

16/1/14

CITIZEN 21/08/89

Tutu walks alone as demos disperse

By Bert van Hees

A STRONG contingent of police thwarted the plans of busloads of Mass Democratic Movement supporters to converge on the Whites-only beach at the Strand on Saturday, in an attempt to "drown apartheid on the beaches".

Earlier in the day, Archbishop Desmond Tutu strode through a police blockade and walked along the beach at the Strand as scores of troops and police looked on.

Dressed in a red sweater, black trousers and sneakers, he walked alone along the beach as

police barred supporters from joining him.

Archbishop Tutu and several other Black clerics had earlier vowed to lead thousands of Blacks for a swim at the beach.

Soldiers armed with semi-automatic rifles manned roadblocks and searched all approaching vehicles.

Police covered up Whites-only signs on the beach and replaced them with notices saying a police dog training exercise was in progress.

The soldiers were stationed in pairs every 100 metres for a distance of about four kilometres along the shoreline, while the beach was taped off.

After Archbishop Tutu

arrived, police ordered hundreds of Black on-lookers to disperse and arrested at least 20 foreign journalists, including several television camera crews, under emergency laws which restrict Press reporting.

As a police helicopter clattered overhead, tracking Archbishop Tutu's progress, an officer warned the crowd that police might open fire if they refused to disperse.

"You have been warned. Firearms may be used," he shouted as anti-apartheid demonstrators tried to jump over police tapes barring entry to the beach.

"The police were disgraceful in just about every way," Archbishop Tutu said after his 45-minute walk.

"Here you had unarmed people. They just wanted to walk on the beach. The police come with guns and whips and dogs and they threaten to shoot. It's unbelievable," he said.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Gene Louw, travelled from Paarl to get "firsthand experience" of what was happening.

Other busloads of Blacks, about to depart from various points for the Strand, were intercepted by police and, determined to carry out their plans, headed for the Whites-only beach at Bloubergstrand.

At Bloubergstrand Archbishop Tutu, the leader of the beach protest, mediated between police and demonstrators.

He persuaded a hostile crowd of about 1 000 Blacks and Coloureds to leave the beach after the police action.

"You have made your point. You have broken the law. Perhaps it is time for a strategic retreat," Archbishop Tutu told the crowd.

11 held after swoop

Citizen Reporter

ELEVEN people, including two journalists, were arrested after police baton charged a large group of demonstrators in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe said the arrests took place in the wake of two demonstrations protesting the detention of the United Democratic Front's general secretary, Mr Mohammed Valli.

Mr Valli was arrested by members of the Security Police, in terms of the emergency regulations, at his office in Johannesburg on Friday afternoon.

Col Malherbe said the first demonstration took place shortly after 10 am.

Col Malherbe said the protesters were on their way to the Carlton Centre when they were confronted by a contingent of police from the Anti-Riot Unit.

"When they refused to disperse, police were forced to exercise a baton drill."

TENSION between the President and the National Party continued into May with increasing indications that the Botha era was coming to an end — but without official confirmation of his retirement.

The incongruous situation of P.W. Botha as Executive President and F.W. de Klerk as leader of the ruling party persisted. Nationalist MPs stressed that everyone had fallen in behind Mr de Klerk and that a satisfactory arrangement had been made for the President to step down.

On May 3, in a short announcement to a joint session of parliament, the President named September 6 as polling day.

It was the last time he would speak in parliament; he would also quit the hustings. As his bitterness about how he had been treated increased he was determined to prove he had put himself above party politics.

Nat MPs were dismayed at the prospect of an extended election campaign, more so that their political foes had such advance notice. The newly-formed Democratic Party, particularly, had time to get off the ground.

But Mr de Klerk, wearing the mantle of party leader and prospective President, declared the election an important step to a new,



EXCLUSIVE

THE FINAL DAYS

THIS is a reconstruction of the momentous events in the last few months which led to the resignation of President P.W. Botha.

Although President Botha appeared on SABC-TV and gave one major interview to the Nationalist Press during the crisis, persistent efforts by us to question him directly were unrewarded.

The information for this series was gathered over many weeks from various sources — from on-the-spot reporting, intensive research and interviews and conversations with politicians and others in the know. With it comes the insights and observations of a seasoned political correspondent who was assigned as President-watcher from the time P.W. Botha was elected head of state.

The fifth of a six-part series, **THE FINAL DAYS**, is by **TOS WENTZEL**, of The Daily News political staff.

THE DAILY NEWS STRUGGLE FOR POWER

21 Aug. 1989

secure and just dispensation. According to sources close to President Botha he was increasingly resentful of the way Mr de Klerk was speaking as if he was already Head of State.

On May 11 there was a further indication of the Botha era unravelling when Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis announced his retirement at the end of June. The signs were clear: without the patronage of the President, Mr Heunis would be in the political wilderness. In the end, his long-standing loyalty to Mr Botha was an albatross.

When he became acting State President — in keeping with his status as the most senior Minister — some MPs nevertheless were deeply suspicious of his closeness to President Botha.

The President moved swiftly to appoint a successor to Mr Heunis. On Sunday, May 14, he announced that Cape Administrator Mr Gene Louw — who had waited in the wings for years — was to be Minister of Constitutional Development.

Why, suddenly, had Mr Louw been elevated? Such was the mood that again there were suspicions among those who pointed to the hasty replacement of Mr Heunis, as against the continued vacancy of the Manpower and Public Works portfolio since the resig-

nation of Minister Pietie du Plessis in January.

Was it a ploy to thwart Dr Dawie de Villiers, deputy leader of the Cape National Party, who seemed to be Mr Heunis's natural successor?

Dr de Villiers's relationship with President Botha and Mr Heunis, it was said, had been chilly from time to time. After a meteoric rise the athletic and youthful-looking Dr de Villiers, former dominee, Springbok rugby captain and ambassador to the Court of St James, had been rebuffed by the electorate and, indeed, demoted from the central Cabinet to become an "own affairs" Minister.

In the event, the speculation was idle for Mr Louw was not interested in challenging for the Cape leadership which

President Botha rebuffs official dinner in his honour and meets with Mandela in Tuvnhuvs

THE FINAL DAYS

went unanimously to Dr de Villiers.

President Botha, with his declared determination to be above party politics, declined an invitation to the last caucus meeting of the parliamentary session.

On May 12 Mr de Klerk announced the National Party would take leave of the President at a sumptuous dinner in Pretoria, on the eve of the party's federal congress at which its election campaign would be launched.

Mr de Klerk, of course, was talking about saying goodbye while the President had not yet said outright that he was retiring.

As it transpired, the proposed farewell was to prove yet another huge embarrassment.

There was talk that President Botha was still furious about the way the Nat caucus had moved in for the kill and the buzz was that he might stand them up by refusing to attend the dinner arranged in his honour.

But the organisers were blissfully unaware of the vibes. When asked about the possibility of the President declining, Dr Lukas Nel, the Transvaal provincial secretary, insisted the dinner was meant to honour President Botha and he would "in the nature of things" be there.

But it was not to be. Last-minute attempts by a number of Ministers failed to persuade the aggrieved and "rejected" President to attend. There was no option but to call the whole thing off.

By his own making President Botha was in danger of ending his political career a lonely figure, isolated from his former followers.

Relations, even with stalwarts like the veteran Free Stater Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, the former Vice-President who was largely responsible for him becoming Prime Minister in 1978, had broken down.

After Mr Schlebusch had been recalled to the Cabinet to serve as the Minister in the President's Office in charge of the SABC and the public service there were sharp differences between them about President Botha's interference in

the broadcasting services and on other issues. Things reached such a pitch, apparently, that after Mr Schlebusch's retirement in 1988 further communication between them ceased.

Relations with another former close associate, former Minister Hendrik Schoeman, also soured after the latter urged him to stand down for Mr de Klerk.

Nevertheless, former Ministers spoke about PW more in sorrow than in anger.

They saluted him for his considerable courage in standing up to the far-right of the National Party to the point where he was willing to countenance the split in '82 which led to the formation of the Conservative Party. That, and because he had scrapped apartheid measures such as the sex-across-the-colour-bar clause of the Immorality Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and influx control in spite of misgivings among some of his followers. He'd also tossed out the coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape and accepted the permanence of blacks, as full citizens, in those parts of the country outside the "homelands".

Given all that, the party faithful saw tragedy in him retiring in circumstances of estrangement from his own people, but the President's sometimes volatile temperament and abrasive conduct had wounded many and counted strongly against him in his hour of need.

Some who know him well observed that in the past few years the President had become more intolerant of criticism and of people who differed with him. They contended that his background as a party organiser was partly to blame in that it developed a style of virtual all-out war on those whom he thought dared to challenge him.

During his term of office he also appeared to become increasingly isolated from the outside world and the finger pointed to some of his officials at Tuynhuys.

Maybe he was encouraged in the perception of mass support

among all races which led to an idea of appealing to the nation over the heads of the party hierarchy and to the notion of becoming Head of State without party political ties, a super leader who could be a unifying factor.

Tuynhuys, as one observer put it, had become like a medieval court where true power resided with the chamberlains in the inner circle; those who had the ear of, and who controlled access to, the emperor.

Even the Press discovered that, in contrast to his tenure as Prime Minister, it was virtually impossible to get through to the President even for off-the-record briefings. When he did agree to such proposals by political journalists who came face to face with him on rare social occasions, officials at Tuynhuys later maintained they were unable to fit them in.

The gloomy tide notwithstanding, President Botha — who was always meticulously prepared for Cabinet meetings — chaired a meeting of his Ministers in his usual efficient way in Pretoria on June 28 amid no unusual tensions.

Next day the National Party federal congress, attended by some 1 200 delegates in the Pretoria city hall, duly paid tribute to him — in his absence. A motion of thanks, and the warm introductory remarks by Mr de Klerk, drew a standing ovation.

At the end of the congress Mr de Klerk confirmed that President Botha would not take part in the general election campaign as he was no longer active in party politics. "He prefers it that way and we respect his wishes."

Yet if anyone suspected that the President had succumbed to meekness, the West German Minister of Labour Norbert Blum found otherwise. In a spirited confrontation President Botha reportedly told his visitor in no uncertain terms — and tone — what he thought about Germany's Nazi past and therefore Mr Blum's qualifications to discuss apartheid.

Mr Blum, for his part, replied it was precisely because of Nazism that West Germany spoke out

against abuses of human rights wherever it saw them.

On his return to West Germany Mr Blum pointedly referred to speaking to some "beton kopfen" (concrete heads) while in South Africa.

Mr Blum may have been the last, but certainly not the only dignitary to feel the sharpness of the Presidential tongue.

The only big public farewell President Botha attended was a military parade in Cape Town on July 1 which also marked the SADF's 77th anniversary.

Under cold, grey winter skies which broke into intermittent rain, he sat on a dais facing the city hall, a prominent but forlorn figure.

Emotion was clearly evident and he nearly broke down on several times during his address. His voice quivering he reminded them of his official connection with the SADF over 23 years.

After all that time, it was a his farewell to arms — "I thank you, and I greet you," he ended.

Meanwhile, there were indications of a shift in the government's preconditions for negotiations with movements such as the African National Congress.

At briefing sessions on the party's election manifesto Ministers maintained the emphasis was now more on a commitment to finding peaceful solutions, but the party still wasn't prepared to negotiate with those who remained committed to violence.

Then, on July 8 — a Saturday afternoon — came the stunning news that three days earlier ANC leader Nelson Mandela had been on a "courtesy visit" to Tuynhuys and had spent 45 minutes with President Botha.

Making the announcement, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said the meeting had taken place in a pleasant spirit; no policy matters were debated and no negotiations were conducted.

However, the two had "availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa."

So guarded was the

event that a virtual blackout on details was imposed, even whether they took tea together as was widely assumed. Tuynhuys was repeatedly urged to tell more of this historic tete-a-tete between the President and the world-renown prisoner from Paarl, but it remained steadfastly silent.

Justice Minister Coetsee lifted the veil ever so slightly by telling a plateland audience the meeting had been planned over months and would have taken place earlier had it not been for the President's illness.

Mr de Klerk confirmed he had been kept informed.

On July 12, in a statement released by the authorities, Nelson Mandela confirmed the meeting and the accuracy of the account given by Mr Coetsee. He stressed there had been no deviation from his position over the past 28 years, that dialogue with the "mass democratic movement", and in particular with the ANC, was the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to the country.

His own release, Mandela said, was not an issue at that stage. He wanted to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa.

By this sudden, dramatic meeting was President Botha once again asserting himself?

While the meeting was widely welcomed pundits were saying it could also embarrass the National Party in the general election campaign. After all, the party was attacking Democratic Party members for talking to the ANC... while its former leader, as head of state, received Mandela.

Whatever the speculation, and it was enormous, the President refused to comment on the meeting.

Although P.W. Botha was determined to distance himself from party politics he relented in accepting an invitation to the Cape National Party congress in Somerset West on July 22. If sentiment played a part it would have been because his association went back as far as 1936 to his enlistment as a party organiser.

THE FINAL DAYS



BACK in office, the State President attends a military parade — but behind the scenes a political war was going on.

He must have been comforted by the enthusiastic reception, including five standing ovations.

Far from being "a sulking old man", as Press reports had it, he insisted he was happy because he lived in "a land of hope, a land of the future".

Furthermore, he was glad to be able to tell the congress that he had recovered completely.

Newly-elected provincial leader Mr Dawie de Villiers praised President Botha as a brave man who had never stood back when there was trouble.

But controversy clung to the President.

As the election campaign gathered momen-

tum he was at the centre of a political storm which broke over a Conservative Party-inspired revelation that police transport had been used to carry game carcasses after President had been on a hunting outing at Fauresmith in the southern Free State.

The official explanation was that the truck was also used to carry equipment for the President's protection wherever he went and that standard procedures had been met.

The CP threatened to press charges. Nothing came of it.

But the buck did not stop there...

TOMORROW: THE FINAL HOURS...

ANC DAILY NEWS helped 21 Aug. 1989 MDM at mayors' congress

Daily News Foreign Service

PARIS: The newly formed Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has scored its first significant overseas success here within the traditional anti-apartheid framework.

For the MDM sent special envoy Aslam Dasoo to Paris with the aim of having the 15-man South African delegation expelled from the 33-nation World Congress of Mayors.

It took Mr Dasoo four days, aided by the ANC Paris representatives, to force the delegation to withdraw.

The spearhead of the MDM campaign lay in telling Congress delegates that Durban Mayor Derrick Watterson, the only white man in the South African delegation, was a "racist", while black mayors were labelled as "Pretoria puppets" and "collaborators".

One of the Black South African delegates, Mr Tom Boya told a Press conference that SA black mayors should be allowed to attend the congress as "we have to participate and compromise with the authorities in order to prevent the worse happening".

He was howled down by the ANC, Mr Dasoo and several mayors from other African countries.

For instance, the deputy mayor of Dakar (Senegal) Mamadou Diop, issued a public statement

saying: "We are against apartheid and we refuse to sit in this Congress with a South African delegation".

He was supported by mayors from a dozen African countries.

Congress chairman John Ford, the black mayor of Tuskegee, Alabama, who founded the body six years ago, refused to expel the mayor of Durban.

"This conference here in Paris is aimed to strengthen cultural and trade relations between town halls. It is not for me to judge the mayoral decisions of Mr Watterson."

Mr Ford continued: "I am hoping that the South African mayors will be able to return home, ready to combat the apartheid government with even greater force."

The sniping continued for two-and-a-half-days, ending on Friday afternoon with the South African delegation withdrawing so that the conference could continue. It ended on Saturday.

An embittered Mr Watterson, who returns to Durban today, said: "These anti-apartheid leaders are running a business and making money. They would not listen to me for a second."

Mr Dasoo is remaining in Paris to head an anti-apartheid delegation at a meeting with Foreign Ministry officials

21 Aug. 1989

The Daily News

FOUNDED IN 1878

Dangerous defiance

A CRUCIAL distinction needs to be drawn between the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s and the campaign now being launched by the self-styled Mass Democratic Movement.

The campaign of the 1950s came at the time of an intensification and codification of segregationist practices and injustices. A time when Afrikaner Nationalism set out avowedly to re-create the Boer republics, with no equality of race in church or state, in direct collision with the awakening spirit of nationalism in post-war Africa.

The campaign in the late 1980s comes at a time when it is widely accepted that apartheid has failed; when those in power agree that something acceptable to all South Africa's peoples will have to be put in

its place; when the acting head of state is about to meet the doyen of African heads of state to discuss South Africa's re-integration with a wider African community.

Apartheid is in the process of being dismantled. A shrill "defiance campaign" against apartheid is therefore inappropriate. The MDM can damage its own cause by provocatively inviting harsh reprisals. Its motives are then open to question. Could it be that the "struggle industry" fears removal of the causes of struggle, that a just society is less important to certain individuals than their own egos?

The authorities have so far acted with commendable restraint. They must continue in this way to frustrate those who court martyrdom.

De Klerk-Kaunda

DAILY NEWS

talks clouded by

21 AUG. 1989

ANC overtones

The allegations of an ANC tie-in with Acting State President de Klerk's talks with President Kenneth Kaunda is overshadowing what the government sees as the main purpose of the meeting. **GERALD L'ANGE** of The Daily News Africa Service, reports from Johannesburg.

Livingstone meeting to take up where PW left off

THERE are at least two good reasons for the displeasure — or is it dismay? — in South African Government circles over the way the shadow of the ANC is creeping over the coming meeting between Acting State President F W de Klerk and President Kaunda of Zambia in Livingstone.

The embarrassment of being seen to be having dealings with the ANC during the election campaign is one reason. The other is that the ANC issue threatens to spoil what the government probably considers the main purpose of the meeting: to re-start the diplomatic drive into black Africa that came to a halt with former President P W Botha's stroke in January.

Coming as it did at President Kaunda's initiative, the meeting offers a good opportunity for furthering Pretoria's efforts to win acceptance in Africa, which was making dramatic progress under Mr Botha until he was sidelined by the stroke.

President Kaunda, who had established a working relationship with Mr Botha, wasted no time in approaching his successor, presumably because he wants to establish a similar relationship with Mr de Klerk so that he can continue his personal crusade to replace apartheid with a non-racial system.

Mr Botha never had to worry much about an ANC taint in his dealings with President Kaunda,

notably at the "Maroela summit" on the Botswana border in 1982. But his attacks on the Kaunda-De Klerk meeting in his angry departure from office have ensured that his successor now has such a problem.

The embarrassment has been worsened by President Kaunda's statement at a news conference that he will report not only to the Frontline States, of which he is chairman, but to the ANC on his meeting with Mr de Klerk.

It is perhaps unfortunate for Mr de Klerk that the Livingstone meeting is taking place shortly after the mini-summit in Harare next week at which the Organisation of African Unity will try to formulate a new strategy on South Africa. Not only will President Kaunda play a leading role at the Harare meeting but the other participants will include a high-level ANC delegation. Thus the ANC shadow will stretch straight from Harare to Livingstone.

It may not help that President Kaunda has said he sees the meeting only as a "get-acquainted" one and that he will not be acting as mediator for the ANC.

It is ironic that former President Botha would almost certainly have had another meeting with President Kaunda had he not been felled by his stroke. After his meetings last year with the presidents of Mozambique, Malawi, Zaire and Ivory Coast and the king of Lesotho, the next step was expected to have been a visit to South Africa

by President Chissano of Mozambique.

A meeting with President Kaunda would very probably have been considered valuable by Mr Botha's advisers as he is the chairman of the Frontline grouping, was recently president of the OAU, has great stature in Africa and has long been at the forefront of black Africa's political dealings and deliberations on South Africa.

It was inevitable that Mr de Klerk would take up the diplomatic drive into black Africa where Mr Botha had left it. Its management has never been out of the hands of foreign minister Pik Botha and he will not have wanted to waste any time getting it going again.

The exercise is aimed not only at expanding trade and other relations between South Africa and black Africa but also at bringing these largely secret dealings increasingly into the open and to get acceptance of Pretoria's gradual approach to the dismantling of apartheid.

Foreign minister Botha, who will accompany Mr de Klerk to Livingstone, has described the meeting as "the continuation of the African initiatives" and has denied that the government intends talking to the ANC through President Kaunda.

But he and Mr de Klerk clearly now face a difficult problem in getting the Livingstone talks, if not the African initiatives, out of the shadow of the ANC and the election.

Blacks and whites must negotiate or die — Buthelezi

Daily News Reporter

For Chief Minister's information

Daily News 21/8/89

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THE ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance was involved in the peace talks only to get power, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said to thousands of "young lions of Inkatha" who attended the Inkatha Youth Brigade's annual general conference in Ulundi at the weekend.

The KwaZulu leader and president of Inkatha told the youths that the time had come for whites to negotiate or die.

But, he warned, when whites began negotiating, blacks would have to negotiate or die.

He made the point that black South Africans had struggled to establish the politics of negotiations and the whole struggle had been to bring whites to their political senses and get them to include blacks as equals in the institutional life of South Africa.

Dr Buthelezi warned that organisations which wanted to use the negotiating table as a table around which they could

ensure their centrality in a future one-party State would be "crushed by history".

He then disclosed contents of the study document produced by the African National Congress/Congress of South African Trade Unions/United Democratic Front alliance, issued in Lusaka in July, in which the parties stated, among other things, that they had to dictate terms of change.

The parties also said in the document that they had the strategy to remain in control so those who intervened had to deal with their position.

Dr Buthelezi said he was not quoting from the document because he wanted to cross swords with the alliance: "I am not in the business of politics to ensure that they get to the negotiating table."

"My duty stops in ensuring that if they want and if they are capable of getting there, that will be allowed," he said.

*This appears to be a distortion of what the Chief Minister said. Although the Daily News was sent the full speech, this report seems to have been loosely, and harmfully selectively, based on my report to SAPA which put the remarks about the "study document" in context. The Daily News report gives the impression that the Chief Minister was referring to the current peace talks in Durban -- what else could people read into the DN's opening paragraph? There ARE no other peace talks in which these organisations are involved. The situation in this country is surely delicate enough without such damagingly inept reporting. I think there would be justification for asking the Editor of the Daily News to publish an accurate report of what the Chief Minister said -- specifically with reference to the study document. Perhaps I'm wrong, but I believe that if they had stuck closely to my SAPA report, to which they had full access in addition to the text of the complete speech, this harmful thing could have been avoided.

RR

For Chief Minister's information

Whites, Blacks must negotiate or die

— Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and head of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said at the weekend the time had come for Whites to negotiate a proper constitutional dispensation with the Black majority or die.

Addressing thousands of Inkatha youth members at its annual general

conference here, Chief Buthelezi also warned that once negotiations began, Blacks would have to take part in the process or also be extinguished.

"Forces which do not work for peace would be crushed by history. Some organisations will present

impossible pre-conditions for negotiations. But this will amount to a demand for others at the negotiating table to endorse what the opposite side wants in advance."

But this would not work in the interests of a peaceful settlement, the Inkatha leader said.

Chief Buthelezi pointed out that the entire "Black struggle" was conducted to bring Whites to their senses and to get them to include the disenfranchised as equals in the country's life.

"If acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, wanted this, he would not be the one who destroys his prospects of succeeding. Mr De Klerk cannot succeed on his own. If he could, he would not be moving towards the politics of negotiation," said Chief Buthelezi.

"For Whites, it is now a case of negotiate or die. And, believe me, when Whites start negotiating, Blacks will have to negotiate or die," he pointed out. — Sapa.

(News by N Lewis, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg).

Inkatha youth will support negotiations

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday resolved to convey to the acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, that it would support any meaningful steps towards negotiations between Blacks and Whites in South Africa.

The resolution was among several passed by the annual general conference of the Inkatha Youth Brigade in Ulundi.

In a statement the brigade said it had taken note of the growing anticipation in South Africa and in the world that Mr De Klerk would do something definite to put the politics of negotiation on track.

"We observe that Nelson Mandela has had discussions with Mr P W Botha in Tuynhuys and we observe that President Kaunda of Zambia recognises Mr Botha as a South African White leader who pointed South Africa in the direction of change."

The brigade resolved to "record our view to the world that the politics of negotiation is being legitimised by African leaders inside and outside South Africa and that the politics of negotiation should be regarded as the primary means of bringing about the final destruction of apartheid". — Sapa.

Citizen

21/8/89

South Africa

by Gerald Shaw

Undoubtedly a new situation

THE NATAL WITNESS

THE departure of Mr P. W. Botha from Tuynhuys last week formally ended South Africa's militarist era of regional domination and domestic repression.

We are entering a new era of negotiation, as Mr F. W. de Klerk said in Johannesburg a few days later, turning into the wind to face the future, as he put it.

Paradoxically, it was Mr Botha himself who signalled the impending change when he met Mr Nelson Mandela for tea at Tuynhuys, pointing to negotiation as the dominant theme of the next decade.

In the light of his farewell remarks last week, bitterly denouncing his successor's visit to President Kaunda, our understanding of Mr Botha's thinking is more clouded than ever. Yet we are undoubtedly in a new situation.

Apart from the superpower insistence on regional peace, there have also been important changes in the domestic scene.

There will still be security arrests, crackdowns and the like, notably between now and September 6. Yet the use of force to suppress protest is more and more distasteful and unrewarding. As with the seemingly end-

less cycle of violence and counter-violence, continuing repression undermines what is left of confidence, preventing economic recovery. Capital flows out at an appalling rate — some R30 billion since Rubicon in 1985 — the bankers tell us. As the country's economic life-blood drains away, standards of living fall. Reliance on force is increasingly untenable.

Perhaps the most significant domestic shift, unnoticed by many whites, has been the emergence of black industrial power as organised in the trade union movement. The state has no difficulty in putting down violent revolution. But the potential challenge which is presented by industrial action on the part of the new legions of black skilled workers, and also the unskilled workers, is another matter entirely.

This potential for disruption represents real political power, as real in its way as the franchise, and will be a critical factor in negotiation. Pretoria may have less room for manoeuvre than is sometimes imagined. The balance of power is shifting.

There are other changing aspects of South African life which may not

There are other changing aspects of South African life which may not yet be apparent. The National Party of 1989 is not Dr Malan's party of 1948. Each day it becomes more like the old United Party, and much closer to the Democratic Party than the CP.

yet be apparent. The National Party of 1989 is not Dr Malan's party of 1948. Each day it becomes more like the old United Party, and much closer to the Democratic Party than the CP. In policy, there is a steady convergence with both the NP and the DP rating negotiation to include the blacks in the system a top priority.

The old PFP-DP slogan calling for "power-sharing without domination" has been cheerfully appropriated by the Nationalists. We are asked to believe that Mr de Klerk's brand of power-sharing is a safer (for whites) kind than the DP's, an asser-

tion which strains credulity as do the NP's soft-on-security advertisements. If we are to believe Mr P. W. Botha, Mr de Klerk himself is dangerously soft on security, and a dupe of President Kaunda and his friends in the ANC!

There will no doubt be more NP smear-and-scare campaigns in the last fortnight before polling day. Whether this tactic will have the same impact as last time is doubtful, given the profound economic disillusion of the average voter — which tends to nullify all the NP's attempts to link the DP and the MDM in some kind of unholy communistic alliance.

Mr Botha's ungracious departure, sabotaging the Afrikaner Nationalist cause in whose service he has spent most of his life, and getting in a parting low blow against its new leader, has left the NP in a spectacular state of disarray — and has advanced the chances of a hung parliament.

And coalition? Unlike the largely working class and rural CP, the NP is increasingly an urban middle-class and upper middle-class party of bourgeois citizens with an eye on the stock market. So a DP-NP coalition is

logical and perhaps inevitable.

But what happens then? Negotiation will be the dominant theme — yet the going will be sticky particularly at the start. The ANC's ideas for preliminary talks about talks became known recently. They are unlikely to meet with Pretoria's instant approval. The ANC suggests a constituent assembly to negotiate a new constitution: but the first serious sticking point could be their proposal for an interim government — in which they are included — to run the country pending agreement on a new constitution.

What government would relinquish control in such circumstances, before a new constitution had even been discussed? Once substantive negotiations start, there will be further sticking points on group rights and representation, etc, etc.

To pursue Mr de Klerk's nautical metaphor, there is more rough weather ahead before the ship of state comes into port. Yet Mr de Klerk is to see President Kaunda. We are on the right course.

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