Yet, aside from prejudicing domestic change in South Africa, isolation and sanctions also jeopardise the essential role the Republic must play if southern Africa is to develop.



Harald Pakendorf

Sunday Times 17/9/89

Porcupine factor will ensure FW sticks with negotiation

FIRST order of business for the De Klerk Cabinet ought to be what to do about negotiation. And when it does, it would do well to consider the immediate past of this subject.

That there should be talks about a new constitution is nothing new. It has been National Party policy for years. That there has been no advance on this front is due to the NP's concept of negotiation: We'll devise the broad outline, lay down the parameters and invite those who we think will approximately agree with us.

The result: Nobody is talking to the Government.

The matter has been dragging on for so long that it is becoming ever more difficult to get going. Above all, the Government now finds itself in a position where it is confronted by almost a single set of pre-negotiation demands.

George Bush, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Oliver Tambo are all saying the same thing: Normalise political activity so the talks can begin.

[redacted] 304A

And that means the following: Release Mandela, lift the state of emergency, release all political detainees and unban the banned organisations.

These are the basic demands although the ANC adds a few more.

To get even the most moderate of black leaders in South Africa to openly begin negotiations about a new future, the Government now has to give in to demands with which the ANC agrees.

Certainly, the Government says there should be no such demands. Yet it can be expected that it will meet some of them without stating that it is doing so in order to get talks going.

If early on, when it had first decided to draw blacks into the negotiation process, it had been less dogmatic about having everything its way, had been more open-ended in approach, it probably would not have found itself in the position it is in now.

Hopefully it has learnt its lesson: Move early and give a lot, it will save you giving even more later.

[redacted]

Now it is faced by an overlap of pre-negotiation demands. If it does not make a major move on its negotiation position soon, it may also find itself facing an overlap of negotiating positions.

The ANC's negotiating stance is clear. It has been published in South Africa and has the backing of the Mass Democratic Movement. It was also endorsed by the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Undoubtedly, the Commonwealth Conference will also be asked to endorse it and thereafter the United Nations.

By then we have the ANC's position backed by virtually all the countries in the world and a very substantial section — if not the majority — of South Africans.

[redacted]

All of which will make it that much more difficult for the De Klerk Government to get to anywhere near how it expects the negotiating process to unfold. In fact, the porcupine factor may begin to work.

Mr De Klerk is already faced by an overlap of pre-negotiation demands; an overlap of negotiating positions is developing; there are high expectations (here and abroad) that major moves are afoot; it is NP policy to begin talks; there is clearly a political, economic and law-and-order need to negotiate.

Mr De Klerk has to, and will, begin moving on this front but, like the porcupine, will soon find out that once he has started burrowing there is no turning back. The porcupine's quills scrape against the side of the tunnel and make turning back impossible.

Forward, ever forward, is the only way out. Better then, to make a major move now so that you can get ahead of the game. There is both the need and the opportunity.

S/Times 17/9/89

304A

Pruned Nats are stronger and more flexible

Bruce Anderson

long-time British observer of South African affairs, sees a new, confident spirit emerging

IN at least one respect, the outcome of the South African general election was remarkable and, indeed, unique. Never before in any country has a governing party lost one-quarter of its seats and emerged strengthened.

I have been visiting South Africa regularly since 1985 — a hopelessly limited experience when it comes to making judgments on the country's complexities, but long enough to enable one to observe changes.

Over the past few days, I had the strong sense of a new spirit in Government — at once flexible and authorative, accommodating and decisive.

The handling of the Cape Town march was a triumph — and, if Archbishop Desmond Tutu and others really think the decision to allow it to go ahead proves President F W de Klerk is on the run, they are deceiving themselves. The Government's response did not stem from weakness but from confidence. This is a ministerial team with grip.

How different from previous years. Back in 1985, at least in domestic politics, and apart from former President P W Botha himself, the Government's tone seemed to be set by Mr Louis le Grange and Mr Chris Heunis. To put it mildly, that did not make for good government.

Rapid

Apart from getting on even worse with black leaders than he did with his Cabinet colleagues, Mr Heunis's main contribution to the reform process was to thwart any proposals that he himself had not initiated.

Meanwhile, his own contributions to the debate maintained a consistently high standard of incomprehensibility, as if they had been translated from Afrikaans into English by someone who knew neither language.

All the candidates to take over Constitutional Development have great qualities.

In recent days, there have been some attempts by ministerial sources to dampen down expectations of rapid change by stressing the difficulty of the task Mr De Klerk faces.

All the same, I suspect that next Wednesday's speech will surprise us. The State President will not only want to give the impression that he is in control of events — he will want to set down markers for the next few months, and establish firmly the new De Klerk style of leadership.

He obviously cannot predetermine the course of negotiations, but there are second-issues that could and should be resolved.

For instance, it is absurd that the Separate Amenities Act remains on the statute book. Every time the SAP has to ban blacks and coloureds from white beaches, South Africa's foreign enemies rejoice, while your diplomats pull the bedclothes over their heads and wish they did not have to get up that morning.

There is no need for a compromise ("desegregate all the beaches in the Transvaal" said one wag last week): Separate Amenities should go.

So should the Group Areas Act. Here, there is a case for some special measures to protect poorer whites — and coloureds — especially as many of those most strongly opposed to Group Areas can buy their own apartheid. But the arguments for simply sweeping away the Act are stronger.

Formidable

The Government should be working towards a new South Africa in which individual citizens can, as far as possible, use the free market to choose their own way of life, within the rule of law.

Even if political equality cannot be achieved for all races, social and economic equality of opportunity is attainable. The outright abolition of the Group Areas Act would send all the right signals; moreover, in practice in most areas, actual changes in residential patterns would only happen very slowly.

Repeal is easy: Reform is another matter. But one key area of South African life is crying out for reform at present: The police force is inadequate for the task it faces.

I do not write this in any police-bashing spirit; the South African policeman's lot is not a happy one. There is a real and continuing challenge to law and order, which can only be defeated by tough and, on occasion, paramilitary policing — but it must be *sophisticated* tough policing.

Someone who looks *verkramp* but thinks *verlig* is perhaps a natural for Law and Order. It needs a man who could swop locker-room stories and hunting tales at police dinners and win his men's confidence. But he could use that confidence to see through the necessary changes in training, management structure and indeed the very culture of the police force.

All these measures, plus a renewed commitment to black upliftment, would make a formidable manifesto and would mark a fundamental break with the era of apartheid.

Sensible

They might also enable the South African Government to challenge foreigners to drop the easy, pseudopious claptrap about the need to end apartheid, and to recognise that there are immense difficulties on the road to a new political dispensation.

In a a recent interview, the new British Foreign Secretary, Sir John Major, was asked "How quickly should South Africa be moving towards a system of one man-one vote?" Not surprisingly, he ducked it; no sensible politician would get involved in discussing the future South African constitution in a five-minute radio interview.

But at some stage, Mr Major and others ought to acknowledge that there is a weight of morality and common sense behind the South African Government's rejection of one man-one vote in a unitary state. This is not a repudiation of liberal democracy, Christianity or of the 20th century; it is merely a rejection of chaos and Zambianisation.

But it will be much simpler for Mr De Klerk to make that case, and much easier for foreign politicians to acknowledge its force, when the last vestiges of social apartheid are not only declared dead, but interred. Let us hope that on Wednesday, Mr De Klerk will announce the date of the funeral.

● *Mr Anderson is a political commentor in the Sunday Telegraph, London.*

Let's get professional for a fairer life for all

S/Times 17/9/89 (3041)



Dr Peter Vale

director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes, argues the need for professionalism in all areas of our public life

PROFESSIONALISM is a word heard too seldom in this country's public life This is a pity, because it touches the heart of an acceptable political culture which all societies, not only our own, deserve.

Between the hype of the recent election and the stampede to discredit it, we need to reassert the centrality of professionalism in our social and economic life.

There is no doubt that South Africa's true politics — as opposed to the almost exclusively "white affairs", one of which took place on September 6 — deal with life-and-death issues. Because this is so, it is often difficult to see beyond the immediate scrabble for power.

Add to this the emotional encrustation around competing claims for the land and the brutality of racially cast legislation, and rationality — understandably — totters. Real politics in South Africa remain basically a matter for the heart But does this mean it should be unprofessional?

Certainly not All the country's citizens — including those in exile — deserve the very best from their leaders.

Distressing

This means a liberation from the parochial considerations which continue to plague our national landscape Like all leadership, political leadership should be an emancipating, not a narrowing, experience

On both sides of South Africa's divide, pools of real professionalism in our bureaucracies exist: Let these contrasting cases illustrate the point

The international tributes which followed upon his premature death suggest the late Dr Gerhard de Kock, and others of this country's central bankers, are highly regarded professionals.

Then, some years ago, a polished, urbane and informed South African diplomat made a strong impression on me. He was as good a young officer as I have met in any service. A real credit to his background, Soweto, and his instructors, the ANC's foreign desk.

The distressing developments in the Western Cape these past weeks suggest, nevertheless, that professionalism in other areas is to be found wanting.

In voicing his concern that policing priorities have shifted to security ones, Lieutenant Gregory Rockman's central anxiety was that the riot squad's provocative behaviour was — as he put it — "unprofessional".

Incompatible

The lieutenant's concern is completely understandable.

By its very nature, police work demands dedicated specialists. Many who join the SAP are presumably anxious only to serve their communities in what is after all a time-honoured profession.

This means fighting crime and not — as has become so routine — teargassing schoolchildren or arresting middle-aged women in peaceful protest.

The Rockman incident demonstrates that narrow partisan interests — in this case, the fixations of the security establishment — are plainly incompatible with genuine professionalism

By their very nature, professionals serve their communities (or clients) with even-handedness. As importantly, they bring to the immediate task two words — judgment and integrity — which are also not in common use in South Africa.

Judgment draws largely from specific training Considered decisions following from established and clearly pronounced principles. Discretion is central but, invariably, a professional asks for a second opinion before passing judgment.

Integrity

Rule by emergency decree, which has become the norm in modern South Africa, is incompatible with sound judgment. The speed with which, supposedly, emergency decisions have to be made, leave no margins for wider discussion or tested conventions

The opinions of individuals are, therefore, largely set above the law; bureaucrats, rather than the law, arbitrate disputes within society. It is not surprising that the country's legal system is under siege from the very officers which are supposed to be its servants.

There is no community, in the normally accepted sense of the word, without integrity — the very life-blood which sustains it. Integrity is largely not learnt from books, it springs from a wide-ranging series of commonly acceptable standards at work within society.

Damning

If anything, these past months have shown staggering examples of a simple lack of integrity in the lives of very prominent South Africans.

In one case, a Member was returned to Parliament in spite of a damning indictment by a Supreme Court judge, indeed, Mr Amichand Rajbansi has shown nothing short of scorn for the James Commission. This instance alone is damning testimony to the constitution's own lack of legitimacy.

There can, of course, be no authentic professionalism in government without legitimacy This may seem strange, because only in rare cases are *bona fide* democratic tests applied.

But this past week we have witnessed how a system — in this case, East Germany's — can be totally rejected by its own citizens.

Curbing

How fortunate, therefore, that our television was replete with these events as South Africa's new President was elected.

His own government's search for legitimacy needs to begin with curbing the culture of own-judgment which presently marks both South Africa's politics and the free-wheeling bureaucrats which serve it Trying to become genuinely professional is a useful place to start.

ernment had all these funds frozen and given to the people for whom they were collected. That would be true justice! — EX-ANGLICAN, Johannesburg.

High hopes

WITH a new US ambassador in South Africa, it is appropriate to point out that many South Africans will only consider the US to be a democracy when the President is a Spanish-speaking black Jewess of modest means. — D E VAN DIJK, Stellenbosch.

Inopportune

READING about Pastor Trevor Goddard's sermon on Satanic Smurfs (Sunday Times, September 10) I am in total agreement with his quoting John 14 6 — "No one comes to the Father but by Me"

Considering the topic, I feel it was inopportune for him to describe Judaism, Hinduism and all other religions as "false" It would be very interesting to learn actually why he made the statement, considering that Christianity is much divided doctrinally. — A PAUL LEO, Johannesburg

ANC move

ROBERT MUGABE, as outgoing chairman, delivered a keynote address at the 28th summit conference of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in Belgrade.

Small wonder, therefore, that the ANC proposals concerning negotiations with SA, and endorsed earlier in Harare by the OAU, were also adopted by them The ANC now plan to present the same document to the UN General Assembly

This is an obvious strategy by the ANC and its backers to gain a victory on the diplomatic front to counter the lack of success in the military arena. — ROLAND, Pretoria.

Wrong

SEEING the Magazine picture of Michelle Bruce practically nude has underlined my conviction that the wrong girl was crowned Miss SA.

I say It's not too late Miss Bruce! Keep your clothes on at all times to keep thousands like me respecting you — DISGUSTED MALE, Francis Bay.

rg

Big Brother & Co have lost a sister

S/Times 17/9/89

Lynda Gilfillan

an English lecturer at the University of Pretoria, explains why she quit the Publications Appeal Board

I AGREED to serve on the Publications Appeal Board in 1985 because it presented me with a unique opportunity and challenge — namely the possibility of exerting influence from within the system.

However, I clarified my position from the outset. When interviewed by a local newspaper, I made the following statement:

"In principle, I do not agree with censorship I do not think anyone has the right to interfere with an adult's free choice."

My standpoint was one of tolerance and a belief in the principle of freedom of expression, and the Publications Act seemed to offer the opportunity to work within its interstices, namely the small spaces offered by its guidelines

While censorship might be necessary in some cases — for example, the protection of children — it nevertheless seemed possible to apply the Act objectively to serve the interests of justice and to allow the maximum space for freedom and democracy wherever there was a choice

A major factor which influenced my decision to take the post was the apparent increase in tolerance shown by the board since the early '80s.

I duly decided against adopting a morally righteous stand on the basis that the South African censorship apparatus served the interests of the ruling class, and that any association with it by people regarded as "liberal" or "progressive" would merely serve to legitimise this apparatus.

Such a reaction struck me at the time as being counter-productive, notwithstanding the arguments of many against any kind of association with censorship structures in South Africa.

The *de facto* situation is that the Publications Act exists in much the same way as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, which remain part of contemporary South African reality

Threatened

It seemed reason enough to attempt to do what one could, given the opportunity. Recognition of the existence of such Acts does not signify approval.

If, like the courts, the Appeal Board functioned to interpret an Act (however unacceptable the Act), the situation seemed to call for the services of a person who respected the right of freedom of expression and the right of all South Africans to information, particularly at the present time.

Moreover, as long as book and film distributors continued to appeal, there was good reason to agree to adjudicate.

Over time, however, these small spaces became increasingly circumscribed and claustrophobic.

They appeared as tiny pockets which existed within an apartheid encampment ringed by laws that could, particularly in the present "state of emergency", function to shut off any area of freedom which threatened the enclosure of white privilege and power.

The overriding concern of the Government is security. This was dramatically demonstrated by police seizure of the film Cry Freedom, which the Appeal Board passed last year.

The advice of concerned people, including progressive lawyers — that I maintain my position on the board for the sake of democratic ideals and not surrender the territory I occupied as a member of the board — rang hollow in the face of this event.

"Big Brother" in South Africa does more than merely watch — when the need arises he neutralises those mechanisms whose real functions seem to consist of little more than the granting of respectability to the apartheid state

Under such circumstances any continued attempt to work from within the structure seems futile. Forms of protest are, in any case, allowed only under severely restricted circumstances

Domination

Does permission for one or two film-festival screenings at permitted venues — even though such venues are no longer confined to the usual white middle-class areas — really constitute a significant breakthrough as far as tolerance is concerned?

Is this kind of concession not merely another aspect of the "safety valve" argument?

Censorship in South Africa is a pervasive network — the Internal Security Act of 1982, the power of the Home Affairs Minister and the vast scope of the emergency regulations all function to perpetuate a system of minority domination.

How can F W de Klerk's smiling invitation to South Africa's "real" leaders to "negotiate" a "new" and "just" South Africa be taken seriously when laws exist to prevent such leaders from even being quoted in newspapers?

The recent Sunday Times case regarding Harry Gwala is a case in point. What does Harry Gwala say? What does Zwelakhe Sisulu say? South Africa needs to know.

There are broader, better spaces in which to live and work than those cramped areas that seem to exist in state mechanisms such as the Appeal Board.

Although some of the board's past decisions have been commendable, it remains the creation of a particular ideology. The present dispensation continues to form part of a larger system which is as obsessed as it has always been with silencing the real voice of opposition.

Today, more than ever, we need (in the words of black poet Sipho Sepamla) to "stop the lie".

Pik's Angola meeting is on today

S/Times 17/9/89 3049

By SUNDAY TIMES FOREIGN DESK

FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Pedro de Castro van Dunem, are expected to meet today for crucial talks on southern Africa.

Scheduled talks between Mr Botha and Mr Van Dunem were foiled yesterday when technical problems grounded the plane that was to transport the Angolan Minister.

Mr Van Dunem was due to meet Mr Botha at the border town of Ruacana. His plane was held up at Cahama, only 200km from the frontier.

The two Ministers last met on September 7 in Maputo to discuss Angolan peace prospects, bilateral co-operation and southern African regional issues.

Meanwhile, SIMON BARBER reports from Havana that Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarco has warned that renewed fighting between Unita and the MPLA could force Cuba to slow the withdrawal of its troops from Angola.

But in Bloemfontein yesterday, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said South Africa would continue its friendship and contact with Unita's president, Jonas Savimbi.

Contact was being maintained because it was important that a settlement be reached between Angola's warring factions.

Gen Malan said: "South African and Unita forces fought together in battles and won fantastically — we make no secret of our contact and friendship.

"We know we have a positive role to play in this regard, and our role is being recognised.

Attack

"The exportation of revolutionary activities from neighbouring states to SA is unacceptable and rejectable.

"South Africa reserves the right, like any self-respecting country, to counter such activities, even if circumstances require us to cross our borders to take action against terrorists who hide in other countries."

Mr Alarco insists Cuba has every right to change the schedule because South Africa is continuing to provide Unita with "supplies and resources" in violation of the Tripartite Accords.



MAGNUS MALAN

The South African delegation, led by Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden emerged from the commission's final session this week looking visibly drained by what he described as a "gang attack" on South Africa by Angola, Cuba and the Soviet observer delegation.

The South Africans find particularly galling the Cuban insistence on brandishing as gospel reports by a US lawyers' group, the Council for Namibian Independence, which has charged that the proposed election process is "fatally flawed".

WELCOME HOME . . . Nujoma and Hage Geingob

...im ...lic

Analysis by Political Correspondent LESTER VENTER

It's an all-new ball game as FW appoints his new team

WITH seven vacancies to play with — six created by resigned or retired Ministers and a seventh by the announcement that Dr Willie van Niekerk was heading for the chairmanship of the President's Council — Mr De Klerk didn't really have to get tough.

But he used his room to manoeuvre to create a more representative Cabinet.

His bombshell — one guaranteed to win the acclaim of the business community weary of a swollen and under-productive public service — was the appointment of Dr Wim de Villiers.

But he went further — to bring in the country's first female Minister in the person of Dr Rina Venter. And he promoted two English-speakers, Mr Kent Durr and Mr George Bartlett — the first time since the days of Dr Verwoerd that there have been two English-speaking Ministers at one time.

Surprise

Known forward-thinkers who were poised for entry to the Cabinet have, somewhat surprisingly, been passed over

They are men like Mr Sam de Beer, who has had titular promotion from Deputy Minister of (black) Education and Training to "own affairs" Minister of Health Services, Welfare and Housing for whites, Mr Leon Wessels, who has been moved sideways from his deputy's post in the Ministry of Law and Order to help Mr Pik Botha at Foreign Affairs, and Mr Roelf Meyer, who stays on as Deputy Minister of Constiutional Development, with National Education now added to that portfolio.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe is moved from his high-profile post at Information and Broadcasting to Education and Development Aid, where sheer organisational and administrative stamina will count.

The key to South Africa's future — a new deal to be negotiated with black South Africans — is placed in the safe and familiar hands of Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Clean

Dr Viljoen is a quiet, contemplative man.

This means he has a very low public profile. This, in turn, may be a good thing if potential negotiators are to be persuaded that the De Klerk administration truly means to start with a clean slate.

Behind the scenes, Dr Viljoen, former rector of Rand Afrikaans University, is known for his informed, cautiously enlightened views.

More a back-room boffin than a front house performer, Dr Viljoen may find he will need to develop the special skills needed for communicating with a broad audience.

Mr De Klerk made it clear, however, that Dr Viljoen will not be alone in the frontline — he would work "in close co-operation and interaction with the State President".

There is some solace for Dr Van der Merwe that the section of the portfolio he inherits from Dr Viljoen and Mr De Beer which deals with the thorny issue of black schools, is one in which considerable success has been achieved — and which negotiating skills could be built on.

Speculation

A man who is undoubtedly pleased with the turn of events is Mr Adriaan Vlok, who stays on as Minister of Law and Order.

With the police's technique of protecting white beaches and curbing protest, subjects of much criticism, there was speculation that he might be moved.

However, the post-election switch in tactics, in which police were persuaded to sheath their batons, probably saved the day for Mr Vlok.

If there are any surprises in Mr De Klerk's Cabinet, they are the leapfrog promotions over old stalwarts.

Dr Rina Venter won her first election only last week in a victory in the conservative constituency of Innesdal — which even some party members had expected to lose. Before that she was a non-elected MP.

She replaces Dr Willie van Niekerk who is generally rgarded as being put out to pasture with his appointment as Chairman of the President's Council.

Substantial

The two other surprises concern two namesakes — Mr Jacob de Villiers as Minister of Agriculture and Dr Wim de Villiers as Minister for Privatisation and Administration.

Mr De Villiers is a newcomer to national politics — he is an Eastern Transvaal farmer and co-op chief.

In the election last week he lost by a substantial margin to the Conservative Party's Mr Cas Uys in Barberton

The inclusion of Dr De Villiers is one of the most pointed indicators of Mr De Klerk's intentions.

Dr De Villiers is a businessman and consultant of repute, and will advise on streamlining management and improving financial efficiency.

Along with Dr Dawie de Villiers, who moves marginally up to Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises, the two newcomers mean there are now three Ministers of the same surname



President-elect F W de Klerk congratulates the new Minister of Transport, Public Works and Land Affairs, Mr George Bartlett, on his election as Natal leader of the National Party yesterday

THE NEW CABINET

The new Cabinet is, in order of precedence:

Mr PIK BOTHA — Minister of Foreign Affairs
Dr GERRIT VILJOEN — Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and National Education
Gen MAGNUS MALAN — Minister of Defence
Dr DAWIE de VILLIERS — Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, and Public Enterprises
Dr KOBIE COETSEE — Minister of Justice
Mr BAREND du PLESSIS — Minister of Finance
Mr ELI LOUW — Minister of Manpower
Mr ADRIAAN VLOK — Minister of Law and Order
Mr GERT KOTZE — Minister of Environment Affairs and Water Affairs
Dr STOFFEL van der MERWE — Minister of Education and of Development Aid
Mr GENE LOUW — Minister of Home Affairs
Mr KENT DURR — Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism
Mr GEORGE BARTLETT — Minister of Transport and of Public Works and Land Affairs
Mr HERNUS KRIEL — Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs
Dr RINA VENTER — Minister of National Health and Population Development
Mr JACOB de VILLIERS — Minister of Agriculture
Dr WIM de VILLIERS — Minister for Administration and Privatisation

New Ministers' Council, House of Assembly, is:

Mr KOBIE COETSEE — Chairman
Mr AMIE VENTER — Minister of the Budget and of Local Government
Mr PIET CLASE — Minister of Education and Culture
Mr SAM de BEER — Minister of Health Services, Welfare and Housing
Dr KRAAI van NIEKERK — Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply

Deputy Ministers, in order of precedence:

Mr ROELF MEYER — Constitutional Development and National Education
Dr ORG MARAIS — Finance
Mr WYNAND BREYTENBACH — Defence
Mr JAPIE van WYK — Water Affairs and Land Affairs
Dr THEO ALANT — Trade and Industry
Mr LEON WESSELS — Foreign Affairs
Mr ANDRE FOURIE — Planning and Provincial Affairs
Mr PIET WELGEMOED — Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises
Mr DANIE SCHUTTE — Justice
Mr PIET MARAIS — Education and Development Aid

The winds of change sweep Cabinet

□ From Page 1

now also include political control of the SABC.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who has been running the Government's information drive, gets the important portfolio of Education and Development Aid — previously held by Dr Viljoen.

Mr George Bartlett, who was yesterday elected Natal NP leader, will be responsible for the newly grouped portfolios of Transport, Public Works and Land Affairs

Mr Kent Durr is promoted as Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs.

Another MP to leapfrog into the Cabinet is Mr Jacob de Villiers, the unsuccessful NP candidate in Barberton.

A former president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, he gets the important portfolio of Agriculture ahead of the present deputy, Dr Kraai van Niekerk. However, Dr Van Niekerk is ...

fairs and Dr Theo Alant at Trade and Industry.

Mr Leon Wessels is moved sideways from Law and Order to Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Four new Deputy Ministers have been appointed to fill the vacancies:

● Mr André Fourie of Turffontein gets Planning and Provincial Affairs,

Mr DANIE SCHUTTE — Justice
Mr PIET MARAIS — Education and Development Aid

Behind the scenes, Dr Viljoen, former rector of Rand

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Mr George Bartlett, who was yesterday elected Natal NP leader, will be responsible for the newly grouped portfolios of Transport, Public Works and Land Affairs.

Mr Kent Durr is promoted to full Cabinet status and entrusted with Trade and Industry and Tourism.

Surprise

In a surprise move, former National Health and Population Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk is to become the new chairman of the President's Council with another frontbencher, Mr Kleppies Heyns, as his deputy.

This will result in by-elections in two Cape Constituencies, Ceres and Vasco.

Careful to maintain a good provincial balance in the Cabinet, another Cape MP, Mr Hernus Kriel, was drafted as Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs.

Another MP to leapfrog into the Cabinet is Mr Jacob de Villiers, the unsuccessful NP candidate in Barberton.

A former president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, he gets the important portfolio of Agriculture ahead of the present deputy, Dr Kraai van Niekerk. However, Dr Van Niekerk is promoted to Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply in the House of Assembly.

The new look Ministers' Council gets a new chairman, Mr Coetsee, a new Minister of the Budget, Mr Amie Venter, and a new Minister of Health Services and Welfare, Mr Sam de Beer.

What is somewhat surprising is that Mr De Beer is the only one of the present Deputy Ministers to be promoted — Mr Roelf Meyer stays on as deputy at Constitutional Development, Dr Org Marais at Finance, Mr Wynand Breytenbach at Defence, Mr Japie van Wyk at Water Affairs and Dr Theo Alant at Trade and Industry.

Mr Leon Wessels is moved sideways from Law and Order to Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Four new Deputy Ministers have been appointed to fill the vacancies:

- Mr André Fourie of Turffontein gets Planning and Provincial Affairs;
- Dr Piet Welgemoed of Primrose gets Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises;
- Mr Danie Schutte, nominated Natal MP, gets Justice;
- Mr Piet Marais of Stellenbosch gets Education and Development Aid.

Sworn

Mr Myburgh Streicher, Deputy Minister of Transport, has stepped down but will stay on as MP for De Kuilen.

The new Cabinet will be sworn in soon after Mr De Klerk's inauguration as State President on Wednesday.

Here's health!

(304A)

SA gets its own Iron Lady

5t Times 17/9/89

SOUTH AFRICA'S own "Iron Lady" — Dr Rina Venter — is the first woman to serve in the Cabinet.

As Minister of Health and Population Development, the 51-year-old Maggie Thatcher lookalike inherits a nursing crisis, an escalating AIDS problem and the ongoing campaign against a population explosion.

And, with almost three decades of experience in social work, she is well qualified to deal with health care and family planning.

She said: "I will approach the job with all the seriousness and dedication it demands. I am deeply honoured and humbled by this appointment.

"I just hope they haven't appointed me because I'm a woman!"

By MARLENE BURGER

Born in Krugersdorp, she matriculated at Carletonville High School and obtained her degrees in social work at the University of Pretoria.

As a social worker with the SA Vrouefederasie she has dealt with many social problems, including alcoholism, teenage behavioural problems and adoption.

Her family have been her staunchest supporters since she entered politics "through the back door" in 1984.

"It was the biggest surprise of my life," she says of her appointment to Parliament as a nominated MP. She was the first woman in the

☐ To Page 2

Cheers to SA's new Iron Lady

(304A)

☐ From Page 1

National Party to win the honour. 5t Times 17/9/1989

"I had never given any thought to politics before, except in the way that a concerned voter does."

But her three years in Parliament and two years as a ministerial representative whetted her political appetite. Her decision to stand for the Innesdal seat was "a natural development".

"It was a tough fight. My predecessor had a majority of only 154.

The effort paid off, and Dr Venter's majority in the Pretoria constituency was 1 509.

Married for the past 26 years, Dr Venter and her family — doctor husband Hannes and sons Adriaan, 23, and Dick, 18 — have had to make a number of changes to their lifestyle.

"The Cabinet appointment will demand even more sacrifices," she said.

304 PA

'Black for cabinet?

Two men tipped as candidates

By CONNIE MOLUSI

DESPITE claims that the constitution does not provide for a black cabinet minister, speculation is rife over the imminent appointment of the first black minister to the SA Cabinet.

The government introduced the Constitution Second Amendment Bill to provide for the appointment of a black Cabinet Minister as part of its reform programme, but the Labour Party opposed the Bill in July last year.

This latest speculation that the now State President FW de Klerk is expected to announce a black in his cabinet points to two likely candidates, Transvaal MEC John Mavuso and Cape MEC Themba Nyati.

Professor Willie Breytenbach of African studies at the University of Stellenbosch, said: "I expected two cabinet reshuffles, one essentially geared towards filling the vacant posts and the second next year, where it could be possible to appoint a black to the cabinet.

However, De Klerk will have to sort out problems with the Labour Party which has won the majority in the House of Representatives.

"Restoring peace within the House of Delegates and Representatives are important as these junior houses stalled the legislation facilitating the appointment of a black to parliament".



Tvl MEC, John Mavuso.



Thema Nyathi from the Cape.

Speculation of the appointment of a black to the cabinet has been fueled by talk that Dr Gerrit Viljoen is the likely candidate for the negotiation portfolio, thus opening chances of a black being appointed to fill the black education post.

Mavuso seems to be the most likely candidate if De Klerk does eventually appoint a black Cabinet Minister.

Mavuso, the vice-chairman of the constitutional committee of the TPA, serves on three committees.

Mavuso is a former member of the ANC and a treason trialist alongside Nelson Mandela in 1956.

He was the first black person to address a joint debate with white, Coloured and Indian parliamentarians in the extended public committee on provincial affairs in the Transvaal.

Mavuso was a businessman and top official of Inkatha until his appointment as the only black serving in the TPA executive.

He was a central committee member of Inkatha, and was fired from this post after his appointment to the TPA.

Mavuso has no apologies for changing his position from an ANC member to join the white system.

"Since the founding of the ANC in 1912, its main objective was to get blacks into the running of the country. That is what I am presently doing," said Mavuso.

The other likely candidate in the cabinet race is Themba Nyati, the MEC in the Cape Provincial Administration.

Nyati is the chairman of the Committee for Community Services, Welfare and Social services.

He is also vice-chairman of the committee for Health Services and Community Development.

He is a former teacher and notable for his strong sentiments on black education and training.

On his election as a mayor of Galeshewe, Nyati said he was working for the advancement of educational, social and economic progress and the general improvement of the quality of black existence in residential areas as his immediate objectives.

Prior to his appointment as an MEC, he was the mayor of Galeshewe township, Kimberley and a businesman, whose businesses were burnt during unrest in 1985.

After his election as MEC, Nyati said, he could not over-accentuate the need for education for black people.

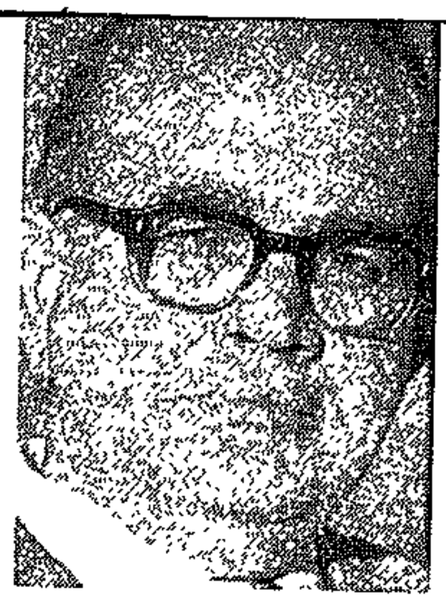
"Education and training comes first and political leadership will come from those who have been educated and trained," he said.

In November 1988 Nyati said at Stellenbosch that black moderates want to support reforms by negotiation, pointing to the October municipal elections as proof of that.

Nyati told a Press conference in May that black local government is here to stay. This could contribute greatly to train black people in respect of the democratic process.

Business strongman and first woman in Cabinet

MES NEW TEAM





Wim de Villiers, left, is set to shake up the public service while Rina Venter, right, becomes SA's first woman Minister

-Times 17/9/89-

WILSON

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN and LESTER VENTER

MR F W DE KLERK has announced sweeping changes to the South African Cabinet. There are six newcomers in the 18-member body.

The President-elect has acted swiftly to stamp his personal authority on the Government that will take South Africa into the '90s.

In a statement last night, Mr De Klerk announced his changes:

● Bringing in one of the country's most respected businessmen, Dr Wim de Villiers, to shake up the public service and energise the state's privatisation programme;

● Shifting Dr Gerrit Viljoen to the key post of Constitutional Development, in an effort to get the negotiation process going;

● Appointing South Africa's first female Minister, Dr Rina Venter, as Minister of National Health and Population Development;

● Strengthening the Cabinet's English-speaking component by elevating both Mr Kent Durr and Mr George Bartlett to full Ministerial status;

Acclaimed

● Promoting well-known *verligte* MPs to junior Cabinet posts and deputy ministerships;

● Restructuring Cabinet portfolios and cutting the number of Deputy Ministers from 14 to 10.

Mr De Klerk's appointment of Dr De Villiers, the former executive chairman of General Mining, was his biggest surprise. It is likely to be widely acclaimed by businessmen.

Dr De Villiers's new post as Minister for Administration and Privatisation will put him in charge of the country's public service and the privatisation and deregulation processes.

Making the announcement last night, Mr De Klerk made his purposes quite clear — the new Minister (now a nominated MP) would be given a "special assignment" to develop "improved systems for co-ordination, monitoring and financial management".

Involved

In announcing Dr Viljoen's appointment, Mr De Klerk stressed that his new chief negotiator would not be burdened by administrative responsibilities — "the objective is to free his hands to the greatest possible extent to enable him to concentrate on dialogue, negotiation and the promotion of a new constitutional dispensation".

The President-elect also emphasised that he intends becoming personally involved in the negotiating process, probably leading the Government's negotiating team at key stages.

Information has ceased to be a Cabinet portfolio. Mr De Klerk said the Bureau for Information would be transformed into a "smaller and more professional communication service" and would report directly to him.

Most senior members of the Cabinet retain their portfolios: Mr Pik Botha, Foreign Affairs; General Magnus Malan, Defence; Mr Barend du Plessis, Finance; Mr Adriaan Vlok, Law and Order; and Mr Kobie Coetsee, Justice.

Important

Mr Coetsee, the Free State Leader of the NP, has also been appointed chairman of the white Ministers' Council — a position previously held by Mr De Klerk.

Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers replaces retiring Minister Mr Danie Steyn as Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister and also takes on the Public Enterprises post — which includes the Transport Services, the Post Office, Eskom, Foscor and Iscor.

Former Transport Minister Mr Eli Louw is shifted to Manpower to replace retired Minister Mr Pietie du Plessis.

His Cape colleague, Mr Gene Louw, gets the portfolio of Home Affairs, which will

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A ray of light as FW shows his true colours

S/Times 17/9/89 304A



Lester Venter

tracks the thinking of an enigmatic State President

ONE of the things Mr F W de Klerk will demonstrate in the opening months of his tenure in Tuynhuys is who he really is.

True, since his election to the leadership of the National Party seven months ago — and during the election campaign — Mr De Klerk has been aggressively marketed as "today's leader", a new man with a new image.

But the problem is that Mr De Klerk is distinguished from his predecessor primarily by style. He is affable rather than arrogant, and seeks consensus rather than obedience. There is tangible relief in the corridors of the Union Buildings at the presence of the new style and the possibilities it promises.

It is the content of the man's political vision, however, that is not yet clear.

Mantle

The fault, for the time being, is Mr De Klerk's.

His record in the National Party's administration does not underpin his latter-day image as a party verligte and a reformist of SA's race-based politics.

And, since assuming that mantle, he has done little more than commit himself to the political equivalents of apple pie and mothers' love — negotiated solutions and a peaceful, prosperous society.

Even when it came to action — and there has been plenty in the 10 days since the election — the political paradoxes within Mr De Klerk were evident.

After scores of people, including at least one elderly woman and two toddlers, had been shot by police, and a variety of eyewitnesses — including conscience-troubled policemen — had accused police of instigating violence, Mr De Klerk still said the police had handled the situation with "aplomb".

Yet, when the country's biggest single demonstration of public outrage in 29 years arose over the police actions, Mr De Klerk gave it his blessing.

In doing so, he all but flummoxed traditional political adversaries, and laid remarkable ground for future, more relevant negotiations. It is this paradox that has bothered National Party MPs since almost half of them voted for a candidate they perceived as more enlightened when they chose their leader in February.

What bothered them at the time was that it was Mr De Klerk who:

- As leader of the House of Assembly last year attempted to have the rules of Parliament suspended so that the Government could get its Group Areas legislation passed;
- Forced SA universities to court to overturn his bid to have them curb campus protest by threatening to cut or remove their subsidies;
- As Minister of National Education, tried to restrict the number of black students at universities and to close private schools that admitted black pupils;
- Kept NP behind-the-scenes experimental thinking firmly on racial tracks, according to some who were associated with him;

Principles

- Repudiated Mr Chris Heunis this year after the row-deposed Minister made what was heralded as the most forward-thinking speech to come from top NP circles.

These concerns about Mr De Klerk evaporated considerably in the weeks after his election. Some of his senior colleagues said his narrow victory in the party leadership stakes finally made clear to him that the prevailing wind was unequivocally blowing in a more enlightened direction.

Mr De Klerk launched himself energetically into a round of foreign diplomacy — a field in which he had neither a record, nor a profile. His success exceeded the expectations of even his most uncritical admirers. He won over British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the "give FW a chance" view.

After a meeting with President Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, the African patriarch said he had heard from Mr De Klerk about principles on which he wanted to found a new South African society, and he had "no basic disagreement" with Pretoria's new man. Naturally this led to speculation back home on what exactly it was that Mr De Klerk had been telling the foreign leaders to elicit such remarkable reactions.

Few serious observers believed the other leaders accepted the "race federation" concept Mr De Klerk has made clear to domestic audiences is his constitutional bottom line.

Mr De Klerk denied he had discussed a secret agenda abroad for change in SA — and went no further in clearing up the mystery.

Stance

However, as the election campaign drew to a close, it became known that Mr De Klerk had told his colleagues what lay ahead was a concerted campaign to draw authentic black leaders into a negotiating process. It soon became known, too, that the initial feelers that would go out would probably not exclude the African National Congress.

Was this a clue to the expectations that have developed among foreign heads of state?

Mr De Klerk took an important step towards this goal this week with his more democratic stance on the issue of protest than South Africans have become used to in recent years. And in achieving this step, a further significant development took place behind the scenes.

According to Government insiders, Mr De Klerk allowed the verligte flank of the Cabinet to win a symbolic victory over the wishes of the security establishment.

JOFFE



Dries van Heerden

The end of the beginning

S/Times 17/9/89 304A

WHAT this country desperately needs now is a bucket of ice cold water.

And its contents should be thrown in the flushed faces of those who believe the millenium has (at last) dawned in South Africa.

These are heady days, make no mistake. We are living in exciting times, no doubt. But to start composing the obituary on white Nationalist rule ... whoa. It is easy to understand — and have sympathy with — the sudden giddiness about the imminent collapse of the South African empire.

Hell, here we are marching through the streets of Cape Town and Johannesburg. We are on Church Sqaure clambering onto the statue of Oom Paul. We are waving placards and singing freedom songs — We shall overcome and Amandla.

All that's really missing is a Martin Luther King to proclaim: "Free at last. Free at last. Thank God Almighty, we're free at last."

Yes ... We are Marching to Pretoria. And we'll circle the city walls — if need be seven times seven before we blow the rams' horns to help the walls come tumbling down.

[redacted]

See for yourself. The Government is on the run. See how meekly Mr F W de Klerk acceded to our demands to march through the city streets. See how the police were forced to sheathe their swords.

I tell you, my friend, if we stretch out far enough, we can actually touch freedom. It is there for the picking ...

Bring on that ice water and give these expectations a thorough dousing.

Granted, there is a new tenant in Tuynhuys and he is considerably more amenable to reason and compromise than the previous occupant.

Yes, we have already seen the first glimpses of an entirely new style in government. A style where the gut does not dictate a reflex response of strong-arm action and bully-boy tactics.

After those long desert years of the imperial presidency, the De Klerk team, too, has come to realise that a changing world calls for changing methods. The brow-beating, finger-wagging, foot-stomping days are gone forever. Thank heavens for small mercies.

But to see in this a weakening of government resolve, may just be the grossest misjudgment since General George Custer pitched Horn.

[redacted] ..

In the broader spectrum leaders can, with justifiable satisfaction, contemplate the "victories" they have won in the past seven days.

But to think that the country can move from where it is to where the majority of its people want it to be, in one quantum leap, would be an obvious miscalculation:

- The regime is not about to crumble;
- It has not lost control over the instruments of power.
- There is no reason to believe it has lost its appetite to use the power at its disposal;
- If it uses this power there will be more losers than winners.

This was, indeed, a momentous cate we are still in for the politics of the long haul rather than the politics of the quick fix.

Within the parochial confines of what is politically feasible Mr De Klerk has shown this week that he is able to provide a measure of leadership.

Behind the scenes of last week

Sowetan 18/9/89 304A

LONDON - Distant observers may be forgiven for drawing the wrong conclusions about South Africa last week.

A quick reading of the news suggests a most extraordinary turn of events - that Archbishop Desmond Tutu and President FW de Klerk looked into one another's eyes and it was not the Archbishop who blinked.

This would be an electrifying but incorrect interpretation of the South African Government's decision to order the police to let Wednesday' peaceful march through Cape Town take place without interruption.

What actually happened was more complicated than that. Nobody blinked, but on the eve of formally taking office the new President demonstrated a shrewd sensibility to foreign opinion that his predecessor, P W Botha, lacked. This is encouraging news for British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, since her strategy for South Africa is based on a belief that persuasion will bring about reform.

Bloodshed

The Mass Democratic Movement launched a campaign of protest demonstrations to coincide with the elections to the white Parliament. One purpose of this defiance campaign was to draw world attention to the undemocratic nature of the general election.

This has been achieved, albeit at a terrible cost in bloodshed Archbishop Tutu and the Reverend Allan Boesak decided that the defiance campaign should continue and that they would make a direct appeal to the outside world.

They summoned a number of ambassadors (or their stand-ins), including representatives of America, Britain, France and West Germany.

They asked for the scrapping of discriminatory legislation within six months and an immediate end to violent police actions. None of the governments concerned disputed that their demands were reasonable, although a number regard six months as unrealistic.

Calls

It is what happened next that is so interesting. Diplomatic questioning of Archbishop Tutu elicited an unequivocal assurance that the proposed march on Parliament would be peaceful Gentle pressure brought about a changed route, so that the protest ended at the City Hall rather than Parliament.

The news was conveyed to the South African Government through a number of calls to various Ministers on Tuesday. One of the principal mediators was Johan Heyns Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church Another was the British Ambassador, Sir Robin Renwick. At the end of a busy Tuesday, de Klerk gave the go-ahead

He showed understanding of what the world wants to hear by including in his remarks the observation that "the door to a new South Africa is open. It is necesary to beat it down".



De Klerk: "The door to a new South Africa is open. It is not necessary to break it down"



President F W de Klerk watched last week as over 40000 people nationwide demonstrated their opposition to apartheid. Pictured here is part of the 10000-strong crowd on the march to John Vorster Square on Friday.

Game

If this means anything, then it is that Messrs Tutu, Boesak and Co are free to visit the President and place their demands before him. If they understand the rules of the new game that is being set up, they will do so at once, even if they come out through the President's door to announce to reporters that they asked him why there is still a state of emergency, why Nelson Mandela is not yet free, why there is still discriminatory legislation in place, and so on.

It is their function to put the white government in a spot, but the nature of the task changes when the leader of that government is soft-spoken.

Pariah status

Mrs Thatcher's task is precisely the opposite. She has some influence over the South African Government because she has been stubbornly wrong about sanctions.

The mild official sanctions now in place, plus the private enterprise sanction of declining to invest in the Republic, have hurt both the economy and the morale of whites.

They want an end to pariah status, an end to sanctions. They fear further pressure of the kind that is being contemplated by most Commonwealth governments, some Europeans, and most US Congressmen Mrs Thacher will continue to hold out against any additional sanctions at the Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur in October. She is thus reaping the diplomatic harvest of the pressure exerted by others

It would be wrong to conclude that South Africa is now set for change at the pace set, in a different context, by Hungary and Poland That would require de Klerk to abandon everything he believes in, starting with "group riglus" - the current euphemism for separate development.

'Group rights'

Mrs Thatcher shocked the South African leader on his visit to London when she told him to move away from "group rights". Her own view is that universal suffrage in a unitary state is not on, as it would mean domination by the African National Congress. She prefers the federal constitution espoused by the Democratic Party.

Just what that means is unclear. But before de Klerk can thrash that one out, he has to bring his own security forces under control, release political prisners establish an atmosphere conducive to real talks, and entice genuine black representatives including the ANC, to the negotiation table - while continuing to maintain his slender parliamentary majority.



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

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FW gets going

By BARRY STREEK

MR F W DE KLERK has served notice that he wants to get going with his reform plans as soon as he is sworn in on Wednesday morning.

By promoting known reformists within the National Party and sidelining old guard conservatives in his early announcement of the new cabinet, he has shown the kind of government he wants in South Africa, both in regard to constitutional negotiations and economic change.

One of the ironies of this weekend's appointments is that Mr De Klerk, the NP's Transvaal leader, has given a strong Western Cape flavour to his cabinet, with two Cape Town MPs, Mr Kent Durr, formerly Minister of Budget and Works in the House of Assembly, and Mr Hernus Kriel, MP for Parow, joining Mr Gert Kotze, MP for Malmesbury, Dr Dawie de Villiers, MP for Piketberg, and Mr Eli Louw, MP for Namaqualand, as full cabinet ministers.

And two of his appointments — Dr Wim de Villiers as a "technocrat" to streamline the civil service and promote privatisation, and the first woman in the cabinet, Dr Rina Venter, as Minister of National Health — were welcomed last night by the Democratic Party's parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer.

Mr De Klerk's emphasis on reform was underlined yesterday by the new Minister of Constitutional Development and National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, when he said one of his first priorities would be to negotiate an acceptable way of identifying black leaders.

The appointment of the reformist-minded Mr Hernus Kriel as Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs to handle provincial and local government as well as black housing means that the Constitutional Development empire, once headed by Mr Chris Heunis, will be split up so that Dr Viljoen can concentrate on constitutional reforms and negotiation.

Similarly, the promotion of another reformist, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, into the Education and Development Aid portfolio, under which the six non-independent homelands fall, will stimulate government-initiated changes.

Mr De Klerk has also appointed to economic portfolios four ministers who are all committed to reducing the government's stake in the economy, demonstrating his determination to promote privatisation and remove restrictions on the economy.

One of the surprise appointments to the cabinet was Dr De Villiers, the former chairman of Gencor, as the Minister of Administration and Privatisation.

Emphasising Mr De Klerk's priori-

To page 3

From page 1

ties, Dr De Villiers said yesterday he had been absolved from "political duties" to concentrate on streamlining the civil service and implementing the government's privatisation programme.

Another surprise "technocrat" appointment was that of Eastern Transvaal "farmer of the year", former vice-president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union and co-op chief, Mr Jacob de Villiers, as Minister of Agriculture.

However, despite the optimism in government and Nationalist circles over the weekend, the DP's parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer, was sceptical about the new cabinet.

"I am quite unable to discern any move in either direction. I would say Mr De Klerk has set out patiently and cautiously to comprise a cabinet that will have as many people as well pleased as possible.

While I don't know the internal workings of the NP, I would guess he has not done a bad job from that point of view."

Among the allocation of deputy minister portfolios, Mr De Klerk also opted for NP reformists, notably Mr Leon Wessels in the key position of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte as Deputy Minister of Justice and Mr Piet Marais as Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid.

Right-wing protest

AWB, BVB to hold rallies on 'misuse of monuments'

TWO right-wing movements, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Boere Vryheidsbeweging, have announced plans to hold mass rallies in Pretoria this Saturday, to protest the "misuse of Afrikaner monuments".

The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, said yesterday that his organisation would apply for permission today to hold a rally on Church Square, to protest against the misuse of Afrikaner monuments and properties by people who "intended them to disappear in a so-called new South Africa".

About 1 000 protesters, mainly black, held a lively but peaceful protest meeting on Church Square last week.

The only police action in connection with the meeting was the restraining of a few white men who confronted black protesters. They were led away by police to cheers from the protesters.

Mr Terre'Blanche said those organisations participating in the rally would be representative of all conservative white South Africans.

In a separate announcement, BVB secretary Mr Jan Groenewald said in a statement that his organisation is to hold a march through Pretoria and a meeting on Church Square this Saturday to protest "the violation of folk symbols by demonstrators".

He also stated that the BVB would give its support to the police in their "struggle to maintain law and order in difficult times".

Mr Groenewald said the meeting should be seen as a "folk gathering" and that "fellow movements" were invited to attend.

He said the meeting will start at midday on Church Square and then move to police offices, where messages and letters will be handed to the commissioner of police and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Mr Groenewald said that by their latest actions, the authorities were taking sides with the forces which ridiculed and provoked the police and were preparing the way for the ANC to take over the country.

In Durban, it has been announced that no permission will be sought by the Mass Democratic Movement to hold a "freedom march", to be led by Archbishop Denis Hurley, through the Durban city centre this Friday.

The proceedings will begin with an inter-faith prayer service, conducted by Archbishop Hurley and Jewish, Muslim and Hindu leaders, at the Emmanuel Cathedral.

In reaction, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet warned that unless permission to march was obtained from the Department of Justice, the march would be illegal.

"The marchers can protest about anything they like. All the police are concerned about is that the march is legal and peaceful," Brig Mellet said.

The mayor of Durban, Mr Derrick Watterson, asked if he would join the march, as Cape Town mayor Mr Gordon Oliver had done last week, said: "I certainly do not believe it is a mayor's function to join freedom marches."

He said he used his position to "make changes".

● Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said this week that anti-apartheid protests on segregated beaches will be resumed at the end of the month.

FW to change PC to involve blacks?

Cape Times 18/9/89 30 cm

Political Staff

CHANGING the President's Council, which could be the first step towards involving blacks in central government, is expected to be one of the first major acts by President F W de Klerk after he and the new cabinet members are sworn in on Wednesday.

Mr De Klerk said in a brief interview at the weekend that details of the proposals would be discussed by the cabinet and could be announced before next weekend.

Though he did not expand on detail, the President's Council itself recommended in April that the constitution should be changed to include blacks.

Parliament is scheduled to meet on September 26 and 27 to vote on members for the council.

Under the present system, the three parties in Parliament are entitled to vote for 20 members, dividing them according to the number of MPs each party has.

This should give the National Party 14, and the Conservative and Democratic Parties three each.

This system will not change until after Parliament has approved amendments to the constitution.

Mr De Klerk said the whole matter was being considered and that the President's Council's own recommendations were being studied.

"I think it is only right that before people make themselves available, they should know what the President's Council will look like."

He has already nominated the former Minister of National Health and Welfare, Dr Willie van Niekerk, as chairman, and Mr Keppies Heyns, MP for Vasco, as vice-chairman.

Mr De Klerk also said he was convinced that in the whole process of reform, "we must look at the powers of the State President".

He has hinted at some change on this before.

Dealing with one of the most important cabinet appointments — Dr Gerrit Viljoen as Minister of Constitutional Development — Mr De Klerk said final responsibility for "everything" rested with the State President.

"But, Dr Viljoen will have to play a leading role in the process of dialogue," he said.



Dries van Heerden

It's up to the DP to show Nats the way to reform

THE National Party is back in power, but it is much less *windgat* about it.

Given the realities, one could hardly have wished for a better result in the general election:

● A Government humbled by the biggest poll reversal since 1910. Hopefully it will now realise that there are limits to power. A little less arrogance and greater atunement to the needs of ordinary people may be the by-product of a smaller majority.

● A CP stopped in its tracks — not getting anywhere near the support it predicted. And in the months and years to come Conservatives will find themselves increasingly marginalised as the political debate shifts towards the "how?" and the "what?" of reform, instead of the "why?"

● A buoyant and strengthened DP, infused with an enthusiastic and vibrant new generation of politicians. Their drumbeats will have to set the pace of reform and what they believe in now will be the harbinger of the future.

Credit already to Acting President F W de Klerk who saw in the results the clear indication that white SA is tired of yesterday's men and yesteryear's policies.

[redacted]

But a word of caution. There are still huge gaps between rhetoric and action; between images and substance. Mr De Klerk's reform is not that which the DP envisages — and he should be reminded of this constantly.

As long as, by-and-large, racially defined groups remain the building blocks of NP thinking as it was written into the Five Year Plan, it is not going to bring us much closer to a solution.

Unless the NP erases from its mindset the notion that it alone can choose negotiation partners and determine the agenda, then very little is going to change. The DP will have to keep reminding everyone that the whole political spectrum — from the CP to the ANC — should be engaged in the discussions about future options.

[redacted]

The first six months of Mr De Klerk rule should be his most difficult — and he and his party largely have themselves to blame. There is no way you can campaign with such ferocity against an opponent (in this case the Mass Democratic Movement) and expect them to be available for talks the next day.

The NP and its propaganda agencies may yet rue the way they tried their utmost to demonise an important section of black political life. These are the people who will eventually have to be drawn into the process — and, sadly, the timetable for this may have been pushed back a few months.

[redacted]

Fortunately, the election results have exploded the myth that the growth potential of parties on the white left is limited. Large numbers of voters saw NP policy for what it really is: Smoke and mirrors on negotiation, and sham assurances on security.

If the DP carries one important message, it is that you will find no answer to either economic or security problems if you don't tackle political rights as their basis.

The 33 MPs of the Democratic Party will enter Parliament facing a Government which realises instinctively that fundamental reforms are necessary to get the country out of its doldrums — but hesitant and unsure of how to proceed.

It is up to the DP to show the way.

3044

New emphasis on stringency noted

Post of Information Minister falls away

In announcing his new Cabinet this weekend, Mr F W de Klerk said there would no longer be a Minister of Information.

The Bureau for Information will in due course be transformed into a "smaller and more professional communication service which would provisionally report directly to the State President.

"It is planned that the service's most important function will be the improvement of communication between the Government and the public.

"The functions which have thus far been performed by the Minister of Information with regard to broadcasting and the film industry, will be carried out by the Minister of Home Affairs.

"The National intelligence service will also fall under the direct control of the State President.

There were few political shocks when Mr de Klerk named his Cabinet, it is clear he will place more emphasis on financial stringency by bringing in people with proven economic management skills.

The inclusion in the Cabinet of Dr Wim de Villiers, an expert in the field of management and productivity and a key adviser to the Government on the privatisation of government departments, is an indication that Mr de Klerk will proceed with plans of privatisation.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT

In addition, Mr de Klerk has given Dr de Villiers, as Minister of Administration and Privatisation, the special assignment of bringing about improved co-ordination, monitoring and financial management in the co-operation with all other Ministers with economic portfolios.

Mr de Klerk will attempt to get the negotiation process, which has stagnated in recent years, back on the road by entrusting the key portfolio of Constitutional Development to his longstanding colleague, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. The new Cabinet also includes a woman for the first time in the appointment of Dr Rina Venter as Minister of National Health and Population Development.

The only other surprise appointment was that of farmer and businessman, Mr Jacob de Villiers, as Minister of Agriculture in the Cabinet.

With regard to the composition of the Ministers' Councils of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates Mr de Klerk said he was still in the process of consulting with the political leaders in those houses and announcements would be made later.

"The fact that there are no members of the abovementioned two houses who have been taken into the Cabinet or who have been appointed as Deputy Ministers for General Affairs, follows consultations with the most important political leaders in the two houses."

He said the size of the Cabinet was the same as it was at the beginning of 1989. The number of Deputy Ministers has been reduced from 14 to 10.

SICK FUNDS

New Cabinet 'a blow to securocrats'

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — State President-elect Mr F W de Klerk's appointment of a new Cabinet has drawn mixed reactions — ranging from interpretations that it was a cautious move, to that it showed a commitment to negotiation and was a blow to the security establishment.

Mr de Klerk kept only six Ministers in their posts, restructured several ministries and appointed six new Ministers.

Government sources agreed there had been few real surprises, but said Mr de Klerk had indicated he was committed to his election promise of negotiation and a return to Government by Cabinet.

The major surprises were the appointment of a complete outsider, former Gencor chief executive Dr Wim de Villiers, as Minister of Administration and Privatisation, and brand-new MP Mr Jacob de Villiers as Minister of Agriculture.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said apart from appointing Dr de Villiers, Mr de Klerk had been "typically cautious".

He said it was a balanced Cabinet with no verkrampte or verligte leaning. Conservative Party chief whip Mr Frank le Roux described it as "unimaginative and uninspiring".

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said he was pleased with the appointment of Dr Gerrit Viljoen as Minister of Constitutional Development.

Dr Viljoen's appointment was widely welcomed — as was Mr de Klerk's announcement that Dr Viljoen would be backed up by a constitutional team of another five Cabinet Ministers or deputies.

Mr de Klerk has also been praised for overcoming the lack of an English-speaker in the Cabinet by appointing two — new Natal leader Mr George Bartlett as Minister of Transport and of Public Works and Land Affairs, and Mr Ken Durr as Minister of Trade and Industry.

FIRST WOMAN

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall described the new Cabinet as "bold and imaginative" — especially the appointments of Dr de Villiers and Dr Rina Venter, the first woman to be appointed to an NP Cabinet as Minister of National Health and Population Development.

"I am pleased with the appointment of Dr Gerrit Viljoen to the key constitutional and negotiating position. He is essentially a humanist and his instincts are decent."

NP sources said they saw signs of a return to the John Vorster style of Government by teamwork. They saw it mostly as a Cabinet of politicians, not technocrats.

They also saw in the abolition of the portfolio of Deputy Minister of Law and Order, a signal that the influence of the security establishment would be reduced.

This was the portflio in charge of the securocrat-dominated National Management System — described as an alternative government.

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said he was not particularly impressed, but the new Cabinet should be judged by its future actions.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht declined to comment until he had studied the new appointments.

The moving of Minister of National Health Dr Willie van Niekerk to the chairmanship of the President's Council is regarded as a demotion.

● See Page 6.

Restrictions

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

First aim is procedure to find black leaders — Viljoen

Star 18/9/18. 3041

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Government's new negotiation chief, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, says one of his first aims will be to find a "generally accepted democratic procedure" to select black leaders to negotiate with the Government.

Dr Viljoen was speaking after being appointed at the weekend to the key post of Minister of Constitutional Development in the new Cabinet.

He will also hold the portfolio of National Education.

ELECTIONS

He said some sort of elections would have to be held to indicate who the real leaders of the black community were.

There was a lot of discussion about who the real leaders were but no clarity.

One of his priorities would be to start a process of "negotiations about negotiations" or "pre-negotiations" to establish an acceptable method for indicating leaders.

Dr Viljoen said that even if a significant sector of the black community did not wish to participate in government, he would not wait for them. "I would rather try to achieve significant reform progress with those who do wish to participate, which will persuade the others to join in.

"Once the bandwagon is going, others will probably want to join in. This was what happened in Namibia."

Dr Viljoen said the government had already canvassed black opinion about different ways of identifying the real black leaders.

In the legislation for a proposed national negotiating forum, the idea was that urban blacks would elect representatives to regional governments. These would in turn form an electoral college to choose the representatives to the central negotiating forum.

This plan had been criticised by some black leaders, who wanted a system of direct election.

It had also been criticised by the leaders of national states, who felt that there should be no disctinction between rural and urban black representation.

Dr Viljoen said the government should not be seen to to be "completely wedded" to the national negotiating forum.

If other ideas were brought up the government should be prepared to accommodate them.

It was possible that new structures could be negotiated informally while the negotiating forum was already under way.

Dr Viljoen said the main challenge of his job was to strike a balance between the need for urgent reform on the one hand and the need to achieve proper consensus on the other.

He said he was committed to urgency because there was growing impatience for concrete progress towards a negotiated constitutional dispensation.

MUTUAL TRUST

On the other hand it took time to build up a meaningful consensus, for negotiating partners to get to know each other on the basis of mutual trust.

He said he was very pleased that Mr De Klerk had announced that he would be closely involved in negotiations.

This would raise the importance of negotiations in the public eye.

Mr De Klerk pointed out in announcing his new Cabinet that Dr Viljoen would not be encumbered with any administrative line functions.

This would leave him free to do the vital negotiation job.

Star 18/9/89 (304A)

Bartlett – a new breed of politician



Mr George Bartlett, the NP's new Natal leader.

Political Staff

The National Party's new Natal leader and new Minister of Transport, Public Works and Land Affairs, Mr George Bartlett, describes himself as both a liberal and a conservative.

"I am a liberal if it means giving everyone a fair deal, but I am conservative in not being prepared to give up known values for unknown or lesser values."

In times past, Mr Bartlett would be considered a very unlikely provincial leader of the National Party — he does not speak Afrikaans very well and he is a former Sap (an almost derogatory term for a member of the now defunct United Party).

His opponent for the leadership, Mr Jurie Mentz, the MP for Vryheid and provincial NP chairman, held all the correct credentials for the NP of 10 years ago but he was firmly beaten by Mr Bartlett.

But as a representative of Natal, Mr Bartlett is probably better qualified than any before him, being steeped in the province's major industry — sugar.

He came into politics in 1974 from being head of the Illovo sugar company to be the MP for Amanzimtoti.

Mr Bartlett, who still owns a sugar farm, was re-elected in 1977 and 1984 under the New Republic Party banner.

But with the advent of the new constitution in 1983 and the referendum in which the NRP teamed up with the NP, he reconsidered his political future.

In November 1984 the NRP held a congress in Mr Bartlett's constituency to decide its future.

ARGUMENT

Mr Bartlett led the argument for dissolving the party but he was not supported by the majority. He and Mr Ron Miller, NRP Natal leader, and Mr Aubrey Thompson, the MP for the South Coast, decided to leave and join the National Party.

Mr Bartlett was appointed Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology in 1986. a position in which he took charge of the sugar industry, among other concerns.

In 1987 he faced the first test of whether his constituents would accept his change of party. They did, by a majority of 1 880. On September 6 his majority was slightly reduced to 1 772.

He says his main priority as Natal leader will be to consolidate the achievements of the NP, which holds 10 of the 20 Natal seats, and build on that base.

Mr Bartlett says he would welcome talks with other leaders in the province and is prepared to look at the Natal/kwa-Zulu Indaba.

He feels the Indaba was rushed to an early conclusion and should be looked at again.

"Our political structure should be based on a real genuine sharing of power rather than a transfer of power."

Mr Bartlett is similar to his predecessor, Mr Stoffel Botha, in that he is very low-key and does not seek publicity.

He is also one of the new breed of Government technocrats rather than a politician born and bred. As Deputy Minister he had shown himself to be a hands-on manager and can be expected to continue this line in controlling his new portfolios.

Project Spear looking sharp

332

Star 18/9/89

Five weeks after the announcement of the ambitious Project Spear, a company aimed at developing both business and training opportunities for the black taxi industry, progress can be reported.

While the Project is still looking for investors, it is — according to executive Paul Browning — "extremely pleased with the measure of interest shown by both local and overseas companies and organisations".

Negotiations continue for seed financing of up to R4 million to take the company to year-end, by which time offshore investment of around R5 million should be available.

This does not mean, however, that Spear's efforts are currently blunted.

It has already started developing a highly specialised driver training course for the taxi industry (which will include aspects such as attitudes towards other road users as well as towards customers) in conjunction with the National Road Safety Council and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).

This should be ready by mid-November, and will be available on the Reef in January, 1990. Courses in other major centres will follow soon after.

In another associated development, Project Spear is currently approaching large companies with an offer to analyse and assess the transport needs of their employees. It will then recommend taxi operators to whom the business of daily staff transport can be contracted.

Said Browning: "We are looking initially at companies with corporate social responsibility programmes, since they are more concerned about the problems of their staff and more likely to understand the value of such a system.

Many such companies have already tried to solve their employees' transport problems, but the complexity of the situation has defeated them.

"The flexibility of using black taxi operators under contract can solve those problems, and help both the staff and the companies simultaneously."

An announcement is also expected within days on Project Spear's first residential training centre, which will be convenient to Soweto.

Right-wing groups to hold rallies in Pretoria

Star 18/9/89

The right-wing Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) are planning to hold rallies in Pretoria on Saturday.

BVB secretary Mr Jan Groenewald said the movement's march would protest against the "violation of folk symbols by demonstrators" and would also give its support to the police "in their struggle to maintain law and order".

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche yesterday announced plans for a mass rally in Church Square to protest against the "misuse" of traditional Afrikaner monuments and properties by people who "intended them to disappear in a so-called new South Africa".

— Sapa.

304A

Star 18/9/89 (304A)

President's powers for review – FW

The State President-elect, Mr F W de Klerk, last night said he was convinced that one of the more important facets that would have to be looked at in the process of constitutional reform was the powers of the State President.

Interviewed on SABC-TV last night, he said he did not think this should be done in isolation.

"From the beginning it will form part of planning, discussion, dialogue and negotiation.

"We will not bring about reform in this regard suddenly and one-sidedly," he added. "It will be the result of very thorough thinking and very wide discussions."

Regarding the President's Council, Mr de Klerk said he would hopefully be able to make known more particulars before the end of the week, especially if decisions were taken during the week.

Replying earlier to a question, Mr de Klerk said responsibility for negotiation would lie strongly in the hands of Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development and National Health.

This would be done in conjunction with other Ministers whose portfolios were involved with black affairs and constitutional matters. — Sapa.

SA-kwaZulu talks raise hopes

ST 18/9/89 Own Correspondent 304A

DURBAN — A joint statement issued on Saturday raised hopes that talks which have taken place between the Government and kwaZulu could prove useful in promoting negotiations at a national level to resolve South Africa's political crisis.

The statement said that a joint committee, appointed in January by the Government and kwaZulu to investigate obstacles impeding the process of negotiation, had completed its task and had compiled a report covering all views expressed.

The delegations' leaders, kwaZulu Cabinet Minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo and former Natal National Party leader Mr Stoffel Botha, said the report would be submitted to their governments. "Both delegations were encouraged by the spirit of co-operation and commitment to the finding of solutions that characterised all their meetings."

Showdown over AWB, BFM rallies?

Cape Times 19/9/89 304A

PRETORIA. — A showdown is looming between far-right organisations on Saturday as the AWB and disaffected former AWB leaders plan to hold rival rallies on Church Square in Pretoria on that day.

The AWB has announced it will hold a rally at 10am, while the Boer Freedom Movement — founded by former senior AWB men — says it will hold a rally on the Square at 11.59am.

Ironically, the "broedertwis" was sparked by last week's protest march on Church Square by 1 000 blacks.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said the AWB rally was being organised to protest against the misuse of traditional Afrikaner monuments and properties by people who "intended them to disappear in a so-called new South Africa".

The Boer Freedom Movement — founded by AWB leaders, including deputy leader Mr Jan Groenewald, who severed their ties with the AWB in the wake of the Jani Allen-Paardekraal affair — said its meeting would protest against black protesters' "desecration" of Church Square.

It denied the meeting was being organised in conjunction with the AWB, and said the AWB had announced its rally after the Boer Freedom Movement had, evidently to create confusion.

A women's march to the Union Buildings is also on the cards for Saturday.

Conservative leaders have slammed the government for sanctioning last week's protest rallies around the country. — Sapa

CBM Times 19/9/89 304A

Viljoen in a hurry to start talking

Political Staff

DR Gerrit Viljoen, the man in the government's negotiating hotseat, is also a man in a hurry who wants to start talking about a new constitution to include blacks as soon as possible.

Although there was an urgent need to show some visible progress in the field negotiation, "meaningful negotiations require real consensus that must be achieved on a basis of trust and understanding". "That will require time," he said.

Getting negotiations going depended on finding an acceptable method of identifying black leaders who had as yet not participated in either homeland or local government elections.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen

There would have to be negotiations about negotiations to find a way of identifying these leaders and establishing their support bases. One way of doing this could be to hold elections.

Dr Viljoen said negotiations should start as soon as possible. There should be talks about talks and often stated preconditions for negotiations should be on the agenda.

He also said discussions could speed up the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and successful negotiations could ensure black participation in the next general elections.

Winnie snubs talk of Mandela's release

Sowetan 19/9/89

304A

NELSON MANDELA will not allow himself to be drawn into talks with the Government because he believes the state should talk to the African National Congress and its leaders in exile and in prison, said his wife Mrs Winnie Mandela.

She was reacting to reports quoting Minister

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen as saying that he would talk to Mandela whose release was "high on the agenda".

From Soweto she said: "I know that he will not allow himself to be used. No discussions can take place without the release of all political prisoners, the return of those in exile, and the unbanning of the ANC.

"Comrade Mandela's release has never been high on his list of priorities.

"He's always been concerned with the release of all political prisoners, and he has made it quite clear to the Government that he has been in prison for the past 27 years on behalf of the oppressed people and the ANC. Any attempt to release him and discuss the country's future with him is futile."

"He does not see himself as a negotiator. He sees his role as opening dialogue," she said.

Reports that Viljoen wanted to meet Mandela were divisive and badly timed.

Star 19/9/89 (304A)

Warm reaction to moves by F W

American press praises SA's new Government

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa is enjoying the best press it has had for a long time in north America.

Major newspapers have for days been carrying reports and comment which show the new De Klerk Government in a positive light.

The decision to allow peaceful mass protests has made a major impact in the United States media.

Newspaper editorials are starting to react positively to the developments.

The main editorial of the influential *Washington Post's* yesterday was published under the headline, "The friendly police of Cape Town". It described as unthinkable that a peaceful protest against apartheid took place in Cape Town last week under the friendly eye of the police, "but it happened as a result of an initiative by the newly elected President F W de Klerk".

The new development had some major implications, the *Post* said. It was probably possible all along for South African officials to take the same open approach to protest had they chosen to.

"Who can say how many deaths, how much tragedy, could have been avoided had the white regime set an example of tolerance and civil respect?" the paper asked.

In Canada, the newspaper, *The Gazette*, under a heading, "Mr de Klerk makes an encouraging start", said there were many reasons for scepticism about Mr de Klerk's really being the reformer he suggested he was.

But Mr de Klerk had got off to a wise start that contrasted with the police brutality of election night.

CP and NP under fire at school debate

The Conservative Party's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis and the National Party's Mrs Sheila Camerer were in the hot seat during a debate on party politics at St John's College in Houghton last night.

While Mr Derby-Lewis and Mrs Camerer worked hard to explain their solutions to South Africa's problems, Dr Zach de Beer, Democratic Party MP for Parktown, had to respond to only two questions during the hour-long question and answer session.

The three were given an opportunity to outline their parties' political policies before facing a barrage of questions from pupils, who criticised the CP's homelands policy and the NP's "supposed mandate" in the election. — Staff Reporter.

Star 19/9/89 304A

White attitudes in Boksburg revealed

Support shown for single municipality

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Most white people in Boksburg want the apartheid town to have a single multiracial municipality which would include the coloured community of Reiger Park.

This was revealed in a recently conducted survey of white attitudes in the town notorious for petty apartheid measures reintroduced by the Conservative Party-controlled municipality.

The study was conducted on behalf of the American Chambers of Commerce.

Almost 59 percent of the 350 respondents were in favour of a single municipality.

Of those, 43 percent motivated their stance by saying there should be no taxation without representation, while almost 15 percent said an integrated CBD would improve race relations. About 11 percent thought the protracted consumer boycott would be lifted if an open CBD was established.

Another significant finding was that 76 percent of whites were in favour of a multiracial central business district.

While 88 percent of the 50 businessmen canvassed favoured an open CBD, 86 percent of National Party supporters and 49 percent of CP supporters wanted a multiracial CBD.

Analysing the findings, Wits political science lecturer Dr Philip Frankel said despite these revelations, the study had confirmed the "strong racial feelings" in the town.

Identity

For example, 57 percent of respondents thought separate amenities were crucial for protecting white identity while 72 percent believed desegregation of public amenities would result in black swamping.

Although almost 58 percent of respondents were in favour of open sports facilities and 54 percent favoured open libraries, about 70 percent opposed integrated schools and residential areas.

Other significant findings:

- More than 60 percent felt race relations had deteriorated.
- About 59 percent of respondents said the Group Areas Act played an important part in preserving white identity. However, many people would accept its abolition if standards were maintained.
- Only 8 percent thought the consumer boycott was instigated by agitators. About 56 percent said it was sparked by the human insult of petty apartheid.

Commented Dr Frankel: "There seems to be a widespread illusion that the boycott would be over once public facilities are desegregated. Most people don't understand that the boycott is part of the on-going struggle against apartheid and they underestimate the intensity of the feelings against the CP-controlled municipality."

Wim de Villiers – a man of power and drive

Star 19/9/89 (B) 304A

By ESMARE VAN DER MERWE,
Political Reporter

Renowned businessman Dr Wim de Villiers has finally entered politics, in the capacity of nominated MP and Minister for Administration and Privatisation.

But the man, who says he is no politician, has been doing a tremendous behind-the-scenes job as the Government's privatisation guru over the past few years.

His appointment to the Cabinet came as a welcome surprise to political observers and the business community for it is the clearest indication yet that the new F W de Klerk government is serious about decreasing government stakes in the economy.

The task of successfully putting some State operations into private hands and streamlining others will rest firmly on the shoulders of the 68-year-old retired businessman.

He has also set himself the goals of strengthening private enterprise and, in co-operation with other Cabinet Ministers responsible for economic portfolios, to improve systems of co-ordination, monitoring and financial management.

"I am looking forward to co-operating with the various government departments and the business community to get priorities right and to co-ordinate them."

His new status is undoubtedly a personal triumph for the man who took early retirement in 1982 as executive chairman of the mining giant Gencor.

At the time, he cited "sustained personal hostility" by Dr Andreas Wassenaar, then outgoing chairman of Sanlam, as one reason for his decision. His resignation was a casualty of a protracted battle for control of Gencor between Sanlam and Rembrandt.

Rembrandt boss Dr Anton Rupert at the time labelled Dr de Villiers's shock resignation as "the bleakest day in the history of Afrikaans business", and claimed that Dr Wassenaar had planned to "eliminate" Dr de Villiers. Dr Wassenaar denied the claims.

Democratic Party co-leader and former business executive Dr Zach de Beer says: "He is a man of willpower and drive. He has a reputation of getting things done. If he can make the civil service more efficient it will be welcomed."

In 1983, Pieter Johannes de Villiers entered a new phase in his long and successful career when he was appointed chairman of the commission of inquiry into Eskom.

This was followed by others, including the inquiry into the SA Transport Services, the one-man investigation into the Post and Telecommunications Services and, at present, an inquiry into the country's health services.

Topping his appointment to the boards of directors of many companies was his appointment in 1986 as special government adviser on privatisation.

Born in the Free State town of Jacobsdal in 1921, Dr de Villiers holds doctorates in engineering and has an outstanding record as an entrepreneur and business administrator.

After graduating from the University of Cape Town, he worked as an engineer at a power station in Pretoria. He joined Anglo American in 1950, and in the same year was sent to Zambia where he became manager of the giant Rhokana Copper Mine.

There he concluded that Africa's limitation on growth was a shortage of management and skills which prompted him to launch investigations into management structures.

In 1965 he became managing director of LTA Engineering, and played a leading role in the formation of the consortium which built the Cahora Bassa Dam.

In 1969 he joined Sanlam as an industrial adviser, and in 1970 he joined Gencor as deputy managing director. A year later he was made managing director and subsequently became executive chairman.

Also in 1969, Dr de Villiers was made a director of Atlas Aircraft Corporation at the invitation of then Defence Minister Mr P W Botha.

He was chairman of Atlas from 1977 to 1978 and also obtained extensive knowledge of Armscor as a director from 1983 to 1987.

Public acknowledgement of his expertise include the *Financial Mail's* Man of the Year Award in 1980, honorary doctorates from the University of Stellenbosch and Rand Afrikaans University, and the State President's Decoration for Meritorious Service.

ARGUS 19/9/89 (3048)

Rina won't skirt her duties

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. A former Tukkie has become South Africa's "Iron Lady" with her appointment as the first woman in the Cabinet.

However, Dr Rina Venter, 51, MP for Innesdal and Minister of Health and Population Development in President-elect Mr F W de Klerk's team, is wary of being cast as a role model.

"Many people have said I have struck a great blow for women," she said in the garden on the family property at Clubview yesterday.

"I had to accept that because I was a woman my appointment would create more of a public stir. I hope the President did not appoint me only because I'm a woman — that would be reverse racism!"

Tired but well-groomed after a victory celebration in her constituency the night before, she said the news of her appointment had been "a big surprise".

Her expression was determined as she warned that "a few big changes" were in the offing — but she declined to give details as she needed to "inspect the ground first".

Dr Venter's work will be cut out for her: she inherits an Aids problem, a nursing crisis and a population explosion. However, she is confident that her experience of almost 30 years' as a social worker will equip her for the job.

She is undaunted by the demanding lifestyle of a cabinet minister: "I've got a lot of experience of parliament and I'm used to jetting around — but there's no more time to be a housewife."

She is determined that her cabinet duties should not divorce her from her responsibilities in her constituency.

"Walking the streets and pounding on doors got me into the cabinet and I'm going to stay in touch with voters — they must stay informed."

Born in Krugersdorp, she matriculated at Carletonville High School and completed degrees in social work at the University of Pretoria.

She is married to Dr Hannes Venter — "he's a farmer and has no interest in these things'. They have two sons, Adriaan, 23, and Dick, 18.



Picture: WALTER PISO

IRON LADY: The first woman to serve in a South African Cabinet, Dr Rina Venter, in a relaxed mood.

FB/Day 20/9/89

Call for West to interact with SA

3041

RIAAN SMIT

AN APPROACH of active involvement with SA by Western countries could have remarkable effects, SA Foundation director-general Kurt von Schirnding said in Basel, Switzerland, last week.

In a speech to the Swiss Study Group for southern Africa, Von Schirnding said strategies of punitive sanctions outside any framework of interaction with the country being sanctioned were "woefully inept". He suggested two areas in which "a very fruitful interaction" with SA could be possible.

In the area of international credit and development finance, SA's interest in external capital created an opportunity to establish a forum for debating development projects within SA and southern Africa.

The second area for involvement could be the facilitation of multi-party talks, involving spokesman for all SA's political groupings, he said.

"Most importantly, perhaps, such multi-party talks should not be structured as once-off events. They should allow for a process in which the SA government and its opponents can prepare proposals for debate."

US 'task force' to negotiate on SA

B'Day 20/9/89

30kA

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — House majority leader Tom Foley has asked Congressman Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Africa subcommittee, to form a bipartisan congressional task force on SA.

Though informal, the group will be responsible for negotiating with the administration on a compromise SA policy, House staff members said. It is expected to have around 25 members.

Depending on the outcome of the negotiations, it will draw up recommendations for legislative action in the new year.

Some congressional sources expressed scepticism over how bipartisan the group would be if Wolper, Congress's most ardent proponent of new sanctions, was to be the group's chairman.

Wolpe has said that he expects negotiations with Secretary of State James Baker to be completed next month following the release of the president's annual report on SA mandated by the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

He has also indicated that he is prepared to give President-elect F W de Klerk a five- to six-month period of grace before pushing for new sanctions.

□ Sapa-AP reports that the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday endorsed the nomination of Edward Perkins, the former US ambassador to SA, as director general of the US Foreign Service.

Heunis 'given' sea property for R10



Mr Heunis

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE former Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has been given a plot at a seaside resort near Walvis Bay for R10.

The 280-square-metre plot at Langstrand was made available to Mr Heunis at a nominal price by Walvis Bay Town Council in recognition for the service and co-operation he gave the area during his term of office.

Mr Heunis would not say last night whether he had accepted the offer.

A local newspaper, the Namib Times, reported that Mr Heunis "bought Erf number 66 at Langstrand for an amount of R10".

According to the newspaper, Mr Heunis handed over a R10 note to the mayor of Walvis Bay, Mrs H E M Deissler, in exchange for the plot at a reception organised in his honour last month.

The reception was organised to say goodbye to Mr Heunis and his wife.

The report also quoted the Town Clerk of Walvis Bay, Mr Jan Wilken, as saying that, "it had been decided to make this property available to Mr Heunis at a nominal price in view of the fact that during his term of office as minister he had provided R10 million to develop the Langstrand and Dolfynpark recreation resorts, north of Walvis Bay".

The town council minutes confirmed the deal while the deputy editor of the Namib Times said

To page 2

From page 1

Heunis

his report was accurate.

But last night an irate Mr Heunis said: "I have signed no legal documents to acquire a property.

"Transfer documents have to be signed for a property to be sold."

Mr Heunis warned the Cape Times to establish what "the true legal facts are", but declined to elaborate.

The plot, which is not directly on the beachfront at Langstrand, is believed to be worth between R10 000 and R15 000 on the open market.

Mr Heunis's plot is one of the first 40 to be sold in the prestige development. Further plots are to be developed in the future.

by his legal
emboldened
t from inves-

snobbishness and elitist
commercial logic, McAdam disclosed
that the BOE had rejected earlier over-

As a result of their
results, McAdam says



Meiring frank in Soviet interview

81 Pay 2019/189

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The state of emergency should be abolished in the shortest possible time and SA had to say goodbye to apartheid, Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring has told a Soviet publication.

The interview, which was conducted by Tass correspondent A Korzun and Gostelradio (State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting) correspondent A Sokolov, was held in Cape Town while Meiring was deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The interview has been republished in the latest issue of Soviet Revue, which is produced by the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellebosch.

In it, Meiring said: "We have to say goodbye to apartheid.

"We should reform the country. And we are ready to share the authority and material values of the country.

"We are very sincere in our efforts. But we need a bit of help and also — sympathy.

(304A)

Violence

"Sanctions and the denial of investments hinder us very much in the conduct of reforms."

The government was forced to introduce the state of emergency, including Press restrictions, in 1986 because it could no longer reconcile itself with the level of violence.

"We want reforms. But this requires a calm situation.

"From the momemt the state of emergency was introduced, disturbances decreased, literally speaking, from 100 to 5%."

He was then asked why, if this was the case, the state of emergency was not abolished.

Meiring replied: "I agree with you.

"I think the government will abolish it in the shortest possible time."

Although he personally wanted the emergency to be lifted, from all appearances it would not be sensible to do so before the elections, which required a calm situation.

Meiring also said the problems of SA could only be resolved through negotiations and could not be approached with weapons.

The TOWN COUNCIL OF

(Country price: 60c — 53c + 7c GST)

All eyes on FW today

Cape Times 20/9/89

30kA



Mr F W de Klerk

WORLD interest will focus on Mr F W de Klerk today when he delivers his first presidential address to the country.

He is expected to spell out his vision and philosophy for his government's five-year term.

The inauguration of South Africa's second executive state president and his "state of the nation" address will be transmitted live on TV1 from 9.50am till noon.

The government moved last night to damp down expectations that Mr De Klerk would make a major announcement, saying it was "unrealistic" to expect anything as specific as the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela or the ending of the state of emergency.

Instead, a senior spokesman said, the president could be expected to set the tone for future negotiations and to recommit his government to creating an environment in which talks about a new SA could take place.

The spokesman said the government could begin seriously to consider its options on negotiations only once cabinet ministers had had an opportunity to get their teeth into their new portfolios.

Action to free long-term political prisoners like Mr Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu would be linked to attempts at getting an "Indaba" going as well as steps to adjust or end the state of emergency.

Given the time it would take ministers to get on top of their new portfolios, these steps could only seriously be expected in the new year.

"We are not going to come up with hare-brained isolated actions. We want something that is long term and can stand on its feet."

The spokesman said, however, that there might be important shifts in emphasis in the speech, particularly in regard to the fate of long-term political prisoners.

Sapa reports that the Union Buildings and the Universiteitsoord Dutch Reformed Church were a hive of activity yesterday as workmen and officials put the finishing touches to preparations for the inauguration.

Provision is being made for about 1 500 people to witness the ceremony in the church in Hillcrest, Pretoria.

It is to be conducted by an old friend of the De Klerk couple, Dr P W Bingle.

A 21-gun salute and a flypast will greet Mr De Klerk's arrival at the Union Buildings after the church ceremony.

Seating is being provided for 3 500 dignitaries, members of the public and the local and international media.

In the afternoon the new president will attend a lunch hosted by the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Danie Hough, and he will also receive foreign ambassadors.

Mr De Klerk's cabinet is to be sworn in at 9am tomorrow.

● Another meeting between Mr De Klerk and the Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, was not on the cards "at the moment", a spokesman for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Some follow-up work from the meeting between the two leaders on August 28 still had to be done. Dr Kaunda had indicated at the talks that he would report back to Mr De Klerk on this week's talks in Kinshasa on the Angolan peace initiative, the spokesman, Mr Pieter Swanepoel, said

The ministry was approached for comment after a report that Dr Kaunda would like another meeting with Mr De Klerk "as soon as possible".

After the August talks, Dr Kaunda delivered a blistering attack on Mr De Klerk and his government at the summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade

He dismissed the recent South African election and said: "Those who are the loudest in saying 'wait for the racists to change for the better' are the same who did not wait for Hitler to change for the better" — Own Correspondent, Political Staff and Sapa

Dr Venter planning 'a few big changes'

Star 20/9/87

304A

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Own Correspondent

A Pretoria woman and former Tukkie has become South Africa's own "Iron Lady".

Dr Rina Venter (51), MP for Innesdal, is the first woman to serve in the Cabinet.

She will take her place as Minister of Health and Population Development in President-elect Mr F W de Klerk's new team which was announced at the weekend.

But she is careful not be cast as a female role to model.

'GREAT BLOW'

"Many people said I have struck a great blow for women," she said in the garden of the family plot in Clubview this week.

"I had to accept that because I'm a woman my appointment would create more of a public stir.

"But I hope the President did not appoint me only because I'm a woman — that would be reverse sexism!"

Obviously tired, but well-groomed after a victory celebration in her constituency, she said the news of her appointment to the Cabinet had come as "a big surprise".

But there was a determined set to her mouth as she warned of "a few big changes"

But she declined to elaborate as she needed to "inspect the ground first".



The first woman to serve in a South African Cabinet, Dr Rina Venter, in a relaxed mood in the garden of her Clubview home with family pet Terry.

Dr Venter won't be idle — she inherits an Aids problem, a nursing crisis and a population explosion which will determine the quality of our future.

But she is confident that nearly 30 years' experience as a social worker qualifies her for the job.

Dr Venter did not seem unduly concerned by the demanding lifestyle of a Cabinet Minister.

"I've got a lot of experience of Parliament and I'm used to jetting around, but there's no more time to be a housewife."

POUNDING DOORS

And she is determined Cabinet duties will not divorce her from her responsibilities in her home constituency of Innesdal.

"Walking the streets and pounding on doors got me into the Cabinet and I'm going to stay in touch with voters — they must remain informed," she said.

Born in Krugersdorp, she matriculated at Carletonville High School and obtained degrees in social work at the University of Pretoria.

She is married to Hannes Venter — "he's a farmer and has no interest in these (political) things" — and they have two sons, Adriaan (23) and Dick (18).

Sad staff farewells as PW departed

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

FORMER President P W Botha's staff at Tuynhuys has dispersed.

A new team of President's men is taking over as the new President, Mr F W de Klerk is sworn in today, with the notable exception of Dr Jannie Roux, who is remaining as secretary-general.

Mr Botha's former private secretary, Captain Ters Ehlers, is returning to the navy, but has been seconded to Mr Botha until the end of the year to help with correspondence he is still receiving and with sorting out his documents. His former Press liaison officer, Mr Jack Viviers, has returned to journalism in the Cape Town office of the Sunday newspaper Rapport.

(Turn to page 3,col 8)

P W staff's sad goodbyes

(Continued from page 1)

The farewells for the former president were short and sad, according to members of his old staff. This was due to his sudden departure after his resignation on August 14 .

By then the office staff at Tuynhuys had already been reduced as it was known he would be leaving after the general election.

On August 15 when Mr Botha came back to clear out his office he called the staff in to say farewell.

He thanked them for their work and their loyalty and wished them well. No one else said anything. According to a staff member it was a deeply emotional occasion. There were no presents or presentations.

Mr Botha stayed on at Westbrooke, the official residence in Rondebosch, until the packing of his personal belongings was completed.

He finally left for his private home at the Wilderness on September 11.

STAFF PARTY

At Westbrooke the staff organised a party for the early evening of September 7 where, over a few glasses of wine, they said goodbye.

Mr and Mrs Botha thanked them warmly. The controller of the household, Mr J T Reinders, who had been with them for more than 10 years — since Mr Botha became Prime Minister — spoke on behalf of the staff. There were no presentations.

Mr Botha is said to be very much "on the go" at his Wilderness home, organising his study and helping to sort out his documents and memorabilia. Some of his former staff visit him there.

Star 28/9/89

304A

Vision needed for future - DP

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

Urbanisation was the key issue of the future with enormous political, social and economic implications which Johannesburg's management committee would have to approach with vision instead of rhetoric, said Mr Ian Davidson in his maiden speech as leader of the Democratic Party in the city council last night.

Quantum leap

"With the population of the PWV area set to increase from 34 million to 60 million by the year 2010 (over 80 percent of these people being black), it requires a quantum leap in the way in which we plan our cities," he said.

It was vital to ensure that the economic growth which was generated would be sufficient to establish and maintain jobs, while the political implications included the need to build an inclusive, non-racial democracy, he said.

"We have entered a new era, old agendas have been torn up, we have new political leaders and old political allegiances are dissolving," Mr Davidson said.

What was now required was leadership to give substance to formulate plans and implement a programme of action.

"Time spent debating in council whether a black person could ride in a bus or swim in a pool is time misspent.

"What is more important is the breakdown of health services in Soweto," he said.

Mr Davidson urged that financial confidence in the city be retained by better management.

It was important to plan for both the informal and informal sectors, to provide informal setlements with a sound base to uplift.

If the management committee supplied real leadership in addressing these matters, the DP would be right there alongside it, he said.

● The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act went nowhere towards meeting the challenges of urbanisation, said Mr Davidson.

Condemning the delegation of powers to the town clerk to have squatter shacks demolished, he insisted the responsibility should be handled by a committee, not an individual.



Mr Tony Leon ... architect of Progressive Federal Party's revival

'DP polled most votes in Johannesburg area'

The Democratic Party polled most votes in Johannesburg in the recent general election despite National Party claims that the opposition party would become irrelevant, said Mr Ian Davidson, DP council leader.

"One of the main architects of the revival of the Progressive Federal Party was undoubtedly Tony Leon.

"The PFP was virtually down and out when he set about welding it into a coherent body. That spirit generated by Leon swept throughout the party not only in Johannesburg but in Cape Town and Durban," he added.

FW's new vision

The verbatim speech of the new State President, Mr F W DE KLERK, after his inauguration in Pretoria today

DBus 20/9/89 3047

"IN my first public address after my election as leader of the National Party I made the following statement:

"Our goal is a new South Africa, a totally changed South Africa; a South Africa which has rid itself of the antagonisms of the past; a South Africa free of domination or oppression in whatever form; a South Africa within which the democratic forces — all reasonable people — align themselves behind mutually acceptable goals and against radicalism, irrespective of where it comes from".

"In this, my first public address after my inauguration as State President, I repeat that statement. This time I do so, not in behalf of a party, but on behalf of the new, lawfully constituted government of the Republic of South Africa, with a clear mandate for reform and renewal.

"Executing this mandate is our highest priority. The new government will be installed tomorrow. It will start working immediately on the details of practical steps aimed at reaching our objectives. I therefore do not deem it advisable to elaborate today on miscellaneous details.

Mandate

"What is important today is that I commit myself and the Government to the practical and expeditious execution of our mandate. I do so with conviction.

"We are determined to turn our words into action. Considerable preparatory work has been done and we fully appreciate the urgency of prompt progress in all fields. We shall pursue that without being guilty of rash or thoughtless action.

"We accept that time is of the essence and we are committed to visible evolutionary progress in various fields. This we will endeavour to attain within the framework of the principles of our mandate.

Expectations

"I am aware that we have raised certain expectations during the past months. We intend to live up to them, because we believe in what we advocate.

entire South African population with great challenges.

"Progress on the road of constitutional reform, to which all sensible South Africans look forward, does not depend only on the government and myself. Likewise, the government is not the only determining factor in our quest for an increased rate of economic growth and improved international relations.

"However, it can be rightly expected of us to take the lead and to provide guidance and initiative. We do not flinch from this. After all, we accepted the challenge of leading the way on the road of renewal.

Players

"The other side of the coin, however, is the attitude of reactions of other players regarding the different focal points where progress is so sorely needed.

"That is why I want to plead today for a new spirit and approach in our fatherland.

"For years progress was hampered by, among others, lack of co-operation, suspicion and mistrust. And, as critics of the government would surely want to allege, also by actions and/or failures on the side of the government.

"I do not want to argue about cause and effect on this occasion. We shall not succeed in getting a new South Africa off the ground with accusations and reproaches. An argument about who erred where and when is a dead end. It achieves nothing.

Violence

"Protest regarding past injustice or alleged injustice does not bring us closer to solutions either. Nor do unrest and violence.

"There is but one way to peace, to justice for all: That is the way of reconciliation; of together seeking mutually acceptable solutions; of together discussing what the new South Africa should look like; of constitutional negotiation with a view to a permanent understanding; of participating in a balanced economic plan that will ensure growth and break the

in that the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress, will forever be held against us.

"History has thrust upon the leadership of this country the tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of our peoples, can do it.

Speeches

"The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred around us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or fail.

"It will not be easy. Fine words, eloquent speeches, and stirring appeals will not cause peace to descend upon us. No, much more will be needed from all sides.

"I wish today to commit myself and the new govenrment to an active effort on our part to remove the actual and imagined obstacles on the road to peace and understanding.

Promises

"Firstly, I should like to convert election promises into definite government commitments. During the term of the new government we shall concentrate especially on five crucial areas:

"□ 1. We shall set everything in motion to bridge the deep gulf of mistrust, suspicion and fear between South Africans.

"The time has come for unity within our diversity to take form. A broad national consensus must be built up around the core values which the large majority of South Africans already share with one another. Unification and co-operation, with the maintenance of security, is the recipe for the future. We are going to work out that recipe with all leaders from all communities.

Attention

"□ 2. The negotiation process will, from the start, receive incisive attention.

"□ 3. We are going to open the door to prosperity and economic growth.

"We shall do this by breaking out of the international

"We shall not permit the peace process to be disrupted by violence and anarchy.

"I believe that in this manner we will break out of the vicious circle of stagnation, distrust, division, tension and conflict and make a breakthrough to a totally new South Africa.

"Furthermore, we shall also take certain initiatives with regard to exactly those matters which so frequently are raised as obstacles by opponent of the government. We shall do this because we believe civilised norms to demand this, because it is in South Africa's best interest, and not because we buckle to pressure.

"We shall work urgently on proposals with regard to the handling of discriminatory legislation. The continued removal of discrimination remains an important objective.

"We shall work just as urgently on the formulation of alternative methods of protecting group and minority rights in a non-discriminatory manner. This includes urgent attention to the place and role of a Human Rights Bill and constitutional methods to eliminate domination.

Appropriate

"The process of the release of security prisoners, which was started by my predecessor, will be continued. In each case the test will still be whether it would be appropriate on the basis of all the relevant circumstances; that proper order should not be threatened and that the process of peaceful solutions be promoted.

"By the strict, but fair, maintenance of law and order, together with the implementation of our action plan, we shall try to help create a climate which will make it possible to lift the state of emergency or, at least, to gradually move away from it.

"In Southern Africa the Republic of South Africa is willing to expand the constructive role that it is already playing in this region. On the basis of good neighbourliness, non-intervention and healthy co-operation, Southern Africa can enter into a new era of stability and prosperity.

Argus 20/09/89

204 A

"I am, however, also aware of other unreasonable expectations which have been aroused. In many cases this was done benevolently; in others, less so.

"While we are quite prepared to be tested against our undertakings, we cannot accept responsibility for overenthusiastic or even twisted versions of our policy.

"Before turning to the future, I wish to pay homage to my predecessor. He dedicated a lifetime of loyal service to South Africa.

"It was his unyielding courage that placed our country on the road of reform and renewal. On behalf of South Africa I would like to thank Mr and Mrs P W Botha for their great contribution over the years in the interest of South Africa.

"The mandate of September 6 placed us irrevocably on the road to a new South Africa.

"Executing this mandate will place high demands on the government. It is an extensive and complex task which rests on our shoulders. At the same time it also confronts the country as a whole with a challenge.

"It is a challenge to put behind us the bitterness of the past and to accept the reality of the present.

"It is a challenge to accept the need for change and to work for it.

"It is a challenge to turn our backs on the past and to look to the future.

"It is a challenge to accept the responsibility for the future of our children

Meiring makes Red headlines

GPL Trafs 20/9/89 (3044

Political Staff

THE state of emergency should be abolished in the shortest possible time and South Africa had to "say goodbye to apartheid", the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, has told a Soviet publication.

He also said there was no doubt that the government "understood very well" that the continuation of the apartheid system was the reason for South Africa's isolation.

The interview, conducted by Tass correspondent Mr A Korzun and Gostelradio (State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting) correspondent Mr A Sokolov, was conducted in Cape Town while Mr Meiring was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

It is believed to be the first time that an in-depth interview with a member of the South African government has been published in the Soviet media.

The interview is reproduced in the latest issue of Soviet Revue, produced by the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch.

It quotes Mr Meiring as saying: "We have to say goodbye to apartheid.

"We should reform the country. And we are ready to share the authority and material values of the country.

"We are very sincere in our efforts. But we need a bit of help and also — sympathy."

'FW will set tone for negotiations today'

(304A) B/Day 20/9/87

GOVERNMENT moved last night to damp expectations that F W de Klerk would make a major announcement when sworn in as President today, saying actions like the freeing of ANC leader Nelson Mandela could only be expected early next year.

A senior spokesman said it was also unrealistic to expect De Klerk to announce anything specific like the ending of the state of emergency.

Instead, he said, the President would set the tone for future negotiations and recommit his government to creating an environment in which talks about a new SA could take place. B/Day 20/9/87

The spokesman said government had a number of options available to pave the way for negotiations, but could only begin

MIKE ROBERTSON

to consider these once ministers had been able to "get their teeth" into their new portfolios.

Instead, action to free long-term political prisoners like Mandela and Walter Sisulu would be linked to attempts at getting an "Indaba" going as well as steps to adjust or end the state of emergency.

Given the time it would take ministers to get on top of their new portfolios, these steps could only be expected in the new year.



● DE KLERK

A government spokesman said: "What can be expected is a recommitment to enter negotiations. The speech will be a tone-setter reflecting an orientation and a spirit rather than specific new announcements."

He said shifts of emphasis would be outlined, particularly on the fate of long-term political prisoners.

Provision is being made for about 1 500 people to witness the inauguration ceremony in the Universiteitsoord Church in Hillcrest, Pretoria, from 10am.

After the service the procession will move to the amphitheatre of the Union

☐ To Page 2

FW on negotiations

B/Day 20/9/87. (304A)

☐ From Page 1

Buildings where De Klerk will address the nation.

Seating is being provided for 3 500 dignitaries, members of the public and journalists.

De Klerk's Cabinet is to be sworn in tomorrow.

☐ Our Political Staff reports that no date for the release of Mandela has yet been set, sources close to government said.

However, a spokesman for Gerrit Viljoen, who becomes government's chief negotiator for constitutional change from today, said Viljoen stood by what he said on a BBC radio programme.

Viljoen said on Radio Four the release of Mandela and others who had been sentenced for security crimes was high on government's agenda.

● Comment: Page 10

UK media scrutiny as FW takes over

De Klerk challenged on hunger strikers and political detainees

Argus 21/9/89 (3041)

Politicians give FW a chan

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Britain is watching closely as President F W de Klerk takes up the reins of leadership.

The main evening broadcasts on BBC and ITN television channels last night covered his speech and most major newspapers carried details.

In an editorial, The Times, quoting Dr Allan Boesak's remark that he would give Mr De Klerk six months, commented: "The inference one may draw is that Mr De Klerk is still in time to reach an agreed solution.

"POLITICAL NERVE"

"Having created an opportunity for himself, he now needs the political nerve to seize it — and his people must find the courage to follow him."

Times reporter Gavin Bell wrote that Mr De Klerk's most perceptive observation had come halfway through his address: "Fine words, eloquent speeches and stirring appeals will not cause peace to descend upon us. Much more will be needed from all sides."

The Financial Times's correspondent said most of the speech had been "couched in the vague terms favoured by Mr De Klerk during his election campaign, designed neither to offend those who favour accelerated reform nor to alarm those who fear change may come too quickly."

The ITN item gave the views of two people on opposite ends of the political spectrum. An Afrikaans farmer said the future of whites was "as dark as night."

A township woman was unimpressed with Mr De Klerk's pledges for a better future, saying similar promises had been made in the past.

Political Staff

"GIVE F W a chance," was the response today of politicians to President De Klerk's address to the nation after his inauguration.

Mr De Klerk appealed to the leaders and people of South Africa to "stretch out your hands and help me and the government make a breakthrough to peace."

And a number of leaders seemed ready to help.

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said: "He used the same rhetoric, but it does hold potential. Now it needs to be interpreted by F W himself.

Right tone

"Now is the time to give F W a chance. We will work with him and see to what extent we can effect a shift in National Party ideology."

Mr De Klerk mostly re-committed his Cabinet, which is being sworn in today, to negotiation and reform.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said he hoped Mr De Klerk was serious about his vision for a new South Africa "because that is the vision we want."

Dr Zac de Beer, parliamentary leader of the DP, said the party would support Mr De Klerk whenever he did anything which genuinely moved towards a more open and equal society, but not if he slipped back into group-based thinking.

The speech was "impressive and most welcome," said Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse. "If he can maintain that sincerity and dedication — not necessarily to NP policy — and translate his aspirations into reality, the next five years will be hopeful for us."

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the choice was between true freedom and self-determination and the political lie of power-sharing.

Historical lessons on the dangers of forcing races and nations together should not be ignored.

Prisoners

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said that only now would one be able to test whether Mr De Klerk, with all his good intentions, would be able to "escape his NP past with all its fundamental intellectual and ideological baggage We will be watching him closely."

A Cabinet source said there had been a softening of conditions because now political prisoners need not even commit themselves to peaceful solutions.

As long as the government felt their release would contribute to peaceful solutions, they could be released.

The Five Freedoms Forum's publicity secretary, Ms Gael Neke, said: "It worries us that all his statements are so generalised as to be almost meaningless. There are no definite actions or a timetable given.

"Increasingly, if he wants to talk to real leaders, he will have to visit them behind bars in his jails where they are being detained in fast-growing numbers."

Challenge

Staff reporter JOHN YELD writes that as the threat of a major hunger strike by emergency detainees in the Western Cape escalates, Mr De Klerk has been challenged to end the emergency and immediately release all political prisoners.

Mr Dullah Omar, United Democratic Front regional chairman and Mass Democratic Movement spokesman, yesterday called on Mr De Klerk to fulfil his election promises and warned of an "impending tragedy" as the condition of hunger striker Mr Willie Hofmeyr deteriorated rapidly and other detainees indicated they were about to go on hunger strikes.

Mr Omar told a Press conference: "One of his (Mr De Klerk's) promises was that during his presidency there would be justice for all Our experiences have told us otherwise — there are continuing detentions, and violence by those under his control has continued."

MDM spokesman Ms Cheryl Carolus said 70 Western Cape detainees had stated they would start a hunger strike unless they were released by the end of September.

The Western Cape Education Front said hunger strikes were not "publicity stunts". They were, rather, "an unfortunate decision enforced on detainees by the inhuman system of detentions and the cruel and maverick behaviour of the police."



TAKING THE SALUTE: South Africa's new President, Mr F W de Klerk, and Mrs Marike de Klerk tal during the ceremony in Pretoria.

P W's arrive late' fc

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State Preside

Do not destroy harmony – clergyman

Left and right-wing to march in Pretoria

STAR 21/9/89.

By Norman Chandler
and McKeed Kotlolo,
Pretoria Bureau

Rival political groups, particularly members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), have been asked not to "destroy racial goodwill and harmony" in marches and demonstrations in central Pretoria on Saturday.

The appeal comes from the Very Rev Robin Briggs, Anglican Dean of Pretoria and chairman of the Koinonia/Pretoria Initiative for Reconciliation.

Three marches

Fifty thousand people are expected to take to the streets in three major marches on Saturday.

About 30 000 members of the Women against Repression coalition will march to the Union Buildings, and the AWB and the Boerevryheidsbeweging (BVB) are to hold two protests at Church Square following last week's picket by 1 000 anti-apartheid demonstrators which, they say, "desecrated the *volk's* monuments".

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche earlier warned in a newspaper interview that "left-wing marchers should work out their route very carefully and not cross ours".

Government spokesmen said yesterday that permission has to be obtained for the marches.

Women against Repression say they will seek permission, while the AWB has formally approached the Ministry of Justice, which is considering the application, according to a spokesman. It is not yet clear whether the BVB has applied.

Mr Briggs said: "I am bound as a Christian to plead with the AWB organisers of Saturday's protests to avoid all behaviour and language which will destroy the racial goodwill and harmony recently established."

Other protests

The estimated 30 000 protesting women, who are members of anti-apartheid organisations, are to march from St Alban's Anglican Cathedral in Schoeman Street to the Union Buildings at 11 am. A church service will be held at 10 am.

The AWB is to protest on Church Square at 11 am and then march on police stations.

According to sources, the AWB is planning to bus in supporters from all over the country.

The protest by the BVB, a breakaway right-wing group made up of former members of the AWB, is to take place on Church Square at noon.

● An estimated 12 000 to 15 000 people of all races are to march to the Durban City Hall tomorrow in a massive show of strength against apartheid.

Themayor, Mr Derrick Watterson, said he would have nothing to do with the march. Public representatives who took part in marches did so only to "show off or curry favour", he added.

The march will be preceded by an inter-faith service at the Emmanuel Cathedral in Cathedral Road to be led by Archbishop Denis Hurley and leaders of the Muslim, Hindu and Jewish faiths.

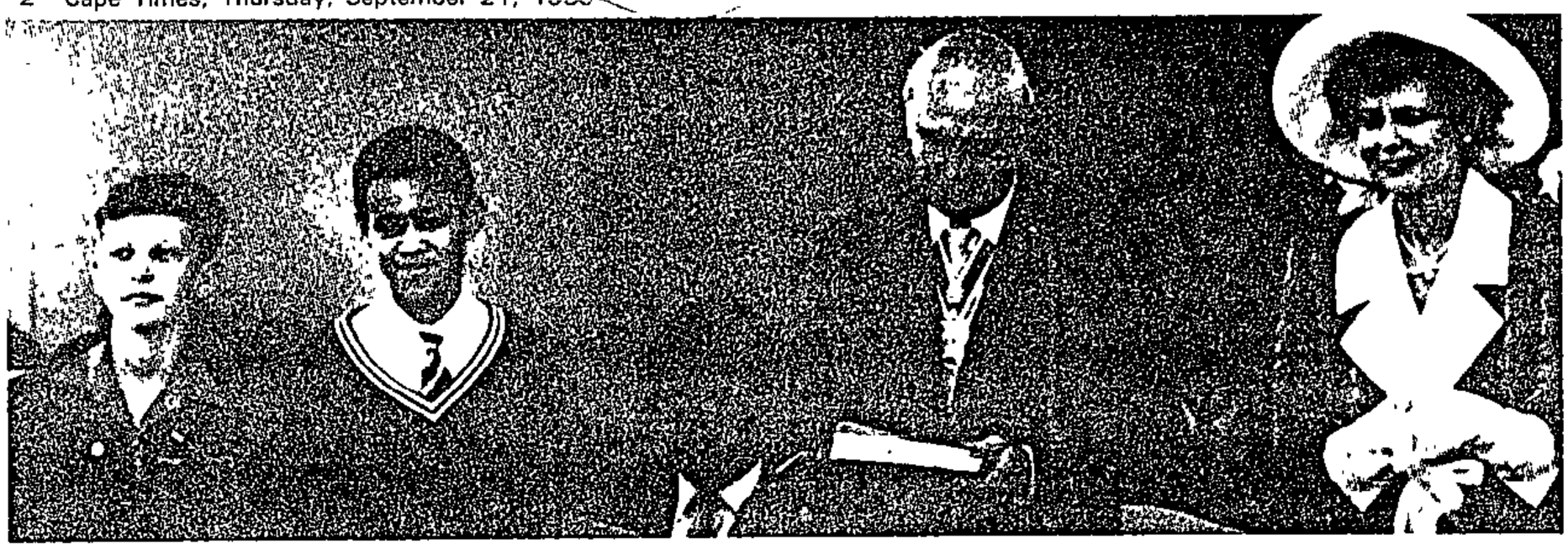
At the City Hall, leading anti-apartheid campaigners will address the gathering.

● A march will be held in Maritzburg today from the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, Church Street, at 12.30 pm.

A spokesman for the Standing for Truth campaign, organiser of the protest, said permission for the march had been granted unilaterally by a local magistrate despite the organisers' refusal to apply for permission.

● More than 800 residents of Reiger Park in Boksburg last night decided to link arms with the MDM's defiance campaign and launch their own protest march against apartheid.

The march is scheduled for Saturday morning and will begin at a local Anglican church and wind its way out of the township to Boksburg Town Hall, where a memorandum detailing the community's problems with the CP-controlled town council will be delivered.



CHILDREN'S GIFT . . . State President F W de Klerk and his wife look at a Bible given to him by schoolchildren at his inauguration in Pretoria yesterday.

Reconciliation is only path — F W

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — New State President Mr F W de Klerk has announced a five-point plan for peace and negotiated change in South Africa.

Time was of the essence, he said in his inaugural speech amid pomp and ceremony at Union Buildings yesterday, and committed himself to turning election promises into action to remove obstacles in the way of negotiation.

And, without making promises against the latest background of growing interest in the possible release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr De Klerk said the process of releasing security prisoners would continue.

"In each case the test will still be whether it would be appropriate on the basis of all the relevant circumstances: That proper order should not be threatened and that the process of peaceful solutions be promoted," said Mr De Klerk.

"By the strict but fair maintenance of law and order, together with the implementation of our action plan, we shall try to help create a climate which will lift the state of emergency, or at least gradually move away from it."

Non-interference

The government would also be prepared to exercise a policy of good-neighbourliness on the basis of non-interference in others' domestic affairs

Mr De Klerk said the recent elections had given the National Party a clear mandate for reform and renewal and while expectations had been created, he intended to live up to them.

"We are determined to turn our words into action," he said.

"Wel accept that time is of the essence and we are committed to visible evolutionary progress in various fields."

While expectations had been raised, he was not prepared to be judged on over-enthusiastic or even distorted interpretations of his policy

Paying homage to former President Mr P W Botha, who did not attend the swearing-in, Mr De Klerk said it had been Mr Botha's courage that had put the country on the road to reform and renewal.

Mr De Klerk pleaded for a new approach and attitudes in South Africa on the road ahead.

Reconciliation

"There is but one way to peace, to justice for all — that is the way of reconciliation, of together seeking mutually acceptable solutions, of together discussing what what the new South Africa should look like, of constitutional negotiation with a view to permanent understanding, of participating in a balanced economic plan that will ensure growth and break inflation, of accepting with understanding the sacrifices and adjustments that will be required of everybody."

More than anything that was needed was a commitment to peaceful accord.

The government would concentrate on five crucial areas:

- Set everything in motion to bridge the deep gulf of mistrust, suspicion and fear between all South Africans
- The negotiation process would receive "incisive attention" from the start.
- The door to prosperity and economic growth would be opened
- A new constitutional dispensation would be created in which everyone would be able to participate without domination
- Unrest, violence and terrorism would be dealt with with a firm hand.

Down with the little black hat?

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — Have the homburgs and the little black hats traditionally worn by cabinet ministers on formal occasions been consigned to the closet? At yesterday's presidential inaugural speech at the Union Buildings, ministers were all bareheaded and so was President F W de Klerk

Observers claim that this apparent break with tradition, which goes back to the once top hatted and sashed State President, would take as much courage as repealing the Group Areas Act.

They said the US presidents were seldom, if ever, seen in hats.

They point out, too, that South Africa is virtually a hatless society and that ministers would be in tune with trends if they surrendered their normal headpieces.

However, at yesterday's ceremony the hat was a hot fashion item among the womenfolk — most of whom were crowned with cartwheelers.

Solemnity as F W sworn in

PRETORIA — The overall impression at yesterday's inauguration of State President Mr F W de Klerk was one of solemnity and dignity, rather than ostentation.

There were, of course, just the necessary flashes of military and religious pomp and splendour.

A special touch was when, at the end of the ceremony, four children of different races walked up to the presidential couple and presented Mr De Klerk with a Bible and Mrs De Klerk with a bouquet.

This gesture by the youth could very well epitomise a new era of change and renewal ...

Soviet shuffle boosts reform support

MOSCOW. — Two prominent conservatives were dropped from the Soviet Union's ruling Politburo yesterday in a wide-ranging top-level reshuffle which clearly strengthens the reformist hand of Kremlin leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

The two, former KGB security police chief Mr Viktor Chebrikov and Ukrainian communist leader Mr Vladimir Shcherbitsky, were the last figures left in the senior Kremlin ranks from the now discredited rule of the late President Leonid Brezhnev

At the same time, according to an announcement by Moscow television, current KGB chairman Mr Vladimir Kryuchkov, who has often spoken in support of Mr Gorbachev's reforms, was given a flying promotion into the Politburo.

Significant

A third member of the Politburo, agricultural specialist Mr Viktor Nikonov, who had been generally regarded as a moderate Gorbachev supporter, was also dropped.

The changes, which foreign analysts said were probably the most significant in the top Kremlin ranks since Mr Gorbachev came to power 4½ years ago, were decided at a plenary session of the ruling Communist Party's Central Committee.

On Tuesday the committee approved the calling of a Party Congress in October 1990, six months earlier than scheduled, in a move that also paved the way for Mr Gorbachev to put more reformers into top leadership bodies. — Sapa-Reuter

TV TODAY

TV1

6.00-8.15. GMSA
3.00: Teleskool 3.30: Cedric the Crow
3.40: Alt — It Figures: Problem Solving
3.55: Good Strong Teeth: Injuries to Teeth
4.00. Die Vyfde Jaargety
5.00: Niklaas
5.25: Tekkies
5.57: Kompas
6.00. Die Nuus
6.15: Uit en Tuis
7.00 Honeyball Se Toere
8.00: Network
9.00: War and Remembrance
10.00: Topsport. Soccer scene, Cycling. Allied Tour in Eastern Cape — highlights; Ten-pin bowling: Rose Bowl — Kempton Park (highlights); Motorsport: Preview — Toyota Dealers rally
11.00: Late Night Movie Conquest. Starring Greta Garbo and Charles Boyer, this romantic drama relates the story of the affair between Napoleon and the young Countess Maria Walewska
00.55: Transmission Ends

TV2

4.50: Cedric the Crow. Littering.
5.00: Weston Woods. Georgie.
5.10. Music and me. The brass family
5.25: Healthy teeth and gums. Injuries to teeth.
5.30: Ezabasha/Ultsha
6.00. Transmission ends
7.00 Public affairs
7.29: News
7.57: Ingcungela zomqcungo
8.30: Sizuneza
8.57. Epilogue
6.02. Toyota To
6.31. Muzik a la
7.00: Transmiss
9.04: 21 Jump S tion. A 17 Prentiss, r parents t and claim met at a father of
9.55: Film Focu turing hap video and by radio. Dave Cha of the lat releases, hind-the- also sho

Embassy displays SA's new look

LONDON — The South African embassy here is awaiting public reaction to a window display which "tears apart the concept of apartheid" and was unveiled yesterday to coincide with the swearing-in of State President F W de Klerk in Pretoria

Previous displays in the large display windows on the ground floor of South Africa House in Trafalgar Square have been spat on and painted over with African National Congress colours

The British government was responsible for the subsequent clean-up of the diplomatic property.

The display is an exhibition of photographs and texts on Mr De Klerk's "new South Africa" theme, embassy spokesman Mr Roger Ballard-Tremeer said

Beneath several colour photographs of black and white working side-by-side in harmony, a bold heading proclaims "A NEW SOUTH AFRICA — the Realities and the Destiny" The "realities" are listed as such.

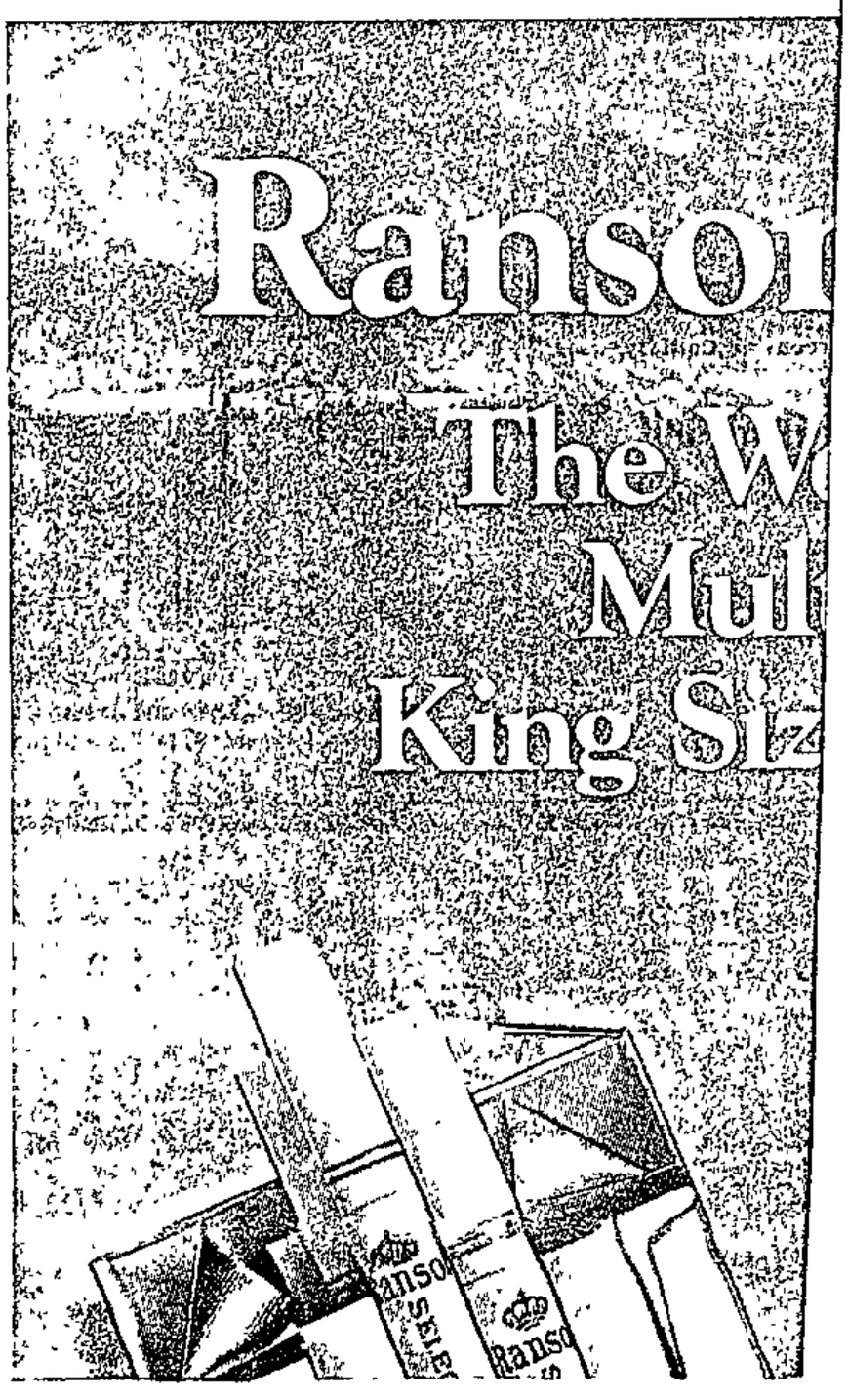
- Ours is one multi-racial nation
- As citizens of that nation we all depend on each other
- We live and work together.
- We have mutual interests.

The "destiny" of the country, the poster claims, is:

- A constitution negotiated by representatives of all South Africans guaranteeing universal suffrage, freedom of association and of assembly, the rights of all and equality before the law.
- A South Africa in which the needs and aspirations of the majority of South Africans are met without discrimination or domination in any form.

But passers-by — the few there are — pay scant attention to these hope-inspired declarations. Indeed, many seem not to know or to care what is happening in that foreign land, or to even wish to find out

No comment was available from the Anti-Apartheid Movement here. — Sapa and Own Correspondent



Star 21/9/89 304A

SA links with Europe will 'hinge on reform'

By Michael Chester

South Africa's future links with virtually the whole of western Europe might hinge on the pace of constitutional reform and improved relations with neighbours on the sub-continent, a senior diplomat in the Department of Foreign Affairs told business leaders in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Vernon Steward, acting chief director of European affairs, made it plain that also at stake was South Africa's favourable trade balance of R6 billion a year with the European Community, South Africa's largest overseas trading partner.

EXPORT OUTLOOK

He was addressing a special conference arranged by the Federated Chamber of Industries to examine South Africa's export outlook as 12 member nations of the European Community (EC) move towards a 1992 deadline for unification.

"To stave off pressure groups still seeking to impose punitive economic measures on us, we must continue along the road of constitutional reform and be able to guarantee a secure and stable future for all South Africa's people. Progress is dependent on internal reconciliation," Mr Steward said.

"Because of our European historical and cultural background, we cannot escape being judged in terms of European morality. Europe arrogates to itself the right to act as South Africa's conscience.

"We cannot afford to divorce ourselves from the mainstream of European thinking on environmental matters, poverty, famine and other issues."

Mr Steward, a former ambassador to Rome, said South Africa must in particular weigh the implications of trends inside the EC to agree on its international political stance as well as on economic matters.

"We have experienced some of the results of this increasing co-operation," he said. "The European Community's decision to boycott South African iron and steel products is but one example. While this process is still in its infancy, it is clear that in the long-term European foreign policy will replace bilateral foreign policy.

"The prospect of most of Europe speaking increasingly with a single voice can be advantageous or disadvantageous to South Africa, depending on developments here and in southern Africa."

Reacting to disclosures by Mr Wim Holtes, chief executive of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation, that South Africa's trade with its neighbours was now running at R5 billion a year, Mr Steward advocated new initiatives to trigger economic co-operation among all the nations of southern Africa to create a single common market reaching to the Sahara.

LESSONS

He said the European Community's moves towards unification carried important lessons to southern Africa on how to use economic co-operation to overcome political differences.

"I am convinced this is the path we, too, must tread in our part of the globe."

Mr Steward said South Africa's relations with the rest of Africa would be an important key to future links with the EC nations. Formidable stumbling blocks remained in the way of closer political and economic co-operation, but they could be overcome by goodwill.

World press watches closely as FW takes reins of leadership

The Star Bureau and Political Staff

LONDON — Britain is watching closely as President de Klerk takes up the reins of leadership.

Today most of the major newspapers carry detailed coverage of his inauguration speech at the Union buildings while *The Times* devotes an editorial, headlined "Olive Branch in South Africa", to the challenges facing the President.

Last night both the BBC and ITN television channels covered the speech on their main evening news broadcasts.

The Times editorial pointed to Dr Allan Boesak's statement that he would give Mr de Klerk six months to prove himself. If by then the President made the progress that he promised "we might find ourselves in a situation where one may begin to be hopeful," said Dr Boesak.

The Times said: "That may sound less than effusive, but coming as it does from a trenchant critic of Pretoria, it constitutes an encouraging response.

"The inference one may draw is that Mr de Klerk is still in time to reach an agreed solution in South Africa. Having created an opportunity for himself, he now needs the political nerve to seize it — and his people must find the courage to follow him," it concludes.

The Financial Times South African correspondent, Patti Waldmeir, said Mr de Klerk marked his inauguration "by reaffirming his general commitment to political reform while failing to offer any policy details."

● The speech — Page 15
● FW the man — Page 25

She added that the bulk of the speech was "couched in the vague terms favoured by Mr de Klerk during his election campaign, designed neither to offend those who favour accelerated reform, nor to alarm those who fear change may come too quickly".

The Times's Gavin Bell said in his coverage of the speech that perhaps Mr de Klerk's most perceptive observation came halfway through his address when he said: "Fine words, eloquent speeches, and stirring appeals will not cause peace to descend upon us. Much more will be needed from all sides."

The BBC said during its evening news broadcast that Mr de Klerk "takes off in a climate far more favourable" than when President P W Botha quit the Presidency.

ITN's coverage included two dissenting views from different ends of the political spectrum.

An Afrikaans farmer described the future of the white man in South Africa as being "as dark as night".

And a township woman was clearly not impressed with the new President's pledge of a better future, pointing out that similar promises had been made in the past.

Local reaction to Mr de Klerk's address varied from cynicism to "give him a chance".

The president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr Cassim Saloojee, said. "One would have expected De Klerk to use this occasion to announce the lifting of the emergency and to give the country a clearer indication of when political prisoners will be released. He has done nothing of the sort.

Rand Afrikaans University political scientist Professor Albert Venter said: "You won't find many people disagreeing with the sentiments expressed by Mr de Klerk. But many people will say: 'Where's the meat?'"

Pretoria political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans said: "There was nothing new. All these things have been said before."

Chancellor Helmut Kohn of West Germany said in a letter to the new State President that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela was one of the conditions for the commencement of national dialogue with all recognised leaders in South Africa and the removal of apartheid.

● To Page 3.

From first seat to 'hot' seats

F W de Klerk was about to enter Parliament. People had difficulty in placing him politically but commentators were already predicting nine years ago that he was headed for the top. **Political Correspondent ALAN DUNN** traces his career in the second of a three-part series. **VALERIE BOJE** contributed to this article.



The moment of inauguration: with his signature yesterday, F W de Klerk officially became State President, having been on the Cabinet under both John Vorster and P W Botha.

Prime Minister John Vorster had appointed the colourful MP for Vereeniging, Blaar Coetzee, ambassador to Rome in 1972 and the seat was vacant.

It had been Coetzee who had advised F W not to enter politics too young, suggesting that he make a name for himself outside Parliament first

But F W, at 36, went to Parliament. He confided to friends that this was what he had always wanted. politics was his passion

Marike then decided to surrender her professional aspirations and become a politician's wife. She tackled her new course with some verve.

In the November by-election, a five-way contest, he polled 5 271 votes in a 63,2 percent turnout. His majority was 2 078.

On February 14 1973, De Klerk delivered his maiden speech in the House of Assembly. He spoke in support of the creation of the South African Law Commission

"Our law, I believe, is one of the most precious possessions which we have ... by appointing a standing Commission it is being ensured that our law will undergo a constant process of refinement," he told his new peers

The speech won him accolades in and outside Parliament. "I really was most impressed with what he had to say," noted Mrs Cathy Taylor (UP, Wynberg) from the Opposition benches.

The early days of F W the politician saw him serving on various parliamentary select committees, as well as the Commission of Inquiry into the Publications Control Act and the Select Committee on the Liquor Amendment Bill. He soon proved himself a weighty debater.

Three years after election — he was returned to Parliament unopposed in the 1974 general election — he was appointed the NP's information officer in the Transvaal.



The next big moment for F W was in January 1978 when Prime Minister Vorster called him in to his office.

At Ig Vorster's Potchefstroom home, he described to his parents what happened. The appointment was at 4.45 pm, and John Vorster's first words were: "Yes, young man. Are your Pa and Ma still living alone out there on the farm?" The light conversation continued, then suddenly it came: Senator Johan van der Spuy intended retiring and Vorster wanted F W in the Cabinet.

He was being whisked from the back benches straight into the Cabinet.

Vorster warned De Klerk that this direct path would stir resentment — but he believed the young MP could overcome that with his affability.

On April 3 1978, De Klerk became Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, and Welfare and Pensions.

He soon had to decide whether the Post Office budget should be spent on improving the present semi-electronic system, or whether the country should convert to a full electronic telecommunications system.

After visiting Europe on a fact-finding mission, he returned to say his department would go electronic.

On the Welfare side, an important trilogy of laws were passed: the Social and Associated Workers Act, the National Welfare Act and the Collection of Funds Act.

Sport and Recreation was also alloted to him later in 1978. He handled these for about seven months and was to get them back in the National Education ministerial package in 1985

They were busy years for the young Minister He had to deal with international isolation in sport, including the French ban on a Springbok rugby tour, and drama surrounding Craven Week

It was De Klerk who indicated in April 1979 the first official approval by Government of racially mixed sport at club level.

His ability to avert a Nationalist split over the Craven Week was seen as one of the factors which later helped him win co-deputy chairmanship of the Transvaal NP under Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Responsibility for Mining and Environment Planning and Energy was given to him on June 20 1979

As Minister of Mines, he came on tough with the right-wing Mineworkers' Union which was refusing to allow black advancement on the mines. It was also in this capacity he received a standing ovation at a meeting in Brits on August 22, at which he explained the Government's moves on "consolidation, labour legislation, sport and changes in social patterns"

Dr Treurnicht, Transvaal NP leader, was re-elected at the 1981 congress Mr Fanie Botha was his senior deputy, with the two "peacemakers" — Mr Hendrik Schoeman and Dr de Klerk — the co-deputies.

It was an election year and F W beat his Herstigte Nasionale Party opponent in Vereeniging by more than 4 000 votes.

It was also a time of turbulence in the Transvaal NP, with verligte and verkrampte elements warring, leading to the split from the NP by Treurnicht and the formation of the Conservative Party.

At the time of the Treurnicht breakaway, F W was chief spokesman for the party in the Transvaal. Confidants believe he urged Dr Treurnicht, then Minister of State Administration and Statistics, not to turn brother against brother, and father against son, by leaving the NP.

On March 6, Mr de Klerk was chosen leader of the Transvaal NP.

He spoke increasingly of the need for reform, the challenge of accommodating blacks in the political dispensation. He undertook overseas trips, explaining Government policies in the US, Canada and UK and urging a "better deal" internationally.

In his personal life, the youngest of the three De Klerk children went to boarding school in 1983 and Mrs de Klerk stepped up her involvement in the NP.

In 1983, De Klerk, then Minister of Internal Affairs, met newspaper editors and agreed to hold back the despised Registration of Newspapers Amendment Act and proceed rather with the introduction of the Media Council.

A difficult moment for F W came in 1984 with the "Salem Affair" and a crackdown on news reporting because of the "sensitivity of the supply of oil to South Africa".

He was also in charge of the Public Service at that time and announced an investigation of jobs. The probe is still incomplete but public servants recently made him honorary president of their association for his work as Minister, "as a result of which the exodus from the Public Service has largely been halted".

Then came a tough but interesting time in Parliament the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages (1949) and Section 16 of the Immorality Act of 1957, which he launched through Parliament. He was described as the "man in the hot seat".



In September that year, he received a third portfolio, National Education.

In 1985, there was again speculation about a "split" between verligtes and verkramptes in the party, with Dr Treurnicht inviting F W to join the CP because of what he perceived as his rightist views.

To this F W replied that he was a "Nationalist in heart and soul" and supported P W and his reform plans.

At the opening of the Free State congress, he warned against attempts to discredit P W: "I want to say to all those trying to climb on the bandwagon to knock down P W Botha — from the Andries Treurnichts to the Ken Owens and Mulhollands — 'Hands off our leader. We stand firmly behind him. South Africa needs him.'"

On July 1 1985, De Klerk was appointed Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly and Minister of the (white) Budget.

As Education Minister, he came to receive increasing exposure. He made it clear that while he was committed to equal education, he felt "integrated education would not solve the country's pressing education problems".

In the national education budget vote of April 1986 he announced a 10-year plan to upgrade the provision of education and achieve equal educational opportunities for all.

At the time he excluded the possibility of attaining full equality in 10 years. He admitted this year in Parliament that the 10-year ambition had failed because of economic constraints.

With his Budget cap on in the House of Assembly, he announced investigations into government departments to see how privatisation could be implemented.

He also became Leader of the House of Assembly on December 1 that year. Just two months before, one opposition commentator wrote in the wake of Mr Botha's resignation as leader of the Cape NP: "Mr de Klerk is obviously the leading pretender to the Botha throne."

In the 1987 election his win in Vereeniging was greatly diminished to a 1 524-vote margin in a triangular contest.

Campus unrest was a topic raised in the debate on the national education budget in the House of Assembly in that year. De Klerk warned that the State would not hesitate to act when and where it saw fit.

In August, he announced universities would have to maintain order on campuses if they wished to avoid State subsidy cuts.

The Government imposed strict subsidy-linked regulations universities had to police students. They were dismayed, with Wits describing this as the "most serious encroachment of university autonomy".

The educational and personal tumult of 1988 were, however, a mere hors-d'oeuvre to the emotional strain that lay ahead.

Tomorrow: F W the enigma.

Move towards part-time PC

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

21/9/89 - C

A new President's Council consisting of mostly part-time members is expected to be announced by State President Mr F W de Klerk today.

It is understood that Mr de Klerk has decided to change it into a part-time body as an interim measure before it is thoroughly overhauled.

This is to save on the salary bill of President's Councillors who presently earn the same basic salary as MPs — though with far fewer perks.

Only the chairman, vice-chairman and the heads of the social and economic committees are expected to be full-time posts.

National Party sources said former Health Services Minister in the House of Assembly Ministers Council, Dr Piet Badenhorst, would be appointed chairman of the social committee and Mr Gerrit Bornman, businessman and former member of the PC, chairman of the economic committee.

The constitutional committee would be scrapped as the Government is planning to appoint a special body to investigate all possible constitutional models for a future South Africa.

The National Party has already announced that former Minister of National Health Dr Willie van Niekerk is to be its candidate for the chairmanship of the PC and Vasco MP Mr "Kleppies" Heyns, its candidate for the vice-chairmanship.

This means both are assured of these jobs.

The PC's main function is to break deadlocks between the three houses of Parliament. But it is structured so that the NP has the majority of members — and thus the final say on legislation.

NP sources say that the whole structure and functions of the PC are under review and that it will be changed during the next few years.

The PC itself has recommended that its membership be reduced from 60 to 36. And there have been suggestions that blacks should be brought on to it. The NP's five-year plan also proposes major changes to make the body more objective and apolitical.



Dr Willie van Niekerk . . . NP candidate for the chairmanship of the President's Council.

Mr De Klerk is obliged by the Constitution to re-constitute the President's Council with its full complement of 60 members within 14 days o his inauguration — which took place yesterday.

Mr De Klerk was apparently reluctant for potential PC members to make long-term commitments to serve on the council when it might be scrapped or reduced in size.

PC sources said he was also reluctant to appoint full-time PC members at the same salaries as MPs receive when the PC only works a few weeks in the year.

Parliament is to meet early next week to choose the PC members. The new council is expected to meet on September 27.

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Govt hopes to release more political prisoners, lift emergency

FW pledges a quest for peace

STAR 2/9/89.

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

New State President Mr F W de Klerk promised at his inauguration in Pretoria yesterday to continue the process of releasing political prisoners and to try to create the right political climate for lifting the state of emergency.

And in his first words in office, he called on all the leaders of South Africa to join him in "providing a message of hope" to South Africa.

He pledged himself to a "quest for peace through fairness and justice" and appealed to the leaders and people of South Africa to help him and the Government achieve it.

"Stretch out your hands. Do your bit. Together, let us build a new, just South Africa."

New approach

Mr de Klerk committed himself to a "completely new approach" to tackling the state of emergency, the imprisonment of "security" prisoners and other obstacles to negotiation.

"Discussion and negotiation between everyone who seeks peace" were the key to this approach, he said.

Setting an urgent tone, Mr de Klerk committed his new government — which will be installed today — to the "practical and expeditious execution" of its mandate to seek a "totally changed South Africa".

He said the Government would live up to the expectations which he knew had been created during the last few months. It was prepared to be tested against its undertakings but it could not accept responsiblity for unreasonable expectations, for "over-enthusiastic or even twisted versions of our policy".

He said the Government accepted the challenge to take the lead but the attitude and reaction of "other players" was also important.

"That is why I want to plead today for a new spirit and approach in our fatherland."

For years progress had been hampered by lack of co-operation, suspicion and mistrust. "And, as critics of the Government would surely want to allege, also by actions and/or failures on the side of the Government. But an argument about who erred where and when is a dead end. It achieves nothing."

Protest about past injustice would not bring solutions any closer, nor would unrest and violence.

The only way was reconciliation, seeking mutually acceptable solutions, constitutional negotiation, economic participation and accepting sacrifices.

The Government would start working immediately on practical steps aimed at reaching its objectives.

"Today is not the time to provide details."

But he said the Government would take "certain initiatives on those matters which were regarded as obstacles by the Government opponents".

Mr de Klerk spelt out the initiatives in this way:

- The Government would urgently work on proposals to remove discriminatory legislation.
- It would "just as urgently work on the formulation of alternative methods of protecting group and minority rights in a non-discriminatory manner". This would include giving urgent attention to the place and role of a Human Rights Bill and constitutional methods to eliminate discrimination.
- Mr de Klerk said he would continue the "process of releasing security prisoners", which had been started by his predecessor.

"In each case the test will still be whether it would be appropriate on the basis of all the circumstances."

- Mr de Klerk also committed himself to try to lift the state of emergency.

"By the strict, but fair, maintenance of law and order, together with the implementation of our action plan, we shall try to help create a climate which will make it possible to lift the state of emergency or, at least, to gradually move away from it."

He said the Government would undertake these initiatives "because we believe civilised norms demand this, because it is in South Africa's best interests and not because we buckle to pressure".

"On this day on which I assume the highest office of our country, I want to pledge myself to a quest for peace through fairness and justice.

"And I invite my fellow countrymen and women to join me in this quest."

Mr de Klerk said he was addressing himself especially to all the leaders of South Africa.

"All reasonable people in this country — by far the majority — anxiously await a message of hope."

"It is our responsibility as leaders in all spheres to provide that message realistically, with courage and conviction.

"If we fail in that, the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress, will for ever be held against us.

"History has thrust upon the leadership of this country the tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of confrontation.

"Only we, the leaders of our people, can do it.

"The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred on us.

"The future of southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or fail."

Mr de Klerk called on the international community to take note of what was happening in South Africa and to use its influence constructively.

"With all my limitations I am at the service of the Republic of South Africa and all her people."

● See Page 25.

Van der Walt free after 20 months' jail



Mr Hennie van der Walt

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Hennie van der Walt, 53, former deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, has been released from jail on parole after serving 20 months of an effective five-year jail term.

Mr Van der Walt was sentenced to 10 years' jail by a Potchefstroom magistrate on 15 charges of theft involving more than R800 000. Five years of the prison term was conditionally suspended. He was jailed in January last year.

He was the first South African deputy minister to be imprisoned.

At the beginning of his political career he was described as "the golden boy of the Western Transvaal, born to be a leader".

He had been head boy of the prestige Potchefstroom Gymnasium, chairman of the students' council at the University of Potchefstroom and president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond before he entered politics.

Mr Van der Walt could not be reached for an interview but is understood to be at his Potchefstroom home with his wife, Rita, considering his future.

Appeal to AWB over protest march

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Anglican Dean of Pretoria has appealed to the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging not to destroy racial harmony during its planned protest meeting on Church Square.

"In other words, please do all you can to avoid anything which will inflame racially based anger or bitterness in the crowd," Dean Robin Briggs said in a statement issued here.

Dean Briggs participated in the peaceful protest picket, organised by the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), on Church Square last Friday.

Monuments

The AWB has organised a protest meeting at the same venue on Saturday to object to the disgracing of "volk" monuments

He further appealed to the AWB not to do or say anything that would cause Afrikaners or South Africans to be ashamed.

Dean Briggs said Church Square and Paul Kruger, "with his weaknesses and strengths, belonged to all South Africans and not only to white Afrikaner Christians — otherwise he has no right to be standing at the symbolic centre of our capital city".

Much anger among white South Africans appeared to be misdirected at the presence of large numbers of blacks in the country.

"To be angry about this fact of life is to be angry at God, who placed black and white (and many others) in this land to live together in glorious harmony.

"Be angry, very angry, rather against those teachers, ministers of religion and one-eyed politicians who for years have hidden this truth from us."

Tutu 'shares' FW's vision

CAPE TIMES 21/9/89 SUBA

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk's inaugural speech has been greeted with cautious optimism by international and local leaders including Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Archbishop Tutu said from Windhoek that he hoped Mr De Klerk was serious about his vision for a new South Africa — "because that is the vision we want".

He said the recent marches in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria were an affirmation of "all people — black, white .. that we are all South Africans".

Mr De Klerk was an improvement on Mr Botha, the archbishop said, adding that he would hold the new head of state to his promise of a "new vision" for South Africa

In other reactions to the speech, the Democratic Party, the West German government and the UK government said the reformist speech was promising, but that ultimately Mr De Klerk's actions would speak louder than his words.

But Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht denounced Mr De Klerk's power-sharing ideals as a "big political lie"

INSIDE:

- FW'S FIRST SPEECH — Page 2
- NEW LEADER, NEW FASHIONS — Page 2
- 7 SP REPRIEVES ON DEATH ROW — Page 7

Addressing a throng of more than 3 000 people in front of the Union Buildings in Pretoria after his inauguration as the country's second executive State President yesterday, Mr De Klerk said that "there is only one way to peace, to justice for all. That is the way of reconciliation, of together seeking mutually acceptable solutions".

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said Mr De Klerk had "committed himself heavily to the principle of negotiation and to a society in which all would participate politically without discrimination."

"Everything now depends on the steps which De Klerk and his colleagues are going to take to deliver all this rhetoric."

The DP would lend support to any genuine moves Mr De Klerk made in the direction of a more open and peaceful society.

"But if he slips back into group-based thinking, we shall in all probability part company," Dr De Beer said.

Dr Treurnicht said that any attempts to "try and force together disparate races into one political system" would end in "disastrous conflict".

In letter of congratulation, West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl said that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela was one of the conditions for the commencement of national dialogue with all recognised leaders in SA and the removal of apartheid.

He said it was important to create the necessary conditions for dialogue — Sapa

South Africa's new first couple



NEW PRESIDENT ... South Africa's new first lady, Mrs Marike de Klerk, glances at her husband Frederick during his inauguration as president in Pretoria yesterday. The De Klerks succeeded Mr P W Botha and his wife Elize after a bitter cabinet dispute.

Picture: REUTER

P W was notable absentee

PRETORIA. — Conspicuous by his absence yesterday at Mr De Klerk's inauguration was the first incumbent of the post — Mr P W Botha

Prominent in the church and on the dais at the Union Buildings amphitheatre, however, was a former State President — before Mr Botha — Mr Marais Viljoen.

Mr Viljoen was the last ceremonial State President before the present constitution was adopted.

He sat, with his wife, immediately to Mr De Klerk's left on the dais at the amphitheatre

Mr De Klerk paid homage to Mr Botha in his speech, saying he had "dedicated a lifetime of loyal service to South Africa". — Sapa

An ambulance driver describes what really happened on election night '89

'Bodies piled up like sheep'

"I SAW them inside the ambulance — it was body on top of body. They were lying on top of each other like sheep."

A Cape Town ambulance driver, shocked by the number of people killed on election night and the handling of their bodies, has decided to risk his job to speak about what he saw, despite stringent regulations forbidding him to do so.

To protect his identity, SOUTH will not use his name.

He said there were 18 ambulances on duty on the night of September 6, all working 12-hour shifts.

"There were shooting incidents all over the Peninsula. The first people shot were two kids in Valhalla Park That was the first time I heard about bodies," the driver said.

"They were picked up and brought to an ambulance which was collecting bodies. It was one of the Mitchells Plain ambulances."

The driver said bodies were taken to Victoria, Conradie and Groote Schuur hospitals where they were certified dead on arrival.

Confusion arose over the numbers killed because Bellville ambulances also took bodies to the mortuary, he said.

"Apparently police at the mortuary couldn't keep up so they asked the hospitals to take some of the bodies

"You should have seen the sight of those people lying on top of each other. I was shocked out of my mind. You couldn't walk inside the ambulance because of the bodies The guys had covered them with blankets."

Deeply moved

The driver said he heard other drivers on the radio saying that they had also taken "dead-on-arrivals" to the hospitals

"Pink slips" used to take details of the bodies indicated that they were all "unknowns".

"The drivers were moved. It was our people. They were deeply moved," he said.

At about 3 30am on Thursday, he was told to fetch the body of a person who had been killed in Khayelitsha.

"They don't tell you the age and when I got there I saw it was a child of about six who had been shot The child's whole chest was covered in birdshot," the driver said

He said another person who was killed in Khayelitsha, a woman, was decapitated The doctor who filled out the death certificate was not prepared to look at her.

"The doctor said it would spoil his supper if he looked at her He was really shocked and said this should be publicised, it should come into the hands of the press."

He went to the mortuary later and saw the body of a six-year-old girl inside an ambulance It appeared to him that the girl had been shot with "heavy artillery"

Inside the mortuary the dead were piled up on top of each other like sheep

Children shot

The drivers had heard about one of their colleagues who had been arrested during the course of the night They downed tools until they heard from their superiors what was going to be done about him

"A lot of ambulancemen were standing around It all appeared like a nightmare to us It was unbelievable We had never seen anything worse It was our children who were being shot," said the driver

At 10 30am, he was sent to collect a man who had been shot. The man's body was covered in birdshot and he needed urgent medical treatment

"He was shot at close range His buttocks, scrotum and legs were covered in birdshot I couldn't get a vein to put up a drip for him," the driver said

"If some passing colleague had not helped me he would have died We had to put up two drips for him because we couldn't get a pulse or blood pressure

"I took him to Groote Schuur Hospital He's progressing but I don't think he'll walk normally again"

Can't keep quiet

The driver said he and his colleagues cared about their community Their ambulances were never stoned because people knew they cared.

"There was one incident in Duinefontein Road on Wednesday I stopped my ambulance and went to a marshal . I said I had a lot of people in the back who had been shot and if the ambulance was stoned it would explode and the people would die He let us pass," he said

The driver said all the ambulancemen had requested a meeting with management to ask what rights they had.

He said South Africa had not signed the Geneva Convention and the drivers' rights differed from those in other countries.

He had decided to speak out about the events on election night because many people still did not know the truth.

"It's still a nightmare for me and other people. The guys were talking about it with tears in their eyes It was unreal," he said

"We can't talk to the press. But somebody has to speak up and no-one is prepared to I can't keep quiet anymore"



ELECTION NIGHT VICTIM: Grieving relatives at the funeral of Nomthunzi Matshebelele, 5 who died of shotgun wounds on September 6

Rockman's shadow on violence trials

LAWYERS representing public violence offenders in Mitchells Plain believe that Lieutenant Gregory Rockman's condemnation of police action could influence their client's hearings.

Hundreds of teenagers have been arrested in Mitchells Plain in the past few weeks and have been charged with public violence.

Rockman publicly criticised the riot police for acting "with killer instinct .. like wild dogs" after they dispersed a crowd which had marched to the Mitchells Plain town centre.

Rockman, who had given the demonstrators 20 minutes to disperse, said the riot police had attacked the "peaceful" crowd from behind.

"They rushed at the people and started whipping them. They beat an elderly man at the terminus They didn't care whom they hit," he said.

An Anglican priest, Reverend Wilma Jacobson, was one of the people beaten by the riot police that day.

She was beaten all over her body, including her breasts, and has laid charges of assault against the police.

A Mitchells Plain lawyer representing several youths charged with public violence said Rockman's statement might have an effect on his clients' hearings.

"Obviously, we would have to subpoena him to give evidence, which is something we have not yet considered doing," he said.

"I am not sure how he will react. It is quite different making a statement in the newspapers and one under oath in a court of law.

"Whether he is prepared to stick his neck out further is a different matter."

Another lawyer said he agreed that unless Rockman was prepared to testify, there was little chance that the public violence accused would be acquitted.

"But his comments will definitely have an effect. He witnessed peaceful protest being turned into ugly violence after police arrived on the scene

"He could definitely be a strong witness for the defence."



Lt Rockman

3049

ELECTION BY NUMBERS: THE MAJOR TRENDS

Final figures

WITH 165 results known, the state of the parties in the House of Assembly is :

National Party	93
Conservative Party	39
Democratic Party	33

In the 166th and final seat, Fauresmith in the Orange Free State, where there was a "dead heat", another election is to be held.

The National Party lost 29 seats, 17 to the Conservative Party and 12 to the Democratic Party, and made no gains.

Total votes cast

A TOTAL of 2 150 169 votes were cast in the election for the House of Assembly for the respective parties as follows:

National Party	1031 566 (48%)
Conservative Party	673 079 (31%)
Democratic Party	430 199 (20%)
HNP	5 501 (under 1%)

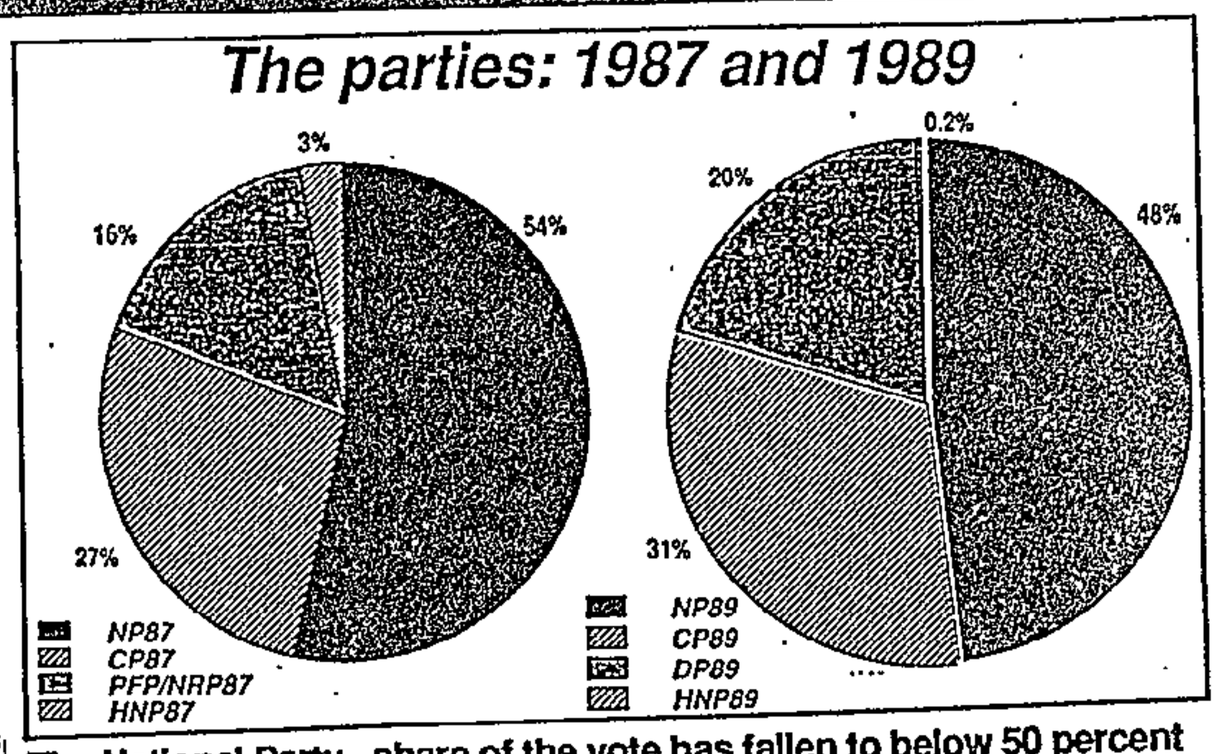
THE breakdown of this vote by province is as follows:

TRANSVAAL	**1 141 691**
National Party	*520 034 (46%)*
Conservative Party	*453 826 (40%)*
Democratic Party	*159 383.(14%)*
Herstigte Nasionale Party	*3 308.(under 1%)*
ORANGE FREE STATE	**174 096**
National Party	*88 490 (51%)*
Conservative Party	*80 068 (46%)*
Democratic Party	*4 382 (3%)*
NATAL	**244 417**
National Party	*107 077 (44%)*
Conservative Party	*32 809 (13%)*
Democratic Party	*103 547 (42%)*
CAPE	**589 965**
National Party	*315 956 (54%)*
Conservative Party	*106 376 (18%)*
Democratic Party	*162 887 (28%)*

The distribution of House of Assembly seats by province is as follows:

	Nat	CP	DP
Transvaal	*34*	*31*	*11*
OFS	*7*	*6*	*0*
Natal	*10*	*0*	*10*
Cape	*42*	*2*	*12*
TOTAL	*93*	*39*	*33*

The parties: 1987 and 1989



The National Party share of the vote has fallen to below 50 percent but both the Conservative Party and the Democratic increased their share of the vote significantly. The HNP almost ceased to exist.

Six seats were taken with a majority of under 100:

Seat	Majority	Party
Gezina	*7*	*National*
Vereeniging	*5*	*National*
Virginia	*47*	*National*
Meyerton	*7*	*Conservative*
Ladybrand	*70*	*Conservative*
Sasolburg	*22*	*Conservative*

Lost deposits

A TOTAL of 53 candidates lost their deposits in the House of Assembly elections:

National Party	1
Conservative Party	8
Democratic Party	19
Herstigte Nasionale Party	20
Independents	5

Detentions this week

SINCE the beginning of this week, 739 people have been arrested. On election day, a total of 252 people were in detention under emergency regulations, 20 of them under the age of 18:

PWV	140
Northern Transvaal	10
Western Transvaal	3
Eastern Transvaal	1
Natal	6
Northern Cape	6
Eastern Cape	7
Western Cape	79

The following people have been detained since the beginning of this week:

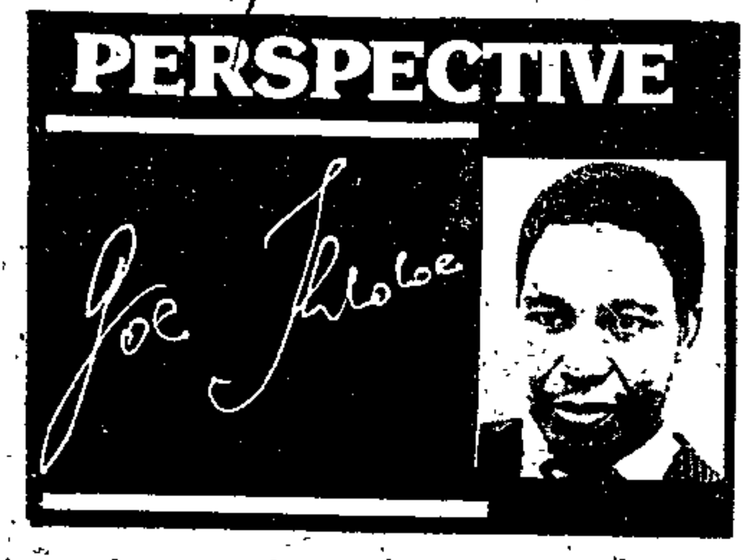
Lebahang Mahata (Southern Transvaal Youth Congress)
Fikile S Majola (Southern Transvaal Youth Congress)
Sizwe Mbi (Cosatu, Northern Cape)
Oupa J Modeko (Southern Transvaal Youth Congress)
Arthur Mohalie (NUM, Northern Cape)
Sithembiso Radebe (Southern Transvaal Youth Congress)
Obed Bapela (Alexandra Action Committee)
Paul Tshabalala (Alexandra Action Committee)
Phineas Koki (Western Transvaal)

The following meetings were banned during election week:

- A South African Health Workers Congress (Sahwco) meeting in Soweto on Sunday;
- A Sahwco meeting scheduled for Wednesday lunchtime and all other meetings under the banner "Defy Apartheid Elections";
- A meeting planned for Monday at the University of Natal;
- All meetings under the auspices of the "United Front" due to take place in the Cape Peninsula on September 6 of 7. This included a ban on protest gatherings at the University of Cape Town's Jameson Hall and on meetings in Cape Town, Kuils River, Bellville, Simonstown, Goodwood and Wynberg.

Progress: or is FW horsing around?

PERSPECTIVE



Mr FW de Klerk is now firmly in the saddle and everybody is watching him as he spurs his horse to move.

Speculation about where he intends going is mounting. A piece amid the miles of copy on his inauguration in the newspapers yesterday morning gave us a very clear signal of his intentions.

It mentioned that the emergency regulations affecting the Press might be the first to be lifted.

It envisaged a programme where some regulations were lifted, and then possibly a state where the emergency would remain in force but the regulations simply cease to be applied.

This makes interesting reading for newspapermen, who live by a bible called Kelsey Stuart's *The Newspaperman's Guide to the Law*, a document of more than 300 pages.

Measure

This book is a measure of the gags on the media in this country. It starts by looking at the registration of newspapers and indicates that the Minister of Home Affairs may require a deposit of up to R40 000 before a newspaper is registered. It goes right up to the circumstances when a newsman may be required to disclose the sources of his information.

The emergency regulations that affect the media are a mere appendix to the book. And there's the rub.

It is very easy for De Klerk to take us to the period before 1985 and thus get the whole world excited about the progress that he is making towards reform.

That is in fact occurring now: the bulk of the charges that newspaper editors, including my boss, are facing now are not under the emergency regulations. The police have gone back to their normal arsenal of the Internal Security Act, the Police Act, the Prisons Act, etc.

Truth is that even without the emergency regulations, reporting news in this country is still like crawling through a mine field.

There is no freedom of expression, the foundation of democracy.

De Klerk is not about to remove the mines and to allow the media and the public to get to the truth unharmed. No, sir. He is interested only in the public relations points that he might score.

Look at the now-famous protest marches in Cape Town and Johannesburg. De Klerk was again scoring points, appearing to be very magnanimous. But the organisers of those marches had high profiles - the Tutus, Boesaks, Olivers.

Look at what happens to other marches: they must comply with the law by seeking permission from a magistrate.

Sorry, justice cannot be meted out in slices of arbitrary concessions.

The window at the South African embassy in London tells the whole story of South Africa today.

There is an exhibition of photographs and text on De Klerk's "New South Africa".

An embassy spokesman said: "It contains photographs of black and white South Africans living and working together and a text which lays stress on the South African Government's commitment to equality and non-discrimination.

It is all fancy window dressing. The message should not be directed at people outside this country. The millions of blacks here have to be convinced by deeds that discrimination is finally ending.

We have to see justice, not just hear it as a mere word.

Splinter group is formed

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA - A right-wing extra-parliamentary organisation has decided not to participate in the protests organised by the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging and the Boere Vryheidsbeweging because of disunity between the two movements.

The decision by the Magaksie Afrikanernasionalisme (Man) - an organisation formed after last Friday's anti-apartheid protest picket on Church Square - follows that of the Conservative Party, which said it did not need "an ANC or UDF recipe for protest".

THE DE KLERK CABINET (304A)

A little leaner Fmail

F W de Klerk's commitment to political and economic renewal is reflected in his new Cabinet. The appointments of Wim de Villiers to oversee privatisation and the bureaucracy and Gerrit Viljoen to get the negotiation ball rolling, show imagination.

The acid test remains delivery. If Nationalist policy is not flexible enough to allow De Villiers and Viljoen maximum manoeuvrability, they will fail — just as Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has failed, because of irresistible political pressures, to curb the spending sprees of his Cabinet colleagues.

By appointing De Villiers, De Klerk not only pleased the private sector (which has repeatedly called for suitable technocrats to be drafted into government), but implicitly conceded that there is no NP politician capable of doing the job. The appointment signals De Klerk's intention to move ahead with privatisation and streamlining the civil service. In the process, State spending could be significantly reduced or reallocated.

De Klerk also divided up the unwieldy but important Economic Affairs & Technology portfolio previously held by Danie Steyn. Kent Durr, former Own Affairs Budget Minister, becomes Minister of Trade, Industry & Tourism; and Dawie de Villiers (who previously held the post now given to Wim de Villiers) becomes Minister of Mineral & Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises.

Durr's elevation to the main Cabinet was expected and is regarded as a sensible move. He is generally well liked in the private sector and has a good grasp of economics. Theo Alant, also respected by businessmen, retains his post as deputy minister in this department.

Viljoen must now be seen as the pivot between the extra-parliamentary opposition groups and De Klerk. His main task will apparently be to set the scene for multilateral discussions leading to a broadly acceptable new constitution.

One of the key aspects of Chris Heunis's empire, provincial affairs, has been given to a new minister, Hernus Kriel — the amiable and outward-looking MP for Parow who is an authority on provincial matters. His deputy will be Turffontein MP, André Fourie.

Six ministers retain their posts: Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs), Magnus Malan (Defence), Kobie Coetsee (Justice), Barend du Plessis (Finance), Adriaan Vlok (Law & Order) and Gert Kotze (Environment & Water Affairs).

Apart from De Villiers and Viljoen, three ministers in P W Botha's last Cabinet have been given new portfolios. Former Transport Minister Eli Louw gets Manpower (previously held by Piet du Plessis, who has retired); former Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe takes over Viljoen's thorny Education & Development Aid portfolio; and former Constitutional Development & Planning Minister Gene Louw, becomes Minister of Home Affairs (previously held by Stoffel Botha, who has retired).

By scrapping the Information portfolio (though the Bureau for Information will be retained within the President's Office), De Klerk has apparently acknowledged the futility of State propaganda efforts.

Three other new ministers have been appointed.

The new Natal NP leader and former Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs & Technology, George Bartlett, becomes Minister of Transport, Public Works & Land Affairs; Rina Venter, the first woman in the Cabinet, takes over National Health & Population Development from Willie van Niekerk, who has been pushed sideways to the chairmanship of the President's Council; and — in an unexpected move — nominated MP and failed Nat candidate in Barberton, Jacob de Villiers, becomes Minister of Agriculture (previously held by Greyling Wentzel, who has retired).

Apart from Fourie, three other new deputy ministers were appointed: Piet Welgemoed (Mineral & Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises); Danie Schutte (Justice); and Piet Marais (Education & Development Aid).

Chairmanship of the white Ministers' Council will be taken over from De Klerk by Kobie Coetsee and two new ministers have been appointed: former Deputy Minister of Education Sam de Beer gets Health Services, Welfare and Housing; and former Agriculture Deputy Minister Kraai van Niekerk takes charge of "white" agriculture.

Surprise omissions from the main Cabinet are De Beer; Roelf Meyer, who retains his post as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and has National Education added to his portfolio; and Leon Wessels, who switches from Deputy Minister of Law & Order to Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs — the post Pik Botha was hoping former Potgietersrus MP, Sampie Golden, would fill (*Current Affairs* September 15).

There was also some speculation that Piet Clase, who retains his post as white Own Affairs Education & Culture Minister, would take over De Klerk's National Education portfolio in the main Cabinet.

Three deputy ministers were not reappointed: Myburgh Streicher (Transport Affairs); Labour Party MP Luwellyn Landers (Population Development); and House of Delegates MP Somaroo Pachai (Environment Affairs). The former Deputy Minister of National Health, Michael Veldman, lost his Rustenburg seat to the CP. His post was scrapped.

The creation of a deputy minister's post at Justice (while scrapping it at Law & Order, where the need would appear to be far greater) must be seen either as a "reward" for Natal NP stalwart Danie Schutte — or an effort to relieve Kobie Coetsee of some of his workload now that he is also chairman of the white Ministers' Council. ■

THE 'A' TEAM

The new Cabinet from September 20 will be, in order of precedence:

Pik Botha ..... Minister of Foreign Affairs
Gerrit Viljoen ..... Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and National Education
Magnus Malan ..... Minister of Defence
Dawie de Villiers ..... Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises
Kobie Coetsee ..... Minister of Justice
Barend du Plessis ..... Minister of Finance
Eli Louw ..... Minister of Manpower
Adriaan Vlok ..... Minister of Law and Order
Gert Kotze ..... Minister of Environment Affairs and Water Affairs
Stoffel van der Merwe . Minister of Education and of Development Aid
Gene Louw ..... Minister of Home Affairs
Kent Durr ..... Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism
George Bartlett ..... Minister of Transport and of Public Works and Land Affairs
Hernus Kriel ..... Minister of Planning and Provinclal Affairs
Rina Venter ..... Minister of National Health and Population Development
Jacob de Villiers ..... Minister of Agriculture
Wim de Villiers ..... Minister of Administration and Privatisation

The new Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly is:

Kobie Coetsee ..... Chairman
Amie Venter ..... Minister of the Budget and of Local Government
Piet Clase .. Minister of Education and Culture
Sam de Beer ..... Minister of Health Services, Welfare and Housing
Kraai van Niekerk ..... Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply

The full list of Deputy Ministers, in order of precedence is:

Roelf Meyer ..... Constitutional Development and National Education
Org Marais ..... Finance
Wynand Breytenbach ..... Defence
Japie van Wyk .. Water Affairs and Land Affairs
Theo Alant ..... Trade and Industry
Leon Wessels ..... Foreign Affairs
Andre Fourie ... Planning and Provincial Affairs
Piet Welgemoed .. Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises
Danie Schutte ..... Justice
Piet Marais ... Education and Development Aid

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Kruger statue to be cleaned

Thousands to be bused to Pretoria for marches

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

Thousands of protesters are to be bused into Pretoria tomorrow for the three planned marches in the city by Women Against Repression (WAR), the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB).

About 50 000 people are expected to attend the protests during the height of the city's Saturday morning shopping period.

The WAR coalition said last night it would "definitely be bringing in" supporters by bus for its march on the Union Buildings. It is expecting more than 35 000 supporters.

Not afraid of interference

Miss Zeni Tshongweni, of the Federation of Transvaal Women, one of the organisations in WAR, told The Star no request had been made to the Government for permission to hold tomorrow's march.

She said: "The march is going ahead. We have not requested permission as we do not think it is necessary."

Miss Tshongweni said the 35 000 expected marchers were not afraid of interference from other groups in their protest. "The women say the march will not be stopped by threats or whatever."

She said the march would start after a 10 am church service at St Alban's Anglican Cathedral in Schoeman Street. It would proceed east along Schoeman Street, left into Du Toit Street and right into Church Street before proceeding to the Union Buildings.

The AWB is making similar transport arrangements for its 10-am demonstration on Church Square.

It is expected that at least 50 000 people will attend the three protests.

The AWB and BVB have been granted permission for their march.

Tomorrow women members of the Boerestaat Party plan to scrub down the statue of Paul Kruger in Church Square before the AWB protest. The scrub-down was decided upon after last week's anti-apartheid picket protest at the statue by about 1 000 people.

Some rightwingers have called that protest a "desecration of the volk's monuments".

The AWB protest is to be addressed by Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, its leader, and Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder.

The BVB is also holding a protest on Church Square at noon and will march to the Central Police Station to hand a memorandum to Police Commissioner Hennie de Witt.

Sowetan 22/9/89

De Klerk challenged

NEW State President Mr FW de Klerk has been challenged on his "justice for all" statement by an organisation called All Schools for All People.

The organisation says: "As leader of your party, you promised the South African nation 'a new vision'.

"You described the election results as an overwhelming 'mandate for reform' and you have led the nation to believe that your vision for our country includes the eradication of apartheid and the provision of political rights for all its citizens.

"To this end your Government has allowed peaceful demonstrations to take place in various parts of the country. We see this as the beginning of an encouraging political development.

"One of the major problems faced by our country, which has not yet been adequately addressed, is the ongoing national crisis is education."

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THE ELECTION

Late vote

Just when it looks as if the election dust is settling, it emerges that the Durban police are investigating at least one serious allegation of electoral fraud in a constituency for the House of Assembly, *not* the Delegates.

The alleged irregularity in the Port Natal poll — won by NP candidate Johan Marais with a 2 247 majority — is not one of which party officials at NP head office in Durban were aware. The NP chairman for the constituency, Piet Hartzer, says he knew nothing about the police investigation; he was overseas at the time of the election and would investigate the matter at the first local NP committee meeting.

CID officers at Brighton Beach police station, however, are taking the matter seriously. A complaint was laid by CP candidate Francis Hitchcock a week before the election. Police confirm that the complaint involved an allegation that a deceased person's name had been used to try to cast a prior vote and that they are treating the matter as electoral fraud.

More serious are allegations (not included in the statement to the police) that the person who tried to use the dead woman's name is an NP organiser — and a member of the successful candidate's family.

In terms of the prior voting system, an application for the vote contains the signature of a witness (usually made by the party organiser who returns the application) and police are understood to be investigating the source of this signature.

Marais could not be contacted earlier this week as he was travelling to Pretoria for the inauguration of the State President. CP candidate Hitchcock is reticent, saying he made the complaint under pressure from the DP, who learnt he had information about the alleged irregularity.

"I did nothing more than lay a complaint, giving the police the information I had. The complaint is not directed against any political party or individual," he says.

Hitchcock confirms, however, that his complaint involves an attempt to use a dead person's name for a *spookstem* (ghost vote). Police would not reveal details of their investigation.

The DP's Port Natal candidate, Hilda Grobler, confirms she had heard allegations about the incident and says: "We see this in an extremely serious light and would appreciate being informed of the outcome of the police investigation as soon as possible."

Whatever the outcome it again shows the potential for abuse of the prior voting system.

If allegations of the involvement of somebody close to the successful candidate turn out to be true an uproar can be expected from both opposing parties.

Since the NP and DP each have 10 seats in Natal, any chance of a new election will be seized upon. ■

FW — 'still an enigma'

Argus 22/09/89

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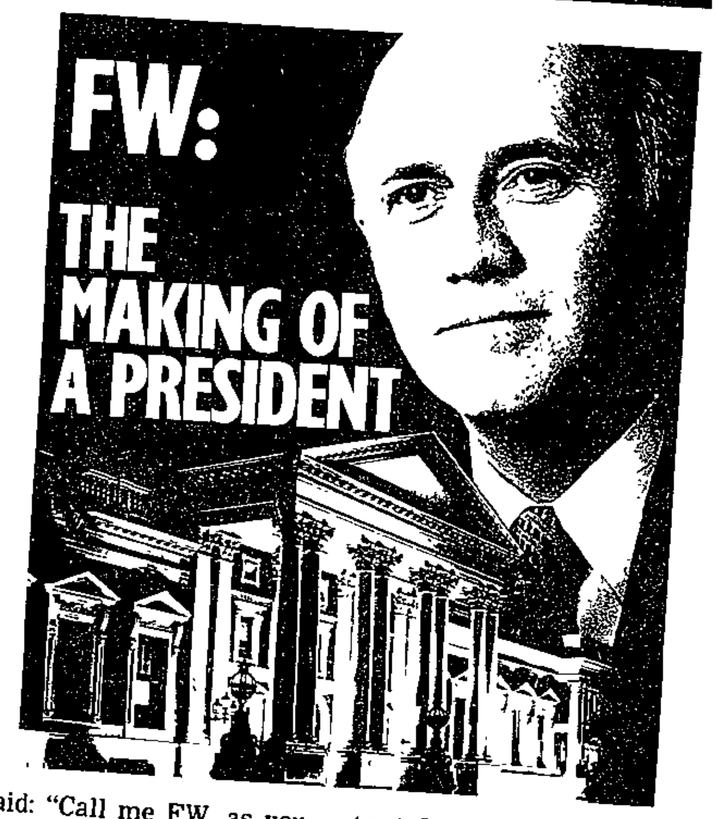
WHERE do F W de Klerk's strengths and weaknesses lie? Will he be a match for the immense task ahead? How do those who know view him?

ALAN DUNN of the Political Staff examines these questions in the final chapter of a three-part series.



WHAT is it about F W de Klerk, after 11 years in the cabinet, that he is still something of an enigma?

"Is he merely a changeless chameleon?" his critics muse. "Is he as conservative as they say, with a mouth that would get him on the payroll of Saatchi and Saatchi?

"Or is all this talk of change real?"

The fact is he became State President on Wednesday after almost 17 years in parliament and carrying very little political baggage to show it.

His old friends from Potchefstroom and Vereeniging days may have some of the answers as to why he seems to have had a career of quiet, careful steps rather than leaps and flare.

Perhaps a clue lies in the way he accepted the leadership of the National Party in the Transvaal in 1982, a mantle that immediately placed him in the running one day for the country's reins.

No fanfare

"I want to bind myself to open-hearted and humble leadership. The National Party's policy should be stated flatly, directly and honestly. I do not want to be a leader with fanfare, one who is cheered and applauded.

"I want to be a serving leader — serving not on stages, but serving also from person to person. I want very much to be the leader of a team which can always speak of 'we'."

That was how his friends and colleagues in the legal fraternity came to know him — a team man, a balanced person from a good home, a meticulous, dependable sort.

Those close to him see FW as one who has never been caught in anything controversial or spicy, a young man who from the start set out on the Afrikaner establishment's course of hoops, clearing each well.

This is illustrated perhaps by his raging interest since he joined the cabinet in hunting, that pastime which finds most South Afr[illegible]

he said: "Call me FW, as you know me."

"I will certainly call him FW," said Mr Hennie Vermaak, prominent Vereeniging lawyer and former partner of Mr Klerk. "I can't start calling him 'Mr President.' He would be the hell-in."

Calmness

He is phlegmatic, they say, not a nervy type who tosses and turns in bed "The calmness he radiates is really him," said elder brother Professor Wimpie de Klerk. "FW doesn't have masks, I know him very well.

"He is not acting when you see him on television. He is not putting on a show. That small smile of his, that calming influence of his, that sort of 'hold on, let me have a look at this thing,' is his personality."

tact. He is a small room man, who operates superbly on committees. He has served on scores of panels in public life, pointing to one of the reasons why he has not left any glaring footprints.

He is persuasive, friends say. A good listener. "He will remain silent until you have had your say, and then he will respond and ask questions. He will always hear you out first."

From his teenage days, FW has not easily lost an argument. He keeps it clinical, analyses, sets out point-for-point rebuttals, and is able to crystalise issues.

In law, FW was recognised by his partners as an adroit negotiator: "I accompanied him on several cases and transactions," said Mr Vermaak. "He is an absolute mast[illegible]

As a senior minister, Mr De Klerk attended Professor Vorster's inaugural lecture and lingered on until 4am at the celebration afterwards, leaning on the sideboard and chatting to all. "A political conversation is like a rugby match to him," said Professor Vorster. "He revels in it."

What friends like about FW is that he remains the same to them regardless of his political growth. "I'm very comfortable talking to him," said Mr Boshoff. "He used to criticise me for losing touch with people once they became somebody."

Mr Boshoff tells of the amazement of a well-known Pretoria attorney three weeks ago when Mr De Klerk was addressing the local law society. "FW said to him: 'Remember you told me you sat next to Sophia Loren on an aircraft?'."

Bridge-builder

It startled the attorney because he had mentioned this to FW in 1961.

Those who know him well consider him to be a bridge-builder. They see him as the ideal man to embark on negotiations with South Africa's blacks on the country's future.

"But his strong points can also be his weak points," said Professor de Klerk. "He is a negotiator, peacemaker, conciliator, pragmatist, a man with few edges."

Those characteristics could be a Godsend in a pre-negotiation phase, where the country's leaders will have talks about talks, after his finger-wagging predecessor. But many that know him wonder whether he is going to be bold enough to venture further.

"Can he deliver? Is he going to be able to break through?" These are questions raised by those near him. "Is he going to be hard enough? He is a man of compromise. Is he going to be tough enough to break away from the NP's frame of reference?"

Some have their doubts, fearing that he will get [illegible] NP do ma[illegible]



Mr F W de Klerk and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia talk to the Press in Livingstone, Zambia, after their meeting in August. At left is Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

end, last month openly repudiated Foreign Minister Pik Botha on whether he had been informed about a trip by Mr De Klerk to Zambia to meet President Kenneth Kaunda.

That was the clincher. FW and the cabinet, who had been pilloried for the political no man's land in which they had been floundering since Mr Botha's stroke on January 18, told him to a man on August 14 he had to go. He did, within hours.

Assertiveness

The next day F W de Klerk became acting State President, and immediately assumed a new assertiveness, wanting to give substance to his election image of energy and dynamism. He was the new broom, and out to show it.

He announced the date of parliament's electoral college sitt[illegible] to choose a president

the Conservatives in the Transvaal, he is reputed to have run a very tight organisation. "He has what we call the 'red carpet' each year," said one of his party organisers, Chris MacPherson.

"MPs and constituency workers submit a file to him, he studies it, and then each has to sit down with him and say what has been achieved in their areas. He has brought discipline back to the organisation."

Among the organisers, he is known as a leader who will back them to the hilt if he feels they are in the right, but if not "There are no second chances," says Mr MacPherson.

On voting irregularities, FW's instructions are clear: "Even if it means you are going to lose by one vote, do so. You don't even have to bother to ask me whether you have to resign (if dishonest), just do so."

He has paid particular attention to the NP youth, and aims always to keep them motivated.

An illustration he favours in his talks to the youth, is of the airline pilot flying at 25 000 feet. He learns by radio that there is bad weather ahead. His choice is: brave it, risk his jet and passengers and receive kudos for getting there on time or fly around and arrive late, but surely.

Too slow?

F W de Klerk favours the latter course

Which suggests solid political progress and change for South Africa under his hand, but probably too slow for the liking of most of the impatient passengers who would prefer a few risks to get them into the sunlight on the other side of the turbulence.

slipping off for occasional long weekends and a few days at the end of every parliamentary session in search of something for the pot.

Friends see him as a man who laughs easily, who has the rare knack of telling a joke well, who loves braais, enjoys a whisky, and is a chain-smoker in spite of repeated attempts to give up. He is good company.

Drinking beer

"The higher he has got in life," remarked one friend who saw him start smoking Perilly's filter, "the stronger his brand." FW has been seen at his ministerial residence in Pretoria entertaining friends, his shirt unbuttoned to catch some sun, and drinking beer from the can.

But he is not jeans and T-shirt at home. He dresses in Woolworths type casuals, always long trousers to hide the scrawny calves, and something with a collar. The De Klerks have always had a schipperke dog, on which he may not be totally sold, but it is always there when they return home with yaps of welcome.

Though not a good letter writer, he is a people person, a chatty, social creature who likes to be with friends.

When friends asked him at a post-election "thank you" function at the Vereeniging town hall two weeks ago how they should address him now,

Few have seen him lose his temper. "You have to know him very well to know that he is angry," said Professor de Klerk. He can be blunt at those times, preferring to abruptly change the subject to move away from what is irking him, but seldom aggressive.

"If he does lose his temper," said Mr Vermaak, "he keeps it to himself. There is never an outburst. In business that is where many a deal is lost. He always retains his courtesy, never insulting or offending an opponent."

And that, it seems, is a key to FW de Klerk's climb. He maintains a politeness and patience which make the people he is engaging feel they have his undivided attention. He displays no airs, makes time for people, and thanks them effusively for the most simple tasks.

Helen Suzman, the veteran opposition MP, telephoned him at the end of the last parliamentary session as she was preparing for retirement after 36 years in public life.

Her vision

"Please come across to my office for some tea," he said, to her surprise. They sat and talked for 45 minutes. He asked for her vision of how to tackle South Africa's problems, listening intently to her input.

For that is where FW is at his best, in one-on-one con-

15 years and he taught me a lot."

Those who know him were confidently predicting before he met other southern African leaders recently that their encounters would be successful. He is amiable and sharp, exceptionally useful in the clinches, a character who can compromise, cut a deal.

'Buy a wig'

The one time the able lawyer was at a loss for words, Mr Vermaak beamingly recalls, was when a typiste at the partnership struck a nerve by suggesting he buy a wig: "Meneer would look so groovy," she said.

But old colleagues generally see him as shrewd, a good manoeuvrer and strategist who considers all the options. His first partner, Emil Boshoff, spoke of a specific incident where he and FW were up against some "pretty tough customers":

"What impressed me was that he could not possibly have known all the facts. He was going on insight rather than knowledge. I was very impressed," he said, describing Mr De Klerk as better than average at settling disputes out of court.

"He comes across very clearly," said Professor Ig Vorster, another early partner and a close friend. "He has the ability to get to the crux, extract the essential with the minimum of effort."



Mr F W de Klerk is welcomed by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to her 10 Downing Street residence in London during Mr De Klerk's European tour in June.

'ling to racially-defined 'groups' — the codeword, in black minds at least, for redecorated apartheid

Mandate

Mr De Klerk has answered his critics, though, by making it clear that he feels he does not have to break out of NP thinking. His view, expressed in Natal at the weekend, is that his mandate is for Nationalist visions of the future, not Democratic or Conservative.

Confidants believe he is sincere about jump-starting a process of negotiation. They say he has a sense of urgency about change.

"Politically, he is very much aware that he has a very short honeymoon," said Professor De Klerk, a Democratic Party supporter. "He realises he will have to deliver results within a year. In other words, he has a very strong feeling that 'time is of the essence', a saying which creeps up regularly in his speech.

"I think FW realises the pre-negotiation phase should develop quickly so that negotiation can begin."

But the nagging feeling among academics who know him is that he may be too steeped in Nationalist thinking to escape it.

They admit, however, that he has not done much wrong thus far. From February 2, when the NP caucus made him their leader, he egg-danced for more than six months as former President Botha, the Great Crocodile, watched his estranged colleagues beadily and finally left public life last month in a foam of white water stirred by his thrashing tail.

Aging leader

It was a period of trying tension for FW and tears for Marike as they wrestled with the aging leader's refusal to go quietly. From March 13, Mr De Klerk had a very clear and potent mandate from the party's federal council and parliamentary caucus to handle it as he saw fit.

The party wanted only one thing: F W de Klerk as president. He could achieve this any way.

But he showed restraint in using that power, choosing rather to wait out Mr Botha's term of office and fight the September 6 election merely as NP leader and not as South Africa's chief executive.

FW was not PW's favourite. Everybody knows that, but few can say why. FW was indeed smarting at the old man's refusal to publicly congratulate or even acknowledge his successor as NP leader

Then an isolated Mr Botha, hastening his own political

and the Speaker, and displayed remarkable stamina as he and the NP strategists worked to cast him as the "new South Africa," distracting voters from the Conservative and Democratic election agendas.

He was often dog-tired, but never showed it as he flitted about the country and southern Africa, shoring up the "FW factor," and pleas to "Give FW a chance."

In an amazing turnabout, welcomed widely at home and overseas, he granted permission for a mass peaceful protest in Cape Town which saw echoes in Johannesburg and in the heart of conservative Afrikanerdom, on Church Square, Pretoria. All went off without so much as a scuffle, a victory for both sides.

Then, at the weekend, he poured fuel on the image he seeks as a bold reformer, a man of action and ready decision-maker, by naming his cabinet which seemed to veer sharply away from reliance on the so-called securocrats who had dominated P W Botha's era

In crisis

Mr De Klerk's decisiveness in crises has surfaced twice, with P W Botha's departure, and Andries Treurnicht's. He inherited both posts, as Transvaal leader in 1982 and then as national NP leader and president, in crisis. Party workers say he is the man for the job

In spite of staggering losses to

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THE CABINET

That Gorbachev look

The new president's Cabinet does not in itself promise reform — or reaction. You wouldn't think so to read the Sunday press. That aside, it's a bunch of Nationalists, some usual suspects, a couple of English-speakers, a lady and a retired businessman.

We like the idea of a businessman best of all.

The point about a Cabinet is that it is there to execute policy. First you have to have a policy. Grant that F W has the beginnings of one, and you have gone half way to explaining the mood of optimism now stalking the streets. But even political foreplay must lead on to something.

It must seriously be doubted that the requisite slashing of the civil service can be carried out if government's majority threatens to be downgraded to a plurality. De Klerk must seriously doubt it — which means that his hidden agenda must include the probability of doing deals with the Democrats or the Conservatives as circumstances dictate.

That, unfortunately, would erode the strength of reformist promises made after a weak electoral showing.

Again, the weak electoral showing was in part because voters are fed up with the economic plight in which the Nationalists have landed them. Yet De Klerk has left the economic team — led by Barend du Plessis — intact; and, indeed, strengthened its position *vide* Kent Durr and George Bartlett. What level of inflation does it collectively believe is acceptable?

The appointment of Gerrit Viljoen as constitutional negotiator-at-large will also be vitiated by suspicions that — though positively crisp and keen in comparison with Chris Heunis — he too is a man adept at spinning intellectual webs. He did so as Broederbond chief, selling the "multinational" sports policy to the faceless elect in smoky rooms.

The primacy of the Afrikaner cause must be assumed to be close to his heart.

But if F W has the will, his appointees will be the way. Style is set from the top and style is of paramount importance in politics. That is why we confidently expect De Klerk to make the task of his Cabinet so much easier by using his power this week, or perhaps next, to lift the State of Emergency and release Nelson Mandela.

Only if Mandela and those associated with him are free will the Great Indaba live up to its name; and only if the repression of the emergency abates. But if De Klerk does act as we expect him to, the once-unthinkable could happen — and the climate of international hostility be immeasurably softened with corresponding economic benefits.

The neutrality of the Cabinet aside, De Klerk has made a good — an excellent — start. One or two small steps further and he will have far outpaced the reforming efforts of P W Botha 10 years ago. ■

10am. The cortege will leave for the cemetery at noon.

academics. The mass will be held at St Charles Lunga Catholic Church, Zone F, Soshanguve.

SA Embassy in London awaits reaction to new window display

Sowetan 22/9/89

304A

LONDON - The South African Embassy in London is awaiting public reaction to a window display which "tears apart the concept of apartheid" and was unveiled this week to coincide with the swearing-in of the new State President, Mr F W de Klerk, in Pretoria.

Previous displays in the large display windows on the ground floor of South Africa House in Trafalgar Square, on a busy corner just metres from a permanent anti-apartheid demonstration opposite the front doors, have been spat on and painted over with African National Congress colours.

The British Government was responsible for the subsequent clean-up of the diplomatic property and will be again, should the display spur anti-apartheid supporters to similar action.

The display is an exhibition of photographs and texts on De Klerk's "new South Africa" theme, embassy spokesman Mr Roger Ballard-Tremeer said.

"It contains photographs of black and white South Africans living and working together and a text which lays stress on the South African Government's commitment to equality and non-discrimination.

"(The display) tears apart the concept of apartheid as the British understand it, and conveys to the thousands of Londoners and visitors who pass it daily a message of peace that the ANC hawks like Hani and Slovo will find difficult to swallow," he said. Sapa

Malan 'available' for DP leadership

CMT 7AB 23/9/89 30A

By BARRY STREEK

DEMOCRATIC PARTY co-leader Mr Wynand Malan last night came out in public support of the continuation of the troika system — but said he was available for the DP leadership if the party decided on one leader.

His decision to stand for the leadership position is in direct conflict with a statement he made on television earlier this year that he was not interested in being the DP leader.

He said last night that if the DP congress, to be held in Durban on October 7, decided against having three co-leaders, "I will make myself available, in response to pressures from within the party, for the leadership position".

Mr Malan said he wished to make it clear that his preference was for the present arrangement.

"The three leaders have worked well under the most trying of situations.

"Today there is no tension between the three leaders. In fact, there is agreement and co-operation at all levels and at all times.

"What must be avoided is the building of a party around a single leadership as a priority. The need of the day is to develop the party as a party."

FW shifting to bigger role for cabinet?

CNL Tiaps 23/4/89

30kA

Political Staff

A MAJOR shift by President F W de Klerk away from the State Security Council and its security establishment towards a more prominent role overall for the cabinet is believed to be under way.

The government's recent more tolerant approach towards peaceful public protest was the first sign of a shift away from the "securocrats" who now appear to be taking a back seat.

Sources close to the government nevertheless still reject suggestions that the State Security Council itself had become a "super" cabinet or a "government within a government" at the expense of the rest of the cabinet.

However, they do agree that the emphasis is moving away from the past dominance of security issues towards more "social" aspects which they say would be logical at this stage and in fact had started "before Mr De Klerk's time".

The De Klerk administration's new style is all part of the President's attempts to create a climate more conducive to negotiation.

The feeling apparently is that basic order having been established, reform can get under way again.

A pointer to the new approach is said to be Mr De Klerk's failure to appoint a deputy Minister of Law and Order who up to now has been closely linked with the joint security management system.

The government's constant references to the possible release of security prisoners is also part of creating the climate for negotiations about a new constitution to include blacks in the democratic processes.

However, while there is renewed interest in, and speculation about, the possible release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, it is understood that this is unlikely to happen soon.

Other prominent figures are expected to be released first but it is also understood that this is unlikely to happen in a matter of weeks.

Fears have been expressed that the new mood could be derailed by incidents such as the Maritzburg march and the possibility of conflicting protests in Pretoria.

March (304A)

FROM PAGE 1.

The route, down Schoeman Street, left into Du Toit Street and right into Church Street, has been planned to avoid confrontation and will not pass through Church and Strijdom Squares, where the right-wing organisations have been granted permission to hold protests.

"We are marching in protest at the conditions created by apartheid. This right is not subject to the permission of the authorities," said Mrs Pollecutt in a statement.

Messages of support for the march had flooded in from international groupings, including the United Nations, said the WAR representatives.

Mr Justice M C de Klerk said at the urgent hearing in the Supreme Court last night that "the proposed protest mentioned in papers could possibly not be orderly".

He supported an earlier ruling, by Mr Justice Maynard, that a rule nisi be granted in favour of the applicants.

The Minister of Justice told the court in an affidavit of the his fears of disorder.

"I can predict with accuracy that in the event of chaos erupting, the blame will be put on the authorities because they could not oversee that order was maintained," he said.

Quoting an affidavit by Major G G Smit of the South African Police, Mr Coetsee said he understood that marshals for the women's march were to be members of Cosatu.

"The organisers are not prepared to plan the march properly in co-operation with the authorities, but continue simply to recklessly execute their march ... with a disregard for the rights and interests of any other people," said Mr Coetsee.

He feared "that stone-throwing, damage and looting as was the case im Maritzburg". This was a reference on Thiursday when marchers allegedly looted shops in the Natal capital.

Mr Coetsee said that the area where the proposed Pretoria march was to take place today was "not suitable".

The march is scheduled to start with a church service at St Albans Anglican Cathedral in Schoeman Street at 10 am and the women are due to leave for the Union Buildings at 11 am.

The Government earlier said in their affidavit that the march could take place on September 30 and that a sugeestion to this end had been made to Sister Bernard Ncube, one of the 30 respondents cited in last night's hearing.

Defiant women say march goes ahead

Star 23/9/89

304A



Govt fears clash with right-wingers

PAT DEVEREAUX and NORMAN CHANDLER

THE march by as many as 35 000 women on Pretoria's Union Buildings will go ahead today, despite an extraordinary sitting of the Supreme Court last night which banned the planned demonstration and the Government's tough warning to organisers of the protest marches sweeping South Africa.

Last night the co-ordinating group, Women Against Repression (WAR), refused to back down and confirmed that the march, which is expected to attract massive support, would go ahead, as it was an "act of defiance".

A representative of the Black Sash and spokeswoman for WAR, Mrs Laura Pollecutt, said at a press conference late yesterday afternoon: "The Government has been aware of our intention to march ... we fail to understand their last-minute attempt to stop it."

The Government, however, says it fears that right-wing protesters from the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) will use the opportunity to "harm some of the participants" — women from 30 organisations, including the YWCA, Cosatu and Five Freedoms Forum.

The right-wingers are to congregate on Church Square, two blocks from where the WAR coalition of 30 organisations are to begin their march.

In a bid to prevent confrontation, the Government last night used Radio Jacaranda, Radio 2 000, Radio Highveld, Radio RSA and television to broadcast the news of the banning.

The court heard that the first broadcast began at 4 pm, in anticipation of the Supreme Court confirming the application by the Government and the Minister of Justice.

Interdict

The order, granted on an application by the Government and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was made after WAR declined to oppose a temporary interdict which was granted in favour of the applicants earlier in the day.

WAR's legal advisers said they had not had enough time to study the government objections, and that insufficient information had been sent to them.

WAR informed the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, of the march on September 14.

"We have liaised with Pretoria traffic authorities and the divisional commissioner of police. Water tables, first aid centres and emergency vehicles have been organised.

"Approximately 900 marshals will guide the marchers," Mrs Pollecut said.

TO PAGE 2.

Problem FW must correct is an old one

Weekend FOCUS 2

THE ROAD TO NEGOTIATION . . .

THE problem that Mr F W de Klerk says his government is now finally ready to confront is an old one.

It goes beyond apartheid, which, for all the pious brutality of its imposition on the country, has been no more than a foolhardy and hamhanded attempt to avoid the same difficulty.

It started with South Africa's unification in 1910. That event, too, was in turn influenced by the stormy years that went before. But that was when the country's ground rules were laid and it was then that the original mistake was made.

The population ratio at the time was about 1,2-million whites, four-million Africans, 152 000 Asians and 500 000 "coloured people". Even so, all 32 delegates from the four colonies and Rhodesia who gathered in Durban's city hall on October 12, 1908, to draft the Union's constitution were white.

It is probable that nobody had thought of inviting the other races. Had anybody suggested such a thing it could well have wrecked the very idea of union at that stage.

Already then the country's black majority seemed to be regarded as all the more reason for their exclusion rather than the other way round.

The constitution they drafted, and the spirit in which it happened, offer considerable explanation of how the country has come to its vicious circle of stagnation, distrust, division, tension and conflict which President De Klerk referred to in his inaugural speech and which he pledged himself to end.



President de Klerk . . . prepared to confront a tough issue.

abolished if at all possible. Failing that, the Cape system should in any case be placed on a better basis, as was done in 1893 when the franchise qualifications were raised in order to limit the number of *native* voters. However, he did not altogether fear for the future of the white races, for he thought he had noticed a deterioration in the black races, morally as well as physically . . .

Again it was Malan who warned that failure to arrive at a uniform system would be a crisis. It had taken a hundred years of strife and tears to bring the Europeans to unification, and by not facing up squarely to the disagreement over the *natives* they were once again heading for struggle and tears and suffering. People spoke about the necessity to unite the white races first and then tackle the *native* franchise question. But a union of this kind would not be a genuine union; the germs of discord would continue to exist . . .

Botha observed gloomily that Malan's speech made him fear for Union because he saw in it a desire to force the Cape system on the rest of South Africa. If this were done, he might as well go home. He could go no further than recognise the rights of the *natives* in the Cape.

In the end the convention had no option but to accept the proposal that the Cape system be retained under special protection in the constitution, as suggested. And for all his continued pleadings for fair dealings for the *natives*, Merriman was forced to make the further concession that only whites be eligible for election to parliament.

W/E Argus
23/09/89

304 A

IN saying he wants to negotiate a new South Africa, Mr F W de Klerk is setting himself and his government a formidable task. The problem they need to correct is an old and tough one. In this, the first of a series of three articles to appear in Weekend Argus, LEON MARSHALL looks at where and how it all started.

Transvaal's Louis Botha stood fast. He would not be able to put any solution before the people of the Transvaal that contained the principle of voting rights for *natives*, he insisted. For the sake of unification, however, he was prepared to leave matters as they were in the Cape.

An Eastern Cape delegate, G H Maasdorp, claiming to speak as a representative of "the man on the veld", said he feared the *native* franchise and would have preferred it to be

Again and again the racial issue came up.

It happened when there was serious dispute over the choice of a capital and it was Merriman's turn to warn that Pretoria's tropical climate was not only unsuitable to the development of a European population but that it was too dangerously close to Johannesburg and its mines where tribal philosophies were changing in a way that was bound to influence the future of South Africa.

IT happened when Natal prime minister F R Moor proposed that women be given the vote as he thought it a crying injustice that *natives* in the Cape should have it but not European women; General Christiaan De Wet warned that if women were to be given the vote he would start an agitation not only in his own Orange River Colony but in the others as well, and he was assured of ninety percent support; Merriman thought it a revolutionary suggestion; and Botha thought De Wet somewhat hasty in wanting to enter the lists against women, for if the two of them could ever be called *handsuppers*, it would be on the question of women.

General Smuts pointed out that according to a decision already taken it would be impossible to grant the franchise to European women in the Cape without also giving it to the *native* women. That caused Moore's suggestion to come to grief.

It was by then well into 1909, and having sat for some months in the Cape, Malan noted restlessness among members of the convention as the planting season approached.

Their draft constitution was submitted for approval to each of the colonies before the British parliament turned it into the South African Act.

But even before the delegates went their separate ways, Malan noted in his diary: *I fear that the franchise will be the cause of difficulties in the future ...*

tone are substantially described in a diary kept by one of the Cape delegates, F S Malan.

Called *Diary of the Convention* and published in 1952 in Cape Town by the Van Riebeeck Society, it shows how deeply distracted the delegates were by their own struggles of the time and of the past while their actual task was that of designing a constitution for the future.

THE impression one gets from reading Malan's diary suggest an attitude almost of it being enough trouble just trying to bring the four colonies and the Boers and British together and not to complicate matters further by breaking their heads unduly over the racial issue, which, of course, lay at the root of much of their past disagreements.

Among the leading figures were Transvaal Prime Minister Louis Botha, and General Jan Smuts, the old Free State Republic's President Marthinus Steyn, Cape Prime Minister John X Merriman and the Cape's Chief Justice, Sir Henry de Villiers, who was elected chairman. The convention table was even diamond-shaped, apparently as somebody's idea of trying to make the angles at which they sat less confrontational.

Malan was profoundly touched, noting: *What a remarkable collection of men who have played an important part in the history of South Africa. To think that such a meeting can be convened nine years after the first shot was fired in the bloody war between Boer and Briton! The character of this assembly guarantees the sincerity of the desire to unite South Africa. This really does give one food for thought. The heart of the Afrikaner beats fast, so many are the thoughts that surge in his mind when surveying the assembly ...*

The tensions and underlying suspicions are indicated by his notes about the grumblings among Boer delegates when the meeting was not opened with prayer, and about how the discomfort switched when the Orange River Colony's General J B M (Barry) Hertzog next insisted that Dutch be recognised with English as an official languauge.

Apparently it was ex-president Steyn who, speaking in English, succeeded in placating feelings by reminding his fellow-delegates of how language equality symbolised the equality of the races and how, had that been realised a hundred years earlier, the country's history might well have been different.

Malan wrote: *While his speech was being made the eyes of more than one delegate were wet with tears. I had to dry my tears repeatedly and felt most ashamed because I was so easily moved ...* And when a motion recognising language equality was unanimously accepted, with cheers, he added: *Truly -this is a good sign. One of the biggest obstacles in the way of unification had been removed ...*

BUT the biggest obstacle by far proved to be the racial one. And making it even more difficult, was a decision taken in principle to have a union rather than a federation because the unionists felt the country should speak with one voice and have strong government. The visions they had were of a single white nationhood coming about in the same way *as had happened between the Saxons and Normans of old.*

The federalists, on the other hand, had feared that it would cause friction if a strong central government imposed its will without regard to regional differences. What probably troubled them as much as the British-Boer differences, were the different racial policies of the various colonies.

The Transvaal declared bluntly that no equality would be permitted between coloured persons and the white inhabitants, either in church or in state; the Orange River limited voting rights to white males; and Natal had a *civilisation test* whereby only about 200 blacks had won the vote on the basis of a certificate granted by the governor proving, with the support of three white electors, that they had been exempted from the operation of the *native* law for seven years and that they had met the property and income qualifications set for white voters.

The Cape stood distinctly apart. Eighty years before persons of colour had already been legally recognised as proper subjects with the same rights as whites. It granted the franchise and the right to be elected to parliament to all males of voting age, even though a wage and property qualification had limited the number of *native* and *coloured* voters to only 22 784 by the time of union, without any yet having made it to parliament.

The majority of the Cape's 12 delegates were strongly committed to their system. In a speech earlier that year, Merriman had said of the coloured franchise: *This course I would not under any circumstances retreat from.*



General Louis Botha ... no voting rights for "natives".



General Jan Smuts ... franchise for women.



President Marthinus Steyn ... placated feelings.

And in a letter to Smuts shortly before the convention, he had written: *In the Cape we are pledged as far as the most solemn assurances can go to maintain the rights conferred by our franchise.*

Other delegates, particularly those from the Transvaal, were equally committed to their systems, so setting off the most bitter and sustained battle of the constitution.

Various compromises were suggested to find a uniform system, including one that there should be a new "civilisation test" for the entire country. But the Cape would not budge, the Transvaal would not budge, and when it seemed the idea of union itself was under threat, it was Merriman who made the federalist suggestion that each colony retain its own franchise system.

NOTING the vast overweight of racist attitudes in the rest of the country, it was he, too, who later made the further proposal that the Cape franchise be given special protection in the constitution, which ended in the entreched clause determining that it would be changeable only by two-thirds majority of the Assembly and Senate sitting together.

Among those who had severe reservations was Malan who, as noted in his diary, had difficulty understanding how the administration of the *natives* could be separated from that of the whites and, furthermore, how a central unionist government could try to govern over all while, as far as people of colour were concerned, each colony would be allowed to go its own way.

He warned the convention that Merriman's suggestion offered no more than a temporary solution and pleaded that it be reverted to only if no general solution could be found.

With quite prophetic foresight he added that the convention was in a far better position to educate people towards a uniform franchise than the future parliament would be. Putting it off would hold the danger not only of making a poor impression on people of colour, causing them to feel that they had been unjustly treated especially in those provinces where they already had the franchise; it also held the danger of transferring white divisions on the matter to the union.

He could not understand the fear of those who opposed the *native* franchise. Surely, he said, a man exercised influence in society by his possessions, his inteligence and his vote at the ballot-box. Nobody suggested that the *natives* should be prevented from collecting goods or that education should be withheld from them. And even if one wished to do so, it would be to no avail. Was it not childish and dangerous, therefore, to exclude them from the franchise only?

The response was sharp and bitter, especially when Malan's colleague, J W Sauer, again insisted that the Cape system be applied throughout the country.

Natal's E M Greene said he rejected political rights for *natives* and Asiatics outright; the Orange River Colony's prime minister and colonial secretary, Abraham Fisher, thought the *natives* and Europeans should be kept in different kraals, although he was uncertain whether it would be right to alter the Cape franchise; his colleague, Hertzog, warned that the Cape did not seem to realise the danger of the Native franchise, just as somebody playing near a river sometimes did not see the danger of the flood which would sweep him away ...

THE convention chairman, Sir Henry, cautioned delegates that while the British government had agreed to give the convention a free hand, it, too, had an interest in the outcome, especially with a view to the possible transfer of the Bechuanland, Swaziland and Basutoland protectorates to the Union. He thought a plan where a judge decided whether a *native* was civilised enough to become a voter would meet their requirement.

March

● FROM PAGE 1.

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Councillors' face cash crisis

FW slashes pay by R45 000

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

PRESIDENT'S Councillors claimed they were facing "financial ruin" after the Government's decision to turn their permanent jobs into part-time appointments.

Instead of the expected salary of R60 000 a year they will have to be content with a 75 percent drop in income, to R15 000.

The restructuring of the council was announced by President F W de Klerk, who said it was being done in the interests of taxpayers' money.

Plan

Only the chairman, Dr Willie van Niekerk, vice-chairman Mr Kleppies Heyns and two committee chairmen will in future be permanent appointments.

The remaining 56 members will serve part-time.

There are also moves afoot to reduce their strength to 36 members.

Mr De Klerk is expected to unveil a plan drawn up by an ad-hoc committee of the council soon.

The report, described by some council members as "dynamite" was completed just before the 1987 election but was shelved indefinitely.

Council sources believe the new moves by the Government are part of a plan to restructure the council and convert it into a "multiracial think-tank".

To achieve this, amending legislation will have to be introduced in Parliament next year.

Restructuring of the body may also include moves to bring blacks into the council for the first time.

This is seen as a first move by the Government to accommodate black political leaders in the country's highest decision-making bodies.

The functions of the council may also be altered to bring it more into line with the original philosophy that it should be a think-tank for government.

In the past few years, the emphasis shifted towards the council's deadlock-breaking function in cases where the three Houses of Parliament disagreed on Bills.

Yesterday, some newly appointed members said the Government's decision to scrap their full-time status caught them unawares.

Some said they were facing "bankruptcy" and might have to take their children out of university and face the trauma of having their homes repossessed.

Job

The hardest hit will be a number of newly appointed councillors who have just spent a considerable part of their life savings on fighting election campaigns.

They are saddled with huge bills and were hoping appointment to the President's Council would help to recoup their losses.

"We have been fired, that's what it amounts to," one councillor said.

Council members used to earn an average of R4 700 a month.

Mr De Klerk has now cut their salaries by 75 percent, although they will get an allowance of R250 a meeting.

But councillors said they could not bank on the meeting allowance to make ends meet.

Saving

One member said: 'It will be difficult to hold down a decent job in which an employer would be prepared to grant me leave every time the council was in session."

In cold figures, the taxpayer used to fork out R280 000 to the 56 councillors (excluding generous allowances) a month, amounting to R3,36-million a year in salaries.

Now, at R15 000 a year, the salary bill will be R840 000 — a saving of R2,52-million to the taxpayer.

The President's Council will sit on October 3 and then adjourn until Parliament meets again at the end of January or the first week in February next year.

★ SUNDAY TIMES, September 24 1989

FW slips into office without staff shake-up

304A

ST Times 24/9/89

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk hardly caused a ripple when he moved into his new office in the Union Buildings this week.

Most of the more than 100 staff members who served ex-President P W Botha will be staying on — at least for the time being.

They include the omnipresent Dr Jannie Roux, whose contract as secretary-general of the President's Office has recently been extended for another two years.

Mr Botha vacated his Cape Town office in Tuynhuys more than a month ago — the day after his dramatic resignation on August 14. However, Mr De Klerk stayed on in his Ministry of National Education office until his inauguration. And, when he did move in, the changing of the order proceeded very smoothly.

Mr De Klerk has brought in only the handful of staff most intimately involved with the President — including his private secretary, Mr Henning van Wijk and his deputy, Mr Noel Basson.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Private

A new man on the President's team is his media spokesman, Mr Casper Venter, formerly of the Bureau for Information.

He has replaced Mr Botha's man, Mr Jack Viviers, whose role became intensely controversial in the final months of the Botha administration.

Also gone are Mr Botha's two private secretaries, Mr Ian Putter and Captain Ters Ehlers.

Capt Ehlers, a naval officer and the man who probably knows more about Mr Botha and his office than any other person, is understood to be considering going into private consultancy.

He is at present helping Mr Botha, who has moved to his private home in the Wilderness, to sort out his personal papers which will be moved to the archives of the Institute of Contemporary History at the University of the Free State.

Mr Botha's personal secretary, Miss Geraldine Mostert, is also assisting the ex-President.

A retiring State President is entitled to keep his staff for 60 days while he winds up his affairs. In Mr Botha's case the complement has already been substantially scaled down, a spokesman said.

After the 60-day bridging period, a retired President retains a bodyguard-cum-driver and a personal secretary for life, on the public payroll.

Mr Botha retires on a pension equal to his salary — R14 500 a month.

HALTED!

Black arrests as rightwing hold protests

BY CHARLES MOGALE and SOL MORATHI

RACIAL tensions soared in Pretoria yesterday as police aborted a planned march by Women Against Repression (WAR) while two extreme rightwing rallies were allowed to take place.

By late yesterday, about 200 people were believed to be arrested.

Scores of blacks watching rightwingers from the wall surrounding Church Square were driven away in police vans.

Later, as the newly-formed Boere Vryheidsbeweging's rally was in progress, blacks were not allowed to come within a block of Church Square.

According to Sapa unrest flared, with at least one blood-spattered black being spotted in police custody at the corner of Bloed and Van der Walt Streets

Dozens of police vehicles flocked to the scene and arrested scores of people, among them journalists

Throughout the morning, blacks were chased away from Church Square by police and armed Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) members

A policeman told a *City Press* team, "Bly ver van die plein af" (Keep away from the square.)

A number of blacks wearing T-shirts with anti-apartheid slogans were taken into custody by police near the square

Late yesterday WAR officials said about 200 people had been arrested. They are expected to appear in court tomorrow.

Inside the square, rightwingers sang and applauded AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and waved placards. One read, "Bevry Strydom, Hang Mandela."

Armed AWB Aquilla bodyguards attempted to storm curious blacks. The men, who said they wanted to chase away "the baboons", were held back by the police.

An AWB organiser whipped up his audience when he ordered that blacks be removed from walls surrounding the square.

From the early morning, the streets were teeming with armed police redirecting blacks to other routes to avoid the square.

In Schoeman Street, where the WAR march to the Union Buildings was due to start, cordons were set up and access to the St Alban's Anglican Church was refused.

Police roadblocks were set up at several points leading into the city, and buses carrying WAR members and supporters, among them Nelson Mandela's wife Winnie, were not allowed into town.

WAR refused to apply for permission to march. An urgent interdict on Friday prohibited the march.

Yesterday small groups of the women were dispersed by police and some taken away in police vans

The Union Buildings were also sealed off

WAR spokesman Zeni Tshongweni yesterday condemned police action and the detention of blacks

She said: "This action proves FW de Klerk is not a man of his word and can never be that. He is playing into the hands of the rightwing"

Police said they believed they had averted a serious confrontation by turning back buses with people trying to get into the city.

S'BU MNGADI reports thousands of people took to the streets in Durban and Maritzburg this week.

In Durban, more than 10 000 people marched on the Durban City Hall on Friday

The march was led by Archbishop Denis Hurley, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, UDF co-president Archie Gumede, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo, Bishop Michael Nuttall, Mewa Ramgobin and others.

Two ANC flags were hoisted on the city council's flagpoles. The pillars of the city hall were draped with a 10 metre ANC flag.

On Wednesday thousands of people marched through central Maritzburg.

Policemen photographed and videotaped the crowd from vantage points

The march culminated in the official launch of the MDM's boycott of white shops and businesses in protest against the Labour Relations Act. The boycott will last until October 6

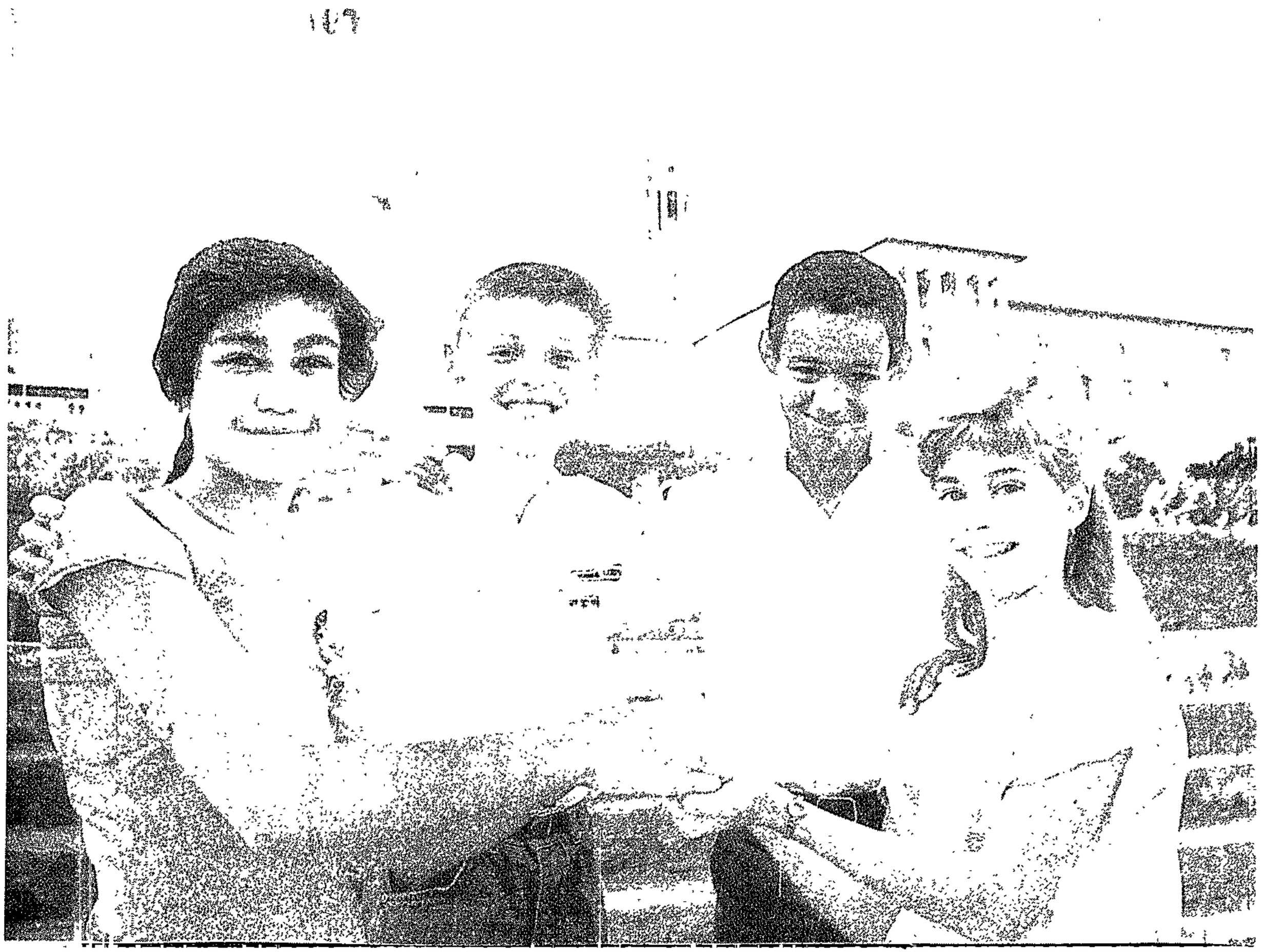


Clergy leading a march of thousands to the Durban City Hall on Friday. Thousands marched in ...

The kids who stole FW's heart

304A

S/Times 24/9/89



AMID the pomp and ceremony of the State President's inauguration this week, four young teenagers from different sides of South Afri-

S/Times
24/09/89
304 A

PROUD FOURSOME: Fatima Joosub, Jaco Redelinghuys, Nathan Benjamin and Estari Liebetrau at the Union Buildings

Report: CHARIS PERKINS Picture: OLTMAN MINNIE

The youngsters — a dark-eyed Indian girl and a dimpled Afrikaans girl, a mischievious young teenager from Pretoria's white suburbs and a shy coloured lad — touched the hearts of thousands as they entrusted the new State President with the future of their land.

Exciting

President De Klerk was visibly moved as his wife accepted a bouquet of colourful carnations from the girls and he accepted a Bible from the the boys.

"Mr De Klerk was overwhelmed by the gesture," a presidential aide said afterwards. "He was very touched."

For the four Std 5 pupils, the presentation was the most exciting moment of their lives — and the most nerve-racking.

Fatima Joosub, 12, the head girl of Laudium Primary, said she was proud as an Indian girl to have met Mr and Mrs De Klerk.

"A man came up to me afterwards and told me I had made history."

"It was a big honour," said 12-year-old Nathan Benjamin, head boy of Norridge Park Primary — a school in Pretoria's coloured Eesterus township. "I've never met a state president before. My heart was beating like crazy."

Jaco Redelinghuys, 13, the head boy of Pretoria's Paul Kruger Primary School, confided they had all felt "a bit worried" that they might trip and fall while walking up the stairs to the stage.

"When I got up there I couldn't stop shaking," Jaco said, "but I did manage to stop calm down enough to say 'congratulations' to President De Klerk.

"He looks like an okay president to me."

Every time Mr De Klerk opens the Bible — a New Translation Afrikaan issue which he specially requested — he'll be reminded of the day four South African kids of different races entrusted him with their future. The four wrote their names on the flyleaf.

"I wish him strength in his duties," said Estari Liebetrau, the 12-year-old head girl of Wierda Park Primary in Verwoerdburg. "I've got faith in him."

Faith

The girls were asked to take part in the ceremony only the day before, and the two boys were picked out of the audience at the Union Buildings.

"The lady who asked us said she'd chosen me because I looked the naughtiest," said Jaco. "I'm not really naughty. I just have a big mouth."

The ceremony's organising committee was delighted with the children. "It went off better than we ever dreamed it would," said Mrs Irene du Plessis.

"We just wish a black child could have been involved. We did have a black boy set up to help present the Bible, but his school phoned at the last minute to cancel for fear of intimidation."

The man behind the idea was organising committee member Jook van Dyk. "Flowers have a language everyone understands," he said.

"And the biblical commands that we love one another are the principles which will bring about unity in our land."



THANK YOU: The President with Nathan Benjamin

Old Free State has lessons for future

S/Times 24/9/89 304A



by Otto Krause

MOST South Africans, out of transparent cluelessness, have but few good words for the Free State.

They blast the landscape (oh, for a mountain! oh, for a widdle tree!) and ignore the people.

Those who have read the odd history book or stopped off at more than a filling station do, however, praise the Free Staters for their political balance and ethnic tolerance.

"The most balanced South Africans," some aver.

In this last election, that political balance was ostensibly upset when the Conservative Party purloined no fewer than six Free State seats while the National Party squeaked in with seven (with Fauresmith in the limbo of perfect equilibrium).

How now for balance? cried the Editor of the Sunday Times in his Hogarth column and invited, nay, challenged me as a "professional Free Stater" to please explain the aberration (the gauntlet is dubious: In challenging me, he forgets his own estimable Free State connections).

Touchingly, he also equates a loss of NP support with a loss of balance. With which I would, of course, agree.

Deplored

But in more serious vein, any Free Stater with respect for its traditions must certainly bemoan its partial welcome to the extremist CP. For extremism has never been the province's stock-in-trade.

Nonetheless, it is now the Free State Afrikaners who have been rent apart, and their loss of pristine balance is deplored.

Yet the French have a saying — to understand all is to forgive all.

In trying to understand the erstwhile political balance of the Free State, one best explains it as a melting pot of two traditional strains of Afrikaner thought, with an English additive. The Free State is, after all, the crossroads of South Africa.

There are indeed two kinds of Afrikaner thinking. The easy differentiation is geographic — north and south — but the key is historic.

In the Transvaal and Free State, the concept of self-determination of the national freedom of Afrikanerdom has taken pride of place. And this goes back to the Trek, the old Republics and the wars fought against British domination.

In Afrikaner politics in this century the north/south strains of political thought have often been at loggerheads, especially over the subtler question of who leads Afrikanerdom — the Cape or the Transvaal?

The Free Staters, on the other hand, always managed to internalise both the strains and handle them well.

The tradition of self-determination still runs deep, but without anti-British extremism. Meanwhile, the influence of Cape thinking has been strong, along with its English inputs.

Party-politically, the Free State has moved its allegiance up and down, sometimes backing the Cape leadership of the NP, sometimes that of the Transvaal — as now.

Overall, the key to Free State balance has been moderation, born perhaps out of rural common sense.

It is the current argument over how Afrikaners look at their future that has caused the balance to go out of kilter.

Whereas the Free Staters previously united both lines of thinking in their politics, in recent years they have not been so sure.

The CP militants in the province came to feel that the Cape Nationalists — who have led the NP this past decade — have gone liberal like the British and will all too easily sell them down the river to the blacks. They have consequently rebelled.

Racism

The unfortunate rub is that such CP supporters irrationally equate Afrikaner nationalism with racism — while, at the same time, the NP has been escaping from that intellectual bind.

So, instead of internalising such differences as in the past, the Free Staters have now divided. And this applies to much of the rest of Afrikanerdom.

All of which puts the new Transvaal leadership of President F W de Klerk to the test. Will he be able to persuade Afrikanerdom to unite once more and submerge its differences in mutual trust?

Or is he charting a new course by relying on English support?

Whichever course he chooses, he can benefit from the experience of the old Free State.

Here's hoping FW's vision doesn't 'blur'

S/Times 24/9/89 (304A)



by Lester Venter

political correspondent, who examines the switch from 'vertical' to 'horizontal' groupings in SA

HISTORY has afforded Mr F W de Klerk such an eventful entree to the Presidency — with so much done and said — that the focus is likely to fall soon on what has NOT been said.

This week, at his inauguration, Mr De Klerk restated his eloquent vision of a South Africa in which the distrusts of the past have been vanquished and the antagonisms defused.

What has not emerged, however, is a detailed vision — or a set of clues to one — of what sort of a South African society these fine goals would be achieved in.

Only the most uncharitable could by now doubt Mr De Klerk's sincere wish to negotiate a settlement among all South Africans, one that the majority would eventually be willing to call their own — and support.

Yet it is precisely not knowing what the Government wants to negotiate about that is keeping its intended partners holding the prospect of talks at arm's length.

Mr De Klerk's problem is that various members of the Government have been pronouncing apartheid dead (and, in some cases, even "gone") for more than a decade.

Hype

In this regard, when he says he wants to get away from apartheid and its trappings there is a tangible need for him to demonstrate what is meant this time. That meaning did not emerge in the recent election campaign.

And, contrary to all the hype surrounding it, the National Party's five-year action plan contained very little of it. But there is a Nationalist vision of a future South Africa — and it has been around for about 24 months. Its basic elements began coming together in the last, moribund years of Mr P W Botha's rule.

Put in its most simplified form, the vision entails creating a South Africa in which each adult has a vote; that these votes be equal; that each citizen enjoy guaranteed equal civil rights; and that the constitution grant all groups of individuals equal democratic powers.

So far this could be a description of any Western state. The South African caveat, however, will be that those enumerated rights will be exercised in separate, mainly racial, compartments.

The view goes further: The way in which those compartments are seen, and ordered, is of paramount importance

Until now, SA society has been divided into separate racial compartments — "horizontally", because some racial groups, like whites, were placed in a superior position over others in the ordering of things.

The new compartmentalisation, its theorists insist, should be viewed vertically — so that the groups will exist in a parallel ordering of society, with no one enjoying precedence over another.

Emboldened

This is what is meant by ending domination of one group over another.

A further important element in the concept is the wholescale elimination of all discriminatory legislation and practices — except the principle one that deems persons to be members of one or another group. All forms of what used to be archly called "petty" discrimination will be eradicated.

This is what many Government officials mean when they talk of ending apartheid — and from which definition it can rightly be said to be largely gone already.

Within these "compartments" each group will develop for itself a political structure and will control matters peculiar to it — such as schools, hospitals, housing and agriculture. This, of course, it what is meant by "own affairs" and the retention of an "own community life".

At the various levels — local, regional, provincial and national — there will be umbrella bodies where matters of mutual concern will be dealt with. These are "general affairs", by now a familiar concept.

Under Mr De Klerk, emboldened reformers have taken the concept further by introducing sophisticated new elements. Primary among these is that the definition of group compartments need not be necessarily or exclusively racial — although in large part it will remain so.

Separate

The idea is to get away from the crudity of compulsory racial classification of citizens, and to "blur" the harsh lines of absolute distinction between the racial compartments. Hence the talk of "freedom of association".

This is the intellectual womb from which has been born the planned introduction of Free Settlement Areas, and the creation of a fifth compartment — for those who do not wish to have a racial tag.

The Free Settlement Areas are a key element. For it is only by living in one of them that a "non-ethnic" citizen can enjoy full rights, like voting for a local authority.

Two important things flow from this.

One is that the Free Settlement Areas law and the Group Areas Act, or something like it, are complementary.

The other is that the number of Free Settlement Areas is critical. And here a major debate is being waged in Government circles.

Will — or should — Free Settlement Areas be and remain the exception, or should they become the norm? The various sides of the argument are too complex to be elucidated here; suffice it to say that the "own affairs" concept depends on the retention of racial residential segregation in the main.

Another important new introduction by the latter-day reformists is one more of emphasis than fact: The existence and interrelation of the compartments will not be founded primarily on geographical areas.

It will rather be an interrelation of interest groups, which, in the reality of SA, would have an overwhelmingly ethnic character.

This is what is meant by theorists when they talk of a racial federation.

What it all really comes down to is that South Africans will share one economy, and their living space to a limited degree, but retain separate political identities.

South Africa has travelled an arduous road to come to acknowledge that racial discrimination can never be justified. Here's hoping a similar journey is not needed to prove that neither can it ever be just.

White safety is the route to new deal for blacks

S/Times 24/9/89

304A

by Dr Otto Graf Lambsdorff

chairman of the Free Democratic Party (Liberals) in West Germany

WHAT Mr F W de Klerk has offered in substance so far is clearly not The Great Leap Forward.

It is good to hear him speak of black participation in South African politics, but it revives all our deeply ingrained scepticism to learn that he cannot conceive of such participation in any other way than in a system of ethnically defined groups.

Groups, in other words, that are not constituted by voluntary association but by criteria the individual can neither help nor escape.

And for us Liberals it is inexorably the individual and his choice that counts. If he or she wants to participate through ethnic groups — out of traditional loyalty or for whichever reason — fair enough! But surely this cannot be the sole and only choice, thrust upon every citizen regardless of his or her preference.

So the least we must ask is that it be left to the individual to choose for himself in which way and through which channels or organisations he wants to participate.

One part of the reason there has been so little and such slow progress in South Africa is, of course, the lack of goodwill on the part of those who profit by the status quo.

But the other part is that there are no easy or even obvious solutions — and those who suggest that there are, ought to be distrusted nearly as profoundly as those who simply refuse to relinquish their inherited privilege and predominance.

Liberals are habitually distrustful of simplistic solutions, and I can hardly conceive of an example where they would be less appropriate than in the case of South Africa.

The big question is, of course, whether the straightforward majority principle is enough to resolve conflicts in deeply divided societies — or, rather, what else is

Deeply divided societies: That means where all the cleavages — ethnic, social, cultural, religious, economic and in consequence political — coincide.

Obviously, it would be naive to assume that in such a society there would be anything like a "floating vote" that would give the minority of today a chance to be the majority of tomorrow

White domination by a majority may have some relative merits compared to domination by a minority, it is certainly not a satisfactory solution by any liberal standards.

Of course every adult South African must have the right to vote, regardless of race or colour.

But it is equally clear that there must be safeguards against a tyranny of the majority — not through tampering with the franchise but through institutional checks and balances which effectively rule out any monopoly of power.

In short, what is needed is some kind of power-sharing. Not, of course, what P W Botha called "healthy" power-sharing, which is nothing else but white domination in a pussy-footed disguise.

What I have in mind is a dispensation which really requires the concurrence of all relevant forces to make decisions that are binding upon all.

I do not pretend to have a blueprint of such a dispensation, nor would it be proper for me to offer one. That is a matter that must be worked out by South Africans themselves — by all South Africans, and at the negotiating table. When I said, a year or two ago, that "white security is the key to black liberation", Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's reply was: "Yes, and black liberation is the key to white security!"

And indeed, not only are both these propositions correct, they are also mutually interdependent.

The longer whites delude themselves by seeking their security through domination, the closer they move towards the brink of the abyss beyond which there can be no security for anyone.

Whites must learn that their position grows increasingly precarious while black aspirations are frustrated.

If that lesson is not learnt quickly, they risk nothing less than an extremely destructive civil war, which may not only wipe out the basis of their own way of life, but of the South African economy as a whole.

On the other hand, the sooner blacks realise that there is at least some legitimate white concern about the future in a post-apartheid South Africa, and the sooner they offer perspectives designed to dispel such essential angst, the faster we shall move towards a genuine resolution of this extremely dangerous conflict.

That is why dialogue is of such paramount importance.

I know, of course, that it is sheer hypocrisy to preach non-violence to those whose non-violent struggle of many decades was "rewarded" only by suppression, banning and imprisonment — in a word, by violence — and I do know that there is an end to human patience at some point or other.

But still, I cannot see what positive results could be achieved by violence; and I cannot bring myself to approve of it.

The truth is that there is no alternative to dialogue.

I am convinced that one Dakar conference creates more potential for progress than ever so many sanctions, and that one meeting within South Africa that exposes mutually suspicious communities to each other — and to each other's fears — does more to promote peace and liberty than our ever so justified moral indignation.

Activist: FW lied about negotiation

STOCKHOLM. — The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was lying when he spoke of negotiation, South African anti-apartheid activist Mrs Audrey Coleman said in Sweden yesterday, and vowed that civil disobedience would continue.

She was reacting to the incident in Pretoria at the weekend in which police prevented Women Against Repression (WAR) from marching on the Union Buildings.

Mrs Coleman, who has been involved in various anti-apartheid organisations, was in Stockholm to participate in the "Free the Children From Apartheid" conference.

Mrs Coleman said "This would have been the greatest march of women in the history of South Africa — we had hoped for 50 000 participants in the march to Pretoria. But the new president has shown that the talk about negotiation is a total lie Our campaign of civil disobedience continues." — Sapa

Colour pictures by ADIL BRADLOW, black and white shots by ULLI MICHEL and RAYMOND PRESTON of REUTERS.



UNWELCOME ONLOOKERS ... Police ask black onlookers to disperse after members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging demanded their removal from a central Pretoria square during a rally on Saturday.



AWB FURY ... A supporter of the Afrikaner resistance movement AWB tussles with a black onlooker at the movement's rally in Pretoria's Church Square on Saturday.



SHOWING THEIR COLOURS ... Khaki-clad AWB supporters wave their flag alongside the swastika during a rally in Pretoria on Saturday.

CHANGING SA (304A)

Moving downline

What will SA look like in five years time? Much will of course depend on what F W de Klerk's five-year plan brings forth — as well as imponderables such as sanctions and the

(304A) Fwail

scale of internal protest. However, based on what he calls the current pattern of a fragmentation of apartheid and a phase of untidy transition, Urban Foundation chairman Jan Steyn has made some tentative predictions.

In an address to the SA Orthopaedic Association's congress in Pretoria last week, Steyn suggested that if current processes unravel and develop as one would expect them to, we will have a society with the following major features:

☐ A government drawn from all groups, probably with provision for an executive drawn from the major black and white political parties. It could take many different forms and will understandably be highly controversial — but it will constitute a substantial measure of power-sharing between major political interests;

☐ A Bill of Individual Rights will have strengthened the rule of law and opened the way for much fuller equality of opportunity in society;

☐ Open residential areas subject to the qualification that some deeply conservative white suburbs may exercise (formally or informally) a right to remain exclusive. In other suburbs a lesser or greater degree of integration will have taken place, though informal ethnic clustering, as one finds in the US, will probably occur;

☐ In a combination of State-subsidised private schools and even some State schools, one will find an increasing proportion of education occurring on a nonracial basis;

☐ Over-arching forms of metropolitan government will draw together formerly white and black municipalities under the umbrella of common local fiscal resources. The powers of metropolitan authorities will tend to increase and local government will increasingly be devoted to attempts to upgrade less-developed urban areas;

☐ The economy, though beset by uncertainty, will be stronger than it is at present, primarily because investors and foreign finance houses will have become aware of the fact that movement is occurring in the direction of longer-term stability;

☐ Blacks will be divided on the reforms and changes and some will participate while others will choose to remain outside the system of government and administration as a vocal dissenting bloc. This dissent and protest will tend to maintain pressure on the whole system for further change; and

☐ SA will still be in transition but it will be less easy to make the accusation that the system is white-dominated. The political centre of gravity will be shifting towards effective participation by the majority. A post-apartheid SA will be emerging, still untidily, but in the end convincingly.

Fits and starts

In response to those who would question his broad predictions, from whatever stance, Steyn makes two points. first, that most successful democracies emerged in political fits and starts as a result of unwilling concessions by ruling groups.

These societies were at the time of their transition also riven by protest, defensive rhetoric, thwarted interests and frustated expectations. Virtually all those societies which have undergone quick and radical transformation have proved incapable of sustaining the freedoms promised by the changes.

Finally, says Steyn, two developments could abort the process he sketches. One would be if change takes place in a deteriorating economy, where increased black and white privation makes both less inclined to compromise. A second danger lies in the movements for change (internal and the outside world) pushing too hard in a way which arouses fear among whites that their interests and security face serious jeopardy or destruction.

This could lead to an unthinking, emotionally based resistance developing, as happened in Southern Rhodesia, leading to UDI in 1965.

While these dangers are latent in SA's social life and brittle economy, Steyn concludes, there is a web of influence inside the country and abroad that is capable of sustaining SA's progress towards a unified and equal society.

"SA will change; apartheid is in the final five years of its tragic and perverse existence; and progress towards this goal can be protected against aggressive and confrontational activism from the Right, the Left and abroad." ■

Worrall, Malan want tro to go on Zac says 'no

AMGS 25/9/89
ZOCA

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

TWO of the three co-leaders of the Democratic Party have come out in favour of a continuation of the collective leadership, but the third favours a single leader.

Those in favour of the continuation of the "troika" are Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, while Dr Zac de Beer wants a single leader.

A decision on the matter must be taken at a congress of the party in Durban on October 7.

Mr Malan said today that the collective leadership had worked well up to now and that he was in favour of it continuing at least until a congress next year.

The party's top priority now was to work to strengthen its grassroots support and he feared that it could lose support with one leader.

If, however, it was decided to have only one leader he would be available.

Dr Worrall said that, while he felt the matter should be left to the congress, he was in favour of the continuation of the triumvirate as he believed this would work better than the efforts of just one leader.

He hoped the congress would recognise that there were important elements of the party which had contributed to its success. The triumvirate did not lose the party votes during the election campaign.

The party had acquired a new personality which differed from its component parts and this process had to continue if the party were to achieve its full potential.

Dr Worrall said that he, too, would be available for the leadership if the congress decided to have only one leader.

Dr Zac de Beer pointed out that he had told the last Progressive Federal Party congress nearly six months ago that he would be available for the leadership.

When the DP was started it was decided that there should be a congress within six months to decide on the question of leadership.

Law Commission encounters a rival set of human rights

KEN OWEN

AN OLD friend wandered into my office last week clutching a batch of secret Broederbond documents dealing with impending constitutional changes and with proposals for a bill of rights.

Among them is one which suggests that when President de Klerk decided to order his "expert study" of possible constitutional models for South Africa, he already knew very well what answers he wanted.

As it happens, I am something of an amateur authority on Broederbond papers, having worked closely with Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom on the massive leak of documents which led to the publication of their bestselling book, The Super-Afrikaners. I still have a box of fading membership lists under the bed.

The Wilkins-Strydom papers, woefully ignored by academic writers and historians (presumably because they were first published in the successful Sunday Times), gave advance notice of the constitutional and political changes that were to follow in the Eighties.

The tricameral system, for example, was essentially a Broederbond idea, thrashed out during the chairmanships of Wimpie de Klerk (the man who gave such a celebrated outline of policy to the DP founding congress), and Gerrit Viljoen, who now presides over constitutional reform.

The latest documents — I have no doubt they are genuine — show that the Broederbond has conducted a similar pathfinding operation for the planned constitutional changes of the Nineties.

My friend is incensed because he believes that the Broederbonders who have assumed prominence in the DP — co-leader Wynand Malan, and his economics adviser Sampie Terreblanche — must have known what the Broeders of the National Party were planning before the election.

He says the documents make nonsense of their claims shortly before the election that the Broederbond was — wait for it! — nothing but a cultural organisation.

In fact, the documents show that as late as last June the Broederbond was most certainly a political planning organisation, deeply immersed in the problems of thrashing out a bill of rights and a new constitution.

An early version of the constitutional guidelines in my collection struggles with unfamiliar concepts of freedom, using rather quaint terminology to demand protection for at least the following rights: freedom of religion and worship, freedom of speech, freedom of privacy (sic), freedom of association, freedom of political participation, freedom to form political parties, freedom of movement, free access to the courts *(vrye toegang tot regbank)*, freedom of language and cultural behaviour, including the right to mother-language education, and freedom of property ownership.

A later version, distributed to Broeders less than three months before the election and leaked at the time by the right wing, follows the more sophisticated proposals for a bill of rights which had in the meantime been published by the Law Commission.

Personally, I am happy to leave it to Broederbonders in the DP to reconcile, as best they can, their support for one political party while bound by solemn oaths to a secret organisation which pursues different aims.

What interests me is how the Broederbond ideas fit — or don't fit — the thinking displayed in the Law Commission's list of basic rights, in particular "the right of every person or group to disassociate" from other groups or individuals.

While the Law Commission recognises the right to "disassociate", and backs it up with the right to privacy, protection against arbitrary arrest or invasion of one's property, and so forth, it does add an essential qualification:

"Provided that if such disassociation constitutes discrimination on the ground of race, colour, religion, language or culture, no public or state funds shall be granted directly or indirectly to promote the interests of the person who or group which so discriminates."

In other words, you can have your own school provided you pay for it. Perhaps you can even have your own, exclusive town, provided you don't collect any rates or taxes. It's an interesting idea.

The Broederbond plan gives the matter quite a different twist (which may explain why President de Klerk shows such an alarming reluctance to endorse the work of the Law Commission, and why he wants more studies done).

I am reluctant to cite clause numbers from the documents because the Broederbond uses numbering codes to trace leaks, and I have been caught out before, but I translate:

"The association of individuals within the groups for which constitutional provision is made must be voluntary. The right of individuals to associate *within a group context* (my italics) is therefore recognised and protected, just like the rights of individuals who do not wish to associate within particular groups.

"The right of a group to determine whether an individual is a member must also be taken into account. It is important for the Afrikaner that he, alone or in combination with other groups with whom he wishes to associate, is entitled to protection."

The Broederbond sets the goal of establishing a unique constitutional model which will provide for the creation of units *(deeleenhede)*, which may be either groups or geographical areas. Every individual will, besides enjoying constitutional protection of his own rights, have the right to participate effectively, but within the context of his unit, in all government decisions that affect him.

This constitutional model incorporates certain assumptions: firstly, each unit will have maximum recognition and autonomy; matters of common interest will be decided on the basis of consensus.

Secondly, the division between authority over the autonomous interests of the unit, and authority over common interests must be firmly entrenched.

Thirdly, where conflict arises between the unit and the common interest, the issue must be decided by a constitutional court (or similar body).

Fourthly, each unit will be entitled to decide for itself the character and nature of its own internal government institutions.

Fifthly, group participation in both legislative and executive functions of the the central (common affairs) government must be protected. There must be provision for consensus in common affairs, and autonomy in the "own affairs" of each unit.

That, in short, is the hidden agenda. It will be interesting in the coming months to see which school of thought prevails: the Law Commission's universality of rights, or the Broederbond's sectional obsessions. The decision lies with Broeders De Klerk, Viljoen, and the rest of the Cabinet.

Star 25/9/89.

304A

DP calls for voters' roll to be scrapped

By Louise Burgers

The Democratic Party has called for the voters' roll to be scrapped so a general registration of voters can take place before the next delimitation.

The information officer for the DP, Mr Peter Soal, was commenting in the light of numerous mistakes on the voters' roll.

"The system of registering voters needs to be investigated. One would need a general registration of voters closer to the time of delimitation. The present voters' role needs to be scrapped and there should be people going round to each address in every constituency to re-register voters.

Commenting on the DP's call, the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria said a similar idea was investigated but it was decided that the general registration of voters would not yield better results than the present system.

The National Party in the Bezuidenhout constituency has complained that about 150 voters were allegedly removed from the Bezuidenhout constituency voters' roll and placed in the uncontested Yeoville constituency.

NP city councillor Mr Howard Bloomberg said some people living in Observatory Extension and Linksfield Ridge had voted in Bezuidenhout in the 1987 general election and had since appeared in Yeoville.

The Department of Home Affairs said both suburbs were situated in the Yeoville electoral division.

"When the voters' list for the electoral division of Bezuidenhout was checked, it was established that approximately 130 voters should be transferred to the Yeoville constituency, which was then done."

Miss Sinja Bumann, who lives in the Westdene constituency, was angry at not being allowed to vote in this election because she was somehow transferred and registered in an uncontested seat.

"I voted in the 1987 election in Westdene and suddenly I find myself registered in the Yeoville constituency which is uncontested. I didn't register a change of address or anything.

"There are many people in this country who do not have the vote and it is up to those of us who do to use it. I was furious. It is my democratic right."

Major speculation in Britain on Thatcher visit to SA

Message for De Klerk

ARGUS 25/9/89 304A

Political Correspondent

THE British government was strongly suggesting through official and unofficial sources today that Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher would visit South Africa early next year if President F W de Klerk gave substance to his promises of further reform.

Several of Britain's major newspapers, all supporters of Mrs Thatcher's line, carried the same message: that Mrs Thatcher would go to South Africa in an effort to accelerate the pace of reform under President De Klerk.

The story was clearly leaked to journalists who travelled with Mrs Thatcher on her trip to Japan and the Soviet Union.

The newspapers involved are the Times, the Daily Express, Today and the Daily Mail.

The Express's political editor, Mr Chris Buckland, suggests that Mrs Thatcher also wants to have talks with Nelson Mandela once he is freed, breaking her embargo on links with the ANC.

Mrs Thatcher always has had a firm list of conditions to be met before she would contemplate a South African trip: the release of Mr Mandela and Walter Sisulu, the easing of restrictions on political activity and the opening of South African government contacts with the African National Congress.



Mr F W de Klerk

In a front-page report today the Daily Mail says the trip, probably at Easter, means the release of Mr Mandela could be only a matter of months away, "along with a package of reforms giving the country's black majority more freedom and power."

It adds: "The log-jam over apartheid and discrimination against the black population, which began when South Africa walked out of the Commonwealth during the Macmillan era, is breaking up fast."

A British diplomatic source said in Pretoria today that there were no immediate plans for such a visit.

It is understood, official sources said, that Mrs Thatcher would not feel able to undertake such a trip unless she felt that she could make a substantial contribution at ending apartheid. This would require substantial moves from Mr De Klerk.

Top government sources in Pretoria said there were no plans afoot for such a visit. They did not suggest this would never happen, but said no plans in this regard were being worked on at present.

A spokesman for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said he had no official knowedge about proposals for a visit, but that anything like this would be dealt with through normal channels.

...ed over by Mr Justice H L Berman.

Prof Nina Overton, a communica-

and bottled in SA.

She said the label did not state that

Worrall wants retention of DP troika leadership

DELEGATES to the DP's special congress next month should, when deciding leadership structure, consider how the growth and image of the party would be advanced, co-leader Denis Worrall said yesterday.

The debate on October 7 in Durban will centre around whether the party should have a single leader or whether Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan should continue as joint leaders.

Worrall said he supported the retention of the triumvarite as it proved successful in the election.

"The formula worked, the congress needs to look at this very carefully before deciding to change it," he said.

By having a troika, the party was not dominated by the single image of either the IP, the NDM or the PFP and had an entirely new personality, Worrall said.

Worrall said all three leaders had different strengths and their appoint-

EDYTH BULBRING

ment had satisfied members of all three parties.

He said his support for a troika in no way demonstrated a lack of confidence in his own ability to lead the party or in his support within it.

A Sunday newspaper reported at the weekend Worrall had done a head count, and realising he would not win in a straight battle between himself and De Beer, has decided to opt for the troika.

304A) Alienate

Malan has said he was in favour of the troika but would be available if the congress opted for a single leader.

DP sources said yesterday the IP and the NDM had drawn support from quarters that would not have become involved in the PFP and the election of De Beer as party leader would alienate that support.

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Profess...

Major struggle developing in DP over leadership

Cape Times 25/9/89 Political Staff (3DCA)

A MAJOR struggle is developing within the ranks of the Democratic Party as to whether the DP should elected a single leader at its congress on October 7, or persevere with the present "troika".

At this stage both Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan favour retention of the troika, while Dr Zach de Beer believes the DP should elect a leader and settle the issue.

Tipped as the unquestionable favourite when the party was founded, Dr Worrall has lost considerable ground since then and it is now accepted that he would lose to Dr De Beer.

Mr Malan has always been regarded as a "no-hoper" in the leadership fight.

He came out in support of retaining the troika at the end of last week, but at the same time stated that he was available for election as DP leader.

Advocating retention of the troika at a meeting in Randburg, Mr Malan said that if a single leader was elected he would stamp his own personality on the DP and this could be detrimental to the party's growth.

Dr De Beer was elected DP parliamentary leader at the start of the present session and even if a single leader is not elected on October 7 he will remain in this position, allowing him to consolidate his claim to the overall leadership.



'We mean business' — State President Mr F W de Klerk.

De Klerk plays down Mandela release stories

Star 26/9/89

304A

By Garner Thomson, The Star Bureau

LONDON — The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has played down reports that he is ready to release Mr Nelson Mandela within the next few months.

But he pledged that public protest would continue to be allowed in South Africa — as long as it took place "within the law".

NOT AN ISSUE

In a wide-ranging interview with the BBC's southern Africa correspondent, James Robbins, Mr de Klerk said Mr Mandela himself had said his release was "not an issue" at the moment.

Mr de Klerk added that statements by his Ministers on Mr Mandela's future had been misunderstood.

"The question of Mr Mandela's role is a very delicate one which needs constant attention and which is receiving constant attention," he said.

The timing of the release would "definitely not" be decided at the meeting of his Cabinet tomorrow.

The interview, broadcast here on both the BBC's evening newscast and more fully on Newsnight, did, however, suggest that Mr de Klerk accepted both Mr Mandela's release, in principle at least, and the need for accelerated change in South Africa.

"Time is of the essence and therefore we are not playing games when we raise expectations," he said. "We mean business. We mean to live up to the reasonable expectations which we have created."

Newsnight's later analysis of the interview reported the growing suspicion among opponents of the Government that Mr de Klerk's much-publicised liberal approach was already toughening up — and that he was offering not negotiations but only consultations.

But in the interview, given yesterday afternoon, the President said: "Our vision of the future is that in the new South Africa no one group should dominate another.

MAJORITY RULE

"We should not have simple majority rule where minorities can be dominated, and we should definitely discontinue the situation where a minority actually finds itself in a dominating position."

Referring to an "improved" climate for negotiation, a smiling and optimistic-sounding President claimed: "It is as if there's a realisation among thinking South Africans, irrespective of race or colour, that really the time for strife and conflict has passed."

Mr de Klerk said public protest would now continue to be allowed in South Africa, as long as it took place inside the law, but there was not much sense in protesting if the point being made had already been accepted.

"And we accept that all South Africans must get the vote, all South Africans must become part of the decision-making process, all South Africans must have a fair share in the economy and a fair share in the power of this country. What we must do is to start talking as to how."

● See Page 13.

FW cool on Mandela's release

ANC 45
26/9/89
30 CA

From GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk has played down reports that he is ready to release Mr Nelson Mandela in the next few months.

But he pledged that public protest would continue to be allowed in South Africa — as long as it took place "within the law".

In a wide-ranging interview with the BBC's Southern Africa correspondent, James Robbins — the first he has given since his inauguration — Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela himself had stated his release was "not an issue" at the moment.

Mr De Klerk added that statements by his ministers on Mr Mandela's future had been misunderstood. "The question of Mr Mandela's role is a very delicate one which needs constant attention and which is receiving constant attention," he said.

Cabinet meeting

The timing of the release would "definitely not" be decided at the meeting of his Cabinet tomorrow.

He could not say whether Mr Mandela would be released this year, next year "or whenever".

He would also not be drawn into saying whether other political prisoners would be released before him.

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"Not playing games"

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But in the interview, given late yesterday, Mr De Klerk said: "Our vision of the future is that in the new South Africa no one group should dominate another. We should not have simple majority rule where minorities can be dominated, and we should definitely discontinue the situation where a minority actually finds itself in a dominating position."

Referring to an "improved" climate for negotiation, a smiling and optimistic-sounding President De Klerk claimed: "It's as if there's a realisation among thinking South Africans, irrespective of race or colour, that really the time for strife and conflict has passed."

Fair share

He added public protest would now continue to be allowed in South Africa, as long as it took place inside the law.

But, he added: "There isn't really much sense in protesting if the point that you want to make is already accepted.

"And we accept that all South Africans must get the vote, all South Africans must become part of the decision-making process, all South Africans must have a fair share in the economy and a fair share in the power of this country.

"What we must do is to start talking as to how."

Chief's reburial

● Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa today dismissed reports that Mr Mandela would be chief speaker at the reburial in Umtata on Sunday of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, reports The Argus Africa News Service.

Observers pointed out it was extremely unlikely that the South African government would allow Mr Mandela to attend the reburial — even on a restricted, one-day visit to Transkei — without first informing the Transkei authorities, who would be responsible for the ANC leader's safety.

De Klerk plays down Mandela release stories

Star 26/9/89

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See Page 13.

ANC's leader will not be at chief's re-burial

Star 26/9/89

By Patrick Laurence

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa today dismissed reports that jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela would be the chief speaker at the re-burial in Umtata on Sunday of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo.

Reacting to reports that Mr Mandela might be freed in time to attend the reburial, General Holomisa said: "Not to our knowledge."

Observers pointed out that it was extremely unlikely that the South African Government would allow Mr Mandela to attend the reburial, even on a restricted, one-day visit to Transkei,without first informing the Transkei authorities, who would be responsible for the ANC leader's safety.

Chief Dalindyebo and Mr Mandela were born into the same ruling family in Transkei, the royal house of the Thembus. Chief Dalindyebo fled into exile after he was convicted of violating the dignity of Transkei's President and later deposed from his chieftainship. While in exile in Lusaka, he joined the ANC.

He died in April 1986.

Restrictions

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

Thatcher SA visit linked to reforms

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain made it clear yesterday that Mr F W de Klerk must get his reform programme rolling soon if Mrs Thatcher is to visit South Africa next year.

Both Downing Street and the Foreign Office yesterday repeated their calls for an urgent programme of substantive change. If this was forthcoming, they said, the stage would be set as the British Prime Minister wants to be seen to be taking an active, indeed pivotal role in developments in the region — as shown by her visit to Namibia earlier this year.

By increasing the pressure for reform she also hopes to deflect some of the criticism she can expect from her many pro-sanctions critics at the Commonwealth summit in Kuala Lumpur next month.



Mrs Thatcher ... wants to play a pivotal role.

But Downing Street yesterday again set out the steps necessary to lure Mrs Thatcher to the country most foreign leaders shun. A spokesman said she wanted to see the release of black political leaders and moves to take the country "a considerable way down the path of reform".

He declined to say exactly what this entailed. "We are more hopeful (about change) now that there is a new State President. But it remains to be seen what will happen. We do not dictate to other governments what they should do. We will wait and see."

Foreign Office sources echoed most of Downing Street's remarks. Said a spokesman: "It is becoming quite clear when and if Mrs Thatcher will visit South Africa — but she will be interested in going there only after certain conditions have been met.

"If that happens by Easter ... we could be looking at a visit."

Graham Matthews of *The Economist* Intelligence Unit said he believed the news of a possible visit was a bid by the British government to up the stakes for reform shortly before next month's Commonwealth summit.

It is there that Mrs Thatcher will be hard-pressed to defend the validity of her argument for a non-isolationist approach.

Several of Britain's major newspapers, including *The Times*, predicted yesterday that Mrs Margaret Thatcher will visit the Republic early next year, naming Easter as the most likely date.

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PAC and ANC deeply divided, says Chikane

DAR ES SALAAM — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) remained deeply divided but efforts to unite them would continue, the Rev Frank Chikane said yesterday.

"The two sides seem as far apart as ever," said the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches after talks with PAC officials.

He arrived in Tanzania's capital on Sunday to try to persuade the groups to unite in the fight for black majority rule.

He has briefly met top ANC members.

Mr Chikane said: "I am convinced the differences are more historic than present." — Sapa-Reuter.

FW bringing evil to SA, claims CP

Star 26/9/89 (3041)

By Anna Louw,
East Rand Bureau

Mr Jackie Nel, leader of the Conservative Party in the Germiston City Council, said last night the new State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was "bringing evil to this country".

Mr Nel was reacting to a motion proposed by the vice-chairman of the management committee, Mr Fanie Coetzee, that the State President be granted the freedom of Germiston.

Mr Nel said the motion smacked of the Broederbond. He said the State President was planning to implement a five-year plan which would bring an end to white rule in South Africa.

He said the country would end up in a potpourri of races and cultures and Afrikaans would lose its status as an official language.

He said Mr de Klerk did not bat an eyelid when people stepped on Afrikaner monuments during a protest march in Pretoria recently.

"But when a pig's head is found outside a synagogue, the country finds itself in a crisis," he said.

The ruling group motivated the motion by saying Mr de Klerk had lived in Germiston for several years and his father had been headmaster of an Afrikaans primary school in the town.

The heated debate was concluded when 18 councillors voted in favour of granting the freedom of the city to the State President. Four of the five CP councillors voted against the motion.

WITH South Africa and its new State President, Mr F W de Klerk, poised to enter serious negotiations about the future, the question is: What new deal can be thrashed out? DEON PINCUS, a delegate and legal adviser to the Zimbabwe/Rhodesia delegation at the Lancaster House Conference, as well as a member of the Election Council established to monitor the "freeness and fairness" of the elections that followed the conference, argues that the negotiators must avoid the pitfalls of the "winner-takes-all" system. (South African-born Pincus lived in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia for 31 years and is now living in Durban).



F W de Klerk



Murphy Morobe

Finding way out for SA

Sowetan 26/9/89 (3049

FOCUS

THE mistake of the "winner- takes-all" result that befell Zimbabwe must and can be avoided in South Africa if the opportunities that now present themselves are taken.

For Zimbabwe today. the "winner" espouses a one-party state which is the antithesis of the democratic checks and balances required in South Africa if all of our people are to have their place in the sun.

Although the principles which theoretically govern the path to a truly democratic future are the same, the logistics in South Africa are completely different from those that pertained in the then Rhodesia.

Rhodesia's tiny white population (justifiably in certain respects proud of its history and achievement) did not have the numbers, the tradition, the wealth, the economic and psychological strength or the military power of South Africa.

Conciliation

South Africa is fortunate that, at this moment, the leadership of the great powers comprises people of moderation and balance who have a keen interest in a stable and progressive southern Africa.

Even the Eastern bloc are adding their weight to the moderate momentum, as was evident from the recent admission by the Mass Democratic Movement that their "allies" the "Soviet Union the Chinese, and even the Frontline States" were likely to put pressure on the African National Congress to become involved in a negotiation process and to stop the armed struggle.

Real communication and real attempts at conciliation between the various warring factions in Rhodesia at a grassroots level was conspicuous by its absence.

Even the Lancaster House Conference was held in an atmosphere of enmity between rivals who hardly communicated with each other except through the medium of Lord Carrington's Foreign Office team which was intent on "a-solution-no-matter-what-the-outcome".

Persuasion

There was no opportunity for real discourse, real persuasion and, thus, there was no meeting of minds.

All was staked on the outcome of one election, the results of which were totally miscalculated by everyone, the British Foreign Office included

The power bases in South Africa are totally different from those that pertained in Rhodesia.

In Rhodesia, there were but three divisions of significance, the Shona (by far the majority of the population and who now by sheer weight of numbers single-handedly run the country), the Matabele and the whites

In South Africa, numerous black groupings, Asians, coloureds and whites make the emergence of a single hegemony, a single winner, highly undesirable and a political goal which is devoid of practicality.

Great forces for moderation exist in South Africa, such as the ongoing and commendable accommodation reached by the KwaZulu Natal Indaba, the constructive and far-reaching recommendation of the Law Commission in regard to a bill of rights, the massive support for reform and accommodation given by the white electorate at the recent election, and the admirable spirit of conciliation shown by both the Government and protestors during the recent demonstrations.

Zimbabwe/Rhodesia had imposed upon it a Westminster-type constitution which gave total power to the "winner" upon a simple majoritarian basis.

Consensus

South Africa has the opportunity to negotiate a constitution embodying checks and balances which can and must provide for consensus government.

There are numerous examples to learn from and adapt to suit the special needs of our country

Yet all South Africans, and more especially their leaders, must be acutely aware that logistics change, often dramatically.

There can be no guarantee that the Thatchers, the Bushes and the Gorbachevs will retain their positions or policies of moderation, which assist in deraiting extremists from drawing battle lines

The opportunities now available must be seized with urgency.

Until recently, the Rhodesian pattern was repeating itself in South Africa.

That pattern has, however, undergone a dramatic metamorphosis.

A new atmosphere of optimism for the future has been born and will be justified if:

Shackles

- The protestation of the new-image National Party are fulfilled;
- The young but virile Democratic Party - the prime mover in changing white attitudes, which has already established important contacts with certain factions vital to meaningful conciliation, becomes even more intimately involved in the process;
- The extremists on both sides of the spectrum right and left, are persuaded to unshackle themselves from rigid ideologies that militate against finding an accommodation;
- The participants in the "Great Indaba" are genuine bona fide representatives of their constituents; and
- Real opportunities for communication in which all can participate in an atmosphere of concern and respect are created.

The requirements are formidable but by no means unattainable

What is required is statesmanship of the highest order and realistic visions of the future, which will again allow South Africans to walk tall among the nations of the world.

The opportunities now available will probably never again occur.



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

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Reports on Thatcher visit denied

MIKE ROBERTSON

SPECULATION that British Prime Minister Maragret Thatcher will pay a visit to SA appears premature.

When reports first appeared in British newspapers speculating about the visit there was a feeling among SA officials that it could be that Downing Street was "flying a kite".

But after further investigation officials are convinced that this is just a revival of an old rumour which has it that Thatcher wants to come to SA.

Rumours of a Thatcher visit first started towards the end of 1988 and again at the beginning of this year.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said: "We are not aware of such a visit. There is no firm proposal for her to visit SA. Normal diplomatic channels will be followed should such a visit take place."

Sapa reports from London that Thatcher still wants some tangible evidence of progress before she risks the international community's wrath by going to Pretoria.

Even though it might be largely symbolic, the release of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela — one of her conditions for a visit and already confirmed by the new SA Cabinet as very high on its agenda — would give credence to her embattled non-isolationist and anti-sanctions approach to getting rid of apartheid.

The reports of the visit, mooted for Easter, were also quickly denied by Downing Street on the basis that Thatcher's preconditions had to be met first.

Observers have, however, noted the significance of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, next month, where Thatcher faces renewed criticism from member states over her opposition to further sanctions and boycotts against SA in an effort to force the abolition of apartheid. Some concrete evidence of De Klerk's reform intentions would be invaluable, they say.

It is understood that De Klerk, during his visit to Britain in June as President-elect, gave Thatcher — one of SA's last Western allies — a comprehensive briefing on his plans for South Africa after the elections.

Board's initial free areas findings may be positive

304A B/Day 26/9/89.

TWO confidential reports outlining the Free Settlement Areas Board (FSAB) findings on Boksburg's Windmill Park and Durban's Warwick Triangle will be submitted to the President within two weeks, board chairman Hein Kruger said yesterday.

It is believed the findings favour the areas being declared free settlement areas.

Kruger said the reports are the first to be submitted by the board while the findings on the Midrand area of Countryview will follow within a month.

He said applications for Zuurbekom and Hillbrow to be declared free settlement areas are expected shortly.

He believed the Johannesburg Town Council is in discussions with members of the Ministers' Council regarding Hillbrow and the application will come "sooner or later".

EDYTH BULBRING

However, the possibility of Pageview being a free settlement area has not yet been discussed.

The board is investigating four other applications for Mayfair and Diepsloot in Johannesburg, and Zonnebloem (District 6) and Ottery/Wetton in Cape Town.

The application to have Windmill Park declared free was made by the Ministers' Council and a township developer, while the Durban City Council made the application for Warwick Triangle.

The board made its recommendations after examining, among other things, the current and projected socio-economic position inside and outside the designated area, infrastructure and housing.

Following the recommendations, the State President would decide whether or not to proclaim the areas. Kruger did not know how long he would take.

Meanwhile, thirteen other applications received by the board are still awaiting infrastructural details or comment from the House of Assembly's Ministers' Council before they can be investigated.

He declined to name the areas until investigation was underway.

He said the board went to Cape Town last week for an inquiry into the Zonnebloem application, but this did not materialise after the Cape Town City Council failed to notify the voters in the area.The request to investigate had been made by former President PW Botha and will be conducted on October 18.

The board will also hear evidence from the interested parties concerning the Mayfair application in October.

The board has progressed well with Diepkloof, but will only pronounce after "other" areas have been investigated.

Cabinet reshuffle rings the changes

B/Day 26/9/89

304A

MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's Cabinet reshuffle has resulted in a complex restructuring of several government departments as well as a number of new appointments of senior officials.

Dawie de Villiers's newly created Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises Department has been most affected by the changes.

De Villiers now has Lol Engelbrecht, who until the change, served as director general under Danie Steyn in the Economic Affairs and Technology Department, as his director general of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

In addition, De Villiers has Sats GM Anton Moolman, Postmaster General J H de Villiers and National Energy Council head D C Neethling as senior officials in charge of the various arms of the new department. De Villiers said he would deal directly with the heads of the various public enterprises and would not be appointing someone as overall co-ordinator.

The Privatisation Unit headed by Pieter van Huysteen and Eugene van Rensburg will also assist De Villiers in specific matters relating to the privatisation of the state enterprises.

The unit will continue to assist and report to new Administration and Privatisation Minister Wim de Villiers. De Villiers will also be responsible for the Commission for Administration (CFA).The senior officials in the CFA remain Piet van der Merwe (chairman), Roe Venter (member) and Louis Cluver.

The Development Aid Department, which has had a number of line functions from Chris Heunis's Constitutional Development empire given to it, has a new director general in Leon van Gass. He replaces G van de Wall who retired at the end of August.

New Trade and Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr will have Stef Naudé as his director general.

Newly appointed

The appointment of George Bartlett as Transport and Public Works and Land Affairs Minister has been accompanied by a change in the director general of the latter department. C W van Niekerk replaces P C van Blommestein, who has retired.

Duggie de Beer who served as director general of Development Planning when Heunis was Constitutional Development and Planning Minister will now serve as director general of Planning and Provincial Affairs.

'Money for revolution'

LONDON - The South African Government has spent 40 000 sterling (about R175 000) on an advertisement attacking disinvestment.

The Department of Foreign Affairs this weekend placed the full-page ad, headlined 'How to Finance the South African Revolution', in the *Sunday Times*.

The text of the ad is, however, not the stuff of South African revolutionaries. It is an argument against disinvestment, based principally of the grounds that "by supporting the many South African companies and organisations that are fighting for a free economy - rather than supporting the systematic destruction of the economy - you will help South Africa achieve its goal".

day September 27 1989

Sowetan 27/9/89 (30+A)

FW selling his

WITH Western Europe moving towards integration and a common market in 1991, South Africa's new State President, Mr FW de Klerk has a "Marshall Plan" likened to the plan to rebuild Europe immediately after the World War Two.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Where after World War Two the United States poured money into the continent, De Klerk spent most of his first days as National Party leader (earlier this year) selling a similar idea to European leaders for South Africa.

With South African expertise and European funds - circumventing the sanctions and financial pressure issue - South Africa can "rebuild the Southern Africa region".

The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) believes that managerial and technological competence, together with personal integrity and dedication on the part of those using capital funds are "indispensable" if economic progress is to be achieved.

Knowledge

"South Africa is short of funds, but has built up a wealth of technical and scientific knowledge and experience concerning African conditions. Western Europe is by no means devoid of similar knowledge and experience but its contribution to the development of Southern Africa must be sought above all in respect of finance," a DFA spokesman said.

This was the sales pitch used by De Klerk on his African safaris and meetings with Presidents Joachim Chissano of Mozambique, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and Dr



Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

"The countries of Southern Africa enjoy opportunities for economic upliftment unique in Africa," the DFA said. "Through trade, transport investment, labour, migration, tourism and technology transfers they interact closely and beneficially with the strongest and most diversified economy south of the Sahara. Commercial exchanges between countries stimulate development more effectively than handouts."

It is here where "Western nations interested in the development of the region would support mutually profitable links between the countries of Southern Africa - rather than active discouraging them, as is so often the case with the SADCC," the DFA said.

The approach to such a tripartite endeavour, of which the ultimate goal is a multi-national project for economic progress in Southern Africa, comparable in scope and impact to the historic European recovery programme, is outlined in a DFA paper entitled: A Tripartite Development Programme for Southern Africa (Depsa).

Six points

There are six points detailing what is expected of the European Community:

* Acknowledge that South Africa has an essential contribution to make if Western efforts to uplift countries in the region economically are to have a chance of succeeding;
* Pursue policies supportive of - rather than impeding - South African efforts to evolve a domestic social and political order broadly acceptable to all South Africans;
* Grant and/or mobilise funds and expertise for extending and modernising the physical infrastructure of the region;
* Provide assistance for measures aimed at raising human productivity through education and training as well as public health and family planning programmes and housing;
* Urge and assist Southern African governments to create economic and legal conditions conducive to attracting local and foreign private investments in processing, manufacturing and other productive measures and;
* Consider other appropriate measures to promote the development of the region, eg. steps to facilitate the importation of Southern African products into the European Community.

Sowetan 27/9/89 3-04A

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'Marshall Plan'

While the DFA reveals no suggested undertakings by any other country in the region the South African contribution to Depsa would be mostly in respect of technology, including research and advisory services, as well as the supply of goods and materials notably in respect of the following:

* Agriculture: appropriate techniques of crop and animal husbandry, mechanisation, irrigation and marketing; seed control and improvement; plant and animal health; protection against insect and other pests; inland fisheries; training of farm labour and supervisory personnel; agro- as well as forest-based industrial activities;

* Mining: All aspects, including prospecting, development, production, management, training and living conditions of labour, testing of machinery and equipment;

* Building and construction; low cost housing; road and dam construction; water supplies for domestic and agricultural purposes;

* Business development: promotion of small scale and industrial and commercial ventures; creation of marketing facilities, business training;

* Human health: organisation of preventive and curative services, family planning, diagnostic services, research;

* Education and training: specialised facilities to import basic skills, train artisans, technicians, medical and veterinary personnel;

* Diverse technical fields such as transport, telecommunications, use of fissionable materials, industrial effluents and waste disposal and environmental protection; and

* Trade and investments will continue to play a crucial role. Apart from investments, South Africa has traditionally supplied its neighbours with building materials, equipment, machinery, spares, pharmaceutical products, agrochemicals and food.

De Klerk's plan suggests that outside governments and development agencies seeking to promote the material welfare of the peoples of Southern Africa, should make maximum use of this locally available expertise.

The Government believes that closer analysis would indicate that leading Western European nations will serve their own interests best if they did whatever lies within their power to facilitate and encourage intra-regional understanding and cooperation in Southern Africa with active involvement of Western European business interests and institutions throughout the region.

This concludes the "Marshall Plan" as laid out by FW de Klerk on his sojourns to European and African leaders.

DP, Tutu disagree about Red Flag

MG&S 27/9/89

Political Correspondent 30/9

THE Democratic Party and Archbishop Desmond Tutu today disagreed about the waving of banners of movements such as the South African Communist Party at protest marches.

The DP has dissociated itself from the raising of the flag of the SACP at these marches.

A spokesman for the Archbishop said he did not have any problem in principle with the raising of such banners.

In a free society the Communist Party would be one of a variety of political movements allowed to operate.

In a statement following a caucus meeting in Cape Town Dr Zac de Beer, parliamentary leader of the party, said members of the party, including himself, had taken part in marches aimed at the achievement of freedom and the extension of civil rights in South Africa.

"It has been a source of concern to us that the flag of the SACP and those of other organisations with whom we are at variance have been raised during these processions.

"We wish to make it clear that we have participated in these marches simply because they were organised for purposes which we support.

"We distance ourselves completely from the raising of the SACP flag and from whatever other gestures and demonstrations that may have been made by people with whom we fundamentally disagree and who were in our view making use of these occasions for their own purposes," Dr de Beer said.

Defeated Cape NP candidates get PC seats

Cape Times 7/9/89

304A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THREE defeated National Party candidates in the Cape Peninsula — Mrs Adrienne Koch, Mrs Esme Chait and Mrs Martha Olckers — were yesterday nominated by the NP to serve on the President's Council.

This means that four of the NP's defeated candidates in the Peninsula, who lost by large majorities, have now received parliamentary positions.

The former MP for Wynberg, Mr David Graaff, was made an indirectly elected MP after he lost his seat to the Democratic Party's Mr Robin Carlisle.

Mrs Koch was defeated in Sea Point, Mrs Chait lost Green Point for the second time in succession and Mrs Olckers was beaten in Constantia.

Only three of the rejected NP candidates in the Peninsula — Mrs Elsabe Kemp (Groote Schuur), Mr Harry Dilley (Simon's Town) and Mr Pieter van der Burgh (Pinelands) — have yet to receive positions.

However, it is possible that some of them, particularly Mrs Kemp, a former member of the President's Council, could be re-appointed when President F W de Klerk announces his nominees to the council today.

At least seven other defeated NP candidates were nominated to the council.

They include Mr Attie Grobler, the former MP for North Rand, Mr At Jonker, Mr Tjol Lategan, Mr Craig Williamson, Mr Willie Lemmer, Mrs Anne Nash and Mr Piet Matthee, the former MP for Umbilo.

There were also five defeated candidates among the Labour Party's ten nominees to the council.

FW puts the lid on a (304A) ministerial tradition

Star 27/9/89

So it goes...

ARNOLD BENJAMIN



I don't know about you, but if it's true that the new Cabinet has decided no longer to wear hats at official occasions then it's a sorry day for South Africa.

It raises all sorts of problems, quite apart from what Ministers will use in future for talking through, or eating as occasion requires.

Specifically, there was nothing better for cutting a politician down to size than dressing him up in one of those black Homburgs that were *de rigueur* for the P W Botha administration. It made it that much harder to take them seriously.

Observe, for instance, the pictures below, rescued from the archives of a few years ago, of two one-time leading Ministers Without Portfolio, Messrs Hendrickse and Rajbansi.

On the versatile "Raj", seen by so many as a bad hat anyway, the black Homburg seemed peculiarly appropriate.

But the thing seemed always to sit uneasily atop Allan Hendrickse's flowing locks. There are those who date the steepest decline in his political credibility from the time he first appeared *en chapeau* at a police parade.

The same applied to most Ministers, whichever party hat they wore. Now, at the drop of a hat, as it were, Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, admits he wore his black hat under protest and is "absolutely delighted" at the new fashion ruling.

The hatless note was set by President de Klerk himself at his inauguration last week.

Being, like his predecessor, fairly hairless too, it remains to be seen if he'll go bareheaded at even lengthier open-air functions, for instance those periodic reaffirmations of the Nkomati Accord.

Historically, fancy hats have been seen as symbols of authority but almost just as historically, they seem to have been objects of some ridicule as well.

This book of quotations I happen to have in front of me has a page of



. . . better than others.

"London street sayings", many of them not very respectful ones. Six of the 30 or so quoted have to do with hats.

Besides the old music-hall ditty, "Where did you get that hat?" there are taunts like "Who's your hatter?"; "What, the same old hat?" and "What a shocking bad hat!"

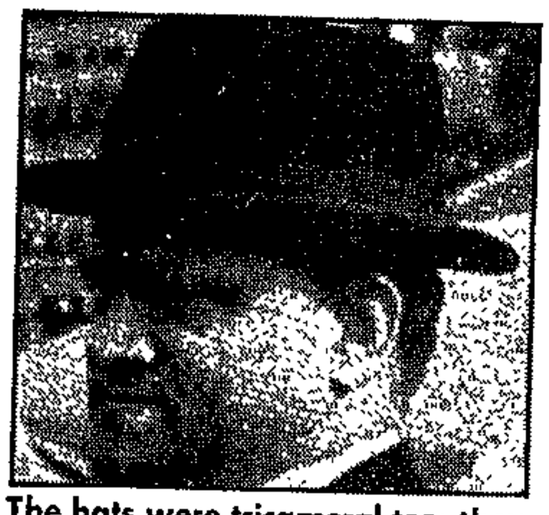
Only this week I read a piece from Madrid which described some novel ways currently being used in Spain to settle overdue accounts.

There's an agency that specialises in incurring public ridicule for the debtor by sending along debt collectors wearing top hats and tails. Apparently the defaulter feels so embarrassed that he usually coughs up.

President de Klerk, bearing in mind his somewhat precarious position, would obviously have taken into account the old proverb, *"He that hath no head needs no hat"*. To a man of his acumen that's probably just a piece of old hat.

As to future reform moves, he's obviously keeping them under his metaphorical chapeau.

But if he can drop so hallowed a tradition as ministerial headgear, who knows what other surprises he could yet pull out of the hat?



The hats were tricameral too: they suited some . . .

Two of a kind

In a Lesotho courtroom last week the Director of Public Prosecutions was waxing eloquent in his summing up of the inquest on the student allegedly shot by military ruler General Lekhanya.

He was stressing the importance of the case.

"There are inquests and there are inquests", he declared. "This one, Your Worship, falls into the latter category."

For further word on the latter category — or indeed, the former — you'll have to await the finding of the Chief Magistrate next month.

Parties announce choice for President's Council

CAPE TOWN — The ruling parties in the three Houses of Parliament yesterday gave notice of motion of their nominees for membership of the President's Council.

The motions, including some proposing candidates for other offices in the Houses, will serve today. Notices of motions for adjournment until February 2 next year were also given in each of the Houses.

The appointment of Mr Alex van Breda as Chief Whip of Parliament was also announced in each House.

The Transvaal National Party nominated two new members to the PC, Mr Attie Grobler, former MP for North Rand, and Mr At Jonker, defeated candidate in Brits. Mr Hein Kruger, Mr Tjol Lategan, Mr Craig Williamson, Mr Willie Lemmer, Mr Ben Piek, Mr Issy Pinshaw and Mrs Anne Routier were nominated for re-appointment.

RENOMINATED

The Cape NP nominated Mrs Esme Chiat, a former nominated MP; Mr S A de Beer, a senior party member from Humansdorp constitutency; Mr A J Esterhuyse, a member of the NP's Stellenbosch regional executive; Mr S Immelman of De Aar, a former president of the Municipal Employees' Association; Mr F J Joubert, former MPC for Paarl; Mrs Margaret Nash, the unsuccessful NP candidate in Port Elizabeth Central; and Mr P J von Wielligh, a former MPC for Wellington. Mrs Adrienne Koch and Mrs Martha Olckers were renominated.

The Natal NP renominated Mr Neels Vosloo and the former MP for Umbilo, Mr Piet Matthee. The Free State NP renominated Mr D J Smit and Mr P A van der Merwe.

The Labour Party nominated:

Transvaal: Mr Craven Collis, a sitting member.

Cape Peninsula: Mr Abe Delport, defeated candidate in Matroosfontein; Mr Peter Marais, a sitting member and defeated candidate in Bishop Lavis; Mr Joe van den Heever, former MP for Grassy Park.

Eastern Cape: Mrs Shirley Frolick, Mrs Annie Rossouw, a former nominated MP, and Mr Bill Ross, a sitting member.

Southern Cape: Mr Pat Wagenaar and Mr Roy Williams, defeated former MP for Mid-Karroo.

Natal: Mr Trevor Potgieter, the party's administrative secretary.

In the House of Delegates, Solidarity nominated Mr Ishmael Omar, Mr Kassie Ramduth, Mr A K Pillay, Mr M Thaver and Mr Christopher Reddy. Mr P I Devan was nominated as the House's Chairman of Committees and Mr T Palan as his deputy.

The Speaker has ruled that opposition parties will meet today to nominate their candidates for the PC.

STATEMENT

The Democratic Party has however already made it known it will nominate Mr James Selfe, the party's national director of communications, sitting PC member Mr James Rennie and Mr David Gant, defeated parliamentary candidate in Helderberg.

Meanwhile in Cape Town the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, as leader of the National Party, has issued a statement saying it was already known that the former Minister of Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk, and Mr Kleppies Heyns, MP for Vasco, would be his party's candidates for the chairmanship and vice-chairmanship of the President's Council.

He also announced that the number of permanent committees on the council would be reduced from three to two and that if this proposal was accepted, Mr Piet Badenhorst and Mr G D Bornman would be NP candidates for chairmanship of these committees. — Sapa.

DP backs FW on negotiation

304A
Star 27/9/89

Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has welcomed President de Klerk's declaration that he is committed to negotiating a new constitution providing for participation by all South Africans.

In a statement after a caucus meeting in Cape Town, DP parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer said it believed this would prove possible only on the basis of full and equal partnership, and a universal, equal and equivalent franchise.

"To the extent that the President leads the National Party towards the acceptance of these values, the DP will approve and support.

"We warn, however, that any attempt to arrive at an agreed constitution based on the enforced subdivision of the South African people into groups is doomed to failure."

Dr de Beer said the caucus had considered proposals for taking the initiative on issues of public concern, including preparation for negotiation of a new political system.

DP 'concerned' about raising of SACP flag

Star 27/11/89

Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has dissociated itself from the raising of the flag of the South African Communist Party at some of the recent marches in which some of its members took part.

After a caucus meeting in Cape Town, Dr Zac de Beer, DP parliamentary leader, said: "It has been a source of concern to us, as it has been to others who have supported the marches, that the flag of the SACP and those of other organisations with whom we are at variance have been raised.

"We distance ourselves completely from the raising of the SACP flag ..." (3049)

Abolish Group Areas now — DP

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

Star 27/9/89

The Governmemt was urged last night to bite the bullet and abolish the Group Areas Act immediately instead of stalling with the Free Settlement Areas Act.

Mr Hans Strydom (DP) said despite the promises of various National Party leaders, the NP was still tripping over the skeletons of apartheid.

Speaking on an item on the establishment of a free settlement area in Mayfair, east of Princess Street, he said the DP opposed the Act and Government attempts to use it to soften the impact of the abolition of the Group Areas Act.

"Abolish this Act now and we will support you, but not the opening of small isolated areas," Mr Strydom said.

3047

3049

POOR WHITES 'SOLD OUT'

Property values would not drop. On the contrary, they would rise as could be seen from the 160 percent increase in Mayfair and the trebling of prices in Harare, he said.

Mr Hendrik Claasen (CP) also opposed the creation of a free settlement area in Mayfair, but his stand was that the Government had sold out the poor whites.

Professor Harold Rudolph (Ind) urged that the whole of Johannesburg should be opened to all races.

The move to apply for free settlement status for Mayfair was passed by 24 votes to 21.

leaving management with no other alternative but to dismiss them," the board's statement said.

The board said the dismissals would not affect water supplies.



F W DE KLERK



THATCHER

Calls to set stage for Thatcher visit

LONDON - British officials made it clear that Mr F W de Klerk must get his reform programme rolling soon if Mrs Thatcher is to visit South Africa next year. Both Downing Street and the Foreign Office repeated their calls this week for an urgent programme of substantive change.

If this was forthcoming, they said, the stage would be set for a Thatcher visit. By increasing the pressure for reform she also hopes to deflect some of the criticism she can expect from her many pro-sanctions critics at the Commonwealth summit in Kuala Lumpur next month.

No DP support for communist flag

3044

ADELE BALETA

DP MEMBERS have joined leading clergymen in distancing themselves from the raising of the SA Communist Party (SACP) flag in recent countrywide marches.

But SA Council of Churches (SACC) vice-president Sheena Duncan said everyone, whether AWB members or SACP supporters, had a democratic right to express views and register protest.

Durban's Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and Natal's Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall threatened to withdraw from an anti-apartheid march in Durban on September 22 owing to the display of SACP flags.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said in a statement yesterday: "It has been a source of concern to us . . . the SACP flag and those of other organisations with whom we are at variance have been raised during these processions."

De Beer added party members distanced themselves from the raising of the flag and from "whatever other gestures and demonstrations may have been made by people with whom we fundamentally disagree, and who were in our view making use of these occasions for their own purposes".

He said the DP took part in the marches because they were organised for purposes the DP supported.

These were the achievement of freedom and the extension of civil right in SA.

SACC spokesman Saki Macozoma endorsed Duncan's opinion, saying: "People marched together for a common goal and not because they agreed on all issues.

"This implies mutual respect for differences of opinion.

"The display of the flag arises out of a historical legacy that cannot be wished away.

"Perhaps the controversy that has arisen indicates we have a long way to go in resolving differences," he said.

B Daily 27 9 89

Allied moves

B Daily 27 9 89.

From Page 1

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ADELE BALETA

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Allied moves

□ From Page 1

No growth without talks, says Sunter

BLOEMFONTEIN — SA was a nation of entrepreneurs, had mineral wealth and a modern infrastructure to put it in the right direction for economic growth. But this would not happen if an acceptable political system, based on negotiation, was not achieved in the next few years, said Anglo American Corporation director Clem Sunter yesterday.

Opening the Agricultural Economic Association of Southern Africa annual congress in Bloemfontein yesterday, Sunter discussed "The last options left for SA" in the context of the congress theme of "Risk in Agriculture".

He said a condition of negotiation politics was that one could not choose to whom one spoke. To talk did not mean surrender.

There had to be economic growth of 10% a year for 20 years just to get the average standard of living from below to above the breadline.

He added that government had to be drastically reduced and income tax lowered. It could no longer be argued that the rich should be milked for the poor. All that happened was that the rich reduced their productivity or left SA.

He said government's role in a prosperous economy should be strictly supportive. — Sapa.

Threat posed to bursary programme

THEO RAWANA 305

EFFORTS by some universities to get donors to give funds directly to them posed a threat to the SA Institute of Race Relation's (SAIRR) bursary programme, executive director John Kane-Berman said. BDay 27/9/89.

In his report, which was read in his absence at the SAIRR's annual meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, Kane-Berman said the universities, backed by large government subsidies, could offer to absorb administrative costs of bursaries.

"They are able to offer to absorb administrative costs of bursaries, which of course they can do, given their large government subsidies.

"The institute has no such funds to fall back on and consequently finances the administrative costs of each programme out of funds received, although we limit this to 15% of the value of the bursaries themselves."

Increase

He said cutbacks in funding from some donor agencies and rising university costs had compelled the SAIRR to reduce university awards by about 11% for 1989.

"Fortunately, however, the amount available for bursary awards did increase by 15% because some of our donors provided additional money."

These included the Dutch government, First National Bank, the Swiss Church Group, a Dominican Sisters' Order in Johannesburg and the US Agency for International Development.

"During the year we signed a fifth amendment to our contract with the US government, which provided for an additional $2m, enabling us to increase the number of American-funded students from 70 to 310 from the beginning of 1989. The amendment brought the total value of our contract with the US government to $8,2m."

Business Day 28/9/89 : 304A

Councils slow to lodge applications

EDYTH BULBRING

CITY Councils were holding back applications to the Free Settlement Areas Board (FSAB), leaving the initiative to township developers and the Ministers' Councils, FSAB chairman Hein Kruger said in an interview this week.

The only city council whose application the FSAB was considering was Durban, regarding Warwick Triangle. The Board's report would be submitted to President F W De Klerk within two weeks.

The FSAB had received over 40 inquiries and was considering about 20 applications, he said. The others had been withdrawn, had not been legal in terms of the Free Settlement Areas Act, or had been rejected by the board.

He said he did not know why there was reluctance on the part of city councils.

No applications had been received from Indian and coloured local authorities or Ministers' Councils, Kruger said. All the applications were made by white township developers or the House of Assembly's Ministers' Councils. This meant only white areas were under consideration.

Kruger said he did not know why this was the case.

Acknowledging there were potential problems of slum conditions and overcrowding in opening up selective areas, Kruger said the ideal situation was for the board to declare a number of areas open at once.

The election of De Klerk as president for five years meant there was a "whole new ball game" regarding the approach to the Group Areas Act and free settlement areas, he said.

Impact

Expressing frustration with councils who refused to support or make applications to the board because they wanted the GAA scrapped, Kruger said their refusal to compromise would not result in it being scrapped.

"While declaring an entire city open is not a problem in terms of the Act, the board would have to see what impact this would have on the rest of the community and it would be a sensitive issue for the voters," he said.

Once an area was declared open, voters could choose to remain on their existing voters' roll, or register on a common voters' roll.

The latter would elect a management committee and those on the separate roll would be included into the adjoining wards were they would vote for a city councillor.



● KRUGER

The administrator could also create a combined body consisting of management committee and city council representatives with delegated powers.

Once the board completed its investigations, the president would base his decision on whether or not to declare the area open on the board's report evaluating the conditions in the area.

The president could rescind a free settlement area decision. When asked what security of tenure this gave to people living in the area, Kruger said: "The procedures established by the Act make it clear that there is no question of the State President simply acting on the spur of the moment. There would obviously have to be a full-scale investigation and solid grounds for such a decision," he said.

Although the aim of a free settlement area was to create normal living conditions, residents of different races would have to attend racially divided schools.

One of the problems which had faced the board was the definition of "township developer" as there were different definitions in the four provinces.

The Act intended that a township developer would state his intention to develop an area, apply to the board, and if this was successful, the developer would develop the land.

However, the Transvaal definition was someone who had already developed the township, Kruger said.

The board was temporarily bypassing this problem through the Ministers' Council, but the Act would have to be changed later to accommodate the various definitions.

US perceptions of SA 'much better'

Star 28/9/89 304A



Mr Barend du Plessis . . . De Klerk initiatives have impressed Americans.

By John Spira

WASHINGTON — American perceptions of South Africa have improved dramatically since Mr F W de Klerk assumed leadership of the nation.

This was the message conveyed to me by Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, after he addressed the the IMF/World Bank meeting here yesterday.

He said that many of the Americans to whom he had spoken during the past few days mentioned, without being asked, that they had been "very impressed" with Mr de Klerk's plans for South Africa's future.

"There is, however, the understandable corollary that he has still to transfer words into deeds," he added.

Mr du Plessis had also detected a slightly more positive shift in the stance of the US Congress towards South Africa.

He said there was a second way of gauging Mr de Klerk's impact on the international community. "Here I refer to the reaction of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other activists to Mr de Klerk's initiatives."

A prominent US publication earlier this week commented that Archbishop Tutu's intention in trying to persuade bankers not to reschedule South Africa's foreign debt was in order to force Pretoria to negotiate.

"Now that is a blatant lie, because the whole process of negotiation was a major election platform supported in principle by more than 75 percent of the voters," said Mr du Plessis.

"If Archbishop Tutu and his various supporters have to resort to lies of this nature to retain their credibility, then there's something rotten in their state of Denmark."

On the score of the economy's structural adjustment, Mr du Plessis pointed out that South Africa had survived for four years without an international banker. "That's quite some structural adjustment."

Other areas to be tackled:

- The maintenance of a surplus on the current account during a period of economic upswing.
- High interest rates, which affected the level of savings, investment in capital projects and capital/output ratios.
- The tax reform programme, "though this was likely to take a long time".
- Deregulation, privatisation and the promotion of the informal sector and clarifying the confusion over Government guarantees for corporations like Iscor, Eskom and Sats.

However, once they were privatised, Government would not guarantee post-privatisation obligations, though it would stand by guarantees granted during the period that such corporations had been under Government control.

● See Page 36.

Desegregation in Jo'burg shows up NP policy holes

Municipal Reporter

The desegregation of municipal facilities in Johannesburg showed up massive holes in National Party policy which at the same time condoned the closing of the Johannesburg High School for Girls, said Mr Lester Fuchs, Democratic Party MP for Hillbrow.

"What this indicates is that the Government's free settlement policy is a total disaster as it does not cater for infrastructures," he said.

Following moves to create free settlement areas in Hillbrow, Joubert Park and Mayfair, Mr Simon Chilchik, deputy chairman of the DP in Hillbrow, urged the Government today to look at the problems it would encourage through the overcrowding that would inevitably follow free settlement status for any isolated suburb.

"Unless legislation is passed at national level to control overcrowding, Hillbrow could disintegrate within the next 10 years.

"People will flock here and this area cannot cope with a huge new influx of legal tenants once it has free settlement status," he said.

Star 28/9/89 (08) 304A

Leon hails city's 'open-to-all' decision

Pik's influence seen in amenities move

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

The Government has been urged to apply pressure on Pretoria and all Transvaal platteland towns to follow Johannesburg's example in scrapping petty apartheid in municipal facilities.

This call was made yesterday by Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon.

Other towns

The Democratic Party spokesman on constitutional planning, separate amenities and local government in the Transvaal made his plea after other Transvaal towns indicated that they had no intention of desegregating at this stage.

"Johannesburg has more municipal amenities, including a bus service, and a more diverse population than any other town or city in South Africa," Mr Leon said.

"Clearly, if Johannesburg finds it necessary to desegregate its facilities, then the question is whether there is any justification to retain petty apartheid anywhere else.

"I compliment the management committee for its courage and determination to press ahead. The reform it has introduced is long overdue but nevertheless welcome.

"One should not underestimate this move which, together with the Eloff judgment in Carletonville, is having the effect of turning the Separate Amenities Act into a dead duck.

"The hand of Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha is evident in Johannesburg's move.

"Perhaps he will now go to Vereeniging, which has said it would not follow suit, and Pretoria, which has more segregation than Johannsburg ever had in its heyday, and introduce Mr F W de Klerk's reform," Mr Leon said.

● After a long meeting behind closed doors last night, the Krugersdorp Town Council agreed to open its game reserve to all races. Applications for use of municipal halls will be considered individually.

'Dame Helen' is more thrilled by scholarship

Star 28/9/89

304A



Suzman . . . thrilled at honour.

By Sue Leeman, The Star Bureau

LONDON — Former MP and veteran anti-apartheid fighter Mrs Helen Suzman is to be made an honorary Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

A delighted Mrs Suzman, currently in London for a number of speaking engagements, said she was "very thrilled at this tremendous honour".

But what has impressed her most is the British government's decision to back up the tribute by funding a new scholarship programme for black South Africans, entitled the Helen Suzman Awards.

That, she said, was a "wonderful, practical manifestation of the spirit of the award".

The award was approved by the Queen on the recommendation of the new British Foreign Secretary Mr John Major.

In a glowing tribute, the citation said the award was given for "championing the cause of human rights for all the people of South Africa for more than 40 years. Her record of persistent opposition to discriminatory legislation has earned international respect."

Mrs Suzman will receive the award on October 31 at Buckingham Palace. As a foreign national, instead of being called Dame Helen Suzman, she will simply be Mrs Helen Suzman DBE (Hons).

Mr Harold Brooks-Baker of Burke's Peerage said the award, considered a high honour, had been given to a number of women, mainly heads of government. "But for a woman in opposition to gain the award is very significant."

Outcry over changes to President's Council

Star 28/9/89. 304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Opposition parties have objected to the Government not consulting them about changes in the functioning of the President's Council.

In a snap debate in the Assembly before Parliament adjourned until February 2, Government speakers brushed aside the objections and said President F W de Klerk had the constitutional powers to bring about changes in the conditions of service on the council.

The Conservative Party and the Democratic Party opposed a motion asking for the confirmation of 10 councillors elected by the majority National Party.

In an amendment the CP asked that confirmation be withheld until the Government had fully informed the House on its policy regarding the constitutional future and future functions of the council and how members would be affected.

PAY TO BE CUT

It has been announced that in future only four of the 60 members of the PC would be full-time. Pay will be reduced accordingly.

In a further amendment, the DP asked for information on the constitutional future and functions of the council and for the assurance that it would be reconstituted to be representative of South Africans as a whole.

Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said there was great confusion and uncertainty about the future of the council. The council itself had recommended that its size should be reduced to 36 but that its full-time operation should not be changed.

The President had chosen to ignore these recommendations and the way in which the matter was being handled was indicative of a Government floundering about, he said.

Mr Hoon wanted to know if provision would also be made for black members.

INDICATIONS

Dr Denis Worrall (DP Berea) said his party would support moves to bring about an apartheid-free society.

The party was, however, looking for indications of what the Government had in mind and, in this case, what the role of the President's Council would be in South Africa's constitutional future.

Future constitutional changes had to include all South Africans, he said.

In interjections, Mr de Klerk indicated that the council could sit all year round if it had work to do and that he had yesterday informed other parties of changes to come.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, the Leader of the House, said at the end of the debate that the future and nature of the council was not at issue, but its functioning was. Its efficiency could be improved.

The President had acted in terms of his powers as laid down in the constitution.

Further possible changes would be submitted to Parliament in an orderly way.

The Government motion asking for the confirmation of new members was passed.

SAIRR reports scrapping of a number of race laws

THEO RAWANA

THE SA Institute of Race Relations publication Survey was able to report the repeal or relaxation of a number of discriminatory laws this year, SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman said this week.

In his report to the institute's AGM, Kane-Berman said this week the annual publication, which monitors discriminatory practices in every walk of life in SA, had previously had little to report other than the enactment of discriminatory laws.

"It is a source of gratification to the institute ... that Survey is now able to report the repeal or relaxation of a number of discriminatory laws and the continued erosion of others. We will continue to work for the final disappearance of all such laws," said Kane-Berman.

One publication published during the year, The Greying of Johannesburg, "was able to show that white resistance to the experience of having black neighbours was minimal, predictions to the contrary notwithstanding".

Another report, Sharing the Cities, looked at residential desegregation in Harare, Windhoek and Mafikeng. "It showed how racial prejudice was undermined by the greater contact across the colour line that came about as a result of desegregation — contrary to the view often expressed in the past that racial mixing risked provoking friction.

"These two reports, along with reports published the previous year dealing with property price movements and crime trends in racially-mixed areas, have helped to change white thinking on the Group Areas Act.

"The eight reports on the GAA that the institute has published in the last couple of years, as well as direct representation of some of its research findings to parliamentary committees and other groups, has helped create a climate for the softening and, in due course, the repeal of this law," Kane-Berman said.

Sandton councillors 'aware' of request for free settlement status

Star 28/9/89

304A

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Sandton Democratic Party town councillor Mr Peter Gardiner's application for the declaration of a part of Sandton as a free settlement area, made on behalf of his employer, was not unknown to all his fellow-councillors, according to DP leader in Sandton Mr Peter Jardine.

Dismissing as untrue newspaper reports early this week that Mr Gardiner's application to the Free Settlement Areas Board (FSAB) for the declaration of Witkoppen Extension 6 as a free settlement area was done without his fellow-councillors' knowledge, Mr Jardine, a Sandton town councillor himself, said he knew about the application.

Mr Jardine said even if some councillors did not know about the application, "at some stage" they would all know because FSAB procedure would have made it necessary for the matter to be discussed by the council.

Mr Gardiner, who until August 18 this year was chairman of the Sandton management committee, was said to have made the application in December last year and followed it up on March 13 this year.

Mr Gardiner, who is Anglo American Property Services (Ampros) township developer and present deputy chairman of the Sandton management committee, is in hospital and could not be reached for comment.

Mr Jardine confirmed that the DP saw the Free Settlement Areas Act as an extension of the Group Areas Act and the party was therefore opposed to it.

DECLARED OPEN

The party's policy, Mr Jardine said, was to have the Group Areas Act repealed from the statute book or, at least, to have entire towns declared open to all races.

Ampros managing director Mr Gerald Leissner yesterday confirmed that the application was made on behalf of Anglo American Corporation.

"We have not withdrawn the application," Mr Leissner told The Star.

Squatters urgently need to be housed, says MP Momberg

CAN TIM 15 28/9/89 (307)

15/8/8

By KIM CLARKIN

MR JANNIE MOMBERG, recently elected MP for Simon's Town, is concerned about the squatting problem in his constituency, particularly in Noordhoek.

He said: "I view the squatter situation as a very sad one and can understand the point of view of the people of Noordhoek. There is obviously an urgent housing need for the squatters and it is also vitally important to control the influx of people, which I fear is not being done successfully."

A new squatter settlement had grown up since the beginning of the year between Noordhoek Road and the proposed marina near the old salt pan in Noordhoek. Partly hidden by trees, there are more than 80 homes in the two camps, many housing more than one family.

While there is little trouble in the area, it lacks sewerage or drainage, water and electricity.

Many of the shacks in the fast-growing camp are made from cardboard, dustbin liner bags and corrugated iron. Newcomers arrive regularly over weekends — the main cause for concern.

Some of the squatters are new to the area — some interviewed had been there four months, some six months, but others have lived in the area all their lives.

Peaceful

Some residents don't seem to mind these people's presence.

Percy Cross from the Noordhoek Village Cafe said: "They don't worry us at all. Many of them work in the area and generally they are a peaceful lot and just come in to buy cold drinks, bread and other food.

"The townships are too far away for them to travel to work. Where else will they go?"

The problem had to be resolved in the best possible way, he said.

Mr John Cannan, chairman of the Noordhoek and District Civic Association, said: "As a whole it stems from the fact that people have been moving into the area on to ground they don't own.

"The owners of the ground took no action for a long while and so have encouraged further squatting. Now there are large numbers of people in this area who can't just be ejected."

The major problem was the influx of more people, he said. "A solution can't be found for these people if we don't stop newcomers — otherwise the marsh land will just become a transit camp.

"The question is: how do we stop new squatters moving in and secondly, what do we do with the people who are living in these poor conditions?"

Demolishing

Another problem highlighted by Mr Cannan was that the squatters were living on the edge of an ecologically important wetland, which was not being improved by their presence.

The Regional Services Council has been checking the area regularly and demolishing any deserted or half-completed dwellings. It also monitors the squatters and prevents large numbers of newcomers from building.

Mr Hennie Smit, president of Crofters Valley, an upmarket "rural" development with 4 000 m² and 8 000 m² plots ranging from R65 000 to R120 000, took a stronger view:

"The squatter situation is unacceptable and we have tolerated it so far in anticipation of the removal of these people. Firstly, it is illegal; secondly, they are living in unhealthy circumstances on private land — some of which is the property of the RSC.

"It is very unfair that we have spent a lot of money putting in services for this high-class development and have the form of housing directly across the road," Mr Smit added.

"It has had an unfavourable impact on sales — although people do view it as a temporary situation. These people must be removed."

Smith gets top council position

Star 28/9/89 30cm

By Melody McDougall, Vereeniging Bureau

Mr Gerhard Smith was elected as the new management committee chairman of Vanderbijlpark's CP-dominated town council at a special meeting last night.

He replaces Mr Cas Pieters, who was disqualified as a councillor after being convicted of fraud by a Vereeniging regional court earlier this month.

RESIGNED

Mr Smith, who initially served as deputy chairman of the committee, resigned about two weeks ago in protest against the controversy surrounding the fraud conviction.

Another CP caucus member, Mr Hennie Kruger, was elected onto the management committee last night, ensuring that the CP retained all three seats on the management committee.

Mr Nic Bohme is the committee's new deputy chairman.

A by-election will be held in ward six at the end of November to elect a council representative to replace Mr Pieters.

PAC-SACC issue joint statement

The Star's Africa News Service

DAR ES SALAAM — The Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Council of Churches have issued a joint statement supporting one man, one vote elections to a non-racial parliament, with guarantees for individual rights, as the way to eradicate apartheid and usher in a non-racial future.

However, the SACC admitted that its mission of trying to reconcile the PAC with the African National Congress, from which it split in 1959 to pursue a racially pure struggle, had failed.

The leader of the SACC delegation, the Rev Frank Chikane, later said the two organisations seemed to be "as far apart as ever", despite the reference to a "non-racial" future in the final communique.

Delegations from the two organisations met at the PAC's headquarters here this week for five hours before issuing the statement. Star 28/9/87

The PAC delegation was led by its chairman and commander-in-chief of its military wing, Mr Johnson Mlambo. (304)

Both agreed that apartheid could not be reformed, said the statement, and that defiance of the "unjust laws of an illegal regime was legitimate".

After being briefed on current developments inside South Africa, the PAC expressed its appreciation of the "positive" role played by the churches.

Vaal Dam down to 87 pc

Star 28/11/87

The Vaal Dam, one of the main sources of water for the PWV area, is down to 87 percent of its capacity, the Department of Water Affairs announced yesterday. At the same time last year the dam was 92 percent full. Levels of dams throughout the country were last week steady at 69 percent, compared to 71 percent last year. In the drought-stricken Eastern Cape dams the average is 40 percent.

40 000 in EL 'peace march'

Star 28/11/87

A crowd of up to 40 000 people packed Oxford Street in East London for more than two hours early yesterday afternoon in what the organiser, the Border Crisis Committee, described as a march for peace, freedom and justice.

There were a few tense moments at the start of the march as the crowd surged forward at a trot.

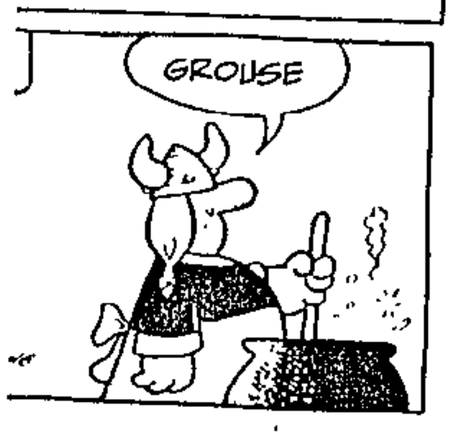
Marshals, however, linked arms across the street and quickly re-established control.

The march was led by Anglican Bishop David Russell of Grahamstown.

At the end of the march Bishop Russell went to the offices of the security police in Southernwood, where he handed senior police officers a statement and a petition which called for the release of two security detainees.

Police later said they had received no reports of criminal activity or violence during the march.

By Dik Browne



I told woman to vote twice, says CP official

Star 28/9/85 30 A

By Anna Louw,
East Rand Bureau

Management committee chairman of the Conservative Party-controlled town council of Boksburg told a woman she could cast two special votes in a municipal election last year because she was registered twice on the voters roll, a Boksburg magistrate heard yesterday.

Mr Gideon Fourie was gving evidence in the trial of Mrs Charmaine Rex (23), who has pleaded not guilty to a charge of election fraud by voting under her married name Rex and her maiden name Wilson.

The alleged fraud took place on October 12 and 13 last year.

Mr Fourie, the management committee chairman, said he did not consult the Voters Act because he did not think it was necessary.

MAJORITY

He said he made the recommendation in his personal capacity and told Mrs Rex she could vote twice because her name appeared twice on the voters roll.

He said he did not think the votes would affect the election results because he believed the CP would win by a majority anyway.

Mr Fourie said about two months after the election he realised he had given the wrong advice.

He told the court he had stood as a candidate in five elections and resigned his post as a teacher when he won the last municipal election.

The hearing was postponed to October 4.

COME
E OWNER!

Chairman of PC retires

CAPE TOWN — The chairman of the President's Council, Mr Johan Greeff, had decided to retire from active politics, council secretary Mr J Weilbach said in a statement yesterday.

Mr Greeff would therefore not be available to serve as a member of the President's Council when it was reconstituted. (304A)

Before his appointment to the chairmanship, Mr Greeff served for four years as Speaker of Parliament and was MP for Aliwal from 1974 to 1986. He was born in 1921 and qualified as an attorney. — Sapa. BK 28/9/89

Dame Helen Suzman!

Sowetan 28/9/89

HER Majesty Queen Elizabeth II is to make Mrs Helen Suzman an Honorary Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire (DBE) to mark the occasion of her retirement from the South African Parliament.

The Award, which is equivalent to an Honorary Knighthood, is one of the highest honours the Queen can bestow on any foreign national.It is granted only in the most exceptional cases.The Award is being made on the recommendation of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary,the Rt Hon John Major MP.

Queen Elizabeth intends to bestow this honour personally on Mrs Helen Suzman at an inverstiture ceremony at Buckingham Palace on October 31.

The Award recognises the distinguished contribution which Mrs Helen Suzman has made to relations between Britain and South Africa and in the struggle against apartheid.

3044

Mrs Suzman has championed the cause of human rights for all the people of South Africa for more than 40 years.Since her election to Parliament in December 1952 her record of persistent opposition to all forms of racial discrimination has earned international respect.

In further recognition of her work for a more just and democratic society in South Africa,Britain has established a new leadership programme for black South African students entitled "The Helen Suzman Awards". Details can be obtained from the offices of the British Council. Over 200 applications for these scholarships have already been received.

Arise, Dame Helen of Houghton

304A

MIKE ROBERTSON
and IAN HOBBS

QUEEN Elizabeth has bestowed one of the highest honours she can grant to a foreign national on veteran opposition politician Helen Suzman.

The British Foreign Office announced yesterday that Suzman, who retired this year after serving 36 years in Parliament, was to be made an Honorary Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire (DBE).

The award is equivalent to a knighthood and is granted only in exceptional circumstances.

The only non-Britons to be similarly honoured in recent years were former US President Ronald Reagan, former US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Live Aid organiser Bob Geldof.

The Foreign Office added that in recognition of Suzman's work for a more just and democratic society in SA, Britain had established a new leadership programme for black SA students.

The programme would be entitled the Helen Suzman Award.

Suzman, who is also among about 90 nominees for the Nobel peace prize this year, said she was "stunned, overwhelmed and very, very deeply honoured".

Suzman, who is in London en route to the US, said: "It literally came out of the blue. I never

☐ To Page 2



● SUZMAN

'Dame' Helen

B1 Dem 28/11/89. 304A

From Page 1

dreamed this could happen. There is no way I can take credit for this. As far as I am concerned it reflects on the millions and millions of decent South Africans of all races."

She said she was particularly pleased with the scholarship programme bearing her name that would create dynamic education opportunities for black youngsters.

A British Embassy spokesman said no South African had been honoured in this way by the Queen since 1948.

The last South African to receive a comparable award was Jan Smuts, who was given the Order of Merit in 1947, he said.

The Foreign Office said the award was made on the recommendation of Foreign Secretary John Major.

As the title is honorary, Suzman will not be able to call herself Dame Helen. She will, however, be able to use the initials DBE after her name.

The queen will personally bestow the award on Suzman at a ceremony at Buckingham Palace on October 31.

The Foreign Office said the award recognised the distinguished contribution Suzman had made to relations between Britain and SA and in the struggle against apartheid.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said: "The recognition of Helen Suzman goes somewhere towards placing a very remarkable person into the category of fame which she richly deserves."

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has frequently described Suzman as one of the bravest and most determined women in the world and it is understood the queen shares this view.

US applauds Jo'burg move for 'open city'

WASHINGTON — The US government has applauded the decision of Johannesburg City Council to dismantle apartheid, and has called on the South African Government not only to support the city's decision but to get on with the process of establishing a non-racial government.

A spokesman for the State Department, Mr Richard Boucher, said yesterday: "We applaud the decision by the Johannesburg City Council to move forward to begin the process of dismantling apartheid. We urge the South African Government to support implementation of the decision.

"We ask President de Klerk to start the process of establishing a non-racial democratic government." — The Star Bureau.

Apartheid regarded overseas as 'a disease'

Star 29/9/87 3044

By Sue Olswang

People overseas were generally very critical of apartheid and some called it a disease, former mayor of Soweto Mr Nelson Botile said yesterday.

"We found that people overseas expose the evils of apartheid, and for the first time we saw things that have been hidden to us," Mr Botile said on his return from a visit abroad.

"We held a number of discussions with people overseas and also attended a few meetings as observers. The general feeling about apartheid was not good and people were mostly critical.

"We did, however, get positive feedback from some businessmen who said they would not withdraw their investments before seeing what changes will be introduced by Mr F W de Klerk."

Mr Botile and the mayors of Munsieville and Dobsonville arrived at Jan Smuts Airport after a three-week tour of Holland and Belgium.

The tour was organised by the Afrikaans-Nederlandse Werkgemeenskap (ANW) and its sister organisation in Holland, the Nederlands-Zuid-Afrikaans Werkgemeenskap.

FW de Klerk promised to move towards a "new South Africa" in his election speeches and raised ex--pectations that this would be soon.

Margaret Thatcher's government supports the EPG's 1986 position of negotiations to settle the South African political impasse.

A visit by Thatcher is on the cards ... IF

Sowetan 29/9/84 - 3041

President de Klerk faces the problem of raised expectations

LONDON - A visit by Mrs Margaret Thatcher to South Africa next Easter is on the cards - provided two things happen.

First, there must be "substantial movement" by then towards the country's democratisation.

Second, the visit must be able to contribute positively to even further advances towards this goal.

Thatcher recognises that just by going to South Africa she would be making a symbolic gesture - signalling that has her problems, too.

A visit to South Africa would arouse intense opposition over a wide range of countries and organisations, including the ANC and Mass Democratic Movement.

Only "substantial movement" towards change in South Africa, therefore, would justify her taking the risks involved in making the visit.

One problem in particular is recognised.

It is that various factors, like De Klerk's replacement of PW Botha as State President and his own reformist rhetoric, have created expectations internally in South Africa and internationally that cannot easily be gratified.

Both blacks in South Africa and the international community are becoming increasingly impatient for change to begin and are stepping up the pressures.

In his inaugural speech as State President, De Klerk acknowledged that he faces this problem of raised expectations.

The key to change in South Africa, as Thatcher sees it, is for De Klerk to find leaders who will be prepared to negotiate with him on the country's future.

But these leaders must be genuinely representative of their people, and this in turn means that conditions must be created for free political organisation - the release of political prisoners, lifting the state of emergency and unbanning black groups.

The British government supports strongly the position taken by the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons' Group in 1986 that South Africa's race conflict can be resolved through dialogue between all sections of the population.

SOWETAN
Foreign Service

FOCUS

President FW de Klerk's new Government had started to move in the right direction and that she believes her visit could encourage that development.

No visit will be possible, therefore, if De Klerk does not begin soon to advance towards the "new South Africa" that he promised in his election speeches.

In a sense, Thatcher is offering De Klerk an Easter deadline for change to begin.

She is not expecting miracles. She sees change in South Africa as a lengthy process, not a rigid timetable - something that will proceed stage by stage, with one advance leading to the next.

A widely held official view here is that too much optimism has been engendered lately in the media and elsewhere over the likely pace of change and the immediate benefits it will bring to South Africa.

Officials talk about the months ahead as the "very early days" of change in South Africa and stress the need for "confidence building measures" to prepare the ground for change.

De Klerk's difficulties are fully recognised and the intention is to give him a fair chance to show what he can achieve.

At the same time, it is pointed out that Thatcher

304A wmail 29/9-5/10/89.

IT'S FW'S RECIPE — BUT PW'S INGREDIENTS

President FW de Klerk has brought a change of style, not of substance. There is no doubt that the hopes he has raised will be dashed — it's just a question of when.

By MARK PHILLIPS of the Centre for Policy Studies, Wits University

LAST month's desperate attempt by the National Intelligence Service to use an ailing PW Botha to stop the De Klerk-Kaunda meeting was the most public sign yet of trouble between civilian and security power structures within the government.

As recently as a year ago, the public face of government appeared to be little more than a civilian charade. Behind it, observers argued, the National Security Management System (NSMS) operated a more powerful "shadow" administration.

But with the rise of FW de Klerk as South Africa's second executive president, the winds appear to have shifted suddenly.

Has the time of a long-awaited political opening arrived? As memories of winter fade, can we now welcome the arrival of a Pretoria Spring? The answers are more complex than they may seem at first.

In a few brief days after De Klerk's inauguration, huge public demonstrations were permitted in cities around the country.

TV news showed protestors carrying the banners of banned organisations and shaking hands with smiling policemen in small Karoo towns. Sjamboks — a symbol of apartheid brutality — have been scrapped.

In both Cape Town and Johannesburg, policemen have spoken out against police abuses. Somewhat late in the day, the Afrikaans press is full of concern for the development of a "new culture" in the lower ranks of the police force.

Most surprising of all is the new status of the black, green and gold colours of the African National Congress. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok was moved to claim, in response to Conservative Party criticism in parliament of police laxity, that the ANC flag had never been prohibited in South Africa.

A significant omission in De Klerk's new cabinet was the post of deputy minister of law and order, which has been abolished. As a result, with Leon Wessels shifted to foreign affairs, the National Joint Management Centre (NJMC) — a lynchpin of the NSMS — no longer has a cabinet member as its chairman.

This bureaucratic downgrading of the body which managed the day-to-day affairs of the Emergency in its early years symbolises reduced significance accorded to security management structures.

The role of the State Security Council (SSC) is also being downgraded. De Klerk is carrying his National Party base into the executive and fleshing out the powers of the cabinet which his predecessor so eroded.

The SSC sat for eight hours before deciding to allow the Cape Town march to go ahead. At this meeting most of the prominent "securocrats" argued that the government would not be able to deal with the consequences of freeing political activitiy.

Yet the old hard-line and inflexible tactics of the Emergency did not prevail. With the support of some intelligence and military figures, the civilian leadership of the NP insisted on a more judicious use of repressive power.

The new, more relaxed security style is linked by many commentators to the developing negotiations politics, and correctly so. But what the NP government means by negotiations hardly resembles what the word means to the rest of the world.

While some demonstrations have been allowed to proceed peacefully, low-level repression, which is largely out of the public (and international) eye, continues as before. The general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Jay Naidoo, says that despite the apparent new opening, their membership is experiencing greater harassment than ever before.



State President FW de Klerk

Key United Democratic Front and Cosatu leadership figures have been redetained in recent weeks. They include the Conference for a Democratic Future's convenor Mohammed Valli and UDF national executive members Titus Mafolo and Curnick Ndlovu. For some, De Klerk's open door has been slammed shut.

De Klerk, meanwhile, is talking of votes for all under a negotiated and democratic constitution. Not surprisingly, talk of a new South Africa in a time of repression has led to much public confusion.

The situation is rather like the one Alice found herself in in Wonderland, where words do not mean what they seem.

Even away from the headlines which dwell on nice-sounding phrases, one struggles to find the content of the "new" policies. Yet close examination of the recent statements of the NP leadership actually reveal a surprisingly clear picture of their future intentions.

These were most clearly captured by Pik Botha during the election campaign. He said that the NP was asking white voters for a mandate to negotiate a black-dominated government in which whites would retain a veto over all policy-making.

De Klerk and his cabinet remain firmly wedded to a group-based constitutional system. There will be votes for all, but the idea is that in separate compartments, each race group will exercise executive power over its "own" affairs, while joint forums will make policy on "general" affairs through consensus. In this way, "no one group will be able to dominate the other".

To break the political logjam, some of the preconditions for negotiation set by the ANC, among others, are likely to be met. But this does not at all mean that the government is clearing the table for talks with the mass movement.

Rather, it is attempting to relieve some of the pressure which accumulated in the stagnation of PW Botha's final years. Meeting some of the procedural conditions of the government's opponents is essentially designed to give the government a breathing space in which to manouevre.

The preconditions are also those of conservative black politicians such as kwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Transvaal Executive's John Mavuso and local authority participants. These are the sort of representatives whom the NP's current negotiation politics is intended to attract.

The NP's insistence that the ANC renounce violence before the door is opened to its participation is unchanged. But continuing detention of peaceful opponents of apartheid reveals that violence is something of a red herring, a convenient bogey on which the government hangs its determination to exclude its most formidable opponents from its plans for the foreseeable future.

Since the election both De Klerk and his Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen have said that "revolutionary" organisations define themselves out of the picture.

This effectively reiterates the counter-revolutionary warfare stance, that, in the words of former Info chief Stoffel van der Merwe, aims to make the mass movement "as irrelevant as revolutionary organisations in Britain and the US".

Yet the NP lacks a strategy to win support away from the ANC and its leaders, which even its own surveys show to be the most popular in the country. Buthelezi has a regional base, and even that is shrinking. Outside the liberation movement, there are no national black leaders of standing.

Nevertheless, the NP is determined to forge ahead with unworkable plans which are likely to centre on co-option of a somewhat wider circle of blacks, rather than on a transition to democracy. The changes we have witnessed in past weeks are therefore more a shift of style than of substance.

As awareness of this spreads, the expectations which De Klerk has raised will soon be dashed. And in the volatile climate which ensues, only the most heady optimist will deny that old-style security measures will return to haunt the next few years.

Sadly, though the political recipe has changed, the ingredients remain much the same as before.



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SOWETAN Foreign Service

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WIM DE VILLIERS

Providing the private option

It is fitting that the new Minister for Administration and Privatisation should be a well-known, accomplished businessman and an authority on privatisation.

But Wim de Villiers (68) believes a low profile and a good deal of understanding will achieve more in liberating the economy and winning allies to the cause than any loud pronouncements on policy or strategy. Thus he refrains from commenting on any plans he might have for restructuring the civil service.

With vast experience in mining, engineering and construction, management, industrial investments and, more recently, the privatisation of some public corporation giants — De Villiers is undeniably well suited to the job.



Wim de Villiers ... setting trends

Yet it took him four days to accept President F W de Klerk's surprise offer of appointment. He is well past retirement age and has never pursued a career in politics.

"But I also had to consider what is important for all South Africans — including my children and grandchildren. I therefore accepted.

"But, while I will attend Cabinet meetings and move to Cape Town for parliamentary sessions, I will play a minimal role in party politics," he says.

De Villiers is convinced the survival of free enterprise demands a broadening of shareholding in companies. "And the essential wealth and growth-creating roles of the classical entrepreneur will have to regain preeminence before the economy can really take off," he warns.

Several reports written by De Villiers, on the privatisation of Eskom, Sats, the Post Office and privatisation policy, spell out the issues.

De Villiers believes the national economic malaise has resulted from a combination of policy measures necessitated by exceptional external factors, such as the low-level economic warfare SA has been involved in for the past two decades. These circumstances led to the State's unacceptably high profile in total capital spending since 1974 (an average of about 64% of total capex over 15 years), distortions caused by prescribed investment requirements, a shrinking tax base and increasing tax demands on the private sector aggravated by the many public corporations.

Part of the solution, De Villiers believes, lies in privatising many public corporations. But he warns that some rare solutions will have to be found as privatisation will take place largely in a non-competitive environment.

Entrepreneurial blood runs thick in De Villiers' veins. Born in the dry, dusty western Free State town of Jacobsdal in 1921, his father was an attorney and his grandfather started SA's first commercial salt production plant in 1896.

De Villiers is adamant that any business must ensure that the capital return warrants its existence. This, he says, has not always been the case as regards utilities like Eskom, Sats and the Post Office which, in the past, sought only to render a proper service to the public.

"Our task now is to ensure that they become market orientated and that return on capital will determine their success in SA's capital markets," he says.

De Villiers likes nothing better than relaxing with his wife and listening to his impressive classical music collection in his comfortable, large, wood-panelled Westcliff, Johannesburg, mansion, containing antique furniture, beautiful Cape silver and a few Anton von Wouw originals. He is a family man and reads copiously — especially economics and business. ■

Ministers' Council.

Durr has a clear vision of what he wants to achieve and what needs to be done. "I work closely with (Finance Minister) Barend du Plessis. I feel I know what's on his mind. I also work well with (Mineral & Energy Affairs & State Enterprises Minister) Dawie de Villiers. I was a prime mover of the State's privatisation policy which was previously De Villiers's responsibility. We will all work as a team, not as individuals."

Durr believes the main challenge facing the economy is to "get the fundamentals right" and then place the country on a new growth path. "I believe in minimum government, but that does not mean we don't need clear guidelines and good leadership."

The development of an "export orientation," he says, is important, as is import replacement, though it must be economic. There must also be a critical evaluation of SA's resources.

Development programmes, he asserts, have a place in the planning process, but they musn't be open-ended. "There must be points of review and sunset clauses."

Tourism has been re-introduced to his portfolio by De Klerk, after having been scrapped by P W Botha.

Durr's non-political interests include environmental and architectural conservation. As a parting shot, he notes: "A rising tide raises all ships." That's particularly relevant, he feels, to the rising of the economic tide which will inevitably benefit all South Africans. ■



George Bartlett ... keeping pace

GEORGE BARTLETT

Adept at adapting

For a man who has spent more than half his political life as an opposition MP, George Bartlett's inauguration as Minister of Transport, Public Works & Land Affairs last week has brought him a political semi-circle.

But the Natal sugar farmer's swing through virtually the full spectrum of white SA politics can probably be ascribed to his consistent support of conservative, pragmatic policies rather than any change of heart.

However, it seems his views on economic issues are well in line with the apparently enlightened trends espoused in government circles. Interviewed by the *FM* last week, Bartlett confirmed he was investigating the possibility of privatising SA's major airports, like Jan Smuts, as well as the Public Works Department.

Bartlett also criticised excessive bureaucracy in the public service, noting: "Red tape also seems to rule in many so-called private concerns and companies. We need to deregulate and to steer away from dogmatic attitudes."

Bartlett entered politics in 1974 as MP for Amanzimtoti on the conservative right of the old United Party. He remained on the right of the NRP as he rose through the ranks to become one of its most influential members.

With the launch of the new constitution in 1983, Bartlett found that the NP had shifted to a position not far from his own. After unsuccessfully arguing for the dissolution of the NRP at its 1984 congress, he joined the ruling party together with NRP Natal leader Ron Miller and Aubrey Thompson, MP for South Coast. Their departure effectively set the party on the path to extinction.

Two years later, Bartlett was rewarded with the post of Deputy Minister, Economic Affairs & Technology.

Born in March, 1931 at Port Shepstone on the Natal South Coast, Bartlett matriculated from the Maritzburg Technical High School and left for Canada to further his studies. He returned to SA with a BSc in agricultural engineering and a Bachelor of Applied Science from Toronto University. He joined the SA Sugar Association (SASA), later becoming its chief advisory officer. He then moved to the Illovo Sugar Estates as GM, where he remained until moving into politics in 1974.

Bartlett has been a prime mover in winning Cabinet support for the ethanol-from-cane plant at Richards Bay, as well as the recent moves to deregulate sugar farming.

Besides being one of only two English-speaking Cabinet ministers, he is also one of the first English-speakers to head the NP in Natal.

Like the new State President, Bartlett is a firm supporter of group rights. But he has recently indicated that he is willing to take a second look at the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals. ■

RINA VENTER

A lone voice

The first woman to be appointed to the Cabinet, Rina Venter, has one of the most challenging portfolios. As Minister of National Health and Population Development, Venter (51) faces a national nursing crisis, a growing Aids problem and a population that is expanding ahead of the economy's potential to create jobs.

However, her problem-solving background indicates she could well be in her element. She has been a social worker for nearly 30 years, president of the Vrouefederasie, a member of the SABC board and a nominated MP since 1984. Against all odds she held Innesdal — a largely conservative constituency — for the NP in the general election. "I need challenges ... to set new goals," she says.

Softly spoken Venter is not prepared to discuss her portfolio in detail. "I wasn't expecting the appointment and wouldn't like to venture uninformed opinions without studying all the issues at hand," she says. She does, however, emphasise the necessity for cost-effective medical services and believes Aids is primarily an educational problem.

Her views on population development are simple: "Improved living standards are the best chance of reducing population growth. SA simply can't afford an unrealistic population growth."

As president of the Vrouefederasie Venter made history by cutting across racial barriers to establish links with black women. "I would like to have done more but I am proud of what was done," she admits. Addressing a convention of Jewish women, she once said: "We must look at what we as women have in common with one another and try to build on these values." She is known to deplore political apathy, particularly in women.

Her experience as a social worker has taught her valuable lessons. One is that people and communities should be involved in planning their own future and identifying their needs. "You can't do it for them," she insists.

Venter, married with two sons, was born in Krugersdorp and grew up in Carletonville. As a young girl she wanted a career in music but, after losing the use of some of her fingers, decided on social work. In 1959 she graduated from Tukkies with a BA in social sciences and later obtained a doctorate in social work methods. Her thesis touched on people's resistance to change — a topic which will certainly stand her in good stead.

She believes politics is about changing attitudes. "This is part of the challenge facing SA — if we succeed, we will be home and dry." ■



Rina Venter ... experienced trouble-shooter

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Vol. 291 PRETORIA, 29 SEPTEMBER 1989 No. 12127

PROCLAMATIONS

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 171, 1989

TRANSFER OF POWERS, DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS IN TERMS OF THE PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL SQUATTING ACT, 1951

Under section 11 of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951 (Act No. 52 of 1951), I hereby determine that any power, duty or function which in terms of the said Act is on 30 September 1989 permitted or required to be exercised, carried out or performed by the Divisional Councils of Upper Karoo, Cederberg, Drakensberg, Gordonia, Groot River, Hay, Kaffraria, Kenhardt, Prieska, Swartland, Vaalharts and Vaal River established under section 8 of the Divisional Councils Ordinance, 1976 (Ordinance No. 18 of 1976), of the Cape of Good Hope, or by any person in the service of such divisional council, may or shall with effect from 1 October 1989, be exercised, carried out or performed by the Administrator concerned as defined in section 10 of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951, including any person in the administration as defined in the said Act, of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Twenty-eighth day of September, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-nine.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,
Minister of the Cabinet.

609—A

PROKLAMASIES

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 171, 1989

OORDRAG VAN BEVOEGDHEDE, PLIGTE EN WERKSAAMHEDE INGEVOLGE DIE WET OP DIE VOORKOMING VAN ONREGMATIGE PLAKKERY, 1951

Kragtens artikel 11 van die Wet op die Voorkoming van Onregmatige Plakkery, 1951 (Wet No. 52 van 1951), bepaal ek hierby dat enige bevoegdheid, plig of werksaamheid wat op 30 September 1989 ingevolge die genoemde Wet deur die Afdelingsrade van Bo-Karoo, Cederberg, Drakensberg, Gordonia, Grootrivier, Hay, Kaffraria, Kenhardt, Prieska, Swartland, Vaalharts en Vaalrivier ingestel kragtens artikel 8 van die Ordonnansie op Afdelingsrade, 1976 (Ordonnansie No. 18 van 1976), van die Kaap die Goeie Hoop of deur enige persoon in die diens van sodanige afdelingsraad uitgeoefen, uitgevoer of verrig kan of moet word, met ingang van 1 Oktober 1989 deur die betrokke Administrateur soos omskryf in artikel 10 van die Wet op die Voorkoming van Onregmatige Plakkery, 1951, met inbegrip van enige persoon in die diens van die administrasie soos in genoemde Wet omskryf, van die provinsie die Kaap die Goeie Hoop, uitgeoefen, uitgevoer of verrig kan of moet word.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Agt-en-twintigste dag van September Eenduisend Negehonderd Nege-en-tagtig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,
Minister van die Kabinet.

12127—1

Ramphal doubts FW's reform aims

STAR 29/9/89 3044

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr F W de Klerk is "shedding credibility in a manner reminiscent of woodland waterfowl that shed their plumage when the mating season ends", Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath "Sonny" Ramphal said yesterday.

When this happened, he said, the birds "cannot fly and remain huddled together for safety in the centre of the pond".

"Let us hope that this is not really happening and that the prospects for fundamental change in South Africa are better than they seem."

Sir "Sonny" told the Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers' Association he did not believe there would be a great emphasis on producing a composite sanctions package in Kuala Lumpur. The warning would be given that if reform was not forthcoming, further measures would be taken.

"The rest of the Commonwealth (Britain apart) will want to go on the record confirming the judgment that sanctions have worked and they have a role to play on the road ahead. I don't believe Kuala Lumpur will be the moment for a new package of sanctions, but it will send the message that that will be the result if there is no tangible reform in South Africa."

He said the rest of the Commonwealth had not accepted Mrs. Thatcher's view that negotiation was the only way towards reform.

Sowetan 29/9/89

NP dumps petty apartheid and out-glasnosts the pack

30 KA

THE tens of thousands of black residents of the racially mixed (albeit against the law) white areas of Johannesburg inched closer to total integration into their communities when the Johannesburg City Council voted to open all the city's amenities to all races.

As the National Party management committee (Manco) made the announcement in the council meeting on Tuesday night - the Conservative Party blew a head gasket. The CP, which holds all of four seats in the council, vehemently opposed the move that effectively saw the abolishment of petty apartheid in the largest and economically most powerful city in South Africa.

All recreation centres, swimming pools and libraries were pronounced open from yesterday. Buses will be desegregated within about six weeks after permits have been issued by the Local Transportation Board.

While the city is working through the hangover of the historic move by the NP-controlled Manco, the official opposition in the city council - the Democratic Party - was slightly disturbed, however thoroughly pleased.

The DP had been waging a battle in the council for the opening of the city to all its residents for as long as they can remember. The NP, after the results of a poll, sprung the surprise glasnost on the DP and virtually outglasnosted the progressive democrats.

Between the pressure applied by the DP and the seriousness of urbanisation in South Africa, the NP's hand was forced, believes the leader of the DP in the council Mr Ian Davidson said.

Davidson called the move "a bold step for you (NP)" and "a victory for this side of the house". Earlier this year DP councillor Carl Steyn discovered that there existed no legislation which called for the segregation of swimming pools. Steyn and the then leader of the DP in the city council, Mr Tony Leon, led a "multiracial swim" at the Hillbrow indoor pool and effectively integrated the amenity.

Last weekend the Yeoville Residents Organisation - the first non-racial residents organisation in a proclaimed white area - pulled the same move on the Yeoville pool. Here there was no resistance while in Hillbrow only the extreme rightwing AWB, and other types protested and were subsequently arrested.

The moves on the swimming pools placed the NP's Manco in a predicament. In order to reinstitute segregation in terms of the Separate Amenities Act there had to be a council resolution in order for it to be effective.

"At the time they acknowledged that there was no legislation but inferred that under the Group Areas Act there was room for it," said Davidson, who described this as nonsense.

However the NP predicament was compounded when the DP pressurised the Manco to either make a public statement to confirm the absence of legislation or alternatively declare swimming pools segregated under the Separate Amenities Act.

The outcome of the Carletonville court case which forced that council to remove all discriminatory legislation came along and in effect forced Manco's hand. It wasn't sound politics or economics to do a Boksburg or Carletonville in Johannesburg.

Councillor Mrs Marietta Marx denied that any pressure had determined the decision: "It was in line with Government's reform," she said.

It did take the Government fifteen years to open the city though. "The decision to open the city to non-white people was taken by the city council on January 30 1974," Alderman Jan Burger of Manco said.

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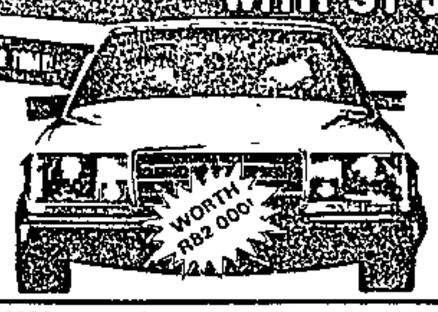

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'Depressed, yet excited'

Chikane visits SA refugees in Africa

STAR 29/9/89 304

A visit to South African refugees in Botswana and Tanzania by the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), and Bishop Stanley Mogoba, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, left Dr Chikane "depressed, yet excited", the SACC said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

It said Dr Chikane visited the Dukwe Refugee Camp in Botswana with officials of the Botswana Council of Churches last week.

There are about 200 South African refugees at the camp. He was able to speak confidentially to some of the refugees and to listen to their problems individually.

In Tanzania, Dr Chikane was joined by Bishop Mogoba in discussions with the Pan Africanist Congress.

Relationship

The relationship between the SACC and the PAC was raised in the discussions as well as the relationship between churches internationally and the PAC.

"The discussions revealed that many of what were considered to be problems are actually perceptions which access to correct information could dispel. Many of these problems were consequently dealt with," the SACC statement said.

The church leaders raised a concern with the PAC with regard to the movement's seeming rejection of the Organisation for African Unity's formula for negotiations.

They requested the PAC to review the situation and to inform them accordingly.

The question of unity was referred to throughout the talks but was not discussed in depth. The PAC expressed a perference for "principled unity" rather than just "unity in action", the statement said.

Dr Chikane also visited two ANC projects and settlements at Dakawa and Mazimbu in Tanzania, where about 1 600 South African refugees currently live and work. The settlements had development projects in the fields of farming, health care, education, building and the clothing industry.

The Mazimbu settlement also ran a nursery school, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College and a hospital.

Mr Chikane expressed excitement at the attempts of these settlements to attain self-sufficiency.

Dr Chikane and Bishop Mogoba visited other South African refugees in Tanzania.

They had discussions with them and listened to their problems. Conditions of South African refugees in refugee camps in Tanzania and Botswana was described by Dr Chikane as "depressing and frustrating".

He expressed the gratitude of the people of South Africa to the commitment of the Tanzanian people to the struggle for freedom in South Africa when he met President Mwinyi and the Tanzanian Foreign Minister, Mr Benjamin Mkapa.

Dr Chikane gained a clear impression in the discussions that the President and people of Tanzania viewed the struggle of the people of South Africa as their own because until apartheid was removed, Africa as a whole could not be totally free.

"The OAU manifesto which has now been endorsed by the Non-Aligned Movement and is likely to be discussed by the United Nations is an indication of the initiative and leadership of Africa to end the apartheid system," Dr Chikane said. — Sapa.



The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC . . . listened to problems.



Bishop Stanley Mogoba . . . visited refugees in Tanzania and Botswana.

In saying he wants to bring about a South Africa in which all races can participate in government, President De Klerk is taking on a problem that goes back a long way. An article in Weekend Argus last week dealt with its origins at the National Convention that led to Union. In this second article in the series of three, LEON MARSHALL looks at what happened from then till the Nationalist dream was fulfilled of having a truly "white" parliament.

'Let the future be the judge'

THE authors of South Africa's first constitution made two mistakes: They over-estimated black forebearance in the longer term and they misjudged the Boer-British commitment to unity in the shorter term.

One of the immediate consequences of the first was the formation of the African National Congress in 1912, as a response to black people's exclusion from government and as an attempt to forge unity across tribal barriers.

The result of the second: Prime Minister Louis Botha tried clumsily but gallantly to give practical effect to the conciliatory sentiments so tearfully expressed at the National Convention; to his chagrin and to the increasing alarm of his English colleagues in the Cabinet, Barry Hertzog derided his efforts as pandering to British imperialism and undermining the Afrikaner cause; to get rid of him, Botha collapsed his Cabinet by resigning and appointing a new one without Hertzog; and in January 1914 in Bloemfontein the National Party was formed under Hertzog to henceforth serve the white, predominantly Afrikaner, nationalist cause.

HOW fate conspired with the forces of disunity and destabilisation is part of history also: As the fledgling country's entry into World War 1 on England's side and the resultant rebellion deepened the white-white schism, so industrialisation and rural poverty brought white and black work-seekers into increasingly antagonistic rivalry in the cities.

And while both the white and black nationalist causes found themselves increasingly well-served by developments, so parliament was steadily abrogating the trusteeship the South Africa Act vested in it over the country's black citizenry.

It started by demarcating limited rural trust lands for blacks, but as the clamour grew from its white electors, curbs were slapped on blacks, including influx controls as recommended by the Stallard Commission in 1922 which said towns should be for permanent occupation by whites only.

By the time Hertzog's National Party came to power in 1924, in coalition with the Labour Party, anti-black feelings and demands for segregation had become exceedingly angry. From Hertzog it was, too, that the first firm indication came that the constitution so sanguinely drafted at the National Convention, as well as parliament itself, would not remain unaffected.

Noting that the African vote was already having an influence on elections in the Cape, he warned: "Unless the *native* vote in the Cape is separated from that of the whites, it will be the cause of the greatest tragedy in the history of South Africa."

ALTHOUGH he already committed his party in 1929 to making South Africa "a white man's land" it was only after fusion with Smuts' South African Party that, in 1936, he considered white opinion sufficiently fired up to remove Africans from the common voters' roll in the Cape.

In return, black voters in the Cape were allowed to vote three whites to parliament and two to the Cape Provincial Council; Africans throughout the country were provided with an electoral college system to elect four white senators; a Natives' Representative Council of 12 elected and four nominated Africans, and five whites was set up under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Native Affairs to serve as an advisory body; and legislative provision was made to add more trust land to that set aside for blacks in 1913.

A black worker, Ndlwana, took the government to court. One of the arguments, which 20 years later would have devastating constitutional consequences, was that the law which removed blacks from the common voters' roll in the Cape should not have been accepted by the two-thirds majority procedure as had happened. The reason suggested was that the Statute of Westminster, passed by the British parliament in 1931 to bestow full legislative authority on its dominions, required parliament no longer to abide by the entrenched sections of the South Africa Act.

The Cape Supreme Court thought the special procedure *may* be followed, but on appeal it was held that parliament, composed of its three constituent elements, could adopt any procedure it thought fit. As a result, the offending act could not be declared invalid.

WHAT followed is again known history: While making happy common cause with Smuts till World War 2 intervened, Hertzog's crusader mantle passed to D F Malan and his reformed National Party; as the latter's racist demands grew, so the symbolic Great Trek of 1938 exposed, and unleashed, growing Afrikaner-Nationalist fervour; and, ironically, as calls started being made for the removal also of coloured people from the Cape's common voters' roll, it was Hertzog who derided these as *falsity and infidelity and a betrayal of the trust of the coloured in the word of the white man.*

Although there were some Nationalists who sympathised with Hertzog's sentiments, the party as a whole seemed to have a pretty sound idea of what it wished to do by the time it came to power in 1948.

Already the year before, its Sauer Commission had set out the objectives — to maintain the white population by the total elimination of mixing between whites and non-whites, with a clear dividing line between them to remove racial friction and all possible sources of conflict of interests.

When D F Malan took over as Prime Minister, he made it quite clear what that meant It meant that, in the Cape, too, *Europeans* and *non-Europeans* would not be riding in the same trains, sitting on the same benches, working in the same workshops, living in the same residential areas or going to the same universities.

ULTIMATELY, there was going to be political separation — *Not that we want to deny the non-Europeans any say or deprive them of their rights. But instead of their sitting with us in the same legislative assembly, we want to build up for them their own self-governing institutions in their own territories*

Malan was deeply worried about how the attitude of coloured people had changed; they had been summoned to bear arms and to be arbiters between white and white, which had given them a different outlook and had caused them to make demands which never previously entered their heads; and now the United Nations and the communists were inciting them against the whites. The only solution he saw was that there should be two spheres in the country — *different areas where the Europeans and the non-Europeans must be separated from each other* ...

Smuts, as Opposition leader, responded gloomily: *We are going to drive the coloured people away from us ... A step like this that alienates our friends, people who really belong to us, stirring up all this feeling, all this bitterness, all this despondent frustration, can only lead to one thing: They will all come together, you will have a united front, and that united front may be a communist front. What is the use of inveighing against communism when we are ourselves taking the most active steps to bring it about?*

But the new government pushed on relentlessly In two to three years a vast legal edifice was erected with racial prescriptions stretching from birth (through the Population Registration Act), to education, work, relaxation, education, sex, marriage and living areas.

THE one vexing problem that remained was the presence of coloured people on the Cape's common voters' role. To set it right, the government, relying on the Ndlwana case, in 1951 pushed through an Act by simple majority of the Assembly and Senate sitting separately to remove them.

An affected voter, Harris, had the Act judged invalid by the Appeal Court, which, overruling the Ndlwana case, decided parliament had to abide by the entrenched sections of the constitution.

Angered to distraction, the government had the High Court of Parliament Act passed the following year by simple majority of the two Houses sitting separately. It laid down that any past or future act of parliament declared invalid by the Appellate Division would be subject to review by the "High Court of Parliament". But again Harris had the Act judged invalid.

The government's final and most disgraceful answer was to simply enlarge the Senate with sufficient members of its own party to give it its two-thirds majority to remove coloured voters from the common role, in return for which they were given whites to be elected to parliament on a separate voters' roll.

Even Nationalists were afterwards to admit that it was not the right thing to do. But if even Malan, before his death, had doubts about the way matters were turning out, not so his Transvaal successor, Hans Strijdom, who declared bluntly: *We, the white people, have the mastery in our hands today .. because the laws of this country give the franchise and representation to the white man so that he can govern the country . They (the opposition) say you cannot always hold the native back- ...and their policy is gradually so to change our laws that the white man will no longer have the power to be the master in South Africa ...*

WHILE it is widely believed that H F Verwoerd was the "architect" of apartheid, it seems it was quite an accomplished fact by the time he took over in 1958. As Minister of Native Affairs he had certainly helped bringing it about, but as prime minister his rather dubious architectural role lay in propagating the homeland concept, not as much through development of the trustlands areas as through the increasingly disdainful treatment of blacks in the urban areas as a means of "reversing the stream".

In 1959 was passed the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act which recognised eight ethnic *national units* and provided the machinery for these to become self-governing.

But fulfilment of the dream of an all-white parliament was left to his successor, John Vorster, who had the "coloured" representatives removed in 1968 in favour of an inferior — and ultimately catastrophic — Coloured Representative Council.

Of the ending of all parliamentary voting rights for people of colour, Vorster said he believed from the bottom of his heart he had done the right thing. *I am prepared to have the future judge me in this regard ...*

Back to the fu

Amazing new scenes and changes, but NP still disguising

Star 30/9/87. 30cm

I STRODE into the bar of the Federal Hotel in Polly Street where, once young, for three or four years I put down a gallon or so a day of Castle lager followed by rum-and-Cokes as the evening wore on.

I have rarely been so shocked or surprised. Read on and you'll see why.

The Federal is a small, low, fly-blown building; it would do nicely as a set in a Western. But it is the repository of memories Late in the 1950s, we young reporters on the *Rand Daily Mail* would shuttle to and from its squat door-front, a block away. Its bar did not admit women or blacks. There were usually three or four older white men, partly shaven, red from beer, shouting and swearing in their shirt-sleeves. We took our cue from them

I went back a few weeks ago. The shock was immediate. Behind the bar was no redneck Jo'burg barman but Miss Dhlamini, pretty in a red beret, from Swaziland.

"What will you have?" said her stunningly white African teeth

One customer, a white-haired black man called Harry, waved me cheerily to an adjoining stool.

It was a quarter of a century since I had visited the Federal, almost exactly the time Mr Nelson Mandela has been in jail. Then, Mr Mandela was a charming solicitor, a partner in the firm of Mandela and Tambo, now, he is a world hero. Will Rip van Mandela be flabbergasted by Jo'burg when (if) he is finally released?

At least Harry was drinking the right thing. "Two Castles," said I, catch the hope in his eye. He rewarded me with a long speech about his love for all religions and people

Another customer, a Zulu, was doubtless referring to Mandela when he shook his head and said: "South Africa can never be ruled by a Xhosa."

Harry told about his move from Soweto to a room nearby. He could not have lived in town when I was there. To my deep embarrassment, he kissed my hand as I left. Miss Dhlamini, confident and young, saw me as a mere customer.

Down Main Street, past the office block that housed the *Rand Daily Mail* when it existed, is Nugget Street. You still pass a row of car showrooms on the way.

Unlike the elderly Harry, the many young Africans walking casually by did not show any sign of servility to my white face. When Mr Mandela went to his first prison on Robben Island, blacks were nearly all gardeners, or "flat boys" as we called the grown-up men, in blue bermuda shorts, who scrubbed your apartment floor.

Now, on the Jo'burg pavements, they are proud-suited citizens, showing by their bearing and the look in their eyes that it is their country and they know it.

In old Jo'burg, the Nugget Hotel, a floor taller than the Federal, was where you went for steak and eggs with your beer. It had class. Now, it has a "ladies bar" and, downstairs, a notice about the right of entry being reserved.

Inside sat a row of white men in shirt-sleeves, swearing and shouting. Poor-whites, they told the tales of their kind everywhere, bemoaning the rising black tide.

Up the road is Hillbrow, in my time fashionable and white. Now, one of the most multi-racial crowds I have ever seen filled the pavements.

A well-dressed black man pushed a white drunk along, holding him in a half-nelson; the latter was taken away by placatory fellow-drunks.

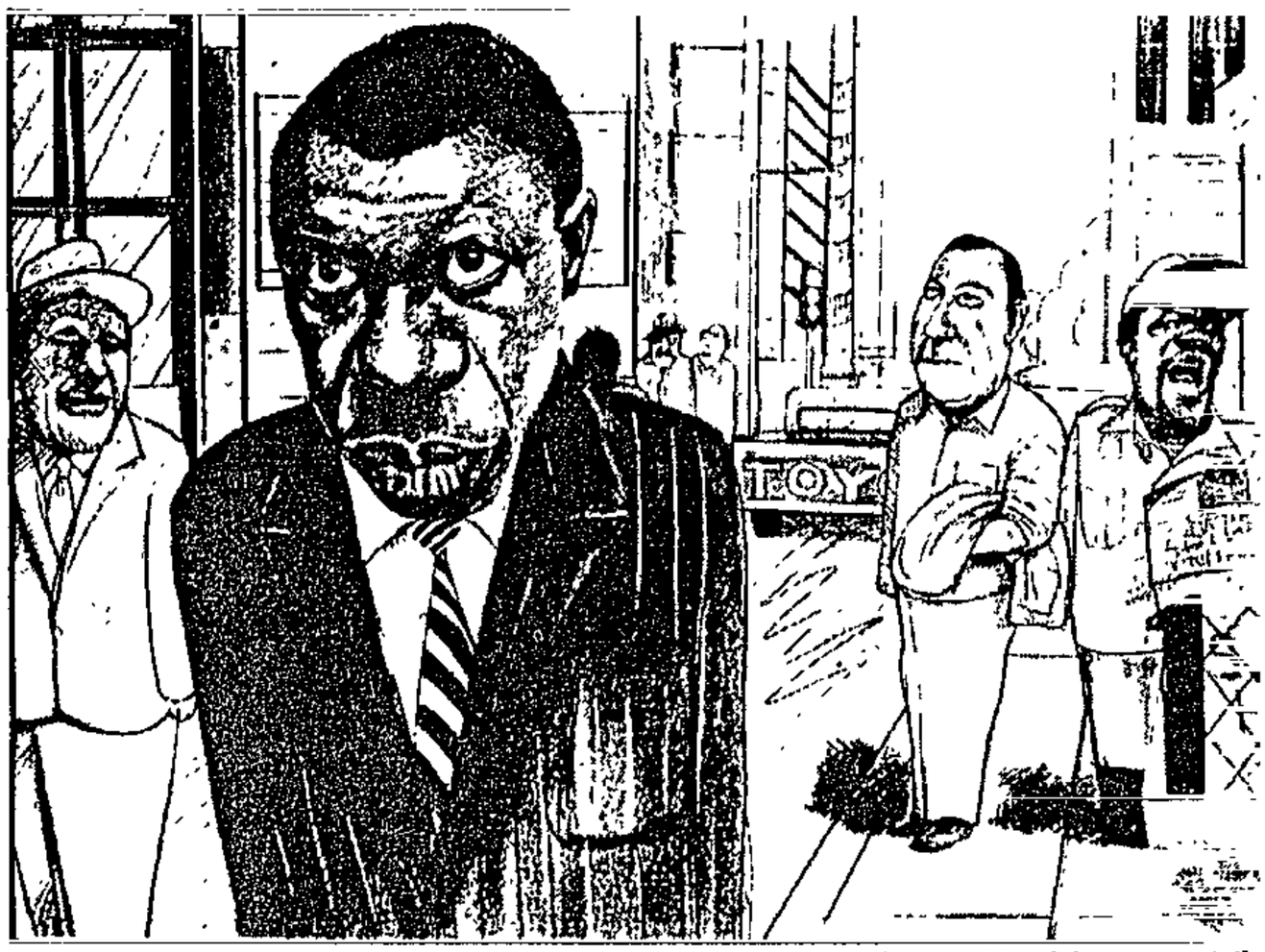
"The black guys know white girls with consciences won't say no," said my friend, who is in the world of the arts. "They take advantage of it. They expect too much." One apartheid law, which prevented marriages or even liaisons across the colour line, has certainly been abolished

Back in central Johannesburg on Saturday morning, it felt like Harlem outside, Manhattan cocktail within. There was one big difference.

On the streets, where to be white was to be conspicuous, there was no sense of threat. These Africans were fat, well-dressed, shopping for the best. They were not a cause of fear.

Shock again: when I was last in South Africa, the only blacks found in hotels were carrying your bags You never carried anything youself Now, blacks are joyous guests, or brief visitors savouring the good life in the restaurants. (I'm talking smart city-centre hotels, not those in Afrikaner dorps on the platteland.)

JOHANNESBURG this week declared its municipal facilities are open to all races and other towns have indicated that they may follow suit. South African-born JOE ROGALY returned to the country he Dleft 30 years ago and found that many other things were not quite as he remembered them.



NEW JOHANNESBURG: Unlike bygone days, for example, at about the time Mandela went to jail, are proud-suited citizens, showing by their bearing and the look in their eyes that ...

It was hard for a South African-born returning visitor to believe. Every sight was amazing.

I saw white taxi-drivers taking black passengers, heard of black medical students training with white patients.

Perhaps people who say that the growth of a black middle-class is the way forward for South Africa are right, surely all this new-found wealth is creating solid citizens, a stable community, and black conservatism?

Not yet, it isn't.

Some important apartheid laws have gone job reservation, the pass laws, laws that assumed urban blacks to be migrant workers destined to return to the homelands.

But the key ones remain, those that govern land, the areas reserved for various racial groups, separate amenities, and the foundation law — the one that registers you according to your racial origin.

Again, black trade unions were not legal in my time. Now, they are a serious force in the political as well as the economic life of the country.

The solid-citizen suburbs around Jo'burg are still pure white, many as rich as California Most houses are surrounded by high walls, lights, and signs saying that they are protected by a 24-hour armed security service.

Soweto is mixed; it has some good houses now. But out in the sticks enormous, dirt-poor shanty towns have sprung up.

The fear, and the violence, have increased since I left. The new security police headquarters in Johannesburg (named after John Vorster, a former Prime Minister) is enormous, squat and forbidding; the old was a modest block in which, even in my time, there were "accidents".

On another day I was drinking again, this time in a shebeen in a black township near Durban. Don't ask how I got there. It was a classy shebeen, even though it was really the front room in its owner's township box-house.

A hi-fi warbled. The customers wore T-shirts and slacks. They squeezed, knee to knee, around a small low table which was covered with bottles of Lion and Castle lager plus gin and Scotch to lace the strong beer.

Back in the old days, none of this liquor was available legally to blacks. Now, the only law a shebeen-owner breaks is the licensing regulations. He doesn't bother with tax but, as he says, with no representation, why should he endure taxation?

Frank, my host, introduced the other guests. They were black middle-class to a man: a local personnel manager for a large UK company, a clerk to a local government official, a school principal, a teacher, a something in marketing, and the owner of a fleet of taxis.

All 30-something, the lads out for a Sunday afternoon's serious drinking. At first, the conversation was in loud and interminable Zulu, with words like "selling point" and "company car" flying out from time to time. Frank pleaded for English, for my benefit.

No, said one, they were not against sanctions. Yes, they did want disinvestment. I reacted whitely:

"But none of you would be here if there was no economic growth," I protested. "You wouldn't exist. There would be no good middle management jobs for blacks, no company cars."

We do not exist now, they replied. We have no vote. We cannot live where we want; we must live in the township. We cannot take holidays where we want. We cannot choose which school our children attend. We are unfree. That is the most important thing. The rest is rubbish.

I thought about their view. When I was last in South Africa, R2 bought a pound; now, it is four and growing. It feels like Mickey Mouse money to many white South Africans.

The whites hate sanctions, hate what used to be called, late in the 1950s, "polecat status". They long to be a respected member of the Western group of nations.

My shebeen companions, claiming to be ANC, told dreadful tales of murders committed by [illegible] police, [illegible] citizen had [illegible] had [illegible]

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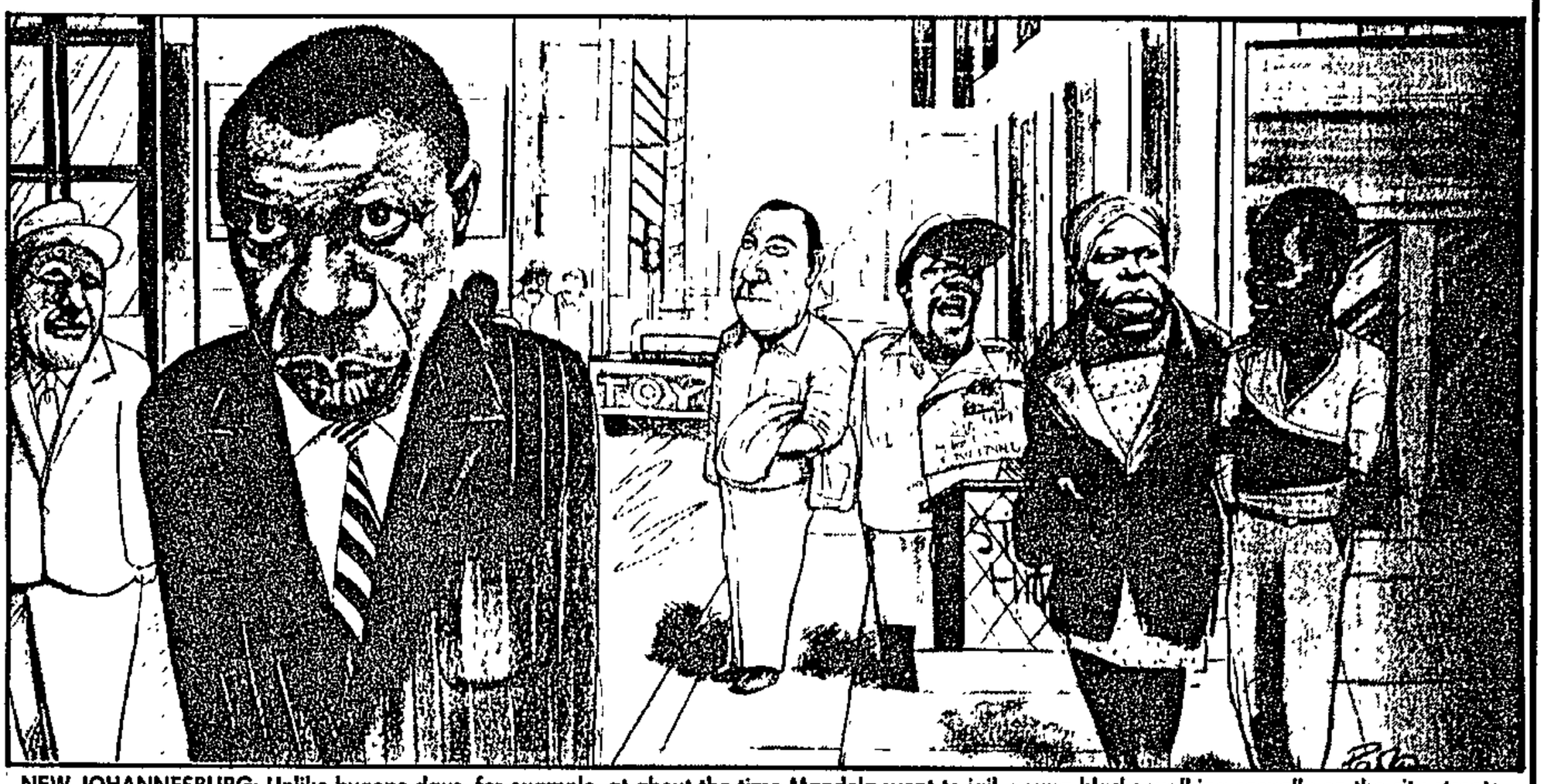

NEW JOHANNESBURG: Unlike bygone days, for example, at about the time Mandela went to jail, young blacks walking casually on the city streets are proud-suited citizens, showing by their bearing and the look in their eyes that this is their country and they know it.

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My shebeen companions, claiming to be ANC, told dreadful tales of murders committed by various "warlords". These warlords were supported by the police, said my new black solid-citizen friends. Yes, their side had defended itself but theirs had been revenge killings.

It is impossible for an outsider to get to the bottom of this war between Inkatha and the "mass democratic movement" which consists of the trade union organisation Cosatu, the United Democratic Front, and a number of associated organisations, all of which take a roughly ANC line.

When I asked Chief Buthelezi about the killings, his reply was that the ANC had introduced the culture of violence and that, yes, his people defended themselves.

His royal family tree runs back through Dingaan, Shaka and beyond He received me outside the cabinet room in his large government building in Ulundi.

Then, in a tone so argumentative as to be reminiscent of Mrs Margret Thatcher, he fended off suggestions that Inkatha was tribalistic or confined to rural or uneducated Zulus.

His basic message was that Inkatha, too, had followed the ANC line initially, but that disafgreements had arisen after 1979 Inkatha opposed both the violent struggle and sanctions; that seemed to be the main difference.

I was more struck by the similarities. on every major current question — releasing Mandela, unbanning the ANC, lifting the state of emergency, the non-acceptance of fake constitutional devices, like a token black in the white Cabinet

It is possible to imagine Chief Buthelezi doing a deal that the ANC would shun but the immediate point is that, along with the other homelands' leaders, he reflects important aspects of mainstream black thinking.

As I left, a minion added to the pile of parting gifts, papers and books. On the top lay 147 pages, bound, of single-space typescript. It was Chief Buthelezi's policy speech to his assembly, made in March. Not a man with a humble opinion of himself, I thought.

So what really is happening out there in South Africa?

The course of separate states has failed, partly because they have the worst land and are so poverty-stricken, partly because of the black population explosion, and partly because powerful homelands' leaders like Chief Buthelezi have rejected consistently the offer of "independence".

Dr Verwoerd's National Party — led yesterday by President P W Botha and today by Mr de Klerk — is, therefore, floundering. It is still inventing new words ("group rights") to disguise its Verwoerdian, tribally-based philosophy, but it is aware that events on the ground — demographic, economic and political — are threatening that philosophy. — *Financial Times*, London.