

# Thousands of S. Africans rally at whites-only beach; 58 held

Chicago Tribune 4 SEPT. 89

DURBAN, South Africa (AP)—Thousands of blacks marched, picnicked and waded at a whites-only beach Sunday. Police made 58 arrests, but waited more than two hours before breaking up the protest.

The crowd, estimated at 5,000 to 10,000, stretched for more than a mile along the shore, the biggest beach protest ever in South Africa.

Organizers claimed a victory over segregation and vowed further acts of protest during a nationwide defiance campaign.

Several dozen whites, some carrying whips and wearing "whites only" T-shirts, yelled abuse as the throng paraded along the segregated sections of South Africa's most heavily used beachfront. Other sections of the hotel-lined shore have been opened to all races in recent years.

One angry white man barged into the crowd, yelling and pushing, but police said they could control the situation on their own. Some whites yelled to the officers, "Shoot them dead."

At one point, police arrested about 10 black youths who unfurled a flag of the outlawed African National Congress guerrilla movement. They remained in custody late Sunday, but police said the other 48 people arrested during the course of the protest were released after a few hours.

The police contingent of several hundred officers was equipped

with shot guns and a water cannon, but they made no efforts to stop the protesters from moving onto segregated Addington Beach.

In contrast, police used clubs and whips and arrested 500 people Saturday in Cape Town while breaking up a protest march to Parliament.

White lifeguards remained at their posts during the beach protest and white surfers continued to paddle off the shore while black children splashed nearby.

After about 2½ hours, police officers announced that the protest was illegal and began moving the crowd away.

At a news conference later, protest leaders said they considered the event a success.

"It's the dawn of a new age," said Rev. Stanley Mogoba, a prominent Methodist leader.

More than 1,300 people, including prominent activists such as Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, have been arrested since Wednesday in connection with the defiance campaign. Most have been released pending possible court action.

The defiance campaign began Aug. 2 and has intensified steadily in the days leading to Wednesday's segregated parliamentary elections, which exclude the black majority.

A two-day national protest—probably including a general strike—is planned for Tuesday and Wednesday by major antia-

partheid groups.

The majority of the beach protesters were youths, many wearing yellow caps with the slogan "Free the Beaches." The crowd included many Indians and some whites as well as blacks.

Local police officials had warned activists last week that the protest could trigger violence, and some roadblocks were set up in an attempt to keep protesters away from the beach.

Police reported that several small bombs exploded Friday night in trash bins along the beachfront. Near the bins, pamphlets purportedly written by white right-wing extremists warned activists not to proceed with the protest.

Previous targets of the defiance campaign have included segregated hospitals, schools and buses. Many activists have defied restrictions imposed on them following their release from detention, and several banned organizations have declared that they were resuming operations.

Protesters were whipped by police at a defiance protest at a whites-only beach near Cape Town on Aug. 19.

At least two Cabinet ministers of the governing National Party have expressed regret for that incident, but the government has given no public indication that it is ready to make major changes in remaining segregation laws.



# The Afrikaans Press by James McClurg

## 'F W factor' is NATAL MERCURY counteracting 4 SEPT. 1989 'gutsfull factor'

**A** CAMPAIGN built around Mr F W de Klerk's open, smiling face is being assiduously put across by the NP-supporting newspapers.

Commending Mr De Klerk's skill in handling meetings, *Beeld's* political diarist, Lood, observed significantly that the 'finger-wagging style' appeared to be a thing of the past in the NP.

*Die Volksblad* said that while most observers believed it was too early to speak of Mr De Klerk as 'South Africa's own Ronald Reagan', nearly everyone agreed that, with his 'easy, honest, calm style', he was making the same sort of impression as the former US president.

In *Rapport*, Anne-Marie Mischke said NP strategists believed what was being called the 'FW factor' was beginning to counteract the 'gutsfull factor', which she defined as 'a general dissatisfaction with the NP'.

Although the NP would probably have to forfeit quite a number of seats, it was cautiously optimistic, she said, that the threat of a hung parliament, in which no party had an overall majority, would be averted.

### Majority

Mr Harry Laurie, the first election forecaster to raise the spectre of a hung parliament, now believes it 'fairly certain' that the NP will gain an outright majority.

Nonetheless, he said in *Rapport*, the possibility that the NP would fail to achieve such a majority could not be totally excluded.

The main reason for the change in the election outlook, he said, was that the campaign had gone badly for the DP and its support had been considerably overestimated.

Mr Laurie's latest forecast, as published on August 27, is NP: 78-100; CP: 44-50; DP: 22-28.

Writing in the journal *Insig*, Mr Laurie said that by calculating the percentage swing towards or away from the NP it should be possible to forecast the final outcome of the election once the results in between 10 and 20 constituencies were known.

### Sayings of the week

☐ Any voter who has finally accepted that physical separation as a solution to South Africa's problems is out — in other words, anyone who does not support the CP or the HNP — must ask himself whether it is at all possible to ensure a successful future on any basis other than equal citizenship rights for all. — *Dr Zach de Beer of the DP in Rapport*.

☐ Dialogue and negotiation between all who seek peace are the key to the future. We are going to make that key fit into the lock of the future. — *Mr F W de Klerk of the NP in Rapport*.

☐ If the CP comes to power, only whites will be allowed to play in a Springbok rugby team, because sport goes hand in hand with statecraft. — *Dr Andries Treurnicht of the CP in Rapport*.

Only if he put DP policies into effect would Mr F W de Klerk be able to do what was required of him, said his brother, Prof Willem de Klerk, in an interview with *Rapport*. With that proviso, he would like to see him given a chance.

Professor De Klerk, who was one of the DP's founders, recently withdrew from the official and organisational side of the party and was later reported to have coined the phrase, 'Give FW a chance'.

### Forecasts

However, he was among a number of voters in the Parktown constituency who have signed a document affirming that they will vote for the DP candidate, Dr Zach de Beer.

He told *Rapport* he had never distanced himself from the DP and continued to believe that its policies, if properly developed, could offer the solution to South Africa's problems.

Natal and the Border area are among the regions Alf Ries, veteran political correspon-

dent of the *Nasionale* group, has visited in a pre-election roundup.

Discussions with representatives of all three parties in Natal indicated that definite forecasts were possible in only eight constituencies, said Mr Ries.

Of these, five would be won by the NP and three by the DP. In the remaining 12 'anything could happen' and the majorities would be relatively small.

In some Natal constituencies the NP had experienced a 5% swing against it.

In the Border area, Albany was considered the NP's most vulnerable seat. This was because Rhodes students, who had boycotted the 1987 election, were strongly supporting the DP.

The NP would also have to go all out to win East London Central, which Mr Peet de Pontes captured in 1987 with a 3 782 majority, only to resign under a cloud.

In contrast to the DP, the NP had brought in no 'big guns' as speakers in the Border battlefield.

### Human rights

*Beeld* endorsed the view expressed by Mr Justice H J O van Heerden, of the Appellate Division, that all South African universities ought to set up a chair of human rights.

This, said *Beeld*, would mean that at even the conservative universities students would study existing legislation in the knowledge that a definite shadow had fallen over it because of the new concern for human rights.

Delivering the L C Steyn memorial lecture at the Rand Afrikaans University, Mr Justice van Heerden pointed to the continued presence of laws that made distinctions on grounds of race.

South African legislation, he said, was also interlarded with legal presumptions that placed the onus on the individual to prove the absence of an offence.

This conflicted with the principle that any accused person had the right to be regarded as innocent until the contrary was proved.



# Turmoil in the House of Delegates

THE House of Delegates appears set for an inconclusive result as candidates battle not only against themselves under a multitude of flags but also face a major "don't vote" campaign.

The focus of the election has been the 40 days allowed for special votes with candidates going all out to get as many voters to the polls before election day. Very few people are expected to vote on September 6.

The poll now looks like it will average more than 30 percent significantly higher than the 20 percent recorded in the 1984 first tricameral election.

No one is prepared to make firm predictions on the outcome of the elections and with none of the party's saying emphatically that they will win control it appears the House of Delegates could again resort to a repeat of the turmoil and strife of the past five years as members change allegiances more for personal gain than political principle.

Indications are that Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National Peoples Party, despite the blow it received from the James Commission report on allegations of corruption, and charges against Mr Rajbansi could return with a substantial number of seats.

Mr Rajbansi himself is

## Political Correspondent

virtually certain to win his seat.

In an interview Mr Rajbansi, protesting his innocence said he was asking the voters to be the judge on whether the James Commission had treated him fairly.

He feels with the help of a number of independents he could very well be in charge again on September 7.

Dr J.N. Reddy, leader of Solidarity, which is the only party to field candidates in all 40 seats, says the campaign has been centred more against the non-participation campaign of the Mass Democratic Movement.

He claimed polls were being held down because the mere presence of MDM members near the polling stations and don't vote posters "are a form of intimidation".

Dr Reddy, who refuses to lock political horns with Mr Rajbansi because of his record, emphasises his party is fighting the election not in attacks on others but on a platform of participating in the system to get thee government to enter real negotiations.

The Democratic Party in its controversial entry into the House of Delegates election is hoping to win five of the nine seats it is fighting, ac-

cording to Natal coastal region chairman, Mr Mike Ellis.

And the "independent DP" candidates, led by expelled member, Mr Pat Poovalingam also hopes to win a number of seats although Mr Poovalingam appears unlikely to be returned. Their candidates are those who wanted to stand but did not receive official nomination by the DP.

Natal Indian Congress spokesman Dr Farook Meer says it is not surprising that the polls were higher but says the Government could not draw any joy from this fact.

Although he concedes the non-participation campaign was not very well organised at the start it was also limited in its ability to keep polling down by a number of factors.

Dr Meer said the factors included the 40 days of prior voting, the state of emergency with detentions of leaders, and the intimidation of voters by various means such threats of loss of pensions and promotion for civil servants.

The MDM had also focussed its campaign at fighting against apartheid generally against a background growing defiance amongst the people.

"There has been an almost total lack of any meaningful action against apartheid."

The task facing the movement was to get ongoing opposition to apartheid and not only oppose participation in the tricameral system.

The message that the MDM was attempting to get across in the elections HoD was that they were a non-event, they were fraudulent and were leading country nowhere.

The HoD also created the false impression that the Indian community supported corruption, nepotism, lies and false promises.

News by B Cameron 85 Field Street Durban

MERCURY  
4/9/89



NATAL MERCURY - 4/09/89

## ONE-WAY TRAIN

SA TRANSPORT Services' accomplishment in stringing together a world-record train seven kilometres long is highly praiseworthy.

But while the engineers who achieved this fully deserve the mention they are likely to get in the Guinness Book of Records, their success serves only to underline the rocketing rate at which South Africa is being stripped of its mineral wealth.

Iron ore and coal are two leading commodities being shipped abroad in greater and greater quantities.

In the case of iron the concern is doubly serious as much of it could be processed into steel here rather than abroad, creating jobs for South Africans and earning foreign exchange on world markets where South African steel enjoys a reputation for high quality and low prices in spite of widespread sanctions.

Most of our coal leaves the country through Richards Bay and this year South Africa is looking at an export figure of 43 million tons, not far off the record 45.5 million tons that left the country in 1986.

But iron and coal are not the

only commodities departing our shores in great quantities. Copper, cement, manganese and rarer high-tech minerals like nickel, chrome, titanium and vanadium, to name only a few, all go the same route.

This at a time when futurists of the stature of Clem Sunter point to the fact that tomorrow's world wars, at least in terms of trade, will be fought more on knowledge and less on raw materials.

Profits are diminishing in the crude extraction processes upstream and increasing on the sophisticated assembly processes downstream, Sunter records.

It is in these downstream processes that South Africa particularly can profit, to the extent demonstrated by the local content programme for the motor industry which has forced the widening of our industrial base and the creation of many thousands of extra jobs for our unemployed millions.

South Africa is blessed with huge reserves of minerals. But stocks, even those as large as ours, are finite and with trains of 600 ore-trucks and more will not the end be upon us just that much sooner?

## The road back

ACTING State President F W de Klerk's game, we know, is golf but we're sure that like many other South Africans he enjoys watching top tennis, if only on the box. But in the light of two developments this week it may be a long time before he sees international players of any consequence on this country's courts.

First of all the International Olympic Committee has decreed that any player coming here will be banned from playing in the Olympics. Then the Association of Tennis Professionals, the body to which most players belong, changed its tune under pressure and withdrew approval for members to play in tournaments in this country.

South Africa's sports administrators and players have done wonders in removing colour from sport, and these efforts have been recognised even by the most vociferous anti-apartheid militants.

But while the brief tour of the International rugby side is evidence of much good will towards this country, the starting point for renewed and open participation in world sport is nothing less than the complete removal of apartheid. If Mr de Klerk and the Nationalist Government have the slightest concern for South Africa's sportsmen of tomorrow that should be their number one priority after September 6.



# 5 000 swarm on NATAL MERCURY 4 SEPT. 1989 to beaches in protest

**ABOUT 5 000 people — mainly black — swarmed on to Durban's whites-only South and Addington beaches yesterday in protest against the city's segregated beaches.**

Both organisers and police described the day as 'very successful' with few clashes between police and protesters and no complaints from the public.

Although some Right-wing elements did their best to incite the crowd, the general mood was more jubilant than militant, with protesters — most of whom wore yellow peak caps, proclaiming 'Free the Beaches' — swimming and playing games on the sand.

This was monitored by about 800 blue-capped police, and a large contingent of conservative beach-go-

**By Nicola  
Cunningham-  
Brown and  
Wendy Knowler**

ers, some of whom turned the MDM's caps inside out and wrote 'Whites only' on them.

## **Sjamboks**

Police had to intervene between some whites and protesters of all races on numerous occasions.

'The main purpose of having the police there was to see no violence erupted and no crimes were committed,' said Brig Gerrit Viljoen.

He confirmed that a white person, who had as-

saulted a white woman carrying a banner reading 'Jesus is alive' and pushed a black reporter down a flight of stairs, had been arrested.

About 12 middle-aged white men were carrying decorated sjamboks — 'for later use', one told a Mercury reporter.

One man was seen using his sjambok to threaten a black child who was dipping his toes into the whites-only South Beach paddling pool.

Many whites from a group of about 30 taunted the protesters from a distance.

A woman whose car was parked in by an MDM bus said: 'Why can't they use their own ... beaches?'

Meanwhile, a bakkie

drove along the beachfront bearing an AWB emblem and flying the Vierkleur.

The appearance of another flag on the shoreline — bearing the ANC colours of black, gold and green — was the cause of sudden police action, and thousands witnessed the arrest of 10 people after a dramatic chase along the water's edge, to much raucous applause.

Another 48 people were arrested and later released, for 'an incident involving an unlawful meeting', according to Brig Viljoen.

● The spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Brig Leon Mellet, last night refused the Mercury permission to publish photographs of police at the beach.

At least five Press photographers and cameramen had film confiscated.

Earlier, a Mercury reporter witnessed police stop four buses — the first of about 38 buses ferrying people from all over Natal — in West Street.

Several armed policemen ordered the occupants out and told them to stand on the pavement, searching

them individually before searching the buses.

They were then allowed to continue on their way. Brig Viljoen confirmed police had searched buses.

In a Press conference late yesterday, the secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Farouk Meer, said the protest had been viewed by the congress as 'a resounding success for the MDM'.

He said they appreciated the 'remarkable constraint' shown by all involved, and said the MDM would continue to defy laws they considered unjust.



MERCURY - 4/9/89

# Arrest of medics condemned

## Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Dr Stuart Saunders, Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, has demanded that Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok apologise to medical workers arrested during the protest march on Saturday and that the police officers responsible for the action be disciplined.

'I expect him to apologise to the doctors, nursing sisters, medical students and other health workers who were so summarily arrested and to insist on the disciplining of the police officers concerned.

'Failure to do so will indicate clearly to what depth South African society has sunk. I am outraged by these dreadful acts,' he said.

Stopping medical workers from giving first aid and life-saving attention to injured people during the protest march on Saturday was a direct contravention of the Geneva Convention and the Tokyo Declaration, of which South Africa is a signatory, said doctors and nurses.

More than 21 doctors, nursing sisters, medical students and other health workers wearing red cross badges appeared in court after they were arrested, beaten, tear-gassed, sprayed with purple dye, had first aid kits searched and ordered to move their mobile units and clinics.

Dr Saunders said mobile medical clinics, manned by doctors, nursing sisters and other health workers who had volunteered to help, were stationed in the

city to give emergency medical aid to anyone who became ill or was injured.

'Medical students, clearly distinguishable by large crosses on their chests, were also on foot carrying emergency medical packs to give emergency care. Many of them were arrested by the police.'

The National Medical and Dental Association has strongly condemned the police action.

● By yesterday all that remained of Saturday's city centre confrontation between protesters and police was purple-stained buildings and streets, and court appearance dates as far off as November for the more than 500 people arrested.

Among those arrested were Dr Alan Boesak and Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio. Special night courts which ran until after 10 were convened, and the accused were released on their own recognisances.

In spite of the police detention of 52 local and international journalists, images were splashed across television screens worldwide.

Saturday morning saw an unprecedented show of police force as hundreds of policemen saturated the city centre.

Ignoring stern police warnings, defiant protesters openly gathered at church halls and on Green Market Square to march on Parliament and deliver a petition.

The first people arrested were Dr Boesak and oth-

er clergymen. Then police wielding sjamboks waded into the group and arrested hundreds more.

Soon afterwards in the second confrontation, an estimated 800 protesters marched from the Methodist hall in Burg Street towards Greenmarket Square where they were stopped by about 100 policemen and told to disperse.

Minutes after the warning a jet of purple dye shot out from a police water cannon, flattening many protesters.

As the water cannon slowly advanced into Burg Street handfuls of people, purpled by the dye, stood their ground while others fled. The vehicle was forced to stop when at least two purple people refused to move.

Police stationed on the corner of Burg and Church Streets fired off three rounds of tear-gas, scattering people left on the pavements.

As the tear-gas cleared, more sjambok-wielding policemen rounded up those stained by the dye, including Scottish, American and German tourists.

Protesters were pulled out of their hiding places in nearby shops and some were sjambokked by policemen, a witness said.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu negotiated with senior police officers who withdrew their vehicles. The remaining people, who had hidden in St George's Church hall, then left in small groups.

## 'New vision' is in the past

SIR — White voters who intend voting in the forthcoming elections must not be hoodwinked by Nationalist election slogans such as 'New Vision — New Action'. The truth of the matter is that the 'New Vision' of the Nationalists (if indeed it exists at all), belongs firmly in this country's past. Ironically, it is simply a vision of pre-1948 South Africa. An explanation may be required.

The iniquitous 'dompas' requirement has been abolished; the Mixed Marriages Act has been repealed, as has the infamous section 16 of the Immorality Act; the Prohibition of Political Interference Act has been scrapped; legislation has been passed to allow the opening of the country's CBDs to all.

All these events have been expressed to be examples of this Government's policy of reform. If this policy were to be taken to its logical (and honest) conclusion, remaining apartheid legislation such as the Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities would be scrapped as well. And if this happened, we would simply be 40 years' back in time; save that so-called coloured people would still be worse off because, far from having the vote on a common voter's roll, they would have to content themselves with a vote for their own 'group' in their own special house.

But we all know, of course, that this Government has no intention of dismantling apartheid altogether.

So what is the 'New Vision' that Nationalists have in mind? Could it be the vision of this country's sportsmen and women competing again in the Olympic Games? Or the vision of world acceptance on the diplomatic and cultural fronts? Or the vision of official world tours by our rugby, cricket and football teams?

As much as any of these visions would appeal to a lot of people in this country, they are simply pie-in-the-sky visions of pre-1948 South Africa, before the Nationalists came to power. Very ironic, wouldn't you say? And hopeless, too, because a pre-1948 South Africa in 1989 simply does not appeal to the majority of people in this country.

The Democratic Party is the only party which has a genuine 'future' vision, and that is why it will secure my vote on September 6.

11 Avon Place Cowies Hill

BC BRAATVEDT

## Three questions for the CP

SIR — We now see posters with Dr A P Treurnicht telling us that we can trust him. There are three matters I want to put to him and the Conservative Party.

● Have they explained to the voters the financial cost of their proposed plans? Even Dr Verwoerd himself was never able to implement his plans anywhere near fully, because he could not afford the political and economic cost of making the 'Bantustans' viable.

● Have they explained to us all the cost in increased hatred, bitterness and resentment that the implementation of their policy would cause between races and within an increasingly impoverished black community? We have been misled time and again by our 'strong, father-figure' prime ministers, who have assured us that their policies would bring peace and goodwill.

Dr Treurnicht is being promoted as just such another leader. I cannot think of a worse fate for South Africa than another fraud of this nature.

Have the CP told their followers of the cost in young men's physical, mental, emotional and spiritual lives that will have to be paid to run South Africa according to their dreams? CP dreams mean making our country an armed camp with all the trauma that bring.

What are the alternatives? If people are thinking that the NP is all that much better, they need to ask themselves when they last heard a Nat leader tackle an issue straight on.

Look at their negotiations policy. They are so busy telling everybody about the people you shouldn't deal with, that they never tell you which black leaders they are going to deal with. They have been so two-faced for so long, that we have ended up with the tragic and unseemly squabble over a perfectly normal piece of diplomacy that led to PW Botha's resignation.

The squabble is not to be laid only at PW's door but at that of the whole NP who worked for a constitution which gave almost total constitutional power to one man. We were assured, as in so many other cases, that it would never be used, but we came within a hairsbreadth of being ruled by one man alone.

Security lies not in trying to build false dreams, as in the case of the CP or evading issues, as the Nats have, but in facing the reality of a common future for all South Africans. There is no other viable possibility, so the sooner we work at it the better.

Each time we put things off the worse they become, so why not work at learning to co-operate now. There is no security when you take away the hope of the majority of the people by refusing to come to terms with their needs or to allow them to overcome their own problems.

Let's have the courage to tackle the fundamental needs of our country and all its people.

15 Park Crescent Forest Hills

D W BROOKES



# South Africa's slow steps to progress

4 SEPT. 89 CHICAGO TRIBUNE

South Africa's Acting President F.W. de Klerk's meeting with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda built bridges whose value is more symbolic than substantive. But with the white-minority regime facing parliamentary elections on Wednesday—in which, of course, the black majority can't vote—the symbols carry remarkable weight for De Klerk back home.

Other South African leaders, including recently departed President P.W. Botha, had met with Kaunda in the past, and this meeting broke little new ground. Kaunda backed off not a bit from his fierce opposition to South Africa's abominable apartheid policies and De Klerk repeated his country's call for the world to keep its nose out of South African affairs.

But in the turbulent atmosphere of South African politics, the meeting was a move in the right direction for a government that seldom takes a step forward out of the quagmire of apartheid without a quick follow-up step backward. De Klerk's outreach to his black African neighbors, especially one as closely associated with the black resistance fighters of the outlawed African National Congress as Kaunda is, offers promise for his fledgling presidency.

The visit was no simple act for De Klerk, who has sustained attacks even from the ranks of his own party. In P.W. Botha's speech of resignation from the presidency, he accused De Klerk of allowing Kaunda to meddle in South Africa's internal affairs through his close ties with the outlawed African National Con-

gress. That was music to the ears of leaders of the white Conservative Party, chief rival of the ruling National Party; the Conservatives had said such meddling would happen as a result of any concessions, however modest, made by the National Party to blacks.

Shrugging off that attack on his right flank, De Klerk went ahead with his meeting with Kaunda and announced plans to meet with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, too. During his visit De Klerk offered details of his vision for change in the apartheid republic; they were too agonizingly slow to please much of South Africa's black leadership but they did put him clearly in defiance of the recalcitrant Conservatives.

Unfortunately, it may be too late for peaceful compromise. South Africa's white leadership has frittered away valuable time with a pace of progress that always seems to lag a good 10 or 20 years behind the realities of black unrest. While De Klerk and Kaunda exchanged niceties, demonstrations against laws segregating buses, beaches, hospitals and other public facilities continued in South Africa. Among 200 women arrested after one anti-apartheid demonstration in Cape Town was the wife of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and several other prominent human rights activists.

De Klerk must realize there is no turning back now. For South Africa to rejoin not only the African community but also the world community, its leadership must take bolder steps so that peaceful change is still a possibility. Otherwise, violent change is a certainty.

## S. Africa

Continued from page 1

Town and Johannesburg carried about 60 percent to 75 percent of their normal passenger loads, transportation officials said. Police said there was a 25 percent absentee rate in mostly rural Orange Free State.

The National Union of Mineworkers, the country's largest union, said 78,000 members at 16 mines refused to work Tuesday morning.

In one confrontation, 400 students, mostly white, and 40 faculty and staff members, most of them white, were arrested at the Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of Natal when they tried to march to a local police station to protest police violence.

"There is something terribly wrong with those who rule us if they cannot understand why such protest is occurring," said Colin Webb, the white vice principal of the university.

Police used whips and dogs to break up a demonstration by 700 people at the University of Stellenbosch, alma mater of many

government leaders. Thirty students were arrested and several people beaten, human rights lawyers said.

The University of Cape Town and the mixed-race University of the Western Cape, among other institutions, closed down in support of the strike.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu reconsecrated his Cape Town cathedral Tuesday after police armed with guns and whips allegedly broke in late Monday to prevent a choral concert.

"This act was performed by those representing a government that claims to be Christian," Archbishop Tutu said, according to the South African Press Association. "We are appalled that this kind of act is carried out in the name of God."

The police denied they had desecrated churches.

In a church in Belville, a mixed-race township near Cape Town, Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, held a two-hour service in which he appealed for nonviolent opposition to apartheid and the elections. Police surrounded the church with armored cars but did not interfere.



# Leadership crisis faces ANC

LUSAKA. — As South Africa prepares for the general election on Wednesday, the African National Congress faces a credibility and leadership crisis of its own.

The Zambia-based group suffered a major blow last week with the confirmation that its 71-year-old president Oliver Tambo, hospitalised in Britain three weeks ago, had suffered a brain spasm which left him partially paralysed on one side.

His illness comes at a time when the group is struggling to maintain its leading role in the fight to end apartheid, as world pressure mounts for a negotiated solution and a campaign of defiance threatens to upstage the movement.

Many ANC cadres now believe that Tambo, who has directed the movement's terrorist campaign for more than 20 years, will never return to full active duties although he may remain as nominal president.

Observers inside and outside the movement fear that, without Tambo the broad-based diversity that unites moderate politicians, young radicals, sophisticated diplomats and hardline terrorists behind a single anti-apartheid goal could stop being its biggest strength and become a major weakness.

In Tambo's absence, secretary-general Alfred Nzo has taken over representative duties, at international meetings while the youthful, urbane Thabo Mbeki, head of foreign affairs and tipped as Tambo's heir apparent, remains the diplomatic workhorse.

The ANC's continuing reiteration of its "no surrender, no appeasement" policy appears to run against a growing belief in the international community that dialogue and not confrontation may be the best way to coax the South African Government to the negotiating table.

A preference for dialogue is at least partly

shared by the group's longest-serving ally, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who met acting State President F W de Klerk on August 28.

ANC officials said they expected little to come from the meeting.

This veiled criticism of Dr Kaunda's apparent willingness to compromise is seen by many observers as a further sign of strain between the ANC and Zambia.

It has not been a good year for the ANC in Zambia.

Robberies and fatal

shootings by ANC cadres and daylight abductions of its dissidents have soured relations with the Zambian authorities.

But their political alliance appears to remain intact.

Dr Kaunda vehemently denied a British Press report that he had ordered the ANC to move its headquarters from Zambia.

"I would not be so cheap," said the Zambian President, who has built his reputation on supporting the ANC's anti-apartheid fight. — Sapa-Reuter.



South Africa

4 SEPT. 1989

# Is a new era imminent?

THE way white South Africans vote on Wednesday will set the pattern for the next decade, ushering in an era of negotiated peace and economic recovery — or the opposite. Most experts expect the Nationalists to be returned to power with a reduced majority, having lost ground on both flanks. Yet a setback for the NP need not harm the prospect of negotiation. The important thing will be the size of the Democratic Party vote. If the DP significantly improves the Parliamentary strength of the enlightened sector in politics, the prospects for negotiation will be enhanced.

The experts rule out the kind of collective electoral lunacy which would bring the CP to power and catapult the country into chaos. The most constructive course for enlightened voters to follow will be to maximise the vote for the DP.

As this column has suggested, Mr F.W. de Klerk's style is cautious and pragmatic and he is ambivalent about negotiation. He will take care-

ful stock of the voting returns. If he sees that he is under significant pressure from the DP he will be much more likely to move ahead. If it is the CP which is hard on his heels, rather than the DP, his choices may be rather more limited, but not necessarily so. It depends on the arithmetic. If Mr de Klerk is so hard-pressed on both flanks that he winds up with a "hung" Parliament, which is possible if not likely, we will enter an exciting and potentially fruitful phase of political realignment.

Either way, we may hope that the result will favour negotiation, either in the immediate outcome or in the months ahead as a new party line-up gradually takes shape. If that happens, we may hope, the pro-negotiation camp in Parliament will emerge as significantly stronger than the rest.

A favourable result in the national interest is certainly possible, just as long as the electorate is not stymied in the closing stages, as happened in 1987, when the Nationalists

overplayed the smear-and-scare tactic and drove the electorate massively to the right, sending many of their own supporters all the way into the CP.

The Nationalists, after a panicky and indecisive spell when they sensed the unprecedented anti-Nat resentment in the land, have been playing the security card again for all it is worth, hoping that the old magic will work. And the extra-parliamentary political forces, in choosing this moment for a campaign against unjust and oppressive laws, are giving the NP all the help they could wish for in the circumstances. What better way to set the stage for the Government to mount dramatic security clampdowns and other crowd-pleasing eve-of-poll diversions such as tear-gassing and sjambokking students?

Let us hope that the white electorate shows greater sophistication and understanding of what is at stake than it was able to muster on polling day in 1987. The three key is-

sues — security, the economy and negotiation — are closely intertwined. Nothing the Nationalists have done in all their years in power has brought the country one bit nearer to peace and security. Continuing unrest has wrecked investor confidence. And there will be no economic recovery until confidence is restored by decisive movement towards a political settlement.

Negotiation, leading to a suspension of violence and a constitution which commands the loyalty of the black majority, offers the only way ahead. The security establishment's confident belief that dissent can be crushed by force and the ANC destroyed has been shown to be illusory. The policy of repression combined with co-option of amenable elements in the black community into the system has failed. Successive waves of resistance may be put down, no doubt, but the more this happens the more the country's economic lifeblood is draining away. You can rule

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Is a new cra imminent?

From PG

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the country at the point of a gun, no doubt, but you are ruining the economy. It is a futile exercise.

The cultural and business leadership of Nationalist Afrikanerdom is getting the message. Whatever its effects on the white electorate, the significance of the defiance campaign of 1989 is plain enough. Laws which do not command the assent of the population cannot ultimately be enforced. They might just as well be scrapped. The Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act will go the way of the pass laws, which the black masses themselves repealed by moving into the cities in their hundreds of thousands. How many voters have visited Khayelitsha lately? Mr F.W. de Klerk, we may hope, is also getting the message. But he will need pretty forceful prodding by the electorate next Wednesday if he is to lead the country to peace.

• Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times, 122 St George Street, Cape Town.



Political experts give their views on the outcome of the House of Assembly election

# What will happen on September—

In three days' time the general election will be over. The election for the white House of Assembly's 166 seats has been one of the most difficult to predict. WYNDHAM HARTLEY reports on how experts view the outcome.

SPECULATION is widespread that the National Party will lose many of the 120 seats it holds at present. There are 166 seats in the House of Assembly and for a hung Parliament to result the NP will have to lose more than 30 seats. Some polls predicted that the race would be so close that the Conservative Party would move to within one seat of the NP; others predicted that the Democratic Party would overtake the CP and become the official opposition.

Two weeks ago it was clear that the NP was losing substantially and falling behind. The brutal leadership struggle between Mr P.W. Botha and Mr F.W. de Klerk further raised opposition hopes of a dramatic increase in support.

Some political scientists remain convinced that Parliament will be hung with the NP losing its governing majority, but others believe that the NP has regrouped sufficiently to avoid that.

Two things are certain: there is a large group of floating voters whose intentions will only be clear on Wednesday and the mood for change is at a level unseen in white South African politics since 1948.

Let us consider the views of the experts.

Political analyst Harald Pakendorf has always had a conservative view of the predicted losses by the NP. He believes that the way in which the NP has regrouped will limit their losses. In the past he said that they would win 100 seats and now increases this to 105 seats, a



GILIOME: gives NP 97-105 seats, CP 30-38 and DP 25-30

clear governing majority.

The Conservative Party, used most effectively by the NP propaganda machine as another "gevaar" for the white electorate, will maintain roughly the electoral support of 1988 but will translate it into 33 seats, Mr Pakendorf said.

The DP would win about 28 seats, he said.

University of Cape Town political scientist Professor Hermann Giliomee said he felt the NP would hold between 97 and 105 seats.

Two weeks ago he felt that the CP would take about 45 seats but he has now modified this to 30 to 38 with the DP set to take between 25 and 30 seats.

Professor Donald Simpson, University of Potchefstroom political scientist, said that a hung Parliament was still a possibility. He



PAKENDORF: gives NP 105 seats, CP 33 and DP 28

pointed out that as few as 12 000 voters, in key constituencies, out of the more than three million whites who are eligible, hold the key.

The way these cast their votes will make be the difference between a hung Parliament and the NP securing a governing majority.

"We must remember that in 1948 the decisions of only 91 voters lost the election for the United Party," Professor Simpson said.

He believes that the CP vote is holding up in the Transvaal and that the eight seats where the right-wing vote was split by the HNP in 1987 will definitely go to the CP this time around, as well as a significant number of marginals.

He tallies 55 for the CP.

The DP will do much better than its predecessor, the PFP, but could still end up with as

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# WHAT WILL HAPPEN ON SEPTEMBER - 6? FROM PG. 1



DHLOMO: 'The last racist election, but still an NP majority'

few as 25 seats. It was more likely that 30 seats would be in DP hands on Thursday, with a ceiling of 32, Professor Simpson said.

Mr Bill Johnson, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, is a visiting lecturer at the University of Natal in Durban and is in South Africa specifically to study this election.

He says that the chances of a hung Parliament are not unreal. He points out that while the liberal opposition, the DP, are claiming a 10% swing, if they are credited with only about eight percent this will give them another 16 seats, raising representation to 36.

This as hardly implausible, as it had already been achieved once, he said.

There would have to be a corresponding swing to the CP of about seven percent for a

hung Parliament to be achieved. This would give the CP a further 27 seats, bringing its total to 49 and reducing the NP to 81, three less than they need.

Professor Robert Schrire, University of Cape Town: "This is a tough one to call because there is a significant floating vote which did not exist before and they are now getting contradictory messages."

He points out that trends are changing all the time and that the NP still has its blitz in the last 48 hours, which could have an effect.

The actions of the MDM could also profoundly alter the picture in the final run-in, Professor Schrire said.

He expects the NP to retain about 100 seats and the CP to take between 32 and 35 with a maximum of 45 seats.

He gives the DP between 22 and 35 seats.

Professor David Welsh, professor of Southern African Studies, University of Cape Town, would not predict the outcome, but said the probabilities were that the NP would have a reduced majority, with both the CP and the DP making gains.

Stellenbosch University political analyst Hennie Kotze predicted that the NP would win 96 votes, the CP 43 and the DP 47.

Let us give the last word to a complete outsider — not a member of the "mass democratic movement" or the white power bloc — but nevertheless a political player of some importance.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture and Secretary General of Inkatha: "I strongly believe that this will be the last racist election in South Africa and it will be interesting to see what support the various white political parties end up with and hence what influence will be wielded when we begin to draw up a new constitution in the near future.

"I hate to say so but the NP will still probably command a working majority."

(News by W. Hartley, 244 Longmarket St, Pietermaritzburg.)

Political comment in this issue, unless otherwise stated, is the responsibility of R.S. Steyn and M.C. Williams. Headlines and posters by P. Reyburn and Y. Vanderhaeghen. All of 244 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg.