

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS —
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JANUARY only

Poll date to be announced on Jan 30

Election: white parties race to register voters

2/1/87 STAR 304A

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

White political parties face a race against time to register their supporters as voters for the white general election expected in April.

The last date for registration is still uncertain, because President Botha has still to set the polling date. Party spokesmen are tipping April 29.

In an interview on SABC-TV, Mr Botha said he had announced the election without naming the date to give voters a further opportunity to register.

He said as many voters should appear on the roll as possible.

Mr Botha said people should ensure that their addresses were correct, and should co-operate with the Department of Home Affairs, which was updating the voters' roll.

A registration campaign was launched last year by the Department of Home Affairs, but there are still thousands of voters not accounted for on the roll.

According to figures released by the Department of Home Affairs, between March and September 1986, only 27 548 new voters were registered, bringing the total number of registered white voters to 3 023 590.

In his New Year's message Mr Botha said he had decided on an election for whites, but would announce the date when he opened Parliament on January 30. According to the Electoral Act a minimum notice period of 56 days must be given before a general election is held.

Focus

As the parties prepare for the election, the focus is on possible opposition election pacts.

An election pact between the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party is a strong possibility.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba had drawn the two parties closer to the PFP viewpoint. He said some sort of an alignment would benefit both parties.

A right-wing pact between the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party is complicated by wrangling that has continued for some months.

Sapa reports that the leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais, said he hoped an election pact could be arranged with the CP. However, he ruled out the possibility of permanently uniting the two parties — a demand which the CP has persistently made.

Mr Marais said alliances had been successful between the two parties in the past. He said "unification is not necessary to win a majority".

Dr Treurnicht, however, dismissed the possibility of imminent negotiations on an election pact with the HNP.

● See Page 13.

PARLIAMENT

A conduit for the news?

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is set to adopt an unprecedented strategy to oppose government when parliament opens on January 30.

Federal executive chairman Ken Andrew says the build-up of repression in the country, culminating in last month's new clamps



PFP's Andrew ... fighting for the public's right to know

on the flow of information, and the right to debate key issues, means politics in SA has made a "fundamental shift backwards into the dark."

"We would be doing the country a disservice if we were to conduct ourselves as if parliament was functioning within even a partly democratic and free environment," he says.

Informal meetings with MPs and other PFP representatives around the country show that office-bearers are unanimous in their belief that the party cannot start 1987 as if it were just another parliamentary year.

Details of the party's new strategy are still under consideration and will be finalised at a parliamentary caucus meeting later this month. Andrew says it goes without saying that the PFP's attitude in parliament will be more "aggressive and militant."

At an emergency federal executive meeting in Cape Town just before Christmas, PFP leaders decided to "review seriously" parliamentary strategies and take a "hard look" at the party's involvement in "the more formal and ceremonial elements of traditional parliamentary activities."

No decision was taken on participation in the formalities of parliament, but options open to the party include boycotting the official opening by President P W Botha, boycotting meetings of party whips which are crucial to the smooth functioning of parliament, and maintaining only a token presence in the debating chamber.

The PFP is, however, determined to use parliament as far as possible to reveal details of what is happening in SA, but which are barred from publication in terms of the latest clamps.

The new emergency regulations make specific provision for reporting of debates in parliament, and parliamentary privilege will

The *Financial Mail* brings its readers the most news, comment and interpretation possible under the new regulations restricting publication of certain matters. It will continue to do so better than any other publication or medium.

It does not believe that the new restrictions are necessary or in the public interest, but it will obey the law.

A close study will continue to be made of the regulations to ensure that *FM* reports contain the maximum that is legally possible.

allow MPs to use debates to get information out.

Says Andrew: "The PFP will not become part of a cover-up operation. The emergency regulations are not only unjust and undemocratic, but they are also dangerous because an uninformed public can be lulled into a false sense of security until it is too late to take remedial action. We will fight for the public's right to know with all the means at our disposal."

Legal advice

He says the PFP has also briefed senior counsel with a view to challenging the new regulations in court, and is getting legal opinion as to what party representatives may or may not say or publish outside parliament.

The party is also considering holding regu-

lar "information meetings" in main centres to help inform the public on issues and events they may be unaware of because of the clamps.

On this issue, Andrew believes parliament will be extremely important as a conduit for news. Much of the party's resources will be channelled into news gathering both from the field and from newspapers currently unable to publish the information themselves.

Andrew says the attitude of former Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange, who is

likely to be elected Speaker to replace Johann Greeff, may be critical to the PFP's strategy.

Pressure

"If he carries into that position the same distressingly limited perspective he displayed as law and order minister, then it will be a tragedy for parliament," says Andrew. He believes, however, that Le Grange will be under pressure from government to control debate in parliament strictly.

The PFP's director of research, Nic Olivier, says the clamps mean the party's parliamentary role will be more important than ever.

"In the light of the restrictions placed on the press by the latest emergency regulations, and the exclusion from the restrictions of the publication of information procured under the protection of parliamentary proceedings, the presence and role of the PFP in parliament has become a vital cornerstone of democracy in SA," he says. ■

Statesmanship is needed

Where are the Sadats of Southern Africa?

The question is posed by a prominent Pretoria academic who sees a need for statesmen with courage and foresight to save the whole region from drifting into disaster over the apartheid conflict — "statesmen capable of a deed like Sadat's historic flight to Jerusalem in 1977".

The former Egyptian president's bold and successful bid to end his country's conflict with Israel is cited by Dr Erich Leistner, Director of the Africa Institute, in a review of South Africa's relations with the rest of the subcontinent.

And in an analysis of the situation in South Africa itself he suggests that the country's whites might be better off under a political system that protects the rights of the individual than one that protects ethnic minorities.

"Political stability can prevail only once membership of a particular racial or ethnic group is no longer determined by law," he says.

Dr Leistner notes that neighbouring countries are convinced South Africa is out to destabilise them to keep them weak and compliant.

"Its threats are taken seriously, its declarations of goodwill not."

Drastic reaction

But he asks whether South Africa "is not inclined to react too readily and too drastically to the insults and invectives of countries whose closeness to South Africa and the title of Frontline states is their only claim to international significance".

South Africa, he says, "seems to be reacting to rhetoric and events in neighbouring countries rather than moulding the pattern of intra-regional relations and overall development".

20/1/87
21/1/87

By Gerald L'Ange, Editor of The Star's
Africa News Service

Its predictable reactions play into the hands of those denouncing the country as a threat to prosperity and stability in Africa.

At the same time, he says, nearby states must not be surprised if Pretoria is disturbed by their links with Moscow and their support for sanctions, military action and insurgency.

The vehemence of international condemnation may delude these countries into believing the South African power structure is about to crumble.

Prime Minister Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Kaunda of Zambia repeatedly invite the hardships of sanctions on the grounds that they will bring a speedy end to their tribulations.

Survival situation

"These leaders may be labouring under dangerous illusions with regard to South Africa's economic, military and other capabilities, and regarding its determination not to submit to violence," says Dr Leistner.

"Hopefully, these leaders, as well as Western leaders, will pause to think before they drive South Africa into a situation where it perceives its survival to be at stake. For in that case constraints vis-a-vis neighbouring countries would probably soon fall away.

"It is tragic that matters have drifted to the point where this contingency has to be viewed as a distinct possibility.

"While the leaders of neighbouring countries are playing with fire, those of South Africa appear to accept that a worsening of the situation is inevitable. The question must be asked whether it is not possible to reverse

this dangerous trend.

"Are there statesmen in Southern Africa capable of acting in a courageous, far-sighted and imaginative fashion to stem the drift into disaster? Statesmen capable of a deed like Sadat's historic flight to Jerusalem in 1977?"

Noting that peace in the region is closely linked to political accommodation in the Republic, Dr Leistner says the leaders of the Frontline states could significantly contribute to a peaceful future if they were to adopt a constructive attitude rather than press blindly for majority rule.

"They seem to believe that a bright future will dawn for the region once the South African state has been destroyed. In all probability, though, the whole of Southern Africa would rather look like present-day Mozambique."

Dr Leistner believes the present crisis in South Africa revolves around three "fundamental challenges":

- The Africanisation of white South Africa.
- The modernisation of black South Africa.
- The creation of a free and democratic order for all.

Western heritage

The first challenge, he says, implies the termination of racial discrimination and that for their own sake white South Africans "promote to the best of their ability the intellectual and practical development of their black compatriots". But the Western heritage must not be abandoned; rather, it must be viewed as "an obligation and a gift to be shared with others".

"The modernisation of black South Africa

entails parting with collective modes of living and a magic world-view. It demands personal responsibility and individual striving for efficiency and excellence.

"It demands recognising that a free society entails not only rights but also responsibilities; that wealth must be created before it can be distributed; that possession of a school or university certificate does not betoken omniscience, and that working with one's hands is not demeaning."

Dr Leistner says a free and democratic order can be realised only if all South Africans enjoy equal political and civic rights and also willingly concede each other these rights. Political stability can prevail only once membership of a particular racial or ethnic group is no longer determined by law.

Political fire

He cites Zimbabwe as an example of how the constitutional protection of minority rights draws political fire on to an ethnic minority — a minority which is more effectively protected by its vital contribution to the country's economy than by a constitution which can readily be declared a "scrap of paper".

"The National Party's constitutional thinking is firmly committed to the self-determination of groups and the principle that no group must dominate others. There is, however, a growing school of thought which is convinced that it is even more important to entrench the rights of the individual than the rights of the group."

The rights of minority groups are bound to come under attack if the majority group feels disadvantaged by it, Dr Leistner says. "If the rights of the individual are secure, however, the individuals will be free in the pursuit of cultural, religious and similar group-related matters."

the small society

by Brickman

From The Eastern Star

I'LL GO OUT OF MY MIND IF WE
HAVE ANOTHER WAR—

Clear decision

The sweet talk of reform has turned into a growling belligerence. The advertisements have given way to press censorship. The August congress was a superfluous farce, with no constitutional reforms to endorse. And although both Scharansky and Sakharov have been freed, Mandela's release has never looked less likely.

Sometime during 1986 a clear decision was taken to back out of the framework of dialogue with the Americans and other Westerners that the government was engaged in at the beginning of the year and go into the laager.

The moment can in fact be pinpointed as mid-May, when the government was engaged in discussions with the special Commonwealth mission of "eminent persons", the EPG.

These discussions, the most serious and intensive effort at mediation ever made in this country, forced an end to the government's attempts to prevaricate behind an illusion of co-operation and piecemeal change. The EPG had a clear-cut proposal with a deadline.

The proposal involved Pretoria agreeing to release Mandela and unban the ANC, in return for the ANC declaring a truce in its guerilla struggle and agreeing to negotiate.

The EPG had seen Mandela in prison and reported that he had given them a positive response. Now the government had to give its reply. The EPG had to report back to the Commonwealth by mid-June. There could be no more prevarication.

That is when the decision was taken. Not just a fateful no to the EPG, but a decision that the strategy of talk-and-delay could no longer be effective. Its bluff had been called, as it were.

Rattled government

That is when the government decided to break off its dialogue with the West and dig in to face the consequences of sanctions.

Several other factors gave impetus to the decision. There was a sudden burgeoning growth of the Afrikaner far-rightist organizations at the time, and on May 22, as the Commonwealth group arrived in Cape Town for another round of talks, the Afrikaner Weestandsbeweging (AWB) rattled the government by breaking up a National Party rally in Pietersburg.

An AWB poster at the fracas in the north sticks in my mind. "Yankee Pik go home!" it said. The AWB and other far-rightist parties were accusing the government of being too compliant in its relations with the United States and other Western powers.

They were also accusing it of failing to end the persistent unrest in the black townships because it was hesitant to get really tough with the blacks for fear of upsetting these foreigners.

This is why we are now getting such a display of *kragdadigheid* and a tirade of anti-Americanism in preparation for the early election this year.

Central to all this, I believe was a core decision taken in mid-May not to release Nelson Mandela or unban the ANC, as the West was demanding.



Mr Pik Botha

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the former Leader of the Opposition who has been trying to garner support for the idea of negotiating with the ANC, says a significant segment of the cabinet had come round to his view by mid-May but then President Botha stepped in and ruled it out. Events bear this out. After the EPG's initial visit here in February, there were signs of growing support for the idea that Mandela should be released. As some people were aware at the time and as he has recently admitted, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, was one of those who visited Mandela in prison and was impressed by him.

Decision on Mandela

Early in May Mr Pik Botha sent a special envoy, Mr Carl von Hirschberg, to London to tell the EPG that South Africa was not opposed in principle to freeing Mandela and legalizing the ANC, but wanted assurances of Western backing if it had to act to stop any unrest that resulted.

Encouraged, the EPG returned to South Africa on May 12. But the optimism did not last. They were scheduled to meet Pik Botha next day, but as some recounted afterwards, Botha arrived late, apparently delayed by a long cabinet meeting which was presumably taking its decision on Mandela. He seemed distressed and launched into a long wrangle about the difficulties the EPG were causing South Africa.

President Botha, whom the EPG had expected to meet, did not see them. Instead, they were advised to attend a speech by him to the President's Council in which he pointedly slammed the "unsolicited interference" of "meddling groups visiting the country".

Four days later, after a brief visit to the ANC's exile headquarters in Lusaka and just 30 minutes before they were due to meet with key members of the cabinet in Cape Town, the EPG were told that South Africa had launched a series of raids on alleged ANC facilities in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The watershed of 1986 had been reached. It was the first of Pretoria's acts of calculated defiance, intended deliberately to break off its dialogue of delay with the West and begin filling the sandbags for its final bunker.

CAN TRIB 3/1/87 304A

'Calculated defiance' was Nat strategy in '86

1986 WILL go down as the year the Botha government stopped trying to impress the world with its reforms and told it to go to hell instead.

The year began with a blaze of reformist rhetoric. When President

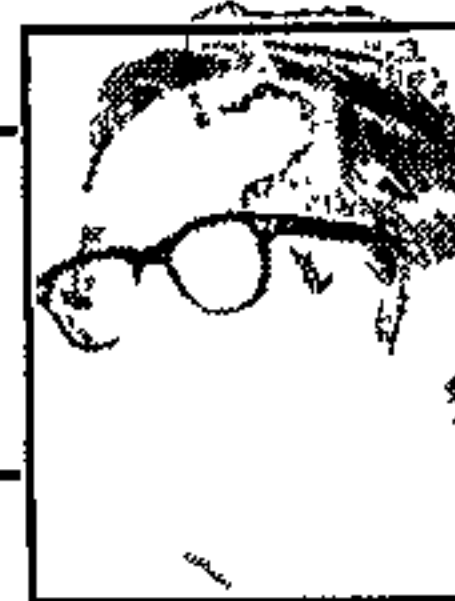
P. W. Botha opened parliament in January, he proclaimed apartheid to be "outdated" and committed his administration to moving away from it.

The Bureau for Information took up the theme with a series of enthusiastic advertisements heralding the dawn of a new era of multiracial power-sharing and individual freedom. "This is the reality."

There were hints that Nelson Mandela might be released if the Russians would let Anatoly Scharansky and Andrei Sakharov go. A special federal congress of the National Party was scheduled for August with the implication that it was to endorse constitutional amendments giving the blacks a role in central government.

But as the year closes the men in Pretoria have not only ceased trying to impress the world, they are deliberately breathing defiance at it.

Acts like the recent kidnapping of two Swiss nationals from Swaziland, Mr Pik Botha's bellicose defence of the crazy venture and the provocative refusal of visas and landing rights to a group of American congressmen, give the impression of being calculated to demonstrate that South Africa no longer gives a damn what anyone thinks.



**By ALLISTER
SPARKS**



Mr PW Botha



Indaba will be major election issue

Political Reporter

THE KwaZulu/Natal Indaba is likely to be the biggest issue in Natal in the lead up to the House of Assembly election expected in late April or early March.

Prof Lawrie Schlemmer, former director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, said the election would probably lead the Government to soon adopt

a qualified position on the Indaba.

'The Indaba will be the biggest election issue in Natal and the National Party will have to work out a position on it fairly soon.

'They have a choice between a qualified position and a complete rejection but a rejection would be the most risky because there seems to be very widespread support for the Indaba among the business community,' Prof Schlemmer said.

He said the Government seemed to want to test its broad political mandate before making a final decision on the Indaba.

'The NP has got more of the Right Wing in it in Natal than it has in the Transvaal and so the Right Wing outside the party is not as much of a threat to the NP in Natal as it is in the Transvaal or the Free State,' Prof Schlemmer said.

On January 13 Indaba representatives will present to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, the Indaba's proposals for a single legislature for the region.

Prof Willem Kleynhans, a political science lecturer at the University of South Africa, said if the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party worked together they could win a total of about 35 seats.

Mr Ray Swart, Natal PFP leader, said his party would be looking for an endorsement of the ideals of the Indaba which were similar to those of the PFP.

Rejection

Mr Swart said the Indaba would be an issue in view of the rejection of the Indaba by the Natal NP leader Mr Stoffel Botha.

He said the PFP intended to make significant gains in Natal.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, said President Botha had consulted him about whether an election should also be held for the HoD.

'I consulted Dr J N Reddy (leader of the opposition Solidarity Party) and the general consensus was that it was too early for an election.'

Big business told:

help fight for change

By Winnie Graham

Big business has been challenged to ensure change in South Africa by playing a dynamic role in the "crisis" general election expected in April or May.

Its involvement, according to political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans, could spell the difference between a government committed to change, and a country faced with "real revolution".

Another political scientist, Mr Koos van Wyk of Rand Afrikaans University, said the election would be fought on an "onslaught" basis with future reform having little relevance.

"Security will be the dominant issue," he said. "The Government may lose seats here and there to the Conservatives (CP), but it will not lose the election."

Professor Kleynhans, a one-time Nationalist supporter, believes that unless big business and English-speakers get involved, the election will be little more than a fight between Afrikaner and Afrikaner — with "swart gevaar" politics the central issue.

English-speakers, he said, did not realise the important role they had to play. If they retained their age-old political indifference, South Africa could get increased right-wing representation in Parliament — particularly if the CP and Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) joined forces.

On the other hand, if business wanted to avert disaster for South Africa, it had to align its resources to the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) so that it could help plan the election campaign, nominate the best candidates, and

"work the streets" to ensure MPs committed to change were returned to Parliament.

"The time for talking is passed," he said. "For too long has business made appeals to Government and issued statements on reform to the Press. Only when people are seen to be working for a better South Africa can they claim to have contributed to change. The time has come for business to put its money where its mouth is."

Professor Kleynhans added: "It would be disastrous if the situation remains unchanged. The blacks will wait no longer. If by the end of this year they are not accommodated in Parliament we would face real revolution and increased international pressure."

Township unrest

Mr van Wyk predicted that anti-American feeling, township unrest, sanctions, terrorism and security would be exploited.

"The Government's view is well known: There will be no talk of reform before the violence stops. Its manifesto will be vague, with the electorate asked to trust the Government. It, they will be told, knows best how to handle the political affairs of the country."

Professor Kleynhans wants men like Mr Raymond Ackerman of Pick 'n Pay and Mr Gavin Relly of Anglo American to become involved in the election campaign.

He predicted that instead of trying to defuse the political situation, the Government would drum up support on an anti-American, anti-ANC and anti-UDF platform. In this way it hopes to offset the threat of the Right wing.

Big business challenged to use clout

Weekend Post Correspondent *W. Post*

JOHANNESBURG — Big business has been challenged to ensure change in South Africa by playing a dynamic role in the "crisis" general election expected in April or May.

The political scientist, Professor Willem Kleynhans, said today that its involvement could spell the difference between a Government committed to change and a country faced with "real revolution".

Another political scientist, Dr Koos van Wyk, of Rand Afrikaans University, said the election would be fought on an "onslaught" basis with future reform having little relevance.

"Security will be the dominant issue," he said. "The Government may lose seats here and there to the Conservative Party (CP), but it will not lose the election."

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English-speakers, he said, did not realise the important role they had to play. If they retained their age-old political indifference, SA could get increased right-wing representation in Parliament — particularly if the CP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) joined forces.

On the other hand, if business wanted to avert disaster for SA, it had to align its resources to the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) so that it could help plan the election campaign, nominate the best candidates and "work the streets" to ensure that MPs committed to change were returned to Parliament.

"The time for talking is passed," he said. "For too long has business made appeals to Government and issued statements on reform to the Press. Only when people are seen to be working for a better land can they claim to have contributed to change. The time has come for business to put its money where its mouth is."

Prof Kleynhans added: "It would be disastrous if the situation remains unchanged. The blacks will wait no longer. If by the end of this year they are not accommodated in Parliament, we would face real revolution and increased international pressure."

He predicted that the Government would drum up support on an anti-American, anti-ANC and anti-UDF platform to fend off the right wing challenge.

Reform a forgotten word as the laager drew up against the world

By PATRICK CULL
Political
Correspondent

"We have outgrown the old outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid."
— P W Botha

AN understandable euphoria followed this key statement by Mr Botha when he opened Parliament last January.

But it was a euphoria which had already begun to evaporate by the end of the no-confidence debate as it became increasingly clear that it was the concept of apartheid that was outdated, not apartheid itself.

And, by the end of the year, reform appeared almost a forgotten word.

The barricades of the laager had been drawn up against a hostile world while internally the Government took an increasingly hard line.

The proposed National Statutory Council; the flirtation with the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela; the initial promise of the visit by the Eminent Persons Group; the scrapping of influx control and the lifting of the 1985 state of emergency lay forgotten behind a frightening display of old-fashioned *kragdadigheid*.

In place of hope there was gloom, with hundreds of people, including children, behind bars for Christmas; the reality of sanctions; a muzzled Press and ever-tightening emergency regulations.

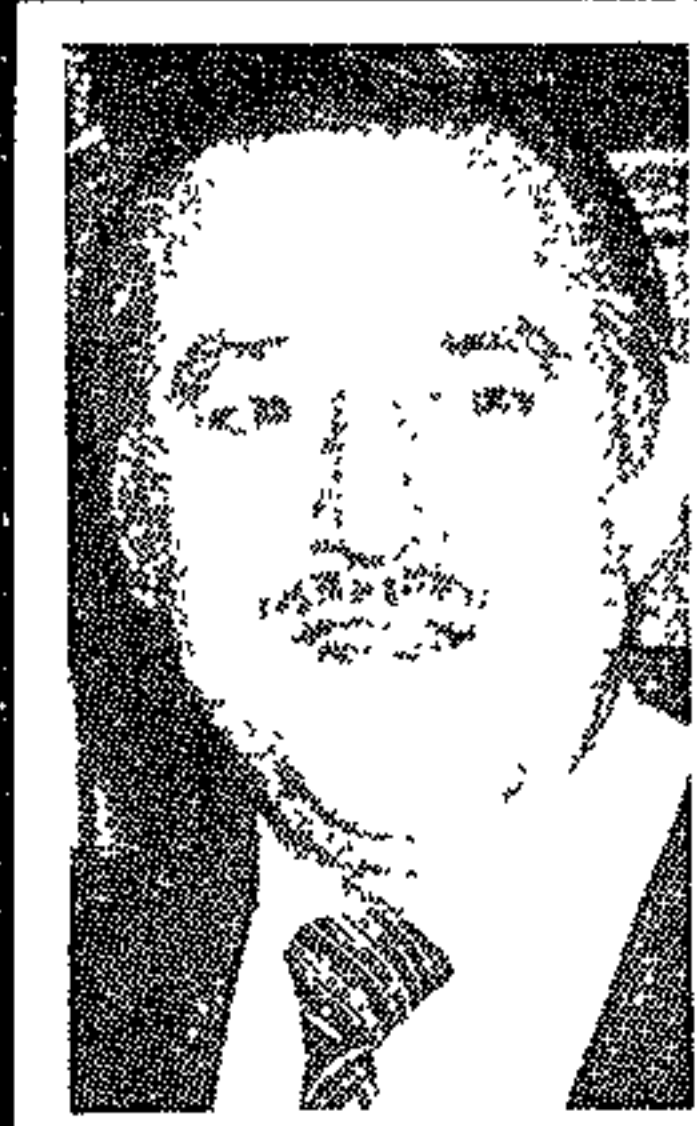
And South Africa's relations with the world and its neighbours were at a dismally low ebb in the wake of ill-timed raids into Lusaka, Gaborone and Harare which brought a hasty end to the EPG initiative.

More recently there were the kidnappings and killings in Swaziland.

Indeed, the conducting of South Africa's foreign affairs has deteriorated to a level where it consists mostly of angry growls at



President BOTHA



PIK BOTHA



LOUIS NEL



VAN ZYL SLABBERT

1986: year hope turned to gloom

the outside world from Mr Botha or his Foreign Affairs namesake, Mr Pik Botha.

It was also the year of the Bureau for Information, that neo-Orwellian "department of truth" which controls the restricted flow of information on matters affecting the security forces and "unrest".

There was the now departed Louis Nel and his R4-million peace song, the advertisements and other propaganda aimed at telling South Africans that the Government was firmly on the reformist path and that "together we'll build a brighter future".

The political year began dramatically.

In a shattering end to a no-confidence debate that had seen Mr Pik Botha slapped down by the State President over his "black president" statement, the

Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, resigned both as leader of the PFP and MP for Claremont, describing the first week of the 1986 parliamentary session as "a grotesque ritual in irrelevance".

Parliamentarians, he added, were "trapped in a ridiculous political debate while out there our country is bleeding".

The euphoria, however, did not die.

A welter of foreign correspondents maintained a constant vigil outside Pollsmoor Prison in the belief that Nelson Mandela would be released at any moment.

The Government's initial response to the EPG proposals for negotiation seemed positive and on March 7 the state of emergency in the last handful of magisterial districts was finally lifted.

In addition the long-awaited scrapping of the pass laws was imminent.

Suddenly, however, the euphoria was over.

On May 18, South African forces raided Gaborone, Lusaka and Harare — attacks that coincided with the day on which the EPG left Lusaka after talks with the ANC and Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda.

The EPG initiative collapsed; relations between South Africa and her neighbours deteriorated and the momentum was provided for the sanctions threat to become a reality.

What prompted the dramatic *volte face* was perhaps a devastating alliance between the security forces and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

With his constitutional dream for South Africa

threatened by the release of Nelson Mandela and negotiations with the ANC and PAC, Mr Heunis may have found a willing ally in the security chiefs.

Negotiation was abandoned and the decision taken to press on towards a constitutional future based on racial groups.

A national state of emergency was declared on June 12 and the regulations have since been tightened, with a virtual ban on publicity for any alternative constitutional structures such as the township street committees.

The National Party's Federal Congress in Durban proved little more than a restatement of the party's present position and the round of provincial congresses which followed contained little of promise.

Finally, the second ses-

sion of Parliament was rendered almost farcical as the Government shelved proposed reform legislation — the report of the President's Council on the Group Areas Act met a similar fate later in the year.

If there was one flicker in the gloom it lay with the Kwa-Natal Indaba, even though a number of important organisations both to the left and right of the political spectrum were not represented.

After the NP's Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, had rejected the constitutional proposals agreed to at the indaba, the Government backtracked and at this stage its attitude to the proposals remains unclear.

The reason for this is almost certainly that a general election is to be held during the first half of this year and the Government's unwillingness to take any action that will boost support for the right-wing parties.

The same reason has been advanced for the shelving of reform legislation and the report on the Group Areas Act.

If, as is expected, the NP successfully wards off any real advance by the right-wing in a general election, then it seems likely that reform will continue with the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act and some amendments to the Group Areas Act.

And, at this stage, there seems a real possibility of the school boycott being called off, thus averting the dreadful prospect of this country producing what amounts to an uneducated generation of blacks.

But the Government is unlikely to drop its plans for a constitutional future based on the concept of racial groups.

And in as much as that is unacceptable to the majority of South Africans, it is hard to see any real progress towards a peaceful resolution of the country's problems in 1987 — nor for that matter the lifting of the state of emergency.

NRP, PFP plan electoral pact

Mercury Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH—The Progressive Federal Party and New Republic Party are to start formal talks next week on an electoral pact for the general election.

And an election pact could put at least 14 seats within the grasp of the two parties with formal amalgamation a distinct possibility thereafter.

The NRP's Cape leader and MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, said yesterday informal discussions between the two parties had been taking place for some time.

Mr Rogers added that he had told the leadership of the NRP that he would not be party to splitting the vote between the NRP and PFP in his region.

This had cost the opposition both East London North and East London City in 1981 when the combined PFP/NRP vote exceeded that polled by the victorious National Party candidates.

Mr Rogers said since

1981 the 'constitutional gap' between the two parties had been breached in that the NRP was no longer wedded to the concept of group representation.

The recent Natal-KwaZulu Indaba, he added, had been the culmination of NRP moves towards the PFP 'way of thinking'.

An alliance between the two parties would have the effect on putting at least 12 seats other than the two in East London within reach of the opposition.

Three Natal seats — Durban North, Ammanzimtoti and South Coast — lost by the NRP when their MPs crossed the floor to the National Party last year could be recaptured.

False alarm

LONDON—A BA jumbo jet was forced to return after a fire warning light came on — but the alert was caused by a faulty light. — (Sapa-Reuter)

No plan to lift emergency curbs — so politicians face tough time at polls

THE GAGGED ELECTION!

By LESTER VENTER and NORMAN WEST
THE "emergency election" is to be fought under the toughest gag rules in the country's history.



P W BOTHA
Spell out ideas

SUNTIMES 4/11/87

By LESTER VENTER and NORMAN WEST
THE "emergency election" is to be fought under the toughest gag rules in the country's history.

Senior government sources confirmed yesterday that no exemptions from the draconian state-of-emergency provisions were being considered for campaigning politicians.

And the official Opposition is so angered by the conditions under which it will be forced to fight — worse even than during the Second World War — that it is planning symbolic demonstrations at its political meetings.

The furor erupted this week in the wake of President Botha's long-awaited announcement on New Year's Eve that an election would be held early this year — though the date has not been set.

As party workers and politicians turned thoughts from festivities to work, these details emerged:

● President Botha will be spelling out the constitutional ideas for which he will be asking the electorate's support in his opening of Parliament — all indications are that it will entail a revamped National Statutory Council Bill which will give nominated blacks some executive powers.

● The white electorate may well have to go back to the polls within two years when the coloured and Indian Houses and their five-year term, as no changes to the constitution to allow an extension of time for one House is being considered.

Differences

● Speculation that President Botha may use the outcome of the election for his swansong is premature: indications are that he will stay on at least till the end of 1988, during which four important national historical events will be celebrated.

● Some serious differences of opinion within the Cabinet preceded the decision to hold an early election.

● Both the main opposition groupings to the left and right of the Government are edging towards some form of pact: a working alliance between the Conservative Party and the HNP is not ruled out, and an alliance or even merger between the Progressive Federal and New Republic parties is very much on the cards.

● But the deepest concern in opposition circles focuses on the extensive gag rules which under the emergency affects Press and politicians alike.

● Opposition politicians have already stated their intentions of ignoring the regulations in campaign speeches. But their electoral pamphlets and brochures could be affected — and the media's freedom to report campaign speeches will be limited.

Influence

Yesterday the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who is charged with administering the regulations, said: "This is a democratic country where parties are allowed to say what they want within the limitations of the law."

The emergency regulations would have to be kept in mind, but he did not believe they would disadvantage opposition parties.

But the leader of the official Opposition, Mr Colin Eg

Academi

THREE Afrikaans legal ac have postponed a visit to Lu meet the ANC to discuss huma is post-apartheid South Africa.

They were to meet an ANC tion in Lusaka tomorrow.

They are professors Henning and Johann van der Westhuize the University of Pretoria and so of Derek van der Merwe of th Afrikaans University.

A spokesman for the ANC, M Sebina, said from Lusaka yes "We are expecting them at lun

BACK IN

GAGGED ELECTION ANGRERS THE PFP

SUNTIMES 4/11/87

there is a marked reluctance to discuss the content of the constitutional proposals the Government is likely to put to the electorate.

But one source indicated it would probably be a further extension of the powers of the proposed all-race National Statutory Council — and perhaps even something more on black city states.

Meanwhile, it has emerged that there was less than unanimity about the calling of an early election. Constitutional Development quarters, it is understood, did not want an election while they were still in the process of seeking black support for the Statutory Council.

But other quarters believed that tactically the best time to hold an election was now: a slight economic upturn would help the Government, public indignation at sanctions could be easily mobilised and the gold windfalls would enable the Government to pay healthy public-service salaries before the elections.

In other developments:

● A pact between the New Republic Party and Progressive Federal Party is now likely, thus opening up large parts of Natal, the Cape Peninsula and some Rand seats to the left of the National Party. Optimistic projections by the PFP put the number of winnable seats at 40.

● Intensive efforts are under way in the far-right camp to forge an election alliance which will present the Government with a serious threat on the right, which some analysts believe could also net as many as 40 seats.

● In Melbourne, Archbishop Desmond Tutu predicted yesterday that President P W Botha would resign after winning the next election.

But he warned that with the situation in South Africa deteriorating rapidly, Mr Botha's heir would only exacerbate racial differences.

The archbishop — on a 12-day visit to Australia — said he did not believe the Government wanted meaningful negotiations with other races.

"If efforts to bring about non-violent change fail, I am afraid we will be left facing the grim prospect of an Armageddon."

It was a mistake to believe apartheid could slowly be reformed.

"We don't want apartheid reformed — who wants a Frankenstein reformed?"

The happy

Three hurt in blast

By IVOR CREWS

A BLACK woman was seriously hurt and two other black women treated for shock after a bomb blast at the Sanlam Centre in central Johannesburg at 2.25pm yesterday.

Ms Grace Loni sustained severe head injuries, while Ms Mary Mapengo and Ms Miriam Khalo were badly shocked.

Mrs Angela Ross said: "I saw a black woman lying on

the pavement outside a fast food shop. She had a big hole in the side of her head."

A witness said the bomb had gone off in flowerpots outside the centre, on the corner of Jeppe and Delvers streets.

Windows on the first and second floors of Elgin Mansions, opposite the blast site, were shattered.

Police said the blast was apparently caused by a limpet mine

incident was asked to leave by the hotel staff. "Investigations into the incidents are being made by the hotel," MacLeod said. King was in the news two years ago when police shot at his speeding car in Durban.

A court ruled he had been driving under the influence of alcohol and he was fined R300.

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

AZINE plus CHARITY CROSSWORD

Cong. Times 5/1/87

Election futile, says Boshoff

AN election during a state of emergency was a "contradiction in terms", the leader of the right-wing Afrikaner Volkswag, Professor Carel Boshoff, said yesterday.

He said the election for whites was "an exercise in futility".

In an article written for the Sunday Tribune, Professor Boshoff asked how an election could be held when South Africa was in a state of emergency.

"The limitations on the publication of news, certain restrictions on criticism of the government and other problems relating to the state of emergency make an election rather problematic."

Professor Boshoff, who is also chairman of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, asked where South Africa would find the money to pay for the election. "And precisely what are we paying for? Perhaps an effort to get rid of a small opposition?"

He asked whether the government could give a clear view of what it was all about.

"We learned that one of the main issues is whether

blacks are to be included in the new dispensation." But so far blacks had rejected all proposals.

"What more is there to consider — a non-existent formula which will give whites a safeguard of minority rights within majority rule?"

"It is generally accepted that the tricameral Parliament is a failure.

"In a unitary state with one land, one government and one citizenship, we are inevitably on the road to black rule and consequently to a bloody power struggle among the different black leaders."

Big cabinet turnover possible after election

Capt. T. van der Merwe
5/1/87
304A

Political Staff

A NUMBER of cabinet ministers and deputy ministers could lose their seats in Parliament in this year's election, particularly if the combined right wing makes progress in the Transvaal platteland and if the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party are able to reach an arrangement.

Political observers believe the right-wing political parties could pick up seats in the rural areas of the Transvaal and the Free State.

The Conservative Party has never fought a general election before and because its organizational resources have not been tested nation-wide, its support among white voters is questionable.

But the CP has captured Waterberg and Soutpansberg in its own right and the Herstigte Nasionale Party won Sasolburg.

Ministers who hold seats in those areas where the right wing is expected to make gains include the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis (Lydenburg); the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr Danie Steyn (Wonderboom), and the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel (Bethal).

The Transvaal leader of the National Party and Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, who is the MP for Vereeniging, and the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who is MP for Vanderbijl Park, are expected to face tough contests.

Deputy ministers who may have problems holding on to their seats include the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Land Affairs, Mr Ben Wilkens (Ventersdorp); the Deputy Minister of Development Aid, Mr Hendrik Tempel (Ermelo), and the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach (Kroonstad).

The moderate opposition parties are to make a concerted attack on the Simon's Town seat which is held by the Minister of Environment Affairs and Water, Mr John Wiley.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, who won the traditional opposition constituency of Durban North in 1981 as a member of the NRP, faces serious problems.

The Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr George Bartlett, who also won Amanzimtoti on the Natal South Coast in 1981 as a member of the NRP, could also lose his seat.



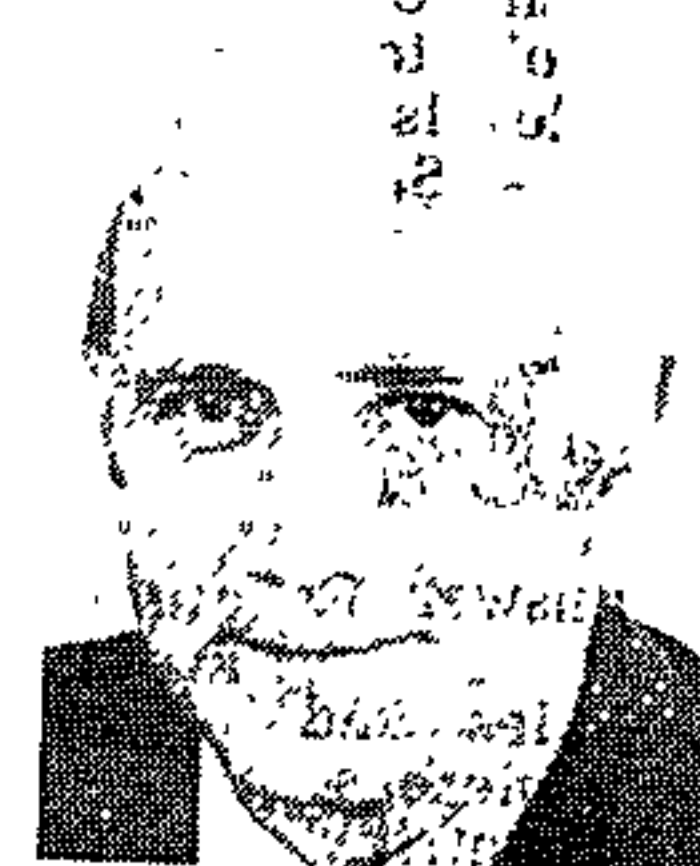
Mr Pietie du Plessis



Mr Danie Steyn



Mr Greyling Wentzel



Mr F W de Klerk

NO revenge, Nats warned

PFP tells Government not to call reprisal election for coloureds

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The Government was today warned not to be tempted to call a coloured general election merely to hit back at the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

The Progressive Federal Party made the warning in reaction to Nationalist Press speculation that President Botha was so angered by the weekend row between himself and the Labour Party leader that he might dissolve the House of Representatives in order to hold an election for coloureds on the same day as the poll for whites.

Mr Hendrickse said yesterday he had been consulted by the State President last year on whether the House of Representatives should have an election and his advice had been that this was not necessary.

Mrs Helen Suzman, law and order spokesman for the PFP, said it would be very unwise of Mr Botha to call an election for coloureds as the feeling in the community was still strongly against the tricameral Parliament.

"An election would stimulate even more violence than we are already experiencing.

"To call an election because of petty anger at being defied is ridiculous when the views of the coloured community on the Group Areas Act, which is at the centre of the argument between Mr Hendrickse and Mr Botha, are very well known."

Mr Peter Soal, PFP information spokesman, said Mr Botha was being petulant if he was considering calling elections because of the row.

The row between Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse appeared to have died down today — at least in public.

Mr Hendrickse said after the Labour Party conference which ended in Port Elizabeth yesterday that he did not intend seeing Mr Botha "at this juncture" to discuss their differences. Any such meeting would have to be at the President's initiative.

A spokesman for the Office of the State President said today Mr Botha had no further comment on Mr Hendrickse's statements as "everything that has had to be said has been said".

Illegal swim

There is evidently also to be no official comment from the Government on Mr Hendrickse's illegal swim off a white beach at Port Elizabeth yesterday.

The weekend row started when Mr Hendrickse said that unless the Government scrapped the Group Areas Act the Labour Party would reconsider its participation in the tricameral Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse also condemned the recent restrictions on unrest reporting.

Mr Botha responded by saying it was strange that Mr Hendrickse had never made the Group Areas Act nor the Press curbs an issue in the Cabinet.

Mrs Suzman has called for the immediate refund of all fines paid by people illegally swimming at white beaches during the recent holiday season.

She said Mr Hendrickse's illegal swim highlighted the absurdity of retaining the Separate Amenities Act.

● See Pages 3 and 13.



Mr Hendrickse

3044 5/1/87
Star Election laager

What to expect from the Government's

The election message from the government laager will exhort you to load up your old sannah with dry gunpowder and shoot the hell out of the encircling hordes.

Forget about its record. Forget that you have temporarily lost your civil rights. Forget about policies which have landed the country in a crisis. And forget about a change of Government.

When you go to vote, the NP intends you to have been "psyched" by a well-tuned propaganda machine.

The PFP will tell voters that this Government has failed. The right-wing parties will certainly say it is selling out the white man — but the NP will ignore what it sees as a load of ephemeral rubbish and fight a tight and effective campaign on territory which has already

John MacLennan of the The Star's Political Staff takes a look at some of the likely issues in the white general election.

been defined.

It's message will be that the world is unfair. That we have our backs against the wall. That it is moving as fast as it can to build a new tomorrow. That we must stand together or go under. In other words, put your cross here and you'll be all right, Jack.

There is absolutely no doubt that this campaign will be effective. Most white South Africans — even though they may not admit it — have a deep-seated anger over international interference.

Most white South Africans —

even though they may not admit it — are thankful for the emergency. It provides them with a feeling of security and it has either stopped "the unrest" or removed it from view through censorship.

You may, therefore, expect the Government to succeed in wrapping itself in our national flag and presenting itself as the only possible, the only viable, the only real option. In this campaign, the Government will be all things to all people. Meetings in the plat-

land will hear about the total answer to the total onslaught. The Government will point to the emergency and say: "We have been firm."

At meetings in more sophisticated and marginal seats they will dust off reform. "Where are the pass laws?" they will ask. Watch out for the scrapping of Group Areas and the creation of a whole new constitutional set-up which will be fair to the black man and safe for whites.

Many informed political sources expect our septuagenarian leader will achieve a large majority and then step down so his successor can carry on with Mr P W Botha's stated goal of reform.

More certain is the knowledge that the NP is not prepared to tell anyone how far it can go. Nor does the Government itself have any knowledge of whether its game plans will be adequate, whether its new measures will match up to the challenges or whether they will be in time.

These issues are not likely to be of over-much concern to the average white voter intent on keeping his nose clean, his kids in one piece and paying his mortgage at the end of this and every month.

He has become, in many respects, a shellshocked survivor whose perceptions depend on the saccharine news of the SABC and the intimations of

doom provided by a gagged Press.

In some ways this spells disaster for the PFP because its speakers will not be allowed to tell it like it is from their election platforms.

In contrast, some government speakers, who have the authority to "clear" information, will be able to speak about the situation in our country with impunity and without fear of contradiction.

This creates a certain amount of arrogance, as is illustrated in an exchange this week with the NP's Natal leader Mr Stoffel Botha. I have a fairly amicable arrangement with this smooth politico which enables me to

ring his Press "gofer" Fanie with requests for comment.

I asked him the following: Why an election now? What, in the NP's view are the issues? How does he see the mood of the electorate and what are the prospects?

Here is his reply. I give it verbatim: "The NP will be ready to go to the voters with confidence. It will openly address various issues. I sincerely hope the Press in Natal will demonstrate its integrity by fair and objective reporting of the views of the political parties during the election campaign. This is an important duty the Press owes the public."

Mr Ken Andrew, chairman

of the PFP's Federal Executive, was slightly more forthcoming.

His view is: "South Africans have to find a way of living together instead of being forced apart. Divisive policies are leading South Africa to political and economic disaster. We have to have a negotiated solution that works."

He believes his party is in good shape and claims the Government is in big trouble...

"But it has its propaganda machine, the SABC, going for it. It will try to stand firm against intervention."

"This emergency makes a farce of the election. They are not democrats. They are having an election now because it suits them. Things are just going to get worse and worse later."

So now you know.

National Party face toughest campaign since early 1950s

5/11/87
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Political Staff

The National Party will be challenged in the coming House of Assembly elections by the toughest double-edged opposition electoral campaign since the early 1950s.

They face the prospect that the consolidated forces of the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party will form the most powerful progressive opposition force in the 38 years of National Party rule.

And from the right-wing opposition comes the further threat of electoral co-operation between HNP and the CP.

Elections are traditionally held on Wednesdays and the PFP expects President Botha to plump for either April 29 or May 6. Although the big date is a secret and the Government's electoral manifesto remains unclear, the opposition parties are preparing their platforms.

CONSTITUTION

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said the official opposition would ignore the Government's hard-line answer to the "total onslaught election propaganda message" and focus specifically on a new constitutional set-up to satisfy aspirations of both blacks and whites.

He said the PFP campaign would focus on the "incompetent and wasteful way in which the Government has mismanaged the economic affairs of this country to the detriment of millions of ordinary South Africans".

"We will also highlight their abject failure to produce policies which can provide real peace and prosperity for the people of South Africa," he said.

Treurnicht names target

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, does not believe his party will win the election but predicts that with "hard work" it will be the official Opposition in the House of Assembly after this year's white general election.

He declined to be drawn on which seats his party could win.

But he predicted the CP would do well in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

The Conservative Party would fight the election on its policy of maintaining apartheid, he said.

"We will also criticise the National Party's reform suggestions; power-

According to Mr Eglin, this was an opportunity for the first time in 38 years of National Party rule for the electorate to take a first step in restructuring an alternative government — a government that would be efficient, care for the interests and well-being of ordinary South Africans and have a vision for the future based on a non-racial geographic federation.

The PFP hoped to return to Parliament with up to 40 MPs.

Even the Party's biggest critics say the PFP — which now has 27 seats — will get a total of somewhere in the upper 30s and remain the official Opposition.

PANDERING

On the other side of the scale, the emphasis on equality, parliamentary democracy and "pandering" to international opinion are some of the issues that will come under fire as the Herstigte Nasionale Party winds up its election campaign.

The leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais, who said he welcomed the news of an election, plans to show the white electorate the extent to which Government policies have caused white impoverishment.

The HNP's election drive will focus on foreign policy, economic policy, and race relations — areas in which it believes the Government has "completely failed".

A confident Mr Marais said this week an election pact with the Conservative Party could give right-wing forces up to 60 seats in parliament.

"If the HNP goes it alone, we should get between three and four seats," he said.

sharing, integration and the scrapping of laws from the Statute Books like the Mixed Marriages Act and hints of the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

"If the Nats intend to scare the voters with sanctions and turning the United States into an election issue to increase their internal support we will unmask that hypocrisy and bring the focus back to their internal policies.

"Bread and butter issues will also be an election issue; the cost of living, inflation, the explosion in prices and giving of land for places like Norweto."

2/1/87 Gus DAH

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NP will have the edge in 'blindfold' election

GOVERNMENT goes into the coming election with a comfortable two-thirds majority in the House of Assembly and the assurance that opposition parties will be unable to use many aspects of the country's political crisis as campaign material.

Of the 166 elected seats, the National Party holds 117, the Progressive Federal Party 26, the Conservative Party 17, the New Republic Party five, and the Herstigte Nasionale Party one.

Of the further 12 nominated MPs, 10 are NP members, while the PFP and the CP have one each.

The NRP and HNP have no nominated members, although the HNP is likely to join forces with the CP in an election pact.

Only three right-wing MPs were

Business Day Reporters

electd for their present parties. They are Andries Treurnicht (CP Waterberg), Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) and Louis Stofberg (HNP Sasolburg). The other 16 CP members, including Louis Theunissen (nominated) crossed from the NP.

That parties will be forced to campaign under the wide-ranging emergency regulations introduced only three weeks before President P W Botha's December 31 announcement of a general election, has been greeted with outrage.

Government confirmed that no exemptions from the regulations for campaigning politicians would be considered.

But at least 36 candidates — Cabinet Ministers and deputies empowered by the regulations to determine the extent and flow of information concerning unrest — will effectively be exempt from the restrictions.

Opposition politicians have declared their intention to ignore the regulations in campaign speeches, but the media remain restricted in reporting these speeches.

In terms of the curbs only Ministers, Deputy Ministers and nominated government officials may comment on issues concerning unrest or security, and MPs may not extend parliamentary privilege to public platforms.

The media may not utter or publish without official clearance anything deemed to be subversive.

The election date is to be announced at the opening of Parliament on January 30.

In his New Year speech, Botha said government's commitment to dialogue and to broadening democratic institutions in an "evolutionary manner" had meant it was time to consult the white electorate on a number of fundamental issues.

House of Assembly leader F W de Klerk said the National Party had pursued a new direction of change on coloured and black political participation, on the strength of the mandate it won in the 1981 election.

But this mandate had to be adapted with the support of the white electorate — which was why the NP had requested an election.

PFP, HNP

set for election

3047
We 1008
5/1/87

By KIN BENTLEY
THE Progressive Federal Party will definitely contest three constituencies in Port Elizabeth — Port Elizabeth Central, Walmer and Newton Park — in the forthcoming general election, its regional director, Mr Bobby Stevenson, said today.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party will contest all the seats in the Eastern Cape except those three — as it did in 1981 — the regional organiser of the right-wing party, Mr Attie Loock, said today.

Mr Stevenson said the party's candidates' committee would meet tonight to discuss possible candidates for the election. He added that the Cape leader of the party, Mr Roger Hulley, would be in PE on Wednesday to discuss the election with workers.

A final decision on what other seats in the region the PFP would fight would only be made after the election date was announced at the end of the month by the State President, Mr P W Botha, when he opens Parliament.

Mr Botha said in his New Year address that the election would be held in the first six months of this year.

In the last general election, the PFP also contested the Algoa seat.

Mr Frans Smit, an organiser for the National Party, which is expected to contest most, if not all of the seats in the region, said more details would be made available after the NP's PE office opens officially on January 14. He said a meeting would be held in Cape Town on January 12 to discuss the election.

A spokesman for the Conservative Party, Mr Christie van Heerden, said today the CP would only decide what seats to fight after the announce-

ment of the election date. The CP broke away from the NP after the last general election in 1981.

Mr Loock, when asked about a possible election pact with the CP, said the HNP leadership would meet on January 10 to discuss all matters relating to the election. He said the CP would meet for a similar purpose on January 24.

Should a pact take place with the CP, which is intent on a merger rather than co-operation with the HNP, the parties will have to agree on splitting the local seats between them.

CAH TRIB 5/1/87 (SOLD)

NP 'committed' to Group Areas

PRESIDENT P W Botha has told his cabinet colleague, Mr Allan Hendrickse, the leader of the Labour Party, to forget about scrapping the Group Areas Act.

Mr Botha emphasized that his government was committed to the concept of own residential areas and the identity of groups.

The Progressive Federal Party's Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, said last night Mr Botha's statement showed that "the so-called programme of reform that the government wishes to place before the electorate in the coming general election clearly amounts to a sophistication of apartheid, not an abolition of it".

Mr Van der Merwe said the statement also confirmed the government's swing to the right and demonstrated that it continued to put the interests of the National Party before the interests of South Africa.

President Botha's statement, given to the Sunday newspaper Rapport, is a clear indication that the government intends fighting the election later this year on the basis of traditional Nationalist policies.

He said the present constitutional system was built on group identity and any system that deviated from this was unacceptable.

His statement follows a strong attack on the Group Areas Act by Mr Hendrickse when he opened the LP congress in Port Elizabeth on Friday.

Mr Hendrickse said: "Let there

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

be no misunderstanding about this. It is now time for the Group Areas Act to be scrapped."

He also said the Labour Party would reconsider its participation in the tricameral Parliament if the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act were not abolished.

However, Mr Botha said the principle of "own" residential areas would not be destroyed. This was the policy of the government and he had repeated it at the federal congress of the National Party in Durban last year.

He also disputed Mr Hendrickse's statement that he had made the Group Areas Act a bone of contention in the cabinet.

While Mr Botha was strongly defending the principle of racially segregated residential areas, Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, issued a statement calling on white South Africans to apologize for "the insults showered on our non-white citizens, who constitute the majority of South Africans".

Dr Craven, who called for the abolition of all apartheid laws, cited the Group Areas Act as one of the laws which had insulted black people.

In his statement, Mr Van der Merwe said Mr Botha's statement "makes it clear that the continuing commitment to reform the Nationalist Party claims to have is completely meaningless."

"The process of reform that has

taken place so far has clearly come to an end.

"The Group Areas Act is, in my opinion, the very soul of apartheid."

"It states most eloquently the Nationalist Party's commitment to a racist policy and to their life's work of providing an intellectual and legal respectability to racial prejudice."

"The Group Areas Act was identified a number of years ago by surveys of the HSRC (Human Sciences Research Council) as the single most hated apartheid law."

"The Group Areas Act is discriminatory not only in its theory but even more so in its application."

All the best residential areas had been reserved for whites, more areas had been declared for whites than were needed, while in the case of other races the provisions had always been hopelessly inadequate and this had led to an acute shortage of residential land. "An infinitely greater number of coloureds, Indians and other races have been forcibly moved than is the case of whites," he said.

"It is a clear case of putting Nationalist Party interests before the interests of South Africa. Those Nationalists who know very well that we cannot face the future with apartheid measures, such as the Group Areas Act, should start making a move."

"They must surely know that they are wasting their time with Mr P W Botha," Mr Van der Merwe said.

Botha and Hendrickse collide

Car. Times 8/1/87 (30th)

Political Staff and Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Rev Allan Hendrickse are on a collision course over the emergency press restrictions, with the Labour Party leader stating bluntly yesterday that it was up to Mr Botha to initiate discussions on the issue.

The two leaders are also at loggerheads over the Group Areas Act.

The disagreement over press curbs stems from objections voiced by Mr Hendrickse when he opened the 21st annual congress of the Labour Party on Friday night.

This prompted speculation that the State President might eventually dismiss Mr Hendrickse from the cabinet unless they resolved the argument.

Reacting to a statement from Mr Botha in which he asked why Mr Hendrickse had not protested to the cabinet when he heard about the curbs, the Labour Party leader said it was "absolutely false" to say he had been at the cabinet meeting when the curbs

were approved.

When it was pointed out to Mr Hendrickse that the State President had not stated he was at the cabinet meeting, the Labour Party leader responded that he stood by what he had said.

And, he elaborated later, there had not been a cabinet meeting since the introduction of the latest regulations at which he might have raised the issue.

Yesterday, the Labour Party leader told a press conference that he was not planning to see the State President, adding "any meeting must take place at his initiative".

In terms of the constitution, the State President is bound to name one member of the Ministers' Council to the cabinet. This would allow him to sack Mr Hendrickse and appoint another member of the council.

In November, 1984 Mr Botha fired the Minister of the Budget in the House of Delegates for breaching cabinet confidentiality at a public meeting in Port Elizabeth.

There is also deadlock over the Group

Areas Act.

Mr Hendrickse threatened, during the weekend to review participation in the tri-cameral Parliament if the Group Areas Act was not repealed, with Mr Botha immediately replying that the principle of separate residential areas would not be surrendered.

Asked at yesterday's press briefing whether he saw this as the final word on the subject, Mr Hendrickse expressed the hope that the State President's statement had been made in the light of the coming election.

He said Mr Botha had at one time stated that coloured people would never sit in Parliament, but this had happened.

"I don't believe that 'never-nevers' mean never," he added.

Turning to his acknowledgment that the Labour Party had requested that group areas for coloured people be proclaimed "through force of circumstance and not of choice" because it was the only way to get more land, Mr Hendrickse denied this had

involved the removal of other people.

Asked about his Party's original decision at Eshowe to participate in the tri-cameral Parliament for a trial period of five years, the Labour Party leader said the party would withdraw unless there was an "indication" that apartheid was being scrapped.

And that, he spelled out, meant that the whole "process of reform" had to be finalized, including the repeal of the Population Registration Act, which would mean that all apartheid legislation would disappear.

Mr Hendrickse added, however, that he did not expect any real progress to be made during the first three months of this year.

● The controversial Transvaal leader of the Labour Party, Mr Jac Rabie, finally achieved election as a national office-bearer when he was elected national deputy-chairman, defeating Mr Abe Williams by a comfortable majority.

● See "NP 'committed' to Group Areas", page 7

Hendrickse threatened with election

GOVERNMENT has made a veiled threat to Labour Party (LP) leader and Cabinet Minister without portfolio Allan Hendrickse to stop embarrassing government or face a general election for the House of Representatives.

Hendrickse was not available for comment yesterday, but a senior LP MP told *Business Day* last night: "We got the message yesterday: stop criticising the Group Areas Act and other government

MAX DU PREEZ

actions, or President P W Botha will disband Parliament and all three houses will have to go to the polls. In fact, one senior Nat MP pleaded with us to stop rocking the boat until after the election."

According to NP sources, Botha was "furious" with Hendrickse after the swimming demonstration at Port Elizabeth's King's Beach in front of several in-

ternational TV cameras.

Associates of Hendrickse said there was "considerable pressure" on him to resign as Cabinet Minister.

□ Port Elizabeth police yesterday confirmed that they were investigating complaints lodged by the public.

This includes a complaint made yesterday morning by the regional organiser of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Attie Looek.

Parties in search for election candidates

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

Political parties in the Transvaal have begun canvassing for likely candidates for the white general election.

The major parties have not yet set deadlines for the nomination of candidates.

They will probably wait for the State President to announce the date of the election.

He is to do this at the opening of Parliament on January 30.

In the Transvaal, parties have already decided on candidates in the North Rand constituency where a by-election is pending.

Some candidates have been named in constituencies where sitting MPs have announced their impending retirement.

In the next few weeks the National Party will be holding annual "reorganisation" meetings in each constituency, where candidates will be nominated and eventually chosen.

A National Party worker said much groundwork had already been done. "After the State President makes an announcement, the names of all candidates should be with the provincial executive within 10 days," she said.

Progressive Federal Party workers have begun canvassing for possible candidates, said the chairman of the PFP's candidates' committee on the Witwatersrand, Mrs Irene Menell.

Candidates' committees, in consultation with constituencies, canvass and screen candidates.

Candidates' committees

If there is more than one nomination, an electoral college, made up of members of the constituency and the candidates' committee, makes the final choice.

Mrs Menell said the candidates' committees would call for nominations in the next few weeks.

The Conservative Party will hold a meeting on Friday to discuss election issues, said the chief secretary of the party, Mr F A H van Staden.

Divisional councils in each constituency are responsible for nominating candidates, who are then cleared by the provincial party councils, he said.

The party councils can also decide to contest other seats.

Nomination dates will probably be set for early in February, he added.

The general secretary of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr L F Stofberg, said a head committee meeting would be held on Saturday to discuss the election.

He said the HNP had not been over-hasty in nominating candidates because it was still optimistic an election pact could be worked out with the CP.

The procedure for nominations is that the divisional committee in each constituency meets to pick a candidate from a list of names.

Nominations are then screened by the head committee.



Dr Lesley Lunn feeds

Christma

Pretoria

Only two people died in terror attack with 12 in December 1985, according to Strategic Studies at the University.

Police said the ANC's expected been largely unsuccessful.

An institute spokesman said police said ANC insurgents between January 1 led to a steady reduction in the July.

The spokesman said five of those season were killed in the blast at Amanzimtoti on December 23. The December.

In all, he said, 53 people were injured in 1985. Last month was much lives — those of two policeman shot the Weipe area — and a small number.

Liver op girl still in intensive care unit

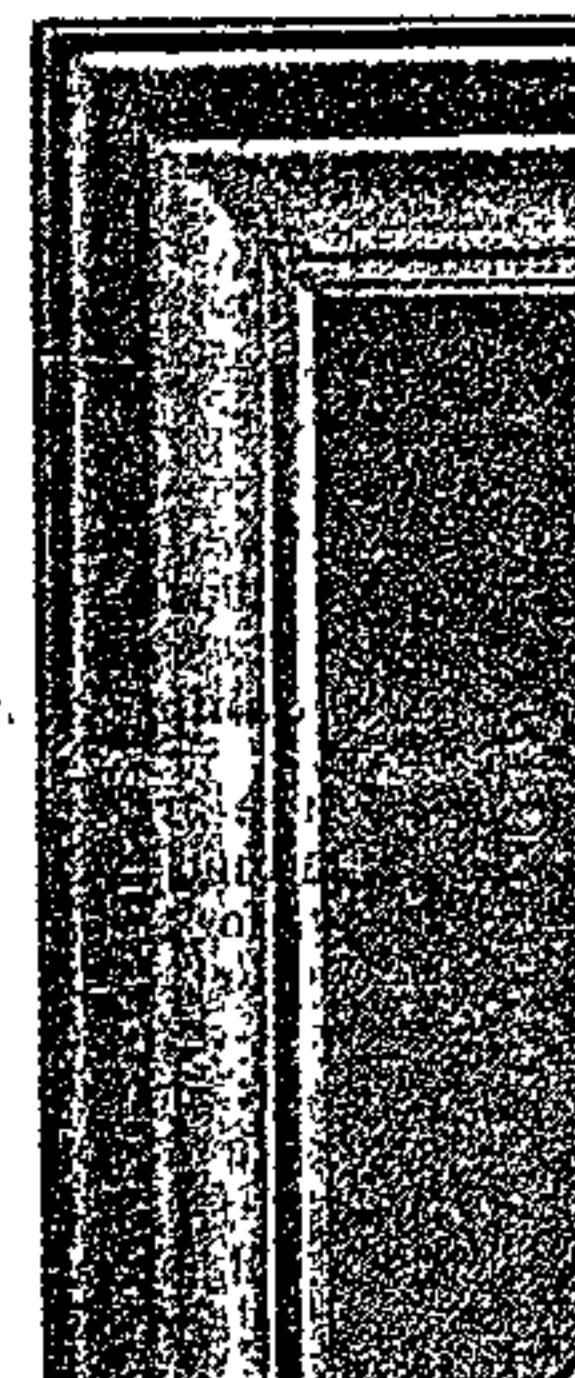
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Wendy Morris (3), the Cape Town girl recovering in a Pittsburgh hospital from a second liver transplant, remains in a "critical but stable" condition.

A Pittsburgh Children's Hospital spokeswoman said yesterday Wendy was still in the intensive care unit nine days after a second attempt at giving her a healthy liver.

The official said Wendy's condition meant she had not improved enough for transfer to a normal ward.

"Critical but stable" is a term used by officials at the hospital to describe the improvement in patients' health following liver transplants. All recipients are routinely described as "critical" after surgery.



Whites race to gear up for election

Sowetan 7/1/87 304A

WHITE political parties are gearing up for the general election and to line up candidates throughout the country.

The pace has been set by the National Party which is speeding up its nomination procedures in an attempt to choose candidates before President P W Botha announces the election date at the opening of Parliament on January 30.

Spokesmen for opposition parties have indicated that they are also pushing to get nominations into full swing and to line up candidates by early next month.

At the same time the parties are rapidly working out strategies for contesting target seats and for getting local party bodies into shape for tough election battles in key constituencies.

More

The Progressive Federal Party's national director, Mr Neil Ross, has left Cape Town on a tour of all the main centres in South Africa to look at the Official Opposition's organisation and to prepare for the election.

He said before his departure that candidates committees would meet within the next few days to start their procedures.

The PFP had its eyes on a number of target seats and expected to come out of the election with more seats in Parliament than it had at present, Mr Ross said.

The Conservative Party's national secretary, Dr Frans van Sta-

SOWETAN Correspondent

den, MP for Koedoespoort, said his party had already begun the process of choosing candidates. The CP expected to end its nominations within the next few weeks.

Dr van Staden said his party expected to have all its candidates in the field by early February.

At this stage the CP had at least 40 target seats in the Transvaal, about nine in the Free State, three in Natal and several in the Cape Province.

Contested

Many more seats might be contested by the party.

Mr Louis Stofberg, the Herstigte Nasionale Party MP for Sasolburg, said he would stand again as the HNP's candidate in that constituency.

The HNP was still awaiting a possible election agreement with the CP, but would soon get its nomination procedures going to choose candidates.

The party's head committee would meet on Saturday to discuss candidates and election plans.

Mr Stofberg said various political analysts had estimated that between 30 and 50 seats could be won by the rightwing parties, but an election agreement between them would be necessary to achieve this.



Mr P W BOTHA ... announcement.

Party expects to set its nomination procedures into motion by the end of next week. Negotia-

tions for an election agreement are expected to be held soon between the NRP and the PFP.

Matter of fact

THE picture we carried on Page 5 of yesterday's *Sowetan* was not of Mr Piet du Plessis, the Minister of Manpower. It was in fact Mr Sarel du Plessis, the Director-General of Commerce and Industries. The *Sowetan* apologises for any inconvenience that may have been caused by the error.

Postal votes will play vital role in election results

By KIN BENTLEY

THERE will definitely be no general registration of white voters before the forthcoming general election — and with rolls out by up to 40% in some constituencies, postal votes will again play a vital role in the outcome.

Voters rolls throughout the country are badly outdated, despite a concerted publicity drive asking people to register their changes of address.

However, Mr Ben Buys, Eastern Cape regional representative for the Department of Home Affairs, said today a general registration was a mammoth task, for which there would not be time before the election.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, will announce the date of the election when he opens Parliament at the end of the month.

It is expected to take place in the first six months of this year.

Mr Buys said the outcome of last year's registration drive was "rather

disappointing". He would release details later.

● Postal votes and political groundwork will again play a key role in the election battle, the regional director for the PFP, Mr Bobby Stevenson, said today.

The ability of political parties to trace supporters who have moved out of the constituency in which they are registered and get them to sign postal votes could well be the deciding factor in many marginal seats.

He said due to ongoing electoral work between elections, the PFP's records were more up date than the rolls.

● The voters' roll is compiled from the Population Register, so whatever address is reflected on your Book of Life will be your registered address on the roll.

In order to change this address and thus register at your present address, a special reply paid form is available from the department, political parties, municipal offices and police stations.

Pending general election puts SA Budget on ice

THE pending general election has ruled out the possibility of a formal Budget being presented to Parliament before the second half of 1987.

It has also put paid to any likely major fiscal and monetary reforms flowing from the Margo Commission being introduced into legislation before 1988.

The election has also put on ice several crucial constitutional issues introduced during the last session which now urgent-

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

ly need to be dealt with.

These factors have angered right- and left- wing opposition political parties who stress that these are all issues which should be part of any election.

In announcing the election, President Botha indicated that the main Budget would not be presented during the short session starting in February.

This means that only a Part Appropriation Bill (mini-Budget) will be tabled in order to prop up the immediate fiscal needs of the Treasury and other State departments.

The main Budget will, therefore, only be tabled in Parliament around August.

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on finance Harry Schwarz described the decision as "straight political opportunism and a pure election ploy".

He said there was more than sufficient time to present the main Budget before an election was held at the end of April.

Schwarz called for the full Budget to be tabled in Parliament in the first session so that government's management of the economy could be fully discussed during the election campaign.

It was a purely political game to "hand out the sweets first" before an election, he said.

Record second-half for CSO

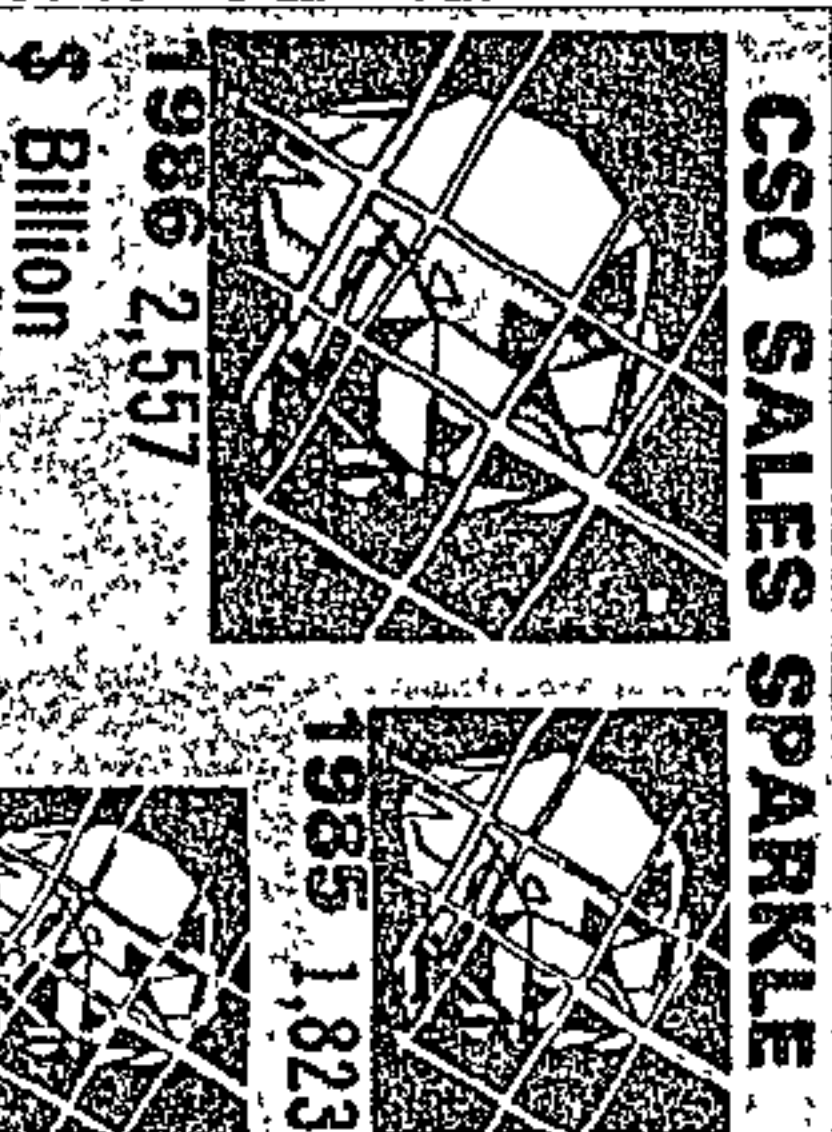
World sales of diamonds are sparkling

BRIAN ZLOTNICK
Investment Editor

THE recovery in worldwide sales of rough diamonds accelerated last year with Central Selling Organisation (CSO) sales jumping 36.2% to a record second-half of \$1,343bn in 1986.

Total CSO sales in 1986 hit \$2,557bn, 40% up on the previous year's \$1,823bn, but are still short of the 1980 peak of \$2,723bn.

In rand terms the sales are at a peak of R5.9bn, up 47% on 1985, and this largely reflects the progressive weakening of the rand in recent years against the dollar. The average rand/dollar exchange



NBS joins rates fight

HAROLD FRIDJON

THE mortgage rate war has flared up again after the holiday lull with the NBS reducing its home loan rate from 15% to 13.5%, with immediate effect for new borrowers. Existing borrowers will enjoy the cut from April 1.

This makes the NBS new rate, together with that offered by Trustbou, the lowest among the building societies, although one percentage point higher than the home loan rates offered by Barclays and Standard banks.

The UBS, too has cut its rate, from 15% to 14% for new borrowers but effectively from April 1 on existing bonds. UBS had lagged behind in the rate-cutting war which flared up in December when Standard Bank entered the homeloan market with a 12.5% mortgage rate.

The Standard initiative was followed by Barclays meeting the competition and with most societies coming down to the present 14% on new bonds — the reduction applying to existing bond holders from the beginning of April.

The small EF Building Society and Trustbou, essentially a bank-controlled institution, cheekily cocked a snook at

the reduction in the bond rate would lead to further cuts in deposit rates, Bennett thought not — at least not in the foreseeable future because of the fierce competition in the market place for deposits and savings.

Asked whether the reduction in the bond rate would lead to further cuts in deposit rates, Bennett thought not — at least not in the foreseeable future because of the fierce competition in the market place for deposits and savings.

Gold shares continue to

GOLD SHARES continued to race ahead on Diagonal Street yesterday to bring the JSE gold index within 10% of its

MERVYN HARRIS
and LIZ ROUSE

PFP confident of taking Ron Miller's seat

Political Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party is confident of winning the Durban North seat in the forthcoming House of Assembly elections if the National Party fields the incumbent MP and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller.

This would be the second-biggest victory for the PFP over the NP since Mr Ken Andrew unseated the Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism, Dr Dawie de Villiers, in Gardens in the 1981 general elections.

In 1981 the PFP's Mr Rupert Lorimer polled 4 733 votes to 5 520 for Mr Miller (then New Republic Party).

The NP might field someone else in Durban North to avoid the embarrassment of having a deputy minister lose his seat.

Nominated MP Renier Schoeman has resigned as NP Natal secretary and is believed to be a likely candidate in the elections, possibly in Umbilo, where the current MP is the NRP's Mr Derrick Watterson.

Discussions

It is believed the NP is considering fighting all Natal seats to put pressure on important PFP constituencies such as Durban Central and Berea and will try to win back Pietermaritzburg North and Pinetown, which it lost to the PFP in 1981.

The NRP's role in the elections will depend on the outcome of discussions between the party leader, Mr Bill Sutton, and the PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, in Cape Town today about a possible pact between the two parties.

Although there has been much Press speculation about the pact, sources in both parties have indicated that an agreement is not certain.

It seems that several NRP Right-wingers, mostly local organisers and workers,

would rather withdraw from active politics than enter into a pact with the PFP.

Several PFP members, on the other hand, are believed to be less than enthusiastic about working with NRP MPs such as Mr Vause Raw and Mr Watterson.

Indaba

Some PFP members also believe that a pact is not necessary for them to make gains on the NP.

A major attraction for the PFP in a pact is the prospect of having the support of the NRP's respected former senior Natal MEC, Mr Frank Martin.

Mr Martin, who co-convened the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, said yesterday that he would support any candidate, including those from the PFP, who supported the Indaba's proposals for a single legislature for the region.

He said that, if asked, he would consider being a candidate, but was 'not desperately keen' on standing for Parliament.

Mr Martin said there were only two types of candidates — those in favour of and those against the Indaba's proposals.

He said he had to believe the Government when it said it had not yet considered the proposals but his 'real quarrel' was with NP Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, who has rejected the proposals.

8/1/87 BUS DAY

Moves likely to avoid vote splitting

304A

Speculation on NRP, PFP pact is dampened

SPECULATION about a pact between the NRP and the PFP in the House of Assembly elections was dampened yesterday by NRP leader Bill Sutton, but he said it was possible the parties would agree not to fight each other in specific seats.

Sutton said he would meet PFP leader Colin Eglin later this week to discuss avoiding splitting the vote to the left of government and thereby giving seats to the NP.

In the 1981 general election, the combined PFP/NRP vote was higher

Own Correspondent

than that for the winning NP candidate in three seats and fairly close to the NP's vote in another three.

Sutton said it was too early to talk of a merger or pact between the NRP and PFP.

He said: "With the postponing of the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act, government has shown its reform is a long-term thing, and the more seats it loses and gets kicked in the pants, the better for everybody."

Asked whether there might be an agreement on seats where there would be a straight NRP/PFP fight, Sutton said he did not want to prejudge his talks with Eglin.

Eglin was not available for comment yesterday.

In East London yesterday, PFP Cape leader Roger Hulley held "exploratory talks" with the NRP's Cape leader, Pat Rogers.

Hulley refused to elaborate on the subject of the talks but they were believed to be mainly about possible co-operation between the two parties in Cape seats formerly held by the UP in its heyday.

Boshoff set to rally the right

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

AFRIKANER Volkswag (AV) leader Carel Boshoff said yesterday he would make every attempt to unite Afrikaners in right-wing political parties before the coming elections.

He denied reports, however, suggesting he would mediate between the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP).

"The AV has, since it was established, tried to unite Afrikaners in all fields. Now, with the coming elections, the political field surely is a matter of urgency for us," Boshoff said.

Meanwhile, in a move which signifies a continuing rift between the HNP and CP, the HNP announced its intention of appointing election candidates in several constituencies.

It is thought the CP has already done so.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht declined to comment on this or on the possibility of a merger with the HNP for the elections.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said of the AV leader's initiative: "I don't know what useful role Dr Boshoff thinks he can play."

Poll will be costly

GERALD REILLY

POLITICAL parties are facing SA's costliest election campaign ever.

PFP Home Affairs spokesman Reuben Sive estimates that trying to find the 500 000 voters likely to be "missing" on election day will cost between R10m and R12m.

Much will be squandered on a frantic hunt for voters who could have changed their addresses six or seven times since their names first appeared on the population register.

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans agreed the election would be costly. He forecast too the percentage poll would be the lowest since 1910, because of the unprecedented number of "missing" voters.

204A

PFP-NRP alliance: Cape leaders agree

EAST LONDON — The Cape leaders of the Progressive Federal Party and New Republic Party reached agreement yesterday to form an alliance.

After nearly three hours of talks, Cape PFP leader Mr Roger Hulley and Cape NRP leader Mr Pat Rogers shook hands on an alliance that could ensure the survival of the PFP as the official Opposition.

The two leaders agreed that

there had been "constructive straight talking" on both sides.

Mr Hulley said the agreement should not be seen as a temporary arrangement or pact, but something "far more profound" based on the fact that, as co-signatories to the Natal-kwaZulu Indaba, the two parties now shared the same principles.

Mr Hulley said there had also been talks on division of seats, but details could not be dis-

closed until the end of January when the agreement would be ratified at federal level.

Mr Rogers said the Natal-kwaZulu Indaba had been the beginning of the movement towards an alliance with the PFP.

"We believe this alliance can offer this country a clear, non-racial democratic choice rather than the race-based politics of the National Party, the CP or the HNP."

Mr Hulley said the alliance would be marketed under a banner to be decided on. Neither party would lose its identity.

Mr Rogers said the object would be to build a party of essentially stable and moderate people to get the country out of its self-made problems, and the economic disaster under the National Party Government.

But in Durban last night, NRP national leader Mr Bill Sutton dampened speculation about a pact. He was reported as saying it was too early to talk of a merger — and he did not want to prejudice his talks with the PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin.

Officials testify in sub plans probe

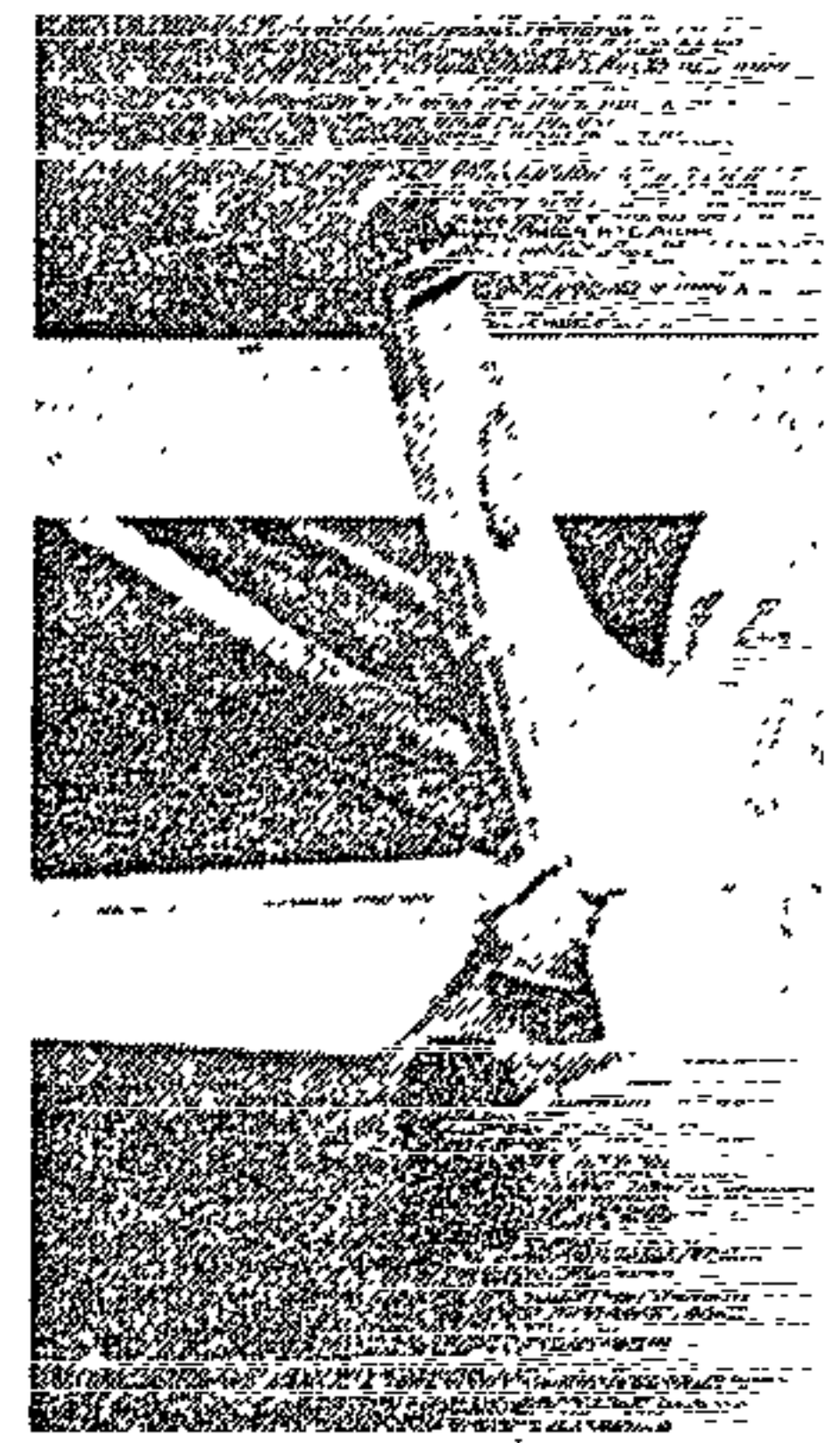
The Star's Foreign News Service

MUNICH — The West German parliamentary committee of inquiry into the alleged delivery of submarine blueprints to South Africa has opened its hearing here by taking testimony from legal officials on the state of their own investigation of the matter.

A representative of the State Prosecutor's office in Kiel reported yesterday on progress in investigating charges that the port city's Howaldtswerke shipyard sold South Africa construction plans for its most advanced attack submarine.

Representatives of the Federal Prosecutor's office and the Kiel Finance Department also gave evidence at the closed-door hearing.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Defence Minister Manfred Woerner are to be summoned to testify, but government members of the committee want the two to appear after the January 25 general election. Demands by opposition members for early appearances by Mr Kohl and Mr Woerner were dismissed as "electioneering".



A TONE

38 foreign

HARARE — At least 38 people were released from detention despite the release just before Christmas of the rebel MNR, the head of the International Committee of the Red Cross, said in Harare yesterday.

"We will try our best to ensure that, for humanitarian reasons, to all the whereabouts of the Ziana news agency."

He said of the 65 released to South Africa and the remainder either on Christmas Day or earlier.

They were released in two groups, five Pakistanis and

MASSIVE LINEN DISCOUNTS!!

come

ALBERTON

Corner De Mous and South Rd, Alberton City, Alberton

BRUMA

36 Maroon Rd, Bruma (Entrance is opposite us)

RANDBURG

Corner Hendrik Verwoerd Drive and George St, Randburg

ROODEPOORT

Next to Roodepoort Plaza Roodepoort



Spectrum

"A decision by Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC could shatter the organisation", says a US - intelligence report. ALAN DUNN of the Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington

'SACP served by Govt attitude to talks with ANC'

SOUTH African Communist Party interests are served by the Government's inflexible attitude on talks with the outlawed, African National Congress, a new United States intelligence report charges.

A decision by Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC could shatter the organisation, it says, where "serious policy differences could surface within the ANC."

The report, a pool of information from all America's intelligence agencies, found that about half of the ANC's executive were known or suspected communists.

The 11-page study was sent in two versions, classified and declassified, to the US Con-

gress yesterday after lawmakers ordered it in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, the legislation containing tough economic sanctions against South Africa.

It is likely to have far-reaching effects, serving as a guideline on US policy towards black movements in Southern Africa fighting apartheid. It may also partly explain why the Reagan Administration has in recent months decided to start recognising the ANC through high-level meetings with its officials.

Probing communist infiltration in black anti-apartheid groups, the report said the SACP lacked a mass following but had exercised "con-

siderable influence" through its alliance with the ANC.

"The SACP continues to view its historical alliance with the ANC as its main hope for winning power in South Africa," it added.

Sketching the historical ties between the SACP and ANC, the report noted strong communist influence in the ANC. It estimated that roughly 15 of the 30-man ANC executive were communist.

Known or suspected communists dominated the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). But SACP membership was not conclusive in several cases.

"SACP interests are served

by an inflexible South African attitude toward negotiations with the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments and by the ANC's focus on increasing military pressure on South Africa."

The report said the ANC was "deeply beholden" to the SACP and the Soviet Union as well as the Soviet-backed MPLA regime in Angola for its arms and military training. This had made possible an upsurge in guerrilla activity in recent years, boosting the ANC's prestige in South Africa.

Dependence on Moscow for military aid would continue to entrench SACP influence in the ANC. Serious policy differ-

ences could emerge in the ANC if Pretoria reconsidered its stand on negotiations with it or if ANC relations with Western countries continued to improve.

"The internal stability of the ANC and its main political tendency will be shaped by the extent to which Pretoria tests — or fails to test — its shaky cohesion. If the South African Government pursues a purely repressive policy, the ANC will be able to enjoy the luxury of postponing or avoiding the real issues in its own ranks," the report said.

The SACP had been alarmed in 1984/5 at rumours of the South African Government putting out feelers to elements of the ANC. The com-

munist had been genuinely concerned that a more flexible Pretoria approach could find a favourable reception in certain parts of the ANC.

The SACP appeared to have little or no influence on political and labour groups inside South Africa. This lack of support gave non-communist ANC leaders considerable counter-leverage against SACP efforts to dominate the group.

On the United Democratic Front, held by the South African Government to be a front for the ANC, the report found there was "little reliable evidence on the extent of SACP influence within the UDF."

A number of UDF officials

had long-standing ANC affiliations. But the UDF contained an even wider range of views than the ANC, which was a foil to SACP ambitions.

"To the extent that a generalisation can be made, the influence of the UDF in the ANC tends to weaken SACP influence," it said.

The ANC and SACP were also "far" from being in a position to control the growing political and trade union activity in South Africa.

The report dismissed accusations that the SACP had a "hidden agenda" behind its opportunistic alliance with the ANC. "The SACP has made the effort to hide the fact that its ultimate goal is a Marxist-Leninist state."

A PFP prognosis of a cloudier future

MORE repression. More destabilisation. More oppression. They're all possible — and all highly likely in the next few months.

In a chilling forecast of the year ahead, Rory Riordan, director of the Progressive Federal Party's Operation Outreach in the Eastern Cape, predicts:

- The banning of "the popular political structure" such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and affiliates like the PE Black Civic Organisation.
 - The outlawing of all boycotts — described by Riordan as "the peaceful techniques of these political bodies".
 - The banning of popular leaders such as the Eastern Cape's Edgar Ngoyi and Mkhutsele Jack.
 - The introduction of less-trained, less-disciplined law enforcement troops in the townships, with a more arbitrary and vigorous approach.
 - If 1986 seemed heavy in repression, 1987 is set to be devastating," says Riordan. "And it will fall essentially in the black community."
- One of the main reasons for this is the government's desire to make its regional service councils work — in

A PFP-run 'think-tank' predicts the banning of the UDF, yet more Crossroads scenarios, and more disinformation

particular, the black town councils.

"And here is the seed of the political disaster that 1987 looks like becoming," says Riordan.

He forecasts a major increase in what he calls the "Crossroads option" — the destabilisation of black communities opposing apartheid structures.

These communities are likely to be uprooted *en masse* and "dropped down again somewhere else".

"This is devastating to the economy of the people moved, to their morale and to their popular political organisations," Riordan says. "Many years will pass before such a community again becomes a threat to imposed political structures."

He also forecasts the creation and manipulation of factions in the townships, saying: "Organisations willing to oppose the UDF popular movements will become mysteriously wealthy. They will obtain arms that will make their small numbers comparatively potent, and they and

their possessions will be well protected."

Other individuals and organisations helping to prop up apartheid will also benefit materially, according to Riordan. Townships accepting apartheid structures will be blessed with new roads, schools and taps, and those opposing will not.

Town councils are expected to receive healthy injections of capital, as will the people who work for them. The quid pro quo for holding such a job, says Riordan, is "the internalisation and regurgitation of the Department of Information line — and this line only".

This line will also be the one fed to this country's inhabitants, he predicts, making 1987 The Year of Disinformation — particularly for white South Africans.

The white election later this year will only add to that, featuring "careful state manipulation of non-events into big voter war cries".

The SABC's "grovelling to the government" combined with increasingly severe press curbs will even further restrict the information available to voters, says Riordan.

"Military zones will spread and the

difficulty of access to monitors from the press, liberal organisations and the outside world will increase," he says.

"Thus, whole areas can become dark to the world, and repression and destabilisation can take place unnoticed."

The good news? There's very little, according to Riordan.

President PW Botha seems sure to quit, he says, but there's always the possibility that he will be replaced by his "enormously ambitious lieutenant", Chris Heunis.

The one glimmer of brightness, he says, lies in the hope that "those educated South Africans who are not going to emigrate may well get sick of a government whose press curbs shocked the HNP, and whose idea of a solution for South Africa is a longer-barrelled field gun".

Riordan, who delivered his prognosis at a closed seminar last month, has spent the last few years monitoring political developments in the Eastern Cape.

He has worked closely with communities opposing forced removal, such as New Brighton and Langa.

Reform: how meaningful?

An article, *Change: the moderate academic view*, in the Daily Dispatch of November 13 by Steven Hosking contains factual inaccuracies, misapprehensions and logical inconsistencies.

It is interesting to note that Mr Hosking refers to Mr Harry Oppenheimer and Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi as moderates whose views on sanctions, disinvestment and boycotts he wholeheartedly shares. He fails, however, to point out that these "moderate" men are on record for supporting contact with the ANC, the release of Nelson Mandela, the introduction of universal franchise in South Africa and have been harshly critical of the government's reform programme which he so enthusiastically embraces.

However, it is heartening to see that he accepts that blacks are integral members of a common South African society rather than citizens of some Nationalist-inspired, ethnic homeland or city-state. How sad that it has taken the sanctions issue to bring him to this realisation.

We proceed to deal with the examples of "reform" cited by Mr Hosking:

- "Agreeing in principle to abolish apartheid." — The government has promised many things, including the abolition of apartheid. After the State President said that apartheid was outmoded, the plans for the "independence" of a number of squatter camps collectively called KwaNdebele continue despite popular resistance. The statements of principle must surely be discarded in the light of realities pointing in the opposite direction.

- "It has extended freehold rights to own land to all races." — The

extension of freehold rights in so-called white South Africa is dependent on South African citizenship and applies only, in the case of Africans, in proclaimed townships.

Such rights are worthless unless Africans are guaranteed that they will not be moved: an obvious example of the precarious nature of such a right is the recent deproclamation of Oukasie.

Freehold rights are, furthermore, subject to the Group Areas Act: even Chief Buthelezi is not able to purchase property in Pinetown despite having been awarded the "freedom" of that city.

- "Permitted the opening of CBD's to trading by all races on an equal basis." — In the first place, not all CBD's are open, secondly, a black person who owns a business in what was formerly a "whites only" area will find that he or she will be required to return to the ghetto at closing time.

- "Repealed influx control legislation." — The repeal of certain influx control legislation must be viewed in terms of its rationale as well as both remaining and hidden influx control measures. The report of the President's Council on influx control recommended its abolition in its present form because it was not working and was expensive both financially and in terms of the government's political image.

The Abolition of Influx Control Act must be analysed in terms of what it has left behind:

In the first place the most potent hidden influx control measure is housing. The provision of housing in urban areas has been badly and deliberately neglected. It has been esti-

Three Rhodes University academics have taken issue with the views expressed by Mr Stephen Hosking, an economics lecturer at Rhodes University in East London, in an article published in the Daily Dispatch of November 13 under the headline, *Change: the moderate academic view*. This article has been written by Mr Clive Plasket, of the Faculty of Law at Rhodes University East London, Mr David Gilmour of the Faculty of Education in Grahamstown and Mr Patrick McCartan of the Department of Economics in Grahamstown.

imated that in the Cape Town area an additional 65 200 units are needed. The provision of housing for Africans remains subject to vast discretionary powers and will now fall under black local authorities which suffer from an acute lack of legitimacy.

The deproclamation of Oukasie and the forced removal of Langa residents show that influx control is not dead. It should be added that the Aliens Act will probably also be used extensively to control "aliens" from TBVC homelands.

- "Abandoned job reservation." — This is one reform that certainly has been effected.

- "Instituted uniform citizenship for all." — The process of reversing denationalisation is, of course, to be welcomed. Mr Hosking, however, misrepresents the provisions of the South African Citizenship Act. It does not institute uniform citizenship for all but provides machinery for some TBVC citizens to acquire or re-acquire South African citizenship.

According to a cabinet minister, only 1 750 000 people will be eligible for South African citizenship, while the total number of South Africans who lost their citizenship on one or other homeland achiev-

ing "independence" is nine million. For the people of Mdantsane the act is an irrelevancy: they remain aliens in East London.

- "Attended to various aspects of the petty apartheid laws relating to matters such as mixed marriages and separate facilities for different races." — It is accepted that such changes have been made but they are, by definition, petty reforms, leaving untouched the foundation stones of the system. It must also be pointed out that the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act is a notional reform only while the Group Areas Act remains on the statute book.

- "Amended legislation prohibiting the formation of black trade unions." — Black workers were never prohibited from forming trade unions. They were prohibited from registering those unions and thereby making use of the dispute resolution machinery of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

It is clear from the Wiehahn Commission report, which recommended that the racial exclusion be abolished, that the reasoning was not philanthropic, it was a response to the fact that black unions could not be wished away or broken by state harassment.

- "Coloureds and Indians are now participants in the parliamentary system." — A great deal of time could be spent on this issue. We confine ourselves to three points:

First, the tricameral system must be seen in the light of the government's refusal to hold a referendum, except for the "white" population.

Second, the persons elected to the Houses of Representatives and Delegates were elected on pitifully low polls. This reflected an overwhelming rejection of the system.

Thirdly, the constitution is designed to ensure that real power remains in white hands and that, when necessary, the Houses of Delegates and Representatives can be "bulldozed" by the House of Assembly. The recent debacle about the Internal Security Amendment Act and the Public Safety Amendment Act illustrates this point.

- "The government has committed itself in principle to black participation in parliament." — It has done no such thing. It has never even gone as far as mooted a fourth chamber. The President has spoken of a National Statutory Council which will have no powers but will simply be an advisory body. The response of black leaders, including Chief Buthelezi, has been overwhelmingly negative.

- "A review of the Group Areas Act." — It is true that the President's Council is enquiring into the matter, but it only has powers to make recommendations.

The State President has made it clear that such recommendations will be meaningless because he will ignore them if they suggest the repeal of the act. He said

that he would have to be "got rid of" before the act was repealed.

Mr Hosking will notice that we have not sought to justify our submissions by reference to "internationally recognised human rights." Of course much South African statute law does not measure up to these standards as a perusal of, for example, the Universal Declaration on Human rights will show.

His reference to the State of Emergency, however, calls for comment. He should realise that there is a relationship between the laws of apartheid and the security laws (of which the state of emergency regulations are the most extreme form).

In order to administer unjust and repressive laws, the state has implemented a web of "drastic process" provisions, mostly in the Internal Security Act 74 of 1982 and the Public Safety Act 3 of 1953, aimed at silencing critics and curtailing dissent.

The issue of the "real" representatives of South Africa's blacks is one that has apparently vexed Mr Hosking and his political mentors for some time. Unlike the Nationalist Government, however, we see no merit in prescribing for blacks who their leaders are.

It is, however, worth noting the results of a nation-wide survey of urban black South Africans conducted in 1985 which shows that 61 per cent of the sample support the political tendencies of individuals such as Bishop Tutu and Nelson Mandela and organisations such as the ANC and UDF, which squares well with other similar studies, such as those conducted by Professor L. Schlemmer and others.

PFP, NRP to form alliance

AGREEMENT to form an alliance was reached between the Cape leaders of the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party in East London on Wednesday.

After almost three hours of talks, the Cape leader of the PFP, Mr Roger Hulley, and the Cape leader of the NRP, Mr Pat Rogers, shook hands on an alliance that could ensure the survival of the PFP as the Official Opposition after the forthcoming elections.

Directly after the talks the two Cape leaders agreed that there had been "constructive straight-talking" on both sides, but said the result was "most successful".

Mr Hulley said the agreement should not be seen as a temporary ar-

rangement or "pact" but something "far more profound" based on the fact that, as co-signatories to the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba, the two parties now shared the same principles.

Mr Hulley said detailed discussions on the division of seats and nominations had also taken place but no details could be disclosed until the end of January, when the agreement would be ratified at federal executive level.

Indaba

Mr Rogers said the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba had been the beginning of the movement towards an alliance with the PFP.

"I see this alliance as the beginning of a process that will lead to a new government in the future.

"We believe this alliance can offer this country a clear, non-racial democratic choice rather than the race-based politics of the National Party, the Conservative Party or the Herstigte Nasionale Party."

According to Mr Hulley, the alliance would be marketed under a banner still to be decided on without either party losing its identity.

"The parties will still be separate legal entities," he said.

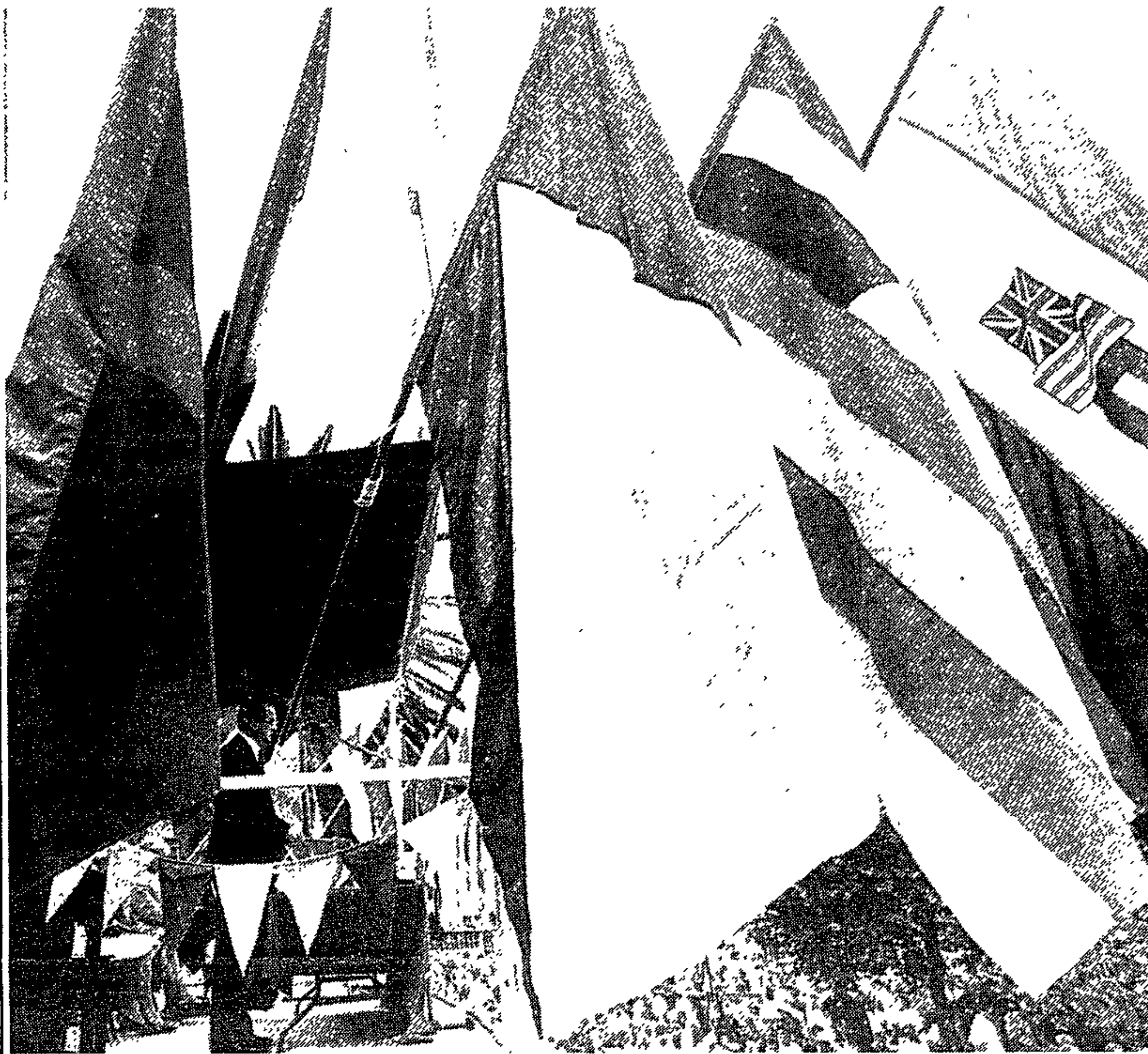
Mr Rogers said the object would be to build a party of essentially stable and moderate people to get the country out of its self-made problems and the economic disaster resulting from National Party government.

TONG YONG

THE SOBERING TALE OF ELECTION STATISTICS ...

No ruling party has yet lost to a rival on its left

PATRICK LAURENCE on the build-up to the 'broedertwis' election where what matters will be not who wins but who comes in second



The man to watch: PW's colleague-turned-foe Andries Treurnicht

Picture: GIDEON MENDEL

BROEDERTWIS may well be the hallmark of South Africa's pending general election for whites, as Afrikaner clashes with Afrikaner in the clash between National Party loyalists and ultra-rightists.

The breakup by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging zealots of an NP meeting in Pietersburg last May, and the spectacle of President PW Botha addressing the party faithful behind coils of razor wire and phalanxes of armed policemen in Potgietersrus, may have been portends of the fight to come.

But, however rough, the course of that fight may be determined in large measure even before Botha formally sets the date for the election when he opens Parliament on January 30.

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The scheduled general election, almost certain to be held in April or May, will be the first since dissident MPs broke away from the NP in February 1982 in protest against Botha's reformist policies to form the CP under Andries Treurnicht.

In the last general election in April 1981, ultra-rightist forces, spearheaded by the HNP, captured one-third of the votes of the politically dominant Afrikaners. Reinforced by the CP, the ultra-right is now poised to improve on the 1981 performance and wrest seats from the NP — provided it can forge an effective alliance.

January 24 will be an important date for the ultra-right forces seeking to impose the pristine apartheid of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

The CP has called on all "true conservatives" to attend a unity conference in Pretoria on that date to discuss fusion of the two parties. But veteran HNP leader Jaap Marais has objected strenuously, accusing the CP of trying to hijack its members and urging HNP loyalists to shun the unity

conference.

Marais himself, however, is keen on an electoral alliance — mainly because his minuscule HNP, with only one MP and a bare 3 percent poll rating, will be the chief beneficiary.

That, plus the CP's own need to avoid a feud within the ultra-right, may result in an 11th hour pact, particularly as Carel Boshoff, chairman of the Afrikaner Volkswag, is trying to end the squabble between the CP and the HNP.

A divided ultra-right will clearly enhance the NP's chances of reducing

its losses to a bare minimum. But, more important, it will boost the impetus of further government reform after polling day.

Although opinion polls give the NP nearly 50 percent of the white vote — against less than 20 percent for the combined ultra-rightist parties — the NP is clearly very nervous of its far-right foes.

As it knows only too well, no ruling party has been defeated by a party to its left in South African election history.

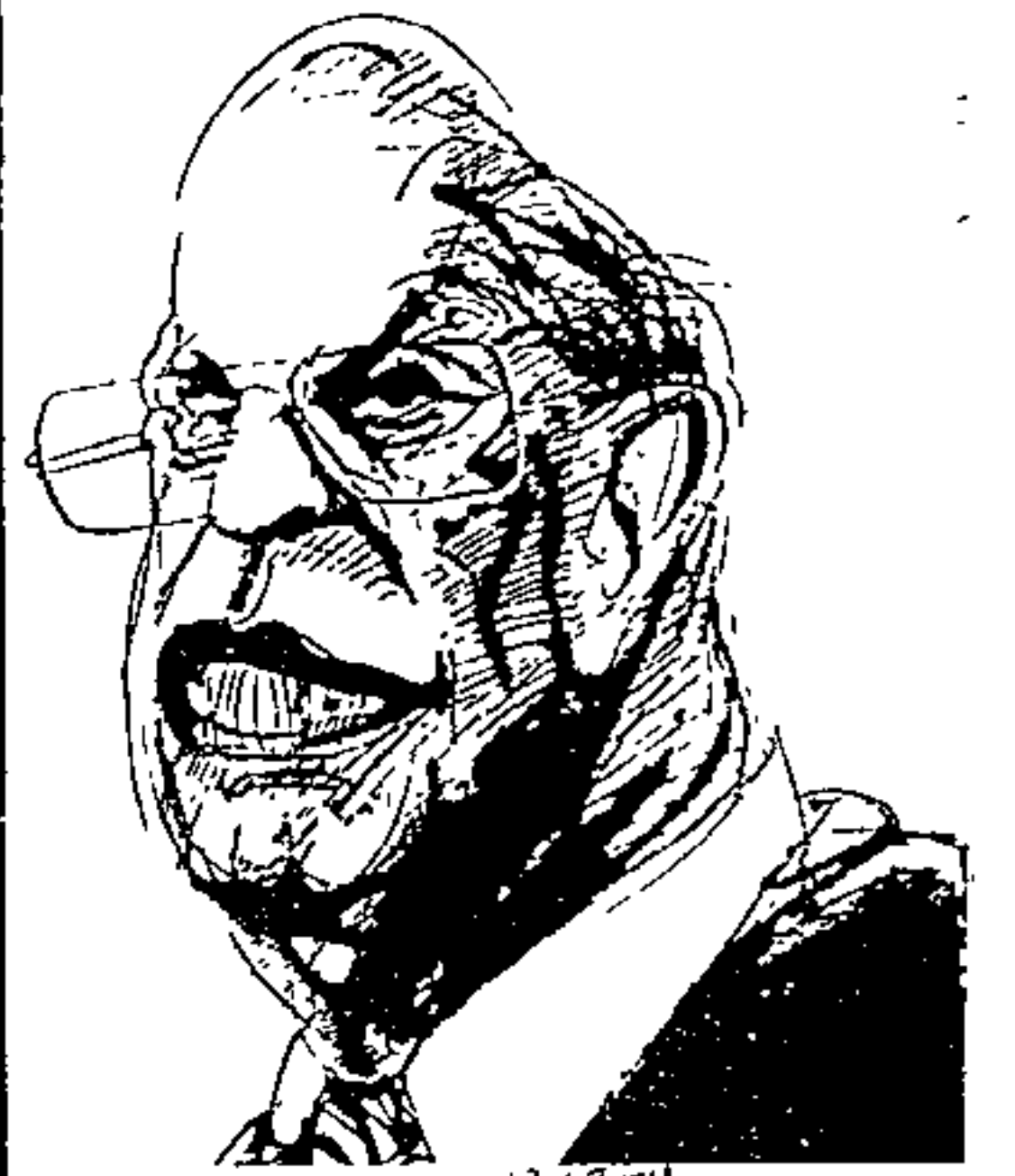
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On the cards are repeal of the Separate Amenities Act and relaxation of the Group Areas Act.

The Separate Amenities Act provides for racially separate — and unequal — public amenities, including beaches, swimming pools and cinemas.

One of the pillars of apartheid, the Group Areas Act makes residential segregation compulsory. It could be relaxed — as the shelved President's



Council report is understood to have recommended — by allowing local white authorities to decide whether to open residential areas to all races instead of decreeing from above that they should be reserved for whites.

Just as important is the fact that a favourable NP showing against the ultra-right will facilitate concrete moves to provide the black majority with a share in central government.

Surveys show that the white electorate favours the controlled removal of racial barriers, partly because there have already been *de facto* breaches.

Research by Rand Afrikaans University shows — to cite one example — that roughly 9 000 coloureds, 6 500 Indians and 4 500 Africans are living in Johannesburg's supposedly white flatland suburbs of Hillbrow, Berca and Joubert Park.

But the NP is too fearful of the ultra-right to openly campaign for elimination of these manifestly porous racial barriers.

Botha's recent re-affirmation of the concept of racially segregated residential areas is typical of that caution. So, too, was his judicious silence when confronted with the challenge last weekend from Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, who defiantly walked onto a beach reserved for whites and swam in "God's sea".

According to veteran opposition MP Helen Suzman, Botha has already publicly committed himself to abolition of the Separate Amenities Act. But with the election pending, there is no way he is going to publicly reaffirm his policy statement.

The NP's election strategy has been to adopt a tough rightist position itself, pushing reform onto the backburner as it tries to counter ultra-rightist charges that its soul has been corrupted by effete liberalism and that it is in the process of betraying one white interest after another.

The NP is seeking to imitate former Prime Minister BJ Vorster, who notched up a landslide victory in the 1977 general election by rallying fearful whites against foreign interference.

Botha set the tone for the present election when he described American policy toward South Africa as "revolting and sanctimonious".

Foreign Minister Pik Botha followed suit when he justified raids by security forces into neighbouring Swaziland to abduct alleged African National Congress agents — adding that the same action would have been taken against the purported agents if they operated from London instead of Mbabane.

It remains to be seen whether the NP will be able to stampede English-speaking voters into the laager with its emotional calls to whites to stand together against — in PW Botha's words — "the spirit of revolution and violence fanned from outside".

But the rival largely English-speaking parties, the Progressive Federal Party and the tiny New Republic Party, seem to be moving towards an electoral alliance. This will reduce the chances of the NP significantly increasing its present share of roughly a third of the "English" vote.

And that, in turn, makes the battle for the Afrikaner vote even more critical.

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MORE repression. More destabilisation. More oppression. They're all possible — and all highly likely in the next few months.

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- The banning of "the popular political structure" such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and affiliates like the PE Black Civic Organisation.

- The outlawing of all boycotts — described by Riordan as "the peaceful techniques of these political bodies".

- The banning of popular leaders such as the Eastern Cape's Edgar Ngoyi and Mkhoseli Jack.

- The introduction of less-trained, less-disciplined law enforcement troops in the townships, with a more arbitrary and vigorous approach.

"If 1986 seemed heavy in repression, 1987 is set to be devastating," says Riordan. "And it will fall essentially in the black community."

One of the main reasons for this is the government's desire to make its regional service councils work — in

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particular, the black town councils.

"And here is the seed of the political disaster that 1987 looks like becoming," says Riordan.

He forecasts a major increase in what he calls the "Crossroads option" — the destabilisation of black communities opposing apartheid structures.

These communities are likely to be uprooted *en masse* and "dropped down again somewhere else".

"This is devastating to the economy of the people moved, to their morale and to their popular political organisations," Riordan says. "Many years will pass before such a community again becomes a threat to imposed political structures."

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Good voter response

BUS 30411
9/11/87
CHRIS CAIRNCROSS 30411

AT least 500 000 voters have responded to pleas to notify the authorities of their change of address and get onto the correct voters' roll. Officials of the Department of Home Affairs are pleased with the response to efforts made since last November to step up the registration drive and get rolls up to date in advance of the general election.

Figures released by Home Affairs show 3.1-million white voters registered last year, of which a third were "missing".

With election talk in the air through much of the last half of 1986, a campaign was orchestrated to encourage them to identify themselves. The initial response was disappointing, officials say, but has since picked up dramatically.

Two CP candidates to quit SA Rugby Board

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The two Conservative Party candidates who are also presidents of two provincial rugby unions have decided to quit rugby for politics.

They are Mr Daan Nolte, president of the Eastern Transvaal Rugby Union who stands as candidate for Delmas, and Mr Boetie Malan, president of the Northern Eastern Cape Rugby Union who is contesting the Cradock seat.

They confirmed today that they would resign as executive members of Dr Danie Craven's South African Rugby Board.

Mr Nolte said: "I love my work and have spent much time and money on rugby for many years, but I have decided to support the CP's principles and stand as a candidate."

The Delmas farmer, who is also an executive member of cattle-breeding associations and co-ops, said the decision "took guts" but he had



Dr Craven

no doubt that he had made the right choice.

Mr Malan said Dr Craven had not told him to resign, but he added that there was no question as to what choice he would make.

"I feel the same as Mr Nolte and will stand as a candidate for the CP."

He was surprised that Dr Craven was "hitting at him in the papers" without confronting him personally.

"Dr Craven knew since last year that I was elected as a candidate," he said.

Reacting today, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht accused Dr Craven of creating the impression that he wanted to "misuse rugby to force people to accept his viewpoint".

Dr Craven said earlier today that in terms of the board's constitution, rugby, including club rugby, was open to all in South Africa.

If members of the board did not want to adhere to these terms, action could be taken against them.

"These people must therefore say whether the policy of their political party clashes with the constitution of the rugby board. If it clashes, we would expect them to resign."

1. Overtime - Work on Sundays and Public Holidays is prohibited.

Footnotes

AREA: Kimberley.

Superseding w.d. no: 327

383 - HAIRDRESSING TRADE, KIMBERLEY.

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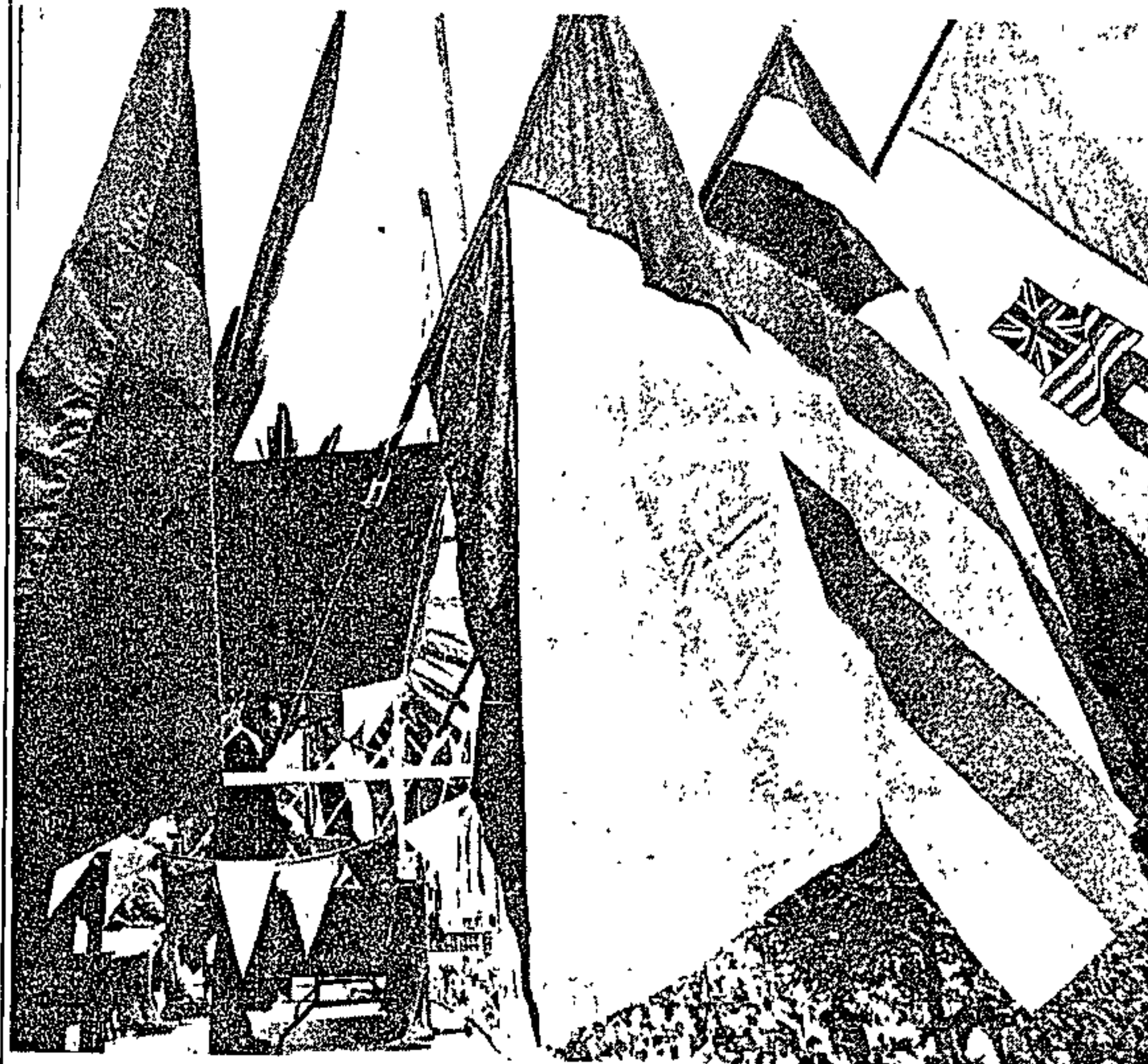
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Three more Nat MPs decide to call it a day

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Three more National Party MPs have announced that they intend to withdraw from active politics and will not stand as candidates in the general election for the House of Assembly.

They are Mr Pietman Hugo (Ceres), Mr Dirk Poggenpoel (Beaufort West) and Mr Abraham de Jager (Kimberley North).

Mr Hugo and Mr Poggenpoel were elected to Parliament in by-elections in 1979. Mr De Jager has been an MP since 1974.

National Party sources said a few more of the party's Cape MPs might announce their retirement soon.

Earlier this week, three Free State National Party MPs announced they would not be available for re-election.

They are Mr Charles Simkin (Smithfield), Mr Jannie van den Berg (Ladybrand) and Mr Daantjie Scott (Winburg).

Mr Simkin (67) has been an MP for 11 years and has been actively involved in politics for 22 years.

Mr van den Berg and Mr Scott said they were retiring for health reasons.

Four other Cape Nationalist MPs announced their retirement at the end of last year.

They are Dr Lapa Munnik, former Minister of Communications and of Public Works (Durbanville); Dr G de V Morrison, former Deputy Minister of Health and Welfare (Cradock); Mr Sarel Hayward, former Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply (Graaff-Reinet); and Mr Frans Conradie (Sundays River).

Election update

W/C 10/1/87

Alliance setback for Nats

304A

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE election alliance between the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party is expected to give the PFP at least another 15 seats in Parliament in the coming election, heralding "a spectacular breakthrough for non-racial politics".

The alliance was agreed after a 90-minute meeting between PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin and NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton in Cape Town yesterday and represents a major setback for the National Party in Natal, where a number of NP seats could be at risk, including the Port Natal seat of the NP's Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The allocation of seats in terms of the PFP-NRP alliance will be decided on a regional basis. But the PFP, with far greater public support, is expected to get the lion's share.

The chairman of the PFP's Federal Council, Mr Ken Andrew, said the PFP would be fielding more candidates in the election than at any time in its history.

A gain of 15 seats for the PFP would give it 41 seats in Parliament and, short of huge and unforeseen far-right gain, would secure the party's position as the official Opposition.

The marginal seats are presently held by the NP because, opposition strategists argue, the opposition vote was split in the last election between contesting PFP and NRP candidates. Yesterday's alliance has ensured that this will not happen again.

With the two parties supporting the Natal-Kwazulu indaba and finding common ground on crucial issues such as a universal franchise, single citizenship and a bill of

rights, they have moved appreciably closer to offering a non-racial democratic alternative in the election.

In a joint statement after yesterday's meeting, Mr Sutton and Mr Eglin said: "It was agreed that it was imperative that in this coming election there should be the largest number of reform-minded representatives returned to Parliament.

"We realised that this would not be achieved if the NRP and PFP were opposing each other in a number of constituencies which should be Opposition seats.

"With this in mind, informal agreement has been reached to try to rationalise seats which the parties would contest.

"This process of rationalisation will be handled at provincial and regional level and confirmed at the federal executives of the two parties before the commencement of the parliamentary session."

Mr Eglin said a merger between the two parties had not been discussed at the meeting.

Agreement between the PFP and NRP has already been reached in the Eastern Cape and discussions in Natal began in Durban this afternoon.

Rightwing parties an election enigma

1976 Advertiser

18/1/77

2044

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE potential role and strength of the rightwing parties remain one of the unknown factors in the coming general election for the House of Assembly.

Opinions differ sharply among political analysts on whether these parties are really a threat to the Government and to the other opposition parties.

Forecasts based on previous election results suggest there could be a rightwing breakthrough this time, with up to 50 Nationalist-held seats falling to the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP).

Other analysts, however, say this is unlikely and representation by the rightwing parties in Parliament could even decline.

Meanwhile, the leader of the ultra-rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, claimed this week the National Party could be toppled in the Assembly by a rightwing landslide victory.

He told Weekend Argus: "If there is a consolidation of rightwing forces we could have a repetition of 1948. We could take over the white chamber of Parliament."

A Cape Town analyst of research information on voter trends, Dr Jan-nie Hofmeyer, believes the growth potential of the rightwing parties is limited.

He said in an interview this week claims by some academics that these parties could win 40 or more

seats in the coming election were "wild speculation".

Analyses based on previous voting patterns did not necessarily reflect current trends.

The growth potential of the rightwing parties was virtually confined to the Transvaal and the Free State.

Dr Hofmeyer said another factor which limited the growth potential of the rightwing parties was the trend among traditionally-conservative Afrikaans-speaking voters to become increasingly reform-oriented.

Two Transvaal analysts, on the other hand, have predicted the NP will lose at least 27 seats and the rightwing will oust the PFP as official opposition.

They are Professor Barney Lys, of Pretoria University, and Professor Dirk Laurie, of Potchefstroom University.

Allocations

Professor Lys's research showed that the NP, which had 126 seats at the end of the last session of Parliament, could now count on winning only 92 seats, the PFP would lose 10 seats and return to Parliament with 17 MPs, and the CP and HNP combined would gain 40 and possibly even 53 seats.

He concluded the rightwing needed a voter swing of only 5.88 percent nationally to take power.

Professor Laurie predicted the Government would hold 100 seats, the PFP as few as 12 and at best 14, and the CP/HNP would take between 29 and 51 seats.



Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and the movement's flag.

To survive, Jaap Marais and Andries Treurnicht have to co-operate. But . . .

CAN THESE MEN BE FRIENDS . . . ?



Jaap Marais

“WHY don't they simply get down and do it,” one exasperated political observer once said about the endless attempts at reconciliation between the parties of the far right — the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

To an outsider, the protracted ritual does indeed seem like an elaborate court-dance by elephants with a poor sense of anatomy. Surely they must know how to get together now after four years and more of foreplay? They are after all, surely members of the same species?

Now more than ever it is politically vital for the survival of this far-right species for them to join in some sort of matrimony as they face an election designed precisely to test far-right strength.

Veteran political analyst

WEEKEND ARGUS SPECIAL REPORT

by PETER FABRICIUS,
Political Staff

ferences of policy, and though they may seem extremely trivial from the perspective of normality, they are the sort of issues which have often absorbed far-right politicians.

Should the Indians have a homeland a la CP or should they be repatriated to India a la HNP? is the sort of absurd question which has inspired jokes like this one: “Why can't the HNP and the CP come to an agreement?” “Because the HNP wants to drive all the blacks into the sea, but the CP doesn't

in the personalities of the two leaders — Jaap Marais, of the HNP, and Andries Treurnicht, of the CP.

It is said that in any union of the two parties, Marais would insist on at least the deputy leadership and possibly even co-leadership. This would be unacceptable not only to Treurnicht, but also to Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, who would have to stand down as deputy leader of the CP.

Most CP supporters also believe that Jaap Marais gives the right wing a bad name.

naked racism have not endeared him to many outside his own hard-core of supporters.

Treurnicht, by contrast, is a suave and subtle theologia who owes much of his stature to the fact that he seems to stand in the great tradition of DF Malan and the other do-minees of the early National Party.

It is probably just those adaptable qualities that make him a good politician which damn him in the eyes of an unswerving zealot like Marais.

It seems likely that it is for this reason that Marais does not trust Treurnicht, who must appear to him to be using the politics of the far right to advance himself personally. More than once, Marais has refused to enter a by-election pact with the CP for fear that he would be dropped once he had served his purpose.

Sociology Dept., University of Cape Town,
Private Bag, Rondebosch, 7700, Cape Town

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Agency: Research group within the Department of Sociology.

Objectives: Research into industrial health problems.
of advice concerning industrial health issues.
of educational materials and courses on industrial
topics.

Files and Resources:

Y: in area of industrial health and related aspects of
cial relations.

ng Materials: information forming part of educational

r: access to computer for the library (computerised) and
to word processors.

nce Facilities: access to UCT facilities

Resources: Facilities for epidemiological studies of
work-related problems for instance, lung function

Programmes: Asbestos-related diseases; structure of
ace-based health services for workers in the Cape Town

is offered

g Courses: A wide variety of courses relating to health
ety at work.

ancy: Provision of information and advice in relation to
and safety.

Services: Research Projects, surveys into health and
conditions, aspects of the delivery of industrial health

ions (Free)

ers of asbestos
to workers' compensation
and safety organization in three countries (UK, USA and

s compensation: workers' rights

ment Insurance Fund (UIF): workers' rights

pay: workers' rights

ons under MOSA and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act
representatives and safety committees under MOSA

THE roots of the mistrust
are bedded in the turbu-
lent times when Jaap Marais
broke away from the Nation-
al Party because it had given
permission for Maoris to tour
with the 1970 All Blacks.

At that time, Andries
Treurnicht was editor of the
right-wing Pretoria newspa-
per Hoofstad and his editor-

THE real reason, many po-
litical observers say, lies
in the antagonism between
the two parties, but not
enough, surely, to show why a
solid agreement has not yet
been struck when so much is
to be gained by it.

SO what is the problem?
Certainly, there are dif-
ferences to focus on the
leaders, it is obvious that
there are immense differ-
ences in style between the
two men - which are reflect-
ed in the parties' images.
Jaap Marais was once de-
scribed as a "doctrinal gau-
lester of the thirties", and cer-
tainly his intense, almost
fanatical, demagoguery and

form some sort of electoral
pact, they can win over 40
seats and become the new of-
ficial opposition.
If they do not, he says, the
Conservative Party will win
fewer than 10 seats and the
NHP none at all.

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The 'hot seats' beauty queens

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE coming battle for supremacy in white politics will be fought on a wider front than any general election of the past two decades, or even further back. And it could be one of the toughest ever.

It will bring to a head the major political shifts since the early '60s which saw the PFP into official opposition and which reached a zenith with the Conservatives' split from the Nationalists only after the last general election in 1981.

The parties' fortunes — and failures — will clearly depend heavily on moves to form election pacts to the right and left of the Nationalists. If these moves succeed, many more seats now regarded "safe" could suddenly become marginal.

Even going purely on past electoral performances, an unusually large number of constituencies already stand out as "hot seats" in the 1987 white general election.

These were captured with precariously slender majorities by the sitting MPs in the 1981 general election or in subsequent by-elections.

Some of the most hotly contested seats are likely to be in the Transvaal where many National Party majorities have been slashed by the right-wing parties, and in Natal where most of the key seats held by the New Republic Party and the Progressive Federal Party are now in the marginal category.

Past election results show that the outcome in many constituencies will depend strongly on whether workable election agreements are reached between opposition parties, on the right and the left, to avoid split votes.

A split vote could topple a range of opposition-held seats into the lap of the NP.

The Nationalists, on the other hand, will face an uphill battle to retain some of their existing seats if trends of the 1981 general election and subsequent by-elections continue.

A clear trend has been for the NP to lose support to the right and to the left. In the Transvaal the right wing made savage inroads in Transvaal Nationalist support.

The hottest seats, with the majorities of sitting MPs in brackets, include:

CAPE PROVINCE: Green Point (PFP 985), Simon's Town (NP 891), King William's Town (NRP 286), East London North (NP 979), Albany (PFP 139), Vryburg (NP 1186), Cape Town Gardens (PFP 1227), Pinelands (PFP 1555), and Newton Park (NP 1115).

NATAL: Greytown (PFP 183), Mooi River (NRP 295), Umhlanga (NRP 446), Durban North (NRP 787), Pinetown (PFP 880), Berea (PFP 767), Pietermaritzburg North (PFP 801), Pietermaritzburg South (PFP 238), Umlazi (NP 610) and Durban Central (PFP 1052).

TRANSVAAL: Springs (NP 749), Primrose (NP 748), Soutpansberg (CP 497), Ermelo (NP 467), Randfontein (NP 922),

and Randburg (NP 698). Other Transvaal seats where sitting MPs have insecure majorities include Rosettenville (NP 1392), Carltonville (NP 1379), Brits (NP 1845), Hercules (NP 1922), Middelburg (NP 1489), and Bezuidenhout (PFP 1103), and Edenvale (PFP 1869).

ORANGE FREE STATE: Harrismith (NP 247), Sasolburg (HNP 367), Bethlehem (NP 1188) and Parys where the NP had an overall majority of only 10 votes over its rightwing opponents of the CP and HNP in a by-election in 1982.

In Simon's Town the Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr John Wiley, with a majority of 891 votes in his last election faces the prospect of a possible combined opposition challenge by the PFP and the NRP.

In Natal two new deputy ministers who won their seats under the banner of the NRP are now in danger of losing their seats. They are Mr Ron Miller, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, who won the seat for the NRP with a majority of 787 votes in 1981, and Mr George Bartlett, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, who won Amanzimtoti for the NRP with a majority of 1504 in 1981.

In Heiderberg, Cape, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, is also facing the prospect of a possible combined opposition attack by the PFP and NRP. He won the seat in 1981 with a majority of 2942 votes against the PFP.

Weekend Argus 10-01-87
CONT-1



Andries Treurnicht

al commentary on the HNP breakaway was a masterly performance of sophistry.

He had been conducting a fierce editorial battle with the Transvaal Sunday paper *Beeld* over its more vering utterances, in the course of which he supported positions almost identical to those that would become HNP policy.

The HNP men regarded him as their spokesman, but he never openly supported them. His editorials skilfully espoused their heretical cause while appearing to support Government policy.

Schalk Pienaar, then editor of *Beeld*, described Treurnicht's role like this:

"...the newspaper has played a devastating role... in the Afrikaner turmoil which started long before it appeared on the scene. It aggravated the situation... by using great dialectic skill to clothe low forms of recalcitrance with the cloak of respectability."

WHEN Dr Albert Hertzog, Jaap Marais and others met in the Pretoria North City Hall to launch the HNP they felt justified in expecting Treurnicht to attend. But he did not.

There is a story that he actually got as far as the door of the hall, but was persuaded by his wife to turn around.

But so sure were the HNP of his support that he was voted onto the steering committee for the new party "by acclamation" in his absence.

The next day in *Hoofstad* Treurnicht dissociated himself from the new party and said that he intended to con-

tinue his struggle against those with incorrect views, from within the party.

The new party did not have an alternative to National Party policy, he said. "You cannot establish a party purely on dissatisfaction," he lectured.

Treurnicht's subtle manoeuvring could only have seemed to a man like Marais as betrayal. And as champions of the right now sitting on either side of the great Afrikaner divide they were bound to clash again and again.

They did almost immediately. In 1971 the ultra-conservative seat of Waterberg fell vacant and the National Party in the area chose Treurnicht as its candidate, much to the chagrin of the party leadership.

The HNP also put up a candidate — Jaap Marais — in the seat where it had recorded its best performance in the 1970 general election.

It was a bitter battle, where Treurnicht had to use all his "dialectical" skills, as Schalk Pienaar had described them, to reconcile his own known right-wing views with the party line.

Treurnicht nonetheless won that election as well as the next four encounters with Marais in that harsh arena, the last as leader of the Conservative Party.

That last defeat for the much-defeated Marais must have been the most difficult to swallow. To be beaten by the full National Party election machine was at least honourable.

AWB wants to unite

Right

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche yesterday made a call for right-wing political parties to forge an election pact — with a view to forming one combined party after the elections.

He promised that if an election pact was reached, the Government would face "the most difficult election campaign of its career".

His call came at a time when the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the Conservative Party (CP) are at loggerheads — with the HNP advocating an election agreement, and the CP striving to unite the Right under one banner before the elections.

This week the relationship between the two parties hit a particularly rocky patch when it was revealed that the CP had sent letters to all members of the HNP, inviting them to its "unification conference" in Pretoria on January 24.

'SMALL ADJUSTMENTS'

Mr TerreBlanche told a Press conference in Pretoria that there was no time between now and the election for a united right-wing party to be formed. The Right should therefore band together in an election pact with "two or three leaders". The differences between the parties would mean only "small adjustments".

He said the AWB would not be contesting the election — and could not therefore accept an invitation from HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais to hold talks. But it would use its "considerable" resources to help the right-wing parties. He declined to say what the AWB membership was.

Addressing himself to the Government, Mr TerreBlanche said that if it were really serious about putting the Americans in their place, it should close the US Embassy in South Africa and break links with all those who were imposing sanctions. "If the Government does not do this, then the whole basis of the election is false."

Parties make deal in the Cape

By Frans Esterhuysen, Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal and New Republic parties have informally agreed on a rationalisation of seats to be contested in the coming general election.

This is expected to put a whole range of seats within reach of the opposition parties by preventing a split vote.

The agreement was reached during talks in Cape Town yesterday between PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin and NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton. A joint statement said:

"It was agreed it was imperative that in the coming elections there should be the largest number of reform-minded representatives returned to Parliament.

"We realised this would not be achieved if the NRP and PFP were opposing each other in a number of constituencies which should be opposition seats.

"With this in mind, an informal agreement has been reached to try to rationalise seats which the participants would contest.

"This rationalisation would be handled at provincial and regional level and confirmed by the federal executives of the two parties before the Parliamentary session."

The statement said the discussions were preceded by informal talks over some months between various representatives of the two parties at regional and other levels.

This week the two parties' Cape leaders — Mr Roger Huley (PFP) and Mr Pat Rogers (NRP) — agreed in East London on an alliance.

Though still to be ratified at federal level, Mr Rogers said the proposed alliance was the start of a process towards a new government which would recapture United Party seats.

SMC 10/11/87

SMC 10/11/87

Big push for pool

11/1/87 SAT MRS

3044

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties this week joined battle in an attempt to forge coalitions, alliances or simply "understandings" before the announcement of the election date.

And two important developments have emerged:

● A tentative Progressive Federal Party-New Republic Party agreement which could prise more seats from the Government in Natal and some Rand seats.

● A call by Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais for all rightwing parties to form a "people's front" which would include the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The election pact reached between two moderate opposition parties this

Plea to AWB to take part

week provides an effective mechanism for siphoning off the votes of disenfranchised National Party supporters.

The pact made between the PFP and the NRP means the two groups will not split the vote to the left of the Nats, a factor that will significantly increase opposition muscle.

In a seat where the PFP, say, is fighting the Nats, the NRP will call on its supporters to back the PFP.

In this way the opposition coalition could net up to 40 seats. The PFP and some analysts put the figure as high as 45. The PFP presently has 27 and the NRP 5.

While the PFP was never seriously threatened of being ousted as the Official Opposition by Dr Andries Treurnich's Conservative Party, the rightwing party's hopes are effectively dashed after a fractious and as yet unfruitful week of squabbling.

The week ended with an HNP appeal for the formation of a "people's front" and a plea to the AWB to enter the elections as a political party in a coalition with other rightwing parties.

They also appealed to the CP to convert its unilaterally-called unification conference on January 24 to a platform for an agreement on the people's front.

The AWB also backed the HNP call for a rightwing alliance rather than outright unification.

The fact that the NRP has now entered an alliance to its left illustrates growing disillusionment on the part of

Bids to bury the hatchets

moderates with the National Party Government.

The KwaNatal Indaba, where joint rule for the province has been hammered out, played an important part in preparing the ground for the alliance.

The rejection of the Indaba's outcome by National Party Natal leader Stoffel Botha highlighted Nationalist resistance to a moderate accord between races.

At the same time, the NRP and PFP discovered much common ground in the process of negotiations at the Indaba. However, some NRP diehards have entered the pact reluctantly.

But the overpowering advantages of the opposition pact led the NRP recalibrants to bury their dissatisfaction at the weekend, although there is now concern by Mr Dirk Kemp, chairman of the Indaba Support Group, that the carefully forged consensus may become strained if it becomes an issue in the election.

One of the seats endangered by the new opposition alliance is the Port Natal constituency of Mr Stoffel Botha, where there is significant NRP support.

In its strongest area, Natal, the alliance may hold some shocks for the National Party.

Three MPs, elected as NRP men in the last election in 1981 and who later defected to the NP, could be unseated. They are Mr Ron Miller, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (Durban North), Mr Aubrey Thompson (South Coast) and Mr George Bartlett (Amanzimtoti). If the Nats have to contend with a

Nats facing new threat

rightwing opponent, in addition to the PFP-NRP alliance, in other Natal constituencies where there is strong conservative support, seats like Queens-town, Umlatuzana and Umlazi also come within the alliance's reach.

Similarly, the alliance is well placed in Nat-held seats in other provinces, like Durbanville, North Rand (vacant), Randburg, Simonstown and Benoni.

As things stood this weekend it seemed that many constituencies, mainly in the rural areas of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, would be the scenes of three-way splits in the predominantly Afrikaans vote, involving the NP, CP and HNP.

pacts

11/1/87

Louis Luyt says he won't vote for Nats

CAM Tm 18 12/11/87 306A

Deer killed on freeway



being knocked down on the freeway just below the old zoo memorial on Saturday afternoon.

REPORT PAGE 3

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The man who once fronted the government's funding of the Citizen newspaper during the Info scandal, millionaire Louis Luyt, has renounced his support of the government.

Transvaal rugby boss Luyt, who says he now wants to "save SA" and secure a future for his children and grandchildren in this country, is likely to set a precedent for himself by casting a vote in the election — probably for the PFP.

He has joined two other prominent figures who voted "yes" in the 1983 referendum which changed the face of SA's parliamentary system, in believing their vote was wrong.

"I'm not going to lose another opportunity. I now want to vote for enlightenment as soon as possible," Mr Luyt said.

"It is difficult when one is born with a feeling of superiority, it was difficult to change," he added. "But we have to self-destruct or change."

"There is no way even the most (politically) right person can wish away what will happen. In the end blacks will have political rights."

"One plays with people's futures and lives for political expediency. Is that honest? That time's gone now and I want every party now to spell out exactly where they want us to go once and for all so that I can vote according to my conscience."

Mr Luyt now believes a path for reform in SA would have stood a better chance for peace and stability had blacks been given political rights at the same time coloured people and Indians were given a say in Parliament.

Mr Luyt was one of numerous businessmen and prominent figures who put their names to a newspaper advertisement in 1983, urging SA to vote "yes" in the referendum.

A constitutional law expert, Professor Marinus Wiechers, announced last week that he was wrong to have supported the tricameral system of government.

Prof Wiechers, a Unisa lecturer, was the second prominent supporter of government's plan in the 1983 referendum publicly to renounce his "yes" vote.

The Tongaat chief, Mr Chris Saunders, renounced his "yes" vote



Mr Louis Luyt

for the Constitutional Bill at a public meeting late last year.

Mr Luyt would like to see qualified franchise in SA to include blacks and if necessary, exclude whites who do not qualify.

By his own admission Mr Luyt has voted only twice, once in 1961 when Dr Hendrik Verwoerd urged that the country should become a republic, and again in 1983 when he accepted the government's tricameral Parliament proposals.

Today Mr Luyt is disillusioned at the outcome of his vote.

"We voted for an incomplete system and we rushed into it. Had we not excluded blacks at the time we would not have had the troubles we now have," he said.

"Chief Buthelezi wrote to me and asked me not to vote. But at the time I thought it was a step forward. If I had to vote again I would say 'no way'. I only hope SA now comes to its senses soon."

Mr Luyt was referred to by former Transport Minister Mr Hendrik Schoeman in an in-depth interview run by a Johannesburg Afrikaans newspaper.

Mr Schoeman was quoted as having said to the one-time crown prince of the Nationalist Party, Dr Connie Mulder, during the Info scandal: "I said to Connie, why don't you ask Louis Luyt. You trusted him more than you trusted me."

'Too few reforms' — page 2



CHE TRS 12/1/87

(44) 3041

Showdown time for Hendrickse at Botha meeting

By BARRY STREEK

A SHOWDOWN meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and Mr Allan Hendrickse will take place in Cape Town next Monday, following the Labour Party leader's open defiance of beach apartheid and his strong criticisms of the Group Areas Act.

Mr Hendrickse could not be contacted yesterday, but confirmation of the meeting was obtained from reliable sources.

It will be the first meeting between Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse, the only "coloured" member of the cabinet, since Labour Party leaders went for their illegal swim at a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth last weekend.

Mr Botha has not yet commented specifically on the beach apartheid incident, which has

drawn critical comment in the pro-government press.

Since Mr Hendrickse's criticisms of the Group Areas Act, Mr Botha has strongly defended the policy of racially separate residential areas and "own" schools.

In political circles, as well as in yesterday's issue of Rapport, there has been speculation that the president may take action against Mr Hendrickse.

It is even suggested that Mr Hendrickse, his colleagues from the House of Representatives cabinet and the Deputy Minister of Population Development, Mr Luwellyn Landers, who also participated in the Port Elizabeth swim, may have broken their oaths as ministers by breaking the law.

But action against Mr Hendrickse and his colleagues could have disastrous political consequences for Mr Botha's reform policies.

The Labour Party has already warned that it will pull out of the tricameral system if the Group Areas Act is not scrapped and if that happens, the government's constitutional plans could collapse.

In Labour Party circles yesterday, it was argued that with the election around the corner it was inevitable that Mr Botha took some public action, particularly in view of right-wing criticism of the government. However, it was said, his actions should be judged in the light of the election and should not be taken too seriously.

It is understood that the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, the Chairman of the House of Assembly Ministers' Council, Mr F W de Klerk, and the Chairman of the House of Delegates Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, are also expected to be present at the January 19 meeting.

CAP 12/1/87

SA negotiation will be blow to SACP report

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The SA Communist Party is not a major player in Pretoria's internal opposition and will flourish only in an atmosphere of continued repression, the Reagan administration has concluded in a detailed intelligence report prepared for Congress.

Furthermore, the SA government may have an unprecedented opportunity to drive a wedge between the SACP and the ANC that could prove fatal to the party by agreeing to enter into good faith negotiations.

The 11-page document, an unclassified version of which was made available on Thursday, was written by the State Department with government-wide collaboration. It makes clear, in unusually definitive terms, that the Reagan administration does not share, or sympathize with, Pretoria's view of a communist onslaught.

Its findings provide a powerful premise for stepped-up Western contacts with the ANC and, in particular, for the planned meeting between Mr Oliver Tambo and the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz.

The SACP's ultimate goal — "rule by a Marxist-Leninist party loyal to the Soviet Union" — is "served by an inflexible SA attitude toward negotiation with the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments, and by the ANC's focus on increasing military pressure on SA", the study maintains.

While "roughly half" the ANC's executive committee are "known or suspected" SACP members, the party

has "little or no influence on political and labour groups inside SA", and the role played by the UDF and the labour movement within the "ANC alliance", will likely "dilute" its influence still further.

And although the influence of "militant young blacks" in Umkhonto we Sizwe is likely to grow as they gradually replace the old guard leadership of both the ANC and the SACP, the party "will not necessarily reap the benefits, given its lack of a mass base and the widespread nationalist feelings that tend to increase blacks' suspicions of a party with such close ties to a foreign power".

The party's best hope is the continuation of armed conflict and kragdadigheid because "the ANC is deeply beholden to the SACP and the Soviet Union ... for the arms and training that made possible the upsurge in guerilla activity that has boosted its prestige in SA in recent years".

The report notes that the SACP seems genuinely afraid of possible overtures by Pretoria to the ANC as "... a more flexible approach by Pretoria could find a favorable reception by elements in the ANC".

Summarizing, the study concludes: "If Pretoria reconsiders its opposition to negotiations or if ANC relations with Western countries (and hopes for recognition by them) continue to improve, serious policy differences could surface within the ANC.

"... If the SA government pursues a purely repressive policy, the ANC will be able to enjoy the luxury of postponing or avoiding the real issues in its own ranks."

Too few reforms, say 22% of Nats — survey

Ant Times 12/14/87 Political Staff

3041

ABOUT 22% of National Party supporters were highly critical of the government for not being reformist enough, the editor of Rapport, Dr Willem de Klerk, said yesterday.

He warned that the "credibility and usefulness" of the National Party was, for these supporters, "in a crisis".

"Hopefully the doors for these people will not be closed during the election," Dr De Klerk wrote in his column yesterday.

The estimate of 22% was based on the most recent Rapport survey of white voters, which was published in December. The same survey showed that support for the National Party among whites had dropped to 49.3%.

Dr De Klerk said this group of government supporters would be looking at the National Party critically during the election.

The group was "tired of rhetoric and backtracking. Their hope is still on the National Party, because the alternative holds little promise.

PFP Chief Whip to quit

PFP Chief Whip and Groote Schuur MP Brian Bamford will give up his parliamentary seat when the general election is contested later this year.

Bamford, who has been party Chief Whip for the past nine years, said yesterday he was leaving politics for "purely personal" reasons.

He said he would continue to give his full support to the PFP.

"I have been in public life for 25 years and feel I need a break.

"There are a number things I want to work on, including a book

on South African quotations."

He said he also had plans to go back to Oxford University to do legal research in two to three years' time.

Bamford said the PFP, under the leadership of Colin Eglin, was poised to do well in the general election.

If it could come to an agreement with the New Republic Party, there were a number of new seats within its reach.

Bamford was MPC for Wynberg between 1963 and 1974.

He served as a Senator between

1974 and 1977.

In the 1977 general election, he won the Groote Schuur seat for the PFP.

He was immediately appointed Chief Whip of the party.

"I have had nine tough years as Chief Whip and took part in the debates on the Info scandal and the introduction of the new constitution."

He said he did not feel despondent about SA politics.

"On the contrary, I think South Africa's best years lie ahead." — Sapa.

No delimitation

Business Day Reporter

THERE would be no time for a delimitation of constituencies if a general election was held before mid-year, Home Affairs director-general Gerrie van Zyl said in Pretoria yesterday.

He said it took up to six months from the appointment until a commissioner's report was submitted.

Van Zyl also said 500 000 people had responded to a department appeal to notify it of changes in address.

But PFP home affairs spokesman Ruben Sive said the election results would give a distorted picture if the election were held on current voters' lists and constituencies boundaries.

'Sweetener' for voters

Business Day Reporter

GOVERNMENT will attempt to maintain its massive support from SA's biggest voters' block with salary increases as part of its election strategy, political science professor Willem Kleynhans said yesterday.

He said this was one of the "sweeteners". There could be others, including tax cuts.

Kleynhans said there were about 450 000 whites working for the central government, the provinces, Sats and the GPO.

With their families they added up to more than 1-million eligible voters.

12/11/87 (2048)

PFP leader lauds Luyt's challenge

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

MILLIONAIRE Louis Luyt's latest political views — which PFP leader Colin Eglin believes touch the key issues facing white South Africans — are a challenge to all voters in the coming elections, Eglin said yesterday.

In a statement issued from his Cape Town office, Eglin said he welcomed Luyt's "foresight and forthright, thought-provoking statement".

Luyt has created a stir in Afrikaner circles since being quoted yesterday in a *Business Day* article as saying he had renounced his support for the National Party and would now vote for "enlightenment" — probably for the PFP.

Eglin said: "It comes as a breath of fresh air on the current political scene. With a few succinct words, Mr Luyt has brushed aside the trail of red herrings which the government is laying across the election table.

"He has got his finger on the key issues facing white South Africans — that of black participation in the sovereign Parliament of SA."

Some CP MPs face election dilemma

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Some of the Conservative Party's MPs who won their seats in Parliament under the banner of the National Party may move to "safer" constituencies in an attempt to avoid defeat in the coming general election.

Their dilemma is that they face almost certain defeat if they stand for the CP in their present constituencies which were Nationalist strongholds at the time of their breakaway from the NP in 1982.

On the other hand, their political future may be equally uncertain in seemingly "safe" seats unless the claims by the right-wing parties of a breakthrough in voter support for the Right materialises.

The NP has indicated it will make a determined effort to recapture the seats now held by the CP after the 1982 split in the NP.

Among those expected to go to "safer" seats is Mr Koos van der Merwe, who won Jeppe for the NP in 1981 with a majority of 2 768 against the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party.

He said this week he had candidature offers from seven constituencies, but his party executive would decide where he would stand. He would not necessarily stand again in Jeppe.

Mr van der Merwe said indications so far were that Jeppe would be contested by the CP, the NP and a candidate from the PFP/NRP alliance.

The Conservative Party's Mr S P Barnard, who won Langlaagte under the banner of the NP in 1981

with a decisive majority of 5 431 votes against the PFP and the NRP, is also expected to move to a "safer" constituency.

Like Mr van der Merwe, Mr Barnard is said to have had "offers" to stand elsewhere.

Dr Frans van Staden, MP for Koedoespoort, said he had made himself available to stand for the CP in that constituency and he had been "identified" as a candidate. The nomination of the CP's candidates still had to be finalised.

Dr van Staden won Koedoespoort for the NP in 1981 with a majority of 3 287 votes against the HNP, which had 3 416 votes, and the PFP (1 103).

Dr Willem Snyman, MP for Pietersburg, said he was making himself available as the CP's candidate there, but the CP's nominations for Pietersburg would only be brought to finality on February 7.

Dr Snyman won Pietersburg under the NP's banner in 1981 with a majority of 2 969 against the HNP (2 455) and the NRP (676).

A CP MP who faces almost certain defeat if he does not move to another constituency is Mr Daan van der Merwe, who won Pretoria-Rissik for the NP with a majority of nearly 4 000 votes in the 1981 general election.

Another MP who faces such a dilemma is the CP's Mr Jan van Zyl, who won Sunnyside under the NP's banner with a majority of 3 285 in 1981.

Other CP MPs in Nationalist strongholds include Mr Jan Hoon (Kuruman) and Mr Ferdi van Heerden (De Aar).

Sive will give MPC a chance

By Rob Nuttall

Mr Reuben Sive, Progressive Federal Party MP for Bezuidenhout, last night announced his resignation from Parliament, taking to 24 the number of MPs who have decided to withdraw from the white Assembly.

Mr Sive, elected with a 1 105 majority over the National Party candidate in the 1981 election, said he had decided to stand down to give his MPC, Mr Douglas Gibson, the opportunity to fight this year's election for the Bezuidenhout seat.

"It is not my intention to retire," said Mr Sive.

"On the contrary, I shall continue to play an active role for the PFP in the election and will be available thereafter for other offices where my experience and talents will be of use to my party."

He said one of the highlights of his parliamentary career had been the entry into Parliament of Asians and coloured people.

The Bezuidenhout constituency, traditionally an Opposition seat, has 24 000 registered voters, but Mr Sive estimates that 40 percent of them are now untraceable.

● Yesterday two more National Party MPs announced their resignations from Parliament.

Mr Amie Weeber, MP for Welkom, and Mr Gert van der Linde, MP for Port Elizabeth North, will not be available for re-election.

SAGETS FLAK

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE in
Gaborone

SOUTH Africa's politics yesterday came under scathing attack at the official opening of the 17th week-long African-American Institute Conference in Gaborone, Botswana.

The conference — which is focusing on the situation in Southern Africa and the African Economic Development — was opened by Botswana's President, Dr Quett K J Masire.

It is being attended by more than 150 delegates and media representatives from Africa and America.

Dr Masire said po-

litical problems that South Africa faced today were man-made and its wounds self-inflicted.

He said the problems were to be found in the country's laws that prohibit rather than facilitate normal life.

"There has never been total freedom of speech, assembly or association in South Africa because the authorities have put aside respect for the Rule of Law.

"It is a great tragedy that the South African authorities are blaming

Farisani on hunger strike, says family — Page 7

the messenger for the bad tidings he brings, instead of dealing with the cause of the bad tidings.

"Unrest will not go away just because unrest incidents are not reported," he said.

He appealed to the South African Government to address itself genuinely to the problems facing the country. He said it was tragic that the South African Gov-

ernment was not prepared to negotiate with black leaders other than those it chose.

He said people of goodwill all over the world, especially the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group, proposed a meaningful way out of the tight corner into which South Africans had driven themselves. The rejection of proposals made by the EPG remain the best way out, he said.

Talks

Dr Masire said the climate for negotiations towards a representative government in South Africa would come when the EPG proposals are met. These included the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political parties and the end of the state of emergency.

"Whites in South Africa will find as did those in the rest of Africa that there is nothing to fear from majority rule. South African whites must be convinced that the earlier negotiations are entered into in earnest, the brighter will be the future for all South Africans," he said.



Mr SAM de Beer greets pupils at Pholosho Higher Primary School during his tour of Alexandra Township schools yesterday. (See story on Page 2).

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

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Cape Times 14/1/87 30KA

CP, HNP are 'no electoral threat'

Political Staff

THE right-wing political parties had little chance of becoming the official opposition, let alone win the election later this year.

This was the view yesterday of senior Nationalist and Progressive Federal Party politicians after the Conservative Party's announcement that it would field about 106 candidates in the election.

The CP's decision to contest the seats could, in fact, result in an additional 10 or more seats going to the alliance between the PFP and the New Republic Party.

The CP, whether they enter into an electoral pact with the HNP or not, could split the right-wing vote in many Transvaal and Cape constituencies where the PFP had previously lost to the NP and see the PFP snatch victory. It would then not be unrealistic to expect the PFP/NRP to win up to 40 seats.

NP politicians, who did not want to be quoted by name, believe the maximum number of seats the CP could win is in the region of 30. They also believe that this figure will not change materially even if the CP and the HNP are able to agree on an election pact.

Both the NP and PFP sources

say that agreement between the two right-wing parties is far from reached and that further tensions and divisions will develop when the two parties try to allocate seats between them.

The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday: "I believe the right-wing political parties are an ugly, ultra-racist phenomenon. They are certainly not an electoral threat."

Limited potential

"I would be surprised if they came back with more than the 19 seats they have now. One must remember that the HNP obtained 14,3% of the vote in 1981 but they did not win a single seat."

Every public opinion poll, including those conducted by pro-government newspapers, had shown that the right wing had limited potential.

"The dominant trend, particularly among younger people, is away from apartheid and away from ethnicity as a basis for government," Mr Eglin said.

In Johannesburg, the Transvaal secretary of the CP, Mr Karel Schoeman, said the CP would field 62 candidates in the Transvaal, 25 in the Cape, 14 in the

Free State and four or five in Natal. More candidates in the Cape are under consideration.

Mr Robin Carlisle, general secretary of the PFP, said yesterday that there was such a strong fear of the far right wing among enlightened voters that many would rather vote for the NP than the PFP just to keep the right wing out. The PFP would have to counter this fear effectively and convince voters that growth for the PFP/NRP would be in SA's best interest.

The Cape constituencies where the PFP could win if the CP contested them are Maitland, Newton Park and Queenstown. The same could happen to Simon's Town, but the CP is unlikely to contest it.

In 1981 in Maitland, the NP had only 2 906 more votes than the PFP, and in Newton Park the NP majority was 1 195. Not many defections from the NP to the CP would be necessary to erode the NP majority to such an extent that the PFP emerged the winner.

Other Cape seats where the PFP is likely to benefit from a good CP performance are Durbanville, East London City, East London North and Helderberg.

COMMENT

Golden tremor

BEHIND the movement in the gold markets lies an anxiety, accumulating for the past two or three years, about the astonishing level of American debt. The figures used in the management of the American economy have now become quite incomprehensible. President Reagan's federal budget proposes expenditures of a million times a million dollars, with a deficit of roughly twice SA's gross domestic product.

It is sufficient, however, to note that the United States has now become the world's biggest debtor, and that its need for credit is estimated at about \$100-billion a year for the next several years. That this debt is backed by the immense strength of the American economy is no doubt true, and in some circumstances it is perhaps a comfort to creditors. But debt servicing already consumes more than a quarter of the federal budget, and the Congress — that void of statesmanship — is threatening protectionist measures to defend American markets against foreign imports.

The consequence of such disequilibria must necessarily be monetary instability. The fall of the dollar against the yen and the mark has been so sharp as to put great pressure on Japanese and West German exporters, and the threat of protectionist measures will generate acute insecurity in both those countries. The world has not forgotten, and should not

forget, that the Smoot-Hawley Act in similar circumstances in the early Thirties managed, by imposing import barriers on about 1 000 products, to turn economic stringency into world-wide catastrophe. The unpredictability of the Congress is an enduring threat.

The fall of the dollar has for all these reasons been awaited for some time. Only the prestige and leadership of President Reagan has held trouble at bay. Now the Iranian scandal has reminded everybody that the world's greatest economy is under the control of an ageing, increasingly frail man who must in any event step down from office in two years' time. American economic growth, projected to reach 3% this year with a relatively low inflation rate of 5%, cannot eliminate the need for additional credit if the American people refuse, as they always do in modern times, to submit to the disciplines of double-entry book-keeping.

How it will all turn out is, perhaps, the question of our times. The Soviet Union is in worse economic shape than the Americans, while Europe and the rising Asian economies do provide a counterweight. Relatively, the American dominance is shrinking, and comparisons with the Thirties should not be made too blithely. But, clearly, there is a nervousness abroad that reflects in hardening prices for precious metals.

On with the show

FOREIGN Minister Piki Botha's attack on the American Secretary of State, George Shultz, has nothing, fortunately, to do with SA's foreign relations. It is a pre-election razze, learned from John Vorster in 1977 (when he managed to cover up the Information scandal by touting Jimmy Carter).

The trouble with the Foreign Minister is that he brings to every fresh task an enthusiasm and an energy that makes lesser actors

pale. When he bristles, he bristles like a porcupine, when he favours he favours like a puppy, when he charges he's a bull in a china shop, and when he thinks he gets a headache.

Good old Piki! They're saying in Pretoria that President Botha has promised him a seat in the American Senate if he defeats Ronald Reagan in the election, but that's not fair. Piki does it all for love of the stage, and the dazzle of footlights.

THE PROPOSED PFP constitution for SA provides for elaborate consensual mechanisms to prevent a tyranny of the majority. But appropriation bills may be passed by a simple majority in the proposed Federal Parliament. Could this provision allow the undermining of consensual government by a radical majority intent on redistribution through welfare spending?

EGLIN: You might get a different type of majority which might move in the opposite direction. And it is an over-simplification to talk merely about the Federal level. The whole character of the PFP constitution provides for a clear separation between provincial and Federal levels, so that not all your money bills will be passed at one sight.

For provincial purposes, money bills will be passed at six to 12 other sights — immediately achieving a fragmentation of the appropriation process.

Secondly, the principle of proportional representation operates at executive level, too (both at provincial and at Federal tiers). The executives work on consensus, irrespective of what happens in the legislatures.

So one must assume that there will be once again dilution of the majority attitudes in the provincial and Federal executives — and that's where money bills originate.

Thirdly, there is a constitutional provision for the reallocation of resources between the rich and poor provinces, which provides a further influence against simplistic majoritarianism in a Federal Parliament.

GRANTED that unions have a right to exist, do you see economic danger in strong and militant union leadership pushing in narrow sectors of the economy for higher money wages at a time when there was still mass unemployment?

IF THE demands of organised labour get out of hand they can inhibit economic growth. But you have to look at the unions within the context of society. In SA we have got a First World, highly sophisticated industrial economy in which I have no doubt there is room for healthy trade unionism, although I would favour the American system, which provides for legally-enforceable contracts between unions and management, rather than the British system.



□ EGLIN... "you have to look at unions within context of society"

PFP leader Colin Eglin talks to ROBIN FRIEDLAND

Eglin spells out the PFP's policy on economics, unions and agriculture

But we also have a vast Third World of people who will be unable to enter the cash labour market if the threshold in terms of money wages is set too high.

Unions are entitled to protect their members, but they should not do so in such a way that they prevent Third World people from entering the modern economy.

Government policy at all times should aim for deregulation and the removal of arbitrary restrictions which prevent people from entering the market and the First World sector — to ensure that the threshold of entry for labour is kept as low as possible.

Once everybody has entered you can take the risk of raising the threshold. But if the initial threshold is too high you will get a river of people damming up against that wall and actually battering down the system.

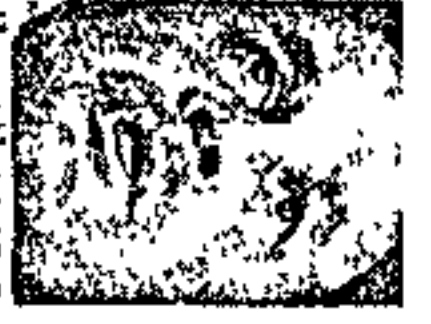
The remedy is to encourage individual black entrepreneurship and cottage industries — which are highly effective in places like Nigeria.

It will be impossible until this problem is solved to have a minimum wage for everybody, but you can distinguish certain highly-sophisticated industries, like mining, where entry is already controlled in one sense.

In any event, the greatest pressure towards militancy in current trade union practice is politicians stemming from government's unwillingness to allow blacks any other political outlet.

WE CURRENTLY have agricultural policies which are not working at all well, either for white or for black farmers. What is the PFP's approach to agricultural policy and black land tenure?

THE FRIEDLAND: The thrust of our system would be towards a free market system without administered prices. But how you move from one system to the other is a matter of political discretion — President Kenneth Kaunda's decision to remove the maize subsidy abruptly led to riots and deaths.



But there might also be room for a judgment that certain products were of strategic importance, so they might deserve some form of protection, at least temporarily.

As for black agriculture, far too little attention has been paid to rural development. To cure rural black poverty, the first step is to remove surplus people from the land through industrial development, especially of the cottage industry type.

Then we have to get away from tribal land tenure and give the individual black farmer access to arable land. There are large tracts of SA under white ownership which are not being productively used at present for a variety of reasons. Zimbabwe, despite the socialist leanings of the government, has found ways of giving individual black farmers access to land, and they are now becoming a very important component of total agricultural production. This was done without major disruption of the commercial white farming sector.

LETTERS

Macmillan and SA

Dear Sir,
IN THE feature by Stanley Harold Macmillan (Business December 31) he stated: "I later Dr Verwoerd responded taking SA out of the Co wealth".

As I remember, the facts were that the most Afrikaners were de republicans always. The connection was a very gre in those days. When they 1948 election it was accept it was a matter of time bet Union Jack would be hauled over SA. However, the Nat government wanted to ret benefits of Commonwealth dearship, which were, a others, trade and defence.

When Verwoerd went Commonwealth Confe London in 1961 his aim was man a member of the Co wealth but as a republic. T expected to have been acc to both parties in view of 1 that Ghana and India were lles and Commonwealth me The mood against SA at the ence was such that Macmill snaded Verwoerd not to a the new status as a republ, the Commonwealth. It a that the application wo turned down, which wou been disastrous for SA and

The British government diately amended its legisla lating to Empire preferen so that SA could retain cer vantages and benefits of C wealth membership whi time to this day.

Cap

Dear Sir,

THE R4m debacle of it Song" is about to be outl an even more farcical attraction — "The multi white-only election," accor by SABC TV under the t President Botha. Not satisf a Parliament that does not single black representati erment now intends gag election campaign.

If government is look more ways to waste t money, may I suggest t present the history of S Greek tragedy, with the Party performing as the

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CP decision could aid PFP, NRP alliance

Dispatch Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG

The Conservative Party's decision to contest at least 105 seats in the coming white general election could result in an additional ten or more seats going to the alliance between the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the New Republic Party (NRP).

The CP, whether they enter into an electoral pact with the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) or not, could split the rightwing vote in many Transvaal and Cape constituencies where the PFP had previously lost to the NP and see the PFP snatch victory.

It would then not be unrealistic to expect the PFP-NRP to win up to 40 seats.

The Transvaal secretary of the CP, Mr Karel Schoeman, said the

CP would field 62 candidates in Transvaal, 25 in the Cape, 14 in the Free State and four or five in Natal. More candidates in the Cape are under consideration.

The general secretary of the PFP, Mr Robin Carlisle, said yesterday there was such a strong fear of the far-rightwing among enlightened voters that many would rather vote for the NP than the PFP just to keep the right wing out. The PFP would have to counter this fear effectively and convince voters that growth for the PFP-NRP would be in SA's best interest.

The ruling NP is realising the danger of electoral alliances and pacts. The Cape mouthpiece of the party, Die Burger, had a front page headline yesterday that read: Fierce onslaught

from left and right.

The Cape constituencies where the PFP could win if the CP contested them are Maitland, Newton Park and Queenstown. The same could happen to Simon's Town, but the CP is unlikely to contest it.

Examples here are Maitland, where the NP had only 2 906 more votes than the PFP in 1981, and Newton Park, where the NP majority was 1 195. Not many defections from the NP to the CP would be necessary to erode the NP majority to such an extent that the PFP emerged the winner.

Other Cape seats where the PFP is likely to benefit from a good CP performance are Durbanville, East London City and East London North and Helderberg.

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14/1/87

Election fever flares as politicians speak

EAST LONDON — Election fever flared in the Border area yesterday in the wake of several announcements.

The National Party MP for East London North, Mr Hendrik Coetzer, said last night he was to retire.

And the NP MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, came under fire for alleged "electioneering" after his announcement on guidelines for industrial land for East London and plans for the creation of a new black township.

Speculation on possible candidates for the five Border seats included the

name of a retired industrialist, Mr Leo Borman.

He is among those reported to have been approached to stand as a joint Progressive Federal Party-New Republic Party candidate.

Mr Borman, former chief executive of CDA, last night denied this.

The chairman of the PFP Border Trust, Mr Errol Spring, confirmed he had made himself available while the NRP's regional chairman, Mr Eric Whitaker, said he was "giving it considerable thought" in the light of the preliminary PFP-NRP election pact. — Sapa

push for early start to racing

By Bert Fellows

Vaal and Randjesfontein race-horse trainers would like to see racing on the Highveld resume two weeks before the February 25 date that has been set — especially as the horse-flu virus that brought Cape and Highveld racing to a halt now appears to have been contained.

In another move to get racing restarted, general managers of major racing clubs hold a meeting in Cape Town next Tuesday to discuss the Cape season.

The meeting will be followed a few days later by stewards' delegations from the clubs and an amended national feature-race programme is expected to be announced.

Meanwhile, Highveld trainers with fit horses want to get into the act at the big meeting in Maritzburg on January 31.

The applications will be discussed on Saturday at a meeting of the Pietermaritzburg Turf Club, the Natal branch of the Jockey Club and veterinary surgeons.

Permission to race will mean Highveld trainers will have to nominate their runners by the following Monday.

NO OUTBREAKS

The virus, which put paid to racing in the Cape and on the Highveld on December 13, appears to have been contained.

No fresh outbreaks are being reported and all is well at the Vaal and Randjesfontein training centres and in Natal.

The almost clear bill of health has left many trainers itching to get their horses back into action.

But, on the advice of veterinary experts, the Witwatersrand Association of Racing Clubs has played safe and decided that Wednesday February 25 will see resumption of racing.

Vaal and Randjesfontein trainers in particular feel the date should be two weeks earlier and that if, by that date, their horses have not been guaranteed immune, a later start could be announced.

The date of the restart in the Cape might be much later and it looks as though the traditional January-February season, embracing the R300 000 J & B Metropolitan Handicap and R250 000 Richelieu Guineas, will go by the board.

Leading Cape trainer Terrence Millard seems likely to miss the Highveld season.

● See Page 14

No sign when Govt will react to indaba

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government has given no indication when it will respond to the controversial proposals of the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba.

The proposals, which include a plan for a single legislature in Natal, were formally handed to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in his office in the H F Verwoerd Building yesterday.

Mr Heunis said afterwards no statement would be made by the Government at this stage.

Before any reaction could come from the Government, it would first have to study the contents of the documents as well as the response of the two bodies which initiated the indaba — the Executive Committee of Natal and the government of kwaZulu.

"It would be most irresponsible of me to react before I have studied the report and considered the reactions of those two instances," Mr Heunis said.

He gave no indication whether the Government would respond to the proposals before or after the coming general election for the House of Assembly.

Among the documents presented to Mr Heunis by the indaba delegation was a minority report from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI), the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK) and the Rapportryers.

Protection of minorities

This report rejected the indaba's majority recommendations on the grounds that not enough provision was made for the protection of minorities on a non-racial basis and that there would not be equal power-sharing.

Mr Heunis also received a statement from the People's Congress Party (PCP) saying the exclusion of coloured people from the second chamber of the kwaNatal executive committee was "political trickery".

The indaba's constitutional proposals were handed to Mr Heunis by a delegation led by the indaba chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence, and Inkatha's secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Also present in the delegation were former MEC Mr Frank Martin and indaba secretary Professor Dawid van Wyk.

The delegation had brief discussions with Mr Heunis in a conference room after the handing over of the documents.

Mr Heunis's refusal to give any indication of Government thinking on the indaba proposals was in sharp contrast to the outright rejection of the report by the chairman of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, who is also Minister of Home Affairs.

Drop in petrol price is denied

CAPE TOWN — The Government yesterday scotched rumours of an imminent drop in the price of petrol.

The speculation was based on the recent good performance of the rand against the US dollar.

Dr Louw Alberts, director general of Mineral and Energy Affairs, said the "minor" rise in the rand had to be viewed against the OPEC intention to increase the price of crude oil.

"If they succeed the price of crude oil could increase by 10 to 15 percent.

"The position is fluid. When the rand and the oil price reach a plateau we will do further calculations."

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DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE alliance between the New Republic Party (NRP) and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) in Natal — where the KwaNatal Indaba will play an important role — is aimed at winning 15 of the province's 20 seats in the election.

Natal NRP leader Derek Waterson also said yesterday it was not certain at this stage how many of the seats would be won by his party or the PFP.

Fourteen of the provincial seats were won by the NRP at the last election, while the PFP won the Pinetown provincial seat.

Of the 20 Parliamentary seats, six were won by the PFP. Seven were

High hopes for PFP/NRP Natal ticket

won by the NRP, three of whose MPs defected to the National Party (NP).

Marginal NP seats — Umlathuzana and Umlazi — and the three defector seats of Durban North, South Coast and Amanzimtoti are expected to fall to the alliance because of the absence of a split opposition vote.

It is thought Aubrey Thompson (South Coast) and deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology George Bartlett (Amanzimtoti) are unlikely to keep their support since defecting to the NP. The other defector, deputy Minister of Foreign Af-

fairs Ron Miller (Durban North) is unlikely to win if he remains a candidate for what has traditionally been an NRP seat.

Waterson said yesterday: "The Durban North seat was lost to the PFP when the old United Party changed its name to NRP. It upset people. But the seat was won back by the NRP later under Miller. His defection is certain to have upset voters, which will give the alliance a good chance of winning it."

In the last election, the NP won only the Klip River, Newcastle, Um-

folozi and Vryheid seats convincingly. Seats in Port Natal, Umlathuzana and Umlazi were won by the NP by only a few hundred votes.

Right-wing votes in Natal were marginal during the last election, with the Conservative Party (CP) polling only 520 votes in Greytown and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) polling a total of 8,206 votes in Klip River, Newcastle, Umlathuzana and Vryheid.

Although some supporters of both parties were not enthusiastic about

working with one other, Waterson warned that the PFP/NRP alliance would not draw votes unless it was seen as being for the good of SA.

□ The NRP has indicated it might not make an election deal with the PFP in the Transvaal, the PFP's Transvaal leader Douglas Gibson said yesterday.

However, Gibson said he still hoped an agreement would be reached and said he would take the initiative in organising talks between the two parties in the Transvaal.

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BUS 291 14/1/87

Curbs to be adjusted in run-up to election

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THE Department of Law and Order and the State President's office are working jointly on adjustments to the state of emergency before the general elections, it was confirmed yesterday.

A Law and Order spokesman said the adjustments were being investigated to accommodate election campaigns.

A statement on the adjustments would be issued before the end of the week, he said.

Neither the State Presi-

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

dent's office nor the Bureau for Information was prepared to comment yesterday on the possibility that the emergency regulations might be eased to enable party candidates to conduct their campaigns more freely.

Reports have quoted top-level sources as saying government has rejected the idea of temporarily lifting the emergency regulations for the duration of the election

for a maximum period of about 56 days.

It is not known whether easing the regulations, which is likely to apply only to electioneering party candidates, will allow the media, already heavily curbed by restrictions, to report freely on campaigns.

The Law and Order spokesman was unable to give more details, but said the adjustments would definitely not include lifting the state of emergency.

14/1/87 304A STMT

Accusations and speculation start election build-up

EAST LONDON — Election fever burst into the open in the Border area yesterday in the wake of several announcements.

The National Party MP for East London North, Mr. Hendrik Coetzer, announced last night he was to retire and would not be available for the election because of the ill health of his wife, Anna.

The NP MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, came under fire for alleged "electioneering" following his announcement on guidelines for industrial land for East London and plans for the creation of a new black township for the city.

SPECULATION ON CANDIDATES

Speculation on possible candidates for the five Border seats included the name of a retired industrialist, Mr Leo Borman, among those reported to have been approached to stand as a joint Progressive Federal Party-New Republic Party candidate.

Mr Borman last night denied he had been approached and said any such speculation was unfounded.

PFP to contest Nelspruit

The Progressive Federal Party has decided to contest the National Party parliamentary stronghold of Nelspruit in this year's white general election, the party's Press spokesman, Mr Peter Soal MP, said today.

Mr Soal said the PFP had put up a candidate in Nelspruit in 1981 and felt there was an opportunity to do better there in the coming election.

In 1981, the National Party won the seat with 5 080 votes, while the HNP received 1 818 and the PFP 1 416.

A reorganisation meeting to prepare for the election would be held by the PFP in the Nelspruit constituency on Wednesday January 21.

Interested voters should contact Mr Bob Snaddon by telephone at Nelspruit 52061.

The chairman of the PFP Border Trust, Mr Errol Spring, confirmed he had made himself available.

The NRP's regional chairman, Mr Eric Whittaker, said he was "giving it considerable thought" in the light of the preliminary PFP-NRP election pact.

The MP for King William's Town and Cape leader of the NRP, Mr Pat Rogers, said the regional agreement with the PFP still had to be ratified.

DISCUSSIONS

All provincial discussions with the PFP would take place at meetings of the party's head committee, at the weekend, and the federal executive, on January 26.

The former MPC for East London North, Mr Callie Badenhorst, said the NP candidate to replace Mr Coetzer would be known a week on Saturday. Candidates would be screened in Cape Town by the constituency council. — Sapa.

Up to date voters rolls available for checking

Evening Post

30/11

14/1/87

PARLIAMENTARY voters in Port Elizabeth wanting to see if they are registered at the address where they are living, can now check on the most up to date voters rolls, which have just been made available to political parties by the Department of Home Affairs.

A white general election is to be held in the first half of this year. The exact date will be announced by State President P W Botha on January 30, when he opens Parliament.

Mr. Bobby Stevenson, East Cape regional director of the Progressive Federal Party contacted the Evening Post today to say the rolls — which include all voters registered by the end of December in the region — could be examined at the party's election office in Clyde Street.

He said anyone wishing to check, could also do so by phoning 521770.

Those wishing to re-register at their present address have until the end of this month to do so if the election is held in May, or until the end of February if the election is in July.

The address at which one is registered is reflected in the back of one's Book of Life.

executive director of Gencor and former chairman of Sappi, he said he would wait for various parties to spell out election platforms before deciding where to cast his vote.

Mr Landau felt the ruling party still stood the greatest chance of bringing about reform which would "satisfy everybody".

Dr Andries Wassenaar, retired chairman and a former director of Sanlam, denied putting his name to the 1983 advert.

He was "very disappointed" with the state of the economy but declined to comment "in the political sphere".

"I voted 'yes' because I saw some movement of change but my name was published without my consent in the ad," he said.

Mr Tony Factor, managing director of Downtown Discount, had no regrets about signing, still supported the government and felt that all four race groups

would soon be represented in Parliament. However, the Group Areas Act should go, he said.

Mr Gert Liebenberg, managing director of Bolland Bank, felt that "a total change in the environment" called for a new approach. But the ruling party was still the "middle party" that ultimately could offer the best solutions. The Group Areas Act should be modified to create "open areas", he added.

Professor Hennie Coetzee, a researcher in the Institute for African Political Studies at Potchefstroom University, said he had "perhaps" been a little optimistic in expecting more support for the constitution from coloured people and Indians.

"I thought they would have gone further with reform for blacks — some way of communication at least and negotiation would have come to the fore..."

He would vote for the National Party again in the "hope and belief" that the direction of re-

form would become clearer. Any government that stood by the Group Areas Act would be creating a "severe emotional shock" for its constituency, Professor Coetzee added.

Dr Jan Marais, executive chairman of a locally based international business and political consultancy, said what was needed was a "clear cut vision of where we're going. The government has given several pointers".

He had no regrets on signing the advert and believed the ruling party held out more hope than "all the combined opposition" for bringing about change.

The Group Areas Act would have to be "faded out" and a model based on the Swiss canton system held the best hope for the future, Dr Marais said.

Signatories Mr Dick Goss, chairman of Sun International, and Mr Eric Ellerine, a director of the Johannesburg-based Ellerines Furniture, declined comment.

THE following signed a nation-wide advertisement urging South Africans to vote "yes" in the 1983 referendum for a tricameral Parliament:

David Abel
G D R Armstrong
Prof Chris Barnard
S F J Barnett
Bill Bateman
Aidan Beard
W de la Harpe Beck
Theuns Bester
Maj-Gen W Black
R Botha
Elizabeth Bradley
Dr Ted Brown
Gerald Browne
Max Brozin
George Buttermann
Danie Carinus
Richard Castle
George Clark
Prof Hennie Coetzee
Neville Cohan
D E Cooper
Clive Corder
Trevor Coulson
Dr Frans Cronje
C W Dace
J Daniel
Tom de Beer
Prof Tom de Koning
Dr Wim de Villiers
Noel de Villiers
Prof Geert de Wet
Errol Drummond
A P du Preez
Eric Ellerine
Robert Enthoven

Tony Factor
Charles Ferreira
Ewald A Fichardt
Leslie Frankel
Raoul Goldman
Dick Goss
Sir de Villiers Graaff
Dr Jan Graaff
Dr Jack Feinstein
Charles Fiddian-Green
Ola W Grinaker
Arthur Grobbelaar
Wally Grobler
A B Hall
Alan D Hankinson
Dirk Hertzog
Servaas Hofmeyr
Dr C J F Human
Martin Irish
Ronnie Israel
F R Jones
Ivor Jones
Lionel Jossel
Albert Keller
Sol Kerzner
Jan Kitshoff
A C Koekemoer
Ian Lamont
Basil Landau
Francis le Riche
Piet Liebenberg
Gert Liebenberg
Leslie Lulofs
Dr Louis Luyt
G A Macmillan
Frans Malan
J F Malherbe
S Nigel Mandy
Adv D K Mann
Dr Jan S Marais
Frank Martin
Dave Marlow
Donald Masson
Dr L P McCrystal

Johan Moolman
Pieter K Morkel
Gerry Muller
Nico Myburgh
Dr Piet Neethling
Dr Henry Olivier
Bennie Oshier
M M (Sonny) Pamensky
Ted Pavitt
Dr Shlomo Peer
Chris Perry
Alex Pieneer
Prof J Poolman
Truida Prekel
Sydney Press
Willem Pretorius
Hannie Prinsloo
Bill Randall
Michael Rattray
Jans Rautenbach
Gideon Roos
Dr Etienne Rousseau
Ron Rundle
Mrs Douglas Saunders
Dr Anna Scheepers
L C Scheepers
Pepler Scholtz
Prof Grant Schutte
Louis Shill
Charles Skeen
Bennie Slome
Ted Smaile
Stevie Smit
Ivan Kenneth Soli
Sid Spilkin
Naas Steenkamp
J A Stegmann
Gerald Stein
Bob Stevenson
Ted Steyn
Prof S A S Strauss
Dr Nico Stutterheim
Eric Ungerer
Eugene van As
Prof Arrie van Rensburg
P W van Rooyen
Jack van Wyk
M J van Zyl
Jan van den Berg
Bill Venter
Trevor Wait
Dr A D Wassenaar
Dr Albert Wessels
Prof Marinus Wiechers
Prof Nic Wiehahn
Dr George Zeeman.

15/1/87 STAR

304A

Parties are preparing to choose election candidates

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

Political parties say they are gearing themselves for their own private "nomination courts" at which final decisions will be made about who they select as candidates in the election.

Most parties expect to announce their choices early in February.

The country has to wait until Parliament reconvenes before President P.W. Botha announces the date of the general election for the House of Assembly.

The dates for general nomination court sittings will probably be announced at the same time.

At stake are 166 seats and there is expected to be much jostling between parties, with various election pacts possibly in the offing.

The CP is expected to experience particular difficulty in finding safe seats for MPs who originally came in on National Party tickets.

The NP says it will name candidates for all 166 constituencies, 76 of which are in the Transvaal. But there is still some uncertainty about its plans for the nine seats held by the Opposition in the Transvaal.

Transvaal National Party nomination courts are sitting today and tomorrow after an initial sitting yesterday.

The Transvaal executive will meet on Saturday to decide on can-

didates. Those constituencies which have not yet put forward their nominations are expected to do so by Thursday next week.

The CP's secretary, Dr Frans van Staden, said February 7 was the deadline for the nomination of CP candidates.

Decisions would be made by constituency councils who, by a 75 percent majority vote, could turn down a candidate.

He said he expected the CP to field at least 106 candidates.

The regional director for the PFP Southern Transvaal, Mr Gary Cooney, said January 28 was the deadline for the nomination of PFP candidates in the Transvaal.

All candidates in the province would probably be announced by February 9.

Regional candidates committees would vet candidates and then a final decision would be taken by an electoral college comprising candidates committees and representatives of constituencies.

Rebels^{STAR} of HNP^{15/1/87 30A} will join CP talks

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

The Conservative Party says a number of HNP members have indicated they will attend the CP's January 24 "unification conference" in defiance of their party's leaders.

CP secretary Dr Frans van Staden said after his party wrote to HNP members urging them to be present — despite their leaders' rejection of the idea — a number phoned to say they would attend.

He said the CP had also talked to HNP members in various constituencies.

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais has said his party will not attend the gathering because it has been organised solely by the CP with the aim of unifying the two right-wing parties.

The CP's drive towards amalgamation has been a bone of contention for HNP leaders who favour an election pact.

There has been great controversy over the CP's letter to HNP members, which stated very clearly that the aim of the conference was one party.

SENTIMENT ECHOED

On Friday the ultra-right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging stepped into the fray and suggested the rightwingers form an election pact under "two or three leaders" — with a view to forming one political party within six months after the polling.

Dr van Staden yesterday echoed this sentiment and stressed that the CP had tried to involve the HNP in the conference from the beginning.

On October 27, he said, Mr Marais had been invited to bring his party to the conference: "If they had agreed, we would have had discussions with them and by January 24 we would have been ready to form a new party."

"But they turned down our invitation and are still saying no. If they decide now that they will come, there will be no time to organise for the founding of a new party."

"We could still come to some agreement on January 24 that within a few months we would form one party."

Mr Marais says the HNP is for an election pact: "Once CP and HNP are elected to Parliament new common ground will develop and conditions will be more favourable for unity."

Businessmen

The Star's Africa News Service has listed as participants prominent South African businessmen who were listed as participants in the African-American Institute's conference in Gaborone this week and will attend the meeting, according to the institute's officials.

Spokesmen for Mr Chris Brand, managing director of Barclays Bank, and Mr Bob Tucker, managing director of the South African Permanent

Call for

Ministers scuttle sanctions probe

15/1/87 304 A

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

THE parliamentary investigation into the implications of sanctions and boycotts has been called off because members of the Cabinet have refused to co-operate with it.

This was disclosed in the special parliamentary select committee's report released in Cape Town this week.

Government agreed to the appointment of the select committee — whose members represented all three Houses — in September last year after first turning down a call by the Opposition for a special debate on the sanctions threat.

Its terms of reference were to enquire into and report on:

- ☐ The implications for the SA economy of existing and possible future sanctions and boycotts;
- ☐ The adequacy of any steps taken to deal with such sanctions and boycotts;
- ☐ Further steps to be taken to deal with this threat.

The committee was empowered to take evidence and call for papers.

The committee said in its report it had called on several Cabinet Ministers to give evidence.

They included Trade and Industry Minister Dawie de Villiers, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Minister for Administration in the State President's Office Eli Louw, Transport Minister Hendrik Schoeman and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Danie Steyn.

Even though the committee resolved that all evidence would remain secret, the Ministers refused to divulge the relevant information needed for the committee to carry out its brief.

The committee was told it was not within its terms of reference to consider what political actions government should take to deal with sanctions and boycotts.

Consequently, the committee has had to conclude that "it is not practical for it to report adequately on the matters referred to in its terms of reference and, unless directed otherwise by Parliament, it does not propose to continue with its proceedings".

SA225 1000 1705
BA055 1635 1740

Gaborone
RP200

Political comment in this issue by
Ken Owen, Newsbills by
Arctt, Headlines by
All

NRP leaders are split on how to handle the elections, and if the differences are not resolved they could result in differing provincial strategies.

NRP split on election pact

15/1/87
Boulton
Sutton

NRP leader Bill Sutton said yesterday he would try to patch up a "misunderstanding" with the NRP's Transvaal leader Martin Stephens over the proposed election alliance between the NRP and the PFP.

However, Stephens yesterday reiterated his view that there would be no alliance or agreement between the parties in the Transvaal.

Election pacts whereby neither party would oppose the other in constituencies in order to beat the NP have already been agreed upon by the parties' leaders and their provincial leaders in the Cape and Natal.

Stephens said most NRP supporters in the Transvaal supported his view, and he stood by it.

But a federal executive meeting of his party was due to be held on January 26 and misunderstandings, if any existed, would be ironed out then.

PFP's Transvaal leader Douglas Gibson yesterday took the initia-

tive in contacting Stephens.

After the meeting, Gibson repeated his publicly expressed view that in an election which takes place in "an atmosphere of crisis" it was contrary to SA's interests for the PFP and the NRP to oppose one another in areas where this could lead to the National Party gaining seats they would not otherwise win.

Both Gibson and Stephens agreed to make contact again after January 26 once their federal executives had met.

Asked whether the respective leaders of his party had been consulted about the joint election-alliance decision between himself and PFP leader Colin Eglin, Sutton said: "At every congress we've had, including the Transvaal, we were not only authorised but instructed to pursue the idea of an alliance or some kind of arrangement among groups looking for reform."

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

PFP's Albany ^{DD 15/1/57}organiser

^(304A)
Dispatch Reporter

GRAHAMSTOWN.— A Rhodes University Masters student, Miss Maddie Moed, has been appointed Progressive Federal Party organiser for Albany.

She was born in Johannesburg, educated at a Waldorf primary school and Kingsmead, then spent a year working for an insurance company as a receptionist as well as travelling overseas.

Miss Moed came to Rhodes and took history as a major for her B Journalism degree.

She went on to do history honours and is now busy with a master's thesis on British India.

She joined the PFP youth branch, served on the executive and finally as chairman, has been secretary of the Rhodes Photographic Club, tutored in history, and has now a junior lecturership which she will take up during the second half of the year.

She also worked as a Rag debutante during her second year to raise money for the charities Rhodes Rag supports.

PFP may go to court over press curbs

15/11/87 SATURDAY
THE PFP is considering taking the "State President and his government" to court to set aside the emergency censorship regulations, party leader Colin Eglin said yesterday.

He said the media could not publish the PFP's statements on a "vast range of subjects concerning the state of the country and emergency".

But Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Min-

isters and "government spokesmen (no doubt all National Party candidates) can say what they like and be freely reported," he said.

"In these circumstances a fair election is impossible," he said.

Thelma Tuch reports that National Education Crisis Committee national organiser Eric Molobi says the NECC may challenge orders issued last

30411
week banning the organisation from meeting to discuss courses in "people's education" on school premises.

Although up to 90% of Soweto pupils had returned to school many of them were refusing to sign DET application forms — which indemnify the state in case of injury to pupils — a condition for their registration, he said.

13/11/81 BUDY
30/11/81

Parliament still privileged

PARLIAMENTARY privilege will remain intact and the media will be allowed to print what was said in Parliament, Deputy Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said last night.

Van der Merwe issued a statement to try and clarify his remarks on the TV programme Netwerk on Tuesday night when he said he believed all media re-

ports should comply with the latest emergency regulations.

But he clouded the issue once again last night by adding to his statement on parliamentary privilege: "The final test would be whether a particular piece of journalism promoted the cause of an undemocratic organisation or not."

MAX DU PREEZ

PFP may challenge Press curbs in court

15.11.87 STATE 30419 222 43

Pretoria Bureau

The Progressive Federal Party may start a second court application to challenge the latest newspaper curbs.

Yesterday the application in the Rand Supreme Court brought by the two major English-language newspaper groups to have the censorship regulations set aside was postponed to January 23.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said his party was looking at the possibility of taking the "State President and his Government" to court in a bid to have the latest clamps set aside.

In the present circumstances, a fair election was impossible, he said.

The Press was unable to publish the PFP's statements on a vast range of subjects concerning the state of the country and the emergency, he said.

"But Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers and government spokesman — no doubt all National Party candidates — can say what they like and be freely reported," Mr Eglin added.

"Our lawyers have advised us that these regulations are invalid and should be set aside by the courts. The Public Safety Act was aimed at securing the safety of the public. The State President's regulations under that Act seem to be aimed at giving the NP a wholly undemocratic and unfair electoral advantage."

The PFP leader added that there had to be a good reason why the NP was "frightened to allow the public to hear the truth".

Moorcroft: no peace under apartheid

3048
DB 16/1/87

By JILL JOUBERT

GRAHAMSTOWN

— There could be no peace under apartheid, the PFP MP for Albany, Mr E. K. Moorcroft, said at his first campaign meeting in Kanton-on-Sea last night.

The 1987 election, he added, would be a watershed one for the white electorate.

"They will be sending out a message to the world as well as to black and brown South Africans as to whether they want to continue on a headlong course towards violent confrontation and disaster, or whether a start would be made on the long road towards peace and national reconciliation.

"This will be the most important election in which any of us will vote," he added.

The National Party had made it abundantly clear there would be:

● No scrapping of the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

● An unconditional rejection of the proposals of the Kwa-Natal indaba.

"Those who support the National Party government will thus confirm the suspicions of black and brown South Africans about the sincerity of white commitment to reform.

"Support for the government will be interpreted as support for apartheid and a racial government," he added.

There would be further polarisation, continued unrest and greater support for militant black nationalist movements, such as the United Democratic Front, African National Congress and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation. Pro-divestment, economic sanctions and boycott lobbies would be given a tremendous boost.

"A heavy pro-government vote will play squarely into the hands of the Marxists whose policy is to destroy our free market 'capitalist' economy and replace it with a socialist one," Mr

Moorcroft said.

Votes for the PFP/NRP opposition parties, however, would tell black and brown South Africans that not all South African whites were racists.

"It will also boost the credibility of black leaders who have opted for peaceful, not violent change.

"It will tell the world that South Africans rejected racialism and support real reform.

"It will be the first real step towards the new government South Africa so desperately needs.

"If we move in the right direction, our future could be peaceful and prosperous, but if we move in the wrong direction, there will be no future for us," Mr Moorcroft said.

The central issue was whether South Africans were to continue supporting the political system of apartheid based on race and skin colour, or whether they would support a system of non-racial government based

on the principles of free association and democracy.

"This is the 'great divide'. On the one side are the NP, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party. On the other are the PFP and the NRP, supporting non-racial government and free-association," he added.



MR MOORCROFT

Natal faces test on pact

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The possible New Republic Party/Progressive Federal Party election agreement faces its toughest test today when the NRP Natal head committee holds what is likely to be a stormy meeting here.

Although a broad agreement was made earlier this week by the NRP and PFP provincial leaders, a revolt is likely to erupt today over the details and principles of the agreement.

Former MPC and Point divisional chairman, Mr Roger Whiteley, has attacked the agreement saying that, "the majority of NRP supporters still believe in group rights, not the policy of the PFP and their left-wing cohorts."

Apparently the two parties have agreed not to contest each other's seats.

It seems this will be

adhered to in the inland seats, with the PFP defending Greytown, Pietermaritzburg North and Pietermaritzburg South with NRP support, and Mr Ralph Hardingham using PFP support to defend his NRP seat.

Problems are likely to be encountered in the coastal region with pockets of right-wing NRP supporters, and possibly office-bearers, unwilling to have anything to do with the PFP.

It seems that the pro-agreement party leadership will be engaged in a massive struggle to prevent the anti-agreement faction from influencing the undecided members and possibly ruining the agreement.

Meanwhile, the National Party MP for Umhlatuzana and Chief Whip, Mr Nico Pretorius, has announced that he will not stand for re-election.

Mr Pretorius cited personal reasons for his decision to retire after 35 years in politics.

He said the NP would put up a candidate for Umhlatuzana.

The NP MP for Klip River, Mr Jacko Maree, said yesterday he would defend his seat and showed his confidence by advertising in a newspaper here for a garage near Louis Botha Airport to help with his travel arrangements to and from Parliament.

Mr Maree, who was elected in a by-election in September, said that by the end of January all NP supporters in his constituency would be registered.

● Sapa reports that the PFP has nominated Mr Sam Grolman as its candidate for Benoni in the coming general election for the House of Assembly.

Editorial opinion P 14

30414

A FIERCE political war on two fronts is looming for the National Party in the pending white general election.

It will not be the first time the NP has had to contend with assaults on two fronts. But there is every indication that it will be tougher this time round.

On its left, the NP faces the prospect of an electoral alliance between the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party — a far cry from the situation in 1983, when the NRP campaigned with the NP for a "yes" vote in the referendum on the tri-racial constitution.

The PFP and the NRP have already reached what PFP national organiser Neil Ross calls "draft agreements" in Natal and the Cape.

In Natal, the basis of the accord is that the party which has the best chance of defeating the NP will contest the seat. To a large extent, that will depend on which party has the most resources to throw into a campaign for the seat.

In the Cape, there is an as yet unannounced agreement on how seats should be allocated between the two.

The two parties were brought closer to one another by their common

The Nats: Caught between Natal and the plattelanders

perceptions during last year's deliberations of the Natal Indaba. Both were signatories to the final Indaba report which was this week handed over to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Chris Heunis.

Heunis's formal receipt of the report, with its proposed multi-racial legislature for KwaNatal, including a lower chamber based on one man, one vote, provided the one certainty of the election: Heunis will not commit himself on the report until after the election.

To reject it, as Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha did, will be further to alienate progressive voters in Natal. To accept it will infuriate the mainly Afrikaner ultra-right.

Three Afrikaans organisations which participated in the Indaba — the FAK, the Handelssinstituit and the

Could the large number of Nat MPs who've opted for retirement this year have something to do with creeping old age? Or with the fact that a rather tougher fight than usual can be expected in the elections? PATRICK LAURENCE reports

Rapporteurs — refused to sign the report. They submitted their own minority report instead.

Meanwhile the ultra-rightist Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties have moved perceptibly closer to an electoral agreement.

Last week the CP rejected calls from HNP leader Jaap Marais for an electoral pact, insisting instead that the HNP agree to full amalgamation of the two parties at the reunification congress set for January 24.

But following an exhortation from Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche for an ultra-rightwing election pact, the CP changed its stance.

Promising to give NP candidates the "most difficult election in their lives", Terre'Blanche proposed that the far-right parties should negotiate an election pact and amalgamate after the election.

Terre'Blanche had earlier rejected an invitation from Marais to activate the AWB's dormant political party, the Blanke Volksraad Party, and enter into an election alliance with the HNP.

CP secretary Frans van Staden then chipped in with a statement, saying the CP did not insist on amalgamation on January 24 and would settle for an HNP commitment to unity within six months.

That, of course, left the way open

for the AWB proposal for a CP-HNP pact before the election and amalgamation afterwards.

While a deal has still not been signed and sealed, the chances of an ultra-rightwing pact have improved.

Terre'Blanche is type-cast for the role of reconciler. The ex-policeman is a former HNP parliamentary candidate, but many of his AWB zealots are members of the CP.

In the last general election, the NP had to contend with the HNP and the smaller Aksie Eie Toekoms on its right. In the pending election it faces the prospect of a far stronger ultra-right challenge.

In a development which may be related to Terre'Blanche's vow to give the NP a tough fight, 27 MPs have so far announced that they will not be contesting the election. All but three — two PFP MPs and one CP member — are NP men.

The large number of retiring Nat MPs, a fifth of its parliamentary caucus, may be explained in part to natural attrition of time.

But could it be that some Nat MPs have no stomach for the fight to come, that the option of coping out is preferable to slugging it out?

CH 1-16-15 16/1/81
304A

Resistance to poll pact: NRP head committee to meet

Political Staff

THE extent of the mini-rebellion in the New Republic Party against an election arrangement with the PFP will be clarified this weekend when the NRP's head committee meets in Durban.

While the party's leadership is fully behind a pact with the Progressive Federal Party, there have been rumblings of discontent among the conservative wing of the party about the proposed deal.

In previous elections the NRP, and the United Party before it, have been bitter opponents of the PFP, and the split votes between the two parties have given opposition seats to the National Party on a platter.

With the NRP's dwindling political fortunes — it now has only five MPs — the party may be wiped out unless it patches up its quarrels with the PFP.

Moreover, the PFP and the NRP found that they had considerable common ground in the KwaNatal Indaba and both supported the draft constitution for the province.

Informal talks between the parties over a number of months have now culminated in an agreement about an election arrangement with the backing of the NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, its Natal leader, Mr Derrick Watterson, and its Cape leader, Mr Pat Rogers.

However, the NRP in the Transvaal, where the party has no MPs and minimal organization, and some of the party's former MPCs in Natal, have criticized the arrangement.

This may well lead to tensions at the head committee meeting this weekend, but it is not expected to lead to a major rebellion and it is likely that most of the party will back the arrangement with the PFP.

Pick & Play
LOTTERY
UNDERMARKET SHOPPING

WHITE ELECTION

Waiting for May

The National Party (NP) may be far from losing power, but last week's "non-aggression" election pacts among the opposition parties certainly means that it will face stiffer opposition at the polls later this year than at any time since gaining power in 1948.

The alliances, of course, are between the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and New Republic Party (NRP) on its Left, and the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), which now seem certain to reach an agreement, on its Right.

Opposition parties are expected to contest more of the 166 seats available than ever before; NP majorities are likely to be slashed across the board; at least three Cabinet ministers are in danger of losing their seats — two to the Right, and one to the Left; and two deputy ministers will almost certainly lose their seats to the Left.

The election will test once and for all the strength of the rightwing, which is expected to make significant gains throughout the country, but is unlikely to take over as the Official Opposition in the white House of Assembly.

The PFP-NRP pact could be the breakthrough that liberal opponents of government have been hoping for. The PFP's dream of winning more than 50 seats in the near future no longer seems so far-fetched.

There is little doubt that the election will be on either May 6 or 13. The date will be formally announced by President P W Botha when he opens parliament on January 30.

With the Nats up against an unprecedented rightwing onslaught, they may decide to cut their losses on the Left and throw all their resources into holding on to what they have in the Transvaal and Free State.

In the Transvaal, at least two Cabinet ministers' seats are in danger from the Right — Greyling Wentzel's (Bethal) and Pietie du Plessis' (Lydenburg). In Natal, NP provincial leader and Cabinet minister Stoffel Botha (Port Natal) could lose his seat to the Left.

Deputy ministers Ron Miller (Durban North) and George Bartlett (Amanzimtoti) have little chance of retaining the seats they won in 1981 on NRP tickets.

Some observers believe the PFP-NRP alliance may win up to 15 seats from the NP, pushing up their total in parliament to 47. The alliance could take five seats from the NP in Natal, including all three originally won by NRP candidates who later crossed the floor.

This would leave Stoffel Botha with a humiliating handful of only five of the province's 20 seats, and even fewer if the right-

wing is successful in one or two contests. The Natal NP currently has 10 seats.

The prospect of a strong showing by the PFP-NRP alliance in Natal has been boosted by widespread anger at Stoffel Botha's uncompromising rejection of the Indaba plans, which have the enthusiastic backing of both NRP and PFP supporters in the province.

Two other Nat seats seem certainties for the alliance; East London North and East



President Botha ... what will go Right?

London City, both of which were won by Nats on minority votes when the PFP and NRP split the opposition vote in 1981.

And although the 1981 election results are no longer a particularly accurate reflection of voting patterns because of the considerable changes that have taken place since the last poll, they do serve as a pointer to possible alliance gains — particularly if the rightwing puts up candidates and splits the conservative vote.

Nat seats in danger include:

- ☐ Queenstown (445 Nat majority over the combined NRP-PFP vote in 1981);
- ☐ Benoni (89);
- ☐ Sunnyside (2 013, but currently held by the CP which is expected to contest it against the NP and the alliance) and;
- ☐ Rosettenville (284).

Further possibilities for the alliance are Simonstown (891 NP majority over PFP) and Randburg (698 NP majority over the PFP). North Rand is another danger seat for the Nats, who held it with a 1 086 majority over the PFP in 1981. But the Nat MP crossed to the CP, which is expected to contest the seat again, possibly causing a split wide enough to let in the PFP.

Details of the alliance are to be worked out at regional level and ratified by the federal executives of the two parties. Party leaders expect no major problems.

Possible rightwing gains are far more difficult to determine, and political pundits are

deeply divided on the issue of how strong the rightwing may be. Predictions of the number of seats within its grasp range from fewer than the CP-HNP's current 18 to around 30.

What does seem certain is that the rightwing will win considerable support across the country, but there are serious doubts about whether it has sufficient concentrated support to take a significant number of seats.

In 1981, before the CP was formed, the HNP-rightwing protest group drew around 211 000 votes countrywide, but won no seats. The PFP, on the other hand, scooped 27 seats with only 265 000 votes. Even the NRP, which attracted only 111 000 votes, managed to win eight seats. The number of candidates fielded obviously affected the total vote.

By-elections since the CP split away from the NP in 1982 indicate rightwing support in all areas; the middle and lower middle class urban areas like Germiston district, Primrose and Springs; the upper class areas such as Waterkloof; the platteland — Soutpansberg, Waterberg, Parys and Kliprivier; and platteland towns like Sasolburg.

Apart from some districts in the Transvaal platteland and a few Witwatersrand constituencies, rightwing support does not, however, appear to be concentrated enough to win seats. What seems more likely is severely reduced Nat majorities across the board — but a few surprises cannot be ruled out.

The names of most candidates are expected to be known by the end of the month. So far, 21 Nat and two PFP MPs have said they will not seek re-election and more are expected to stand down before nomination day.

FIN MAIL 16/1/87
CENSORSHIP

Press fights back

As the FM went to press, the Argus Printing & Publishing Company and SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) were poised to apply for an urgent application to have the latest set of seemingly endless clamps on the media set aside.

The latest restrictions were announced last week in response to the publication of an advertisement on the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress (ANC). The advertisement, placed by the United Democratic Front and other groups calling for the unbanning of the ANC, appeared in, among others, *Business Day* and *The Star* before a Government Gazette was issued prohibiting further publication. In a nutshell, the government order prohibits the publishing of anything which could promote or improve

FIN MAIL 16/1/87

KWA-NATAL INDABA

Calling on Heunis

The KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals, which were officially being presented to government as the *FM* went to press, will no doubt cause considerable discomfort in the Nationalist caucus.

With the sudden return to *verkrampte* politics ahead of the impending elections for the white House of Assembly, government can hardly risk losing support on the Right by embracing the Indaba's proposals for a one-man one-vote constitution for Natal.

At the same time, by shunning the initiative's more positive aspects, it faces the possibility of embarrassing its ambassadors in Washington and London. Privately, both have been hard-selling the Indaba and rejection could leave them with egg on their faces — even if foreign goodwill counts for little with Pretoria these days.

Thus far, government appears to have been trying to play it both ways. It got the National Party (NP) leader in Natal, Stoffel Botha, to shoot down the proposals when they were first leaked, and then claimed his view was a personal one which did not reflect

official government thinking.

As Indaba co-convenor and former New Republic Party (NRP) provincial councillor Frank Martin wryly observed: "Botha kicked the Indaba to pieces and Heunis kicked it to touch."

As the *FM* went to press, Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence, KwaZulu delegation leader Oscar Dhlomo, and Martin sought to pin government down to an "official" response by formally presenting the Indaba's constitutional blueprint to Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

Given the pending election, however, Heunis — who is not known for being succinct over such issues — was expected to be non-committal. Referral of the document to the Cabinet for a fuller comment seemed likely.

Before the meeting, Martin claimed he was anticipating some "horse trading" with Heunis. Try as he may to steer it away from party politics, the Indaba has already become an election issue in Natal, where there is wide sympathy for its proposals. If the NRP and Progressive Federal Party go into the election united on a pro-Indaba platform, they have the potential to make significant gains at the expense of the NP in Natal.

That possibility is not lost on the NP, which would dearly like to keep the Indaba outside the realm of party politics. Though opposition politicians are already encouraging voters in Natal to vote for candidates who "support Indaba principles," Martin has not ruled out a deal with Heunis.

While Clarence, too, would like to see voters in Natal returning pro-Indaba candidates to parliament, he sees a danger in fusing the two issues too closely. "We are still hoping to persuade government to conduct a separate referendum on the Indaba," he says. "If the Indaba gets mixed up in the election campaign, we don't want government to turn round and say you've had your referendum."

As Clarence points out, selling the Indaba

does not stop at a whites only election or referendum. There are still the coloureds, Indians and blacks of the province to rally behind the initiative.

And that could prove the most difficult part yet.

CAPE TIMES 16/1/81
304A

Resistance to poll pact: NRP head committee to meet

Political Staff

THE extent of the mini-rebellion in the New Republic Party against an election arrangement with the PFP will be clarified this weekend when the NRP's head committee meets in Durban.

While the party's leadership is fully behind a pact with the Progressive Federal Party, there have been rumblings of discontent among the conservative wing of the party about the proposed deal.

In previous elections the NRP, and the United Party before it, have been bitter opponents of the PFP, and the split votes between the two parties have given opposition seats to the National Party on a platter.

With the NRP's dwindling political fortunes — it now has only five MPs — the party may be wiped out unless it patches up its quarrels with the PFP.

Moreover, the PFP and the NRP found that they had considerable common ground in the KwaNatal Indaba and both supported the draft constitution for the province.

Informal talks between the parties over a number of months have now culminated in an agreement about an election arrangement with the backing of the NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, its Natal leader, Mr Derrick Watterson, and its Cape leader, Mr Pat Rogers.

However, the NRP in the Transvaal, where the party has no MPs and minimal organization, and some of the party's former MPCs in Natal, have criticized the arrangement.

This may well lead to tensions at the head committee meeting this weekend, but it is not expected to lead to a major rebellion and it is likely that most of the party will back the arrangement with the PFP.

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

The Transvaal is already in the grip of election fever as political parties name candidates for the yet-to-be-announced general election.

The main fight is likely to be between the National Party and the Conservative Party — which still holds out hopes of strengthening its resources by concluding an alliance with the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP).

The NP's election machinery has moved into top gear with the nomination of more than 30 candidates in the Transvaal finalised. The party's nomination courts have been sitting this week.

The Transvaal has 76 House of Assembly seats in all.

Battle-lines have been clearly drawn against the CP, with the NP nominating candidates to contest eight of the seats it holds. The seats are Langlaagte, Jeppe, Brakpan, Sunnyside, Nigel, Koedoespoort, Soutpansberg and Meyerton.

A number of Cabinet Ministers have been chosen unanimously to stand again. They are Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha (Westdene), Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok (Verwoerdburg), Deputy Minister of Information Dr S. J. van der Merwe (Helderkruijn), and Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology (Pretoria East).

Comebacks

A group of former MPCs who lost their positions when the provincial council system was scrapped last year could make comebacks after being nominated for parliamentary seats. They include:

- Former Witbank MPC Mr Paul Broodryk will stand against the CP's Mr Frank le Roux.
- Mr At Snyman will stand in his old Meyerton constituency against Mr Willie van der Merwe (CP).
- Former MPC Mr Hennie Bekker will fight the Jeppe seat held by the CP's Mr Koos van der Merwe.
- Mr Tjaart Kruger will contest Koedoespoort.

Other candidates named are Dr Piet Welgemoed (Primrose), Dr Johann Vilonel (Langlaagte), Mr Johan van Zyl (Brentwood), Mr Chris Ballot (Overvaal), Dr Boy Geldenhuys (Randfontein), Mr Willem Cuyler (Roodepoort), Mr Abre Hanekom (Nigel), Mr Lucas van Vuuren (Hercules), Mr Karel Swanepoel (Gezina), Mr Rex le Roux (Pretoria West) and Mr Albert Nothnagel (Innesdal).

Unopposed candidates will be vetted tomorrow by the Transvaal executive. Where there has been more than one nomination, local committees will vote next week.

It is understood there are nomination contests in about seven constituencies.

Election fever is hotting up

Nats name candidates to fight the eight CP-held seats in Transvaal

30.4.77

SMK

Change in NP 'vital'

GABORONE — A National Party leadership change is a necessary element for future political reform in South Africa, delegates attending the 17th African American Institute Conference

here, were told yesterday.

This was said by one of the delegates from South Africa during a panel discussion focusing on the political crisis in the country. The five-day conference attended by more than 150 Afro-American leaders from governments, the private sector, churches, labour, and the media ends today.

Among those on the South African panel

which looked at the internal and external developments were, Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association; Mr Anthony Bloom, Premier Group Holdings chairman; Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of *Indicator*; Mr John Samuels, director of Sached; Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC secretary for information; and Mr Harald Paken-dorf, a journalist and political commentator.

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Sowetan 16/1/87

posts, also heads the Mozambican commission of inquiry into the air crash in which President Samora Machel died in SA on October 19 last year. The previous Minister of Transport, Alcantra Santos, was one of the 34 victims of the crash.

Former Minister of Health Pascoal Mocumbi takes over Chissano's foreign affairs portfolio, and Major General Mariano Matshinhe becomes Minister of State Security, replacing Colonel Sergio Vieira, who becomes Director of the Frelimo school for political cadres. In addition Vieira retains his Cabinet post as one of the three Deputy Ministers of Defence. Matshinhe, who until this week, was in charge of the northern province of Niassa, held the security portfolio before Vieira.

Former Deputy Minister of Health, Dr Fernando Vaz, is promoted to minister, Vaz was a member of the first Mozambican government team which inspected the site of the Machel crash and visited the survivors at the Rob Ferreira Hospital in Nelspruit.

Other new ministers are Luis Bernardo Honwana (Culture) and Feliciano Gundana, former governor of the Zambezia province, who becomes Minister of State in the Presidency. Also notable is the appointment of Cadmiel Muthemba and Julio N'Tchola as governors of Tete and Zambezia respectively. Although members of Frelimo's Central Committee, they previously held junior positions.

Even though a reshuffle had been expected, the timing of the announcement came as a surprise. Many thought it would come at the end of this week, after the close of the current session of the National Peoples' Assembly.

The newly elected People's Assembly, which has been in session since last Monday, is debating a number of economic draft Bills which have already been approved by both the Cabinet and the Central Committee. (Current Affairs December 12 1986)

New legislation is expected to include provision for a significant devaluation of the metical, and an increase in rents for State-owned flats and houses.

POLITICS FINANCIAL

Lending an ear

The prospects of ideological opponents in SA sitting around a table in an effort to resolve their differences now seem more remote than ever.

The latest publication curbs have effectively outlawed discussion of the strategies and policies of the main extra-parliamentary groups. It is remarkable, therefore, that there are still organisations committed to communication — apparently against all odds — as the only peaceful solution to the country's mounting crises.

The *Let South Africa Speak* campaign is one of them. Its yellow bumper-stickers are familiar in most main centres, but its low-

profile approach and shunning of publicity has left its background and aims hazy to all except those directly involved.

A recent decision by the campaign's co-ordinators in Cape Town to raise public awareness resulted in an FM interview with spokesman Jimmy Baigrie. A Cape Town businessman, Baigrie says the campaign started 19 months ago when a group of friends in business in the city established an informal discussion group to talk about issues of common interest.

Investment-related fields

Members of the group were all involved in investment-related fields and were concerned that short-term issues were influencing long-term prospects.

"We went through the usual process of blaming everyone else until we looked at the situation in business terms and said if a company is insolvent it doesn't matter how it got there, if it's bust, it's bust." They decided to do something — just as staff dedicated to a troubled company would if it faced a crisis, he says.

"We decided the root of South Africa's problem was not apartheid, which can be removed tomorrow and replaced with another form of tyranny. The problem is that over the years proposed solutions have been continually repressed and we've ended up with nothing but problems. We have no guarantee that the next state will not be worse than the existing one, because we have no entrenched democratic procedures," Baigrie says.

He cites the legal principle of *audi alteram partem* — let both sides be heard — to strengthen his point and says the principle is barred from South African politics, resulting in political decisions being made by voters and public representatives without the benefit of the full facts of the situation.

"What it boils down to is that those who have the vote can't find out what the alternative solutions are, and those who have proposals for alternatives don't have the vote. If a business were run on that basis, it would collapse. When a country is run on that basis, it also collapses," Baigrie comments.

The campaign co-ordinators (there are no formal office bearers, and the only full-time employee is a secretary) formulated their attitude in a manifesto, which affirms the fundamental right of South Africans to hear and be heard by each other.

Within three months of circulating the first manifestos in August last year, 100 000 copies of the document had been requested for distribution around the country. Public support included a cross-section of top business people.

"We knew then that our product worked, that it had a market and that there was support for our standpoint," Baigrie says.

The co-ordinators asked supporters to display campaign stickers, tie yellow ribbons wherever they could, wear something yellow on Mondays and Fridays and distribute manifestos — all in an effort to unite people with a common ideal.

The next step was to put the manifesto's sentiments into practice.

"We were aware that government was unlikely to pay any attention to a manifesto or a campaign, so we had to do something more ourselves.

"We had heightened people's awareness to what we believed was the root of our problems, but we needed to go further," Baigrie says.

He points out that the campaign's task is not to resolve conflict, but to facilitate contact between protagonists. "People in a conflict situation don't want it resolved, they want to win it. We wanted to put people in a position to hear and be heard by their equally committed ideological opponents. This is the essence of the democratic process which we don't have in SA."

Cape workshops

The campaign started workshops in the Cape Town area a year ago and the co-ordinators are "completely satisfied" that workshops are the most effective way of applying the manifesto.

"We are letting SA speak and listen to itself," says Baigrie. He admits it is not easy to get community leaders from all sides to sit down and talk. There are many disappointments and progress is slow. Credibility is also a problem, suspicion and distrust in SA is now almost total.

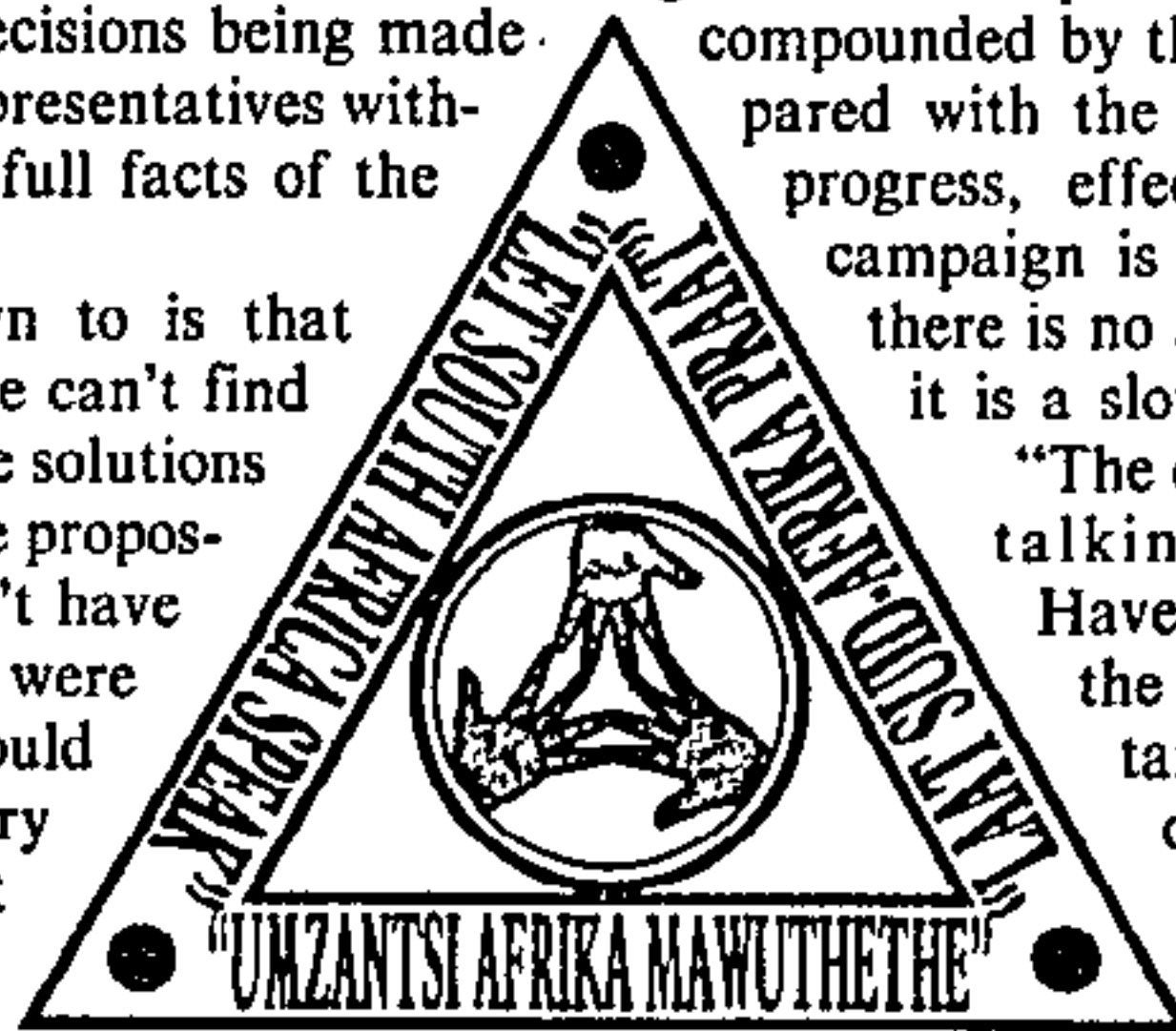
He concedes on reflection that the pace of government repression — which has been compounded by the latest clamps — compared with the pace of the campaign's progress, effectively means that the campaign is moving backwards. But there is no alternative, by its nature it is a slow process.

"The obvious question is: 'Isn't talking a waste of time? Haven't things gone beyond the talking stage? Isn't military confrontation the way out?' Our answer is that in the end there must be talks. The only variable is the degree of

death and destruction we put ourselves through before our leaders call a halt and talk. We have to establish a democratic process," he says.

Baigrie does not believe the campaign is duplicating the work done by similar organisations (for example, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for Democratic Alternatives for SA).

The campaign's funds come from donations and subscriptions to a recently launched quarterly newsletter. It is apolitical in that it does not support a political party, but it does have a very strong point of view, says Baigrie.



30411 16/1/87

2 Cape Times, Friday

Minister 'can't have it both ways'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday demanded that the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, give an unambiguous undertaking that everything said in Parliament could be reported in the press.

The PFP's spokesman on information, Mr Peter Soal, MP, said Dr Van der Merwe "must stop speaking out of both sides of his mouth. He can't have it both ways".

"He cannot say there is parliamentary privilege while at the same time saying the press can't report everything which is said in Parliament."

The PFP's deputy chief whip, Mr Alf Widman, said yesterday that the acting Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, had given him an assurance that the question of parliamentary privilege and the state of emergency was receiving attention.

□ Mr Stoffel van der Merwe 'Network' interview — page 8

AWB youth seek Nat MP wants petition supporters 'open' cinemas

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau West Rand Bureau

The row over the possible closure of Pietersburg's only cinema, because of the council's whites-only attitude, took a new turn this week when the youth wing of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) tried to discover the names of signatories supporting a petition by the cinema owner, Mr Sidney Segal.

Mr Segal, who has collected more than 1 000 signatures, managed to prevent the seizure of the names by rightwingers apparently on a witchhunt for "integrationists".

An AWB spokesman, Mr Danie Oosthuysen, said the controversy was a trap to force conservatives into rash actions. Young supporters had been told not to get involved.

Nationalists claim the fact that Mr Segal had obtained such wide support in a week indicates a strong weight of opinion in favour of an open cinema, which the council could not ignore.

Ironically, all races have been admitted to unofficially to the cinema for many years.

Krugersdorp MP Mr Leon Wesels, who will stand again for the National Party in the coming elections, supports calls for the town's cinemas to be opened to all races.

He told The Star yesterday: "The owner should decide himself who should be allowed in."

"In practice, open cinemas have proved that they are not a source of conflict, despite the many gruesome stories that are being spread in Krugersdorp."

"People who are themselves not cinemagoers should not be put in a position to take away the pleasure of regular cinemagoers."

"Those people should carry on with their own pastime activities without the issue of open cinemas bothering them."

Constructive engagement condemned

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — The Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement is dead, an American congressman has told delegates at the African-American Institute conference.

Delegates were also told constructive engagement had "enormously destructive" consequences both with regard to prospects for meaningful change in South Africa and American interests abroad.

Democrat Congressman Howard Wolpe said at a media briefing after yesterday's three closed sessions on South Africa that he had stressed these messages.

Dr Nthato Motlana said South African participants at one session had restated "what the world had seen on their television screens for the last 10 years but has now been wiped off the screens by the restrictions in the country".

Congressman Walter Fauntroy, leader of the Free South Africa Movement, said apartheid had condemned South Africa to a course of economic decline that was probably irreversible.

The conference ends today.

Top Nats 'must switch to reform'

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Change to the National Party leadership was needed for political reform in South Africa, delegates at an African-American Institute conference here were told yesterday by a South African delegate during a panel discussion.

The five-day conference attended by more than 150 African and American leaders from government, the private sector, churches, labour and the media ends today.

Among those on the South African panel which considered internal and external developments were Dr Nthato Motlana (Soweto Civic Association chairman), Mr Anthony Bloom (Premier Group Holdings chairman), Mr Ameen Akhalwaya (editor of *The Indicator*), Mr John Samuels (director of Sached), Mr Thabo Mbeki (ANC secretary for information) and Mr Harald Pakendorf (journalist and political commentator).

Topics discussed included black education, media restrictions, black resistance to apartheid, business and white political perspectives.

Delegates were told that if there was change in the NP leadership reform would accelerate, which might lead to Nelson Mandela's release and talks with the ANC.

They were also told that the Conservative Party was likely to become the official Opposition because the Progressive Federal Party was losing its grip.

The coming white general election, a delegate said, would be fought on an anti-ANC, anti-American and anti-foreign interference platform. Whites were going to be rallied around the South African flag. Another likelihood, it was said, was that the State President, Mr Botha, would resign after winning the election.

Raw quits in shock decision

Political Reporter

FORMER New Republic Party leader and Member of Parliament for Point, Mr Vause Raw, last night announced he would not defend his seat in the forthcoming House of Assembly election.

Although Mr Raw, 65, cited personal reasons for his decision to retire after 31 years in Parliament, the move came as something of a shock.

The Progressive Federal Party had made it known that it would not have been prepared to help Mr Raw retain his seat.

The way now seems clear for the two parties to agree on the allocation of seats and it is believed PFP Natal leader, Mr Ray Swart and his NRP counterpart, Mr Derrick Watterson, will hold discussions on the subject on Monday.

Indaba

Mr Raw said he remained an NRP member and would not join any other party.

Mr Watterson said that after a three-and-a-half hour meeting the Natal head committee agreed by a substantial majority to participate in the election and seek agreement with the PFP on the allocation of seats.

A third resolution, passed unanimously, committed the party to fighting the election on NRP policy and in support of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Mrs Hotz

Mrs Sybil Hotz, chairman of the Durban City Council Management Committee and former mayor, has put her name forward as a Progressive Federal Party candidate in the forthcoming House of Assembly election.

Mrs Hotz said she thought it was time to 'stand up and be counted'.

'I have always said that I would not stand for Parliament while still involved in municipal government, but anyone who believes strongly about something, should get involved.'

She said she was not looking at any constituency in particular. She lives in Umhlatuzana.

Natal pact likely as Raw retires as MP

Own Correspondent 3041

DURBAN. — The former New Republic Party leader and Member of Parliament for Point, Mr Vause Raw, last night announced that he would not stand in the coming election.

Although Mr Raw, 65, cited personal reasons for his decision to retire after 31 years in Parliament, the move came as a shock.

The Progressive Federal Party has said it would not have been prepared to help Mr Raw retain his seat.

The way now seems clear for the parties to agree on the allocation of seats. It is believed that PFP Natal leader Mr Ray Swart and his NRP counterpart Mr Derrick Watterson will hold talks on Monday.

Mr Raw said he remained an NRP member and would not join any other party.

"I cannot be even remotely associated with the attitudes which are tolerated within the PFP towards our national security, defence and apologies for terrorism and the ANC (African National Congress)," Mr Raw said.



Man dies after...

blacks...

like

Tutu: PFP must leave Parliament

DD 17/1/86
304A

JOHANNESBURG — The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) should withdraw from Parliament and prove to the world that South Africa was not a parliamentary democracy, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town told a press conference here on his return from an Australian visit that the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, would have proved "absolutely nothing" if his party were returned to power with a big majority in the coming election.

"The PFP ought to get out of this charade and make it clear to the world that we do not have a Parliamentary democracy. Because we do not have it," Archbishop Tutu said.

The forthcoming election for whites was a "total non-event".

"What does (President) Botha want to prove? Does he want to emulate his predecessor and use the United States as a scapegoat to tell his people, 'Give me the mandate I want to do what I don't know'?"

If the PFP resigned from Parliament and the National Party were returned with as much as a 70 per cent majority, Mr Botha would have proved "absolutely nothing".

Archbishop Tutu said the world was becoming aware that the South African Government was not interested in negotiation.

The government had wasted numerous opportunities for negotiation, snubbing the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group and disregarding pleas from Archbishop Tutu and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, he said.

However, the PFP has rejected Archbishop Tutu's call.

The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said his party was "convinced that at this stage of our country's history it must use the base which it has in Parliament to fight the Nationalists and to oppose and expose the policies and the excesses of President Botha's government".

PFP rejects plea by Tutu to withdraw

CAN Trans 17/11/87
3066A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday rejected a plea by Archbishop Desmond Tutu for the PFP to withdraw from Parliament and prove to the world that South Africa was not a parliamentary democracy.

The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town was speaking at a news conference in Johannesburg on his return from a visit to Australia.

He said the State President, Mr P W Botha, would prove "absolutely nothing" if his party were returned with a big majority in the coming election.

But Mr Eglin said the PFP was convinced that "at this stage of our country's history, it must use the base which it has in Parliament to fight the Nationalists and to oppose and expose the policies and the excesses of Mr Botha's government."

"I believe the PFP can show that in spite of the government's propaganda

machine there is growing support among the white electorate for a non-racial and democratic South Africa."

At the news conference at his Johannesburg home, Archbishop Tutu said:

"The PFP ought to get out of this charade and make it clear that we do not have what the world seems to think we have — a parliamentary democracy."

"Because we do not have it if 70% of the population do not have the vote," he said.

The coming election for whites was a "total non-event", he added.

He said the world was becoming aware that the government was not interested in negotiation.

The church could eventually be faced with a position where the violent overthrow of the government was the lesser of two evils.

However, he still believed there was an outside chance of a "reasonably peaceful resolution" of the South African conflict.

□ Tutu visit to Australia 'distorted', page 9

CHE T. 17/1/82

Myburgh not standing for re-election 30kA

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party MP for Wynberg, Mr Philip Myburgh, announced yesterday that he would not stand for Parliament in this year's election.

Mr Myburgh, whose resignation as an MP has been expected, has decided to follow a business career with a Cape-based company.

He said the decision had not been an easy one.

He would continue to support the PFP in whatever way possible in his new position and predicted that the party would play "a very significant role in the future".

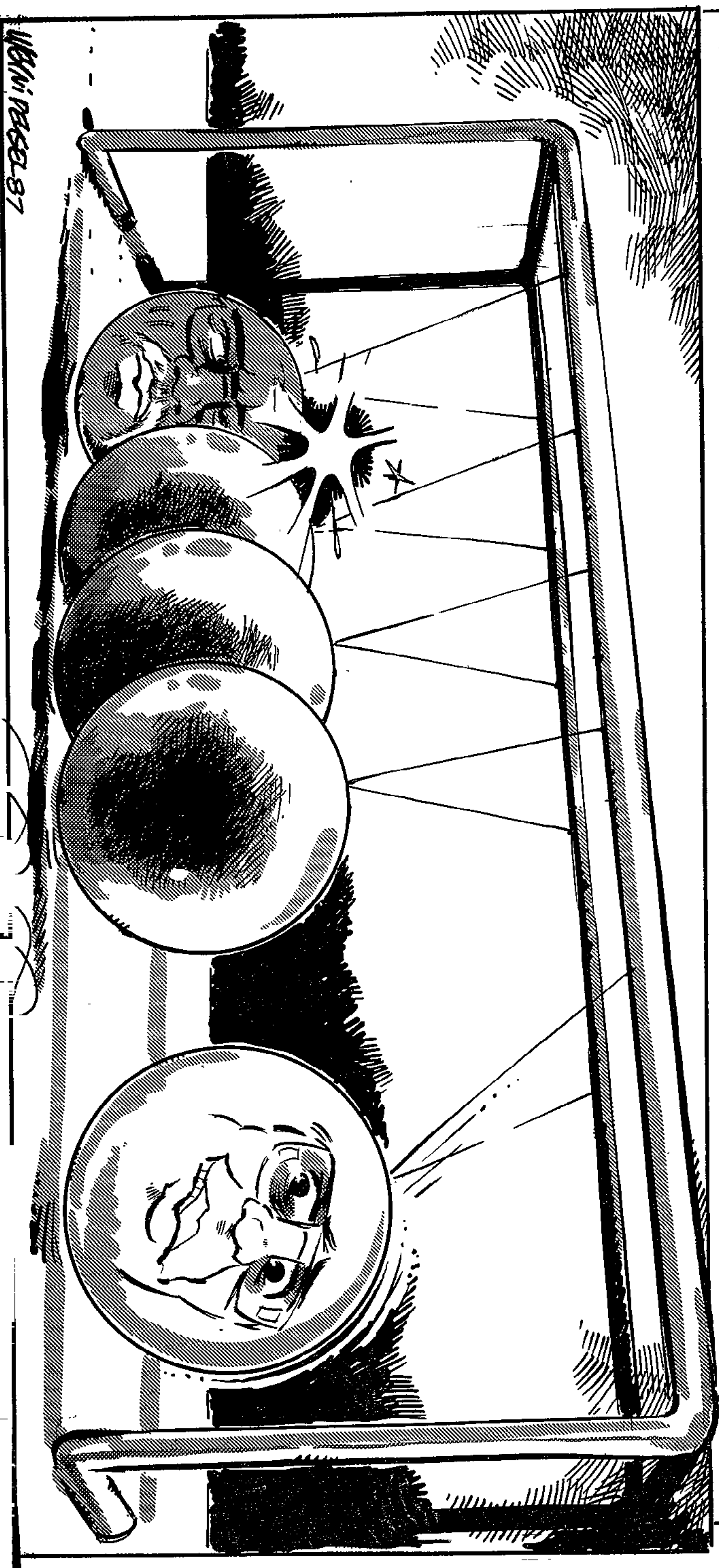
He is likely to be succeeded in the safe PFP seat by the general secretary of the PFP and member of the President's Council, Mr Robin Carlisle, the former PFP MPC for Von Brandis in Johannesburg.

Although Mr Carlisle's nomination still has to be confirmed by the PFP's candidates committee, it is understood that he has full backing of the party's constituency committee in Wynberg.

Mr Myburgh, the PFP's defence spokesman, said he had discussed the matter with the party's leader, Mr Colin Eglin, and had made up his mind not to make himself available for re-election.

He was elected as MP for Wynberg in 1977 with a narrow 200-vote majority but four years later he turned it into a safe PFP seat with a majority of more than 2 000 votes.

Anti-polarisation?



WERNER 1987-87

WE ARE all victims of a polarisation syndrome.

This is unhealthy. It distorts our thinking and it limits our options. Let us at least liberate ourselves conceptually from its stranglehold.

Government spokesmen use the polarisation model to their own advantage. They reduce our political future to a choice between National Party policy and an ANC/SACP alliance. Pik Botha rejects negotiation with the ANC, proclaiming: "We do not negotiate with a bunch of Marxists."

This way of thinking does not do justice to the complexity of the political situation. It is also co-responsible for the fact that we are caught in a spiral of violence. Those who use polarisation language are inclined to act accordingly.

The polarisation model is used by the Government to justify its rejection of a democratic negotiation process. It played a role in the failure of the Eminent Persons Group to convince the Government of the necessity of negotiation with Mandela.

Since the Botha Government wants to share power without losing control, a democratic dispensation which would lead to a black majority in Parliament is unacceptable. Polarisation talk is a rationalisation of this decision to hold on to power.

It also leads to siege politics in which the Government makes use of the state of emergency to control black militancy and hopes to co-opt enough blacks to keep black administration functioning. The blacks who are willing to be used in this manner are, however, blacks who are not acknowledged by the majority set on liberation.

Unfortunately many blacks also make use of the polarisation model to their own advantage. They too are unwilling to negotiate, mobilising black opposition in terms of an uncompromising struggle for total power.

The polarisation model, used by both white ruler and black revolutionary, must be rejected for a variety of reasons.

Arrogant

In the first place, because it illustrates a laziness in thinking. It ignores facts, arguments, nuances and complexities in order to dramatise a situation for selfish reasons. It is a well-known strategy used by right and left. It helps to mobilise followers but it does not contribute to the politics of negotiation.

In the second place, because the polarisation model hides from our view the fragmentation which exists in white and black politics. A political model which does not take the reality of fragmentation into account, ignores facts and events in favour of self interest, but to the detriment of democratic solutions.

Both the myth of the unity of the oppressor and the myth of the uni-

By JOHAN DEGENAAR,

ty of the oppressed are belied by the facts. Both myths are kept alive for obvious reasons.

In the third place the polarisation model ignores the reality of a middle-ground. My view of the middle-ground must be clearly distinguished from the view of President Botha and verligtes that the National Party represents the middle-ground between the extremes of right and left.

The middle-ground that I have in mind is a position between the National Party, with its policy of power-sharing without loss of control, and the black revolutionaries, with their uncompromising policy of transfer of power.

The slogan used by the two opposing groups reads as follows: those who are not for us are against us. This slogan clearly illustrates the denial of a middle-ground. Worse, it arrogantly implies that those who disagree are not involved in the struggle for justice.

Boycotts

It clearly demonstrates the power of irrationality in politics forcing the allegiances of citizens into two opposing camps.

One example of the distortion imposed on political behaviour by this way of thinking is the experience of Van Zyl Slabbert and Helen Suzman.

On the one hand their criticism of sanctions is seen as support for apartheid. On the other hand their plea for the release of Mandela and negotiation with the ANC is perceived by the Government as sanctioning violence and as collaboration with the "communist enemy".

Another example of the extremity in which polarised thinking forces its victims is the justification of school boycotts since 1985 in terms of the slogan, "liberation before education".

This attitude has also infiltrated the way in which justice is seen, as exemplified in the rejection of a concern for a Bill of Rights on the basis of a similar slogan, "liberation before justice".

The fact that this all-or-nothing attitude is built on the illusion that a revolution is just around the corner only adds to the tragedy of the situation. Fortunately there are

Cont

Sunday Times
18-01-87

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18-01-87

It's time we rejected those all-or-nothing politicians on both sides and gave the moderate centre a chance

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AT STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

citizens who see a middle ground as a viable option. They know that politics is an interplay of pressures and that the moral quality of democracy consists in a strategy of enabling pressure groups that do not agree with one another to co-exist.

They know that politics is based on conflict and not on love and

fraternity. They acknowledge the tragic dimension in politics brought about by the fact that conflicting groups claim the same goods, for example, power, land and minerals. And because they know this, they choose the way of negotiation and compromise. One promising example of this democratic attitude is the Kwa-

Natal Indaba and, if it succeeds, it can influence other regions to start similar processes of negotiation. Political initiatives on a regional basis can also strengthen political initiatives on a national level and vice versa.

This kind of experiment illustrates that politics of the middle-ground is a real possibility. We

can transform it into a reality by taking part in it on all levels. American and European political leaders can play a positive role by keeping contact with all groups convincing them that negotiation rather than violence is the road to justice.

Unfortunately the polarisation syndrome has contaminated their thinking to such an extent that they have succumbed to the sanctions hysteria, thereby diminishing their role as honest brokers.

We in South Africa who believe in the real possibility of a middle-ground should, on the one hand, use all opportunities to convince the Government that negotiation is a necessary condition for a just society and, on the other hand, to convince revolutionary black leaders that powersharing and compromise is preferable to the uncompromising struggle for total power.

If we do not explore the possibilities of the middle-ground, polarisation will gain power to the detriment of all South African citizens.

Pay-offs and pensions bonanza for MPs who will quit before election

TAXPAYERS will have to dig deep into their pockets to pay for pensions and golden handshakes to retiring MPs.

The payout to 24 of the 29 MPs who are not standing for re-election will be about R3,2-million.

THE GOODBYE

By NEIL HOOPER and MARK SEIDEL
South Africa
trial
coach
And the National Soccer
is for sale.
Rm

Ellis Park

Eight resignations are in seats where there are strong opposition threats, mainly from the right. In Carletonville (Mr Willie Landman) and Middelburg (Mr Nico Ligthelm), for example, the NP won with majorities of less than 1 500 over the Herstigte Nasionale Party in 1981 and 1977. Similar, though lesser, threats exist in other seats vacated by NP incumbents, such as Brits, Smithfield, Winburg and Ladysbrand. Many Nat MPs, particularly older ones, simply do not have the stomach for bitter constituency battles that are bound to divide communities and even families. It is easy to underestimate the guts required to take up the cudgels against those who used to be your own," said the PFP secretary-general, Mr Robin Cartledge. Umbeluzana has been vacated by the NP's chief whip, Mr Nico Pretorius. He was elected in 1977 with a majority of only 90 votes against the NRP, which has now forged an alliance with the PFP to fight this and other Natal seats.

Opposition

One, Mr Johann Greff, former speaker of the Assembly (a post moved to a new job as Chairman of the President's Council on the same pay scale. He has resigned his Allwal seat. The NP's Mr Willie Landman (Carletonville), Mr James Kieyhan (Algoa) and Mr Annie Weeber (Welkom) and the PFP's Major Reuben Sive (Bezuiderhout) — were elected in 1981 and do not qualify for gratuities or pensions. Six resignations accompanied President P W Botha's Cabinet reshuffle late last year. His announcement of a general election has — so far — prompted 18 more from the NP alone. This means that the ruling party has lost nearly 20 percent of its parliamentary caucus. All the non-Cabinet resignations have come from MPs who were elected in the '70s and '80s. With the dissolution of provincial councils last year, a number of Nationalist "heavyweights" now need seats, and observers believe quite a few retirees were "leaned on" to make way.

Reshuffle

Individual golden handshakes range from R58 000 (for MPs qualifying after the minimum of 7½ years' service) to about R125 000 for the longest-serving retiree, former NRP leader Mr Vause Raw, who has been an MP for 31 years. His pension will equal his MP's salary of about R58 000. The retired Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, a 59-year-old millionaire farmer, will receive a gratuity of at least R230 000 and an annual tax-free pension of R115 000, equal to his present salary. Free travel for life on SAA in, internal flights will be a cherry on the top. The figures have been calculated on the basis of MP's service records and the formula used for gratuities and pensions. Five of the 29 MPs who have so far announced they will not stand in the coming election — will not receive payouts. There could be more — will not

TAXPAYERS will have to dig deep into their pockets to pay for pensions and golden handshakes to retiring MPs.

The payout to 24 of the 29 MPs who are not standing for re-election will be about R3,2-million.

And in the biggest wave of resignations in post-war years, each gratuity alone will add up to about R2,2-million, and the annual bill for life-long, tax-free pensions will top R1-million.

CAPE TOWN — Mr Brian Page, New Republic Party Chief Whip and MP for Umhlanga, is to retire from politics.

Following the retirement of Mr Vause Raw, he is the second of five NRP parliamentarians who will retire after the forthcoming session of Parliament.

His retirement was expected and is not directly connected to the party's weekend decision to go ahead with an election pact with the PFP.

Mr Page said today that he

Chief Whip Page is to retire from politics

was not making himself available for nomination. He is retiring to Cape Town.

Mr Page indicated in an interview that he was not pleased with the election pact decision but added: "I am not going to make waves."

He also emphasised he would not vote for any party apart from the NRP.

Mr Page's reasons for retirement were not stated, but are understood to be mainly personal.

He has been in public life for 30 years, starting off in local government and holding senior positions in the developing borough of Glenashley. He was the area's only mayor before

incorporation into Durban.

He was elected MP for Umhlanga in 1974, becoming NRP Chief Whip in 1978. In the 1977 general election he was the only NRP member to hold his seat in a contest involving the PFP and the NP.

Mr Page, who was also chairman of the NRP caucus, said that on retiring from politics he had one message for the Government: "They should learn a little humility."

"There will be no solution to the problems of South Africa as long as they continue with their unlimited arrogance."

12 NRP resignations: 2 members to join NP

DURBAN — In a further crumbling of the New Republic Party, 12 senior members yesterday announced their resignations because of the election arrangement with the Progressive Federal Party.

Two said they intended joining the National Party.

Mr Peter Miller, MEC and former South Coast MPC, and Mr Cliff Matthee, former Durban Central MPC, said they would apply to join the NP.

Mr Miller said he would not stand as a candidate in the coming election, but Mr Matthee would consider standing.

Ten others, including the mayor of Durban Mr Stan Lange, former MPC Mr Brian Edwards, and Durban city councillors Mr Harry Oldfield, Mr Lew Phillips (also a former MPC) and Mr Phillip Kairuz, said they would resign.

Mr Oldfield is seriously considering joining the NP, but will make a final decision within the next few days.

Mr Lange said he would be apolitical at present and the others said they had not yet decided on their political futures.

TEMPORARY

In a joint statement the 12 said an election arrangement with the PFP was a temporary expedient which would not save the NRP.

"The politically honest action to take is to disband the party, use its assets to guarantee the pensions of loyal staff and allow members to gravitate to new political homes."

Mr Miller said in the next few weeks other NRP members would resign.

Mr Bill Sutton, NRP leader, said the breakaway would not affect the arrangement with the PFP, nor did it mean the NRP was about to disband. The breakaway would neither help the NP nor harm the NRP.

Five other breakaway members are Mrs Flick Edwards, wife of Mr Brian Edwards; Mrs Iris Oldfield, wife of Mr Harry Oldfield and former Umhlanga divisional secretary; Mrs Eileen Bush, widow of former Durban city councillor Mr Eric Bush and NRP treasurer in Umlazi; Mrs Buntly Dale, NRP member of the Point division, and Mrs Kay Phillips, wife of Mr Lew Phillips and member of the Umlazi division of the party. — Sapa.

Raw was out there in the South African political arena for nearly 40 years

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — For almost 40 years Mr Vause Raw has been a presence at major political events. He has never dominated events but he has been an important witness and sometimes an influential factor.

He entered politics when the United Party fell from power in 1948 and has over the years seen its virtual disintegration.

Some people, particularly his Durban Point constituents, will be sorry to see him go, others will sigh with relief while others will be surprised he has not joined the National Party.

But whatever people think of Mr Raw, he has throughout stuck to his beliefs.

Unlike some of his former colleagues who sacrificed their principles for the ministerial gravy train, he has remained true to his beliefs, often under trying circumstances.

Loyalty to a cause is something which has always been important to him — probably one of the reasons why PFP members were often the target of his ire.

But he felt equally strongly about people who deserted to the National Party.

His personal low point in politics he says was when now Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, and two other NRP MPs defected to the National Party during his leadership.

And he considers the low point in his time in South African politics to be the breakaway of the Young Turks in 1974 and the later formation of the Progressive Reform Party.

His high point however was the decision of the NRP under his leadership to support the "Yes" vote in the 1983 referendum campaign.

STATUS QUO OF WHITE DOMINATION

In hindsight he believes the decision to support the Government was correct because it was a choice between the then status quo of total white domination or including other groups for the first time.

He is an old-time politician, conservative and given to political brawls rather than academic debates.

Mr Raw is not only a multifaceted character who can be an unforgiving political hatchetman one moment and a soft-hearted sentimentalist, he has also had a varied life.

Originally a Natal boy he matriculated at Pretoria Boys' High and went on to major in Zulu and comparative black languages at the University of the Witwatersrand.

His intention was to go into black education but World War 2 intervened.

He volunteered for service and saw action in the East African

campaign, Egypt, Italy and Austria, where he was mentioned in dispatches.

After the war he returned to South Africa to start farming with his father in the Cullinan area.

It was from this point that he started to be drawn into politics.

He stood for election in Dundee in the 1953 election campaign where he suffered a major tragedy. His wife, Elaine, was killed in a motor accident after a political meeting which she addressed on his behalf.

Mr Raw married his present wife, Barbara, a UP youth secretary, late the following year.

Following the tragedy he briefly opted out of politics to become sales manager of a textile company.

But politics was in his blood.

In 1958 he won the Durban Point seat unopposed. Since then he has beaten all comers soundly with his solid reputation as a constituency MP.

CONSTITUENCY WORK

Mr Raw says he will miss constituency work more than any other aspect of politics.

Referring to his reputation as a hawk on security issues Mr Raw said he based his position on loyalty to South Africa and what he believed to be in the security and defence of South Africa.

In the leadership stakes Mr Raw had more downs than ups.

When he attempted to take over the provincial leadership of the NRP in Natal he was defeated by Mr Warrick Webber, but in 1978, a year later, he was elected national leader of the NRP.

He started off well, leading his party to a resounding success in a by-election on the Natal South Coast.

But then came the Edenvale by-election which he agrees was the turning point of the NRP.

The canvass results were proved to be disastrously wrong, wrecking not only "my credibility but also the party's".

From there it was a downhill slide with many members making Mr Raw, and particularly his television image, the scapegoat for the party's ills.

In 1984 he stepped down as leader.

Mr Raw is still optimistic about the future of the country and will continue to work for his political ideals.

He believes the future of South African politics lies in the coalition of all moderates of all race groups.

But this would require a fundamental re-alignment in white politics — something he thought would take place before his retirement.



Mr Vause Raw ... never dominated political events — but was an important witness.



● MARTIN STEPHENS
Picture: ROBBIE BOTHA

NRP man explains pact move

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE New Republic Party's Transvaal leader Martin Stephens says of the coming election: "It is not a first priority to get the Nats out of power."

He said this last week when announcing that the electoral alliance concluded by the NRP and Progressive Federal Party would not be implemented in the Transvaal, where his party polled 3,5% of the votes in the last election.

"If the result is really all that matters, one can think of all sorts of alliances to gain seats in Parliament — even an alliance with the NP for the same price."

He said: "I'm not in politics because I'm anti-Nat or anti-Prog, but because I am pro-NRP. The idea is to sell what you think should be done — that is what should be sold to the voters, or the government for that matter, if you are not the government."

Stephens would not comment on whether he would resign if forced by the party's federal executive to

bring his province in line with Natal and the Cape, where the election pact with the PFP has been agreed upon.

The youngest-ever MP to be elected to Parliament when at 24 he won the Florida seat in the 1970 election, Stephens is the third NRP leader in the Transvaal. The party has never won a Parliamentary seat in the province.

Today Stephens believes the NRP's most important role in SA politics is to obtain an alliance of moderates. He says this does not constitute an alliance with a particular party but with moderate people in different parties.

"If my major consideration was to go to Parliament, then I shouldn't be in the NRP at all," he maintains. "The people in the NRP are there because they support the ideas, the philosophies. Obviously it would be an advantage to gain

seats, but the NRP is in a position where it can and does influence policy and happenings within SA politics."

He believes in a constitution which accommodates all minorities and does not think the tricameral system is perfect.

He believes any new dispensation must come about through negotiation brought about by the NRP.

On the Group Areas Act, Stephens stands for "local option"; on the education crisis he says no separate solution can be found until the constitutional one is resolved and believes that ultimately each community should solve its own educational problems; and he says the ANC would only have a part in his future SA if it renounces violence.

Reflecting on the seven years in which he maintained a low political profile after losing his seat in 1974, he says: "I left politics then to prove I can do my own thing."

Parties to clinch poll pact today

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party are expected to clinch an election pact for Natal today in spite of the bloodletting it has caused in the NRP.

The parties were attempting to minimise the effect of the protest resignation of three former Natal provincial councillors and three Durban city councillors including the Mayor, Mr Stan Lange.

However the bulk of the NRP has remained intact in Natal and the two parties are expected to contest at least 18 of the 20 provincial seats. The National Party has announced it will fight all 20.

There is already some agreement between the PFP and NRP on which seats will be fought.

Of the 15 seats on which there appears to be tentative agreement, the NRP will contest Mooi River, Durban Point and Umbilo, which it already holds, and South Coast and Amanzimtoti which are held by two former NRP MPs who defected to the National Party.

The key Durban North seat is likely to go to the PFP as well as Umhlanga even though they were held by the NRP at the last election.

Applied to NP

But more NRP members are expected to resign and others to join the NP. So far only two of the protesting group have announced their intention to join the NP but others are expected to follow.

Mr Cliff Matthee, the former MPC for Durban Central, has already applied to the National Party and is expected to contest Central in the elections.

Mr Brian Edwards, former Maritzburg South MPC, is expected to join the National Party and be a candidate.

More NRP members, who have for some years been working hand in glove with Nationalist councillors, are expected to resign from the NRP and could join the NP.

The Natal leader of the NRP, Mr Derrick Watterson, said today he had not had time to assess how much damage the resignations had caused the party.

But he said he was confident that the bulk of the members and supporters would remain loyal.

● Mr Brian Page, New Republic Party chief whip and MP for Umhlanga, is to retire from politics.

Displeased

His announcement follows the retirement of Mr Vause Raw. There are now five NRP parliamentarians who will retire after the coming session of Parliament.

His retirement was expected and is apparently not directly connected to the party's weekend decision on an election pact with the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Page said he was not pleased with the election pact decision but added: "I'm not going to make waves."

Mr Page, who was also chairman of the NRP caucus, said that on retiring from politics he had one message for the Government: "They should learn a little humility. There will be no solution to the problems of South Africa as long as they continue with their unlimited arrogance."

The Progressive Federal Party's MP for Wynberg, Mr Philip Myburgh, confirmed today that he would not be available as a candidate in the general election for the House of Assembly.

He said he had decided to follow a business career with a Cape-based company.

A PFP member of the President's Council, Mr Robin Carlisle, is being mentioned as the most likely person to succeed Mr Myburgh.

No more Luyt cash for NP

Staff Reporter

TRANSVAAL, rugby chief and former fertilizer magnate Dr Louis Luyt is to cease giving financial support to the National Party.

In a related development, KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has praised prominent whites who have now admitted publicly that they were wrong in supporting President P W Botha's tricameral Parliament.

According to a report in an Afrikaans weekend newspaper, Dr Luyt will no longer support NP candidates — which he did to the tune of thousands of rands — at least until he has

a much clearer idea of where the party intends taking the country.

Last week, Dr Luyt stirred up controversy when he stated in public that he regretted his "yes" vote in the 1983 referendum on the government's tricameral constitution. He also said that in the coming election he would not support the government as it had failed to accommodate black political aspirations since 1984.

In the past he has given a great deal of money to the NP and has supported people such as the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of the Budget and Welfare in the House of Assembly, Dr Dawie de Villiers, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr

Roelf Meyer, and former Transport Minister Mr Hendrik Schoeman.

Dr Luyt was quoted as saying he would contemplate donating money to the NP again, but only if President Botha led the country in an acceptable direction.

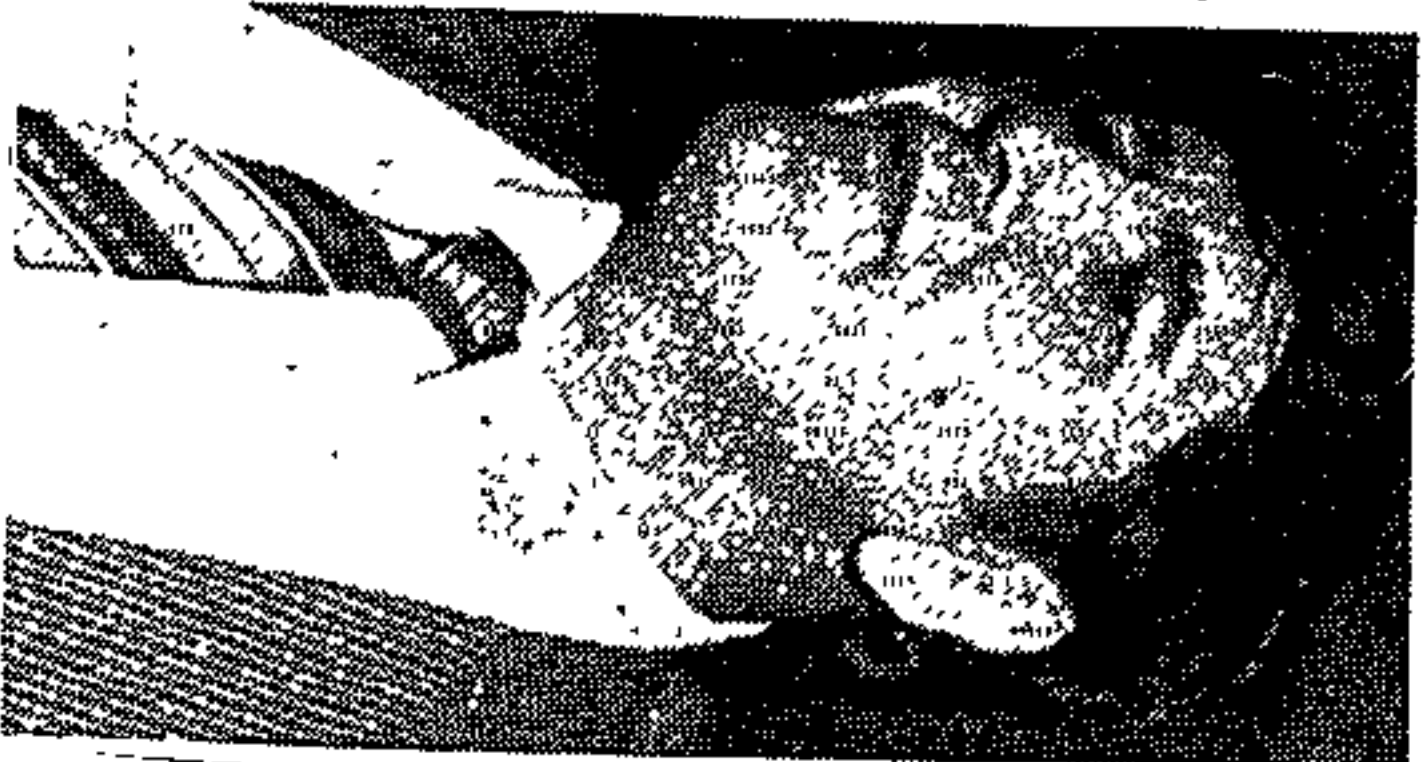
Dr Luyt could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi told his Inkatha party's central committee at the weekend that he wanted to "record my respect for Dr Chris Saunders, Professor Marius Wiechers, Dr Louis Luyt and the Financial Mail for admitting that they erred in supporting Mr Botha when he set up his tricameral 'monstrosity'".

Chief Buthelezi said that at this stage it seemed to him that Mr Botha's script for the coming general election had already been written.

Mr Botha was committed to retaining the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the tricameral parliamentary system and to trying to make the proposed National Council work without full black participation.

"These commitments author disaster," Chief Buthelezi said, "and we must look very seriously and soberly at our response to them as black South Africans."



Dr Louis Luyt

Nat MP to address Commons committee

Call Times 19/1/87 (10) 3044

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British parliament is to reopen hearings on South Africa at the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee this week.

The first South African to give evidence at the new hearings will be Mr Albert Nothnagel, the National Party MP for Innesdal and chairman of the NP's home affairs group.

Mr Nothnagel caused a stir last week when he said in a magazine article that a lasting peace in South Africa cannot be found without involving the ANC.

The MP, who is on a two-week visit to Britain as a guest of the British government, will appear before the committee at a public hearing on Wednesday.

The committee began hearings on South Africa in the run-up to the imposition of limited economic sanctions by Britain and other Western countries.

The committee's report helped pave the way for limited economic measures aimed at sending a political sig-

nal to Pretoria, but advised against comprehensive and mandatory sanctions which would undermine the economy.

During more than 12 months of public and closed hearings, the all-party committee, chaired by Tory MP Sir Anthony Kershaw, heard a wide cross-section of views on South Africa from political and business figures inside and outside the country.

A spokesman for the committee said that although the report on South Africa had been published, the committee welcomed the opportunity to hear the views of influential South Africans passing through London.

He said there were no plans, at this stage, to issue a further report.

On Wednesday last week Mr Nothnagel paid a courtesy call on Mrs Lynda Chalker, Minister of State in the Foreign Office, and this week he will meet Foreign Office officials to discuss the public presentation of policy.

He will attend one of the Foreign Office's internal press briefings before its daily press conference.

Border poll pact moves into gear

By Adrian Monteath

QUEENSTOWN — The General Election pact in the Cape between the New Republic Party (NRP) and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) moved into top gear in the Border area yesterday.

Leading NRP members from constituencies in the area threw their weight behind the pact at a meeting here — while stressing that the two parties would keep their separate identities.

A statement issued afterwards by a Queenstown councillor and newly elected chairman of the NRP in the town, Mr Johnny Johnson, said the pact had been made to avoid splitting the opposition vote to the left of the government.

"The NRP puts the best interests of South Africa first. Any NRP vote cast for a PFP candidate is to be considered a vote against the government, the policies of which have placed our country in its present critical state."

In an interview later, Mr Johnson said he believed that if members of both parties were loyal to the pact, the NRP and PFP could between them return at least 45 members to the House of Assembly.

He added that five constituencies in the Border area — Albany, King William's Town, Queenstown, East London City and East London North — could be taken by the two parties.

Albany is already held by the PFP (Mr Errol Moorcroft), and King William's Town by the NRP (Mr Pat Rogers). East London City will be fought by the NRP and the other seat in the city by the PFP.

Queenstown will be contested by the candidate of either party held to be most generally acceptable. Neither party is expected to contest Aliwal North, while the PFP will probably fight Cradock.

NRP members will meet twice in Queenstown next week: on Tuesday to elect a local committee and on Thursday, with other committees in the division, to choose a candidate. A joint meeting with the PFP will be held later.

Those at the NRP meeting here yesterday included Mr Rogers and his constituency chairman, Mr Rodney Blaine, and Mr Johnson and his Queenstown colleagues Major Frank Dorrington, Mr Ernie Mattushek and Miss Erica Danckwerts.

An East London councillor, Mr Eric Whitaker, Mr and Mrs Donnie Beal-Preston (Cathcart), Mr Charles Edwards (Stutterheim), Mr Nico Coetzee (Lehmansdrift) and Mr Fanie Venter and Mr Clive Cawood (Cradock) were also there.

Mr Johnson said last night: "It was made very clear at the meeting that this was not a case of a Prog takeover of the NRP. Each party will retain its own integrity and identity, and fight on its own platform."

"This pact is a case of common sense prevailing. Although the government seems sure to be re-elected, the pact should ensure that it does so with a much reduced majority."

"There is no talk of a merger between the PFP and NRP. To die-hards in my own party, I extend this message: you will not be voting for the PFP, you will be voting against the Nationalists."

Twelve quit NRP over poll pact

18/11/81
19/11/81
18/11/81

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — Twelve senior members of the NRP in Natal yesterday announced their resignations because of the election arrangement with the PFP.

Two of the 12 said they intended joining the NP and a 13th member, Mr Brian Page, MP for Umhlanga, is expected to announce today that he will not defend his seat in the coming elections.

Mr Peter Miller, MEC and former South Coast MPC, and Mr Cliff Matthee, former Durban Central MPC, said they would apply to join the NP.

Mr Miller said he would not stand as a candidate in the forthcoming House of Assembly election, but Mr Matthee said he would consider standing.

Ten other people, including the Mayor of Durban, Mr Stan Lange, former MPC, Mr Brian Edwards, and Durban City councillors, Mr Harry Oldfield, Mr Lew Phillips (also a former MPC), and Mr Phillip Kairuz, said they would resign from the NRP.

In a joint statement the 12 said an election arrangement with the PFP was a temporary expedient which would not save the NRP.

The statement said there were no MPs in the breakaway group, but "older people have

the choice of retirement", clearly a reference to Mr Vause Raw and Mr Page.

Mr Raw has announced he will not defend his Durban Point seat and NRP sources said Mr Page told the Natal head committee last week that he had made the same decision.

The NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, said the breakaway would not affect the arrangement with the PFP, nor did it mean the NRP was about to disband.

He said the breakaway would neither help the NP nor harm the NRP.

When people join another party it usually has an adverse effect, as Mr Ron Miller is about to find out in Durban North.

● A new opposition party is to make its debut in the House of Delegates.

Mr Pat Roovalingam, MP for Reservoir Hills, who was expelled from Solidarity at the party's national congress in Durban yesterday, said the new party would aim at attracting workers and would work in close association with the PFP.

'No solution without ANC'

Prominent Nat throws the cat among pigeons

IT IS A myth that a lasting solution for black participation is possible without involving the ANC and releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, says National Party frontbencher MP Albert Nothnagel.

The MP for Innesdal's astonishing article in the new magazine *Inside South Africa* is likely to be used extensively by the far-rightwing in the election.

It is also likely to unleash the wrath of President P W Botha. Government has started an all-out propaganda war against the ANC and is using it as an election issue.

The NP's Cape mouthpiece, *Die*

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

Burger, has been running an anti-ANC campaign the last few days with special government permission to quote military and political leaders of the ANC.

Nothnagel, already nominated as the NP's candidate in Innesdal, says the refusal by former prime ministers DF Malan and Hendrik Verwoerd to meet the ANC was "one of the most serious political blunders".

Nothnagel believes that "within the next few months the most dramatic political initiatives in SA's history will be taken".

He lists a number of long and strongly held viewpoints that most Nationalists nowadays regard as myths. Among these are:

- ☐ That any option of "military or semi-military management or rule could substitute for full participation by blacks in government or even serve as a buffer against it";
- ☐ That the security forces should contain or control normal political activities of black people opposing the system;
- ☐ That the ban on political organisations could last forever;
- ☐ That blacks could be accommodated politically without representation in Parliament;

"Most Nationalists like myself can fully identify with the so-called total liberation struggle of the blacks," he writes.

He says the tragedy is that while government has adopted a dramatic change of heart and mind, those who want to seize power have hardened their attitudes.

"We, the white children of black Africa, the white South African Nationalists, say to the black nationalists of SA: We must not allow this destruction of our country to continue."

PRESSURE on conservative Transvaal town councils to desegregate cinemas looks certain to increase this week in the wake of Krugersdorp National Party MP Leon Wessels's public support for an open policy.

Wessels made his call for open cinemas in a statement which said cinema owners "should decide for themselves who should be allowed".

Wessels said: "I support the councillors who say that Krugersdorp's cinemas should be open to all races."

His support is likely to stiffen the opposition of conservatives in the town. Staunch opposition is expected from the Conservative Party-dominated Krugersdorp council. The CP opposes a relaxation of social apartheid.

The debate in the town could become acrimonious as council management committee member Thys Steenkamp is being touted as the CP's Parliamentary candidate in

Nat MP backs open cinemas

PATRICK BULGER

the coming election. Steenkamp was unavailable for comment yesterday.

Ster Kinekor, in the face of pressure from international film distributors, has given town councils in Krugersdorp, Pretoria, Roodepoort, Vereeniging and Potchefstroom until the end of the month to allow open cinemas or to have them shut down.

The councils will be meeting over the next 10 days to take decisions on the issue, but it is only in Krugersdorp that a rejection of the ultimatum seems probable.

TVI NP names 55 unopposed candidates

The National Party's Transvaal executive committee announced at the weekend the names of its unopposed candidates for the coming general election — but did not name those who would stand against the nine Progressive Federal Party MPs.

Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and the NP's Transvaal leader, told a news conference in Pretoria after a meeting of the committee that these names would be released later.

Due to "local circumstances" three constituencies — Germiston District, Randburg and Wonderboom — had been granted leave to designate their candidates later, Mr de Klerk said.

The 55 unopposed NP candidates are:

Alberton: C J Lighthelm (MP).
Bethal: J J G Wentzel (Minister).
Boksburg: I J J Blanche (MP).
Brakpan: P P Broodryk (businessman, ex MPC).
Brentwood: J G van Zyl (MP).
Delmas: Professor J Viljoen (professor).
Ermelo: H J Tempel (attorney).
Florida: B J du Plessis (Minister).
Geduld: S J de Beer (Dep Minister).
Gezina: K D Swanepoel (MP).
Helderkruid: C J van der Merwe (Dep Minister).
Hercules: L M J van Vuuren (MP).
Innesdal: A E Nothnagel (MP).
Jeppe: H J Bekker (public relations officer).
Johannesburg-West: R P Meyer (Deputy Minister).
Klerksdorp: A A Venter (Minister).
Koedoespoort: T A P Kruger (pensioner).
Krugersdorp: L Wessels (MP).
Langlaagte: J J Viljoen (doctor).
Losberg: A P Wright (MP).
Lydenburg: P T C du Plessis (Minister).
Maralsburg: P H Pretorius (MP).
Meyerton: A J J Snyman (businessman).
Middelburg: A L Terblanche (attorney).
Modderfontein: General M Malan (Minister).
Nelspuit: P L Mare (MP).
Nigel: A Hanekom (Deputy Secretary).
Noordrand: A C A C Grobler (public servant).
Overvaal: G C Ballat (MP).
Pletersburg: B "Tjol" Latagan (member of the Presidents Council).
Potchefstroom: L le Grange (attorney).
Potgietersrus: S G Golden (MP).
Pretoria-East: T G Alant (Deputy Minister).
Pretoria-Central: D J L Nel (MP).
Pretoria-West: Z P le Roux (MP).
Primrose: P J Welgemoed (MP).
Randfontein: Dr B L Geldenhuys (MP).
Rissik: Chris L Flisner (advocate, NP Tvl youth leader).
Roodepoort: W L Cuyler (MP).
Rustenburg: Dr M H Veldman (Dep Minister).
Schweizer: Reneke: W A Lemmer (MP).
Soutpansberg: Renier J Pieterse (advocate).
Springs: P W Coetzer (MP).
Standerton: W J Hefer (MP).
Stilfontein: J H Cunningham (MP).
Sunnyside: S J "Fanus" Schoeman (MP).
Turfontein: A Fourie (MP).
Vanderbijlpark: Dr G Viljoen (Minister).
Ventersdorp: B H Wilkens (Deputy Minister).
Vereeniging: F W de Klerk (Minister).
Verwoerdburg: A J Vlok (Minister).
Waterberg: J J "Poem" Lamprecht (farmer).
Waterkloof: Dr G Marais (Deputy Minister).
Westdene: R F Botha (Minister).
Witbank: A F Fouche (MP). — Sapa.

Luyt: not sur

Dr Louis Luyt, president of the NP, has not decided yet which party he will support in the upcoming election.

Dr Luyt said he would not let them fail to live up to the mandate.

"I became disillusioned with the government. I voted 'yes' but I have not seen any real change of policy. I will withdraw my support," he said.

"I have not yet decided who I will support."

Dr Luyt was the man who led the NP since he said he would not have been elected as a government minister.

He distanced himself from the political and financial support of the State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, will announce the date of the general election for 1990.

CP names Nolte as candidate in Delmas

Mr Daan Nolte, a prominent Delmas farmer and founder member of the Afrikanervolkswag, has been confirmed as the Conservative Party's candidate for the Delmas constituency, a spokesman for the CP said.

Mr Nolte (55) became a member of the Conservative Party in 1982 and served on the executive of the Delmas Constituency Council.

Mr Nolte is a graduate of Potchefstroom University and of the Potchefstroom Teachers' Training College. He obtained a BA (Hons) degree and a Higher Education Diploma.

He has served Eastern Transvaal rugby as a selector and coach, was president of the Eastern Transvaal Rugby Union and a member of the Executive Council of the South African Rugby Board.

He is presently a member of the Delmas Farmers' Union and a life member of the Transvaal Agricultural Union.

THE OFFICIAL INTENSIVE COURSE

Poll pact to be finalised despite NRP bloodletting

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party expect to finalise an election pact for Natal later today despite the bloodletting it has caused in the NRP.

Both parties are attempting to minimise the effect of the protest resignations of three former Natal provincial councillors and Durban city councillors, including the Mayor, Mr Stan Lange.

The National Party is pleased by the latest developments, which ease the pressure caused by the pact.

The rump of the NRP has remained intact in Natal and the two parties are expected to contest at least 18 of the 20 provincial seats. The National Party has announced it will fight all 20.

There is already some agreement between the PFP and NRP on which seats would be fought.

TENTATIVE AGREEMENT

Of the 15 seats on which there appears to be tentative agreement, the NRP will contest Mooiriver, Durban Point and Umbilo, which it already holds, and South Coast and Amanzimtoti, which were held by two former NRP MPs who defected to the National Party.

The key Durban North seat is likely to go to the PFP as well as Umhlanga though they were held by the NRP at the last election.

More NRP members are expected to resign and others to join the NP.

Only two of the protesting group have announced their intention to join the NP, but others are expected to follow.

The Natal leader of the NRP, Mr Derrick Watterson, said today he had not had time to assess how much damage the resignations had caused to the NRP.

The Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, said today he was pleased the NRP had shed its right-wing members.

● See Pages 4 and 9.

PFP link scares off 12 ^{CAPE TIMES} 19/1/87 NRP ^{306/1} stalwarts

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — In a further crumbling of the New Republic Party as a single political unit, 12 senior members yesterday announced their resignations because of the election arrangement with the Progressive Federal Party, and two said they intended joining the NP.

And a 13th member, Mr Brian Page, MP for Umhlanga, is expected to announce today that he will not defend his seat in the coming elections.

Mr Peter Miller, MEC and former South Coast MPC, and Mr Cliff Matthee, former Durban Central MPC, said they would apply to join the NP. Mr Miller said he would not stand as a candidate in the coming House of Assembly election, but Mr Matthee said he would consider standing.

Ten other people, including Durban's mayor, Mr Stan Lange, former MPC Mr Brian Edwards and city councillors Mr Harry Oldfield, Mr Lew Phillips (also a former MPC) and Mr Phillip Kairuz, said they would resign from the NRP.

The other five break-away NRP members are Mrs Flick Edwards, wife of Mr Brian Edwards; Mrs Iris Oldfield, wife of Mr Harry Oldfield and former Umbilo divisional secretary for the party; Mrs Eileen Bush, widow of former Durban city councillor Mr Eric Bush and NRP treasurer for the NRP in Umlazi; Mrs Buntly Dale, an NRP member of the Point division, and Mrs Kay Phillips, wife of Mr Lew Phillips and member of the Umlazi division of the party.

ARGUS 19/1/87

304A

PW, Hendrickse to discuss tension

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha and the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives, met in Cape Town today to discuss tension between them.

Sharp differences of opinion have arisen over the Group Areas Act and restrictions on the media.

There was also Mr Hendrickse's defiance of beach apartheid when he swam at a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse clashed at the time of the Labour Party congress in Port Elizabeth earlier this month.

CABINET MEETING

While Mr Hendrickse reiterated that his party wanted the Group Areas Act scrapped, Mr Botha stated that the principle of racially separated residential areas and schools would remain.

Mr Botha said Mr Hendrickse had not objected to media restrictions but Mr Hendrickse said he had not attended a Cabinet meeting at which a decision had been made to impose them.

In political circles the feeling today was that the two men would largely settle their differences and that the Labour Party would not at this stage withdraw from the tricameral system.



Mr MESHACK Sekabate (left), a Sebokeng beer connoisseur, won a 10-day all-expenses-paid trip to the United States after taking part in a competition run by the South African Breweries recently.

Runner-up Mr Peter Diphikwe (right), of Soweto, also won a seven-day holiday for two at Sun City. The two were pictured with SAB's Mr Mick Fynn at a presentation ceremony in Johannesburg last week.

CHIEF WARNS OVER INDABA

WHITE politicians could kill the Kwa-

Zulu-Natal Indaba proposals by using them as party-political issues in the forthcoming whites-only general election, warned KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Addressing the Inkatha's central committee on Saturday as president, he said proposals were far too important for Natal and South Africa for this, and the Indaba should be above mere "petty political bickering".

"Right now we face the prospect of the Kwa-Zulu-Natal Indaba proposals being dragged into the election debate by those who will kill it if they are allowed to ride on its back and by the National Party, in this part of South Africa which could follow Mr Stoffel Botha's lead of

political assassination against it," he said.

Those dragging it into the election were either deliberately aiming at its destruction or could not care "two hoots in hell" whether the Government accepted its findings or not.

Such action was making it easier for the Government to treat the Indaba as a petty political issue and to react accordingly.

Plan

Chief Buthelezi added that Mr P W Botha had no intention of going to the electorate with a bold plan to establish a true democracy in this country.

He was doing so to buy additional time, hoping somehow that this would make it possible for him to secure his political dreams. In fact, though, there could be no racist or sectarian po-

litical dreams in South Africa.

He said Mr Botha might have hope of achieving real things if he entered the election as a South African first and an Afrikaner second. "But this was unlikely to happen because he could not distinguish between the two".

His and his government's whole approach to reform was designed primarily to secure Afrikaner dreams which were not South African dreams.

"This is not an Afrikaner country or a white country: it is a multi-racial country," stated Chief Buthelezi.

He added that there was no earthly use in Inkatha—which was committed to constituency politics in hard, practical market place terms—waiting for Mr Botha to start initiating reforms in which it could participate.

While Mr B J Vorster had "screamed and ranted and raved" about the homeland concept and Nationalists had dreamed of a white South Africa surrounded by satellite black states, Inkatha had begun forming a black democratic movement in defiance of white political dictates, he said.

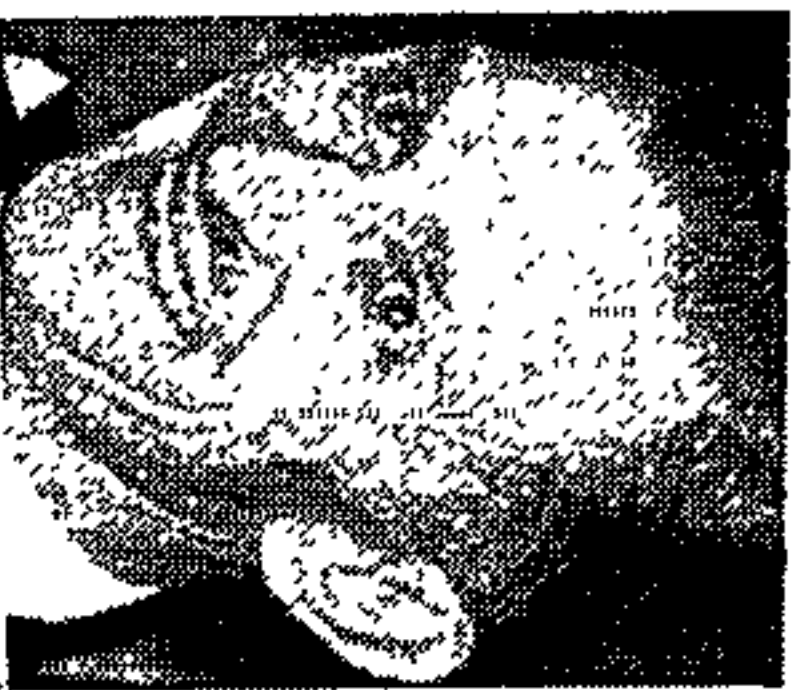
It had started where it could and moving ahead of white politics and proving itself a strong force in constituency politics, had established the Buthelezi Commission.

"From this had arisen the kind of negotiations which National Party dogma had declared impossible. These had foreshadowed the Kwa-Zulu-Natal negotiations which had in turn led to the Indaba," he said. — Sapa.

Argus 20/1/87

POLITICS

30 v11



Mr Jaap Marais



Dr Willie Snyman

CP, Nats prepare for Far North showdown

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Some close general election results are expected in several Northern Transvaal constituencies, where National Party and Conservative Party canvassing is getting into top gear.

In Soutpansberg, the country's northernmost constituency which was won by a slender 400 majority by the CP's Mr Tom Langley in a 1983 by-election, the NP claims it has enough members signed up to win, providing they get to the polls.

The NP's youthful candidate, Mr Renier Pieterse, like Mr Langley an advocate, has been visiting CP strongholds ever since he was named as shadow candidate in November last year. Nat fundraising efforts in the constituency have been impressive.

The "ghost" of Mr Fanie Botha, who resigned amid a great deal of controversy after representing the constituency for almost 30 years, has apparently been laid to rest.

Large parts of the border farming area have had good rains and many of the farmers have received substantial Government aid in the

past 12 months, which could favour the Nationalists.

However, Mr Langley is quietly confident and his workers are ready for the NP "propaganda machine".

In Pietersburg the Nats appear to have their best chance of winning. The constituency is relatively urban, with 75 percent of the voters living in town.

Dr Willie Snyman won Pietersburg for the Nats in 1981, but he joined the CP the following year and his popularity has not been tested since.

Extremism

His opponent is Mr Burger Latagan, a former mayor of the town, who has been serving on the President's Council. Mr Latagan enjoys the support of the majority of English-speaking voters in the constituency and he was careful to cultivate this advantage while waiting to be officially nominated.

Neutral observers believe the activities of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in Pietersburg may have a negative effect on right-wing election chances, because moderate conservatives are starting to object to extremism in

Afrikaner ranks.

Interest in the Potgietersrus campaign centres mainly around strong rumours that Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, will make himself available to oppose the sitting Nat MP, Dr Sampe Golden.

The constituency adjoins Waterberg, where Mr Marais has unsuccessfully fought each of his most recent election battles.

Conservatives in Potgietersrus say Mr Marais would have his best chance here of getting into Parliament. But Mr Marais has not reacted to the speculation.

The CP won a provincial by-election in Potgietersrus three years ago by a 1 000 majority.

There can be little doubt that the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, will hold his Waterberg seat comfortably. His opponent, Mr J J Lamprecht, is relatively unknown and few give the Nats a chance to exceed 3 000 votes.

The Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, has plenty of problems in Lydenburg. But Nat supporters believe the right-wing threat has been exaggerated. Mr du Plessis's opponent has not yet been named.

PFP-NRP pact On Natal seats

304A P/M
20/11/87

Mini skinny dipper gets public indecency warning

Mercury Correspondent
CAPE TOWN—A three-year-old Claremont toddler, Matthew Kilham, has been given a written warning from a Parks and Forests law enforcement officer for public indecency.

According to Matthew's mother, Mrs Key Kilham, Matthew had got himself extremely wet under the sprinkler in the gardens here, and had 'divested himself of his clothes forthwith.'

'As we were in a secluded area, I did not fetch dry clothes for him,' Mrs Kilham said, adding that he later 'dashed off to the fishpond in front of the National Gallery.'

Mrs Kilham said a friend in hot pursuit of the children, was stopped by a brown-uniformed official who was intent on issuing her with a written warning. Because the questioned this, he wanted to charge her R20.

The officer changed this to a warning that the situation should not arise again.

'It offends certain people, where others wouldn't care less.'

Two held after body found

Mercury Correspondent
CAPE TOWN—Two people, one only 12 years old, have been arrested in connection with the killing of Mr Chris de Wet Coetzer, the University of Cape Town chief technical officer whose body was found in the boot of his car in Sea Point on Sunday.

And it was learned yesterday that the slain man's 18-year-old son, Christian, had been found in the

suspects a lift home to Durbanville — unaware that his missing father had been dead 24 hours.

Mr Coetzer's daughter, Magneite, and his wife, Irene, also came face to face with the suspects when they questioned them on Friday morning after his disappearance.

The two suspects were apprehended late on Sunday night after Mr Coetzer's body had been found in the boot of his car in Beach Road.

Detectives yesterday traced some of Mr Coetzer's personal possessions to a house in Joostenburg/Lake belonging to family of the suspects. They recovered Mr Coetzer's shoes, socks, car keys and flat keys.

The suspects were not at home when police called earlier on Sunday, but the hunt continued until they were apprehended in the Durbanville late that night.

THE Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party yesterday agreed to form an election alliance in Natal based on the acceptance by both parties of the recommendations of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

A statement signed by the Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, and the NRP, Mr Derrick Waterson, said the parties had agreed that the NRP would contest five seats and the PFP 11. They had also agreed not to oppose each other in any Natal constituency.

There would be joint agreement in respect of candidates in some constituencies.

The seats to be fought by the NRP would be Mool River, Umhlobo, South Coast, Amanzimtoti and Point. The PFP would fight Berea, Durban Central, Durban North, Greytown, Pietermaritzburg South, Pietermaritzburg North, Umhlanga, Port Natal, Umhlanga, Umhlatuzana and Umhlati.

At present the NRP holds four seats in Natal — Mool River, Umhlobo, Point and Umhlanga. The PFP holds six constituencies — Berea, Durban Central, Pietermaritzburg North, Pietermaritzburg South, Greytown and Pinetown.

Mr Waterson conceded that there had been a number of resignations from the NRP as a result of the prospect of an alliance.

'We have thousands of signed-up members in the province,' he said, 'so far only a couple of dozen appear to have left.'

He believed the positive aspects of the deal far outweighed the negative repercussions.

Decisions

Mr Swart said the 'name of the game was winning seats and keeping the Nationalists out of Natal.'

The two politicians said they hoped to win all 16 seats being contested on this joint basis.

Three northern Natal seats — Newcastle, Vryheid and Klip River — are so far not being contested by the NRP/PFP alliance and neither is the Zululand constituency of Umfolosi. These are all held by the National Party with large majorities.

Decisions on these four seats would be announced later.

The joint statement said

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PF, NRP sure alliance will survive

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Progressive Federal Party MPs are confident that the election pact between the PFP and NRP will survive following the resignation of the former NRP leader, Mr Vause Raw, and its whip, Mr Brian Page.

Both are understood to have opposed any co-operation with the PFP in the election.

Both men have stated that they will not join any other political party and will continue to support the NRP.

It is understood, however, that the NRP's deathknell has now been sounded and that while it will field candidates in the general election, amalgamation with the PFP is likely to follow shortly after.

The election pact between the two parties could place a number of seats within grasp of the "alliance" and PFP MPs are already talking of holding as many as 40 to 45 seats in the next Parliament.

If, as is expected, the right-wing parties also make gains the National Party could find itself in a position where it holds an overall majority of as few as 20 or 25 seats.

A statement signed by the Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, and the Natal leader of the NRP, Mr Derrick Watterson, said the parties had agreed that the NRP would contest five seats and the PFP eleven.

They had also agreed not to oppose each other in any Natal constituency.

The leaders said there would be joint agreement in respect of candidates in some constituencies.

The statement said the seats to be fought by the NRP would be Mooi River, Umbilo, South Coast, Amanzimtoti and Point.

The two leaders said the PFP would fight Berea, Durban Central, Durban North, Greytown, Pietermaritzburg South, Pietermaritzburg North, Pinetown, Port Natal, Umhlanga, Umhlatuzana and Umlazi.

In yet another setback for the New Republic Party, the entire committee representing the NRP in Natal's Umhlatuzana division has quit.

In addition, the chairman of the NRP Umlazi committee, Montclair councillor Mrs Connie Galea, is also considering leaving the party.

The NRP's Umhlatuzana committee chairman, Mr David Upfold, who is also the deputy mayor of Queensburgh, said he would support the PFP candidate in the constituency.

Mr Upfold criticised the NRP for using younger members to raise funds to keep the party going but never nominating them.

"In this election the NRP won't field a candidate under the age of 50 — which proves it's a dying party."

"The PFP are prepared to give the young a chance and bring new ideas in, and that's the only solution to finding peace in our country," he said.

Mr Watterson conceded that there had been a number of resignations from the NRP as a result of the prospect of an alliance.

"We have thousands of signed-up members in the province", he said. "So far only a couple of dozen appear to have left."

Mr Watterson said he believed the positive aspects of the deal far outweighed the negative repercussions of the alliance.

Mr Swart said the "name of the game was winning seats and keeping the Nationalists out of Natal".

Their joint statement said the Indaba consensus to which the NRP and the PFP had subscribed meant that the philosophical differences which had existed between the parties had largely disappeared.

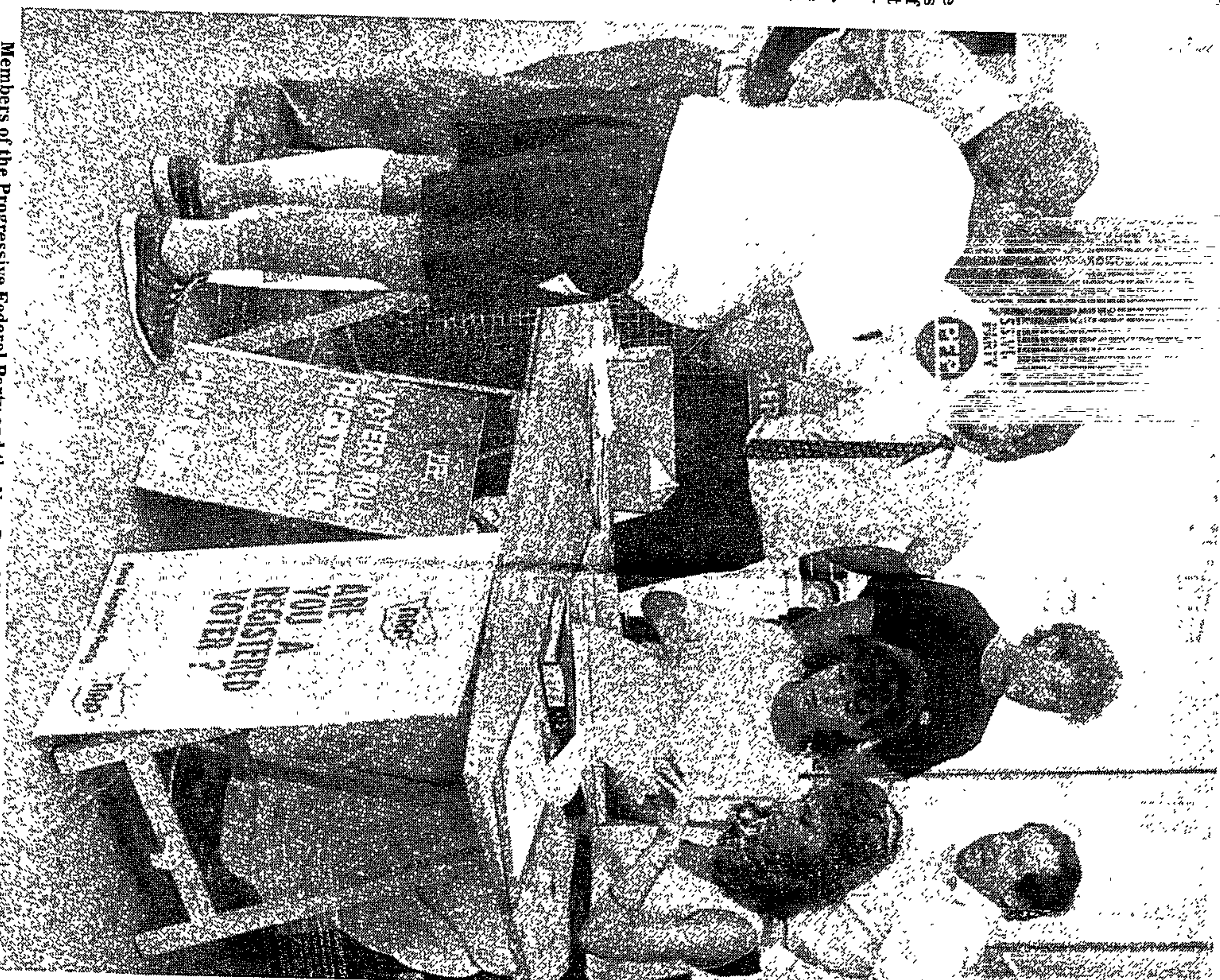
The NRP MP for Umhlanga, Mr Page, who yesterday confirmed his long-expected retirement from politics, said he hoped top businessmen would stand for Parliament in the coming elections.

His retirement had nothing to do with the resignation of other party stalwarts but had been planned for some time.

He believed that the government should have moved faster with its reform programme up to now, instead of looking over its shoulder at the CP and the NNP.

He confirmed that he was not happy about the working agreement with the PFP for the coming elections but had elected "not to make waves."

He has been a strong critic of the PFP over the years and said yesterday he would not vote for any party.



Members of the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party manned a joint voters' registration table in East London yesterday. Ian Bentley, of the PFP, centre, chats to a pensioner making an inquiry. Others present are Rory McComb and the chairman of the East London branch of the NRP, Eric Whitaker, right. Karen Engelbrecht and Linda Lombard.

WORKERS ASSOCIATION
Electrical Trade Union of
Metal and Building
Engineering Staff Association
and Allied Workers Union

NRP, PFP agree to pact

◆ FROM PAGE 1

and the PFP intended to achieve maximum co-ordination of joint personnel and other resources at constituency level.

Mr Swart said this meant that in a seat being contested by the NRP, PFP workers would be available to co-ordinate information as well as postal and special votes.

A Mercury reporter writes that the entire committee representing the New Republic Party in Umhlatuzana has quit.

In addition, the chairman of the NRP Umlazi committee, Montclair councillor Mrs Connie Galea, is also considering resigning.

The NRP's Umhlatuzana committee chairman Mr David Upfold, vice-chairman Mr Clarrie Ficks, secretary Mrs Annie Paul and committee members Mrs Frances Fick, Miss Tommy Thompsett, Mrs Hope McCallaghan, Miss Marie Kumm and Mrs Marlene Upfold, have resigned.

'I will support the Prog candidate in Umhlatuzana,' said Mr Upfold, the Queensburgh deputy Mayor.

Mr Upfold criticised the NRP for using younger members to raise funds to keep the party going but never nominating them.

'In this election the NRP won't field a candidate under the age of 50 — which proves it's a dying party. The PFP are prepared to give the young a chance and bring new ideas in, and that's the only solution to finding peace in our country,' Mr Upfold said.

However, most of the committee members 'have been opposing the Progs from the start and cannot see a change in tune now', he said.

Mr Watterson said the NRP was so accustomed to fighting the Right-wing in Umhlatuzana that the divisional committee had developed a 'Right-wing tendency'.

Umlazi NRP division chairman and Montclair councillor Mrs Connie Galea confirmed yesterday that she was thinking of leaving the New Republic Party, but added that she hoped 'to continue NRP policies in another vehicle — possibly the Nats'.

'I don't think I could join the PFP. I don't know much about their policies but I just feel that they try to push reform too quickly. The NP, however, would probably change more quickly if a lot of NRP joined,' she predicted.

Meanwhile, city councillor Phillip Kairuz (Ocean Beach) is considering the creation of a new group, tentatively titled the United Reform Party.

Such a party 'would embrace the principles of the old United Party with more emphasis on reform' he said yesterday.

Mr Lew Phillips, former NRP MPC for Umlazi and Durban city councillor, said last night he wanted to make it clear that at this stage he was not a member of any political party. Mr Phillips was among several NRP members who resigned from the party at the weekend.

A well attended meeting of the Mooi River division of the NRP has unanimously endorsed the decision of the Natal head committee to form an election agreement with the PFP. The division also expressed full confidence in Mr Ralph Hardingham MP as their candidate for the forthcoming election.

● See also Editorial Opinion and Page 6

Nats using PC to manipulate — PFP

Political Reporter

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL. — The President's Council had become the "rubber stamp" for the ruling National Party's "manipulation" of the democratic system, the Progressive Federal Party charged yesterday.

And the government's coloured coalition partner, the Labour Party, accused the government of not consulting them over the nomination of the new chairman for the PC, former Speaker of Parliament Mr Johan Greeff.

All coloured and Indian PC members representing the "junior partners" in the tricameral system abstained from the election — except Mr Essop Ismail of the Democratic Workers' Party — during yesterday's special session of the PC to elect a new chairman.

LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said his party abstained from electing the new chairman "in view of the fact that no consultation had been held with the LP as had previously been the case in the appointment of Dr Piet Koornhof".

Dr Koornhof has been appointed ambassador to Washington.

Mr Greeff was elected by 32 votes to three. The PFP nominated Mr James Rennie as their candidate.

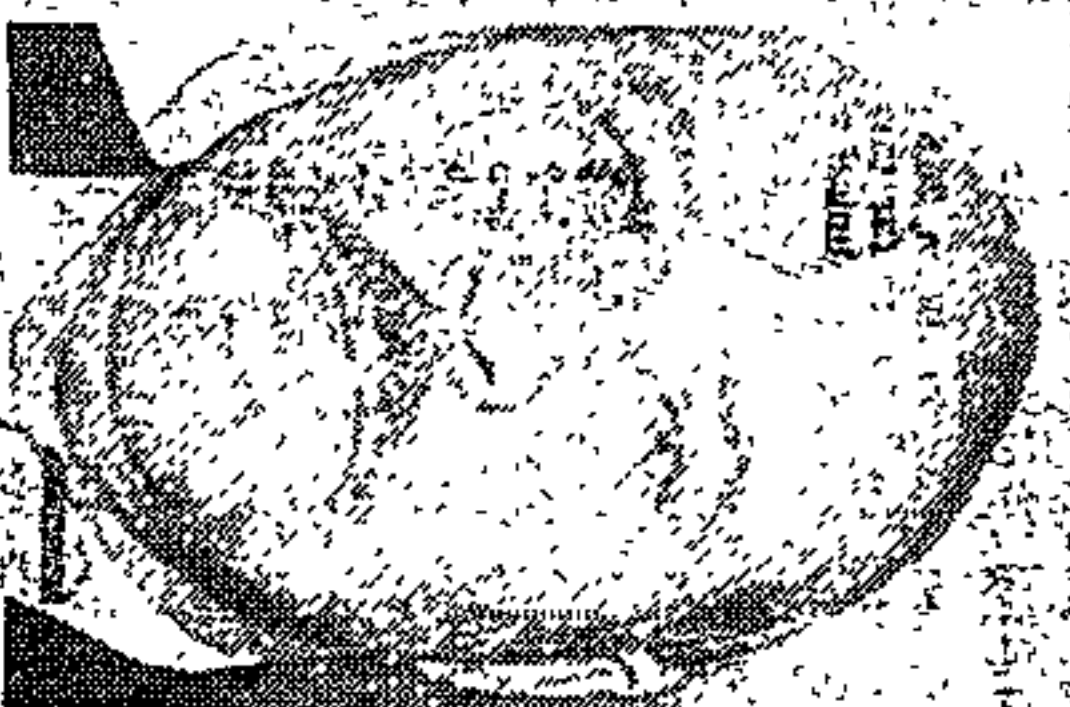
Mr P C Schoeman, a PFP PC member speaking during the nomination of his party's candidate, said the government had ruined the role of the PC as an impartial body by "steamrolling" unpopular legislation through the council and making a "mockery of democracy".

"We find ourselves in nothing less than a situation where there is a news blackout. Gagging the press will ultimately lead to the soul of freedom being smothered," Mr Schoeman said.

The acting chairman, the Judge President of the Cape Supreme Court, Mr Justice G Munnik, urged Mr Schoeman not to engage in a political debate after Mr N F Treurnicht, NP PC member, objected on a point of order.

Mr Robin Carlisle of the PFP said the PC should attend to issues such as to devise means of entering into negotiations with the ANC.

□ In a statement the PFP said "that while expressing no disrespect to the new chairman, it would seem that the rules have been used to stifle further debate on the Group Areas Act".



No joke ^{2011/8/2} CP ^{STAR (3041)} secret weapon isvd Merve

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party is using its best secret weapon against two powerful National Party Ministers in the coming election — Koos van der Merwe.

This is not a joke. Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP's toughest and most experienced election manager, has been put in charge of the CP's "Vaal Triangle campaign" which means he will co-ordinate the strategy of the party in Overvaal (where he will be the CP candidate), Meyerton, Vereeniging and Vanderhijl park.

Vereeniging is the seat of Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and Vanderhijlpark is

represented by Minister of Development Aid Dr Gerit Viljoen.

Both leaders are widely considered to be contenders to succeed Mr P W Botha as State President.

CP insiders believe the party has a fair chance of unseating at least one of the Ministers, probably Dr Viljoen, following the 1985 victory of the Herstigte Nasionale Party in nearby Sasolburg.

If the CP should manage to defeat both Mr de Klerk and Dr Viljoen, the National Party in the Transvaal would be dealt a crushing blow.

It is understood that the party has attached such high priority to unseating the Ministers that it has appointed Mr van der Merwe, its toughest and most

battle-scarred warhorse, to direct the campaign.

Mr van der Merwe would not comment on this today, except to say he had been asked to stand in Overvaal by the CP head office and that he would do so as a loyal member of the party.

He would not deny he was in charge of a "Vaal Triangle Campaign" to oust the Ministers.

Mr van der Merwe has studied election tactics and strategy in Britain and America and prides himself on using the latest technology and methods of polling organisation.

The CP has used his services extensively in recent by-elections, including Rosettenville, Primrose and Port Natal.

bill. *Cape Times 20/11/87*
SA whites favour talking

JOHANNESBURG. — Most white South Africans now believe social interaction creates better understanding between different race groups, according to a survey by Market Research Africa, which found that 71% of whites agreed that meeting people from other groups "on an equal footing" was a "prerequisite for peaceful change". The survey, last year, sampled 2 007 white adults in urban areas throughout South Africa. Eighty-four percent of people in Natal were in agreement compared to 57% in the Free State, 67% in the Transvaal, and 75% in the Cape.

Parties' poll pact in Natal

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Own Correspondent

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The two leaders said the PFP would fight: Berea, Durban Central, Durban North, Greytown, Maritzburg, South, Maritzburg North, Pinetown, Port

Natal, Umhlanga, Umhlathuzana and Umlazi.

At present the NRP holds four seats in Natal — Mooi River, Umbilo, Point and Umhlanga. The PFP holds six constituencies — Berea, Durban Central, Maritzburg North, Maritzburg South, Greytown and Pinetown.

Mr Watterson conceded that there had been a number of resignations from the NRP as a result of the prospect of an alliance.

"We have thousands of signed-up members in the Province," he said. "So far only a couple of dozen appear to have left."

Mr Watterson said he believed the positive aspects of the deal far outweighed the negative repercussions of the alliance.

Mr Swart said the "name of the game is winning seats and keeping the Nationalists out of Natal".

The two politicians said they hoped to win all 16 seats being contested on this joint basis.

Three Northern Natal seats — Newcastle, Vryheid and Klip River — are so far not being contested by the NRP/PFP alliance and neither is the

Zululand constituency of Umfolozi. These are all held by the National Party with large majorities.

The two leaders said decisions on these four seats would be announced later.

Their joint statement said the Indaba consensus to which the NRP and the PFP had subscribed meant that the philosophical differences which had existed between the Parties had largely disappeared.

"We also believe that success for the alliance candidates in the election will be the most powerful signal which whites in Natal can send to the government, indicating their desire to move away from the present political paralysis which National Party policies have inflicted on South Africa at large," the press release stated.

The leaders said the NRP and the PFP intended to achieve maximum co-ordination of joint personnel and other resources at constituency level.

Mr Swart said this meant that, in a seat being contested by the NRP, PFP workers would be available to co-or-

dinate information as well as postal and special votes.

Progressive Federal Party MPs are confident the election pact between the PFP and NRP will survive following the resignation of former NRP leader Mr Vause Raw and its whip, Mr Brian Page, our Political Staff reports.

Both are understood to have opposed any co-operation with the PFP in the election.

Mr Raw announced last Friday that he would not stand for re-election, Mr Page following suit yesterday.

Both men have stated that they will not join any other political party and will continue to support the NRP.

The election pact between the two parties could place a number of seats within grasp of the "alliance" and PFP MPs are already talking of holding as many as 40 or 45 seats in the next Parliament.

If, as is expected, the right-wing parties also make gains, the National Party could find itself in a position where it holds an overall majority of as few as 20 or 25 seats.



● BOTHA

Hendrickse, PW confer



● HENDRICKSE

LABOUR PARTY leader and Cabinet Minister without portfolio Allan Hendrickse issued a terse statement on his meeting with President P W Botha yesterday, saying the discussions were frank and would be continued at a later stage.

Hendrickse was summoned to Tuynhuys yesterday after his much-publicised swim at a whites-only Port Elizabeth beach recently and his strong opposition, expressed at his party's congress in PE, to the Group Areas Act.

The government-supporting Press hinted recently Botha was considering calling an election for the House of Representatives if Hendrickse did not stop his attacks on government policies.

Botha was reportedly incensed by the negative international publicity the swimming episode received and by the potential damage Hendrickse had done to the NP's election campaign, which has just started.

Yesterday's meeting was attended by the four provincial leaders of the NP, Cabinet Ministers Chris Heunis, F W de Klerk, Stoffel Botha and Kobie Coetsee.

Hendrickse's statement last night said: "Discussion on the Group Areas Act, beach apartheid, etc were frank. It was agreed that the discussions be continued at a later stage. A further statement will then be issued."

Sacked Guinness boss feels betrayed

LONDON — The sacked and disgraced chairman and chief executive of Guinness, Ernest Saunders, yesterday defended his actions during the takeover of Distillers, but felt he had been let down by his advisers.

As the scandal continued to rock the

City of London and the government, Saunders, said to be close to a breakdown, authorised his most trusted confidante to defend him.

Strong pressure for action is coming from Conservative Party MPs,

● See Page 5

alliance in Natal finalised

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

The alliance — formed on the basis of the Kwa/Natal Indaba recommendations — is likely to provide Parliament with a numerically stronger and more enlightened Opposition.

The announcement comes in the wake of the shock resignation of 12 NRP members in Natal — two of whom intend to

join the National Party — because of the NRP pact with the PFP.

According to a joint statement issued by Swart and Natal NRP leader Derrick Watterson, the NRP will contest the Mooi River, Umbilo, South Coast, Amanzimtoti and Durban Point constituencies.

● To Page 2



came after the Australian prime minister indicated they had come under political pressure and could not give assurances they would not have to "pull the plug".

Distillers, but felt he had been let down by his advisers.
As the scandal continued to rock the

Strong pressure for action from Conservative Party MPs,
● See Page 5

PFP/NRP alliance in Natal finalised

LEADERS of the PFP and the NRP in Natal yesterday allotted 11 of Natal's 20 constituencies to the PFP and five to the NRP for election purposes.

While a decision on the remaining four Natal constituencies will be announced later, PFP Natal leader Ray Swart said it was likely all the Natal seats would be contested by the PFP/NRP election alliance, which was finalised yesterday.

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● To Page 2

PFP, NRP allocate Natal seats

cies.

The PFP will put forward candidates in Berea, Durban Central, Durban North, Greytown, Maritzburg South, Maritzburg North, Pinetown, Port Natal, Umhlanga, Umhlatuzana and Umlazi.

Two unexpected constituency choices by the PFP are Umhlatuzana and Umlazi where, in the previous election, the party was not represented and the NRP came close to toppling the NP.

Swart and Watterson said the Indaba consensus, to which both parties have subscribed, meant the philosophical differences which had existed hitherto between their parties had largely disappeared.

An election alliance could now provide a concerted spearhead for the endorsement of "enlightened reform poli-

cies" by white voters in Natal and affect the future of race relations in the province.

The two believed success for alliance candidates would be the most powerful signal whites in Natal could send to government to indicate a desire to move away from the NP's "present political paralysis" of SA.

In terms of the PFP/NRP link-up, there will be joint agreement in respect of candidates in some constituencies and maximum co-ordination at constituency level.

The NRP in the Transvaal has not yet agreed to a pact with the PFP.

● From Page 1

PFP, NRP agree on ^{30/1/87} division of Natal seats

Political Staff

DURBAN — The New Republic Party and the Progressive Federal Party have reached agreement in Natal over the division of 16 of the 20 constituencies.

Of the 16 seats, the PFP will contest 11 and the NRP five. Decisions are still to be made about the remaining seats but only two are likely to be contested.

The agreement was reached yesterday after discussions between PFP Natal leader Mr Ray Swart and NRP Natal leader Mr Derrick Watterson.

The basis of the agreement, which still has to be ratified by the executives of the two parties, is the Natal-kwaZulu proposal. Despite the resignation of six prominent NRP members at the weekend because of the pact with the PFP, the agreement is expected to be ratified.

The NRP is to contest Mooi River, Umbilo and Durban Point (which are held by the party) and Amanzimtoti and South Coast which were won in 1981 by the NRP but whose MPs defected to the National Party.

The PFP is to contest Berea, Durban Central, Greytown, Pietermaritzburg South, Pietermaritzburg North and Pinetown (which it holds), and the National Party seats of Port Natal, Umhlatuzana, Durban North and Umlazi as well as the NRP-held seat of Umhlanga.

The remaining seats on which decisions are still to be made are Umfolozi, Vryheid, Newcastle and Klip River.

The two leaders said their aim was to achieve maximum co-ordination of personnel and other resources at constituency level.



Voters who are unable to check in person whether they are on the voters' roll can phone the national youth chairman of the PFP, Miss Toni Petra, who will be on line from 5 pm to 8 pm until Thursday to check for you. The telephone service — (011) 29-0211 — provided by the party's Southern Transvaal branch is open to all voters. The roll closes on January 30 — the day the poll date will be announced.

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Former Speaker elected chairman of the PC

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Former Speaker of Parliament Mr Johan Greeff was yesterday formally elected chairman of the President's Council to succeed Dr Piet Koorhof, South Africa's new Ambassador to the United States.

A Progressive Federal Party nominee, Mr James Rennie, was defeated by 34 votes to three.

Proposing Mr Greeff, Mr S F (Pen) Kotze said Dr Koorhof had undertaken to avoid the party political style of debate typical of the Westminster system.

Dr Koorhof had, therefore, deliberately tried to steer away from conflict and strife

in the council so that greater consensus could be achieved.

Proposing Mr Rennie, Mr P J Schoeman of the Progressive Federal Party said the status of the council as an independent body had been affected by certain events.

The manner in which security legislation had been "steamrollered" through the council had made a mockery of the democratic process.

Subsequently, the handling of the council's report on the Group Areas Act, which had led to the withdrawal of PFP members from all activities of the council, had affected the council's independence and the office of its chairman.

Fears had been expressed that the council was a rubber-stamp of the Central Government and that it was seriously thwarted in its independent action.

Should the council be told how to think and what to decide, it would become an obstacle to reform instead of a catalyst.

The coloured and Indian members of the council, except Mr Essop Ismail of the Democratic Workers' Party, abstained from voting. The two Conservative Party members, Dr Connie Mulder and Mr Fanie Herman, and Mr Ismail supported the National Party in voting for Mr Greeff's nomination. Mr Bill Sutton, the only New Republic Party member on the council, was not present.



Dr Piet Koorhof . . . tried for greater consensus.



Mr Johan Greeff . . . now in Koorhof's seat.

No new
curbs on
media —
Stoffel
Own Correspondent

CP will contest nine Joh'burg constituencies

STAR
20-1-87

PFP is
confident
of chances
in the TVI

Deputy Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe has given an assurance that his controversial remarks last week about media reports from Parliament did not mean there would be new restrictions.

Referring to an interview on the SABC-TV's "Network" programme, he said: "Nothing I said in the television interview should be interpreted as a change of the existing law or of an intention to change the law."

Yesterday Dr van der Merwe explained his remarks, which have drawn sharp criticism from opposition spokesmen.

While reaffirming last week that parliamentary privilege would remain intact, Dr van der Merwe said the "final test" would be whether a particular piece of journalism "promoted the cause of an undemocratic organisation or not".

Yesterday Dr van der Merwe said when he used the term "undemocratic organisation", he had meant unlawful organisations that were prepared to use violence instead of the ballot box.

He said he did not think his remarks had warranted the confusion which had apparently arisen in opposition circles.



CP chairman Mr Clive Derby Lewis

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party plans to field candidates in at least nine Johannesburg-area constituencies in the coming general election.

Johannesburg CP chairman Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said yesterday he was confident his party would win at least three of the seats, and possibly five. The four others were to be contested as an exercise to measure CP support.

The three safest Johannesburg constituencies for the CP, he believes, are Rosettenville, Jeppe and Langlaagte. Others

he believes the CP may win are Hillbrow and Turffontein.

The remaining seats are Westdene (against Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha), Johannesburg West (against Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Roelf Meyer), Randburg and Bezuidenhout (currently a Progressive Federal Party seat in which there has been some rivalry for the Prog nomination).

Jeppe and Langlaagte are currently held by the Conservatives, but were won by the National Party in the last election. The CP did surprisingly well in the 1984 provincial by-election in Ro-

settenville. Mr Derby-Lewis polled 30 percent of the votes in a three-cornered fight with the NP and NRP.

Mr Derby-Lewis is again in line for Rosettenville. If selected he may face Mrs Sheila Camerer of the NP.

Mrs Camerer, who won the provincial election in 1984, has challenged the sitting MP, Mr Sporie van Rensburg, for NP nomination.

If Mrs Camerer and Mr Derby-Lewis do face each other, the campaign is likely to be a heated replay of their controversial 1984 provincial clash.

Mr Derby-Lewis is convinced his party will

win Jeppe, the Johannesburg seat won for the NP in the last election by Mr Koos van der Merwe.

Mr van der Merwe, who broke away from the NP to help found the CP, seems not to share this optimism. He is seeking nomination in Overvaal, considered to be a much safer seat for the CP.

Jeppe is an unusual constituency. Until recently it was represented by the CP in Parliament, the NP in the Provincial Council and the PFP in the City Council.

Mr Derby-Lewis predicts the sizeable Portuguese community in the constituency will support the CP.

In Langlaagte there are bound to be pockets of support in areas where the party has exploited resentment about the encroachment of Indians.

In Hillbrow, the CP may be expected to use its dirtiest tactics.

"We plan to make the breakdown in law and order and the flagrant violation of the Group Areas Act the main issues there."

He claims 62 to 69 percent of residents oppose the abolition of the Group Areas Act.

Turffontein, with a similar working class profile to Rosettenville and Langlaagte, may also be within the CP's grasp.

Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party says it is confident it will increase its number of Transvaal seats in the coming general election.

The leader of the PFP in the Transvaal, Mr Douglas Gibson, said party nominations closed on January 28, but that most candidates had already been identified.

"The PFP is off to a good start, and is better organised than at the start of the 1981 election," he said.

The PFP holds nine seats in the Transvaal and is believed to be optimistic about its chances in Northrand (a CP seat), Randburg (NP), Benoni (NP) and Sunnyside (CP).

Mr Gibson is contesting the Bezuidenhout seat, vacated by Mr Reuben Sive.

He said it was likely Mr Sive would be made a nominated MP or President's Councillor if the PFP increased its support in the general election.

The National Party candidate in Bezuidenhout is likely to be Mr Sam Bloomberg, who heads Suicides Anonymous. Mr Bloomberg fared very well against the PFP in a recent city council election in Bellevue, Johannesburg.

Gibson claims CP threat is overblown

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party leader in the Transvaal, Mr Douglas Gibson, today hit out at the "exaggerated" claims of support for the Conservative Party, and accused right-wing MPs of deserting their constituencies to fight safer seats.

"The CP threat is totally overblown. After the election everybody will wonder where the party disappeared to; the National Party is cultivating the myth that the CP is mounting an enormous onslaught, but the truth is the CP is fighting for its life," he said.

TO AVOID DEFEAT

Mr Gibson said several CP MPs, who won their seats under the NP banner and then crossed to the CP, would move to safer constituencies to avoid defeat in the coming general election.

He said CP MP for Jeppe Mr Koos van der Merwe and CP MP for Langlaagte Mr SP Barnard were both likely to move.

"There is a mazin and amusin; scramble

among CP MPs to move to new seats. If they had a chance of winning their seats, they would never move," he added.

Other CP seats considered National Party strongholds are Pretoria Rissik, Sunnyside, Koedoesport, Pietersburg, Kuruman and De Aar.

The chief secretary of the CP, Dr Frans van Staden, denied that there would be a mass retreat from seats held by his party.

He said nominations would only be finalised on February 7, but said "only one, two or three" MPs might fight in different wards.

"MPs would not take the decision to shift without consultation. Another constituency would have to ask them to stand," said Dr van Staden.

Dr van Staden said CP nominations would be finalised only after the party's unification congress planned for Saturday in the Skilpad Hall in Pretoria.

He said the CP still hoped to form a united right-wing party at the meeting.

Govt raps SAMA on
Info Song 'pardons'

By ANDREW DONALDSON

THE Bureau for Information yesterday attacked the "pardon" of artists who performed in the bureau's controversial "Together We Will Build a Brighter Future" project.

In a lengthy statement, the bureau slated the newly formed SA Musicians' Alliance (SAMA) — though the pardon was, in fact, issued by the United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples' Organization.

The bureau's statement accused SAMA of being cynical, having links with the UDF and

Azapo and of further intimidating the black artists involved in the R4,3-million "Info Song".

In turn, Savuka star and a member of SAMA's ad-hoc steering committee, Johnny Clegg, has described the bureau's attack as "utter nonsense".

The bureau said it was deeply concerned about the "terrorist attacks" against the artists.

To date, the homes of two black artists, Steve Kekhana and Abigail Khubeka, have been attacked. Kekhana's friend, blind guitarist Taylor Phasha, died and four others were injured, and Khubeka was injured.

"(The bureau) has raised this matter with the police with a

view to assuring more protection to those involved," the bureau statement said.

"What the SAMA is in effect saying is that if the artists comply with certain conditions, they will be 'forgiven' and 'spared'. Spared from what? Evidently from further violence."

Commenting on the statement, Clegg said SAMA was a non-violent, non-racial and non-aligned organization that had been approached by the artists to act as mediators between themselves and the UDF and Azapo.

"We were only effecting communications between the musicians — at their request — and their communities. We haven't been asked to pardon anybody."

P W, Hendrickse to hold further talks

By TOS WENTZEL

Political Correspondent

TALKS between Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, and President P W Botha and provincial leaders of the National Party are to continue this week, possibly tomorrow.

The first round of talks, described as "frank", took place at Tuynhuys yesterday.

They were aimed at resolving tension between the National Party and its Labour Party partner in government following clashes between Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse this month.

RESTRICTIONS

They differed on the Group Areas Act and the media restrictions.

While Mr Hendrickse reiterated that his party wanted the Group Areas Act to be scrapped, Mr Botha stated that the principle of racially separated residential areas and schools would remain.

Mr Botha said Mr Hendrickse had not objected to media restrictions but Mr Hendrickse said he had not attended a Cabinet meeting at which a decision had been taken to impose them.

When Mr Hendrickse arrived at Tuynhuys in Cape Town yesterday he was met by the President and the top hierarchy of the National Party — Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr Chris Heunis (Cape), Mr Kobie Coetsee (Free State) and Mr Stoffel Botha (Natal).

Mr Hendrickse, who sits in the Cabinet as chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives, confirmed today that the talks would continue soon.

A further statement would be issued after the talks had been concluded.

Discussions had been about "group areas, beach apartheid, etc."

PW, Hendrickse hold talks on areas act

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The impasse between State President, Mr P. W. Botha, and Labour Party Leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, over the Group Areas Act and beach apartheid remains.

The two men met yesterday morning, Mr Hendrickse stating afterwards that the talks, which lasted more than one-and-a-half hours, had been "frank" and that it had been agreed to continue the discussions at a later stage.

Mr Hendrickse acknowledged that the thorny issues of the Group Areas Act and beach apartheid had been discussed.

Asked whether the question of a general election for the House of Representatives had been discussed, Mr Hendrickse said he had nothing further to add at this stage.

It is understood that Mr Botha threatened to call a general election for the House of Representatives if Mr Hendrickse continued to call for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

A brief statement from the State President's office stated that meetings between Mr Botha and members of the cabinet or Ministers Councils were confidential and that no comment would be made on the content of the discussions.

Also present at the meeting were the four provincial leaders of the National Party, Mr Chris Heunis (Cape), Mr F. W. de Klerk (Transvaal), Mr Kobie Coetsee (Free State) and Mr Stoffel Botha (Natal).

The meeting between Mr Botha and the Labour Party Leader comes in the wake of Mr Hendrickse's flouting of the provisions of the Separate Amenities Act when he swam on Kings Beach, Port Elizabeth on January 3.

He was joined by other members of the Ministers Council and MPs.

The two leaders are also at loggerheads over the Group Areas Act with the Labour Party leader having demanded that the act be scrapped immediately when he opened his party's congress at the beginning of the month.

The demand was met with a retort from Mr Botha that the principle of separate residential areas would not be scrapped.

With an election in the offing, Mr Botha cannot afford to be seen as being prepared to even tinker with the Group Areas Act as this would quickly be capitalised on by the right-wing.

Now CP prepares to 'call the tune'

THE Conservative Party (CP) mouthpiece *Die Patriot* has launched a "silly song competition" to coincide with the elections and to counter the controversial Bureau for Information's R4,3m pop song.

A prize of R1 000 is being offered

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

by the competition's unnamed sponsors.

"This competition won't cost taxpayers a cent," *Die Patriot* says. Competitors are being urged to write a "tasteful song" in which

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BUSDAY
they voice humorous opinions on "Louis's Liedjie" — the government song named after the man who launched it, former Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel.

R250 will be awarded for the best Afrikaans lyrics.

NRP supporter: NP divides on language lines

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DP 21/1/72

Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN — Strongly supporting the NRP-Progressive Federal Party Pact for the white General Election, the Queenstown branch and divisional chairman of the NRP, Mr Johnny Johnson said that the National Party still divided education in terms of language.

Mr Johnson said he was prepared to give the Broederbond membership numbers of a majority of the cabinet.

He was replying to a suggestion from the floor that the NP had adopted most of the policies of the old United Party.

"The National Party doesn't put South Africa first, it puts Afrikaners first." The NRP was a home for both language groups under the same roof, he added.

The NP would inevitably be elected back to power by "the purple hair club," argued Mr

Johnson. "If P. W. Botha asked his supporters tomorrow to dye their hair purple, they would do so," he said.

But the pact, which did not involve the amalgamation of either the NRP or the PFP by each other, would provided the strongest possible opposition in parliament to the left of the government.

The co-operation by the Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Party in Britain had shown that it was possible for two like-minded organisations to work together without losing their identities.

A meeting involving all eight branches of the NRP in the Queenstown division will be held on Thursday to pick a candidate. Then an indaba will be held with the PFP to decide which of the parties' candidates is most acceptable.

There was little oppo-

sition last night to the PFP pact. Mr Johnson said that reports of NRP members defecting from the party in Natal should not be overestimated: the election alliance had generally been well received.

"We would only be playing into the hands of the Nats by splitting the opposition vote," he declared. "Without the pact, it could mean the demise of the NRP."

"The Queenstown seat is certainly within the reach of whichever party represents us," he said, urging NRP members to fight for a PFP candidate, should he or she be selected to represent the alliance.

It would be morally wrong not to do so, he said ... adding that in his opinion the election would probably be in April. "The First of April would be appropriate, considering the government we've got."

Two more NRP members quit

N/M 304A 21/1/87

Mercury Reporter

TWO more former NRP stalwarts, disenchanted by the election pact with the PFP, resigned from the party yesterday.

Mr John Lundie, chairman of the Hillary Civic Association, said yesterday he and his wife, Joyce had left the NRP.

'I am an old United Party man,' he said. 'I want nothing to do with the PFP.'

Mr Lundie, who had served on both the head committee and the regional committee of the NRP, said he would oppose any PFP candidate who stood in the Umlazi constituency. This included Mrs Sybil Hotz,

chairman of the Management Committee of the Durban City Council, who has said she is available for nomination as a candidate for the PFP.

He said the NRP had lost its identity as a result of the deal with the PFP.

'I am very upset at the support the NRP gave to the Indaba,' Mr Lundie said. 'I believe it's the beginning of a one man, one vote system.'

On Sunday, 12 NRP supporters announced their resignations. They included Mr Peter Miller, former MPC for South Coast and Mr Cliff Matthee, former MPC for Durban Central.

We'll keep our seats, say former NRP men

Mercury Reporter

TWO of the three former New Republic Party MPs who crossed the floor to join the National Party last year yesterday expressed confidence that they would retain their seats in South Coast and Amanzimtoti.

There has been speculation that both seats are highly vulnerable following a decision of the PFP and NRP leadership to select one candidate only for the combined opposition in each of the 16 constituencies they are contesting in Natal.

In 1981 Mr George Bartlett, MP for Amanzimtoti, obtained a majority of 1 504 for the NRP. The combined NRP and PFP vote was 6 065 as against 3 309 for the National Party.

In South Coast, Mr Aubrey Thompson secured a majority of 1 636. He notched up 5 285 votes as against 3 649 for the

National Party. The PFP did not contest the constituency.

Mr Bartlett said he was 'reasonably confident' and said he did not believe the electorate had been made fully aware of the contents and implications of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

He said that he was not necessarily 'knocking' the Indaba by saying this as he felt negotiations were essential.

Referendum

Mr Bartlett said he would like to see the contest in his constituency conducted in the same spirit as the referendum campaign in 1983.

If NRP supporters remained 'true to the political philosophy of the New Republic Party' then he did not feel 'threatened'.

Mr Aubrey Thompson, MP for South Coast, said he had received positive feedback from the electorate

about his chances in the General Election.

He said his constituents were 'not enamoured' with the proposals of the Indaba although they were positive about the concept of the talks as such.

Mr Derrick Watterson, Natal leader of the NRP, said it was vitally important that those people opposed to power-sharing in the province should come out into the open.

In view of the statement by Mr Stoffel Botha, Natal leader of the National Party, that the NP was totally opposed to the Indaba, the public of Natal should use this opportunity to express their feelings, he said.

**Opposition
alliance is
just a ploy,
says Stoffel**

Mercury Reporter

THE leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, predicted yesterday that the vast majority of NRP voters in the province would not support any candidate who served on a PFP/NRP alliance ticket, whether he was a serving Member of Parliament or not.

Mr Botha said the PFP/NRP agreement amounted to no more than a 'ploy' by the PFP to eliminate what was left of the NRP.

'The vast majority of NRP members will not be caught napping,' he said. 'They will not identify with an alliance created for the convenience of the PFP.'

These voters would have the 'good sense' to realise that the alliance was 'tainted and dominated' by the PFP's 'wildcat' policies.

The NP's Natal leader said he was confident of a favourable result for the National Party in Natal.

Results of by-elections since the last General Election in 1981 had shown that the NP was making steady progress in Natal.

A seat such as Umlazi, won by the NP with a majority of 90 in 1981, could no longer be regarded as marginal, Mr Botha said.

'Certainly the PFP holds no terrors for us there with or without an alliance,' he said.

PFP optimistic about Randburg poll after rebel Nat's decision

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

STAR

The Progressive Federal Party today opened the way for the rebel National Party MP in Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, to join it after he announced he would not stand for the NP in the general election.

Political sources in Randburg, however, say at this stage Mr Malan is unlikely to join the PFP and is more likely to stand as an independent candidate in the election.

The leader of the PFP in the Transvaal, Mr Douglas Gibson, said if Mr Malan wanted to join the party "he would be very welcome".

"I think it is an enormously significant move on the part of an extremely talented politician. It must be a heavy blow to the NP to lose one of the few verligte thinkers it has," he said.

Mr Gibson said Mr Malan's example would be followed by "hundreds of voters in Randburg and we are extremely positive about the PFP's prospects in a general election".

Mr Malan declined to confirm he would stand as an independent. He said he would first discuss with some of his "close friends, divisional council members and those who stood with me".

He said he would not stand as an NP candidate because he could not accept "certain standpoints and actions of the Government".

He announced his decision after meeting the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, and the leader of the NP in the Transvaal, Mr F.W. de Klerk, in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr de Klerk said today: "I do not want to comment at this stage on his reasons, because we have an understanding that he will come back to me and that he will have further discussions about certain other considerations which do not have to do with his candidature."

● See Pages 4 and 13.

Our election candidates will surprise them, says Pik Botha

Nats planning blitz on Jo'burg Prog bastions

21/1/87 2014 SPK



Mr TerreBlanche . . . volk doomed unless it has its own homeland.

Eugene evades Harry's question

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

The Blue Room at the Johannesburg Station was the scene of a fiery clash yesterday between Mr Harry Schwarz of the Progressive Federal Party and Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Judging from the reaction from other diners, it was Mr Schwarz who won the duel.

The restaurant patrons were all members or guests of the Johannesburg Press Club attending a luncheon to listen to Mr TerreBlanche.

He delivered his usual message: The Afrikaner "volk" of South Africa was doomed unless it was given its own homeland, made up of the Transvaal, the Free State and Northern Natal, and ruled by the AWB.

He told his audience he believed in a united right wing, and hoped the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party would unite after the general election.

The polite audience applauded the fiery speaker and laughed at his wisecracks.

During question time, Mr Schwarz asked Mr TerreBlanche to explain what the rights would be of whites in an AWB State who were not Afrikaans-speaking Christians.

"Will I be able to go to Parliament, own my own home and conduct my business?" Mr Schwarz asked.

SAME RIGHTS?

Mr TerreBlanche, as is the custom with politicians, wove around the awkward question, explaining that whites in Africa could only survive as a "volk".

Mr Schwarz insisted that Mr TerreBlanche answer the question. Would he, as a Jew, have the same political rights as an Afrikaner?

Mr TerreBlanche then delved into South Africa's history, explaining that it was the Afrikaans Christian (Boere-Christen) who had won the land for whites, who had fought at Blood River and had promised to commemorate the victory.

Mr TerreBlanche never said in so many words that Mr Schwarz would not be entitled to the vote in an AWB State, but he did say there were two requirements to belong to the AWB: You had to be white and believe in Jesus Christ.

The AWB leader told Mr Schwarz that Israel was the homeland of the Jews and challenged him to say whether the Israelis would share power with the Palestinians.

Mr Schwarz never got a chance to reply, because an indignant young Afrikaans-speaking lady declared she could not fathom how Mr TerreBlanche could claim to believe in the New Testament's message of brotherly love.

There was warm applause for Mr Schwarz, who chuckled as Mr TerreBlanche tried to answer the next question.

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is planning to contest a number of Progressive Federal Party seats in Johannesburg, possibly even Houghton.

Mr Pik Botha, the party's Johannesburg regional chairman, MP for Westdene and Minister of Foreign Affairs, indicated this in an interview yesterday when he said: "The regional executive is considering which Johannesburg Opposition seats to contest.

"We hope to make a more positive announcement soon but I believe our decision will be a surprise for the Progs. We have no shortage of candidates for PFP seats."

Mr Botha, as Johannesburg party chairman, is in charge of 12 constituencies. Four are held by the NP: Westdene, Johannesburg West (seat of Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Roelf Meyer), Turfontein (Mr Andre Fourie) and Rosettenville (Mr Sporie van Rensburg).

Two are held by former Nats, now Conservative Party members: Jeppe (Mr Koos van der Merwe) and Langlaagte (Mr Salmon Barnard).

The other six are PFP seats: Houghton (Mrs Helen Suzman), Yeoville (Mr Harry Schwarz), Johannesburg North (Mr Peter Soal), Hillbrow (Mr Alf Widman), Parktown (Dr Marius Barnard) and Bezuidenhout (Major Reuben Sive).

Yet to decide

The sitting MPs have or are expected to be nominated as candidates in all 12 seats except Bezuidenhout (where Major Sive is standing down to make way for PFP Transvaal leader Mr Douglas Gibson) and Jeppe (where Mr van der Merwe has moved to what the Conservative Party considers a safer seat).

Mr Barnard has yet to decide about standing in Langlaagte (he has had offers to stand for the CP in other seats), while Mrs Sheila Camerer may oust Mr van Rensburg in the Rosettenville NP nomination contest.

The National Party should be able to hold its four Johannesburg seats easily and take back Jeppe and Langlaagte from the CP.

The interesting questions are which PFP seats it will contest and how much support it will draw, but the party has a powerful card to play — the magnetism of Mr Pik Botha.

He has substantial support among Johannesburg businessmen and immigrants.

The most recent opinion poll published towards the end of last year showed he had personal support in both English and Afrikaans language groups as well as across the entire range of income groups, particularly in Johannesburg.

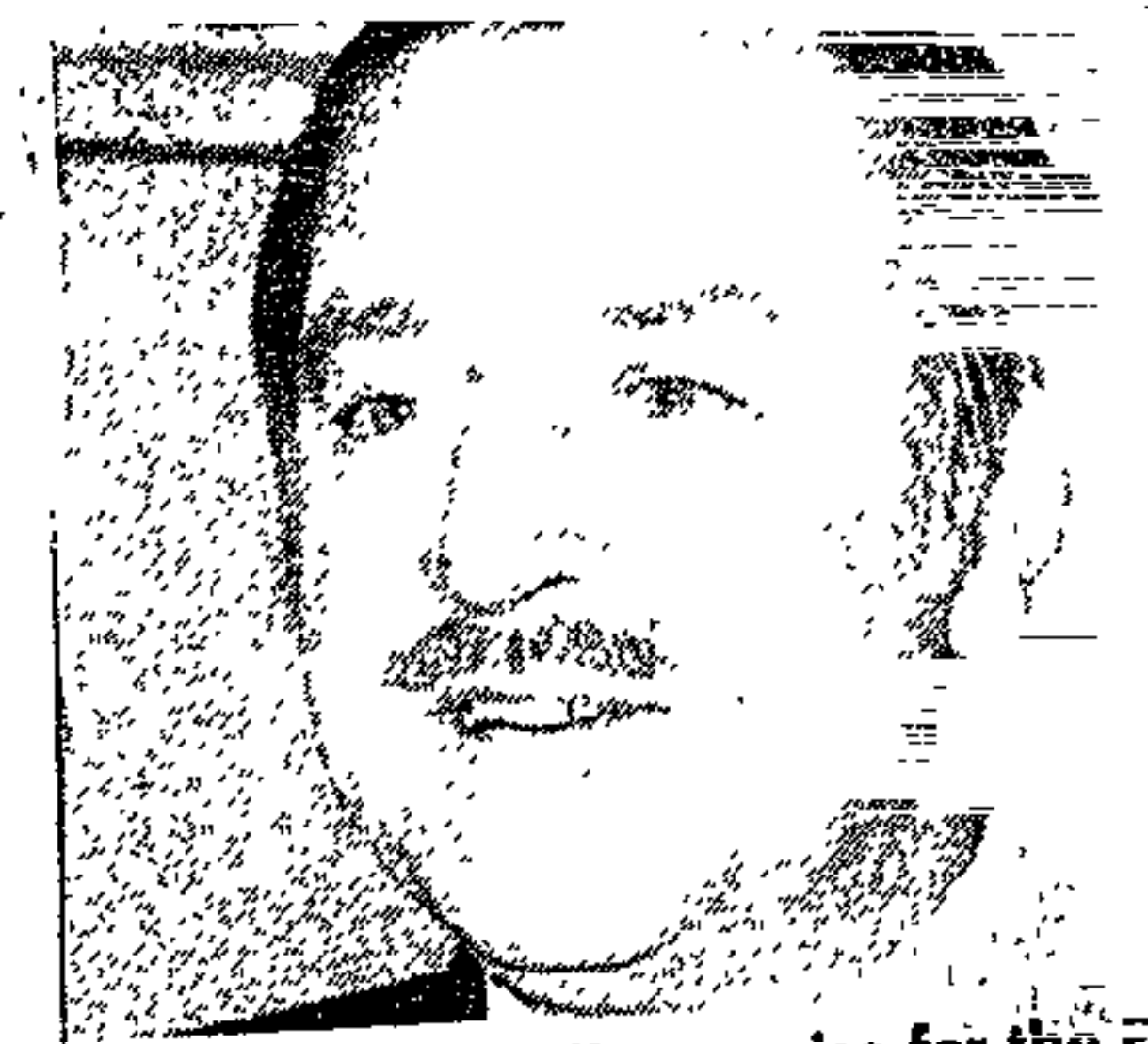
Mr Botha said: "I am even confident that many of the people who would not ordinarily vote for us will do so to reject outside interference and to stand united against further isolation and conflict."

Mr Botha said there was no doubt the CP would get the boot in Johannesburg and there was even a reasonable chance the National Party would take Bezuidenhout from the PFP.

He believed the NP could also make a good showing in Yeoville, Parktown and Bryanston.

Mr Botha plans to set up a strategy committee representative of the various communities which make up the voters of Johannesburg, address rallies in the Johannesburg area and make himself available to speak to special interest groups.

The NP has nominated Mr Hennie Bekker, a former Provincial Council member, to stand in Jeppe and Dr J J Vilonel, an indirectly elected MP, to contest Langlaagte. Both are considered strong candidates.



Mr Pik Botha . . . "a surprise for the

Hurley on PW meeting

Cabinet Ministers told a Catholic deputation which met President Botha late last year that they had "excellent information on black attitudes."

This emerged from the report tabled by the president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Denis Hurley, at the annual plenary session of the conference in Pretoria yesterday.

Archbishop Hurley said the Cabinet Ministers — whom he did not identify — said that black representatives often thanked them for the presence of the security forces in the townships and for the steps taken to promote constitutional evolution.

During the meeting, held in November last year to convey a conference deputation's concern over political developments to Mr Botha, the Ministers

strongly criticised the Church for not sufficiently condemning ANC violence.

When it was Mr Botha's turn to speak, he launched "a bitter tirade against the *New Nation*, accusing it of blatant lies in reports concerning South African interference in Mozambique, Angola and Botswana," Archbishop Hurley said in his report.

The bishops explained that the *New Nation* was a secular newspaper owned by the Bishops' Conference designed to voice the attitudes and feelings of the black community.

Its editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, and 11 Catholic Church functionaries are currently in detention.

Mr Botha said he did not want churches to interfere in politics. He resented the church had not recognised what he had done. — Sapa.



● TERRE'BLANCHE

'Choose between ANC and AFB'

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

AFB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said yesterday he had instructed the organisation to use violence to retain the country if the government "capitulated" and law and order fell away.

These conditions of chaos had not yet occurred in SA, he said at a fiery talk during a Johannesburg Press Club luncheon.

He said elections would achieve nothing because the problems facing SA would remain the same.

"There will be a problem because the ANC wants SA and the AFB wants to retain it," he said. "But make no mistake, we can and will retain SA with violence if lawlessness develops."

He said there was no room for compromise and South Africans would have to choose between the ANC and the AFB after the elec-

tions.

"The ANC will not get SA. When the elections are over and whirlwinds break in this heartsore land there will only be one of two choices — either the ANC on the left or the AFB on the right."

He delivered a message for the ANC on its 75th anniversary in which he said Afrikaners were not white colonists but "from the heart of Africa" and as a race, had paid in blood, sweat and their labour for this country.

"You are (the ANC) attempting to take our land from us. You do not want to share the land with us, you've said it. But you will not demoralise us. This land's women and children are stronger than communist soldiers."

BUSINESS DAY, We

21/11/87

304A

Second round of talks with P W Botha

So. Africa 21/1/87 30419

TALKS between Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and President P W Botha and provincial leaders of the National Party are to continue later this week, probably today.

The first round of talks, described as having been "frank" took place at Tuynhuys in Cape Town on Monday.

They were aimed at resolving tensions between the National Party and its Labour Party partner in government following clashes between Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse earlier this month.

Media restrictions

They differed on the Group Areas Act and the media restrictions. While Mr Hendrickse reiterated that his party wanted the Group Areas Act to be scrapped Mr Botha stated that the principle of racially separated residential areas and schools would remain.

Mr Botha said Mr Hendrickse had not objected to media restrictions but Mr Hendrickse said he had not attended a Cabinet meeting at which a decision had been taken to impose them.

Treurnicht: shut US embassy, ^{21/1/87} stop cash flow ²⁰⁰⁰

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa should close the United States' embassy and stop the flow of "subversive" US cash into the coffers of radicals, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

"The CP demands action from the National Party (NP) against the US Government, which has declared a sanctions war against this country — a government with courage would have closed down the American embassy months ago and would have stopped the flow of subversive US cash into the coffers of the radicals."

Dr Treurnicht said a closer look should also be taken at the activities of the US Information Service and "all other projects designed by the US State Department to undermine the existing order in this country".

Reacting to reports that the United States had identified 10 strategic South African minerals to be exempted from their sanctions programme, Dr Treurnicht said it was time South Africa judged the NP government by their deeds, not their words.

"Mr Pik Botha is becoming quite boring as he postures against the



DR TREURNICHT

US and Zimbabwean governments.

"I refer specifically to the US Government's selective sanctions against this country, which sanctions exclude items essential to the survival of the United States. These conditions the NP government timidly accepts.

"What about South Africa's survival? We are busy supplying urgently needed fuel to Zimbabwe while that country makes no bones about the fact that it sympathises with the ANC and would, if it could, institute sanctions." — Sapa

No apologies, says LP caucus

● From Page 1

the State President's ultimatum to Mr Hendrickse.

He said by reacting to such a "trifling issue" as a swim, Mr Botha showed he was "incapable of shifting his stance on apartheid".

Mr Moorcroft added: "It is no wonder the more forward-thinking MPs like Wynand Malan (Randburg) find their position untenable in the

National Party." (Mr Malan announced today that due to recent actions by the NP he would not stand for re-election.)

Mr Moorcroft said Mr Botha's action "must surely convince even the most optimistic that any talk of voting for the Government in order to vote for reform is futile".

Commenting earlier today, the former Mayor of Port Elizabeth and campaigner for open beaches, Mr Ivan Krige,

recommended that Mr Hendrickse should not only resign from the Cabinet, but should lead his party out of the tri-cameral Parliament.

Mr Krige said he had never believed the issue of opening beaches was important, given the numerous other pressing problems facing South Africa.

"But if his swim leads to the breakdown of the tricameral system, it will

have been a good thing.

"I have never believed in the tricameral Parliament. It is an absolute abortion, doomed to failure.

"I would like to see them all (the coloured MPs) resign from Parliament. If they get out it will mean the end of the tricameral government," he said.

The regional organiser for the HNP, Mr Attie Looock, said today that while it would be a "good thing" if Mr Hendrickse resigned from the Cabinet, he thought it unlikely because he would "hang on for the money's sake".

Mr Looock said whatever happened, he hoped Mr Hendrickse would still be prosecuted for contravening the Separate Amenities Act. Mr Looock was one of several HNP members who laid complaints with the police about Mr Hendrickse's swim.

Mr Tony Stephens, Eastern Cape regional chairman of the PFP, said:

"I am very concerned that at a time when SA is beset by so many economic problems and problems of relationships among its peoples, the leadership of the country should be sidetracked by an event in which so-called coloured people swim at a beach."

304A DD 21/1/87

SA to choose ANC or AWB — Terre'Blanche

JOHANNESBURG — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, says South Africans will have to face a choice between the ANC and the AWB after the coming election because, ultimately, there is no room for compromise in the country.

In a fiery talk during a Johannesburg Press Club luncheon at which he refused to speak English, Mr Terre'Blanche said elections would achieve nothing because the problems facing SA would remain unchanged.

"I do not see a workable solution which forms part of the election campaign. There will be a problem because the ANC wants South Africa and the AWB wants to retain it."

Mr Terre'Blanche said he had instructed the AWB to use violence to retain the country once the government "capitulated", law and order fell away and the chaos "witnessed in Africa under black states occurred in SA".

"If the ANC wanted to campaign against Britain would you ever consider that the British were terrorists

because they wanted to protect their fatherland?

"The ANC will not get SA. When the elections are over and whirlwinds break in this heartsore land there will only be one of two choices — either the ANC on the left or the AWB on the right."

He delivered a message to the ANC on its 75th anniversary in which he said Afrikaners were not white colonists but "from the heart of Africa" and, as a race, had paid in blood, sweat and their labour for this country.

Commenting on the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, he said the tricameral Parliament was on the brink of collapse and, as a result, many people believed Mr Botha would set up a military dictatorship after the elections.

"I just want to tell you Botha is totally unpredictable. He does and says the strangest things, at the strangest times and in the strangest ways, that I'm not always to read his strange mind," Mr Terre'Blanche mused. — DDC

Crisis over Hendrickse swim

By TOS WENTZEL,
Political Correspondent

THE Government faced a crisis today which could lead to the resignation of its coloured and Indian Cabinet Ministers.

It is also possible that the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament might be dissolved.

This follows a confrontation between President P W Botha and the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, over Mr Hendrickse's swim with some of his supporters at the whites-only King's Beach in Port Elizabeth at the beginning of the year.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who also sits in

the central Cabinet, has been drawn into the row.

Mr Hendrickse met Mr Rajbansi yesterday after his confrontation with Mr Botha and the possibility has been suggested that if the Labour Party leader was forced out of the Cabinet Mr Rajbansi would follow.

In jovial mood

The issue could be brought to a head at today's first Cabinet meeting of the year.

Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi were present when the meeting began at Tuynhuys.

President Botha and the Ministers appeared to be in jovial mood. The meeting is expected to last several days.

Late yesterday afternoon a hurriedly called parliamentary caucus meeting of the Labour Party discussed the crisis.

It is being speculated that Mr Botha is threatening to dissolve the House of Representatives and possibly the House of Delegates and to have an election for them. The election for the white House of Assembly election has already been announced.

Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse met twice earlier this week. Mr Botha has put three options to Mr Hendrickse:

- That he and his MPs involved in the Port Elizabeth incident publicly apologise for deliberately breaking the law by swimming on a white beach.

- That Mr Hendrickse resign from the Cabinet.

- That an election for the House of Representatives be held this year.

Mr Hendrickse was not available for comment today and Labour MPs declined to give details of yesterday's caucus discussions.

It is understood, however, that it was decided that it was impossible for Mr Hendrickse to apologise in view of the party's strong stand against the Group Areas Act.

It was further decided to leave a decision on the options to the President, which means he will be forced to sack Mr Hendrickse from the Cabinet or to decide to have an election for the House of Representatives without this House having asked for it.

Labour Party MPs appear reluctant to have an early election and some of them said today they did not think Mr Botha would be so "untactful" as to call one on his own.

A joint caucus meeting of the Labour Party and the National People's Party will be held in Cape Town on Tuesday to discuss strategy.



Picture: DANA le ROUX, The Argus.

CABINET MEETING: The Rev Allan Hendrickse, left, takes his seat at today's Cabinet meeting. With him are, centre, Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis.

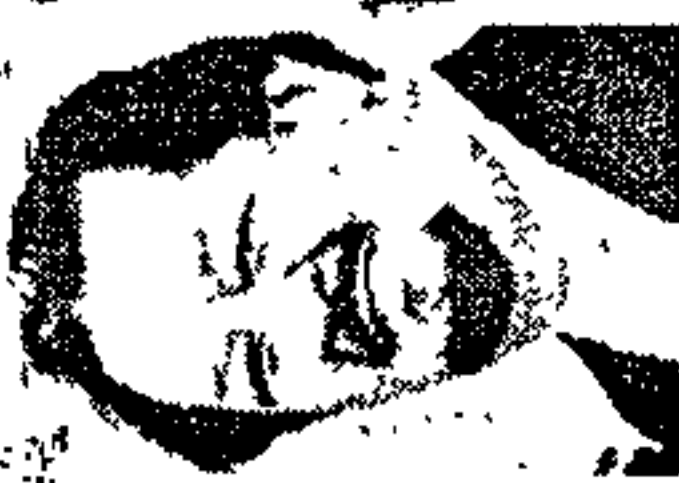
Labour Party leader could quit Cabinet

PW, Hendrickse on collision course

Political Staff



Mr Botha



Mr Hendrickse

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21/1/87
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Cape Town
The Labour Party was today heading for a confrontation with President Botha which could lead to its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leaving the Cabinet.

The chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has also been drawn into the row after discussions with Mr Hendrickse and there is the possibility that he might also leave the Cabinet.

A hurriedly called parliamentary caucus meeting of the Labour Party discussed the crisis yesterday afternoon.

President Botha and Mr Hendrickse met twice earlier this week.

Mr Botha has put three choices to Mr Hendrickse: that he and his MPs involved in the Port Elizabeth incident publicly apologise for deliberately breaking the law by swimming on a white beach; that Mr Hendrickse resigns from the Cabinet; or that an election for the House of Representatives be held with the House of Assembly election this year.

Mr Hendrickse was not available for comment today and Labour MPs declined to give details of the caucus discussions.

But it is understood it was decided it was impossible for Mr Hendrickse to apologise in view of the party's strong stand against the Group Areas Act.

It was further decided to leave a decision on the options to the

President, which means he will be forced to sack Mr Hendrickse from the Cabinet or to decide to have an election for the House of Representatives without the House having asked for it.

If Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi resigned from the central Cabinet, they could remain on as chairmen of the Ministers' Councils in their Houses.

There is also speculation that Mr Botha is threatening to dissolve both the House of Representatives and possibly the House of Delegates, and have elections for them along with those for the white House of Assembly.

Matters are expected to come to a head today at the first Cabinet meeting of the year.

Labour Party MPs appear reluctant to have an early election and some said today they did not think Mr Botha would be so "untactful" as to call one.

They also thought Mr Botha's confrontation with Mr Hendrickse was largely political posturing before the white election. He appears to be trying to appease conservative Nationalists by acting strongly against the defiant Mr Hendrickse.

Mr Rajbansi declined to comment today, but other sources in his National People's Party confirmed the meeting between him and Mr Hendrickse.

They said the party caucus would have to decide on whether Mr Rajbansi should also leave the Cabinet.

Officially end stayaway from council

CAPE TOWN — The three Progressive Federal Party members of the President's Council, yesterday officially called off their stay-away from the council.

The three, Mr Robin Carlisle, Mr Pieter Schoeman and Mr James Rennie, said in a statement they would resume their attendance of plenary sessions to force discussions on the Group Areas Act and to inform South Africans of what is occurring in the country.

Last year they withdrew from participation in the council's activities after the steering committee refused to allow a debate on the withdrawal of a report on the Group Areas Act.

The PFP members then gave notice they would move such a debate at the next plenary session of the council and withdrew from further participation until then. They returned at Monday's plenary session, called to elect the former Speaker of Par-

liament, Mr Johan Greeff, as chairman, and immediately after his election moved the debate on the withdrawn report.

However, Mr Greeff ruled it out of order, saying the plenary session had been called for the exclusive purpose of electing a chairman and there was no agenda.

The previous council chairman, Mr Piet Koornhof, is now South Africa's ambassador to Washington.

In their statement yesterday the three men said that while they were not expressing disrespect for the new chairman, "it would seem that the rules have been used to stifle further debate on the Group Areas Act".

The deputy chairman was required to draw up

an agenda and perform the duties of the chairman when the latter was unable to do so.

They said they would also resume attendance of appropriate committees to ensure that the Group Areas report was not lost sight of and that the Economic Affairs Committee dealt with group areas in its report on job creation.

They would also ensure that the management of the council was not permitted to manipulate the agenda in order to prevent full and free debate.

"The PFP will ensure that the Group Areas Act remains a central issue in the elections."

The government had illustrated in its handling of the issue that it was putting party political fears above the true interests of the country and the PFP intended to expose the true position to the electorate, the statement said.

A Daily Dispatch correspondent reports from Cape Town that Mr Schoeman, Mr Carlisle and Mr Rennie opposed Mr Greeff's candidature for chairman and proposed Mr Rennie.

Mr Schoeman said it was the task of the PFP to fight for the survival of the spirit of freedom which is presently in the throttling grip of state dictatorship.

He said the independence of the council had become a joke after the abuse by the executive authority to use the council to push through last year's security legislation.

The news blackout in South Africa would eventually lead to the throttling of the soul of freedom. The PFP intended to use parliamentary privilege to the full to promote freedom of speech.

Mr Schoeman's speech was stopped by the acting chairman, Judge President Munik, who ordered him to stick to the merits of his candidate. — Sapa

Ireland's coalition cabinet collapses

DUBLIN — Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald's coalition cabinet collapsed yesterday in a dispute over the budget, and he has called a general election in Ireland for February 17.

The four Cabinet ministers representing the Labour Party, the junior coalition partner of Mr FitzGerald's Fine Gael Party, walked out of the Prime Minister's office and said they had resigned because they could not accept what they called "a very significant imposition" on salaried workers and low-income families.

Reading a statement, the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Dick Spring, said the cutbacks demanded by Mr FitzGerald's budget "are not just."

The Finance Minister, Mr John Bruton, was known to be demanding cutbacks totalling some 300 million Irish pounds (\$450 million) in social welfare funding.

Mr FitzGerald called a brief news conference to confirm the resignations and named replacements for the four ministers. He nominated his Foreign Minister, Mr Peter Barry, to replace Mr Spring.

Mr FitzGerald then headed for the residence of President Patrick Hillery to brief him on the situation, and ask for formal dissolution of parliament.

He was elected in January 1983 and had served a nine-month tenure as Prime Minister in 1981.

The four ministers who resigned are Mr Spring; the Tourism, Fisheries and Forestry Minister, Mr Liam Kavanagh; the Health Minister, Mr Barry Desmond; and the Labour Minister, Mr Ruairi Quinn. — Sapa-RNS

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Cape Times 21/11/87

2 more NRP resignations

Own Correspondent *3064*

DURBAN. — Two more New Republic Party stalwarts, disenchanted by the election pact with the PFP, yesterday said they were resigning from the party.

Mr John Lundie, chairman of the Hillary Civic Association, said he and his wife, Joyce, had left the NRP.

Mr Lundie said he would write to inform secretary of the party, Mr Hennie Brink, of their decision.

"I am an old United Party

man," he said. "I want nothing to do with the PFP."

Mr Lundie, who had served on both the head committee and the regional committee of the NRP, said he would oppose any PFP candidate who stood in the Umlazi constituency. This included Mrs Sybil Hotz, chairman of the management committee of the Durban City Council, who has said she is available for nomination as a candidate for the PFP.

He said the NRP had lost their identity as a result of the deal with the PFP.

Nat MP predicts 'dramatic change'

CAR TIMES 22/1/87 304A

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — South Africa was on the verge of the most dramatic changes in its history, a National Party MP told a committee of the British government yesterday.

Mr Albert Nothnagel, MP for Innesdal, also told a House of Commons Foreign Affairs committee that most NP members agreed that the African National Congress (ANC) should be unbanned eventually.

He is on a visit here as a guest of the British government.

"The most basic pillars of apartheid have been destroyed and those that remain will be a thing of the past in a year or so," Mr Nothnagel predicted.

He said the "redistribution of land" which was currently under discussion would prove to be "one of the most important changes in our political history".

Mr Nothnagel's confident predictions appeared to take some members of the committee, led by Tory MP Sir Anthony Kershaw, by surprise.

During 90 minutes of evidence Mr Nothnagel said:

□ Most NP members agreed that the ANC should be un-

banned eventually, that there should be no political prisoners and that people should be able to speak freely for themselves.

□ The vast majority of NP supporters would now say "yes" to including blacks in the political system.

□ It was a mistake not to have included blacks in the 1983 tricameral constitution.

□ He had "no problems" with the main proposals of the Natal Indaba which he regarded as a "very fruitful exercise" and would like to see many of its recommendations implemented at a national level.

□ He would like to see Mr Nelson Mandela renounce violence — which did not mean that all violence would cease — so that he could be freed and play the role in the black community that many expected him to play.

□ If ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo said he was a black nationalist he accepted his word and had nothing against him personally. He believed nationalists within the ANC should return to participate in the political process.

□ He could identify with the liberation struggle of blacks and with the aspirations of black nationalists.

But Mr Nothnagel condemned in the strongest terms the "gruesome violence and savagery" being perpetrated by the ANC with its necklace killings.

He also condemned the "political radicalism" of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC).

He said the power struggle in South Africa was not between black and white but between various black groupings.

The NP was committed to fundamental change and genuine power-sharing but rejected one man, one vote as not being in South Africa's interests.

He said the coming general election was to achieve white unity and a mandate for "moving forward".

It was not an attempt to stop the process of change.

About the press restrictions, Mr Nothnagel eventually conceded that, although he was in favour of a free press, he accepted that the government had had to take "certain steps" although some may have been "rather harsh".

He said that while the government remained committed to negotiations, the ball was in the court of the black leaders "to set the stage for negotiations".

MP left Nats over Group Areas Act

Cape Times 22/1/87
304A Political Staff

THE National Party MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, has decided to leave the party because of the government's decision not to scrap the Group Areas Act and its unwillingness to move towards a negotiated settlement, close friends and associates said.

And yesterday it became clear that several other prominent Nationalists — some also MPs — were considering following Mr Malan's lead.

His move shook the NP on the eve of an election campaign and was discussed at confidential meetings of colleagues and fellow verligtes yesterday.

Mr Malan burst into tears after he had spoken to State President P W Botha on Tuesday afternoon.

A visibly bitter Mr Botha told newsmen last night: "When he left, he burst into tears and assured me that he was praying for God's blessing on me, and he undertook to talk again with his provincial leader. This morning I read with shock about how he was acting."

The Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday that he was not prepared to comment before Mr Malan had been back to see him.

□ John Battersby reports from London that one of Mr Malan's closest political friends, Innesdal MP Albert Nothnagel, paid tribute to him.

Mr Nothnagel said that he had no plans to resign but conceded that there could be further "problems" in some NP nomination contests.

Senior PFP leaders said yesterday they would welcome Mr Malan in their party, and confirmed that they had already had contact with him.

Waddell resigns: 'We were conned'

CAPE TIMES 22/1/87 304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Gordon Waddell yesterday announced his resignation as executive chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments and indicated he may leave the country.

"To be chairman of JCI spoils you for any other job in SA," he said.

"Frankly, I have no idea what I will do and I have not sought a job overseas," he said.

He said, however, there was "no equally other attractive job around".

The surprise announcement was made in the JCI interim report published yesterday. It said: "Mr G H Waddell has informed the board of directors he has decided for personal reasons to resign as executive chairman on 30 June 1987".

He will be replaced by Mr Murray Hofmeyr, member of the Anglo board's executive committee.

At a press conference later, Mr Waddell cited "personal reasons and a number of other factors".

He will not be taking up another position with



Mr Gordon Waddell

the Anglo American Corporation.

Mr Waddell will also give up the 17 directorships he currently holds as JCI chairman.

He said he could not rule out the possibility of taking up a position abroad.

Mr Waddell said he had "always believed that one should be chairman of a group of the size of JCI for seven years" and that after six and a half years he felt it was time to go.

He ruled out any possibility of a political career.

A close friend of Mr Waddell and former PFP

leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said last night he was "very sad" to hear of the decision.

"But I honour it. And I think one can't totally divorce it from the state in which the country finds itself," he added.

Speaking to the Cape Times last night Mr Waddell said businessmen had been "conned" by the government into voting yes in the 1983 referendum.

"I can understand that they want to believe that the present regime is going to change but they've been conned. They might be thinking differently now."

"Most of business and particularly English-speaking business is easily conned."

He had fully supported Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's reasons for resigning from parliament and would certainly vote PFP again, he said.

□ Hofmeyr to succeed Waddell as JCI chief, page 11

Hendrickse's letter

"WITH reference to the unfortunate incident that had caused you to react against certain actions of mine, I wish to record that I have carefully considered my own position and your reaction and attitude.

"I write this letter to you in a spirit of resolving the dispute in the best interest of the country. I ask that you accept that whatever I have done, I have done in accordance with the dictates of my conscience and the policy of the Labour Party of which I am the leader. For this I believe no apology is needed.

"Members of my community and I have suffered indignities over a long period in regard to many issues but especially the issues of Group Areas and beach apartheid. On the very eve of our congress in Port Elizabeth we again suffered humiliation on the latter issue. This situation is and will remain unacceptable to my party and community as long as institutional measures such as this kind remain.

"Our presence and participation in Parliament and Executive was and still is that we are in a transitional period leading to the repeal of those laws. At the same time I accept your right to hold a different view. I am gratified that I have been reassured by yourself Mr. President, that our right to differ and to promote change within the system was according to prescribed procedures at ministerial and other levels is not questioned.

"The swimming event was not intended by my colleagues or myself as an act of civil disobedience and we regret any conclusion to that effect.

"Furthermore, in nothing that I and my colleagues have done have we ever intended an affront to your person in your personal capacity as State President nor did we intend to challenge your authority as State President.

"In as much as any impression might have been created to that effect I offer on behalf my colleagues and myself our apologies to you.

"As regard my statement on the media I intended to say that I regret the necessity for the regulations of this nature to be promulgated. In the context of my speech it is clear that I accepted that steps in this regard had to be taken. I then called upon the press to act, under circumstances, responsibly.

"Mr President, I would like to reiterate my commitment to peaceful negotiations. I trust that the above will be acceptable to you. Yours sincerely,
H J Hendrickse."

I'm sorry Hendrickse

CAPE Times 22/1/87 3041

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

IN a dramatic backdown from his confrontation with President P W Botha, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse yesterday apologized for swimming at a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth in January.

At a press conference at Tuynhuys yesterday afternoon, a confident Mr Botha censured Mr Hendrickse's recent public statements and actions and demanded an apology from him for "violating cabinet procedures" in publicizing his differences without consulting him.

Mr Botha also quoted from a letter by the Indian cabinet minister, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, to the Afrikaans Nationalist newspaper the Burger denying a report that he had supported Mr Hendrickse's stand-off with Mr Botha.

The acting editor of the Burger, Mr Ebbe Dommissie, said last night that the newspaper had received the original copy of Mr Rajbansi's letter.

"At the moment we don't know what he wants an apology for — the letter does not specify," he said, adding that the Burger was trying to get hold of Mr Rajbansi to clarify matters.

Mr Hendrickse defied beach apartheid laws last December and swam at the white King's Beach in Port Elizabeth with several of his Labour Party colleagues.

Mr Botha said he started yesterday morning's cabinet meeting by saying: "A situation has arisen in this cabinet which I cannot accept."

He said he tolerated legitimate political differences between cabinet members. "But when he (Mr Hen-

drickse) and his colleagues start marching in their bathing costumes and embarrassed me and breaking the rules and procedures of cabinet, I told them I expect an apology from him and his colleagues.

"If he does not apologize I said then I will only have one choice — that is to ask him to leave the cabinet both as cabinet minister and member of the Ministers' Council because I appointed them. I also told him (Mr Hendrickse) if he does not do so I will have no choice but to dissolve Parliament."

The LP leader's climbdown has left sections of the party shocked and confused.

Mr Charles Redcliffe, LP Schauderville, said he was "shocked" by what he saw on television. Mr Hendrickse went against Tuesday's caucus decision which counselled him not to apologize, he said. Even conservative MPs urged him not to apologize as it would be interpreted as a "humiliation for all people of colour".

LP deputy leader Mr Ismail Richards said he had "no comment" to make on Mr Hendrickse's statement, adding that he still supported the LP.

Mr Peter Mopp (LP Border) last night said: "I'll swim wherever and whenever I want to, and no one will tell me where and when I can't swim."

"I'll never apologize for something like that."

Mr Hendrickse last night claimed his statement should not be viewed as a "backdown". He did not regret what he had done because the "swimming incident has achieved its objective in focusing attention nationally and internationally".

Mr Botha allowed me "to exercise the dictates of my conscience".

Full text of letter, page 2



Mr Botha leaves yesterday's press conference at Tuynhuys where he announced Mr Hendrickse's dramatic political climbdown. In his hand is Mr Hendrickse's apology and other cabinet documents. Dr J P Roux, secretary-general in the office of the State President, can be seen in the background.

Picture: Alan Taylor

NRP's Clarke backs PFP

FORMER Natal NRP MEC in charge of hospitals Dr Fred Clarke will not stand for election, but will throw his weight behind the Durban North PFP candidate to unseat Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Ron Miller.

Clarke said yesterday he had been approached by the NRP and the PFP to stand for Durban North — allotted to the PFP in terms of the alliance — against Miller, who won his seat on a NRP ticket.

Former Durban Mayor Sybil Hotz said she had made herself available as a PFP candidate for Umlazi, but added "everything has yet to be discussed".

The PFP in Natal will nominate six existing MPs for re-election. They are: Ray Swart (Berea), Peter

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

Gastrow (Durban Central), Roger Burrows (Pinetown), Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Graham McIntosh (Maritzburg North) and Mike Tarr (Maritzburg South).

Burrows said the PFP was waiting to obtain clarification on which candidates the National Party would put forward before making further decisions. An announcement is expected next Wednesday, when PFP nominees in other provinces will be announced.

More Natal NRP members have resigned over the party's alliance with the PFP, particularly in the Umlazi and Umhlathuzana constituencies which have been allocated to the PFP.

HNP candidate for Uitenhage

Post Reporter 2/1/82

THE Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) candidate for Uitenhage was nominated at a meeting last night. He is Mr B M Greeff, a salesman.

Mr Greeff has lived in Uitenhage since 1931, according to Mr Attie Looek, regional organiser for the HNP. Eve Post.

Chief pleads for Indaba backing

KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday made an urgent plea for leaders of business, mining, banking and industry in South Africa to throw their full weight behind the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals.

Chief Buthelezi also warned that the Indaba would collapse if its conditions of survival were his acquiescence to the present constitution and to the regional services councils.

He told a meeting of representatives of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce in Ulundi that the Indaba proposals represented the kind of politics which would ultimately lead to national consensus between blacks and whites.

He said no developing country anywhere in the third world was more propitiously placed to develop the kind of democracy which could be held up as ideal.

Chief Buthelezi said only the "lunatic right" could conceive of any reversing of the dynamic process which had brought about the total economic interdependence between black and white.

Matter of fact

IN yesterday's *Sowetan* we reported that four Dobsonville Town Council policemen appeared in the Roodepoort magistrates court. In fact the officers are from the Soweto Town Council and were arrested by Dobsonville Town Council police.

22/1/87 Sowetan

711825 22/11/84

'He must go to court over swim'

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — National Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party members here who laid complaints with the police over the Rev Allan Hendrickse's swim have reacted differently to his apology to President P W Botha.

Mr Attie Looock, regional organiser of the HNP and leader of the campaign to keep the city's beaches white, said Mr Botha bringing Mr Hendrickse to book was "pure National Party propaganda".

Mr Looock insists that Hendrickse must still be prosecuted.

Mr A S van Ginkle Venter, prominent NP member who also laid a complaint, said Mr Botha had handled the affair "very thoroughly".

"VERY WELL"

He refused to comment directly on the incident, saying he did not want to "create any more ill feeling" but said Mr Botha had done "very well".

However, Mr Looock said: "Just because he is a Cabinet Minister does not mean he is above the law."

"There is something funny going on. We have so many problems but Mr Botha spends 20 minutes on television talking to the nation about a man going swimming."

He said he felt the whole affair had been turned into NP election propaganda because Mr Botha was afraid of the electorate.

IRONY

"If Mr Hendrickse had been allowed to get away with this, the National Party would have lost tremendous support at the polls."

"The ironical thing is that Hendrickse is right and Botha is wrong: the Group Areas Act will be scrapped — after the election."

Mr Looock said he was not prepared to let the matter rest and would see that Mr Hendrickse was prosecuted.

"He must go to court just like the blacks who were caught on the beach on New Year's Day. He is not above the law."

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Major Eddie Everson, said the police docket on the swimming incident was sent to the Attorney-General today for a decision.

Hendrickse backs down

THE leader of the labour party, the Reverend Alan Hendrickse, yesterday offered an apology to the State President, Mr P W Botha, on behalf of himself and colleagues who had defied prohibitions to swim at the "whites only" King's Beach at Port Elizabeth.

In a related development, the leader of the National Peoples' Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, provided Mr Botha with a copy of a letter denying a local newspaper report which claimed that he was ready to resign from the cabinet in support of Mr Hendrickse.

In his apology, Mr Hendrickse said that the

swimming event, which coincided with his party's past congress, was not intended by his colleagues or himself as an act of civil disobedience and he regretted any conclusion to that effect.

"Furthermore, in nothing that my colleagues and I have done have we ever intended an affront to you in your personal capacity or in your capacity as State President, or challenged your authority as State President.

"In as much as any impression may have been created to that effect, I offer on behalf of my colleagues and myself our apologies to you."

30/4/87
Sowetan

Tears, blessing as Malan left me, says PW

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha says Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, who has resigned from the National Party, saw him for 1½ hours this week.

When the meeting ended he burst into tears, wished the President God's blessings and undertook to talk again to the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk.

President Botha said he had read yesterday with shock about how Mr Malan was acting.

He said he wondered whether Mr Malan remembered who had, at great personal sacrifice, helped him in Randburg the night before polling day in the 1981 general election. Mr Botha had addressed a meeting there that day.

According to some of his colleagues, Mr Malan has serious objections to the National Party's stand on the maintenance of the group areas principle and to the security laws passed last year.

Swim row: apology from Hendrickse

D.D. 22/1/87

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Children among 12 killed by gunmen

Dispatch Correspondent
DURBAN — Five children were among the 12 people shot dead in an attack by gunmen on a home in KwaMakhutha near Amanzimtoti early yesterday morning.

A man thought to be the target of the attack has been in hiding for more than a month and the 12 people who died in the hail of semi-automatic gunfire have been described by friends as being "totally apolitical".

Gunmen opened fire on the home of Mr Willie Ntuli in the early hours of yesterday morning.

Mr Victor Ntuli, who had lived at the house, was a member of the United Democratic Front-affiliated KwaMakhutha Youth League.

Members of the league were fleeing the township yesterday, saying they feared further attacks. They said Mr Victor Ntuli, a leading member of the organisation, had been in hiding and thus escaped the pre-dawn attack.

The unknown assailants, using Russian-made AK-47 rifles, opened fire on the inside of the house and another out building.

KwaMakhutha has

been a centre of continued political violence between the members of the UDF and Inkatha. Early this year, a councillor and a member of Inkatha, Mr M.B. Dlamini, died in hospital after a petrol bomb attack on his home.

A member of the Ntuli family who was not at home during attack, Mr Mthunzi Ntuli, said he had been told that a mini-bus pulled up outside the family home at 2.30 am. "A group of people then started shooting. They fired at anything that moved."

Police have not yet established a motive for the killings.

Those who died were: Mr Willie Ntuli, 50, Mrs Phumula Ndlovu, 22, Mrs Jabu Ndlovu, 17, Mrs Mbuso Ndwalane, 50, Nunu Ntuli, 7, Mavoko Thusini, 5, Bhasi Thusini, 3, Savile Thusini, 4, Mrs Isobel Kubheka, 50, and Phumzile Thusini, 7.

The identities of two other victims have not yet been established.

The two injured are Mrs Anita Khumalo, 34, and a 10-year old girl, Nomshado Thusini.

All the injured were admitted to the Prince

Mshiyeni Hospital at Umlazi.

A 10-year-old boy, Ernest Thusini, whose four brothers and sisters were killed, escaped unharmed.

The Bureau for Information said AK-47 shells were found outside the house. The bureau said police had not ruled out the possibility that terrorists were responsible for the killings.

No arrests have yet been made.

Sapa reports that the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said he was "shocked" by the dimensions which violence between the "ANC-UDF" alliance and Inkatha was assuming.

In a statement issued in Ulundi yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said he was saying this on the assumption that yesterday's reported tragedy in KwaMakhutha was probably a continuation of the internecine clashes that have been going on for quite some time in Kwamakhutha.

A Durban UDF official, Mr Joseph Gumbi, claimed there was no doubt that the attack was launched by Inkatha. — Sapa-AP



MR WADDELL

Waddell resigns, may quit SA

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Gordon Waddell announced his resignation as executive chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments yesterday, indicating he may leave the country.

"To be chairman of JCI spoils you for any other job in South Africa."

"Frankly, I have no idea what I will do and I have not sought a job overseas," he said.

The surprise announcement was made in the JCI interim report published yesterday.

He will be replaced by Mr Murray Hofmeyr, member of the Anglo board's executive committee.

Mr Waddell will also give up the 17 directorships he currently holds as JCI chairman. He indicated that no financial settlement had yet been finalised and he will leave his office on June 30.

At a press conference Mr Waddell said he had resigned for "personal reasons and a number of other factors". There had been no pressure from within the group.

He will not be taking up another position with the Anglo American Corporation.

Mr Waddell, a former Progressive Federal Party MP, ruled out the possibility of a political career.

Son for Myrtle

JOHANNESBURG — The Springbok athlete and All-Africa 400m hurdles and 400m record-holder, Myrtle Bothma, gave birth to her first baby — a boy — this week.

Both mother and baby are fine and the Hoërskool Grens educated athlete expects to be training again within a month. — Sapa

CAPE TOWN — The leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, yesterday apologised to the State President on behalf of himself and colleagues who swam at a "whites only" beach in Port Elizabeth.

In a related development, the leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, provided Mr Botha with a copy of a letter denying a local newspaper report which claimed that he was ready to resign from the cabinet in support of Mr Hendrickse.

Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi — leaders of the majority parties in the coloured House of Representatives and the Indian House of Delegates respectively — are non-portfolio members of Mr Botha's cabinet.

The State President said at a news conference last night he had accepted the apology and Mr Rajbansi's assurance and that an "intolerable position for the cabinet" was resolved.

In his apology, Mr Hendrickse said that the swimming event, which coincided with his party's past congress, was not intended by his colleagues or himself as an act of civil disobedience and he regretted any conclusion to that effect.

"Furthermore, in nothing that my colleagues and I have done have we ever intended an affront to you in your personal capacity or in your capacity as State President, or challenged your authority."

"Inasmuch as any impression may have been created to that effect, I offer on behalf of my colleagues and myself our apologies to you."

Mr Hendrickse said he had written the letter in a spirit of resolving the dispute and in the interests of the country.

He said that members of his community had suffered indignities over a long period in regard to many issues, but especially the Group Areas Act and "beach apartheid".

This happened again on the eve of the Labour Party congress in Port Elizabeth, and the situation remained unacceptable to his party and community as long as institutionalised measures of this kind remained.

Before revealing the contents of the letter, Mr Botha read a three page statement which he said he had read to the cabinet when its first meeting of the year started yesterday morning.

In the statement he pointed out that it was not a coalition government situation, but a co-operation in terms of a new dispensation of which the members' first responsibility was to uphold the constitution.

The chairmen of the three Ministers' Councils were in the cabinet

at his invitation. From the start it was accepted that there would be a difference of views on matters of national affairs and clearly a difference in principle on different residential areas for the various communities.

His party was committed to uphold the principle, but not the Group Areas Act itself and for this reason it was referred to the Struggle Commission and then to the President's Council.

"Until investigations are completed we cannot deal with it," he said.

Even ministers of his own party could disagree, but he did not allow them to go public unless it was first discussed with him beforehand.

"If we have discussed it and cannot find a solution or some way out, such a member must leave my cabinet," Mr Botha told the cabinet.

A report had appeared in Die Burger — official mouthpiece of the Cape National Party — which had distressed him, Mr Botha said.

It dealt with matters still under discussion between him and Mr Hendrickse (outlining a three-point ultimatum put to Mr Hendrickse by the State President and claiming support for the Labour Party leader from Mr Rajbansi over the swimming issue.)

He had pointed out to Mr Hendrickse that in the oath he had taken, he had declared to hold his position with honour and dignity and uphold the country's constitution and all other laws.

"This means he must act as minister with dignity... his conduct... not at his congress where he was entitled to express criticism — but when he marched in a bathing costume with other ministers, broke that undertaking, embarrassed me and broke the cabinet rules."

He had told Mr Hendrickse he expected an apology from him and his colleagues who went with him.

He also told Mr Hendrickse that if he was not going to apologise his only choice was to leave the cabinet and the Ministers' Council, failing which he would give the State President no other choice but to dissolve parliament for a general election for all three Houses.

The national chairman of the PFP, Mr Peter Gastrow, said in a statement issued last night: "It was a demolition job with such humiliation for Mr Hendrickse that he is unlikely to recover from it." — Sapa

Inflation

PRETORIA — The index measured by the Consumer Price Index dropped to 18.1 per cent last year, after 18.5 per cent in October and 18.6 per cent in November.

The Central Statistical Service in a news release in Pretoria said this brought the inflation rate for 1986 to 18.1 per cent.

As recently as 1984 it was "only" 11.7 per cent.



Kevin Barrett checks his paddleski at Nahoon yesterday.

Ski back after photo

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — Kevin Barrett, 16, got his paddleski back, just an hour after recognising it in a photograph in yesterday's Daily Dispatch.

Kevin, a Std 9 pupil at Hudson Park School, had his paddleski stolen from a shack at Nahoon Reef along with three others on Wednesday week.

His father, Mr B. Barrett, reported missing ski to the police on Thursday afternoon and his son undertook an extensive search.

Kevin feared that he had seen the last of his R400 paddleski until he spotted it in the Dispatch.

He said he was thrilled to get it back because without it he would not have been able to take part in the Boulders trials which take place on Sunday.

"It has been damaged and scratched quite a bit, but nothing too serious," Kevin said. "The worst damage done is large cracks near the straps but I've covered that with a sticker."

A skag and most of the stickers were removed from his board by thieves.

It seems to have:

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100s of SUMMER DRESSES
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Group areas: MP may quit NP

JOHANNESBURG — The National Party MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, has decided to leave the party because of the government's decision not to scrap the Group Areas Act and its unwillingness to move towards a negotiated settlement, close friends and associates said last night.

His move shook the NP on the eve of a white election campaign and was discussed at several confidential meetings of his colleagues and fellow verligtes yesterday.

Mr Malan told the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, on Tuesday that he differed too much from the NP to offer himself as a candidate in the election.

Mr Botha said yesterday "We had a long conversation. I gave him a lot of my time, about an hour and a half."

"When he left, he burst into tears and assured me that he was praying for God's blessing on me. He understood the talk again with



Mr Gordon Waddell ... tailor-made for the role

Resignation of Gordon Waddell stuns business world

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Gordon Waddell, who has stunned the Johannesburg business world by announcing that he intends to resign as chairman of the vast JCI mining house, has always been regarded as one of the Young Lions inside the hierarchy of the Oppenheimer empire.

He was tailor-made for the role: born into a prominent stockbroker family in Scotland, a BA graduate from Cambridge University, equipped with a Master of Business Administration earned at Stanford University in the United States.

The image was enhanced by a brilliant record on the rugby field, where he played for both Scotland and the British Lions in the early 1960s. And a modest charm that went with a rugged build that always held aggressive contenders at bay.

The young Gordon Waddell made his debut in the South African business world in 1966 when he was hand-picked at the age of 29 to join E Oppenheimer and Son, the inner sanctum of the Oppenheimer empire.

It was an almost inevitable progression from his marriage to Mary Oppenheimer, the dashing daughter of Mr Harry Oppenheimer, in what high society saw as

the wedding of the year in 1965, if not the decade.

The marriage crumbled and ended in divorce in 1972, but not so Mr Waddell's meteoric thrust into the top echelons of the huge Anglo American Corporation.

Mr Waddell in turn married Miss Kathy Gallagher, also the daughter of an Anglo American director and a darling of Johannesburg society, and his rise in the hierarchy at 44 Main Street, the fortress head office of the biggest gold and diamond conglomerate in the world, even accelerated.

The pinnacle came into view when in 1971 he was invited to join the executive committee of the corporation. The Waddell emblem was implanted on the peak when in 1974 he was made one of the three members of the special inner committee which directs all Anglo American operations — the ambition of virtually all South African young business lions.

In 1980 he was made chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments and Rustenburg Platinum Mines — and directorships rained down like confetti from such firms as Toyota SA and South African Associated Newspapers, Anglo American Properties and SA Breweries.

Argus
22/1/87

304A

PFP slams Botha over Hendrickse's apology

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party today attacked President P W Botha for "a disgusting display of bullying tactics" in his dealing with the Rev Allan Hendrickse's illegal swim at a white beach.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said that when a swim at a beach became an issue which threatened both the unity of the Cabinet and a general election then it was not only extraordinary but had an element of the ridiculous.

"It is quite clear this Government . . . has absolutely no sense of priorities and no intention whatsoever of real reform. I don't know how anybody who believes in reform could possibly vote Nationalist after this episode," he said.

Humiliated himself

Mrs Helen Suzman, another spokesman on the State President for the PFP, accused Mr Botha of a disgusting display of bullying tactics.

Mr Hendrickse, she said, had abased and humiliated himself by apologising to Mr Botha for the swim.

"This will certainly do nothing to advance his stature among his own community," she said.

She added that one of the most-distressing features of "this ugly incident" was that Mr Hendrickse had reversed his condemnation of the restrictions on the media.

"As for the State President, the smallness of mind displayed by him in blowing up such an incident into a major confrontation reveals the total pettiness of the man.

Laughing stock

"This is the sort of thing that makes South Africa the laughing stock of the civilised world."

● Mr Dennis de la Cruz, leader of the Democratic Workers' Party and opposition leader in the House of Representatives, said today Mr Hendrickse should resign from the Cabinet.

His apology to President Botha had "squashed all chances of the Labour Party ever again going back to protest politics as it had intended to do. They are now fully committed to negotiation politics within the National Party's rules for the game".

Letter to Mr Botha . . .

THIS is the text of Mr Allan Hendrickse's letter to President P W Botha:

"WITH reference to the unfortunate incident that caused you to react against certain actions of mine, I wish to record that I have carefully considered my own position and your reaction and attitude.

"I write this letter to you in a spirit of resolving the dispute in the best interest of the country. I ask that you accept that whatever I have done, I have done in accordance with the dictates of my conscience and the policy of the Labour Party of which I am the leader. For this I believe no apology is needed.

"Members of my community and I have suffered indignities over a long period in regard to many issues but especially the issues of Group Areas and beach apartheid. On the very eve of our congress in Port Elizabeth we again suffered humiliation on

the latter issue.

"This situation is and will remain unacceptable to my party and community as long as institutional measures such as this kind remain.

"Our presence and participation in Parliament and Executive was and still is that we are in a transitional period leading to the repeal of those laws. At the same time I accept your right to hold a different view.

"I am gratified that I have been reassured by yourself, Mr President, that our right to differ and to promote change within the system according to prescribed procedures at ministerial and other levels is not questioned.

"The swimming event was not intended by my colleagues or myself as an act of civil disobedience and we regret any conclusion to that effect.

"Furthermore, in nothing that I and my colleagues have

done have we ever intended an affront to your person in your personal capacity as State President nor did we intend to challenge your authority as State President.

"In as much as any impression might have been created to that effect I offer on behalf of my colleagues and myself our apologies to you.

"As regards my statement on the media, I intended to say that I regret the necessity for the regulations of this nature to be promulgated.

"In the context of my speech it is clear that I accepted that steps in this regard had to be taken. I then called upon the Press to act, under circumstances, responsibly.

"Mr President, I would like to reiterate my commitment to peaceful negotiations. I trust that the above will be acceptable to you. Yours sincerely, H J Hendricks."

Six top Randburg Nats in walk-out, quit

ARGUS 23/1/87
The Argus Correspondent

ANOTHER six National Party members have resigned in Randburg following former Randburg MP Mr Wynand Malan and fuelling expectations of a hotly-contested, four-way election battle in the constituency.

The six walked out of a meeting with NP Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk, making it clear they felt the Government's reform programme was behind schedule.

Mr Malan announced his resignation from the party earlier this week.

306A
The National Party announced last night that it was fielding veteran city councillor Mr Olaus van Zyl in his place. Both the PFP and the CP are expected to nominate candidates for the fight.

Those who walked out last night included the whole top management structure of the National Party in Randburg.

They included constituency chairman Mr Gert van der Linde, deputy chairman Mr Koos Badenhorst, organising secretary Mr Laurie Oberholzer

and secretary Mrs Lida Nel. Another two unnamed Nats also quit.

Mr van der Linde said the six had walked out spontaneously without prior consultation.

However, he stressed the meeting had been held in "a good spirit".

In a statement yesterday Mr Malan said he intended to continue contributing to South African politics within the Parliamentary system.

"My point of departure is to bring black and white politics closer to one another," he said.

Election pact backed

EAST LONDON — Members of the New Republic Party branch of Gönubie, Beacon Bay, Abbotsford and Kwe-lera, who form part of the King William's Town constituency, fully supported the election pact between the NRP and the Progressive Federal Party at a meeting in Gönubie yesterday.

The NRP MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, said the purpose of the meeting was for members of the constituency to get together and find out more about the alliance pact.

He said each branch of the NRP in the constituency would send a representative to the NRP divisional meeting, which would be held in King William's Town this evening.

Mr Rogers said representatives at the divisional meeting would then go to Cape Town to attend the NRP's head committee meeting.

The pact was for the election only, Mr Rogers said. — DDR

NP names E Cape Border candidates

CAPE TOWN — The National Party (NP) has named its candidates for the forthcoming general election in 46 of the 56 Cape constituencies.

At a press conference yesterday the NP's Cape leader, Mr Chris Heunis, said 36 of the candidates had been nominated unanimously while a further five had been approved by the head committee.

He said more than one candidate had been named in a further five seats and a final decision on which candidate would stand in those areas would be made by the selection committee.

The serving MPs were nominated in 29 of the seats, while five others were named as candidates for by-elections which are due before the general election.

The names of the new candidates are:

The Minister of Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk (Ceres); Mr J. A. Brazelle (Kimberley North); Mr R. J. Radue (King William's Town); Mr C. J. W. Badenhorst (East London North); Mr N. J. J. Koornhof (Swellendam) and Mr F. P. Smit (Algoa).

Mr Heunis said it was possible that the NP would contest further seats in the Cape but final decisions had not yet been taken. — Sapa

See also page 15

304A

WITH only a week to go before President PW Botha sets the date for the election of a new white chamber, the ruling National Party — and many political observers — are assessing the implications of the resignation of the *verligte* Nat MP for Randburg, Wynand Malan.

The question is whether his decision to quit the NP is the first sign of wider disillusionment by *verligtes* with the NP, a forerunner of a larger scale desertion by the 30-odd "New Nats" and, even more dramatically, the start of the break-up of the once monolithic NP.

Malan is reported to have been the Nat MP who sent a note urging the former Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, not to pull out of parliament a year ago, pledging that about 30 New Nats or *verligtes* would join him if he stayed on.

Weekly Mail has reason to believe Malan was the author of the note. But whatever the truth behind it, there is no immediate sign of an exodus of New Nats from the NP.

The term New Nats was popularised by Afrikaans political writer Dries Van Heerden in an article in *Frontline* last March.

Since then, however, at least one New Nat has moved on to become Deputy Minister. He is, of course, the

New Nat exodus or a lone voice from the bundu?

By PATRICK LAURENCE

genially ingenious Stoffel van der Merwe, who used to give expert testimony on the African National Congress for the state in security trials.

Observers will be watching the remaining New Nats to see if they may join Malan in quitting the NP — particularly men who, like Malan, were bypassed when Botha reshuffled his cabinet late last year.

One thinks of MPs with high *verligte* profiles: Leon Wessels, Albert Nothnagel and Piet du Pontes to cite a few names.

Nothnagel, however, still has faith in the NP as a vehicle for reform, judging by his evidence to the British House of Commons that redistribution of land is under discussion and that South Africa is "on the verge of the

most dramatic changes in history".

Malan and the Transvaal Nat Party boss, FW de Klerk, have meanwhile declined to detail the policy differences between Malan and the party hierarchy which led to his resignation.

The PFP, presumably hoping to trigger the hoped-for exodus of New Nats to its ranks, was quick to invite Malan to join them. Malan, however, said: "I will not join the PFP."

But as the NP sheds its — so far lone — dissident on the left, a critical time is approaching on the ultra right for the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale Parties.

The Conservative Party reunification congress, aimed at forging the CP and HNP into a single, united party, starts in Pretoria tomorrow. The congress has been condemned by the HNP leadership as a

crude attempt to hijack HNP followers.

The congress could finally end hopes of reconciliation between the CP and HNP based on agreement to sign an electoral pact now and to amalgamate within six months. But it will not divide the ultra rightists if the formidable Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche, can help it.

Terre'Blanche has pledged to unite the ultra right on a pact-now amalgamation-later basis for the coming contest at the polls with the NP.

Significantly, FW de Klerk has resigned himself to a duel against a united ultra-right, warning NP candidates not to bank on a CP-HNP split.

For the NP, however, there was some solace last weekend when 12 senior members of the New Republic Party resigned in protest against the emerging NRP electoral alliance with the PFP. Two of the 12, Peter Miller and Cliff Matthee, both members of the Natal Executive Council, announced that they would join the NP.

However relevant or irrelevant the white general election may be judged to be, the latest developments promise that it will not be dull.

HNP, CP still at odds

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

NO ELECTORAL agreement between the HNP and the CP has been reached, despite right-wing "unification talks" to be held at the Skilpadsaal in Pretoria tomorrow.

HNP secretary Louis van der Schyff confirmed yesterday that HNP leaders would not be attending the talks.

He said the CP had not met the HNP's pre-requisites for the talks.

"We can unify the two parties at a later stage. We are not against a united party but it is just not possible to do it now. The time factor before elections is one reason for this," Van der Schyff said.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday his invitation to members of all parties, including the NP and the HNP, to attend the gathering was still open.

The major difference between the HNP and the CP on the issue of unification is the HNP's insistence that the two parties agree to a temporary electoral unification, while the CP is pushing for permanent unification.

AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche backs right-wing unity and has indicated the AWB would support tomorrow's meeting.

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**Group
areas:
MP may
quit NP**

JOHANNESBURG
The National Party MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, has decided to leave the party because of the government's decision not to scrap the Group Areas Act and its unwillingness to move towards a negotiated settlement, close friends and associates said last night.

His move shook the NP on the eve of a white election campaign and was discussed at several confidential meetings of his colleagues and fellow verligtes yesterday.

Mr Malan told the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, on Tuesday that he differed too much from the NP to offer himself as a candidate in the election.

Mr Botha said yesterday: "We had a long conversation. I gave him a lot of my time, about an hour and a-half."

"When he left, he burst into tears and assured me that he was praying for God's blessing on me. He undertook to talk again with his provincial leader. This morning I read with shock about how he was acting."

Mr Botha said he had nothing else to say about the rejection of the party by a man who for many years had been one of the NP's crown princes.

Senior PFP leaders said yesterday they would welcome Mr Malan in their party.

Earlier report page 15

Thursday, January 22, 1987

THE most significant development during the run-up to the general election for white voters — expected to be held in the middle of May — is the unfulfilled expectation of change.

This is particularly true among Afrikaners.

Don't be fooled, though — it does not mean that the National Party is in any danger at the polls.

Let us stand back a little and look at developments over the last two years.

The period found us well into the nationwide unrest and yet a Government full of confidence, firmly in control. The State President held out prospects for change, hinting at black participation at all levels of government and changes in laws such as influx control.

Mr P W Botha said that a new dispensation would only come after full discussion with leaders of the black community but stipulated that did not include people who espoused violence — thus effectively excluding the African National Congress.

Still, there was an expectation of change as Mr Botha repeated his new approach on several occasions.

But unrest escalated, sanctions were applied and a succession of states of emergency were declared. Towards May of last year it became apparent that the continuing unrest and increasing foreign pressure were grinding reform initiatives, and even rhetoric, to a halt.

Change

This began to cause frustration within the National Party ranks. The reform initiatives had come as a result of the felt need for change but also fuelled this need.

As reform ground to a halt and pressure from all sides — internally and externally — began to increase, the need did not go away, but fed on the heightened awareness that something needed to be done.

FOCUS

HARALD PAKENDORF (below), former editor of an Afrikaners newspaper, takes a look at the implications of the forthcoming white elections.



It is in this atmosphere that the State President announced the coming election — and two events occurred which went just too far and angered many people.

One was the abrupt reaction to Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse's call for the abolition of the Group Areas Act and the other the swift reaction to the

ad calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

The latter in itself may not have had an effect but coming on top of increasing repression, particularly the draconian clamp-down on the free flow of information through the media, caused a stir.

Again, don't be fooled, the curbs on the Press may cause howls of outrage in the Press but not too many voters share that outrage. In fact, the curbs as such can be expected to have little effect on the coming election.

White voters are isolated from the unrest and if they read very little or nothing about it, they tend to be lulled into an acceptance that all is well and under control.

Blacks, though, don't need to read newspapers to know about the continuing unrest. They live within it.

Yet, the curbs came against the background sketched above the continuing unrest. They live within it.

Yet, the curbs came

What election means for SA's future

against the background sketched above and fed into the frustrated expectations of change, concentrated them and we may well see a significant number of voters, particularly Nationalists and then Afrikaners, to stay away from the polls.

There is nobody to vote for, they are saying, increasingly openly. It is the talk around dinner tables, in offices and on the buses — not only among the general public but also among some elected party officials, even among some Members of Parliament.

This does not mean that the National Party (NP) won't be returned again, and with massive support.

But look to this trend, emerging:

The NP wins again, and comfortably, with some hundred seats. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) loses some as its supporters will tend to fall in behind the NP candidate in any constituency where the Conservative Party (CP) also stands — not because they like the NP that much, but because they will try and prevent the CP from coming in.

As for the Conservative alliance — still a strong possibility although in-fighting could sink that boat — it can expect to do well in the Transvaal and may end as the official opposition, pushing the PFP into the third position.

But the most significant development can be expected to be Afrikaner dissidents just staying away as they refuse to vote for the NP but cannot bring themselves to vote PFP, not trusting it with the country's future.

Already one Nat MP, Wynand Malan of Randburg, has resigned. In the Witwatersrand, certainly, many ordinary Nats will follow. More

developments along these lines can expect to become public in the next days and weeks.

What is happening, is that the Nat's ties to its followers are loosening. This time to the left, as it did early in the eighties to the right as witnessed by the birth of the CP.

More and more Afrikaners realise that society will have to be thoroughly reformed, even transformed, for lasting peace to come. Increasingly they begin to see that the NP does not want to share power but simply to allocate it.

Historic

Seeking an accommodation, an historic compromise with the black majority, they are uneasy about the NP ability or even intention to bring this about.

This unease will not bring a change in government but it will become the focus of a new impetus for change, for the further loosening of the NP grip and thus perhaps enough of a shake-up to hasten the process of real and significant change.

PFP confident of winning at least 2 more Johannesburg seats

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party is certain it will gain at least two seats in the Johannesburg area in the general election, bringing its total to 11.

The vice-chairman of the party's Southern Transvaal election steering committee, Mr Ian Davidson, said in an interview yesterday he was "very confident" the PFP would win Randburg and North Rand in the elections.

The PFP plans to contest 24 constituencies in the Southern Transvaal region, including all 12 Johannesburg seats.

It is confident of holding the nine seats it already has in the region: Johannesburg North, Houghton, Yeoville, Parktown, Benendenhorst, Hillbrow, Edenburg, Bryanston and Sandton.

Mr Davidson, a stockbroker and a Johannesburg city councillor, also predicts the PFP will take North Rand from the National Party with a majority of 1 000 votes.

The controversy around the present NP MP Mr Wynand Malan, an independent candidate for Randburg, who earlier this week resigned from the National Party because of his objection to certain Government views and actions, makes Randburg another definite target for the PFP, Mr Davidson said.

Whiteley quits NRP over pact

23 JAN 1987

CAPE TOWN — Another separatist New Republic Party member, Mr Roger Whiteley, former MPP for Durban Point, has resigned over the NRP/PFP pact.

Mr Whiteley, who was also a member of the Natal provincial executive committee, said yesterday he would assist the National Party in the Umhlang constituency against the PFP pact candidate.

A former NRP provincial councillor, Mr Brian Edwards (Maritzburg South), who resigned at the weekend, has announced that he will join the National Party.

It is considered virtually certain he will contest Maritzburg South for the National Party.

Nats name 46 candidates in the Cape

CAPE TOWN — The National Party has announced its general election candidates in 46 of the 56 constituencies in the Cape Province — including candidates who will contest five Cape Peninsula seats now held by the Progressive Federal Party.

The NP candidates in PFP seats are:

Mr Japie Basson, a member of the President's Council, who will challenge the PFP in Cape Town Gardens; Mr Pieter Town Garden; Mr Pieter Peiser, an architect, in Constantia; Mrs Esme Chiat, a Cape

Progs scramble for nomination in 2 Peninsula seats

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — At least 16 aspirant Progressive Federal Party candidates are involved in a scramble for the party's official nomination in two Cape Peninsula parliamentary seats vacated by the withdrawal of sitting MPs.

In Groote Schuur, where sitting MP and chief opposition whip Mr Brian Bamford is to retire, 10 names of possible candidates are said to have been put forward.

In Wynberg, where sitting MP Mr Philip Myburgh announced he would not stand again, about six possible PFP candidates have come forward. They include Mr Robin Carlisle, a member of the President's Council, and Mr Paul Malherbe, a Constantia businessman and author.

Names mentioned so far as possible PFP candidates in Groote Schuur include two former MPPs, Mr Jan van Gend and Mr Herbert Hirsch, former opposition leader in the Cape Provincial Council. Another aspirant candidate is said to be Mrs Beverley Roos, the PFP's constituency chairman.

The chairman of the PFP's candidates' committee for the Western Cape, Mr Charles Grover, said yesterday that apart from Groote Schuur and Wynberg, all the sitting MPs of the PFP in the Peninsula would stand again.



I'd accept Treurnicht as alliance leader — Jaap

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

Hersigie Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said last night that he would accept Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party as the leader of a right-wing alliance in Parliament — but could not yet agree to unifying the parties.

Speaking at a meeting in the Pretoria City Hall attended by about 1 600 people, Mr Marais spelled out his conditions for an election agreement with the CP. He called for urgent discussions to strike an election agreement, saying unification before the election would not solve the differences between the parties. He also rejected the CP's right-wing unification congress planned for Saturday, saying the Conservatives were trying to drive a wedge between HNP members and its leadership. Mr Marais was given enthusiastic support by the audience — particularly when he said he would accept Dr Treurnicht as the overall leader of the right wing in Parliament.

CASH QUESTIONS

● If the right wing succeeded in forming a pact, it could become the official opposition under the leadership of Dr Treurnicht. ● The HNP was not prepared to accept a deadline for unification, but after two years in Parliament.

Interesting offer, says CP leader

Political Reporter

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has described the election offer made by Mr Jaap Marais of the Hersigie Nasionale Party as "very interesting", but said he would give his reply later. "At this stage I do not want to run ahead of my own speech at the CP's unification conference tomorrow — I will have to look at the implications."

constituencies. These candidates were, therefore, approved by the party's selection committee which met yesterday. Most of them are sitting MPs. By-election candidates already nominated in five constituencies were accepted as election candidates. They are Mr J F Pretorius (Allwall), Mr A T Meyer (Cradock), Mr F J van Deventer (Durbanville), Mr J L Retief (Graaff-Reinet) and Mr J T Delport (Sundays River). — Political Staff.

NRP and Phatudi plan a meeting of 'moderates'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A loose broad-based alliance of moderates working within the system is to be discussed at the weekend at a top-level conference initiated by the New Republic Party and Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa.

The conference is to be held at a Pretoria hotel on Saturday. Thirteen different political groups are to attend the gathering, but the organisers have declined to name them.

Most of the non-independent National States and black local authorities are understood to have accepted invitations. In a joint statement issued today Dr Phatudi and NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton, said a "key group of responsible South Africans" from all four provinces would be at the meeting.

They would consider guidelines which would then be taken up with President Botha "with a view to instituting a constitutional dispensation which will restore peace to the country". The meeting, to be held behind closed doors, will be chaired by former head of Medbank, Dr Frans Cronje.

UDF hits at Hendrickse apology

Political Reporter

The public apology by Labour Party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse to the State President has been criticised by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC).

The acting publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, said Mr Hendrickse's action "exposed the extent of the spinelessness and hypocrisy that has become the hallmark of all tribalist, racialist and hypocritical participants".

"Such a scandalous public apology reveals the inclination of those types who want to protect their personally rewarding privileged positions and thereby compromise the dignity of those honest Labour Party supporters he claims to be representing."

"We have always said that any party taking part in the tribalist system will remain toothless against an all-powerful white President hellbent on protecting white power and privilege over the rest of South Africa," Mr Morobe added.

The TIC said "the humiliating surrender by Hendrickse and Rajabani demonstrates clearly these men dare not defy P W. Botha. They cannot oppose any of Botha's apartheid policies and still expect to remain in the Cabinet."

The TIC said the "only honourable course that was open to them was to have resigned from the Cabinet."

Nats nominate Randburg officials

The National Party caucus of the Randburg Town Council has named its candidate for Mayor of Randburg 1987/88.

He is Mr Thys Sutherland, present chairman of the management committee and representative for Ward 11. Mr Sutherland served a full term on the council from 1977 to 1982. He was elected as councillor for Ward 11 in May 1984 and, in June 1984, was elected as deputy chairman of the management committee. He held this position until March 1986 when he was elected chairman.

The NP has also named its candidates for deputy mayor and chairman of the management committee for 1987/88. They are Mr Sarel Vogel, present councillor for Ward 4, and Mr Frans Lourens, the 1986/87 mayor.

Mr Ernst Pienaar, a former Mayor of Randburg currently representing Ward 13, has been nominated for vice-chairman of the management committee. The present deputy-mayor and deputy-chairman of the management committee, Mr A P Stapelberg, has been proposed for the office of third member of the management committee.

LONDON — South Africa was on the verge of the most dramatic changes in its history, a National Party MP told a committee of the British Government here.

The MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, who is on a two-week visit here as a guest of the British Government, was giving evidence to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs committee.

"The most basic pillars of apartheid have been destroyed and those that remain will be a thing of the past in a year or so," Mr Nothnagel predicted.

He said that the "re-distribution of land" which was currently under discussion would prove to be "one of the most important changes in our political history."

Mr Nothnagel's confident reformist predictions appeared to take some members of the committee, led by a government MP, Sir Anthony Kershaw, by surprise.

During 90 minutes of evidence Mr Nothnagel said:

Most NP members agreed that the ANC should be unbanned eventually, that there should be no political prisoners and that people should be able to speak freely for themselves.

The vast majority of NP supporters would now say "yes" to including blacks in the political system.

It was a mistake not to have included blacks in the 1983 tricameral constitution.

He had "no problems" with the main proposals of the KwaNatal Indaba which he regarded as a "very fruitful exercise" and would like to see many of its recommendations implemented at national level.

He would like to see Nelson Mandela renounce violence — which did not mean that all violence would cease completely — so that he could be freed and play the role in the black community that many expected him to play.

If the exiled ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, said he was a black nationalist he accepted his word and had nothing against him personally. He said he believed black nationalists within the ANC should return to South Africa to participate in the political process.

He could identify with the liberation struggle of blacks and with the aspirations of black nationalists.

But Mr Nothnagel condemned in the strongest terms the "gruesome violence and savagery" being perpetrated by the ANC with necklace killings.

He handed in a video

Dramatic changes on way says MP



MR NOTHNAGEL ...
South Africa is not entering a civil war.

to the committee which he predicted was so gruesome that none of the members would be able to sit through it.

He said that it depicted black-on-black violence and necklace and petrol killings in the black townships.

Mr Nothnagel also condemned the "political radicalism" of the South African Council of Churches (Sacc) and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (Sacbc).

He said that, while he could understand the anger of people like Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, he did not agree with their view that South Africa was entering a civil war.

He said that the power struggle in South Africa was not between black and white but between various black groupings vying for power.

He said the NP was committed to fundamental change and genuine power sharing but he rejected the concept of one man, one vote as not being in South Africa's interests.

He said that the forthcoming general election was to achieve white unity and a mandate for "moving forward".

Mr Nothnagel came under pressure from Labour Party members of the all-party committee

to say whether or not he supported the restrictions on the press and freedom of speech.

He conceded that, although he was in favour of a free press, he accepted that the government had had to take "certain steps" although some may have been "rather harsh".

A Labour member of the Committee, Mr Nigel Spearing, told Mr Nothnagel that the committee regarded the restrictions as "reminiscent to those in Eastern Europe" and "repugnant to the whole concept of Western parliamentary democracy."

Mr Nothnagel told the committee candidly that the dramatic changes within the National Party had required some delicate footwork.

"Formerly, we said to our people that if we share power with blacks — you have had it.

"Now we are saying: if you don't share power with blacks — you have had it," he said.

He said that while the government remained committed to negotiations the ball was in the court of the black leaders "to set the political stage for negotiations".

Mr Nothnagel regretted the "tragedy of sanctions" which did not punish the government, but the ordinary man.

Sanctions would inflict serious damage and suffering and once markets and contracts were lost they were not easily regained — if at all.

Mr Nothnagel said he had no problems with the concept of a Western Marshall Aid package for South Africa in return for its willingness to negotiate but found it ironic that countries which were imposing sanctions and disinvestment wanted to put money back in the country through a Marshall Plan.

"I would rather see the British Government actively supporting investment in South Africa than promoting a Marshall Aid plan," he said.

Retief warns on sanctions

Art. 1.1.87

23/1/87

3049

JOHANNESBURG. — The newly-appointed Johannesburg Consolidated Investments MD, Patrick Retief, 54, yesterday said he looked forward to JCI "continuing in the path set by Gordon Waddell".

Retief, who presently serves on the boards of 10 companies and is chairman of SA Associated Newspapers, will take up the post when Waddell steps down as executive chairman at the end of June.

Retief said sanctions would make his job more challenging and warned that unless the government accommodated black political aspirations sanctions would intensify.

Waddell's post is effectively being divided between Retief and Murray Hofmeyr, a member of the executive committee of the Anglo American Corporation. Hofmeyr takes over as JCI chairman when Waddell goes.

Hofmeyr, 61, said the mining industry and business faced a challenge to make a contribution towards the upliftment of blacks, an area that had not been given sufficient attention in the past. "We have not done as much as we should have," he said.

Retief will become chairman of Rustenburg Platinum Holdings while Hofmeyr will take over from Waddell as chairman of South African Breweries Limited.

Six Randburg NP members follow Malan in resigning

By Sue Leeman

Another six National Party members have resigned in Randburg fuelling expectations of a hotly-contested four-way election battle.

The six walked out of a meeting with NP Transvaal leader Mr F.W. de Klerk, making it clear that they felt the Government's reform programme was behind schedule.

A number have indicated they will back Mr Wynand Malan in his campaign to be elected as an independent in the constituency.

The National Party announced last night that it is fielding city councillor Mr Olaus van Zyl in Mr Malan's place.

Those who walked out included the whole top management structure of the NP in Randburg — chairman Mr Gert van der Linde, deputy chairman Mr Koos Badenhorst, organising secretary Mr Laurie Oberholzer, secretary Mrs Lida Nel and two other unnamed Nats.

Mr Van der Linde said the six had walked out spontaneously and he stressed that the meeting had been held in "a good spirit".

Cape Times 23/1/87 (304A)

Urgent NP meeting after MP quits

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transvaal National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, last night convened an urgent meeting as the party was thrown into turmoil over the resignation of rebel MP Mr Wynand Malan.

Before the meeting, the chairman of the Randburg constituency council, Mr Gert van der

Linde, said Mr Malan was more than likely to be followed by several supporters.

A statement confirming the resignation of several high-ranking constituency officials in the National Party is expected to be issued today.

The meeting, which was called by Mr De Klerk, was held at a venue which party members re-

fused to reveal.

The NP MP for Bellville, Mr At van der Walt, said he doubted whether Malan would be followed by other MPs "at this stage". He declined to say whether it was possible at a later stage.

Mr Malan announced yesterday he is to stand as an independent candidate in the coming general election.

CAPE TIME 13/10/74

Nats name Annette Reynecke to oppose Colin Eglin

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE National Party yesterday announced the names of 46 candidates in the Cape Province, including Miss Annette Reynecke, who is to oppose the Party MPC, who is to oppose the leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, in Sea Point.

The National Party is to fight four other PFP-held seats in the Cape Peninsula and it may yet put up candidates in five other PFP-held seats in the Cape.

A former PFP MP and member of the President's Council, Mr Japie Basson, is to fight the Gardens constituency against Mr Ken Andrews.

A Cape Town city councillor, Mrs Esme Chait, is to take on the MP in Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe.

The PFP MP in Pinelands, Mr Jasper Walsh, who was elected in a by-election last year, is to be challenged by Mr Henry Wilken, and Mr Piet Pelsner, an architect, has been nominated to fight Constantia against Mr Roger Hulley.

Not all candidates named

The National Party, whose candidates in the province were announced last night by the Cape leader of the party, Mr Chris Heunis, has not yet named candidates for five other PFP-held seats — Groote Schuur, Claremont, Wynberg, Port Elizabeth Central and Walmer.

At a press conference, Mr Heunis said the National Party would put up candidates in some of the five other opposition seats, but refused to commit the party to fighting all of the 56 seats in the Cape.

In five other constituencies, nominated candidates will be decided by the party's constituency committees today and tomorrow. The constituencies are Kuruman, De Aar, Albany, Port Elizabeth North and Beaufort West.

The Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekirk, who is a nominated MP, has been named as the Nationalist candidate in Ceres, where the sitting MP, Mr Pietman Hugo, has retired.

Apart from the five seats where candidates were nominated last year in anticipation of by-elections because of retirements by various ministers named Mr Frans Smit in Algoa, Mr J A Brazelle in Kimberley North, Mr Ray Radue, a former NRP MPC, in King William's Town, Mr Calle Badenhorst, a former MPC, in East London North, and Mr Nic Koornhof, an attorney, in Swellendam.

In the remaining 36 seats, the sitting MPs have been nominated.

□ Black rights — page 3

□ Nats in turmoil after Malan quits — page 2

306A

Coming poll: Shock for NP forecast

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Nationalists were going to get the shock of their lives and suffer "massive" losses in this year's election, the chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's Federal Executive, Mr Ken Andrew MP, said last night.

The general election was going to be the most exciting for three decades although the state of emergency regulations and SATV were designed to keep the white electorate misinformed, he said.

In a speech prepared for a meeting at Somerset East in the Cradock constituency, Mr Andrew said: "There is increasing fluidity among the electorate and growing dissatisfaction with the mess in which this government has landed South Africa."

"People are sick and tired of cabi-

net ministers blaming everyone else for the disastrous results of their policies and incompetence.

"After 39 years in power, the excuses are wearing rather thin.

"Voters have come to realise that to achieve harmony and stability in South Africa, we cannot wait for the government to change its stated policies; we have to change the government," he said.

This realization had given enormous momentum to the PFP's strategy of starting the process of forming an alternative government.

"Almost every day there are further signs of the crumbling of the once all-powerful National Party edifice and of the increasing panic as the voices of the Marius Wiechers, Chris Barnards, Louis Luyts and Wynand Malans are heard."

The PFP/NRP pact would make a large number of Nationalist seats vulnerable.

Organisations slam latest curbs

The Progressive Federal Party has slammed the Government's latest media curbs as "incredibly stupid" and the move has drawn criticism from several sectors.

The New Republic Party was less critical.

Reacting to a ban on reports or advertisements which promoted the public image of banned organisations, Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on information, said: "The latest ban is incredibly stupid."

"The Government should accept the invitation of the ANC to negotiate, and not behave in their typically authoritarian and frightened way. The ANC will not go away, no matter how much it is gagged," said Mr Soal.

Law and order spokesman for the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, however, said he "could not get excited about the banning of an advertisement that promotes an organisation which threatens the safety of South Africa".

Jan 19 87
The Reverend Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and member of the Cabinet without portfolio, said today he had no problems with the controversial ANC advertisements which appeared in about 20 newspapers nationwide yesterday.

"My party has itself called for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela," he said.

On the latest Press curbs, Mr Hendrickse said he would have to study the Government Gazette before commenting.

National president of the Black Sash Mrs Mary Burton said: "What it does is to keep a majority of the white population in ignorance."

"We believe all organisations have the right to be heard."

Mr Jules Browde SC, national chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights, said: "This type of regulation appears to be an effort by the Government to remove the last vestige of freedom of the Press, but what is perhaps more deplorable is that the re-

striction against saying anything publicly which may heighten the esteem of people in banned organisations means a curtailment of the freedom of association and expression of opinions."

Leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said his party's full caucus would meet in Cape Town on January 27 to discuss, among other things, the media curbs and representations the party had received from members of the public, including representatives of the Press.

Co-president of the United Democratic Front Mrs Albertina Sisulu said the new restriction was clearly aimed at "muzzling the progressive forces opposed to apartheid".

"We denounce the restrictions as more oppression and harassment. Anyone who opposes the Government is muzzled," she said.

The Conservative Party was not prepared to comment on the new curbs at the time of going to press.

Tensions rise over 'unity' meeting

Right wing heads for a showdown

STAR 3041A
23/1/87

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

Tensions in the troubled right wing of white politics are expected to reach breaking point this weekend when the Conservative Party holds its "unity conference" in Pretoria.

Rivalry between the CP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) has reached the stage where Conservative leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is expected to appeal tomorrow directly to HNP supporters to dump their leader, Mr Jaap Marais.

The war between the two parties will effectively block any further attempts to forge an agreement between them to fight the National Party as a solid front in the elections.

The looming eruption on the Right is the latest dramatic development in a series of incidents which have rocked the political spectrum in recent weeks.

White politics is seething with the further break-up of the New Republic Party (NRP), the resignation from the National Party of Randburg MP Mr Wynand Malan and most of his executive, the election pact between the NRP and Progressive Federal Party, and bitter nomination contests in the PFP and the NP.

President Botha's handling of the Rev. Allan Hendrickse's illegal swim on a white beach, and the 23 minutes devoted to it on prime-time television, has sent shock waves through the NP and much of the white electorate.

A number of Nationalist MPs are unhappy at this latest incident — one of a series of recent actions by the party leadership with which they disagree.

Some MPs have also privately expressed sympathy for Mr Malan's reasons for his resignation, which included the Government's handling of the Group Areas Act.

Thousands of right-wing supporters are expected to attend the CP's unity conference tomorrow.

CP insiders said today that they expect Mr Marais to turn up at the meeting with several thousand supporters who were bussed from all parts of the country for the HNP meeting in Pretoria last night.

They expect Mr Marais to repeat his command that the HNP and the CP divide parliamentary seats in the election on an equal basis. When this is rejected by Dr Treurnicht, Mr Marais will probably lead a walk-out.

However, HNP sources deny there is such a plan.

JOHANNESBURG. — The surprise resignation of Johannesburg Consolidated Investment's executive chairman, Gordon Waddell, has caused disappointment in the South African financial community, but analysts say his departure will not damage the company's prospects.

They attributed Waddell's action to dissatisfaction with the coun-

Waddell's exit 'won't damage JCI'

try's political situation, but said his strong tenure ensured continuing good results for JCI, at least for the current fiscal year, ending next June 30.

"The resignation is very much a disappointment, but it was fairly well known around the market that Waddell was

pretty disenchanted with the political situation here and looking to get out," said analyst Richard Stuart of Martin and Co Inc.

Several analysts predicted that per share results for the company, South Africa's fourth largest mining house, will show about a 20%

rise over last year's R27,78 a share.

Waddell, in announcing his resignation yesterday, for "personal reasons", expressed optimism that JCI's profits and dividends "will continue to outperform competitors, certainly for the next year or two".

Analyst Stuart said

Waddell had made the stock of JCI a "shooting star" by sharply improving the company's performance in recent years.

"The company was favourably re-rated during the years Waddell was in office. It still has a lot of momentum, but the scope for further re-

ratings, now that he is leaving, is probably limited," Stuart commented.

JCI's dividend has risen from 800c to 1 200c in the past five years, while profits attributable to ordinary shareholders have increased in the same period from R86,1m to R204,8m.

The company's first half results reported on Wednesday included an interim dividend boost to 500c a share, from 325c the previous year.

Analysts said it was unlikely Waddell's departure would provoke an adverse reaction from local or overseas investors. "This is a company which a lot of people wish they owned more of," commented Stuart.



Willie Coetzee (left) manager of Barclays' first electronic bank in the Western Cape, with regional manager Bob Wood. The bank, in Warwick Street, Claremont, has an electronic lobby where virtually all types of every-day banking transaction can be carried out for 24 hours a day. There is also a wall safe where large sums can be deposited and a videobank of up-to-date financial information.

NATIONAL PARTY (NP) Transvaal leader FW de Klerk last night convened an urgent meeting of the Randburg constituency council as rebel MP Wynand Malan announced he would contest the seat as an independent in the coming election.

Prior to the meeting, Randburg NP constituency chairman Gert van der Linde predicted there would be several more defections from the party.

The meeting was held at a venue which party members refused to divulge.

Van der Linde said: "Wynand Malan is a man who is honest, has thought out his philosophy carefully and is a straight talker. He has many followers and they will follow him. And I say that irrespective of whether I am the council chairman or talking as a bystander.

"If I am going to make a break, it's going to be on a clean basis."

Sapa reported last night that Malan said he would stand as an independent.

A statement confirming the resignation of several high-ranking NP constitu-

Malan move rocks Nats

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

ency officials is expected to be issued today.

Two of Malan's "New Nat" friends, Bellville MP Andre van der Walt and Innesdal MP Albert Nothnagel, have said publicly they have sympathy for his decision to leave the party. Both men have, however, indicated they are not planning to do the same now.

Van der Walt said he doubted whether Malan would be followed by other MPs "at this stage", but declined to comment whether it was possible at a later stage.

Van der Linde, who yesterday described himself as "one of the delin-

● To Page 2 ➡

More set to follow Malan

quents" — torn between his support for the NP and Malan — said he had been loyal to the NP for many years and now faced a difficult choice.

He had been contacted by NP members from as far afield as the Northern Transvaal over what Randburg's NP supporters would do. Whatever his decision, he said, it would be clarified today.

Malan's former organising secretary in the constituency, Laurie Oberholser, said it was "quite possible" most constituency members would support Malan.

Business Day Political Correspondent MAX DU PREEZ reports that Malan's resignation from the NP is set to start an exodus of Afrikaner intellectuals to the left.

Verligte Afrikanerdom was abuzz yesterday with talk of more Nat MPs and other office-bearers joining Malan later this year, and of forming a new "middle ground" with black groups.

Several "New Nats," some close to the central leadership of the party, have been in contact with Malan to assure him of their support — and to explain why they could not join him now.

But Malan is getting the open support of many prominent Afrikaner academics, business and professional people who have supported the NP until now.

A senior PFP source said yesterday it would be "a tough decision" whether the PFP should oppose him in Randburg.

A top NP source admitted last night that there was "serious concern" in the party about the "sudden wave of sympathy" for Malan's stand in intellectual circles inside the party. He added: "Don't hold your breath for more MPs to join Wynand. They all know he is the only one who can win an election in his constituency as an independent."

Potchefstroom University professor and prominent Calvinist philosopher Lourens du Plessis said yesterday: "Wynand represents a very important school of thought in Afrikanerdom — and I'm talking of people who have called themselves Nationalists until now."

"The reaction in my circles, and on campus to his resignation has been very positive and one of excitement. He has touched on something that is very much alive now in Afrikanerdom (tokkel op 'n baie lewendige snaar.)

"Perhaps we are not talking of large numbers of people, but the best intellectual power of the NP is represented in this group. They took the NP's promises of reform seriously, and nothing happened. They are unhappy about things like the Group Areas Act, the refusal to talk and negotiate with blacks in organisations such as the ANC and about the authoritarian attitude emanating from the offices of power."

NRP organises bid to launch national Indaba

PRETORIA—The formation of a 'national indaba' involving all races will be discussed at a pilot meeting in Pretoria tomorrow.

The New Republic Party's Transvaal secretary, Mr Klasie Viljoen, and its constitutional adviser, Prof Dan Kriek from Unisa, told a Press conference here yesterday that such a convention would offer moderates 'the last chance' to discuss peaceful change.

Various political parties and homelands leaders had been approached to participate, but not the African National Congress or 'radical and militant people', Mr Viljoen said.

'Reasonable people can mediate, radicals cannot,' he said.

It was envisaged that the group would discuss the institution of 'a constitutional dispensation which will restore peace in the country', he said, and present its proposals to President Botha.

Mr Viljoen said he would like to accept that Mr Botha would be reasonable enough 'at least to listen.'

The NRP, which, Mr Viljoen pointed out, had also initiated the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, had invited the following parties to

participate:

The chief ministers from Gazankulu, Kangwane, Qwa-Qwa, Kwandebele, KwaZulu, and Lebowa, the Labour Party, the National People's Party, the Progressive Federal Party, the United Christian Conciliation Party, the Solidarity Party, and the Organisation of Black Local Authorities.

Agitation

Eight parties had already accepted the invitation, but the PFP had not yet responded.

The joint conveners of Saturday's meeting are NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton and Lebowa's Dr Cedric Phatudi.

Mr Viljoen said in a news release: 'To put an end to agitation and unrest a new dispensation is needed in South Africa in which all population groups will share. The bottom line for such a dispensation is the inclusion of blacks in Parliament.'

'The conveners of the Pretoria meeting confidently expect it to be the beginning of an alliance of reasonable South Africans which will form the foundation of a new, peaceful South Africa.' — (Sapa)

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WHITE ELECTION

Nats in a dither

There's growing concern in some National Party (NP) quarters that President Botha may have miscalculated by announcing an election for whites nearly five months before the expected polling day.

Some leading Nationalists argue that instead of announcing the election — expected to take place on May 6 or 13 — in his New Year's message, Botha should rather have called a snap poll later in the year. That, they say, would have given opposition groups less time to organise and would have cut down on the NP's risk period.

Since New Year the party has suffered a series of potentially severe setbacks which have forced its propaganda machinery, including the powerful SABC, to work overtime. There are now strong indications that the NP's campaign will run out of steam long before May.

Among the NP's setbacks so far are:

- An election pact between the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the New Republic Party (NRP) which could see the NP's Natal representation cut from 10 to four, the loss of a number of Cape seats and, possibly, some in the Transvaal;
- Some arrangement between the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) which spells serious trouble for the NP in many areas, particularly in rural constituencies in the Transvaal;
- Decisions by at least 25 Nationalist MPs so far not to seek re-election. Sitting MPs generally find it easier to win seats than "new boys" particularly in marginal seats;
- The public withdrawal of support from the NP by leading South Africans, including businessmen Louis Luyt and Chris Saunders, heart surgeon Chris Barnard and academic Marinus Wiechers;
- The NP's difficulty in explaining the reasons for the election. There are no clear issues and the party has so far offered no plan for future reform. It stands to lose rather than gain support;
- The call by the verligte Nationalist MP for Innesdal, Albert Nothnagel, for the African National Congress to be involved in the resolution of the country's crises. Nothnagel's views are known to be shared by at least one senior Cabinet Minister. The current party line, however, is strongly anti-negotiation and Nothnagel's statement has severely embarrassed NP leaders. It is now obvious there are serious divisions on key issues within the NP;



Nothnagel

□ Growing public concern that government may step in to prevent the reporting of some statements by opposition MPs in parliament following the implied threat to do so by Deputy Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe during a television interview last week (see box); and

□ The apparent failure of the behind-the-scenes campaign by Cabinet ministers and other senior Nationalists to convince influential white voters that government still has a "secret agenda" which will be implemented after the election.

Voters are being told not to pay too much attention to the NP's verkrampste statements, but rather to wait until after the election when reform will "take off." After government's failure to live up to similar hints before the 1983 referendum, many voters are extremely sceptical of new NP pledges.

It appears that the NP was caught unawares by the PFP-

NRP alliance and was hoping that prolonged bickering would prevent any workable pact between the CP and the HNP.

The Nationalist press and the SABC are now involved in a concerted campaign to

discredit the alliances, particularly the one between the PFP and NRP.

A number of Nationalist MPs are worried, however, that the party's media will be unable to keep up the current level of propaganda for the next three-and-a-half months. They believe voters will get bored with the anti-alliance message long before the election, and argue that a short campaign would have been far better for the NP.

Nationalists are now hoping that Finance Minister Barend du Plessis will be able to pull something out of the bag in the expected mini-budget next month. A decrease in GST and personal tax at lower income levels has been suggested. Government is also expected to try to buy civil service votes with good salary hikes. But such a move could backfire if more non-civil servants who are dissatisfied at the already enormous government wage bill become alienated.

With private sector pay increases generally below the inflation rate this year, many voters are likely to resent having to cough up even more for civil servants and retiring MPs whose tax-free benefits and pensions will cost millions. The chances are that civil servant salary increases will be funded from deficit spending, but voters are unlikely to miss the message that they, as taxpayers, will have to pay in the long run.

IS PARLIAMENT PRIVILEGED?

The PFP has urged government to state clearly before parliament re-opens next week whether or not press reports of parliamentary debates will be curbed.

PFP Information spokesman Peter Soal says comments last week by Deputy Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, on possible restrictions on parliamentary reporting, were "sinister." They suggest that government was considering curbs on the last bastion of free speech in SA, he adds.

Soal says although the latest emergency regulations make provision for freedom of speech in parliament and the right of the media to report speeches, it is not clear whether government intends changing the regulations.

The PFP hopes to use parliament to expose government action and publicise opposition views which cannot be published in terms of the emergency rules.

Doubts over government's intentions arose last week when Stoffel van der Merwe was questioned about parliamen-

tary reporting during a TV interview. The Deputy Minister said "normal parliamentary privileges" will remain intact, but the "final test" will be whether a report "promotes the cause of an undemocratic organisation."

Following an opposition outcry, he tried to clarify his comment in a statement the following day, but this was merely a reiteration of his first reply.

The PFP has approached Speaker-elect Louis le Grange for clarification and he is considering the matter. But Soal says it is not just a matter for the Speaker, because parliamentary privilege is a parliamentary matter which cannot be handled by the Speaker alone. Whether or not newspapers will be prosecuted for reporting speeches in parliament is a political decision by government and it is on that issue that clarification is needed.

In Soal's view, if the cause of "undemocratic organisations" may not be promoted, reports of speeches by Nationalist MPs should also be barred.

Fin Meul
23-01-87

(204A)

One possible Nationalist "saviour" is Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, who could soften government's approach to the KwaNatal Indaba before polling day. Heunis is currently studying the Indaba proposals. The NP's Natal leader Stoffel Botha blundered badly last year when he rejected the plan outright without careful consideration. His attitude appears to have alienated many potential NP voters in the province, and the party will have to make a dramatic gesture to try to win them back.

Party moves

The NP has so far announced the names of nearly 60 candidates who will contest seats in the Transvaal. All NP candidates are expected to be known before parliament opens next week.

PFP and NRP leaders, meanwhile, have dismissed as a minor problem the rebellion in NRP ranks in Natal last week which saw 12 members resign in protest against the election pact.

This week the parties announced that the PFP will contest 11 seats in Natal and the NRP five. Final details of the pact in the other provinces are expected within a fortnight.

Mopp: I would not apologise for swim

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — The
Border Labour Party MP
in the House of Rep-
resentatives, Mr Peter

Mopp, last night criti-
cised his party leader's
apology to the State
President, Mr P. W. Bo-
tha, over the controver-
sial swim at King's
Beach in Port Elizabeth.

"If I was in Allan Hen-
drickse's shoes I would
never have apologised,"
he said. "How can you
apologise for contraven-
ing an unjust stupid law.
The law which bars me
from beaches is wrong
and the State President
should scrap those laws
instead of trying to bully
us."

"More than 20 000
black people in East
London sent out a mess-
age loud and clear on
New Year's Day that the
law is an ass."

Asked about his fu-
ture in the party, Mr
Mopp said he would be
asking questions at the
caucus meeting in Cape
Town on Tuesday.

"I was unable to at-
tend the caucus meeting
called to discuss the re-
sponse to Mr P. W. Bo-
tha's stand as it had
been called at short no-
tice while I was out of
town. I want to ask ques-
tions about that re-
sponse and I will assess
my position within the
party after I receive
those replies."

"My stand on the swim

remains as before. I will
swim wherever and
when I like and my life
will not be dictated by
whites-only signs. I
stand by that and I will
never apologise."

He conceded that the
party's image had been
severely dented because
of the apology and said
he did not know how the
party would ever re-
cover.

Mr Mopp also criti-
cised the State Presi-
dent and said he was
acting as if he were a
despot, which did not
augur well for the road
of reform. "The State
President is acting like
a petty National Party
politician instead of a
statesman and this will
never get us out of the
logjam of South African
politics."

"A woman phoned me
today and said she could
not believe that the
State President could
spend so much time on a
trivial matter such as a
coloured swimming on a
whites-only beach."

"I could not agree
with her more. This is
fiddling while Rome
burns. Surely there are
much more important
matters to see to than a
frolic in the surf."

See also P15

Now Whiteley also quits NRP

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau

THE resignation yesterday of Mr Roger Whiteley from the New Republic Party brings to five the number of former MPCs who have quit the party so far because of the PFP/NRP election pact.

The former MPC for Durban Point and one time MEC in charge of Education said it was 'with deep regret' that he had tendered his resignation, which he had done 'purely on grounds of principle'.

Mr Whiteley said in a statement he saw the NRP moving 'rapidly towards the Left' and could not accept its association with a political party which differed so fundamentally on issues such as defence, security and group rights and which was also linked to organisations such as the UDF, the National Education Crisis Committee, the SACC and the Release Mandela Campaign.

Misleading

He described as 'totally misleading' the claim by the PFP that the NRP's participation in and acceptance of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba constituted a basis

for co-operation.

In the election that lay ahead the fight would be on national issues, he said, mainly against the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

He said the sole reason for the Press support for the NRP/PFP alliance was to increase the number of PFP seats in Parliament.

Other former MPCs who have resigned from the NRP are Mr Peter Miller, Mr Cliff Matthee, Mr Brian Edwards — all of whom will join the National Party — and Mr Lew Phillips. Mr Whiteley, who is chairman of the Development and Services Board, did not indicate whether he intended joining the NP.

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Committee members deny they've resigned

Mercury Reporter

RUCTIONS in the ranks of the New Republic Party have continued with four members of the Umhlutuzana divisional committee denying that they have resigned from the party as stated earlier this week by the former chairman, Mr David Upfold.

Mr Upfold and his wife Marlene have left the party.

The row follows a decision of the majority of the NRP leadership to support a pact between the NRP and the PFP in the House of Assembly election.

The vice-chairman and his wife, Clarence and Frances Fick, denied they had left the NRP. Committee members Mrs Marie Kumm and Miss Tommy Thomsett also said they had not resigned.

However, committee member Mrs Hope McCallaghan said she would be tendering her resignation.

'There is no way that I

will vote Prog,' she said. 'I feel the Progressives deserted us in the beginning when they went over to join Helen Suzman.

'They are only working to gain their own advantage.'

Mrs Fick and Mrs Kumm emphasised yesterday that, although they were not resigning from the NRP, they did not want to vote for the PFP candidate in Umhlutuzana.

Under 50

Mr Derrick Watterson, Natal leader of the NRP, yesterday replied to Mr Upfold's assertion that the NRP would not be fielding a candidate under the age of 50 in the election. This proved it was a dying party, he said.

Mr Watterson said at least two of the candidates who would be standing were under 50.

He said Mr Upfold had not even been considered as a candidate for the NRP because he was 'not suitable'.

1/16/87 23/1/87

304A

Alliance of moderates plans for a peaceful SA

Political Staff

AN alliance of moderates working within the system is to be discussed at the weekend at a conference convened by the New Republic Party and Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa.

The conference is to be held at a Pretoria hotel tomorrow and the organisers are hoping it could develop into a national indaba similar to the Natal/Kwazulu indaba.

13 GROUPS

Altogether representatives of 13 political groups and individuals are to attend. They are the chief ministers of Gazankulu, Kangwane, Kwazulu, Kwandebele and Lebowa, the Labour Party, the National People's Party, the Progressive Federal Party, Kwa-Kwa, the United Christian Conciliation Party, the Solidarity Party, the organiser of the black local authorities and the New Republic Party.

In a joint statement issued yesterday, Dr Phatudi and NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, said they would consider guidelines which would then be taken up with President P W Botha "with a view to instituting a constitutional dispensation which will restore peace to the country".

Row over

Nat stand

on Indaba

Mercury Reporter

A ROW has broken out between the Natal leader of the National Party, Mr Stoffel Botha, and the Natal leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Derrick Watterson, following a statement by Mr Watterson that Mr Botha was 'totally opposed' to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Mr Botha denied yesterday that he was totally opposed to the discussions and said that both he and the National Party wholeheartedly supported the principle of negotiation and discussion.

He said he had criticised the Indaba for the fact that it had come to a premature end.

'I made it quite clear that there was much still to be discussed and to be negotiated,' Mr Botha said.

Mr Watterson said in reply that Mr Botha had rejected the findings of the Indaba 'unequivocally'.

'He may think the principles of the Indaba are a good thing but he clearly decided the outcome could not be supported,' the NRP Natal leader said.

Mr Watterson said the trouble with the National Party was that its members sat round talking and did not get round to doing anything.

Cape Times 23/1/86

Hendrickse: Saying sorry doesn't mean humiliation

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday he would flout apartheid laws again, but that he was convinced of the correctness of his decision to apologize to the State President.

At a news conference yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said his apology should not be seen as a humiliation because he did not apologize for swimming at a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth. He offered an apology only because his swim at Kings Beach earlier this month might be interpreted as a personal affront to Mr Botha and his authority.

Mr Hendrickse said the justification for his apology was that Mr Botha allowed him to exercise the dictates of his conscience. The overriding factor was the interest of the country which meant an effort to reduce the "climate of hostility and avoid the further growth of resentment".

By Ebrahim Moosa
Political Reporter

He denied that his backdown damaged his personal credibility or that of the Labour Party and that it had not caused dissension within the ranks of his party.

Yesterday many Labour Party MPs were reluctant to speak about the incident which has clearly turned into an embarrassing situation although no one gave any indication of open conflict with the leadership.

Mr Christmas Tinto, a UDF executive member, said Mr Hendrickse would rather "lick his master's boots" than risk an election where he would be rejected.

"Notwithstanding his beach stunt the LP is indistinguishable from the National Party. If any LP member still has any self-respect he should resign immediately."

Mr Hendrickse said he was not afraid to go to the polls which would lead to confrontation with extra-parliamentary forces as in 1984. He cited a poll, which he did not source, indicating that the LP's support had grown and that it would receive 48% of coloured support if an election was held.

He had only consulted the party's caucus on Tuesday as a "democratic" gesture and was not bound to their request not to issue an apology to Mr Botha.

He predicted that beach apartheid would soon be something of the past and added that his party would review its decision on the the Group Areas Act later this year.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates, who was also drawn into the Hendrickse-Botha fiasco for his alleged support of Mr Hendrickse, yesterday said his caucus would have to decide what course of action he should have taken if the confrontation continued.

Teleletters Telephone: 208-4726

SAYING "sorry" for his sea-side capers has earned ire for the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Eric Oetle, Ladismith: "Mr Hendrickse has gone from defying beach apartheid by swimming on a 'white beach' to deifying it, by apologizing for the incident."

Mr O McKay, Kuils River: "By apologizing to the State President, Mr Hendrickse has lost a golden opportunity to wreck the farcical tricameral system, and become a truly great South African statesman."

Mr A Flaendorp, Macassar: "As a coloured person I am very upset with Mr Hendrickse. Now the world can see that the Labour Party is the puppet of P W Botha."

Mr Ralph Williams, Mitchells Plain: "The only thing for the Rev Hendrickse to do is get out of politics. There's no way that he or his party can make a comeback after this performance."

Mr Cecil Fingo, Steenberg: "After boldly defying apartheid, the Rev Hendrickse now cowers at chastisement. If he is apologizing for merely swimming on a beach, how will he ever be able to fight or abolish the Group Areas Act?"

Mr H Moletsane, Rocklands: "Mr Hendrickse is a disgrace to the coloured community. Why should he apologize for doing the right thing?"

Mr Mike Fraser, Pniel: "The Rev Hendrickse has proved himself a spineless jellyfish. The sea should have kept him."

Mr A Hendricks, Crawford: "Since when does one have to apologize for using a facility provided by God for the pleasure and enjoyment of all his people, irrespective of race, colour or creed?"

Mr Abe Parker, Surrey Estate: "Now that Mr Hendrickse has apologized,



Rev Allan Hendrickse at a press conference yesterday.

maybe we can expect President Botha and company to apologize and try to rectify years of enforced embarrassment, degradation and humiliation of blacks."

Mrs S McKay, Kuils River: "It serves the Rev Hendrickse right for thinking that he could 'promote change within the system'."

Mr J Edwards, Kalk Bay: "What has the Labour Party got to say now? P W Botha wielded the big stick and Allan Hendrickse and his pals just back down, saying 'Sorry, boss, we won't do it again'."

Mr C Gordl, Grassy Park: "We thought that Allan Hendrickse was a hero, but not any more. He should now apologize to the people and resign."

Mrs G A Osman, Crawford: "The State President's speech and the humble apologies of the Rev Hendrickse have again shown that the Labour Party, far from fighting apartheid, is nothing but the paid servant of the National Party."

Mrs Isabel Hendricks, Cape Town: "What Allan Hendrickse did stinks."

Mr M Adams, Walmer Estate: "Mr Hendrickse has always lacked credibility, but now he has been publicly humiliated for taking a swim!"

Mr Isaac Hendricks, Firgrove: "Where is Mr Hendrickse's pride? Martin Luther King died for his beliefs."

□ To comment on any issue, contact Teleletters 208-4726 between 9am and noon.

6 NP members follow Malan

Dispatch Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — Six National Party members of the Randburg constituency council last night said they would resign in support of rebel MP Wynand Malan.

The six walked out of an urgent meeting convened by the Transvaal NP leader, Mr F. W. de Klerk.

Mr De Klerk called the meeting in an attempt to defuse a crisis in the constituency following Mr Malan's decision to quit the NP. He

announced last night he would stand in Randburg as an independent.

The six included the constituency's chairman, Mr Gert van der Linde, and the vice-chairman, Mr Koos Badenhorst.

Mr Van der Linde, who was the first to leave the meeting, said he had done so because: "They basically have no total reform strategy and I disagree with the implementation of their security policy."

Mr Badenhorst said he had resigned because the party was not addressing the country's real problems.

"Generally there has not been enough true movement ahead. Also, they (the government) are not telling voters what they're talking about within chambers. In fact, they are not listening to their voters," Mr Badenhorst said.

Earlier report P15
Border NP candidates P3

Rebel Nat calls for equal rights

JOHANNESBURG — A South Africa with equal rights for all is the only way, says Mr Wynand Malan, the National Party MP who this week left the party and announced his intention to stand as an independent candidate in Randburg.

In a statement today, Mr Malan said all groups had to participate "effectively" in deciding what Government should rule and what laws should be made.

"Where segments of the population are excluded from participating — on grounds of colour, language, regions or whatever — then the Government will only be serving the interests of those who put it in power," Mr Malan said.

Referring to "the path of confrontation", he said: "We can only move out of the present system by means of negotiation, which is entirely different from consultation or reasoning."

Mr Malan said negotiations could not take place on a basis of violence, but the underlying political situation had to be addressed.

He agreed with the principle of emergency powers, but said their execution had to be tested by legal process.

"The more such powers are used the more its (the Government's) acceptability is questioned."

"The increasing use of emergency powers does not indicate success — but emphasises retrogression."

Mr Malan said there had to be a balance between the implementation of such powers and reform and negotiation.

Reform by itself would not change the revolutionary climate, which had increased in the past few years despite reform steps taken by the Government.

The time for reform was

over and the key to South Africa's problems lay in negotiation.

In Pretoria today, representatives of eight groups and organisations from all over the country met to establish a united front for moderates and to discuss proposals which will be submitted to the State President.

The meeting was prompted by the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, and the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi.

Representatives from Lebowa, Gazankulu, Kangwane, Qwa Qwa, the United Christian Conciliation Party, the Association of Black Local Authorities and observers from the NRP and the PFP attended the meeting. — Sapa.



JANINE JONKER, 19, of Port Elizabeth, is a whiz at several things, including shooting down the dunes at Maitland River Mouth on a new board designed for sand-tobogganing. Janine is doing a secretarial course.



Miss HESTER MIGGILS, 21, and **Mr ALFRED VAALTYN**, 22, hold up the notification instructing them to get married or lose their house. They are making arrangements for a big wedding in Graaff-Reinet.

Couples told: 'marry or else'

By **RAYMOND HILL**

THE word is out to couples "living in sin" in Soetkloof, a shantytown near Despatch — get married or you won't get a house!

The town is buzzing with the news that the Daleview Management Committee wants to improve the neighbourhood's image by discouraging couples from "shacking up".

And those who don't marry soon will lose their chance of obtaining a new

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WILLOW

CP to confront the HNP

PRETORIA—The Conservative Party (CP) has finalised its plans for today's showdown with the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) with the feud between them still unresolved.

Spokesmen for both parties said in Pretoria yesterday that the impasse over whether the parties should merge or form an alliance had not been resolved.

The CP's executive committee met yesterday to discuss the final arrangements for the 'unity conference' at Pretoria's Skilpad Hall, where CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is expected to ask HNP supporters to support his party in the coming election.

An HNP spokesman said its executive would not attend the meeting.

He scotched reports that Mr Jaap Marais and a large body of HNP stalwarts would make a surprise appearance.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Mr Eugene Terre Blanche, who urged the two parties to sort out their differences, was not expected to attend, an AWB spokesman said. — (Sapa)

A new alliance is taking shape to challenge the NP

IT WAS a week in politics of shocks, surprises and bloody slaughter — and some encouraging signs, pointing to a challenging year ahead.

In Natal there was a reminder that the endemic violence in the country can break surface at any time.

Twelve people died in a horrific political killing, with no one really able to say with certainty whether the killers were lawless elements of the left, centre or right or when they would be brought to book.

There have been so many unsolved political killings in recent times, variously attributed to warring black factions and a rumoured "third force" of pro-government vigilantes, that experienced observers are increasingly cynical — wondering whether South Africa is not already another Argentine in its worst days of mass killings, torture and disappearances.

In this atmosphere of corruption of the social fabric, it was disconcerting, but not really that surprising perhaps, to learn that a business leader of the calibre of Mr Gordon Waddell was withdrawing from the commanding heights of the mining industry and preparing, as it seems, to leave the country for pastures new.

No confidence

This was as emphatic a vote of no confidence in South Africa's future under the Nationalists as Mr Louis Luyt's dramatic declaration of a week or so ago.

There is a growing conviction at the leadership level in many areas of national life that the National Party, as at present led and constituted, is simply not equipped to lead the country out of the morass.

It appears to be a psychological impossibility for the political generation of a P W Botha, an F W de Klerk or an A P Treurnicht, reared as they were on the doctrine of apartheid as a law of nature, to change their way of thinking and acting at this stage of the game.

Can anyone doubt this who saw President Botha dealing with the Hendrickse issue this week — seemingly oblivious of the impression his words and gestures were making on anyone outside his own social and political tradition?

Similarly, anyone of a younger generation who has seen Mr F W de Klerk confronting a hostile audience in the House of Representatives on an issue such as the Group Areas Act knows the offence given by the blend of condescension and bluster, which he



Mr Colin Eglin



Mr Wynand Malan

does not seem able to disguise on such occasions.

The younger generation of Nationalists in the House of Assembly — the so-called New Nationalists — are as uncomfortably aware of these things as anyone else. They relate very well to their fellow South Africans in all groups — rather more effectively than the NP tribal elders, certainly.

But the New Nationalists are at the end of their tether. It is as clear to them as to anyone else that the reform-style Nationalism they have supported is stone dead. Those in conservative constituencies have little choice but to keep their heads down.

To keep the National Party dominant in South Africa, President Botha seems to believe, he is obliged to swing right with a vengeance. And the NP monopoly of power is more important to his generation of Nationalists than the half-hearted reform which he has now so unceremoniously dumped.

So what are the New Nationalists going to do? Mr Wynand Malan, one of the best of them, who has long been at odds with the elders on issues such as the Group Areas Act, has resigned as a Nationalist. He will contest Randburg as an independent.

It does not take from the value of his gesture, but it does help to explain it, to note that Randburg is a marginal seat which, in the current swing away from the NP, would be pretty certain to fall back into the hands of the PFP. (Innes-

dale, which is held by fellow New Nationalist Mr Albert Nothnagel, on the other hand, is one of the most verkrampste seats in the country, and so the brave and outspoken Mr Nothnagel will be treading warily indeed in the months ahead.)

If the PFP leaves the field clear for Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg, and he is returned as an independent, Mr Malan could well form a way station and rallying point for his fellow New Nationalists on their way out of the Botha party into a new PFP-led realignment of parties.

Such a development has long been on the horizon as the only evolutionary way ahead. Such movements in politics take a long time to mature. Yet the coming election, it is now realized, could set the process in train. There has been a dramatic transformation in the electoral atmosphere.

The PFP-NRP alliance was an important breakthrough — and there is now an excellent prospect that the official opposition will strengthen its position considerably at the polls.

Indeed, the realization is slowly dawning that the PFP under Mr Colin Eglin, with his patient negotiating skills and pragmatic grasp of politics as the art of the possible, could well be the vehicle of an increasingly powerful new political grouping. The skills which will be needed in the transition are essentially those of the political engineer, the nuts-and-bolts artificer, who can get people of varying backgrounds to work together,

welding the kind of broad-based and effective organization which wins seats at the polls. The consistently underrated Mr Eglin is admirably qualified for the job. His opponents are in for a surprise.

The Nats control the electronic media, of course, and SABC-TV is already an unashamed propagandist for an NP victory. Mr Eglin might as well accept that the opposition is not going to get a fair shake, so he need not concern himself too much about TV profiles and suchlike.

Mixed blessing

The NP control of television is a mixed blessing, anyway, particularly, when the notably uncharismatic President P W Botha hogs an evening newscast with his dreary account of the Hendrickse affair. Mr F W de Klerk is hardly a media star. The same can be said, with emphasis, of two other provincial leaders of the NP — Messrs J C Heunis and Stoffel Botha, both of whom prompt viewers of all persuasions to change channels or go out and water the garden.

The press curbs are a rather more serious threat, which will help the NP and hamper the opposition, if it allows it to do so. The signs are it will not be intimidated. The PFP, it seems, will proceed on the assumption that an election without free expression by candidates is not an election at all.

So for the first time in years things are really looking up for the parliamentary opposition. The Botha government, in a phase of floundering indecision, seems to have no other course in mind than to encourage the security forces to thump the country into a state of numbed passivity. It can hardly be called peace. As the ancient Briton said of the Romans, they make a wilderness and they call it peace.

NP support is evidently crumbling on both flanks. President Botha will attempt to arrest the erosion by a propaganda barrage of furious fist-waving anti-Americanism, anti-communism and anti-everything else.

In this way he may retard somewhat the course of events which is now in train. But he cannot stop it.

Not for a long time has there been such a feeling of political movement in the air.

The extent of the erosion of NP support at the election could determine how much longer the country will have to wait for a broad-based multi-racial alliance — and a new drive to save South Africa.

CAR Times 24/11/87 3041

Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

Senior Natal Nats 'may join the PFP'

Mercury Reporter

THREE senior Natal National Party officials are considering either joining the Progressive Federal Party or standing as independents in the coming election and there may be other Natal verligtes thinking of leaving the NP fold.

Mr Roy Ainslie, the PFP's Natal director, said yesterday discussions between the PFP and the three NP office-bearers were at 'a very early stage', but they were considering either joining the PFP or standing as independents in the election.

He added that there appeared to be several verligte NP officials in Natal and other areas who were considering following a movement started in the Transvaal by Randburg's MP, Wynand Malan, and joining an independent bloc.

Mr Malan's resignation is expected to spark an exodus of other Afrikaner intellectuals from the party and at least six Randburg NP members have already indicated that they will resign in support of him.

There is also strong speculation that Mr Malan left the party with the personal blessing of the chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond, Prof Piet de Lange, and that Prof de Lange may soon come out in open support of his stand.

Mr Ainslie declined to name the rebel Natal Nats, but added: 'I think we are in for some surprise candidates.'

However, the NP in Natal yesterday denied any knowledge of an impending split in its senior ranks.

Chief repeats warning

ULUNDI—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday elaborated on his week-end warning to white politicians that they could kill the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals by making them party-political issues in the coming election.

He was speaking at the formal handing over of the proposals to the KwaZulu Government by the Indaba's chairman, Prof Desmond Clarence, and Indaba co-founders Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Mr Frank Martin.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president noted that the Indaba proposals had still to be considered very carefully by Inkatha's annual conference and by his Government.

He was committed to pursue all avenues for discussing the proposals and their implications for practical politics with the country's major black, coloured, Indian and white political groupings. — (Sapa)

Duxbury in Daytona 24-hour race

JOHANNESBURG—Former South African champion driver Graham Duxbury returns to the Daytona 24 hour on January 31.

Duxbury, who won the Daytona Classic in 1984 in partnership with fellow-South Africans Sarel van der Merwe and Tony Martin, will be driving a Buick Argo in

the Camel light category.

'Our prospects are pretty good,' said a delighted Duxbury. 'The team is one of the leading squads in the Camel light category.'

Duxbury is hoping his return to Daytona will lead to a regular drive in the IMSA series this year — (Sapa)

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Man on
charge
of rape,

Sex ruined for
beautiful sailor

London Bureau

Modeling Turner whose

Post Focus

THE COMMON LINK

304A

... frustration with lack of real reform



P W BOTHA

By PATRICK CULL

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The announcement by State President Mr P W Botha that a general election for whites will be held — probably during the first half of the year — has precipitated a number of events that could change the political face of South Africa quite dramatically.

In quick succession:

- The two opposition parties to the left of the Government forged a neat electoral pact.

- A number of the "Yes" men of the 1983 Referendum have changed their minds.

- Two verligte National Party MPs in conservative areas issued statements hardly designed to win them voter support.

- The maverick verligte MP for Randburg resigned from the National Party and will now contest the seat as an independent.

There is a common link — a growing frustration with the absence of real reform, and a deep-seated belief that the National Party does not have the vision, the courage nor emotional capability to rescue the country from the current impasse.

The reaction of the Government-controlled media to the news of an election pact between the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party was clear evidence that the speed with which the agreement was sealed came as a surprise to the National Party.

Nasionale Pers news-

papers were quick to point to unhappiness in the ranks of NRP members in the Transvaal and resignations from that party in Natal in a bid to render the pact stillborn.

The effect of the onslaught, however, appears to have been negligible, mainly because of the growing realisation that it is the common enemy — the National Party — which has to be ousted.

Certainly there have been defections to the National Party, but both the PFP and NRP are confident that the alliance will hold — particularly in the key areas of Natal and the Border — and that the combined opposition will return with a minimum of 40 seats and very probably more.

Perhaps more important is that the two parties will almost certainly reach agreement on amalgamation during the course of the year — the first time the left-wing opposition has been united since the Progressive Party MPs broke away in 1959.

The announcement by several prominent South Africans who voted "Yes" in the 1983 referendum that they would not do so again has been largely dismissed in Government circles as being of little importance.

The figures involved, however, are not insignificant, ranging as they do from fertiliser magnate Dr Louis Luyt to constitutional law expert Prof Marinus Wiechers and Tongaat chief Mr Chris Saunders.

Quite clearly for these leaders in the academic and business world the "step in the right direction"

which they supported in 1983 has proved to be nothing of the sort.

Rather, it was the catalyst that precipitated a period of unrest quite unparalleled in South African history and led to the state of emergency.

At this stage, few of those who have renounced their 1983 leanings have indicated which party they will support.

The situation as far as the two verligte Transvaal MPs, Mr Leon Wessels (Krugersdorp) and Mr Albert Nothnagel (Innesdal) are concerned, coupled with the resignation of Mr Wynand Malan, is perhaps an indication of possible future alignments.

Both Mr Wessels and Mr Nothnagel face tough election contests against right-wing candidates, and yet both have made statements calculated to lose them votes rather than appease the verkrampde element in their constituencies.

Mr Wessels urged that cinemas in Krugersdorp be opened to all races while Mr Nothnagel stated that a lasting peace could not be found for South Africa without the involvement of the African National Congress.

Quite simply what the two MPs appear to be saying is that they are not prepared to hide behind an artificial blanket of conservatism merely for the sake of being re-elected.

The resignation of arch-verligte Mr Wynand Malan has undoubtedly shocked the National Party even though he has indicated that he will not link up with

the PFP, but will fight Randburg as an independent.

Mr Malan cited fundamental differences of principle as the reason for his resignation, the retention of the Group Areas Act being one problem area.

It is understood that Mr Malan was one of a group of verligte National Party MPs who were considering a breakaway after the next election — it was argued logically that in almost every case they could not win their seats as independents.

Another MP mentioned in this regard is Bellville's Mr Andries van der Walt, while two Deputy Ministers have also been linked to the plan.

Mr Malan, however, jumped the gun.

The group apparently do not wish to cross the floor to the PFP.

Rather they wish to sit as independents — in the mould of the Reformists who broke away from the United Party — and negotiate with the PFP-NRP alliance from there.

Essentially, the four strands — the alliance, disenchanted "Yes" men, the verligte MPs and Mr Malan — are together in the realisation that present direction is a formula only for disaster.

And, committed to a peaceful resolution of this country's problems, they accept that this can only be brought about by a change in white government and the birth of a new all-embracing political front dedicated to a non-racial society.

colt ARENS 24/1/87

(304A)

Japie the maverick survivor is back!



Picture: PETER STANFORD, Weekend Argus

Mr Japie Basson

JAPIE Basson, political veteran, parliamentary maverick and newly named National Party candidate in the Gardens, seems at last to be toeing the party line.

But the 68-year-old politician, who has changed parties six times, says his principles have remained the same, it is the parties that have changed.

"In a democracy you have to make certain compromises occasionally, but at times there comes a point over which you can't compromise. My fundamental principles have never changed," he adds.

Now, after almost seven years out of the House of Assembly — he has spent most of that time serving on the President's Council — he has agreed to stand as National Party candidate in Gardens against the Progressive Federal Party's Ken Andrew.

Local men

"It's one of the most difficult seats for the NP to tackle," he says. "It's an old UP seat, won for the NP for the first time by Dr Denis Worrall, and lost after he left. The PFP have an advantage. We have no organisation in this constituency to speak of, we haven't even got an office."

"But I was approached by such a wide sphere of people, partly because I live here — they wanted a local man — so I said all right, win or lose."

"But I'm looking forward to this election. It will be a hard battle. I would like to win, partly because I always wanted to see other population groups in Parliament. I



By VIVIEN
HORLER
Weekend
Argus
Reporter

would have liked to be part of an expanded Parliament and the other interesting changes coming. I was part of the old Westminster model with whites fighting whites; it would be interesting to be part of it as it becomes the new South Africa."

But how outspoken is this individualist going to be as a Nationalist candidate?

Mr Albert Nothnagel, a lifelong Nationalist, has told a committee of the British Commons there could be no solution without involving the ANC. Mr Basson?

"I'm opposed to negotiation with the ANC-SACP — you can't separate them. To my mind they have no interest in negotiating for a multiparty democracy. They want a one-party Marxist state and I don't believe you can negotiate with the Communist Party."

Methods

"Also I am opposed to their terrorist methods, the fact they burn innocent people alive. When they come out for a democratic set-up, a multi-party state and they reject violence, I'll be in favour of negotiation 100 percent."

Nationalist MP Wynand Molan this week resigned from the party because, according to colleagues, of serious objections to

the NP stand on the Group Areas Act. Mr Basson?

"As a member of the constitutional committee of the President's Council I may not talk about the Group Areas Act — that subject is sub judice for us. We are still in the process of delivering a report and I am not free to answer questions on this subject. I am bound by confidentiality."

"The Act is part of the old structure and the Government has referred it to the President's Council for study and a report. This report was virtually completed but then the chairman decided that matters flowing from points in it should be fully investigated so that we could offer a complete report."

Frightened off

According to his colleagues, Mr Molan also had serious misgivings over the security laws passed last year. Mr Basson?

"A dose of discipline was introduced, when the patient is ill, it needs a dose of discipline. Look, we can argue this till the cows come home, but I have no doubt that there is an onslaught against us by the communist world, led by the ANC-SACP. And what they want is not to get rid of apartheid, they're not interested in apartheid, they want a totally different kind of state, a socialist, Marxist one-party state that would fall broadly into the communist camp."

"And people who try to achieve this try to bring down respect for law and order, for the forces of security, for the police and the army."

"I don't think the Government had any choice. It is not interested in permanent restrictions, this was an emergency situation. If they are to go ahead with their reform programme and get people to support it, there had to be law and order. People have already been frightened off from co-operating by intimidation."

"These are contingency, emergency steps, which we hope will not last longer than they should. You cannot compare these restrictions with those of a dictatorship — a dictatorship wants restrictions as a matter of principle, we have them because of a temporary emergency."

A large number of Argus readers have bitterly criticised the Rev Allan Hendrickse's apology to President P W Botha over his swim at a whites-only beach. Mr Basson?

"Mr Hendrickse did the right thing in apologising. Not because of the swimming as such — he believes the Group Areas Act will go. But any MP has to consider that while a law stands, no one can break it and get away with it. When you are sworn in as an MP, you undertake to uphold the laws and the constitution."

"I thought it was courageous of Mr Hendrickse to see the President's point and settle the matter. He was not apologising for the swim, but for the fact that what he did put the Cabinet in a spot. I think this issue will eventually be to his credit — a man who can say 'I made a mistake' is a great man."

Rebel Wat lashes Botha Government

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Weekend Argus Political Staff

TOP Nationalist verligte MP Mr Wynand Malan today lashed out at President P W Botha and his Government by declaring that "reform is dead".

Giving the full reasons behind his shock decision this week to leave the ruling party, he spoke of his "crisis of conscience" — of being unable to reconcile his convictions with major aspects of Government policy.

In an interview he said he believed that the time for reform had passed — "It is dead."

He warned that unless the Government redefined its basic philosophy and accommodated everyone in a representative political system its intransigence in moving for change would ultimately destroy South African society and every facet of infrastructure.

He said: "I'm afraid the National Party can no longer meet the political aspirations of the South African people as a whole or provide the vision for a new and united and free country."

While reform, as it stood today, was a dead duck, he believed the Government should continue to eradicate discrimination and achieve the best possible result in the circumstances, in a search for a more equitable political and economic order.

"Scrap Group Areas"

"But whatever it does on this score, in terms of present policy it is unlikely to make a fundamental impact on broader political strategies or the pace of reform."

He could not come to terms with the "conflict philosophy" embodied in the basic policy of separating or dividing people by race.

He called for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and all other forms of discriminatory measures.

"The principle of areas separated on the basis of race must be abandoned. The Group Areas Act itself should be scrapped."

"If the Government is honest about abolishing discriminatory legislation I cannot see how the Act can be retained."

"For as long as it remains in its present form South Africa will never catch up with its critical housing shortage."

"Baasskap philosophy"

"Private initiative is unable to take over, which leaves only the Government as the main agent to provide housing, as is seen with the proposed Norweto project."

"Although scrapping the Act will not necessarily change the revolutionary climate it is the 'baasskap' philosophy that it embodies — superiority determined by separate groupings based on colour — that is one of the reasons why the Government is unable to mount meaningful constitutional negotiations."

"The Separate Amenities Act must be scrapped forthwith. It serves no purpose, as was seen re-

(Turn to Page 3, Col 7)

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How the parties see . . .

The election issues . . .

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE main issues in the coming election will be: Reform, the need for a constitutional accommodation with blacks, relations with the outside world, security matters and the economic situation.

These points are agreed on by the opposing parties in the election — the Nationalists, the Progressive Federal Party/New Republic Party alliance, the Conservatives and the Herstigte Nasionale Party. But their approach to the issues are vastly different.

President PW Botha will probably elaborate on the aims and issues of the election when he opens Parliament next Friday.

But Nationalist strategists see the main aims of going to the polls as being:

- To put the Conservatives and HNP in their place and show they only a minority group.

- To get final approval from the white electorate for power-sharing with blacks and putting across the need for some political accommodation between them and the whites.

THE PFP also sees it as one of the Nationalists' main aims to stop the rightwing.

But the party's Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulley, believes the election will prepare the way for Mr Botha's retirement, probably in 1988.

He maintains that the National Party's internal power-politics have a lot to do with the calling of the election.

By going to the polls before a redelimitation of Assembly seats in which the Transvaal would have gained a number of seats from the Cape Province Mr Botha can ensure that there are the maximum number of Cape supporters for Mr Chris Heunis in a National Party Parliamentary caucus election for his successor.

In an election Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk is likely to lose MPs because it is in this province where the rightwing will put up their best performance.

Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg MP, deputy leader of the CP, believes the main aim of the election is to test the opinion of white voters before the CP becomes too strong.

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais maintains that the Nationalists will be trying to deal the rightwing a death-blow so that it can then continue with its "so-called reform".

The parties' stances on the main issues are:

REFORM:

Nationalist politicians maintain that final approval for power-sharing with blacks are needed, just as the white electorate were, in the 1983 referendum, consulted about the inclusion of coloureds and Indians in the new tricameral system.

At this stage they have no clear-cut blueprint to present to the electorate, partly because negotiations with black leaders are said to be proceeding behind the scenes and also because President Botha has not been able to establish the proposed consultative National Council, largely because of intimidation.

The PFP intends to fight on the desperate need for a political settlement that will include blacks.

Mr Hulley says there can be no peace under apartheid and the PFP will try to get every vote it can to force that message through.

The CP maintains that blacks can only be accommodated through partition in order to give each group its own state.

The HNP supports him in this opinion with Mr Jaap Marais adding that the future of the Group Areas Act will be an issue in the debate on reform.

FOREIGN RELATIONS:

Interference from the outside world, sanctions and what Nationalist spokesmen describe as "the American factor" could well develop as one of the biggest issues.

In his New Year's eve message Mr Botha condemned interference from the outside world and Nationalist propagandists are keeping in mind the success Mr John Vorster had in the 1977 elections with his "South Africa vs Jimmy Carter" tactics.

The PFP intends stressing the need for South Africa to stay part of the Western world but it will also stress that this will only be possible if the country's internal affairs are sorted out.

Both the CP and the HNP maintain that the Government's image of being weak encourages outside interference.

SECURITY MATTERS

On this issue the Nationalists will defend the state of emergency situation on the ground that it is needed to reduce tensions and to deal with intimidation from radical black groups. There will be attacks on the African National Congress and organisations sympathetic to it.

The PFP fears that the emergency regulations may largely remove the possibility of a full discussion of this issue from the political arena but it is determined to use every opportunity, starting in the coming session, to air the issue.

The HNP and the CP will again attack what they describe as the Government's weakness. Mr Marais says the Government is only now coming with a display of "kragdadigheid" for election purposes, and Dr Hartzenberg says no-one can say South Africa is now a safer place than five years ago.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Nationalist politicians are sensitive to the importance of economic issues in the election campaign.

They realise that economic grievances, among others, about the cost of living, high taxation and public servants' salaries could be very successfully exploited by the opposition parties.

Public servants will therefore get salary increases and tax reforms and some tax relief are expected in a Part Appropriation measure the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, will introduce in the coming short session of Parliament.

The PFP will accuse the Government of making a mess of the economy by squandering the country's resources on ideological schemes.

The CP will maintain that the economy is in a critical state with a spiralling cost of living and that ways of remedying this are in the hands of the Government.

Mr Marais says the country's economic ills, due to the Government's policies, will feature prominently in his party's campaign.

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very positive and one of excitement. He has touched on something that is very much alive now in Afrikanerdom (tokkel op 'n baie lewendige snaar)."

However, in spite of considerable closeness between the political stands of the Nationalist rebels and the PFP, there seems little likelihood of the two groups joining up in a formal arrangement.

More Nats may follow Malan

CAPE TIMES 24/11/87 304A

By MAX DU PREEZ and
BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE resignation of the MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, from the National Party could start an exodus of Afrikaner intelligentsia on the left.

Mr Malan, who is to stand as an independent in Randburg in the election, has already been backed by six leading Nationalists in the constituency, including the party's chairman, Mr Gert van der Linde, and deputy chairman, Mr Koos Badenhorst.

Verligte Afrikanerdom is abuzz with talk of more Nationalists, including MPs and other office-bearers, joining Mr Malan later this year and of forming a new "middle ground" with black groups.

Several "New Nats", some close to the leadership of the NP, have been in contact with Mr Malan to assure him of their support — and to explain why they could not join him now.

Mr Malan is also getting the support of many prominent Afrikaner academics, business and professional people who have supported the NP until now.

There was strong speculation in these circles yesterday that the chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB), Professor Piet de Lange, has given Mr Malan his personal blessing and might come out in open support of his stand soon.

Prof De Lange was not available for comment last night.

Mr Malan, a former leader of the NP's Jeugbond and of the Junior Rapportryers, has been a member of the AB since 1972.

Nomination surprises Basson

Political Staff

MR Japie Basson did not know he had been nominated as the National Party's candidate in the Gardens constituency until he was informed by the press.

Mr Basson, 67, a Nationalist member of the President's Council, was named at a press conference on Thursday night by the NP's Cape leader, Mr Chris Heunis, as the Gardens candidate, but nobody bothered to tell him.

He was genuinely surprised when informed about it, but confirmed that he had been approached to stand.

Clearly nonplussed by the bureaucratic lapse, Mr Basson said: "The circumstances in the Gardens makes it one of the most difficult seats for the NP, so I am not looking for an easy passage back to Parliament."

Two of Mr Malan's "New Nat" friends, Mr Andre van der Walt, MP for Bellville, and Mr Albert Nothnagel, MP for Innesdal, have said publicly that they have sympathy for his decision to leave the party.

Both have, however, indicated that they did not plan doing the same now.

The NP has named another verligte Nationalist, Mr Olaus van Zyl, a veteran city councillor and member of the President's Council, as its candidate in Randburg.

A top NP source admitted last night that there was "serious concern" in the party about the "sudden wave of sympathy" for Mr Malan's stand.

A Potchefstroom University professor and prominent Calvinist philosopher, Professor Lourens du Plessis, said: "The reaction in my circles and on campus to his resignation has been very positive and one of excitement. He has touched on something that is

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Welsh may enter politics

304A

CAPE TOWN — Professor David Welsh may resign from the University of Cape Town's political studies department altogether and enter parliamentary politics.

Professor Welsh resigned as head of the department only hours before the report of the commission of inquiry into the disruption of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien's lectures at UCT was released on Thursday.

Although he remains a lecturer in the department he said he could not exclude the possibility of later resigning altogether.

Asked if he was considering a political career, Professor Welsh said: "I am not, and I did not seek nomination as a PFP candidate for the coming election but I might seek election for them later".

Meanwhile Dr O'Brien

said in a call from Ireland yesterday: "Unless the university dissociates itself from the remarks of the commission I will have to take the matter before court."

The report criticised Dr O'Brien's actions and his "mercurial and volatile" temperament, and said he had not regulated "academic detachment under conditions of excitement or emotional stress".

Outspoken Nat MP unrepentant; will work for fundamental political change

W/C ARGUS 24/1/87 (3041)

From MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — Verligte Nationalist MP Albert Nothnagel returns home this weekend knowing he'll have to watch his back.

His calls for dramatic change in South Africa have undoubtedly earned the scorn of those who fear change and the suspicion of those who believe it will damage the Government, the National Party and its fortunes in the coming election.

But he remains unrepentant, even optimistic, and convinced that he must continue to work for fundamental political change.

South Africans, he urges, "must get their political act together".

New nationalism

Sketching his position as a reforming man — within the Government — the 47-year-old Innersdal MP confided his vision of a new South African nationalism.

Mr Nothnagel spoke of returning home to "defend his wickets" — more

specifically, to defend the robust statements he made to Britain's Foreign Affairs Committee.

He had told the committee, among other things, that South Africa was on the verge of dramatic change and that the remaining pillars of apartheid — "black political rights and the question of the redistribution of land" — would be a thing of the past soon.

He said he recognised the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, as "a nationalist".

"People seem to forget that the National Party has always lived up to the changes necessary for South Africa, and in that spirit I am absolutely optimistic about the future.

"In the end, each and every group and all leaders have to reach out in a spirit of South African nationalism to work together for a peaceful future for our children, to stand together against all those people who want to destroy our beautiful country."

He pauses, then continues at a more cautious pace: "The State President has during his term of office led South

Africans on the road to dramatic reform — the three-chamber Parliament is certainly an example of fundamental political change.

"On the issue of black political rights, the National Party can be a vehicle to bring about just as fundamental change as we have already experienced."

He said it was possible within the framework of the party's principles to address the fundamental changes that had to be made.

Black views

He added: "Another thing that has become obvious to me is that there is no way that we as white politicians can continue to present the message overseas on behalf of black leaders.

"We have just got to accept that black leaders in South Africa will to a greater and greater extent have to present their own ideas and views on what they perceive to be the solution and even what they perceive the direction could be."

ior Natal ts 'may n the PFP'

Mercury Reporter

ior Natal National Party officials are considering joining the Progressive Federal Party or independents in the coming election and be other Natal verligtes thinking of leaving

inslie, the PFP's Natal director, said yesterday's discussions between the PFP and the three NP offices were at 'a very early stage', but they were either joining the PFP or standing as independent in the election.

It is that there appeared to be several verligtes in Natal and other areas who were considering a movement started in the Transvaal by MP, Wynand Malan, and joining an independent

Malan's resignation is expected to spark an exodus of Afrikaner intellectuals from the party and at least one Durban NP member has already indicated he will resign in support of him.

There is also strong speculation that Mr Malan left the party with the personal blessing of the chairman of the Transvaal Broederbond, Prof Piet de Lange, and that de Lange may soon come out in open support of his

Malan declined to name the rebel Natal Nats, but said 'I think we are in for some surprise candidates.'

But the NP in Natal yesterday denied any knowledge of an impending split in its senior ranks.

Chief

repeats warning

ULUNDI—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday elaborated on his weekend warning to white politicians that they could kill the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals by making them party-political issues in the coming election.

He was speaking at the formal handing over of the proposals to the KwaZulu Government by the Indaba's chairman, Prof Desmond Clarence, and Indaba co-founders Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Mr Frank Martin.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president noted that the Indaba proposals had still to be considered very carefully by Inkatha's annual conference and by his Government.

He was committed to pursue all avenues for discussing the proposals and their implications for practical politics with the country's major black, coloured, Indian and white political groupings. — (Sapa)

bury in Daytona 24-hour race

DAYTONA—Former South African champion driver Graham Duxbury is to take part in the Daytona 24 hour on January 10.

Duxbury, who won the Daytona Classic in 1970, is in partnership with fellow-South African Sarel van der Merwe and Tony van der Merwe. They will be driving a Buick Argo in

the Camel light category.

'Our prospects are pretty good,' said a delighted Duxbury. 'The team is one of the leading squads in the Camel light category.'

Duxbury is hoping his return to Daytona will lead to a regular drive in the IMSA series this year. — (Sapa)

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Sex ruined for beautiful sailor

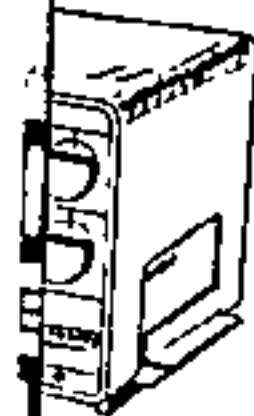
London Bureau

BEAUTIFUL blonde sailor Madelaine Turner, whose



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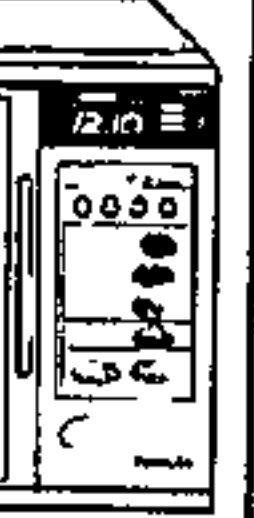
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Mr Gordon Waddell — "I'm not joining the chicken run".

I'm no quitter Waddell

w/c Argus 24/11/87 304A

From KITT KATZIN

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Gordon Herbert Waddell is no quitter — he is not abandoning South Africa and is not joining the "chicken run".

On the contrary, he is very optimistic about the prospects of the mining industry in South Africa and has great faith both in the future of the country and in its vast human and material resources.

No, says the outgoing executive chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI), the reasons for quitting — at the tender age of 49 — are "essentially personal".

But his resignation as chairman of JCI — and his decision to give up 16 other public company directorships — came as a surprise to his associates.

And though it is almost certain he will leave South Africa and return at least for a while to Scotland, where he started out as an investment analyst in the 1960s, Gordon Waddell concedes there may have been other factors in his decision to "take stock" at the height of a brilliant career.

Dogged by insecurity

Aside from family and personal reasons — he believes no-one should occupy the hot seat of a group the size of JCI for more than seven years — he spoke bluntly of the disappointing role of big business in forcing the pace of reform.

He expressed grave fear that until there was an equitable distribution of political power, South Africa's future would continue to be dogged by insecurity and uncertainty.

He still firmly believed South Africa's future, ultimately, would be determined by black majority rule.

Although he held no brief for the African National Congress, he believed it and its leader, Nelson Mandela, should be unbanned and brought to a negotiating table as a legitimate black player — provided it stuck to the same rules as the other players.

"There is also no certainty it would win a one-man-one-vote election," he said.

Reaffirming his support for the Progressive Federal Party, which he represented in Parliament, Mr Waddell said a "quantum jump" was required to restore stability and peace.

New dimension

"A new dimension is needed in overall political policy and philosophy.

"I have a grave concern that the government is incapable of taking action to restore a reasonable degree of stability. While — through the State of Emergency — it is quelling the fires temporarily, it is not addressing the underlying causes.

"These are political and concern the distribution of political power."

But he still had faith in the future of South Africa — and believed there was a vast reservoir of goodwill that could still be tapped and the grievances of blacks removed.

Mr Waddell said he was concerned that big business in South Africa did not realise how closely and widely it was seen to be a hand-maiden of apartheid.

"It's one thing to recognise a problem, but more difficult to remedy it if it involves private enterprise," he said.

Alternative government

"What private enterprise should do but has not done is to finance a credible alternative government.

Mr Waddell said he had had the experience of a lifetime in South Africa and did not regret one moment of it.

"I would like to think I've done my thing at JCI, and although I have not considered any new job offers, I can't say I would not do so abroad in the future."

He and his wife, Cathy, had agreed in November that he would resign.

Mr Waddell reacted sharply to suggestions that he was abandoning his business career in the face of economic and political instability in South Africa — and effectively joining the "chicken run".

Poll pact may grab Nat seats in Cape

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

THE latest election moves indicate that a batch of Cape seats can be captured from the National Party as a result of a Progressive Federal-New Republic party election agreement, expected to be made final this weekend.

Some of the seats are those won by the NP in contests where the opposition vote was split in the 1981 general election.

Final details of the PFP/NRP election agreement for the Cape are expected to be announced next week. Indications are that the parties will not oppose each other in seats they hold in the Assembly at present and in certain key seats where a split vote could mean defeat for opposition candidates.

Key Nationalist-held seats now within grasp of the opposition parties include:

- East London North, won by the NP in 1981 with a majority of 979 votes against the NRP, the PFP and the HNP. The combined opposition vote was then 5 778 compared to the NP's 3 849 votes. The HNP had 423 votes. The NP has nominated Mr C J W Badenhorst as its candidate after the withdrawal of the sitting MP, Mr H S Coetzer.

1 475 majority

- East London City, won by the NP in 1981 with a majority of 1 830 against the PFP, NRP and HNP. The combined opposition vote was 5 182 compared to the NP's 4 203 votes. The HNP had 460 votes.

- Queenstown, won by the NP in 1981 with a majority of 1 475 against the PFP, NRP and HNP, whose combined vote was 4 600 compared to the NP's 4 024. The HNP had 1 021 votes.

- King William's Town, won by the NRP in 1981 with a majority of only 286 votes against the NP, the PFP and the HNP, could be made a relatively safe opposition seat if the PFP throws in its forces with the NRP.

In addition to these seats, where the PFP and NRP are expected to co-operate, the PFP will make an all-out effort to capture Newton Park, won by the NP in 1981 with a majority of 1 115 votes against the PFP, the CP and an independent candidate.

In Albany a tough fight is expected by the PFP to retain the seat, which it won in 1981.

Agreement is also expected between the PFP and the NRP on contests in seats such as Kimberley North and Kimberley South and certain country seats in the Western Cape where the old United Party and the NRP have had strong support in the past.

Proposals for the PFP/NRP agreement are being discussed by the Cape head committee of the NRP and are due to be discussed by the PFP's Cape head committee tomorrow.

Pik took over at crash site

JOHANNESBURG—The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, may have been contravening the Civil Aviation Act by 'taking charge' of the site where President Samora Machel's plane crashed.

That was suggested during Thursday's sitting of the board of inquiry into the crash.

'Who assumed charge?' counsel for the board, Mr Cedric Puckrin, repeatedly questioned the deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

'I suppose he was the first among equals there,' Mr van Heerden said.

'An unfortunate allusion to take,' the chairman of the board, Mr Justice Cecil Margo, returned.

Under the Aviation Act the Department of Civil Aviation assumes charge of the site of an accident and no one is allowed to interfere without permission.

'Is there any question that this Act was overridden by the state of emergency?' Mr Puckrin asked.

No, Mr van Heerden replied, but to his knowledge his Minister did not get authority from the Department of Civil Aviation to go to the crash site.

He was 'hesitant to express a view' about allegations that police removed documents from the scene and made photo copies of them.

Not allowed

At the site Mr Botha was not informed by the investigator from the Directorate of Civil Aviation that he was not allowed to be on site, he said.

Mr Justice Margo brought questioning to a halt by saying the crash was an 'extreme emergency' and it was understandable there might have been transgressions.

A member of the inquiry board, Col Frank Borman of the U.S., questioned Mr van Heerden about newspaper reports he read in America sourced to the Department of Foreign Affairs who alleged the crew were under the influence of alcohol.

'I cannot recall anything like that,' Mr van Heerden said.

The witness box took a United Nations flavour with French, Irish, British and South African experts giving evidence. Next to testify was a Swazi man.

Mr Aaron Mamba, who lives in a village near the crash site and patrols the border fence to make sure it is in good repair, told the board of a 'large tent' on the hillside overlooking the crash site.

The tent disappeared shortly before the accident and reappeared a few days after it, he said.

Three soldiers lived in the tent and he saw a ball 'the colour of curry' at the campsite.

The mystery

Attempting to clear up the mystery of the army campsite a Capt Uys said he 'came to the conclusion this terrain was a playing ground for the SADF'.

Capt Uys was instructed to investigate the camp site after it was brought to South Africa's attention by the Mozambican delegation.

Originally it was an observation post, 'to observe the Mozambican armed forces,' he said.

'Since October 8 the site has not been used as often.'

The former Deputy Director of Civil Aviation in Britain, Mr William Young, in giving evidence dismissed allegations that the plane was enticed off course by a 'rogue' beacon.

A Very High Frequency Omni-directional Range (VOR) beacon, a horizontal navigational aid, could get a plane off course but not lead it to its destruction, he said.

For a false beacon to lure a plane off its course it had to transmit a blend of two signals. Equipment, including a transmitter, generator and antennae, to achieve this would have to be transported in a three-ton truck.

He said he agreed with the theory given by a previous witness that the aircraft had tuned their VOR into a Swaziland beacon instead of the Maputo one.

The inquiry continues on Monday. — (Sapa)

304A

W/m.
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LP branch

raps swim

WMM 24/1/68
Apology 304A

Mercury Correspondent

QUEENSTOWN—The local branch of the Labour Party yesterday publicly rebuked the party's leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, for having apologised to President Botha for his New Year's Day swim in Port Elizabeth.

A statement issued by the party's local chairman, Mr Winston Jasson, and secretary, Mr Joseph Smiles, said the apology was an embarrassment to the party.

'The Queenstown branch of the Labour Party fully supports the MP for Border, Mr Peter Hopp, for opposing the apology,' it said.

SUN TIMES
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25/1/87



Now PW is facing rebellion from more MPs on his left

NEW NATS BREAKAWAY COVER



OLAUS VAN ZYL... long identified with the "New Nats"

By LESTER VENTER, Political Correspondent

THE National Party is facing the threat of a new breakaway — this time to the left.

As the ruling party prepares for a tough general election — in which it already faces a massive onslaught from the far right — ominous rumblings indicate that deep-seated disaffection also exists among a band of verligte MPs, dubbed the "New Nats".

They are angered by the party leadership's refusal to spell out its vision for the future and its return to hard-line conservatism.

The first open manifestation of the new discontent was the resignation from the party this week of the NP's popular MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, and the announcement that he would stand as an Independent.

A number of the NP's most talented parliamentarians are known to sympathise with Mr Malan's position and have sent him subtle signals of support.

However, observers believe these dissidents will keep their powder dry by running in the election, and then unite to confront the party leadership when it is over.

Reports also began to circulate this week that a prominent Nationalist figure outside party politics may soon throw his weight behind the movement.

This week the party leadership was moving, in the words of one parliamentarian, to "smoke out" the dissidents.

Alarm bells began to ring for the NP leadership with the biggest-ever wave of resignations by sitting MPs prior to a general election. So far 27 have announced that they will not seek re-election.

Traumatic

Mr Malan's resignation is seen as the tip of an iceberg of dissension, which, observers say, even stretches to Mr Malan's opponent in Randburg, Mr Olaus van Zyl, who has long been identified with the "New Nats".

He described the prospect of fighting Mr Malan for the seat as "traumatic".

This week six of the party's top office-bearers in Randburg — many of them close personal friends of both Mr Malan and Mr van Zyl — left a meeting of the NP divisional executive. They will now throw their weight behind Mr Malan.

Mr van Zyl is a personal friend of Mr Malan and is regarded as being in the same verligte camp.

Opposition sources believe the dissident group within the NP caucus numbers at least 10.

A senior Progressive Federal Party official disclosed that PFP members had held "informal, ongoing talks for some time" with the group.

One of the "New Nats" said: "There are all sorts of things on the go."

While tactics will keep the disaffected group in the Nationalist fold at least until after the election, probably in May, the latest developments have turned a sharp focus on the political common ground between them and the PFP.

The NP dissidents are unlikely to join the PFP, but after the election they could collaborate in the formation of a new force in the middle ground of South African politics. It will include blacks.

The PFP general secretary, Mr Robin Carlisle, said yesterday: "We have an open-ended strategy. We can't get there (a new government) ourselves, but we are prepared to be part of a greater movement."

Hints that the PFP may even keep out of the election in Randburg, where it enjoys strong support, emerged yesterday. This would leave the field to Mr Malan.

A decision will be taken by the PFP federal executive in Cape Town today.

The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said that, before Mr Malan's resignation, his party had planned to contest the seat.

No-pact Andries says: CP will go it alone

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

SOUTH Africa's extremist rightwing parties will go into the general election divided.

The die was cast yesterday when the Conservative Party rejected proposals for a pact with the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

It will persist with its go-it-alone campaign — to entice HNP supporters into its fold.

The CP staged what it called a "rightwing merger meeting" in Pretoria's Skilpad hall — but the HNP, which had earlier in the week rejected a merger, did not turn up.

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, indicated that his party would forge ahead in the election regardless of the HNP.

He said further unity negotiations could only take place on the basis of a merger.

Yesterday HNP supporters said Dr Treurnicht would cause a major rightwing split — to the advantage of the National Party, which would now face divided opposition on the Right.

Yesterday's CP meeting was attended by some 7 000 conservatives, although the CP claimed 10 000. The Press was not allowed in.

The CP and the HNP have coexisted uneasily since 1983. On Thursday the HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, pre-empted Dr Treurnicht's meeting by holding his own.

He proposed a sort of political engagement leading to eventual marriage, with the two parties fielding single candidates in agreed constituencies and Dr Treurnicht leading the combined forces in Parliament.

Several HNP supporters at the meeting, as well as various branches of the conservative white Mine Workers' Union at Thursday's HNP meeting, said they would abstain from voting if the Right entered the election in disunity.

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SUNTIMES

THE FIGHT FOR AFRIKANERDOM: From a perspective of the past...

CHILDREN

IN A recent article for the Sunday Times, Alan Paton assessed the year 1986 and commented on the paralysis which he discerns in the present political establishment.

Then he declared: "The Afrikaner Nationalist does not easily adopt the role of reformer... it is a role he has never played before."

Knowing Alan Paton and having a high regard for his judgment, I do not doubt that he was concerned with the particular party which, rather unexpectedly, came to power in 1948.

Neither have I any uncertainty about the conclusion reached by most who read these words of a great South African: that Afrikaners, as an ethnic phenomenon, were always more or less deeply fixed in their ideas, unready to suffer renewal, and opposed to questioning the wills and ways of those who, among their own kind, governed them.

With the present regime already 39 years in power — far too long, lacking a viable alternative, for the fair workings of democracy — the view has grown that Afrikaners were ever opposed to change, to renewal in government, to reform. This is truth-denied.

Hegemony

This is not Alan Paton's fault (modern media have played a part), nor is it because of an anti-Establishment, anti-Nationalist attitude, which may at times even have overgrown into boerehaat.

No, it is rather the fruit of a shallow or non-existent knowledge of the South African story. This may be tested in the light of what follows.

The present political order, even after nearly four decades, covers only some 12 percent of the full period of Western presence in southern Africa, that is, 325 years.

There was no other period of complete Afrikaner hegemony, apart from the years between 1948 and the present.

The 286 years between 1652 and 1948 can, as far as political dominance is concerned, be divided as follows:

● 1652 to 1795: This was the period of complete Dutch East India Company (VOC) authority; or rather authoritarianism.

Its 143 years of maintaining the settlement at the



Go back into history! For most of the time we have been people prepared to resist tyrannical authority

By W A DE KLERK, author of *The Puritans in Africa*

Cape, not as a proper colony, but as a halfway station on the long voyage to the East, represent some 44 percent of recorded South African history.

The company was a complete, often tyrannical, body which brooked no opposition to its often corrupt and inept administration.

● 1795 to 1803, then from 1806 to 1910: This was the time of the British Cape Colony, the short interregnum being that of the Batavian (Dutch) Republic.

Mercenary

In all, the British were here as uncompromising colonialists for 112 years, representing some 34 percent of recorded South African history.

They were far better colonial administrators than the old VOC. Initially they regarded the Cape as being utterly insignificant, but it grew to be increasingly important, not merely for mercenary motives.

British domination was unashamedly the policy until 1910. The Cape Colony was part of an empire over which the sun never set.

● 1910 to 1948: This was the first period of the Union of South Africa, ruled by a variety of ethnically mixed administrations.

Initially, there was the South African Party, first under Louis Botha, then under J C Smuts (1910-1924), in which Boer and Brit had largely come together.

This was followed by the Pact government (1924-1929), when Hertzog's Afrikaner Nationalists, rather strangely, formed a coalition with the Labour Party (British socialists) under Colonel Creswell.

For a short while (1929-1933) the Hertzog Government administered the country alone, but South Africa was nevertheless still very much part of the British Empire.

In 1933 the followers of Hertzog and Smuts fused to form the United Party, which remained unchanged in power until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

In that year Hertzog broke away and the United Party formed, for the war years, a coalition with Colonel Stallard's Dominion Party.

The 38 years from 1910 to 1948 represents some 11,07 percent of recorded South African history.

In short, then: the VOC governed by dictate for 44 percent of our three-and-a-quarter centuries here; the British dominated for 34 percent; and various mixed administrations, all still within the Empire, governed for 11,07 percent of the period.

The present Nationalist government, with its radical vision of a separately developed South Africa, has been in power for slightly more than the latter, say 12 percent of our time here.

Maintained

And even then the British connection was maintained for 13 years after the power change in 1948: until May 31, 1961, when the Republic was constituted.

Against this background, the Afrikaners of southern Africa were, at least until the year 1948, easily the most non-conforming group in the country, always questioning tyrannical authority.

It would be strange if it

had been otherwise. Their 17th-century context, when their forebears for the most part arrived, was, after all, the 80 Years War of the Dutch against imperialist Hapsburg Spain; the French Huguenots resisting the tyranny of the Duc de Richelieu and Louis XIV, who declared that he was the state.

● 1705 to 1707: This was the time of the resistance to the VOC's most controversial and corrupt administrator at the Cape, Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel.

It was Willem Grevenbroeck and Adam Tas (of Jewish extraction) who first drafted the formal *memories* of protest, directed to the VOC's controlling bodies in Batavia and Amsterdam.

Slave-holder

It was, however, the *Vryburgers* of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and the Huguenots of Drakenstein, who finally, after many tribulations, secured the removal of a governor who had cornered the Cape for himself.

W A van der Stel was the only true plantation slaveholder in the history of South Africa. At his magnificent *Vergelegen*, in Hottentots-Holland, he employed some 200 slaves in his vast fields and vineyards, and some 30 female slaves worked in the grand manor house.

The colonists were deprived of the only possible market for their products — the company and passing ships — and had been reduced to dicy subsistence farming.

● 1739: Estienne Barblie, a French sergeant from Or-

leans, serving with the VOC at the Castle of Good Hope, observing the enduring maladministration of the company, deserted to Drakenstein.

Strangest

Living on the farm Orleans of the widow Celliers, near Paarl, he staged the strangest protest ever in the history of the country. Leading a quixotic little band of Drakensteiners on Sunday, March 1, 1739, he directed a devastating *j'accuse* against the company (his self-styled *Avis van Groot Importentia*) in front of the Dutch Reformed church. For this, after the company had been shocked by news of the 'rebellion' at Paarl, he was finally sentenced to be crucified — yes, *crucified* — in the Roman manner; then drawn and quartered.

● 1779 to 1781: This was the time of the Cape Patriots. Once again there was widespread protest by the Colonist at the ways of a now almost completely decadent VOC, epitomised in the persons of Willem Cornelis Boers, *Heer Independent Fiscal*; and Governor Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff (what a pity that a fine town like Graaff-Reinet should bear his name!)

Indictment

The Cape Patriots carried their *klagskrif* — indictment — to the *Here Seventien*, top structure of the VOC in Amsterdam, requesting above all burgher representation in the government of the colony. This action of the Cape Patriots led to the rebellions at

Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet.

The first was relatively peaceful; but at Graaff-Reinet landdrost H C D Maynier, another incompetent and dictatorial VOC functionary, had on February 6, 1795, to face an angry group of frontier farmers requesting his immediate removal; which they then proceeded to put into effect.

Very much in the same spirit, there was, in 1816, the ill-fated *Slagtersnek* Rebellion. However clumsy and hopeless, the *Slagtersnek* episode was essentially further grassroots resistance to the looming might of Pax Britannica, extending worldwide the frontiers of Empire.

1836: The Great Trek: Historians have long sought and given a great number of motives for this central event in the history of the country.

But the motivating force, strong enough to require the abandonment of land, homes and beloved environment, was also resistance to what had been experienced as an alien invader.

Refusal

Yet again the overpowering presence in southern Africa of Great Britain, in the time of militant imperial expansion, provoked refusal. Piet Retief (like Sarel Celliers from Drakenstein) in his famous manifesto (*Grahamstown Journal*, 1837) epitomises the deepest motives of the frontiersmen "entering a wild land and dangerous territory".

He stated: "We quit this Colony under the full assurance that the English government has nothing more

to require from us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future..."

1876: The *Taalbeweging*. Here the resistance to an established order was not to that of an alien presence, but to the Afrikaner's own institutions (church, Press, education), built on the now too rigid foundation of the Dutch language.

The *Taalmanne* — Arnoldus Pannevis, S J du Toit, C P Hoogenhout, and so on — recognised that the vernacular Afrikaans (despised as a *hotnotstaal*) was, in fact, the true language of the Afrikaners.

Renewal

The *Taalbeweging*, easily the most amazing cultural renewal within established Afrikanerdom, was similar to the growth and acceptance of the London dialect, the common language of the English people, which within two centuries became the glorious language of Shakespeare and the Authorised Version.

The Modern Era: In the now long-lasting triumph of Afrikaner nationalism, there has ever been a strong tendency to say no to hegemony.

One need only remember the names of those in the forefront of divergent groups.

Think of J C Smuts, J B M Hertzog, De Villiers Graaff, Of Bram Fischer, Breyten Breytenbach, André Brink, Beyers Naude, Of Van Zyl Slabbert, J J Degenaar, M Versfeld, N P van Wyk Louw... the list is much longer.

The concept of *lojale verset* is indelible in Afrikaner history.



...io concern for the future by the Randburg MP who rocked his party this week

OPEN PROTEST

TWO matters brought my position within the National Party to a head. There was the manner in which the security situation was being handled, and the immovability of the Government on the Group Areas Act.

Differences over these two did not come out of the blue. During my years within the National Party I have frequently put my case forward.

I did so in caucus, in the study groups of the National Party and even through motions at the Transvaal congress of the National Party.

My broader philosophic approach was made clear in the speeches I made in Parliament. There never was any doubt about where I stand.

One South Africa with equal rights for all is the only way. There must be effective participation in government by all — as to which government there will be as well as which laws are made.

If all the people cannot participate in this manner the government cannot serve the general good. No government should treat one section of the community differently from any other.

Where sectors of the community are excluded — because of colour, language or even region — the government will only serve its own power base. This is the surest way to confrontation.

We have to take the present as our starting point and move away through negotiation — which is something totally different from consultation or persuasion.

Handling

They are part of negotiation, true, but negotiation means that you cannot work on YOUR agenda. You cannot stipulate the agenda, know how the process will develop or what the outcome will be.

You cannot choose with whom you wish to negotiate or leave someone out who could place a veto on the success of the negotiation. This includes, among others, the ANC.

One should not negotiate with any group on the basis of violence, but rather its underlying philosophy. In the case of the ANC this will be that of the Freedom Charter which predates the violent strategy of that or-

I quit because I want to be the focal point of a new spirit. We need equality for all in one South Africa

WYNAND MALAN MP writes for the Sunday Times

Processes for handling this must be found.

The principle of emergency powers is correct, but the use of these powers must optimally be tested through the processes of law.

It is axiomatic that the gap between the expectations of the people and the ability of government to satisfy these can — when the gap becomes too wide — be bridged only through the use of repressive measures.

By definition the use of emergency powers is a questioning of the legitimacy of the state. The situation becomes "worse" as more such powers are used. The increasing use of emergency powers is thus not an indication of success, but of regression.

Worse

Security management and the way security powers are used needs an integrated overall strategy. There must be balance between the use of these powers, reform and negotiation. One may not work against the other.

The strategy must be aimed at the goal of one South Africa with equal rights for all. The responsibility for this strategy lies with the government, not the executive.

tence regarding the acceptance of these principles underpinning it is one of the reasons why I cannot, in good conscience, stand on the platform of the National Party.

The second reason has to do with the handling of security management. This has to do with arbitrariness, as the Government does not have guidelines for the attainment of the main goal within which the security forces can operate.

False

The Group Areas Act is discriminatory and should go, but whether it does or not will not affect this matter.

The time to reach the main goal of one South Africa with equal rights for all through reform has passed.

The Government has a deep-seated philosophy of "fundamental non-negotiables" which makes the rhetoric of an open agenda false.

An example is seeing race and group as the same thing. The Government argues that the group (read race) should practise its politics within the group (read race) and that these groups (read races) must be the building blocks for constitution.

Underlying this is the philosophy of domination — either I will dominate you or you will dominate me.

The President's changing views on the Group Areas Act and his absolute insis-

this my friend was arrested on several occasions and is again in jail.

On one occasion he was arrested shortly after leaving the office of this member of the Executive where certain agreements had been reached.

I made several appeals for his release but was told that he was actively involved in violent actions.

Despite my assurances that this was not true, the then Minister and his deputy stood by their information — even two days after my friend had been released. I was then told that his detention had been a mistake.

I know that mistakes can be made, but this example points to a tendency.

Vacuum

This is not criticism of these forces. They have to operate in a vacuum as a result of the lack of an integrated management system which aims at the goal of one South Africa with equal rights for all. This makes their task impossible.

An example is the treatment meted out to a friend of mine who is a committed Christian. One against violence and who is trying to negotiate.

He has had several conversations with a member of the Executive to try to get negotiation going.

This member of the Executive also tried to take this particular negotiation further. Important successes on a narrow front had been achieved. Desite

the past few years but has never been taken to court. In these circumstances it became impossible for me to be a candidate on the party platform or to remain as a member.

Obviously I also had the option of leaving the parliamentary field. As this would, however, have contributed to a further dismantling of the legitimate role of the parliamentary system, this option could not be taken.

I therefore decided to be a candidate again. I am convinced that there is a spirit in the country which is more prevalent than just my concern and which shares my approach. I wish to be a focus point to demonstrate this spirit.

Presently there is an alliance in the National Party between people who share this spirit and those who support the dogmatic approach. My action may change the dynamic, or break the alliance.

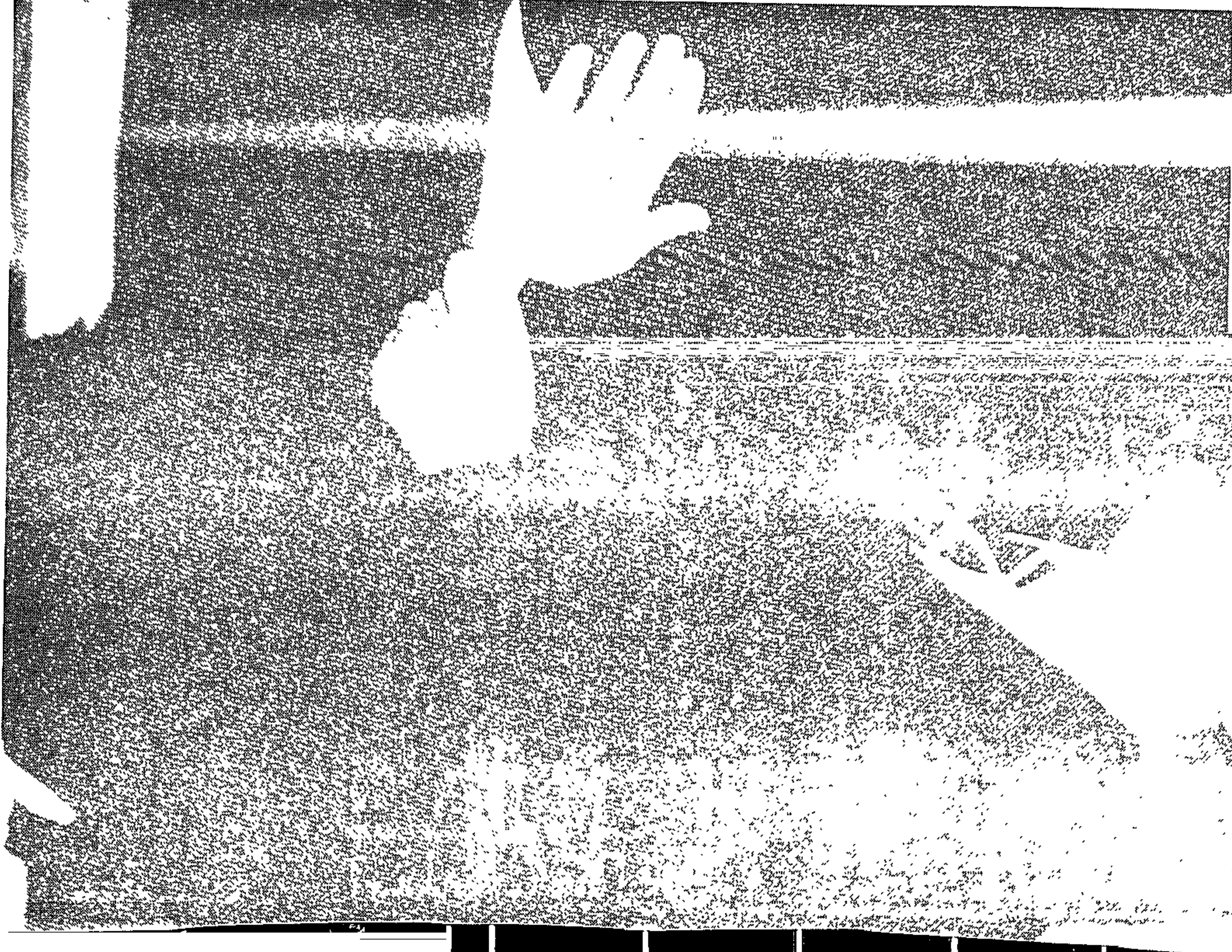
The continuation of the alliance precludes the chances of successful negotiating.

Convinced

During the most recent spate of arrests he was again detained within days of being told by two members of the Executive that they, following a direct appeal from him, were prepared to see him.

Security action here quite clearly precluded negotiation opportunities as a result of a lack of an integrated system of security management.

My friend has been in de-



BY THE RIGHT...

Sikelele? No, this time it was the Volkslied

IT could have been an ANC meeting in the heart of Pretoria... except the skins were all white and the language Afrikaans.

When HNP leader Jaap Marais gathered his flock in Pretoria on Thursday to spell out important short-term political strategies, the affair had all the trappings of a similar ANC meeting addressed by Oliver Tambo in Lusaka exactly two weeks earlier.

The crowd was roughly the same size and the mood was similar — a whipping up of expectations.

The banners and singing in Pretoria's City Hall were strongly reminiscent of those in Mulungushi Hall in central Lusaka.

But, in Lusaka, victory was interpreted to be black power; in Pretoria it meant white "baasskap".

That and the skin colour of the two

STEPHAN TERBLANCHE, who attended the ANC jamboree in Lusaka, was in Pretoria this week to watch the HNP...

audiences were the most notable differences.

And it must be added that while Mr Marais and the HNP are committed to obtaining power via Parliament, the ANC has resorted to violence as a means, using its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

But even here the lines were briefly blurred when an HNP supporter shouted: "What about the AWB?"

The reference was to Mr Eugene Terre Blanche's militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, with its khaki-clad "stried" wing stirring up memories of

recent rightwing political violence.

While the polarisation of South African politics is demonstrated to a frightening extent by these two extreme political positions, that is where the differences end.

In Lusaka, the ANC meeting kicked off with choirs and the audience singing the "alternative national anthem", Nkosi Sikelele. In Pretoria, the arch conservatives started with their own national anthem, the old Transvaalse Volkslied.

Replay

In both cases, the singing bolstered a fighting spirit.

The guard of honour heralding Mr Marais' arrival with flags, and the frenzied, expectant crowd in Pretoria seemed like an instant replay of Lusaka.

While "amandias" reverberated

304H

through the hall in Lusaka, the hall in Pretoria was filled with a thunderous chanting of "Jaap Marais, Jaap Marais" and "haa-en-pee, haa-en-pee".

In Pretoria, the flag displayed was the Vierkleur of the former Transvaal Republic; in Mulungushi Hall, it was the ANC's own tricolour.

At both meetings, unity formed a major part of the theme.

While the ANC called for "unity in action" and spoke of a "people's front" that should mobilise as one in a quest for victory, Mr Marais addressed the topic of a rightwing "volksfront" — merely a people's front of a different colour.

Both groups explicitly spelt out their desire to bring about the fall of the present Government. Both accused it of being on the brink of collapse. And both promised their followers utopia if they

came to power.

Sentiments such as "we will fight to the end" were bandied about with equal fervour in Pretoria and Lusaka.

As the Pretoria meeting progressed, another contrast between the HNP and the ANC emerged.

Merger

The Afrikaner nationalists of the HNP had gathered to discuss co-operation and an eventual merger with the Conservative Party — and possibly the AWB. The ANC accomplished a merger with the South African Communist Party, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SA Congress of Trade Unions long ago.

It all made one wonder: whatever happened to Die Stem and good old "orange, blanje blou"?



JAAP MARAIS ... greeted by a frenzied crowd in Pretoria's City Hall

Rebel MP confident of winning Randburg seat

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

Rebel MP Mr Wynand Malan is determined to break the stalemate in white politics and believes he can win Randburg as an independent candidate by attracting National Party and Progressive Federal Party supporters.

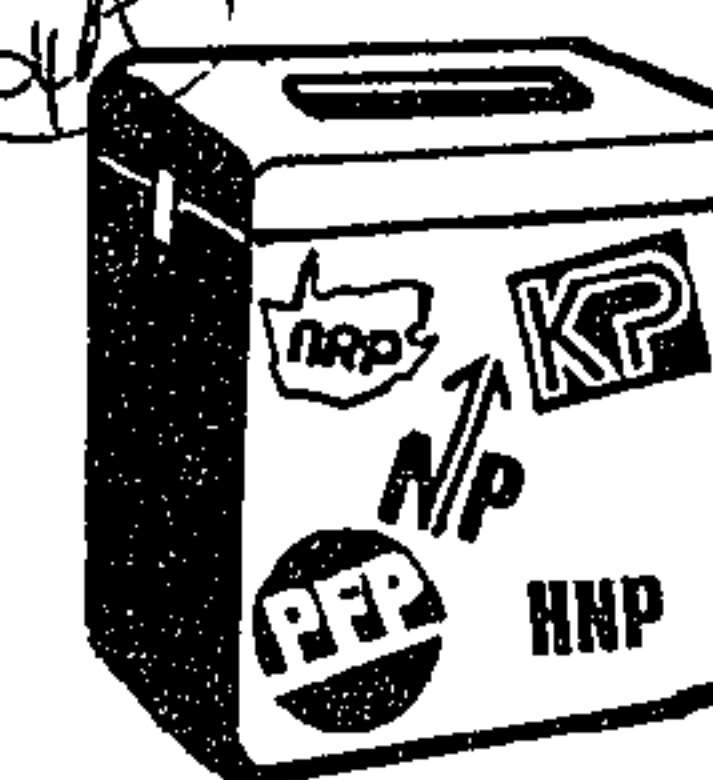
"My phone has not stopped ringing — I am going for the win and believe there is tremendous support for me," he said in an interview with The Star.

"White politics are in a stalemate. There is still ethnic voting in white politics. We can't seem to break through this and organise on a political basis."

Mr Malan said his political philosophy was "South Africanism, patriotism ... one South Africa for all its people."

Asked why he did not join the Progressive Federal Party, which had a similar philosophy, he said: "What the PFP is talking about, the Nats have also been saying."

"The question is what are the



ELECTION 1987

parties really? The PFP has a fairly rigid approach in terms of policy. It has a national convention approach and a specific model. I have problems with the PFP in that it focuses on issues rather than on a goal."

Mr Malan said that unlike Dr Van Zyl Slabbett, who believed he could no longer play a constructive role in Parliament, he believed there was important work to do.

"The image of Parliament is being tainted in terms of its legitimacy. But I still believe Parliament is a major actor in the unfolding play in South Africa."

"If one sees the future in terms of democratic politics, Parliament should accept that it

is not more legitimate than extra-parliamentary politics. They are of equal importance.

"The idea is to include them (extra-parliamentary politicians) in a new, democratic political system."

Mr Malan declined to comment on Press speculation that other left-wing Nationalists were considering breaking away.

NP MP for Innesdal Mr Albert Nothnagel, who returned from Britain at the weekend, sparked controversy over statements he made about the African National Congress. This has prompted speculation that he may leave the party.

"I have not tried to liaise with any of my colleagues or those who hold the same views," Mr Malan said.

"I have had no contact with Mr Nothnagel and don't know what his plans are. He is a very honest person and I have no doubt that whatever he does, he will do it in all honesty."

Mr Malan confirmed that the NP's candidate in Randburg, Mr Olaus van Zyl, was a good family friend.

Mr van Zyl has said that there was "a sad aspect to being in this situation with a good friend". But added that he would fight the election on a political and not a personal level.

Some political sources say the PFP has a very good chance of winning in Randburg, but it is having problems finding a suitable candidate.

One political observer said he believed the PFP — which was only narrowly defeated in the 1981 general election — stood to gain from Mr Malan's decision to stand as an independent candidate.

The Post says:

NOW that Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, has left the

National Party there is talk of a band of disillusioned young Nationalists, known as "new Nats", who are upset by the Government's return to hardline conservatism. It is said they will stay in the party until after the election and then confront the Nationalist leadership.

We say this is not the

Quit the NP — now!

right way to do things. If they have the interests of South Africa at heart they must follow Mr Malan's example and leave the party NOW, before the election, and help those striving to get the Government out of office.

For too long South Africans have believed it impossible to defeat the

Nationalists at the polls. This negative thinking

has contributed to the Government's strength. The Nationalists have taken it upon themselves to speak for South Africa, though they represent a small percentage of the population. They have even used a "South Africa first" election slogan when their policies and

actions have been taking the country to ruin.

The Nationalists are vulnerable. They are under severe attack from the right-wing parties and seem certain to lose many Transvaal seats, and the alliance between the PFP and the NRP will certainly dent them on the left. But there are still many voters who

cling to the belief that only the Nats are strong enough to rule and bring about orderly change. This is the myth that has to be exploded.

Mr Malan has realised there will be no peace or equality under the Nationalists. People who think like him must be honest with themselves and abandon the NP. Not only that — they must join forces with the PFP-led opposition and work for the downfall of the Government.

PREMIS 20/1/82

304A

HNP going it alone after pact talks fail

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), Mr Jaap Marais, said today his party was going ahead with the nomination of candidates after attempts to reach an election agreement with the Conservative Party had failed so far.

The HNP now expected most of its nominations to be completed by Saturday.

Mr Marais said the Conservative Party's "unity congress" in Pretoria's Skilpad Hall at the weekend had produced only a "vague" reaction from CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to the HNP's proposals for a rightwing alliance.

It appeared, however, that one of the most-important obstacles in the way of an election agreement had been removed by a CP move to back down from its previous demand for unification of the parties before the general election.

NEW NEGOTIATIONS

Mr Marais said: "This move by the CP opens the possibility for new negotiations. It seems, therefore, the situation has changed and there is still a possibility of agreement."

If agreement is reached the two parties would contest at least 106 seats, possibly many more.

"If we go it alone we will contest a minimum of 90 seats," said Mr Marais.

Cape seats which the HNP intended to contest, included Malmesbury, Piketberg, Parow, possibly Tygervallei, Vasco, Beaufort West, Ceres, Worcester, George, Mossel Bay and Oudtshoorn.

PFP goes for power

CHS Times 26/1/87

304A

Political Staff
THE PFP yesterday decided to recommend that rebel MP Mr Wynand Malan should not be opposed in Randburg in the coming election.

And it also unanimously endorsed its election alliance with the New Republic Party.

However, in the Transvaal the far right failed to unify when the Hertsigle Nasionale Party did not arrive at a "unity" rally with the Conservative Party at Skilpadsaal in Pretoria.

Emerging from a meeting of its federal executive in Cape Town yesterday, the PFP endorsed its alliance with the NRP as part of a key election strategy to form an "alter-

native government" in South Africa. The NRP is expected to take a final decision on the pact today.

The meeting of the federal executive, the PFP's top decision-making body, was called to hammer out the party's strategy for the coming House of Assembly elections expected to be announced when President P W Botha opens Parliament on Friday.

The party agreed to challenge the country's state of emergency regulations in court, the chairman of the federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, PFP Gardens, said in a statement after the meeting.

He said the "key decision is that our main objective is to start building an alternative government with a vision for the future, which can introduce stability and harmony in South Africa."

Mr Andrew said the PFP's regional chairmen had reported that there was "unpre-

cedented enthusiasm and support among members of the public in response to the announcement of the general election".

The PFP executive also made a recommendation not to oppose the Randburg seat, but decided to leave the final decision to its supporters in the constituency.

This follows turmoil within Nationalist circles last week when Mr Malan's resignation exposed the rift between conservatives and verligte "New Nats" in the party.

Mr Malan announced late last week that he would stand as an independent and turned down an invitation to join the PFP.

Several "New Nats" are reportedly in sympathy with Mr Malan and have assured him their moral support.

Meanwhile a close NP colleague, Mr Albert Nothnagel, confirmed that he had accepted his nomination to stand for re-election at Innesdal and would campaign on the

basis of bringing about reform from within the party.

He will meet senior NP leaders this week and is expected to approach the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, on the latest round of press curbs which restrict the public flow of political discussion.

His outspoken views over the slow pace of reform and implied criticism of the Botha government in Britain recently is bound to cause controversy in the party's caucus in Cape Town later this week.

Some of his fellow verligte MPs yesterday expressed the fear that a confrontation with Mr Botha could lead to his losing his nomination in Innesdal and also standing as an independent.

The PFP executive yesterday noted the developments in the Randburg constituency and instructed its Southern Transvaal region to suspend nominations in that con-

stituency until further notice.

In the 1981 general election, Mr. Malan drew 6 143 votes and the PFR candidate 5 445 — a majority of only 698. Mr Malan took a large part of the party machinery with him when he left last week, but the NP has nominated a strong candidate and rising star in the NP, President's Council member and veteran Randburg city councillor Mr Olaus van Zyl, to oppose him.

Mr Van Zyl, husband of the popular Afrikaans singer Karlike Keuzenkamp, is an old friend of Mr Malan's and his preparedness to stand would certainly further boost his popularity and clout in the NP.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the Natal leader of the NP, Mr Stoffel Botha, after a meeting of the NP's executive committee in Cape Town yesterday, confirmed that his party would contest all 20 constituencies in Natal.

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26/1/87

Natal NRP voters to back NP?

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN - Many New Republic Party voters in Natal are expected to "defect" to the National Party in the coming Assembly elections and will have at least five of their former colleagues to support.

Five ex-NRP MPs or MPCs were among the 16 NP candidates announced at the weekend by Mr Stoffel Botha, the Natal NP leader, and there could be more by the end of the week when Mr Botha names the last four candidates for the Berea, Durban Central, Umbilo and Mooi River seats.

Two deputy ministers, Mr Ron Miller, Durban North, and Mr George Bartlett, Amanzimtoti, and MP Mr Alfrey Thompson, South Coast, will be defending the seats they won for the NRP before crossing the floor.

Also standing will be two former NRP MPCs, Mr Cliff Matthee, Point, and Mr Brian Edwards, Pietermaritzburg South.

Newcomers to the election scene are Mr Rudi Redinger, a council member of the Natal Agricultural Union, for Greytown, Mr Charles van Eck, an English businessman for Pinetown, and Mr Johan Steenkamp, a lecturer at the University of Natal for Umhlatuzana.

Nationalist sources indicated yesterday the party was confident of winning more than half of the 20 Natal seats with the aid of dissatisfied NRP supporters who want no part of an alliance with the Progressive Federal Party.

Among the toughest fights will be those in Mr Botha's own Port Natal seat and in Mr Miller's Durban North constituency.

Treurnicht calls for unity

PRETORIA — The Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, pleaded for rightwing unity at an anti-climatic "unity conference" at the Skilpad Hall in Pretoria at the weekend.

He told 4 000 people: "The train of unity is about to depart and those who want to ride along should board now."

The CP strove to be a single opposition party because that would constitute a stronger opposition to the government

than a rightwing alliance with the Herstigte Nasionale Party, he said.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members attended in their khaki uniforms in a private capacity. No members of the HNP executive turned up.

Members of the press were barred from the hall and officials ejected a number of pressmen they spotted in the audience.

Dr Treurnicht said at a press conference im-

mediately after the meeting that he was willing to negotiate with the HNP "on the basis of unity."

The HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, said from his Pretoria home after the meeting that merging political parties shortly before an election was "totally impossible."

"History has shown that co-operation between two parties is the best way to defeat a government," he said. — Sapa

26/11/87

Opponent slams Hendrickse's apology

304.19
Dispatch Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH —

Mr Abdul-Wahab Tiry, the chairman of the Democratic Workers' Party — the official opposition in the House of Representatives — has slammed the Labour Party leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, for apologising to the State President over his "protest swim" at a white beach.

He should never have protested if he could not face the consequences and no "good leader"

would have apologised against his principles, Mr Tiry said.

The protest swim had proved itself to be a sick joke after it had struck world headlines.

"I was right when I predicted that it was a cheap political stunt to boost the credibility of the Labour Party," Mr Tiry said.

As a minister of the system, Mr Hendrickse had made an oath to abide by the apartheid constitution and had insulted the State Presi-

dent, the coloured community of South Africa and the process of negotiated reform by breaking this oath.

Mr Tiry said that while the Democratic Workers' Party "obviously opposes segregated beaches", this was not the time for protest politics.

The Labour Party had fallen into a trap of their own making. "They seem quite happy to sit in separate parliaments, but kick up a fuss about silly things like separate cof-

fee shops," Mr Tiry said, referring to an incident last year when Labour Party members were asked to leave the parliament cafeteria by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

A Sunday newspaper reported yesterday that Mr Hendrickse was on the verge of resigning from the cabinet after the State President's ultimatum, but recanted on advice from white colleagues and decided to offer a "letter of explanation" instead.

Malan: PFP may stand aside

304A 26/1/87

Dispatch Correspondents
JOHANNESBURG —

The federal executive of the Progressive Federal Party decided yesterday to recommend that the rebel MP, Mr Wynand Malan, should not be opposed in Randburg in the coming election.

If the decision is ratified this week, Mr Malan would be virtually assured of victory as an independent.

The chairman of the PFP federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said yesterday: "In line with our overall election strategy — to put ourselves up as an alternative government — and after having taken note of Wynand Malan's most recent statements, we have decided to request the PFP Southern Transvaal region to suspend nomination procedures in Randburg to enable us to have further discussions with the PFP committee and supporters in Randburg."

In the 1981 general election, Mr Malan drew 6 143 votes for the National Party and the PFP candidate 5 445 — a majority of only 695.

Mr Malan took a large part of the party machinery with him when he left the NP last week, but the NP has nominated a strong candidate and rising star in the NP, President's Council member and veteran Randburg city councillor, Mr Olaus van Zyl, to oppose him.

Mr Malan, the first NP MP to quit the party to the left since Theo Gerdener in the 1970s, made it clear in his weekend statements that his resignation from the party was aimed at drawing more verligte Nats away from government.

He confirmed that the government's handling of the Group Areas Act and the security situation were the main reasons why he decided to quit the NP.

Mr Andrew said yesterday there were no formal or informal agreements between the PFP and Mr Malan, but there would be more contact in the days ahead.

Meanwhile, there are fears that the controversial National Party MP Albert Nothnagel could lose his nomination as the NP candidate for Innesdal.

It is expected that the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, will summon the outspoken MP for urgent talks this week.

This would be Mr Nothnagel's second time on the carpet in recent weeks because of his ultra-verligte public statements and implied criticism of the party leadership's slow movement on reform.

He has come under fire from within the higher echelons of the NP for an article, Inside South Africa, in which he said there could be no lasting solution in this country without the involvement of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Some of his fellow verligte MPs yesterday expressed the fear that a confrontation with Mr Botha could lead to Mr Nothnagel losing his nomination — and result in him also standing as an independent.

Mr Nothnagel, after returning from Britain at the weekend, said he stood by everything he wrote in the article and would be circulating it among members of his constituency.

He said he had accepted the nomination and would campaign on the basis of bringing about reform from within the party.

Mr Nothnagel said he had no intention of resigning and that he intended to "stick to my guns" and play a "leading role as an NP member in bringing together people of all groupings, even among the most radical groups, in a non-party political line of moving forward".

● The National Party has nominated a former MP for East London City, Mr Gert Myburgh, as its candidate in the Port Elizabeth North constituency.

Malan's reasons page 9

Rebel could face Nats alone

PFP is set to stand aside for Wynand

304A
BUS DAY
26/1/87

THE federal executive of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) yesterday decided to recommend that rebel MP Wynand Malan not be opposed in Randburg in the coming election.

If the decision is ratified this week, Malan would be virtually assured of victory as an Independent.

PFP federal executive chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday: "In line with our overall election strategy — to put ourselves up as an alternative government — and after having taken note of Wynand Malan's most recent statements, we have decided to request the PFP Southern Transvaal region to suspend nomination procedures in Randburg to enable us to hold further discussions with the PFP committee and supporters in Randburg."

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MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

President's Council member and veteran Randburg city councillor Olaus van Zyl.

Van Zyl, husband of the popular Afrikaans singer Carike Keuzenkamp, is an old friend of Malan's. His preparedness to stand would certainly further boost his popularity and clout in the NP.

● See Page 2

Malan, the first Nat MP to quit the party to the left since Theo Gerdener in the 1970s, made it clear in his weekend statements that his resignation was aimed at drawing more verligte Nats away from government.

He said there was an alliance in the NP between those who shared his views and those who supported the dogmatic approach.

"My action may change the dogmatic stand, or break the alliance. The continuation of the alliance precludes the

● To Page 2

PFP may give Malan the field

26/1/87 BUS DAY 304A

chances of successful negotiation."

He confirmed government's handling of the Group Areas Act and the security situation were the main reasons he decided to quit the party.

Andrew said yesterday there was no formal or informal agreement between the PFP and Malan, but there would be more contact in the days ahead.

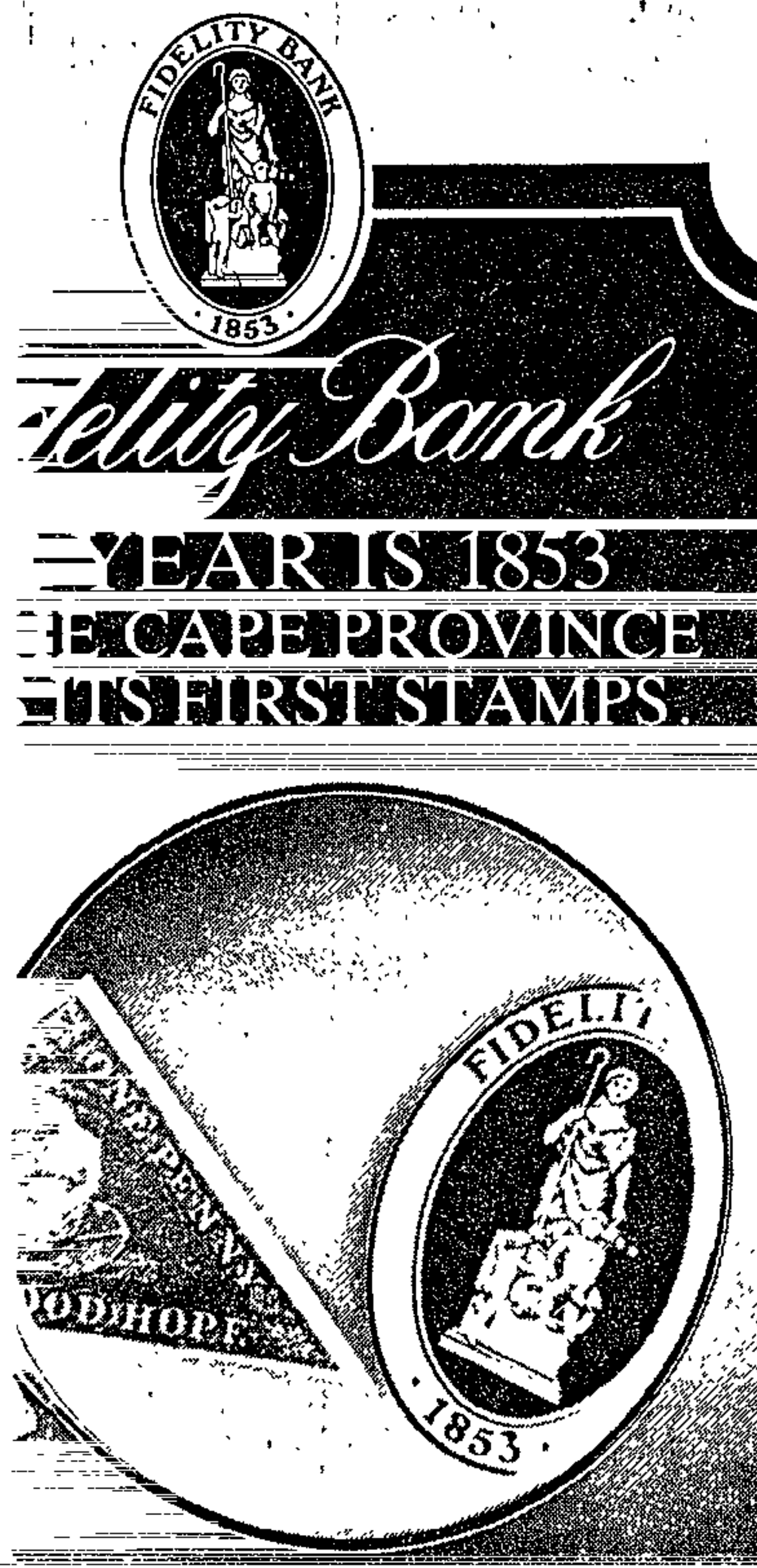
Asked for his reaction to Malan's weekend statements, Andrew said: "His whole tone and tenor, and his priorities, are in accordance with our general view

of the political scene and what needs to be done."

In another development, maverick Nat MP for Innesdal Albert Nothnagel was expected to be summoned for urgent talks today by State President P W Botha and Transvaal leader F W de Klerk.

This would be his second time on the carpet in recent weeks because of his ultra-verligte public statements and implied criticism of the party leadership.

← ● From Page 1



SAME YEAR FIDELITY OPENS ITS DOORS

ings, two traditions dating back 133 years. At that
a commitment to service its clients in the most
possible. Whilst upgrading our image and
the past 133 years, we today are as much
clients as we were in 1853. Still small enough to

Dissident may lose nomination

Nothnagel, PW in urgent talks?

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THERE are fears that controversial National Party MP Albert Nothnagel could lose his nomination as NP candidate for Innesdal.

It is expected that State President P W Botha will summon the outspoken MP for urgent talks after his recent public statements in which he implied criticism of the party's movement towards reform.

Nothnagel said at the weekend he had accepted the nomination and would campaign on the basis of bringing about reform from within the party.

To start, he would be meeting senior NP leaders this week and said he would approach Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok on the latest round of Press curbs which restrict the public flow of political discussion.

Billed as the next most likely candidate to follow NP rebel Wynand Malan out of the party, Nothnagel said he had no intention of resigning and that he intended to "stick to my guns" and play a "leading role as a NP member in bringing together people of all groupings, even amongst the most radical groups, in a non-party-political line of moving forward".

"I have always aired my views within the NP frankly and openly on what I think could be done and what is vitally important for SA to be done. In the end there is no other white political party that could get off the ground to bring about the change," he said.

He has come under fire from within the higher echelons of the NP for his article in *Inside South Africa* in which he argued there could be no lasting solution in this country without the involvement of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

MAX DU PREEZ reports that the irrepressible Nothnagel is unlikely to bow to pressure to apologise or change his views. Some of his fellow verligte MPs

yesterday expressed the fear that a confrontation with Botha could lead to him losing his nomination in Innesdal and also standing as an independent.

"Then the fat will be in the fire. It could persuade a whole lot of important people who feel sympathy with Malan but decided to stay in the party to also quit," one NP source told *Business Day*.

Nothnagel, on return from Britain this weekend, said he stood by everything he wrote in the article, and would be circulating it among members of his constituency.

He said both white and black "nationalists" had to get together to break the country's "logjam of violence" and said dramatic changes on the vital issue of black political participation were in the offing.

Rebel Wynand Malan, in explaining his reasons for defecting from the NP, said at the weekend he had quit because he wanted to be the "focal point of a new spirit".

He announced that "reform is dead" and said his "crisis of conscience" made it impossible for him to reconcile his convictions with major aspects of government policy.

"I'm afraid the NP can no longer meet the basic philosophy aspirations of the SA people as a whole, or provide the vision for a new, united and free country."

Malan said he would not influence other Nat MPs to follow him, but should they do so he did not expect this to occur until after the election.

He called for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and all other forms of discriminatory measures. He said he believed government should begin to talk to the political wing of the ANC and consider, under certain conditions, the release of Nelson Mandela.

304A

B.S. D.A.Y

26/1/87

Trouble brews in the ranks of the National Party

KEN OWEN



□ BOTHA ... woe on every front

THE POLITICAL mystery of the past month — why call an election when another is due in about two years' time? — may have been solved. There's trouble in the ranks of the National Party, and one way to crush it is to go to the polls quickly, before disaffection reaches the House of Assembly.

The defection of Randburg MP Wynand Malan will not surprise those who know him as an arch-verligte, as a deeply committed Christian and as a thoughtful man who has grown increasingly disillusioned with his own party's inept handling of the political crisis.

However, his defection was less unusual than his decision to seek re-election in his own constituency as an independent. This amounts to a direct challenge to the Nationalists, and it is significant that half a dozen of his close political associates immediately supported him.

It is also worth noting that the Transvaal leader, F W de Klerk, moved in quickly to defuse the situation in Randburg, and that within hours a formidable replacement had been found. Claus van Zyl, expert on local government and party loyalist, who is married to the singer Carike Keuzenkamp, will give Malan a run for his money.

Usuallly, the Afrikaner political figure who breaks ranks follows an excruciatingly lonely path. The archetype is the Rev Beyers Naude, but there are others. When Professor Johan van der Vyver protested at Potchefstroom University against the assault on the rule of law, he was compelled to find refuge at Wits.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who might now have been in the Cabinet had he chosen the National Party instead of the Progressives, has been isolated from Afrikanerdom to the point of being steadily anglicised. And the farther back

one goes, the more complete the ostracism of Nationalist dissidents.

Two things have changed. The first is immediate and political: President Botha's governance of the country has brought woe on every front, and rumblings about his leadership have become quite audible among younger MPs and some important civil servants.

The second change is social and long-term: Afrikanerdom itself has undergone a major transformation since President Botha launched into a lusty *siket-en-donder* style of politics in the early Forties. Perhaps it can be summed up by observing that most university graduates these days are Afrikaners, and that business life and foreign travel are adding a sophisticated generation which an earlier, veld-bound, generation did not acquire.

There is no need to dwell too much on President Botha's political performance, but it helps to touch on the main features in order to explain the disillusionment of the so-called "new Nats" like Malan.

Firstly, the country's international position has collapsed and we have been set on a collision course with the United States which, as a verligte Nationalist pointed out over lunch last week, spends as much on greeting cards as we spend on defence.

Politically, militarily and ideologically we have been torn from our roots. We have been separated from the West which, as economist Charles Simkins has shown, is the origin of the basic value structures of most South Africans, black and white, English, Afrikaners and Zulu; we are drifting into enmity towards the democracies.

Secondly, our economic performance has been catastrophic. Despite a tenfold increase in the gold price, South Africans today are poorer on average than they were in 1971. The economy has been decaying, and the decay has been masked only by gold. The

Afrikaans phrase is: "Ons boer agteruit".

Inflation — one of the forces that feeds revolution — has got out of hand and is impoverishing entire classes of people. It has set up a devastating competition between private and public sectors for a share of the diminishing spoils. The rich get richer, the poor poorer.

The list of sorrows is endless. Thirdly, reform of the State to eliminate apartheid, while genuine and far-reaching, has been handled with such clumsiness and arrogance as to bring on our heads all the risks and penalties while denying us the rewards of change.

Fourthly, President Botha cannot lead, so he drives. The Westminster system, a perfectly good form of government which lacked only a widening franchise, has been replaced by an executive presidency that reduces the legislative and places virtually dictatorial powers in the hands of the leader of whichever party wins a majority in the Assembly (pray those powers never fall into the hands of the CP or the HNP!).

At the time of the referendum, a few critics expressed fears that the weak electoral structures of the new system would collapse under pressure, and the powerful executive would move in to fill the void, and that has indeed happened.

Lastly, the art of politics has given way to the habit of coercion. President Botha is perpetually locked in conflict with foreign leaders, with neighbouring states, with the First, Second and Third Worlds, with the Press, with the Labour Party, with Archbishop Rajabansi and with members of his own party.

Instead of politics, there is only defiance. We have reached the point where his most slavish followers cry: "Bring on sanctions," while civil liberties are suspended, and prominent men are publicly humiliated, and the economy is looted for the obscure purposes of a runaway executive.

No wonder there is trouble brewing in the ranks.

Split over Randburg decision

PFP has new bold plan to oust NP

Star 26/11/87 304A

Political Staff

Cape Town

The Progressive Federal Party has launched a broad strategy to oust the National Party from power — even if this means standing back to allow other reform-minded people to win seats in Parliament.

But the PFP federal executive has still to convince office-bearers in Randburg and the Southern Transvaal region of the wisdom of the strategy.

The PFP's decision to suspend nomination procedures in Randburg should be looked at from the national level "in the context of starting to build an alternative government", federal executive chairman Mr Ken Andrew said last night.

A final decision on whether the party will field a candidate in Randburg will be taken by its Southern Transvaal regional council.

PFP sources say the council is divided on the issue. Some members think the PFP has a good chance of winning the seat, because they believe Mr Wynand Malan, who has resigned from the National Party and said he will stand as an independent, will split the NP vote.

They are apparently not convinced that Mr Malan can win in a straight fight against NP candidate Mr Olaus van Zyl.

"I have to be sure that Wynand Malan will win, and that he will be better than a PFP candidate, before I can support the recommendation that we do not contest the seat," said one regional council member.

The chairman of the regional council, Mr D Qually, could not be reached for comment.

Mr Douglas Gibson, the leader of the PFP in the Transvaal, said he was fully in support of the federal executive's decision to suspend nomination procedures in Randburg.

"The final decision about contesting the constituency is still to be taken in consultation with the region, the constituency and the aspirant candidates, but I support the idea that the PFP should refrain from nominating a candidate," he said.

"It must be understood that the PFP is convinced that if we contested the seat we would win handsomely. The macro-strategy of this election demands, however, that reform-minded people help each other instead of cutting each other's throats."

It was not, he said, just a matter of standing back in Randburg — "where there are interesting possibilities arising from the resignation of Mr Malan from the NP" — but also encouraging reform-minded people everywhere, including in the New Republic Party and those associated with the Indaba.

Some PFP MPs believe that by standing back for Mr Malan, other like-minded NP MPs will be encouraged to join him after the elections.

At least one Prog MP believes that if the party stands in Randburg both it and Mr Malan could lose to the NP.

There are others, however, who believe the PFP could win outright.

Ironically, Mr Malan is in favour of the PFP opposing him.

He said today that it was unfortunate that the party had suspended nomination procedures.

"I want them to put up a candidate so that I can test my theory that there is support for direction outside the present party-political set-up in South Africa," he said.

PFP strategy to build reform-minded front to fight election

Bid to lure rebel Nats

3047
Mr Gans
26/11/87

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

ATTEMPTS to lure dissident Nationalists from their party will be part of the Progressive Federal Party strategy to build up a reform-minded political front in the coming general election for the House of Assembly.

The first indication of this is a decision by the party federal executive to suspend nomination procedures in Randburg, where the sitting MP, Mr Wynand Malan, has resigned from the National Party.

The executive, meeting in Cape Town yesterday, decided to ask the local formation to suspend nomination procedures while the position was considered.



Mr Malan

Some PFP leaders feel that such dissident Nationalists must not be opposed and that, if they make some headway politically, they could draw other Nationalists.

Mr Ken Andrew, chairman of the PFP's federal council, said today the party saw interesting possibilities on a wider front in Randburg.

Supporters of the PFP in that area would be consulted before a final decision was taken.

It was not merely a question of dislodging some Nationalists from their party, but part of a broader strategy to unite reform-minded people as plans for an alternative government took shape.

Another leg of this strategy was an alliance with the New Republic Party.

The initial aim would be to take between 40 and 50 seats in the Assembly.

According to PFP sources in Randburg, there is a feeling among party supporters there that the party should go ahead and put up a candidate as there is a good chance of winning what could develop into a four-cornered contest if the Conservative Party joins in as well.

Meanwhile there is sympathy for Mr Malan's viewpoint among a number of verligte Nationalist MPs, but it appears unlikely any of them will leave the party at this stage.

Some of them believe a political realignment will become inevitable in a few years and they could make a move then.

Mr Malan said he would be disappointed if the PFP did not stand as his theory was that there was place for a group supporting a new deal in South Africa outside the present party political setup.

Testing theory

If the PFP did not stand his theory could not be properly tested.

He has been sharply criticised by the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, who said his statement on his misgivings about the Government's direction showed he had more in common with the PFP than with the National Party.

Mr Malan said Mr de Klerk had not really dealt with any of the points he made, especially not with his misgivings about the use of security and state of emergency powers.

● PFP executive meets — Page 3

CP calls on Rightwingers to get aboard the party train

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The Conservative Party has finally ditched the Herstigte Nasionale Party and called on all Rightwingers to "board the CP train".

Leader Dr Andries Treurnicht made it clear at the CP "unity" conference at the Skilpadsaal in Pretoria at the weekend that he was not prepared to accept the HNP's offer of an election pact.

Only unity was negotiable.

Political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans said the right-wing vote would be split in some constituencies — but he predicted the CP would emerge stronger from the election.

"Last week Rightwingers had the chance to assess the two parties by attending both the HNP's meeting on Thursday and the CP's meeting on Saturday," he said. "They could see the CP had much more support and will probably switch their votes."

Professor Kleynhans said the CP-HNP showdown would leave the HNP very weak: "They have very little hope of winning seats without the support of the CP."

If the CP did well in the election, then the HNP's core supporters might defect.

The HNP's death would leave its leaders in a precarious financial position. Last week leader Mr Jaap Marais admitted the party owed R1 million and its officers are believed to have signed surety.

The CP's will announce which seats it will contest in the general election early next month after party nominations have close.

The CP's weekend meeting was attended by about 7 000, most firmly behind Dr Treurnicht. Not all Rightwingers, however, are happy with the CP's election strategy and there is a strong possibility some will abstain rather than split the right-wing vote.

Five branches of the white Mine Workers' Union have sent telegrams to both parties warning members would be told not to vote if the parties did not co-operate in the election.

The Star spoke to some young HNP supporters after the CP's meeting and they expressed concern about the leadership divisions.

"I think I will not vote at all," one supporter said.

Mr Marais has refused to budge from his offer of co-operation — but not unification — in the general election. He said history had shown the best way to defeat a Government was through election pacts. It was impossible to unite the two parties so close to a general election.



In the Conservative Party they start them young ... among the 7 000 people at the CP's weekend meeting was this toddler showing the party colours.

Parktown Association says it backs Barnard not Moss

Political Reporter

The Parktown Association has thrown its weight behind Progressive Federal Party MP Dr Marius Barnard in his nomination struggle in the Parktown constituency against Mr Sam Moss.

In a statement to The Star, Mrs Flo Bird of the Parktown Association said ratepayers were happy with Dr Barnard because he had proved he was committed to public participation in planning.

"I have no doubt that the opposition to Dr Barnard stems from his vigorous action on the A6 highway. By prosecuting the interests of his constituents he appears to have offended the local PFP caucus."

"While Dr Barnard has been championing our right to know what is being planned for us and our right to be involved in planning, Alderman Moss (leader of the PFP in the Johannesburg City Council) has called for a judicial commission of inquiry into the Jomet Concept 2000 plan, particularly to find the 'mole' who leaked the secret document to the ratepayers' organisations," she said.

Mrs Bird said that in selecting the PFP's candidate for Parktown, the "party will make it clear where it stands regarding ratepayers' rights".

Asked to comment, Mr Moss said it was "sheer and utter balderdash" to claim that he was standing against Dr Barnard because of the A6 highway.

"I am exercising my democratic right as a member of the PFP who believes he can make a further contribution to public life," he said.

He said he had called for a judicial inquiry on the A6 highway because of conflicting claims, not because of the mole.

Asherson to lead PFP election drive

Johannesburg City Councillor Mr Paul Asherson has been appointed by the Progressive Federal Party to head its Southern Transvaal election campaign.

Mr Asherson, chairman of the PFP's organisation programme, has said the party would contest at least 25 seats in the area.

Political Reporter

The National Party has chosen 66 people for nomination in Transvaal seats in the general election expected to be announced by President Botha this month, but has not announced names of those who will be nominees for seats held by Progressive Federal Party MPs.

Several nomination contests were held last Friday. In Rosettenville, former MPC Mrs Sheila Camerer defeated the sitting MP, Mr Spori van Rensburg, for the party's nomination.

SPELL WITH CP

He won Rosettenville for the NP in 1977 and stood again in 1981. He crossed briefly to the Conservative Party after its formation, but later returned to the National Party fold.

Mr van Rensburg said that he would support Mrs Camerer's election campaign.

Other Transvaal nominees chosen on Friday are:

Barberton: Dr J de Clercq; Benoni: Mr Johan Lemmer; Brits: the Rev W van Rensburg; Carletonville: Mr Ben van den Berg; Kempton Park: Dr Tertie King; Lichtenburg: Mr L Burger; Roodeplaat: Mr Piet

NP is mum on expected candidates in PFP seats

Grobler.

A nominee for Germiston District has not been finalised. The names of 58 other nominees have already been announced.

The National Party has announced that it will contest all 20 Natal seats and has named 16 nominees.

Nominations for Berea, Mooiriver, Umbilo and Durban Central must still be finalised.

The names of 41 people in the Cape were announced last Friday by the provincial leader, Mr Chris Heunis.

In the Free State, 11 of the 14 National Party nominees have been announced. Nomination contests will be held in two of the constituencies this week. A nominee has also not been chosen for Welkom, where the sitting MP, Mr Amie Weeber, has retired.

PFP may give Nat rebel a 'free ride'

3044
2/11/92
18/1/97

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Federal Executive of the Progressive Federal Party yesterday decided to recommend that rebel Nat MP Wynand Malan should not be opposed in Randburg in the coming election.

If the decision is ratified by the PFP Southern Transvaal region this week, Mr Malan would be virtually assured of victory as an independent.

PFP federal executive chairman Ken Andrew said the decision was taken 'in line with our overall election strategy — to put ourselves up as an alternative government — and after having taken note of Mr Malan's most recent statements'.

In the 1981 general election, Mr Malan drew 6 143 votes and the PFP candidate 5 445 — a majority of only 695.

On the carpet again

Mr Malan took a large part of the party machinery with him when he left last week, but the NP has nominated a strong candidate and rising star in the NP, President's Council member and veteran Randburg city councillor Olaus van Zyl, to oppose him.

Mr van Zyl, husband of the popular Afrikaans singer Karike Keuzenkamp, is an old friend of Mr Malan's and his preparedness to stand would certainly further boost his popularity in the NP.

In another development the maverick National Party MP for Innesdal, Albert Nothnagel, is likely to be summoned for urgent talks by President Botha. This would be his second time on the carpet in recent weeks because of his ultra-verligte public statements and implied criticism of the party leadership's slow movement on reform.

He has come under fire for his article in *Inside South Africa* in which he advocated there could be no lasting solution in this country without the involvement of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Mr Nothnagel, on return from Britain at the weekend, said he stood by everything he wrote in the article and would circulate it among members of his constituency.

Unlikely to apologise

He said white and black 'nationalists' had to get together to break the country's 'logjam of violence' and said dramatic changes on the vital issue of black political participation were in the offing.

The irrepressible Mr Nothnagel is unlikely to bow to pressure to apologise or change his views.

Mr Malan made it clear in his weekend statements that his resignation was aimed at drawing away more verligte Nats.

He confirmed that the Government's handling of the Group Areas Act and the security situation were the main reasons why he decided to quit the party.

Mr Andrew said yesterday there were no formal or informal agreements between the PFP and Mr Malan.

26/1/87 3047 N/m

'Moderates' hold a national indaba

PRETORIA—Political 'moderates' held an inaugural, NRP-initiated 'national indaba' meeting in Pretoria on Saturday.

Lebowa's Dr Cedric Phatudi, who convened the meeting with the NRP's Mr Bill Sutton, said afterwards: 'The meeting was held to save South Africa. We realise the country is in trouble and it depends on blacks and whites to resolve the situation.'

Representatives from the

homelands, black local authorities and political parties agreed yesterday to hold a further meeting to discuss 'meaningful constitutional change aimed at the inclusion of all South Africans in the decision-making process'.

It was resolved earlier to exclude radicals like the ANC from the indaba.

The conference will eventually submit its proposals to the State President. — (Sapa)

HUNCHED forward like an American football line-backer, whom he resembles in build, Wynn and Malan talks at 7.45 on Sunday morning.

The family attends the 9am service at the Fontainebleau DRC church. A committed Christian, 43-year-old Malan says: "My religious beliefs take me to accept a responsibility serving the Lord and my fellow man."

Did his religious beliefs not contradict National Party tenets? "No. I will not say that. Responsibility and absolute liberal morality, to my way of thinking, are not the same thing. From time-to-time one would prefer specific situations. But one operates within what is a broken world."

As he says: "While one accepts there is no Utopia, that is not to say one should not strive towards the ideal."

Despite the *furor* in the NP caused by his resignation as MP for Randburg, Malan claims to be utterly relaxed. But I notice the tightly-clasped hands. And the succession of Carmels lit with his red, throw-away lighter.

Fireball confidence

"I'm very relaxed because I stand for what I believe in. If anyone should blame me or attack me for what I believe, that would not hurt me."

No suddenly converted knee-jerk liberal, Malan conveys a strong handwriting of his own. Bland is not his business. A certain fireball confidence emanates from him as he commits himself emotionally on issues. He succeeds in creating an enclave of humanness when he outlines his ethical imperatives.

Negotiation is an imperative. "I stand for a united SA where everybody can participate in the political process. Not only in the appointment of government, but in the making of laws."

"Negotiation is the only way to get there. The time for reform has passed. Reform measures, necessary as they may be, will not contribute to solving the problem."

All extra-Parliamentary groups will be included. "We will have to devise strategies to negotiate with ANC politics as opposed to ANC violence. I do not believe one can or should negotiate a new constitution with any group espousing violence and practising violence as such."

He is not, he says, dogmatic

Negotiation an imperative for rebel Wynn and Malan

HELLOUSE TRUSWELL

about morals. "But I believe a democratic approach is the only way of resolving the war for political power in this country."

Universal franchise, he says, would be the way to describe any democracy in the world. "Various models could be used. It is not one-man-one-vote as it is defined in the SA context under the Westminster system. I do not believe that only one mechanism in the world exists to achieve a specific end. No two countries have the same constitutional powers."

He sees black aspirations focusing on "the resolution of political power and equitable distribution of wealth. Their interest is participation in politics and, to a large extent, power in politics."

On the thorny issue of forced removals: "I have objected to that as far back as I can remember."

The Group Areas Act: "It is discriminatory. We will have to get rid of that. But you do not hear people in the black community talking about the abolition of the Group Areas Act as one of their main targets. If it is abolished now or not, I believe it will not contribute to the revolutionary climate in the country."

Pragmatic idealist

Does he not believe time for negotiation has run out? "I've never believed in the five-to-midnight approach. I really believe that if people are sincere the time will be available to be locked into negotiation."

He described himself as a pragmatic idealist. "Pragmatic because I believe in negotiation and people who all want to see a SA where we

can rally around the flag. Approaches of exclusion are not acceptable to me."

He refuses to be fazed by the present impasse in SA politics. "At the same time I have no doubts as to the difficulties of bringing about a united SA in a divided society such as ours."

"But if one looks at the continuance of the status quo, the end to that is disaster. I don't believe there can be a future in an approach of either 'I dominate' or 'I am dominated'. That is the confrontational approach."

Better chance

He believes we need a "home-made" constitution. There is no model in Africa or anywhere in the world which would be viable in the SA context, he believes. But the chances for SA are infinitely better than for democratic integrated societies in other parts of Africa.

"Compared to the rest of Africa we have better opportunities. Better infrastructure. A better economic base from which to achieve the aspirations of people. We have divergent groups and a level of education and commitment not present in most African states. We have no dominant group, political or ethnic. The counter-balancing of the forces, ideals and aspirations that I believe will develop in the SA constitution and scene will in itself be a protector of democracy."

What decided him to resign from the NP? Is it true that he was piqued of being by-passed in the Cabinet reshuffle, as has been suggested? The allegation is rejected. "My colleagues in Parliament, and even my ex-colleagues in the



□ MALAN ... "for a united SA"

NP, will tell you I have never seen myself as a manager and therefore as part of the executive. I have always seen my role as that of representative."

Two issues prompted his resignation, he states categorically.

"The changing approach to the Group Areas Act. Statements by the State President in the recent past suggested a more open-ended approach and implied that the Act would be phased out. At the beginning of this year we were told the principle underpinning the Act was non-negotiable. That seems to be a closing door approach."

"At the same time the challenge was that we had to accept that it was part of policy that the principles were non-negotiable or make up our minds..."

The second aspect relates to "security management". Without discussing the identity of a friend — "it would harm him more than me" — Malan mentions that a friend was taken into detention for the second time.

"He is actively involved in a process of trying to negotiate, albeit in the limited field in which he is active. I find it very difficult to live

with detentions when you know the specific person.

"And there are others where I really cannot believe that it is in the interest of a process of negotiation and a future united SA to detain these people. I'm not reflecting on the security forces. I believe they have to operate in a vacuum in the absence of a specific ideal of a united SA and the strategy to achieve that."

Why did he wait so long before tendering his resignation? Why did he not join Van Zyl Slabbert when he walked out?

"He left at a time when formally — in terms of the rhetoric — constitutional and other goals espoused by government were not only acceptable but commendable."

"The rhetoric still stands. Yet, when interpreted, it becomes obvious government is not pursuing these goals. My approach was to get government to move in a direction of really accepting the goals they espoused for themselves."

Major actor

He rejects an extra-Parliamentary role for himself. "I would find it very difficult to even consider leaving Parliamentary politics. At this stage I do believe that Parliament is relevant and I would not want to contribute to the so-called legitimacy crisis of the Parliamentary system."

"Although I do not see Parliament as sovereign in the political science term, I do see it as one of the major actors on the SA stage that has to take the initiative to get the play rolling."

He is of the opinion that it is not fear of the extremist Right-wing that inhibits government reform. "I am convinced — and have been for a year or two — that government is not acting out of fear for the Right-

wing but acting out of its own ideological stance.

"Basically, it is the same stance as it always has been with the adage: 'I am the boss' or 'You are the boss'. There is not a democratic vision."

How did he react when the State President disclosed that he wept when he resigned from the party?

"I don't know what he really intended. But the remark did not hurt me at all. I am not ashamed to say that at that stage I was very emotional. It was the separation from my past and also from the leader of the party."

'Great love'

"I have a great love for the State President. He has certainly tried his best and his utmost, but he is going about it in the wrong way. His almost nine years of leadership is a direct antithesis of his whole political history."

"The building up of apartheid and then the breaking down of discriminatory laws. I have an appreciation for what he has tried. I could not other than tell him when I left that I would pray for him."

He did not join the PFP because "there are too many things in the party philosophy with which I do not agree. I reject the hard line approach on specific party lines."

And as he says: "In my perception, even if I could have joined the PFP, I would not have contributed to unblocking the present stalemate that applies to our politics."

In a sense he believes he is a social democrat. "But social democracy along Western lines applied to a developing country is basically impossible."

He will not talk about his chances of election. "I have not been out with direct policy approaches, so I cannot measure support at this stage. But I do believe that if I should come in it would focus the spirit for change that has been about for some time."

What are his options if he does not make it? "I don't know. I have recently learned that life is a play that does not allow a programme to be printed in advance. So I concentrate on the day, on today for the sake of tomorrow. But a grand-design thinking and approach to life is not one of my characteristics."

PFP, NRP alliance ^{27/1/87 DD.} accepted ^(OKA)

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The moderate alliance between the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party got its final green light and now all systems are go for the House of Assembly elections expected on May 13.

Already accepted by the PFP, the alliance was formally approved by the NRP's federal executive during a four-hour meeting.

The NRP leader, Mr

Bill Sutton, emphasised, however, this was not the beginning of the end for the party as had been suggested.

"We will be fighting the election on our own principles and under our own banner," he said.

"But why hand seats on a platter to the worst government this country has ever had?

"It has brought down the hatred and venom of the world on our country. It has been lying and

cheating on our friends and sanctions started with Rubicon 1 in Durban."

An official statement by the federal executive said the NRP supported the "arrangement with the PFP whereby the two parties do not contest seats against each other, which would result in advantage to the National Party."

"The party re-iterated its dedication to seeking a broad-based alliance

across colour and party lines to bring about constitutional change in South Africa," said Mr Sutton.

● The political analyst and former editor of Die Vaderland, Mr Harald Pakendorf, is likely to back the rebel National Party MP, Mr Wyndand Malan in the coming elections.

Formerly a staunch Nationalist, Mr Pakendorf is now handling Mr Malan's press matters.

Political Correspondent TOS WENTZEL looks at the Nationalist MP who, in the eyes of the party leadership, has committed the unforgivable sin of quitting the National Party.

Wynand Malan, MP rebel with a cause

At the age of 43 the Randburg MP, Mr Wynand Malan, has shown great courage by leaving the National Party and expressing his misgivings about some of the party's fundamental policies and actions.

In the eyes of the Nationalist leadership he has committed an unforgivable sin and it has started moving in on him in an effort to crush him with allegations that he has more in common with the Progressive Federal Party than with the National Party and that he is not giving a correct version of party policy.

He has hit back saying that the Transvaal Nationalist leader, Mr F W de Klerk, has not dealt with his basic objections.

Two matters brought his position within the National Party to a head — the manner in which the security situation was being handled and the immovability of the Government on the Group Areas Act.

The party leadership may be cross with him but there is widespread respect and admiration among rank-and-file Nationalists and MPs.

No-one doubts the integrity of this tall, elegant and soft-spoken man who has through the years become known as one of the foremost verligtes in the National Party.

Some of the office bearers of the party in Randburg have left to join him and at least a few of his party colleagues in Parliament would like to do so but it is not expedient for them at present.

Instead they are staying on in the party in the belief that some political realignment will become inevitable.

Wynand Malan has a long record of service to the National Party. After studying for a BA LIB at the University of Pretoria from 1961 to 1965 he was leader of the party's youth movement in the Transvaal, the Nasionale Jeugbond, from 1972 to 1974.

He was also chairman of the Rapportryers, which has been described as the junior Broederbond, from 1974 to 1976.

He became MP for Randburg in 1977 and he held the seat with a majority of only 698 against a determined PFP onslaught in 1981.

He was active in local civic politics in Randburg and has a son and two daughters. He is a hard worker and does not have much time for hobbies or sport.

When he resigned from the National Party he was a member of the Commission for Co-operation and Development, which deals with black



Mr Wynand Malan ...
"going out to win in Randburg."

affairs, secretary of the Nationalist parliamentary study group on Constitutional Development and Planning and deputy secretary of the Foreign Affairs study group.

He is a religious man and a member of the Dutch Reformed Church but there have been rumours lately that he has become unusually religious and that he has connections with the Rhema Church which has its headquarters in Randburg.

He denies this and says he has friends in the church but that he has only twice, sometimes with other politicians, been to functions at the opening of Rhema Church buildings.

He said this week that he had found himself lucky enough to grow up in a Christian home where he was taught to serve God and he was tolerant of all other religious people who did this in their own way.

He has has a flood of tele-

phone calls, often from his own constituents. So far about 98 percent of those who have rung have supported him and even those who are not with him all the way express their respect for his stand.

Those who know this idealistic man say that they are sure that he will fight an election campaign at a high level and that there will not be mudslinging.

He gives this assurance himself and says that he has no axe to grind with other political groups but that he is at the same time going out to win in Randburg.

He hopes that he can become the focal point for reform ideas on which the National Party is stalling at present.

He wants to test this in Randburg and does not have in mind other MPs following him or the formation of a political movement at this stage.

He accepts that politics is a tough game.

The Nationalist chosen to oppose him, Mr Olaus van Zyl, a member of the President's Council, is a close friend, so much so that they share a flat when they are in Cape Town.

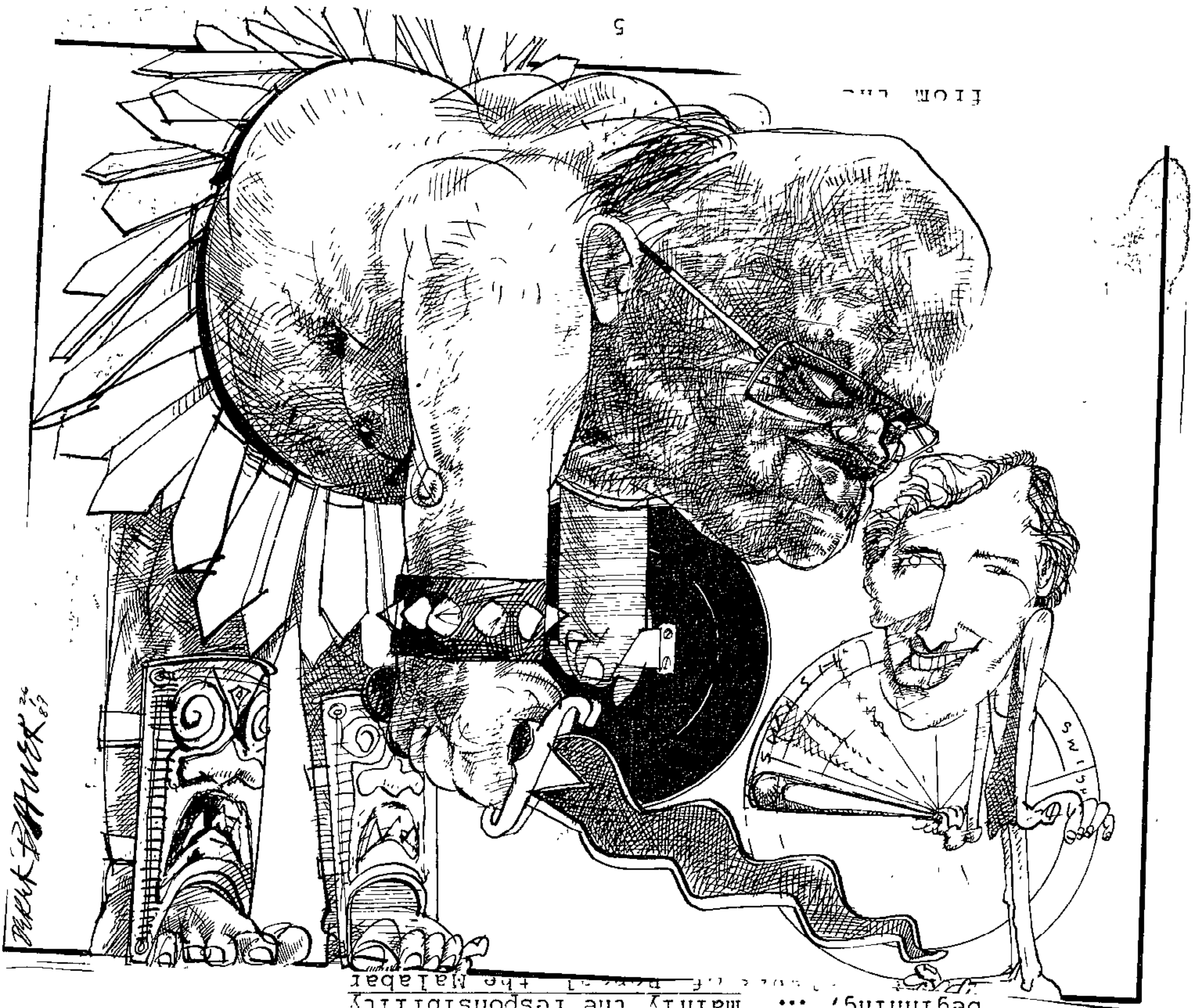
In his usual gracious way Mr Malan indicates that, as far as he is concerned, they remain friends.

He does not regard himself as a PFP supporter and, in spite of the fact that that party is considering not standing in Randburg he would in fact welcome this in order to have his ideas properly tested.

He is determined to break the stalemate in white politics.

subject is the centrality of ethnicity. His historiography ignores dynamic social process in Cape slave society and concentrates of the great figures, such as Shaykh Yusuf. Following Robert Shell,¹¹ Du Plessis' thesis on the expansion of Islam at the Cape can be described as "the came and was" thesis. That is, Muslims came, as "Malays" and so a neat transportation of Islam from Java to Cape Town materialized. In reality "Malays" as Du Plessis contrives them, in all probability never existed. Davids summarises the research on what Du Plessis has called the "Malays" and their religion:

The establishment and spread of Islam at the Cape of Good hope was in the beginning, ... mainly the responsibility of the people of the Malabar



FROM THE

PFP election machine may back Wynand Malan in deadlock over report

Rajbansi, newspaper Election alliance gets green light

Mercury Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG—The Progressive Federal Party may throw its Randburg election machinery behind rebel Nationalist MP Wynand Malan if the party finally decides not to field a candidate in the constituency.

Randburg's PFP constituency committee will meet tonight to discuss the matter and test the sentiment among PFP supporters in the constituency.

While the party's federal executive has suspended nominations in Randburg, the hill has been thrown into the court of the South African regional council — which will make a final decision after its meeting next Monday, based on recommendations from the constituency committee.

Spirit
Mr Malan yesterday declined to comment on whether he would accept PFP support and said he had not been in touch with the PFP.

However, he said in a statement it was unfortunate that the PFP might not appoint a candidate in Randburg because he saw his move as an independent candidate as the test of the country's spirit and voters' support for direction outside the present party politics.

The PFP's Randburg chairman, Andre van der Merwe, said the 'exact measures' of the PFP offer were not known.

'We are a long way from that and, in fact, it may not even happen,' he said.

'I don't even know whether he (Malan) wants to be endorsed by us. Nothing firm has emerged and discussions are still going on. We have not been in touch on constituency level. This is happening at a higher level.'

He said some PFP supporters might have difficulty in supporting an independent candidate, but in the interests of promoting broader dialogue, they would support the possibility that Mr Malan might cause a further splintering of NP support.

'He is a person with greater credibility among the New Nats and as such holds more of a draw card than the PFP does,' Mr van der Merwe said.

Dissension
The major difference between Mr Malan and the PFP appeared to be his lack of support for a national convention, Mr van der Merwe said.

PFP regional chairman Dimitri Quilty said he had had no formal discussions with Mr Malan and 'all opinions' are would be discussed.

Paul Asherson, who is spearheading the PFP's campaign in Southern Transvaal, dismissed reports of dissension within PFP ranks over the possible PFP support for Mr Malan.

'People are positive, particularly in aspects which affect the interest of the PFP and the country,' he said.

He said although the PFP leadership's views on Randburg were to be put to the constituency committee in a hard and fast manner, the ultimate decision would come from the constituency.

The Conservative Party secretary in Randburg, Theuns Prinsloo, said his party would meet on Thursday to decide whether to field a candidate in the constituency.

ORMANDE POLLOK Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN—The Burger, official Nationalist mouthpiece in the Cape, and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates, appear to be deadlocked over a demand by him for a correction of a front-page report last week.

The report of a Labour Party caucus meeting at which the Rev Allan Hendrickse is alleged to have said that Mr Rajbansi had promised to leave the Cabinet if Mr Hendrickse was dismissed or forced to resign over the Port Elizabeth swimming affair, got Mr Rajbansi into hot water with President Botha.

He and Mr Hendrickse were warned that unless the matter was suitably settled, Parliament would be dissolved and they would face an election.

Mr Rajbansi then wrote to the Burger saying no body from the newspaper had approached him and the report was incorrect. He demanded a correction in the next issue of the newspaper.

The Burger reported yesterday that it had tried unsuccessfully since Wednesday last week to contact Mr Rajbansi to establish what was incorrect about the report.

The newspaper said yesterday: 'The Burger accepts now that, unless Mr Rajbansi makes contact, he cannot or will not indicate what was wrong and that the report was correct as far as it concerned him, as it was correct in other editorial aspects.'

'The Burger also accepts the apologies of Mr Rajbansi's officials that he "was not available" or "did not have a chance" to react to the Burger's inquiries.'



Mr Rajbansi

More Nats expected to break away, says PFP

Mercury Correspondent
CAPE TOWN—The decision of a former Nationalist city councillor in East London, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaite, to join the Progressive Federal Party was only the tip of an iceberg among numerous dissatisfied Nationalists, the chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew said last night.

Mr Bassingthwaite, former chairman of the National Party's youth wing in East London, who resigned from the National Party in November over the Group Areas Act issue, announced yesterday that he had decided to join the PFP.

His decision to join the PFP follows the resignation of the MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, to resign from the NP also in part over the Group Areas Act.

In a statement, Mr Andrew said: 'We welcome the bold decision of Mr Bassingthwaite to formally join the PFP as part of a country-wide reform-based alliance.'

'This action is just the tip of an iceberg of numerous dissatisfied Nationalists who are wanting to find political alternatives for South Africa.'

'One does not know at what rate these people will surface publicly but I am confident that many more will follow Mr Bassingthwaite's example and tens of thousands will be voting PFP for the first time in the coming election,' Mr Andrew said.

Mr Bassingthwaite said he had decided to join the PFP because he was becoming increasingly alarmed that the NP had no intention of negotiating with anyone.

The party was becoming incapable of dealing with the problems facing the country.

'It has been difficult admitting that I was wrong, especially after having worked so hard for the NP system in East London. But I now see that the NP is no longer doing the country any good,' Mr Bassingthwaite said.

Govt 'unfulfilled promises

Mercury Reporter
THE Government was going to the electorate without having met its often-repeated assurances about black representation in Parliament and other matters, the Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, said yesterday.

Mr Swart was reacting to remarks made during the SABC's commentary programme on Radio South Africa yesterday. These made the point that the National Party needed to make its goals clearly known.

The programme said voters needed to know precisely what answers were being offered by the political parties which were asking for their support.

'It has brought down the hatred and venom of the world on our country. It has been lying and cheating on our friends and sanctions started with Rubicon 1 in Durban.'

An official statement by the federal executive said the NRP supported the arrangement with the PFP whereby the two parties to not contest seats against each other which would result in an advantage to the National Party.

The NRP would contest seats allocated to it by agreement on its own principles and under its own banner.

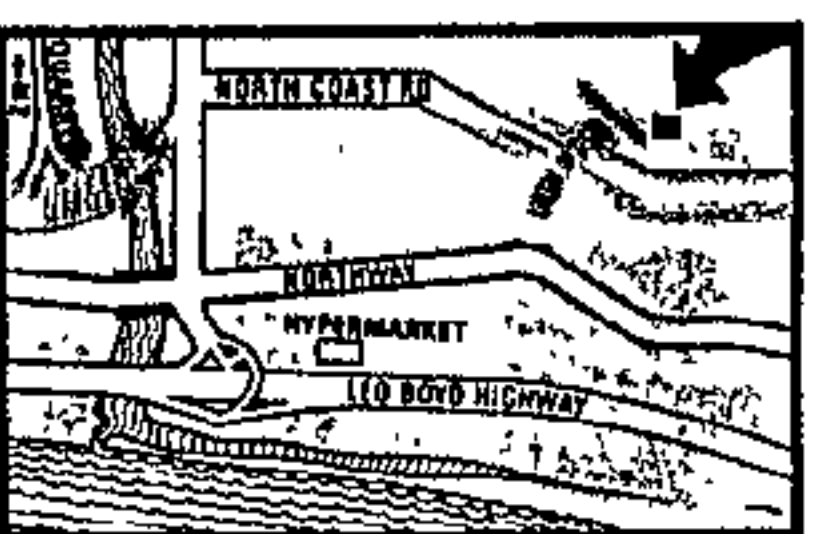
'The party reiterated its dedication to seeking a

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Randburg move could be blow for PFP MP

ORMANDE POLLOK Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN—The Progressive Federal Party's decision to suspend nomination procedures for Randburg after former Nationalist MP Mr Wynand Malan decided to stand there again as an independent, could be a severe embarrassment for the PFP's MP in Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg.

It is understood that Mr van Rensburg, who has been in conflict with senior members of his constituency and faced a strong possibility of not being renominated, had offered to stand in Randburg.

However, the party's statement that it had decided to suspend nominations in Randburg in light of Mr Malan's decision to stand is being interpreted to mean the party will not nominate a candidate against him at all.

This could mean that Mr van Rensburg, who is regarded as being on the right of the party, might have to face a strong challenge from at least three other would-be candidates to retain his seat in Parliament.

Party nominations in the Transvaal close on Friday and possible candidates being mentioned are former MP Rupert Lortimer, Mr William Heier, a city councillor in Sandton, and Mr Rick Valente.

Bryanston is regarded as a safe Opposition seat and, as such, is highly prized.

There is understood to have been a great deal of behind-the-scenes lobbying for support among the 35 members who will decide on the nomination.

Man stole rhino horn

Court Reporter
A FORMER Natal Parks Board official pleaded guilty before Mr J J Brits in the Durban Regional Court yesterday to stealing a rhino horn valued at about R25 000 from the Parks Board offices in Durban in October, 1983.

Steve Carel van Tonder, 32, who is now a provincial traffic inspector at Lady Smith, said he did not know why he had taken the horn, which was lying on the office floor, during a party in the Durban Regional Court yesterday.

When asked for it this year he threw it into a river near Pietermaritzburg. It was later recovered by a diver.

The hearing was adjourned until March 3.

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304A

NHK asks politicians not to lie in election

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The latest newsletter of the *Nederduitsch Hervormede Kerk* has appealed to politicians to "tell the truth" and rather lose "honourably" than win with lies during the coming general election.

It also urged voters to obtain information — and to "stop throwing eggs and tomatoes and breaking up meetings."

"Restrain your words and do not allow all kinds of roots of bitterness to grow."

Making the twin appeal, the newsletter said: "Each of us must consider our participation, conduct and eventual decision."

In all political elections, one reality must be accepted — it was coupled with a fierceness and the possibility of animosity and the battle would always be hard, unrelenting and decisive.

"Despite this reality, it can be expected of Christians to take part in an election in a manner which is worthy of a Christian lifestyle."

"The church surely has the right — and is charged — to demand certain things from politicians and voters."

The church demanded that politicians told the truth because the future of SA and its people were at stake.

"Ensure that clearly defined choices are given the voters. Please cease being abusive and petty towards each other. Concentrate on important matters."

Politicians were also urged not to defend a policy "that you do not actually implement just to get votes."

"These are the things that create bitterness and there have been a few ignominious examples of these recently."

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CN 7MP 27/1/87 30A

Ex-editor may back Malan

JOHANNESBURG. — A former editor of the Vaderland, Mr Harald Pakendorf, is likely to back rebel Nat MP Mr Wynand Malan in the election. Mr Pakendorf is handling Mr Malan's press matters. Yesterday Mr Pakendorf said while he had always supported the Nationalist Party, even after he was technically fired from the Vaderland, Mr Malan had now provided him with "an option". He said his involvement with Mr Malan was based on a "business agreement".



Mr Pakendorf

ALONG with all the emphasis on the sins of the South African government and the consequent (somewhat futile) efforts at persuading it to mend its ways, a quiet revolution has taken place among white South Africans.

For the first time, there is clear evidence that a greater percentage of them believe in non-racialism as a solution than in the present government's version of apartheid.

A recent opinion poll shows that 42 percent of white voters support a non-racial solution while only 27 percent prefer the government's proposals.

This means that the government's support is decidedly shaky, and its present strong parliamentary position depends to a large extent on voters who think it is on the wrong track.

On the other hand, the PFP is now scratching its head as to why, with so many voters rejecting apartheid as a solution, only 18,6 percent say they will vote PFP.

PFP spokesmen believe that the poor voter support is related to an image of ineffectiveness, that it is perceived as too radical and that whites are scared of instantaneously giving votes to everybody. The image problem is due, to some extent, to Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert's failure to address the question of gaining political power.

But whatever the cause of its image problems, the PFP should see its main task as overcoming white fear by convincing the electorate that it has a plan to implement its policy with safety.

In the light of events elsewhere in Africa, white fears are not entirely unreasonable. At the same time, the PFP should stress the total inability of the Nationalist government to break the alarming cycle of escalating violence.

The PFP moreover cannot ignore the many extra-parliamentary organizations. However, most of these view the PFP as suspect because it did not distance itself from the whole shoddy race supremacist structure. Many blacks consequently reject the PFP as an irrelevant factor, which merely confuses the main liberation struggle and consequently delays real change.

The ANC is certainly the most important of these organizations, and its option for violence is chilling confirmation of its lack of faith in the PFP as a vehicle for change.

But can the PFP simultaneously gain the confidence of blacks and make a breakthrough among the white voters?

The PFP reaction to this challenge has been to initiate voter research and to talk to the extra-parliamentary opposition groups, but so far it is steering away from anything more specific. Its somewhat deliberate approach was originally based on winning 50 to 55 seats at an election in two to three years' time, and it does not appear to have adjusted its plans to either a 1987 election or to the latest opinion polls.

As the plan also foresaw the extreme right wing winning around 30 seats, it followed that the National Party would

Can PFP grab rare chance for peaceful change?

By PAUL MALHERBE

lose its majority. The stage would then be set for hard negotiation, and the PFP expected that it would then be strong enough to attract wavering Nationalists into forming a PFP-led government.

Current plans will obviously not reach maturity in time, and as the subsequent general election will not take place before 1992, the PFP could be missing a golden opportunity to save the sub-continent from being engulfed in violence, which will make the Rhodesian bush war death toll of 20 000 seem trivial.

The PFP needs to recognize that the 1987 election will be the most crucial in the country's history and that immediate bold action is called for rather than a deliberate, time-consuming research programme which will produce results when it is too late.

So what can the PFP do? The first thing is to accept that the best hope for 1987 is to achieve a coalition government with moderate Nationalists and to gear its entire strategy towards that goal.

It must also talk to the extra-parliamentary groups and convince them that a white government willing to dismantle apartheid is far preferable to one that will not, and it must not delay stating its conditions for entering a coalition.

It should concentrate on those issues which relate directly to the most perverse postures of the present government and those which are particularly important to blacks. The report that not even Mr Louis Luyt will vote Nat shows that the environment is very favourable for such an approach, and there is great awareness among whites that the government is standing squarely in the way of improved race relations.

The PFP should pay special attention to the government's prohibition on voluntary dismantling of apartheid in developing its election platform. The centrepiece of the platform should moreover list its specific conditions under which it would enter into a coalition with others.

The following conditions are suggested for inclusion, and there could, of course, be others:

☐ That the province of Natal be allowed to go non-racial.

☐ That all local authorities be allowed to repeal any race laws still in force in their areas.

☐ That unemployment would be tackled by strongly encouraging black business development through the phasing-out of monopolies and providing tax incentives.

☐ That a crash programme would be developed to upgrade black education.

☐ That a representative national convention would be called to work out a new non-racial constitution for the whole country as well as a programme for implementing it.

The implication of the last item is crucial. It means that while the initial dismantling of apartheid is only partial, the PFP remains fully committed to its principles and ultimate goals.

The ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups would have good reason to welcome such an election platform, as it will, for the first time since 1960, provide hope for an alternative to the prospect of escalating violence.

The ANC might even be persuaded to suspend its violent actions as an indication to the white electorate of its preference for peaceful change, thereby confounding what the Botha government so persistently tells us.

The business community, now under siege resulting from sanctions, disinvestment, economic depression and black disenchantment with the capitalist system, should strongly support the plan in the knowledge that a continuation of its love affair with the present government, is a sure way to disaster.

The average white voter would recognize the PFP's election platform as something far less scary than the threat of an instant one man, one vote over the whole country, but will the PFP seize this unique opportunity?

Continued lack of attention to white fears, an inadequate election target, an aversion to specifics and an inability to face the need for prompt and bold action will surely mean that a most unique opportunity will have been allowed to slip by.

☐ Paul Malherbe is the author of *A Scenario for Peaceful Change in South Africa*.

Destroy apartheid but don't wreck South Africa

By ALBERT NOTHNAGEL (right), MP for Innesdale, believes that no lasting solution, which does not involve the African National Congress (ANC), is possible in South Africa.

IN THE name of "liberation" we can destroy apartheid, but how in heaven's name can we allow our country and its peoples to suffer any further?

For us in the government party it takes some real fancy political footwork to destroy some of the most fundamental aspects of the policy of apartheid, which we inherited and nourished so carefully over so many years.

The most fundamental aspect of apartheid, with which we are dealing at this moment, is the question of political rights for blacks.

Suicide

We used to fight elections on the theme that sharing power with blacks in the same political structures would be suicide. Now we are saying to the very same constituents: "If you don't share power with blacks, we've had it."

On this theme we have held and won a referendum among the white electorate for a racially mixed parliament, in which we now share power with coloureds and Indians. On this theme we would win the coming election if we were to say openly that blacks are to be included in parliament.

For many years we held strong views on a great many "nevers" regarding black political rights. Nowadays, most Nationalists would see the following long and strongly held viewpoints as myths which are total-

ly inconsistent with a peaceful future:

- That the independent and self-governing black states are the final or even the most important solution to black political rights and participation in South Africa.

- That an option of military or semi-military management or rule could be a substitute for full participation by blacks in government, or even serve as a buffer against it.

- That a lasting solution for black political participation could be attained without also having involved the ANC in the process.

- That the security forces should contain or control normal political activities of black people opposed to the "system".

- That a lasting solution for black political participation is possible without the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

- That the ban on political organizations could last forever.

- That solving socioeconomic matters would ease the pressures for political rights.

- That blacks could be accommodated politically without representation in parliament.

- That gagging the press could solve the political problems.

How it is going to be possible to build a future from this rubble, history alone will tell. But there are many problems which will surely not rest on the

government's conscience. After all, it is not the government that:

- Forces young people out of schools to the detriment of their education.

- Robs hundreds of thousands of people of a livelihood through the imposition of sanctions.

- Maims and kills people with bombs and mines.

- Savagely burns people alive by "neck-lacing".

Sooner or later the ANC will realize that you cannot liberate the people by destroying their country. You cannot build a future by avenging the past.

We, the white children of black Africa, the white South African Nationalists, say to the black nationalists of South Africa: "We must not allow this destruction of our country to continue."

Identify

Most Nationalists, like myself, can fully identify with the blacks' so-called "total liberation struggle". For that very reason we can now refer to the above viewpoints as myths.

In the course of our history we made many mistakes. While we are completely dismantling apartheid, we can now, in hindsight perhaps, look at Dr Malan's and Dr Verwoerd's refusal to meet with the ANC as one of the most serious political blunders.

But the tragedy is that while the government has adopted a dramatic

change of heart and mind, those who want to "seize power" have hardened their attitudes.

Whatever they can say against us, we at least do not want to destroy South Africa. But, what we would like to call the beginning of a new South Africa, is now being marred by the politics of revenge and hate.

Can we get out of this log-jam? Yes, I believe that in the next few months the most dramatic political initiatives in South Africa's history will be undertaken.

Those political leaders, black and white, who are not yet

prepared for a new South Africa, free from the violence of apartheid and free from the violence and terrorism against apartheid, will find themselves out in the cold.

Nobody can worship the past for ever. The future will dictate. The freedom struggle can no longer be against the government. It should now be for South Africa; for the national unity of all South Africa's people in this great land of hope and opportunity.

□ This article is reprinted, with permission, from the new journal, "Inside South Africa".



What is PW's vision for a future South Africa?

WHATEVER vision of the future President P W Botha dangles before the white electorate when he opens Parliament a week from tomorrow, it will have to be cloaked in a beguiling disguise. The salient features of our destiny under his aegis already are clear and they are too dismal to be put to voters in unexpurgated form.

There can be no doubt, for instance, that Mr Botha — helplessly addicted as he is to the hawkish advice he gets from the military/police establishment which surrounds him — has chosen the path of confrontation and conflict, rather than negotiation and consensus.

His Government's almost hysterical ranting against the ANC and the UDF in recent weeks, for instance, has made it clear that negotiation with these organisations — whom the Government itself claims are at the centre of the present crisis — is out of the question, now or in the future.

Some might question this, suggesting perhaps that the massive waves of propaganda against the ANC and UDF (and many UDF affiliates) are but an election ploy, that once a majority of white sheep have been herded into the NP kraal once again, Mr Botha (i.e. the military/police establishment on the State Security Council) might be amenable to the view of the Nationalist MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, that a lasting peace in South Africa cannot be found without involving the ANC.

I doubt this very much. Propaganda of the sort now being directed against the ANC and UDF bears a price, as Mr Botha has learned from the far right breakaway.

You cannot indoctrinate people and, when realities demand some adjustments to the official stance, also have unfettered freedom to change. It is the apartheid propaganda on which the NP faithful were nurtured in the 1950s and 1960s that made the far right breakaway in the 1970s and 1980s unavoidable.

Imagine the rumpus if there were to be a move by the State to actually talk to devils incarnate against whom so much of the uniformed energy of South Afri-

ca has been directed for decades! As matters stand, it is regarded as all but treason to reject the notion of the "total onslaught" (and its antidote, the "total strategy"), let alone to talk to those in the vanguard of the supposed onslaught.

There is only one alternative to negotiation with an opponent who has taken up arms — violent confrontation. Thus, at least as far as the ANC is concerned, the die is cast under Mr Botha's leadership.

Under him the future clearly will be pervaded at all levels by the military and the police, a situation which in-

herently mitigates against true negotiation and consensus.



President Botha

Aside from basic decision-making on the ANC and UDF, they clearly are influential in formulating policy on law and order, justice, regional strategies, foreign relations, decisions about SWA/Namibia and, judging by some of the personnel shuffling that has gone on recently, they will have much influence in such areas as foreign trade and even local politics.

The Joint Management Centres, for instance, pervade the country and are linked at every level with the military and police and, at the top, to the State Security Council. They have a largely political function and, among many other things, they have been accused by elected public representatives of using taxpayers' money to work against lawful opponents of the NP, such as civic associations, and of usurping the powers of local authorities.

But let's take a look at some of the other features of the future landscape over which Mr Botha will preside.

It has become painfully obvious that he has no intention



ISSUES
By Hugh
Robertson

of making significant reforms after the election, since if he did it would have been a simple matter to have persuaded an influential reformist MP like Mr Wynand Malan, who decided this week not to stand again for the NP because of policy differences with Mr Botha and the party leadership, to stay.

Likewise, Louis Luyt, a shrewd survivalist, seems likely to have been willing to hold on (and to have continued making generous contributions to the NP coffers) had he been convinced that Mr Botha had the answers to South Africa's problems. It could not have been easy for this pillar of the Afrikaner business establishment to leap out of the laager in a blaze of public anger and frustration just before an election and in the thick of a national crisis.

And would a man with major reforms up his sleeve and a willingness to negotiate seriously have allowed sanctions to have been imposed — measures which, once in place, were likely to gather a momentum of their own?

Would he have made the unequivocal promise to his party congresses that the most detested pillar of apartheid, the Group Areas Act, would stay so long as he was party leader, that it was, in effect, non-negotiable?

Would a Government bent upon consensus and negotiation arbitrarily have imposed Regional Services Councils on the Western Cape against the loud protest even of NP-supporting local authorities? Would a new chairman of the President's Council have been decided upon without even consulting such allies in government as the Labour Party, whose PC members felt constrained this week to formally protest?

Would a man bent upon accommodation deliberately have engineered the

public humiliation of one of his own Cabinet members, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, which the nation was witness to at inordinate length on television last night? What did all the convoluted waffle, the pedantic hair-splitting, amount to other than to tell us that a nonsense constitution had produced yet another nonsense clash of interests in which, as always, there could be only one winner on points and by technical knockout — the one and only, the mighty and incomparable *El Grande* himself?

Archbishop Denis Hurley's recounting of the Catholic hierarchy's most recent meeting with Mr Botha provides what the cognoscenti say is a not untypical example of a conversation with the *volksvader*. Mr Botha delivered himself of a hectoring monologue (no doubt with much finger wagging thrown in). The Archbishop continues: "On concluding his remarks the State President closed the meeting."

This is a man of negotiation rather than confrontation?

If Mr Botha had chosen consensus above conflict, would there have been all the new forced removals now in the pipeline? Would we have had the sleeping dogs of Group Areas roused to alarm the good citizens of Woodstock?

The first requirement for negotiation politics and consensus is freedom of the Press so that the public is equipped to take part in an informed debate. We have anything but such freedom and the existing restrictions on the Press are very likely to become even stricter.

The publicly funded SABC has become an obsequious servant of the NP at the taxpayers' expense and to suggest that it could serve a useful function in furthering a process of national consensus is to make a weak joke.

Though Mr Botha is bound to use sweet words to rally the white tribe next week, the future he holds forth is that of conflict and authoritarian rule, all under a pretentious constitutional facade. We will be seeing a man who shrank from taking the hard decision he ought to have because the awesome uniformed power around him has led him to believe that he has options which he actually does not have — power which, inexorably, has made him its captive.

CONT-

ARGUS

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WEDNESDAY

Elections 'may force quick solutions'

25/11/87

Business Day Reporter

THE coming general election is likely to force government to concentrate on seeking short-term solutions to the country's economic problems, warns a report from Stellenbosch University's Bureau of Economic Research (BER).

BER economist G E Moore says the temptation to buy votes with salary increases at the expense of rekindling inflation at a later stage "must seem very attractive".

"Perhaps indirect stimulation of the economy, via tax relief, will accomplish more by winning the support of not only the public but also the private sector," the report says.

This scenario unfolds against a background of depressed consumer confidence — with little chance of improvement in sight.

Confidence levels among retailers and wholesalers, already low, fell marginally in the last quarter of 1986, despite improved sales.

The latest data from BER indicate a moderate recovery may be underway.

But Moore says businessmen are sceptical about the size and sustainability of the upturn.

A *Business Day* survey of leading retailers revealed that no pick-up in consumer confidence is anticipated in 1987

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WEDNESDAY
Angolan trade

27/1/87

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Cape Times 27/1/87

Navy breaks up mixed-race Swans

304A

By CHRIS STEYN, ANTHONY JOHNSON and CHRIS BATEMAN

TWENTY-TWO members of the Navy's newly created multiracial Swans intake have been returned to their home bases amid allegations that it was the result of government sensitivity over the coming general election.

Swans

tions for the pending elections, was denied last night by a spokesman for General Malan.

He said the minister had not been involved, nor were there instructions or interference. It was a matter of Defence Force personnel policy that orientation was done together but basic training took place for each race in their own environment.

"This has been the case all along. I don't see any political motive here," he said.

A reliable source who is at the heart of the controversy said: "They (Swans) had already formed close associations and were ready to face all that was thrown at them together.

"It makes a total mockery of the whole initiative," he said.

A Swan at Simon's Town naval base said yesterday that the move was "most degrading" since people were "shunted about because of the colour of their skin".

The move had created a "great feeling of hostility among the coloured people at the base".

The father of one of the affected Swans said he was "surprised".

He had tried to contact his daughter but was refused permission to see her.

He criticized the government for only talking about reform but failing to practise it.

The Progressive Federal Party said the government appeared intent on putting its electoral interests ahead of those of the country, while the Labour Party called on the Navy to reconsider its decision.

The sudden turnabout, only one week into their six-week basic training course, has left "almost all the Swans crying when the Indian girls had to leave", according to a Swan — who preferred not to be identified — at the Simon's Town naval base.

Senior Navy personnel have expressed outrage at the development.

The shock move follows an "informal visit" last week by the Chief of the Navy, Vice-Admiral Glen Syndercombe, to SAS Simonsberg, where the latest intake of Swans were sent for the induction phase of their basic training.

'Vulnerability'

In a statement a Navy spokesman, Commandant Dirk Visser, of the South African Naval Headquarters in Pretoria, said that during Vice-Admiral Syndercombe's visit, "the admiral became acutely aware of the youth and vulnerability of the group".

"Accordingly he decided that the Indian members should complete their basic training at SAS Jalsena, the training base for Indian naval volunteers in Durban.

"The coloured Swans (South African Women Attested for Naval Service) will continue their basic training at SAS Simonsberg, however, as all originate from the Cape Peninsula area.

"The other Swans, who come from all over the country, will be sent to SAS Saldanha, the Navy's basic-training unit on the West Coast, where recruits have traditionally undergone basic training in past years."

He confirmed that there were 22 Swans recruits but could not give the exact number of Indian and coloured members of the intake.

Information received by the Cape Times that the admiral was sent to the Simon's Town base on the instruction of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, because of the implica-

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Mr Brian Goodall, PFP spokesman on defence, said the move was regrettable.

Mr Abe Williams, the LP spokesman on defence, said he hoped that the Navy would reconsider its decision.

"What we need in South Africa at this time is unity and loyalty to the country. I therefore regret this move — if it is being done for political reasons," he said.

P.T.O. for picture

A fortnight ago this picture was taken at the start of the non-racial Swans training. Lieutenant Jacqueline Wessels (in white) with rookies Velda Mack (left), Gail Jacobs and Denise Adendorff.



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From left: Mr J C Combrinck, Santambank economic adviser, Dr Connie Mulder and MWU president Dr Daan Ehlers, guest speakers at the congress.

MWU president urges white miners to vote against Nats

The president of the Mine Workers' Union (MWU), Dr Daan Ehlers, yesterday urged union members to express their disapproval of the expected granting of blasting certificates to black miners, saying the members should vote against the National Party in the coming election.

At the opening of the MWU annual congress, Dr Ehlers and Dr Connie Mulder, leading Conservative Party member, spoke out strongly against the granting of the certificates to blacks.

Dr Ehlers said the proposed amendment of the Mine Industries Act did not have white mineworkers' approval.

"The expected amendments did not go through last time and that was a bitter disappointment to the mining chiefs. But it seems that this year blasting certificates will be given to blacks, that is unless you use the opportunity which you are now being given.

"...What you must do is demonstrate your dissatisfaction when you vote in the general election.

"Despite the many requests from the white miner to the Government and despite representations from the MWU, it seems the Government is going to go ahead with the amendments," he said.

Dr Ehlers warned that if the Act's wording of "scheduled person" was changed to "qualified person", whites would have to compete with all blacks

in the industry, including those from neighbouring countries, many of whom were "communist orientated".

He said Mr S P Botha, Minister of Manpower in 1979, gave an assurance that as long as there was one miner who wanted separate amenities in the workplace, it would be provided.

In the early 1980s the present Minister of Manpower, then Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, gave written assurances that separate amenities would be maintained.

"And now the assurances of two Ministers have disappeared like mist before the morning sun," Dr Ehlers said.

Dr Ehlers urged MWU members to report to the union any cases where they were expected to share amenities with blacks.

Dr Mulder, guest speaker at the opening of the whites-only MWU's annual congress, said the granting of blasting certificates to whites only had over the years become the symbol of the protection of the white miner.

"If the MWU were to accede to the demand that blacks be given blasting certificates, it must understand what consequences might lie ahead for future generations of mineworkers.

"It must also understand what concessions it was making in terms of national security in a country where homemade bombs are thrown into supermarkets by terrorists," he said.

Angry reaction to turnabout on Swans

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—There was an angry reaction yesterday to the cancellation of the multiracial induction of the Navy's new Swans.

Twenty-two members of the Swans intake have been returned to their home bases amid allegations that it was the Government's sensitivity over the forthcoming election that caused the change of policy.

The Progressive Federal Party said that the Government appeared intent on putting its electoral interests ahead of those of the country, while the Labour

Party called on the Navy to reconsider its decision.

Mr Brian Goodall, PFP spokesman on defence, said the move was regrettable.

It is essential that the SADF should not be used for party political gain ahead of an election since appealing the Right now can have long-term damaging consequences for the national interest.

The sudden turnabout, only one week into their six-week basic training course, has left almost all the Swans crying when the Indian girls had to leave, according to a Swan

The move followed an 'informal visit' last week by the Chief of the Navy, Vice-Admiral Glen Syndercombe, to SAS Simonsberg, where the Swans were training.

A spokesman for Gen Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, denied that the change was made on his instructions.

NRP agrees to divide seats with PFP

THE New Republic Party's federal executive last night gave formal approval to an agreement with the Progressive Federal Party that the two parties not oppose each other in the coming general election.

The NRP's Cape leader, Mr Pat Rogers, said the agreement was "on a clear basis of us retaining our separate identities", Sapa reports.

Under the agreement the PFP would contest seats it already held, the NRP those that it already held and the remaining seats would be divided between them "depending on who has the best chance of winning".

Mr Rogers said the division of seats in the Cape would be finalized in the next few days, while the regional leadership of the parties in the Transvaal and Free State still had to decide how the division would work in those provinces.

The division of Natal seats has been agreed on.

The PFP will contest Maritzburg North, Maritzburg South, Greytown, Umhlanga, Durban North, Durban Central, Berea, Pinetown, Umhlatuzana, Umlazi and Port Natal. NRP candidates will stand in Umbilo, Mooi River, Durban Point, Amanzimtoti and South Coast.

It is still possible that the PFP could put up candidates in Umfolozi and Klip River but a final decision has not yet been taken.

NP youth wing

□ BARRY STREEK reports that the chairman of PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said last night that the decision of a former NP city councillor in East London, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaite, to join the PFP was only the tip of an iceberg among numerous dissatisfied Nationalists.

Mr Bassingthwaite, the former chairman of the National Party's youth wing in East London, who resigned from the National Party in November over the Group Areas Act issue, announced yesterday that he had decided to join the PFP.

His decision to join the PFP follows the decision of the MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, to resign from the NP, also in part over the Act.

In a statement, Mr Andrew said: "We welcome the bold decision of Mr Bassingthwaite to formally join the PFP as part of a country-wide reform-based alliance."

"His action is just the tip of an iceberg of numerous dissatisfied Nationalists who are wanting to find political alternatives for South Africa."

"One does not know at what rate these people will surface publicly but I am confident that many more will follow Mr Bassingthwaite's example and tens of thousands will be voting PFP for the first time in the coming election," Mr Andrew said.

Mr Bassingthwaite said he had decided to join the PFP because he was becoming increasingly alarmed that the NP had no intention of negotiating with anyone.

Walmer candidates

THE names of the two people who have made themselves available to stand for the PFP in the Walmer constituency in the coming general election, should be known tomorrow night.

Mr Tony Stephens, East Cape regional chairman of the party, said the electoral college, which will choose the candidate, will meet at 5pm, when members will be told who the nominees are.

The decision on who will represent the PFP will be made next Wednesday. The seat is held by Mr Andrew Savage.

The PFP is also considering contesting Algoa, Humansdorp and PE North.

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Transvaal NRP joins pact

NRP Transvaal leader Martin Stephens has been persuaded by the party's federal executive to take part in the electoral pact with the PFP.

Stephens said yesterday the NRP had also agreed not to oppose the NP in seats where such opposition would benefit the right wing.

Defending the decision to not oppose the NP in certain seats, Stephens said: "I don't want to be part of a 'gang-up' against the Nats when there are a lot of liberals in the NP."

Initially against the agreement with the PFP, he now sees it as "mustering the forces of moderation".

He said it was one facet in the overall strategy of the NRP, which was to bring about an alliance of political moderates across party, religious and colour lines.

The seats the NRP will fight in the Transvaal will be made known after a provincial executive meeting tomorrow.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

No easy path for Independent

CHL Times 28/1/87

By MAX DU PREZ 30 CH
Political Staff

REBEL, Randburg MP Mr Wyand Malan will be rewriting the history books if he wins his seat as an independent in the election. Not since 1943 has an independent won a parliamentary election in South Africa.

Nor can the history of the only two other National Party MPs who left the party for a more left-wing line since 1948 give Mr Malan much comfort. The first one is back in the NP and the second one landed very quickly in the political wilderness.

Despite many attempts in general and by-elections, not a single Independent candidate has won an election since 1943. J R Sullivan of Durban-Berea and V Shearer of Durban-Point were elected as Independents in that year. According to the PFP's

head of research, Mr Nic Olivier, only 23 Independents were elected to Parliament between 1910 and 1943.

Old political hands explained yesterday that white South Africans seem to prefer to vote for a party rather than an individual, despite his personal standing. But more importantly, an Independent never has the same kind of national network to trace voters who had moved and to handle postal votes.

Mr Malan is only the third NP MP to resign from the party to take a position more to the left since the party came into power 39 years ago.

The first one was Mr Japie Basson, who was expelled from the party in 1959 because of his opposition to the abolition of black representation in Parliament. He first formed the National Union and then became the

United Party MP for Bezuidenhout. He was suspended by the UP in 1977 when he led six UP MPs to merger talks with the Progressive Reform Party, which then became the Progressive Federal Party. The PFP expelled him in 1980, and he rejoined the NP in 1984.

He is at present a member of the President's Council and has been nominated as NP candidate in Gardens.

Mr Theo Gerdener, former Natal leader of the NP and Minister of the Interior, resigned from the cabinet and the party in July 1972 after clashes with Prime Minister John Vorster and Information Minister Connie Mulder. He said he left "to improve relations between black and white South Africans and between SA and neighbouring states".

Mr Gerdener first formed the Action South and Southern Africa and later the Democratic Party. He lost his first and last election as leader of the Democrats when he opposed Natal UP leader Mr Radclyffe Cadman in Maritzburg North in 1974. He later became an honorary life president of the New Republic Party, but soon picked up problems with them too.

Mr Malan's supporters in Randburg believe times have changed, and they are confident of an easy victory if the PFP does not put up a candidate. In the 1981 election, 6 143 people voted for him — 695 more than voted for the PFP candidate. His supporters are bargaining that most of the PFP supporters and a sizeable number of Nationalists will vote for him, with the NP candidate losing some of the 1981 NP votes to the Conservative Party.

NRP won't oppose Nats 'if Right benefits'

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The NRP's Transvaal leader, Mr Martin Stephens, has been persuaded by the federal executive of his party to participate in the electoral pact between the NRP and the PFP.

Mr Stephens, an advocate, said yesterday the NRP had

also agreed not to oppose the NP in seats where such opposition would serve to benefit the Right wing and thereby 'enhance chances of an antediluvian reactionary official opposition being returned' to Parliament.

Mr Stephens said in defending the stance not to oppose the NP in certain seats:

'I don't want to be part of a gang-up against the Nats when there are a lot of liberals in the NP.'

Initially vociferously against the pact, he now sees it as 'mustering the forces of moderation across colour and political dividing lines into one movement'.

He is now 'reasonably sat-

isfied' by reasons given to him on the end result of the pact now they have been 'put into perspective', he said.

'The election arrangement between the national leaders of the NRP and the PFP must be understood as merely one facet in the overall strategy of the NRP, which aims at bringing about an

alliance of political moderates across party political, religious and colour lines,' he explained.

The identification of specific seats which will be fought by NRP candidates will be made known after the Transvaal executive meeting on January 29.

Right wings agree to EEL pact

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DISPATCH REPORTER
EAST LONDON—Right wing parties united here yesterday with an election pact to support two independent candidates in the general election.

At a press conference attended by the Conservative Party's local leadership a 34-year-old former policeman who is now a car salesman, Mr. Nic Slabber, announced his intention to contest the East London City seat on a right wing independent ticket.

His announcement follows that of his political confidante, Mr. Basil Niemand, that he intended fighting the East London North seat, also as a right wing independent.

Both the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the CP confirmed they would support the two candidates. It is a show of support that is unusual in the light of the recent attempt to unite the right in the Skilpad Hall, where the leader of the HNP, Mr. Jaap Marais, was conspicuous by his absence and, in fact, castigated the attempt as a "disastrous one".

However, the chairman of the HNP's East London North division, Mr. Daantjie Els, confirmed that he had telephoned Mr. Marais, who had sanctioned the election pact.

Mr. Els did not attend yesterday's press conference because of a prior commitment but confirmed in a later telephone interview that his party would support the two right wing candidates.

The CP's chairman of the constituency council, Mr. Cobus van Loggenberg, explained at the press conference that it had been decided to support the two candidates as the start of a right wing onslaught against the government.

"We do not have the sanction of our national leadership but I am sure we will get it," he said. "The availability of an independent candidate on a right wing platform affords us the opportunity of rising above the minimal differences which divide the right."

He said the arrangement differed from an election pact between two parties as no candidate was being forced on either party—both were standing as right wing independent candidates. Neither party would lose its identity and the attempts at full scale unification could be tackled at a later stage.

Mr. Niemand emphasised this at the press conference, saying they did not intend taking any political party to Parliament but rather "the neglected East London North and East London City constituencies".

Mr. Van Loggenberg said this was the basis of why the two right wing parties could unite at a local level.

"No candidate has been imposed on us and we can easily support a single right wing candidate and show to the rest of the country what right wing unity can achieve. It will definitely be a pointer to the rest of the country."

Mr. Slabber said he would focus his campaign on the same issues as Mr. Niemand: right wing unity, retention of the Group Areas Act, retention of beach apartments and demands for more power for the unified forces, enabling them to deal with any unrest problems which should arise.

He said a committee comprising of both parties and all interested right wing factions—even the National Party and the New Republic Party would be welcome to serve on the committee—would map out a concerted effort to oust the government in the constituencies.

The East London City seat will be fought for the NP by the incumbent, Mr. Peet de Pontes, while the PFP-NRP alliance is expected to announce its candidate by the end of the week.

The NP candidate for East London North is Mr. Calle Badenhorst.

● The Daily Dispatch's Cape Town correspondent reports that the Progressive Federal Party's candidates for the National Party held seats of Newton Park and Algoa will be announced tonight.

The candidate for Walmer, where the sitting MP, Mr. Andrew Savage, has decided to step down, will only be made known next week as more than one nomination has been received.

A spokesman for the PFP said yesterday a decision on whether the party would field candidates in Graaff-Reinet, Humansdorp, and Port Elizabeth North would be taken shortly.

All three seats are currently held by the NP and, if the PFP decides to enter the fray, will almost certainly be three or four-way tussles.

Picture page 2

Watterson may surprise

CAPE TOWN—Mr Derrick Watterson, Natal leader of the New Republic Party and sitting MP for Umbilo, who has not been nominated for the coming House of Assembly elections, could still be a surprise candidate.

Battle royal

However, Port Natal is one of the seats which have been allocated to the Progressive Federal Party in terms of the election alliance and a new agreement would have to be reached before Mr Watterson, who was one of the main promoters of the alliance, could stand there.

A contest between the two provincial leaders would be a battle royal which it is felt in some quarters Mr Watterson could win.

There was strong speculation yesterday about the exact meaning of his evasive 'I am still considering my future' to questions about why he had not been nominated.

Mr Watterson would not elaborate, but it is understood he is being mentioned as a possible contender in Port Natal, now held by Mr Stoffel Botha, Natal leader of the National Party and Minister of Home Affairs.

Mr Watterson is well known in a large part of the constituency which he represented for 20 years in the Durban City Council or Natal Provincial Council until it was excised from Umbilo and included in Port Natal in the last delimitation.

His chances would be further enhanced by the presence of a Conservative Party candidate.

The Natal Indaba clearly would be a central issue in the campaign, Mr Watterson openly supporting it and Mr Botha having opposed the final report in its present form.

At the by-election of 1985, Mr Botha polled 4 307 votes compared with the combined vote to the left of the

Government of 4 152. The CP polled 1 914.

Mr Geoff Oldfield, a former MP for Umbilo, has been nominated for the seat again.

Other NRP nominations are Mr Ralph Hardingham, MP, Mooli River; Mr Frank Martin, former senior Natal MEC, Point; Mr Rob North, retired farmer for South Coast; and Mr J. J. van McGregor, a businessman and international yachtsman for Amanzimtoti.

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

28/11/87
30/11/87
31/11/87

Parliament to elect new Speaker today

NM
28/1/87
28/1/87

CAPE TOWN—Parliament will reconvene this afternoon to elect a new Speaker of Parliament following the retirement of Mr Johan Greeff to become Chairman of the President's Council.

All three Houses will start sitting at 2 15 p m today and new members will be sworn in before each House appoints its delegates to an electoral college.

The Houses will then adjourn and the electoral college will convene under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Pierre Rabie, at 4 p m.

The National Party will propose the former Minister of Law and Order and current acting Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, and unless

another proposal is put, the Judge will pronounce him duly elected.

In the case of more than one candidate, which at present appears unlikely, the new Speaker will be elected by secret ballot and will then be required to report to President Botha.

On Friday, before the official opening of Parliament, the new Speaker will be sworn in at a joint sitting of all three Houses and will deliver an acceptance speech before the Houses adjourn until the opening ceremony.

This year's opening of Parliament will be a full ceremonial parade along the traditional route through the city's streets. — (Sapa)

28/1/87 304A

Tvl leader backs pact

JOHANNESBURG — The NRP's Transvaal leader, Mr Martin Stephens, has been persuaded by the federal executive of his party to participate in the electoral pact between the NRP and the PFP.

Initially vociferously against the pact, Mr Stephens said in defending the stance not to oppose the NP in certain seats: "I don't want to be part of a gang-up against the Nats when there are a lot of liberals in the NP."

The pact left the door open for the NRP to oppose PFP candidates if such opposition would not "merely serve to benefit the National Party", Mr Stephens said in a statement issued after last night's meeting of the NRP federal executive.

"The election arrangement between the national leaders of the NRP and the PFP must be understood as merely one facet in the overall strategy of the NRP, which aims at bringing about an alliance of political moderates across party political, religious and colour lines.

"We will not oppose the PFP in their presently held seats where such opposition will merely serve to benefit the NP, thereby eroding the chances of having an enlightened official opposition.

"We will not oppose the NP in seats where such opposition will merely serve to benefit the CP, HNP and AWB, thereby enhancing the chances of an antediluvian, reactionary official opposition being returned," Mr Stephens said.

"We shall continue apace with our efforts to bring about a total political realignment by mustering the forces of moderation across colour and political dividing lines into one movement."

No further agreement on the pact was necessary at provincial level, he said.

The identification of specific seats which will be fought by NRP candidates will be made known after the Transvaal executive meeting on January 29. — DDC

Government blamed for SA isolation

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The vice-chairman of the Progressive Federal Party in the Border region, Mr Errol Spring, said yesterday the failure of the government to carry out its promised reform programme had created a climate of total international isolation of South Africa.

He was responding to a statement in yesterday's Daily Dispatch by the National Party's candidate for East London North, Mr Calle Badenhorst.

Mr Spring said he found it somewhat strange that the NP offered law and order when, in fact, law and order had broken down in the country and the government has been forced to impose a nationwide state of emergency backed by restrictions on the freedom of the press.

He suggested that Mr Badenhorst ask the people who had had their houses burgled and their cars broken into or stolen, and those who have been mugged and robbed what they thought of the NP's ability to maintain law and order.

"As for reform, it was a total failure of the government to carry out its promised reform programme or to present any reform strategy that led to the complete breakdown of law and order and has created a climate of total international isolation of our country.

"The myth that the NP is a party of moderates is exposed by the resignation of the MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, and, closer to home, that of councillor Gwyn Bassingthwaite.

"The actions of Mr Badenhorst's fellow NP

member and the Minister of Education and Culture in the Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, endorsed by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, in refusing to sanction the appointment of Miss Gail Thomas as a computer science teacher in Grahamstown, despite having all the necessary qualifications and the support of the local school board, because she is a coloured South African is certainly not the hallmark of a moderate.

"Moderate and reasonable South Africans are appalled that in 1987 this sort of ministerial mentality is still present," he said.

"The true moderates are the thousands of voters who have indicated to our workers that they are voting for the alliance due to the collapse of our economy, our security and all things we

as South Africans hold dear.

"We believe that in a land of plenty these are the birthright of us all, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed," Mr Spring concluded.

Probe told of bargain

Dispatch Reporter

UMTATA — The former Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Mr E. Z. Booie, made a unilateral decision regarding a purchase of close on 2 000 tractors worth about R58 million from an Austrian company, without Treasury or Tender Board approval.

This emerged here yesterday during the Commission of Inquiry into the Department of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, chaired by Mr Justice Van Reenen.

and cooler today with rain later on due to... would lose its identity party... Neither party... south-east... The... Commission...

Meeting abandoned after RSC report row

Angry PFP walks out of council

Star 304A 28/1/87

By Toni Younghusband

The Johannesburg City Council's monthly meeting broke up in disarray last night when the Progressive Federal Party walked out in protest over a report on the Regional Services Council.

The walkout came after an urgent report call for nominations for representatives to serve on the Regional Services Council (Central Witwatersrand).

The report was handed to councillors at 9.30pm. When the PFP protested at having to put forward nominations at such short notice, Councillor Danie van Zyl, vice-chairman of the management committee, said the meeting would adjourn for half an hour to give them time to discuss the issue.

Tearing his copy of the report in half, Councillor Alan Gadd of the PFP said: "I treat this report with absolute and utter contempt. The

stupidity of it is ridiculous. If we act on this then we are a bunch of irresponsible councillors".

Mr van Zyl, of the National Party, said today that by its actions the PFP had ruined any chances it had of gaining representation on the RSC.

"We had decided on Monday to allow the PFP to sit on the body, but after last night's actions we will have to seriously reconsider this."

He said of Mr Gadd tearing up a copy of the report: "(It was) an unprecedented action which reflects very badly on a former mayor of this city."

The walkout left the council without a quorum and the meeting was abandoned.

The management committee is likely to call a special council meeting next week to discuss the report.

As is customary after a walkout, the remaining councillors — made up of National Party and Independent representatives — remained in their seats for five minutes in case the PFP returned. When they did not, the meeting was abandoned.

Notification

The leader of the PFP in the Council, Councillor Sam Moss, said before the walkout: "You cannot introduce an urgency report of this nature at such short notice. We should have had at least 24 hours notification that this matter was to be discussed. We are not prepared to consider the matter at this stage."

In reply to the PFP outburst, management committee chairman Mr Francois "Obie" Oberholzer referred to an earlier item on the council agenda which also dealt with RSCs.

After the meeting Mr Moss accused the management committee of "inconsistent civic administration".

"To expect us to even consider an important issue like this at such short notice is too ridiculous to contemplate," he said.

Candidates for PE, Natal seats

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The former MPC for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr Eddie Trent, will fight the Newton Park seat for the Progressive Federal Party in the general election later this year while a city councillor, Mr Rick McKiever, is the party's candidate in Algoa.

Mr Trent, who farms outside Port Elizabeth, was elected MPC for PE Central in 1981 and has been involved in politics since 1959.

Mr McKiever, who has a degree in civil engineering is a property developer and has represented Ward 7 on the city council since 1984. He stood for the PFP as the provincial candidate in the 1985 Newton Park by-election.

In a statement last night, Mr Trent said that the 1987 election offered white voters a "wonderful opportunity to set our beloved country on a path of genuine reform — a road that in the best interests of us all must bring all moderate South Africans together".

Mr Trent said that as a former member of the United Party he saw the same symptoms of collapse within the National Party today.

"We the white voters of South Africa cannot afford to be led by a government in disarray — a government divided which has lost its way."

Mr McKiever said that he had listened to the "broken promises uttered at the time of the Newton Park by-election" and was more determined than ever to do whatever he could to "kick the Nats out of power."

There had, he said been "promises

of peace, economic growth and employment and prosperity for all — and what do we have — nothing".

Newton Park, regarded as a marginal seat, was retained for the National Party in a by-election in May 1985 by Mr Sakkie Louw who recorded a majority of 1 115 over the PFP. The Conservative Party candidate polled 1 207 votes and an independent, Mr Johan Stander, 959.

The regional director of the PFP, Mr Bobby Stevenson, said yesterday that the PFP candidate for Walmer, the seat vacated by Mr Andrew Savage who has decided to retire, will be announced next week.

●The National Party has chosen a 33-year-old Durban lawyer, Mr Piet Mathee, to contest the traditionally Opposition-supporting Umbilo seat against a New Republic Party veteran, Mr Geoff Oldfield, 57.

Announcing Mr Mathee's candidacy yesterday, the leader of the NP in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, also said the party had selected a Richmond farmer, Mr David Bruce, to fight the Mooi River constituency against the sitting MP, Mr Ralph Hardingham of the NRP.

Umbilo has been represented in recent years by Mr Derrick Watterson, Natal leader of the NRP.

In a surprise move this week, the NRP nominated Mr Oldfield for the seat and not Mr Watterson, who is being tipped as a candidate for the Port Natal constituency, held by Mr Botha.

Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, confirmed in Cape Town yesterday the party had "noted" the availability of Mr Watterson to contest Port Natal.

20/11

Parties scramble to register voters

29/11/81

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—White political parties are involved in a last-minute scramble to register voters by Saturday afternoon for this year's House of Assembly election.

The date of the election, which could be on May 13 or May 20, is expected to be announced by President Botha tomorrow.

The political parties expect the voters' rolls for the election to close on Saturday afternoon and the Department of Home Affairs has made special arrangements for their offices to remain open until 4 p.m. so that last-minute registrations can be handed in.

The national director of the PFP, Mr Neil Ross, said yesterday that the PFP would have registration tables in constituencies throughout the country over the next three days so voters could check whether they are registered.

'Our telephones have not stopped with people inquiring about registrations.

'We have also been running pamphlet-drops urging people to check their registrations,' Mr Ross said.

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At the age of 43, Randburg MP Mr Wynand Malan has shown great courage by leaving the National Party and expressing his misgivings about some of the party's fundamental policies and actions.

In the eyes of the Nationalist leadership he has committed an unforgivable sin and it has started moving in on him in an effort to crush him with allegations that he has more in common with the Progressive Federal Party than with the National Party and that he is not giving a correct version of party policy.

He has hit back, saying that the Transvaal Nationalist leader, Mr F W de Klerk, has not dealt with his basic objections.

Two matters brought his position within the National Party to a head — the manner in which the security situation was being handled and the immovability of the Government on the Group Areas Act.

The party leadership may be cross with him, but there is widespread respect and admiration among rank-and-file Nationalists and MPs.

No one doubts the integrity of this tall, elegant and soft-spoken man who has through the years become known as one of the foremost verifiers in the National Party.

Some of the office bearers of the party in Randburg have left to join him and at least a few of his party colleagues in Parliament would like to do so, but it is not expedient for them at present.

Instead they are staying on in the party in the belief that some political realignment will become inevitable.

Wyand Malan has a long record of service to the National Party. After studying for a BA (I) B at the University of Pretoria from 1961 to



Wynand Malan . . . little time for hobbies or sport.

1965, he was leader of the party's youth movement in the Transvaal, the Nasionale Jeugbond, from 1972 to 1974.

He was also chairman of the Rap-
porters, which has been described
as the junior Broederbond, from
1974 to 1976.

He became MP for Randburg in

No one doubts the integrity of the Randburg MP who has quit the National Party. This assessment comes from The Star's political staff in Cape Town.

1977 and he held the seat with a majority of only 698 against a determined PFP onslaught in 1981. ■

He was active in local civic politics in Randburg and has a son and two daughters. He is a hard worker and does not have much time for hobbies or sport.

When he resigned from the National Party he was a member of the Commission for Co-operation and Development, which deals with black affairs, secretary of the Nationalist parliamentary study group on Constitutional Development and Planning and deputy secretary of the Foreign Affairs study group.

He is a member of the Ned Geref Kerk, but there have been rumours lately that he has become unusually religious and has connections with the Rhema Church which has its headquarters in Randburg.

He denies this, saying he has friends in the church but that he has only twice, sometimes with other politicians, been to functions at the opening of Rhema Church buildings.

He said this week he had found himself lucky enough to grow up in a Christian home where he was taught to serve God and he was tolerant of all other religious people who did this in their own way.

Those who know this idealistic man say they are sure he will fight an election campaign at a high level and there will not be mudslinging.

He gives this assurance himself and says he has no axe to grind with other political groups but he is at the same time going out to win in Randburg.

He hopes he can become the focus for reform ideas on which the National Party is stalling at present.

He wants to test this in Randburg and does not have in mind other MPs following him or the formation of a political movement at this stage.

The Nationalist chosen to oppose him, Mr Olaus van Zyl, a member of the President's Council, is a close friend, so much so that they share a flat when they are in Cape Town.

In his usual gracious way Mr Malan indicates that, as far as he is concerned, they remain friends.

Even though the PFP federal executive has recommended that the party should not stand in Randburg (a final decision is to be made next week), he would welcome a PFP opponent to have his ideas properly tested.

He is determined to break the stalemate in white politics.

Election date, reform action:

All eyes on PW

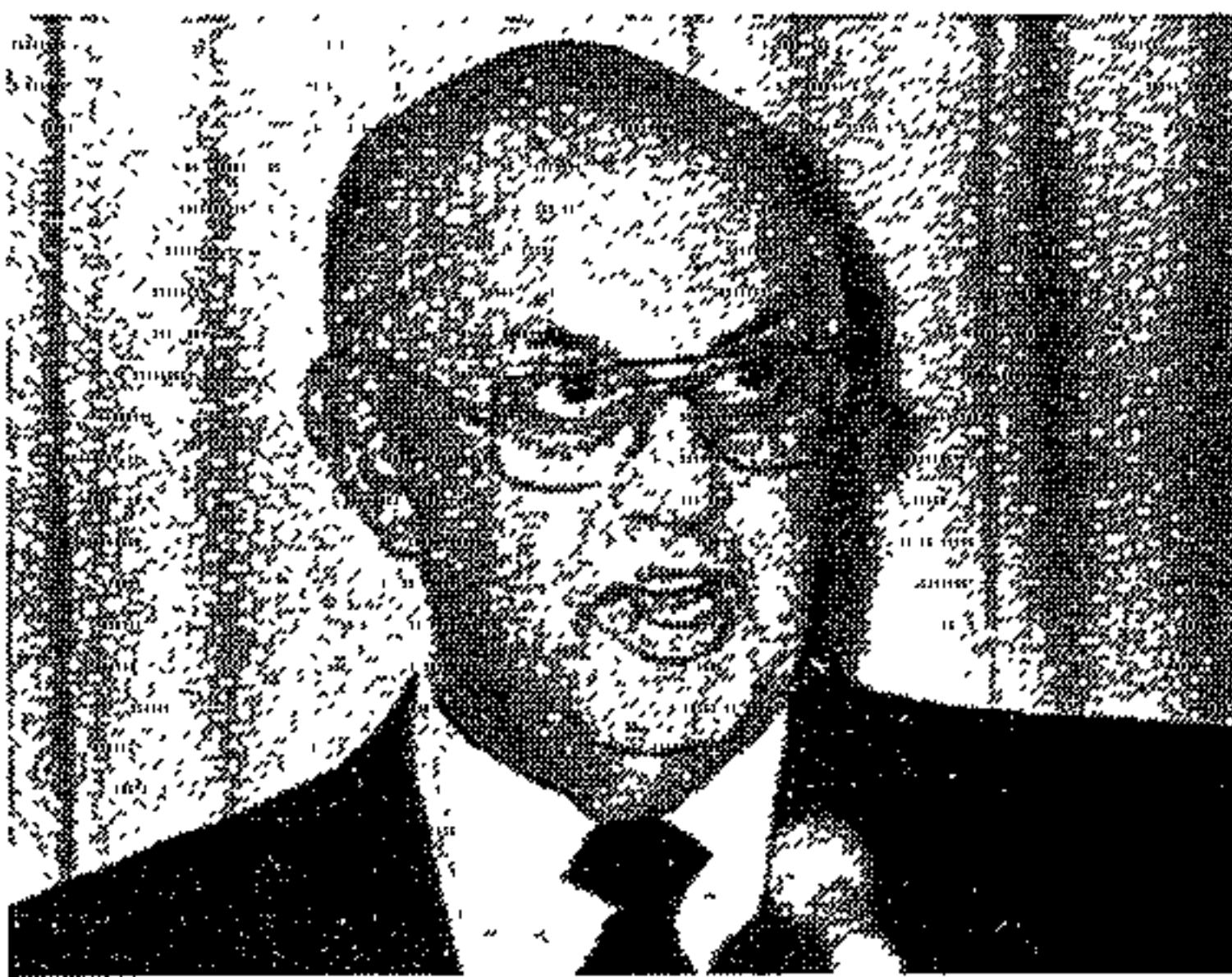
tomorrow

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — Speculation as to the date of the 1987 general election will come to an end tomorrow when the State President, Mr P W Botha, delivers his address at the official opening of Parliament.

The consensus is that the election will be held on May 13 and that the current session of Parliament will last until the end of February — time for the no-confidence debate and to pass the Part Appropriation (mini-budget) Bill.

While the announcement of the date will no doubt send politicians and party workers into a flurry of activity, the real key as far as the electorate is concerned is the reform proposals which Mr Botha is expected to disclose.

When he addressed the nation on New Year's Eve, Mr Botha said he intended putting various proposals for reform to the electorate, probably



Mr P W BOTHA

in the first half of the year.

It is these proposals which can provide a keen pointer to current Government thinking.

Essentially, on the eve of an election, when the National Party is under attack from the right wing, Mr Botha is unlikely to make any startling departure from current National Party policy.

In the light of that, he will probably restate his

commitment to a future constitutional model based on the concept of groups and stress, for the benefit of those toying with the idea of moving to the right, that the NP will not sacrifice the principle of separate residential areas and separate schools.

With regard to the Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities Act, he will again be able to hide behind the long-awaited report of the President's Council on this legislation.

What reform he is likely to deal with probably concerns progress made with the National Council and plans for giving Africans representation at the highest level.

It is understood that scant progress has been made in luring credible black leaders to the council and the proposals, once again, are likely to be couched in vague terms.

On the question of security, Mr Botha could well point to the "suc-

cess" achieved by the current state of emergency but, in the light of statements made recently by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, there would seem to be scant chance of the emergency being lifted.

There is, however, speculation that the State President may make some concessions with regard to Press coverage of the election.

If there is one "racing certainty" it is that the ANC will come under attack as will the United States and other Western countries who have embarked on a programme of punitive sanctions.

On the eve of an election it will be votes that will be uppermost in the State President's mind and, bearing that in mind, those hoping for a new and visionary approach to the country's problems are likely to be disappointed.

304A

29/1/87

live Post

History against Malan winning

times have changed they are confident of victory now that the PFP decided not to put up candidate.

In the 1981 election 6 143 people voted for Malan — 695 more than the PFP candidate for Randburg polled.

Mr Malan's supporters are bargaining that most PFP supporters — and a sizeable number of Nationalists — will vote for him, with the NP candidate losing some of the 1981 NP votes to the Conservative Party.

Minister John Vorster and Information Minister Connie Mulder.

He said at the time that he had left the party "to improve relations between black and white South Africans and between SA and neighbouring states".

Mr. Gerdenier formed the Action South and Southern Africa and later the Democratic Party.

NP in 1984. He is at present a member of the President's Council and has been nominated as NP candidate for the Gardens constituency.

Mr Theo Gerdenier, former Natal leader of the NP and also Minister of the Interior, resigned from the Cabinet and the party in July, 1972, after clashes with then Prime

Minister John Vorster and Information Minister Connie Mulder.

He formed the National Union and then became the United Party MP for Bezenodenhout. He was suspended by the UP in 1977, when he led six UP MPs to merger talks with the Progressive Reform Party which then became the Progressive Federal Party.

The PFP expelled him in 1980 and he rejoined the

NP and the second one quickly landed in the political wilderness.

Mr Malan is only the third NP MP to resign from the party to take a position more to the left since the party came into power 39 years ago.

The first was Mr. Japie Basson, who was expelled from the party in 1959 because of his opposition to the abolition of black rep-

Post Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG —
Rebel National Party MP Wynand Malan will be re-writing the history books if he succeeds in retaining his seat in Randburg as an independent in the coming general election.

Not since 1943 has an independent won a parliamentary seat in South Africa.

Nor can the history of the only two other NP MPs who left the party for a more left-wing line since 1948 give Mr Malan much comfort.

The first is back in the

304A Eue Post
29/1/87.

Evita may challenge Pik for parliament



Pieter Dirk Uys

DD 29/1/87
Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Because political satirist Pieter Dirk Uys has never "played either Pollsmoor Prison or Parliament", and because he has "enough dresses", he is likely to stand as a candidate in the coming general election.

"It is a very tantalising way to launch my next show," said Uys who was speaking from Sydney, Australia, where he is performing as Evita Bezuidenhout.

"Parliament really should be my next resort — I have enough dresses to wear," he quipped.

Speaking seriously, Uys confirmed he was considering putting up a political fight as a candidate but declined to say which party he would represent and in which constituency he might stand.

While it is uncertain which seat he would contest, chances that he may oppose the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in Westdene have not been ruled out.

Uys was reluctant to elaborate on whether he had been approached by any particular political party.

But his Cape Town based father, Mr Hannes Uys, said: "I know he was approached by a delegation to stand for election. He has said he refuses to be part of party politics and would rather stand as an independent candidate."

Uys declined to comment on this, saying he still had to give consideration to the matter and "see what happens" once an election date had been set.

His show was being well received by Sydney audiences, he said, and he is due to leave Australia in three weeks' time.

"When the election is announced, anything is possible," he said. "It's definitely not out of the question that I may stand."

Uys is well-known for his satirical and sometimes hard-hitting criticism of the government, and the recent "State of Emergency" update on his show touched on numerous topical and politically sensitive issues.

PFP sources yesterday ruled out the possibility that Uys may stand as one of the party's candidates while NP sources declined to comment.

CTPA condemns govt action

30/1/87
29/1/87

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) yesterday condemned the rejection of an application, by a coloured teacher for a post serving three government schools in Grahamstown, as a "high-handed, authoritarian and downright racist response".

The teacher, Miss Gail Thomas, was refused the post by the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, because she was not white.

Miss Thomas had been interviewed and accepted by the schools' committees and headmasters.

The PFP MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, petitioned President P.W. Botha on behalf of the school committees, but Mr Botha upheld Mr Clase's

decision.

The deputy-president of the CTPA, Mr Randall van den Heever, said in a statement yesterday, the association regarded the matter as a "flagrant and shocking reaffirmation of the government's commitment to apartheid in education".

He said one of the key proposals of the De Lange commission in 1982, was that education had to be de-politicised in the sense that politicians should have less say over education and parents and teachers must have more control.

"The principle of freedom of association was also thoroughly motivated in the proposals of the commission. The De Lange proposals represented a fair and balanced challenge to a country desperately in need of a fundamental solution to the utter stalemate education

finds itself in.

"It is therefore a tragedy of enormous proportion that the government has adopted such a high handed authoritarian and downright racist response to the Gail Thomas challenge.

"It is clearly a political response with the coming elections in mind and has nothing to do with democratic and educational criteria.

"The fact that the government has used the Federal Teachers' Council for whites as a straw to clutch at once again, raises serious concern in our minds about the extent to which the existence of this council entrenches apartheid in education.

"We have already expressed our dismay to those white teacher bodies participating in the council," Mr Van den Heever said.

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Parties rush to beat voter registration deadline

Political Staff

Star
304A
29/1/87

Political parties are rushing to beat the Saturday deadline for one of the biggest voter registration campaigns yet held in South Africa.

The big rush has been on since the general election for whites was announced earlier this month and has been gathering momentum.

The Department of Home Affairs has been handling more than 10 000 change-of-address notices from voters every day.

With the date of the election for the House of Assembly due to be announced by President P W Botha tomorrow, the election campaign will soon be in full swing.

Mr Neil Ross, the Progressive Federal Party's national director of political organisation, said today that his party's voter registration campaign had been exceptionally intense in key seats throughout the country.

Registration cards and notices of change of address had been dropped in letterboxes in all key seats, including Gardens, Green Point, Maitland, Durbanville and Simonstown.

Mr Ross said registration tables to be set up on Saturday would handle the final registrations before the deadline for closing the roll.

A National Party spokesman said his party had been busy since last year with the registration of voters and there had been a big response.

Conservatives active in key seats

The Conservative Party has also been active with voter registration in key seats expected to be contested by the right-wing parties.

Dr Frans van Staden, national secretary of the party, said today that there were many "missing" voters whose names were not on the rolls for the constituencies in which they lived.

The CP would work up to the last minute to clear up some of this confusion by getting voters to re-register or to notify changes of address.

Notices of change of address have speeded up considerably in recent weeks, according to the latest statistics released by the Department of Home Affairs.

A spokesman for the department said today that, since the launch of the campaign in September to encourage people to send in particulars of their new addresses, 629 634 notices had been received.

The department launched the campaign when it became evident that about 35 percent of white voters were no longer living at addresses given on the voters roll.

The spokesman said today that it was now estimated that between 17 and 18 percent of voters were still "missing".

Le Grange is new Speaker

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Mr Louis le Grange, former Minister of Law and Order, was yesterday elected Speaker of Parliament by 52 votes to 36 in an electoral college.

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Economists warn: Buying votes will force up inflation

Finance Staff

Any short-term stimulation of the economy by the government in order to woo voters will have severe long-term inflationary consequences, warns the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch.

Consumers in South Africa, as elsewhere, tend to focus on the current economic climate, rather than on the economic stability. Thus, the temptation to "buy" votes with direct fiscal stimulation (such as salary increases) at the expense of rekindling demand inflation at a later stage, must be very attractive indeed.

The BER adds its voice to that of other economists who fear a repetition of the events before and after the referendum in 1983. Massive increases in salaries to government employees in the run-up to the referendum played a major role in the so-called mini-boom which petered out after only four quarters of vigorous, but short-lived economic activity.

Many economists feel that the measures introduced to cool down the overheated economy in August 1984 eventually led to the collapse of economic growth and subsequently the foreign

debt crisis a year later.

Fears exist, not totally unfounded, that public-sector employees can expect similar treatment in the near future with the already over-burdened private sector having to pick up the bill. Not only will this depress growth prospects even further, but inflation will be catapulted even higher.

Indirect stimulation of the economy via tax relief will accomplish more by winning the support of not only the public but also the private sector. In order to maintain the consumer led recovery apparent during the second half of 1986, fiscal stimulation is not only necessary but also possible due to the accumulation of more than R1,4 billion in the exchequer account.

The BER also reports a slight dip in confidence amongst retailer and wholesalers in spite of improved sales and more appropriate stock levels. This could indicate that businessmen are sceptical about the magnitude and sustainability of the upturn.

A major problem which businessmen have to face is that consumer resistance may set in later in the year if prices continue to escalate.

Vote count for new Speaker surprises

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN - The former Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, was elected the 14th Speaker of Parliament yesterday defeating the chairman of the House of Representatives, Mr Phillip Sanders, by 52 votes to 36.

Mr Le Grange was the National Party nomination while Mr Sanders was nominated by the majority parties in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates, the Labour Party and National People's Party (NPP).

Mr Le Grange's election was virtually a foregone conclusion.

It was the majority by which he won that raised eyebrows.

With 50 National Party members in the electoral college, 25 members of the Labour

Party and 13 members of the NPP the voting tally should have been 50-38.

However, there were obviously two "defections" either from the ranks of the Labour Party or the NPP.

The deputy leader of the Labour Party, Mr Miley Richards, who nominated Mr Sanders — he was seconded by the NPP's Mr Boetie Abramjee — was clearly astounded by the tally as were several other members of the Labour Party and NPP.

In a statement issued after the election, the leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, said the party had "exercised its democratic right to nominate Mr Sanders" as the party felt it was not bound by the conventions of the previous whites-only Parliament.

In addition, he said,

the National Party had not consulted the Labour Party with regard to a candidate for the position of Speaker and it was felt that Mr Sanders was "best suited and best qualified for the position".

Earlier, during the nomination of members of the electoral college, the Progressive Federal Party's Chief Whip, Mr Brian Bamford, proposed an amendment that the House of Assembly decline to participate in the electoral college.

This step should be taken, he said, until all members of Parliament were able to participate on an equal basis in the election of the Speaker.

The amendment was defeated after a division.

Under the present constitution, only the majority parties in each

of the three Houses form part of the electoral college.

●The Progressive Federal Party has dismissed suggestions that it will either boycott the opening of Parliament tomorrow or the first session which will start on Monday.

The PFP's response follows front page stories in the pro-government media that left-wing elements in the PFP were trying to persuade the caucus of the party to boycott Parliament.

In a statement issued here last night, the chairman of the PFP's caucus, Mr Ray Swart, said the matter had not been on the agenda when the caucus met yesterday morning.

It had, however, been discussed — more in reaction to newspaper reports than anything else.

PFP MP Van Rensburg faces nomination battle

PD 30/1/87

304A

JOHANNESBURG — Members of the PFP Bryanston constituency believe their present MP, Mr Horace van Rensburg, who faces stiff competition from three other prominent aspirant candidates for his seat, has a slim chance of being selected.

The three who have been nominated for the constituency are Sandton's management committee chairman, Mr Ricky Valente, former Orange Grove MP, Mr Rupert Lorimer, and a Sandton councillor,

Mr Willem Hesel.

Mr Van Rensburg has confirmed he was nominated.

But constituency sources said yesterday they doubted he had the full backing of members in the constituency and voters were likely to favour one of the other nominees.

Mr Van Rensburg has several times fallen out with leading figures in his party over his views.

The most recent storm followed his stance on the Department of Education and Training's camps for detained children.

He is known to sympathise strongly with rebel MP Wynand Malan and it is thought he may stand as an independent should he not be elected to represent the PFP.

Meanwhile, six existing PFP MPs nominated unopposed have been elected as candidates: Mrs Helen Suzman (Houghton), Mr Harry Schwarz (Yeoville), Mr Dave Dalling (Sandton), Mr Peter Soal (Johannesburg North), Mr Brian Goodall (Edenvale) and Mr Alf Widman (Hillbrow).

The PFP Transvaal leader, Mr Douglas Gibson, will fight for the Bezuidenhout seat against the NP's Mr Sam Bloomberg.

A former SABC journalist and retired SA Defence Force information officer Brigadier Kobus Bosman, 48, is standing for the NP in Germiston District.

He has kept a low profile since retiring due to "medical reasons" from the SADF last year but said yesterday he had since "completely recovered".

He said he had retired with "the normal retirement package" which included a pension and "gratuities". He declined to elaborate.

He will oppose the incumbent, Mrs Bessie Scholtz of the CP and said it was premature to comment on his election platform.

In Natal, the former senior MEC in the Natal Executive Committee, Mr Frank Martin, has been nominated by the federal council of the New Republic Party to stand in the Durban Point constituency.

This was confirmed yesterday by the provincial secretary of the NRP in Natal, Mr Henrie Brink. He said Mr Martin's nomination still had to be confirmed by the divisional committee in the Point.

If Mr Martin's name is confirmed, this means there will be a tussle in the seat between two former colleagues in the Natal Provincial Council.

His opponent will be Mr Cliff Matthee, the previous NRP MPC for Durban Central, who crossed over to the Nationalists a few weeks ago.

The Point seat has been held since 1958 by Mr Vause Raw for the NRP and its predecessor, the United Party. Mr Raw, however, has announced his intention to retire from active politics.

Process without progress

This time last year we predicted a watershed parliamentary session. Looking back, it was more a time of lost opportunity. This year, perhaps in consequence, the players on the chequerboard are starting off in new positions that suggest the game might at least be harder and more actively fought.

Last year President P W Botha appeared to be in a good position to push ahead with a programme of continual reform. He had the base from which to work and the backing, shown in the 1983 Referendum, of two-thirds of white South Africans. But he remained helplessly ensnared in Nationalist ideology, which he himself has discredited. And he has been unable to find a substitute that will stick.

The initiative is now slipping away from him. The schism on the Right is clearly going to be widened as the National Party (NP) enters the hustings in a protracted fight in which principles are likely to be lost sight of amid personal animosities and emotional slogans. The longer the campaign, the worse it will get. It will in its enormity of purpose and racial extravagance capture the attention of the voracious world media.



Botha

On the Left there is less likely to be schism than attrition. But in time it is the phenomenon that could be the more telling.

There are some encouraging signs — not least from within the NP itself — of an awareness that, while the party remains a key factor in a negotiated constitutional settlement, it cannot be relied on in its present form to push with the requisite vigour along the path ahead.

The parliamentary session which opens today (Friday) will centre on efforts to draw together into a viable opposition those groupings in the white community that have some vision of the future — and the vigour to do something about it.

One grouping includes the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the New Republic Party (NRP), former Nat MP Wynand Malan — and hopefully a growing number of former NP-supporting businessmen. There are

Parliament resumes this week under the shadow of a largely irrelevant white general election. The question is whether there is a way through the political morass. Although President Botha seems set on having his way on the pace and form of any further reforms, the tide of events may be rising against him.

indications that the grouping is growing and may eventually represent a credible hope of resuscitating the reform initiative over which the NP itself has gone cold.

Botha's opening address to parliament will be of particular interest. In 1985 his speech was seen as remarkably reformist, and the then leader of the PFP, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, reacted encouragingly.

But soon events, and government's reaction to them, shattered whatever illusion Slabbert may have had of the NP solving SA's problems. A year ago next week he quit parliamentary politics, describing parliament's response in the first week of the 1986 session to the civil turmoil of 1985 as "a grotesque ritual in irrelevance."

A year later not much appeared to have changed. Government slammed down the lid on civil unrest by the harshest security clamps in the country's history, but the underlying causes have not been addressed. So Botha's opening speech this year is likely to be unimaginative and uninspiring. He will mouth the reform platitudes. But in the 18 months since the disappointment of "Rubicon One" he has demonstrated repeatedly that he is not inclined to dismantle key apartheid laws. There have been no indications of a change of heart in recent weeks.

But something has changed since last year, within both the NP and the PFP; and there is the fact that in April or May whites go to the polls for what might prove to be the most fluid election in nearly 40 years. For these two reasons, this session will be of major importance for both parties — and for SA.

Slabbert's resignation jolted the

PFP into restructuring away from its single focus on a charismatic leader towards a party machine of the sort needed to win elections by hard work rather than good speeches. This is of itself encouraging. Whether it will substitute also for unambiguous policies and nebulous constitutional objectives remains to be seen, but at least this time its leader won't lay down his arms and run.



Eglin

The Nats in turn continue to seethe with internal dissent, which has now boiled over into open but limited revolt and threatens to precipitate the party's first ever major split to the Left. How deep or important the rift will be is anyone's guess.

But what is clear is that the old rivalries and petty politics which led Slabbert to reject parliament as irrelevant are likely to become more evident. The impending election has no fundamental purpose, and in some parts of the country the NP has its back to the wall.

The PFP enters parliament today on an unprecedented high, which it might have difficulty sustaining. For it has been fed by government's constitutional paralysis and barren ideology rather than its own political initiatives. The NP will have to struggle to find its old electoral magic. A white opposition has probably never been in a better position in post-war years to exploit cracks in the ruling party, and its gross perceived mismanagement of the country's affairs.

PFP research director Nic Olivier says the NP has never been more vulnerable from both Left and Right. Party leader Colin Eglin points out that while it is usually the official Opposition that enters a new session on a weaker footing, this year the PFP is buoyant while government is struggling to keep its head above water.

Olivier has no doubt the first part of the session will be entirely election-dominated, with government trying to hand out as many favours as possible in the pre-election Part Appropriations to woo



Olivier

voters. Indeed it would be strange if it didn't. But if these favours are the right ones, the country as a whole could reap substantial benefit and the NP's ranks will rally.

What makes the PFP's role more telling this year are the emergency regulations which have stifled free speech and open debate to the point where most South Africans — whites in particular — are unaware of what is happening in their country and may not be told of possible solutions to mounting problems. The PFP hopes to use parliament to breach the wall of silence as well as to convince the electorate that there is a way out of the maze.

With the election pending, Botha's opening speech is expected to be little more than a call to rally to the flag against a myriad of external and internal threats, ranging from the US to the Soviet Union, collectively grouped in that favourite old phrase "the total onslaught."

Parliament's programme

Reform — or talk of reform — is likely to take a back seat with only passing reference to what has already been done, and the need to "extend democracy" to blacks. At this stage the legislative programme is uninspiring — nothing particularly noteworthy emerged from the 30-odd Bills published during the recess and government is unlikely to introduce any politically controversial measures, particularly reformist ones, until after the election.

Although details of the session have not yet been disclosed, the first part of it is expected to last about five weeks. There will then be a break for the election after which parliament could either be reconvened quickly until the July school holidays — and then continue again after the holidays — or wait until after the holidays and reconvene in August, sitting until the end of October. It seems that the first part of the session will see only the No Confidence debate, a Part



Raw

Appropriation to tide the Treasury over until the main Budget later in the year, and part appropriations for the Post Office and Sats.

Some legislation may go through before the election, but one key Bill unlikely to see the light of day until after polling is the measure — promised last year by Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Danie

Steyn — to scrap job reservation on the mines. The CP is nevertheless expected to push government on this issue to create a plank for its campaign even if it is not given to them by the NP.

One man likely to keep a low profile in the first part of the session at least is constitutional reform pilot Chris Heunis, whose leading role in reform over the past two years has made him public enemy number one in the CP camp.

The PFP's finance spokesman, Harry Schwarz, believes the No Confidence debate will be dominated by the African National Congress as an element of the "total onslaught." He says the PFP will obviously introduce economics — which he believes will be a major election issue — and try to force government to explain how it intends handling serious threats to, and problems within the economy.

Schwarz believes government is obliged to come clean before the election and publish the Margo Commission report and its responding White Paper so that the direction of economic policy will become clear. At the same time, government should map out what remains of its reform programme, and disclose the future of apartheid measures such as the Group Areas Act which will, in any case, be an election issue, Schwarz believes.

The NP-CP battle is likely to continue, but on a new level of bitterness as the two sides trade election punches. And the NRP will sing its swansong in its present form. Its

election alliance with the PFP has alienated former leader Vause Raw and Chief Whip Brian Page, and both are quitting parliament.

A new factor in the first part of the session will be Wynand Malan, sitting presumably on the crossbenches as an independent. His contribution to debate before the election could be crucial in enticing more "New Nats" to follow his courageous course.

As for the other two Houses, their irrelevance to the national debate will be compounded by the pending election and P W Botha's humiliation of Labour Party leader and Cabinet colleague Allan Hendrickse.

They will continue debating "own affairs" in a vacuum from which they now appear unwilling to escape.

The tricameral system has not burgeoned into something useful or sustainable — but government has nothing with which to replace it. Indeed, as events unfold, it is possible that President Botha may show an increasing disregard for its processes. This in turn might accelerate the attrition to the Left within an increasingly alarmed NP.

The existing political system has concentrated power on the president — and if the election has any purpose it is likely to enhance that unfortunate position. If Botha has a hidden agenda — a once-popular theory — there is no evidence of it whatsoever. If he has had difficulty reforming with his present majority, how much more difficult will he find it after this session and this election when his power base in parliament could well be trimmed as he becomes as reviled in Krugersdorp as in So-

weto.

Therein lies the rub — and his country's hope if this session is the beginning of his valediction.



Heunis



Schwarz

LEFT, RIGHT AND CENTRE

which cannot proceed from fixed positions.

Malan (who presumably articulates the views of other New Nats) believes in negotiating a settlement with all parties to the South African dispute without stating non-negotiables beforehand (see *People*). He explains: "My main approach is not to be dogmatic," adding that all participants must be prepared to accept less than first prize. Compromise is his watchword.

Malan, unlike the NP, believes the "spirit" of the Freedom Charter — "ANC politics as opposed to ANC violence" should be "locked into the negotiation process." This is similar to the PFP position.

Malan says the New Nats represent a "new spirit" in the NP, not a "monolithic" entity. His main difference with the PFP centres on what he calls its "basic approach of a National Convention" in bringing about negotiation politics. This is not on, he says. He favours instead a "bilateral and multilateral approach," but is "not married to any specific formula." He says he has differences with all the parties. He reckons the first and basic requirement is for all to accept "the principle of one South Africa."

But the New Nats, of course, haven't declared themselves yet, let alone stated clearly how they hope to achieve their ideals. Malan talks somewhat mystically of "people's attitudes" being important. Until the New Nats make their move — if at all — it has to be assumed that Malan's soulmates believe they can change the party sufficiently from within to get what they want. This remains a major difference between them and the PFP.

Broadly speaking, the PFP stands committed to universal franchise in a non-racial democracy, proportional representation in a federal system, a Bill of (individual, as opposed to racial group) Rights, an independent judiciary, the scrapping of apartheid and negotiation on how to achieve it all. It is the only parliamentary party with a clear, written alternative plan to the apparently directionless meanderings of government.

Malan-New Nat differences with the PFP also seem to relate to emphasis. For instance, the rebel MP thinks terms such as "one-man one-vote" are emotional but accepts that his term (universal suffrage) boils down to the same thing. He would go along with group protection — again, not necessarily racial group protection, but of interest groups if they want it.

Malan's election manifesto and performance in parliament before the election recess are therefore crucial to the narrowing of gaps between him (and other New Nats) and the PFP, whose federal executive has recommended that its Randburg branch bow out of the race to give Malan a better chance of victory.

Non-racialism can obviously be achieved along paths different to the PFP's, so while the two groups may share a common aim, their strategies and details of their plans differ sufficiently to keep them apart.

It is clear, however, that PFP leaders recognise the potential for closing the gap between their party and the New Nats.

How long it will be before Malan and the others side openly with the PFP, or join the party in a new alliance, depends primarily on whether they can bridge these gaps.

With SA politics splitting left, right and centre, it is becoming increasingly difficult to understand just who believes in what. Hopefully, the following guide will be of assistance:

The ruling National Party (NP) insists it is reformist but its constitutional plans are still based on race; the "New Nats" lurking within it are disgruntled, don't really believe in the NP prescription, but are loath to join the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) on their Left. The PFP maintains the NP has no vision of the future.

So what are their points of departure? (The rightwing parties harking back to pristine apartheid and the nearly dead New Republic Party may be discounted for the moment).

The ultimate aim of both the PFP and the New Nats appears to be a non-racial democracy. Each favours freedom of association and a form of universal franchise. Both favour real decentralisation of power and are strong on local option — but not the NP's racial "own affairs" variety. Both are federalist, but want a federation based on geographic, as opposed to racial, units. However, the division between the New Nats and the Progs is still vast, even though it may seem like hair-splitting to outsiders.

So far, only Wynand Malan has quit the NP. He identified his immediate grievances as the party's ideology on Group Areas and security management. However, Malan believes statutory race discrimination is not really the issue. It is, rather, the question of power and wealth redistribution. And it is not so much the mechanics of negotiation or putting forward a constitutional model that are important, he says. What is crucial, he believes, is the attitude towards this process,

CP stands firm F 174

SABC-TV news reports that a meeting was to take place last Tuesday between the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) seems to have been a case of "playing games," says CP secretary Frans van Staden. No such meeting took place, he tells the *FM*, although I don't know about unofficial things.

Van Staden, who called the SABC to put the record straight, says no official CP-HNP meetings aimed at forging any election pact are planned. The next move, he says, must come from Jaap Marais' HNP.

However, the CP in effect seems interested only in an HNP takeover. "The formula is unity," explains Van Staden, adding that Marais is interested arrangements will have to be finalised "within a definite period." That means less than a year.

Van Staden reiterated CP leader Andries Treurnicht's call ("we stand for unity") made in Pretoria last Saturday, and reaffirms the CP's rejection of Marais' offer of a 50-50 division of the 60 seats "most favourable" to the Rightwing. The CP is contesting 106 seats in all.

Even assuming that Marais accepts the principle of working out eventual unification with the CP, any short-term election pact will certainly not be on the basis of an equal division of seats. Rather, the CP may then consider a pact on the basis of the parties' relative strengths as shown in recent by-elections.

According to Van Staden, CP-HNP policy differences have essentially been ironed out. In any case, the CP was not going to make a policy issue out of John Vorster's role in history, nor push for Afrikaans as the only official language. ■

30/1/87

Run-up to the House of Assembly election

**No going back
on reform,
says Nat PRO**

Botha to name the day today

Mercury Reporter

THE National Party's newly appointed chief director of information, Mr Con Botha, says the NP has no intention of 'back-tracking' on reform, or of looking over its shoulder at the

Right wing.

Speaking after a strategy meeting of the party in Cape Town yesterday, Mr Botha, who is MP for Umlazi, said it would not be physically possible to implement reform before the election.

The party was optimistic that once the stresses of the election campaign were over, black leaders would come forward to break the log-jam in the politics of negotiation.

'We are reluctant to produce a blueprint at this stage. We must first get the black leaders to the negotiating table,' Mr Botha said.

He said the NP would ask the white electorate for an 'affirmation of unity' in the determination of South Africans to be 'masters of their own political destiny'.

The party felt very strongly that South Africa should not be prescribed to by outsiders.

The NP would be highlighting the process of gradual change which had been its attitude in the immediate past.

Mr Botha said the NP had supported the Government's view that care should be taken to maintain law and order.

CAPE TOWN—President Botha opens Parliament this morning amid rising speculation that the Assembly election will be on May 12 — a Tuesday and not a Wednesday, which has been South Africa's traditional polling day.

Up to now May 13 has been the most strongly tipped date, but Mr Botha will finally end months of speculation today.

Apart from the election date, Mr Botha could give more details today or during next week's no-confidence debate of the sort of mandate he is seeking from white voters.

Pressure

It is generally expected that he will reaffirm his commitment to reform but MPs are hoping he will spell out more clearly the future of black involvement in the parliamentary process.

In previous speeches he announced a special Cabinet committee and a national council, neither of which got off the ground.

Other issues he is likely to address today are the

Ormande Pollok Political Correspondent

growing world pressure on South Africa, politically and economically, and the critical internal economic situation and continuing unrest.

Next week's no-confidence debate will set off the election campaign, with the Government facing attacks from both the Left and the Right.

Unless Mr Botha spells out his programme today, he will be accused of putting reform on the back-burner and whatever he does, he can expect accusations from the Right that his policies are steadily leading to integration.

Major issues in the no-confidence debate will be the security situation, the rising cost of living and inflation, the election alliance between the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party, and the on-off romance between the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

While the Government will make much of these attempts by opposition parties to work together, the

opposition can be expected to retaliate with the resignation of Mr Wynand Malan from the National Party and the possibility of more defections, the Rev Allan Hendrickse's swim on a white beach and the Bureau for Information's controversial 'peace song'.

The no-confidence debate will be followed shortly by another wide-ranging debate on the Part Appropriation Bill.

Mr Barend du Plessis, Minister of Finance, is expected to deliver the 'mini-budget' on February 9. MPs predict the session could close before the end of February.

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23.4.87

NRP chooses Martin for Durban Point

Mercury Reporter

THE former senior MEC in the Natal Executive Committee, Mr Frank Martin, has been nominated by the federal council of the New Republic Party to stand in the Durban Point constituency.

This was confirmed yesterday by Mr Hennie Brink, provincial secretary of the NRP in Natal, who said Mr Martin's nomination still had to be confirmed by the divisional committee in the Point.

If his name is confirmed, there will be an interesting tussle in the seat between two former colleagues in

the Natal Provincial Council.

His opponent will be Mr Cliff Mathee, the previous NRP MPC for Durban Central, who crossed over to the Nationalists a few weeks ago.

The Point seat has been held since 1958 by Mr Vause Raw for the NRP and its predecessor, the United Party. However, Mr Raw has announced his intention to retire from active politics.

Meanwhile, talks behind closed doors were still going on between the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party on a

possible division of seats among the two Right-wing parties in Natal, an HNP spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said the rank-and-file in the HNP in Natal would prefer one Right-wing candidate in each constituency, instead of splitting the vote between the HNP and the CP. He believed the party's greatest support lay in northern Natal.

Meanwhile, the Progressive Federal Party has announced that its final nomination date will be February 4, instead of January 28, as originally planned.

S Tvl PFP candidates

JOHANNESBURG—The six Progressive Federal Party candidates renominated unopposed for the Southern Transvaal region have been announced.

They are: Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwartz, Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal; Edenvale, Mr Brian Goodall; Hillbrow, Mr Alf Widman and the recently held by-election in Northrand candidate, Mr Pieter Schoeman — (Sapa)

Post stolen

CAPE TOWN—A bag containing R60 000 was stolen during the transfer of post between two Paarl depots, but was found later and R30 000 recovered, police here said. Two men were arrested and two more are being sought — (Sapa)

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**TECHNIKON
NATAL**

Once again we will be looking on from the sidelines as white South Africa decides our fate

3044
Sowetan
30/1/87

WHEN Parliament opens this morning, the State President, P W Botha is expected to announce the date of the (whites only) election. AGGREY KLAASTE and JOE THLOLOE look at the issues...

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, first hinted that there would be an election for white voters when he spoke at the National Party's federal congress in Durban last August.

He promised "drastic changes" to the country's constitution and said he would be asking whites to vote on these.

But since then talk of "reform" has been more and more muted as the drama of Afrikaner politics has unfolded.

The right wing in Afrikaner politics has been given a new lease of life, pushing the Government to an even more ambiguous position on their reform programme.

For example at the federal congress, Mr Botha said the Government was committed to dialogue: "Dialogue should not, however, lead to a situation where the self-determination of the groups and committees in our multi-cultural country is jeopardised. I won't have any part of that."

The rhetoric from the Government has been that apartheid is going, but in the same breath Government spokesmen have indicated that some of the pillar concepts of apartheid are inviolable.

It is this studied vagueness that has lost Mr Botha supporters to the right and to his left.

The rightwing — the HNP, the Conservative Party, and the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging — are raising the spectre of *die swart gevaar* all over again, interpreting what Botha is saying as giving in to black demands.

On his left, some whites have been irritated by his vague promises of reform that do not seem to have any effect on blacks in the country and on how the outside world sees it.

In spite of the talk of reform, sanctions have been imposed even by South Africa's friends, such as the United States, and multinational companies are abandoning their South African operations.

Blacks inside the country remain unimpressed by the "reforms" and continue to revolt, sometimes openly and violently and at other times merely sullenly.

Among those who have been irked by the Government are people like Mr. van Zyl Slabbert, who quit Parliament and his leadership of the PFP in frustration.

Commentators on white politics believe that the losses to the right are substantial and even predict that the Conservative Party will become the official opposition in the white house of Parliament.

Nobody, but nobody believes that the National Party is about to lose the elections. The majority of white South Africans are full square behind it.

Security

Mr Botha gives whites a sense of security that they do not believe they would get if the PFP or the Conservative Party were to come to power. Botha exudes power, strength — and this is the protective umbrella that whites need.

They believe that Mr Botha has been able to protect them from the revolutionary violence from across the borders, particularly with his across-the-border raids and his ability to cow South Africa's neighbours.

Mr Botha has been able to confine the internal violence that escalated in September 1984 to the black townships.



VAN Zyl Slabbert ... quit Parliament.



ANDRIES Treurnicht ... rightwing leader.

FOCUS

When a black talks to whites about the violence in the townships, he gets sympathy because the whites are totally convinced that the violence is a black aberration that Mr Botha is doing his best to cure.

These beliefs are stronger now that the Government has effectively stopped the flow of information from the townships to the white suburbs of the country.

For the majority of whites, this is a comfortable country.

Black South Africans will once again be looking on from the sidelines as their fate is decided by white South Africans.

Denis Worrall may quit govt

Cape Times 30/1/87 304A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

DR DENIS WORRALL, South Africa's ambassador in London, is poised to quit the government to stand against the National Party in this year's election.

Dr Worrall, the former National Party MP for Gardens, may stand against Nationalist heavyweights such as the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Helderberg or against the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Port Natal.

At his official residence in London last night, Dr Worrall, who until now has been an outspoken champion of the government's re-

of the government's backtracking on reform

It is understood that other former supporters of the government, including some senior Nationalists, are considering breaking ranks with the government and Dr Worrall's actions could spark a new wave of dissidence.

As a former chairman of the constitutional committee in the President's Council, Dr Worrall was one of the key figures in the early formulation of the government's constitutional reforms, although shortly before his appointment as South African ambassador in Australia, he clashed with Mr Heunis over the nature of these reforms.

If Dr Worrall does stand against Mr Heunis in Helderberg, which the PFP have made a priority seat, it could lead to a bitter fight between them, particularly because of their political conflicts in the past.

Another devastating blow

Since his service in Canberra and London, Dr Worrall, a former academic, has been an outspoken supporter of the constitutional reforms and he caused a stir last year when, after Mr Stoffel Botha had explicitly rejected the KwaNatal proposals, he said the government as such had not yet responded to the plans.

If Dr Worrall does indeed decide to quit the Palace of St James and return to fight the government in this year's election, it will be another devastating blow to the government, reflecting the escalating rebellion of verligte Nationalists against the government's slow pace of reform.

Meanwhile **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports that the PFP and the NRP yesterday finalized a far-reaching election pact in the Cape which the parties' provincial leaders believe will pave the way for significant inroads on the NP's dominance in the province.

"This is the first time in 30 years the National Party will be confronted at the polls by a united, reform-minded opposition," provincial leaders Mr Roger Hulley and Mr Pat Rogers said in a joint statement issued in East London yesterday.

The five-point agreement notes that:

□ Although the parties would retain their separate identities, they would strive for a non-racial constitutional dispensation that would be negotiated for South Africa at a series of regional and national "Indabas".

Put up own candidates

□ The PFP and NRP will not oppose each other in any Cape seat.

□ Each party will put up their own candidates in the 12 Cape seats already held by the alliance.

□ In the case of National Party-held seats, the PFP will contest East London North, East London City, Maitland, Newton Park, Algoa, Simon's Town, Durbanville, Helderberg and Stellenbosch. The NRP will contest five NP-held seats: Queenstown, Vasco, Tygervallei, Caledon and Swellendam.

□ All efforts will be made to maximize personnel by establishing an integrated party network to help with postal and special votes.



Dr Denis Worrall

form programme, would not deny widespread rumours that he would quit the diplomatic service to stand for Parliament against the government: "I am not going to comment."

Asked about rumours that he had discussed his political future with a wide cross-section of people during his recent visit to South Africa, Dr Worrall replied, "I saw a lot of people on my home leave, as is to be expected."

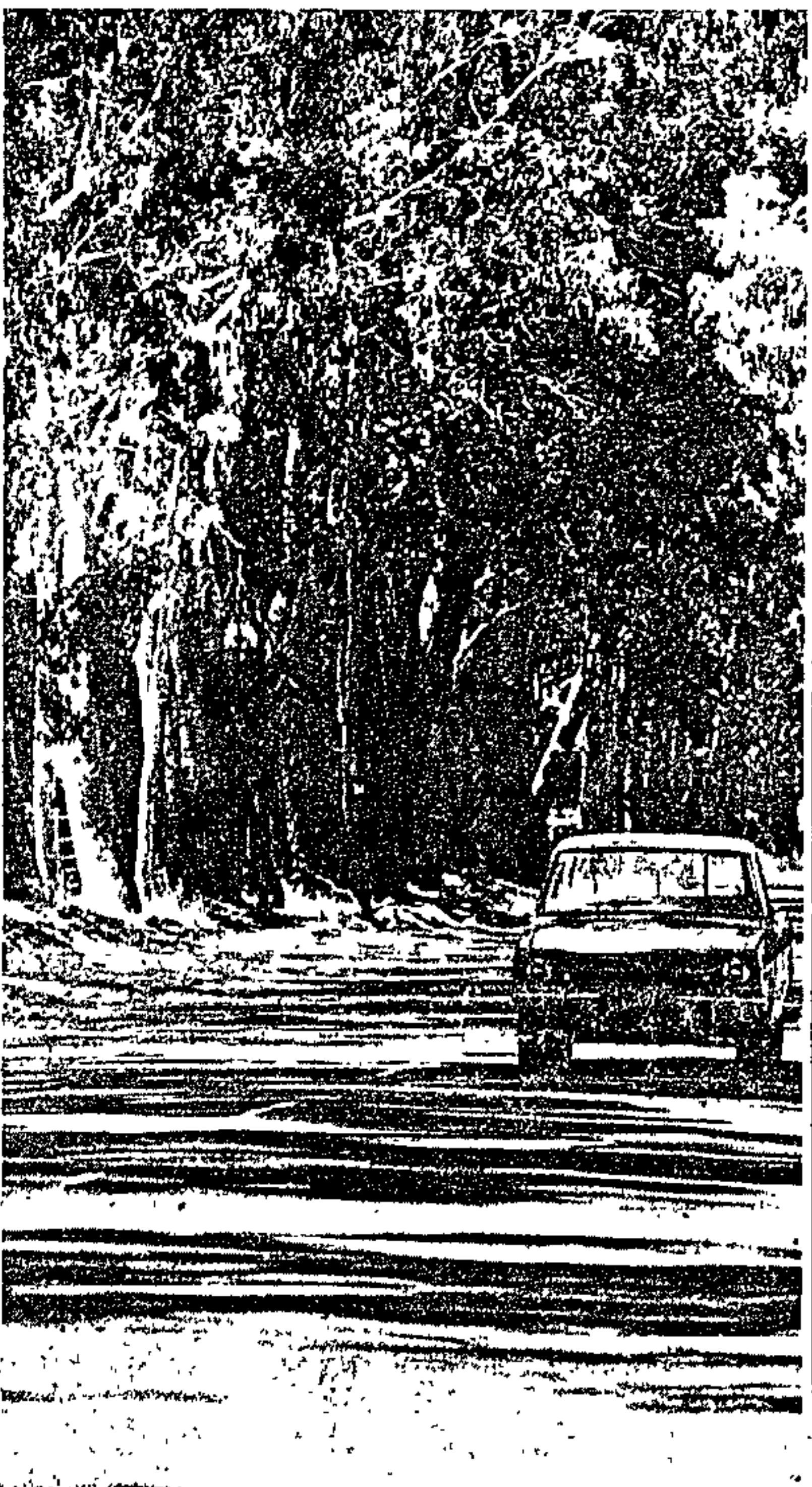
However, it is reliably understood that during his visit he expressed his strong support of the KwaNatal Indaba proposals and indicated that he had become increasingly frustrated with the government's approach to reform.

This comes in sharp contrast to the categorical rejection of the KwaNatal plan by his possible opponent, Mr Stoffel Botha, the Natal NP leader.

It is not yet clear whether Dr Worrall will, like the rebel MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, stand as an independent or whether he will join the Progressive Federal Party.

If he does eventually decide to stand for Parliament against the government, he will join the growing band of dissident former Nationalists who are turning against the policies of President P W Botha mainly because

Cape's killer trees



CP row over pact leaders meet

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Two forms of alliance were consolidated here last night on the eve of the State President's announcement of an election date for white voters.

After a late night meeting to resolve differences, the Conservative Party constituency council announced that all its supporters could vote for the two right wing candidates in East London City and East London North if they wished and that the support was not a party directive.

And a joint statement by the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party underwrote their election pact which the parties' Cape leaders said would pave the way for dominance of the alliance in the Cape.

Controversy arose when the East London chairman of the CP, Mr Jopie van der Linde, opposed the constituency committee's endorsement of independent candidate, Mr Nic Slabber.

Earlier the constituency council chairman, Mr Cobus van Loggarenberg, said the party had decided to support both Mr Slabber and the other independent rightwing candidate in East London North, Mr Bazil Niemand.

But the rightwing alliance was dealt a blow when Mr Van der Linde said no decision had been taken to support Mr Slabber and that the party would put up its own candidate to face the National Party and the PFP-NRP alliance.

After last night's meeting, Mr Van Loggarenberg announced that the matter had been settled and although no party supporter will be instructed to back the rightwing candidates, they were at liberty to support the candidates if they wished.

He said the party would not put up a candidate in either of the constituencies.

This put paid to Mr Van der Linde's statement that the party would put up its own candidate and the depth of the division was reflected by a lunchtime statement by Mr Van Loggarenberg that the decision to support the right wing candidates had been taken by the supreme CP body in the area and that if a branch wanted to put up a candidate, it had to go through the correct channels and the

candidate would have to be approved by his committee.

Meanwhile the PFP-NRP alliance issued a joint statement by the Cape provincial leaders of both parties.

A crucial point in their announcement was that the East London City candidate would be a member of the PFP and that Mr Errol Spring had been endorsed as the East London North candidate to face Mr Niemand and Mr Calle Badenhorst of the National Party.

The joint statement by Mr Roger Hulley and Mr Pat Rogers said: "In East London City, the PFP will nominate a consensus candidate after joint discussions between the local formations of the two parties which will jointly convene for the purpose.

"Further discussions are being held with a view to one or other of the parties fielding a candidate for the alliance on a consensus basis in respect of further seats throughout the province. Announcements about these seats will be made in due course."

Asked why East London City was being treated differently in the alliance and why it would definitely have a PFP candidate, Mr Hulley pointed to the position in Queenstown where a NRP candidate would be the sole alliance nomination.

He said an electoral college would decide the candidate for the East London City constituency and the NRP would be invited to serve on this college to make it a consensus candidate. In Queenstown, the PFP in turn would be invited to serve on the electoral college to choose the NRP candidate.

The statement said the parties would retain their separate identities, but that they would make common cause during the election campaign.

"This will done on the basis that a non-racial constitutional dispensation should be negotiated

at regional level and national "indabas", as a matter of urgency, and on the basis that support for the alliance candidates will demonstrate clear-cut electoral support for real reform."

The statement said the parties would not oppose each other in any Cape constituencies and that agreement had been reached that each party would nominate its own candidates held by each party in Albany, Claremont, Constantia, Gardens, Green Point, Groote Schuur, Pinelands, PE Central, King William's Town, Sea Point, Walmer and Wynberg.

The statement said: "At this stage we agree in respect of seats presently held by the National Party, the PFP will nominate candidates in EL North and City, Maitland, Newton Park, Algoa, Simon's Town, Durbanville, Helderberg and Stellenbosch while the NRP will nominate candidates in the following seats: Queenstown, Vasco, Caledon and Swellendam.

Further discussions were being held about the alliance fielding other consensus candidates and announcements would be made soon.

The statement said: "We agree that every effort will be made to achieve maximum co-ordination of personnel and other resources at constituency level during the election, and to establish an integrated network to handle postal and special votes effectively throughout the province.

"We take this opportunity to express our enthusiasm for the fact that this alliance means that for the first time in almost 30 years, the National Party will be confronted at the polls by an undivided reform-minded opposition.

"Coming at a time when the government's traditional electoral base is deeply divided, it means that we look forward to our alliance being able to make deep electoral inroads in the Cape, even in the platteland seats which have been overlooked by both parties for many years."

Emergency 'must stay to keep law and order'

We must stand united, says PW

Star 204A 30/1/87

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Parliament

President Botha said today that the National Party's election platform would be the need for South Africans to stand united and put the country first.

The date of the election will be published by The Star in its later editions today.

Mr Botha told a joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament this morning that the Government would like to lift the state of emergency, but would maintain its basic responsibility to uphold law and order.

He said the revolutionary climate in the country necessitated the continued maintenance of the emergency.

In his speech he also focused sharply on the proposed Council of State — which he first mooted at last year's National Party federal congress — as the statutory body for leaders and representatives of all communities to make decisions by consensus at the highest level.

Mr Botha said 1987 would be a year in which sides would have to be taken. South Africa would have to reconsider both the content and direction of its foreign relations. Ultimately, it was not to the country's advantage to become isolated from the international community.

He made a strong appeal to the leaders of all the countries of Southern Africa to come together to put aside differences in the interests and well-being of the region's people.

He reiterated that discussion with the ANC was possible only if it severed its ties with the South African Communist Party, abandoned violence, and participated as peaceful South African citizens in constitutional processes.

He said the proposed National Council could be the precursor of a Council of State, which could consist of leaders and other representatives of all groups and communities.

Turning to the election, Mr Botha said public accountability was only possible if political parties were periodically granted the opportunity to put their policy and viewpoints to voters.

"A democratic government must from time to time go to the country and provide those who elect it the opportunity for decision.

"Since the time of the previous election and the referendum, a large number of new voters has been added to our voters roll. They are mostly young people who have the right to participate in decisions about the future."

South Africa, he said, must stand united against the spirit of revolution incited against the country from abroad.

Job creation

"South Africa must unite against uncalled-for and unwarranted interference in our domestic affairs.

"South Africa must stand united to strengthen its economy through higher productivity, job creation and thrift, to the advantage of all, and this must be done in the spirit of 'South Africa First'.

"South Africa must think and act like a living organism in order to build a democratic and stable constitutional future through consultation and the elimination of violence."

Mr Botha said information on further steps on how to make progress in this regard would be submitted by him to the voting public.

ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

ONLY three million voters — all white — are eligible to vote or to be voted for in the election that the State President, Mr P W Botha, will announce today.

More than 26 million other South Africans will be ignored. There are, of course, the two junior chambers of the three-chamber Parliament, but it has been demonstrated time and again that power is exclusively in white hands.

The announcement of the date of the election at the opening of Parliament today continues the centuries-old tradition of white domination. It is whites who decide how this country, all our lives, shall be run.

And that is the nub of the problems in this

At last YOUR chance to choose your OWN govt

country, the cause of the bloody conflict that has engulfed the lives of South Africans: those who have been denied a voice demand an effective say in the running of their country, in the decision-making here.

In spite of years of talk of reform, the Government is not giving in on this one.

Is the Government reflecting the will of

the people of South Africa?

From today we put that to the test.

The *Sowetan* is leaping beyond apartheid, beyond all forms of racism and partition. We ask every South African — black and white; young and old; male and female; urban and rural — to pick the 10 people they believe should be gov-

erning this country.

We want the voice of every South African to be heard, whether he be from Bloemfontein or Kgabatsane, from Na-boomspruit or Bisho, from Pretoria or Umtata, from Sibasa or Mmabatho.

You may choose any South African you believe is capable of running this country whatever his political persuasions. Each person whose name you send will get one vote.

The top 10 names will be the people that South Africans want to entrust with the government of this country. The person with the highest votes will be the one South

Africans believe should be heading the government.

Our ballot will be running concurrently with the white elections, so that we can effectively show what is possible in relation to what is in fact happening in our country now.

On the day that the results of the white elections are announced, we will also announce the results of the *Sowetan's* Ballot Box.

Besides the chance to cast your vote, you also get the chance of debating the issues facing this country. We invite readers to write to us arguing the merits of their choices. We will regularly publish a sample of the letters we get from readers.

Make sure your vote is heard.



PRESIDENT Pieter W Botha . . . announces white elections today.

How to cast YOUR vote

HERE is how you should cast your vote:

- On the form provided on this page, fill in the names of 10 people you would like to see forming a government to run South Africa.

- Fill in your name and address. We require an address where our reporters can find you if they have to check the genuineness of the entry. Post office numbers will not be accepted.

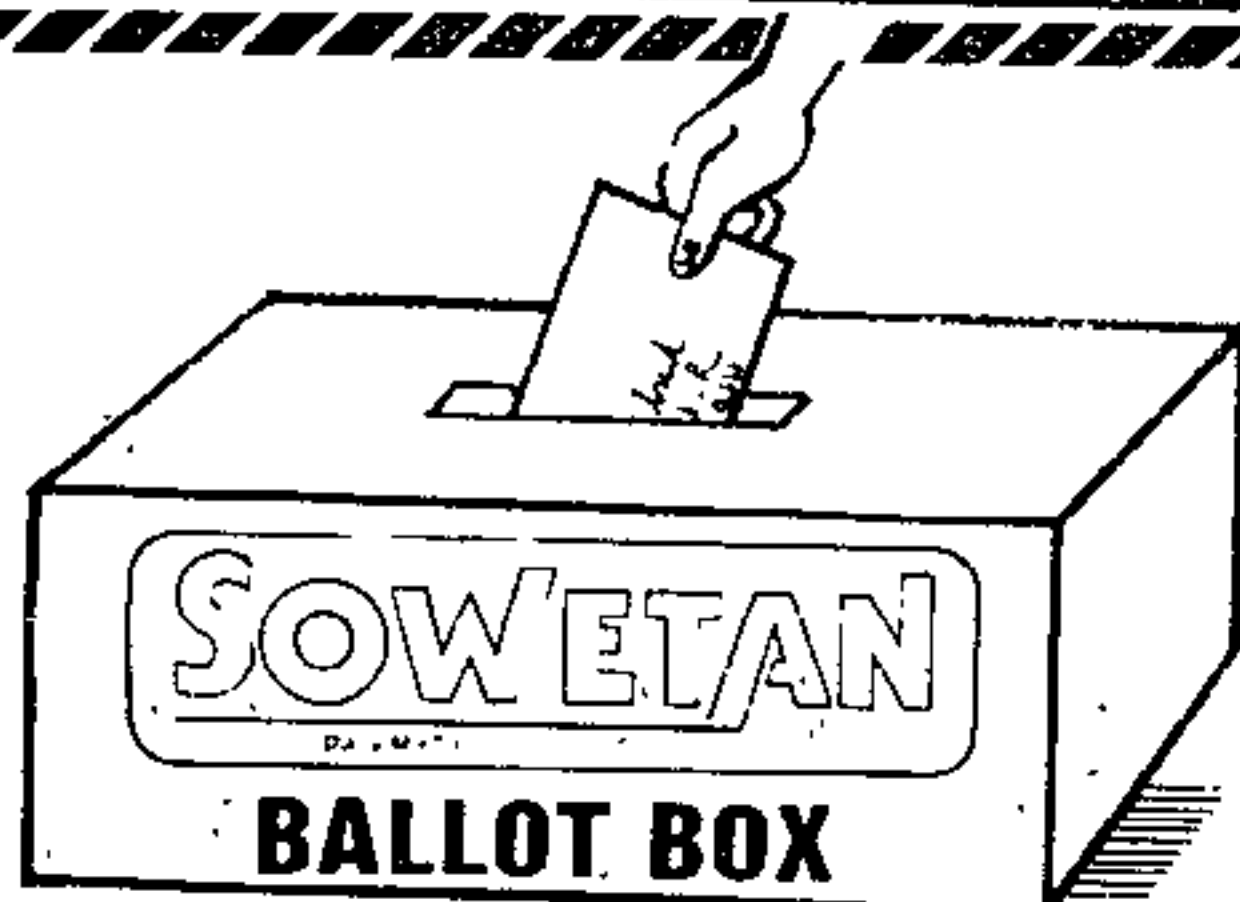
- Post to the *Sowetan's* Ballot Box, PO Box 60141, Langlaagte 2102.

- One person is entitled to send one form only.

- Only original forms cut from the *Sowetan* and pasted on postcards will be considered. This is to enhance the authenticity of the votes and to prevent duplication.

- All South Africans — black and white; urban and rural, even in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — are entitled to vote.

- In addition to voting, readers are invited to send us, separately, letters arguing the merits of the people they have chosen. We will regularly publish letters on this debate until the results are announced.



My choice of candidates is:

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

Name
Address
Code

JOE'S BURG

THE Friday column, *Joe's Burg*, has been held over. It will be carried as usual next Friday.

Botha defends emergency curbs

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, opened Parliament today with a commitment to retain the state of emergency and a promise that a package of reform proposals would be put to the electorate for approval in the general election.

In a address which can best be described as bland, Mr Botha:

- Defended the imposition of a state of emergency.

- Anticipated a positive economic growth rate.

- Reiterated the Government's commitment to expanding the

democratic base of Government and

- Presented a lukewarm response to the Natal-Kwazulu Indaba.

With regard to the state of emergency, the State President said "the correctness of this course of action has been substantiated by the decline in the occurrence of incidents of unrest since then".

However, he stressed: "The revolutionary climate necessitates the continued maintenance of these measures of control."

Mr Botha said ANC documents obtained recently by the Government showed beyond doubt that the

"ANC-SACP alliance is endeavouring to incite the black communities not only against one another, but also against the whites in SA."

Mr Botha said that discussions with the ANC would only be possible if it severed its relations with the SACP, abandoned violence and participated as peaceful South African citizens in the constitutional processes in South Africa.

He said there had already been several encouraging developments in the economy and that there was evidence of returning business and consumer confidence.

Mr Botha said that inflation remained a serious problem.

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WUP/ST

Beach row MP in stayaway protest

Jan. 1987

306A

End Post

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party MP for Addo, Mr Peter Hendrickse, did not attend today's official opening of Parliament in protest against the President's handling of the Port Elizabeth "whites only" beach incident involving LP members.

In a statement Mr Hendrickse referred to

Mr Botha's television appearance last week after the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, apologised for affronting the dignity of the president.

Mr Peter Hendrickse, son of Mr Allan Hendrickse, said Mr Botha's actions had convinced him that the President was "impetuous, petty and parochial and that he puts the interests of the NP before those of SA".

These characteristics precluded him from being "the statesman that South Africa so desperately needs at this time".

Mr Hendrickse said he had not expected Mr Botha to make any major reform announcements in his speech opening Parliament. He also did not expect anything to come of announcements that Mr Botha might make in future.

The LP Member said he would attend future sittings of the House of Representatives.

cratic right of members to to criticise and stay away from the opening of Parliament by the President. — Sapa

Election pacts clinched in EL

DD 201187 (30LA)
Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — Two election alliances were consolidated here last night on the eve of the State President's announcement of the election date.

The Conservative Party constituency council announced that all its supporters could vote for the two rightwing candidates in East London City and East London North if they wished to but that the support was not a party directive.

On Wednesday, the East London chairman of the CP, Mr Jopie van der Linde, rejected an announcement by the constituency council chairman, Mr Cobus van Loggerenberg, that the party had decided to support the two independent candidates, Mr Nic Slabber in East London City and Mr Bazil Niemand in East London North.

Meanwhile, the PFP-NRP alliance underwrote their far-reaching pact yesterday with a joint statement issued here by the Cape provincial leaders of both parties.

A crucial point in the announcement was that the East London City candidate would be a member of the PFP and that Mr Errol Spring had been endorsed as the East London North candidate.

● In another development yesterday, an area committee in Ward 3 passed a vote of no confidence in the city councillor for the ward, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaite, who recently switched from the NP to the PFP.

Mr Henry Park, chairman of the committee which covers Panmure, Milner Estate and Stoneydrift, said the motion had been passed because Mr Bassingthwaite had done nothing for the area.

He said there was no political motive behind the move but Mr Bassingthwaite said last night the committee had not wanted to speak to him since he switched parties.

Full reports page 3

US reaction to Tambo visit pleases Pik

3044

DD

30/1/87

Dispatch Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — The ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo's visit to the United States had backfired as the organisation's violence and Moscow link were receiving publicity in America which South Africa could not have bought for "millions", the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Reacting to the talks between Mr Tambo and the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, he said the "other side of the picture" was being put to the American people because of Mr Tambo's presence.

"Wherever he appears he is confronted with questions on the policy of the ANC regarding violence and its connections with Moscow," Mr Botha said.

"It would have cost us million in propaganda to show how the ANC is committed to violence and terrorism and has direct links with Moscow and even then we would not have achieved the same result."

South Africa's ambassador, Mr Herbert Beukes, had reported anti-ANC demonstrations, highlighting its commitment to violence

and necklace murders, were being televised. The South African Government had been opposed to the meeting with Mr Shultz as it could not be explained coherently in terms of US policy and was "ill-advised as even Republican senators and the liberal American press concluded."

It had been hoped that Mr Shultz would firmly call on the ANC to stop its violence and cut its ties with the South African Communist Party.

"This appears to have been done," Mr Botha said.

Critics in show of defiance

RSC opposition growing after PFP walkout

30/11/87 B/Dey
BOD

LOCAL authorities opposed to government's Regional Services Councils (RSCs) are gearing up for a final show of defiance against their introduction later this year.

City councillors in Cape Town indicated yesterday they were considering emulating the PFP's walkout of the Johannesburg City Council earlier this week. And the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce has strongly criticised RSCs in the Peninsula.

Critics say RSCs will be unworkable, costly extensions of existing bureaucracy. They are set upon persuading government to drop a "convoluted form of metropolitan local government".

Many have decided to boycott official efforts to obtain nominations for the embryo RSCs.

Cape Town Chamber of Commerce president Peter Hugo said yesterday

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

there was extreme concern at the decision to incorporate the divisional council areas of Stellenbosch, Western Cape and Paarl into an RSC.

He said the decision flew in the face of representations made by leaders across a wide spectrum of the local community.

DIANNA GAMES reports that PFP leader in the Johannesburg City Council Sam Moss believes the PFP will not be allowed a representative on the local RSC.

The ruling NP/Independent Ratepayers' Association alliance has a one seat majority in the council, and although it has said it will allow the PFP a seat, Moss doesn't think this will come about.

And the council's management committee said later the PFP had, by its actions, ruined its chance of gaining representation on the RSC.

30/1/87

Who will win Natal?

Political commentators already have the National Party (NP) in Natal dead and buried way ahead of the election — such is the perceived clout of the electoral alliance between the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the New Republic Party (NRP).

It's a view which the NP, at this stage, is doing its best to encourage, believing that such talk could help lull its opponents into a false sense of security.

Of course, the truth will be known only on balloting day. But of the 20 seats on offer in Natal, analysts reckon at least 16 are within the alliance's grasp.

There is much empirical evidence to support this contention. Based on the results of the 1980 election, for example, a combined vote shows a PFP-NRP alliance would have



**NRP leader Sutton ...
pact for survival?**

comfortably won at least 13 of the seats.

As things stand in the province, the NP holds 10 seats (having gained three through earlier defections from the NRP), the PFP six and the NRP four.

It is felt that the alliance is in a strong position to win back the three seats where the sitting MPs defected — Durban North, Amanzimtoti and South Coast. And they

could also mount a credible assault on four others, Port Natal, Umlazi, Umhlathuzana and Umhlanga.

But then much has changed since 1980. And in today's fluid political atmosphere, with defections to the Left and Right in most parties, little can be taken for granted. For one, NP leader P W Botha should not be underestimated.

The alliance has let it be known that it will be using the Indaba — not in substance but as a demonstration of negotiation politics which it exemplifies — as a major plank in its election platform.

That, in all probability, will make it vulnerable to attack from the Right, which is bound to highlight the "threats" to minorities inherent in the Indaba's constitutional proposals as well as the economic perils of the equalisation policy it proposes. In the process Natal's traditionally conservative white voters could well be panicked into the

NP laager.

A lot, of course, will depend on whether the alliance has been successful in taking the "old guard" of the NRP with it. The recent resignations of a number of NRP stalwarts within parliament and the provinces indicates that their loyalty certainly cannot be relied upon. Just where they will cast their votes is likely to be the subject of intense speculation in the run up to the election — and a critical factor in deciding its outcome.

Former NP secretary in Natal Renier Schoeman (who will contest Umhlanga) believes the alliance was born of weakness rather than strength. He predicts that any benefits are likely to be negated by wholesale defections from the NRP to the NP.

"The PFP have been unable to sell their policy to the electorate and the NRP hasn't had a policy for so long they've forgotten what it is to have one. They are trying to sell the Indaba sizzle because they haven't got any hamburger," he says.

The alliance candidates see it differently. They contend the NP is in danger of tripping over its own reform agenda. The electorate has heard so much about reform but so little has been translated into action that they are ready to embrace any positive initiatives like the Indaba — warts and all.

As PFP MP for Pinetown Roger Burrows says: "The Nats have knocked the Indaba but as a counter position they have presented nothing but a series of vague promises."

Diametrically opposed opinions they may be. But what it all adds up to is that Natal could well be headed for a photo finish on election day.

SA'S IMAGE ABROAD

Is there life after Chettle?

In a move which will have serious implications at home and abroad, John Chettle has resigned from the SA Foundation.

For the better part of 15 years Chettle has sought to promote in America an understanding of SA's unique problems. During that time he has had to fight not only the indigenous critics with their own agendas, but also to defend SA's image against those of its own politicians who believe intransigence is a substitute for diplomacy.

Chettle held no official portfolio during this time. As director of the foundation's North American offices, he was forbidden even to register as a foreign agent or to have

The SA Foundation, which has been assiduously promoting SA's tarnished image abroad since the Sixties, has lost its most influential and respected figure in Washington, John Chettle. Our US correspondent analyses the significance of his departure.

the official status of a lobbyist.

Yet Chettle proved that a man of reason and resourcefulness could be an effective voice in the shouting hall that is Washington.

What was extraordinary about Chettle's performance was not that he made friends among Americans already predisposed to be sympathetic to SA. Rather, with a steady supply of reason dashed with quiet humour, Chettle was able in both the US and Canada to open the doors of people who consider an extension of black political rights only the first demand on their South African wish list. Several years ago the *FM* (September 30 1983) noted that "Washington sources indicate that Chettle is, without exaggeration, the most effective lobbyist ..."

Whether it involved debating Andrew Young on a television chat show, or lining up

interviews back in SA for yet another American journalist determined to be a two-week expert on South African politics, Chettle invested enormous energy and — importantly — integrity in his job.

Whether it was at his discreet lunches at the exclusive Cosmos Club, or through a private note on some technical piece of anti-SA legislation, Chettle's message was heard by a succession of American presidents, civil rights militants and business and opinion leaders. If you wanted to find out about "the South African question" it was no use going to the country's embassies during this period; the out-of-date statistics and blank ignorance served up to Americans who had legitimate questions about the country only reinforced the rapidly growing prejudice against SA. No, your best bet was to call Chettle. You might not agree with him but he would not lie to you.

As of April 1, Chettle will join the prestigious Washington law firm of Friedman, Levy, Kroll and Simonds as a specialist in international trade matters. He has permanent residency in the US and was recently admitted to the bar after having taken a Masters degree in law from Georgetown to complement the Wits law degree he took in 1966.

"It hurts," Chettle says. "I still have family back home and my wife has an even larger family group there."

But ...

For one thing, at 53, Chettle has decided it is time to use his remarkable academic training (honours in history from Oxford as a Rhodes scholar) and legal background and make some money — at least more money than the relatively modest stipend allowed an SA Foundation office manager.

"I have a son at Harvard right now and that costs the equivalent of R40 000 a year," he says. "I don't know that I could command the kind of income in today's economy back home that would allow me to fulfil my family obligations."

Beyond that, of course, it is no secret that Chettle was disappointed at being passed over for the job of president of the foundation last year.

But Chettle is leaving a job he loved and was extremely good at for a far and away more compelling reason: he was losing the race with current events. This disappointment is compounded by the frustration of knowing that for as far as Chettle can see, there is little prospect that the South African government, the foundation, or South African politics in general will provide him or his successor any relief.

Most frustrating of all to Chettle is his deeply held belief that if he had a bit more help he could make an even greater difference in the battle for American friendship for his country.

That US-SA relations are at a nadir is no secret. The old premise that good relations with SA were essential to the major Western industrial bloc — because of its dependence on uranium, platinum and other strategic

minerals — has been shown to be a lie. The recent open courting of the black nations which surround SA by US Secretary of State George Shultz; the direct contacts being set up so quickly between the White House and the African National Congress (ANC) are clear signals that the old American policy of constructive engagement has been replaced — irrevocably — by a process which can best be called "systematic estrangement" from all connections or friendly ties with apartheid or a government which imposes it, regardless of that government's basic sincerity.

In a letter sent to SA Foundation director general Peter Sorour, Chettle warns "that the position now may be considerably more dangerous than is generally realised ..."

Speaking of his own frustrations over watching US ties to SA steadily worsen, he adds: "What makes this so frustrating is that there are still very significant ways in which this process could be influenced. There has never been a system so responsive to outside influence and pressures as that of the US, or one providing so much opportunity for those



Chettle ... a major loss to SA abroad

not in Congress or in the administration to participate in the legislative process, to make alliances, to draft amendments, to produce alternative legislation, to add to or reduce funding for particular projects, to bring other interests to bear, and even to overturn previous decisions.

"As Secretary (George) Shultz said recently, no decision in Washington is ever final. But there is no way that the foundation office, with all the demands that are made upon it, can do what needs to be done. We are faced now with both a political and a legal struggle of unprecedented importance and complexity."

The bulk of the Chettle valediction to the SA Foundation officials was a shopping list of what the anti-SA forces have, in his judgment, on their agenda for the immediate future. Even in brief, the list makes bleak reading.

Those anti-SA forces will "try to use the support already offered by the administration to (the) Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council to get the US com-

mitted to that side. They will seek to close 'loopholes' (in the trade embargo law), in particular they are going to try to prevent importation of uranium hexafluoride.

"They will focus on licensing agreements and technology exchange and try to prohibit them ... they will try to ban US exports of computers and heavy mining equipment and to cut back on particular South African exports.

"They will introduce legislation into the House this year, possibly a variation on the Dellums legislation of last year which sought to cut off all trade and investment with SA, but they will postpone a major push for a full embargo until next year when:

- ☐ An election is imminent;
- ☐ People have had time to forget the poor results of the last sanctions; and
- ☐ The South African government either may be guilty of some further act of foolishness, or have failed to 'scrap apartheid.'

"They will put as much pressure as possible on US allies to adopt similar sanctions or at least not to undercut existing US sanctions. They have already put great pressure on the Japanese, who are highly sensitive to it."

But Chettle also warned that the US government bureaucracy, prodded by the example of its Reagan administration leadership, has shifted over to an anti-SA stance for domestic policy reasons that may have nothing to do with SA's political relations.

He noted that the US mining industry and leading defence contractors have won support within various agencies of the government to appropriate money to find alternatives to the industrial metals which America must buy from SA or the Soviet Union. The recent world trip by the *Voyager*, which was made out of metallic composites, was one example (Federal funding of the platinum mine complex in Montana was another) of how the bureaucracy is using the "South African issue" for its own purposes.

Chettle noted: "More significant, however, is the message that is sent when the most conservative administration in recent times starts talking to the ANC. When the number three man in the State Department gives a press conference at ANC headquarters in Lusaka with members of the ANC executive lined up behind him, and says that the ANC are 'the players' in the situation, no amount of subsequent explanation can obscure what is happening. It leaves it open to a later, more liberal, administration to go even further in recognising the ANC, and delegitimising the South African government. I think therefore that the threat is a very clear one, and I'm hoping that we do not take it as lightly as we did in 1986."

Chettle's letter will shake the foundation — which last year had to double members' contributions as it hit a cash crisis. And once Chettle leaves, the foundation may well have to address itself to the issue of whether it any longer has a role in an increasingly hostile world which has chosen sides and has the perseverance to see the issue through. ■

304A
FM 30/1/87

RANDBURG

An Opposition must oppose

What is the PFP playing at in Randburg? Where the representation of a major province is at stake, and there is as important a local issue as the Indaba, it may be justifiable to enter into an anti-Nat pact with the NRP. And if in the process some of the NRP's ageing crypto-Nats are forced to reveal their true colours, that may be no bad thing either — for everybody involved.

But Randburg is a different matter. It is in the heart of PFP territory, bordered to north and south by PFP seats, and has itself had PFP representatives in the past. It was high on the list of target seats for PFP gains in the coming election.

To consider withdrawing because of a split in the local National Party is crazy tactics and dubious morality.

As long as the PFP wants to fill the role of parliamentary opposition to the left of the NP, it is a total abdication of its self-appointed responsibility not to fight a seat like Randburg — especially as it thinks it could win anyway, and claims the renegade Wynand Malan would come bottom in a three-cornered fight.

And just how great is Wynand Malan's reformist fervour? He may object to things like the Group Areas Act, but his rejection of the PFP's approaches suggests that his ultimate view of the future is by no means the PFP's. Indeed, he himself says he wants the PFP to oppose him "so that I can test my theory that there is support for direction outside the present party-political set-up."

The PFP should take him up on this.

Suppose he wins, what then? He may hope to become

another Tielman Roos, but he is more likely to be another H A Fagin, Theo Gerdener or Japie Basson. And look where he is now: back with the Nats, contesting a hopeless seat. Is that what the PFP wants for Malan?

It is gratifying that brighter, younger politicians like Malan (and maybe Albert Nothnagel and others) have come to see the essential futility of current National Party policy. They are to be commended for their honesty and courage.

But the suggestion that there is room for yet another major political force in some nebulous — if not mythical — ground between the NP and PFP is absurd. It is regrettable that the PFP is encouraging this view in its new "strategy," instead of taking every opportunity to entrench itself as the only viable opposition.

The view that there are large numbers of reform-minded Nat MPs who will come out in the open and throw their lot in with a re-elected Independent Wynand Malan MP after the election is cloud-cuckooland.

Even if they did exist, they would have no mandate, little credibility, and questionable ethics. The PFP would gain no lasting benefit from such an alliance. Its need is to win over voters, not Nat MPs.

The strategy could backfire even in the short run. If the PFP — in spite of its expressed confidence that it could win Randburg — decides not to contest the seat, it could alienate supporters elsewhere.

In short, the proposal not to fight Randburg is half-baked and ill-advised. ■

ALLAN HENDRICKSE

Cold water indeed

FM 30/1/87

In the absurdly low polls notched up in the 1984 coloured and Indian elections, one figure came in on a sizeable populist vote — Allan Hendrickse. Indeed, there were political analysts at the time who felt that, operating within the conclaves of real power, he might assist in or trigger further reforms.

In November last year the Labour Party leader made yet another of his statements that his political bottom line was the scrapping of the Group Areas Act. But he has made such statements too often for his own good; and in the turgid wake of the PE seaside frolics, his humiliation by P W Botha staggers the imagination.

Here we have a canny politician — and Hendrickse is certainly a survivalist — going against bedrock opinion in his caucus that the time had come to make a protest against a law that reserves some eastern Cape beaches for whites. This protest was lodged at a far lower threshold of political acceptability than any purported walkout by Hendrickse over the Group Areas Act.

However he hedged about his apology to Botha, it was as craven as Botha's extraordinary overreaction, which must have amazed the world — precisely at the time when our links to the civilised nations are growing tenuous indeed. The president intervened in local apartheid and bolstered it.

Of course, given our continuing troubles — the whole apparatus of the State of Emergency, the US wooing of black Africa and the ANC, a contracting economy — Botha has perhaps little to lose by reverting to traditional Nationalist *kragdadigheid*. He has an election to win. But what a farce this trivial event in PE makes of the tricameral constitution, intended as it is to be used as a basis for forward movement based on consensus.

Hendrickse will presumably live to fight another day. But fight for what? Mere survival? What has happened to the high moral tone with which Labour entered parliament? Hendrickse should think carefully about his deeply compromised role in the system. ■

Resignations of Worrall and Malan fuel rumour of ma

Nats stagger from body blow

31/1/87 3044 Star double

Top race put in the shelf

Robert Garner
bert Fellows
Sun International —
the race on the South
calendar — will
not be run.
The originally scheduled
over 2000m at Turffontein on
April 25, has been postponed until
September 12 because of the
equine virus that has halted rac-
ing in the Transvaal and Cape
since December 10.

The postponement is a major
blow to the Transvaal feature
race season, which has already
lost much of its glitter with the
cancellation of the R300 000
Southern Sun Classic — the coun-
try's richest race for three-year-
olds.

The Southern Sun Classic was
down to be run over 1800m at
Tosforth Park on March 14.

The postponement of the Sun
International has come as a
major shock to the racing frater-
nity. Only two days ago Turf-
fontein general manager Mr John
Alexander told The Star that it
would "go ahead as planned on
April 25".

The principal reason for post-
poning the race was the South
African Turf Club's decision to
run the J & B Metropolitan Stakes
on April 18 — only a week before
the Sun International.

The Met, programmed for Jan-
uary 24, had to be rescheduled be-
cause of the Equi 2/Johannesburg
89 virus, which has knocked most
horses in the Cape out of action.

Sun International feared that
its big race would not receive
maximum publicity if it was run
only a week after the Met.

There were also fears that sev-
eral top horses based at the Cape
who have contracted the virus
would not run and that the quality
of the field would not match the
huge stake.

The postponement has forced a
major reshuffle of feature races
to be run at Turffontein from Sep-
tember to December, and has also
caused Clairwood to reschedule
the Clairwood Gold Vase, which
was programmed for August 23.

The conditions of the Sun Inter-
national will be changed because

● To Page 2

By David Braun and Colleen Ryan

Cape Town

The resignation of Ambassador to
London Dr Denis Worrall has
knocked the National Party off
balance at the start of one of
South Africa's most crucial elec-
tion campaigns.

This was confirmed last night by sev-
eral highly placed members of the Cab-
inet who declined to be quoted because
of the difficult position the ruling party
now finds itself in.

This is the second major political blow
to have struck the NP in a week. The first
was the resignation of the MP for Rand-
burg, Mr Wynand Malan.

And speculation that Dr Worrall might stand
as a candidate against the NP has fuelled ru-
mours that other "New Nats" may break away
from the Government.

Political sources say the "New Nats" group —
which has become highly dissatisfied with the NP
leadership — is considering crossing to the opposi-
tion after the election.



Gnats to you too, Orville!

Being a perfectionist is tough on the nerves — it can also be
tough on your wife Orville Moody, although he ended the first day
of the Barclays Seniors' Classic at Sun City joint leader on 70 with
fellow-American Doug Sanders, wasn't always happy with his form.

He had plenty to say to his wife about his lapses, too. It was
probably only a gnat that got in her hair, but the less fortunate
in the field who envied Moody his success suggested that the
US star's wife was saying: "Enough of your nagging, Orville — get
out of my hair!"

● See Page 22.

Opposition leaders were jubilant last night at
this latest setback for the Government — which em-
barrassed President Botha on the very day that he
announced the election and appealed to the elector-
ate for unity.

NP sources are worried that Dr Worrall's resig-
nation — coming so soon after Mr Malan's decision to
resign from the NP and stand as an independent
candidate in Randburg — could have a demoralising
effect on the party and a dramatic impact on the
electorate.

It is understood that Dr Worrall is showing a keen
interest in standing for election as an independent
candidate in Port Natal, the vulnerable seat of Mr
Stoffel Botha, leader of the NP in Natal and Minis-
ter of Home Affairs.

If Dr Worrall does, the Progressive Federal Party
ready to stand down, as it has in Randburg for
Malan — making victory for Dr Worrall a virtual
certainty.

Another seat apparently being considered by Dr
Worrall is Helderberg, where Mr Chris Heunis, Min-
ister of Constitutional Development and leader of
the NP in the Cape, is already under threat from a
group of dissident academics at the University of
Stellenbosch.

The group is said to be considering fielding its
own candidate against him.

A political source who has had close dealings with
Dr Worrall says he turned down an offer to stand for
the NP.

Other sources say the Ambassador's frustrations
with the NP, and particularly President Botha's

leadership, are well known and it
is most unlikely he would consider
standing for the NP.

It is widely known that there is
considerable frustration within
the NP at Mr Botha's leadership,
particularly his dictatorial style
of management and his slow-
down on reform.

A number of Nationalist MPs
believe that he has let down the
hundreds of thousands of voters

Election Special — See Page 10

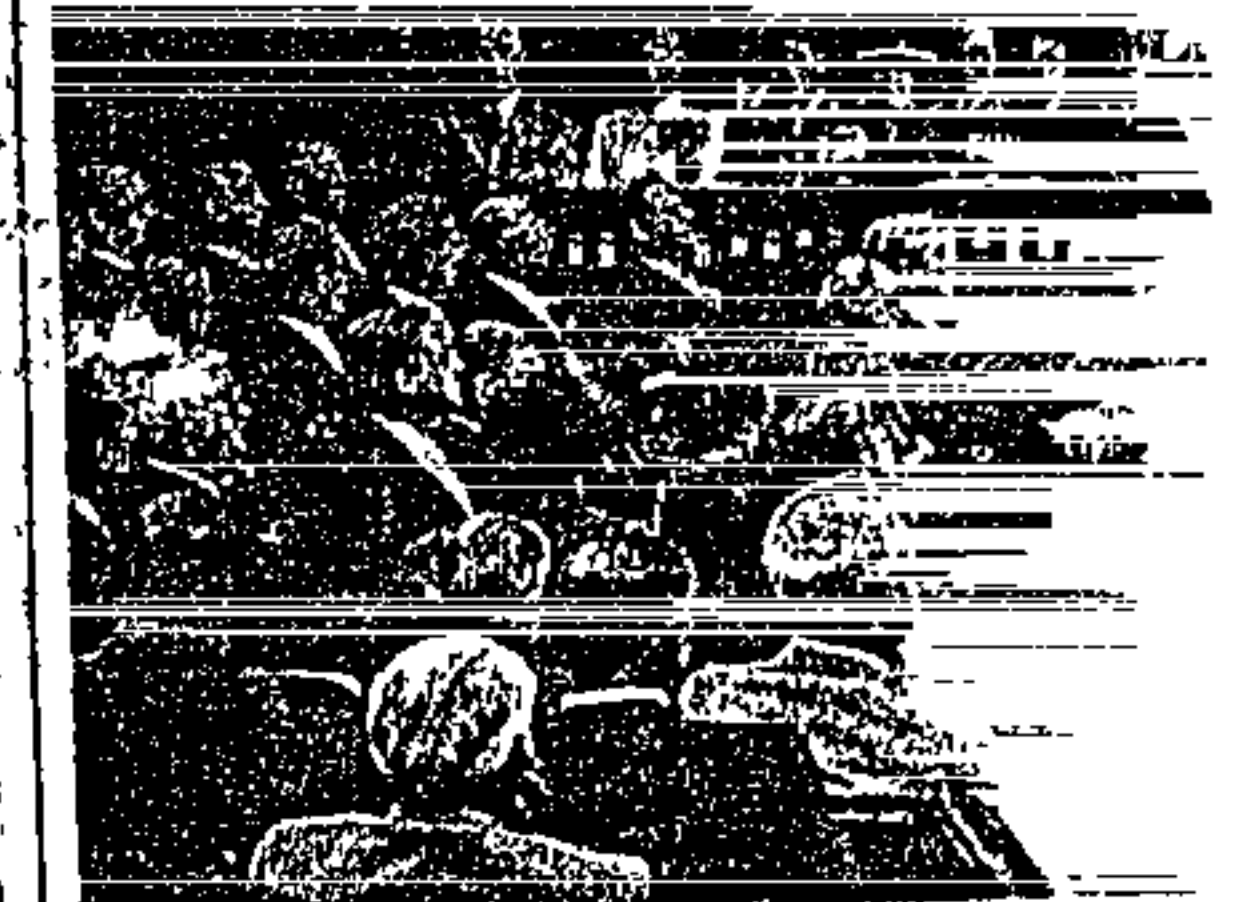
who supported him in the 1983
referendum and clearly want him
to speed up reform.

There is sympathy among these
MPs for the personal agony of Mr
Malan and Dr Worrall, although
at this stage it would be prema-
ture to speculate that more peo-
ple could follow them out of the
party.

The PFP, however, is trying to
precipitate a walk-out of what it
believes is a group of up to 40
reform-minded Nationalist MPs.
This is what is behind its strategy
in staying out of Randburg and, if
Dr Worrall stands, Port Natal.

The party is also likely to an-
nounce that it will not oppose re-

● To Page 2



THE POMP and splendour of the opening cere-
mony behind him, President Botha addresses
Parliament in Cape Town yesterday.

Krugersdorp's cinema debate reopens Tuesday

By Glen Elsas,
West Rand Bureau

Although the two cinemas in Krugersdorp officially
close after today's film shows, the cinema debate still
has not ended, as Krugersdorp's mayor has called a
special council meeting for Tuesday night to discuss
the issue yet again.

Krugersdorp was undecided at its monthly coun-
cil meeting on Monday whether to open the theatres
all races or not after six councillors voted for open
cinemas and six voted against open cinemas. The
mayor, Mr Christo Peyper, refused to use his mayoral
vote to decide the issue.

The council's debate and recommendation was
sent to the Department of Constitutional Development
Planning for a final decision and Ster Kinekor an-
nounced yesterday that the cinemas would close
no answer had been received.

Following this decision by the cinema group,
the mayor has decided on the meeting so that a fi-
nal decision can be made by council. A Ster-Kinekor
man said that although the cinema doors would be
closed on Monday, the group might reopen if a
council decision was reached.

● See Page 8.

Worrall sets election poser

CAPE TOWN — There was intense speculation yesterday over the political intentions of Dr Dennis Worrall who announced his resignation as South African ambassador to the United Kingdom.

Press reports yesterday said Dr Worrall, the former National Party MP for Gardens, might stand as an independent candidate, or possibly even for the Progressive Federal Party, in the general election.

It was speculated he might oppose a Nationalist heavyweight such as the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Helderberg or the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Port Natal.

It was reported that when he visited South Africa earlier this month Dr Worrall had expressed his strong support for the KwaNatal Indaba proposals and indicated he had become increasingly frustrated with the government's approach to reform.

However, Mr Heunis rejected the reports, saying Dr Worrall had discussed with him the possibility of standing for the National Party.

Dr Worrall refused to comment on the role he would play in the election when he was confronted by reporters as he left his London office yesterday.

In a statement issued on his behalf by the SA embassy, Dr Worrall confirmed he had re-

signed and said he planned to return to South Africa "and re-enter national public life."

He said his international experience of the last four years had convinced him more than ever that South Africa had a great future.

"I would like to make my contribution to its realisation. In particular, I believe this is a time for 'bridge builders' within all communities in South Africa to make themselves heard," he said.

"In the United Kingdom I set myself the task of raising the level of debate on the issues which South Africa poses and which arise in UK-South African relations."

"In particular, I have tried to convey two important points of view: firstly, that sanctions do not work, and secondly that answers to South Africa's problems must be worked out in South Africa itself by all of South Africa's people."

"I have enjoyed the running debate which I have had with the British media and on a more appropriate occasion I would like to express my appreciation to the British public for its constructive interest in events in South Africa."

Dr Worrall said he

would not make any further statement or give any interviews until the time of his departure. He did not say when that would be.

It is understood that although he has resigned he will not actually step down as ambassador until late next week.

When he does so he is expected to disclose details of his political future.

In Cape Town, Mr Heunis said Dr Worrall had discussed standing for the National Party in the election when they met earlier this month.

Mr Heunis, who is also the Cape leader of the National Party, said in a statement that it was "grossly unfair" on Dr Worrall to speculate about him standing for the PFP or as an independent.

"The facts are that I had a personal interview with Dr Worrall on the 10th of this month. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss with him the possibility of allocating to him a constituency in the Cape in which he could represent the National Party in the election."

Mr Heunis said it had been falsely alleged in news reports that there had been a clash between himself and Dr Worrall concerning the government's reform initiatives.

The leader of the Labour Party and cabinet minister without portfolio, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said Dr Worrall's resignation showed a "positive rethink" was taking place in the ranks of the National Party.

The resignation dominated British national newscasts with commentators saying it would be a major blow to President Botha but bring hope to all reformists in South Africa.

While the British Foreign Office said Dr Worrall's resignation was a personal matter on which it could not comment, senior officials there held him in high respect and rate him the finest ambassador since 1948.

● The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. W. Botha, confirmed at an election meeting here last night that the political future of the NP's outspoken MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, was hanging in the balance.

Mr Nothnagel's recent insistence on the need for negotiations with the banned ANC to secure a peaceful future for South Africa has severely embarrassed the NP hierarchy ahead of the election.

Mr Botha said Mr Nothnagel's position within the party was being considered by the party's Transvaal leadership, including Mr F. W. de Klerk, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Gen Magnus Malan and Mr Botha himself.

"If we reach an agreement, then there is no problem — otherwise our paths will part," he told a questioner — Sapa-DDC.



DR WORRALL

Deadline today to register

Dispatch Reporter EAST LONDON — Today is the deadline for voters to register for the May 6 general election.

Voters in the East London area have until midnight to register.

But people in areas such as King William's Town, Cathcart, Stutterheim and Queenstown have until 4 pm.

The regional officer of the Department of Home Affairs here, Mr D. van Schalkwyk, confirmed that the offices would remain open to enable people to have the last opportunity to register.

"The outlying offices will open at 8 am and close at 4 pm and if people still want to register after that, they will have to come to our offices in East London which will remain open until midnight," he said.

The department will handle change of addresses as well as new identity documents to enable people to get on the voters' roll.

Mr Van Schalkwyk said officials had dealt with about 500 people a day over the last few days and expected to be busy today for the last rush.

Meanwhile the Progressive Federal Party office here said it would set up eight tables throughout the city to enable people to check their registration.

Tables would be placed in the central business district and in the outlying suburbs as well as Beacon Bay and Gonubie where party workers would be on hand to help people to register.

The PFP's national director, Mr Neil Ross, said the party had handled thousands of registrations throughout the country.

In the East London area, 200 to 300 voters had been registered every week since the beginning of the year.

Witchdoctor axed to death

BULAWAYO — A Bulawayo witchdoctor has been axed to death by one of his patients.

Police said the patient, who was being treated for mental illness by Samson Ndaba Sibanda, became aggressive during a consultation and said he had dreamed the traditional healer was bewitching him. — Sapa

Polling date set for May 6

Dispatch Correspondent CAPE TOWN — President P. W. Botha yesterday ended six months of speculation about an early election for whites by finally pinpointing May 6 as polling day.

Proclamation day will be March 7 and the official nomination day for candidates will be March 31.

The disclosure of the election date overshadowed the rest of Mr Botha's opening of Parliament address which most opposition MPs said contained no new reform initiatives.

Mr Botha did not spell out the mandate the National Party would be seeking in the election but hinted that major planks in its platform would be security, constitutional and economic matters and "unwarranted interference" in domestic affairs.

He said the government would not hesitate to act decisively against those committed to the violent overthrow of the state.

The security forces would "leave no stone unturned" in efforts to defend South Africa against infiltration from neighbouring countries.

Mr Botha said the government would like to lift the state of emergency but the "revolutionary climate" made it necessary to continue with it.

He said the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party (SACP) were trying to incite black communities against each other and against whites.

"Discussions with the ANC are possible only if it severs its ties with and terminates its subversive to the SACP, abandons violence and participates as peaceful South African citizens in constitutional processes in South Africa."

● Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the new Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr F. W. de Klerk, said Parliament was expected to complete its business and be prorogued before or by the end of February.

He said the House of Assembly would deal with three Part Appropriation bills.

The general affairs "mini budget" would be introduced on February 9; transport, own affairs and Post Office part appropriation on February 12, 17 and 19.

Parliament opens P16

Fisherman in close encounter

CAPE TOWN — A Springbok spearfisherman and professional diver, Tommy Botha, stared into the jaws of death this week... and lived.

Mr Botha, of Tableview, was spearfishing on an offshore reef between Oyster Bay and Storms River Mouth on Tuesday when a 2½-metre shark bit his hand, dragged him along the surface of the water — and then let go.

It did not return and he was able to get safely onto the boat he was diving from and to hospital in Kareedouw, where he received about 20 stitches in his hand.

"I think the two things that saved me were that I was wearing a thick wetsuit glove and the fact that it took me in the side of its mouth, where there are very few teeth," he said.

Stage set Graeme's

Dispatch Correspondent PORT ELIZABETH — With Australians bowling on a gentle pitch and a capacity crowd at the ground where he began his exalted career, the stage seems ideally set for what may prove to be the final Test innings of Graeme Pollock at St George's Park this afternoon.

The tourists will resume their first innings at 230 for four at 11 am, with Kepler Wessels and Michael Haysman still at the crease, and an early breakthrough could have the Springboks batting after lunch.

Then, when the first Bok wicket falls, the anticipation will start, when the second wicket falls, the legend will appear and the ground will erupt.

One of the most emotional and sentimental moments in South African sport is almost cer-

And along came Arn

By ADRIAN MONTEATH QUEENSTOWN — Eat your hearts out, Wyatt Earp, Buffalo Bill and the rest.

The men the rustlers have to look out for in the wild North-Eastern Cape are Armand Aucamp, 11, and his trusty friend, Bankink Jan, 14.

People at Sterkstroom, near here, are still talking about their recent Butch-and-Sundance-Kid act to catch a stock thief.

Armand's mother, Mrs

Leta Aucamp of Sunnyridge farm, said yesterday. "His dad and I are very proud of them both."

Armand, a pupil at Laerskool Hangklip in Queenstown, and Bankink, the son of a farm labourer, went out into the veld early in the morning.

Soon they came across a man skinning one of Mr Aucamp's angora goats and Armand, who was armed with a .22 rifle, promptly told the man to lie down.

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Nats offered seat to Worrall

NM 31/1/87

Shark attacks and tows skindiver

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Springbok spearfisherman Tommy Botha stared into the jaws of death this week ... and lived

Mr Botha was skindiving off the Eastern Cape coast when a two-and-a-half metre shark attacked him, bit his hand and towed him along the surface before finally letting go.

It did not return and he was able to climb safely on to the boat from which he was diving

He received about 20 stitches in his hand

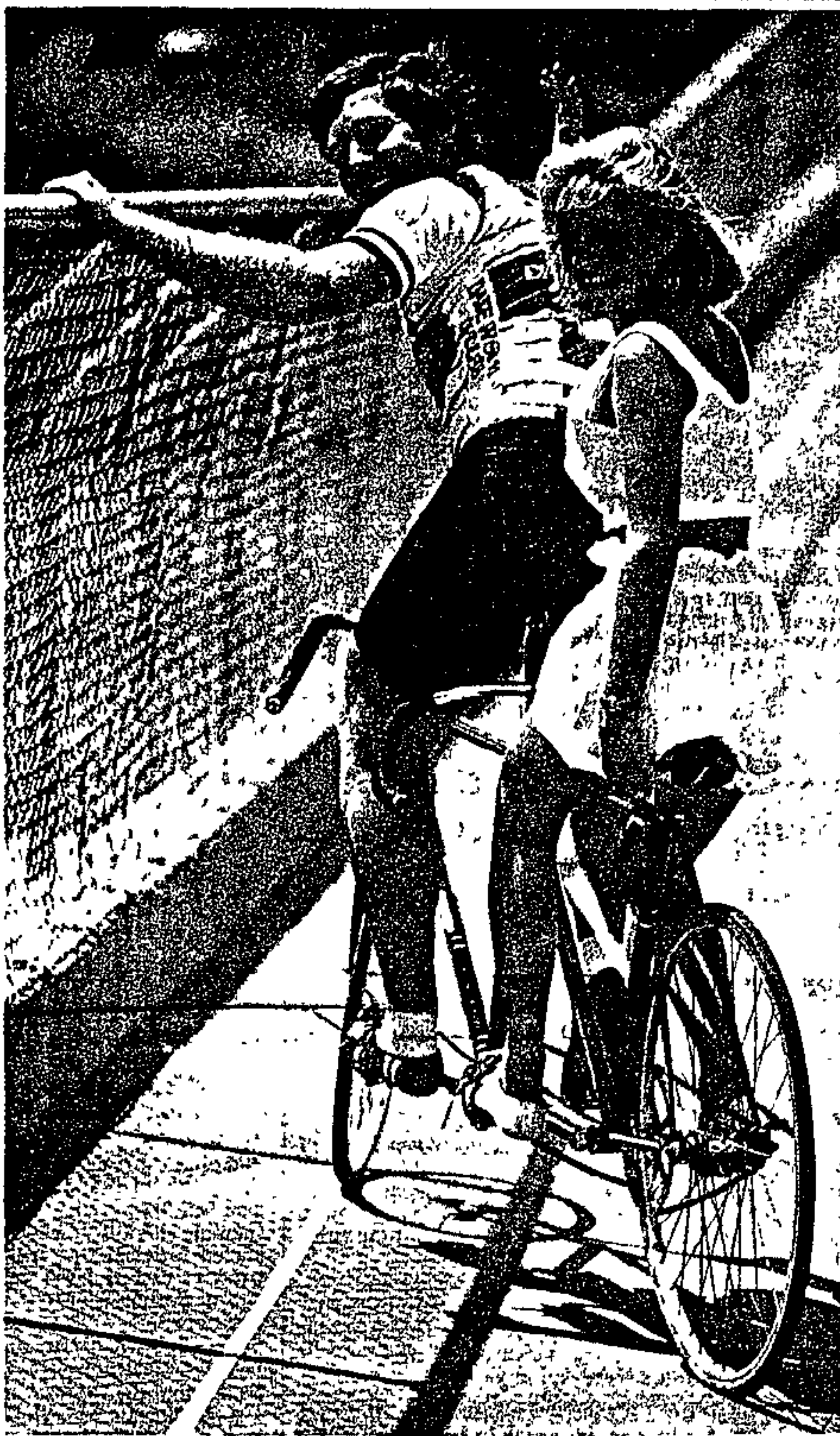
The attack on Mr Botha happened on an offshore reef between Oyster Bay and Storms River Mouth

'I was resting on the surface between dives and looking down into the water through my goggles. My hands were hanging down. I didn't see the shark — it must have come up at an angle from the side,' Mr Botha said.

'It grabbed my right hand in the side of its mouth and while it was dragging me along the surface I hit it with my speargun and screamed. It let go and I kept screaming until the boat, which was about 100 m away, got to me

He thought the shark could have been a great white or a mako

All set for the big cycle relay



Cyclist Dave Wiseman shows Lindsay Dean what life is like in the fast lane. That's what it's going to be all about on March 14 when Natal's first cycle relay takes place as part of the Umhlanga Festival. The Natal Mercury and the Hypermarket will be responsible for this exciting venture. The race will start at the Chartwell Centre parking area at 3 p.m., head towards Durban on the Leo Boyd Highway and return to Umhlanga via Forest Drive — a nine kilometre lap. The event will cater for riders in five categories and is open to all cyclists over the age of 16 — cyclists need not be registered members of a club. The entry fee is R20 per team of four and entry forms are available from Rave Sports Promotions.

Picture by ANTHONY McMILLAN

Armed robbery in capital nets R30 737

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

TWO armed white men held up a branch of the Allied Building Society in Scottsville yesterday and made off with more than R30 000 after threatening a teller.

Police said the men — both armed with guns — entered the Allied in Nedbank Plaza in Durban Road just after 3 p.m. One of the robbers approached

a woman teller and threatened her

The men, neither of whom was masked, then fled with the R30 737 that had been handed over

They escaped in a vehicle which police did not wish to describe.

Senior CID officers, led by the Criminal Investigation Officer for Natal Inland, Brig Christo Marx, are investigating the hold-up. No arrests had been made by late yesterday.

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Dr Denis Worrall, who has resigned as South African ambassador in London, discussed 'the possibility' of standing for the NP in the Cape two weeks ago.

The Cape leader of the NP, Mr Chris Heunis, who is also the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, revealed that he had a personal interview with Dr Worrall on January 19 to discuss 'the possibility of allocating him a constituency in the Cape Province in which he could represent the National Party in the election'

Mr Heunis gave no indication in his statement how Dr Worrall responded to the suggestion. His statement deepened the mystery surrounding Dr Worrall's resignation as it is reliably understood that during his recent home leave Dr Worrall also had detailed discussions with the Progressive Federal Party and supporters of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba about where he should stand and whether he would stand as an independent candidate or not

Most of the speculation yesterday was that Dr Worrall would stand with PFP support in either Mr Heunis's Helderberg seat or the Port Natal seat, held by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha

Dr Worrall's resignation as ambassador was announced yesterday by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr P. Botha

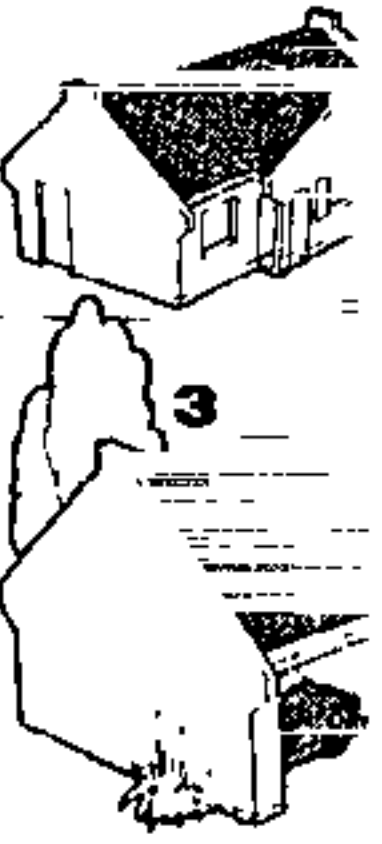
'I agreed He will soon be returning to South Africa. Agreement for his successor is being requested from the United Kingdom Government,' Mr Botha said

Dr Worrall's decision to resign was welcomed yesterday by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglon, and the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse

Mr Eglon said that although Dr Worrall still had to clarify his future role, his action had demonstrated he had a more important role to play in South Africa than continuing to 'defend the indefensible policies of the Government'

Mr Hendrickse said Dr Worrall's resignation showed a 'positive rethink' was taking place in the National Party

Dr Worrall's resignation, dominated British national newscasts and some in mainland Europe yesterday, with commentators saying it would be a major blow to President Botha but would bring hope to all reformists in South Africa



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Botha avoids NP election mandate Heunis denies reform clash with Worrall

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday ended six months of teasing whites about the possibility of an early general election by finally pinpointing May 6 as polling day.

Proclamation day will be March 7 and the official nomination of candidates will take place on March 31.

The disclosure of the election date completely overshadowed the rest of Mr Botha's opening of Parliament address which most MPs agreed contained no new reform initiatives and consisted largely of a restatement of existing policy positions.

Mr Botha also failed to spell out the mandate the National Party will be seeking in the coming election but hinted that major planks in the NP platform would be security, constitutional and economic matters, and "unwarranted interference" in the South Africa's domestic affairs.

Setting the tone for the election, Mr Botha said the government would not hesitate to act decisively against those committed to the violent overthrow of the state.

The security forces would "leave no stone unturned" in efforts to defend

South Africa against infiltration from neighbouring countries.

Mr Botha said the government would like to lift the state of emergency but that the "revolutionary climate" made it necessary to continue "these measures of control".

In an attack on the African National Congress, he said the organization and the SA Communist Party were trying to incite black communities against each other and against whites.

"It is evident that the ANC/SACP alliance is encouraging racial violence — even though it could lead to bloodshed on a large scale."

Mr Botha said nobody should be misled by the "fine phrases" used by the ANC/SACP alliance in seeking "recognition and respectability" and he repeated the government's conditions for discussions with the ANC.

"Discussions with the ANC are possible only if it severs its ties with and terminates its subservience to the SACP, abandons violence, and participates, as peaceful South African citizens, in constitutional processes in South Africa."

Referring to South Africa's relations with the rest of the world, he said they were going through a "test-

ing" time that had been gaining momentum since the end of World War II.

The government would have to reconsider the "content and direction" of its foreign relations, Mr Botha said.

"Ultimately, it is not to our advantage to become isolated from the international community."

In Top of the Times on page 18 today pictures of:

☐ **The Opening of Parliament**

☐ **Thursday night's official banquet**

Turning to the state of the economy, Mr Botha said inflation remained a serious problem and party political interests should not hamper efforts to bring it down.

Mr Botha said several factors, including the stronger performance of the rand, should eventually contrib-

ute to a decline in the rate of inflation.

"This in itself, however will not solve the problem."

"What is also required is increased competition, higher productivity and restraint of wage and price increases."

On the economy generally, Mr Botha said a positive real growth rate was anticipated due to the moderate recovery in 1986.

In the agricultural sphere, Mr Botha said, recent good rains had appreciably improved the prospects of many farmers in the summer rainfall areas, bringing widespread relief from one of the worst droughts in the history of the country.

He said the government was giving urgent attention to a report on the restructuring of agriculture, prepared by the Economic Advisory Council.

In the field of education, Mr Botha said the abuse of education for political purposes by radical groups — especially in the black communities — was deplorable.

Effective education was only possible if politics were excluded and parents positively realize "their rightful involvement as partners in the education of their children".

Heunis denies reform clash with Worrall

Political Staff

IN a statement yesterday on Dr Denis Worrall's resignation, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said: "It was with profound concern that I noted the contents of a front-page report in the Cape Times under the headline, 'Denis Worrall may quit government'."

"In the report, among other things, it is falsely alleged that there had been a clash between the South African Ambassador to the Court of St James and myself concerning the government's constitutional reform initiatives."

"This was supposed to have taken place when the ambassador was still chairman of the previous President's Council's Constitutional Committee."

Devoid

"The allegation is devoid of all truth and at no stage did the reporter attempt to verify the correctness of the allegation with me or my office."

"Bearing in mind the responsibility of the ambassador, the report does him a grave injustice which I sincerely regret."

"Regarding the speculation that the ambassador is considering standing as an independent, or as a candidate for the Progressive Federal Party, in the forthcoming election, I submit that this too is grossly unfair to him," he said.

On January 19, he had discussed with Dr Worrall the possibility of him standing for the NP in the Cape.

"Given all these facts, I believe the report not only does him a grave injustice, but it is injurious to the ambassador as it portrays him as a carpetbagger seeking political advancement in a political environment with which he is totally unconnected," Mr Heunis said.

Opposition rates speech as 'dismal'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties criticized both the tone and content of President P W Botha's opening address to Parliament yesterday.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin slated the speech as a "second-rate Rubicon".

"It was a dismal speech by a politician who was more concerned with keeping the divided National Party together than with leading the country in times of crisis," said Mr Eglin.

He said it was clear from Mr Botha's speech that he was pandering to the right wing with his eye on the forthcoming general election.

Veteran PFP MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, said Mr Botha had given no reasons for calling an election and no indication that the state of emergency would be lifted before the election.

"This means that the crippling restrictions on the media and government opponents will obtain through the months ahead." The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, said the speech had been devoid of any fresh reform initiative and served to justify the decision of the NRP to form an election alliance with the PFP.

The Labour Party leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said he welcomed what he interpreted as a positive response to the KwaNatal Indaba "and what could be interpreted as an acceptance in principle of a national indaba".

The leader of the Solidarity Party, Dr J N Reddy, said Mr Botha's speech contained little detail of reforms because of the coming general election.

The leader of the new Progressive Reform Party, Mr Pat Poovalingam, said Mr Botha had given no indication of his plans for the country. "South Africa is in turmoil but the election has paralysed the State President."

From page 1

Mr Eglin said that although Dr Worrall still had to clarify his future role, his action had demonstrated he had a more important role to play in South Africa than continuing to "defend the indefensible policies of the government".

Whatever decisions were taken about his future role, his resignation, as well as the decision of Mr Wynand Malan to resign from the National Party and the decision of businessmen like Mr Louis Luyt to stop supporting the government, had killed the credibility of the government.

"It shows that the wheels have come off the Nats."

"I believe this creates the opportunity of reversing the tide of 38 years..." Mr Eglin said.

IAN HOBBS reports from London that Dr Worrall refused to hold a press conference and steadfastly refused to comment on the role he would play in the election when he was confronted by reporters as he left his office yesterday.

He said only: "I feel that I want to make a contribution to the realization of South Africa's future back home because it is in South Africa that that future is going to be determined — not, with respect, in

London, Paris, New York or Washington or anywhere else."

"And the fact is that it will be done by South Africans and I think nothing really drives this point home so clearly as the American Congress's sanctions, which has had a totally counter-productive effect in South Africa."

However, it is reliably understood that during his recent home leave Dr Worrall had detailed discussions with the Progressive Federal Party and supporters of the KwaNatal Indaba about where he should stand and whether he would stand as an independent candidate or not.

In London the opposition Labour Party's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Donald Anderson, said Dr Worrall "resigned because he couldn't live with himself and continue to lie for his country".

Mr John Carlisle, the Conservative MP closest to South African affairs, said Dr Worrall would be a "massive" loss to South Africa's foreign diplomacy and fight against sanctions.

It is known that he will be badly missed by both Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Prorogued Parliament by end Feb

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Parliament was expected to complete its business and be prorogued before or by the end of February, the new Leader of the House, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday.

He said there would be three Part Appropriation bills to be dealt with before the current session could end.

The General Affairs "mini-budget" would be introduced on February 9, Transport, Own Affairs and the Post Office part appropriation on February 12, 17 and 19, respectively.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday gave notice of the government's intention to call for a parliamentary inquiry into the number of seats allocated to each province.

He told the house he would move on February 2 that a select committee be appointed to form part of a joint committee, with committees of the other two houses, to look at amendments to the constitution dealing with the allocation of seats. — Sapa

Another rebel Nat to go?

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

THE political future of Mr Albert Nothnagel, the National Party's outspoken MP for Innesdal, is hanging in the balance, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed last night.

Mr Nothnagel's recent insistence on the need for negotiations with the banned ANC to secure a peaceful future for South Africa has severely embarrassed the NP hierarchy ahead of the general election.

Mr Botha told an election meeting in Ruyterwacht last night that Mr Nothnagel's position within the party was being considered by the party's Transvaal leadership, including Mr F W de Klerk, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, General Magnus Malan and Mr Botha himself.

"If we reach an agreement, then there is no problem — otherwise our paths will part," he told a questioner at the meeting who wanted to know whether the government would tolerate the controversial MP's pro-negotiation stance with the organization.

'Our paths have parted'

Mr Botha said he could not disclose the contents of the NP leadership's ongoing discussions with Mr Nothnagel and that it could take "a few days" before clarity is finally reached on his future.

Turning to the rebel MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, who recently defected from the NP, Mr Botha said: "He used to be a friend of mine. Now that he has taken his decision our paths have parted."

Mr Botha's election speech was marked by a series of stinging attacks on the ANC.

Meanwhile speculation was rife yesterday about where Dr Denis Worrall, the former South African ambassador in London, will stand for Parliament against the National Party. It was disclosed that two weeks ago he had discussed "the possibility" of standing for the NP in the Cape.

The Cape leader of the NP, Mr Chris Heunis, who is also the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said he had a personal interview with Dr Worrall on January 19 to discuss the possibility of allocating to him a constituency in the Cape Province in which he could represent the National Party in the election.

Mr Heunis gave no indication in his statement of how Dr Worrall responded to his suggestion.

Dr Worrall's decision to resign was welcomed yesterday by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin and also by the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse.

frontline friendshi



An elated Mr Brian Mulroney, Canada's Prime Minister, wraps from left, Dr Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Mr Robert Mugabe c. Although Mr Mulroney hinted at a fresh Commonwealth in defended the use of violence by the African National Congress

What sort of election with a muzzled press?

CME Times 31/1/87 (30 kb)

THERE can hardly be much doubt left in anyone's mind about the nature, purpose and direction of President P W Botha's Nationalist government.

Whatever reformist intentions were present at its inception, the Botha government is now primarily concerned to maintain its hold on power, no matter what the cost to the economy and Western standards and values.

As Mr Wynand Malan has said, reform is dead.

As long as Botha-style reform did not threaten National Party unity and undermine its domination of the political system, reform was pursued as useful and functional.

But there was never at any stage any intention to negotiate with organizations such as the African National Congress about power-sharing.

Eyes wide open

There was never any intention to share power with any other group at all, we may now conclude. The English-speaking captains of industry and the Hendrickses and Rajbansis of the tricameral Parliament have been allowed to play a supportive role in perpetuating Afrikaner Nationalist rule. Nothing more. They have received nothing in return. They have not even succeeded in persuading the government to abolish the Group Areas Act!

Whether you believe they were "conned" — as the departing Mr Gordon Waddell has said — depends on whether you think they went into alliance with Mr Botha with their eyes wide open. By now, surely, they have lost their political innocence.

There have been signs and portents enough, notably the calculated sabotage of the EPG mission last year in the May 18 raids on our neighbour states.

What triggered this reaction, it seems, was the unwelcome prospect of negotiations with the ANC. The Botha cabinet decided to dig in before the drive for a settlement became irresistible.

The May 18 raids sent out the clearest possible signal that Nationalist Afrikanerdom was going into laager. There would be no more attempts to please Washington, London or Paris, sanctions or no sanctions. That stage was over. The Botha reform was effectively at an end.

It was also evident that the days of a free press were numbered. It was no longer necessary to please President Reagan.

The press clamp-down began and was steadily tightened. It now seems unlikely to be relaxed until nothing much is left. For the present it is still possible to offer comment and analysis in this column in reasonably forthright fashion, without inhibition, even if news reportage is seriously curtailed. But for how much longer?

On the run

Behind all the pomp and splendour of the opening of Parliament, with its mounted police and swooping fly-past of jet fighters, the South African reality is in truth pretty frightful. The country is in a state of simmering insurrection, kept in check, we may surmise, by iron-fisted police and SADF occupation of the sprawling black townships which house the majority of the population.

Life for activist opponents of the government these days is rather like being in the Resistance and on the run in Occupied Europe during World War II.

As in those days, it takes little imagination to guess at the desperate goings in the murkier regions of insurgency and counter-insurgency — the "necklacing" of so-called "collaborators" and informers, the use of torture, "dirty tricks", assassination squads, the knock on the door at midnight, the detention of children, some as young as 12 years of age... a daily round of terror and counter-terror.

With a muffled press and a radio and television news system purveying unabashed propaganda, the forthcoming whites-only election will be a grotesque distortion of a free election.

The more blows and setbacks to the National Party, the more Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan who break with the Nationalist government, the more ruthless and complete will be the clamp-down on the press and the harassment of individual journalists. At the same time, the propaganda machine will be going full blast, giving a distorted picture of the African National Congress, for example, and its aims and its objects.

Of course the ANC is committed to violent rebellion in present conditions. Rebellion is what tends to happen when



Political Survey

By GERALD SHAW



Mr Wynand Malan



Mr Albert Nothnagel

peaceful channels of political expression are closed and acknowledged leaders and organizations are driven underground or into exile.

The Marxist revolutionaries in their midst should be just as aware as the orthodox ANC nationalists, however, that revolution is not around the corner. The white-controlled South African state is militarily invincible and the National Party government is ruthless and resolute enough to keep it this way for some time to come.

From the ANC point of view, negotiation is the only sensible way ahead. So, too, is negotiation Pretoria's best option — negotiation from a position of strength which from now on must steadily erode.

Negotiation is the obvious course. Yet both the ANC and the Nationalist government still appear to believe that total victory is within their grasp and so they shy away from compromise.

President Botha, in his opening speech at Parliament, declares he will negotiate with an ANC which disavows communism and revolution and takes part in the legitimate politics. This sounds reasonable but is disingenuous.

The ANC is debarred from legitimate politics which is the reason, they say, why they have resorted to violence. If they were unbanned and Mandela was released, the situation would be different. As long as they are perforce committed to violence, furthermore, the ANC is not likely to jettison their communist allies until Washington or London steps

forward to replace Moscow as the armorer.

If there was a genuine will to negotiate on both sides these difficulties would be readily overcome. No such will exists. Both sides prefer to fight to the death as both sides believe they can win outright.

Meanwhile, persistence in the present course is destroying the country's social and economic infrastructure in slow stages and the only victor, ultimately, will be the Soviet Union, which thrives on chaos.

A clear-sighted man in the Nationalist camp such as Albert Nothnagel will stand up and proclaim to his fellows that there can be no lasting solution in South Africa which does not involve the African National Congress. But Mr Nothnagel is the exception in the circles in which he moves.

And his brave words are drowned out in the propaganda torrent which will swamp the airwaves in the election campaign and will continue without respite until polling day in May.

Sadly, a most encouraging constitutional initiative — the Natal indaba — was rejected by the President himself in his opening speech. This emphatic evidence of the potential offered by negotiation across the colour line is dismissed, it appears, because it does not fit in with the Botha-Heunis scheme of things for maintaining Nationalist control.

No wonder men of the calibre of Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan are breaking ranks. Where are the others who will follow their lead?

Govt allows selective ANC quotes



Mr Oliver Tambo

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has granted permission to the South African media to publish certain quotes of Mr Oliver Tambo's statements during his current visit to the United States.

One of the extracts, appearing in the New York Times, quoted Mr Tambo as saying: "When blacks learn that a white has died in the violence that has become a common feature of the South African political situation — that kind of thing comes like a drop of rain after a long drought."

An editorial in the Wall Street Journal quoted Mr Tambo where he said: "The killing of white civilians would have the beneficial effect of getting white people used to bleeding."

In the Journal editorial, which

was highly critical of the Shultz-Tambo meeting, the opinion was expressed that it was difficult to see how the State Department could believe that the achievement of a stable post-apartheid society would be aided by lending credence to the idea that the fragmented ANC spoke for South Africa's 20 million blacks.

The New York Post said in an editorial that the conclusion that the ANC represented an acceptable alternative to the white-ruled regime in Pretoria was profoundly misguided.

The paper said on the very day that the ANC made an appeal to whites to join it in a massive democratic coalition to end apartheid Mr Tambo called on blacks to intensify terrorist attacks on targets in white-controlled cities and towns. — Sapa

Letters

Bacon advice to gov

From GREG N (Newlands):

IN LIGHT of the government's censorship its recent efforts to vent even adverse comments calling for the banning of the ANC its hesitancy to e on a meaningful p of reform as advised documented by m would do well to c er these words of cis Bacon (1581-16 its attitudes toward press:

"Read not to c dict and confute, believe and tak granted, nor to fin and discourse, t weigh and consid

Israel still debating SA trade ties

TEL AVIV — Israel, facing mounting pressure from the United States Government and American Jewish groups, is still debating the nature of its future trade and military ties with South Africa.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's coalition Government is facing what it sees as a difficult choice and divisions about what to do cross party lines.

Adopting sanctions could damage Israel's defence industry, viewed as essential to the nation's security, and cause a backlash that would make life difficult for SA's 120 000 Jews.

On the other hand, a strong stand against racial segregation would help improve relations with black African states and the US, which provides \$3 billion in aid yearly.

"American Jewish organisations such as mine are concerned about the erosion of public support in America for Israel over the SA issue.

In the opinion of many American Jews, it is just not worth it," said Mr Harry Wall, director of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League office in Jerusalem.

"The Israeli Government is very concerned that support for SA can translate into some reduction in aid."

Under an anti-apartheid law passed by the US Congress last October, the Gov-

ernment must report to Congress by April 1 which countries are selling arms to Pretoria. Those that do are likely to have their aid packages reconsidered.

In a nationally televised debate last week on relations with SA, Mr Eliahu Lankin, former ambassador to Pretoria, argued that sanctions could provoke a wave of anti-Semitism in SA.

"We should weigh what

our interests are. First, we should think of the Jewish community — 120 000 Jews are more important than black (African) nations. Sanctions do not solve any problems," Mr Lankin said.

Mr David Kimche, former director-general of the Foreign Ministry under right-wing Likud governments, countered that Israel had to take a strong stand even if sanctions did not work. — Sapa-AP

Full steam ahead for Simon tour

LONDON — Singer Paul Simon tomorrow launches a three-continent concert tour with the black South African musicians who worked with him on his best-selling *Graceland* album, confident that his troubles with the anti-apartheid groups are over.

The American pop artist told a news conference the ANC had dropped criticisms of him for recording the album in South Africa.

He read out a letter he sent to the UN Special Committee on Apartheid reiterating his opposition to apartheid.

There have been reports of demonstrations against the tour and, when asked whether it was urging a boycott of concerts planned in London and Birmingham, the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement said: "No comment."

The bitterness engendered by Simon's foray into South African culture was evident at the news conference he addressed with exiled Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela, and Ray Phiri, a black musician living in South Africa.

Critics have accused him of violating the cultural boycott of South Africa, first by recording there and then taking the South African musicians to England to complete the album. Simon argued that the boycott applied to performing before South African audiences — which he has never done. — Sapa-AP

Paddy Ball may stand for PFP

Weekend Post Reporter

MR PADDY BALL, a 55-year-old Port Elizabeth businessman, will be a contender for the Progressive Federal Party candidacy for the Walmer seat next week.

Mr Ball said today that he felt there was a new era ahead in the country and that power would be wrested from the National Party in the near future.

He had been encouraged by the support he had received and hoped to win selection as the PFP candidate for the coming parliamentary election as he wished to devote his time to politics.

Since 1977 Mr Ball has been closely involved with the PFP. He is vice-chairman of the PFP in the Eastern Cape and a member of the party's federal council.

Educated at St Andrew's College, Grahamstown, Mr Ball formed his own engineering business in 1957. He moved to Johannesburg for another company in 1968 as a marketing manager.

Returning to Port Elizabeth in 1972, he built up a mini-group of companies with his partner, Mr Ossie Blakeway.

Mr Andrew Savage, who won the Walmer seat in 1981, is standing down.

It is strongly believed that another possible nominee for the seat will be Mr Tony Gilson, director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce.

CAPE TIMES 31/1/87

'We don't talk to terrorists'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, does not care if the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, has meetings with President Ronald Reagan or Queen Elizabeth of England, "but this government does not negotiate with terrorists over the future of our country".

Mr Tambo's recent visit to the United States, where he met with US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, had been a public relations disaster, he told the enthusiastic 800-strong audience crammed into the Zerilda Steynsaal in Ruyterwacht.

Launching the National Party election drive in the Cape, Mr Botha vowed his government would never negotiate with organizations that used violence to achieve their political goals.

The PFP was prepared to negotiate with a "communistic organization" like the ANC.

"The PFP has already decided that the quicker they hand over the better," he claimed.

The government, however, was prepared to endure sanctions rather than capitulate, he said.

Turning his attack on the government's extreme right-wing opponents, Mr Botha said the "racist approach" of white exclusivity adhered to by the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party entailed the rejections of hundreds of thousands of South Africans of colour who opposed outside interference and sanctions.

"If the CP/HNP comes to power, South Africa will definitely follow the course of Rhodesia," he predicted.

Botha tells little of reform plans

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ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Opposition leaders are hoping that President Botha will reveal more details of his reform plan during next week's no-confidence debate after a disappointing speech at the opening of Parliament which they criticised as 'dismal' and unimaginative.

The highlight of the speech was his announcement that the House of Assembly elections would be

held on March 6.

But there was general disappointment at Mr Botha's reaffirmation of his commitment to change without going into more detail and politicians asked later: 'What will the election be about?'

However, Mr Botha did say at the end of his speech: 'South Africa must think and act like a living organism in order to build a democratic and stable constitutional future through consultation and the elimination of

violence.

'Information with regard to further steps on how to make progress in this regard will be submitted by me to the voting public.'

This statement has given rise to hopes that he will go further next week.

As expected, Mr Botha referred to international pressures building up against South Africa and reaffirmed that the Government would not deal with organisations which pursued violence as a

means of political change.

He defended the state of emergency and said incidents of unrest had decreased but that the 'revolutionary climate necessitates the continued maintenance of these measures of control'.

The Leader of the Opposition, MR. Colin Eglin, said afterwards: 'It was a dismal speech by a politician who is more concerned with keeping his divided National Party together than he is with leading the country at a time of crises.'

'With his eye on the election, it is clear Mr Botha is pandering to the Right wing.'

'His retreat from real reform may be good for his party, but it is bad for South Africa.'

Indaba referendum now vital, says Swart

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—A referendum on the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals was now more necessary than ever, Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said yesterday.

Reacting to President Botha's speech, Mr Swart said he had effectively endorsed the negative attitude of Natal's Nationalist leader, Mr Stoffel Botha.

'It is clear the Nationalist Government is only interested in negotiations of its choosing and only if they result in recommendations which comply with the guidelines of the National Party,' said Mr Swart.

'Mr Botha wants to perpetuate group divisions on race lines and his commitment to power-sharing goes no further than this.'

'It now becomes more imperative than ever that the Indaba proposals be tested by way of a referen-

dum involving all the people of Natal and KwaZulu.

'In the meantime, it is equally important that candidates in support of the Indaba process and ideals are supported by the white electorate in Natal in the election.'

Mr Bill Sutton, leader of the New Republic Party, believed that leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, would not accept the 'group' concept Mr Botha was insisting on.

Dashed hopes

'The Indaba was a base for groups to come together to show that group protection can take several forms, not only by separating the groups,' he said.

There was general agreement yesterday that Mr Botha had dashed hopes that the Indaba would go much further.

Mr Botha said the Government's point of view was that there should be

consultation and negotiation on matters of common concern between all communities at all levels of government.

There was no objection to the establishment by the governments of self-governing states and neighbouring provincial authorities in Natal or elsewhere of joint executive authorities to deal with matters of common concern. Enabling legislation had already been passed.

But, Mr Botha added: 'Such consultation and negotiation must take place on the premise that a suitable constitutional dispensation must meet the requirements at every level of government of protection and self-determination of minority groups, power-sharing among groups in respect of common interests and the prevention of domination by one group of the others.'

Welcomes

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said: 'It is clear that the NP is climbing into the election ring tired and without imagination or initiative.'

'The CP welcomes the election as the opportunity to defeat the NP, which has completely broken away from healthy principles.'

Mr Bill Sutton, leader of the New Republic Party, said Mr Botha's speech had given no hint of 'remorse for the mess in which the Government had dumped the country'.

Sanctions had started with Mr Botha's 'Rubicon' speech and since then the Government had let down all of the country's friends.

'I welcome the election and believe the sooner we get it over, the better for all of us,' he said.

W/616615
31/1/87

Political role for unions

LABOUR
AFFAIRS
DICK
USHER



RECENT rueful recantations by prominent entrepreneurs of their support for the tri-cameral system have hardly increased unionists' confidence in the political acumen of the business community.

Although it's of not much more than passing interest compared to the daily hurly-burly of shop-floor relations, many unionists are in the we-told-you-so mode on the issue.

A campaign against the new constitution was one of the few overtly political stances taken by the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), in alignment with many other community organisations.

At the same time that the business community is catching up with the unions on this issue, however, there is a growing realisation that the two could share a common purpose.

The idea was expressed late last year in an address to the Federated Chamber of Industries by Mr John Wilson, outgoing president, but it had been around before that.

At its base is the concept that capital and labour have demonstrated their ability to negotiate viable agreements on a wide range of shopfloor issues, then why not on issues of larger social concern such as the future of the country?

They are already negotiating successfully on some issues where the Government has failed to provide any resolutions — the widespread acceptance of labour's right to a May Day holiday, for example.

The union movement constitutes the one force with legitimacy for three major actors in the South African drama — workers, capital and the Government — and as such will fill an increasingly important role in the future acts of the play.

And because it is the one outlet where the black community can negotiate on an equal footing with other parties, it's also probable that more and more major social issues are going to be argued out round the industrial negotiating tables.

Both parties have a full grasp of the consequences of failing to reach negotiated settlements on industrial issues, which both have to bear, and this awareness extends to the costs of failing to arrive at a negotiated settlement on the ultimate issue.

MP **vows to** **take** **another** **dip**

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party MP for Addo, Mr Peter Hendrickse, has vowed to swim once again off Kings Beach in Port Elizabeth if the Separate Amenities Act is not scrapped.

Mr Hendrickse said he would be "exercising my democratic right to swim where and when I want to".

Mr Hendrickse's statement comes in the wake of a clash between his father and leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, and the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, after Mr Allan Hendrickse's controversial swim off Kings Beach on January 3.

The swim in which the Labour Party leader was joined by his son and about 150 supporters was filmed by three international television crews and earned world wide publicity.

Mr Allan Hendrickse was told by the State President to apologise, resign from the Cabinet or face an election.

He subsequently apologised to Mr Botha if the January 3 swim had been interpreted as an affront to his personal dignity or the authority of the State President. — Sapa

SA envoy speaks out against apartheid

BRUSSELS — South Africa's first non-white ambassador has spoken out against his government's apartheid policies, declaring that all South Africans, regardless of race, have a fundamental human right to political self-determination.

Mr Bhadra Ranchod, an Indian who is South Africa's new ambassador to the European Community (EC), described himself as a long-time and outspoken opponent to Pretoria's racial policies.

The 42-year-old lawyer, who arrived in Brussels last month, said he believed the government had carefully picked him for the high-profile job of representing his country at the EC headquarters, despite his public anti-apartheid stand.

The ambassador criticised economic sanctions against South Africa by Western governments, saying they lessened the chances of peaceful change by weakening the economy and embittering whites.

Mr Ranchod said negotiations should be held between the government and opposition groups.

He attacked the African National Congress for what he described as its campaign to overthrow the government.

Speaking slowly and quietly in an interview conducted in his Brussels office on Thursday night, Mr Ranchod said he saw difficult times ahead in South Africa but that he was largely optimistic about the country's future.

Behind his desk hung two framed hand drawings of a Zulu man and woman in traditional dress. On the opposite wall hung a large framed portrait of South African President P. W. Botha. — Sapa-RNS

(3041)

COUT-2

Waddell's successor: 'Big business must project new image'

By Michael Chester

The voice has none of the rancour or volume of the evangelist, but Mr Murray Hofmeyr, who takes over from Mr Gordon Waddell as chairman of the vast JCI empire in July 30, talks with almost missionary zeal about the need for big business to project a brand new image that will have a closer identity with reform and black advancement.

The tone is more associated with the Rhodes scholarship that allowed an education at Pretoria boys' High School and led to a Master of Arts degree at Oxford. It's a grit and determination

sound more allied to the rugby blue he won at Oxford and his selection for England.

"The private business sector in South Africa must somehow find a far more effective and visible formula to persuade black society of its sincerity about trying to accelerate the reform programme," he says.

"Business has been voluble in pointing to the follies of government policy, which, heaven knows, can easily be established. But there remain suspicions in many black minds.

"The immediate challenge to business is to inform government

Personality

in the crispest possible terms that equally as important as the political struggles we are going to see in a South Africa beyond apartheid is the issue of a new economic system.

"The way things are going now, it is very difficult to convince ourselves that the private enterprise system has a good chance of surviving. The urgency of solutions to ensure its survival cannot be over-emphasised. New initiatives are essential to anticipate a so-

ciety beyond the removal of discrimination and racial economic impediments.

"Nor can the private business sector sit back wringing its hands and saying it is powerless to act in the reform process alone and that all the answers depend on government political decisions.

"Nor in turn can business assume it must rely on signals from conferences with the politicians. We had three so-called summits with the Government — the Carlton conference, the Good Hope conference and the recent November 7 conference. All of them leaving disappointment.

"Meantime, lots of members of the black community have started to question the sincerity of the private sector and suspect we have been paying little more than lip service to reform.

"Business must iron out an entirely new strategy to carry us beyond apartheid.

"There's a great deal we can accomplish in persuading black employees about the direct benefits of a private enterprise system. The potential benefits should be seen as going far beyond the weekly wage packet.

"We have to be far more imagi-

native in finding ways to convince workers what sort of gains are possible from the system — profit related bonuses, as an example, or even the possibility of shareholdings in their companies.

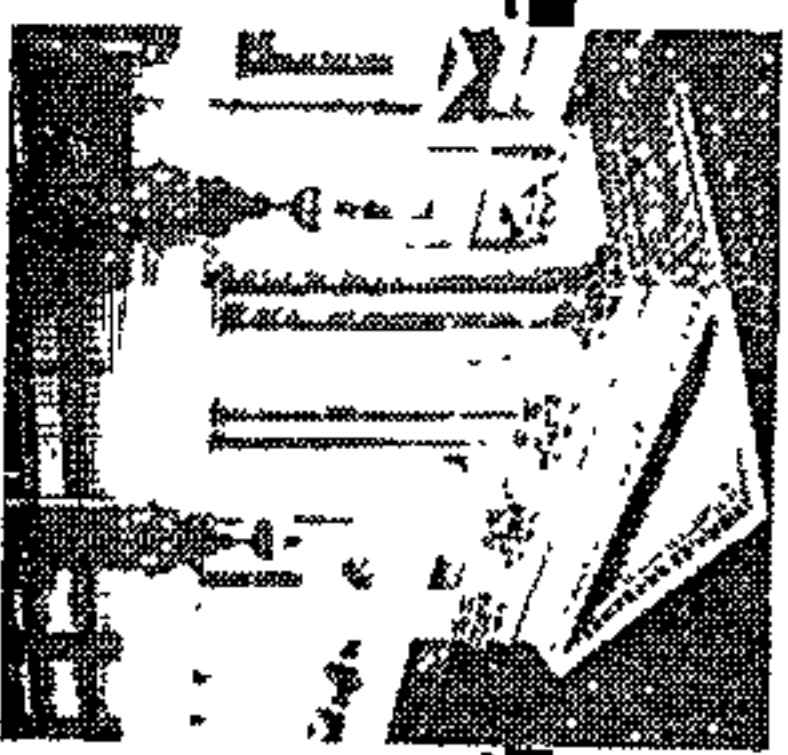
"The big sadness of South Africa has been the terrible disabilities inflicted on much of its society by franchise limitations, with a government that responds only to votes — white votes.

"But it does not mean private business is helpless to dismantle the abnormalities in society. We can only find the answers in new strategies."

STAR 31-01-87



NEW FORMULA: Murray Hoffmeyr wants new image for big business.



Politics on the boil

Denis Worrall: Coming home to 'build bridges'

DENIS WORRALL sat in his panelled office overlooking Trafalgar Square two short hours after the storm had broken over his resignation as Ambassador to London.

From the wall on one side of the office the portrait of Pik Botha looked down stonily on us as we talked. Against the wall on the other side we were flanked by a sculpture called *The Sleeping Bantu*.

There seemed to be some symbolism in that.

Dr Worrall was in the middle, a South African convinced that this was a time for building bridges between white and black.

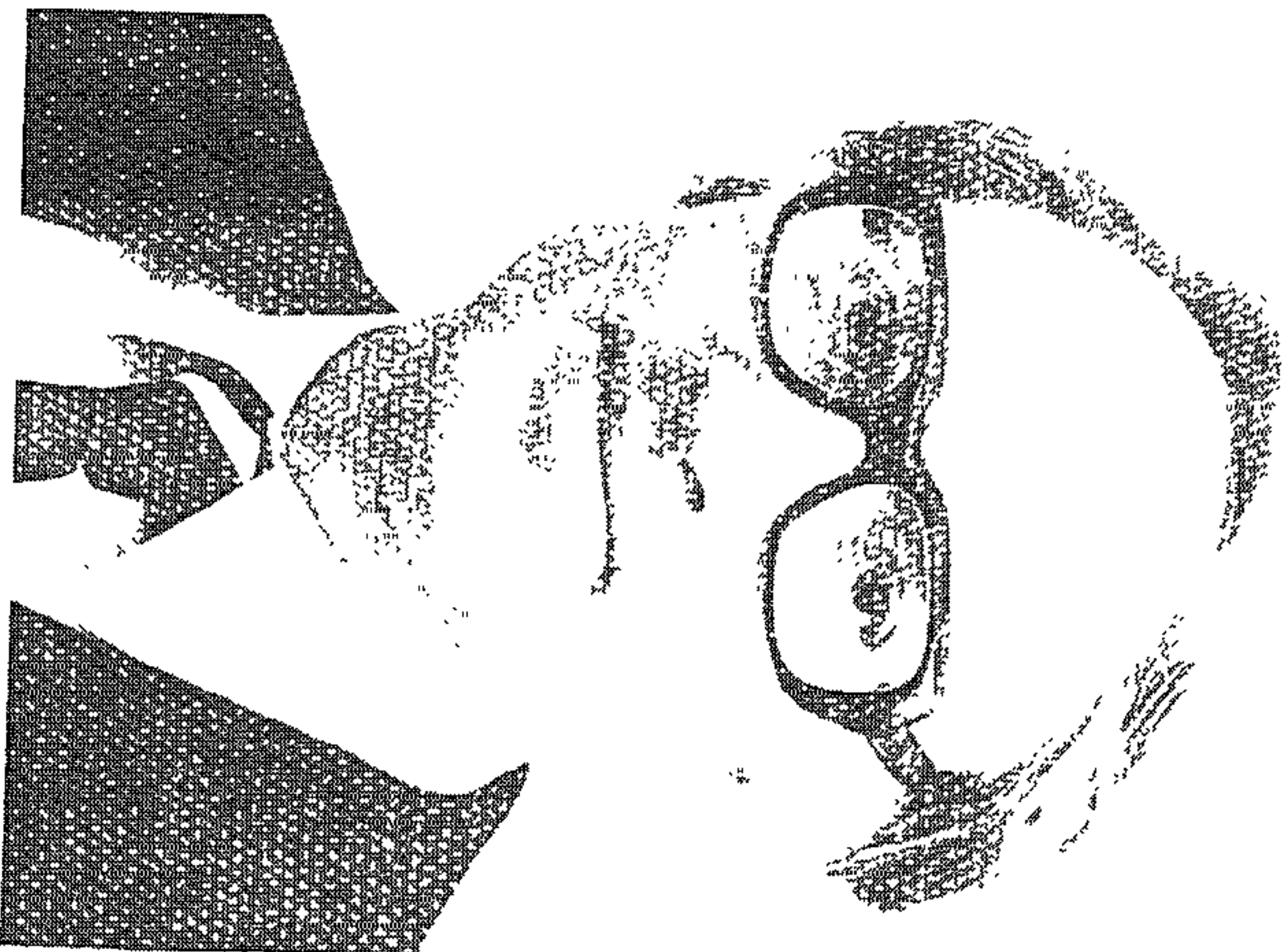
Feeling so strongly about it that he is prepared to scrap his really quite distinguished career as a diplomat and take his chances again in the turbulent and often ugly cockpit of South African politics.

HE has fought valiantly for South Africa to get a square deal from the international community.

He has argued eloquently and convincingly against sanctions, genuinely believing that they are counter-productive. Believing they will feed the flames of right-wing politics and will cruelly damage the interests of black South Africans as well as white.

But he has been a man torn by different loyalties.

His problem has been that while he has been doing his best to promote South Africa's interests in London he has also felt convinced that more needs to be done inside South Africa to bring about constitutional change by peaceful means.



IN his office on Friday morning all hell was breaking loose around him. People were queuing up outside to talk to him, phones rang endlessly. (When officials dialled out of the embassy they constantly intercepted an incoming call: May I speak to the Ambassador please?)

He was sticking valiantly by his pledge not to declare himself until he was off the embassy payroll in a week's time.

But I know he feels utterly confident that he will return to South Africa with honour. He does not believe that the Government can fault him on the job he has done as SA's Man in London, and on his loyalty to the South African nation.

SPECIAL REPORT

From Cliff Scott, Weekend Argus Foreign Service

It is generally accepted that, while the policies of the Government he has represented have been anathema to the British Government, he has won wide respect as a diplomat.

THERE have been rumours for months that he was not always in accord with Pretoria on crucial issues.

It is common knowledge, for example, that he strongly favours the KwaNatal Option and was dismayed when it was so abruptly dismissed by the National Party leadership in Natal.

This tends to strengthen the belief that he may opt to contest a Natal seat in the May 6 election.

There have been other disagreements with Pretoria.

A South African official (NOT Dr Worrall) told me many months ago that when the South African Government reneged on the embassy's pledge to a British court to return the "Coventry Four" to Britain to stand trial on arms dealing the Ambassador was appalled.

I was told that when Dr Worrall tried to question the decision he was told in no uncertain terms by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that he had only one option if he did not accept the decision.

Evidently he did not think the issue was important enough to take the other option. Equally evidently he thinks today's issues are important enough to make a stand.

Denis Worrall has decided it's time to get into the bridge-building business, before the gulf in South Africa's politics becomes too wide to bridge.

'Even he couldn't defend the indefensible.'

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

DR DENIS WORRALL's resignation as South African Ambassador surprised both friend and foe in Britain — and has led to calls for the Embassy in London to be shut down.

The news came too late for Friday's morning newspapers, but dominated television and radio bulletins later in the day, and was clearly a major talking point at Westminster.

Political opponents were quick to make capital out of the news, but most spoke well of the slight, fair-haired Natalian who has opposed them at almost every turn over the past four years.

Conservative backbenchers praised the ambassador, and he was vigorously defended in a BBC radio programme Friday by Mr John Carlisle.

Labour leader Neil Kinnock said: "I take no joy from the resignation of one advocate of white control through his disagreement with another advocate of white control as to the best way of sustaining white control."

"It would be welcome if the British Government made clear now that it did not wish Pretoria to appoint another ambassador to the Embassy in London."

"He was supposed to be Mr Nice Guy, but even he couldn't defend the indefensible."

His spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Donald Anderson, said: "Dr Worrall is a civilised man. Clearly, he could no longer live with himself

and continue to lie for his country. The gap between his claims of real reform in South Africa and the actual lurch to the right became too great."

Liberal Party leader David Steel said Dr Worrall had tried to present the civilised face of South Africa but had been consistently hindered by his Government.

Mr Alan Beith, the party's foreign affairs spokesman, added: "Dr Worrall has finally given up the struggle to defend the indefensible. He has been South Africa's most prominent ambassador and its most skilled advocate."

"By abandoning the attempt to justify the policies of the Botha regime, he has demonstrated the isolation and bankruptcy of the Nationalist leadership. Change will come, the only question is whether it comes quickly or whether it is slow and violent."

The harshest comment came from the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Its spokesman said: "Britain should be glad to be rid of him. Dr Worrall was a master of deception."

The ANC refused to make a statement. "It's irrelevant, isn't it?" said an official.

Dr Worrall's resignation was the lead story on lunch-time television news here. Camera teams and reporters got nothing more than the official statement from the Embassy, and filmed steel boxes being taken from South Africa House in Trafalgar Square said to be his personal papers. — Sapa.

By VIVIEN HORLER

Weekend Argus Reporter

HELEN SUZMAN is facing her ninth election in opposition more optimistically than for a long time.

It's because she sees much more chance of change.

She says the polls show the public is ahead of the Government. "And that's an important thing. I don't say this time next year everything in the garden is going to be lovely, but it may well be different.

"It's not as if the situation is totally frozen. It's more volatile, more fluid than it's ever been. With the National Party having split and the arrangements that have been made for an election pact between the NRP and ourselves, the situation is going to be very different after the election. I think it could change the whole face of politics in this country.

"If we come back to Parliament with an increased number of members, we will look like a prospective alternative government, which is much more attractive than a permanent official opposition.

"It's been heartening for me, who has always been essentially an opposition member, to know that the younger members of the party are thinking in different terms, in terms of being an alternative govern-

Helen Suzman: Why I see more chance of change now

ment. As the sole representative of the party in Parliament between 1961 and 1974, I could hardly consider that a remote possibility."

HER optimism is tempered by the country being in the seventh month of its second state of emergency in two years, with thousands of people in detention. "That's the dead-weight" thought behind everything."

She is dismissive of the right-wing threat. "There has been a consolidation of right-wing thinking, a sort of last ditch stand for white supremacy. But I believe the so-called Conservative threat as an alternative government is totally overrated. They don't have the remotest chance of becoming the government."

They have support in parts of the northern Transvaal and the Free State, and she warns that the Government might use that support to scare the wits out of "naive" opposition voters.

The resignation of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Bor-

aine was traumatic at the time. She is sorry they left because they were able and articulate — assets to the party. But she doesn't believe it will damage the PFP's election chances. "The effect is past, now. We have new members in those seats."

She sees Parliament as a vehicle for change. "It's here that you have to get laws repealed and the constitution changed radically to include blacks. I don't think there is any chance in this country of a successful extra-parliamentary revolution that will bring this about. Apart from which it could only be done with a great deal of violence and bloodshed.

"So one's got to work with the structures that exist traditionally. The tricameral Parliament is obviously not something we could continue to uphold. We didn't vote against the new constitution capriciously, we did so because it has serious defects. To evolve a new constitution in the year 1983 excluding 72 percent of the population was a recipe for polarisation and disaster and

that is in fact what has happened. Since the new constitution was implemented the country's been in a state of perpetual turmoil."

AFTER 34 years in Parliament Mrs Suzman's retirement from active politics was widely anticipated. But she has decided to mount the hustings at least one more time.

"I'm getting on in years, but this is not the time for me to go. I think this is a very important election, and it has been impressed on me that it would not be good for the PFP if an experienced frontbencher opted out." She grins. "And whatever else people can say about me, I AM an experienced frontbencher."

At 69 she will be one of the oldest MPs in Parliament. "It's a daunting thought. I can tell you. But I made the decision. I am standing. Obviously I can't say how long it will be — I'll leave it at that. There's another election in '89."

But how would she see her role if the PFP won the elec-

tion? What would she do if she became State President.

A laugh. "I should think the first thing I'd do would be to abolish the State President. No, seriously, that's very difficult. I am obviously most interested in black affairs, labour issues, and defence of the rule of law.

"Of course there shouldn't be any black affairs if a Progressive Party Government comes in. It would be a government for the people without racial distinctions, and there won't be any abrogation of the rule of law, because we'll do away with detention without trial immediately. I should think labour issues would be extremely interesting and probably the most demanding of all, but I'm not opting for any such post.

She speculates about South Africa in the year 2 000. "Well, first I just hope I'll be around to see it. I think it'll be very different. By then I have no doubt that black people will have political rights and I hope the country will be a non-racial democracy.

"But I don't think it will be if black political rights are only granted after a bloody struggle. That transition has to come soon if the remaining goodwill is to be used to introduce a system based not just on majority rule but one with all the elements a Western democracy requires.

Weekend Argus 31-01-87 Election fever as never before.

WHILE opposition parties are experiencing an "unprecedented" interest in the coming general election, amid feelings that almost four decades of a Nationalist stranglehold on the electorate is loosening.

Parties report people spontaneously coming forward to join, a rush to register as voters, and an unusual election awareness even before President P W Botha announced the election date yesterday.

The National Party too reports "a lot of enthusiasm," but says this is "not unusual".

■ PFP spokesman Mr Neil Ross said: "There is tremendous interest — people sense that the National Party is vulnerable and falling apart. They sense there is a loosening of the political logjam.

"I believe there is a feeling of hope that the end of the NP's rule is in sight. We're certainly working towards being an alternative government."

The PFP's registration tables around the country have been besieged. "People's concern to make sure they are on the voters' role is unprecedented. In Wynberg and Si-

mon's Town new registrations exceed 1 000 each, East London has been bringing in between 200 and 300 voter registrations a day, North Rand has had 2 500 new registrations, Durban Point nearly 1 000.

"We're signing up new members — 130 in East London in the past three weeks."

The PFP-NRP alliance will contest about 100 seats.

■ Mr Ross's remarks were echoed by Conservative Party spokesman Mr Tom Langley.

"For the first time in a long time there is mounting interest in this election. The situation is more fluid than in decades. People are fed up with the Government. They have lost all confidence in it. The Nationalist cookie is crumbling to the left and the right.

"To what extent this election will shake the Government nobody knows, but the mood of the electorate is away from the Government, be it to the left or the right. We're going to hammer away at them in this short session like the blazes.

"We're picking up this feeling of excitement and confidence throughout the country

— it's stimulating. We are fighting to take over, and we're putting up 106 candidates."

■ NRP spokesman, Mr Pat Rogers, said they have noted "tremendous" awareness even before the announcement of the election date.

"The realignment of parties, our pact with the PFP and the breakaway of the right has sparked a lot of interest, especially in the traditionally opposition areas.

"I believe this election will see a change in traditional voting patterns, with individuals thinking for themselves. There is just one issue — negotiation. Real negotiation, not the sort the Government does — consulting people and then doing what it wants. Negotiation that listens and accepts different points of view.

■ A Nationalist spokesman rejected claims that support for the party was crumbling. "I don't know where they get their information. Our support across the spectrum doesn't indicate that the NP is losing its hold. Our support is as strong as ever."

Analysts look back at reform promises

By Glenda Spiro

Political analysts have deemed President P W Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament last year a failure, as none of the issues he announced have seen the light of day.

They said reform initiatives died in 1986 and were pessimistic about the pace of change for the coming year.

When the State President opened Parliament a year ago he brought up four major issues and reaction was positive compared to the response to his Rubicon speech in 1985.

Asking for time to implement reform, the State President's major announcements were:

- The establishment of a National Statutory Council which he proposed should consist of representatives of the Government, the governments of the self-governing national states and leaders of other black communities and interest groups. So far black leaders have rejected the council as it would only be an advisory body.
- He offered to negotiate the release of Nelson Mandela on humanitarian grounds if South African Captain Wypand du Toit, imprisoned in Angola, and Soviet dissidents Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky could be released on a similar basis.

Shortly after the offer, Shcharansky was released to the West as part of an East-West prisoner swap. And in December Sakharov was freed from internal exile in Gorky where he was banished in 1980. Captain Du Toit, captured during an SADF operation in Northern Angola nearly two years ago, is still in prison.

- President Botha became the first nationalist leader to publicly condemn apartheid as an "outdated concept".

- He announced that measures would be taken in 1986 towards the goal of equal education. The government was determined to create structures during the year which would soon realise equal standards of examination and certification of qualification for all communities, he said.

Professor of Political Science at UNISA, Professor Dan Kriek said political events in 1986 overtook the government. "The government lost confidence to put through new ideas last year."

Mr Koos van Wyk, lecturer of political science at the Rand Afrikaans University, said President Botha's good intentions when he opened parliament last year have been a failure.

"Apartheid is still here and Mandela is still in jail. The Government has a long way to go before approaching equal education and the National Statutory Council was a dismal failure."

"With the election the Government is going back to their old tactics. They are trying to reassure white voters that everything is still under control. They are blaming their problems on everyone else."

By PATRICK CULL

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — With a general election for whites scheduled for May 6, the first parliamentary session of 1987, starting on Monday, is likely to be a low-key affair. It could well be notable for what the Government tries *not* to debate rather than for what is presented for public consumption.

Certainly if the bland tone of State President P W Botha's opening address yesterday is anything to judge by, the key phrase for the session as far as the Government is concerned is going to be: "mark time".

There is ample evidence of what this means.

With the election in mind, the Government has put the Margo report on taxation on ice and the President's Council report on group areas has been sent back for further investigation.

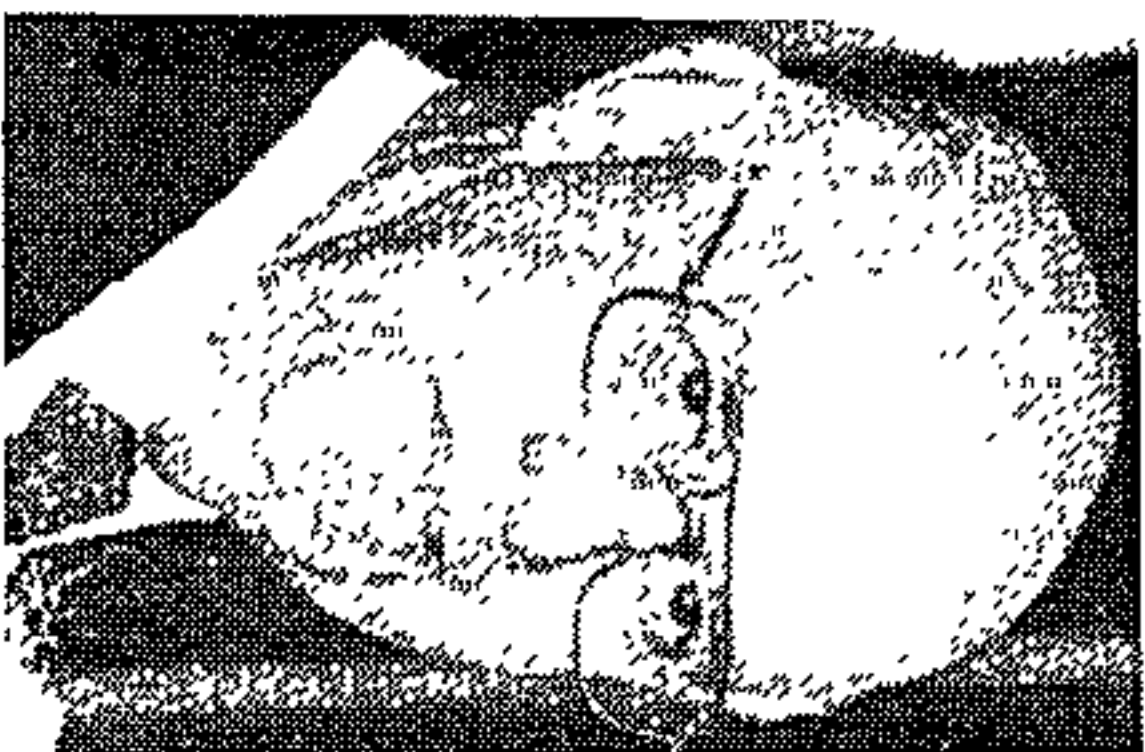
The Government is also steadfastly refusing to commit itself on the controversial issue of beach apartheid.

Clearly the object is to repulse the attack from the right wing and allay the fears of National Party supporters, reassuring them that the basic tenets of apartheid are not going to be scrapped.

In this regard the State President stressed yet again yesterday that any future constitutional dispensation for South Africa would be based on the concept of groups.

"The Government believes that any constitutional dispensation for our multi-cultural society must

'Mark time' likely in low-key session



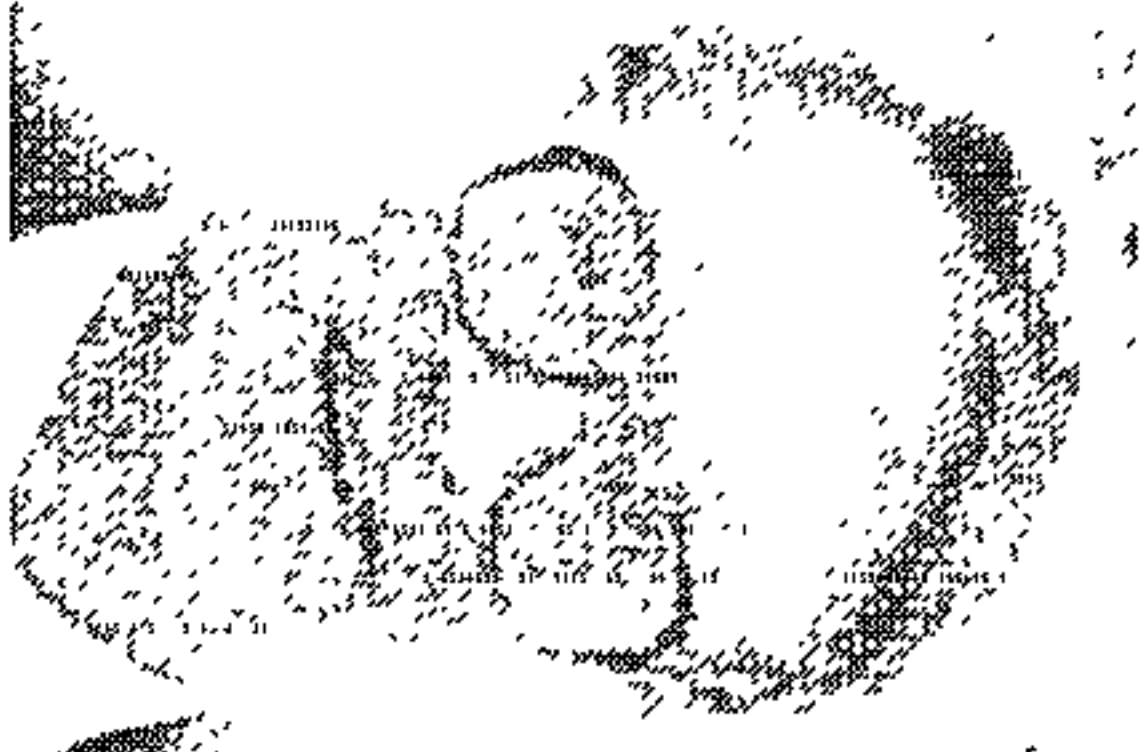
Mr P W BOTHA

... eye on the right



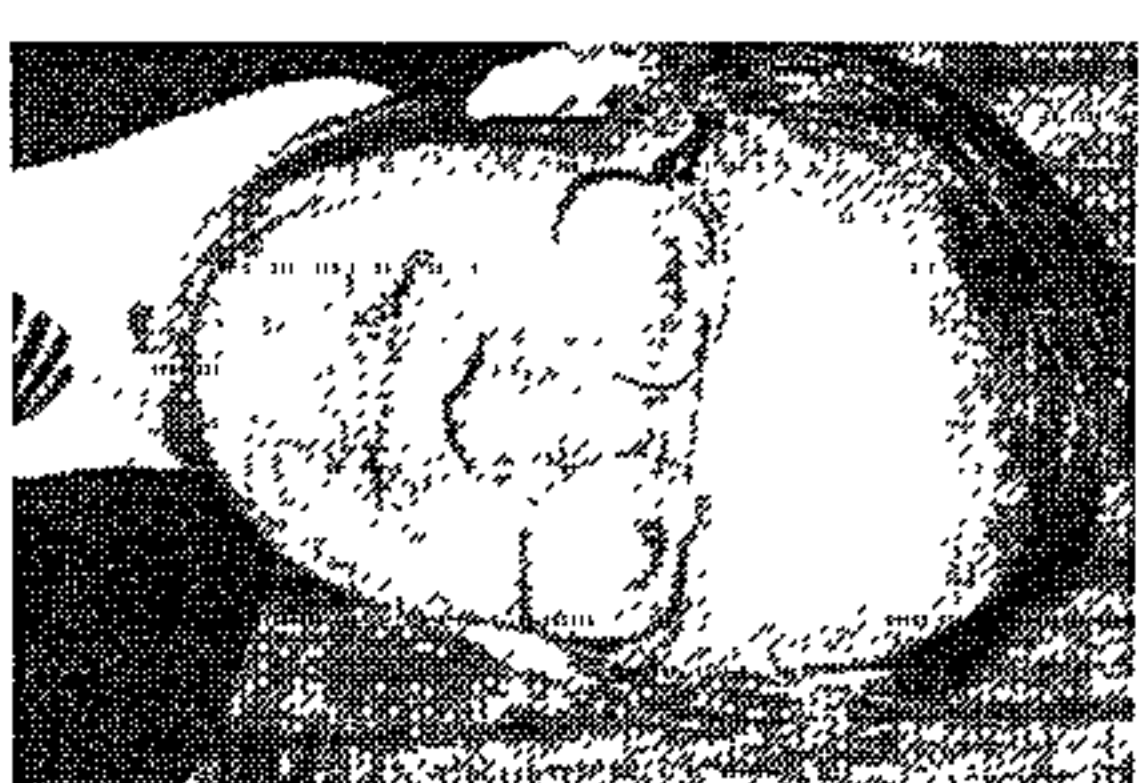
Mr COLIN EGLIN

... stage is clear



Dr DENIS WORRALL

... a dark horse



Mr B DU PLESSIS

... timely pay rises?

attack from both sides and bound to be weakened by defections in either direction.

The second week of the session will bring the Part Appropriation Bill (mini-budget) in which Parliament will be asked to approve funds needed by the Government until the main Budget is passed.

The mini-budget obviously presents the Government with the opportunity to resort to that time-honoured election ploy of handing out largesse to that welter of civil servants and employees of quasi-Government bodies.

There are indications it will bow to demands for pay increases, possibly as high as 15%, and it is understood that the SA Police have already been told they will receive pay rises in April.

The Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis, may also, in presenting a mild mini-budget, throw out such bait to voters as increases in pensions, a lowering of the taxation in the lower-income brackets and even a possible drop in GST.

Such tactics are likely to come under sharp attack from the Opposition, who will warn that whatever is handed out in the mini-budget is likely to be recouped with interest when the main Budget is presented *after* the election.

The session is expected to last about four weeks, after which MPs will return to their constituencies for what promises to be the most fascinating general election since 1948.

at all levels of Government meet the requirements of protection and self-determination for minority groups, power-sharing among the groups in respect of matters of common interest, and the prevention of domination by any group of the others," he said.

Quite simply, for the *wolk*, this means that the principles of separate residential areas and racially segregated schools remain inviolate.

And it implies that the bottom line is the retention of white control, for this is the only way these principles can be enshrined.

If the Government's plan

is to mark time during the next month then the opposite is true of a very bullish official Opposition, the Progressive Federal Party, which feels it is on the verge of making significant gains in the election.

And there is certainly excitement in the air with the resignation of the London Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, who is said to be planning to stand against the Nationalists, and the defection from the NP of the Randburg MP, Mr Wynand Malan.

The tone of the attack is likely to be set on Monday afternoon when the leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, introduces the traditional

motion of no-confidence. The onslaught is likely to centre on:

● The bankruptcy of the Government's constitutional plans and its lack of any vision of a future South Africa.

● The state of emergency, in that it reflects the actions of a desperate Government, unable or unprepared to address the real issues.

● The creeping strangulation of sanctions and boycotts.

● Rampant inflation and the parlous state of the economy.

Mr Botha has, with his bland address, left the

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT
AND
POLITICS

FEBRUARY 1987

THE LOA

1-2-87 Sun. Times

PRESIDENT BOTHA says the purpose of the forthcoming election is to give every white South African the opportunity to exercise his right to vote.

But what he does NOT tell the electorate is that their votes will not give them fair and effective representation in Parliament.

As things stand, one Nationalist voter in, say, Graaff-Reinet, is worth three Nationalist voters in Pretoria East.

Quite simply, the structures that have been devised by the National Party over the past 39 years make this election, under the present constitution, a farce.

Two basic rights — the right to vote and to be fairly and effectively represented — should not be confused.

The right to vote is given to every white person over the age of 18. But the individual act of casting a vote does not necessarily mean that each individual voter has equal representation in Parliament.

We vote in constituencies where MPs are elected by a simple majority of votes. The result is that Parliament is made up of individuals who support different political parties.

Majority

That great constitutionalist John Stuart Mill wrote: "In a really equal democracy, every section would be represented, not disproportionately, but proportionately."

"A majority of the electors would always have a majority of the representatives, but a minority of the electors would always have a minority of the representatives."

"Man for man, they would always be as fully represented as the majority."

Is this true for South Africa?

I believe that absolute equality in the number of voters in each constituency is essential if effective representation is to be achieved.

The original 1910 Act of Union prescribed representation on a constituency basis and that reapportionment of such electoral districts would be undertaken every five years by a delimitation commission of three Supreme Court judges.

Because there were to be provincial councils as well, all constituencies had to be wholly within a province.

Constituencies for each province were allocated in direct proportion to the number of voters.

By dividing the number of voters in each province by the number of constituencies allocated, a total, called the quota, was calculated.

The present constitution states that "each province shall be so divided that the number of voters

By
**REUBEN
SIVE**

Retiring PFP Member of
Parliament for Bezuidenhout



As things stand, one Nationalist voter in, say, Graaff-Reinet, is worth three in Pretoria East

in each constituency shall be exactly the same, ie equal to the quota".

However, the constitution also lays down guidelines to deal with constituencies with especially sparse or dense populations.

A delimitation commission may therefore depart from the equality principle by loading or unloading a constituency by 15 percent either way and, if the area is very sparse, by 30 percent.

Extreme

The first delimitation commission declared that it was implicit in the constitution that urban and suburban constituencies are densely populated and must therefore be loaded, while rural constituencies are sparsely populated and must therefore be unloaded.

This opinion is no longer true.

As Chief Justice Earl Warren said in the American Supreme Court in 1964: "Legislators represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests."

But what is the practical result of loading and unloading?

If, say, the average number of voters, or the quota, in a province

is 20 000, it is possible in an extreme case for a suburban constituency, say in Pretoria, to have 23 000 voters.

On the other hand, a rural, sparsely populated constituency like Waterberg can have 14 000 voters — a difference of 9 000 votes.

In reality, according to the voters rolls as at December 31 1986, North Rand has 31 042 voters, Pretoria East 30 522 voters — while Ventersdorp has 14 977!

Yet each will send one MP to Parliament — and in Parliament every MP's vote is equal.

The first table on this page shows the constituencies with the highest and lowest numbers of voters per constituency as at December 31 1986.

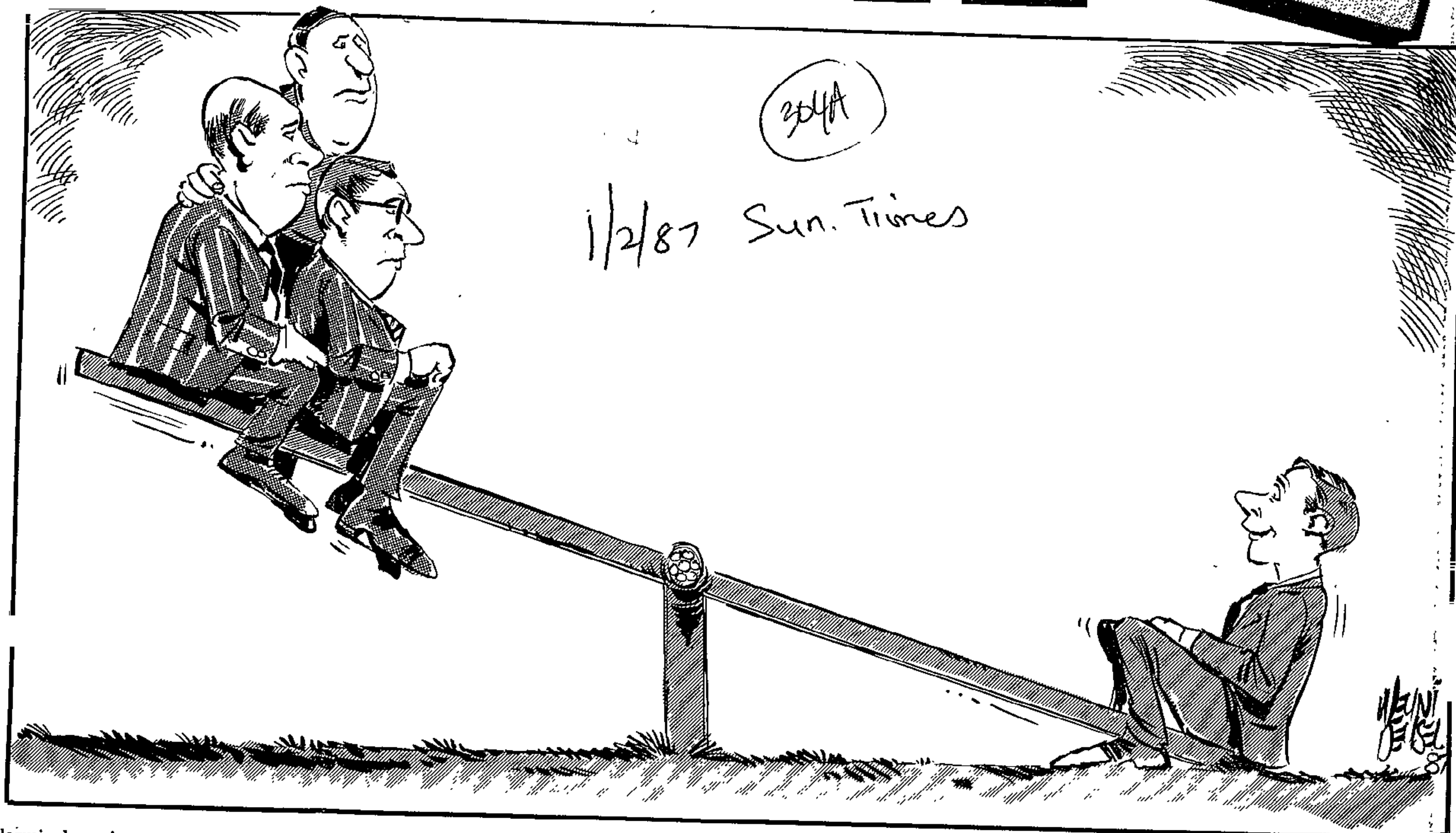
Imbalance

But, as if this inequity were not enough, the State President has also neglected to tell voters that, when he was leader of the NP in the Cape, unequal representation was compounded when the constitution was changed to fix the number of seats in each province, irrespective of the total number of voters.

Thus voters in the Transvaal, be they Nat, PFP or CP, will be

DED VOTE

MAY 6



alarmingly under-represented in the forthcoming election.

The second table shows, according to the voters' lists as at December 31, 1986, the number of voters for the House of Assembly in each province.

It shows Walvis Bay has no right to exist as a separate constituency.

Tremendous

Therefore, the imbalance between provinces is as follows: the Cape is over-represented by nine seats, plus Walvis Bay, the Transvaal is under-represented by 11 seats and Natal and OFS are over-represented by one seat each.

Where should these 11 new seats in the Transvaal be allocated? To suburbia and they should be allocated as follows: West Rand two more, Central Rand two, East Rand two, Pretoria three, Vaal area one and Bethal-Secunda one.

In the Cape, constituencies likely to disappear will be Aliwal, De Aar, Graaff-Reinet, Swellendam, Prieska, Vryburg, Green Point, Ceres and Beaufort West.

In 1910, when the constitution was first devised, 50 percent of the white voters lived in urban areas and 50 percent in rural areas.

Today, about 90 percent of white, coloured and Indian voters live in urban areas of South Africa.

Yet the present constitution leaves the suburban areas of cities completely under-represented in Parliament.

The rapid urbanisation of South Africa has seen the tremendous growth of the suburbs, whether it be for white, black, coloured or Indian.

The central business districts, which in 1910 were the core of urban areas, now have few, if any, voters.

Where are these suburban areas where the majority of voters live?

They stretch from the Cape Peninsula into the Boland, they surround Port Elizabeth and East London, they extend from the beaches of Durban through Pine-town to Maritzburg.

They include Kimberley and Bloemfontein. They stretch from the East Rand to the West Rand,

and sweep into the Vaal/Vereeniging areas and stretch north to encompass the whole of Pretoria.

It should be added that similar absurdities afflict the coloured House of Representatives and the Indian House of Delegates.

If President Botha had wanted a proper mandate he should have first changed the constitution so that the fixed allocation of constituencies per province could be eliminated.

He should also have written new guidelines for delimitation.

Then he should have appointed a delimitation commission for all three Houses of Parliament on a basis of equality of voters per constituency to ensure that all the voters of South Africa were properly represented.

Only then should he have called a general election of all three Houses. That would have been a proper election, not a farce, as this one will surely be.

NUMBERS OF VOTERS PER CONSTITUENCY

Province	Highest Constituency	No. of Voters	Lowest Constituency	No. of Voters
Cape	Durbanville	22 595	Graaff Reinet	9 987
Transvaal	North Rand	32 042	Ventersdorp	15 977
Natal	Greytown	20 442	Umhlanga	14 861
OFS	Welkom	22 270	Fauresmith	10 036
SWA			Walvis Bay	4 062

NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR EACH PROVINCE

Province	Voters	Actual No. of Parliamentary Seats	No. of Seats to which it should be entitled
Cape	835 661	56	47
Transvaal	1 593 588	76	87
Natal	354 459	20	19
OFS	234 635	14	13
Walvis Bay	4 602	1	

WORRALL BANDWAGON?

Now Stellenbosch
profs back envoy's
sensational move

Worrall... delivered a bombshell

One Professor Sampe Ter blanche, deputy chairman of the SABC — said that if Dr Worrall aimed to break the logjam on reform he would have his "whole-hearted support".

Observers are now saying that President Botha and his close advisors have been taken completely unawares by the sudden, open discussion among "New Nats" who have become impatient with the pace of reform and their leaders' unwillingness to take bold initiatives.

Knocking

When the election was conceived it was seen as a means of knocking the Conservative Party back on its heels.

Now a new, independent stand by moderates — which shows signs of growing into a bandwagon if the popular Dr Worrall runs for office — has emerged as an even greater threat to the shaky hold of the establishment.

The warm welcome from the three Stellenbosch academics for Dr Worrall's decision to enter public life is seen as a measure of the swelling tide of impatience on Afrikaans campuses, among businessmen and in many urban areas that have previously been taken for granted as NP strongholds.

Professor Terblanche, a top economist who has been a confidante of the Cape NP leader, Mr Chris Heunis, said "I accept that Denis Worrall's entry into politics (like the action of Wynand Malan) is deliberately aimed at demonstrating his discontent with the rigidity that has developed in respect of constitutional reform."

Intention

"If that is his intention, I support him wholeheartedly. Dr Worrall is an able man with a great deal of appropriate experience. He will definitely make a major contribution to domestic politics."

"The manner in which he put South Africa's case against sanctioners made a great impression."

"As I know him, he holds strong opinions about faster constitutional reform and he wants to see new initiatives."

□ To Page 2

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE ruling National Party establishment has been rocked to its foundations by the rising tide of defections by some of its brightest stars.

Suddenly, President Botha finds that he will be fighting a general election on May 6 with both flanks of his party — left and right — fraying ominously.

The request by Dr Denis Worrall — the polished and much admired ambassador in London — to be relieved of his duties in Parliament like a bombshell this week.

And there are clear signals that he will be entering the political arena.

His move comes hard on the heels of the defection from the NP by another rising star, Mr Wynand Malan, who is opposing the NP as an Independent in Randburg.

Support

There has been a great amount of public support — much of it from within the NP — for both men.

And yesterday another Nationalist MP — Mr Albert Nothnagel, of Innesdal, also a known verligte — found himself at odds with the party leadership and now his future is uncertain.

Yesterday, too, three leading Stellenbosch University professors — all of them hitherto regarded



ed as pillars of the NP establishment — spoke out publicly in favour of Dr Worrall's move.

One, Professor Sampe Terblanche — deputy chairman of the SABC — said that if Dr Worrall aimed to break the logjam on reform he would have his "whole-hearted support".

Observers are now saying that President Botha and his close advisors have been taken completely unawares by the sudden, open discussion among "New Nats" who

Worrall's stand

□ From Page 1

on that front."

Professor Willie Esterhuysen, an eminent political philosopher and one of the most influential academics at Stellenbosch University, said: "I am grateful that someone of the stature, intelligence, vision and experience of Denis Worrall will enter public life."

"He can count on my full support."

Professor Julius Jeppe, professor of Development Administration and a respected political scientist, said: "I have high regard for Denis Worrall."

"With his experience abroad he can contribute much in the present stage of South Africa's political life."

Sympathy

"I have sympathy with people like Dr Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan who want to speed up the reform process."

Mr Nothnagel's difficulties with the NP leadership arise from his recent outspokenly verligte remarks while abroad.

He told British parliamentarians that the ANC should eventually be unbanned and political prisoners released. He said the Natal Indaba could serve as a model for national politics and that the remaining pillars of apartheid would disappear in a year or so.

Yesterday, Mr Nothnagel defiantly declared that he would not recant and that he would not resign from the party.

The Nothnagel affair came into the open in the conservative greater Cape constituency of Tygervalliet on Friday.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told an NP meeting that the issue would come to a head within days. Mr Nothnagel's position was "under review" by the Transvaal leadership.

Mr Botha was reacting to a question by a delegate who asked how Mr Botha and the NP reconciled themselves with Mr Nothnagel's stand that a South African solution had to involve the ANC and

include blacks in Parliament.

Yesterday, Mr Nothnagel reacted strongly: "I'm shocked by the way Mr Pik Botha handled the matter," he said.

"I can't believe a Cabinet Minister could do something like that."

Mr Nothnagel said he would hold a Press conference tomorrow to clarify his stand. But he made it clear he intended to fight his battle for enlightened views inside the party.

Upset

"I am a Nationalist. I am not planning to leave the National Party and I'm not planning to stand as an independent candidate. Whatever happens I'll continue in the National Party, playing a leadership role in the interests of South Africa."

Mr Nothnagel represents the deeply conservative Pretoria constituency of Innesdal. Although he was unanimously nominated, it was learned that members of his constituency committee are upset by his verligte stance.

Yesterday, however, Mr Nothnagel reaffirmed his commitment to reform politics.

"I plan to play a leading role to get above existing party political and group boundaries," he said.

"I am not talking of the formation of any new political party," he said.

"South Africans desire national unity now more than

MAY 6

ever.

"We are in a crisis moment in our country's history, and an exceptional responsibility rests on all of us to strive for a South African nationalism, a nationalism that is not exclusively Afrikaans and white, but one that must include all people who love this country."

This weekend there was speculation that Dr Worrall would stand for Parliament as an Independent against either of two Government heavyweights — The Minister of Home Affairs and Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha (Port Natal), or the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis (Helderberg).

Contribution

Helderberg is a home constituency to Dr Worrall.

Speaking from his official residence in London yesterday, Dr Worrall declined to go beyond a statement that he wanted to "make a contribution to the realisation of South Africa's future back home".

In South Africa, high Nationalist party circles were alive with talk of the possibility of the election containing several independent candidates by the time nominations close on March 31.

MAY 6

For the first time since Smuts and Hertzog... Afrikaners are feeling free to form new political alliances

The New Nats wait for a signal

11/2/87
304A
SIT

NEVER in the last 40 years has Afrikanerdom looked so deeply into its collective soul. Never has the National Party Government faced an election so weakened by introspection and uncertainty.

Apartheid — at one and the same time the expression of the Afrikaner's desire for unity and exclusivity, and his method of achieving it — is, by Afrikanerdom's own admission, no longer defensible. As a mechanism for survival it is dead.

But what's to come in its place?

While the Government fails to answer that question, individual Afrikaners and groups of Afrikaners are thinking about it — and coming up with different answers; answers different enough to divide a people.

Only in recent months:

■ Professor Piet de Lange, chairman of the Broederbond (AB) — that elitist, but now hyper-verligte and less shadowy body that shapes so much Afrikaner thinking — announced his intention to work for "reconciliation". With a former chairman, Dr Andries Treurnicht, having defected to the right, the AB is now irrevocably split.

Rebellion

■ NGK Moderator Professor Johan Heyns has warned of a looming Church-State clash if apartheid is not dismantled totally. Rebellion in the ranks is the primary topic associated with the Church today.

■ In the universities some academics, like Professor Hermann Giliomee, have preferred to leave for less restrictive climates. Others at Stellenbosch, RAU and Potchefstroom are openly critical of the Government's failure to perform. Student groups have tried to reach beyond the laager to meet the ANC.

■ In cultural matters, the FAK and the Volkswag represent different schools of thought.

■ In politics dissent is



By LESTER
VENTER
Political
Correspondent

breaking into the open. The resignation last week of one of the National Party's most talented young MPs, Mr Wynand Malan, was notable more for the note of sympathy it touched off in party ranks than the act alone. There are well-founded reports of other NP members looking for a new political home.

The list now includes SA's talented ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall.

Taken together, this is a process that one commentator has called "cutting off the tribal oxygen". While not necessarily inaccurate, his observation is uncharitable.

For the fragmentation of the Afrikaner monolith is one of the most hopeful signs in SA's currently uninspiring politics.

For the first time since Smuts and Hertzog formed the United Party in 1934, many Afrikaners are beginning to feel free to form associations around ideals, rather than an ethnic beacon.

And because they hold the key to government, their example can be followed by English-speaking whites and blacks.

The streams of diverging thought flowing from what

was the Afrikaner monolith are ending up on the fertile, but undeveloped plains of moderate politics. One tentative flowering has been the KwaNatal Indaba where proposals for non-racial government of the province have been negotiated.

The case of Wynand Malan demonstrates a political reality. Few Afrikaners will walk over to the Progressive Federal Party. This is because of the image the PFP has gained, largely by default and sometimes unfairly, of being anti-Afrikaans, anti-army and anti-police.

Alliance

The PFP is aware of this drawback, and many of its top members are talking about their willingness to meet the "New Nats" and other moderates halfway.

All this latter-day movement in South African politics has focused attention on the political common ground between the PFP and members of the enlightened wing of the NP. And a new political force — an alliance or a party — on that ground is being seriously discussed.

Such a development would, just for starters, break the unilingual mould

into which history has cast each of the white parties.

But that's not all. Nobody talking about the new grouping is even contemplating leaving out the blacks. All realise that having black faces around is meaningless unless those faces are backed by their people.

Significantly, even the Nationalists who are talking about the new movement are specifically excluding the Hendrickse-Rajbansi axis, leaders of the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament who have suffered widespread discreditation.

Who, then, are the potential participants and supporters in a new force in SA politics?

A recent scientific survey showed the NP had the support of 49,6 percent of white voters. Subtract the rightwing's less than 20 percent and that leaves a healthy pool in white circles alone.

An Afrikaans newspaper editor spoke recently of 22 percent of Nationalists who are ready for a new deal. They make up, largely, the Afrikaans intelligentsia, the more comfortably off and other tone-setters.

In Parliament itself, opposition sources talk about at least 10 Nat MPs ready to move. There are probably more, and the fact that the dissent reaches up to the fringes, and even into the Cabinet means that weight is more important than numbers in these matters.

Almost all English-

speaking South Africans will support such a new group.

Most of the universities will.

Virtually the entire business sector will.

Most Western countries will.

If the movement is serious, many significant blacks will. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his seven million Zulus will; black businessmen, social leaders, churchmen and even the moderate flanks of the ANC and UDF will, depending on demonstrated intent to move effectively to a common, open society.

Potential

It won't be easy, and success is not guaranteed. But such a group has the potential of making the most vital breakthrough in the present political logjam.

It will convert the present conflict from a racial clash to an ideological dispute, a dispute with blacks and whites on one side, and blacks and whites on the other — a far healthier position.

A vital key to all the above is the outcome of the election in May.

From this the reformers-in-the-wings will take their cue.

If the white electorate signals, through an endorsement of enlightened candidates and parties, that it is ready to tackle the country's racial problem face-on, the real steps towards the creation of a new moderate force could begin soon after the election.

Crude, simplistic message

NP no longer a political party — Pik

2/2/87 B/Dey 304A

The NP's election campaign is going to be a crude and simplistic one, concentrating on the communist threat and Western interference, if Foreign Minister Pik Botha's first election rally this weekend is anything to go by.

Botha said at a Goodwood NP meeting his party would not debate its policies: "The NP is no longer a political party. It is a people's movement (volksbeweging) of SA. The NP is going to the voters not



● BOTHA

to state policy, but is going to its people to state openly: this is the world we find ourselves in; this is what the world wants to do with us; this is what the ANC wants for SA; this is the aim of the SA Communist Party; and this is how we propose to survive. Now choose."

He said voters faced a "simple, elementary choice". The choice between the PFP which "has already decided to surrender" to the ANC with its dominant communist leadership, and the "racist" CP and HNP which were also promoting communism by alienating the moderate anti-communist blacks who wanted to share power without domination.

It is clear the ANC is going to be used as the main bogey against anyone who wants to differ from government — left or right. Botha mentioned SACP general-secre-

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

tary and Umkontho we Sizwe chief of staff Joe Slovo several times during his speech, calling him the "white brain behind the black face of the ANC".

He quoted freely from statements ANC leader Oliver Tambo made in the US and said: "I do not care if Oliver Tambo was met by Reagan. Or if he was met by Gorbachev. Or if he meets with Kohl or Margaret Thatcher or the Queen of Britain. This government does not negotiate the future of SA with terrorists."

But, Botha said, one should make a distinction between the "diabolical onslaught of the communists and the ANC and those black, coloured and Asian leaders who have the same norms and values as we have, who want to negotiate and reach a settlement with us. Who want to share power with us on a basis of consensus".

But those blacks, who rejected the ANC, the SACP, sanctions and foreign interference, were being rejected by the racists of the CP/HNP.

Botha said: "People must banish racism from their hearts and enter into an alliance with moderate blacks." That was the way to save SA from communism.

And there was the usual defiance of outside interference. Botha said: "We refuse to concede to the demands from outside. We will not allow the US to prescribe to us how SA has to be governed. If the price we have to pay for that is sanctions, then we will pay that price."

THUMBS DOWN FOR ELECTION

By SY MAKARINGE

THE whites-only general election, which takes place on May 6, will entrench apartheid and will have no benefit on blacks, a snap survey carried out by the *Sowetan* was told yesterday.

The date for the election was announced by President Mr P W Botha, when he opened Parliament on Friday. This will be the eighth general election since the National Party came to power in 1948.

People who spoke to the *Sowetan* said the election was meaningless to them except that they would continue to be oppressed by a minority Government. Many of them were not even aware that Parliament opened on Friday.

Sincerity

Mr Johannes Phehle (27), an unemployed Mofolo Village resident, said while President Botha was telling the outside world that apartheid was dead, he should show his sincerity by including blacks in the decision-making machinery of the country.

"The mere fact that only whites will be entitled to vote, shows that apartheid is here to stay. If Mr Botha was sincere with what he has been saying, he would include blacks in the Cabinet," Mr Phehle said.

Mr Sello Mothapo (37), a Meadowlands fruit vendor, said the election would be held to serve the interests of whites.



Mr HARRY Mahlakwane

"I think it is high time that Mr Botha starts negotiating with legitimate black leaders. We'll never recognise the people who'll be elected into Government because they serve the interests of a handful of people," Mr Mothapo said.

Mr Sokesimbone Dlamini, a 19-year-old second year university student, said President Botha would undoubtedly retain his position as the head of the State.

"Blacks will not benefit even if the position could change hands. We are in the majority and must be represented. A fourth chamber will not work as the tricameral Parliament has already proved to be a failure," Mr Dlamini said.

'Poll will entrench apartheid'



Mr SOKESIMBONE Dlamini.



Mr SELLO Mothapo ...

He said there were many black leaders who could lift this country from the mess it was in.

Mr Harry Mahlakwane of Mzimhlophe said by continuing to exclude blacks from the decision-making process in this country, the Government was clearly showing that it did not want peace.

"Violence will continue unless the Government includes blacks in Parliament. People are tired of being oppressed by a minority Government. As people in the majority, we believe that we must be represented. We cannot go on like this forever," Mr Mahlakwane said.

(304A) 2/2/87 DD.

Bid to patch up NP differences

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party leadership, stung by an unexpected but brewing rebellion to its left, yesterday took steps to patch up its differences with the verligtes, including negotiating an apparent truce with the MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel.

Last night, the Transvaal leader of the party, Mr F. W. de Klerk, released a letter written by Mr Nothnagel in which he backed down on statements made by him in an outspoken magazine article.

In the letter he accepted the official NP policy on the release of the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and negotiations with the organisation.

But the moves towards reconciliation with the verligtes may have come too late. Another prominent Nationalist, Mr Jannie Momberg, a senior figure in the athletics world, warned last night that he might quit the party.

Mr Momberg, who was chairman of the NP in Stellenbosch until October last year, said: "I am prepared to listen to what the NP has to say during the no-confidence debate. If there is no clear indication that it is going to scrap the Group Areas Act, then I am out."

"I have given the party 28 years of my life, but I cannot live with the Group Areas Act any longer," he said.

Mr Nothnagel has been in hot water with

the Nationalist leadership since the publication of the magazine article in which he supported negotiations with the ANC and the release of political prisoners.

In last night's statement, Mr De Klerk said Mr Nothnagel's letter would be discussed with the NP's divisional committee in Innesdal.

Mr Nothnagel did not want to comment before Mr De Klerk's statement had been released, but earlier yesterday he indicated he would not retract his statements or stop pushing for further and faster reform.

He also expressed his disappointment at the way the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, had publicly said if the Transvaal's NP leadership could not reach agreement with him, "their ways would part".

The apparent truce with Mr Nothnagel comes in the wake of weekend statements by three Stellenbosch University academics and conciliatory statements towards the verligte dissidents by Mr De Klerk and the Cape leader of the NP, Mr Chris Heunis.

The three Stellenbosch academics who

have all been NP supporters — Professors Willie Esterhuysen, Sampie Terblanche and Julius Jeppe — all issued statements backing Dr Dennis Worrall, who on Friday announced his resignation as South African ambassador to the United Kingdom, as well as the former Nationalist MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan.

It was reported from Johannesburg that Dr Worrall was planning to stand as an independent candidate in Natal on an Indaba ticket and that he hoped to lead a new grouping supporting the Indaba proposals.

Dr Worrall is likely to oppose the Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Port Natal. Dr Worrall was the first publicly to repudiate Mr Botha's rejection of the Indaba proposals in December last year when he said Mr Botha was speaking "purely in his capacity as leader of the NP in Natal".

But President P. W. Botha's implied rejection of the essence of the proposals in his opening address to parliament on Friday has now come close to his Natal leader's first statements.

Dr Worrall is expected to receive the support of big business in Natal if he stands in Port Natal.

Dr Worrall was quoted in October last year as saying of the Indaba: "I believe it is a very important development which could create a precedent for other parts of the country."

He was widely regarded in government circles as South Africa's most effective ambassador ever. The name of the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Ron Miller, is now being mentioned as a possible successor in London.

Nationalists fear that Dr Worrall's decision to quit the NP could be a blow to the party's English-speaking support.

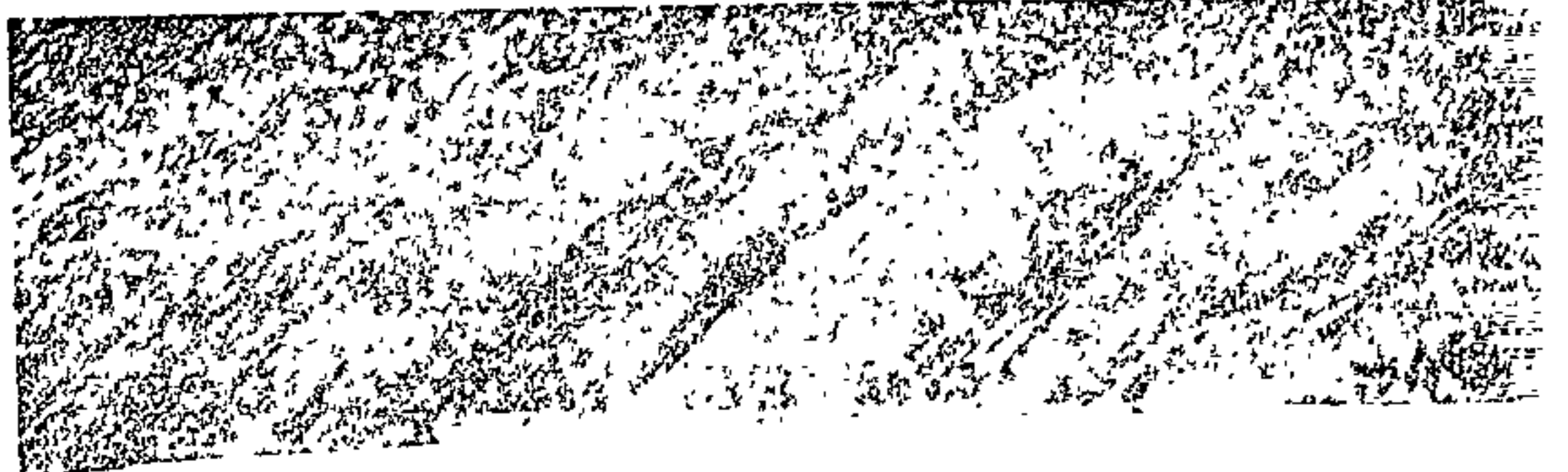
In London, Dr Worrall yesterday refused to comment on his decision to resign as ambassador.

However, a friend of his, Mr Andrew Hunter, a Tory MP, said: "One of the main reasons for his resignation was his disappointment at President Botha's opposition to the Indaba concept."

To the suggestion that Dr Worrall might stand on an Indaba ticket in Natal, Mr Hunter said this accorded with what he believed was Dr Worrall's line of thinking.

He added: "Apart from his disappointment over the Indaba issue, a further contributory factor was the attack by South African forces into neighbouring frontline states."

Editorial opinion, P6



Carl Tiers 2/2/87

304A

Indaba ticket for Worrall in Natal

By MAX DU PREEZ
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA's ex-ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall, is planning to stand as independent candidate in Natal on May 6 on mainly an Indaba ticket and hopes to be leading a new grouping supporting the Indaba ideas, a source close to the Indaba said yesterday.

Dr Worrall, who resigned as ambassador on Friday, was likely to oppose the Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Port Natal. Dr Worrall was the first to publicly repudiate Mr Stoffel Botha's rejection of the Indaba proposals in December last year.

But State President P W Botha's implied rejection of the essence of the proposals in his opening address in Parliament on Friday came close to the Natal leader's first statements and is likely to bolster Dr Worrall's chances and weaken the NP support in Natal.

The president said of the Indaba that any constitutional dispensation "must meet the requirements at every level of government, of protection and self-determination of minority groups, power-sharing among groups in respect of common interests and the prevention of

"domination by any group of the others".

He made it clear that a separate Natal solution would be unacceptable: "Finality on constitutional structures is achievable only if authorized representatives of all groups and communities who reject violence as a political instrument, come together in a national institution which enjoys statutory recognized status, and in which real accountability can exist."

Dr Worrall has recently been in contact with the main movers of the Indaba and told some of them of his intentions. He is expected to get the public and financial support of big business in Natal.

Possible successor

The other constituency where Dr Worrall may decide to stand, is Helderberg, the seat held by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis. Mr Heunis and Dr Worrall had clashed in July 1982 over the proposals of Dr Worrall's Constitutional Committee of the President's Council, and Dr Worrall was posted to Australia before the committee had finished its task.

Dr Worrall was widely regarded in government circles as SA's most effective ambassador ever. The name of the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Ron Miller, is being mentioned as a possible successor in London.

□ Our London correspondent reports that Dr Worrall yesterday refused to comment in any way on his decision to resign.

Speaking by phone from his London home he said he wanted to round off his ambassadorship in the right way and would not even listen to speculation concerning his departure.

However, a personal friend of Dr Worrall's, Tory MP Andrew Hunter, yesterday said:

"I would say that one of the main reasons for his resignation was his disappointment at President Botha's opposition to the Indaba concept."

Dr Worrall had placed a lot of store by this.

To the suggestion that Dr Worrall might stand on an Indaba ticket in Natal Mr Hunter said this accorded with what he believed would be in line with Dr Worrall's thinking.

He added: "A contributory factor to his decision was the attack by South Africa on a neighbouring frontline state."

Other factors were the break-away of the right-wing of the National Party and the failure of liberal opposition groups to produce an alternative political grouping.

□ Full circle for wiley Worrall?
page 5

Eglin slams Government on Indaba, NGK move

2/2/87 Enkosi.

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Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — The Kwa/Natal Indaba had been one of the few positive developments in South Africa in the past few months, Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Opposition, said in the No Confidence debate today.

But, as with other positive developments, the Government had had nothing to do with it.

"The Indaba has been an object lesson to all South Africans," he said.

"It showed how, in an atmosphere of trust and with the recognition of mutual inter-dependence, people of different races holding diverse political views could reach consensus on a future free from apartheid and on a constitution free from apartheid structures."

Mr Stoffel Botha, NP Natal leader and Minister of Home Affairs, had done the people of Natal and South Africa a disservice with his summary rejection of the Indaba's recommendations.

"The State President's response when opening Parliament was equally distressing.

"While he endorsed the concept of negotiation, he rejected the non-racial philosophy which is at the heart of the Indaba proposals.

"He has indicated that, irrespective of what the people of Kwazulu and Natal may want, his Government will only allow them to have a future on the basis of NP principles."

Other encouraging developments which the Government had nothing to do with was the "momentous declaration" of the General Synod of the N G Kerk on apartheid and its decision to open its church to all people.

Another was the way in which South Africans had settled down in a shared society once aspects of apartheid had been removed.

Natal election contest tipped

Worrall set to stand on Indaba ticket

B1 Day
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DENIS WORRALL is planning to stand as an independent candidate in Natal on May 6 on mainly an Indaba ticket, an Indaba source said yesterday.

Worrall apparently hopes to lead a new grouping mobilising support for the Indaba ideals and is likely to challenge Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha for the Port Natal seat.

In London yesterday, Worrall refused to comment but a friend reinforced suggestions this was the former ambassador's most likely course of action.

The friend, Tory MP Andrew Hunter, said: "I would say one of the main reasons for his resignation was his disappointment at President P.W. Botha's opposition to the Indaba concept."

Hunter said the suggestion Worrall would stand on an Indaba ticket accorded "with what I believe would be in line



● WORRALL

MAX DU PREEZ
and MARGARET SMITH

with his thinking".

All Worrall would say yesterday was that he wanted to round off his ambassadorship in the right way and would not even listen to speculation concerning his departure.

Worrall has recently been in contact with the main Indaba supporters and told some of them of his intentions. He is expected to get the public and financial support of big business in Natal for his campaign if he stands in Port Natal.

Botha's implied rejection of the essence of the Indaba proposals in his opening address in Parliament came close to his Natal leader, Stoffel Botha's, anti-Indaba statements and is likely to bolster Worrall's chances.

The President made it clear on Friday a separate Natal solution would be unacceptable. He said: "Finality on constitutional structures is achievable only if authorised representatives of all groups

● To Page 2

Worrall to take Indaba stand

and communities come together in a national institution which enjoys statutory recognised status, and in which real accountability can exist."

Botha said that was possible through government's Council of State.

Worrall was widely regarded in government circles as SA's most effective ambassador ever. The name of Deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller is now being mentioned as a possible successor in London.

Meanwhile, Indaba co-convenor Frank Martin said he felt Botha had neither accepted nor rejected the Natal/Kwa-

Zulu Indaba proposals but had instead left himself room to manoeuvre in either direction, reports MARTIN CHALLENOR.

Frank Martin, a former member of the Natal Provincial executive committee, is to stand in the Durban Point constituency for the NRP in the election, also on an Indaba ticket.

He said: "We have proved it is possible to sit down with other race groups and work out a set of proposals."

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John Scott seeks PFP nomination

CAPE TOWN — The political journalist and satirist, Mr John Scott, is seeking nomination as the Progressive Federal Party candidate to oppose the Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism, Mr John Wiley, in the Simon's Town constituency.

Mr Scott said yesterday that if he was successful in a pending nomination contest and was selected to stand for the PFP, he would resign his post as senior assistant editor of the Cape Times.

"I think I have a role to play in parliament. Having watched all these years, I know how the game is played. Rather than continue being an onlooker I feel it is time to get actively involved," he said.

Mr Scott said he decided on the "drastic step" of seeking political office because of his concern about the "course of disaster the Nationalist government seems intent on leading South Africa in".

Mr Scott has worked



JOHN SCOTT

as a journalist for 30 years. The nomination contest will be decided next Monday. —Sapa

Art Traits 2/2/87 (3041)

Concern prompts Scott to seek office

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MR John Scott, senior assistant editor on the Cape Times, said last night he had decided on the "drastic step" of seeking political office because of his concern about the "course of disaster the Nationalist government seems intent on leading South Africa on."

Mr Scott, who has worked as a journalist for the past 30 years, is seeking the Progressive Federal Party nomination for the Simon's Town seat in the coming general election.

The seat is currently held by the Minister of Environment and Water Affairs, Mr John Wiley.

Mr Scott said he had decided to seek political office because he regarded this as the best way of trying to halt the "downward plunge" the government had set the country on.

"I have decided to make myself available to stand in the Simon's Town constituency, my birthplace and present home, against a Cabinet minister who is jointly

responsible for the increasing disintegration of society, for the disappearance of elementary human rights and for the government's inability to run the country other than by emergency decree.

"If by becoming actively involved in the party political struggle for a more just society, and if by using all my understanding of the parliamentary system gained over nearly 20 years as a political observer, press gallery correspondent and senior leader writer, I am able to help change the electorate's attitudes, then my decision to step out in faith will be amply rewarded," he said.

Mr Scott said he would have preferred news of his decision to make himself available as a candidate to have been released only if and when he had won nomination.

"The editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, has known about it for some time but at my request agreed to refrain from publishing the information until greater certainty about my political future could be established.

"However, as other newspapers latched on to the story over the weekend, it is only fitting that the newspaper I have served for the past 21 years should now publish what it has hitherto withheld," Mr Scott said.

Mr Scott said he would resign his position on the newspaper if nominated.

□ The nomination contest will be decided next Monday. Mr Scott's chief opponent appears to be Mr James Selfe, a prominent PFP official in the Cape and senior party researcher.

However, the two are likely to be joined in the nomination contest by candidates who fail to gain nomination on Wednesday in the hotly-contested PFP seats of Groote Schuur and Wynberg.

Meanwhile, Mr Wiley has dismissed rumours that he will be seeking to replace Dr Denis Worrall as South Africa's ambassador in London.

The Conservative Party is unlikely to put up a candidate in the Simon's Town constituency in the coming general election, the Cape leader of the CP, Mr Jan Hoon, said yesterday.

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Full circle for wiley Worrall?

By ROGER WILLIAMS
Chief Reporter

DR DENIS WORRALL'S resignation as South Africa's ambassador in London marks the end of yet another phase in the chequered political career of this 51-year-old English-speaking academic — and possibly the start of a significant new phase in South Africa's political history.

Dr Worrall is known as a strong individualist and a deep thinker, and as one who has long been torn between conflicting loyalties.

He has been an MP, advocate, senator, a key member of the President's Council, an ambassador first in Australia and then in London — and now, if he is to become an aspirant MP once more, his political wheel will be turning full circle.

Knowledgeable, articulate and unflappable, he was seen after his appointment to the Court of St James in 1984 as a vast improvement on earlier incumbents of what is regarded as one of the toughest posts in South Africa's diplomatic corps.

In his term of office in London, during which there has been large-scale unrest, a prolonged state of emergency in South Africa and mounting hostility from abroad, Dr Worrall has



Dr Denis Worrall... articulate individualist.

been put under severe diplomatic pressures.

And on some of the numerous occasions in which he has had to face the world on television, there have been signs of a growing disenchantment with his role of defending Pretoria's cause.

Dr Worrall was born in Benoni, but he grew up in the Cape. He is a graduate of UCT, in philosophy and law, and he has a doctorate of philosophy from Cornell University in the United States.

The author or co-author of several books, he has held aca-

ademic appointments in political science at Cornell and the Universities of California, Natal and the Witwatersrand, and at Unisa.

His last academic post before going into politics as a Nationalist-appointed senator for the Cape in 1974, was as research professor and director of the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

He is married to Rumanian-born Dr Anita Worrall (formerly Ianco), a child-psychologist, and they have three sons.

● Dr Worrall was elected MP for Gardens in 1977, and in 1980 he became chairman of the constitutional committee of the President's Council. As such he was one of the architects of constitutional reform in SA.

But in 1982, soon after reports that he had clashed with the then Minister of the Interior, Mr Chris Heunis (these reports were at first denied by both parties), he was packed off to Australia.

Now there is speculation that in the May general election Dr Worrall may stand against Mr Heunis — the present Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning — in the Heiderberg constituency, or against the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Port Natal.

Rebels: Nat readers act

Cape Times
2/2/87

304A

4 boys raped: Hunt for knifeman

Staff Reporter

A MASSIVE police manhunt was launched in the hills above Kommetjie yesterday afternoon after four boys were sodomized by an unidentified knife-wielding man.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, said last night the search had been unsuccessful but that an identi-kit picture of the man would be released in the hope members of the public could help in tracing him.

'Forced to strip'

The incident occurred between noon and 2pm as the boys — three of them 14 and one 10 years old — descended a hill at the end of their walk, Lieutenant Laubscher said.

They were approached by the man, who forced them — at knife-point — to strip and re-ascend the hill, he said.

"The boys had to hand over their shoe-laces," he said. "The man tied two of them up and sexually assaulted them."

He then bound the other two boys and sodomized them.

'Reinforcements called in'

"When he was finished, the boys managed to escape and reported the attack to their parents."

The local police were notified and after reinforcements from Wynberg — including members of the dog unit — were called in, an intensive search began in the area, but with no luck.

Police were continuing their investigations, Lieutenant Laubscher said.

By BARRY STREEK
and MAX DU PREEZ
Political Staff

THE Nationalist leadership, stung by an unexpected and brewing rebellion to its left, yesterday took steps to patch up its differences with the verligtes, including negotiating an apparent truce with the controversial MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel.

Last night the Transvaal leader of the NP, Mr F W de Klerk, released a letter, written by Mr Nothnagel, in which he backed down on statements made by him in an outspoken article in the Inside South Africa magazine.

In the article he supported negotiations with the banned African National Congress (ANC) and the release of political prisoners.

But the moves towards reconciliation with the verligtes may have come too late. Another prominent Nationalist, Mr Jannie Momberg, a well-known figure in the athletics world, warned last night that he may quit the party.

Mr Momberg, who was chairman of the NP in Stellenbosch until October last year, said: "I am prepared to listen to what the NP has to say during the no-confidence Debate. If there is no clear indication that they are going to scrap the Group Areas Act, then I am out."

Mr Momberg would not comment on speculation that he had been in contact with Dr Denis Worrall since his resignation as ambassador in London, but said: "I am excited about him coming back. If he includes the scrapping of the Group Areas Act as part of his platform, I might join him after the end of the no-confidence debate."

In last night's statement, Mr De Klerk said Mr Nothnagel's letter would be discussed with the NP's divisional committee in Innesdal. It appears that an agreement has been reached that Mr Nothnagel will remain the NP's candidate there.

Mr Nothnagel did not want to comment before Mr De Klerk's statement had been released, but earlier yesterday he said that there was no way that he was going to retract his statements and stop pushing for further and faster reform.

The apparent truce with Mr Nothnagel comes in the wake of statements over the weekend in support of Dr Worrall by three prominent Stellenbosch University academics and conciliatory statements towards the verligte dissidents by Mr De Klerk and the Cape leader of the NP, Mr Chris Heunis.

The three Stellenbosch University academics, professors Willie Esterhuyse, Sampie Terblanche and Julius Jeppe — all known NP supporters — issued statements backing Dr Worrall and the former Nationalist MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan.

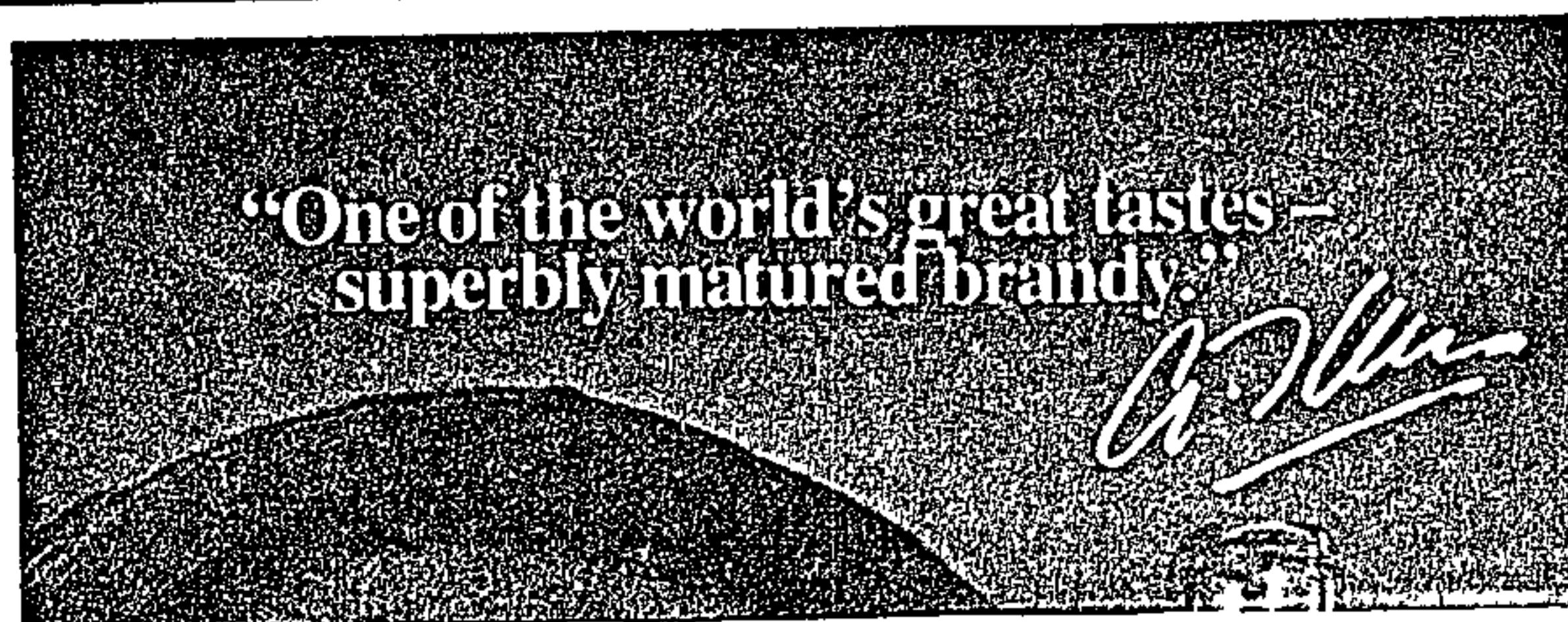
Yesterday however, Mr Heunis told the government-supporting Sunday newspaper, Rapport, that he had no knowledge of "a wide degree of defection on the left in the Cape".

But, he added significantly, people who were talking about not voting, should stop doing so because it was "worthless" and an "evasion of responsibility".

Mr De Klerk told Rapport that the NP welcomed open discussion among its members and that political rights for blacks remained an irreversible goal of the party.

☐ Indaba ticket for Worrall in Natal, page 3

☐ Full circle for Wiley Worrall? page 5



Govt under fire from two flanks

30/4
3/2/87

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The government came under concerted fire from both the left and the right in yesterday's no-confidence debate as campaigning in South Africa's first general election under a state of emergency began in earnest.

Firing the opening salvoes in his motion of no confidence in the cabinet, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, charged that the May 6 "emergency" election would be "neither free nor fair".

"Quite apart from the restrictions placed on what can be said by and what can be published about a political party, there cannot possibly be a free or fair election if the voters are kept in the dark about what is going on in their country," he said.

"When you add to this the pro-government propaganda work being done by the Bureau for Information and the constant attempts of the SABC to brainwash the public, you will realise that the opposition parties go into the coming election with their hands tied behind their backs."

Mr Eglin said it was impossible for parliament to function properly under the emergency as MPs were denied access to information about what is happening in the country.

"The government has clamped a dangerous blanket of ignorance on the people. What do white South Africans really know about what

is going on in the black townships?" he asked.

Replying to Mr Eglin, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said the PFP leader's complaints about the Bureau for Information and SABC "propaganda" were his excuse, delivered in advance, for why he was going to lose the election.

Turning to restrictions on the press, Mr Du Plessis admitted there was "a lot of hardship and suffering we do now know about." However, this was not peculiar to South Africa's townships but occurred throughout the developing world.

He conceded, however, that there were "some things we don't know" regarding the situation in South Africa.

The PFP's Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulle, slated President P. W. Botha's opening address to parliament as "only worn-out ANC-bashing, electioneering and attempts to rally white voters into a xenophobic laager".

Because of its inability to choose between the "racist partitionists" and the "non-racial democrats" the National Party was "like a donkey trying to sit on the fence

while keeping both ears on the ground at the same time".

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said academics and businessmen were deserting the National Party to both the left and the right because the government had no policy to present to the voters.

Dr Treurnicht, in a classic "swart gevaar" election speech, charged that the government's policies would inevitably lead towards black majority rule.

The NP, he said, had no "moral fibre" any more as was evidenced by the "extraordinarily large number of NP MPs who have already, or will, resign their seats — and not for reasons of age or ill health."

The parliamentary leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, said the government's preparation for a "white tribal election" aimed at sorting out internal problems in the National Party had brought reform to a halt.

The Deputy Minister of Transport, Mr Myburgh Streicher, said the NP would not allow the "broadening of democracy" to lead to a one-man, one-vote political system.

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'Rooi Rus' is after Pik's seat

Own Correspondent

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JOHANNESBURG. — Former police Brigadier Mr "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel says he will stand against the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in Westdene because the government is soft on law and order.

Often described as the country's most hated and feared retired policeman, Mr Theunis "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, 58, said: "I've detained thousands in my time. I'd happily detain 10 times more. South Africa needs my services again."

Of his prospects as an election candidate, Mr Swanepoel said: "Westdene or nothing. I want to take on Pik Botha because I think he's a worthy opponent. I actually respect him. It's going to be one hell of a fight. As long as he keeps it clean, I'll keep it clean. The fight is going to be a good elimination process for the world boxing championships."

In an attack on the maintenance of law and order, the former chief interrogator for the security police said the government had allowed the country to become ungovernable. It had also pandered to the United States, which several times had backed off from assisting the SA security forces in its "many wars."

He said laws had "hamstrung" the security forces so they were no longer able to "keep control". This had resulted in a high casualty rate and "dozens" were being "lost" through "unnecessary restrictions".

Although he agrees with the AWB, he says he's not a member.

Support for Indaba 'alliance' Campaign to discredit Worrall

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Natal political leaders Mr Ray Swart and Mr Frank Martin yesterday gave their backing to a policy of returning as many "Indaba-oriented" candidates to Parliament as possible in the forthcoming election.

The policy could include not opposing Dr Denis Worrall, if he decides to stand for election as an Independent in Natal on a pro-Indaba ticket. Dr Worrall has described the proposals as "a demonstration of the fact that non-racial answers can be worked out by way of peaceful negotiations".

Their support adds substance to indications that a loose alliance of Indaba-supporting candidates — possibly headed by Dr Worrall and embracing several New Nats — could emerge as a powerful political force in the election, at least in Natal.

Mr Swart, leader of the PFP in Natal, said yesterday it was "important to ensure that Indaba-oriented candidates are returned by the electorate".

"The Indaba is the major issue in Natal electoral politics," he said.

THE National Party has started a subtle campaign to discredit South Africa's ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall, by suggesting that his decision to quit and possibly stand as an independent in the May 6 election was a case of sour grapes.

It is alleged that Dr Worrall had insisted on a Cabinet position if he stood as an NP candidate.

Dr Worrall has declined to comment while he is still ambassador.

Meanwhile, more prominent businessmen are understood to have promised Dr Worrall their public and financial support should he stand as an independent.

It seems as if bitter conflict is looming between Dr Worrall and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis. Several local Nats and businessmen have promised to support Dr Worrall if he was prepared to stand against Mr Heunis in Helderberg, Dr Worrall's home constituency.

Mr Heunis disclosed yesterday that he had met Dr Worrall on January 19 when the latter "came looking for a seat", and said any suggestion that he had initiated the meeting or asked Dr Worrall to stand for the NP was incorrect.

Mr Heunis yesterday again denied that he ever had a clash with Dr Worrall. Although newspaper cuttings stating that Dr Worrall had admitted to a clash with the minister in a radio interview on July 15, 1982, were given to one of his aides, Mr Heunis was not available for comment later.

He had told the newspaper the Citizen yesterday: "If Dr Worrall stands for any political party other than the NP, then he is in fact playing a double game."

He added that he never had a quarrel with Dr Worrall, but warned that there would be a clash if Dr Worrall decided to oppose the NP.

The Citizen said Dr Worrall was "playing it both ways" and could "fight a Nationalist seat for the Progressives, or a Progressive seat for the Nationalists".

CP has all-white plan for cinema blackout

THE Conservative Party (CP) has devised a mini-master-plan to fight the cinema blackout imposed on whites-only audiences.

Johannesburg CP regional chairman Clive Derby-Lewis said yesterday: "We are trying to get people interested in opening in opposition to Ster-Kinekor."

"We envisage starting on a small scale in hired halls once a week and extending as our patronage grows."

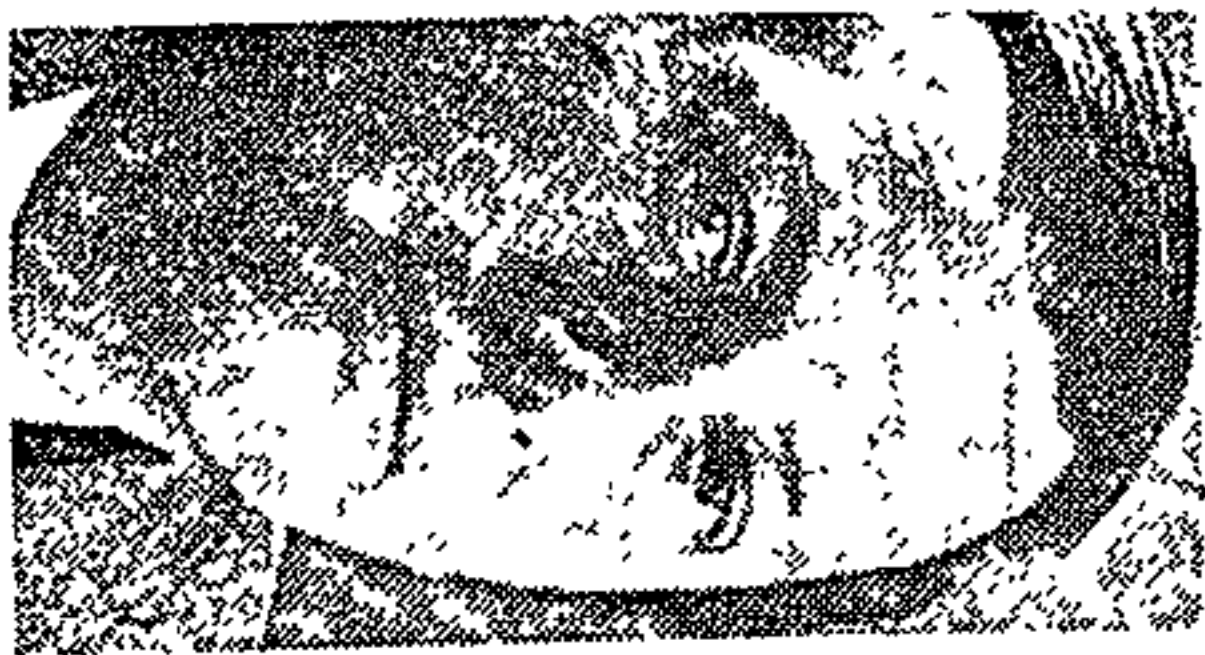
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PATRICK BULGER

"It's all very preliminary. You don't organise things like this overnight," he said.

"But there are a lot of people who are concerned about the degeneration of the films shown in SA — people in the churches and concerned citizens' groups."

He said he felt the movement would not be long catching on once Krugersdorp Town Council — which has vehemently rejected desegregation but which meets today to reconsider its decision — reversed its decision.

"I'm sure it won't take long then. People have been conned into believing that the whole of the US wants open cinemas here."



Mr Momberg

Momberg rejects Group Areas, backs rebel Nats

Political Correspondent

MR Jannie Momberg of Stellenbosch says he will support Mr Wynand Malan and Dr De-Worrall if they make rejection of the Group Areas Act a major part of their election campaigns.

Mr Momberg, a prominent sports administrator, has been a secretary or chairman of a

National Party branch for 26 years.

He clashed with President P W Botha at a Cape Nationalist congress two years ago.

Mr Momberg had pleaded for the Group Areas Act to be scrapped. Mr Botha said it could be adapted but that the main principle would not be tampered with.

Mr Momberg said today he regarded himself as a Nationalist. He would not support the Progressive Federal Party.

On the other hand, he could no longer live with the idea of the Group Areas Act. He would thus support people like Mr Malan and Dr Worrall if they fought against the Act.

Mr Malan has resigned from

the National Party and is to stand as an independent in Randburg, and Dr Worrall has resigned as ambassador in London.

Mr Momberg said he would not leave the National Party but indicated that he thought he could be expelled.

● See Page 6.



● WORRALL

Natal plan to back pro-Indaba candidates

A POLICY of returning as many "Indaba-oriented" candidates to Parliament as possible in the general election was backed yesterday by Natal political leaders Ray Swart (PFP) and Frank Martin (NRP).

The policy could include not opposing Denis Worrall if he decides to stand for election as an independent in Natal on a pro-Indaba ticket.

Worrall has described the proposals as "a demonstration of the fact that non-ra-

PATRICK BULGER

cial answers can be worked out by way of peaceful negotiations."

Their support adds substance to indications that a loose alliance of Indaba-supporting candidates — possibly headed by Worrall and embracing several "New Nats" — could emerge as a powerful political force in the election, at least in Natal.

Its support would be fuelled, Martin and Swart said, by President P W

Botha's apparent rejection of the Indaba proposals in his speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday, and by the enthusiasm the proposals had evoked in Natal.

Swart, the PFP's leader in Natal, said yesterday it was "important to ensure that Indaba-oriented candidates are returned by the electorate".

He said: "The Indaba is the major issue in Natal electoral politics."

Botha's rejection of the Indaba "was certainly a major factor contributing to dissent in NP ranks".

Martin, a co-convenor of the Indaba and the NRP's candidate in Durban Point, said that while Botha had not fully rejected the Indaba, "what we are trying to do is return as many people to Parliament as possible who will push for the Indaba to be accepted".

He said no formal approach had been made to Nats in the province but that "most Natal Nats say they agree with the concept of the Indaba but that there is not sufficient provision for minority groups".

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HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Inflation in SA was a complex issue which merited serious attention and should not be used to gain political capital, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said in the no-confidence debate yesterday.

It would doubtless be exploited by the opposition in the run-up to the election, he said.

He added that his department was busy, in co-operation with the Reserve Bank and the Central Economic Advisory Services, on a study aimed at coming to grips with inflation.

It would be dishonest for anyone to

Barend warns on inflation

stand up and say all was well with the economy.

Certain issues, such as the growth rate — which was too low — unemployment, inflation, low productivity, problems in agriculture and the lack of fixed investment, were causes of great concern to the government.

The opposition, however, claimed that the abolition of apartheid would solve all the economic and other problems of the country.

"Show us these so-called apartheid expenditures: what is unnecessary," he said.

It was possible to reject apartheid, but the process of dismantling it would not mean the end of the fundamental divisions in SA society.

If this reality was not built into a new society that society would end in chaos.

Du Plessis also added that SA could not escape the effects of changes in the international economic scene. — Sapa.

Soal takes swipe at media centre 'farce'

THE media centre, which had to approve any item of news relating to unrest and security-force action, had become "a complete farce and the laughing stock of the Press", Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal said yesterday.

He said in the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly the centre was "totally discredited and is succeeding only in keeping South Africans in the dark about what is going on in this country".

The reports issued by the centre were incomplete, unsatisfactory and totally unacceptable.

With "typical National Party authoritarianism and arrogance", government was trying to "control the thought processes of the population".

The truth had never hurt anyone and

Own Correspondent

"for it to be suppressed and controlled is reminiscent of the action of frightened tyrants and despots".

Turning to the "Info Song", Soal asked why the Bureau for Information had persisted with this "discredited and potentially dangerous project".

He had no objection to the words of the song because they reflected PFP policy, rather than that of the NP.

But the song was highly dangerous and had caused enormous upset to a large number of people.

Soal said: "Press reports indicate that two homes were petrol-bombed and gutted, a blind man died in one of the houses and four others were injured. The bureau even considered providing police protection for the other artists involved in the recording."

PFP queries ready for Assembly

Own Correspondent

THE PFP has tabled a number of questions on unrest and detentions which are scheduled to be answered this month.

PFP law and order spokesman Helen Suzman will ask Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok on February 10:

□ How many people had been detained since the emergency was declared on June 12 and how many of them were under 18;

□ How many people were under 16 when they were detained and how many had been charged.

On the same day, Defence Minister Magnus Malan will be asked by the PFP MP for Edenvale, Brian Goodall, how many juveniles have been killed or injured by SADF members in unrest.

Goodall will also ask whether any charges have been laid against SADF members as a result of injuries or deaths in unrest.

PFP health spokesman Dr Marius Barnard will ask the Ministers of Justice and Law and Order about detainees on hunger strikes.

Suzman will also ask questions on detentions under the Internal Security Act and will ask the Education and Development Aid Minister about "re-orientation camps".

Govt has chickened out — Raw

GOVERNMENT was yesterday accused of "chickening out" on reform by Vause Raw, NRP MP for Durban Point.

He said in the no confidence debate it had never been easier to support such a motion.

Government carried full responsibility for its disastrous record of political and economic mismanagement.

It was responsible for SA's isolation, its lack of internal and external credibil-

Own Correspondent

ity, deteriorating race relations and a trail of failed objectives.

Raw said government had promised to concentrate on constitutional development for blacks, but it had not even got negotiations off the ground.

The one bright spot, the KwaNatal Indaba, had been put on a backburner while government fought a white tribal election.

EGLIN LAMBASTS GOVT

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Tighter apartheid measures through the years and the Government's failure to bring about fundamental reform had prepared the way for revolution and conflict in South Africa, the leader of the official Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

Proposing a motion of no confidence in the Cabinet, he said the Government had "played into the hands of the revolutionaries and cut the ground from under the feet of the moderates."

"The tightening of the apartheid screws by successive Nationalist governments and the failure of this Government to follow through with fundamental reforms has prepared the ground for revolution and conflict in our country.

"It (the Government) has undermined the position of the leaders who want to see non-vi-

olent change in our country."

Mr Eglin said the Government tried to shift the spotlight away from its own failures to issues such as "the outside world" and the "revolutionary onslaught".

Enemies

The Progressive Federal Party realised South Africa had outside enemies and that selective morality was often applied against the Republic.

But, Mr Eglin said, the Government had repeatedly played into the hands of its enemies and "pulled the rug from under our friends".

"Through its inept management of the reform process; its heavy-handed repression; its failure to get rid of apartheid and follow through with reform;

it (the Government) has created a climate of public opinion overseas in which sanctions became inevitable."

This hostile climate would continue as long as the Government delayed reform and balked at the granting of real political rights to blacks.

Mr Eglin said the Government faced a crisis of confidence and of legitimacy.

Crisis

"Black South Africans not only do not have confidence in the Nationalist Government, but do not accept the legitimacy of the Government or constitutional structures through which it rules over them."

The crisis of legitimacy would not be solved until blacks took part in government at the highest levels. — Sapa.

5848

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The government came under concerted fire from both the left and the right in yesterday's no confidence debate as campaigning in South Africa's first "gagged"

general election under a state of emergency began in earnest.

Firing the opening salvoes in his motion of no confidence in the cabinet, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, claimed that the May 6 "emergency" election would be "neither free nor fair".

"Quite apart from the restrictions placed on what can be said by, and what can be published about, a political party, there cannot possibly be a free or fair election if the voters are kept in the dark about what is going on in their country," he said.

"When you add to this the pro-government propaganda work being done by the Bureau for Information and the constant attempts of the SABC to brainwash the public, you will realize that the opposition parties go into the coming election with their hands tied behind their backs."

Mr Eglin said it was impossible for Parliament to function properly under the emergency as MPs were denied access to information about what is happening in the country.

Left, right bombard govt in Parly debate

"The government has clamped a dangerous blanket of ignorance on the people. What do white South Africans really know about what is going on in the black townships?" he asked.

Replying to Mr Eglin, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said the PFP leader's complaints about the Bureau of Information and SABC "propaganda" were his excuse, delivered in advance, for why he was going to lose the election.

Mr Du Plessis, referring to press restrictions, admitted there was "a lot of hardship and suffering we do now know about". However, this was not peculiar to South Africa's townships but occurred throughout the developing world.

He conceded, however, that there are "some things we don't know" about the situation in South Africa.

The PFP's Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulley, described the opening address by the State President

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LONDON — Alistair Macle

From page 1

Confidence debate:

NP unable to choose

Mr P W Botha, to Parliament as "only worn out ANC-bashing, electioneering and attempts to rally white voters into a xenophobic laager."

Because of its inability to choose between the "racist partitionists" and the "non-racial democrats" the National Party was "like a donkey trying to sit on the fence while keeping both ears on the ground at the same time".

"There can be no peace under apartheid... the crumbling process (in the NP) is already taking place, and the election on May 6 is going to shock them to the core," Mr Hulley predicted.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said academics and businessmen were deserting the National Party to both the left and the right because the government had no policy to present to the voters in the coming general election.

Dr Treurnicht, in a classic "swart gevaar" election speech, said the government's policies would inevitably lead towards black majority rule.

No moral fibre

The NP, he said, had no "moral fibre" any more as was evidenced by the "extraordinarily large number of NP MPs who have already, or will, resign their seats — and not for reasons of age or ill health."

The parliamentary leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, said the government's preparation for a "white tribal election" aimed at sorting out internal problems in the National Party had brought reform to a halt.

The Deputy Minister of Transport, Mr Myburgh Streicher, said the NP would not allow the "broadening of democracy" to lead to a one-man, one-vote political system.

Mr Streicher said "democracy" could not be replaced with "communist, Marxist repression". Nor could the government permit the capitalist system to be replaced by a redistribution of wealth and land.

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Fight likely in all Tvl seats

Nats face toughest poll test since '48

304A 8/2/87 3/2/87

Political Staff

Cape Town

The National Party may face its greatest challenge in the Transvaal in this election since coming to power in 1948.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said today that his party would be putting up 60 to 65 candidates in the province.

"We are in good condition, and ready for the election," he said. "Our feedback from the constituencies is encouraging, and we believe we have good grassroots support."

It is almost certain that the Progressive Federal Party, which plans to fight dozens of Transvaal seats, will put up candidates in the 15-odd constituencies where the CP is not standing.

This means that the NP is unlikely to get any "free rides" into Parliament.

As it intends fighting all 76 Transvaal seats, it will be stretched to the limits of its financial and manpower resources.

Dr Treurnicht would not be drawn into speculating how many seats the CP is likely to take in the Transvaal, but senior Nationalists are nervous.

One Minister, who believes his seat is touch-and-go, said: "The problem for us is that we have never fought the CP in a general election before. We do not know what their strength is. It is rather like playing tennis with a new partner. You do not know what his backhand and forehand is like."

The NP is privately concerned that a couple of Transvaal Ministers could be unseated, notably Mr Pietie du Plessis, Minister of Manpower and MP for Lydenburg, and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid and MP for Vanderbijlpark.

North Rand

The PFP is confident that it will take at least one extra Transvaal seat — North Rand.

The PFP-New Republic Party alliance will contest 40 of the 76 Transvaal seats, the two parties have announced.

A joint statement by the PFP Transvaal leader Mr Douglas Gibson and NRP leader Mr Martin Stephens said they had agreed to a division of the seats.

Last night the PFP's regional council in the Southern Transvaal endorsed a decision by the PFP federal executive not to contest Randburg.

This will give former National Party MP Mr Wynand Malan a good chance of winning as an independent.

He will be opposed by Mr Olaus van Zyl of the National Party.

● See Pages 3, 4 and 13

THE NP has started a campaign to discredit Denis Worrall, SA's ambassador to London, by suggesting his reported decision to stand as an Independent in the election is a case of sour grapes.

The rumour is being spread that Worrall had insisted on a Cabinet position if he stood as an NP candidate.

Worrall is refusing to say anything while he is ambassador.

At the same time, more top businessmen are understood to have promised Worrall their public and financial support should he stand as an Independent.

It seems bitter conflict is looming between Worrall and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis. Several local Nats and business-

Bitter conflict over Worrall

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MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

men have pledged support for Worrall if he stands against Heunis in Helderberg, Worrall's home constituency.

Heunis disclosed yesterday he had a meeting with Worrall on January 19 when Worrall "came looking for a seat".

In a statement to *Business Day*, Heunis said any suggestion that he had

● To Page 2 ➡

Conflict over Worrall move

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initiated the meeting or asked Worrall to stand for the NP was incorrect.

Heunis yesterday again denied he had ever clashed with Worrall. *Business Day* then gave one of his aides newspaper cuttings stating Worrall had admitted to a clash with Heunis in a radio interview on July 15, 1982, but Heunis was not available for comment later.

Heunis told the government-supporting newspaper *The Citizen* yesterday: "If Dr Worrall stands for any political party other than the NP, then he is in fact playing a double game."

He added he had never quarrelled with Worrall, but warned there would be a clash if Worrall decided to oppose the

NP.

← ● From Page 1
The Citizen said Worrall was "playing it both ways" and could "fight a Nationalist seat for the Progressives, or a Progressive seat for the Nationalists".
□ Sapa reports from London that Worrall is expected to leave the British capital by the end of next week.

The ambassador — who holds office until he leaves his official residence — is refusing to discuss his political future until he is back in SA.

Embassy sources said it would take at least until the end of next week before he could wind up his arrangements.

Nat dominance ends, says Eglin

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ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The National Party was at the crossroads and its parliamentary dominance was fast coming to an end, Mr Colin Eglin, Leader of the Opposition, said at the start of the no-confidence debate yesterday.

He said a motion of no confidence had never been more appropriate or justified in 39 years of Nationalist rule than now.

Mr Eglin predicted that the coming House of Assembly election, which he said would be neither free nor fair, would show that the Government did not enjoy the support of the majority of whites.

When people were looking for a message of hope, the Government had no plan for the future, and even its own supporters were losing patience.

Instead, its policies had ended up isolating the country, damaging the economy, dividing the nation, jeopardising the future and undermining the living standards of millions of ordinary South Africans.

'Incapable of governing'

The Government had shown through the prolonged state of emergency that it was incapable of running the country democratically.

'It is proof of the abject failure of the Government to solve our country's problems,' said Mr Eglin.

'The state of emergency, with its police powers, its abrogation of the rule of law, its assault on civil liberties, its muzzling of the Press, its denial of information to the public, its restrictions, its bannings, its jail without trial, is proof that the National Party, after 39 years in office, is incapable of governing by democratic means.'

As long as the Government was in power, the country would be unable to return to even limited freedom and qualified democracy.

How could MPs do their work and people make sensible judgements when the Government had clamped a dangerous blanket of ignorance on the country?

Apart from the restrictions on what could be said by and what could be published about a political party, there could not possibly be a free and fair election if the voters were kept in the dark about what was going on in their own country or had to rely on selective information provided by the Government.

'When you add to this the pro-Government propaganda work by the Bureau for Information and the constant attempts by the SABC to brainwash the public, you will realise that the opposition parties go into the election with their hands tied behind their backs,' said Mr Eglin.

When would President Botha lift the state of emergency, when would he release the thousands in prison without trial, when would he remove the muzzle on the Press?

'The Government has their hands tied behind their backs,' said Mr Eglin.

The Government not only faced a crisis of confidence, but of legitimacy.

This would not be resolved, nor would the instability and conflict be removed 'until blacks as citizens of this country participate in the Parliament of South Africa'.

The Government had failed to have negotiations with credible black leaders.

● See Editorial Opinion and Page 8

Heunis called to account after Indaba statements

Mercury Reporter

THE KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals were a guideline and still needed to be worked on if they were to be implemented, Prof Desmond Clarence, chairman of the Indaba, said last night.

Prof Clarence was reacting to yesterday's comment on the proposals by Mr Chris Heunis and Mr Stoffel Botha during the no-confidence debate.

Mr Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said the proposals for regional government in Natal did not make provision for effective power-sharing and also offered inadequate guarantees to minority groups against domination.

Reacting to this Prof Clarence said, 'He must define what he means by effective power-sharing.'

'The proposals did not allow one small group to veto something put forward by the majority.'

'Proportional representation is a very strong element of power-sharing. But, as far as language, religion and cultural affairs are concerned a very small number of people do have an absolute veto because it affects their lives so closely.'

Luxury

Turning to the issue of the one-man-one vote proposal, Mr Heunis said most Third World countries — of which South Africa was largely one — 'cannot afford the luxury of a one-man-one-vote democracy according to the Western model'.

Prof Clarence agreed saying Natal needed help and that things would be no different once the proposals were implemented.

'The Government has already accepted and committed itself to the De Lange committee report and it will have to make a political decision on how much support to give

Natal/KwaZulu. To see peaceful change in the province we will need support.'

'We are asking for no more than that. As far as other economic calculations are concerned the committee has given an indication of what is needed.'

Mr Heunis said he believed it was clear that the composition of the Indaba, with the presence of interest groups that had no way of consulting their power base on the proposals, only hampered the consultation and negotiation process.

But this was dismissed as 'completely untrue' by Prof Clarence who said representatives had had the opportunity to consult with their constituents.

A referendum, not tied up to the election, on the Indaba proposals would once and for all prove the legitimacy of the representatives, he said.

He also pointed out that the Indaba proposals had been formulated with the belief that 'a stable future will be got not by forced group participation but by voluntary association'.

Prof Clarence said the stipulations put forward by the proposals were only a hopeful guideline rather than a reality.

'It states specifically that these things should happen in a year, but if implemented, he said, the general aim is to work towards it as quickly as possible.'

Prof Clarence said that all the proposals asked for was local option to show that 'what was suggested could work'.

● See also Page 6



Lovely Lee-Anne is no blank cheque

A Durban bankteller will be in for quite a surprise when Kingfisher Canoe Club chairman Alistair Peter (right) tries to cash Lee-Anne Nell. Lee-Anne found herself wearing a R20 000 cheque last night at a function launching this year's Hansa Umkomaas canoe marathon. More than 600 canoeists will take part in the 130 km marathon, the premier wild water event of the season. The race starts at Hella Hella on March 7, finishing 18 km from the Umkomaas River mouth the following day. This year, a R500 prize is being offered to the Press photographer who takes the best action picture of the event. Handing over the 'cheque' to Mr Peters is SAB representative Mr Harvey Wannenbourg.

Five men

2011 NLM 4/2/87

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PW: 4th chamber out

CAPE TOWN — President P. W. Botha yesterday dismissed as "absurd" the idea of a fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks.

Speaking briefly during the no-confidence debate, Mr Botha said he wished to deal with certain "suggestions" put to him earlier by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, on the NP's policy relating to a fourth chamber and proportional representation.

The National Party's "clear standpoint" was that there could be no fourth chamber in Parliament. "I say it not only to him (Dr Treurnicht) but also to black leaders with whom we have talks.

"If we want to create such a chamber, then we have to accommodate six or seven nations in it and that is absurd," Mr Botha said. — DDC

3044 (S) 4/2/87

Bickering would destroy Indaba says Buthelezi

Dispatch Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG —

Amid strong indications that the KwaNatal Indaba will be a bitterly-fought issue in the forthcoming general election, prominent Indaba figures put a dampener on attempts to forge an electoral alliance in support of the proposals.

They warned that inter-party hostility would sink the Indaba.

The Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned that "party-political bickering would be the surest way of destroying the proposals".

He said he appreciated the outgoing ambassador to London, Dr Denis Worrall's "positive way in which he has spoken about the Indaba as a possible channel for peaceful change". However, Dr Worrall had not spoken to him about the Indaba, he added.

Chief Buthelezi's warning echoed that of the chairman of the Indaba

support group, Mr Dirk Kemp, who yesterday ruled out the prospect of the Indaba steering committee endorsing candidates in the election.

"We want to make sure that the proposals are clearly understood and that they are not limited to information provided by party-political candidates.

"As far as the Indaba is concerned it is wrong to suggest that the proposals could be judged by the white community in isolation from the rest of society. There is the danger that the black community will get the impression that whites are deciding the Indaba issues themselves."

Meanwhile, the breakaway National Party MP, Mr Wynand Malan, said yesterday he supported the "Indaba concept" but indicated he had no plans to stand on an Indaba ticket.

"I have not been approached by any candidates to support the Indaba concept. The Indaba is not my main

issue although in principle I do support the concept.

"I am personally in favour of any initiative to find consensus, including regional initiatives. I do favour this type of negotiation."

Mr Malan said the government was aware of the need to bring about change but was incapable of "altering its own dogmatic and rigid views" in its approach to the Indaba.

● The Conservative Party is considering fighting more than 100 seats in the forthcoming House of Assembly election in the hope of becoming the next government. The seats including 10 of the 20 Natal constituencies.

Observers feel this could help the New Republic Party and Progressive Federal Party win three seats between them from the NP in Natal.

The PFP's Natal Coast director, Mr Roy Ainslie, said CP candidates would not greatly affect the election.

Nats reject Indaba plan and referendum hopes

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

THE Government has rejected the recommendations of the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba for a single legislature and virtually refused to hold a referendum to test public opinion.

Parliamentary proceedings yesterday were dominated by the Indaba as the Government made it a major issue in the no-confidence debate.

Although dismissing the recommendations of the Indaba, Government speakers claimed they still felt the process was an important part of the consensus process.

However, they repeatedly emphasised the proposals could not be accepted because they were not based on the National Party policy of group representation.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, who opened the debate, said the Government was still prepared to discuss the constitutional development of the region with Kwazulu, the Government-appointed Provincial Executive and political parties after the implementation of the approved Joint Executive Authority (JEA).

The JEA, approved after negotiations by the defunct NRP-controlled Natal Provincial Council and Kwazulu and on which the two executives would decide jointly on matters of common interest, would be formed shortly.

After Mr Heunis, the attack was joined by the NP Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, who was even more explicit in his rejection, and Mr George Bartlett MP, former NRP member and now Deputy Minister for Economics and Technology.

Black domination

The speakers attempted to discredit the proposals on the grounds that they would lead to black domination based on one-man one-vote, that the economy of the region would be destroyed and white educational standards would be adversely affected.

The speakers also insinuated that the PFP had manipulated the Indaba for its own petty political ends and had misled the NRP into an alliance in the process.

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) told Mr Heunis he had done a disservice to peaceful change in South Africa by rejecting the Indaba report.

Mr Heunis said the framework for future constitutional development was based on four principles. These were:

- Equal participation of all groups at all levels of government;

- No domination of one group over another;

- Power sharing on matters of common interest to the highest level of government; and,

- Groups must be able to exercise their own choice of legislative and executive structures for self-determination in matters affecting themselves.

The Indaba proposals had not met these requirements.

Heunis, Stoffel Botha sceptical

Two top Nats pour scorn on Indaba plans

4/2/87
B/DAY 304A

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

TWO SENIOR Cabinet Ministers, Chris Heunis and Stoffel Botha, yesterday categorically rejected the proposals of the Natal Indaba.

But, in what opposition politicians saw as mainly a ploy to buy time and reduce the damage done by its rejection of the Indaba, government undertook to start negotiations for further constitutional development in Natal.

The ruling National Party clearly acknowledged the importance of the Indaba in the coming election campaign, by concentrating almost exclusively on it in the No Confidence debate in Parliament yesterday.

The new PFP/NRP alliance in Natal revolves around the Indaba, and SA's Ambassador in London, Denis Worrall, is expected to stand as an independent on mainly an Indaba ticket.

However, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said yesterday: "The proposals do not make provision for effective power-sharing and do not offer sufficient guarantees to groups against domination."

Home Affairs Minister and Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha said: "On careful analysis, the present set of Indaba pro-



● HEUNIS



● BOTHA

posals fail to provide the answers to so many constitutional, economic and practical administrative problems that they cannot be accepted."

PFP MP for Berea Ray Swart said last night his understanding of the ministers' speeches was that they amounted to a fundamental rejection of the Indaba.

But, in what could become a significant development, Botha added: "While rejecting the proposals as they stand, I firmly believe that negotiation must continue... I see the Indaba proposals as a start, not an end in themselves."

Heunis was even stronger on this point when he told *Business Day* after his speech: "Using government's framework for constitutional reform as a guide, I commit myself and the government —

● To Page 2 ➡

Top Nats scorn Indaba

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after the establishment of the Joint Executive — to start talking to the KwaZulu government, Natal's Executive Committee as well as the leaders of all political parties in Natal about possible further constitutional development in KwaZulu and Natal."

Both ministers made it clear they supported the idea behind the Indaba. Botha said: "I emphasise that qualified support or rejection of certain of the present set of Indaba proposals does not mean one is against the Indaba as such."

Heunis said: "... Apart from the merits of the contents, the Indaba process represents an important exercise in the development of consensus."

He had basic objections to the compilation of the Indaba; to the presence of interest groups with no mechanism to consult their power base; and also to the

mandates of some participating organisations to negotiate constitutional proposals.

He also made it clear government was not going to accept any model or proposal that it did not take an active part in.

Heunis outlined four principles on which any future development would have to be based:

- All groups had to take part in political processes on all levels on an equal basis;
- Domination of one group over another had to be avoided;

- There had to be powersharing between all groups up to the highest level on matters of common concern; and

- Groups had to have the opportunity to determine legislative and executive structures on all government levels.

◀ ● From Page 1

Breaking the mould of white politics

THE RESIGNATION of Dr Denis Worrall as South Africa's ambassador in Britain was big news here last week. Most newspapers published it on their front pages and it was top of many television and radio bulletins.

At the weekend the Sunday newspapers were still writing about it and speculating on what lay behind it.

The event showed how passionately interested Britain still is in South Africa. Latterly, as a result of the clamp on Press reporting of black unrest, South African news had been receding from the front pages, but Dr Worrall's resignation brought it flooding back.

The resignation also showed that the previously dismissive attitude of the British media towards 'white politics' in South Africa is no longer so superficial. The obsessive interest in the bang-bang of South African politics is changing now into a growing interest in how the bang-bang can be resolved.

Some of the comments in the British Press have been remarkably perceptive. Most commentators accept that the sole purpose of the May 6 election is to allow President Botha to use the twin issues of international sanctions and the black 'revolutionary onslaught' to try to pull the National Party together — to beat off the challenge from the HNP and CP on the Right flank and from the PFP-NRP on the Left flank. Otherwise, the election is seen as 'futile'.

The commentators perceive, too, that what Dr Worrall's resignation signifies — and the resignation of Wynand Malan — is an attempt to break the mould

of white politics in South Africa. Here some distant analogies are drawn with the emergence of the Liberal-SDP Alliance in Britain which is also trying to break a mould.

Breaking the mould is what South African politics is all about these days: since the National Party government is incapable of talking to the black opposition about the country's future — the most urgent priority — a new governmental grouping is needed to do it.

Breaking the mould of white politics in South Africa, of course, is not something that interests many black radicals or white liberals here. For them it is the revolution or nothing.

Last week, for example, I took part in a radio discussion programme in which a West African journalist dismissed Dr Worrall's resignation, and indeed all white politics, as games whites play among themselves — games that are irrelevant to blacks. I was unable to persuade him that, surely, the inner strength or weakness of a white ruling class was highly relevant to the black struggle.

If, for example, the NP restabilises itself as a result of the election, and white politics is re-frozen in its existing mould, all that will be left for the black opposition will be to slug it out with the security forces for the next decade or two. Blacks ultimately

can win this slugging match, but at what price — a scorched economy, the smouldering ruins of race relations and a fragmented black leadership?

Dismissing white or parliamentary politics as 'irrelevant' is adolescent politics. There is nothing irrelevant about parliamentary power, because it is the power either to negotiate or to die in the last ditch.

of real power to show that the ruling party is not just for the dominant Afrikaners...

His spectacular stroke comes only a week after an NP politician, Mr Wynand Malan, resigned for the same reason. Mr Malan is one of about 30 'new Nats' who have lost patience with Mr Botha's inertia... The existence of this disaffected 'Left' in the NP points to a realignment in white

Stanley Uys LONDON BUREAU

The other interesting consequence of Dr Worrall's resignation is that it has brought the PFP leader, Colin Eglin, on to British television screens. Suddenly, after relegating white opposition leaders in South Africa to low-priority treatment, the realisation has dawned here that without Eglin the new 'centrist' grouping in white politics will never emerge.

It is in Eglin's gift to make or break this new grouping — to create a symbiotic relationship between the PFP and the Malans, Worralls and others who will follow them; and by all accounts — or so we hear here — Eglin is playing these cards skilfully. This, of course, is the role Van Zyl Slabbert should have played.

Old obstacle

No doubt Eglin will come up against that old obstacle to change in any political party — the purists who don't want strangers crowding in on their patch. The Liberal-SDP Alliance had to overcome this problem before they were able to get their show on the road. But Eglin, unless television appearances are deceptive, looks as if he knows where he is going.

A Guardian editorial made this interesting comment: '... Dr Worrall's return from diplomatic exile to the domestic arena is a reminder that there is an entirely new factor emerging in the white political spectrum. He is, or was, a member of a small but important element in the NP, the handful of Anglophones who have been given posts

politics of much greater import than the Right's earlier leap in the dark.

It would seem that Mr Botha, by stalling on reform to assuage his obsession with the Right, has conjured up an entirely new and potentially greater enemy on the other flank.

The Afrikaners are naturally fissiparous and it has always been the prime duty of their political leader to strive for unity among the Volk. As they begin to crack under the strain of confrontation and isolation, P W Botha stands a good chance of going down as the most divisive leader in South African history.

CMT Toms 4/2/87

30411

Diplomat spells out views

By THELMA TUCH AND ANTHONY JOHNSON



Mr Kurt von Schirnding

MR Kurt von Schirnding, South Africa's former ambassador to the UN, where for the past four years he has defended the country before the world, yesterday expressed his disappointment at the government's stalling on reform. He also expressed sympathy with rebel MP Mr Wynnand Malan who recently defected from the National Party because of its backtracking on reform.

Mr Von Schirnding said SA should be forging ahead at a far more rapid pace towards a non-

discriminatory society.

After spending the past 35 years in SA's foreign service, he has accepted the post of director-general of the South African Foundation from March 11.

He is diplomatic about the SA government, but the slow pace of reform in the country is an issue he does not try to defend.

He says he is disappointed with the government's stalling on reforms to which it had previously committed itself, but denies that this led him to give up his career in the foreign

service.

Nevertheless, he admits he felt personal conflict on many occasions during his four years of defending SA at the UN.

"Our timing in international affairs has at times been deplorable," he says. As an example he quotes the SADF raids into Harare, Zambia and Botswana last year just when the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) was to present its report on the sanctions issue to the European Community.

"That should never have happened. There were aspects of government policy that I per-

odically could not agree with," he says.

Reacting to Mr Von Schirnding's statements, the PFP's spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Ray Swart, said last night: "His comments reflect the frustration which must be felt by South African diplomats in trying to defend the indefensible in so many countries."

"Mr Von Schirnding's message must not be ignored by the country. He is a trained diplomat with considerable experience who has been in the front line of attacks on South Africa."

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
— The MP for Walmer, Mr. Andrew Savage, yesterday gave details of the battle between Azanu (Ama Africa) and the "comrades" in Kwanobuhle on January 4.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate, Mr. Savage said it appeared that "the police succumbed to the temptation of playing one faction off against the other — just the type of irregular action that characterizes an anarchistic situation".

He had statements from 41 individuals which included:

□ Thirteen which al-

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Savage: Police backed battle in KwaNobuhle

lege attacks on themselves or their property;

□ Statements from family members and witnesses to two murders and one attempted murder; and

□ Statements from people caught up in the armed crowd of vigilantes estimated at about 1500.

Police involvement

had been alleged in 22 statements.

"It appears that the Ama Africa provided the group of ringleaders who commanded two City Golfs, the Blue Sabata Taxi and the van from which they directed the crowd.

They were the link between the crowd and the police, involved in

and targeting attacks on people and property."

He added: "Statements claim that from commencement to conclusion activities were monitored and sponsored by the SAP."

Stating that what had happened in KwaNobuhle highlighted the breakdown of conventional government, Mr Savage said a public inquiry was needed.

□ About 40 000 people had been moved from Langa and Despatch to the tent town of KwaNobuhle between July and November last year, Mr Savage said.

All 76 households surveyed said they were forced to move.

HNP wants right-wing 'People's Front'

3068
E Post
4/2/87

By KIN BENTLEY

THE formation of a "People's Front" of all right-wing groups was mooted by the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, in Port Elizabeth last night.

He told about 125 people that he would not stand in the way of both parties in the East Cape seeking to reach a regional accord on the division of seats for the election.

Calling for a coming together of all right-wing groups in a front going "beyond political structures", Mr Marais said "maximum resistance to the sell-out Government" could be achieved in this way.

Invited to this "election gathering" would be the CP, the Afrikaner Weer-

Walmer candidate

Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN - The Progressive Federal Party's candidate in Walmer will be announced tonight, a spokesman for the Party confirmed today.

It is understood that two nominations for the seat to be vacated by the sitting MP, Mr Andrew Savage, have been received.

The National Party is expected to nominate a former principal of the University of Port Elizabeth, Professor S P J Schoeman for Walmer.

standsbeweging, the Afrikaner Volkswag and smaller right-wing groupings. He also hoped some form of electoral agreement could be achieved with the CP. All the seats in the country should be contested by the right.

Earlier, he said his most optimistic prediction for the right-wing — should the parties not co-operate — was to win nine or 10 seats.

Mr Attie Looock, regional director of the NHP in the Eastern Cape, said if an election pact was formed with the CP it will leave the HNP contesting PE North, Humansdorp and Albany.

The CP will contest Algoa, Sundays River and Graaff-Reinet.

"It does look as if there will be this election pact," he said, but he couldn't be sure because the HNP was still waiting to hear from the CP.

"The ball is in their court," he said.

"We said we would work together but we would not form one party."

Meanwhile in Johannesburg, the breakaway National Party MP, Mr Wynand Malan, yesterday said he supported the "Indaba concept" but indicated he had no plans to stand on an Indaba ticket in the election, reports the Post correspondent.

"I am personally in favour of any initiative to find consensus, including regional initiatives. I favour this type of negotiation."

'Pivotal role' of private sector

Mr Kurt von Schirnding, who began his new job as director-general of the South African Foundation this week, believes the private sector has a pivotal role to play in creating a new South Africa.

"If ever there was a time that an organisation such as the SA Foundation was necessary, then this is it," he said.

He said that with sanctions a reality, "it stands to reason that an organisation like the SA Foundation, which represents the private sector, must be able to project the private sector's point of view, as to how and where South Africa is going".

He said it was natural there would be differences of opinion in the foundation, "but you cannot get away from the fact that it will become involved in the political process".

"I do not mean in the party political sense, but in the overall political destiny of the country. It is essential it should do so."

Progress wanted

Mr von Schirnding said there was a "broad middle ground in South African society and in the business sector" which wanted to see rapid progress on political reform.

"I see the foundation in its internal role as hopefully being able to play a strong role in bridge-building, in articulating the private sector's views on the future political dispensation.

"Any discriminatory legislation should disappear off the statute book. I believe there is a very good case to be made for accelerating reform and for the Group Areas Act to be removed from the statute book."

However, the foundation should not be seen as a pressure group in conflict with the Government because that would be counter-productive.

South Africa's former

ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, has taken up his new post with the SA Foundation.

He spoke to The Star's Political Reporter, Colleen Ryan, about how he feels the organisation can help in moulding the country's future.

can only hope it will speed up after the election.

"In the party political sense, I don't think it would be correct for me to take sides. But I think that the direction these people are moving in is one which most moderate South Africans could hardly find fault."

He said there was "no direct parallel" in his decision to retire from the foreign service and Dr Worrall's resignation.

"But there is a parallel in the sense that in the situation in which we found ourselves, I could do more from the vantage point of the foundation."

Positive approach

"My general approach to my appointment is that I see it in a very positive way. I have always felt that an organisation such as this could play a pivotal role in encouraging reform."

Mr von Schirnding said the kwa-Zulu-Natal Indaba was "a very interesting exercise which should be given most serious consideration".

"If the people of Natal really want an Indaba-type self-governing setup, they should be allowed to go



Mr von Schirnding . . . "the logic must be broken".

pouses violence and retains its communist component, then the Government is not prepared to enter into discussions with it. It is a stand one can understand."

However, he added that "there is no question, in the long run, you are going to have to speak to all the various groupings that make up the political spectrum."

"In the long run, you are going to speak to the ANC. The point, is when?"

Mr von Schirnding said as ambassador to the UN he had experienced frustrations and "an obvious disappointment at the pace of reform".

His position was made more difficult by South Africa's exclusion from the General Assembly. He said "behind-the-scenes" contacts were very important. "We also had success in a monitoring role".

Mr von Schirnding firmly believes that South Africa should remain in the UN and put its case in the security council as often as possible.

He said this was important because the country's representatives frequently had the opportunity of trying to put the record straight in the face of "blatant untruths".

Asked whether he did not find it difficult to defend many aspects of Government policy, he said: "There were times when it was very difficult."

"You cannot allow your personal feelings to intrude, or you cannot do your job. You act as an advocate of South Africa and put its case as best you can."

Difficult defence

He said one particular instance where he experienced problems in defending the Government was after the raid on Cabinda in Angola. "That was difficult to defend with regard to one's conscience and credibility."

He said there were times when there were "conflicts of conscience".

"There are many aspects of Government policy with which I vehemently disagree, but there were periods when you felt euphoria, when the Government introduced major reforms, such as the abolition of influx control and the lifting of the ban of mixed marriages".

Mr von Schirnding said it was a misconception that an ambassador was "simply the representative of the Government of the day's policy". He tried to present the views of other parties in South Africa, including the views of the New Republic Party and the Progressive Federal Party.

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Asked to comment on recent political developments, such as the resignation of the "reformed-minded" Nationalist MP Mr Wynand Malan and the decision of Dr Denis Worrall to re-enter politics, he said: "I cannot find any fault with most of the arguments that have been put forward by people who have lately enunciated these feelings.

"There is no other way. It is unfortunate that the so-called reform process has ground to a halt. One

ahead with it," he said.

"We should see how it works out. One should not write it off. Somehow the logjam has got to be broken. The Indaba is one of many proposals. It should not be rejected out of hand."

Asked what his views were on negotiations with the African National Congress, Mr von Schirnding said: "You cannot ignore the ANC."

"The Government has taken a clear line. As long as the ANC es-

views: 1987 4/2/87 begin 304A X

Heunis rejects Indaba proposals

By MAX DU PREEZ
Political Staff

PARLIAMENT. — Two senior cabinet ministers yesterday finally and fundamentally rejected the Indaba proposals during the no-confidence debate.

But, in what opposition politicians saw as mainly a ploy to buy time and reduce the damage of its rejection of the Indaba, government undertook to start negotiations for further constitutional development in Natal.

Government clearly acknowledged the importance of the Indaba in the coming election campaign by concentrating almost exclusively on it in the no-confidence debate in Parliament yesterday.

The new PFP/NRP alliance in Natal revolves around the Indaba, and South Africa's Ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall, is expected to stand as an independent on mainly an Indaba ticket.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday: "The proposals do not make provision for effective power sharing and do not offer sufficient guarantees to groups against domination."

The Minister of Home Affairs and Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, said: "On careful analysis the present set of Indaba proposals fail to provide

the answers to so many constitutional, economic and practical administrative problems, that they cannot be accepted."

The PFP MP for Berea, Mr Ray Swart, said last night that his understanding of the ministers' speeches was a fundamental rejection of the Indaba.

But, in what could become a significant new development, Mr Botha added: "While rejecting the proposals as they stand, I firmly believe that negotiation must continue ... I see the Indaba proposals as a start not an end in themselves."

Heunis 'to start talking'

Mr Heunis was even stronger on this point when he said in an interview after his speech in Parliament: "Using government's framework for constitutional reform as a guide, I commit myself and the government — after establishment of the Joint Executive — to start talking to the KwaZulu government, Natal's Executive Committee, as well as the leaders of all political parties in Natal about possible further constitutional development in KwaZulu and Natal."

Both ministers made it clear they support the idea behind the Indaba. Mr Botha said: "I emphasize that qualified support or rejection of certain of the present set of Indaba proposals does not mean one is against the Indaba as such. The electorate must not allow the Indaba process to fail because the PFP/NRP alliance wish to hijack the Indaba concept for their own selfish ends."

□ Prominent Indaba figures yesterday put a dampener on attempts to forge an electoral alliance in support of the proposals.

They warned that inter-party hostility would sink the Indaba.

Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that "party political bickering would be the surest way of destroying the proposals".

He said he appreciated Dr Worrall's "positive way in which he has spoken about the Indaba as a possible channel for peaceful change", adding, however, that Dr Worrall had not spoken to him about the Indaba.

Dr Worrall has been tipped as the possible leader of an Indaba-supporting alliance in the coming election.

□ Breakaway National Party MP Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday that he supported the "Indaba-concept" but indicated he had no plans to stand on an Indaba-ticket in the coming white poll.

Schirnding slates tardy reform

THE pace of reform has been too slow, says Kurt von Schirnding, SA's ambassador to the UN for the past four years.

He has returned to SA to take up the position as director-general of the private-sector-sponsored SA Foundation.

In an interview with *Business Day* yesterday he said SA should be moving more rapidly and in a more visible fashion towards its goals of reform.

"We should have moved long ago in the direction to bring about a non-discriminatory political dispensation in this country," he said.

Although he was in favour of the tri-cameral Parliament at the time of its conception, he now believed it was prob-

ably misconceived because it failed to provide a constitution which could include blacks.

"The fact that the government is now prepared to negotiate a new constitution to provide for blacks in proof of this."

The private sector had to work towards reaching consensus on a future dispensation for SA and the pace at which change should be instituted.

Schirnding said he supported the Indaba proposals and tended to identify with any moderate movement in SA pressing for accelerated reform.

THELMA TUCH

4/2/87 • See Page 4

Indaba undaunted by rejection

ARGUS

4/2/87

30 4/7

By BRUCE CAMERON Political Staff

City trapeze artist hurt in circus act fall

Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN trapeze artist Mark Lotz has been injured in a six-metre fall during a circus performance in Hong Kong.

Mr Lotz, 25, who was trained in Cape Town by Keith Anderson and has performed worldwide, was admitted to hospital yesterday. His condition is reported as "fair".

Mr Lotz fell from the trapeze while performing without a safety net, a spokesman for Chipperfield's Circus said.

Mr Lotz's accident was Chipperfield's second in Hong Kong. He was performing in place of American Elvin Bale who missed the air cushion and hit the concrete floor after he was shot from a cannon last month.

CHINESE GOD

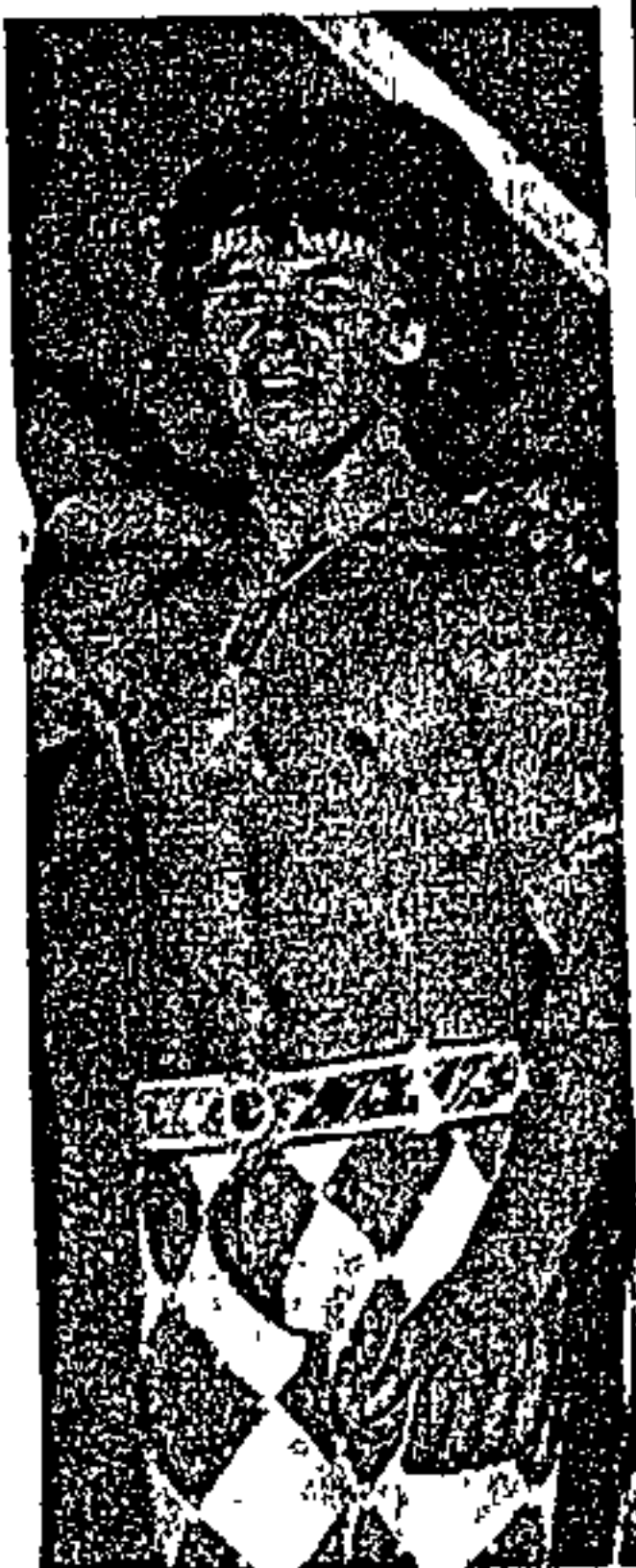
Chinese helpers suggested the accidents happened because "the foreigners" had not asked for protection from Todekung, the Chinese god of earth.

Prayers for the protection of the performers will be offered to Todekung in a traditional Chinese ritual with incense sticks and paper money at the circus today.

Mr Lotz's father, Mr Desmond Lotz of Rugby, did not know that his son had fallen. He said: "Again? He hurt his legs last time he fell while touring in Europe."

After that fall, in France, his heart stopped beating and his French wife Michelle fainted when she thought he was dead. A doctor in the audience revived Mr Lotz and he was taken to hospital with two broken hips.

A friend who said she had known the performer since childhood said: "He will work without a net. He is very daring."



Mark Lotz

Mr Lotz last performed in the city during last year's Cape Town Festival.

Mr Rob Paterson, who was secretary of the now-defunct Children's Circus Oslo in Observatory where Mr Lotz trained, said Mr Lotz had "spent his life falling and hurting himself".

He said: "He's a daredevil. He always does the unexpected. But if I know Mark he'll be off for two weeks and then back on the trapeze."

TIGHTROPE

"Once, during a performance on Greenmarket Square, he fell about 12m from a tightrope on to the cobblestones."

"In Johannesburg, when he was about 13, he jumped from a swing and instead of falling into the safety net he did a somersault and missed the net. We rushed him to hospital."

His mother, Mrs Shirley Lotz, said: "Mark said the trapeze was his whole life. He couldn't imagine breaking away from it."

He planned to join a circus in South Korea after the Hong Kong appearances.

THE Natal/Kwazulu Indaba will push ahead with its plans to gain acceptance for its proposals, in spite of the "panic" rejection by the Government of any constitutional plans that do not fit within the ideology of separate development and apartheid.

This was the overwhelming reaction from opposition political leaders in Natal today following a big Government bid to discredit the Indaba proposals and stop any real test of opinion in Natal.

The Indaba executive meets on Monday to discuss the Government's reaction.

Indaba spokesmen have already given notice that plans would be made for an "unofficial" referendum if the Government turned down a test of opinion.

Mr Ray Swart, Natal PFP leader who will reply in Parliament tomorrow to the Government attack on the Indaba, said the election would be the first step of a public test and this would have to be followed by a referendum.

Majority backing

"The Government will see the overwhelming majority in Natal will back proposals of the Indaba."

He said it was quite clear from the Government attack that it was not interested in real reform and was only prepared to accept changes within the framework of the ideology of separate development and apartheid.

He also challenged the claims of Government spokesmen that they supported the concept of the Indaba as an important milestone in consensus politics.

He asked why the National Party had not participated fully in the Indaba if this were the case, and why it did not even try to hold negotiations on the proposals before rejecting them out of hand.

Chairman of the Indaba, Professor Desmond Clarence, has pointed out that the proposals were guidelines which could be negotiated.

Shown up

The same point was made by co-sponsor of the Indaba, Mr Frank Martin, former senior Natal MEC, who accused the Government of panic reaction.

The Government had panicked because it had realised it would be shown up as being unable to get real reform under way and because of the consequences in the elections.

Mr Martin said: "They are afraid to sit down with blacks, with an open agenda and, because of this, they have no credibility with blacks."

"If the Government was serious about negotiations it would have looked at the proposals — and they were proposals — and then put its queries to the Indaba."

Govt "scared"

"The Government has chosen not to because it is scared of the consequences," Mr Martin said it was virtually certain that an Indaba would be held.

Both Mr Martin and Mr Swart said a referendum on a group basis would be acceptable to them if the Government was afraid of a one-man, one-vote referendum.

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was not immediately available for comment on the Government condemnation of the proposals.



Kathy Keaton



Bob Guccione

Let's marry, after 22 years

The Argus Foreign Service NEW YORK. — Penthouse magazine publisher Bob Guccione has finally popped the question to South African girlfriend of 22 years Kathy Keaton, and the couple will marry next year.

Kathy, in her early forties, said: "We are trying to decide if we should elope, get mar-

ried in New York, the Sistine Chapel or somewhere in Sicily."

Guccione, 54, said: "She was worth waiting for."

He proposed on Christmas Day Kathy said: "He gave me all my presents and then suddenly gave me a diamond and emerald engagement ring. It's enormous. I couldn't say

NEWS FOCUS

Von Schirnding disappointed at slow reform pace



● VON SCHIRNDING

KURT VON SCHIRNDING, SA's former ambassador to the UN who for the past four years has defended the country before the world, is disappointed with government's performance.

He says SA should be forging ahead far more rapidly towards a non-discriminatory society.

Von Schirnding has quit the UN — he refers to it as the theatre of the absurd — for the private sector in SA where, he says, he can act in a more meaningful environment.

After spending the past 35 years of his life in SA's Foreign Service he has accepted the post of South African Foundation director-general from March 11.

His energies will be channelled into helping the business community to articulate a political dispensation for a post-apartheid SA.

"The private sector must become more specific as to what it would like to see in SA as a result of political reform," he says.

"It's important for the outside world to see the private sector feels government should be moving in a certain direction."

Defiance not answer

He believes there is nothing to be gained by the private sector's confronting government by defying its policies.

Rather, there ought to be in-depth discussion between leaders of the business community and government, and the SA Foundation could be the vehicle to realise this.

Von Schirnding does not try to defend the slow pace of reform, and is disappointed with government's stalling on reforms to which it had previously committed itself.

But he denies this led him to

THELMA TUCH

give up his long-standing career in the Foreign Service.

He left, he says, because he felt he could make a greater contribution in the SA Foundation than in the diplomatic arena.

Nevertheless he admits he felt personal conflict on many occasions during his four years of defending SA at the UN.

"Our timing in international affairs has at times been deplorable," he says. He cites the SADF raids into Harare, Zambia and Botswana last year just when the Eminent Persons' Group was to present its report on sanctions to the European Community.

Could not agree

"That should never have happened. There were aspects of government policy I periodically could not agree with."

However, there have been some significant reforms which have not been given their due credit internationally. He lists the abolition of the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and influx control.

Constraints within government have not allowed reform to go far enough, he says. "As long as measures such as the Group Areas Act remain on the statute books we are not going to be able to swing the legislatures of the Western world to lift sanctions."

There is no doubt, he says, sanctions will increase unless SA demonstrates it is moving towards non-discrimination.

Therefore, a great responsibility lies with the private sector not just to criticise government policies but to articulate a viable alternative.

It should also try to convince protagonists of sanctions that sanctions hurt those they are meant to help, he says.

"Sanctions can't be taken lightly. In the long run their negative effects will be felt."

Government, he says, will have to sit at the negotiating table with credible leaders from all SA groups.

But it has the right to refuse to talk to a group advocating violence.

"I can't see us arriving at a political dispensation acceptable to all in SA unless we are prepared to negotiate with all sections — including political leaders in prison and banned organisations."

The UN does not impress him as an effective organisation. "Because of superpower rivalry it hasn't been able to pose a solution to problems in major trouble spots such as Iran/Iraq, Afghanistan and the Mideast."

No credibility

SA's credibility at the UN is nil, he says, and pressures will increase.

But SA should stay in the UN and use it as a forum to state its case. Although SA is barred from General Assembly meetings, it can still put its position on record in the Security Council whenever it is under attack.

Antagonism towards SA increased dramatically during the four years he spent at the UN.

"There were times when we were speaking in the Security Council that you could virtually cut the tension with a knife."

The UN should build a monument to apartheid, Von Schirnding says. It is preoccupied with SA, which is the subject of about one third of its discussions.

Govt rejects Natal / KwaZulu Indaba recommendations

Star 4/2/87
304A

Political Staff

The Government has rejected the recommendations of the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba for a single legislature and virtually refused to hold a referendum to test public opinion.

Parliamentary proceedings yesterday were dominated by the Indaba as the Government made it a major issue in the no confidence debate.

Although dismissing the recommendations of the Indaba, government speakers claimed they still felt the Indaba process was an important part of the consensus process.

But they emphasised repeatedly that the proposals could not be accepted because they were not based on the National Party policy of group representation.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, who opened the debate, said the Government was still prepared to discuss the constitutional development of the region with kwaZulu, the government-appointed provincial executive and political parties after the implementation of the approved Joint Executive Authority (JEA).

The JEA, approved after negotiations by the now scrapped NRP-controlled Natal Provincial Council and kwaZulu and on which the two executives will decide jointly on matters of common interest, will be formed shortly.

The attack on the proposals and their support by the PFP and NRP was started on Monday by the newly appointed chief information officer of the National Party, Mr Con Botha (NP, Umlazi).

After Mr Heunis, the attack was joined by the NP's Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, who was even more explicit in his rejection, and Mr George Bartlett, former NRP member and now Deputy Minister for Economics and Technology.

The National Party attack was made on several fronts. The speakers attempted to discredit the proposals on the grounds that they would lead to black domination based on one man one vote, that the economy of the region would be destroyed and white educational standards would be adversely affected.

The speakers also suggested that the PFP had manipulated the Indaba for its own petty political ends and had misled the NRP into an alliance in the process.

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) told Mr Heunis that he had done peaceful change in South Africa a disservice by rejecting the Indaba report.

People both inside and outside South Africa who wanted peaceful change regarded the Indaba as one of the most hopeful signs the country had seen for years.

Mr Derrick Watterson, Natal leader of the New Republic Party, strongly defended the Indaba as true compromise and negotiation in which there were no winners and no losers.

Mr Watterson firmly rejected National Party claims that group rights were not protected by the Indaba proposals.

He said the National Party had reacted so strongly to the NRP and PFP agreement to form an election alliance on the basis of the Indaba proposals because this had placed several of its seats at risk.

The NRP, which had co-sponsored the Indaba, was however a "true reformist party that believes its duty is to join other reformists of all colours or political creeds in trying to get rid of the apartheid albatross that has been placed around our necks by the NP Government".

Almost every group in Natal accepted the Indaba proposals as a reasonably negotiated settlement in which simple democracy and group/cultural protection was accommodated, Mr Watterson said.

Stofberg quotes secret document:

Broeder plan for ANC

CRK TIMES 4/2/87

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A SECRET Broederbond document supporting the involvement of the ANC in constitutional talks had not been repudiated by the cabinet, the majority of whom were Broederbond members, the only HNP MP, Mr Louis Stofberg, said yesterday.

The document, a copy of which was released last night by Mr Stofberg, accepts that the majority of the government will be black. It says "there can no longer be a disguised white government" and supports the creation of racially mixed "grey" residential areas.

The Broederbond document, which is likely to cause a stir in the election and is labelled "strictly confidential", says: "There can also not be a disguised black government, or for instance a disguised Zulu government. The majority of government members can indeed be black, but the system and procedure must work so that all the groups can effectively participate and not be dominated by one group."

Although the government has emphasized group rights in all its constitutional proposals, it has never gone as far as saying that black people could be in the majority in government and, indeed, it has objected to the KwaNatal Indaba proposals on these grounds.

The Broederbond document, described as a working document on the "basic constitutional safeguards for the continued existence of the Afrikaner", also says: "It is essential that the representatives of the different power groups participate in the drafting of the new constitution."

"It includes groups whose non-participation or exclusion could jeopardize a new constitution even if they comply with the specific demand that they renounce violence."

"The acceptance of such a new system by the majority of the country's citizens, and by its very nature all by the majority of Afrikaners, is one of

Black president: Botha's 'mistake'

Political Staff

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday he had made "a mistake" by saying there could be a black president in South Africa without consulting his colleagues in the cabinet.

At a news conference for foreign correspondents, Mr Botha said he respected President P W Botha's right to discipline him.

He had spoken before he had consulted the president and cabinet. Mr Botha also said it was Dr Denis Worrall's right "to participate in the political activity" of South Africa. It was not clear "what line" Dr Worrall would follow.

Mr Botha confirmed that negotiations with the United States would be a key election issue.

the most important conditions for its continued survival."

In his speech in Parliament yesterday, Mr Stofberg read extracts of the document which he said had been sent to all Broederbond members.

He said the document warned that even though the ANC might qualify for participation by renouncing violence, it would nevertheless be able to sink the new dispensation.

"The majority of the members of the cabinet are all members of the Broederbond."

To page 2

From page 1

derbond, and this document has not yet been rejected. CRK TIMES 4/2/87 3064

"The public has not been informed of this plan and I do not know whether cabinet members who are not Broederbonders have been informed," Mr Stofberg said.

President P W Botha was pretending to be more right-wing than he really was and that was why Mr Albert Ntshongel, the MP for Innesdal, could remain in the National Party to be more effective within the party after the election.



Injured climber Mr Barry Culligan is brought down Table Mountain by a rescue team after he fell 10m yesterday, breaking a leg and receiving severe cuts and bruises. The team comprised a friend of Mr Culligan, members of the Metro Rescue squad and the Mountain Club of South Africa, and forestry workers. Report page 2
Picture: ANNE LANG

Aussie threatens to shoot US skipper

Wilting Reed in city screened by wife Jo

HELL-RAISING British actor Oliver Reed arrived in the city yesterday for a brief holiday after a hectic

NRP official raps EL pact decision

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — The opposition alliance agreement here was threatened last night when a senior New Republic Party executive member said that NRP members were "incensed" that the candidate for the East London City seat would not come from its ranks.

The criticism came on the eve of the Progressive Federal Party's electoral college meeting this morning to decide on the nomination.

In the running are two PFP members: the former chief executive of the Mercedes Benz manufacturing company here, Mr Leo Borman, and a city councillor, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaite.

The other nomination-

seeker, an NRP member, Mr George Orsmond, withdrew for what he called "personal reasons".

It is understood that Mr Orsmond would have had to stand on a PFP ticket, and that he could not come to terms with the pact thrashed out last week by the Cape leaders of the PFP and the NRP, Mr Roger Hulley and Mr Pat Rogers.

After the pact was sealed in East London, Mr Hulley confirmed in a statement that the candidate would be a PFP member to join their East London North candidate, Mr Errol Spring.

The NRP has been given two other Border seats: Mr Rogers, the sitting MP, will contest the King William's Town seat while a yet to be named NRP member is to contest the Queens-town seat.

Last night the divisional chairman of the NRP here, Mr Eric Whitaker, said in a written statement:

"East London supporters of the NRP are incensed by the fact the party is not to put up a candidate in one of the East London seats.

"Generally, however, there is support for an election pact between the PFP and the NRP, particularly in East London where the combined opposition vote exceeded the votes for the National Party in the last election.

"However, two PFP parliamentarians representing East London is as distorted a reflection of the political personality of the city as two Nats would be."

Mr Whitaker said in the last election the total votes in favour of the NRP in East London as a whole amounted to 5 343, while the total PFP vote amounted to 4 734.

Mr Whitaker's statement said: "After local NRP supporters were

informed of the pact they rejected it on the basis that the NRP would not have a seat to fight in East London.

"Thereafter a meeting of the Cape leaders of the parties, together with supporters, was convened. However, the Cape leaders were not prepared to vary the original agreement."

The statement said NRP supporters believed they were on the receiving end of a bad deal as far as East London was concerned.

Mr Whitaker said the number of people who had contacted the NRP office to reregister in recent weeks was an indication that the party was alive and well in East London.

"One thing is certain, however, and that is that the 'opposition' vote in East London will not succeed in the election without NRP support."

Mr Spring said in reaction to Mr Whitaker's statement last night: "The Cape leaders discussed the issue last night and I am satisfied that the spirit as agreed is still there.

"The reaction from the NRP quarters, I am satisfied, is the action of a few dissidents out of step with the party."

Mr Spring appealed to NRP supporters to back the alliance's candidates to enable change to be brought about peacefully.

Liberace dies

PALM SPRINGS — Showman Liberace died at his California mansion at the age of 67 early this morning.

Project: nts can object

Each Reporter

idents still have time to object to the R45 million Clarendon project before the deadline for rezoning is reached on November 12.

Yesterday following the request from the provincial administration for the Clarendon Amenities project, the project is posing the project.

ed by the deputy chairman of the project, Mr. Ian Randall.

for administrative officer in the project, Mr. Abby Cronin, residents have the right to object to the project.

the municipality has received the project which will be considered by the next action committee meeting.

decide to go a step further in application to rezone the project for the commercial project, the project will finally decide.

also decide not to go ahead with the project, the provincial administration will be informed.

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Black member for PFP youth

Dispatch Reporter

5/2/87 02
QUEENSTOWN — A black man, Mr Nelson Ngokweni, has been elected to the committee of the Queenstown branch of the Young Progressives.

Mr Ngokweni, an office worker with a transport company, has been a member of the party for some time. The youth branch, however, was formed only over the weekend.

304A The chairman, Mrs Kathy Wormald, said yesterday that the organisation would be discussing not only House of Assembly election strategy, but also how best it could communicate with young people of other racial groups.

The subject of community service would also be on the agenda, she said.

Others on the committee include Mrs Naomi Stacey, Mr Mark Whitson, Mr Steve Wormald, Mr Graham Tharratt and Miss Tansy Jessop.

2 hurt in SWA blast

WINDHOEK — The Ovambo Executive Committee member for public works, Mr Aaron Shikonoo, and his brother were seriously injured in a landmine blast in northern SWA/Namibia yesterday.

The landmine was of Soviet origin and was believed to have been laid by Swapo insurgents. — Sapa

Weekly Mail 30-01-87 to 5-02-87

CONT →

By SHEENA DUNCAN

Past President, Black Sash

* WRITING IN HER PERSONAL CAPACITY

AS we approach this white election, it is clear that the present government has no intention whatsoever of moving towards any system where there will be "power sharing", let alone a change to a fully participatory democracy.

We do not need to try to make sense of the obscure, evasive and sometimes contradictory statements made by members of the government in order to judge what the National Party's intentions are. We can see a clear pattern in the laws they have passed in the "reform" era and the actions they have taken.

There have been major changes in laws dealing with social life and labour relations and a marked decrease in social race discrimination, but none of the reforms make any difference to the structures of power in South Africa. In all the essential aspects of grand apartheid, the laws which have been made or amended have *strengthened* the hold on power of the ruling group.

The new constitution is much less open to evolutionary change than was the old one. Control remains in the hands of the ruling white party, particularly through the control of national finances and the allocation of resources.

There will be no peace in South Africa unless there is a change in government.

Historically, changes in government have been brought about through constitutional or unconstitutional mechanisms.

The latter have included military coups, the overthrow of the government by violent revolution or military defeat.

Leaving out all questions of morality, none of these will bring about peace and justice here in the foreseeable future.

There is no possibility of a military coup in this country to replace the National Party unless it were to replace it with a more rightwing party, leader or grouping.

Military defeat means military intervention by the UN, or the super powers, or a combination of nations with SA liberation armies. This is not realistic in the foreseeable future.

"Overthrow" by violent revolution is also not a realistic possibility. The armed power of the state is so great that if we are forced to march this tragic road we will face two or three decades of bitter, bloody conflict with terrible losses on all sides and little hope of establishing justice and peace at the end of it.

Nobody wants any of these things to happen. I know of no South African in opposition to apartheid who does not ardently pray that there will be a speedy end to the present turmoil and suffering and who would not prefer a constitutional and rapid movement towards the democratic transformation of our society in a politically, economically and socially just system.

Changes in government can be brought about through constitutional mechanisms. The government could be defeated at an election. It could be defeated in all three houses by a vote of no confidence, or all three houses could refuse to pass the budget; in both cases, new elections would have to be called.

The ruling party could take the initiative and negotiate a new constitution, surrendering itself to the will of the citizens at a subsequent one-person/one-vote election.

There could be a change caused by the resignation of the state president and the calling of a general election in response to extra-parliamentary action such as a sustained, nationwide general strike.

The collapse and resignation of the National Party government in response to extra-parliamentary pressures seems further away than it did two or three years ago. The State of Emergency prevents the organisation of effective non-violent strategies of opposition to a great extent.

Nevertheless, extra-parliamentary opposition is crucial and at the moment extra-parliamentary opposition in the white community can, I believe, exert a great deal of influence. It may just possibly turn the situation around because of the effect it can have on the composition of and doings inside parliament.

The PFP has abandoned its vision of itself as a perpetual opposition; their strategy is to try to double the number of seats they hold in parliament so that they would form a sufficiently attractive power base to the "New Nats" when the crunch comes.

The composition of the new parliament would be of crucial importance were there to be any hope for the defeat of the ruling party in a vote of no confidence or in the passing of the budget.

All this may seem highly unlikely and a bit over-optimistic, but there is a new mood in the white community, and if there is any small chance of influencing events in this way maybe we should not let it escape us.

Individual members of churches, organisations and institutions will make their own personal decisions as to what they will do with regard to

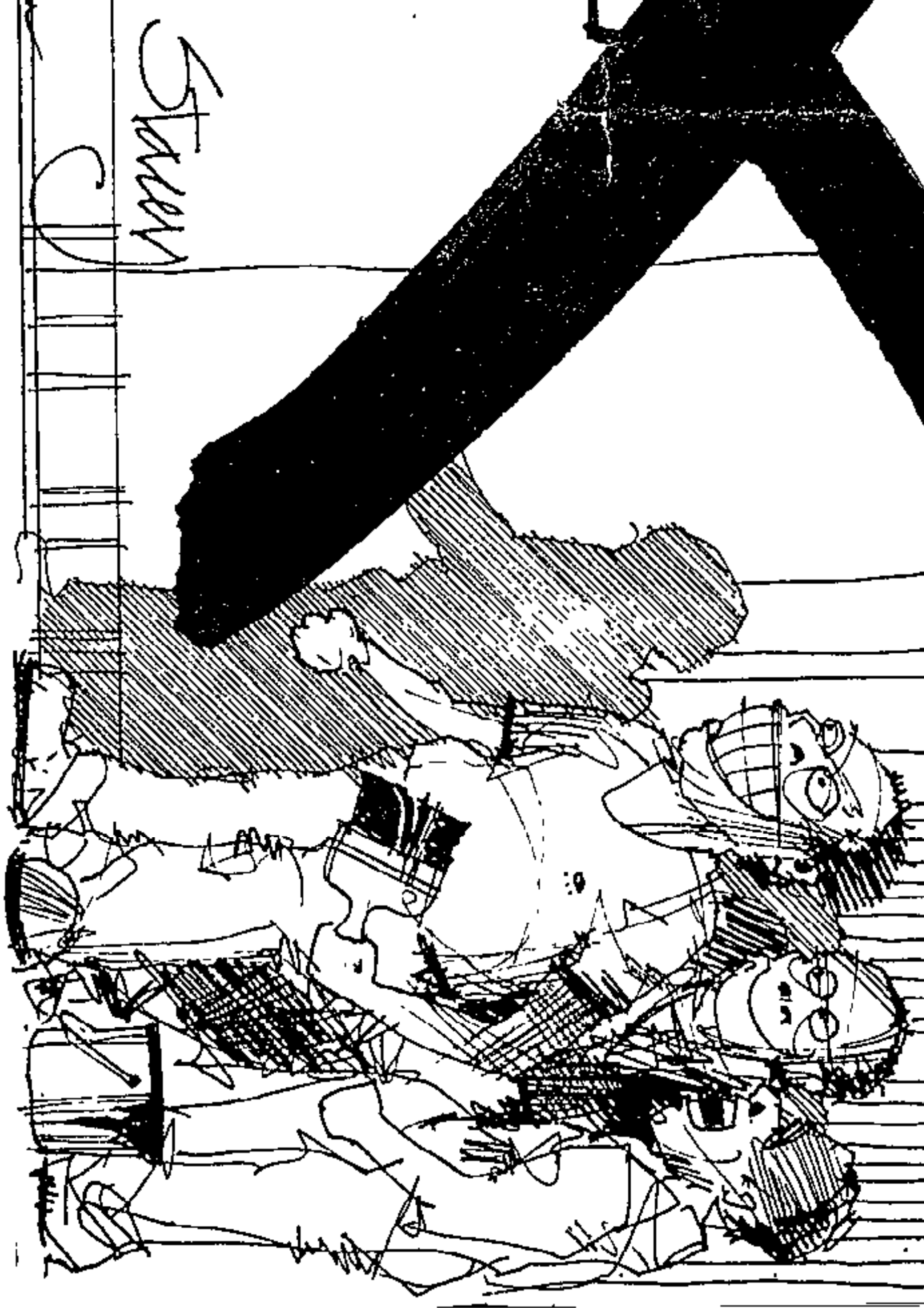
Does a whites-only election under a State of Emergency actually matter? Should advocates of non-racism cast a vote, and if so, for whom? Is a ballot slip no more than a meaningless slip of paper? We asked a selection of opposition political leaders and academics to comment

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N.P BOTHHA		
P.F.P BOTHHA		
N.R.P BOTHHA		
C.P. BOTHHA		
H.N.P BOTHHA		

Weekly Mail 30-01-87
05-02-87

A. N. OTHE



DOES
THE
ELECTION
MATTER?





President PW Botha

the election. What might non-party political organisations do as organisations? There are several options.

- They could opt to ignore the whole process.
- They could actively campaign for a boycott of the polls or spoilt papers.
- Or they can actively seek ways in which they can move the white electorate to casting a lefthand vote, without specifying a particular political party. This is my personal choice.

By PETER SOAL

Progressive Federal Party MP

THE future of South Africa is poised on a knife edge and white South Africans, who at this stage still control the formal levers of power, are facing a crucial decision.

Many people believe a policy of non-violence should be pursued. They accept that we should use every opportunity to ensure a peaceful transition to a non-racial democracy where all our citizens may develop their talents and skills to the full. Others believe this to be a waste of time — and for them, parliamentary elections would be of no concern or importance. In fact they would regard the coming general election for the House of Assembly as a divergence to be reduced in importance and status.

However, among those who wish to promote a strategy of non-violent change are those who recognise that parliament is one of the many sites of power, and that it is a platform which should be utilised.

It is also important to recognise that the state of white politics is very fluid at the moment. The government is in bigger trouble than it has ever

A rigged mandate to strike

By FREDERICK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

Former Leader of the Opposition

FOR those allowed to participate in the forthcoming election for whites, it will no doubt generate an urgency and compulsion of its own. This is to be expected, and having participated in such elections myself, I can understand the extent to which one can become involved to improve one's party's position, despite and whatever the constraints.

But the constraints of 1987 as compared to those in 1981, when the last election for whites was held, must surely create the most extraordinary and paradoxical set of circumstances under which any kind of an election can take place.

Since 1981 we have had :

- A new constitution, in which all the dice are loaded in favour of the dominant white party in the House of Assembly;

- Sovereignty has been constitutionally transferred from parliament to the discretion of the executive president, who is also the leader of the dominant white party;

- The SADF has moved from the border into the townships and has become an established part of maintaining ordinary "law and order";

- The style of government has changed from a parliamentary executive to a presidential military executive government, where the State Security Council has adopted a strategic position in domestic and regional policy formulation;

- A State of Emergency has been extended in which extraordinary powers are given to

been in before. One has only to look at the number of leading people who are withdrawing their support to realise that the once-monolithic National Party is starting to crumble. Louis Luyt and Wynand Malan are merely the tip of the iceberg as countless South Africans who formerly supported the Nats are having serious doubts about doing so again.

Further, we have to accept that South Africans are forced to compromise all the time. We are required, by law, to accept where we live and where we attend school. This also applies to parliament, where we have our representatives. It is an imperfect structure but it is a platform which has been used with considerable success for some time. It enjoys privilege and is one of the rare places where incompetent National Party ministers may be called to answer for their many inefficiencies.

Dare we reject an opportunity to get rid of the Nats — even if it appears rather remote to some,

senior police officers to ban meetings, arrest and detain people and to control all information on how they manage unrest;

- A massive clampdown on the press, such as this country has never known, where it is specifically stated that nothing may be said or reported which may present the major opponents of the government in a favourable light.

To the extent that an election in ordinary democratic terms is an occasion where the major political parties can compete for votes in the hope of unseating the government, this is done through the maximum availability of information and exposure of the shortcomings of opponents, as well as presenting clear alternatives, the forthcoming election clearly qualifies as political farce.

Why is it being called? Whatever the outcome, the state president is constitutionally bound to call a general election for all three houses in 1989, under presumably the same farcical circumstances.

I asked this question of a member of the cabinet recently, and with conviction and a straight face he said : "The problem with President Botha is that he is such a democrat. He cannot tolerate being jibed by his

especially the disenfranchised? The Nats are divided and dissatisfied and have shown they have neither the ability nor the will to lead our country out of the present crisis. Indeed, the policies and actions of the government have been the cause of the crisis.

The stark reality is that if we want to get out of the present mess, if we want peace, if we want national unity and progress towards a non-racial democracy, then PW Botha's government will have to go.

We in the Progressive Federal Party believe it can be done. Not by the PFP alone, but through the combined efforts of those South Africans who know the Nationalists are not going to change, those who are tired of Nationalist incompetence, tired of their arrogance and tired of the way they put their own self-interest first.

The opportunities are greater than ever before to bring about an alternative government which will promote a non-racial democracy, and all

his week at an unexpected a church conference — report detailed the effects on could have on the

t compiled for the SA bishops' Conference found e boycott would be more l than any disinvestment — plemented, could cripple aimed at the export market. s these industries, it adds, e major employers. Action hem could throw hundreds ds of people out of work. ; out that the economy is ly vulnerable to foreign such as disinvestment and , the report says: "The n of economic pressures can perbate an already-serious

ctive trade boycott, it says, the agricultural sector hard, s "serious implications for ent, particularly where put is relatively high and e largely export-orientated ample maize, sugar, wool, s and citrus fruits". port cites, with apparent , conclusions arrived at by ociation of Chambers of ce (Assocom), which are sed as:

A note of caution on sanctions

Weekly Mail Reporter

- A high rate of inflation.
- Increased emigration of skilled workers.
- Stricter control of capital transfers.
- Increased unemployment, which will adversely affect certain regions and towns. The Eastern Cape will be hard hit because of the concentration of the motor and related industries; the Western Cape due to the production of deciduous fruit and the wine industry; and the Northern and Eastern Transvaal due to the production of citrus.

The SACBC report corresponds with recent research by the Community Resource and Information Centre (Cric), which also notes that the economy is dependant on its international trading relations — exports accounting for 30 percent of gross domestic product, and imports 25 percent.

Cric points out that if South Africa's export earnings are cut, sanctions make any prospect of growth fade,

and even threaten the survival of certain sectors.

Commodities which are already oversupplied in world markets can and will be summarily cut out, for example sugar and steel. The SA exports have no unique qualities to ensure their demand, and by blocking them overseas producers will be reducing the current glut and aiding their own exports.

Although SA fruit exports are highly regarded by overseas consumers, alternatives exist. Ironically, two equally controversial states, Chile and Israel, would quickly step in — and in today's highly competitive world markets, it is unlikely that SA exporters would ever win back that lost market share.

For many of these sectors, overseas earnings represent the most lucrative side of their business, and with the local market in recession they have depended on exports to keep going. This means reduced exports would have a disproportionate effect on their viability. Capital expenditure would be curtailed, jobs cut and wage levels

serious. The Cric report shows that the Western Cape depends integrally on its wine, fruit and canning industries.

About half the workers employed in the deciduous fruit industry are involved in export production, 85 percent of which goes to Britain and the EEC. Over 70 percent of canned fruit production is for export.

If these exports are cut, over 100 000 workers will lose their jobs — and, because they live on the farms, their houses as well. Their dependants will lose their access to farm schools.

The canning factories, packaging plants, printing firms, railway lines and harbours dependant on fruit exports will also suffer. The regional economy would be slaughtered, and yet the effect on SA's export earnings would be minimal, as fruit makes up less than one percent.

Northern Natal would be affected by sanctions against coal and sugar, says Cric, and the Eastern Transvaal would be devastated by reduced steel, coal, sugar and fruit earnings. The Northern Cape depends heavily on copper, tin and iron ore exports, and in the absence of these, the railway line to Saldanha, and the harbour itself, may have to close.

BUSINESS IN PROFILE

MORTON, executive president Johannesburg Stock Exchange, actually a 19th century liberal opefully a political realist". A sation man", he believes will "wipe out" the rent here.

ent in Natal and a Rhodes to Oxford University, he olitical science for two years at niversity, Durban. He found e of the moderate teaching l science under a Vorster ment "not a sensible or ive enterprise. The fate of the te was to be rejected by both t and the right". Marilyn od spoke to him:

his job: job is ideal. You are involved s of national importance — the ic, monetary and fiscal issues. same time you are running a is.

JSE influence in matters tional importance: asingly we are becoming an

important voice. The Margo (Tax) commission will be an interesting test of our influence. We made a number of suggestions which we think are logical and sane and it will be interesting to see what those results are.

On the stock exchange post-apartheid:

We are very optimistic. We are building across the road to develop and expand because we believe a post-apartheid society is going to be significantly wealthier and more productive than the one we have now.

Massive wealth will be needed by whoever rules this country. It will be wealth that will enable the rulers to hold the country together. Any agency responsible for the country's economic well-being by the creation and liquidity of capital must be welcome in that structure. What will wipe out the government here is poverty.

I am already on record as saying I believe South Africans are dwelling too much on the costs of reform and not the rewards and that those of us who have the courage to anticipate a post-apartheid South Africa will be very fortunate.

On free enterprise in SA:

Nobody has a free enterprise sytem in the classic mode. You are talking about degrees in the spectrum. Even the so-called purist Marxist economy of China is starting to move toward liberalising the free markets to a degree that allows peasants to deliver 25 percent of their produce to a free market.



Tony Norton

I am not an interventionist. I am a de-regulation man, a privatisation man. I believe in the state doing less rather than more. We need some order to prevent anarchy — but the minimum regulation necessary

On free enterprise post-apartheid:

Pragmatism is a characteristic of Africa in the Eighties. Africa has learnt the hard way that you can't hand economies to soldiers.

The discussions with the African National Congress indicate that they are not unaware of the need for a mixed economy. Whilst the ANC professes to be a doctrinaire Marxist group, I believe they would have to be pragmatic as has been the case with Zimbabwe and Robert Mugabe. It is strange that Mugabe, an avowed Marxist-Leninist, has not nationalised

a single industry.

On disinvestment:

Any investor who leaves this country now is a fool. He is doing a morally irresponsible thing if he is an agent here for good. Practically he is missing the point. He will get a handful of useless rands, whereas if he stayed they could become a useful investment. There were good profits for people who stuck it out in Kenya and Zimbabwe. In South Africa the rewards for courage are great.

On sanctions:

It is criminally irresponsible to seek to destroy the economy of the country, which is still in a redeemable situation. If they were not seeking to destroy the society but merely to move it to the left, then they are intellectually negligent. They must have known that they would move both the electorate and the rest of the country to the Right.

Workers are seeing that jobs are going because of sanctions. I would not like to be the trade unionist who has called for sanctions and is now faced with out of work members

On the JSE structure:

There is an act of parliament called the Stock Exchange Control Act which allows for a stock exchange to be formed if sufficient people get together. The JSE is a non-profit organisation as "surplus is ploughed back into the market". It is not a monopoly, although only one exists. In South Africa, at this time, the cost of running a stock exchange means that it is more efficient to have just the one.

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DD 5/2/82

304A

JOHANNESBURG — The head of the Broederbond, Professor J. P. de Lange, said yesterday that the document quoted from by Mr Louis Stofberg in Parliament on Tuesday was a working document and not a firm proposal.

He said in a statement that the Broederbond was not a mouthpiece of the National Party and the NP was also not a Broederbond mouthpiece.

"The status of the document given to the press is that of a working document," he said.

It was not a constitutional plan as some people had suggested.

The basic recommendations that were commented on is that in a future dispensation no group should be in a position to dominate another, Prof De Lange said.

●Copies of the document were released in Cape Town yesterday by Mr Stofberg, the Herstigte Nasionale Party MP for Sasolburg.

Mr Stofberg said the document had not been repudiated by the cabinet, the majority of whom were members of the Broederbond.

Only proposals in document — Bond chief

The document marked "strictly confidential" is labelled a working document on Basic Constitutional Precondition for the Survival of the Afrikaner.

It motivates the acceptance of a number of conditions which it says must determine a future constitutional model. These include:

●The creation of a racially mixed "grey" residential areas;

●The unacceptability of an entrenched white or Zulu or other tribal group government.

The exclusion of effective black participation up to the highest level of the political processes, was a threat to white survival, the Broederbond document noted.

"It is therefore

necessary that all the country's citizens can participate effectively in the legislative process as well as the process whereby the government is elected to power.

"A government which derives its guaranteed continuation from a particular section of the population, will favour that section. This is unacceptable to whites and Afrikaners and to all other population groups."

This meant everyone should be able to serve at the highest legislative and executive level.

"This can indeed also mean that in certain constitutional models the head of state and/or government need not necessarily be white."

The document en-

dorses government policy rejecting any constitutional model which would permit group domination.

"The status quo cannot be perpetuated, but it can also not be simply overturned by replacing white control with black control."

"A test for the acceptability of any system which we should always apply is that which should be in our interest should we become the opposition."

Separate residential areas were presently desirable from a viewpoint of order and for this reason could become a necessity in the shorter or even longer term, without being in itself a precondition for Afrikaner survival.

"Voluntary 'grey' residential areas in the fu-

ture would not necessarily threaten the survival of the Afrikaner," the Broederbond said.

The document also concedes that group interests may transcend colour divisions.

Although language and cultural rights of groups were of cardinal importance, measured against the scope of the affairs of state, their narrow parameters could not be used as the foundation for creating all constitutional structures.

"The best method by which rights can be maintained is the assurance of non-interference by government."

"For instance, if a particular organisation wishes to remain white, the government must not force it to change."

In negotiating a new constitution it was essential that the representatives of the various power groups participated.

"This includes groups who by their non-participation or exclusion may sink a new constitution even though they had met the precondition of renouncing violence." — Sapa

The case for backing meaningful reforms

How can apartheid be broken down and what can be done to build a society without apartheid?

We all recognise the failure of past strategies of persuasion, of moral pressure and of eloquent exhortation. We are also witnessing at this very time the failure of punishment and coercive pressure on the South African Government.

I know there are many people in the United States who have a deep belief in and commitment to sanctions as a strategy for change. I respect their sincerity. I also respect the anguish of expatriate South Africans and internal movements whose tragic choice, as they understand it, is between support for sanctions or increasing violence.

However, I despair over the outcome of these coercive efforts, more especially if they are not accompanied by positive action based on careful strategic thinking.

While there are no easy answers, there are a few guidelines which emerge from our recent history:

1. South Africa has shown an ability to bring about meaningful policy change. One of the ways to help dismantle apartheid and build a new society is thus to support and encourage meaningful policy reform.

There are huge remaining challenges on the agenda of change and after each reform the apartheid laws remaining on the statute book seem to loom larger. Apartheid is far from being abolished, but the record is clear: meaningful change is possible.

Not only is it possible but, until the peak of the recent unrest and the application of sanctions, the Government seemed to be developing a taste for reform, and taking pride in the process. In 1985 and early 1986, reform, however imperfect and partial, was becoming a principle of government.

While the change process has been put "on ice" by the South African Government, many observers of this process refer to its inherent sporadic character and the need to take positive steps to regenerate it when it flags.

Even at the present time of negative Government reaction to sanctions and unrest, we who operate as catalysts for change have not abandoned hope that such regeneration

Coercion alone will not banish apartheid, Mr Jan Steyn, executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, told the Southern Centre for International Studies in Atlanta, Georgia, last night. These are extracts from his address.



Steyn . . . hope remains.

is possible. Racial zoning, for example, could well be a winnable issue.

2. Reform is best facilitated by a combination of internal and external influences, pressures and objective evidence coupled with the expectation that reform steps will be recognised and tangibly appreciated.

3. The South African Government, and the country as a whole, sets great store by its association with the West and although not willing to bow to destructive pressures from abroad, will respond positively to influences which are aimed at both facilitating change and at repairing relations with the Western nations.

4. A mix of strategies is necessary to effectively promote change and the private sector's ability to influence this process is enhanced if it acts off a platform of involvement in sound project and programme activity.

It is our experience that private organisations have most effect in encouraging positive responses from the Government when:

- They can demonstrate widespread black community support.

- They are able to demonstrate the workability of projects and programmes in achieving peaceful and constructive participation by members of black communities.

- They have established credibility and influence through successful development programmes and a contribution to the restoration of economic confidence.

- They back their initiatives with thorough, objective research and are able to mobilise support for their actions.

The private sector organisations with which we are associated are convinced that the current period is one in which non-government agencies must build their influence and leverage along the lines indicated above.

While the private business sector has great responsibility in this area and is currently spending some \$2 billion on non-formal education and training, the task of developing leverage for change will require funds and resources beyond the capacity of industry and commerce in South Africa to mobilise, particularly in the sluggish economy prevailing at present.

Therefore it is imperative that the outside world provide well-targeted assistance in the task which lies ahead.

The co-operation between the communities and the private sector will provide both with increased leverage on a Government which hesitantly recognises the fundamental fact that no constructive solutions to South Africa's problems can be achieved which do not enjoy the support and participation of black communities.

The situation which has to be changed in South Africa is so deeply embedded and historically reinforced that no success will be achieved by your country or any other outside power unless the institutions and processes which can achieve change inside the country are strengthened. My suggestions are aimed at achieving precisely this.

PRESIDENT P W Botha was today accused of trying to smear people under the shield of parliamentary privilege and of indulging in "bullying" tactics.

Opposition spokesmen criticised Mr Botha for his allegations that the managing director of Barclays, Mr Chris Ball, had funded advertisements promoting the image of the African National Congress.

And the United Democratic Front today denied that Barclays Bank managing director Mr Chris Ball paid for advertisements commemorating the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress.

The allegation, made by President P W Botha yesterday, has also been denied by Mr Ball who challenged Mr Botha to repeat his statement outside Parliament.

Mr Ball said today he had been advised that the allegation could be libellous if made outside Parliament.

He added: "He did not check his facts and they are not accurate."

Asked whether he would be prepared to co-operate in the investigation ordered by the President, Mr Ball said that if there had been any contravention of the law, Barclays would co-operate.

However, he added: "It is not for me to have a search made of bank accounts. What our clients do is their business."

Asked what the motivation for Mr Botha's attack could have been, he said: "Mr Botha has never asked what I think about the political situation and he does not understand my views."

In a statement, Mr Ball said: "You are wrong, Mr State President. I had no knowledge of the advertisement until I read it in the morning newspapers in my office on the first day of publication."

"It is a matter of comment that the State President has referred to this issue under the privileges of Parliament and I respectfully request him to repeat the statement outside Parliament."

The UDF statement said payment of the advertisements would be "shared by the three organisations who issued the advertisement and by some of the 15 organisations who were listed as supporting it."

"A large amount"

The advertisement was issued on behalf of the UDF, the National Education Crisis Committee and the South African Council of Churches.

Mr Krish Naidoo, the attorney who placed the advertisement in English-language newspapers, said he had insisted the UDF, which has a Barclays Bank account, give a bank-guaranteed cheque for payment of the advertisements "because it was such a large amount".



Mr Chris Ball



Mr P W Botha

The cost was R100 000, he said.

Mr Botha said during the no-confidence debate yesterday that had the Government not stepped in (with new regulations) the full-page advertisements which "shamelessly promoted the ANC" would have been repeated.

He said: "In radical circles it is said that Mr Chris Ball advanced the money to the advertisers. A figure of R150 000 is mentioned."

Personally

"I am sure the South African population would like to know from Mr Ball whether what has been said is true."

He said he personally wanted to hear from Mr Ball and added: "This matter is going to be investigated."

Professor Nic Olivier, director of research for the Progressive Federal Party and its spokesman on constitutional affairs, said he believed Mr Botha's allegation to be libellous if uttered outside Parliament.

He said: "Outside Parliament the State President is not above the law. I believe that it could be libellous and in that sense the challenge that Mr Ball has issued that Mr Botha repeat his statement outside Parliament is valid."

"I cannot understand how the

You're a bully,

President told: You're a bully

(Cont from Page 1)

State President made the statement. He referred to rumours in left-wing circles that Mr Ball had funded the advertisement and said these would be investigated. Why did he not investigate this before making such an allegation?

Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman said Mr Botha's statement was typical of the "indiscriminate" attacks he made on people and organisations.

She said: "It is almost as if he is panic-stricken. He is scared of the ANC, of the right-wing, of anything that does not entrench his power."

Mr Colin Eglin, Leader of the Opposition, said today Mr Botha's actions had been "a disgraceful use of his executive position".

Mr Jan van Zyl, the Conservative Party's spokesman on finance, challenged Mr Botha to repeat his remarks outside Parliament.

Mr van Zyl said that if what Mr Botha had said was not true his actions yesterday were irresponsible as the business of the bank could be affected.

PW told

Mr Harry Schwarz, the Progressive Federal Party's finance spokesman, called for an investigation so that the truth could be determined impartially.

Asked about Mr Ball's challenge to Mr Botha to repeat his allegations outside Parliament, a spokesman for the President's office said today: "Mr Ball should not contradict the President, he should contradict the radicals who link him to the advertisements." — Political Correspondent and Sapa.

Rebuilding SA after apartheid

Cape Times 5/2/87 (304A)

CORPORATIONS and governments view the scene unfolding in South Africa with increasing despondency and concern.

Sanctions — and down the road even stronger, more punitive oriented actions — tend to dominate the political debate. Ever-increasing disinvestment and the consequent economic and technological isolation of South Africa are beginning to become the main strands of the US corporate approach to the South African problem.

How can the United States recover the initiative in the search for mechanisms to stimulate change, promote development and sustain hope for the future of our sub-continent?

The overwhelming problem is apartheid. You, your government, your corporate sector, along with most leaders and institutions in the West, would like to destroy apartheid as quickly as possible.

On our side, most South Africans, including probably more than half of the whites, virtually all business leaders and significant groupings within our government, share your commitment.

Apartheid is the systematic, official and pervasive process of discrimination between people in South Africa purely on the grounds of race. By virtue of its formal or official application it is unique. There is no way of defending it. It is an anachronism in this modern world.

Bishops' report

We all recognize the failure of past strategies of persuasion, of moral pressure and of eloquent exhortation. We are also witnessing at this very time the failure of punishment and coercive pressure on the South African government.

Just before my departure, the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, a body totally committed to the destruction of apartheid and whose campaign has earned the odium of the South African government, released a report



Extracts from an address by Jan Steyn, Executive Chairman of the Urban Foundation at Atlanta, Georgia, yesterday.

on the effects of economic pressure on South Africa.

A commission established by the body, according to press reports, concluded that such pressures have "consolidated government in its retreat from meaningful reform". It found that there would still be a long struggle, accompanied by great suffering, as the report put it, before blacks would participate in government.

The commission of the Catholic Bishops' Conference is not alone in this judgment. As a colleague in the private sector put it recently at a meeting with prominent US corporate leaders, we are witnessing a "Greek tragedy" in South Africa.

What can be done to help build a society without apartheid and to rebuild a country which even today struggles to keep pace with the needs of its rapidly growing population?

While there are no easy answers, there are a few guidelines which emerge from our recent history.

South Africa has

shown an ability to bring about meaningful policy change. One of the ways to help dismantle apartheid and build a new society is thus to support and encourage meaningful policy reform.

Apartheid is far from being abolished. But the record is clear: meaningful change is possible. Not only is it possible but, until the peak of the recent unrest and the application of sanctions, the government seemed to be developing a taste for reform, and taking pride in the process.

In 1985 and early 1986, reform, however imperfect and partial, was becoming a principle of government. While the change process has been put "on ice" by the South African government, many observers of this process refer to its inherent sporadic character and the need to take positive steps to regenerate it when it flags.

Even at the present time of negative government reaction to sanctions and unrest, we who operate as catalysts for change have not abandoned hope that such regeneration is possible.

Racial zoning, for example, could well be a winnable issue.

Reform is best facilitated by a combination of internal and external influences, pressures and objective evidence coupled with the expectation that reform steps will be recognized and tangibly appreciated.

The reforms in the labour laws came as a result of labour action by black workers, submissions and lobbying by businessmen, pressures from international union movements and other external agencies, convincing evidence by academics and others that labour reform would facilitate industrial peace in the longer run, and indications by at least some unionists that they would co-operate positively in a new industrial relations dispensation.

The abolition of influx control occurred as a result of various government commissions, including the President's Council, adducing evidence that urbanization by blacks would have positive effects, evidence and presentations by private sector organizations, including particularly by the Urban Foundation, a variety of influential academic analyses, grass roots protest and a general ac-

knowledge that such a reform would be widely welcomed."

The change process requires hard work and demands the application of substantial resources at a number of levels. A judicious mix of strategies has a proven effect.

A mix is necessary to effectively promote change and the private sector's ability to influence this process is enhanced if it acts off a platform of involvement in sound project and programme activity.

Whilst the private business sector has great responsibility in this area and is currently spending some \$2 billion on non-formal education and training, the task of developing leverage for change will require funds and resources beyond the capacity of industry and commerce in South Africa to mobilize, particularly in the sluggish economy prevailing at present.

Therefore it is imperative that the outside world provide well targeted assistance in the task which lies ahead.

Projects and programmes are continually being identified which not only address development needs in the country but also establish a platform for fundamental change. These include:

- Non-racial housing developments.
- Shack upgrading projects.
- Projects in non-racial and community-based education.
- Community service centres in black communities.
- Multi-purpose community service centres.

Deeply embedded

Such projects have the potential to promote residential integration by the establishment of private, open housing estates; to address the problem of a massive urban housing shortage of over 500 000 units and simultaneously develop and advance black community leadership; launch innovative education ventures for the black community such as private non-racial community schools, planned, developed and run in full participation with black parents, teachers and pupils; to develop a full range of non-racial education facilities and to create a focus around which community groups can mobilize to identify, plan and acquire funds to develop amenities to meet needs as they see them.

The situation which has to be changed in South Africa is so deeply embedded and historically reinforced that no success will be achieved by your country or any other outside power unless the institutions and processes which can achieve change inside the country are strengthened.

The people of the United States can make a significant contribution through actions — which, whilst politically challenging in the short term — can in the longer term avoid the "Greek tragedy" unfolding, with all the appalling consequences of human and economic devastation in Southern Africa.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and ANDRÉ KOOPMAN

BARCLAYS managing director Mr Chris Ball and the Progressive Federal Party last night accused President P W Botha of attempted "character assassination" for indirectly accusing the chief executive of South Africa's largest bank of financing African National Congress advertisements to the tune of R150 000.

Hitting back at the President, Mr Ball bluntly told Mr Botha he was "wrong" and invited him to repeat the statement he made during yesterday's no-confidence debate — outside of Parliament.

And the PFP's media spokesman, Mr Dave Dalling, slated Mr Botha for "making himself guilty of the worst type of gutter politics by attempting, without any foundation of proof, to smear the character of the MD of one of South Africa's leading banks".

It is understood that a visibly angered Mr Botha last night ordered an immediate one-man commission of inquiry into the affair.

He has also told members of his cabinet that he wants an urgent top-level investigation into who placed the advertisements, how much they cost, and who paid for them.

The advertisements, calling for the unbanning of the ANC, appeared in 22 English-language newspapers on January 8 to coincide with the 75th anniversary of the ANC. Further advertisements were prohibited by a police order the following day.

"Repulsed"

Speaking in the no-confidence debate yesterday afternoon, Mr Botha said the advertisements had "shamelessly advanced the image and interests of the ANC", and responsible South Africans were "repulsed" by it.

Mr Botha's said: "In leftist radical circles it is being said that Mr Chris Ball advanced the money to the advertisers. An amount of R150 000 is being mentioned. I — and I am sure, the population of SA — would like to know from Mr Ball if what is said is true."

An interjecting PFP MP asked Mr Botha why he did not ask Mr Ball himself before he spoke on the subject. Botha replied: "You can

phone him yourself if you want to. This thing will be investigated down to the bone."

However, Mr Ball said last night that he knew "nothing of the advertisement until I saw it in the morning papers on arrival in my office on the day of its publication".

Asked to respond to Mr Ball's denial of any knowledge of the funding for the advertisements, a spokesman from Mr Botha's office said late last night: "Mr Ball should not contradict the State President. He should rather contradict the radical elements in connection with the advertisement in the first place."

However, Mr Dalling said Mr Botha would have "no option but to resign his office when the name of Mr Ball is cleared."

"The credibility and honesty of the State President is now at issue. Either this country is being led by a straight executive chief or by a frightened political midget trying to survive by scandalizing his opponent without any basis of proof."

Mr Ball, asked by the Cape Times why he thought Mr Botha disliked him, said he had, along with others, "challenged the government's scenario of total onslaught" and was thus seen as a threat because he had questioned the government's "validity to power".

"Behaviour patterns"

"I have in the few public speeches I have made tried to carefully analyze the behaviour patterns and power elements in political circles, and this is not comfortable for Mr Botha," he added.

Mr Ball, who has in the past called for the unbanning of exiled political movements and the release of the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, said he still thought this would be a "beneficial political move".

□ The advertisements in question were issued by the UDF, the NECC, the SACC, the National Soccer League, The South African Rugby Union, the National Taverners' Association and the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce.

After the advertisements appeared, a special gazette was promulgated which further restricted reporting of the ANC. Police also siezed material relating to the advertisement from newspapers countrywide.

A court overturned the ban on January 29, but the following day the government gazetted new laws banning advertising supporting the ANC or other illegal organizations.

□ Repeated attempts last night to contact Mr Krish Naidoo, who placed the advertisement on behalf of the above-mentioned organizations, were unsuccessful.

ANC advert row

PW accused of 'character assassination'

the Times

5/2/82

30x4

APARTHEID BAROMETER

304A

NAMIBIAN WAR

In the 20 years of the Namibian bush war the security forces shot and killed 10 260 "enemy forces" — mostly Swapo guerrillas, according to the outgoing officer commanding the South West Africa Territory Force, Major-General George Meiring. He said that in the same period 1 379 civilians had been killed and 605 members of the security forces had died in action.

Meiring said that in 1986, 645 guerrillas were killed by the security forces, while 115 civilians died and 32 security force members were killed. He added that last year there were 475 incidents of insurgency compared with 656 in 1985.

WAGES AND INCOMES

According to the National Manpower Commission, the average monthly earnings of workers in all sectors of the economy in 1984 were as follows: African — R363; coloured — R494; Indian — R693 and white — R1 403.

According to these figures the average white income is therefore about four times the average African income. These figures do not include African incomes in the "independent homelands".

According to Market Research Africa the average monthly household income in 1985 was as follows: African — R352; coloured — R680; Indian — R1 109 and white — R1 958. According to these figures the average white household income in 1985 was about 5,6 times the average African household income.

REMOVALS

According to government statistics a total of 22 936 African people were "resettled" from their homes in 1984. 11 455 were removed from the Cape, 126 from Natal, 7 398 from the Orange Free State and 3 957 from the Transvaal.

According to government statistics 832 coloured families, 175 Indian families and 87 white families were moved from their homes in terms of the Group Areas Act. Between 1966 and August 1984 the corresponding figures were: 83 691 coloured families; 40 418 Indian families and 2 418 white families, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) 1985 Survey.

According to the SAIRR 2 530 Indian traders, 187 coloured traders and 54 white traders were moved from their business premises in terms of the Group Areas Act between 1966 and August 1984.

During 1984, 25 085 Africans were "repatriated" from the white-designated areas to the "homelands" or neighbouring states in terms of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 and the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act of 1972, according to the SAIRR.

The SAIRR said that during the 1985/6 financial year the Department of Co-operation and Development aimed to spend R4,7-m on the "repatriation" of Africans to the "homelands", compared with R4-m the previous year. It also budgeted R2,4-m for "residential control" and R125-m for the South African Development Trust for "settlement of population", according to the SAIRR.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

According to Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, on February 11, 1985, there were 337 prisoners serving sentences in South Africa for crimes committed against the security of the state, of whom 314 were Africans, one was Indian, six were coloured and 16 were white.

According to the SAIRR survey there were 22 people serving life sentences for political crimes at the end of 1985 of whom 19 were ANC members, 2 were PAC members and one was convicted for spying for the Soviet Union.

The following political prisoners were serving life sentences at the end of 1985: Jeff Masemola and John Nkosi (both PAC — jailed June 1963); Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni (all ANC — jailed June 1964); Wilton Mkwayi (ANC — jailed December 1964); Harry Gwala, Zakhele Mdlangose, Matthews Meyiwa, John Ysumuzi Nene and Anthony Xaba (all ANC — jailed July 1977); Johnson Lubisi, Naphtali Manana and Petrus Mashigo (all ANC — jailed November 1980); David Moise, Johannes Shabangu and Anthony Tsotsobe (ANC — jailed August 1981) and Dieter Gerhard (jailed December 1983 for spying for the Soviet Union).

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

TOM WASPE, 34, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee president, was detained under the Emergency Regulations on October 1 and is still being held.

After matriculating in 1970 at Marist Brothers' College in Observatory, where he was headboy, Waspe did his army service and then completed a BA degree at Wits University. As a student he first became politically active through his involvement in the church. He was head of the Catholic Society and later became National Catholic Federation of Students president and was active in the Young Christian Students. In 1977 he was detained under the security laws and spent nearly four months in solitary confinement. After his release he worked for YCS as national co-ordinator until 1981. He has since been employed as a teacher in Soweto, as a senior tutor at Wits University and as a Catholic Church worker. At the time of his latest detention he was employed by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference's Justice and Reconciliation division.

Between 1981 and 1983 he served on various campaign committees such as the Anti-Republic Day Committee and the Wilson Rowntree Strike Support Committee.

Waspe was a founder member of Jodac and was elected its first general secretary. Since 1984 he has been Jodac president. He has served on the UDF Johannesburg area committee and the regional and national general councils. He is also a founder member of the End Conscription Campaign and has served on the ECC Johannesburg general body. He was detained shortly after representing the SACBC and Jodac on a European tour. His wife, Aneene, was issued with an Emergency Restriction Order last year. They have also faced a series of attacks on their home and vehicles over the last three years.

BANNED BOOKS

There were no new banned books last week.

'Real threat is the working class'

Labour Reporter

PARLIAMENT has begun to realize that the real threat to the current regime lies in the increasing support for socialism among black workers and that its real enemy is the working class, a packed St George's Cathedral Hall was told yesterday.

UDF Gardens area committee member Mr Gordon Young said the Deputy Minister of Transport, Mr Myburgh Streicher, had made this clear when he told Parliament this week that the government could not permit the capitalist system to be replaced by the redistribution of wealth and land.

"None of the parties in Parliament, or those standing for election, are calling for socialism," Mr Young said.

'Shadow'

"Mr Streicher is not addressing the parliamentary opposition, but the vast and growing movement of the working class which is beginning to take socialism seriously," he said.

"The shadow of the working class is falling over this Parliament although they are not represented there."

Mr Young said the government's anxiety was shared by capitalists, who had begun "education programmes" within their companies to try to teach "ignorant workers" about the free-enterprise system.

'Failed'

"Capitalism has failed utterly in this country to do anything but provide privileges for the few and poverty for the many. It has failed to convince the working class that it has anything to offer the future of South Africa," he said.

Another speaker, Mr Moses Mbotwa, of the Transport and General Workers' Union, said he had first-hand experience of conditions for workers under capitalism as he had worked as a dustman for 18 years.

"Experience itself talks," he said.

"Under capitalism, workers work hard all day and then go home to places where they don't even have bathrooms to wash off the sweat, while those who do nothing live in comfort."

Progs scott at the 'paper-tiger' conservatives

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE ultra-right is a paper tiger. It is the parties and forces to the left of the National Party which are poised to make inroads into its substantial majority.

That is the assessment of Progressive Federal Party leader Colin Eglin and PFP national organiser Neil Ross on the eve of President PW Botha's announcement of a date for the white election.

Eglin predicts that as much as 40 percent of the white electorate consists of reform-minded people looking for an alternative to the NP.

The PFP assessment is integral to its decision not to contest Randburg, where Wynand Malan, *verligte* former Nat MP, is standing as an independent against the NP in what could be the most interesting contest of the election.

The failure of last weekend's "unity congress" to unite the ultra-rightist Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties, or to deliver a formula for an election pact, certainly diminished the threat from the far-right.

Whether eloquent CP leader Andries Treurnicht and formidable Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging ally Eugene Terre' Blanche can be dismissed as "paper tigers" is at best debatable.

For Nat MPs who face CP opponents, even a divided ultra-right appears ferocious and its claws only too real.

Eglin and Ross offered *Weekly Mail* the following arguments in defence of their view that the ultra-right is an "over-exaggerated" threat.

● Only three of the 18 ultra-right CP-HNP members — Treurnicht, Tom Langley and Louis Stofberg — have been elected to parliament in their own right. The rest were all elected as NP men before the February 1982 split in the NP.

● CP MPs in unsafe constituencies are already casting about for safer seats to contest. Ross cited the case of CP tough man Koos van der Merwe, who will not be contesting Jeppe.

● CP-HNP support is spread too thin geographically for it to threaten more than a couple of NP seats. In the last general election in 1981, the HNP and Connie Mulder's National Conservative Party captured more than 16 percent of the total vote — and perhaps a third of the Afrikaans vote — but failed to win a single seat.

● Opinion polls and attitude surveys point to growing actual and potential disillusionment with the NP. But it is on its left among "upwardly mobile young Afrikaners" rather than its right.

Eglin contended that the movement to the ultra-right is a filtering down to the man-in-the-street of the 1982 parliamentary split in the NP which led to the formation of the CP.

The NP, however, is shedding support on the left, Eglin said.

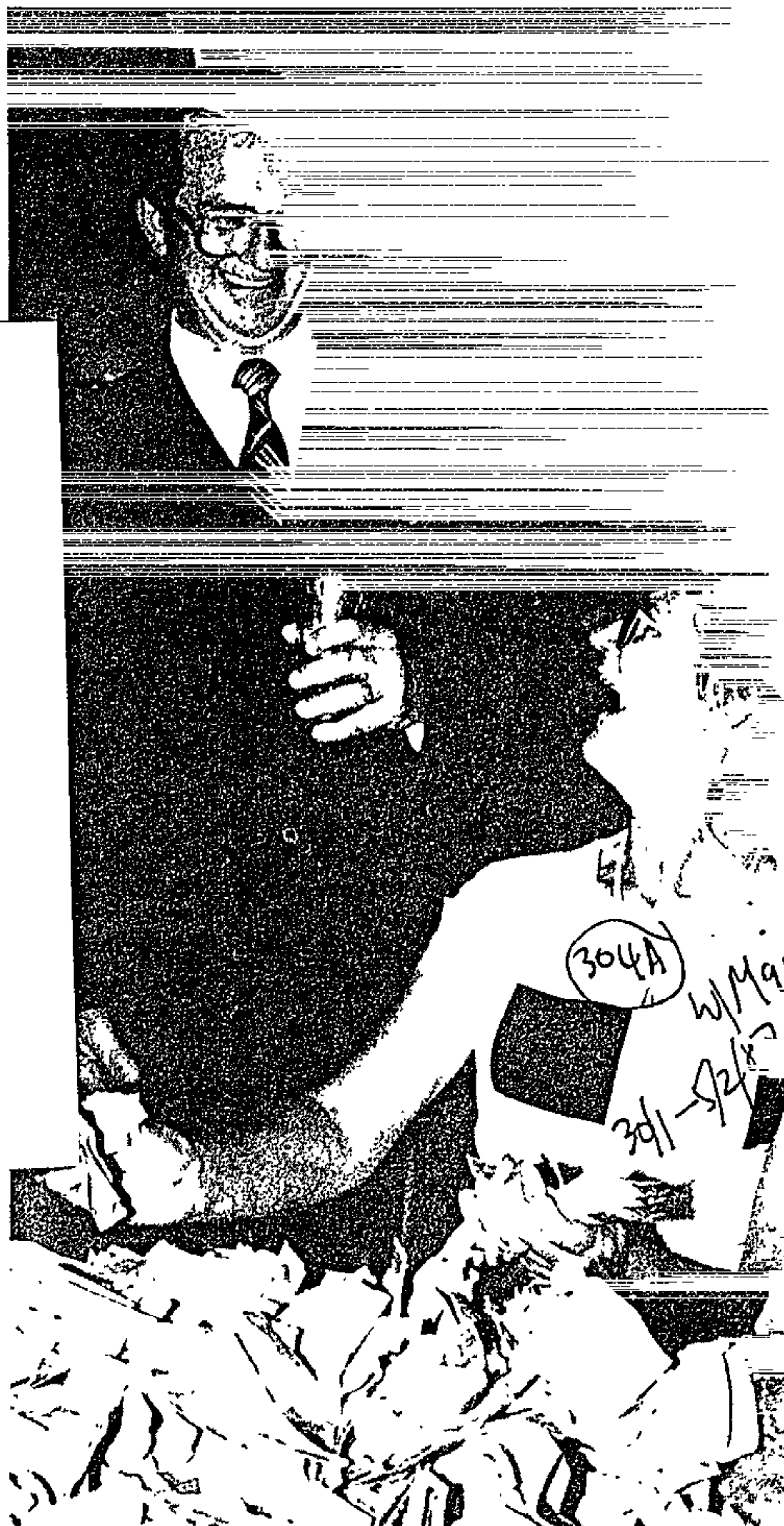
The New Republic Party and many reform-minded people who voted with the NP in the 1983 referendum have, after an uncomfortable co-existence with the NP, broken ties.

One sign of the shift is the electoral pact between the PFP and NRP, which supported the NP in the 1983 referendum. Under the pact each party has agreed not to contest seats held by the other. The PFP has 27 and the NRP five.

As important as the pact, traditional supporters of the NP — "upwardly mobile young Afrikaners" — are disillusioned with the Nats.

Malan is seen as a symbol of these potential defectors. More than that he is viewed as the catalyst who may cause them to defect.

It is for that reason that the PFP



A touch of confidence ... CP leader Andries Treurnicht as a volunteer appear unconcerned about the burgeoning "New Nat" movement as they count the contributions at a rally at Pretoria's Skilpad Hall. Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Africa.

national leadership decided — subject to agreement by the PFP in Randburg — not to put up a candidate in Randburg.

"Malan represents more than himself," Eglin reasoned. "He should be given an opportunity to get disenchanted Nats to come out into the open. If the PFP contests Randburg the anti-Nat vote will be split and a potential breakaway force will revert to the fold."

He said: "In the 1981 election the Nat vote was consolidated and the opposition split. Now the Nats are split and we are consolidated. I believe the election will produce a shock result all round."



P W returns to 'old' apartheid

5/2/87 3/10 Day 304A

IN A return to old-style apartheid, President P W Botha yesterday ruled out fundamental changes to the Group Areas Act (GAA) and revived the old idea of independent black urban city states.

Botha devoted the largest part of his speech in the No Confidence debate, which lasted almost two hours, to what Houghton's PFP MP Helen Suzman called "horror stories" — the communist threat of the ANC.

Verligte Nationalists were despondent afterwards and said Botha's only answer to the revolt of the "New Nats" like Wynand Malan and Denis Worrall was to return to Vorsterian politics.

They believed his speech would only exacerbate the fundamental dissatisfaction among Afrikaner intellectuals, academics and professional people.

Botha said the devolution of power and the protection of minorities could not take place without the recognition of separate residential areas. The Regional Services Councils also rest on this principle.

He gave several reasons why the GAA could not be scrapped, including the protection of lower income whites. He said the murder and terror in black townships would have been rampant in coloured and Indian townships if it were not for the GAA.

As well, the independent homelands and the self-governing homelands were a fact and could not be undone.

But, the time had come to also bring about autonomous bodies in black urban areas. Botha said: "I am prepared to

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

give them complete independence."

He strongly defended the state of emergency, saying it prevented a blood-bath in SA in December and reduced the levels of anarchic violence.

The ANC had not changed its violent course to a new moderate stance and it would continue to woo SA whites and the US State Department.

Botha said the "big devil" behind the

● To Page 2 ➡

P W quotes report on white coalition

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—An ANC report referring to the formation of a white coalition group was quoted by President Botha yesterday.

He said the group included the PFP, the ECC, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and Black Sash.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate Mr Botha said security forces had obtained a report from Lusaka code-named 'Mzwandile', which, he said, was compiled by ANC intelligence officer Ismail Ebrahim and dated November 1986.

The purpose of the coalition said the report was to formulate 'action from protection'.

It said: 'We favour a broad white front. Such a front by its very composition would be limited to short-term objectives.'

The formation of the front was allegedly initiated by human rights lawyer Geoff Budlender and the editor of New Nation, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

Mr Budlender yesterday denied the formation of the group or any intention of forming such a group.

Sapa reports President Botha as saying the state of emergency and security action avoided a bloodbath planned for South Africa between December 16 and 25 last year.

Festive

He said security forces had 'fetched' documents outlining ANC terror plans for the festive season.

He read from one document dated November 1986 which reported on the failure of a 'Christmas Against Emergency' programme worked out jointly by the UDF, Cosatu and other organisations.

The document reported that 'Cosatu as usual is dragging its feet'. Some elements were unhappy that the project was UDF-dominated.

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

Opposition on the hop

6/2/87 F/M

IN MY
OPINION

304A



The former Progressive Federal Party leader discusses the May 6 elections and predicts the outcome.

There is a macabre scene in Monty Python's film *In Search of the Holy Grail* where one member of the search party is locked in battle with a sinister black knight. The knight systematically chops off his assailant's legs and arms and, as the knight walks away from the scene of the battle, the stump of a torso hops after him shouting "Come back and fight you coward."

This is the feeling I get when I think of the circumstances under which opposition political parties will have to fight this forthcoming election.

The tri-cameral constitution which the 1983 referendum (with the generous assistance of the FM) handed to P W Botha on a plate, has dismembered the already flawed system of parliamentary politics even more. Government lost no time in concentrating sovereignty in the Executive President, who had extraordinary unaccountable and discretionary powers.

As a consequence, we now have an extended State of Emergency where senior police officers can ban or prevent meetings and suppress information; there is a massive clampdown on the press; criticism of key aspects of government policy is circumscribed, as well as discussions on major opponents of the government and what should or could be done with them. In fact, all the conditions which make nonsense of what an election is all about.

All of this is symptomatic of another consequence of the new constitution, (which was stated repeatedly by some in the 1983 referendum and to no avail), and that is that it would polarise the country and that the centre of gravity as far as political pressure is concerned will be firmly located outside parliament. That is why parliamentary parties desperately try to position themselves in the confrontation between the Executive/Security establishment and extra-parliamentary forces.

With an Executive that by-passes parliament when it wishes, or treats it like a legislative laundry machine, one is hard-put to find any obvious reason why the State President feels it necessary to hold an election for whites at all. Nevertheless, elections generate their own urgency and it is within the above constraints that one would have to calculate the shake out for the participants in the forthcoming poll.

Election forecast

Obviously, I would like to see my old party do much better than any of its competitors. If I was a betting man, though, I would put my money on an outcome in which the distribution of seats would be more or less the same as exists now. Overall, there will be smaller majorities with a slightly larger Nat stay-away than usual.

I am fairly confident that the bluff of the rightwing will have been called and that at best they will come back with one or two more seats than they have now. People forget that in 1981 the rightwing had 14,6% of electoral support and could not win one seat. After all the huffing and puffing since then, and even with Eugene Terre 'Blanche galloping all over the countryside swallowing microphones, no poll has put rightwing support higher than 17%.

In addition, of the 19 seats held by them in parliament, only three have been won in battle, and I cannot see them holding Rissik, Sunnyside, Jeppe, Langlaagte or Germiston District. So, if they hold the rest, they will have to win at least 10 fresh seats to come back with what they have got. A tall order. In any case, the threat of the rightwing lies in the bureaucracy, not in seats.

Alliances

As far as the National Reform Party (NRP)-PFP alliance is concerned, it could have some positive spin-offs. Seats like the two in East London become possibilities and Albany looks much safer. But again, that the NRP support that drifted from 9% in 1981 to 3,5% today is not reflected in increased support for the PFP, which had 21% then and 18,6% now.

The position occupied by Wynand Malan is an intriguing one. He threatens Nationalist hegemony more symbolically than electorally. The "New Nats" who ache to be with him cannot hold the seats they have if they break; and if they don't, Wynand can only make them ache more (that is assuming he can hold Randburg with PFP assistance). In any event, the significance of Wynand Malan is not confined to electoral politics. His breakaway touches a much deeper vein in our national politics.

So the question can be asked: if things are going to remain as they are, what is the purpose of the whole exercise? I think that P W Botha can call the bluff of the rightwing and claim that he has a white mandate to do a deal with the blacks. Having locked up most of the leaders, banned or impaired the organisations which the majority of them support, one's imagination simply fizzles out as to what kind of a deal they think has the slightest chance of working.

ment — despite its recently uninspiring profit record. CGF's dividend has stood at 24,5p a share for the past five years. Gnodde notes that in rand terms CGF's share price has increased fivefold since the original investment in 1983, and cites encouraging comments by Agnew in his 1986 review.

An unidentified investment company, owned 50% each by GFSA and Drie Cons, was formed specifically to hold the GFSA stake in 1983. It holds no other interests. As a down-the-line investment, it was not disclosed in annual reports, and nobody outside the GFSA executive knew of it until a formal declaration had to be made on January 26.

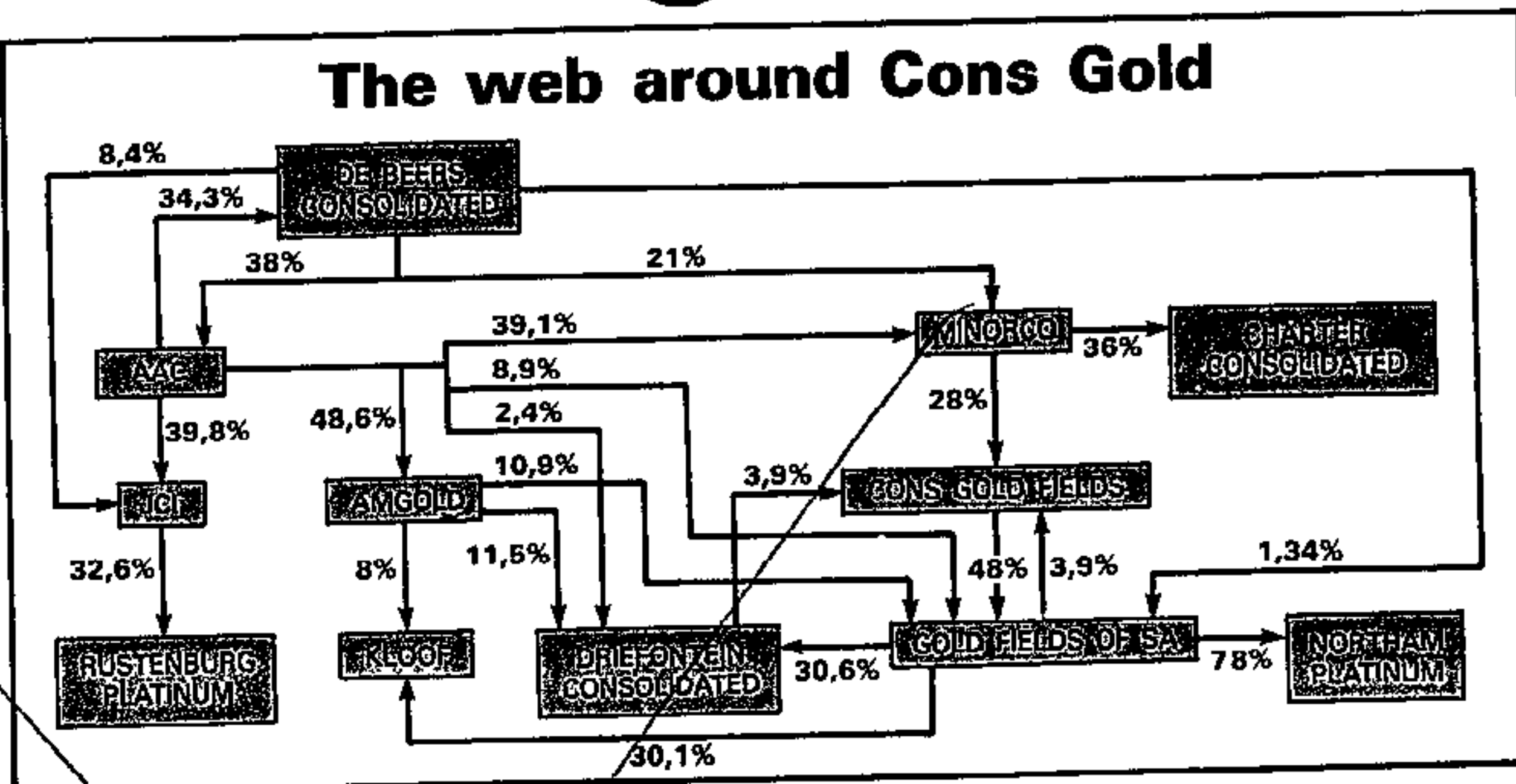
"GFSA has a very harmonious relationship with CGF. You don't usually tell companies when you invest in them," says Gnodde. "We've heard the rumours about CGF but we just see it as a good investment. We've already done well out of it and expect to do better in future."

Most analysts find this explanation ingenuous. To pay for the shares, GFSA borrowed funds overseas (with approval from the Reserve Bank), at an interest rate above Libor. Gnodde says that GFSA has the facility to borrow more if necessary, but it has not been decided whether more shares will be bought.

There may have been good reasons for secrecy. But why specifically Cons Gold if it's merely an investment? And why should Drie Cons, an operating gold mine, invest in an overseas mining group? Surely Drie Cons' function is to use cash to develop its mines or pay out surplus cash as dividends?

That was the local view. GFSA is now effectively the second largest CGF shareholder, with the Canadian Barrick Resources next in line, holding 4,9%. All five London stockbrokers polled by the *FM* believe GFSA's action was a defensive ploy intended to keep predators at bay. But aimed against whom? Minorco is the only credible predator.

Speculation of a bid has been fuelled since October by a steep rise in the price and heavy trading in the share. One story circulating in the City is that Minorco proposed a "friendly" merger on the basis of 850p per CGF share (£1,7 billion). CGF's riposte was that it would rather buy back Minorco's 28,3%



stake at 950p — the present conservatively estimated net worth.

If true, that may have caused CGF to advance its \$242m takeover of American Aggregates announced on January 26 — although as this fits in with the corporate strategy and Amey Roadstone, it is not in itself seen as an attempt to make the UK mining group less palatable. The wilder rumours this week had CGF making a "poison pill" bid for the oil and gas group, Ultramar (capitalised at £510m), but they were discounted.

So, too, is the original tale started by Barrick's investment in CGF in October. That is being investigated by the Department of Trade, not for Barrick's investment but because of the manner of its execution. When CGF tried to look behind nominee names to ascertain Barrick's identity it ran into obstructions before the Canadian firm was finally flushed out.

CGF appears unperturbed by the GFSA affair, discreetly referring all inquiries about the Minorco statement to its source. And it expresses no anxieties that among nominee names on the register there lurk further hidden menaces to its sovereignty. Some 80% of the stock — including Minorco, GFSA and Barrick — is in the hands of institutions, all of them identified.

Broker assertions that the huge volume of trading — 60% of the "free" equity — since statistics were published after Big Bang day (October 27) is significant, are treated cool-

ly. Churning and double-counting (on both sides of the bargain) between the 12-14 main market-makers — whose long and short positions square off — are largely the cause. "When we see turnover of 3m shares in a day, we know that perhaps 750 000 have actually changed hands," comments CGF.

CGF's price has increased from the 1986 low of 409p to a high of about 770p, roughly the level at which GFSA bought. But the relatively heavy trade sheds some light on the timing of GFSA's purchase. Gnodde contends that it was when trading volumes picked up towards year-end that GFSA saw the opportunity to buy in volume through the options market without attracting attention.

Meanwhile, in spite of doubts about GFSA's motivation, it may look less vulnerable to accusations of paying too much when CGF floats its North American gold mines (on high ratings) and the construction materials subsidiary, Amey Roadstone's properties.

Peter Davidson, of stockbroker W Greenwell, tells the *FM*: "If CGF's float of the North American mines has the same effect as Newmont's listing of Newmont Gold, then there is another 200p to go on the price. CGF is unique for its international spread in gold — it's the only one for funds to go for. If there was a bid it would have to offer an exit price of £12 a share. Anyone who sold under that price would be a mug." And at close to £2,4 billion, CGF could be too big a mouthful.

Andrew McNulty and John Cavill

THE ELECTION AND WORRALL

The Indaba warriors gather

An outline of Denis Worrall's reasons for throwing in the towel as SA's ambassador to the Court of St James is emerging. Not that Worrall is saying anything at this stage. He is assiduously avoiding any comment to the media in London, just as he assiduously wooed them for reform over the 30-odd months of his tenure in the UK.

At 51 Worrall is relatively youthful in political terms; and his defection from the

The resignation of Denis Worrall has added a new dimension to the impending white election. The real questions are whether reformist zeal can make an impact on voting day, and whether this would not simply push the NP further to the Right.

P W Botha axis of Afrikaner nationalism has the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) dancing in the aisles. At this stage the smart money holds that the PFP will assist Worrall as an independent candidate in Port Natal, at present the seat of Home Affairs Minister Stofel Botha — the man who shot down the KwaNatal Indaba proposals before the ink had dried.

This assistance will take the form of stand-

ing aside for Worrall in the constituency, just as the PFP will let Nationalist renegade Wynand Malan fight Randburg on a strongly reformist ticket. There are indications of a groundswell of support (including financial pledges) for Worrall. Perhaps this suggests a longing within a political spectrum between the PFP and the left wing of the National Party (NP) for a charismatic knight — a prodigal at that — who will somehow rescue SA from its deepening crisis. But there must be reservations about this.

The argument against the PFP's decision on Malan holds good for Worrall: if he does not join them, he cannot entirely have dissociated himself from the policies of the NP, whose servant he was for so long, and whose current policies he helped to frame.

The original President's Council (PC) was charged with finding a new constitutional formula for SA. Worrall was chairman of the core constitutional committee which reported in 1983; indeed, Worrall was the moving force behind that report, which led to the tricameral parliament.

At that stage a rift developed between Minister Chris Heunis and Worrall — specifically over the implication in the report that there should be one chamber for whites, coloureds, and Indians; and that political alliances should be allowed between the various parties in office. The key to such a system would be the scrapping of the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act, which killed the old Liberal Party.

(Somewhere along the way, the political future of the Chinese, which the PC was also to consider on an ethnic basis, got quietly dropped.)

Government — via Heunis — rejected the non-ethnic elements of the constitutional report, though subsequently the Interference Act was indeed scrapped, and there have been moves towards more joint sittings.

But there can be little doubt that Worrall, who is at least as ambitious as he is sincere, saw himself playing a far greater role in the evolution of the new dispensation than was allowed him. The ambassadorship in Australia, and then the UK stint, left him increasingly frustrated: for not only did P W Botha's reforms come unravelled, but the president actually retreated into a security-at-all-costs position.

And the consequences of excluding blacks from parliamentary representation (in which Worrall acquiesced, since he helped draw up the basis of the new constitution) were broadcast to the world from September 1984 onwards. The tricameral system triggered violence as soon as it was implemented.

In fairness, Worrall is in many respects the liberal that his new-found friends find so attractive. This is what he said to the *FM* in October last year: "After the turmoil of the past 18 months, even informed and well-disposed people are wondering whether a peaceful solution is possible. Hence the importance of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba ...

"Priority clearly lies in substantial change at home, rather than in improved public



Ex-Ambassador Worrall ... not returning for nothing

relations. But our society is too sophisticated to abandon the world. Our essential values are those of the West."

The PC's constitutional committee would not have reported as it did if it did not believe it had the basis for a peaceful solution. Yet three years later, Worrall, in the light of these comments, had become disillusioned with the outcome. And to cap it all, even SA's best friends were questioning whether our "essential values" were those of the West. Difficult for even a polished diplomat — let alone one with a conscience — to stand pat in such circumstances.

Worrall is extremely good at timing his moves. For many years people did not think of him as being intellectually at home in the NP, and it came as a shock to many when he showed his true colours (as they then were) during the run-up to a general election.

His resignation as ambassador came on the same day as the announcement of the May 6 white election. He is returning specifically to play a role in public life because the ship on which he sailed is sinking.

Or is it? The danger exists that even if some kind of non-party reformist coalition is formed around Worrall (and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert?) the NP will still be the majority party in the Assembly, and therefore remain far from "irrelevant." It will be more conservative than before, more repressive, more lacking in fresh ideas — but all that won't matter since it will still pass or repeal only the laws it wishes to. It will dominate the civil service and security forces. There are revolutionary tides in motion, but the revolution is a remote prospect — and only one of many ways in which SA might be changed.

It is the prospect of entrenched repression versus revolution that forms the basis of pro-



Stoffel Botha



Heunis

Indaba thinking. But while the term is being bandied about with considerable vigour, what does it actually mean? Key recommendations of the Indaba include the following:

- A nonracial upper house with 100 seats, allocated on the basis of proportional representation;
- A lower house (50 seats) based on ethnic components — broadly, African, Afrikaans, English, Asian, and "other"; and
- The concurrence of four components (80%) of the lower house is needed before a Bill can be passed on to the upper house for debate.

The NP — or Stoffel Botha — questions this structure, since in its view it does not contain sufficient protection for minorities (for which read whites). There is also the issue of funding, and the Indaba's commitment to a "fiscal parity" programme of expenditure in certain areas, such as education. The tax burden could be intolerable.

But because the Indaba is virtually the only positive political initiative in sight, it has great symbolic value. That is why, inevitably, its proposals have become such an important election issue — in Mangosuthu Buthezi's words, "a political football." But those who believe in its principles are up and running.

For this reason alone the likelihood is that the pro-Indaba forces will back Worrall in Port Natal, the seat of the first senior Nationalist to repudiate the Indaba. (The possibility that Worrall will choose to run against Chris Heunis in Helderberg cannot be ruled out, but there the risks are greater. And outside parliament Worrall would soon lose the momentum that his resignation has given him and his would-be allies.)

The Indaba also represents negotiation and compromise, and could be taken as a model for a second national convention. At this stage, of course, such a mega-Indaba is a dream until and unless two major groupings choose to participate: the NP and the African National Congress (ANC). What chance is there of that at present?

Indeed, around the time of the visit of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group last year, Pretoria was far closer to negotiating with the ANC (and releasing Nelson Mandela) than it is now. Its reformist thrust was also in greater evidence. Hence the disaffection of the "New Nats" and the excitement over Worrall's intentions.

The pro-Indaba factions are hoping that further impetus for reform will materialise into gains at the polls. Yet even if it does, the process of getting some kind of national Indaba under way will be lengthy — and events could in the meantime so polarise the country that the climate for such a meeting could become possible.

Nonetheless, the calling of an early election by P W Botha is triggering events in a way the president could not have foreseen. A swing towards the PFP — and reformist candidates — might concentrate government's mind on the need to accelerate reform. Perhaps.

6/2/87

SA FOUNDATION

304A

PIM

Soldiering on

The resignation of the SA Foundation's Washington director, John Chettle (FM January 30), "doesn't change things at all," says foundation director general Peter Sorour bravely. "We'll be sorry to see him leave," he adds, "but we still have a role and will continue his good work."

Sorour, of course, is a foundation casualty himself and will be replaced by SA's former ambassador to the UN, Kurt von Schirnding, when he leaves the organisation in April.

Chettle's post, in turn, will be filled by the foundation's general manager, Michael Christie, who has had a three-year stint at the Washington office.

Various reasons have been put forward for Chettle's departure, including the fact that he missed out on the director general job. But Sorour says this is misleading because Chettle did not make himself available for

the post.

He points out that Chettle, who has been in the US for a long time, has put down family roots there and has been preparing to take out US citizenship.

As to criticism of officers' pay, Sorour says: "All our overseas representatives are suitably remunerated and have standards of living commensurate with their status."

Sorour also rejects the suggestion that the foundation ever took the mounting sanctions campaign lightly, and denies it is facing a cash crisis. The reason for the doubling of members' contributions last year, he says, was precisely because the foundation anticipated US sanctions against SA and had wanted to double its resources to counter the campaign. He says the fact that 80% of its members responded positively to the fees increase, and that it has gained 75 new members since, indicates continuing support from the business community.

According to Sorour, an organisation like the SA Foundation is never going to have

enough cash to do all it would like to, since there are similar organisations competing for businessmen's funds.

Simply because Chettle sketches a pessimistic picture of the likely trend of America's anti-South African measures, it does not follow that this will in fact be the case, says Sorour. "One should not concentrate on worst-case possibilities in the US."

There are, moreover, other parts of the world which are also important to SA and where the foundation's work will continue. Sorour says the foundation is active in more than 20 major countries and many of its contacts are highly personalised at both government and business level. "So we have an international, selective communications network which has got to be serviced, otherwise it would fade out and disappear," he says.

Through its international network, the foundation will strive "to keep SA from being totally isolated from the Western world; to argue the case against sanctions and for the maintenance of a strong economy

in SA," he adds.

As to the wisdom of the foundation appointing Pretoria's former UN trouble-shooter, Von Schirnding, to its top spot, Sorour has no doubts. The former diplomat has been appointed for his "talents and experience in international affairs, which we believe can be put to good use in the SA Foundation's affairs," he says. "It does not follow that because he was a diplomatic



SA Foundation's Sorour . . . servicing international network

servant of government he is necessarily wedded to the ideology of that government."

Regarding rumours that the foundation's London director may follow Chettle, Sorour says he hasn't heard them and "I've no reason to believe there's any substance to it."

NO-CONFIDENCE DEBATE (304A)

Eglin's field day 6/2/87 PIM

The first day of the No-Confidence debate in the House of Assembly this week confirmed two important opposition suspicions: the National Party's (NP) reform initiative is dead or hibernating; and no clear election issues are to be laid on the table.

Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leader Colin Eglin had a field day in his wide-ranging attack on government mismanagement. Government's predictable response was that the PFP could do no better.

As the *FM* went to press, a number of senior ministers were still due to speak in the debate, but no major announcements were expected — particularly in the reform area.

It appeared that the NP was hoping to refocus the debate onto economic issues, the one area from which it hopes to draw support during the coming election campaign. Sig-



PFP's Eglin ... no free and fair election

nificantly, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was chosen to reply to Eglin's opening attack, even though he offered nothing more than renewed commitment to tackle a wide range of economic problems.

Ironically (after President Botha's low-key opening address in parliament on Friday) Du Plessis decided to describe Eglin's speech as "unimaginative and uninspiring" and accused him of having no "vision" for SA. Du Plessis conceded that all was not well with the economy, but called for an under-

standing of the situation in which the country found itself.

Earlier, Eglin had launched what was regarded as one of the more successful no-confidence speeches. He said in all the years of Nationalist rule, a motion of no-confidence had never been more appropriate or justified. Government no longer enjoyed the support of even white South Africans, as would be shown in the election on May 6.

Eglin described government as "incompetent, wasteful and bullying" and said the latest State of Emergency and harsh curbs on freedom were the clearest indication that the NP's policies had failed miserably.

"At a time when the people look for a message of hope, government's remarkable behaviour shows that it has no real plans for the present and no clear vision for the future," he said. After 39 years in power, he reckoned government was incapable of governing democratically. The only small mercy was that it was now starting to lose both members and supporters.

Eglin predicted a continuing stimulation of the economy until the election, but said the economic reality of SA was financial insecurity and hardship and deteriorating standards of living.

He observed that government had also made normal political activity virtually impossible by the emergency curbs. Even MPs were denied access to information on what was happening in the country, he said. Eglin added that the coming election would be neither free nor fair because of the restrictions. Voters were unaware of what was happening in the country and had to rely on government for selected information.

KWANATAL INDABA

Taxing issues

P/M 6/2/87

304A

Now that the Indaba has firmly become an election issue in Natal, some erstwhile proponents are already moving to put some distance between themselves and its more controversial proposals.

That, at least, seems to be the intent behind the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce's (DMCC) recently resurrected reservations about the Indaba's "equalisation" objectives.

The fact that the Indaba has so rapidly been drawn into the political arena appears to have thrown some of its supporters off balance. Indeed, there is some regret that it should be an election issue at all. The majority view is that an all-race referendum to test opinions would have been preferable.

There are signs that the political fallout is already beginning to permeate black politics. KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi encapsulated these misgivings when he said he resented such an important initiative as the Indaba being used as a "political football."

What apparently concerns party politicians is having to sell the Indaba to an electorate not yet sufficiently informed on the content of its proposals or, for that matter, ready to live with their consequences.

The Indaba concluded its business somewhat hastily. And because of the lack of time to properly apprise the electorate of its proposals, PFP-NRP alliance election candidates standing on a pro-Indaba ticket have agreed to concentrate on the *process* of Indaba politics, rather than the content.

But their opponents are unlikely to play along. They, no doubt, will exploit any weaknesses they see — which means they are bound to home in on the Indaba's stated economic "equalisation" policy.

This is probably why the DMCC used an early opportunity to put its attitude towards "equalisation" in perspective. Last week it put out a statement claiming that while it wholeheartedly supported the Indaba initiative, it was concerned about the "cost implications" of "achieving fiscal parity" in expenditure on services — a principal tenet of the Indaba.

The DMCC commissioned academics J A du Pisanie and C J Meintjies to investigate the implications of achieving "fiscal parity" (the same spending per head in all population groups) in two services, education and health, by the year 2000.

They concluded that the high level of taxation it would involve would drive both investment capital and skills to other parts of SA — to the detriment of the region.

The researchers found that to achieve "fiscal parity" in education alone would require

a real increase in expenditure on education of 12,2% a year for the next 15 years. That would consume 24% of gross geographical product in tax.

The way the chamber sees it, and supply-siders no doubt would concur, is there is a distinct correlation between the level of taxation and economic growth: the higher the tax, the lower the growth. As the Indaba's "equalisation" objectives would *per force* have to be funded by punitive levels of taxation, the measure would be self defeating.

Of course, that does not take account of the widely held foreign aid theory. Many Indaba supporters, perhaps somewhat wishfully, believe overseas benefactors will come forth in the peaceful post-Indaba era to make up for any budgetary shortfalls.

The chamber, however, says its prime concern is that unachievable expectations could be created and "a catch 22 situation could arise in which the very urgency with which political reform is tackled makes it impossible to achieve."

Already on the defensive because of the electioneering in the white House of Assembly, leader of the Indaba's KwaZulu delegation, Oscar Dhlomo, claims the chamber appears to be stating the obvious. He points out that equalisation and the redistribution of wealth will proportionately demand a bigger share of economic resources, not only from government but all South Africans.

In a stinging indictment of the legacy of neglect in black spending he concludes: "One must expect after almost 40 years of apart-

heid the costs of removing it have risen. One cannot now renege on removing apartheid on the pretext that it is expensive."

The logic may not be faultless, but it does boil down to a decision white Natalians will have to make on May 6.

NO-CONFIDENCE DEBATE

Eglin's field day

The first day of the No-Confidence debate in the House of Assembly this week confirmed two important opposition suspicions: the National Party's (NP) reform initiative is dead or hibernating; and no clear election issues are to be laid on the table.

Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leader Colin Eglin had a field day in his wide-ranging attack on government mismanagement. Government's predictable response was that the PFP could do no better.

As the *FM* went to press, a number of senior ministers were still due to speak in the debate, but no major announcements were expected — particularly in the reform area.

It appeared that the NP was hoping to refocus the debate onto economic issues, the one area from which it hopes to draw support during the coming election campaign. Sig-



PFP's Eglin ... no free and fair election

nificantly, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was chosen to reply to Eglin's opening attack, even though he offered nothing more than renewed commitment to tackle a wide range of economic problems.

Ironically (after President Botha's low-key opening address in parliament on Friday) Du Plessis decided to describe Eglin's speech as "unimaginative and uninspiring" and accused him of having no "vision" for SA. Du Plessis conceded that all was not well with the economy, but called for an under-

PART APPROPRIATIONS

Government has released the dates of the Part Appropriations due to come before parliament this month.

The Part Appropriation on the State Revenue Account (General Affairs) will be presented on Monday (February 9) and the Additional Appropriation on February 19.

The Sats Part Appropriation will be on Thursday next week (February 12) and the Post Office Part Appropriation on February 19.

The Own Affairs Part Appropriations will be on February 17 in the House of Assembly, and February 18 in the other two Houses. The Own Affairs Additional Appropriations will be on February 23 in the House of Assembly and February 24 in the other two Houses.

□ See Leaders

ister Chris Heunis may have been hatching.

The State President's unambiguous stand on the Indaba confirmed Natal National Party leader Stoffel Botha's initial rejection of the plan and thereby answered any criticism that Stoffel Botha reacted too hastily.

Heunis is currently considering the Indaba proposals handed to him formally last month, but after President Botha's comments last Friday, he may as well save time and shelve the report now.

Botha said new constitutional structures could be negotiated only by "authorised representatives of all groups and communities who reject violence as a political instrument" within a national institution which had statutory status "and in which real accountability can exist."

He said government's attitude towards the Indaba was determined by:

- The need for consultation and negotiation on matters of common concern to take place among the various "population communities" at all levels of government;
- Acceptance of the establishment by homeland governments and provincial authorities of joint executives to deal with matters of common concern; and
- The need for the protection and self-determination of minority groups, power-sharing among groups in respect of common interests and the "prevention of domination by any group of the others."

Stoffel Botha's initial rejection of the Indaba plan was seen as a severe blow to the NP in Natal, particularly with an election pending. Some believed Heunis would try to rescue the party by making positive noises before polling day on May 6.

In general, President Botha's opening address was seen as a low-key speech designed to steer a non-controversial course ahead of the election. He thus spelt out no new reform initiatives and identified no clear election issues.

As expected, he adopted a tough foreign policy stance and warned against foreign interference in SA's affairs, but acknowledged that it was not in the country's interest to become isolated internationally.

He reaffirmed earlier threats to "leave no stone unturned" to defend the country against aggression launched from neighbouring states. "Every nation has the right to defend itself. We claim the same right," he said.

Botha again offered a hand of friendship to neighbouring black states, stating that there was a "clear need" for leaders in the region to get together in the interests of the well-being of their people.

The State of Emergency, he added, would remain in force for as long as necessary and warned anyone committed to violent revolution that government "will not for one moment hesitate to act decisively."

"The government would like to lift the state of emergency," he said, "but will maintain its basic responsibility to purposely uphold law and order at all times."

On the economy, Botha conceded that

inflation remained a "serious problem." Although the strengthening of the rand would contribute to the decline of the inflation rate, it would not solve the problem.

"What is also required is increased competition, higher productivity and restraint with regard to wage and price increases. In this regard I trust that we will rise above party-political interests since it is a matter of serious concern for every citizen of this country," he said.

Botha repeated the views he expressed in his opening address last year that blacks needed to be accommodated in central government. But there appears to be no definite move for the time being to establish the mooted National Council.

The only real news in the address was the announcement that whites will go to the polls on May 6. The election will be proclaimed on March 7 and nomination day will be on March 31.

GOVERNMENT POLICY (304A)

PW stands pat FIM

Any doubts over government's attitude towards the KwaNatal Indaba were cleared up by President P W Botha when he opened parliament last week. And in doing so, he undercut whatever face-saving strategy Constitutional Development and Planning Min-

Botha orders probe into pro-ANC ad

AD 6/2/87.

504A

504A

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P.W. Botha, announced in Parliament yesterday that he had appointed a commission of inquiry into the funding of pro-African National Congress advertisements which appeared in 22 English-language newspapers on January 8.

Under sustained attack following his statement that the Barclays Bank chief, Mr Chris Ball, was being mentioned in "radical circles" as the man who had paid for the advertisements, Mr Botha yesterday announced a one-man commission of inquiry.

The Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice Munnik, will investigate where the advertisements were placed, by whom, who paid for them and how much.

The inquiry will also focus attention on the source of the funds which, according to one report, came from the United Democratic Front who handed over a R100 000 bank guaranteed cheque.

In addition, the inquiry will also seek to ascertain whether Mr Ball was involved in the financial arrangements for paying for the adverts.

Speaking after Mr Botha's statement, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Berea, Mr Ray Swart, said it was a pity the State President had not established the facts before attempting to smear individuals.

Meanwhile, Barclays has stated it had no knowledge that a R100 000 bank cheque, issued on a client's instructions, would be used to pay for the advertisements.

This was made clear in a statement issued last night by the bank's chairman, Mr Basil Hersov.

Barclays' senior general manager, Mr Jimmy McKenzie, said yesterday that the cheque, made in favour of an attorney, was issued to the debit of the client's account. This was common banking practice.

Only if a court order was issued would Barclays be prepared to reveal the account holder's name, he said.

Mr McKenzie said the State President's statement had negatively affected the bank's business.

"Obviously the matter will be commercially detrimental to the bank until it is cleared up."

• The UDF said it and its affiliates paid for the advertisements commemorating the 75th anniversary of the ANC — not Mr Ball.

The UDF said in a statement that money for the advertisements — which cost R100 000 — was raised from "supporters and affiliates" of the organisation.

The attorney who handled the placing of the advertisements, Mr Krish Naidoo, paid for them in the form of a cheque drawn on his trust account. He, in turn, was given the money by the UDF in the form of a Barclays Bank guaranteed cheque.

Mr Naidoo said he insisted on a bank guaranteed cheque because of the large amount of money involved.

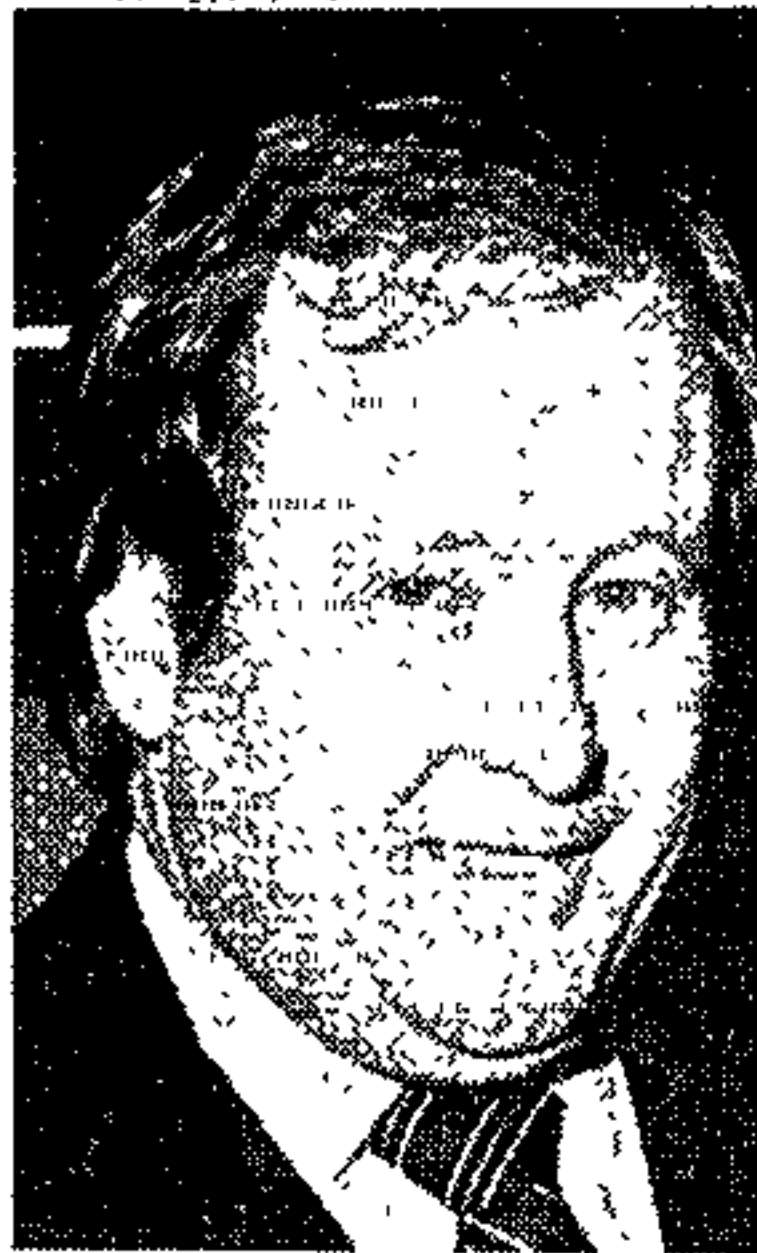
The UDF said it wished to point out that it had not contravened the law in placing the adverts. — DDC-Sapa

3041A DD 6/2/87

Rogers: Whitaker out of step

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Cape leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Pat Rogers, said yesterday his party's divisional chairman, Mr Eric Whitaker, was out of step with the party.



MR WHITAKER

He was reacting to a statement by Mr Whitaker that NRP supporters were incensed that the alliance candidate for the East London City seat did not come from its ranks.

Mr Rogers said action against Mr Whitaker would be discussed and added: "Any further comment of this nature must be seen as being made in his personal capacity and not reflecting the views of a democratically achieved decision as how best to maximise opposition forces in the interests of South Africa."

Mr Rogers was backed by a senior NRP member and former candidate, Mr George Orsmond, who said Mr Whitaker seemed to be losing sight of the real target of the election,

which was the National Party.

"The whole aim of the alliance is to fight the Nats. The membership of the NRP is still firmly behind the opposition," he said.

Mr Orsmond also said the inference that he had opted out of yesterday's nomination stakes because he did not want to stand on a PFP ticket was wrong.

"I did so for personal reasons and it had nothing to do with politics," he said.

Mr Rogers said Mr Whitaker's attitude was typical of the old fashioned and stupid prejudices which existed to the detriment of the opposition and in favour of the National Party.

"At the meeting refer-

red to by Mr Whitaker, between the Cape leaders and the supporters of the parties, it was agreed that all present would abide by the decisions.

"It is unfortunate that Mr Whitaker is going against his word. The decision in the Natal head committee meeting not to split the vote and to co-operate with the PFP was in excess of 80 per cent.

"At the head committee of the Cape it exceeded 75 per cent and it is noteworthy that none of the East London members involved in the remarks took the trouble to attend."

"In fact none of them, except for Mr Whitaker, supported or worked for the party since the last election," Mr Rogers said.

EAST LONDON.— A city councillor here, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaite, has been nominated the PFP-NRP alliance candidate, for the EL City seat in the coming election.

The announcement came after a nearly four hour meeting of the PFP electoral college where the city councillor beat former Mercedes Benz executive, Mr Leo Borman, for the nomination.

The electoral college meeting was not attended by any NRP members. The Cape leader of the PFP, Mr Roger Hulley, said the invitation had not been withdrawn despite earlier remarks made by a certain NRP member.

He was referring to a statement by the

divisional chairman of the NRP, Mr Eric Whitaker, who said members of his party were incensed that someone from their ranks had not been considered for the seat.

Mr Bassingthwaite, 33, a graduate in international politics and economics, will now go into battle against the NP incumbent, Mr Peet de Pontes, and the right wing independent candidate, Mr Nic Slabber.

Last night Mr Bassingthwaite, a former National Party youth league chairman who switched to the PFP less than three weeks ago said: "I'm looking forward to fighting this election which is the

Councillor nominated for City

most crucial facing the white electorate.

"The alliance has precisely clarified the major issues facing the electorate and that is whether to support the National Party government or not.

"The National Party has no issue to fight the election on other than to try to cast aspersions on the credibility of the opposition without addressing the real issues which are facing our troubled country.

"As soon as we have any trouble in the country someone else is always blamed. Voters are sick and tired of this continual transfer of blame. They want a posi-

tive and dynamic plan of action from government and not continual excuses about why things cannot be done.

"As the situation in the country gets worse, more and more excuses are made and other bodies are blamed for the deteriorating situation."

Mr Bassingthwaite said the alliance has crystalised the dilemma facing white South Africans. Either vote for the National Party or against it.

He said his former party was extremely worried about so many in their ranks who look likely to oppose them.

Mr Bassingthwaite is a long distance runner and is married to Border tennis player, Hanlie Bassingthwaite. They have two children.

Mr Hulley said the meeting had taken a long time because they had two outstanding candidates. He congratulated Mr Bassingthwaite and thanked Mr Borman for making himself available.

Treurnicht: Pik using US as bogey man

304A 6/2/87
JOHANNESBURG — It was time the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha's "Jekyll and Hyde" relationship with the United States was exposed for what it was — "a transparent scheme to attract voters back to the laager of the National Party for the forthcoming election".

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in a statement: "His pre-election theatrics using the United States as the bogey man is a 10-year-old National Party trick and is not going to work this time around."

"The voting public is well aware of the parlous state of the economy and is also aware of the enormous sums of cash pouring into this country from organisations in the United States to undermine

the existing order in South Africa.

"Why does Mr Pik Botha allow American film companies to dictate internal policy to South Africa and to intimidate South African citizens in contravention of the laws of this country? Why is it always the CP who must take action while Mr Botha merely prattles?"

"He accuses the Conservative Party of 'promoting communism' whilst prominent National Party people hold discussions with the ANC," Dr Treurnicht said.

"The secret meeting with the ANC in New York by the leader of the Broederbond, Professor De Lange, is a chilling example of how the NP is playing into the hands of the communists." — Sapa



DR TREURNICHT

Strong reaction to PW speech

304A DD 6/2/87

JOHANNESBURG — Individuals and organisations have reacted strongly to the verbal attacks made by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, in Parliament.

The Transvaal Branch of the Black Sash said yesterday: "The National Party increasingly appears to be losing its grip on the country and reality, and is flailing around attacking everything and everyone in sight."

The Sash said Mr Botha launched "scurrilous attacks against individuals, leading businessmen and organisations peacefully opposed to apartheid".

The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac) said in a statement that it was not manipulated by the ANC nor the South African Communist Party (SACP) and had no links with these organisations.

Jodac rejected Mr Botha's "implication", the statement said, that the organisation was "open to manipulation" by the two organisations.

"Jodac wishes to stress that it has no links with the ANC or the SACP and is not responsible for what the ANC chooses to write in its intelligence reports," the statement said.

Jodac was a legal organisation affiliated to the the UDF, it said.

The chairman of the Premier Group, Mr Tony Bloom said he was "not the slightest bit disturbed" by

Mr Botha's adverse references to him in Parliament.

"I continue to hold the view that negotiations with credible black leaders should be started as soon as possible, and this means leaders that blacks regard as credible, not those handpicked by Mr Botha.

"This will inevitably involve the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela, both of which are crucial components of any attempt to find a just and peaceful solution for South Africa.

"While they are not the only components, no solution is going to be found without their participation. It is only a matter of when and not if, white South Africa talks to the ANC," he said.

"The choice is between doing so over the barrel of a gun or around a negotiating table. I continue to support the latter option," Mr Bloom added.

There would be no peace and justice in South Africa as long as the National Party remained in power, an ad hoc group of whites opposed to apartheid said yesterday.

It said in a statement: "The trouble with the State President is that he is not prepared to tolerate an opposition. He should not be wasting Parliament's time when he has so much to answer for." — Sapa

CAPT Times 6/2/87

RAU rebels 'PW a prisoner of ethnicity'

30/6/87

TWO MORE leading Afrikaner academics have turned their backs on the Nationalist government, describing the State President, Mr P W Botha, as an "intellectual prisoner" of ethnicity.

Dr Deon Geldenhuys and Dr Koos van Wyk, both leading political scientists at the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), yesterday joined a coterie of their rebel colleagues at Stellenbosch University, who last week publicly criticized Mr Botha for his snail'space reform.

Tensions are mounting between the State President and "verligte" Stellenbosch academics; professors Sampie Terreblanche, Julius Jeppe, Willem Esterhuysen, James Fourie and Dr Anton van Niekerk last week pledged their support to rebel New Nats, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall.

In an interview yesterday, Professor Terreblanche, a leading Stellenbosch economist and deputy chairman of the SABC, said Afrikaner academics had taken an "important step" by making public their dissatisfaction with government policies.

Dr Geldenhuys and Dr Van Wyk said that an analysis of Mr Botha's policies during his reign indicated he had more in common with the Conservative Party.

Mr Botha had an obsession with ethnic or racial groupings and was, ultimately, "an intellectual prisoner of the group imperative" — apartheid, they said.

"The most serious offences committed in the name of group interest has undoubtedly been the forced removals of more than 3,5 million people between 1960 and 1982," the two academics said.

They had studied quotes from Harsard and Mr Botha's public speeches and concluded that he had no intellectual understanding of terms such as "onslaught by Marxist expansionism and secularism", "healthy powersharing", "self respect", "responsibility" and "future existence".

"Even when others in the cabinet may act powerfully, it is always in line with his thoughts and consent. No doubt they think the same but he's the 'bully-boy' boss, the only one in charge," Dr Van Wyk said.

□ UPI reports that the leader of the Broederbond, Dr Piet de Lange, yesterday said his organization's document calling for black participation was not a firm proposal.

The document "motivates the acceptance of a number of pivotal conditions which it says must determine a future constitutional model", he said.

Rebuilding SA for a post-apartheid society

JAN STEYN

CONF-7-2

□ JAN STEYN, Executive Chairman of the Urban Foundation, told an American audience this week that sanctions would not help build a decent post-apartheid society in SA. This is an edited extract from his speech to the Southern Centre for International Studies in Atlanta, Georgia



□ STEYN ... US has a huge role to play

CORPORATIONS and governments view the scene unfolding in SA with increasing despondency and concern. Sanctions — and, down the road, even stronger, more punitive-orientated actions — tend to dominate the political debate.

Ever-increasing disinvestment and the consequent economic and technological isolation of SA are beginning to become the main strands of the US corporate approach to the South African problem.

Such an approach and the notion of "rebuilding" our society appear to be massive contradictions in terms. And yet, if the objective of the concerned international community is the creation of a non-racial democracy in SA which is constructed upon the value systems of the great Western democracies, this is precisely the time at which these contradictions have to be reconciled.

The question is how can the US recover the initiative in the search for mechanisms to stimulate change, promote development and sustain hope for the future of our sub-continent?

belief and commitment to sanctions as a strategy for change. I respect their sincerity.

I also respect the anguish of expatriate South Africans and internal movements whose tragic choice, as they understand it, is between support for sanctions or increasing violence.

However, I despair over the outcome of these coercive efforts, more especially if they are not accompanied by positive actions based on careful strategic thinking.

The commission of the SA Catholic Bishop's Conference — a body totally committed to the destruction of apartheid and whose campaign has earned the odium of the South African government — is not alone in its judgment that economic pressures on SA have "consolidated government in its retreat from meaningful reform".

As a colleague in the private sector put it recently at a meeting with prominent American

has been put "on ice" by the South African government, many observers of this process refer to its inherent sporadic character and the need to take positive steps to regenerate it when it flags.

Even at the present time of negative government reaction to sanctions and unrest, we who operate as catalysts for change have not abandoned hope that such regeneration is possible. Racial zoning, for example, could well be a winnable issue.

□ PROPOSITION 2: Reform is best facilitated by a combination of internal and external influences, pressures and objective evidence, coupled with the expectation that reform steps will be recognised and tangibly appreciated.

Not only are there no "quick fix" solutions; there are also no "single

encouraging shifts in political stances in government.

The Urban Foundation is, however, convinced that quick results will not be forthcoming and therefore emphasises the need to consider modified strategies which draw on the lessons of the past.

Here, in particular, it is our experience that private organisations have most effect in encouraging positive responses from the government when:

- They can demonstrate widespread black community support;
- They are able to demonstrate the workability of projects and programmes in achieving peaceful and constructive participation by members of black communities;
- They have established credibility and influence through successful development programmes and a contribution to the restoration of economic confidence; and

It is imperative that the outside world provide well-targeted assistance.

□ They back their initiatives with thorough, objective research and are able to

- Shack upgrading projects;
- Projects in non-racial and community-based education;
- Community service centres in black communities; and
- Multi-purpose community service centres.

Such projects have the potential to promote residential integration by the establishment of private, open housing estates; to address the problem of a massive urban housing shortage of over 500 000 units and simultaneously develop and advance black community leadership; launch innovative education ventures for the black community, such as private non-racial community schools, planned, developed and run in full participation with black parents, teachers and pupils; to develop a full range of non-racial education facilities; and to create a focus around which community groups can mobilise to identify, plan and acquire funds to develop amenities to meet needs as they see them.

pose these questions only because I believe that the US has a huge potential role to play in how the South African scene unfolds and in designing strategies and taking steps that will lay the foundations of a new SA beyond apartheid.

I want to suggest that at least part of the answer to the question I have posed requires:

- ☐ An accurate analysis and understanding of apartheid;
- ☐ A consideration of how it can be broken down; and
- ☐ An assessment of what can be done to build a society without apartheid.

What I have to say contradicts those views of change in SA that imply a "quick fix"; it emphasises the importance of external powers directing their efforts at strengthening the institutions and processes which can achieve change inside the country; and proceeds on the acknowledgment of the close relationship of the three points mentioned above.

We all recognise the failure of past strategies of persuasion, of moral pressure and of eloquent exhortation. We are also witnessing at this very time the failure of punishment and coercive pressure on the South African government. I know that there are many people in the US who have a deep

eaters, we are witnessing a "Greek tragedy" in SA. Sanctions, as a strategy for change, will ultimately destroy the hopes and passions which impelled the campaign.

What can be done to help build a society without apartheid and to rebuild a country which even today struggles to keep pace with the needs of its rapidly-growing population?

While there are no easy answers, there are a few guidelines which emerge from our recent history. I will set these guidelines out as propositions:

- ☐ PROPOSITION 1: SA has shown an ability to bring about meaningful policy change. One of the ways to help dismantle apartheid and build a new society is thus to support and encourage meaningful policy reform.

There are huge remaining challenges on the agenda of change, and after each reform the apartheid laws remaining on the Statute Book seem to loom larger.

Apartheid is far from being abolished, but the record is clear: meaningful change is possible. Not only is it possible but, until the peak of the recent unrest and the application of sanctions, government seemed to be developing a taste for reform and taking pride in the process.

In 1985 and early 1986, reform, however imperfect and partial, was becoming a principle of government. While the change process

fix" solutions. The change process requires hard work and demands the application of substantial resources at a number of levels. A judicious mix of strategies has a proven effect.

- ☐ PROPOSITION 3: Government, and the country as a whole, sets great store by its association with the West, and although not willing to bow to destructive pressures from abroad, will respond positively to influences which are aimed at both facilitating change and at repairing relations with Western nations.

B/DAY 6-03-87
(2044)

The South African government has by no means committed itself to a policy of isolationism, and God forbid that relations between it and the West ever produce this catastrophic result.

The West is our lifeline to a future democracy. We therefore need more Western influences inside SA, not a dismal slide into international political rejection

- ☐ PROPOSITION 4: A mix of strategies is necessary to effectively promote change, and the private sector's ability to influence this process is enhanced if it acts off a platform of involvement in sound project and programme activity.

Accepting the need for a mix of strategies, the private sector does not question all sincere efforts of

port for their actions.

The private sector organisations with which we are associated are convinced that the current period is one in which non-government agencies must build their influence and leverage along the lines indicated above.

Whilst the private business sector has great responsibility in this area and is currently spending some US\$2 000m on non-formal education and training, the task of developing leverage for change will require funds and resources beyond the capacity of industry and commerce in SA to mobilise, particularly in the sluggish economy prevailing at present.

Therefore, it is imperative that the outside world provide well-targeted assistance in the task which lies ahead. Given the scope of the challenge and the fact that inputs from abroad have to be seen by government as a gesture of real substance if it is to respond positively, such initiatives from abroad must speak substantially in rand terms.

Projects and programmes are continually being identified which not only address development needs in the country but also establish a platform for fundamental change. These include:

- ☐ Non-racial housing developments;

communities and the private sector will provide both with increased leverage on a government which hesitantly recognises the fundamental fact that no constructive solutions to SA's problems can be achieved which do not enjoy the support and participation of black communities.

What I have pleaded for above would be tantamount to a reversal of a great deal of impetus in attitudes to change in SA in your country. I fully realise, therefore, what courage it will take to fly in the face of what is currently seen to be politically rewarding even if they comprise facile and unworkable "solutions".

The situation which has to be changed in SA is so deeply embedded and historically reinforced that no success will be achieved by your country or any other outside power unless the institutions and processes which can achieve change inside the country are strengthened. My suggestions are aimed at achieving precisely this.

The people of the US can make a significant contribution through actions — which, whilst politically challenging in the short-term can, in the longer-term, avoid the "Greek tragedy" unfolding, with all the appalling consequences of human and economic devastation in Southern Africa.

Only thus can the flame of hope remain burning in our part of the world.

'Group are as must go'

HP 945 6/2/87

3044

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Parliamentary Staff.

MR Wynand Malan, independent MP for Randburg who recently broke away from the National Party, has warned that a political approach equating group with race could spell "confrontation and disaster".

He told Parliament yesterday that the Group Areas Act was discriminatory and had to go.

He also criticised the Government's handling of the emergency on the grounds that security forces were being frustrated by inadequate political leadership.

Mr Malan was repudiated on some points by the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Speaking in the House of Assembly's no-confidence debate yesterday, Mr Malan said the National Party had previously had "an open-ended approach" to the concept of "own com-

munities' as embodied in the Group Areas Act.

Lately, however, that open-endedness "came to nought". There was a new insistence demanding that "you have to subscribe fully to the underlying principle of group being defined by law as race".

Impossible

"When that open-end became closed, it became impossible for me to stand in this election on the platform of the NP," Mr Malan said.

"I could in no way defend the principle underlying the Act. My conscience would not allow me to do so."

On security action, Mr Malan said the rejection of violence did not mean that the politics underlying violence could be ignored by locking people up or taking tougher security measures.

Such action would increase and feed the revolutionary climate.

Arbitrary action such as the arrest of people who were already negotiating with the Government was counter-productive.



Mr Wynand Malan



Dr Gerrit Viljoen

The blame did not lie with the security forces, but with "political leadership which does not have an aim or a strategy". There was no framework within which the security forces could act.

Frustrates

"I believe this also frustrates members of the security forces. It contributes to further destabilisation of the total environment."

The security forces expected a clear political direction.

The Progressive Federal Party, on the other hand, put so much emphasis on the rule of law that they created the impression they were "soft on security matters" and that they saw too much good in radicalism.

He believed the key to the future lay in security management and in negotiation. Negotiation had to be distinguished from consultation.

"You cannot come to negotiation with non-negotiables. That goes for everybody who wishes to negotiate."

Speaking immediately after Mr Malan, Dr Gerrit Viljoen said Mr Malan's argument about security and political leadership was not in line with the Government's declared approach.

The emergency was intended to make negotiation possible.

On the issue of "non-negotiables", Dr Viljoen said the President had made it clear that negotiation implied "give and take" and "an open agenda". However, it did not mean abandoning principles.

6 to February 12, 1987

both Mail 6-12/2/87

NEITHER a black head of state nor a government in which blacks predominate are in themselves a threat to Afrikaner survival, according to the Broederbond.

But, according to a Broederbond working document, this only applies on one condition — that the broader system of government should be structured to prevent the domination of one racial group.

The working document, headed "Strictly Confidential", was used by the Herstigte Nasionale Party's only MP, Louis Stofberg, in the parliamentary no-confidence debate this week to attack the National Party.

It was drawn up to identify the essential conditions for Afrikaner survival and therefore — in the view of its drafters — white survival.

It was undated, but it seems to have been drawn up in the past year.

The authenticity of the document was later confirmed by Professor J P de Lange, chairman of the Broederbond. He stressed, however, that it was a working document rather than a constitutional blueprint.

The Broeder document and black leadership

By PATRICK LAURENCE

Almost exactly a year ago foreign minister Pik Botha was reprimanded by President PW Botha for telling foreign newsmen South Africa could have a black president.

Questioned again about his remarks, Pik Botha replied that he had not discussed the issue of a black president with the cabinet at the time and that he accepted the president's right to discipline him.

PW Botha — or Broeder 4487 — is presumably aware of the working document. His response to its acceptance of the possibility of a black president is that is an African — president is unknown.

According to Stofberg, the document acknowledged that a new constitutional dispensation would not

work unless it was endorsed by the African National Congress.

The document does not specifically mention the ANC. It does, however, stress the importance of securing the widest possible endorsement of the new constitution, particularly by the "power groups" who, through their non-participation or exclusion, can cause it to fail.

A point in the document which could prove embarrassing to the government in the coming election campaign is its statement that "grey" or racially open residential areas are "essential to the survival of Afrikanedom."

The government has adopted a hard line against calls for abolition of the Group Areas Act, a position not recommended by the Broederbond. There is overlapping membership

between the government and the Broederbond, which increasingly functions as a kind of think-tank trying to anticipate future problems and to devise strategies to avoid or overcome them.

One of its related roles is to prepare rank-and-file Afrikaners for the changes it believes have to come.

It has been largely purged of ultra-rightists loyal to the conservative party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The ultra-right sees its role as conditioning Afrikaners for appeasement and surrender to "leftist" forces.

DeLange last year resigned as rector of Rand Afrikaans University to devote his talents to searching for a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

Shortly before he had talks in New York with two top members of the ANC in spite of earlier denials that a meeting between Broederbond leaders and the ANC was pending.

PW row: Vandals damage four banks

ARGUS 6/2/87

30 x A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The unfounded allegations made by the State President against Barclays Bank had now resulted "in physical damage" to the bank in the form of graffiti sprayed on four branches, said the bank's managing director, Mr Chris Ball, today.

He said anti-African National Congress (ANC) slogans had been painted on the outside of a branch in Herbertsdale in the Eastern Cape and three in Pretoria.

This follows claims in Parliament that Mr Ball had been involved in the funding of advertisements recently calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

Mr Ball said today: "The action of the State President has actually caused physical damage to the bank, apart from the effects it could have on business."

Mr Ball said he had no further comment to make on the issue and referred to a statement by the chairman of the bank, Mr Basil Hersov, last night.

Yesterday President P W Botha announced the appointment of the Judge-President of the Cape, Mr Justice George Munnik, to a commission to investigate the funding of advertisements.

Mr Botha said in Parliament yesterday the commission would have to find out whether Mr Ball was involved in the funding.

In his statement Mr Hersov said that neither Mr Ball nor the bank were asked to provide, or agreed to provide, finance for the advertisements.

Normal procedure

"At the time that a client requested our banking branch to issue a bank cheque for R100 000 in favour of an attorney, neither our staff nor the bank was informed of the purpose of this perfectly normal banking transaction, nor did they know its purpose."

"We have since been able to identify the transaction with the co-operation of the client, who has a banking relationship with us and who has consented to us releasing the information," said Mr Hersov.

The United Democratic Front, which has already stated that it paid for the advertisements, said today the Government was trying to run South Africa on often-incorrect information supplied by the security police and intelligence service.

Sources

The UDF was referring to the President's statement that he had obtained information from a top intelligence official linking Mr Ball to the financing of the ANC advertisements.

The slogans, in red spray-paint on the windows and outside walls of the Barclays main branch at Church Square, Sunnyside and Foyntons Building, include: "Bank of the ANC", "Remember May 20 — It can happen to you" and an uncompleted slogan "ANC Mr Chris Ba...".

A spokesman said Barclays "regretted" that the banks had been defaced.

"We regret damage to property, especially in the light of Mr Ball's repeated denials that he knew of the advertisements before they appeared."

Instructions had been issued to get the buildings cleaned up as soon as possible.



Mr Justice Munnik

PREMIER GROUP chairman Tony Bloom says he is "not the slightest bit disturbed" by President P W Botha's references to him in Parliament.

Botha said on Wednesday Bloom and other businessmen who had held meetings with the ANC were being used by the organisation.

"I continue to hold the view that negotiations with credible black leaders should be started as soon as

Bloom unruffled by Botha's remarks

possible, and this means leaders that blacks regard as credible, not those handpicked by Botha," says Bloom.

"This will inevitably involve the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela, both crucial components of any attempt to find a just and peaceful solution for SA."

Bloom adds that while they are not the only components, no solution will be found without their participation.

"It is only a matter of when, and not if, white SA talks to the ANC. The choice is between doing so over the barrel of a gun or around a negotiat-

ing table. I continue to support the latter option," he says.

The ad hoc group of white organisations opposed to apartheid, referred to by Botha, says there will be no peace and justice in SA as long as the National Party remains in power. A spokesman for the group says:

"The trouble with the State President is that he is not prepared to tolerate an opposition. He should not be wasting Parliament's time when he has so much to answer for."

"We are astounded that the State President has to get his information from Lusaka about a small group of South Africans who are deeply anxious about the future of their country." — Sapa.

BUSINESS

APARTHEID BAROMETER

EMERGENCY DETENTIONS

Today is the 240th day of the current State of Emergency. It is believed that several hundred of those detained on June 12 when the Emergency was declared are still being held. The government has not released the number or names of all those detained under the Emergency regulations. According to the latest Detainees' Parents Support Committee report, at least 25 000 people had been detained under the regulations by the end of last year. They stressed that this was a conservative estimate.

GOVERNMENT ALLOCATIONS TO "INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS"

According to the SA Institute of Race Relations 1985 Survey, the following amounts were allocated to the "independent homelands" for the 1985/6 financial year:

Transkei: R722,2-m; Ciskei: R325,1-m; Venda: R227,2-m. The figures for Bophuthatswana were not available. During the previous financial year the following amounts were given in payments to the "independent homelands": Bophuthatswana: R358,5-m; Ciskei: R341,8-m; Transkei: R530,6-m and Venda: R165,8-m.

If the Bophuthatswana allocation for 1985/6 was comparable to that for the previous year then the total central government allocation to the "independent homelands" was over R1,6-billion. A total of R1,362-bn was granted in budgetary assistance to the "non-independent homelands" in the 1985/6 financial year, according to the SAIRR. This includes allocations for administrative and technical assistance and project aid. Nearly half of this sum went to KwaZulu, which received R617-m from the central government.

"HOMELAND" DEFENCE, POLICE AND PRISONS

The four "independent homelands" budgetted a total of R201,2-m for defence, police, justice and prisons for the 1985/6 financial year — 7,05 percent of their combined budgets of R2,84-m.

The amounts were allocated as follows: Bophuthatswana: police R33-m, justice R4,995-m, defence R18,3-m, prisons R6,65-m (6,35 percent); Transkei: police R263,4-m, defence R20,277-m, justice R12-m, prisons R14,1-m (7,3 percent); Venda: police R8,4-m, defence R10-m, national intelligence R0,6-m, justice R2,2-m, prisons R1,8-m (8,44 percent); Ciskei: defence R9-m, justice R32,7-m (7,03 percent) (no separate police and prisons votes in Ciskei).

In the "non-independent homelands" a total of R29,7-m was budgetted for police last year and R22-m for justice. In both these areas KwaZulu was the biggest spender, devoting R11-m to police and R7,7-m to justice.

BLACK MANAGERS

According to the latest government population analysis about four percent of all managers and administrators in South Africa are African. Of the 256 000 South Africans listed as managers or administrators 10 802 are defined as black (African). Over 60 percent of South Africa's workforce and over 72 percent of South Africa's total population is African.

"HOMELAND" HANGINGS

According to the SAIRR during 1985 two people were executed by hanging in the Ciskei and 25 in the Transkei. Between 1980 and 1985 seven people were hanged in Venda. In the rest of South Africa 137 people were hanged last year of whom 132 were black (35 classified coloured and 96 African) and five were white.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

IVY CIKISWA GCINA, 50, Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation president, was detained on June 12 last year — hours before the State of Emergency was declared — and is still being held under the Emergency regulations.

Gcina, who has worked for many years as a school cleaner, first became involved during the ANC campaigns of the 1950s. When community organisation was revived in Port Elizabeth in the late 70s Gcina joined the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco). In 1983 she played a central role in the revival of women's organisations in the Eastern Cape and the following year was elected president of PE Women's Organisation.

She has also served on the Eastern Cape UDF general council.

In July 1985, when the first Emergency was declared, Gcina was detained and held without trial for over four months. In an affidavit presented to court during the Wendy Orr application, she said that on July 30, 1985, she was severely assaulted by police at Port Elizabeth's Louis le Grange Square. She also said police deliberately sprayed teargas in her face while she was in detention and threatened to shoot her children unless she co-operated with them.

Gcina, who has four children, has been the victim of several suspected "right wing" attacks over the last three years. She was detained at her home at midnight on June 12.

Her case has been taken up by Amnesty International who have conducted a letter-writing campaign to the State President on her behalf.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS
The Advocate January 20 1987, issue 464 (Liberation Publications Inc, Los Angeles); South Africa: Britain out of apartheid, Apartheid out of Britain (Carol Berckley, Terry O'Halloran, David Reed); Southscan: A bulletin of Southern African Affairs No 13, 9 December 1986 (Southscan, London); Sunday Sport December 28 1986 and Sunday Sport January 4 1987 (Sunday Sport, London); Saspu National Vol 7 No 4 Nov/December (Saspu National, Braamfontein, Johannesburg); Free Azania ... Focus on ... alternative education, November 1986 and Free Azania Focus on Mozambique (Free Azania, Southfield); Socialist Worker Nos 1016 - 1018 December 6 - 20 1986 (Socialist Worker, London); South African Metal Worker Vol 1 No 7 Nov/Dec 1986 (SA Council of the International Metal Workers Federation, Point); Revolutionary Worker No 386 Vol 8 No 34 (RCP Publications, Sheffield, Chicago) and The Theology of Promise: The Dynamics of self-reliance (C S Banana).
Unbanned:
The South African Treason Trial (Solly Sachs and Lionel Forman); The New Politics of Human Rights (James Avery Joyce); Political Prisoners in Rhodesia, 1979 (International Defence and Aid Fund); Sexual Options for Paraplegics and Quadraplegics (TM Cole, MD and R A Chitgren - unbanned for possession but still banned for distribution); Bunny Girl Vol 3 No 6 October 1986 (Republican Press, Mobeni); Sex and Fun Vol 1519 and Prank No 128 (both Sonskyn Uitgewers (Pty) Ltd, Jeppe).

SA's elderly a prime election target for govt

SA'S ageing population was a prime government election target, PFP home affairs spokesman Reuben Sive said yesterday.

Central Statistical Services figures show there are more than 550 000 whites in the over-60 category, a large percentage of them pensioners.

It could be expected, therefore, Sive said, that this large block of

8/Day 6/2/87 304A
Own Correspondent

voters would be softened up with concessions — probably to be announced by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in his mini-budget speech on Monday.

Other prime targets on government's wooing list were the 400 000 white public sector workers and the large farming community.

Public sector workers would get substantial pay hikes to eliminate the widespread dissatisfaction in the service.

The farming community — a large percentage of them struggling to survive after four drought years — were likely to get generous aid based on recommendations from the Economic Advisory Councils' investigation into the rehabilitation of the industry.

Pres Botha under fire

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, was yesterday slammed by various organisations for claiming in Parliament that the managing director of Barclays Bank, Mr Chris Ball, paid for the ANC advertisements in most English newspapers.

The advert appeared last month.

The organisations, which include the United Democratic Front, the South African Council of Churches and the National Education Crisis Committee have denied Mr Botha's claim.

The advertisements were issued on behalf of the UDF, SACC, NECC and by some of the 15 organisations who were listed as supporting the 75th anniversary of the ANC.

Statement

In a statement to the *Sowetan*, Mr Ball said: "You are wrong Mr State President. I had no knowledge of the advertisement until I read it in the morning newspapers in my office on the first day of publication which if I am not mistaken, was Thursday, January 8, 1987.

"It is a matter of comment that the State President has referred to this issue under the privileges of the protection of Parliament, and I respectfully request him to repeat the statement outside Parliament," Mr Ball said.

SOWETAN Reporter

The UDF denied that Mr Ball paid for the advertisements, adding: "The cost of the advertisements was shared by the three organisations who issued them and by

some of the 15 organisations who were listed as supporting it."

It said the payment was made by a Barclays Bank guaranteed cheque.

Mr Krish Naidoo, the attorney who placed the advertisements, told the *Sowetan* yesterday that the advertisement cost R100 000.

"The money was paid through a bank guaranteed cheque because the amount was huge," he said.

Cape Times 6/2/87

De Klerk pleads for patience

304A

Political Staff

TWO senior cabinet ministers yesterday entered the debate on the lack of reform raging on the party's left in an effort to stem the tide of disaffection among Afrikaner intelligentsia.

Speaking in the no-confidence debate in Parliament, the National Education Minister and Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, and Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, pledged that reform was not dead and pleaded with restless Nationalists to have more patience with the slow pace of change.

Mr De Klerk, in what even opposition MPs agreed was a brilliant political speech, said the election was an important part of government's reform programme. Government would be asking an amended mandate to solve the problem of the political accommodation for black communities.

'Enthusiastic reformists'

He said it was a misrepresentation that reform has come to a halt. Government wanted the status quo to be changed fundamentally.

He said there were allegations that there were 20 to 40 "New Nats" in the NP caucus, but he wanted to state it as fact that the whole caucus were "enthusiastic reformists".

Among reasons he cited for the slowing down of reform were the difficulties with identifying black leaders and the slow process of building up trust.

□ Mr De Klerk has clearly moved ahead in the "leadership stakes". His forceful performance overshadowed that of his nearest rival to succeed Mr P W Botha as President, Mr Chris Heunis, the Cape leader.

Mr Botha resigned as Cape leader last year and there have been persistent suggestions since then that this was a prelude to his retiring altogether some time next year.

inquiry should also probe President's information source, argues PFP

It is PW on trial, says Soa

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town
The Commission of Inquiry into the Chris Ball affair should also have been asked to look into where President Botha got his information from, the Progressive Federal Party said today.

PFP spokesman on finance Mr Harry Schwarz, who urged Mr Botha to appoint a judicial inquiry immediately after the President made his allegations about Mr Ball, said he was not all very happy with the commission's terms of reference.

The PFP spokesman on information, Mr Peter Soal, said it was to be hoped that the commission would report as soon as possible before the election — because it was the President who was on trial, not Mr Ball.

President Botha has appointed the Judge-President of the Cape, Mr Justice Munnik, as chairman and only member of the commission. It will investigate the funding of pro-ANC advertisements published in newspapers last month, and whether Barclays Bank chief executive Mr Ball was in any way involved.

Mr Botha outraged the political and business world when he announced in Parliament on Wednesday that it was being said in radical circles that Mr Ball had made R150 000 available for the advertisements.

Mr Ball denies this, and has challenged Mr Botha to repeat the allegation outside Parliament.

Barclays chairman Mr Basil Hersov issued a statement last night: "The chairman and members of the board of directors of the bank who are available consider it to be in the commercial interests of the bank to make the following statement to our customers and shareholders:

Reacting to Mr Botha's statement in Parliament yesterday that the Press curbs would be "lifted tomorrow" if the Press accepted the guidelines, Mr Tyson said:

"The Star's view is well known and has been outlined several times before: the Government cannot expect The Star to connive with it to suppress news of which the Government does not approve."

Government sources today said "the ball is now in the newspaper's court" following Mr Botha's statements, but Mr Ken Owen, editor of *Business Day*, said newspaper editors could not be expected to "censor themselves".

"I believe that if the Government wishes to censor the news it must do so itself. Newspaper editors cannot be expected to censor themselves in terms of guidelines which lack the force of law," said Mr Owen.

Mr Tony Heard, editor of the *Cape Times*, said: "Guidelines mean self-censorship."

"If the established South African Press connives at the destruction of the alternative Press — which is the clear object of the State President's statement — it would destroy what remains of the credibility of the established Press," he said.

"Guidelines mean self-censorship, and there is enough of that already."

Government sources today said the guidelines and curbs were "not exactly the same".

Editors reject PW's offer of 'guidelines' for Press

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

Co-operation

"Neither Chris Ball nor the bank had any knowledge of the advertisement referred to by the State President prior to its appearance in the media. Neither he nor the bank were asked to provide, or agree to provide, finance for the purpose."

"At the time that a client requested our one banking branch, to issue a bank cheque for R100 000 in favour of an attorney, neither our staff nor the bank was informed of the purpose of this perfectly normal banking transaction."

"We have been able to identify the transaction with the co-operation of the client concerned, who has a banking relationship with us and who has consented to our releasing the information."

Mr Schwarz said. "What was the information he (Mr Botha) received which justified his action, because it is very serious when the State President makes an allegation which has an impact on the whole country."

Government restrictions

In terms of the State of Emergency regulations, news, pictures and comment in this newspaper are restricted. The Star will continue to make every effort to provide proper and full coverage. Where it fails, readers will be told.

welcome relief after a heatwave with temperatures reaching 40 deg C on Wednesday

ers have described the fight as a gross mismatch: in 1983 Volbrecht lost a chance for a crack

ed at Sun City for tomorrow's tournament which involves two international bouts
around 48 US cents by banks this morning, who added that they were watching the gold price carefully

SPEAK OUT!

Soccer the world over stirs great passion — and the man in the middle is the referee. Last weekend's incident involving Colin Knott illustrated how often referees risk abuse, even serious injury. What do you think should be done to improve soccer security? Let us know your views in Speak Out!

Routine job turns into a nightmare

CAPE TOWN — An emergency worker who came into contact with the blood of an AIDS virus carrier has described how a routine rescue operation turned into torment.

Sergeant Arnold Liebenberg, who helped recover the body of Mr Wally Banks from Chapman's Peak recently, said he was unable to kiss his wife after being told the victim had been an acquired immune deficiency syndrome carrier.

His wife, Ethne, said: "I put my foot down when he said that he had been infected by a doctor not to be

By Joe Openshaw

South Africa is becoming the dumping ground for foreign maladies with racing pigeons and trout the fastest victims of imported diseases.

Pigeon racing has been severely disrupted and the sale and transportation of trout has been restricted.

Paramyxovirus is the name of the pigeon malady which is relat-

Imported maladies hit trout and pigeons

fishpond" which kills off small fry but spares adult fish

Although infected adult trout do not die, they become carriers and only slaughtered trout can be transported from affected areas.

hatcheries and dams in Lydenburg are plagued with IPN, with the exception of the De Kullen Fisheries Institute hatchery.

There is no cure for IPN and steps against it involve getting rid of trout stock, draining

The pigeon virus was from the Middle East, said Dr H N van der Made of the Veterinary Faculty of Pretoria University at Onderstepoort.

"It originated in Iran in 1965 and spread to Israel, Malta and Italy and across Europe to England. It has also spread to Japan and America."

Infected pigeons, he says, display nervous

THE

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WEEKLY MAIL

VOLUME 3, Number 5 FRIDAY FEBRUARY 6 to THURSDAY FEBRUARY 12, 1987

THE PAPER FOR A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

Rising dissent at the party 'nursery'

Now PW faces a Matie rebellion

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

A LARGE grouping of Afrikaner academics at Stellenbosch University — long the intellectual headquarters of Afrikanerdom — is on the verge of breaking away from the National Party establishment in disgust with the party leadership.

A widespread dissident movement is gathering momentum on the campus in sympathy with a statement last week by three *verligte* academics.

Indications are that it could turn into a large-scale revolt in the next two weeks, with traditionally Nationalist academics withholding their support from the party.

The three dissenters — Professor Willie Esterhuyse (philosophy), Professor Julius Jeppe (development administration) and Professor Sampie Terreblanche (economics) — have supported the candidature of independents such as Wynand Malan and Denis Worrall in the forthcoming election.

All three have been closely associated with the National Party establishment and have supported the "reform" moves of the Botha

The key election issues: Ulundi or "Lusaka"
PAGE 6

government including a "yes" vote in the 1983 referendum.

Terreblanche said this week that the movement was not restricted to five or six academics but that there was general and widespread disenchantment on the campus with the government's direction.

Three of the main issues causing unhappiness are the Group Areas Act, public humiliation of Allan Hendrickse and the government's rejection of the kwaNatal Indaba.

At this stage it has not been decided whether or not to put up an independent candidate in Stellenbosch against the government. The dissidents are hoping they can still change the tone and direction of Botha's election campaign by showing there is a large grouping on the Left of the party which can no longer be taken for granted.

The editor of *Rapport*, Wimpie de Klerk, estimated last Sunday that some 22 percent of National Party supporters were on the Left of the debate and could consider withholding their vote on May 6.

The three Stellenbosch academics were involved in an angry war of words in the Afrikaans press in 1982 with a group of more leftwing academics at Stellenbosch known as

•To PAGE 2

This newspaper has been restricted in accordance with the Emergency regulations as they stood on the night of February 5.



Maties set for revolt

•From PAGE 16-12/2

the *oorbeligtes* — the "over-enlightened". Professor Johan Degenaar of the Department of Political Philosophy accused the *verligtes* of being a stumbling block to change because their support for the government lent credibility to cosmetic reform.

Jeppe said this week that the *oorbeligtes* could have been right.

Esterhuyse said his support for the government was conditional on what happened in the next two weeks. "When I have to make the choice between a party which I have always supported and my academic credibility, I have no option. I stand by my academic credibility."

"We as the so-called *verligtes* have always given critical support to the National Party but in the present situation there is very little to justify this."

the pouring rain, hundreds of refugees flee across the border to SA

Homelessness in South Africa seems able to living in fear in the Ciskei

Madache Last year in government trucks and families from dumped them at the beyond the South car, a small group of cted from their farm uth African soldiers from dumping them e small hours of ning, a group of about their Potsdam home ne to walk the 12km uth African border and children trudged kirts of Mdantsane to ndon/King William's

PW's source on ANC 'plot' is detained

By PAT SIOLEY
THE man named by President PW Botha as the source of information on how the African National Congress is "manipulating" white opposition movements is presently in detention. Ismael Ibrahim, described by Botha as a "top intelligence officer in the ANC", is being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. A report allegedly written by Ibrahim under the pen name "Mzwandile" was quoted by Botha in parliament this week, giving extensive details of developments in organisations such as the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac). Lawyers in Durban acting for Ibrahim told the *Weekly Mail* this week their client had been captured in Swaziland during one of the South African raids last December and was being detained, they believed, in Pretoria.

•To PAGE 2

Highway to nowhere: Refugees sit in the damp at the side of a South African road. Picture: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afpix

to death, a refugee said. "They demand poll tax of R10, but if you don't pay, the fine is R50. But many of us do not have money, we don't have jobs. So how can we pay R50? The other thing is that Transkei citizens are not allowed to be in Ciskei."

The police were arresting people for damage done to the schools a long time ago. "They promised to kill everyone here, because they say we are stubborn because we don't follow the Ciskei government. They had raids in the early morning, and late at night, every day."

"We couldn't manage to stay like that." He said they had come to seek protection and assistance from the South African government. "We want a place to stay, and we want the South African government to escort us to our homes to fetch our things."

Another member of the group: "We are not fighting, we are clean people. We are not against the Ciskei government, but they're ill-treating us."

Asked to comment on the situation, •To PAGE 2

The two issues: Inkatha and ANC

PATRICK LAURENCE on the key election issues

THE Indaba, with its proposals for non-racial government for Natal and KwaZulu, has crystallised as a key issue in the May 6 general election for whites.

So, too, has the question about whether there should be negotiations with the outlawed African National Congress and, if so, on what conditions.

White elections in the past have been dominated by debate over what policies the white community should adopt toward the black majority.

The present election is no exception. Relations with Inkatha and the ANC have emerged as core issues in the election.

Inkatha was, of course, a major participant in the Indaba. Its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was the driving force behind the idea of joint non-racial government for KwaZulu and Natal. Its secretary general, Oscar Dhlomo, was a co-convenor of the Indaba conference.

It was hardly accidental that the outgoing ambassador to Britain, Denis Worrall, was identified as an "Indaba candidate" soon after the news broke of his decision to quit and return to South Africa to stand against the National Party.

Equally significantly, Worrall is tipped to stand against either the NP's Natal leader, Stoffel Botha, or its Cape leader and Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Chris Heunis.

Botha was the man who rejected the Indaba proposals for a non-racial legislature for Natal and KwaZulu based on universal adult suffrage because, he said, they did not protect minority rights adequately.

His rejection came within days of the publication late last year of the broad outline of the proposals. Faced with a chorus of criticism in Natal, Botha backed away, explaining that he was speaking for the Natal NP but not the government *per se*.

By then, however, he had been identified as an anti-Indaba man — despite his protestations that he was not opposed to the Indaba *in toto*, only to some of its conclusions. His anti-Indaba profile was confirmed when he repeated his criticisms in parliament.

The defeat of Botha in Port Natal by the pro-Indaba Worrall would clearly be a major blow to the NP. So, too, would be the defeat of Heunis in the Cape seat of Helderberg.

When the final Indaba report was handed to Heunis last month he maintained a judicious silence, declining to comment until he had studied it in detail.

But Heunis has now broken his silence, declaring in the no-confidence debate: "The proposals do not provide for effective power-sharing and do not offer sufficient guarantees to groups against domination."

Heunis, the man charged by President PW Botha with responsibility for negotiating a new constitutional deal with blacks, denied



Voters queue to register at the NP tables in the PFP stronghold of Yeoville

Picture: AFP

that he was anti-Indaba. "I believe the Indaba proposals must continue," he said. "I see the Indaba proposals as a start, not as an end in themselves."

But Heunis has been tagged as an anti-Indaba man. He will thus be an ideal target — and a coveted scalp — for a pro-Indaba candidate.

In his opening address to parliament last week, PW Botha left no doubt about his opposition to the Indaba proposals. He prefaced his remarks on the Indaba with a rejection of "so-called one man-one vote, non-racial democracy", declaring that it was unsuited to South Africa and would not lead to a just society.

Of the Indaba proper, Botha stressed that constitutional agreements "at every level of government" must provide for the protection of minority groups and their right to self

determination. Significantly, Stoffel Botha used the same language when he rejected the Indaba proposals.

Commenting on PW Botha's speech, PFP leader Colin Eglin said: "While he endorsed the concept of negotiation, he rejected the non-racial philosophy which is at the heart of the Indaba proposals. Irrespective of what the people of KwaZulu and Natal may want, the government will only allow them to have a future on the basis of National Party principles."

The most important of these is group representation on the basis of race, with — judging from the tri-racial parliament — built-in control for whites.

The Indaba apart, another issue is the question of negotiations with the ANC. The NP, fearful of its ultra-right foes in the Conservative and

Herstigte Nasionale parties, has adopted a tough anti-ANC line.

PW Botha set two conditions for talks with the ANC in his opening address: it must renounce violence and it must sever ties with the South African Communist Party.

Addressing foreign correspondents in Cape Town, Foreign Minister Pik Botha made it clear the government would adopt a strong anti-ANC stance in the election campaign.

Lambasting the ANC for its violence and accusing it of wanting to seize power, he insisted that its *de facto* leader is "a real white man", Joe Slovo of the SACP.

"He has received two or three awards from Moscow," Botha said. "He is — or was — a colonel in the KGB."

NP leaders have signalled their determination to crush dissent on the ANC from the party's *verligtes*.

Wynand Malan, the Nat MP who resigned from the NP in protest against President Botha's defence of the Group Areas Act, specifically called for talks with the political — as distinct from the armed — wing of the ANC. He thus implicitly recognised that talks could take place even without a formal renunciation of armed struggle by the ANC.

But another NP rebel, Albert Nothnagel, was rounded on for deviating from the party line by declaring that it was a myth to think there could be a lasting political settlement in South Africa without the ANC and without the release from jail of its leader, Nelson Mandela.

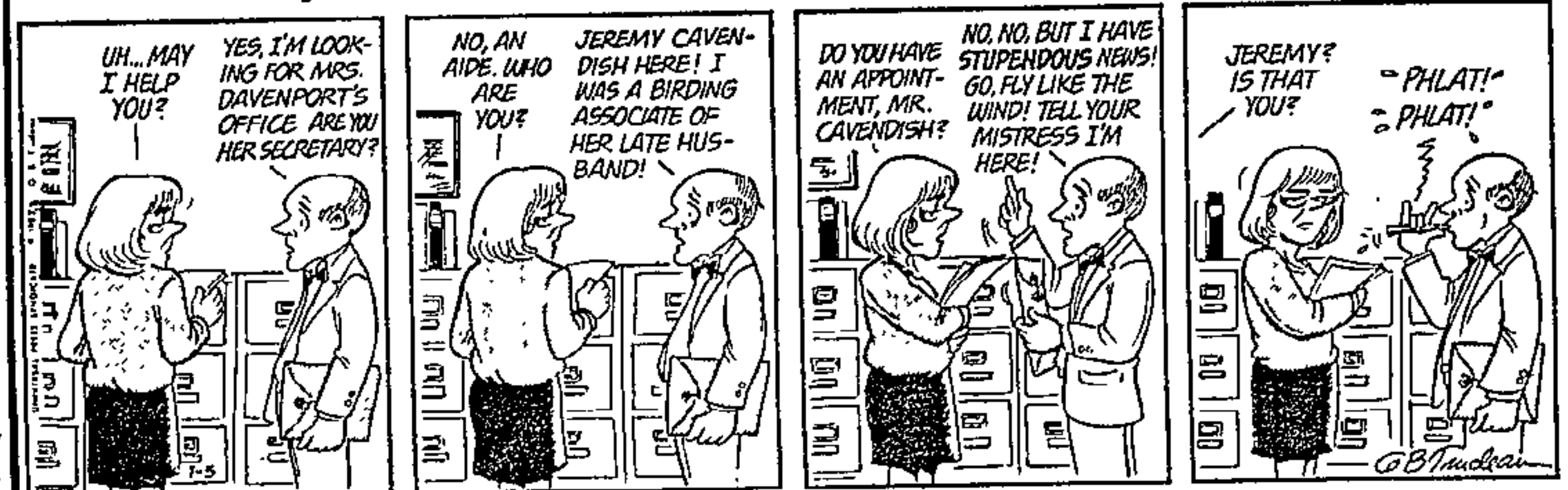
Faced with threatened expulsion from the party, Nothnagel, who represents the conservative Pretoria constituency of Innesdal, crumbled, recanting in writing (even though a secret Broederbond working document made essentially the same point last year as the humble rebel Nat MP).

The NP Transvaal leader, FW de Klerk, released the full text of his letter for publication. The headline in the Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Burger*, read: "Nothnagel submits." Worrall can expect a tough fight when he returns home.

Pik Botha meanwhile has given a taste of the verbal onslaught to come. He charged the PFP — which the Nats say stands for "packing for Perth" — with wanting to talk to the ANC so that they can surrender the country to them, "the sooner the better".

Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU



DB 7/2/87

Indaba director: Heunis erred

DB 304A

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal Indaba director Prof Dawis van Wyk has expressed "dismay" at what he terms Mr Chris Heunis' latest attack "on a serious constitutional initiative which has captured the imagination both locally and internationally."

The attack, Prof Van Wyk says, was made by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning on SABC television last night.

"The indaba has no wish to enter the party political arena, least of all in the current election campaign.

"However, at least six points raised by Mr Heunis were so grossly inaccurate and misleading that I am forced to respond," he said.

Prof Van Wyk said the Natal Agricultural union did not alter its status as an indaba delegation, as Mr Heunis had said. The indaba was not drawn into the political arena by other parties, as claimed by Mr Heunis.

They were at pains to prevent this happening, and it was the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who had first made the indaba a political issue. — Sapa



Raymond Ackerman



Harry Schwarz



Chris Ball



President Botha

Cont'd
THE CRITICS

AND THE

PRESIDENT

President draws angry reaction

BUSINESS RALLIES BEHIND BALL

6/14 ARS

7/2/87

3040

Weekend Argus Reporters

PRESIDENT P W Botha's attack on Mr Chris Ball is drawing a growing outcry from big business which is rallying in defence of Barclays Bank and its managing director.

Leading businessmen have started adding voices of protest to those of the opposition against Mr Botha's recourse to unnamed "radical" circles in accusing Mr Ball from the protection of Parliament of advancing R150 000 for a pro-ANC advertising campaign.

In spite of Mr Botha's appointment of a commission to investigate the circumstances surrounding the publication of the advertisements, and in spite of Mr Ball denying that he paid for the advertisements, the accusations have already resulted in acts of vandalism against Barclays Bank and threats by customers to close their accounts.

In political and financial circles there are fears that Mr Botha might have damaged the chances of further meetings between the Government and the private sector.

Mr Basil Hersov, Barclays chairman, said the affair had "cast a large stone into the private sector pool".

He said there was a general feeling in the business community that Mr Botha's statement had been a most unfortunate act, and that a lot of damage had been done to the bank.

Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick'n Pay, reflected the indignation of businessmen: "Once Chris Ball and Basil Hersov had said that they were not involved in funding the ANC advertisement we, the businessmen of South Africa, felt that this was an attack, not only on Mr Ball but on all of us whether we were for or against the Government."

"If we had not shown solidarity with Chris Ball it could be me, Mr Smith or Mr Jones next."

"Fight for a better SA"

Mr Ackerman pointed out that leading South African businessmen were actively trying to combat the effects of sanctions.

"This sort of attack is just what we don't need. If President Botha was given the wrong information he should apologise to the business community who are fighting for a better South Africa and fighting to keep business investment here."

"We are persuading our suppliers — people like Gillette and Kellogs — to stay here."

"We are making speeches all over the country trying to stop young people from emigrating. This sort of attack takes the ground from under us."

"Mr Botha should clear the air and quickly for we feel threatened. It must be cleared up quickly and not with a commission of enquiry."

"Most worrying thing"

The PFP's spokesman on finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, said today that every businessman in the country could feel threatened by Mr Botha's attack on Mr Ball, because it could be done "by any politician to any businessman for any political motive".

"The incident has undoubtedly had an effect on Barclays Bank business and this is the most worrying thing of all."

"We are living in a volatile community where emotions run high and public figures must be careful not to heighten those feelings and incite a response."

"The country needs a stable economy and a business community in fear of political attacks will put the economy in danger."

Weekend

Argus

7-02-87

304A

Malan — the man between the NP and the Progs

By KIN BENTLEY

WHEN Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, quit the National Party last month, he said he wanted to act as a focus for a new political movement in South Africa.

In an interview published in *Finansies & Tegniek* recently, he gave reasons for finding his existence in the NP untenable and for not crossing to the Progressive Federal Party.

His differences with the NP reflect, perhaps, a broad-based disillusionment among white voters — the so-called New Nats — with that party, while his reasons for not joining the PFP, which significantly won't oppose him in the coming election, will no doubt be seriously considered by that party.

On negotiation, Mr Malan said:

"The National Party begins the process by laying down non-negotiables. Thereby, at the outset, it indicates it does not envisage negotiation, but consultation.

"The NP wants to determine the agenda, the process and the outcome of 'negotiations'. Therein, by definition, lies failure, because it has nothing to do with negotiation. This approach says, in effect, that the NP does not want to share power, but to allot it (dit toedeel). In the SA of 1987, that is no longer possible."

Mr Malan said the PFP approached the question in terms of a national convention, which he described as a "refined form of bartered capitulation" (boedel oorgee), because the question of who would sit around the table remained.

"Will it be the black people representative of the masses? If not, then the talks cannot get off the ground, for the same reason they cannot do so now."

On the other hand, he said, if they were indeed

Can 'New Nats' hold balance of power?

representative, it would mean that a show of strength or power demonstration (magsdemonstrasie) would have preceded the conference table stage, whereby it would have been determined who would be the blacks' representatives.

If this were so, he said, the talks would simply end in confrontation or revolve around handing over power.

On the security question, Mr Malan said the basic problem he had with the NP was that it had no objective at which its whole operation was aimed.

"Such an objective can only be one South Africa with equal rights for all.

"Because the NP does not have this clear objective, its security management is not integrated with what it does in the political arena."

The PFP, on the other hand, elevated the Rule of Law to such an extent, that it did not see the need for security actions."

On the retention of own areas and communities, he said the Government was very ambivalent on the Group Areas Act. He personally felt the law inherently led to injustice and should be repealed.

But the PFP negated the influence of race, language, culture and church "on such a scale as to border on the unrealistic".

The NP spoke of watering the Act down, but insisted its followers support

the underlying principle unconditionally.

On the Separate Amenities Act: This law, he said, must go — because it was discriminatory and because experience had shown that its repeal (in some areas) had not led to an increase in racial friction.

"Our people are more adaptable and ready for change than is commonly believed," he said.

He said both the NP and the PFP wanted to force through their own solution and did not give recognition to the powers that had already been unleashed internally and externally.

● Conscious of the fact that an estimated 22% of Nationalists fall in the "New Nat" camp, the PFP has decided not to contest Mr Malan in the May 6 election, in which he will stand as an Independent.

Thus, by implication, the PFP has told its thousands of supporters in the constituency (the PFP lost very narrowly to the NP in Randburg in the last election) to vote for Mr Malan and the broad ideology for which he stands.

With the pragmatic pact between the PFP and the New Republic Party, it is feasible that during the coming election, close on 40% of white voters favouring negotiation with blacks, could return MPs with these ideas.

But it is the "New Nat" part of the equation, which Mr Malan represents, that makes him so significant.

"I was born a Nat," he said.

People like Van Zyl Slabbert and Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP Sea Point) were exceptions, because they had never been an integral part of the security-conscious Afrikaner establishment as are Mr Malan and thousands like him.

Yankee bashing!

Weekend Argus
7-22-87

CONT'D

by NEIL LURSEN, Weekend Argus
Foreign Service, WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON — Mr Pik Botha's verbal assaults on Americans may please some white voters in South Africa, but it is hard to see what he is trying to achieve in the United States.

Observers here who know Mr Botha's style had expected some Yankee-bashing from him during the election season.

Some were even looking forward to it, for they respect the Foreign Minister's oratorical skills, especially when indignant. It has given Ted Koppel's Nightline show some riveting moments.

What is surprising is that he appears to have gone beyond merely lambasting the anti-apartheid faction in Congress and to have aimed his darts at Americans in general — or so it would seem from the version of his remarks published here.

He was quoted as saying Americans could send rockets to the moon, but when it came to judging decisions on earth, they were hopeless.

□□□

If that is what he meant to say, the Foreign Minister is guilty of astonishing tactlessness. At a time when he should be trying to press on the outside world whatever justice there is in his cause, it does not help to tell millions of his potential listeners they are hopeless.

In spite of his years of experience in the United States, Mr Botha appears to have learned little about Americans.

He should know that they do not like their nation to be insulted. He should know that the whole thrust of US history has brought the nation to a point where human rights are regarded as the number one, non-negotiable priority. He should know too that Americans are essentially a fair-minded people who will listen to the other person's argument.

It would serve the South African Government better if Mr Botha could restrain his aggressive impulses and present his arguments in a quieter and more constructive manner.

He could say, for instance, that sanctions depress the economy and put people out of work, that a depressed economy makes it very difficult to afford the educational and housing needs of the hard-pressed South African populace, that blacks are not going to be given the executive jobs they need for the community to lift itself up if the jobs are not there.

He need not go much further — because these are matters that worry Americans. The US is a generous nation.

No other nation in history has given as much to the world's underprivileged. They do not want to be responsible for increasing the suffering of people already in trouble. They know from their own experience that racial discrimination is not easy to overcome.

Indeed, there have been strong indications that some of the Congressmen who voted for sanctions last year are not so sure this year.

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What Mr Botha should be doing is tell Americans: Look, we have this huge problem. We don't like racism any more than you do. But it is a tough problem to beat. We need some time, we need some understanding, and we need some help. Give us a break and don't make things more difficult than they are already.

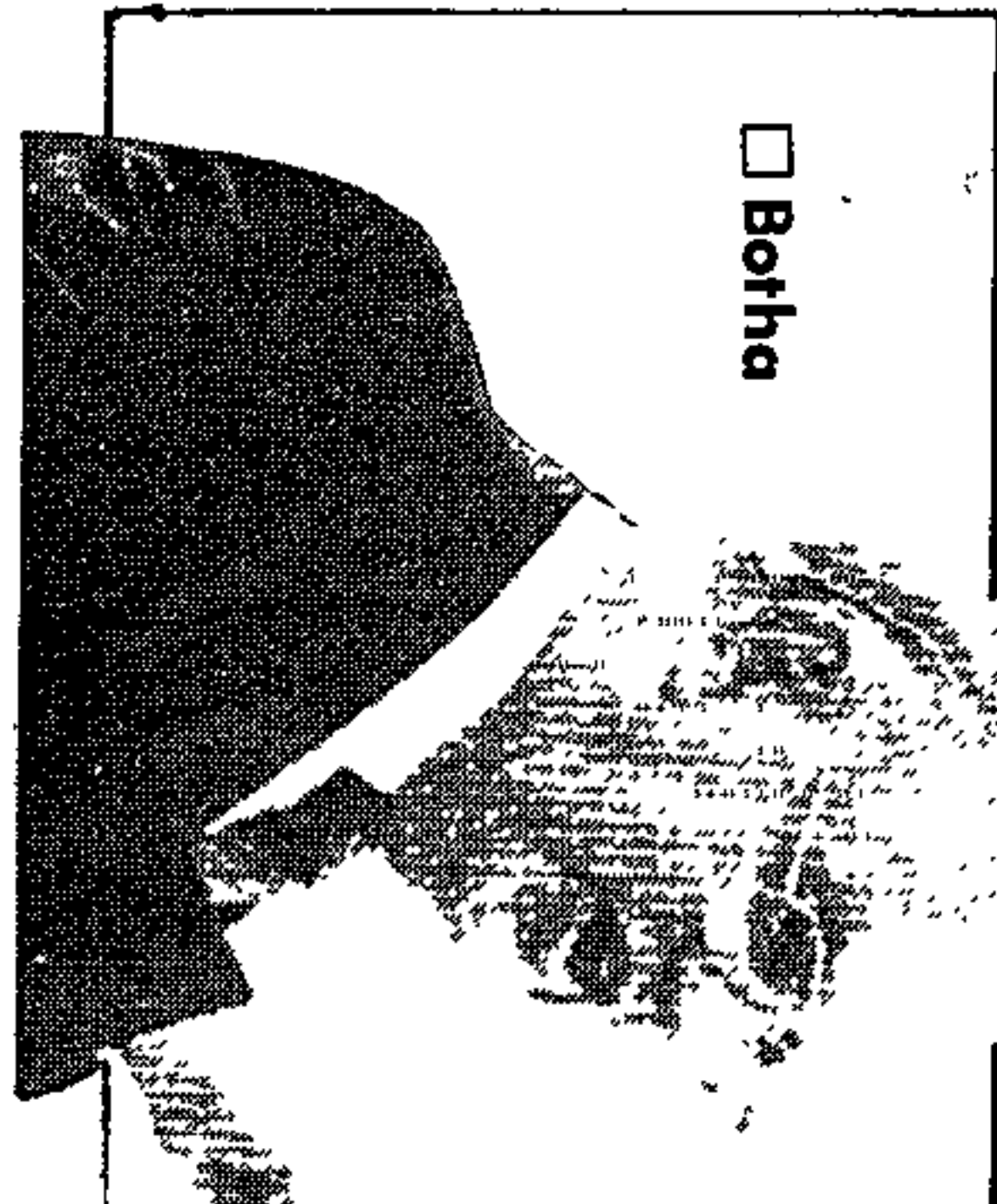
There are clearly many white South Africans who enjoy Mr Botha's David-like tussles with the Washington Goliath. It probably makes them feel good to tell Americans to go to hell. But it does South Africa no good in the end. We are depicted as wounded bullies lashing out in pathetic defiance. Nobody is impressed.

Weekend News It has worked on a large part of the white population whose history is symbolised by a laager drawn up against real or imagined adversaries.

7-02-87

PARANOIA

□ Botha



By HUGH ROBERTSON

If there is one enduring theme which has run through National Party election campaigns from 1948 to the present, it is the bogey of one or another foreign "enemy".

And although some have mocked this artfully manipulated paranoia, it has worked with knee-jerk effect on a large part of the white population whose history is symbolised by a laager drawn up against real or imagined adversaries.

In 1948, when South Africa was embarking on the fateful path of apartheid, the distraction, in Prime Minister D F Malan's words, was "om ons eie land to herwin" (to win back our own country), and the NP's resentment of South Africa's involvement in the war on the side of Britain bubbled incessantly below the surface of the campaign.

General Smuts, then Prime Minister, was portrayed as a traitor in a NP pamphlet in the Transvaal, and as a British surrogate with a secret agenda favouring British imperialism in countless speeches.

The 1953 campaign was entwined by "Russian submarines", which supposedly were

seen off the coast and were alleged to have landed weapons for "Native troublemakers". In response to this apparently fabricated "menace" (no firm evidence of submarines, or weapons, has surfaced to this day), the then Leader of the Opposition, Mr J G N Strauss, noted with precision that the NP was making South Africa into a fertile ground for communist agitation.

And 1953 was also the campaign in which Dr Malan announced that he would introduce legislation to "place the sovereignty of the South African Parliament beyond doubt" — a snipe at the Act of Union, which was seen as a "British" law and which entrenched the franchise of the coloured people who, NP speakers asserted, were being used by "liberal and foreign interests" to threaten the Afrikaner.

Much the same sort of election was fought in 1958, but by then the apartheid policy had provoked strong and pervasive international revulsion and NP speakers drew the adoration of audiences with their fiery defence of "South Africa".

By 1961 Dr Verwoerd was Prime Minister and, as a highly qualified psychiatrist, he honed paranoia into a powerful weapon when he set the tone of

the election campaign in a speech at Balfour with the resounding call: "Defend the white republic."

He added: "We need a strong government to withstand any internal organised onslaught, to counter external pressures and attacks and to let the world know that a strong government will be in power for the next five years."

And Jim Fouché, then Minister of Defence, drew ecstatic applause in Empanangeni with these words: "We are building up our defence force for the defence of the country against attacks from outside. We will fight till the blood rises to the horses' bits."

When asked who or what posed the danger, he replied: "People ask me what the dangers actually are. I say, are these people mad? Must I divulge to the world precisely how our opponents are to come?"

The 1966 campaign was the "Rhodesian election" when the NP officially enunciated a policy of "neutrality", but subtly presented Rhodesia as a vision of South Africa in extremis. "But for the grace of the God, there we could be," remarked Ben Schoeman in Pretoria. But inevitably, "British spies" at Beit Bridge (supposedly checking on petrol going to Rhodesia) and the British "naval threat" (the Royal Navy patrol off the Mozambique

Channel) were features of the campaign.

Amidst deafening applause, Dr Verwoerd announced that South African ship captains had been ordered not to stop if intercepted by the British, which they never were.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Mennen "Soapy" Williams, whose criticism of apartheid (in South Africa in NP parlance), had elicited vociferous patriotism, was a favoured target of NP speakers.

The 1970 election saw the sports boycott getting under way and the extravagant use of "foreign enemies".

Declared Prime Minister John Vorster: "South Africa would rather stand alone and isolated in the world than sacrifice its principles in the face of communist pressure." Ben Schoeman chimed in: "We are encircled by black states, many of which are enemies of South Africa. There are thousands of terrorists being trained by countries like Russia..."

And the normally quiet-spoken Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Müller, waxed sonorous: "Communists, the Black Power

movement in the US, the Afro-Asian bloc and other leftists, are not interested in ensuring that (Arthur) Ashe should be allowed to play tennis and the Maoris play rugby here. The ultimate aim of our enemies is domination at all costs."

In a letter to voters in NP constituencies, Mr Vorster declared: "We know that our strategic location and mineral wealth have made us a much sought after prize for communist rulers and their left-wing fellow travellers. Because I know what is required of any government to maintain South Africa's stability and ensure its territorial integrity, I have decided to call an election now."

"Terrorists are being better trained and are receiving more and more support," was a recurring contribution from Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger and Minister of Economic Affairs, S L Müller, noted: "We have so many enemies in the world because politically we want to find a means to secure our white future in South Africa."

The 1977 campaign was, of course, the one of which Andrew Young, then US ambassador at the UN, said: "They are not discussing the issues that affect South Africa. They frankly happen to be running a campaign against me and President Carter."

Fresh from his stint as ambassador at the UN and in the US, it was Pik Botha's election. "The purpose of the election," he said on the BBC, "is to allow the people of South Africa to opportunity to express in no uncertain terms their response to the growing international pressure being exerted on the Government."

John Wiley, then standing as a candidate of the South African Party, but described as "a Nat in drag" by his opponents, declared: "South Africa is in a battle for survival against outside pressures."

And Chris Heunis declared: "The world is trying to use economic levers to try to force changes in South Africa. But South Africa is ready for the onslaught from the outside world."

Before we all brace ourselves for the 1987 campaign, some ancient words of wisdom from the Greek philosopher Plato: "When the tyrant has disposed of foreign enemies by conquest or treaty and there is nothing to fear from them, then he is always stirring up some war or other in order that the people may require a leader."



□ Vorster

— SPECIAL —

ELECTION REPORT
by ROBERT HOUWING
Weekend Argus Reporter

HOW real is the "verligte revolt"? Analysts are cautious about its election impact and some warn it may be exaggerated.

Some academics expect the revolt will not fizzle out after the election. Others believe the Nationalist reform programme will be thrust into gear again after its relative dormancy, and this could go some way towards appeasing the rumbling minority of "New Nats" in Parliament.

Almost all endorse Rapport editor Wimpie de Klerk's assertion that the verligtes comprise about 22 percent of the Nationalist support base.

They do not expect a mass exodus from the party along the Wynand Malan option. They believe the Albert Nothnagel model will prevail — "liberal" dissenters grudgingly apologising, accepting a dressing down from the hierarchy and staying loyal.

This will also be the voter pattern in the election. When it comes to the crunch, few will put their crosses where their mouths are.

They agree there might be a substantial abstention factor in the election, with the National Party likely to suffer most through misgivings from the left and the right of its traditional support spectrum.

Anti-Nat utterances of the Louis Luyt kind will command attention from the business world but not be followed through in voting terms.

One academic dismissed the revolt as being of mere symbolic value and a puny threat to the party hierarchy.

PROFESSOR Willie Breytenbach, of the Stellenbosch Department of Africa Studies, says the revolt is a "very real and lively issue" there but appreciably less so in electorally more decisive centres like Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Potchefstroom.

"Discontent is not new in Stellenbosch. Quite a few academics here have been unhappy with the lack of direction in constitutional reform and the style of Government for some time. But many still regard themselves as Nats in that they do not propose a new policy."

For this reason disenchanted Nationalists with liberal leanings will vote for non-PFP independents or abstain.

"I do not envisage further defections from the party — the Albert Nothnagel model will prevail over the Wynand Malan 'kick in the teeth' style."

"Certainly, business and academic types will take note of the words of people like Dr Louis Luyt and those at Stellenbosch but, hypothetically, they don't represent one percent of the electorate."

"Their grievances against the National Party will not have the effect of attracting a significantly larger spectrum of voters — businessmen and academics do not control the media and don't have nearly as much opinion-making clout as the politicians themselves."

"Unfortunately for the verligte cause, they are something of a flash in the pan. There is euphoria now, but it is probably exaggerated."

"Mercifully, the election will be over in three months, then the Government can grapple with reform again. It cannot suppress the reform agenda."

The ratio of election abstentions would be relatively high for the NP — "not only from Nothnagel types, but also from conservatives."

NP

W/E ARGUS

7/2/87 (304A)



How verlig are the 'New Nats'?

PROFESSOR Hennie Coetzee, of Potchefstroom's Institute for African Political Studies, believes the revolt is a "typical feature of a situation of political vagueness and an absence of clear policy."

"A number of would-be leaders are coming to the fore, some very sincere and some very opportunistic. Of course the election is driving this phenomenon to a peak, but it will not be a very meaningful feature of our politics afterwards."

"The Nationalist hierarchy are very aware of people like Wynand Malan who do conform to existing policies, but they also know that existing New Nat MP's do not form a big enough block to pose too serious a threat."

"I don't forecast a large exodus of Nationalists to go an independent way."

The stepping-up of reform, although likely, would depend on the election result. "If the Government does buck up reform again, they will have gone a long way towards appeasing those in the party who are currently frustrated."

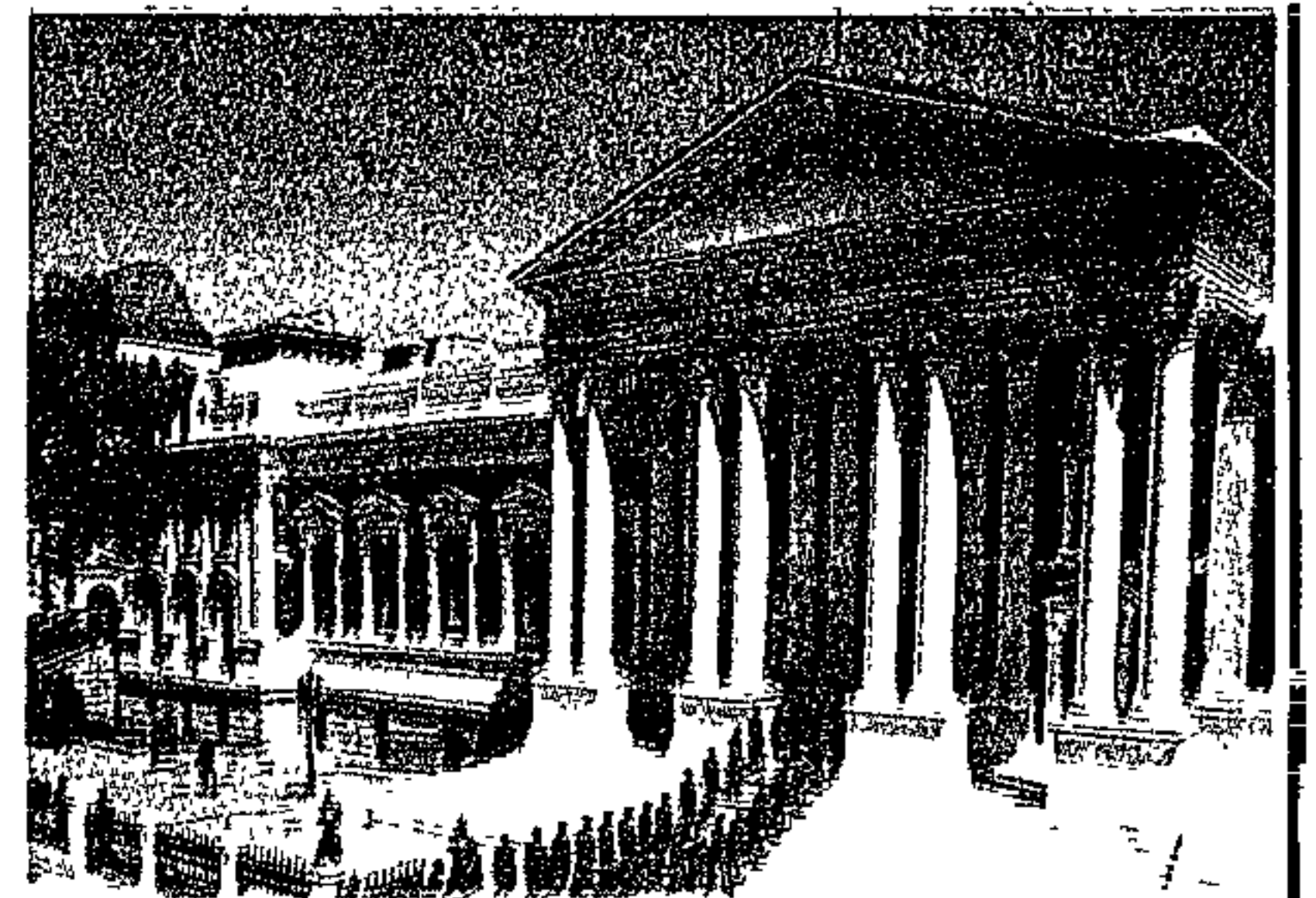
"I know Wynand Malan, and though I doubt the wisdom of his decision, I sympathise in a sense with his independent thinking. He may have a chance as an independent because of his engaging personality — never underestimate the effect of personalities in politics."

PROFESSOR Willem van Vuuren, of UWC's Department of Political Science, holds unqualified cynicism over the "revolt".

"I can't take it really seriously — the signs are not encouraging. There is no indication to suggest that there will be sufficient numbers of Wynand Malan types to form a strong alliance in Parliament. His resignation and the words of people like Dr Louis Luyt had symbolic value only and will not be reflected in seats."

"Three of four existing Nationalist MP's may put their money where their mouths are and resign after the election. So what?"

The defection of the Conservatives did not have a significant effect on the political direction of the ruling party. There was no reason to believe that a New Nat revolt would.



The main entrance to Parliament. Through these portals, and within these walls, history is made, political futures are enhanced, policies are formulated, decisions are made.

PROFESSOR Julius Jeppe, of Stellenbosch's Department of Development Administration, indicated last week that he supported Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Malan in their bid to break the political stalemate.

He says a "wide spectrum" of Nationalists are dissatisfied with the progress of reform.

"A number of us have spoken out without notice in party circles over at least the past year. As far back as 1976 I argued at a regional meeting of the Rapportryers at Eendekuil for an act on the abolition of apartheid and discrimination — a stronger stand than a declaration of intent."

"I must say that I am very surprised by the wide support these ideas have generated, particularly in Stellenbosch. I am convinced there is definite support in the National Party for our ideas."

He supports the school which believes the revolt will not peter out quietly after the election. "People's honesty and moral standings are much too strong for that to happen. I know Wynand Malan very well and have the highest regard for him as a strong intellectual. His honesty and courage will draw substantial support."

PROFESSOR David Welsh, former head of UCT's Department of Political Studies, said the revolt was "much deeper than a flash in the pan", though few were likely to follow Mr Malan's example.

"If you go through the approximately 30 New Nats, the number who reject the party and hope to get back to Parliament is minimal. There is a significant shift, but not an avalanche of MP's opting out."

Some New Nats were now in high office as deputy ministers. They felt it would be foolish to leave because they could do more from within the party.

Breaks from the NP were more likely outside Parliament, where clergy and businessmen were not vulnerable due to their job security.

"After the election, the revolt issue may die down a bit but it is too strong to fizzle out altogether."

He did not believe the revolt would lead to a large-scale "covert PFP vote" in constituencies which offered the choice of Opposition candidates to Nationalist dissenters.

But the New Nat — a product of "deep structural changes affecting the Afrikaner society and society as a whole" — had come to stay.

"The new Nationalist is young, urban, well-educated and upwardly mobile, with a self-image of being part of the modern world. To him apartheid is an albatross around the neck of someone who doesn't want to be a leper in the modern world."

Plans for ministerial surrogates under fire

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A Government plan to appoint powerful officials who would not be directly accountable to Parliament has encountered fierce opposition.

The Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Federated Chamber of Industries and the Association of Law Societies have telexed their serious concern about the plan to the parliamentary committee which is considering the relevant legislation.

In terms of the Constitution Amendment Bill, introduced in Parliament on Monday, the State President would be able to appoint officials to whom Ministers could delegate their powers.

It is understood that the purpose of the Bill is to provide for the appointment of ministerial representatives for Ministers in each of the "own affairs" administrations in each of the provinces.

As ministerial representatives they would be of high and powerful executive status and the potential for runaway growth in the cost and extent of the executive would be enormous.

It has been estimated that if each "own affairs" Minister in the tricameral system appointed one ministerial representative in each province, more than 50 new top jobs could be added to what has already been described as one of the world's longest political gravy trains.

Nats upset: No tax cuts

W/EAR 6/6 7/2/87

220
304A

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Government is scared of being accused of "buying" voters before the May general election.

That is why it has decided there will be no tax relief or an

announcement of public service salary increases in the Part Appropriation Bill being introduced in Parliament on Monday by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

The Cabinet — especially President P W Botha — is said to have turned down sugges-

tions for at least a lowering of the sales tax.

Mr Botha is said to have been upset about Opposition taunts that it sought to "buy" votes before an election.

Before the 1981 general election Mr Harry Schwarz, the Opposition's main spokesman on financial matters, said it would be the "vote now, pay later" election.

Medicine

Recently Mr Schwarz said the voters might find that they received the sweets first and the medicine later.

Mr du Plessis and his advisers were apparently considering lowering sales tax to 11 or 10 percent but applying it to fresh food too.

They said in this way poorer people without fridges who use tinned food would benefit.

An announcement of a 12,5 percent pay increase for civil servants may now also be delayed until the main Budget, expected in August.

It appears that all the taxpayers can look forward to on Monday will be an announcement that the 1983 loan levy will be repaid.

According to some financial experts, Mr du Plessis has in any case little in the Treasury to use for tax relief.

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5/11



Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, Weekend Argus.

Country Fair is out of this world! Robert a ball whizzing around on the space rockets Brommersvlei Common, closes late tonight.

Scientists of fraud

could be detected magnetically by an underwater cable.

The court heard a tangled story of how influence in high circles had prevented Dr Lochner from getting the case to court for 20 years. President P W Botha had finally advised him to litigate.

The magistrate, Mr F J Poolman, said Dr Lochner's system had had potential, perhaps more than he had been given credit for.

Dr Brunditt, 46, is a professor in applied mathematics at the University of Cape Town.

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Reporter

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Dr Vice, 61, is the director of the national telecommunications department of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and Dr Huwitt, 67, is a former vice-president of the CSIR.

Dr Lochner said a decision to stop funds for his research was taken by a former president of the CSIR, the late Dr Meiring Naude, on the strength of a negative report by Dr Brunditt.

Dr Locher had waited for Dr Naude to die before going to court because Dr Naude was a powerful man and a friend of former Prime Minister Mr John Vorster. — Sapa.

Dissident academics hope to see Botha

6/6 ARGUS
7/2/87
304A

By TOS WENTZEL Political Correspondent

DISSIDENT Nationalist academics in Stellenbosch are determined to continue to express misgivings about the slow pace of reform. And they hope to meet President P W Botha again about this.

Late last year a group met Mr Botha, who is Chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch, in a meeting which left many unhappy. Mr Botha dismissed their arguments with the remark that "some people in Stellenbosch seem to be losing their nerve".

The meeting was also attended by the then Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard, who briefed them on the security situation.

Mr Botha left the door open for a further meeting but this week they were not certain whether this would be before or after the general election.

Spoken out

The academics have expressed sympathy for the reform-minded views of rebel MP Mr Wynand Malan and of Dr Denis Worrall, who is retiring next week to return to politics in South Africa.

Among those who have spoken out so far is Professor Sampie Terreblanche, a political economist and deputy chairman of the board of the SABC; Professor James Fourie of the law faculty; Dr Anton van Niekerk and Professor Willie Esterhuyse of the philosophy faculty; and Professor Julius Jeppe of the development administration department.

They maintain that while they had openly supported the party in the past they also believed that they had the right to criticise it openly. As Professor Terreblanche has put it, they believe that a far more imaginative reform strategy is needed.

Some think that the remaining apartheid measures, especially the Group Areas Act, must be scrapped, and that more clarity must be given on plans to accommodate black political rights.

It appears that the verligtes will not get an opportunity to support Dr Worrall in the Helderberg constituency as it seems he is heading for a constituency in Natal.

There may well be a stayaway vote among those who believe that reform has come to a standstill. There is some concern among Nationalist politicians, who point out that each abstention amounts to half a vote to their opponents.

Other Nationalist politicians are inclined to dismiss the academics as a small group of "big talkers" who will in the end do little.

There is a move afoot among the academics to get together to draft a joint statement. The Stellenbosch group has been joined by some academics at the Rand Afrikaans University.

Barclays row: PW's attack 'disgusting'

Milk price
to rise
4¹/₂c a litre

Staff Reporters

HARD-PRESSED consumers have been dealt another blow by yesterday's Dairy Board announcement that the producer price of milk will be increased by 4¹/₂c a litre on February 16.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, said in a statement that because of cost increases in the distributive trade, which was no longer controlled, the price paid by consumers could rise slightly more than the 4c a litre announced.

A Dairy Board statement yesterday said the price of cheese, milk-powder and other dairy products — also not fixed by the board — would increase. The wholesale butter price, fixed by the board, will provisionally remain unchanged at R4 a kilogram.

According to spokesmen for Cape Town dairies, last week's announcement by certain dairies of a milk-price increase pre-empted yesterday's announcement. This meant local consumers would in effect experience only one increase.

Mr Wentzel said he was satisfied that the price increase was unavoidable to ensure that sufficient quanti-

Staff Reporters

THE Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday slated Mr P W Botha for "McCarthyism" following the State President's attack on Barclays Bank and its MD, Mr Chris Ball.

As Mr Eglin spoke, the bank's head offices in Johannesburg received calls from scores of sympathizers for Mr Ball including captains of industry.

According to a bank spokesman, among those who contacted the bank were Pick 'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman; SA Breweries chief executive Mr Meyer Kahn; Tradegro's Mr Mervyn King, and the Urban Foundation's executive chairman, Mr J H Steyn, the former Supreme Court judge.

The support for Mr Ball reflects the growing rift between Mr Botha and some sections of the SA business community over the past year.

Replying to the no-confidence debate in Parliament yesterday afternoon, Mr Eglin said Mr Botha was plunging South Africa into an era of McCarthyism by using hearsay rumours to "wreak vengeance" from a position of privilege on prominent opponents opposed to his policies.

He said the way Mr Botha had linked Mr Ball to the controversial ANC advertisements and his unrelated critical reference to the chief executive of Premier Milling, Mr Tony Bloom, had been "disgusting".

Senator Joe McCarthy — the zealous anti-communist United States politician who specialized in smearing his opponents — would have been proud of Mr Botha.

"When innuendo, rumour and selective quotes are used to denigrate political opponents from a position of privilege, we know just how far we have gone down the slippery slope away from democracy," Mr Eglin said.

Mr Botha had "no idea what parliamentary democracy and a free and fair election was all about".

South Africa was "saddled with an incompetent, wasteful and bullying government whose policies have failed and whose ability to lead this country back to stability and harmony is utterly discredited", he said.

During the no-confidence debate the government had not revealed any new reform proposals and the election had been called not to obtain a new mandate for reform but for tactical party political reasons.

However, the government were headed for "the shock of their lives" on May 6 "because people in this country are basically South Africans and not racists", Mr Eglin said.

Meanwhile, in an apparent right-wing backlash against Barclays, three of its branches in Pretoria — Church Square (a national monument), Poynton's Building and Sunnyside — and one in Hermanus were spraypainted with ANC-related slogans.

A police Public Relations Directorate spokesman, Lieutenant-Colonel Steve van Rooyen, confirmed that the bank had laid charges of damage to property and of placing African National Congress slogans.

How to settle Indaba issue

Mercury Reporter

A REFERENDUM, where the people of Natal could voice their feelings on the Indaba proposals would 'once and for all' settle the issue on whether the Indaba was truly representative or not, Indaba chairman Prof Desmond Clarence said last night.

Prof Clarence also criticised the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, for playing 'petty party politics' with an initiative which had raised interest locally and abroad.

Reacting to Mr Heunis's statement that the PFP had 'hijacked' the Indaba for its own purposes Prof Clarence said the Indaba wished to avoid entering the political arena.

'Too much is at stake to allow this serious constitutional initiative to be used by politicians for short-term gain,' he said.

Avoided

The manner in which Mr Heunis had proposed (in a television interview this week) that the opinion of the people of Natal be canvassed by approaching virtually every farmers' organisation, local authority or business house appeared to be far too complicated and unsatisfactory, said Prof Clarence.

In the interview Mr Heunis had avoided directly discussing the merits of the Indaba proposals, he said, and had simply used the smoke-screen of the Government having had to reject the proposals because they were being used as the basis of an election alliance between two political parties against his own.

'This is simply not true,' said Prof Clarence. 'Within two days of the proposals being made public they were rejected by the Minister of Home Affairs.'

By PATRICK CULL

And one wonders whether, had he decided to delay that decision for a year and listened to the opening address of State President P W Botha and the ensuing no-confidence debate this week, there would have been any reason for him to change his mind.

"Last year in 1985 our country was torn apart. Things happened among our people, between white and black, black and black, white and white, which may never again be mended."

"We carried on as if nothing had happened."

"In the year 1986 the essence of politics in South Africa revolves around point-scoring and petty debating points concerning old and overworked prej-

Dr Slabbert said the State President had claimed "We have out-grown the outdated concept

Turning to the ANC, Dr Slabbert pointed to what he described as the "deliberate and calculated misrepresentation" of that organization and asked "How will that help us?"


And, he added in doing so he gave the AINC a "hundred times more credibility than I, as Leader of the Opposition, could ever have hoped to have given them". Constitutionally, Dr

**Parliament's
first week
was a**

— Van Zyl Slabbert,
January, 1986

ples of negotiation because the dismantling of apartheid had nothing to do with negotiation. It was simply the first step towards it.

Thurdly, Dr Slabbert said, the tricameral Parliament was hopelessly flawed, had nothing to do with power-sharing and allowed those involved only to ease "the



DR. VAN ZYL SLABBERT ... no reason to change his decision to leave.

"The search for consensus does not lie in finding co-optive clients.

point out that a general election is to be held on May 6, the State President's opening address was totally devoid of any constitutional direction or new reform proposals.

was the same commitment to a future based on racial groups and subsequently the State President has reiterated that while the

Mr. Borna once again referred to the proposed National Council, stating that it could be the precursor of a Joint Council of State. But the details are still vague and there is

The reason quite simply is, as PPP leader Mr Collin Eglin pointed out when he introduced the no-confidence debate this week

refinement of apartheid"

One has only to look at the largely irrelevant House of Delegates and laws, is trying to hoodwink the public to suit its own political ends."

tion is welcomed by the Government. However, the result did not suit the Government's pre-conceived constitutional ideas and the Indiana proposals were consequently rejected.

Parliament's response to the events of 1986 as a "protestue ritual in Ireland" has been the response to the events of 1986.

The response quite simply was the "total onslaught" theory" repeated ad nauseam and a State President happy to ignore the issues facing the country and

Concomitant with this, it has allowed publication of selective quotations from a speech by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

PFP media spokesman Mr Dave Dalling said during the no-confidence debate to change his mind.

No. If Dr Slabbert had waited another year, he would have found scant cause to change his mind.

Defiant HNP to go it alone

304A

By STEPHAN
TERBLANCHE
and LESTER VENTER

THE Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) said at the weekend its break with the Conservative Party was final.

A statement by the HNP executive said the party now accepted there could be no agreement on candidates of the two rightwing parties not opposing one another in the general election for whites on May 6.

The party blamed failure to reach an electoral pact on the CP's "refusal to co-operate".

The HNP said it would now go ahead and nominate candidates in as many seats as possible.

This statement underscores the overwhelming pressure in rightwing circles against the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, because of his quest for an instant pre-elections merger between his party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

8/2/8 Pact

Influential ultra-rightwing organisations like the Afrikaner Volkswag (AV), the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Oranjewerkers and the Vrouekenkrag movement are siding with HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, who has called for a rightwing election pact instead of a merger.

Frantic behind-the-scenes efforts were being made to reconcile the two leaders and establish a "people's front" (volksfront) with the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre Blanche playing a leading role.

Such a front would be the right wing's only hope for a good performance in the coming general election, rightwingers say.

AS parliamentarians tackled the country's problems in the no-confidence debate this week, little significant light was cast on South Africa's road ahead.

Closing the debate on Friday, the leader of the official Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said: "We haven't had any political plan that will extract South Africa from the situation it is in today."

During the week-long debate, both the Government and the official Opposition declared themselves in favour of negotiating a new South African deal... but no concrete prospects or plans emerged.

A significant brake to the Government, particularly

Sun Times 8/2/87

The dark at the end of the tunnel

LESTER VENTER, Sunday Times Political Correspondent, on the no-confidence debate

breaking new policy ground, was the looming general election for whites on May 6. Speakers were all aware of the audience of voters outside Parliament.

Watching the trends of Government speeches, it was clear the Government was trying to reach voters on both its conservative right flank and its verligte left flank.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the Government was "like a

President's Council report on the Group Areas Act, which recommended "local option" on mixed-race residential areas.

But the CP warned that as soon as the election was over the Government would dust off the report and allow integrated suburbs.

President Botha tried to leave the policy door ajar on the Group Areas Act. He said while the principle of "own

areas" would not be abandoned, the Act could be "adjusted".

After Mr Eglin had started the debate on Monday by thrusting at Government failure in the economy and national security, Government speakers gave little ground on reform matters.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis and his Cabinet colleague, Home Affairs

Minister Stoffel Botha, rose to negate the KwaNatal Indaba proposals for the joint administration of Natal.

Revolt

Playing the Government's two-handed strategy, they praised the concept of negotiation embodied by the Indaba — but said it could not be accepted because the proposals failed to provide adequate minority group safeguards.

Later in the week, against a backdrop of the growing Nat revolt outside Parlia-

ment, the tenor of Government speeches veered to the reform-minded left. The trigger for this was the much-awaited speech by the recently defected Nat MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan.

Mr. Malan said: "The National Party finds itself in a phase of change, a stage in which it is losing its ideology but is unable to offer something in its place."

The political leadership he was talking about listened without interjection. To-

wards the end of his speech, President Botha engaged Mr F W de Klerk, chairman of the Ministers' Council, in a knitted-brow discussion.

When Mr de Klerk spoke he denied reform was dead and appealed for recognition of the fact that the Government had a clear plan for South Africa.

Another Nationalist big gun, Education Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, repeated that the Government was committed to reform.

However, the reform-oriented speeches were not underpinned by Mr Botha's earlier, two-hour performance.

Revival

In it he repeated his revival of the idea of independent black city states outside the homelands, condemned the idea of a fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks as "absurd", said the Group Areas Act had allowed the creation of black, coloured and Indian middle classes and was essential for the further devolution of power, and said the state of emergency had saved South Africa from a pre-Christmas "bloodbath".

HERE is a flavour of 1948 about the forthcoming general election. For the first time in decades, there is a feeling that the old order in white politics is nearing its end.

Many of us have grown to middle age in a political dispensation where the National Party seemed immovably entrenched as the natural rulers. Come election time, the opposition fought gamely — but an NP victory was taken for granted and, with fatalistic resignation, the only serious question we asked was how big the Nat majority would be.

It has taken the most serious crisis in our history to make even the most myopic, sunny-sties-and-Chevrolet voter aware that the days of political escapism are over. We are, unavoidably (perhaps even terminally, if someone does not come up with a new and better idea), face to face with the ultimate question: how to achieve full and fair black participation in political decision making.

And, compelled to address such cosmic questions, it is as though whites intuitively sense the folly of yesterday's men arguing about yesterday's issues. After 39 years there is an impatience with what many see as the spent voices who brood helplessly over our affairs.

Now this is not to suggest that President Botha will, Smuts-like, find himself out of office on the morning of May 7. The NP remains a formidable force in white politics — Mr. Pik Botha this week even tried to revive its image as a *volksbeweging* — and there is as yet no countervailing force to prise loose its grip on power.

But there is most certainly a feeling abroad, even within the NP itself, that

The modern Afrikaner has been utterly alarmed to find there is no viable agenda, secret or otherwise. Reformers feel betrayed

Watershed



By TERTIUS MYBURGH

this may be the last election conducted under the old order.

The feeling was almost palpable in this week's no-confidence debate in the Assembly and, outside a debating chamber that is notoriously slow to reflect what is happening in the real world, the signs are everywhere.

There are "New Nats" who are no longer fearful of being identified as such, brave and interesting independents like Mr Wynand Malan (and Dr Denis Worrall?), Afrikaans academics — pillars of the NP establishment — who are outspokenly rebellious, and the NGK which now finds itself well ahead of the party most of its members support, and assorted eminences from Louis Luyt to Janne Momberg who no longer even try to disguise their disaffection.

And Albert Ntshagel, who has many kindred spirits in the NP caucuses, is bloodied but only temporarily bowed.

The alliance between a PFP which now studiously avoids the shrill left-wingery that once deterred some people from joining it, and the NRP, is a further reflection of the desire by moderates to flock together. Those who constructed the alliance do not see it as an end in itself, nor even themselves as leaders of a new order. This pragmatic coagulation is only part of a process that may lead to a wider re-alignment after May 6.

Inside the Assembly chamber this week there was a noticeable shift of morale from the Government benches to those of the opposition.

A ruling party that concerned itself only with threats from the right (which, in any case, have been immeasurably weakened by the strange and passionate feuds between the CP and HNP), finds that it has lost sight of shifts in the other extremity of its constituency.

It has suddenly run into equally serious problems among the more affluent, better educated, more reform-minded urban Afrikaners who can no longer be gulled by unimaginative leaders who

simply say "trust us".

What this Yuppie class, not all of its members young, craves most is a new vision to replace the slogans by which it has so long — and so mistakenly, as its leaders belatedly concede — lived.

Such people are unpersuaded by nudge-nudge, wink-wink arguments that, actually, there is still a secret reform agenda that will be implemented after the election but, please, just give us time to deal with the CP.

The modern, more thinking Afrikaner has been utterly alarmed to discover there is no viable agenda, secret or otherwise. Serious reformers feel betrayed.

Thus the Government front bench this week found itself in exactly the kind of bind for which they used to mock Sir de Villiers Graaff. Unable to

talk verlig for fear of alienating Oom Koos in Nylstroom, and unable to talk verkramp for fear of losing more Wyn- and Malans, Ministers played it down the middle.

No, there would be no abolition of the Group Areas Act — but, yes, the need for mixed areas was acknowledged. No, the Natal Indaba plan was unacceptable as a model — but, yes, it was not a bad example of inter-racial negotiation.

Ah, the echoes of the old UP! Few Nat MPs even tried to explain the Government's constitutional plans, and when they did it resembled nothing so much as Sir Div's race federation!

Also playing its part in shaping new attitudes is what has now become known as the Botha Factor. The man who once inspired many with his appeal for whites to adapt or perish, and who then very courageously set about turning many of his reformist prom-

ises into fact (influx control, etc), seems to have come to a dead stop.

Outspokenly (and, in high measure, justifiably) aggrieved that the importance of his reforms did not receive the recognition they deserved, either at home or abroad, he seems to have withdrawn into the bunker of an increasingly imperial presidency.

The fact that few, if any, fresh ideas are emanating from his office and the way he deals with dissent — from the ruthless 25-minute demolition of Dr Allan Hendrickse on TV to the more recent and no less disquieting Ball Af-fair — have all contributed towards making his style of leadership an important issue.

The unwritten convention of playing the ball rather than the man survives in our politics, but it is also true that it has become almost impossible to conduct a political conversation these days without the Botha Factor being mentioned.

In summary, then, it is not a change of government that is being predicted here — it is a loosening of the glue that has kept old allegiances together.

And this, surely, can be no bad thing. For so long as it is accepted as conventional wisdom that there is no alternative to the NP, so long will we be locked into one-party white politics.

And we know where that has landed us after almost two generations.

Far from being the bore that many predicted, May 6 will be a most important day in our affairs.

And, even more importantly, it will set the stage for what happens the day after — which is when the process of reshuffle-and-deal-again is likely to start in earnest.

THE South African Government has not had much luck recently.

But the decision taken in the summer of 1984 to send Denis Worrall as Ambassador to London was extremely fortunate — for he has had to carry out his mission in a very different diplomatic climate to the one in which he was appointed.

It is astonishing to recall that only a little over 32 months ago President Botha visited England as part of his successful European tour.

He went to Chequers (the Prime Minister's country residence) and had a cordial meeting with Mrs Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Worms

Then he came home to open the Tricameral Parliament and the can of worms.

Dr Worrall was appointed in the aftermath of Chequers: he arrived just in time to start dealing with the worms.

Overnight, his job had changed. The South African Embassy in London had become one of the world's most demanding diplomatic postings.

The man suited the hour: politicians, journalists and his fellow diplo-

THE WORRAL ANTHERGLOW

An assessment of the returning SA ambassador to London by BRUCE ANDERSON, deputy editor of the Sunday Telegraph.



dable academic with a dry wit.

London is not used to a South African ambassador who peers over his spectacles at it and delivers a tutorial in political science (He also has a most effective television manner).

Various persons would go to see the ambassador convinced that they had the solution to South Africa's problems, and fully intending to take a high moral tone with him: they left his office with a reading list, their heads full of complexities.

Stability

Dr Worrall took every opportunity to engage in debate. He held conferences and seminars in South Africa House — and he enjoyed visiting universities.

Denis Worrall has spent most of his academic and political life thinking about the problems of constitutional change. It is easy to agree that the situation in South Africa is now so polarised that the road of reform is

blocked: Dr Worrall has always strongly rejected that argument.

In his view, South Africa has now embarked on a course of constitutional evolution whose ultimate result no one can foresee. He has often cited the experience of 19th Century Britain.

In 1832, when the Great Reform Bill was passed, its supporters in Parliament would have been appalled at the idea of universal suffrage — and hardly anyone was advocating votes for women.

Within a century, every adult could vote — and the nation had remained stable.

Impossible

At various stages during the state of emergency, he made it absolutely clear to English audiences that the South African Government had no intention of losing control, that change would not be allowed to turn into chaos.

Equally, after the fail-

Stability is one of Denis Worrall's main preoccupations. He is fully aware of the de Tocqueville dictum, that the most dangerous moment for a previously authoritarian regime is when it starts to liberalise.

ure of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group mission, Dr Worrall recovered from his own discovery of the British media that the EPPG's thinescales were all wrong: they had been pushing South Africa towards a re-run of Lancaster House — and that was unacceptable.

He frequently had to make these points in tense circumstances.

One of the less agreeable duties an ambassador must perform is to be constantly available for a ticking off from his host government, whenever it wishes to express disapproval of his own govern-

ment's policies.

During some weeks, Dr Worrall paid several such visits to the Foreign Office. He always stood his ground, arguing with equal calmness and tenacity.

Nightmare

He played a critical role during the sanctions controversy. Hardly any one in the Foreign Office believes that there is a serious intellectual case for sanctions — but many British diplomats and Ministers thought that concessions had to be made to placate the Commonwealth and certain EEC countries.

The Foreign Office's nightmare was that the Americans would defect leaving Britain stranded on the Right. They did, we were, and it doesn't seem to have mattered.

The credit for overriding the counsels of timidity and keeping the contemptible irrelevance of sanctions at bay belongs primarily to Margaret Thatcher.

But Dr Worrall's months of patient lobbying, of lucid explanations, of calmly demolishing the sanctions case and exposing it as so much windy sentimentality, had helped to influence crucial sections of British opinion, which certainly made it easier for Mrs Thatcher to take her stand.

Sunday Times

8-01-87

304 A

CARTE BLANCHE



by David Carte,
BUSINESS
TIMES
Editor

Business people who were sympathetic to the State President's position after the November conference in Pretoria have been shaken by recent events.

The Pretoria conference was strictly about economic strategy, but the message from business to the Government that day was that you cannot have an economic strategy without a political one.

I spoke to at least 15 business people that day. They were unanimous that they had been sympathetically heard and that President Botha was sincere about reform.

At the time, most businessmen, like Mr Botha, were sick of being preached and prescribed to by foreigners.

In the face of sanctions, disinvestment and hysterical condemnation abroad, business people came out of the conference prepared to *staan saam*, so that we could reform the country our way.

The priorities seemed clear: to stabilise the townships, to improve the mood of the people so that consumption and job-creating investment spending could revive. Influx control had been scrapped and in the interests of positive urbanisation there were high hopes that the Group Areas Act would also go.

After the conference there was near-euphoria. The country had a plan. We could move forward in an enlightened way, which may even have persuaded our sorely tried foreign friends to stick by us.

How the mood has changed.

In December there were draconian muzzles on a press that is far more conservative today than it was three years ago. The extent of the curbs simply boggled reasonable minds.

Another profound shock was the humiliation of Alan Hendrickse on prime-time TV. In this, the rawest display of tribal politics seen for years, it seemed clear that reform a la P W Botha did not mean an end to *uitdasskap*. Uncle Toms were the only black partners that would be tolerated.

All President Botha did not do that day

Death in the afternoon

was taken off his shoe, hammered the table and threatened to bury somebody.

Then came sneering disdain from Stoffel Botha for the KwaNatal proposals. Next, strong indications that the Group Areas Act was here to stay. These events were followed by intemperate outbursts by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to the effect that the US Congress was the cause of deaths in the townships.

The process of alienation of the business sector must have been completed this week by President Botha's attack on Premier's Tony Bloom and his unsubstantiated allegations from the safety of Parliament that Barclays Bank's Chris Ball funded the

□ To Page 3

□ From Page 1

UDF's pro-ANC advertisements.

These events have caused profound gloom among the many business people who believed that SA solutions were needed for SA problems, that one-man-one-vote and capitulation to the ANC were unacceptable.

Today the only hope of the

Death in afternoon

formerly hopeful — and a slender one it seems — is that these events have been nothing more than pre-election theatre and that after Andries and Jaap have been hammered at the polls re-

form will go on.

In the meantime, most of those business people who had thoughts of voting for P W to help him fend off the Rightwing will be thinking again.

To get the reform process moving again it will be necessary for P W to lose support not from the Right but from the Left.

8/2/87
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Majority rule is not enough

MASEBET - The Lesotho National

SINCE Mr P W Botha became Prime Minister and then State President, South Africans have heard a good deal about decentralisation, deregulation and devolution of power.

Yet, during these eight years the tentacles of Pretoria's control have tightened, the bureaucracy has grown and become more cumbersome and complex, more centralised and less efficient.

Most South African whites (and some coloureds and Indians) are understandably fearful of "majority rule" in a unitary state, under a "winner-takes-all" electoral system, which it is assumed will lead to power being wielded arbitrarily by a corrupt and tyrannical demagogue.

But blacks have just as much reason to fear a concentration of power at the centre, since the present highly autocratic, centralised system of government, geared to serve the short-term interests of whites, has been a very poor government for them.

Unless checks and balances are introduced in our constitution, a future (black or non-racial) government may be equally insensitive to their wishes as all the white governments have been.

Pioneering

To ensure freedom and good government, it is not enough simply to introduce majority rule. We must dismantle the present structures of concentrated power and institute a genuine devolution of power.

The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba's central principle is just this. It stems from a strong desire on the part of the people of the region, manifested in several antecedent initiatives, to regain control over their own destiny.

Many intensely patriotic Natalians have long felt that the central Government, over which their small province can never hope to have much influence, is out of sympathy with the mood of the people of Natal/KwaZulu.

The Indaba should not, however, be seen as an exercise whose potential usefulness is limited to Natal/KwaZulu, but rather as a pioneering experiment in precisely the direction our politics need to take if true democracy is to be developed in South Africa.

In the absence of any prospect of national negotiations, it may well be considered expedient to begin the vital process of fundamental change towards a decentralised so-



DIRK KEMP, chairman of the Indaba Support Group, tells why Pretoria is wrong to reject this vital initiative

lution through regional negotiations.

But devolution remains an important principle which should be pursued in the interests of good and efficient democratic government, no matter what the context in which a future constitution for South Africa comes to be written.

It stands to reason that the great variety of regional considerations can never be met satisfactorily within a centralised structure. Nor are uniform regional structures likely to prove effective.

An element of regional diversity seems essential. It would, indeed, be natural and would enrich our politics — just as it enriches our social and economic life.

Devolution should, therefore, be recognised as a way of accommodating natural diversity.

As such it may help to remove a major stumbling block to political and constitutional change in South Africa: the fear minorities have of being dominated by the black majority in our present centralised and unitary system.

Balanced

The key to protecting the legitimate interests of groups, particularly those who identify themselves as minorities, lies essentially in a combination of small and devolved government.

The Government's power to interfere in the individual's private life must be limited, and the right to decide what is good for a particular community, as well as the power to administer those decisions, must be left to those most likely to be affected by them.

Democratic elections for a representative government are absolutely necessary, but are not sufficient to guarantee good government.

True democracy must involve as much participation by the citizen as possible — not simply the occasional visit to a ballot box to return

an MP to Parliament.

Of course, as Dirk Mudge is fond of saying, no constitution alone can protect people from their fellow-countrymen. Only the trust that is founded on goodwill, mutual respect and acknowledgment of common interests can achieve real security.

But a start must be made by establishing a sound constitutional basis for good government.

The most important thing about the Indaba's proposals is that they were agreed upon through genuine negotiation. They form a finely balanced package which satisfies the competing demands of various interest groups. No other package would have succeeded.

Fear

On the one hand, there are the demands for full political participation on the basis of universal suffrage — one man one vote and equal rights.

On the other hand, it is a fact that minority groups have a fear of being dominated. The Indaba solution had to ensure that everybody would have an effective say in how Natal should be governed.

Under the constitution proposed by the Indaba the power of any majority party would be limited.

Proportional representation would ensure that minority parties — not necessarily representing "minority groups", but those that secure less than half the votes in an election — would be fairly represented in the legislature.

They would also elect half the members of the Cabinet and hold the key to the passage of legislation through the all-important standing committees.

The system is, therefore, one which requires a majority party to co-operate with at least some minority parties in order to govern effectively. (A summary of these proposals may be obtained from the Indaba Support Group, P O Box

10880, Marine Parade, 4056).

It is important to note that the new regional legislature would enjoy a much wider sphere of competence than the present provincial administrations.

Matters of intimate concern to the population of the region, such as health care and education, would be restored to regional departments, and many other matters which have been controlled by the central Government (or by the KwaZulu Government as far as blacks resident in the region are concerned) would become regional functions.

And, of course, the application of the principle of devolution would ensure that local communities had a very large say in these matters.

It is, therefore, strange that many of the Indaba's critics focus not on the substance, but the form.

They allege that such a regional initiative is out of place while apartheid still dominates the whole country. Worse, they allege that it is divisive in the struggle to rid SA of racial domination.

Unity

Such critics ignore the fact that the net effect of the Indaba's proposals would be to place matters that affect people most directly under control of a non-racial regional government, thereby greatly reducing the sway of racial domination in the Natal/KwaZulu region.

While the Indaba does not pretend to offer a complete solution to the national problem, its proposals would undoubtedly contribute to the dismantling of apartheid structures, as the KwaZulu Government would, in fact, be the first "homeland" to put itself into voluntary liquidation, as it were.

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THINK ³⁰⁴⁴ BLACK, BROTHERS

A BROEDERBOND document supporting a future black majority government and racially mixed residential areas as being in the long-term interests of Afrikaner survival, was released this week.

Herstigte Nasionale Party MP Louis Sasolburg Louis Sjoberg, quoted from the document in Parliament on Tuesday and said it had not been repudiated by the Cabinet, mostly Broeder-

bond members.

He released the document to the Press on Wednesday and said many non-Broederbond National Party members had asked for copies.

The document marked "strictly confidential" is labelled a working document on "basic constitutional preconditions for the survival of the Afrikaner".

It motivates the acceptance of several pivotal con-

ditions which, it says, must determine a future constitutional model. These include:

- The inevitability of a black majority government
 - The probability of a black State President
 - The creation of racially mixed residential areas
 - The unacceptability of an entrenched white, Zulu or other ethnic government
- The exclusion of effective black participation, up-

to the highest level of the political process is a threat to white survival, the Broederbond document says.

"It is, therefore, necessary that all the country's citizens can participate effectively in the legislative process as well as the process whereby the government is elected to power.

"A government which derives its guaranteed continuation from a particular section of the population

will favour that section. This is unacceptable to whites and Afrikaners and all other population groups.

"The status quo cannot be perpetuated, but it can also not be simply overturned by replacing white control with black control.

"A test for the acceptability of any system is that which would be in our interest should we become the opposition."

The document concedes

that group interests may transcend colour divisions.

"The best method by which rights can be maintained is the assurance of non-interference by government. For instance, if a particular organisation wishes to remain white, the government must not force it to change."

It was essential that the various power groups take part in negotiating a new constitution.



CHRIS BALL
"Normal banking practice"

SPY IN THE JUNGLE

The Ball Affair:
Mystery man holds the key to the Barclays UDF cheque riddle

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

A MYSTERY man holds the key to the amazing Ball Affair, which has ballooned into fierce political controversy on the eve of the white general election.

Yesterday politicians of all parties said the raging dispute had placed the credibility of President Botha himself on the line.

The outcome could have a decisive impact on his standing as leader of the ruling party.

The man in the middle is Mr Chris Ball, managing director of Barclays Bank, one of South Africa's most august financial institutions.

The issue has rapidly boiled down to a straightforward yes or no.

Was President Botha justified in telling Parliament this week that "leftist radical circles" had claimed Mr Ball advanced money to the UDF for an advertising campaign calling for the unbanning of the ANC?

Is Barclays Bank justified in its insistence that it routinely issued a bank cheque to an established client without knowing, or asking, what the money was to be used for?

The Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice Munick, has been asked by President Botha to investigate the affair and "have upon it".

Identity

At the centre of the controversy is the still-anonymous intermediary who obtained a bank cheque from Barclays to provide the bridging finance for the advertising campaign.

So far the man himself has not come forward, but sources said yesterday that he was taking legal advice and that his identity could become known within a few days.

It is now known that he was acting on behalf of a large group of organisations led by the UDF.

Barclays has scrupulously observed accepted banking practice by declining to name clients or to discuss their affairs without their prior permission. However, it is understood

Happy days are hair again

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

STAND by your sideburns — the dreaded army barber is having his power cut back!

A trim in the rules announced this week means that conscripts will be able to choose their own barbers — and within reason, their own hairstyles.

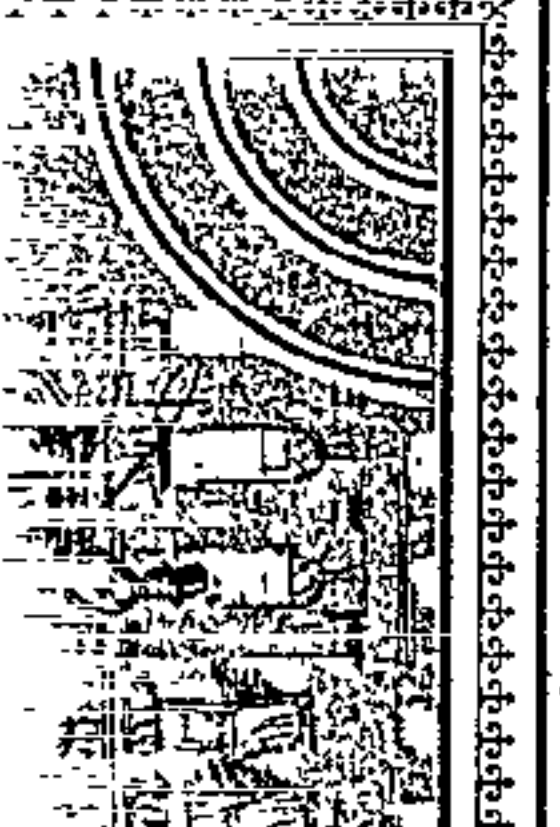
They will still be given the famous first-day cropping. But after that, provided hair is kept to regulation length, it can be side-parted, middle-parted or crew-cut — the sergeant major won't interfere.

The news was given by army commanders to thousands of youngsters reporting for two years' national service.

Regulation haircuts — and the queues of hapless young soldiers lining up outside the barber shop to get them — are familiar to generations of South African servicemen.

But this week, a spokesman for army headquarters in Pretoria, s, at the Chief of the Army, Major-General Aat Liebenberg, had decided the practice was no longer necessary.

He said it was felt some army barbers gave the men unsightly and unnecessarily short haircuts. Before, soldiers have been known to complain that a typical "poodle job" embarrassed them in front of their girlfriends, or earned them abuse from civilians.



Secret plan to stage super sports

By NEIL HOOPER and MARK SEIDEL

A SECRET plan has been drawn up aimed at bringing "the best of world sport" to South Africa.

The idea is to form a company to control three of South Africa's top venues — Ellis Park, Kyalami and Bloemfontein soccer stadium — to stage international professional sports, mainly Rugby League, motor racing, tennis and soccer.

The SABC took part in preliminary discussions, during which it was suggested that a new TV channel be started to screen the events.

But the SABC backed out of the negotiations, apparently after talking to amateur rugby supremo Dr Dane Craven.

Details are revealed in a confidential document used as the basis for discussions with the director-general of the SABC, Mr Riaan Eksteen.

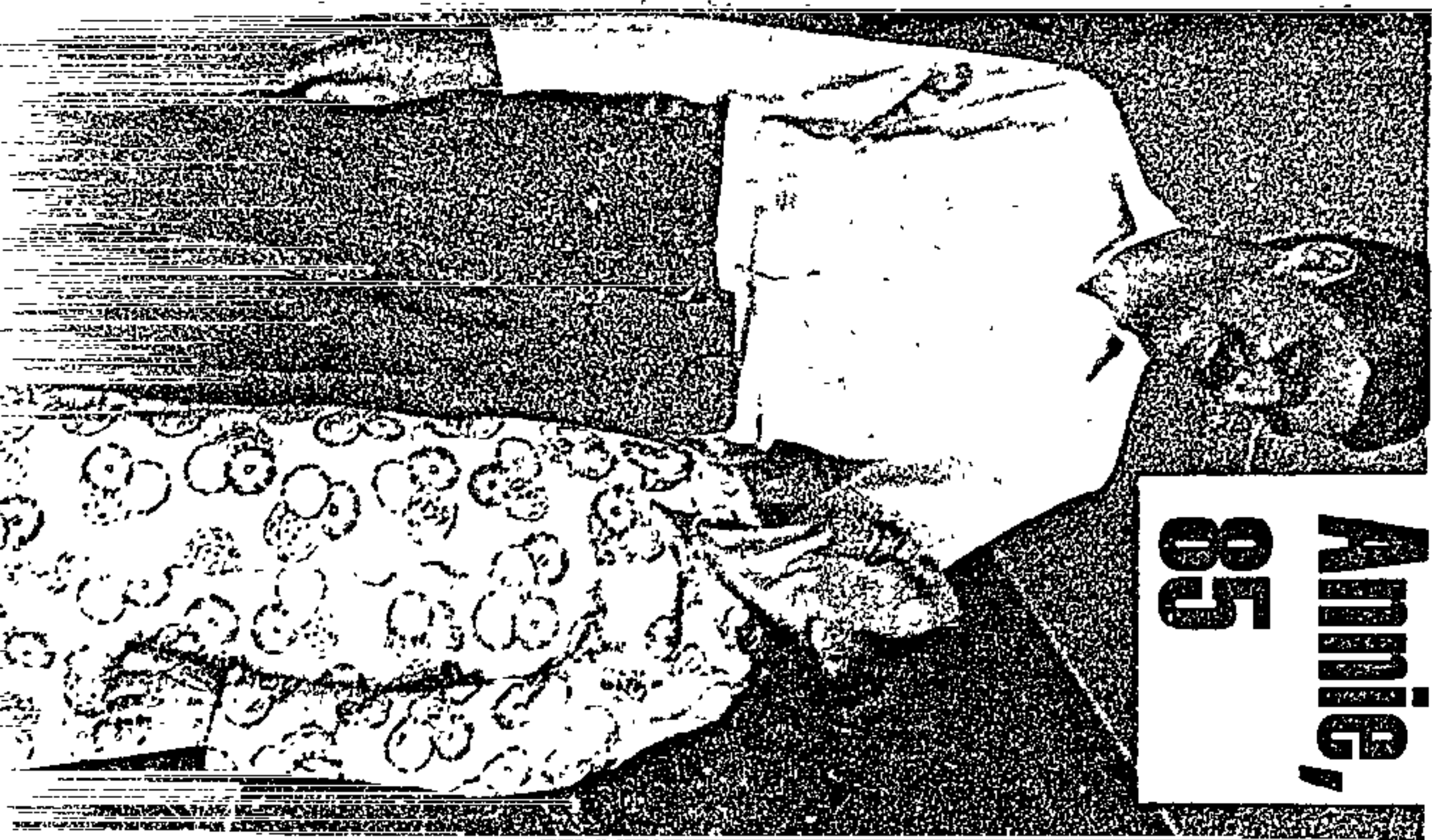
Ambitious

Behind the ambitious scheme is Mr Johan Claassen, the chairman of the company which controls Ellis Park, and the company's executive officer, Mr Robert Denton.

Their idea is to form a new company to run the three venues with the SABC, the National Soccer League (NSL), Volkskas — the present leaseholder of the R30-million Ellis Park — and themselves as the shareholders.

International professional sports such as motor racing, tennis, Rugby League and soccer would be staged at the venues, with the hope of coverage from a new SABC channel.

To this end, the first talks were held with the SABC at its Auckland Park headquarters on September 25 last year, and were followed up in



Lucas, 26, to wed Annie, 85



Today Times/
South Africa
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of South Africa's most august
financial institutions

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with the UDF intermediary
on whether he should speak
up to clear the name of the
bank and its chief executive.

Blunder

In some quarters there are
suggestions that there may
have been a major intelli-
gence blunder that could em-
barrass Mr Botha.

Barclays general manager
Mr Jimmy McKenzie said a
client had asked for a bank
cheque for R100 000 to be
made out to a Johannesburg
attorney, Mr Krish Naidoo,
who placed the advertise-
ments on the UDF's behalf.

This has been confirmed
by Mr Naidoo.

A bank cheque — as op-
posed to a bank-guaranteed
cheque — does not indicate
the name of an account hold-
er. Banking personnel say it
is "an everyday affair" to is-
sue such cheques on behalf of
clients.

This has led to speculation
that intelligence sources may
have made an incorrect as-
sumption that Barclays —
and even Mr Ball himself,
known as a sharp critic of
Government policies — had
advanced the money, know-
ing for what purpose it was to
be used.

'Normal'

Both the UDF and Bar-
clays have acknowledged
that a bank cheque was is-
sued in favour of an attorney
and Barclays has stated cate-
gorically that neither its staff
nor the bank itself were in-
formed of the purpose of
"this perfectly normal bank-
ing transaction".

A senior UDF source said
yesterday "The security was
arranged through an inter-
mediary party — and it was
not Chris Ball.

"The UDF is proud to be
associated with the adver-

□ To Page 2

The contents of this issue of
the Sunday Times have been
restricted in terms of the
emergency regulations.

hair again

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

STAND by your sideburns — the dread-
ed army barber is having his power cut
back!

A trim in the rules announced this week
means that conscripts will be able to choose
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London's
Consulate
IN T

As sold in London

Famous for their un

MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE DIRECTION OF ROTHM

Ball riddle mystery man

□ From Page 1
 isement, which it co-sponsored.

"Ultimately the UDF and the 17 co-sponsoring organisations will be responsible for payment for the ad."

After the advertisements appeared in 22 newspapers on January 8, police visited newspaper offices to obtain

documents related to the transaction.

Publication of the advertisements was subsequently prohibited by a proclamation under the emergency regulations.

In Parliament this week Mr Botha said: "In leftist radical circles it is being said that Mr Chris Ball advanced the money to the advertisers. An amount of R150 000 is being mentioned."

Mr Botha was speaking under Parliamentary privilege, which means legal action cannot follow a speaker's utterances there. Mr Ball called on Mr Botha to repeat his remarks outside Parliament.

Opposition sources condemned Mr Botha's action and said he should resign if the slur proved baseless.

Mr Justice Munnik and a spokesman for Mr Botha have said that the investigation would be completed "as soon as possible".

Mr Botha's spokesman could not say if this would happen before the election on May 6.

Yesterday the leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said: "It should be noted that this is the first time a Government apparatus has been used to investigate the lawful activities of a citizen."

The rapid denials by Barclays, Mr Ball and the UDF that Mr Ball had any knowledge of the use to which the bank cheque would be put are said to have caught Mr Botha and his aides off balance, and to have caused a flurry in the

President's inner circle.

It is known that the State President has long been critical of Mr Ball's sometimes strident criticism of the Government and the contact he made with ANC leaders during a visit to London last year.

Yesterday a spokesman for the National Intelligence Service (NIS) refused to comment on any aspect of the matter.

The UDF source said: "Mr Botha has facts which are totally incorrect. This will come out in the commission." The source indicated the name of the intermediary would be revealed to the commission of inquiry.

Late this week slogans were daubed on the walls of a number of Barclays Bank buildings around the country and senior staff have taken special security measures.

WEATHER

TRANSVAAL: Pretoria, Witwatersrand and the eastern highveld, cloudy and warm; western and south-western areas, partly cloudy and warm with isolated thundershowers; central, north-western and northern areas, partly cloudy and hot with isolated thundershowers; eastern lowveld, escarpment and Venda, partly cloudy and warm but cloudy and cool over the escarpment.

FREE STATE: Partly cloudy and hot with isolated thundershowers.

CAPE: North of the Orange River, sunny and hot with isolated thundershowers; Peninsula, Boland and the Overberg, cool and cloudy with rain; western coastal belt, partly cloudy and cooler;

Saatchi touch for Indaba

8/2/87
3044
s/f

A HIGH-POWERED Washington-based image-making company has been engaged to sell the Kwa-Zulu-Natal Indaba proposals to the public.

This is the latest shot to be fired at the National Party's rejection of the Indaba.

In a statement released yesterday, Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk said that a four-man team from the communications and advertising

company Hay Group Inc is in South Africa and will present a preliminary report to the Indaba's steering committee tomorrow.

The team, headed by the company's executive vice-president, David J. Winner, was asked to devise an aggressive strategy to enable the Indaba to communicate its findings to the public.

All four members of the Hay Group team in South Africa have direct links to the White House and the Republican Party. Mr. Winner was special assistant to Presidents Nixon and Ford and has worked extensively in Mr. Reagan's campaigns. Greg Lebedev, the Hay Group's senior vice-president, also worked in the Reagan campaigns and has served as deputy special assistant to the President and in the US State Department. Tom de Car is expert-

Reagan image makers in bid

to sell plan for KwaNatal

By DENISE ARMOUR

ence as assistant Press secretary to the President and in other US Government departments. The fourth member, David Wolstenholme, has worked as a communications specialist for corporate and public services in SA.

The Hay Group is a subsidiary of Saatchi and Saatchi, the company which helped British premier Margaret Thatcher win office.

Referendum

Professor van Wyk said the Indaba's communication campaign would aim at informing the public about the Indaba, prior to a referendum on its proposals.

"If the Government refuses to hold a referendum, we will organise the most sophisticated public opinion

poll South Africa has ever seen," he said.

"We are determined to succeed, however hard and how ever long we have to work."

He said some politicians seemed to have the impression that, because the majority of Indaba delegates were not politicians, the Indaba would "roll over and wag its tail" the moment they started shouting at it.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," he continued.

"The Indaba organisation will not get involved in the white general election, but will give a bloody nose to politicians who seek to attack the Indaba or use it for their short-term political ends."

He added that the Indaba's potential contribution to a peaceful solution in Natal and SA as a whole was "too important to allow it to be derailed by short-sighted politicians".

Indaba organisers to fight rejection

DURBAN — The organisers of the KwaZulu—Natal Indaba are preparing to fight back against government rejection of the Indaba proposals with a multi-million rands advertising campaign run by a Washington-based management consultancy.

Four members of Hay Management Consultants will present a preliminary report to the Indaba's steering committee today.

The consultancy is a subsidiary of the Saatchi and Saatchi advertising agency which helped the Conservative Party take power in Britain in 1979.

The Indaba director, Professor Dawid van Wyk, said the advertising campaign was intended to inform people about the Indaba before a referendum on its proposals.

Prof Van Wyk said it was hoped the government would run a referendum, but if not, the Indaba organisers would run an opinion poll. — DDC

304A / Cape Times 9/2/87

Worrall denies claim over NP election seat

Political Correspondent

DR Denis Worrall has dismissed as "simply untrue" claims by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that he last month approached the NP "looking for a seat".

Dr Worrall, who resigned 10 days ago as South Africa's ambassador in London, also denied government suggestions that he quit because of "sour grapes" at not being able to secure a National Party seat.

SADF raid

In an interview with Rapport, Dr Worrall said Mr Heunis had offered him a NP seat during a recent visit to South Africa. But the offer had not been followed up by either party.

Dr Worrall disclosed that he had tendered his resignation on May 11 last year — when the SADF raided three Commonwealth countries and effectively sank the Eminent Persons Group peace-and-dialogue mission.

However, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, persuaded him to withdraw his resignation.

Dr Worrall said that on October 6 he

had been offered a post "in another important country" but replied that he would prefer not to move for family reasons and because "I was politically spiritually low".

He emphasized that his decision to quit the London post and return to public life in South Africa had not been a hurried one.

When the British media reported in early December that Natal NP leader Mr Stoffel Botha's shooting down of the KwaNatal proposals represented the government line, Dr Worrall had set the record straight.

However, a few days later Mr Botha sharply criticized the ambassador.

"And shortly after this the government backed down on the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act."

Dr Worrall said the Indaba and the Group Areas report were of particular importance because South Africa's friends abroad regarded them as extremely important for reform.

For these reasons he had returned to South Africa for his home leave in mid-December with feelings of "deep concern".

Enthusiastic launch to alliance campaign

304A
9/2/87

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Progressive Federal Party and New Republic Party launched their alliance election campaign for the southern region of the King William's Town constituency at a function in Bonza Bay on Saturday night.

The Cape leader of the NRP and MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, described the meeting as a "successful and enthusiastic campaign launch".

He said the function was attended by about 60 people.

"Members from both parties are ready and raring to go," he said.

The meeting was addressed by Mr

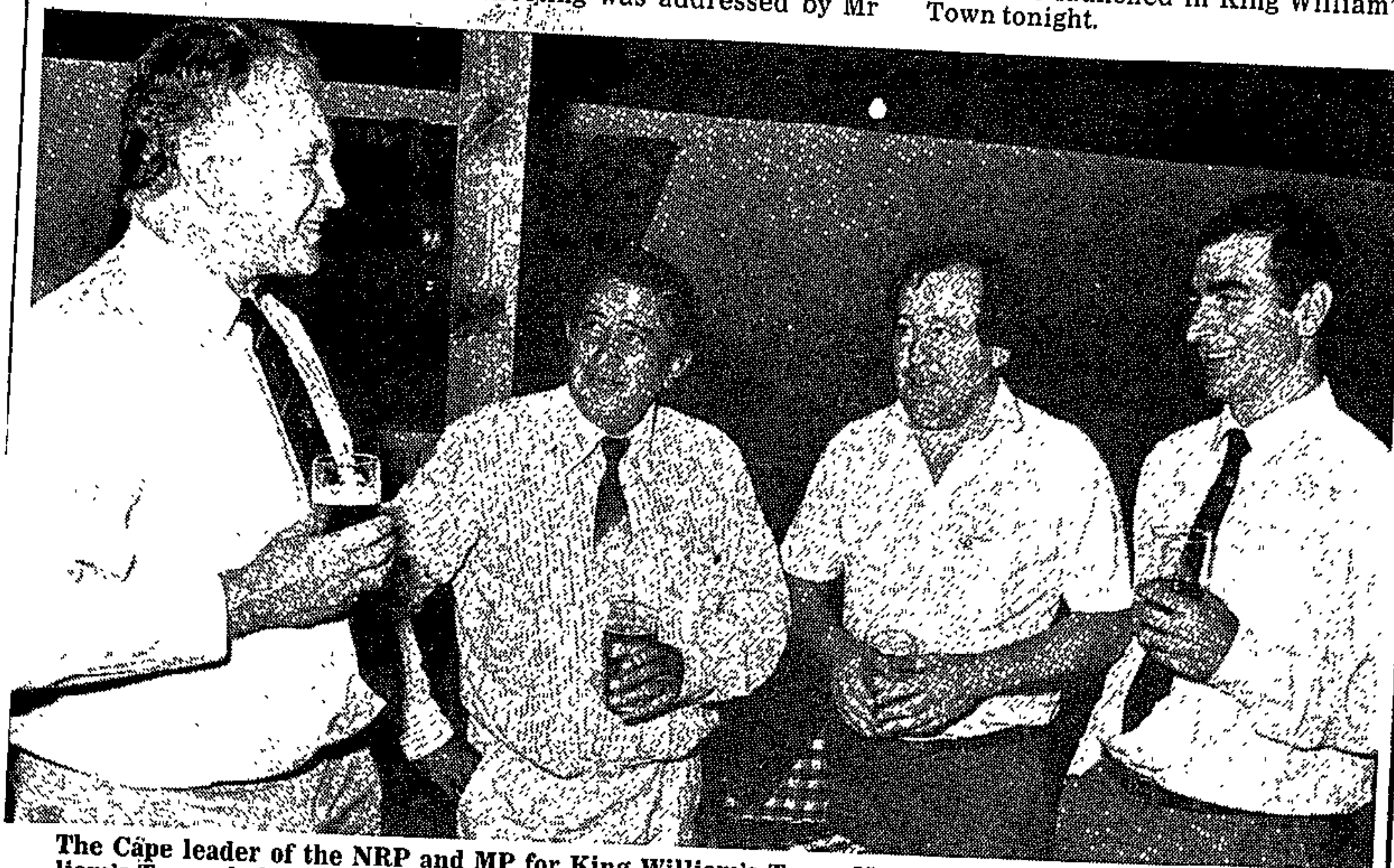
Rogers and the alliance's nominee for the East London City constituency, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaite.

"The purpose of the launch was to officially commence activities relating to the campaign and to inform everyone where the alliance offices are situated," Mr Rogers explained.

"The parties are going to share offices in order to assist one another to make the most of our resources."

The southern part of the King William's Town constituency includes Beacon Bay, Gonubie, Abbotsford, Summerpride and Wilsonia.

Mr Rogers said the campaign for the northern part of the constituency would be launched in King William's Town tonight.



The Cape leader of the NRP and MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, the NRP's King William's Town chairman, Mr Rodrick Blaine, the divisional chairman of the NRP, Mr Eric Witaker, and the PFP-NRP alliance nominee for East London City, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaite, at the campaign launch in Bonza Bay at the weekend.

NP names 3 more Cape candidates

3044
9/2/87

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party has named three more candidates to fight Cape seats held by the Progressive Federal Party, including Mr David Graaff, the son of the former Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, who is to contest Wynberg.

Mr Graaff, an unsuccessful candidate in a number of previous elections, is to fight the secretary-general of the PFP, Mr Robin Carlisle, in Wynberg.

A British immigrant and former British Conservative Party candidate, Mr James Harkess, 56, has been nominated in the Claremont constituency to take on the sitting MP, the PFP's Mr Jan van Eck, who won the seat in a by-election

last year.

The NP has also named the former principal of the University of Port Elizabeth, Professor Fanie Schoeman, for Walmer in Port Elizabeth where the PFP has nominated Mr Robert Ball, a businessman, to succeed Mr Andrew Savage, who is to retire.

The three candidates were announced over the weekend by the Cape leader of the NP and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, on behalf of the party's head council.

All three constituencies are regarded as safe PFP seats.

This means that the NP has now nominated candidates in all con-

stituencies in the Cape, except Groote Schuur and Port Elizabeth Central.

Mr Graaff, who was a member of the New Republic Party until last year, has contested Caledon, Sea Point and Pinelands before but has yet to win a seat in Parliament.

He was educated at Bishops, Stellenbosch University, Grenoble and Oxford University where he did a PPE (Politics, Philosophy and Economics).

At present, Mr Graaff is a table grape farmer in the Hex River valley.

Mr Harkess, a former barrister in London and deputy circuit judge, contested the Brixton constituency in London in the 1970 election on

behalf of the Conservative Party. Soon after emigrating in 1977, he joined the National Party.

Professor Schoeman, 65, was appointed professor of education at the University of Port Elizabeth in 1965 and between 1981 and 1985 he was rector of the university.

● Sapa reports the PFP has announced that a Transvaal advocate and labour law specialist, Mr Roland Sutherland, is to stand as the party's candidate in the Florida constituency.

Mr Sutherland, 36, has been the PFP's chairman for the constituency and was also a member of the local government planning group for the last municipal election, the PFP statement said.

WITWATERSRAND BREWERY EMPLOYEES UNION
Head Office: P.O.Box 61634, Marshalltown. 2107
Phone: (011) 834-4636
General Secretary: J.L. Coombes
Registered for: White persons in the Brewing Industry in Krugersdorp, Roodepoort, Johannesburg, Germiston, Boksburg, Benoni, Brakpan, Springs, Delmas and Kempton Park.
Industrial Council: Brewing Industry, Witwatersrand

With the kitty bulging, the National Party is set to be the big spenders in the coming election campaigns, reports BRUCE CAMERON of the Political Staff.

Millions to go on election campaigns

THE National Party is set to be the fatcat, big spender of the forthcoming election campaign.

With millions of rand in the kitty, indications are that the National Party is looking at spending anything between R50 000 and R150 000 in every constituency it is contesting.

As in the referendum campaign the National Party is planning a massive high profile advertising campaign which will substantially push up its costs.

The estimates of the other parties are very much lower.

The Progressive Federal Party costs are not expected to average more than R40 000 a seat.

The Conservative Party estimates it will spend about R35 000 on each of the 100-odd seats it will be contesting.

The New Republic Party estimates it will cost up to R30 000 a seat.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party estimates are also in the R35 000 bracket.

The days of soap box politics are long gone and costs of elections have been rising rapidly as political parties turn more and more to high powered and slick, almost professionally run campaigns.

The referendum saw the two sides almost selling their point of view like a new brand of soap with giant bill board, cinema and newspaper advertising.

Costs start mounting almost from the day the intention of an

election is announced.

Increasingly political parties use professional pollsters to assess the fears and aspirations of the electorate and the constituencies in which they are strong or weak.

At constituency level money must be paid for the deposits of candidates, backing boards for posters, the hire of offices and halls, the printing of election propaganda including manifestos and telephone bills.

Although most parties deny it there has been increasing evidence, particularly of the National Party, in paying canvassers to go out and knock on doors.

A mail postage of propaganda in a single constituency can cost a few thousand rand.

The different parties have different ways of footing the bill.

The bigger parties such as the NP and the PFP pick up the bills of their candidates although they do not get off scot free.

They have numerous personal costs ranging from transport to new soles for their shoes from tramping the streets.

The NRP expects their candidates to raise their own money or pay most of the expenses from their own pockets.

The CP and HNP look to the constituencies to supply the money they require.

In many instances the party will not agree to contest a seat unless sufficient money is vouchsafed in advance.

Naidoo 'to sue' if ads charge fails

Cape Times 9/2/87
HAB
300/8

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Attorney Mr Krish Naidoo, who placed the "Unban the ANC" advertisements, last night added to the storm surrounding the campaign, saying he would bring a civil action against the State for malicious prosecution if he is unsuccessfully charged.

The ads have generated a political row that has led to:

- Attacks on branches of Barclays Bank, which State President Mr P W Botha implicated in the controversy in Parliament last week, and armed guards at the home of Barclays MD Mr Chris Ball, who has received death threats.

- A fall in the value of Barclays shares from 1875c to 1800c on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange on Friday.

- The appointment of a one-man commission of inquiry under Cape Judge-President Mr

Justice Munnik.

Mr Naidoo said last night that he had been told by a spokesman for the Attorney-General's office that a docket had been received and charges were being investigated.

Mr Naidoo insisted he had broken no laws, and said he was "unworried" by the possibility of charges. Witwatersrand local-division attorney-general Mr Klaus von Lieres has confirmed that his office had received a docket relating to the ads.

Media lawyer Mr Peter Reynolds said he doubted that a successful prosecution under the Internal Security Act was possible.

"The only people who could possibly be charged are the newspapers who published the ads," he said.

Meanwhile, Mr Ball tried to calm the row that has led to graffiti being sprayed on two banks in Pretoria and one in Cape Town. Bank security was tightened up at the weekend.

He declined to name the intermediary who obtained the bank cheque from Barclays to finance the campaign.

Mr Ball said he was not prepared to talk about the death threats, adding that he was not responsible for what was happening and was just trying to go about his business.

The Conservative Party's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said that as far as he was aware, CP members saw the whole affair as "just another ploy by the Nationalists".

Barclays issued a statement on Thursday saying that it had no knowledge that the R100 000 bank check issued on a client's instruction would be used to pay for the advertisements calling for the ANC's unbanning.

State President Mr Botha last week announced the appointment of a one-man commission of inquiry into the funding of pro-ANC advertisements which appeared in all major English-language newspapers on January 8.

Ball

Cape Times

9/2/87

Ball's major blunder by Botha

BREWI
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Foot
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2. S

USTRY, CARP TOWN

JOHANNESBURG. — President P. W. Botha's allegation last week that Barclays Bank chief Mr Chris Ball financed a series of legal advertisements for the outlawed African National Congress could prove to be the biggest blunder of his long political career.

Mr Botha made the allegation almost in passing on Wednesday during an off-the-cuff address to Parliament. Citing "leftist radical circles" as his source, he offered no proof of the charge.

The result for Mr Botha has been a tidal wave of condemnation for abusing parliamentary privilege.

Mr Botha should apologize, said

Afrikaner business leader Mr Johan Rupert, managing director of the Rembrandt Group. "Either that or he should resign."

Mr Murray Hofmeyr, executive director of the Anglo American mining giant, accused Mr Botha of "foul play", saying the "outrage" was "totally inappropriate to the dignity of the office of the President".

For Mr Ball, the affair has brought death threats to his family, vandalism of four Barclays branches and the risk of a massive white boycott if his denial is not believed.

Mr Botha, 70, has made mistakes in the past — he has misjudged

issues and he persistently refuses to implement race-law reforms that many consider essential.

But even usually loyal National Party lawmakers are saying in private that his abuse of parliamentary immunity from legal action to make an unfounded allegation was a blunder of major proportions — possibly the worst of his career.

At issue is the financing of adverts carried on January 8 in 22 English-language newspapers calling for legalization of the ANC.

Lawyers vetted the ads and declared them legal in terms of sweeping permanent and state of

emergency curbs on the press.

In a wide-ranging attack on the ANC, Mr Botha on Wednesday slated the ads and said Mr Ball, managing director of Barclays, which is the nation's biggest bank, paid the R150 000 bill.

Mr Ball denied the charge and challenged Mr Botha to repeat it outside the protection of Parliament.

The United Democratic Front, which signed the ads, also denied Mr Ball's involvement and said they cost R100 000.

On Thursday, Mr Botha relieved the Judge President of the Cape, Mr G G A Munnik, of his normal duties and ordered him to conduct

a one-man judicial inquiry into the financing of the adverts and Mr Ball's role in the campaign.

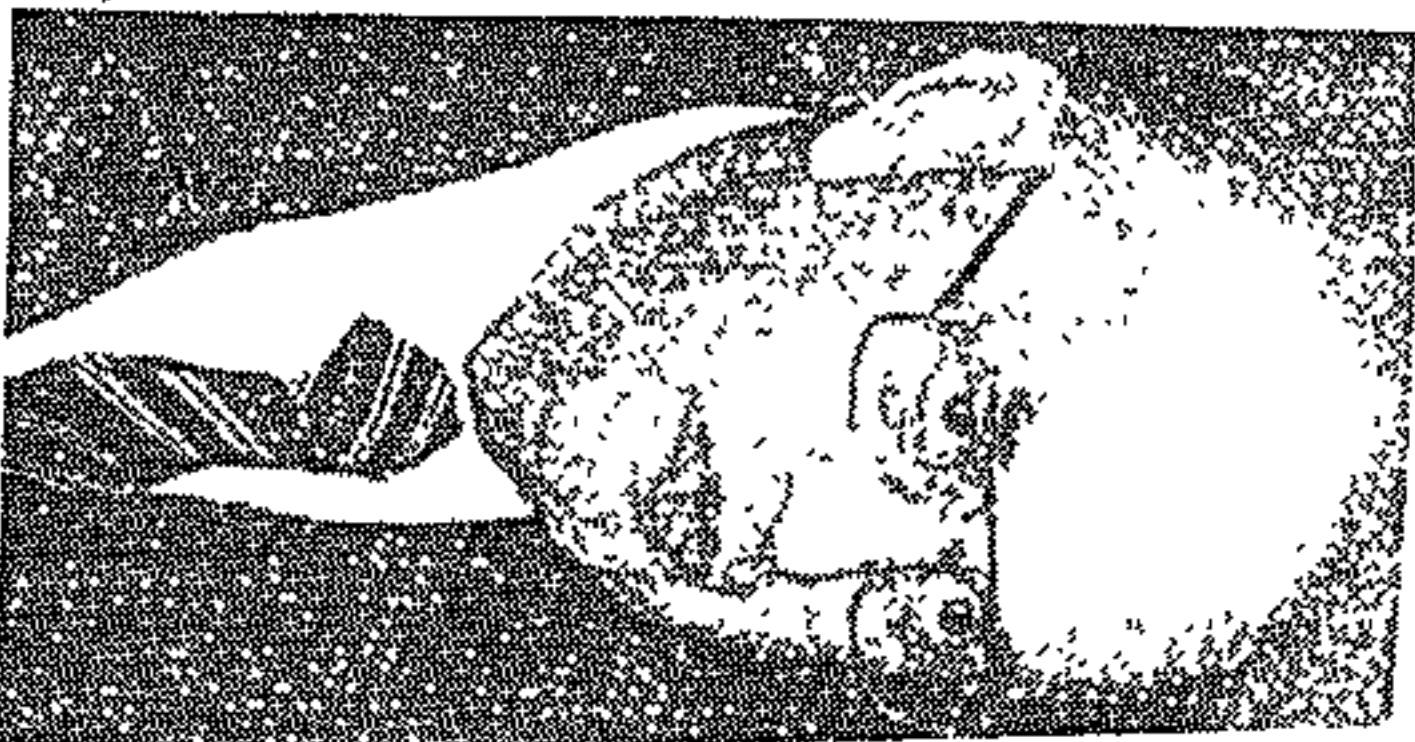
Tradeiro chairman Mr Mervyn King, leader of the country's biggest trading group and a former Supreme Court judge, said the inquiry was a waste of taxpayers' money, asking: "Why must we have an inquiry into something that was quite legal?"

An Afrikaner political analyst, Professor Willem Kleyhans, said he feared the attack on Mr Ball could be an indication of how Mr Botha plans to fight the general election he has called for May 6. "The president is in dire trouble," he said. "He is looking for

issues to divert attention away from the real issues, something to stir up emotions and keep attention off what is really happening."

Calling Mr Botha "a petty tyrant", the Sunday Tribune commented in an editorial: "To use the ramparts of parliamentary privilege as a position from which to assault the reputation, damage the business, and possibly endanger the life of a prominent critic is... disgusting."

The Sunday Star, accusing Mr Botha of "conduct unbefitting the presidency", said in its editorial: "More and more one wonders about the quality and the manner of Mr Botha's leadership." — UPI



Mr P W Botha ... charges of abusing privilege



Mr Chris Ball ... death threats to his family

Right-wing rift widens as candidates put forward

Political Reporter

The rift in the right wing widened at the weekend as the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party began separate procedures to nominate candidates for the white general election.

An HNP statement said at the weekend it was forced to accept the fact that the CP was not interested in an election pact and announced the names of 30 candidates.

It added it would attempt to name candidates in as many constituencies as possible and confirmed that its leader, Mr Jaap Marais, would contest a seat in the election, but not where.

BROTHER

The HNP named Mr Attie Treurnicht, younger brother of CP leader Dr An dries Treurnicht, as its candidate in Pretoria West.

Other nominations included Mr Louis Stoffberg in Sasolburg, Mr F Peters in Meyerton and Mr M F van der Merwe in Soutpansberg. Meyerton and Soutpansberg are held by the CP while Mr Stoffberg is the present HNP MP in Sasolburg.

Nominations for the CP closed on Saturday. Candidates nominated included Brigadier "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel in Westdene and General Hendrik van den Bergh in Pretoria East.

Former NP leader in the Transvaal, Mr Connie Mulder, and his sons Pieter and Corne were also nominated as CP candidates.

Axe hangs over Van Rensburg after meeting

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg, is almost certain to be dropped by the party following an election meeting in the constituency at the weekend.

Senior party sources are now concerned that if Mr van Rensburg does not get the party's nomination and refuses offers to be nominated in another constituency, he may resign from the party and stand as an independent.

Sources close to Mr van Rensburg indicated today that such a move cannot be ruled out, particularly as he is believed to have considerable personal support in the constituency, which he won from the National Party 16 years ago.

Delegates

Mr van Rensburg has refused to comment on the speculation.

A meeting in Bryanston on Saturday elected 20 delegates to an electoral college which, with 15 delegates from the PFP Southern Transvaal candidates committee, will meet next Saturday to elect the party's candidate.

Apart from Mr van Rensburg, there are three candidates for the nomination. They are Mr Rupert Lorimer, for-



Mr Rupert Lorimer

mer PFP MP for Orange Grove, Mr Rick Valente, Sandton management committee chairman, and Mr Willem Hefer, a business executive.

PFP sources said today that after the election of the constituency's delegates to the electoral college it would seem that Mr Lorimer was the favourite to win the nomination on Saturday.

Sources in the Van Rensburg camp said they had been outmanoeuvred in what they said had been a lengthy campaign to discredit the sitting MP.

They blamed a news report which appeared on the eve of Saturday's election and which linked Mr van Rensburg with Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, as "renegade MPs".

Two more Transvaal Nationalists resign

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two more dissatisfied Nationalists, who were members of the Bryanston divisional council, have resigned and a third member is considering giving up his official duties.

Mr Robert van Zyl, former chairman of the NP divisional council in Bryanston, has pledged support for former Nat MP Mr Wynand Malan in his campaign in Randburg as an independent candidate.

The treasurer, Mr Andre Minnaar, has also resigned but it is not clear whether he will back Mr Malan.

SECOND BLOW

The chairman of the NP in Bryanston, Mrs Anne Routier, confirmed the two resignations.

She said a third member, Dr Lefebvre Muller, was considering giving up his official duties but would remain a Nationalist.

"I don't think their resignations will affect our campaign because we have more than enough workers to cover for them, but it is sad to see people with whom you have worked for a long time leave the party," she said.

This is the second blow to the NP in the northern Johan-

nesburg area in recent weeks. Six NP members in Randburg followed Mr Malan and resigned last month because they were dissatisfied with the Government's slowness on reform.

Another Nat rebel, the retiring Ambassador to Britain, Mr Denis Worrall, denied at the weekend that he had returned to South Africa last year to seek a safe NP seat.

In an interview with the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport, Dr Worrall disclosed that he had first tendered his resignation in May last year but was persuaded to retract it.

He rejected suggestions that his resignation was a case of "sour grapes" because he was not given an NP seat.

He also said he was offered another important ambassadorship in October last year but he declined to accept it.

The Government's negative response to the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals and its stalling on the Group Areas Act were two important factors in his resignation.

He said these two issues were "a big blow" to him because supporters of South Africa abroad regarded them as important steps in the reform process.

Rift widens as CP, HNP nominate candidates

Political Staff

THE rift in the right wing widened at the weekend as the Herstigte Nasionale Party and Conservative Party began separate procedures to nominate candidates for the May 6 election.

It appears that all attempts to get the parties together to form a new party or to have an election alliance have failed.

After a weekend meeting of the HNP's head committee in Pretoria it seems as if the break between the two parties may be final.

NOT INTERESTED

The HNP announced the names of 30 candidates and said it was forced to accept that the CP was not interested in an election pact.

The parties nominated candidates without consulting each other.

The HNP said in a statement that it would attempt to name candidates in as many constituencies as possible and confirmed that its leader, Mr Jaap Marais, would contest a seat but did not announce where he would stand.

The HNP named Mr Attie Treurnicht, younger brother of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, as its candidate in Pretoria West.

"ROOI RUS"

Other nominations included Mr Lou- is Stofberg in Sasolburg, Mr F Peters in Meyerton and Mr M F van der Merwe in Soutpansberg. Meyerton and Soutpansberg are held by the CP, while Mr Stofberg is the sitting HNP MP in Sasolburg.

Nominations for the CP closed on Saturday. Candidates nominated included Brigadier "Rooi Rus" Swane- pool in Westdene and General Hendrik van den Bergh in Pretoria East.

The former NP leader in the Transvaal, Dr Connie Mulder, and his two sons, Pieter and Corne, were also nominated as CP candidates.

Dr Mulder, former Minister of Information, will contest the Randfontein seat, which he once held as a Nationalist.

VASCO AND WORCESTER

Meanwhile, the HNP announced at the weekend that it will put up candidates in Vasco and Worcester. Mrs R E Reyneke will stand in Vasco and Mr J S Bruwer in Worcester.

Efforts by Professor Caryl Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, and Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche to bring the two sides together have failed.

The National Party could benefit considerably, especially in some plateland seats, if there is no pact between the rightwing parties.

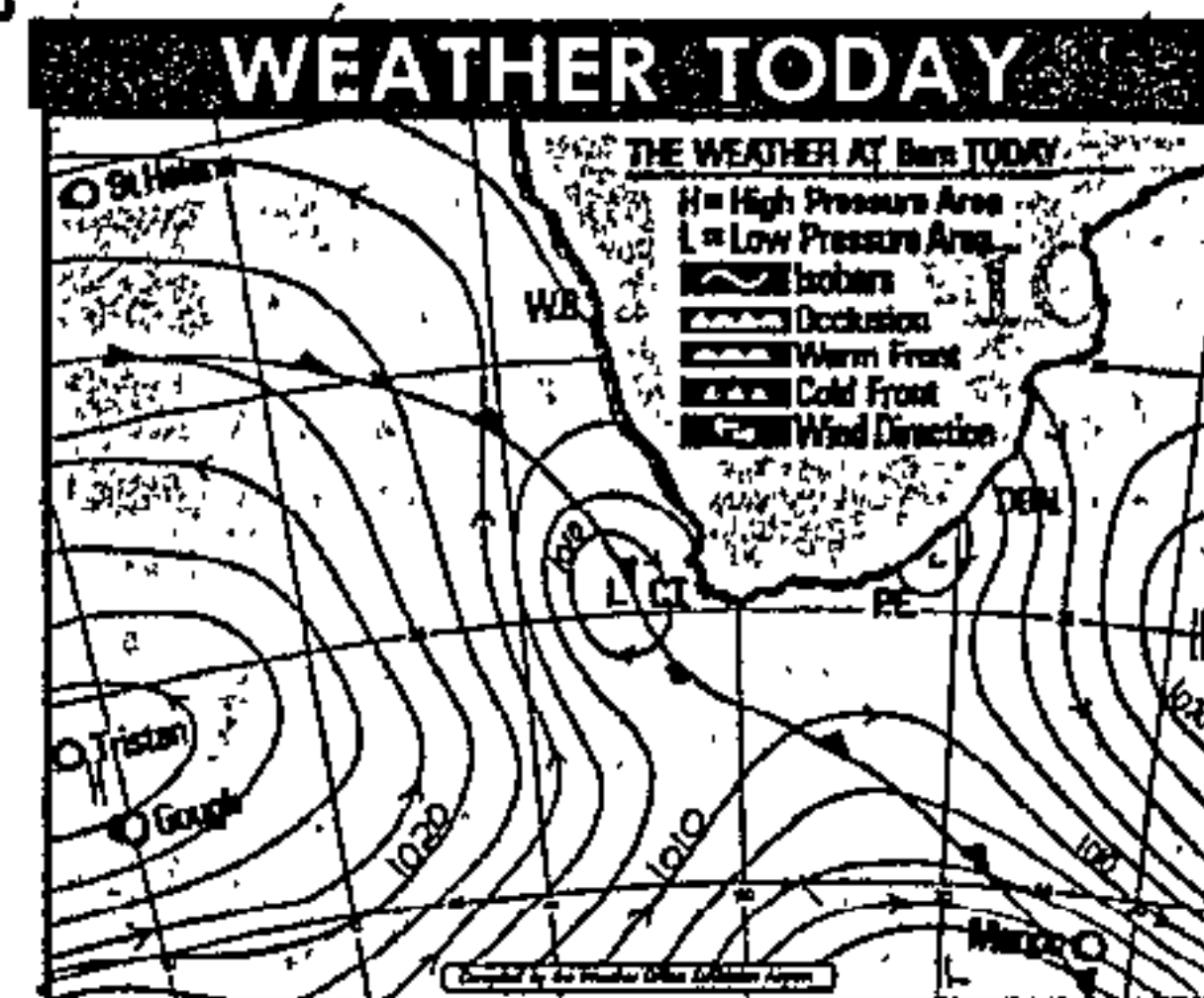
PFP nominates Cradock candidate

Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party has decided to contest Cradock.

Its candidate will be Mr CH Brotherton, a stud farmer in the district.

A four-cornered contest in Cradock is likely with the National Party, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party also standing.



A front will cause light rain overnight but it will clear partially tomorrow, except along the south coast and south-western interior.

Clearing partially

WEATHER forecast for the Peninsula, Bo- land and Overberg for the period ending 6pm tomorrow:

□ Partly cloudy and mild becoming cloudy with showers this evening, clearing partially in the Peninsula tomorrow.

□ Wind: Fresh north-westerly becoming fresh southerly tonight but gale force south-easterly tomorrow.

□ The minimum temperature at D F Malan Airport will be between 12 and 14 deg C.

THE MOON

Full moon Feb 13
Last quarter Feb 21
New moon Feb 28
First quarter Mar 7

THE SUN

Sets today 1945
Rises tomorrow 0616

THE TIDES

High water
Today: 0112, 1312
Tomorrow: 0154, 1357
Low water
Today: 0718, 1935
Tomorrow: 0758, 2011

WATER TEMPERATURES

Sea Point
Sea 11 deg C
Pool 22 deg C
Muizenberg
Sea 21 deg C
Pool 23 deg C
Newlands 24 deg C

D F MALAN climatological data for yesterday

February 8
(The figure in brackets shows the average for the month)
Maximum temperature 24,1 (26,3) deg C
Minimum temperature 17,3 (15,3) deg C
Mean temperature 20,7 (20,3) deg C
Maximum humidity 93 (94) %
Minimum humidity 53 (48) %
Mean humidity 75 (71) %
Mean atmospheric pressure 1008,4 mb (1013,2)
Rainfall 8am - 8am 0,0mm
Progressive rainfall for the month 3,6 mm (13,6mm)
Sunshine 11,2 hours (10,7)
Prevailing wind direction NW (S)
Maximum hourly velocity NW 10,9 (SSE 16,5m a second)
Maximum gust NW 15,9 (SSE 25,5m a second)

9am TEMPERATURES

East London 29 deg C
Port Elizabeth 23 deg C
George 21 deg C
Upington 29 deg C
Bloemfontein 24 deg C
Windhoek 20 deg C
Pretoria 23 deg C
Cape Town (yesterday 2pm) 23,4 deg C
Cape Town (today 9am) 20,6 deg C
For the latest weather information ☎ 46 1261

Div's son to stand for NP in Wynberg

Political Correspondent

MR David Graaff, son of the former Leader of the Opposition and of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff, is to be the National Party's general election candidate in Wynberg.

It will be the 46-year-old Mr Graaff's sixth attempt to get into Parliament.

He stood for the United Party in Stellenbosch in 1970, in Caledon in 1972 and in Sea Point in 1974. In 1977 and in 1981 he stood for the New Republic Party in Pinelands.

He joined the National Party last year.

● Mr J W Harkess, a former Conservative Party candidate and barrister, will stand for the NP in Constantia.

ARGUS 4/2/87
(10) (10) 3041

'Hold referendum or else' Indaba

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Kwazulu-Natal Indaba is to strike back at Government intransigence to its proposals with a multi-million-rand publicity campaign spearheaded by the same consultancy that masterminded the huge "yes" vote in the 1983 referendum.

And a direct challenge will be issued to the Government to either test the wishes of the people of Natal with a referendum or else the Indaba will do it for them.

The Indaba steering committee is meeting members of the successful Hays Management Consultants today to discuss the best methods of selling the Indaba after the Government's rejection of its findings.

The Washington-based consultants are responsible for promoting President Ronald Reagan's popular appeal and are also subsidiaries to the Saatchi and Saatchi advertising agency, best known for their success, in engineering Mrs

Margaret Thatcher's landslide victory in 1979.

They are no strangers to African politics as they spearheaded the re-election campaign of Nigerian President Shehu Shagari, and they were also largely responsible for the overwhelming "yes" vote in favour of the South African Government during the tricameral referendum.

Ironically, in handling the Indaba account, their opponents will be their former clients.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, has warned the Kwazulu-Natal Indaba that if it goes ahead with its own referendum on the proposals "they will kill the initiative".

Mr Heunis emphasised that a Government-sponsored referendum would be considered only if the proposals were acceptable to the Government.

And Mr Heunis made it clear that proposals acceptable to the Government would have to be based on group representation and protection.

Just not AWB's role

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche says he has no desire to become the "bickering apple" between the CP and the HNP, whose leaders are still unable to come to an electoral agreement.

CP and HNP sources have said unofficial agreements not to oppose one another are being made in a number of constituencies in spite of the continuing battle between their leaders.

Terre'Blanche disputed reports that the AWB is now throwing its weight behind the HNP because of the refusal of CP leader Andries Treurnicht to compromise in the pact with the HNP.

"I refuse to become part of the differences between the two parties and see myself rather as playing a role in their unification. The issue is not yet a lost case. You can expect a statement from me later this week," he said.

Top admen report on Indaba today

FOUR consultants are already in Durban to launch a multi-million-rand advertising campaign to keep the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba out of party politics during the forthcoming House of Assembly election.

The members of Hay Management Consultants will present a preliminary report to the Indaba's steering committee today.

Two of the men have helped U S President Ronald Reagan in his election campaigns and the consultancy is a subsidiary of the Saatchi and Saatchi advertising agency which helped the Conservative Party take power in Britain in 1979.

Procedure

Indaba director Prof David van Wyk said, based on suggestions from the Hay Group, the Indaba organisers will run a multi-million-rand fund-raising and advertising campaign.

Prof van Wyk said the organisers wanted to stop the impression that supporting the proposals was the same as supporting the NRP and PFP and rejecting the proposals was the same as voting for the NP.

He said NP members who wanted to support the Indaba proposals would not do so if this was per-

Political Reporter

ceived as supporting the PFP.

'We want to create the possibility for all supporters to support the Indaba.'

Prof van Wyk said 80% of the Government's qualified rejection of the Indaba proposals was based on procedure and 20% on substance.

'They say there is not enough protection of minority rights and too little power sharing in the proposals, but they don't say why

Some politicians seem to have the impression that because the majority of Indaba delegations were not politicians, the Indaba would roll over and wag its tail the moment the politicians started shouting at it.

'Nothing could be further from the truth.

'The Indaba and its potential contribution to a peaceful solution in the province and South Africa as a whole is too important to allow it to be derailed by short-sighted politicians.'

Prof van Wyk said he hoped the Government would run a referendum. But if not, the Indaba organisers would run a massive opinion poll.

MP: govt using SABC as NP propaganda arm

Dispatch Reporter
GRAHAMSTOWN — The government was using SABC-TV "shamelessly as the propaganda arm of the National Party in this the most crucial election any of us will ever fight."

1. This was said by the MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, in Bathurst at the annual meeting of the Progressive Federal Party's Albany constituency.

"It is for this reason we can expect the government to try to obfuscate the issues by dragging in all manner of red

herrings including the old and well-tried boogies: the total onslaught, the ANC, white security with its flip-side, swart gevaar," he said.

The no-confidence debate gave clear indication of the direction in which the government intended moving in the future. Important speeches were made by the State President and "the two crown princes — Ministers C. Heunis and F. W. de Klerk".

Mr Moorcroft said all made it clear that reform on the basic apartheid issues had come to the end of the road.

This was the direct cause of Mr Wynand Malan's defection, Dr Dennis Worrall's resignation, and the reason for the growing band of disillusioned Afrikaner intellectuals and businessmen who were now openly critical of the National Party.

President Botha made it abundantly plain he was totally wedded to the concept of group differentiation as the indispensable foundation of the South African constitution.

This meant he had no intention of abolishing the Population Registration Act or the Group Areas Act.

Mr Moorcroft said that for as long as the National Party insisted on the racial group as a basis for political participation, it would face massive black rejection.



MR MOORCROFT

"The only proposals which have seen the light of day are vague plans about black councils and black 'city states'."

There would be continued tinkering at apartheid laws but no scrapping them.

Nothing gave greater proof of the validity of this contention than the government's reaction to the KwaNatal Indaba proposals.

Yet these were the first really competitive political alternatives to apartheid to have been devised since 1948.

"One can understand why the government is so keen to discredit the proposals and keep the Indaba from becoming an electoral issue."

The Indaba stood for everything the government rejected: a process of involving recognised leaders in genuine negotiations rather than involving selected persons likely to sympathise with the government's apartheid policies, and a non-racial system based on universal franchise on a common voters' role with safeguards for minority groups.

"This is genuine power sharing."

By rejecting the Kwa-Natal Indaba proposals, the government had slammed the door on genuine reform in the face of moderate South Africans.

"South Africans are being asked to make a crucial decision. They must understand the government is incapable of meaningful reform."

South Africans must choose between voting for the National Party and its policy of group differentiation and segregation (apartheid) and the PFP/NRP alliance which sought to lead South Africa out of a dead end and into a new future under a new, non-racial, constitution.

50 at alliance campaign launch

304A

DD
10/2/87

Dispatch Reporter

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The New Republic Party and the Progressive Federal Party launched their alliance election campaign for the northern region of the King William's Town constituency at an hotel here last night.

The main speaker at the meeting, which was attended by approximately 50 people, was the Cape leader of the NRP and the MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers.

The meeting was also addressed by the PFP candidates for East London North and East London City, Mr Errol Spring and Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaite.

In his address Mr Rogers said he could detect

a new mood in South African politics, "feelings of hope and of a way out that were really worth being part of", which the alliance was providing.

"The Border region is facing immense challenges, and there are no ready-made solutions.

"The solutions must come from the people who live here," Mr Rogers said.

Mr Spring said the Nationalist government had a record of mismanagement, and it was up to "us, the moderates to say enough and bring the country back from the brink of disaster".

Mr Bassingthwaite said the NP had lost its ability to defend its policy because its members did not know what its policy was.

John Scott to oppose Wiley

304A

Cape Times 10/2/87

Staff Reporters

MR John Scott, senior assistant editor on the Cape Times, was last night nominated as the Progressive Federal Party's candidate for Simon's Town in the coming general election.

Mr Scott, 48, will resign from the Cape Times, where he has worked for the past 21 years, to stand against the current Simon's Town MP, Mr John Wiley, Minister of Environmental and Water Affairs.



John Scott.

Best known for his Cape Times columns, PS and Notes, in the House, Mr Scott won the prestigious Settlers Prize for Journalism in 1979 and has gleaned an intimate knowledge of politics and politicians in his 20 years of covering Parliament.

Commenting on his nomination last night, Mr Scott said: "I aim to make the Simon's Town election campaign one of the most exciting contests in years. It is high time for the last Nationalist occupation in the Peninsula to be stormed and taken."

TUESDAY, 10 FEBRUARY 1987

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TUESDAY, 10 FEBRUARY 1987

#Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

3041H Natal Indaba

*1. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the State President:†

Whether the attitude expressed by the Natal leader of the National Party on 1 December 1986 in respect of the Natal Indaba on the occasion of a news conference in Durban represents the official attitude of the Government in this regard; if not, what is the official attitude of the Government in respect of this matter?

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

I refer the hon member to the address which I delivered on the occasion of the opening of the present session of Parliament on 30 January 1987, in which this matter was dealt with.

Speech at Day of the Vow

*2. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the State President:

(1) Whether the head of the National Intelligence Service made a speech at a Day of the Vow gathering at the Blood River Monument in Northern Natal on 16 December 1986; if so, what was the purport of his speech;

(2) whether any person or persons connected to the National Intelligence Service requested any journalists not to publish the contents of this speech; if so, (a) what are their (i) names and (ii) positions in the National Intelligence Service, (b) why, (c) on whose authority and (d) in terms of what statutory provisions;

H 6 A

(3) whether the publication of the contents of this speech was prohibited; if so, (a) why, (b) by whom and (c) in terms of what statutory provisions; if not,

(4) whether any action is to be taken as a result of this incident; if so, (a) what action and (b) against whom;

(5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) Yes, that moderates in South Africa must stand united to resist the revolutionary onslaught and to seek solutions for the country's problems.

(2) Yes.

(a) (i) In terms of the Protection of Information Act, No 84 of 1982, the names of members of the National Intelligence Service may not be disclosed.

(ii) Security personnel.

(b) Following a wish expressed by the Director-General of the National Intelligence Service.

(c) Based on the wish expressed by the Director-General of the National Intelligence Service that was wrongly interpreted as an order.

(d) In terms of no statutory provision.

(3) (a), (b) and (c) Falls away.

(4) Steps have already been taken.

(a) Rectification of the situation was done by means of statements to the press and disciplinary action was taken within the ranks of the National Intelligence Service.

(b) The personnel member concerned.

(5) No.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply given by the hon the State President, is he in a position to make the text of that speech available at this stage for public information in view of the fact that there is no statutory provision which precludes its publication?

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, I am prepared to let the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition have a copy of the speech should the Director-General have it at his disposal.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Can it be made public?

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, the text of the speech can be made public as long as every word of it is published, and not certain extracts only. [Interjections.]

Mr SPEAKER: Order!

Chissano: discussions 10/2/87
 3. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the State President:

Whether he intends to meet with President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique to discuss (a) the Nkomati Accord and (b) other matters of mutual interest; if so, when is it intended to hold such a meeting?

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

It is generally known that the South African Government is in favour of talks on a variety of subjects with the governments of all its neighbours, including Mozambique. However, it is not customary to make public statement in this connection.

Ministers:

Booklet, "Talking with the ANC..." 10/2/87

*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

(1) Whether the Bureau for Information has reprinted the booklet entitled "Talking with the ANC..." which was originally published in June 1986; if so, (a) when, (b) why and (c) how many additional copies were printed;

(2) whether any changes were made in the reprinted booklet; if so, (a) what changes, (b) why and (c) on whose instructions were these changes made?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

(1) Yes.

(a) July 1986.

(b) Because of overwhelming demand for the publication, both in South Africa and overseas.

(c) 100 000 copies.

(2) Yes.

(a) A photograph was replaced by another and some linguistic and technical improvements were effected.

(b) This was done to improve continuity between the text and the photographs and to improve the text technically.

(c) On the instructions of the management of the Bureau for Information.

*2. Mrs H SUZMAN—Law and Order. [Reply standing over.]

*3. Mrs H SUZMAN—Law and Order. [Reply standing over.]

*4. Mrs H SUZMAN—Law and Order. [Reply standing over.]

Pietersburg: meeting

*5. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 16 on 2 September 1986, the departmental investigation into the vacating of a hall in Pietersburg during a meeting of the National Party on 22 May 1986 has been completed; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether the District Commissioner of the South African Police, Far Northern Transvaal Division, received instructions from a certain person in connection with the vacating of the hall; if so, (a) what were the findings of the departmental investigating team in respect of this person, (b) what was the nature of the instructions concerned and (c) how long were those present given to vacate the hall before tear-smoke was used;

(3) what is the policy of the South African Police in respect of the use of tear-smoke in partially closed spaces in which members of the public are present?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(2) (a) to (c) This departmental investigation is considered to be a domestic matter and the findings were brought to the attention of the officers of the South African Police concerned, in writing, thus it is not considered to be of interest to supply additional information regarding the matter, except to say that the necessary remedial steps were taken.

(3) No fixed policy in respect of the use of tear gas, also in partially closed spaces is determined, since every event is handled according to circumstances attached thereto.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, can he categorically state that the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs had absolutely nothing to do with the instruction or in any way influenced the actions of the brigadier?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have indicated to the hon member that the inquiry was of a departmental nature, that it has been finalised and that it is not in the interests of those officers that we should give further information about it.

10/2/87 House rent/service fees KAMG:avd

*6. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

What total amount was owing to institutions under his control in respect of arrears (a) house rent and (b) service fees in Black residential areas in the Republic on the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING AND OF PUBLIC WORKS AND LAND AFFAIRS:

The control over the former development boards was devolved to the respective Administrators on 1 July 1986 and that over Black local authorities on 1 October 1986. Separate figures in respect of house rents and service fees which are in arrears in Black residential areas are not available. The amount owing to the local authorities in the respective provinces as on 30 November 1986 and which is recoverable, is R177 647 546,87.

Indications are that there has recently been an improvement in the rate of recovery in various townships. Special measures to shorten the procedures for recovery of the outstanding amounts, are under consideration.

B14A forms

*7. Mr S S VANDER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether a shortage of B14A forms (notice of change of address) used for the purposes of the population register and the voters' roll occurred at any regional offices or the head office of his Department during the course of January 1987; if so, (a) at which specified offices, (b) why and (c)

AWB in fresh bid to unite the Right

Star
Political Reporter
(304)

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, will make an important announcement this week in a bid to reconcile the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, a spokesman for the AWB said.

The HNP announced the names of 30 candidates at the weekend:

Mr L Crous, Albany; Mr G Fourie, Boksburg; Mr J Chiole, Carletonville; Dr S F P Scheepers, Cradock; Mr E le Riche, Durbanville; Mr F Annadale, Germiston; Mr C Hertzog, Fauresmith; Mr F Liebenberg, Gordonia; Mr P Hugo, Heilbron; Mrs S van Heerden, Johannesburg West; Mr J P Nel, Kempton Park; Mr F Peters, Meyerton; Mr H de Bruin, Kimberley South; Dr P Meyer, Kliprivier; Mr O Hartung, Newcastle; Mr P Wagener, Port Elizabeth; Mr Attie Treurnicht, Pretoria West; Mr Willie Marais, Roodeplaat; Dr F Ipland, Rustenburg; Mr Louis Stoffberg, Sasolburg; Mr H Koeckemoer, Schweizer-Reneke; Mr H Labuschagne, Smithfield; Mr M F van der Merwe, Soutpansberg; Mr S Smit Stilfontein; Mr R Reyecke, Vasco; Mr P F Kruger, Virginia; Mr J L Erasmus, Vryheid; Mr P D Malan, Welkom; Mr M Peters, Wonderboom and Mr J S Bruwer, Worcester.

The CP has also nominated a number of candidates, but these must still be approved by the executive committee:

Dr Servaas Latsky, Alberton; Mr Casper Uys, Barberton; Mr Frank le Roux, Brakpan; Mr Andrew Gerber and Mr Manus van Rensburg, Brits; Mr Daan Nolte, Delmas; Dr Jan Richter, Geduld; Mr Mossie van der Berg, Innesdal; Dr Corne Mulder, Gezina; Mr S P Barnard, presently MP in Langlaagte, Hercules; Mr Clive Derby Lewis and Mr Kallie van der Merwe, Krugersdorp; Mr Jaap de Villiers, Langlaagte; Dr Ferdi Hartzenburg, Lichtenburg; Professor Fanie Jacobs of Potchefstroom University, Losberg; Mr Dries Bruwer, Lydenburg; Mr A C van Wyk, Maraisburg; Mr Pikkie Coetzee, Middelburg; Mr Carel Schoeman, Nigel; Professor Pieter Mulder, Potchefstroom; General Hendrik van den Bergh, Pretoria West; Mr Piet Rudolf, Pretoria West; Mr Schalk Pienaar, Potgietersrus; Mr Connie Mulder, Randfontein; Dr Tobie Hart, Roodeplaat; Mr J Prinsloo, Roodepoort; Mr Tom Langley, Soutpansberg; Mr Gert Parsons, Springs; Mr Rosier de Ville, Standerton; Mr Paul Fouche, Sunnyside; Mr Kobus Beyers, Schweizer Reneke; General Kobus Visser, Verwoerdburg; Brigadier "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, Westdene; Mr Jan van Zyl, presently MP in Sunnyside, Wonderboom.

Mr Heunis was adamant that the Indaba proposals did not protect group rights and as such were not acceptable to the Government.

He denied that this amounted to the Government setting down firm parameters for any negotiations, but was not prepared to deal in specifics because negotiations on any future dispensation for a joint legislature for kwaZulu and Natal would still take place.

He would not even commit himself to a single legislature for the region.

Mr Heunis conceded that his claim on television that the Government had not rejected the Indaba applied to the concept and not to the actual proposals.

Neither would he comment on indications that the kwaZulu/Inkatha delegates had been cautious about signing the proposals because there was too much emphasis on group rights.

He could only comment on what had been handed to him.

Repeated accusations

Throughout the interview he repeatedly swung his answers into accusations that the PFP and NRP had bedevilled chances of success because they had made it an election issue.

He rejected arguments that the first person to make it a political issue had been the Natal leader of the National Party, Mr Stoffel Botha, who gave the proposals the thumbs down within 48 hours of the majority of the delegates signing the Indaba report.

Mr Heunis said Mr Botha was entitled to comment as the National

Heunis blames opposition for Indaba rumpus



Heunis... "proposals represent majority rule".

Party of Natal was an Indaba delegate, even though only, by choice, with observer status.

He maintained he had been quite prepared to agree to the request of the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, not to make an election issue of the Indaba, but the NRP and PFP had made this impossible by forming an election pact on the basis of the Indaba.

His view had been until then that the Government should not comment before the initiators of the process, the kwaZulu Govern-

Bruce Cameron of The Star's parliamentary staff interviewed the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, after his controversial appearance on TV1's "Network" programme. Opposition politicians and the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba administration accused him of making misleading or incorrect statements.

ment/Inkatha and the Natal Provincial Executive, had commented on the proposals.

Challenged on how he could claim that the current Provincial Executive, which had been appointed by the Government, could be considered to be the same as the elected Natal Provincial Executive which was scrapped by the Government, Mr Heunis replied: "It makes no difference."

He said the appointed Provincial Executive was "not an agent of the Government" and there were only two National Party members serving on it.

If the new Executive could not be seen as the legal successor it should not be party to the planned Joint Executive Authority for Natal and kwaZulu.

Mr Heunis said the Government could not be expected to give approval to a set of proposals that "by

their own definition are incomplete".

The economic consequences of the Indaba proposals had not been fully assessed.

"The proposals imply additional expenditure that they say Natal hasn't got." This could prove to be a problem if every province made similar recommendations.

The proposals were also incomplete because no recommendations were made on how the proposed legislature would fit in with central government.

Mr Heunis questioned the fact that the proposals were a majority report, saying delegates had signed in their personal capacity and not on behalf of their organisations.

He lauded the concept of the Indaba but "deplored the political parties which for their own expediency put the initiative, which had great promise, into jeopardy".

If the proposals remained as they

were they were rejected as the Government believed in "equal group participation. The proposals represent majority rule".

Sociologist Professor Lawrence Schlemmer had said that the proposals amounted to black majority rule.

Mr Heunis ruled out the suggestion that the Bill of Rights and the second chamber provided any significant protection for group rights.

Group rights were excluded on general affairs and applied only to cultural issues such as language. Other group issues, including residential areas (Group Areas), were excluded.

"The proposals as such give no guarantee for the self-determination of cultural affairs and do not include a formula for ensuring group participation in the process of government."

Asked about his previous undertaking to consider a public testing of the proposals, Mr Heunis stressed that only proposals which were acceptable to the Government would be tested by a referendum or referenda.

He indicated that any attempt by the Indaba to initiate its own referendum would not be acceptable to the Government. "It doesn't have the capacity."

Mr Heunis repeated his undertaking to discuss a joint legislature after he had received the input of kwaZulu and the Provincial Executive — not only with those two bodies but with all political parties.

Inquiry: Call to Munnik to step down

282
3047
CMB TMS 10/2/87

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice George Munnik, yesterday rejected a call for him to step down from the commission of inquiry appointed by President P W Botha to look into the financing of ANC advertisements.

The call was made by Mr Boris G Savvas, a former member of the Pretoria Bar, in a letter to the Sunday Star.

In the letter, Mr Savvas asked Mr Justice Munnik to "decline from accepting or continuing" with his appointment because "his office is being used for political purposes which have a dubious character and which can only serve to demean it as well as the established legal institutions of South Africa".

Mr Justice Munnik said yesterday that Mr Botha had given him a job to do and it was of "no interest" to him what Mr Savvas had to say about this.

"I don't know who Mr Savvas is and it is of little consequence to me what he says."

Incriminate

He also said he was not prepared to submit to "trial by newspaper".

In his letter, Mr Savvas



Mr Justice Munnik

said that unless Mr Botha had information which would incriminate Barclays chief executive Mr Chris Ball "in a treasonable or triable offence, then the inquiry can serve no purpose other than to indulge in police work by fishing for information which does not exist at the moment and is not in Mr Botha's possession".

Mr Savvas said that "no one single comprehensive, justifiable or valuable result can be found in the creation of this commission".

He noted that in a court of law, the authorities would have to establish a prima facie case, at least. "Now there is nothing save the say-so

of the executive which will or will not disclose the commission's findings as it deems fit.

"And this occurs when every ounce of logic and reason points to the absence of wrongful conduct.

Docket

"In my submission, the only plausible factors are that Mr Botha has no, or insufficient, grounds on which to accuse Mr Ball or is acting with total disregard for the laws of South Africa; and that by establishing the commission he is creating a mode whereby he can escape public accountability during the election campaign for the accusations he has made," Mr Savvas said.

□ Sapa reports that a docket relating to the placing of the "Unban the ANC" advertisements by attorney Mr Krish Naidoo has been handed to the Witwatersrand local division attorney-general, Mr Klaus von Lieres, to decide whether he intends prosecuting.

Mr Von Lieres said yesterday that police had given him the docket, but he had not yet made any decision.

The United Democratic Front earlier stated that it had paid for the advertisements.

Cape Times 10/2/87

Govt must go, say top churchmen

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN A CALL to South Africans to think again, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak yesterday urged the formation of a "democratic and representative" government.

The Nobel Peace Prize-winner and the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches maintained that recent events had demonstrated that the government had "lost all claim to legitimacy" and needed to be "removed and replaced".

A joint statement by two of the country's leading churchmen makes a special appeal to whites not to be "fooled" ahead of yet another all-white election which they see as a "sad substitute for full and meaningful participation" of all South Africans in a democratic government.

'Bogged down'

The head of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) and former leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday added his voice to the call for a "genuinely accountable and democratic government" in South Africa.

"All of us must look for new and innovative ways to prevent the political debate from getting bogged down by the petty issues which President P W Botha and his government will try to push forward.

"It's the old trick of obscuring what is really the issue," he said.

The statement from Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak said "the current situation in our country and the utterly irresponsible response of the government to certain recent events must cause all South Africans to think again.

"Mr P W Botha should stop looking for scapegoats to cover up the bankruptcy of whatever he calls 'policy' and especially white South Africans should stop fooling themselves".

The "scandal of South Africa" did not lie in certain organizations calling for the unbanning of the ANC. Rather it lay in:

□ "A continued state of emergency which legalizes unremitting State terrorism.

To page 2

Cape Times 10/2/87

From page 1

Govt must go

304A

□ "The detention of 25 000 under emergency regulations — 40 percent of whom are children under 18 years old.

□ "The homeland policy of relocation camps and forced removals.

□ "The continuation of apartheid in whatever modern guise this evil system may have.

□ "Violence the State has to employ to ensure white domination, and the counter-violence it inevitably calls forth."

The statement continues: "Of course, the people's organizations should be unbanned and all political prisoners and detainees should be released.

"These are the issues. These will remain the issues, not another all-white election which is the sad substitute for the full and meaningful participation of all South African people in a democratic government."

Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak said the issue was not how a white election could "improve" the government.

"The issue is that this government has lost all claim to legitimacy. It constitutes an unmitigated danger to the future of our country.

"It should be removed and replaced with a government that is democratic and representative. It is as simple as that and no amount of blustering will change these facts.

"The sooner all of South Africa realizes this the better it will be for all of us," the churchmen said.

Indaba could stave off U S sanctions says prof

NIM 116 304A P/2/81

Political Reporter

THE KwaZulu/Natal Indaba may become a force that could save South Africa from total sanctions by the United States.

This was said yesterday by Prof Desmond Clarence, chairman of the Indaba, at a Press conference in Durban.

The conference was called to outline recommendations made at the request of the Indaba to its

steering committee.

Prof Clarence said members of the Washington-based Hay Group of management consultants had said they would talk about the Indaba to Congressmen before Congress next considered sanctions in July.

"They (the Hay Group) are of the opinion that the proposals are highly saleable, both internally and internationally, and hold real prospects of saving South

Africa from total sanctions."

The four-man Hay Group team, which has had links with the political campaigns of President Reagan and British premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher, flew out of Durban yesterday after presenting a three-phase advertising campaign to the Indaba steering committee.

Prof Clarence said the committee had already

been publicising the Indaba proposals and their implications but the consultants had crystalised the advertising campaign into three phases.

● See Editorial Opinion

Economic policy berated

B / Day 10/2/87
Own Correspondent

A VOTE for the NP on May 6 would be a vote for "economic masochism", Brian Goodall, PFP MP for Edenvale, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said he could understand why government did not want the economy to become an election issue: "If my record was as bad as theirs, I would not want to discuss it, either."

He said during the second reading debate on the Part Appropriation Bill that since 1980 the economy had grown in real terms by 1%, which was the worst rate achieved since 1920.

If government remained in power in

the 1990s, the growth rate would be minus 1,5%, he said.

Goodall said that when the government was elected in 1981, gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was R2 127 in real terms.

By the end of 1986, it had dropped by 10% to R1 917 — less than it was in 1972.

He said nothing had endangered SA's stability more than government's ability to destroy jobs.

In 1986, manufacturing industry employed 133 000 fewer people than in 1981.

FCI calls for reform to restore confidence

THE Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) warned yesterday that investor confidence could only be fully restored if substantial progress was made on the reform front.

Reacting to the mini-budget, FCI president Hans Snyckers said it was firmly aimed at stimulating confidence in the still flagging economy.

Increased consumer spending power should put greater thrust into the upswing, he said.

Medium-term

"The chamber hopes other actions in the government's pipeline will not neutralise the positive effects generated in this budget," he said.

Snyckers welcomed the emphasis on implementing the medium-term economic strategy especially in terms of pursuing a policy of promoting inward industrialisation.

Business Day Reporters

Spokesmen for both the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut last night welcomed the package announced by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in Parliament yesterday.

Assocom CEO Raymond Parsons said he "shared the realistic assessment of the economic situation and the outlook for SA" given by Du Plessis.

He welcomed the tax and other concessions.

He said they would make a "positive contribution to business and consumer confidence".

"Assocom believes that the fiscal decisions embodied in the Part Appropriation speech improve the chances of SA reaching a target growth rate of 3% in 1987, unless neutralised by other unforeseen circumstances," said Parsons. He added he was pleased with

the Minister's rejection of price and wage controls as well as the postponement of salary increases for civil servants.

AHI vice-president and MD of Sanlam Pierre Steyn said he was "pleasantly surprised" by the content of the budget.

In particular, lower personal taxation rather than a general salary increase would contribute towards fighting inflation.

Loan levy

"The lowering of the maximum marginal rate to 45% will be especially beneficial to entrepreneurship," he said.

The steps announced would boost both consumer spending and consumer confidence.

And this would be enhanced by the early repayment of the loan levy.

However, Steyn warned against unnaturally high private and public sector salary increases later this year.

INCOME TAX PAYABLE: 1987 AND 1988 MARRIED UNDER 60

Income	No Children			1 Child			2 Children			3 Children		
	1987	1988	Reduction	1987	1988	Reduction	1987	1988	Reduction	1987	1988	Reduction
R 3 300	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 000	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 500	78	—	78	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 000	154	55	99	59	—	59	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 500	230	130	100	135	30	105	40	—	—	—	—	—
8 000	306	205	101	211	105	106	116	—	—	—	—	—
9 000	458	355	103	363	255	108	268	155	113	173	55	118
10 000	610	505	105	515	405	110	420	305	115	325	205	120
11 000	762	655	107	667	555	112	572	455	117	477	355	122
12 000	914	805	109	819	705	114	724	605	119	629	505	124
14 000	1 263	1 136	127	1 168	1 036	132	1 073	936	137	978	836	142
16 000	1 689	1 544	145	1 594	1 444	150	1 499	1 344	155	1 404	1 244	160
18 000	2 177	2 018	159	2 082	1 918	164	1 987	1 818	169	1 892	1 718	174
20 000	2 704	2 532	172	2 609	2 432	177	2 514	2 332	182	2 419	2 232	187
25 000	4 188	3 994	194	4 093	3 894	199	3 998	3 794	204	3 903	3 694	209
30 000	5 905	5 702	203	5 810	5 602	208	5 715	5 502	213	5 620	5 402	218
40 000	9 951	9 590	361	9 856	9 490	366	9 761	9 390	371	9 666	9 290	376
50 000	14 318	13 831	487	14 223	13 731	492	14 128	13 631	497	14 033	13 531	502
60 000	18 873	18 228	645	18 778	18 128	650	18 683	18 028	655	18 588	17 928	660
80 000	28 367	27 225	1 142	28 272	27 125	1 147	28 177	27 025	1 152	28 082	26 925	1 157
100 000	37 867	36 225	1 642	37 772	36 125	1 647	37 677	36 025	1 652	37 582	35 925	1 657

MB. (1) The above amounts have been calculated on the basis that the taxpayer's wife has no income and that he has no other dependants.

(2) The standard deductions for medical expenses and rebates for insurance premiums have been allowed.

Inquiry: Call to Munnik to step down

2657
30KAP
CMB Times 10/2/87

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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The call was made by Mr Boris G Savvas, a former member of the Pretoria Bar, in a letter to the Sunday Star.

In the letter, Mr Savvas asked Mr Justice Munnik to "decline from accepting or continuing" with his appointment because "his office is being used for political purposes which have a dubious character and which can only serve to demean it as well as the established legal institutions of South Africa".

Mr Justice Munnik said yesterday that Mr Botha had given him a job to do and it was of "no interest" to him what Mr Savvas had to say about this.

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Incriminate

He also said he was not prepared to submit to "trial by newspaper". In his letter, Mr Savvas



Mr Justice Munnik

said that unless Mr Botha had information which would incriminate Barclays chief executive Mr Chris Ball "in a treasonable or triable offence, then the inquiry can serve no purpose other than to indulge in police work by fishing for information which does not exist at the moment and is not in Mr Botha's possession".

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of the executive which will or will not disclose the commission's findings as it deems fit.

"And this occurs when every ounce of logic and reason points to the absence of wrongful conduct.

Docket

"In my submission, the only plausible factors are that Mr Botha has no, or insufficient, grounds on which to accuse Mr Ball or is acting with total disregard for the laws of South Africa; and that by establishing the commission he is creating a mode whereby he can escape public accountability during the election campaign for the accusations he has made," Mr Savvas said.

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Mr Von Lieres said yesterday that police had given him the docket, but he had not yet made any decision.

The United Democratic Front earlier stated that it had paid for the advertisements.

Botha denies allegation

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN - The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, has categorically denied that he told a gathering of foreign correspondents that "Nelson Mandela can rot in prison until he dies or I die whichever takes longer".

The allegation is contained in an article in the Financial Mail of February 13 entitled The Politics of Thugery.

And a spokesman for the Office of the State President said last night that the matter was receiving further attention.

In a statement, a spokesman for the Office of the State President said Mr Botha had hosted a social and informal reception for foreign correspondents in Tuynhuys but did not address the gathering of correspondents.

The spokesman pointed out that on nu-

merous occasions in public and in Parliament Mr Botha had expressed himself very clearly on the issue of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

During the no-confidence debate on January 31, 1985, Mr Botha had said:

"The government is not insensitive to the fact that Mr Mandela and others have spent a very long time in prison — I am personally not insensitive about this — even though they were duly convicted in open court. The government is also willing to consider Mr Mandela's release in the Republic of South Africa on condition that Mr Mandela gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives".

This offer, the spokesman said, had been repeated on January 31, 1986 when Mr Botha said:

"I am conscious of the fact that Mr Mandela has been in prison for a long time and that he is now in his sixties. I have given this matter much thought. I stated last year that, in principle, I would be prepared to consider his release on humanitarian grounds".

Confidence needed for growth

De Kock calls on govt for more reform

11/2/87
304A
B/D

RESERVE Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock yesterday called for comprehensive further political reform, together with the maintenance of law and order, if SA was to achieve growth and prosperity.

Speaking in Johannesburg at the annual Frankel Kruger Investment Conference, De Kock said short and long term economic policies alone would not be adequate for the task.

"The economy will not approach anything like its optimal performance until businessmen and consumers gain a more positive vision of SA's political, constitutional and economic future," he said.

The real recipe for growth in both the short and long term was the restoration of confidence.

"Any meaningful return of confidence will catapult the SA economy into a period of rapid economic growth and rising living standards.

"Like most other South Africans, I am painfully aware that in recent years a series of intertwined political and economic developments have adversely affected the SA economy.

"I realise only too well that the present situation and prospects cannot be judged

GERALD PROSALENDIS
and HELENA PATTEN

by economic criteria alone. Political realities also have to be taken into account."

De Kock's words came at the start of an election campaign in which the pace of reform has been elevated into a major issue by the resignation of Randburg NP MP Wynand Malan.

De Kock also said government should set an example in the fight against inflation by granting only moderate increases in public sector salaries and wages.

He said improved growth would be achieved if the authorities persisted with a moderately expansionary monetary and fiscal policy.

He ruled out mandatory wage-price controls, or restrictions on demand by raising interest rates, as workable alternatives to reduce inflation.

"A further decline in real remuneration in 1987 is called for as an integral part of the official anti-inflationary policy. But this does not imply no increase in nominal wages and salaries.

The authorities might set the target

● To Page 2

De Kock calls for more political reform

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range for M3 money supply growth lower than last year's 16% to 20%.

"At this stage it seems advisable to make provision for a real GDP growth rate of about 3% in 1987 and an increase in the general price level of, say, 14% between the fourth quarters of 1986 and 1987. On such assumptions a target range of 14% to 18% would not be unreasonable."

● From Page 1

CP, HNP members forge pacts

B/Day 11/2/87 304A

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

CONSTITUENCY members of the ultra-right wing parties have unofficially concluded several electoral pacts in spite of the bitter disagreements which have widened the rift between the parties' two leaders.

CP and the HNP officials believe the combined right wing is unlikely to return to Parliament with more than six seats unless compromises are reached at constituency level.

However, top CP organiser Leon van der Heever warned that while his party had not been officially informed of these developments, "friendly compromises" between the parties on a regional level could be over-ruled by the CP council.

While top party officials are reluctant to give details of the pacts, they have confirmed the existence of such pacts on the East Rand, eastern Cape, southern Free State and western Transvaal.

The CP's Westdene chairman, Manie van Heerden, said he had reached an agreement with the HNP in terms of which the CP would contest Westdene with Brigadier Theunis "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, so that the HNP could field S van Heerden in Johannesburg North.

The HNP's West Rand organiser, Leon Strydom, confirmed that and said an agreement had yet to be reached on Turfontein and Roseville.

He said Langlaagte would be contested by the HNP's Alan McCabe, the chairman of the Tax Payer's Association.

The CP has said it intends contesting at least 100 seats, and the HNP 30 seats. But HNP secretary Louis van der Skyff said yesterday that figure could rise to 90.

He said: "We are still open to the idea of working together but have decided we can wait no longer."

As a result of the parties leaders' feuding, Van der Skyff said the HNP ranks were growing — 13 new HNP branches had been opened in Potgietersrus in the past 10 days.

TerreBlanche makes new bid to heal CP-HNP rift

Pretoria Bureau

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche yesterday offered his dormant Blanke Volkstaatparty as a vehicle for right-wing parties to fight the election.

He invited "all white conservatives for whom unity is vital" to attend an AWB meeting in Pretoria on February 28.

Addressing Pretoria University students, Mr TerreBlanche said the AWB wanted to see right-wing parties form one party to fight the election.

However, he indicated there were still sharp differences between Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and Mr Jaap Marais's Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The AWB, he said, had been acting as go-between and both parties had accepted an AWB formula that a new party be formed after the election.

He urged Dr Treurnicht and Mr Marais to take up his offer of the Blanke Volkstaatparty in the interim.

Mr TerreBlanche added: "Take it, run with it and succeed with it."

"The AWB has no conditions — the party can be run according to your programme of principles."

Right-wing parties could nominate the best candidate in each constituency and, if necessary, hold nomination contests.

"We must attain unity in every constituency," he added.

The AWB, he said, would not field candidates but would be "fighting the ANC on the other side of the mountains".

In Cape Town, Dr Treurnicht said use of the Blanke Volkstaatparty as an election vehicle "can be considered".

● See Page 14.

White opposition wins day

Heunis shelves plan for Norweto

PLANS for Norweto, a new black city midway between Johannesburg and Pretoria, have been postponed indefinitely as a result of hostility from white communities in the area.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said in Cape Town yesterday that his department had received a large number of representations since plans to establish Norweto on about 3 500ha near Diepsloot were announced in August last year, and as a result the proposals had been shelved.

He stressed, however, that to achieve "orderly urbanisation" it was still necessary timeously to identify land for township development for the predominantly black population of SA. He had, therefore, approved the appointment of consultants to assist in evaluating possible sites to be considered for black township development in a "wider regional context".

Heunis said considerations such as

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

the socio-economic structure of the area, road and rail transportation, employment opportunities, pollution, environmental protection, soil conditions and development costs would have to receive attention.

The completion of these investigations will enable government to reconsider proposals made by the guide plan committee for new township development in the central Witwatersrand, as well as for the West Rand/Far West Rand.

The shelving of Norweto underlines the problems government is experiencing with local authorities, most of whom have shown scant desire to speed up government's multi-million-rand schemes to address SA's critical housing shortage, and at the same time provide employment. As a result most of these have stalled, and little of the millions allocated to finance them has been spent.

Caution over 'election stunt'

THE decision to shelve plans for Norweto was welcomed yesterday, although there was suspicion that it might simply be an election ploy by government.

The Greenbelt Action Group said: "We accept the move if it means that Norweto as a lump will not happen."

But if it is a case of shifting the posts, then government will have us to reckon with. If we find that it shows sympathy for people in the area, then it is welcome. But if it is an election ploy, we will spend time making it

THEO RAWANA

known we are around."

PFP's Pieter Schoeman, who is contesting the new constituency of North Rand, said if the idea was scrapped then it was victory for all who had fought against it.

"But if it is an election stunt, we will see through it and fight on."

NP candidate A C Grobler said the PFP and the CP were making an issue over something that was not final.

Invest in Nedfin Adva

...walked out of his job a few

own Correspondent
11/2/87
**Prominent bodies
meet at PE forum**

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Prominent private sector organizations committed to a non-racial democratic South Africa met here yesterday.

Mr Wayne Mitchell, the national co-ordinator of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) formed by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, said the pilot meeting was held to let each organization explain its "objectives, priorities and plans" for 1987.

Represented were the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, the Urban Foundation, Operation Real South Africa, church bodies, Operation Hunger, the Black Sash, Youth For Christ, and the National Council of Women.

However, the problem of overlapping and the possible co-ordination of activities would only be addressed, he said, when a wider group was brought together at the next meeting.

He said Idasa's aim was to act as a catalyst for co-operation between organizations with the same broad objectives.

Mr Mitchell added that Idasa was planning a meeting at national level later this year of organizations such as the Institute of Race Relations, the Urban Foundation, the Black Sash, the Free Market Foundation, the Federated Chamber of Commerce, Assocom, and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

'Positive vision of future needed for growth'

CML Times 11/2/87

Reform now crucial for SA — De Kock

JOHANNESBURG. — Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard De Kock yesterday called for comprehensive further political reform, together with the maintenance of law and order, to achieve growth and prosperity for SA.

Speaking in Johannesburg at the annual Frankel Kruger Investment Conference, De Kock said short and long-term economic policies alone would not be adequate for the task.

Positive vision

"The economy will not approach anything like its optimal performance until businessmen and consumers gain a more positive vision of SA's political, constitutional and economic future," he said.

"Any meaningful return of confidence will catapult the economy into a period of rapid growth and rising living standards.

"Like most other South Africans I am painfully aware that in recent years a series of intertwined political and economic developments have adversely affected the SA economy. I realise only too well that the present situation and prospects cannot be judged by economic criteria alone. Political realities also have to be taken into account."

De Kock introducing the following five-point plan for economic growth in SA:

- Demand must not be reduced nor mandatory price-wage controls imposed;

- A moderately expansionary monetary policy is needed;

- The exchange rate must be kept realistic;



Gerhard De Kock

- Fiscal policy must also be only moderately expansionary; and

- Of chief importance for growth is the restoration of confidence in SA's future.

The main cause of current inflation, he suggests, is "clearly to be found in the movements of the exchange rate.

"From a relatively stable level of around \$0,50 between January and late July 1985 (when some American banks precipitated a withdrawal of short term foreign credits from SA) the rand depreciated to between \$0,36 and \$0,38 in the subsequent months — about 28%.

"As the capital outflow diminished in the early months of 1986, the exchange rate recovered to around \$0,50, but the new wave of unfavourable payments leads and lags that preceded Soweto Day on June 16 pushed it down again to a low point of \$0,36 in mid June, before it entered the recovery phase analysed earlier."

"It follows that as the lagged effects of the earlier depreciation peter out, the rate of price increases should gradually decline in the months ahead".

The proviso's are, of course, that "There should be no new deterioration of political perceptions and no re-appearance of demand inflation.

Moderate increases

"What the Government should do, is to set an example to the rest of the economy by granting only moderate increases in public sector salaries and wages."

Dealing with monetary policy, De Kock notes: "In the present circumstances one obvious recipe for improving the growth rate is to persist with the present moderately expansionary monetary policy. To this end, full use will be made by the Reserve Bank of the market-oriented techniques of public debt management and open-market operations".

De Kock: "But if priority is to be given to growth, an excessive or unduly rapid appreciation of the rand is to be avoided.

"The real recipe for growth in both the short and the long term is the restoration of confidence."

— Own Correspondents and Sapa



Barend du Plessis ...
inflation a complex problem

Rand eases

JOHANNESBURG.— The rand slipped back in late trading on some short-covering, to close slightly higher at \$0,4813/20 after rising to about \$0,4850 earlier on the sharply lower dollar and steady gold price dealers said.

The rand opened yesterday at \$0,4833/40 against a close here on Monday of \$0,4785/92.

The financial rand rose steeply to \$0,2400/50 from Monday's \$0,2338/88 finish.

Against other major currencies, the rand closed at:

USA: 0,4813/20.

UK: 3,1760/90.

Germany: 0,8735/45.

Switzerland: 0,7370/80.

France: 2,9110/30.

Netherlands: 0,9855/65.

Japan: 73,60/70.

— Reuter

PFP angry over MP's 'reasons'

Political Staff

The Progressive Federal Party has reacted with anger to the reasons given by Mr Horace van Rensburg for his resignation last night.

And attempts by the National Party to exploit the eruption in the PFP, by challenging other Progs to leave the party, appeared to be coming to naught as conservative and liberal elements in the PFP closed ranks today.

In a four-page letter to party leader Mr Colin Eglin, Mr van Rensburg, MP for Bryanston, set out a number of reasons why he believed he could no longer be a member of the PFP.

They included claims that the party deliberately obscured its policy, that it had a weak image on security issues and that some quarters of the party were anti-Afrikaner.



Mr van Rensburg

Mr Eglin said the claims had come like a bolt from the blue.

"Once Horace had done his arithmetic and saw he was unlikely to get the nomination for Bryanston he must have decided to create issues on which he could justify his resignation," Mr Eglin said.

Mr Eglin said it had been a distinct possibility for some time that Mr van Rensburg would resign.

"I went to Johannesburg late last year to try to resolve the feud between Mr van Rensburg and his constituency committee and at that stage he was keen and eager to represent the PFP as MP for Bryanston.

Will be felt

"Only a few weeks ago he sought the nomination; now he produces these issues."

He said the party would obviously be affected by the resignation of any front-bencher.

"There is no doubt that it will cause a temporary ripple, but the new spirit of the party is going to grow into a tidal wave in spite of it."

Afrikaans-speaking PFP MPs and the former leader of the party, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, denied today there was any anti-Afrikaner sentiment in the party.

Mr van Rensburg's critics in the party were jubilant that he has resigned.

One said: "We should have kicked him out, not allowed him to resign. At last we are free of this man who has caused us so much embarrassment for years now."

Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, reacting to the claim of anti-Afrikaner sentiment, said that 20 percent of the public representatives of the party were Afrikaans, far more than the party's public support among Afrikaners.

Professor Nic Olivier, a nominated MP and constitutional expert, said the charge was "absolute nonsense".

"It's the first I have heard of it in my years in the party."

Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, called Mr van Rensburg's allegations "astounding".

"It's absolute rubbish to suggest that Afrikaners are not made to feel welcome in the party."

"It's my view that he never showed any sensitivity to cultural or historical issues affecting the Afrikaner."

Despondency

He said it was clear that Mr van Rensburg was generally despondent about the future of the country.

"He felt that nothing could sort out the country's problems."

"But I think he was frustrated because he had got quite senior in the party without having any position to show for it."

"It was really a kind of political menopause."

However, Mr van der Merwe agreed with Mr van Rensburg that it was an indictment of the PFP that twice as many people supported its broad principles as voted for it.

"But he did not discover this any earlier than the rest of us and he has done nothing to try to correct it."

● A former branch chairman of the PFP has echoed Mr van Rensburg's cry of "boerehaat".

Mr Bill Prinsloo said today he has sent a letter to Mr Eglin, slamming the attitude within the party towards Afrikaners.

Rebel Van Rensburg quits PFP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN A DAMAGING blow to the PFP's election prospects, maverick MP Mr Horace van Rensburg last night resigned from the party, accusing the Progressive Federal Party of being soft on the ANC and "anti-Afrikaner".

Mr Van Rensburg rejected allegations that his move was a case of "sour grapes" because he was going to lose the Bryanston nomination. He said the PFP was determined that he should not be an MP.

The controversial frontbencher said he would not be joining the National Party but that he might stand as an independent in Bryanston in the May 6 election.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said he was "disappointed" to hear about Mr Van Rensburg's resignation, though he "was not surprised" once it became likely that Mr Van Rensburg was not going to be nominated in his constituency.

'Live with conscience'

"He must live with his own conscience, bearing in mind that there has not been a change in PFP policies that he helped formulate as a caucus member and under which he was content to serve in Parliament for two successive elections," Mr Eglin said.

In a resignation letter addressed to Mr Eglin and dated Monday, February 9, Mr Van Rensburg said he had for "some time" viewed "certain events and trends" in the party with concern and had on many occasions attempted to bring his reservations to the attention of the party leadership.

The party was seen as an "uneasy coalition" between a majority of moderate members and a minority of "radical leftist elements" inside and outside of the party "who appear to be in control of aspects of the PFP's thinking and some areas of its organization".

'Deep-seated animosity'

"The PFP's equivocal attitude to the South African Communist Party/African National Congress alliance alarms many of its supporters who will not tolerate any concessions whatsoever to Marxism/Communism in any shape or form.

"As an Afrikaner I have always been painfully aware of the deep-seated anti-Afrikaner animosities that prevail in some PFP quarters," Mr Van Rensburg said.

"Afrikaners are wanted in the PFP only to give it the 'right' image," he said.

304A (B) (B) Sowetan

ARRANGING some sort of dialogue between the South African Government and the African National Congress has become one of the main aims of United States policy on South Africa.

Following South Africa's failure to respond to its efforts to encourage change through "constructive engagement", Washington has turned its attention to promoting negotiations between Pretoria and the ANC, whom it sees as one of the major parties that must be involved in any realistic efforts to resolve the South African racial problem.

The recent meeting between Secretary of State, George Shultz and ANC president Oliver Tambo is viewed in Washington as only the beginning of a series of exchanges with the organisation.

Mr Shultz apparently heard nothing from Mr Tambo at the first meeting to ease the Reagan Administration's main worries about the ANC: its commitment to violence and the communist influence in its ranks.

Violence

These are also high on Pretoria's list of objectionable features of the ANC, as the State President, Mr P W Botha, made plain when he again expressed the Government's abhorrence of the ANC's pursuit of violent revolution in his statement in Parliament on February 4.

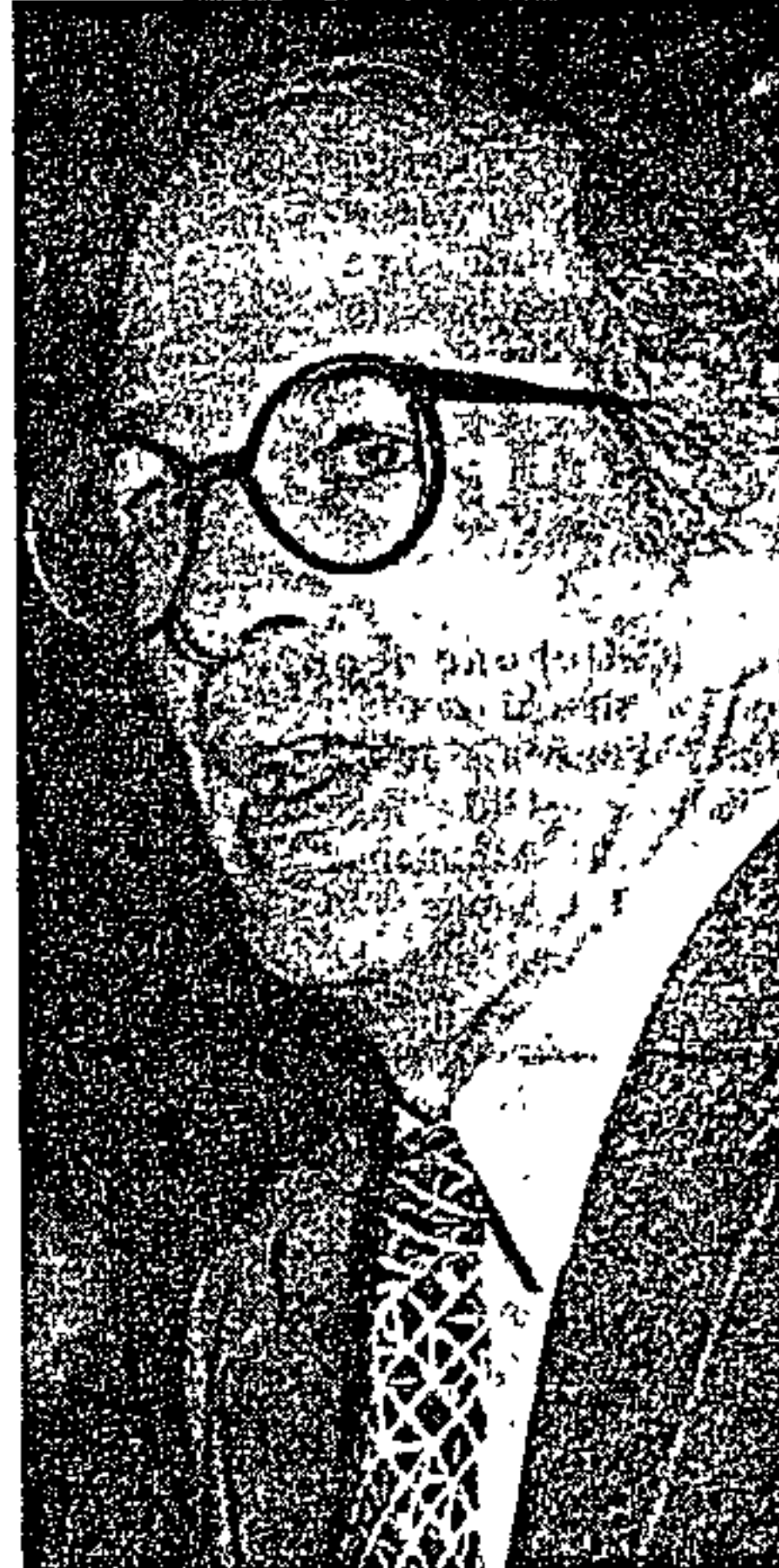
The issues of violence and communist influence are in themselves enough to make any negotiations impossible without drastic changes in attitudes or policies on one side or another.

But they are not the only ones that will bedevil the efforts that will now be made by Mr Schultz's Africa chief, Dr Chester Crocker, to promote dialogue.

This becomes clear from an examination of ANC policy as it was restated at the celebration of the organisation's



OLIVER Tambo ... ANC boss.



CHESTER Crocker ... US aide.

75th anniversary in Lusaka last month. There is no evidence of any substantive shift in attitudes since the policy was last reviewed at the organisation's consultative conference at Kabwe in Zambia in 1985.

The ANC appears to have made no attempt to make its policy more attractive to the two groups whose support it

US wants ANC-Pretoria dialogue

does not spell out what kind of elective organs are contemplated.

ANC leaders made it clear at Lusaka that they do not believe the Government can be reformed through diplomatic persuasion.

So even as a general issue negotiation looks like a non-starter, certainly for the present.

In regard to the specific element of communist influence, no indication emerged at Lusaka that the non-communist elements in the ANC are prepared to divorce themselves from the South African Communist Party element.

The ANC's commitment to violence likewise emerged uncompromised at Lusaka. It still says, in effect, that before the ANC can abandon violence the Government must first give up its violence, which the ANC defines not only as police and army action but also the implementation of apartheid legislation.

Struggle

The Lusaka document took a stand against deliberate attacks on civilians, black or white, but implied no departure from the position taken at Kabwe, which was that more civilians will unavoidably get hurt as the armed struggle is intensified and that farmers and anyone else co-operating with the security forces are to be regarded as legitimate targets.

It emerged in Lusaka that a major element of the ANC's use of violence is a plan for its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, to set up "mass revolutionary bases" throughout the country.

To the extent that they expand the ANC's use of violence, these measures — if they eventuate — will complicate American efforts to arrange dialogue.

FOCUS

is now wooing: White South Africans and the Western countries.

The appeal to the whites was one of the main themes of the ceremonies in Lusaka and of the statement issued there by the ANC's national executive committee.

Document

The document stressed the importance of involving whites in the ANC's struggle to achieve what it calls a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

At the same time, however, it suggested that whites would be expected to embrace ANC policy and its "democratic perspectives".

The ANC's interpre-

tation of democracy is, however, suspected by critics in South Africa and Washington to be closer to the Soviet than the traditional Western one.

Despite its bid for white support, the ANC has offered whites no special concessions. It still rejects any form of ethnic differentiation and any special constitutional protection for whites or other minority groups. The ANC offers only to consider constitutional protection for human and individual rights and for the freedom of "speech, assembly, association, language, religion, the Press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial."

The ANC promises that each person shall have the right to "vote and be voted to any elective organ", but



Lest we forget

THE Sowetan today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:

- Zwelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the the New Nation, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 61 days;
- Mxolisi Jackson Fuzile, Veritas News Agency, who has been detained under

Mulder warns Natal against Indaba

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals were not marketable and Natalians should be alert to the plan to soften them up for eventual black-majority rule.

This was said by the Conservative Party's spokesman on information, Dr Connie Mulder.

He claimed the proposal by the Indaba to "import high-powered Washington-based public relations executives" was ominous because the men in the group had extensive contact with the State Department in the United States.

"Where is the money coming from for the exercise? Operations like this cost millions and we challenge the chairman to state his source of funding."

"No amount of Madison Avenue-hype can convince white Natal voters to negotiate their own demise."

"Foreign contrived solutions have never solved South Africa's problems," Dr Mulder said.

The Indaba chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence, said he found it ironic and amusing that "Dr Connie Mulder of all people" should ask "innuendo-laden"

questions about funding. "There is no secret about the Indaba funding."

"We are conducting a massive fund-raising campaign aimed at the people of Natal and KwaZulu, and elsewhere, who support the Indaba's principles and are anxious about the future."

Prof Clarence said if Dr Mulder believed the Indaba proposals were unsaleable he should support the idea of a referendum to test public opinion.

However, he agreed that solutions could not be contrived by foreigners.



DR MULDER

Govt probes ANC ad



Mrs MLEBOALO, principal at the creche, has grief etched on her face as she remembers the seven children who were killed.

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, announced yesterday that he had appointed a one-man commission of inquiry into the funding and placing of pro-ANC advertisements that appeared in newspapers last month.

He told the House, the chairman of the committee, Mr Justice George Munnik, Judge President of the Cape, would have to find out whether Mr Chris Ball, managing director of Barclays Bank, was involved in the financial arrangements for payment for the advertisements.

Mr Justice Munnik would also investigate and report on which newspapers the advertisements appeared in, by whom or on behalf of whom they were placed, how they were paid for, how much they cost and who paid for them or on behalf of whom they were paid for.

Another task of the commission was to determine the source of the funds used to pay for the advertisements.

JUDGE TO HOLD INQUIRY

with special reference to a report in the *Cape Times* yesterday which said the United Democratic Front gave a bank guaranteed cheque for R100 000 for the placing of the advertisements.

Mr Botha said the commission would have to report on

"whether Mr Chris Ball was in any way involved in the financial arrangements concerning the payment for the placing of the advertisements" and any other "relevant aspects that may more fully explain the aforementioned matter".

Mr Botha said during the no confidence debate in the House on Wednesday that he demanded a personal explanation from Mr Ball of "statements from radical sources" that he was involved in



Mr Botha

granting a loan for payment of the advertisements.

A figure of R150 000 had been mentioned, Mr Botha said on Wednesday. See Page 2

MASS BURIAL

Appeal for assistance

THE seven children who died when a wall collapsed over them at their creche in Pietersburg this week will be given a mass burial on Sunday morning.

They will be buried near the site of their death.

The deaths, at Mm-

By MATHATHA TSEDU —
Pietersburg Bureau

tong-wa-Perekisi, near Pietersburg, have shocked the northern Transvaal. Yesterday volunteers and community workers were busy with relief work and arrangements for the burial.

Preliminary plans for the burial were announced by Mrs Olive

Mohapi, a Seshego social worker heading the relief teams. The funeral service starts at 8am. Mrs Mohapi appealed to people and companies to help cover the funeral expenses.

"We appeal to people to open their hearts and assist the bereaved families with money and

food. Part of the money will be given to the families and may also be used to assist other families in the area whose houses were flattened by the storm," she said.

Mrs Mohapi said a La-Mmatau Disaster Committee had been established and urged people to send donations to the social workers' offices in Zone 3, Seshego. Donations can also be posted to the following address: Seshego Welfare Society, Private Bag X4006, Seshego.

THERE was an enthusiastic response to the *Sowetan* Ballot-box. Your voice must be heard. See pages 5 and 6

THE MILD MENTHOL



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MENTHOL MILD

the world's finest taste in menthol cigarettes

State official at function

Election launch puts Pik in trouble

12/12/87 304A Star

Political Reporter

Opposition parties reacted with indignation today to news that a senior official of the Department of Foreign Affairs represented Mr Pik Botha at the launch of the National Party's election campaign in Westdene, Johannesburg, last night.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Botha could not attend a campaign launch for party workers in his constituency. Instead, Mr Leo Evans — a State official not involved in party politics — addressed them at a cocktail party, explaining that Mr Botha had engagements in Cape Town.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the Transvaal, Mr Douglas Gibson, said today: "It is absolutely extraordinary that Mr Evans is the person detailed by the Foreign Minister to talk to the party faithful in Westdene."

"If Mr Botha is so sure of victory in his constituency that he does not even have to attend the election launch, one would think that at the very least he could have detailed a Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs or some other political hack."

Brigadier Theuns "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, the Conservative Party candidate in Westdene, criticised the National Party for using the public service to boost its image.

"It is not only a shame — it's misuse of officials," he said.

He added that he would address this issue when he launches his own election campaign in Westdene next Monday.

"I personally object to civil servants being required to carry out party political tasks like this," he said.

But today Mr Botha denied that he had sent Mr Evans to Westdene especially for the launch.

He said Mr Evans was in the area on personal business and had volunteered to attend the party to explain Mr Botha's position.

Get-together

The NP's organisation secretary for Johannesburg, Mr Kevin Meiring, said a cocktail party had been arranged for party workers to launch Mr Botha's election campaign and to celebrate the opening of the new Westdene offices.

"It was never intended that Mr Botha should be there. It was more of a get-together for party workers," he said.

He added that Mr Botha had many pressing engagements in Cape Town.

Row over Van Rensburg

Rebel MP

'dumped'

CARE Times 12/2/87

30 CA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BREAKAWAY PFP MP Mr Horace van Rensburg was trying to zero in on "cheap little prejudices" because his party dumped him, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, his former PFP leader, said yesterday.

"As far as I am concerned he has resigned because his party dumped him and he is now trying to home in on all the cheap little prejudices that make white politics tick, in order to inflict the maximum amount of damage," Dr Slabbert said of his former colleague.

Mr Van Rensburg quit the party on Tuesday night, alleging that the Progressive Federal Party was "soft" on the ANC and "anti-Afrikaner", and "obscured" its policies.

Dr Slabbert, who resigned as PFP leader because of his disenchantment with parliamentary politics, said Mr Van Rensburg's "anti-Afrikaner bit is so old it has a beard".

In Parliament, Mr Van Rensburg's former colleagues dismissed the reasons he put forward for this resignation as "drivel" and "nonsense" and said his walkout was a result of "sour grapes" at his failure to capture the Bryanston nomination.

PFP MPs were particularly critical of Mr Van Rensburg's claim that the party harboured "anti-Afrikaner sentiments" and that Afrikaners could never be

"truly welcome or comfortable in the PFP".

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said he rejected "out of hand" Mr Van Rensburg's allegation that the PFP was "anti-Afrikaner". "Boer-ehaat is the absolute antithesis of my philosophy," he said.

Mr Eglin said that if the PFP had an image of being soft on communism "this would be the result of persistent Nationalist propaganda, aided and abetted by the SABC".

"The PFP is no more radical, no more a 'boere-hater' and no more scared of its policies than Colin Eglin is and I stand in the middle of the PFP and South African politics," Mr Eglin said.

Professor Nic Olivier, a nominated MP, said: "As an Afrikaner by background, culture, religious affiliations and loyalties I have always felt entirely at home in the PFP."

"I was shocked — and dismayed — by his resignation and the reasons he advanced in justification... Until a day or two ago he was quite prepared to stand as a PFP candidate on a PFP platform," he said.

In a debate with Professor Oli-

vier on SABC's "Netwerk" last night, Mr Van Rensburg said he had "no problems with the PFP's basic principles".

But he had for several years been intensely worried with the party's public image — that it did not totally dissociate itself from the ANC's use of violence and that therefore "verligte" Afrikaners were not being drawn in.

Professor Olivier replied that it seemed Mr Van Rensburg was the "victim of official National Party propaganda".

"If we look at image we must look into the methods of how those images are created. The PFP has no Afrikaans newspapers, radio or television," Professor Olivier said.

The MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said: "I have personally never been aware of any anti-Afrikaner sentiment in the PFP. Horace's resignation is mainly a case of sour grapes."

"At no stage in my long association with him has he ever suggested that he felt uncomfortable or ill at ease in the PFP because of his Afrikaner background."

Van Rensburg's wife stays mum

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Horace van Rensburg's wife Pat, a PFP town councillor in Randburg, yesterday declined to comment on whether she would follow her husband by resigning from the party.

"At this stage I have no comment," she said.

Mrs Van Rensburg said she was surprised to learn that her recent appointment to the Publications Board was a contentious issue in some PFP circles.

"The PFP leader publicly congratulated me on my appointment. So how can it be a bone of contention?" she asked.

Mr Van Rensburg, the sitting MP for Bryanston, resigned from the PFP on Tuesday after it became apparent that his soured relations with the constituency committee would cost him the party's nomina-

Meanwhile, North Rand's PFP candidate, Mr Pieter Schoeman, yesterday rejected Mr Van Rensburg's allegation that the party was anti-Afrikaner.

He said he deplored the tactic to discredit the PFP by what he termed "beating an ethnic drum". It lacked all justification, he said.

He challenged Mr Van Rensburg to admit that he, together with PFP's Professor Nic Olivier and Mr Schoeman, had been requested by the PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin to engage Afrikaners in a PFP forum to encourage Afrikaners to associate themselves with the party.

AWB unity offer gets cool reception

Political Staff

An offer by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to unite the feuding right-wing parties has met with a cool reception.

The AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, said yesterday the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais had not yet responded to his unity offer.

INACTIVE PARTY

He said, however, that ordinary members of both parties had supported his call.

Mr TerreBlanche has offered to unite the right wing under the AWB's inactive Blanke Volkstaat Party for the general election.

304A) Star 12/2/87
HNP and CP sources said they doubted their leaders would accept the offer.

A spokesman for the HNP office in Pretoria said yesterday Mr Marais was unlikely to agree. Dr Treurnicht said he trusted that Mr TerreBlanche would personally raise the issue with him.

The CP executive confirmed the names of 59 prospective candidates to contest seats in the Transvaal. The party will announce six others after nomination contests later this month.

Three CP MPs have moved to "safer" right-wing seats. Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Jeppe, will contest Overvaal, Mr S P Barnard, MP for Langlaagte, will contest Hercules and Mr Jan van Zyl, MP for Sunnyside, will fight in Wonderboom.

Broederbond says blacks must

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—A secret Broederbond document supporting the incorporation of blacks into the constitution had not been repudiated by the Cabinet, although most were members of the Broederbond, the only HNP MP, Mr Louis Stofberg, said yesterday.

The document, a copy of which was released by Mr Stofberg last night, accepts that the majority of the Government will be black, says 'there can no

longer be a disguised white government' and supports the creation of racially mixed 'grey' residential areas.

The document, which is likely to cause a stir in the election and is labelled 'strictly confidential', says: 'There can also not be a disguised black government or, for instance, a disguised Zulu government.

'The majority of Government members can indeed be black, but the system and procedure must work so that all the groups can effectively partici-

pate and not be dominated by one group.' Although the Government has emphasised group rights in all its constitutional proposals, it has never gone as far as saying that black people could be in the majority in government.

Indeed, it has objected to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals on these grounds.

The Broederbond document, described as a working document on the 'basic constitutional safeguards for the continued existence of the Afrikaner', also says: 'It is essential that the repre-

join Govt

sentatives of the different power groups participate in the drafting of the new constitution.

'That includes groups whose non-participation or exclusion could jeopardise a new constitution even if they complied with the specific demand that they renounce violence.'

In his speech in Parliament yesterday, Mr Stofberg read extracts of the document which he said had been sent to all Broederbond members.

'The majority of the members of the Cabinet are members of the Broederbond, and this document has not yet

been rejected.

'The public has not been informed of this plan and I do not know whether Cabinet members who are not Broederbonders have been informed,' Mr Stofberg said.

President Botha was pretending to be more Right-wing than he really was and that was why Mr Albert Botha, the MP for Innesdal, could remain in the National Party, he said.

The Broederbond document says voluntary 'grey' residential areas would not threaten the continued existence of the Afrikaner, but separate residential areas can be justified 'at present from the point of view of order.'

'The exclusion of effective black participation in the constitutional process right up to the highest levels is a threat to the survival of whites which cannot be averted by the status quo or a further consolidation of power in white hands.

'Essential'

'It is therefore essential that all citizens of the State can effectively participate in the legislative process as well as the process by which the Government comes to power.'

'An overall constitutional aim, and therefore also one of the most important constitutional preconditions, must be the effective participation of everyone, both as individuals and as members of a group, in the political process.'

'This means the participation on all levels of decision-making, and involvement in all processes which might affect their interests,' the document says.

'A test, which must pave the way for the acceptability of a system, must always be whether it will be in our interests if, for example, we should end up in opposition.'



● DE VILLIERS

Political action 'crucial to SA'

HAROLD FRIDJHON

POLITICAL change is crucial to real economic progress in SA and for the social and economic betterment of its people, Stanbic chairman Henri de Villiers says in his annual review.

"Failing prompt and decisive political action, SA faces a future of violent deadlock between different racial and political groupings."

During the past year there was little indication of a readiness by government to address the fundamental issue facing the country: that is, the establishment of an acceptable system based on individual rather than group rights.

Increased insurrectionary violence led to the reintroduction of a state of emergency, followed by the imposition of media restrictions of unprecedented severity prohibiting reportage and comment on matters of the most lively public concern.

De Villiers warns against the

risk of South Africans "lapsing into an introspective mentality and a siege economy."

While a state of siege may lead to some immediate increase in business activity, in the longer term it will be to the profound detriment of economic development, the welfare of the people, and SA's relations with the world, he says.

To sustain its required rate of economic growth SA needs inflows of capital and technology but foreign businesses, including the banks, will not make substantial investments in this country until a greater degree of stability returns.

De Villiers makes no forecast of Stanbic's earnings for this year because "prospects for the future are clouded by political and social issues" and there is no evidence of these being positively addressed.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

1986 DETENTIONS

According to the Detainees Parents' Support Committee at least 28 471 people were detained during 1986. The breakdown of these detentions is as follows:

Detentions under 1985/6 Emergency regulations in 1986: 631

Detentions under security legislation: 2 840

Detentions under current Emergency regulations: 25 000

The DPSC said its estimate of 25 000 people detained under the current Emergency regulations was arrived at by an examination of reports received from all areas of the country and by an examination of the names tabled in parliament, listing detainees held for longer than 30 days during the first two-and-a-half months of the State of Emergency. The two lists tabled totalled 9 287 names. An additional four months of 1986 have passed since the last tabling in parliament of detainees' names. According to the DPSC, if one includes detainees held for less than 30 days, 25 000 detentions by December 31 can conservatively be estimated. The figure of 2 840 security detentions could also be an underestimate, the DPSC said, because the real number of detentions under section 50 of the Internal Security Act could be as high as 2 500 rather than 1 800 as listed.

According to the Progressive Federal Party, between 20 000 and 25 000 people had been detained under the Emergency regulations of whom about 3 000 were women and 6 000 under the age of 18. Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, said in parliament last week that about 5 000 people were still in detention, 10 percent of whom were women and 20 percent under the age of 18.

The DPSC said that among the detainees were about 10 000 children of 18 years or younger. About 3 000 women were detained.

Approximately 75 percent of those detainees whose organisational affiliations were known were members of the UDF or its affiliates. It is therefore estimated that over 21 000 UDF leaders or members of UDF affiliates were detained during 1986.

Two people died while being held under the Emergency regulations: Xolisso Jacobs, 20, on October 22 in Upington; and Simon Marule, 20, on December 23 in Benoni.

Two people died while being held under security detention legislation: Makompo Kutumela, 25, on April 6 in Lebowa and Peter Nchabeleng, 59, on April 11 in Lebowa.

At least three people died in police custody after being arrested under circumstances appearing to be politically related: Eric Ngomane, 22, on April 12 in Hazyview; Mbuyiseli Songelwa, 29, on October 5 in East London; Benji Olifant, 25, on December 15 in Klerksdorp. This means that during 1986 there were at least seven detention-related deaths.

Those detained under security legislation were held in the following areas: Transvaal (323); Natal (104); Western Cape (66); Eastern Cape (256); Northern Cape (6); Orange Free State (14); Place unknown (1 551 — from police statistics which do not disclose place).

The following legislation was used for security detainees: section 29, Internal Security Act (413 — 333 known people and 80 unknown); section 31 (79 — 13 known and 66 unknown); section 50 (1 800 — 297 known and 1 403 unknown — the DPSC stressed this figure was an estimate and the real figure could be as high as 2 500); Homelands legislation (520); Unknown legislation (8).

A DPSC analysis of known detainees shows the following breakdown of detention targets under security legislation: Scholars, students, teachers (29,6 percent); community and political workers (20,8 percent); trade unionists and workers (3,5 percent); Clergy and church workers (2,8 percent); journalists (0,31 percent); other or unspecified (42,91 percent).

The following is the position of known security detainees as at December 31, 1986, according to the DPSC: released without charge within 48 hours (42 people — 3,25 percent); released without charge after longer period (702 people — 54,38 percent); charged, awaiting trial (248 people — 19,21 percent); charged and acquitted (14 people — 1,08 percent); charged and convicted (seven people — 0,54 percent); died in detention (two people — 0,16 percent); still in detention (276 people — 21,38 percent).

The DPSC listed 15 court applications involving 75 applicants relating to allegations of assault and torture of security and Emergency detainees. They stressed this was a partial list.

The DPSC also listed 58 applications for the release of detainees brought during 1986. 208 detainees were involved with these applications. Sixteen of the applications were granted, 15 were refused and 27 are pending or the outcome is unknown.

There were also 16 applications challenging the validity of the Emergency regulations or of orders issued under them. Eight of these applications led to new rulings, seven were unsuccessful and one was withdrawn.

BANNING OF ORGANISATIONS

During March 1986 the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) was declared an unlawful organisation in Transkei.

During September the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) challenged the validity of its banning in the Natal Supreme Court. On October 1, the banning of Cosas was upheld.

In October the United Democratic Front (UDF) was declared an affected organisation under the Affected Organisations Act.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Combatant Vol 7, No 11 June 1986 (Plan Commissariat, Angola — banned for all future editions); Living Conditions (Kathy Bond-Stewart); Land (Kathy Bond-Stewart); Education (Kathy Bond-Stewart); Personal Effects (Rex Reed); Nicole in Flight (Morgan St Michel); Regine or Love in the Andile and the Pangs of Venus — anonymous (E K); Christina's Island (Blakely St James); Bunny Girl, January 1987, Vol 4 no 1 (Republic Press, Pty Ltd, Durban); South Africa — Black Blood on British Hands (Charles Longford)

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

EMSON BANDA, 37, Kwanabuhle Parents' Committee chairman, was detained under the Emergency regulations on June 26, 1986, and is still being held. According to the DPSC he is extremely ill.

Banda, who works as a shop assistant in Uitenhage, has played an active role in Kwanabuhle community politics.

He was first detained on May 5, 1985, and was allegedly assaulted until he lost consciousness. He was released the following day. On July 22, 1985, he was detained again and held for four months. He was released on November 20.

On June 26 he was detained for a third time and held at St Alban's Prison in Port Elizabeth. He immediately became psychologically ill and in August was admitted to Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth, where he was held under police guard. On about January 15, 1987, he stopped eating because he felt he could not stomach food. After nine days of not eating he started drinking small quantities of a food supplement.

Banda has a wife, Uralia, and six children.

How Horace talked himself out of the party

THE chairman of Horace van Rensburg's constituency committee, Elizabeth Clogg, cut straight through the hype when she pinpointed the reasons why he would not be nominated again in Bryanston.

He had lost the committee's support through his "disruptive behaviour through the media, his general support for the Department of Education and Training and generally poor performance in parliament", she said.

Progressive Federal Party leader Colin Eglin, admitting that Van Rensburg's ugly accusations had come "like a bolt from the blue", commented that "once Horace had done his arithmetic and saw he was unlikely to get the nomination, he decided to create issues to justify his resignation".

The arithmetic was relatively simple, as Clogg disclosed that Van Rensburg was unlikely to get more than two votes in the 36-strong electoral

By JEAN LE MAY, Cape Town

college (consisting of representatives from the Southern Transvaal) which will decide on the Bryanston nomination this weekend.

How justified were her accusations?

Van Rensburg has long had a stormy relationship with the press. Only too often there were reports of differences of opinion at constituency level — usually on policy matters — some of which caused the Progs considerable embarrassment.

One recent instance was when he was reported as having said that the Department of Education and Training's controversial training centres were not as bad as they were painted. Van Rensburg claimed he had been misreported, but the damage was done and the Progs were left with egg on their faces.

As for being "generally supportive ...", Van Rensburg blotted his

copybook more than once in speeches which were seen as conciliatory.

For example:

● "Much of the reaction (to the State President's address at the opening of parliament) has been favourable. Some of it has been cautious and there has been the inevitable negative response from the sceptics and cynics." (No confidence debate, 1986)

● "The Hon the Minister is pleading for 'peoples' education', which is precisely what the UDF, the ANC and the SA Communist Party are pleading for in the black communities. It is the same kind of concept of an isolated form of education, a racial educational cocoon not allowing for communication, association or cooperation with the other communities in this country." (Budget debate, May 22, 1986)

● "The time has come for the government to take steps to appoint an independent commission of historians

to do research into and prepare a history syllabus for South African schools, one which will be acceptable to all communities." (Budget debate, May 23, 1986)

Van Rensburg's sudden resignation on Tuesday sent a ripple through parliament, with the National Party and its press scarcely forbearing to cheer and the Progs biting bravely on the bullet.

In a bitter, four-page letter to Eglin, Van Rensburg gave the reasons for his resignation. He alleged that the PFP had an "equivocal" attitude to "the ANC/SACP alliance" and created the impression that the PFP had decided the ANC would triumph.

He also accused the PFP of being anti-Afrikaner, saying: "In recent times I have personally experienced the intense anti-Afrikaner hostility that surfaces when the flimsy veneer that usually shrouds this ugly prejudice in the PFP is ripped aside."

The Progs were visibly shaken: they have, of course, denied the allegations. One denial of anti-Afrikaner prejudice came from no less a person than former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who was in a position to know.

And Progs are asking why, if Van Rensburg really felt that way about them, he waited until he got bad news from his constituency about his chances of re-nomination before resigning.

But the slurs will stick. The consensus is that Van Rensburg has done serious damage to the party.

What New Nats tell Progs in private

By JOHN MATISONN

SOME "New Nationalist" politicians, journalists and academics, angry with their party, now enthusiastically proffer advice, in private, to the Progressive Federal Party to improve its standing at the polls.

This is some of the secret advice New Nats give the PFP:

● Watch out for slippery moves from PW Botha in the coming months. These could be of two kinds.

One would be a verligte announcement, such as abolishing much of the Separate Amenities Act (most of whose terms have been agreed already). That would be aimed

at holding on to new Nats.

The second would be some bellicose anti-ANC propaganda or actions, to bring back the loyal NP vote, and cast doubt on the PFP's loyalty.

● New Nats may be to the left of the PFP on talks with authentic black leaders, but the Progs can't afford to look soft of security.

Most white voters believe the State of Emergency has worked, securing life, limb and BMW. So call for talks, but don't make such a thing about civil rights.

● The theory that the PFP is anti-Afrikaner also does harm. (This advice came before Horace van Rensburg discovered how much he had been discriminated against as an Afrikaner.)

On this point, the New Nats are disingenuous. They don't want to join the PFP because of its image. But they want it there as a possible minority partner in a coalition, if it comes up with enough seats to make it worthwhile.

● Report by John Matisonn of 190 Marshall Street, Johannesburg

● Report by Jean le May, c/o Media Services, Protea House, Adderley Street, Cape Town

Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU

IN THE HOUSE

Storm over new 'apparatchiks'

A POLITICAL storm has burst over the head of Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis over a controversial new Bill which will allow President PW Botha to appoint "ministerial representatives".

During the second reading debate in the House of Assembly this week, all Opposition parties spoke up against the Bill vehemently.

PFP spokesman Prof Nic Olivier said the Minister had not made out a case for the new appointments, whose main object appeared to be "to increase opportunities for political patronage."

"We are now going to see a whole group of former Nat MPs and MPCs given highly-paid jobs that used to be efficiently performed by the members of the executive councils in the four provincial councils," he told the *Weekly Mail* in an interview.

In parliament, Olivier said he could not understand why the Bill had been referred to the standing committee on constitutional development after it had been turned down unanimously by a joint parliamentary standing committee. The move was "unprecedented" and fragmented parliamentary accountability, he said.

"The new posts increase the potential for political patronage, making it possible for more and more people to get on the gravy train."

Vause Raw, New Republic Party spokesman, described the concept as "senseless". He saw the Bill as giving life to "a whole group of ministerial ghosts floating around in the shadows". It would be "the golden handshake for those who had lost their jobs", he said.

The CP's Tom Langley saw an even more sinister implication. The Bill allowed for "the appointment of political commissars."

"It is disturbing to see more and more power placed in the hands of a political clique rather than elected representatives," he said.

The Bill allows cabinet ministers and "Own Affairs" ministers in the three houses to delegate their powers to ministerial representatives appointed by the State President.

They will have the rank of deputy ministers and will be paid the same — about R85 000 a year, plus official car and residences.

Heunis, introducing the Bill, went no further in motivating than declaring that "a need had developed for the administration and management of the 'own affairs' of the various communities on a decentralised basis".

To those who complained that his explanation did nothing to clarify the need for the new posts, he rumbled that Opposition protests were a "smokescreen" which was irrelevant to the Bill.

It was not clear during the first day of the debate how many such appointments were envisaged, but Olivier said he understood there would be about 15 initially — six for "Own Affairs" ministers in the House of Assembly, four in the House of Representatives, and three in the House of Delegates.

Len Dekker, chief director of constitutional promotion in Heunis's department, made a revealing remark when he said the work envisaged for the new executives could not be performed by senior civil servants "because people like to talk to political appointees."

• Report by Jean Le May, of Media Services, Protea House, Adderley Street, Cape Town.

HANS MIDDELMANN

Towards a new SA

IN MY
OPINION



Cape Town businessman and civic leader Hans Middelmann has studied South African political structures for some time. In this, the first of two articles, he argues that incremental change is no longer possible. His next article will examine the principles and mechanics of a new constitution designed to create a more equitable economic dispensation.

Politics, as now practised in SA, leads us ever closer to disaster. We all know it and fear it. Even government supporters are aware of it, and the outside world is convinced of it.

Yet bizarre as it is, in the forthcoming election government will be returned to power — the awesome power that it wields, to the best of its limited ability, over those masses of South Africans who never elected it. It cannot claim that it enjoys the consent of those it governs.

Net emigration, 18% inflation, a state of emergency, inability to meet our foreign obligations (despite a favourable balance of payments), high unemployment and a muzzled press are only some of the signs of the worsening position.

But this deterioration happened while government was actually repudiating and dismantling some of its own worst apartheid legislation and promising further reforms.

This confirms the view that while apartheid is ostensibly the major cause of the deterioration, the root cause lies much deeper: in our political system as such. This system today enables the ruling government virtually without constraint to enact any legislation it considers politically expedient. In this way it legislates arbitrarily for the lives and rights of the majority of the population who have no redress either through the courts or the ballot box.

That is why piecemeal reforms can no longer get us out of our mess. What is required is not "steps in the right direction," but a fundamentally new political system which serves all South Africans on an equal, non-discriminatory basis.

SA has reached a phase in its history that occurs in any nation's life. What we experience now has happened before elsewhere, in different circumstances of course.

In all such previous cases, as in our situation today, pressures on the entire population steadily rose because rulers made arbitrary laws and were out of touch with the masses.

When the pressures reached crisis point unfortunate nations had bloody revolutions on their hands; if the revolutionary forces won they usually turned out to be even more arbitrary rulers than those replaced.

Fortunate nations, on the other hand, at their time of crisis had some patriotic people of undoubted integrity, not political self-seekers, who across political divisions convinced each other — and the nation — that a totally new dispensation would bring peace and prosperity. Those farsighted people had come to realise that the key to a situation of conflict lay in diffusion of power rather than in its concentration.

As a result of this insight — and the realisation that no single faction could rule without major coercion of all others — they managed to bring about agreement on the basic and well-tried principles of a constitution under which the most diverse groups could live peacefully.

We have today among us numerous such patriotic people of all colours and of undoubted integrity who, if they got together, could point the way to the new South Africa. It is clear that the need for fundamental, instead of incremental, reform is recognised. There are innumerable South Africans and various groups working on solutions to the problem.

To name but a few:

- The KwaNatal Indaba which, on a regional basis, was successfully concluded;
- Louw and Kendall's book *The Solution* which has become a best seller and is widely discussed;
- The Federated Chamber of Industries' Charter of Social, Economic and Political Rights and Assocom's declarations, which have been widely accepted; and
- The "Let South Africa Speak" movement and other similar citizen activities designed to create fundamental constitutional change.

All these efforts now need to be co-ordinated and given substance in a single movement.

It would spell out in simple, explicit words the broad base of universal individual liberty on which a new constitution for SA would have to be based if the 30-odd million people between the Cape and the Limpopo are to live peacefully together and prosper.

The classic words on which the oldest and most successful constitution was based over 200 years ago in America may serve our case and can hardly be improved upon: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

True, these words were written in different circumstances, but they apply word for word to our situation.

But what is needed to give substance to these ideals? Firstly, it requires the drafting of a clear model of the new South African constitution, the principles and mechanics of which can be understood by all. It also requires an exploration of the ways its general acceptance by all South Africans can be assured and, finally, how the transition from the present outdated system to the new dispensation can be legally and peacefully effected.

Above all, the main problem with a new political structure is to get it accepted by the majority of South Africans. Successful new dispensations have always been introduced as a result of a popular movement of some kind.

It is here that the private sector, in the personal, rather than the corporate sense, through a number of outstanding personalities, men and women, black and white, could now make an historic contribution to a great future for our country.

If a few successful leaders in their respective fields — and that clearly includes labour leaders and professional people — working directly together and drawing on the vast resources and resourcefulness of their sectors, would start a popular movement with clearly defined aims, the benefit to the country would be enormous.

Following the definition of aims (which has largely been done already, but needs firm co-ordination), a large and professional public relations programme by the private sector would be launched with the support of the media.

One would expect that the various private sector organisations would join and support the movement, keeping in mind the large issues rather than details on which they may differ.

After all, it is not in our power to change the basic attitudes and variety of our population. Under whatever political dispensation, the Boesaks, Bothas, Buthelezis, Eglins, Hendrickses, Gumedes, Mandelas, Malans, Marais, Rajbansis, Tambos and Treurnichts (to name but a few well-known representative figures in alphabetical order), will be part of the South African nation for the foreseeable future.

At present some of these politicians are in a position to rule most of the others, who naturally resent it and try to overthrow the oppressive regime. The resultant situation of increasing conflict is there for all to see.

It is in our power to reach agreement on a system under which they can co-operate, where no one has to give up his language, religion or voluntary life style, and none can be subjected to arbitrary laws made by any of the others.

THE Bureau for Information's cocktail party for the foreign press last week at Tuynhuis, the State President's residence, was probably a success as a public relations exercise for the government. For the State President, however, it certainly wasn't.

The party, planned to allow the foreign correspondents to meet the Cabinet, was off the record, so one can't report what was said.

But most of the journalists left believing that a question mark hangs over the behaviour of P W Botha.

Seeing politicians and politician-watchers in Parliament, it became clear that Botha's bellicose behaviour is the unspoken issue in this election.

If in the May election the National Party is going to get a bloody nose, the major reason is that its supporters divide about one third "yes", one third "don't know", and one third "no" on the major issue, racial integration.

The second, more immediate reason why NP members are leaving the party in droves is the character of the president. P W Botha's actions in recent weeks in private and public are losing as much support as his policies.

He has, almost methodically, alienated countless influential party politicians, academics, journalists and businessmen. Many of the people coming out openly against him have grudges as much personal as political.

His tendency to dismiss the views, advice and support of his most loyal allies was first evident early on as Prime Minister when he turned on Louwrens Muller, the leader of the House of Assembly who had proposed Botha for premier in the party caucus. Months after Muller helped ensure Botha's nomination, Botha swung his support behind Muller's opponent for the State Presidency, because it fitted in with a Botha plan to reshuffle a series of other posts. Muller joined the

How does PW differ from Vorster?

Vorster chose his foes with more care

There's not a minister who'll dare challenge the State President. But that doesn't mean he can count on the party's undying enthusiasm. JOHN MATISONN reports on the unspoken election issue



Conservative Party.

Those moves were only dim evidence of a character flaw: his determination to dismiss analysis or advice of experts, and to demonstrate that his power is absolute. Never as comfortable with the rapier as with the bludgeon, the list of people on who he has inflicted deliberate, exaggerated, public humiliations grows long: Muller, Connie Mulder, John Vorster, Hendrick van den Bergh, Andries Treurnicht, Louis

Nel, Allan Hendrickse, Wynand Malan, Chris Ball ...

Privately he is apparently no less blunt. Having designed the new executive presidency unfettered by the checks and balances in Western executive presidencies like France or the US, he wants to make that unlimited power apparent in all that he touches.

This is the explanation for the Rubicon speech disaster in 1985. He didn't know and wouldn't ask those

who knew what the essential requirements of that speech were internationally, simply in the interests of preserving the economy. Botha seemed determined to prove he could do things his way, to show he had the power to do what he wanted.

We've seen the result in the economy. Now it will be apparent in the election.

Several of his Cabinet face tough contests. Several may lose seats. Talking to them, they seem resigned to it and impotent.

Nobody influenced Botha's decision about when the election will be held. Hardly a Cabinet member can stand up to Botha without risking his job. NP disaffection is massive.

A good example came early this year from Wimpie de Klerk, the editor of Rapport, who wrote a column explaining what the 22 percent of NP members dissatisfied with the slow pace of reform should do on election day.

De Klerk examined the options: not voting, voting independent, and voting PFP, before concluding that one should vote NP. But as any Cape Town Kremlinologist will tell you, what that column really meant was that for the first time, good loyal readers can consider other options.

Given the current personal and political tensions in the NP, Botha, scornful of Vorster, has forgotten one of his predecessor's lessons.

Vorster prided himself on being able to choose his enemies well. He chose Nusas, the Christian Institute — both nice and weak. Then he attacked them on all occasions.

Botha tried to take on everybody, even half his own party. It's too much for one man to bear, even such a powerful one.

Something's going to give.

●Report by John Matisonn of 190 Marshall Street, Johannesburg

Pik Botha, of course, incurred the wrath of President P W Botha a year ago when he told foreign correspondents that NP policy could in the future lead to the election of a black president. He was publicly rebuked by the State President, who refused to confirm that a black president could emerge from the NP policy of creating "structures" for "accommodating" blacks in central government.

But in parliament last week, sole HNP MP Louis Stofberg disclosed that the Broederbond had canvassed the question of a black president among its members, including, presumably, Broeder 4487 alias P W Botha. A Broederbond working document circulated to members takes a positive position on the issue.

Noting that exclusion of blacks from the highest levels of government constituted a threat to white survival, the Broederbond document says: "It means that everyone can serve on the highest legislative and executive levels . . . It can, indeed, mean that in some models the head of state and/or the head of government need not necessarily be white."

The document adds an important qualifying rider: the presidency should be structured to prevent it from being used to advance domination by any one group. "The rights of all groups must be protected and fulfilled," the document says.

Broederbond chairman Prof J P de Lange later confirmed that the document was genuine but stressed that it was a "working document" rather than a constitutional blueprint.

But even as a working document it means that a black president is on the agenda of the 12 000 Broeders who represent the elite of the Afrikaner establishment.

Also on the agenda — to cite two more items in the document — are a government in which the majority of members are black, and "grey" or racially open residential areas. In an indirect sense, that means these issues are under discussion in the NP, too.

The Broederbond has been largely purged of ultra-rightists of the HNP and Conservative Party. It functions as a "think-tank" for Afrikanerdom. It has close ties with the NP, most of whose members are Broeders. It does not dictate policy to the NP, but it certainly helps to formulate NP policy and — as important — sell policy to rank-and-file Afrikaners once it is adopted.

The document is undated. It may have been drawn up after Pik Botha was repudiated by P W Botha. But if discussion of a black president is legitimate in the closed circles of the Broeders, it is too hot an issue to be discussed in the open, not with an election looming and ultra-rightists assiduously asserting that the NP has a clandestine reform agenda, one item of which is a black president and another racially open residential areas.

At a press conference for foreign correspondents last week Pik Botha refused to be drawn on the issue of a black president. He had not discussed the issue of a black president with his Cabinet colleagues when he pronounced on it last year and he thus ac-

cepted the right of President Botha to discipline him, Pik Botha said. He declined to say whether the question had been discussed in the Cabinet since. ■

POLICY OPTIONS

FIM 13/2/87

Blacks and the bond

A black president for SA under National Party (NP) rule — the issue which nearly sank Foreign Minister Pik Botha last year — is on the pre-election political agenda, courtesy of the Broederbond and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP).

364A

WHITE RIGHT

Polls apart

Nationalist MPs were jubilant this week as it became clear that the divided white Right had decided to make the coming election a fight to the death.

Despite efforts by senior members of the Conservative Party (CP), the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), it now seems highly unlikely that CP and HNP leaders will form a countrywide election alliance before May 6.

The best they can hope for are "local option" pacts which have already been agreed in some constituencies. For the rest, the two rightwing parties will be fighting each other as bitterly as they will the ruling Nats.

For many Nat MPs, particularly in the OFS, western Transvaal and some Pretoria seats, disunity on the Right is likely to ensure another term in parliament.

The final break between CP and HNP became evident at the weekend when both parties announced candidates to contest the same seats. The major obstacle to unity remains the differing perceptions of what rights blacks should enjoy in "white" SA. There are also differences over the role of the AWB, which the HNP officially rejects.

The highly principled HNP leader, Jaap Marais, wants thorough and ongoing negotiations with the CP before any groundwork can be laid for unity. The Conservatives' leader Andries Treurnicht, however, wants instant unity of all rightwingers (under his banner), and argues that the CP already has the overwhelming support of conservative whites.

The election will test Treurnicht's argument. The HNP is considered to have

enough diehard supporters in key constituencies to spoil CP chances.

Among the surprise candidates nominated so far by the CP are former Boss chief Hendrik van den Bergh (Pretoria East); former CID chief Kobus Visser (Verwoerdburg); former Soweto police chief Theuns "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel (Westdene); two members of the SA Rugby Board, Daan Nolte (Delmas) and Boetie Malan (Cradock); former boxing promoter Jaap de Villiers (Langlaagte) and unionist Arrie Paulus (Carletonville).

The Mulder clan is also standing for the CP: Connie Mulder in Randfontein, where he has a good chance of winning, and sons Pieter and Corné in Potchefstroom and Gezina respectively.

The HNP named 30 candidates at the weekend and says it may contest as many as 100 seats. The party blamed the CP leadership for the failure to form an election front against the NP.

Meanwhile, in a surprise nomination in Cape Town, the NP has announced that David Graaff, son of former United Party leader Sir De Villiers Graaff, will stand for the party against the PFP in Wynberg. Graaff has stood for parliament unsuccessfully in five previous elections, three times for the UP and twice for the New Republic Party. ■

Waiting for Worrall

Former ambassador Denis Worrall is due back from London this weekend to enter the pre-election political fray. But bets are wide open on just what he will do.

Worrall has kept a low profile after the



**Worrall ... Natal battle
against Stoffel Botha**

shock of his resignation last month; he broke cover only briefly last weekend with a Sunday newspaper interview. Even then he filled

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in no real detail.

It seems most likely that Worrall will stand as an independent candidate against Natal Nationalist leader Stoffel Botha in Port Natal. The Progressive Federal Party will stand back for him and he has a good chance of winning.

In his interview, Worrall said government's effective scuttling of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) initiative last year and its hasty rejection of the KwaNatal Indaba plan prompted his decision to quit.

He denied coming home last December to seek a seat in parliament — Nat or otherwise — and says he was in fact offered a seat in the Cape by party leaders.

He disclosed that he tendered his resignation last year as the EPG initiative headed for collapse, but was persuaded by Pik Botha to stay on. He also turned down a posting as ambassador to another unnamed "important" country.

He denied that his resignation last month was prompted by "sour grapes" after he failed to secure a safe Nat seat.

Worrall's return to active politics is likely to stimulate interest in the coming election further, and could be an important factor in the realignment of opposition forces Left of the NP.

The men from Morgenzon

Morgenzon, a small dusty village in the eastern Transvaal, is the embryo of the white homeland which a group of conservative extremists, the Oranjewerkers, want to build. The village with its gravel roads and a few dilapidated shops lies within the Bethal-Ermelo-Standerton triangle.

Appropriately enough, one of the moving forces behind the Oranjewerkers is Hendrik Verwoerd, son of the late architect of grand apartheid.

The Oranjewerkers do not represent or belong to any political party, but have strong links with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). They await unification of all conservatives in the country. This they hope will happen before the coming election, for only then can they successfully fight what they see as the threat of a black government resulting from government policy.

The Oranjewerkers' movement was launched in Pretoria in June 1980, and its headquarters moved to Morgenzon two years later. A strange choice, it might seem, but the group's secretary and accountant, Ben van den Berg, says that all options had been thoroughly considered.

He says Morgenzon will be the heart of future industrial development. Historically, it belongs to the Afrikaner and resistance against the Oranjewerkers there is relatively weak. Morgenzon centres on a farm whose owner specified in a deed of transfer years ago that no black, coloured or Indian might hire or own property on it, something not far removed from the principle of the Group Areas Act.

"We are working towards an Afrikaner nation — not a white nation; that would be racism," says Van den Berg, echoing AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche's sentiments.

The Oranjewerkers believe they are fulfilling a religious calling. They believe South Africans have erred for 300 years in relying on black labour and not separating nations "as God ordered us to do."

Van den Berg insists his movement is not racist, "but we must not hope that the Afrikaner minority will survive in a black majority. The whites do not know the blacks. We do not hate them; we are not against them —

we are for ourselves."

Before joining the Oranjewerkers, Van den Berg was a hospital secretary in Lebowa. That experience convinced him to work for the creation of a white homeland. "The blacks have a country of their own — a place where they can call the tune. Afrikaners want the same privilege, but we have to work for it," he explains.

The Afrikaner nation can be preserved only by being completely self-sufficient, he says. Whites must stop employing blacks, who will then be forced to move away in search of jobs.

But hardly any of Morgenzon's residents seem to support the Oranjewerkers' ideals. Francis Naude, whose husband owns the only hotel in Morgenzon, says they are impractical and inhuman.

"We do not have enough work at Morgenzon to start a *Boerestaat*," she says. "The employees of the Oranjewerkers are often second- or third-grade Afrikaners. Whites

have been spoilt by cheap labour and would rather be jobless than earn black wages."

But Van den Berg says: "Whites will have to do their own dirty work to preserve their identity. When we started to employ blacks, we had to start sharing our property with them. Now they want us to share our country. Black labour is not cheap labour — we will pay with our country."

While Naude is outspoken, others keep mum, evidently for fear of harming their businesses. One angry shopowner says the Oranjewerkers shop in neighbouring towns rather than deal with people who openly question their ideals. "They want us to support them, but they won't support us."

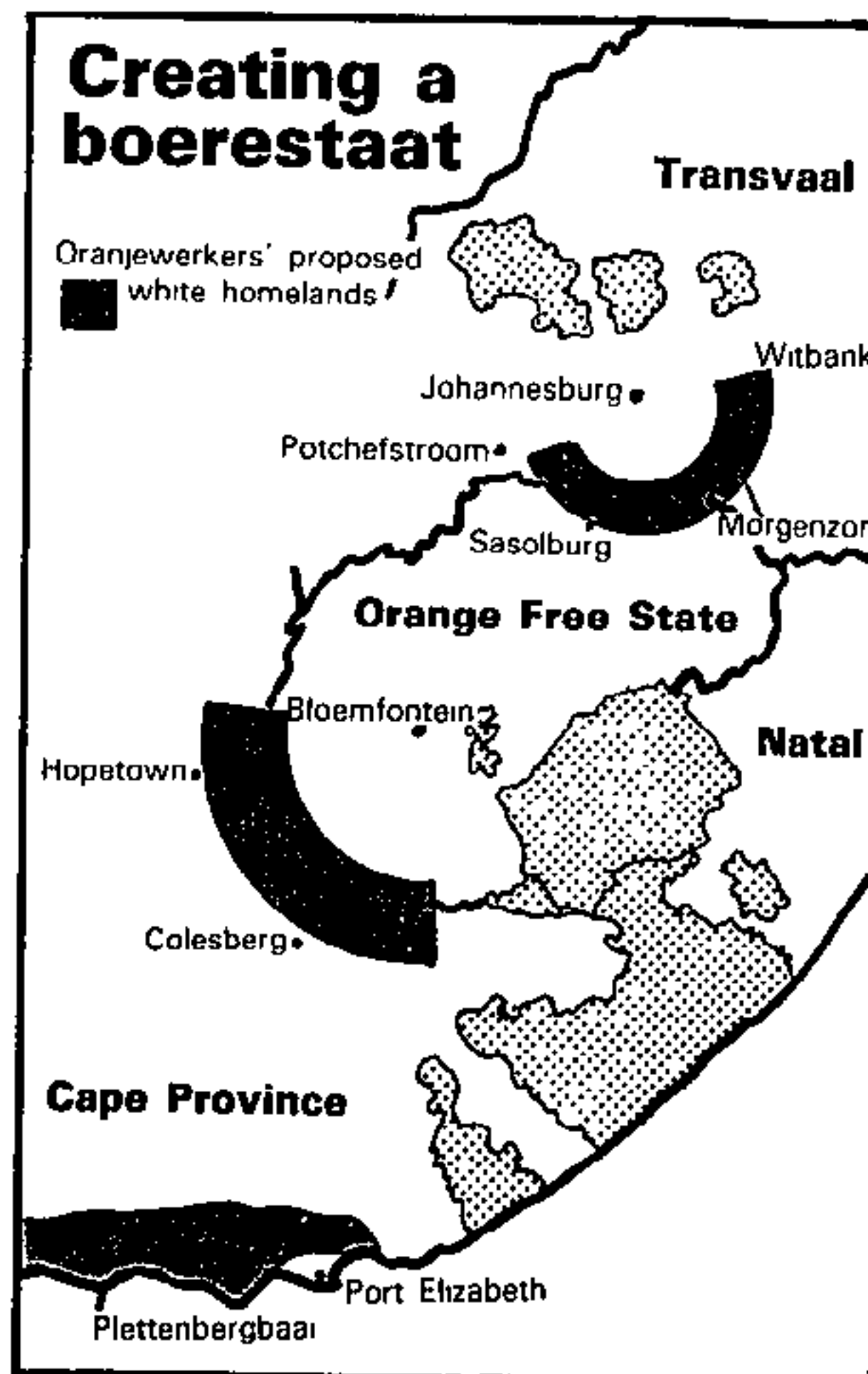
Another woman says the principle of ousting people from their homes is inhuman. But she does not believe that the Oranjewerkers pose a threat to the community: "They are ridiculous and we can only laugh at them."

Van den Berg blames the press for splitting the Morgenzon community. He says everyone unconsciously supports the Oranjewerkers, but people have been indoctrinated by the media. He compares the Oranjewerkers to Escom and Anglo American Corporation. He cannot therefore understand why people support those organisations but oppose the Oranjewerkers' development scheme so strongly.

Jorrie Jordaan, another ardent Oranjewerker, owns a whites-only fibreglass factory. He says his staff of four whites has proved that whites can get along without black labour. But he has trouble selling his main product — super tubes.

"Our State President has bugged up the economy and people cannot afford luxuries any more . . . I hate all racists and kaffirs," Jordaan, says Van den Berg, has such a good sense of humour.

The Oranjewerkers are adamant about staying and surviving in Morgenzon. They're attempting to ensure this by buying up property and "importing" supporters. The group claims to have about 2 500 members, but Van den Berg believes that support stretches far beyond that. They own property worth some R100 000 and "the municipality will not be able to ignore so many taxpayers."



KWAZULU-NATAL

The pith of Indaba

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F/M

What Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said in parliament last week about the Indaba may well have some substance; the Indaba's constitutional blueprint for power sharing in KwaNatal is not without its imperfections. Nobody claimed it was.

However, for the Nats publicly to imply that they have always been ardent supporters of the Indaba and the politics of negotiation that it represents is the worst kind of political opportunism. It must not be forgotten that it was only under duress that they agreed to send a delegation to the talks — and then only as observers.

But Heunis went even further. While denigrating the Indaba, he implied once again that government was not being given sufficient credit for its own efforts to promote dialogue and asked that it should not be judged on the "visibility" of

what it was doing. But trying to coerce black community councillors, who for the most part have spurned his advances, into joining the much-vaunted National Statutory Council can hardly be considered progress towards this end.

In the run-up to the election it will be a relatively easy task for Nat candidates in Natal to take issue with the Indaba on the economic cost of integration or exploit white insecurities about the individual rights versus group rights debate.

But it must not be forgotten that when the voters go to the polling booths they will concern themselves as much with the substance of the Indaba as with what it stands for. They will be making their mark in favour of reform — with which the Indaba is clearly synonymous.

The sad reality is that the Nats have no counterpart to offer in their own election arsenal. ■

FINANCIAL MAIL FEBRUARY 13 1987

ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The politics of thuggery

304A
F/M
13/2/87



Electioneering in SA has always been no business for cissies. The old adage, if you can't stand the heat stay out of the kitchen, applies.

But with the general election campaign scarcely weeks old, heaven help us if the standard of "argument" so far is a foretaste of what we're going to be bombarded with over the next three months.

We've had State President P W Botha — admitting he has no proof — alleging under cover of parliamentary privilege that a respected banker

has financed pro-ANC advertisements (in passing, imagine the uproar if a newspaper made such a grave accusation against a Nat politician on similarly flimsy grounds); attempts to portray our former ambassador to London as a frustrated carpet-bagger; and assorted humiliations even for such nominal supporters as Pik Botha, Allan Hendrickse, SATV, and Albert Nothnagel.

In like vein P W, who last year was laying down terms on which Mandela could be released, last week told a gathering of foreign correspondents: "Nelson Mandela can rot in prison until he dies or I die, whichever takes longer."

It is widely said that this election is the most significant since 1948. The irony is that it is also the election in which policies will play the smallest role since 1948.

PFP suggestions that government's woeful record of economic management will come under scrutiny are wishful thinking.

The subject of further political reform has also been swept under the carpet, with a wink-wink-nudge-nudge "Wait until after the election when we've got rid of the right wing, and then see what happens." Anybody — even a so-called New Nat — who believes that, will believe anything.

The fact is that this election is not about policies, it is a battle for the soul of Afrikanerdom. In that cause, logic flies out of the window and demagoguery takes over. Gratuitous insults of the US, like renewed bouts of pinko-businessman-bashing, are all part of P W's campaign to persuade the Afrikaner that he is their true leader and protector.

Those who feared that reform would never extend to real power-sharing will only be confirmed by hearing the PFP branded an (even if unwitting) ANC front. No wonder Colin Eglin talks of McCarthyism; but make no mistake, it is integral to showing that P W's National Party has not abdicated its historic role. Pik Botha's statement that it has become a *volksbeweging* epitomises the line being taken.

To the Nats, the only function of any opposition to the left in the election campaign will be to act as whipping-boy. Rightwingers are to be won back, not by being persuaded their views are wrong, but by being harangued that nothing has actually changed within the NP — as some on the left have suspected all along.

The campaign has already been reduced to the level of character assassination and political thuggery. It's going to be a long, hard autumn between now and May 6. ■

NO CONFIDENCE DEBATE

Ball in PW's court

Politicians make their blunders, even those as experienced as President P W Botha. But what made his recent gaff over the Chris Ball affair even worse, was that it came during a run-up to an election and handed the Opposition a heaven-sent stick for government's back.

While Botha may have believed his comments would serve the National Party by detracting from government speakers' dismal performance in the No Confidence debate, and possibly win back a few supporters from the Right, the opposite appears to have happened. All Botha really did was reinforce his bully-boy image (see *Leaders*).

The Ball attack probably saved the PFP's effort in the debate from a whimpering finale. It revitalised the party's rapidly flagging onslaught in what had earlier promised to be one of the best performances by an opposition party in many years.



Barclays's Ball ... sticking to his guns after Botha slur

PFP speakers used the Ball issue as a focus for wider-ranging attacks on government incompetence in all fields. Botha was repeatedly portrayed as an incompetent, using the privilege of parliament to smear a critic.

Opposition leader Colin Eglin accused the president of entering an era of "McCarthyism" and of using hearsay rumours to "wreak vengeance" on opponents of his policies.

"When innuendo, rumour and selective quotes are used to denigrate political opponents from a position of privilege, we know just how far we have gone down the slippery slope away from democracy," Eglin said.

A number of Nat MPs were shocked by

The FM brings its readers the most news, comment and interpretation possible under the new regulations restricting publication of certain matters.

It does not believe that the restrictions are necessary or in the public interest, but will obey the law.

the attack on Ball and were saying privately this week that the issue will cost the party dearly in the election, particularly in upper and middle-class seats.

In retrospect, it is clear that Botha entered the debate earlier than had been expected (he came in on Wednesday afternoon and spoke for nearly two hours) to create a diversion.

In his wide-ranging attack on critics, mainly to the Left, he effectively said "if you're not my ally, you're my enemy" and lumped all groups and individuals together as the target for attack.

The main theme of the attack was the ANC and its "allies" who Botha implied were most Left leaning groups. The Ball comments may have appeared to have been slipped in as an afterthought in the wake of a concerted attack. On analysis, however, they must have been carefully planned — although the reaction could surely not have been expected.

There is speculation that Botha was misinformed by his advisers on Ball's alleged involvement in the ANC advertisements. The upshot, however, was that instead of the ANC issue dominating the remainder of the debate and dampening the PFP attack (which it might have done, considering the party's fragile internal security policies), it was overshadowed by the Ball issue.

In the end, it was left to Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk, and Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen to try to salvage something for government.

Flawed though his argument may have been, De Klerk at least tried to set out election issues and (courageously in the face of a rightwing onslaught) reaffirmed government's commitment to an undefined reform programme.

Viljoen was given the job of trying to stem the flow of Nat support to the Left. Speaking immediately after Nat rebel Wynand Malan, who clearly explained his reasons for quitting the party, Viljoen effectively called on all the Malan-types both in and outside parliament to be patient. Reform is a complex process that needs time and money to get right, he explained.

Viljoen argued that the entire Nat caucus is made up of "New Nats" who support reform and who stand firmly behind a leader with courage, determination, vision and initiative.

At the end of the debate, election issues were not as clear as many had hoped they would be. It seems, however, that the Nats will adopt a two-pronged approach — campaigning on a ticket of tough security measures to shield further constitutional reform. The ANC, and anyone perceived as soft on the ANC, can expect little mercy.

For the PFP, on the other hand, the task of exposing Nat shortcomings should be even easier than before.

The Conservative Party probably faces the most difficult campaign, especially if it tries to convince white voters that the Nationalists are about to capitulate to black rule. ■

Germiston has trouble with election posters

304A Jan 13/2/87

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

A poster war is being waged in Germiston as voters prepare to go to the polls in next week's municipal by-election in Ward 14.

Of the three candidates contesting the seat, two are said to have contravened regulations regarding the display of posters in the city.

It has been alleged that Mr Harry Gey van Pittius (31) has recruited municipal employees to help him canvass.

Mr van Pittius is the son of Mr NC Gey van Pittius, Germiston's chief health inspector and chairman of the South African Association of Municipal Employees.

Sources told The Star today that a fireman, related to Mr van Pittius,

faces disciplinary action for allegedly using a Fire Department vehicle and ladder to place the candidate's posters at strategic positions in the city.

Some posters for another candidate, Mr Richard Christophers (24), son of Mr Dereck Christophers, councillor and National Party candidate for Germiston in the forthcoming general election, have been removed by the authorities.

The posters for Mr Christophers Jun were put up on traffic lights, at intersections and on trees, a contravention of the law.

Germiston's chief licensing officer, Mr J G L Deminey, had the posters removed.

Residents in Ward 14 complained to the local authority after seeing municipal employees in official cars with the Germiston crest on them, canvassing for Mr van Pittius during the day.

The matter has been reported to the Town Clerk, Mr Jan du Plessis, who requested that the registrations of the vehicles be furnished.

According to Mrs Winnie Haveloh, a member of the opposition in the Germiston City Council, the matter is receiving top-level attention.

The third candidate contesting the municipal by-election is Mr Viv Morris, chairman of the South African Institute of Estate Agents and husband of Mrs Kelly Morris, who serves on the council.

Voters in the ward go to the polls on February 18. Votes can be cast at the Vortrekker Hall in Gill Street, Lambton.

Campaign money offered

Aggrieved Nats look to Worrall

304A B/Day 13/2/87

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

SOME Western Cape Afrikaner businessmen are prepared to put up money to help the election campaigns of former Nationalists such as Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan.

This emerged during a random survey of attitudes of some of the Afrikaner business elite.

Efforts are apparently being made to determine Worrall's precise intentions and to persuade him to contest the Helderberg seat currently held by Constitutional Affairs and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

Recent actions and statements by President P W Botha appear to have done more to harm business confidence than any other action or inaction orchestrated by government over the past year.

His unprecedented and, so far, unsubstantiated attack on Barclays MD Chris Ball in Parliament last week, together with what is seen as a total over-reaction to Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse's protest swim from a whites-only beach, has aroused considerable unease among a powerful element of the Afrikaner business community.

It has, moreover, aggravated the growing concern and disenchantment businessmen are now openly expressing over the stalled pace of

reform and the apparent inability of government to declare categorically where it is taking SA.

The level of this unease came across strongly during the survey.

None of those canvassed were prepared publicly to voice their discontent, however, for fear that their political views might impact negatively on their businesses.

But, privately, there appeared to be a willingness to express solidarity with calls to boycott the May 6 elections as a means of forcefully telling the National Party hierarchy it was out of favour with the majority of the white electorate.

Few of the Afrikaner businessmen canvassed were prepared totally to disregard their traditional party political ties by openly siding with the Opposition PFP.

Considerable sympathy and excitement was voiced over the independent stand taken by Randburg MP Malan and the decision by Worrall to resign as ambassador to London in a demonstrable expression of disenchantment over government performance.

The issue of support and electoral financing should come to a head next week after Worrall's return to SA.

Capl 7/11/87 13/2/87

Report denied

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha last night denied that he told foreign correspondents last week that the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, could rot in prison until either Mr Mandela or Mr Botha died.

This week's edition of the Financial Mail reported that Mr Botha told a gathering of foreign journalists: "Nelson Mandela can rot in prison until he dies or I die, whichever takes longer."

A statement, issued by his office, said Mr Botha "categorically denies the truth of the alleged remark attributed to him in the article".

Mystery bang

... could explain, reckons Clarence, why they chose to "bring out the big guns" in the form of Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis and NP Natal leader Stoffel Botha to shoot it down.

Their major criticism is that the Indaba makes no recommendations on how the structure would fit in with government at the centre. Government's opposition to the proposals also centres on what it sees as the inequality of Indaba-type power sharing, and its protection of individual rather than group rights.

Clarence, however, points out that the initiative was taken — at Heunis' behest — to ensure a lasting and peaceful solution in the Natal-KwaZulu region. He admits: "We didn't give a second thought to the Transvaal, Free State or the Cape."

Whether or not it's part and parcel of the election hype, government's negative response has served to make the Indaba steering committee more determined than ever to explain the Indaba to Natalians.

Says Clarence: "We will not accept what the political analysts come up with through the election result. Only if the people reject the Indaba once it has been clearly spelt out to them will we be satisfied."

KWANATAL INDABA 304A 13/2/87 FIM **Help from outside**

They might not like it, but Indaba officials are now resigned to the fact that the constitutional initiative they brokered has become a major issue in the white election.

Yet few believe the election can be a true test of whether the Indaba proposals are what the people of Natal really want. That's because electioneering will include other, perhaps more emotional, issues such as the emergency, sanctions and press curbs. And a vote for the National Party (NP) in what is a minority white election will not necessarily mean rejection of the Indaba as such.

In any event, the Indaba is not likely to die on polling day. The real work of promoting it will begin in earnest once the election is over.

Indaba Chairman Professor Desmond Clarence and his steering committee are already looking past election day. They have engaged US management consultants, the Hay Group, to advise them on putting the Indaba concept into clearer focus for the electorate. This has been an acknowledged shortcoming.

Although government has said it will conduct a referendum on the Indaba only if it accords with current government policy — which it clearly doesn't — Clarence says the ultimate objective is to have opinions properly tested by a poll of sorts. To this end, the Hay Group has prepared a three point plan to heighten public awareness of the Indaba and what it stands for.

According to Clarence, Hay Group executives, who spent five days in the country making assessments, say the Indaba is "eminently saleable" both internally and internationally.

Moreover, he says, the group gained the impression in its discussions with politicians across the spectrum that government fears the Indaba because it "might prove to be contagious."

3044
Dispatch Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — A referendum on the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba proposals was now more necessary than ever, the Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart said yesterday.

Reacting to President P. W. Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament, Mr Swart said he had effectively endorsed the negative attitude of Natal's Nationalist leader, Mr Stoffel Botha.

"It is clear the Nationalist government is only interested in negotiations of its choosing and only if they result in recommendations which comply with the guidelines of the National Party," Mr Swart said.

"Mr Botha wants to

PFP calls for Natal Indaba referendum

perpetuate group divisions on race lines and his commitment to power sharing goes no further than this.

"It now becomes more imperative than ever that the Indaba proposal be tested by way of a referendum involving all the people of Natal and KwaZulu.

"In the meantime, it is equally important that candidates in support of the Indaba process and ideals are supported by

the white electorate in Natal in the election."

The leader of the NRP, Mr Bill Sutton, believed that leaders such as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not accept a "group" concept Mr Botha was insisting on.

"The Indaba was a base for groups to come together to show that group protection can take several forms not

only by separating the groups," he said.

There was general agreement yesterday that Mr Botha had dashed hopes that the Indaba would go much further.

Mr Botha said the government's point of view was that there should be consultation and negotiation on matters of common concern between all communities at all levels of government. There was no objection to the establishment by the governments of self governing states and neighbouring provincial authorities in Natal or elsewhere of joint executive authorities to deal with matters of common concern. Enabling legislation had already been passed.

Filling

the gap:

Idasa

304A

(cont)

lists its goals for SA

**KIN
BENTLEY**



**lifts the wraps
on what Idasa
REALLY
wants for
the nation**

PE will host the group's official launch in May

AT a national level, Idasa has planned some far-reaching activities, which it hopes will alter the socio-political face of South Africa, and nudge the country peacefully in the direction of a non-racial democracy.

According to its national co-ordinator, Mr Wayne Mitchell, the institute's first major project kicks off, ironically, two days after the white general election on May 6.

A national Conference on Democracy will be held at the Elizabeth Sun, Port Elizabeth, on May 8 and 9 and will be chaired by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

About 400 academics, businessmen, community and labour leaders will be invited, said Mr Mitchell, who added that the conference would constitute the official launching of Idasa.

And a significant Conference Outside South Africa is planned for the second

half of this year. It will be held in Europe, Mr Mitchell said.

While he was reluctant to expand too much on this, according to an Idasa activities synopsis given to the Press, "about 50 SA opinion leaders from the Afrikaners section of the whites" would participate in the conference, to be attended by "African leaders".

Mr Mitchell would not say who those leaders will be, but a hint might be

found in the Idasa document, which states:

"Contact must be made between those South Africans who cannot leave the country and those exiles who cannot come back. They both have a part to play in the reconstruction of a post-apartheid South Africa."

Meetings between "voluntary organisations", including the SA Institute of Race Relations, Urban Foundation, Black Sash, Free Market Foundation, Let SA Speak and Federated Chamber of Commerce, will be held regularly to bring about similar co-ordination as was attempted at a local level in Port Elizabeth this week. Other projects planned include:

Weekend Post 14-02-87

WHEN Dr Frederik van der Slabbert opted out of parliament early last year, a huge gap was left in the South African body politic.

But he and fellow former Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Alex Boraine have not turned their back on their political ideals.

Indeed, they have set in motion an exciting new political initiative, which is already starting to make an impact in Port Elizabeth and the Eastern Cape, but as far wider national implications which will merge in the course of the year.

With the awesome title of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Idasa was established following several low-profile "groundwork" tours around the country last year — and particularly in the Eastern Cape — by Dr Slabbert and Dr Boraine, who are the institute's policy director and executive director respectively.

Late last year, Idasa opened its first fully-staffed offices in Main Street, Port Elizabeth.

In an interview there this week Mr Wayne Mitchell, national co-ordinator of Idasa, Mr Max Mamase, its director of community

affairs, and Mr Kevin Wakeford, its regional co-ordinator, outlined Idasa's goals and activities.

Their aims are:

● To help those South Africans of all races who reject apartheid discover an alternative that is non-racial and democratic in the true sense of the word.

● To reassure those who are fearful of a post-apartheid South Africa and involve them in working towards that alternative.

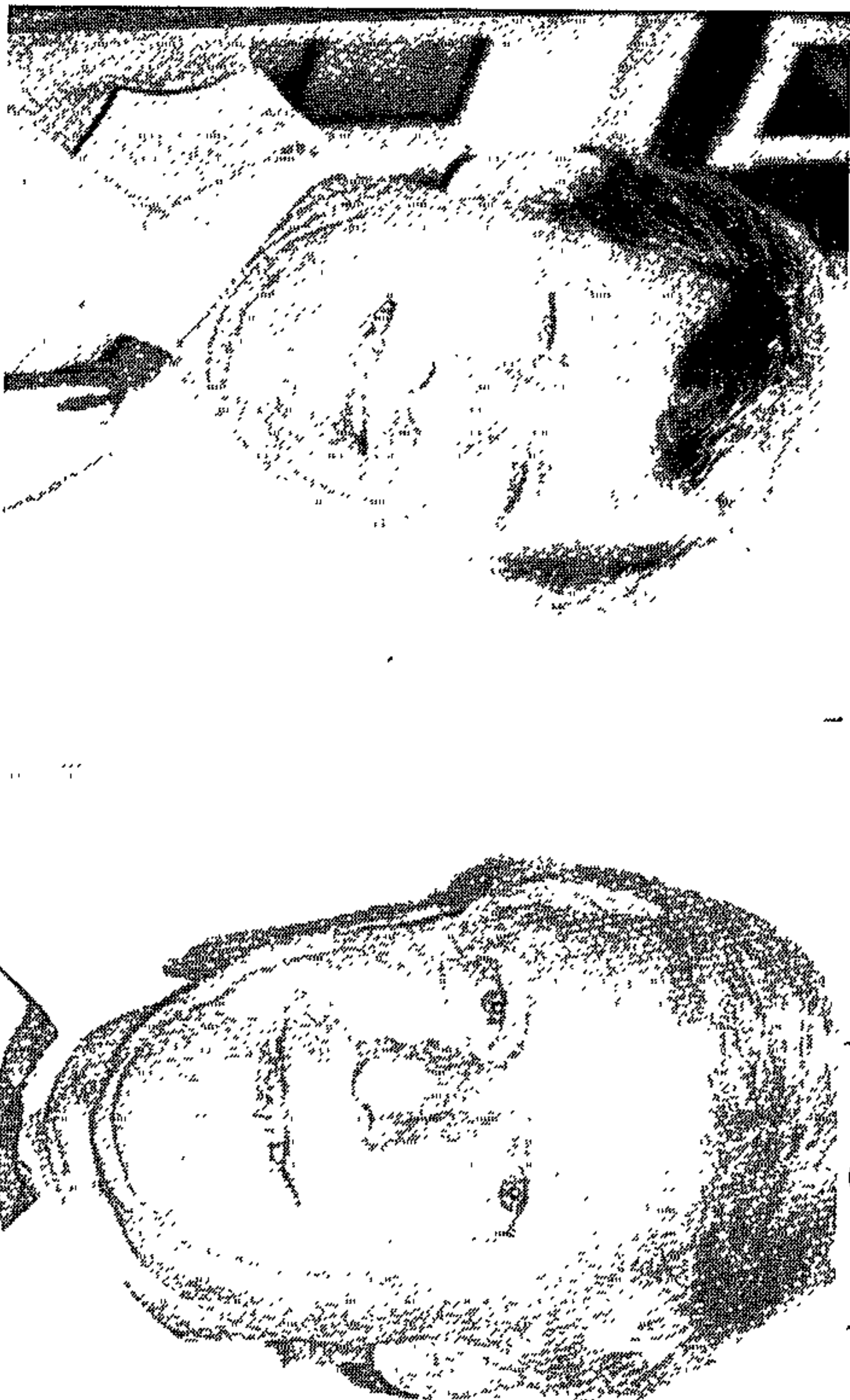
● To mobilise the skills, knowledge and experience of all those who can help the communities in the crisis areas of South Africa.

● To provide forums and opportunities on a nationwide basis so that solutions to South Africa's problems can be sought in confidence and without prejudice.

Mr Mitchell said Idasa was not a political organisation and had no membership facilities. It simply sought to get people of goodwill together who had been kept apart artificially under apartheid.

Idasa, he said, hoped to "improve human relations by eliminating white fears and black scepticism of white intentions".

It had no hidden agenda and was not a front for any



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, left, and Dr Alex Boraine — they're seeking a non-racial, democratic cure

organisation.

He said all people receptive to the concept of a non-racial democracy would be identified and involved in projects.

In the words of an Idasa manual: "The many people who will be called upon to reconstruct the post-apartheid SA will need access to a vast range of skills and resources. Idasa will mobilise those skills and identify those resources."

Workshops, seminars and conferences about a democratic alternative for South Africa are the lifeblood of Idasa.

This week, representatives of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, the Urban Foundation, Operation Real South Africa, church bodies, Operation

Hunger, the Black Sash, Youth for Christ and the National Council of Women met in the Idasa conference room.

It was hoped to get other like-minded organisations to join this group in working out ways of co-ordinating their efforts.

Last month, Idasa hosted a Non-racial Businessmen's Forum in Uitenhage, and

will hold a similar one for a cross-section of business and community representatives in Port Alfred on February 20.

Starting on February 18, a series of eight weekly "democracy lectures" will be delivered by "individuals identified by the regional Idasa staff", to discuss democracy and "bring about an appreciation of what

people understand by it, and to agree on what constitutes its essential ingredients".

These discussions will be run on an ongoing basis, with Mr Gavin Bradshaw, a research consultant and UPE lecturer, providing keynote addresses.

Mr Bradshaw said that over the past few years a great deal of suspicion had been attached to concepts like "reform", "moderation" and "federation" which had to be combatted. Idasa is also planning an industrial relations forum in Port Elizabeth to put unionists and young labour practitioners in contact with each other. This is scheduled for April 8.

A similar forum bringing educationists together is also planned.

A youth leaders forum, to bring prefects from white schools into contact with their counterparts in the townships and initiate joint projects, is envisaged.

At a higher level, students from the University of Port Elizabeth, PE Technikon, PE Teachers College and the SA National Students Congress (Sansco) will "discuss issues of mutual interest and engage one another in projects geared towards education".

institute, explaining Idasa's vision of a non-racial democratic South Africa, which will be distributed commercially to overseas TV channels, and locally if any will take them.

● Research of policy options for the private sector, under Dr Slabbert. The research will involve "key actors" in the private sector and "focus on democratic alternatives to be promoted by business in areas like land reform, housing, health, education and local government".

● A workshop on "students and democracy", involving, the Afrikaner Studentebond, Jeugskie, Nusas and the SA National Students Congress; and one on "the church and democracy", in which theology students will meet people from the SA Council of Churches, Idamasa and others.

● A set-up where Afrikaans students will be taken to the townships in the vicinity of their universities, for which there has been a specific request.

● A publishing firm will be set up to produce literature on democracy and newsletters.

Mr Mitchell stressed that Idasa was "not prescriptive". It would put forward ideas and "see if the people of SA are receptive".

(304A)

Horace's resignation slur proves manna to

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — The resignation of the PFP MP for Bryanston Mr Horace van Rensburg this week has provided a healthy supply of election manna for the National Party.

Indeed, his resignation on Tuesday and the subsequent disclosures have been Die Burger's page one lead for the past four days as the NP indulges in a bit of "Prog bashing".

Mr Van Rensburg's resignation when it became clear that he would not win the PFP nomination for

the Bryanston seat he has represented since 1974 ended weeks of speculation.

He had predicted that when he went it would be with a bang — and he did just that, alleging that sections of the PFP harboured "deep-seated anti-Afrikaner animosities", they were soft on the ANC/SACP and were not being open about the full implications of their policy.

The allegations of *boerehaat* were greeted with glee by the National Party, not only because it was wonderful ammunition on the eve of a general election, but also because it took attention away from the blunders of their leader, Mr P W Botha and the Party's bumbling and confused approach to the question of reform.

Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis openly taunted the PFP when he replied to the second reading debate of the Part Appropriation on Wednesday both on the *boerehaat* issue and on the PFP alleged soft approach to the ANC and SACP.

Within the PFP it was accepted that Mr Van Rensburg's actions would harm the Party's election chances but not that much. And the Party quickly closed ranks with other Afrikaans-speaking members of the caucus dismissing the *boerehaat* allegations as nonsense and Mr Van Rensburg's attack on the PFP as a case of "sour grapes".

Certainly, for a man who was, until two days before his resignation still available as a candidate for Bryanston, the *volle-face* was astounding. Commenting on the whole affair, the former leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said that having failed to get the nomination, Mr Van Rensburg "decides to resign and inflict the maximum damage on the party which dumped him".

Dr Slabbert said that the damage was not confined to his former party. "He reinforces a stereotype amongst fellow black South Africans which I believe he himself tried sincerely to combat in the past: parliamentary politics is a whites-only game in which one exploits fears, prejudice and ignorance for short term benefit and to hell with the rest."

Unlike the resignations of Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, he said, Mr Van Rensburg's resignation had nothing to do with "breaking out of the

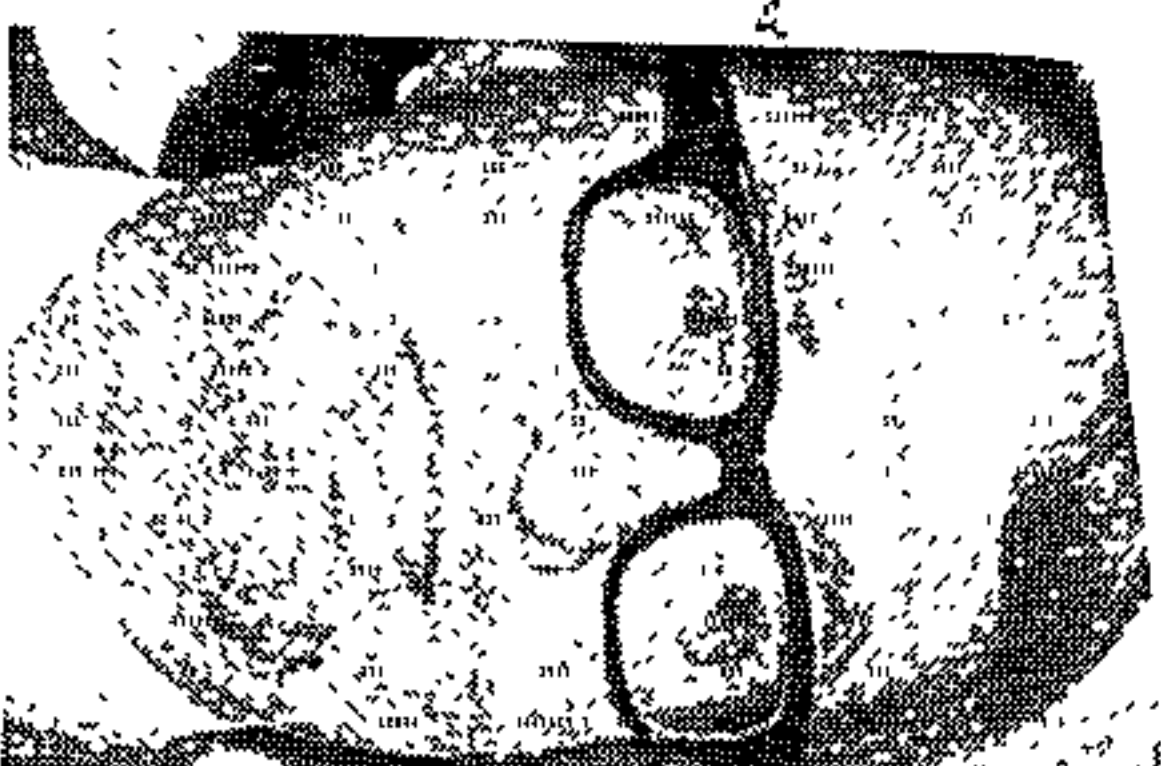
white laager.

"On the contrary, he chooses reasons calculated to draw those wagons into an even tighter circle".

Despite the pro-Government media's determination to extract every last drop of propaganda from Mr Van Rensburg's disclosures by the end of the week they were faced with more problems of their

own.

On the one hand there was the resurrection of petty apartheid in the form of a black athlete being banned by a school in Menlo Park and allegations — categorically denied — that the State President made an injudicious remark about jailed ANC Leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, at a cocktail party for foreign correspondents.



MR HORACE
VAN RENSBURG

CAPE TIMES 14/2/87

304A

Worrall sought seat — Heunis

'White African security is key'

By GORDON KLING
Deputy Editor

THE political storm unleashed by the shock resignation of Dr Denis Worrall, former South African Ambassador in Britain, and subsequent reports concerning the reasons behind Dr Worrall's resignation, has taken a new turn with the disclosure by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, of events that took place before Dr Worrall's resignation.

In an interview with the Cape Times, Mr Heunis said that he, as Cape Leader of the National Party, did not approach Dr Worrall as a possible candidate for the National Party in the coming election. Rather, it was Dr Worrall himself who indicated that he was keen to return to South Africa and make himself available as a candidate for the National Party in the coming election.

Uncertainty

The Cape Times: Considerable uncertainty still exists over the actual circumstances surrounding Dr Worrall's resignation. This uncertainty has been heightened by seemingly contradictory statements over the matter by both Dr Worrall and yourself. What is your view on the matter?

Mr Heunis: "I never approached Dr Worrall over his possible candidature on my own initiative. What did happen — and this is confirmed in a statement

made to Die Burger on January 31, 1987 by my colleague the Deputy Minister of Finance, Kent Durr — is that Dr Worrall visited Mr Durr, an old friend and colleague of his, on January 15 this year to 'update himself on current events in South Africa'.

"On this occasion, according to Mr Durr, it came to light that Dr Worrall was keen to return to South Africa and make himself available as a candidate for the National Party in the coming election. According to his own statement, Mr Durr suggested that he speak to me about this as Cape Leader of the National Party. Mr Durr thus arranged an interview for Dr Worrall with my office."

Mr Heunis declined to go into detail on what took place during this meeting.

"At this stage I am only prepared to comment on that part of our discussions regarding Dr Worrall's possible candidature," he emphasized.

"The meeting took place on the morning of January 19 this year at 8am in my office. I informed Dr Worrall that Mr Durr had advised me that he (Dr Worrall) was interested in returning to active politics and wanted to make himself available in the coming election as a National Party candidate. I asked him if this was so.

"Dr Worrall inquired as to what constituencies were still available. I informed him that no existing National Party seats

were available as the nomination procedure was in the process of being finalized for those seats within the next day or two.

"I told Dr Worrall that the only constituency in which he could still possibly make himself available as a candidate, would have to be one of the opposition constituencies and informed him that we were still considering contesting them.

"I therefore gave Dr Worrall no undertaking from my side regarding his possible candidature for the National Party. Neither did I on my own initiative approach him regarding the possibility."

Mr Heunis declined to comment on speculation in the media regarding the possibility of Dr Worrall making himself available as an independent candidate in the coming election because he is dissatisfied with the government's pace of reform.

"I carry no knowledge of Dr Worrall having expressed himself in public since, or before his resignation as ambassador, in this regard. It would therefore be inopportune for me to react before Dr Worrall has expressed himself publicly on this matter," Mr Heunis said.

Mr Heunis maintained the "innuendo" in the Cape Times that there had been something of a feud between himself and Dr Worrall was "unfair".

Asked for his reaction to claims that clashes be-

tween the two men played a role in Dr Worrall's actions as well as his possible candidature as an independent, Mr Heunis responded:

"Dr Worrall has himself confirmed on occasion that the differences of opinion between ourselves concerned only 'very unimportant issues'. This is in fact confirmed in a report in your paper published on July 15, 1982. In the same report Dr Worrall is reported to have told a radio interviewer that the sort of differences that he had with me (Heunis) were to be expected when two people who were equally strong-willed worked in the same arena. He is also reported as saying that he had the greatest respect for me (Heunis) and that his relationship with me (Heunis), the then Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, or any other member of the cabinet was not at issue. I bear Dr Worrall no animosity whatsoever.

"Regarding myself, I am therefore in full agreement with Dr Worrall that rumours and allegations regarding so-called 'clashes' between us are totally without foundation and are devoid of all truth.

"Continued efforts by the media, or a section thereof, to present these so-called 'clashes' as a reason for Dr Worrall's actions, or possible future actions, are therefore ill-founded. Regarding Dr Worrall's political viewpoint, only he can give you finality on his position."

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The road to black liberation lies through white African security, the outgoing South African ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, said hours before he left here for SA last night.

Dr Worrall was expected to hold his first major press conference since resigning as ambassador to Britain at Jan Smuts Airport early today.

Dr Worrall avoided any reference to his future plans. But he said he was "more certain than I have ever been of South Africa's great future".

He said that although most Britons acknowledged the complexity of the SA situation and realized punitive sanctions were counter-productive, there was a lack of appreciation that behind the issues of race and morality lay issues of language, culture, nationalism and a "conflict of moral claims".

Dr Worrall maintained that one of the sources of hope was that Afrikaner nationalism recognized black African nationalism and vice versa.

"How to reconcile the equally legitimate claims of these two major forces, is the fundamental issue.

"You do not influence people by belittling their achievements, insulting them, or by ridiculing or ignoring their fears and anxieties," he said.

Former ambassador enters election fray

WORRALL

LIFTS THE LID

W/c Argus

14/2/82

304A

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Dr Denis Worrall has lifted the lid on his political plans. He is ready to enter the election fray as an independent.

In which seat? This he has not spelt out, but the seat of Cape Nationalist leader Mr Chris Heunis, Helderberg, might be in his sights.

Asked at his Press-conference here on his arrival from London today, whether it would be Helderberg he said he was "very tempted".

Asked again, he replied: "I come from there, I was married there, my three children were born there and my mother lives there."

He will announce his decision soon. There is speculation that he may challenge the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Port Natal. He could win there if the PFP, as it has said it will do, stays out.



Dr Denis Worrall in Johannesburg today.

"Put out feelers"

Dr Worrall, 51, said his choice would depend on feelers he had put out and on responses and approaches from influential South Africans.

The former Ambassador to London has set the stage for a new political re-alignment that could have a dramatic impact on the election and on future political direction in South Africa.

Dr Worrall has been given large-scale moral and financial support by business and political backers to stand as an independent. He indicated that he could emerge as a focal point of a new moderate political alliance.

He said there were a great many people in the National Party, in Government circles and in opposition ranks who supported the thrust of his plan for a new vision for South Africa.

"South Africans are united by a single shared desire to be shown a path out of the present morass of unrest and repression and of international isolation and economic decline."

"And the way to do it is to give the Government a mandate to put a real end to apartheid and to start negotiations for political rights for blacks."

Dr Worrall said he had spoken to many political leaders in South Africa, and that he had had talks with rebel Randburg MP Mr Wynand Malan.

"To begin to construct that new vision of the future, we must do more than to tell the American Congress to get lost, and we must do more than pour young national servicemen into black townships."

He was being backed by a "think tank" of talented people who shared his concern in making a contribution towards giving South Africa new hope and a new vision.

"Great distress"
He said: "Mr Stoffel Botha's (Leader of the NP in Natal) rejection of the Kwanatal Indaba proposals was a source of great personal distress."

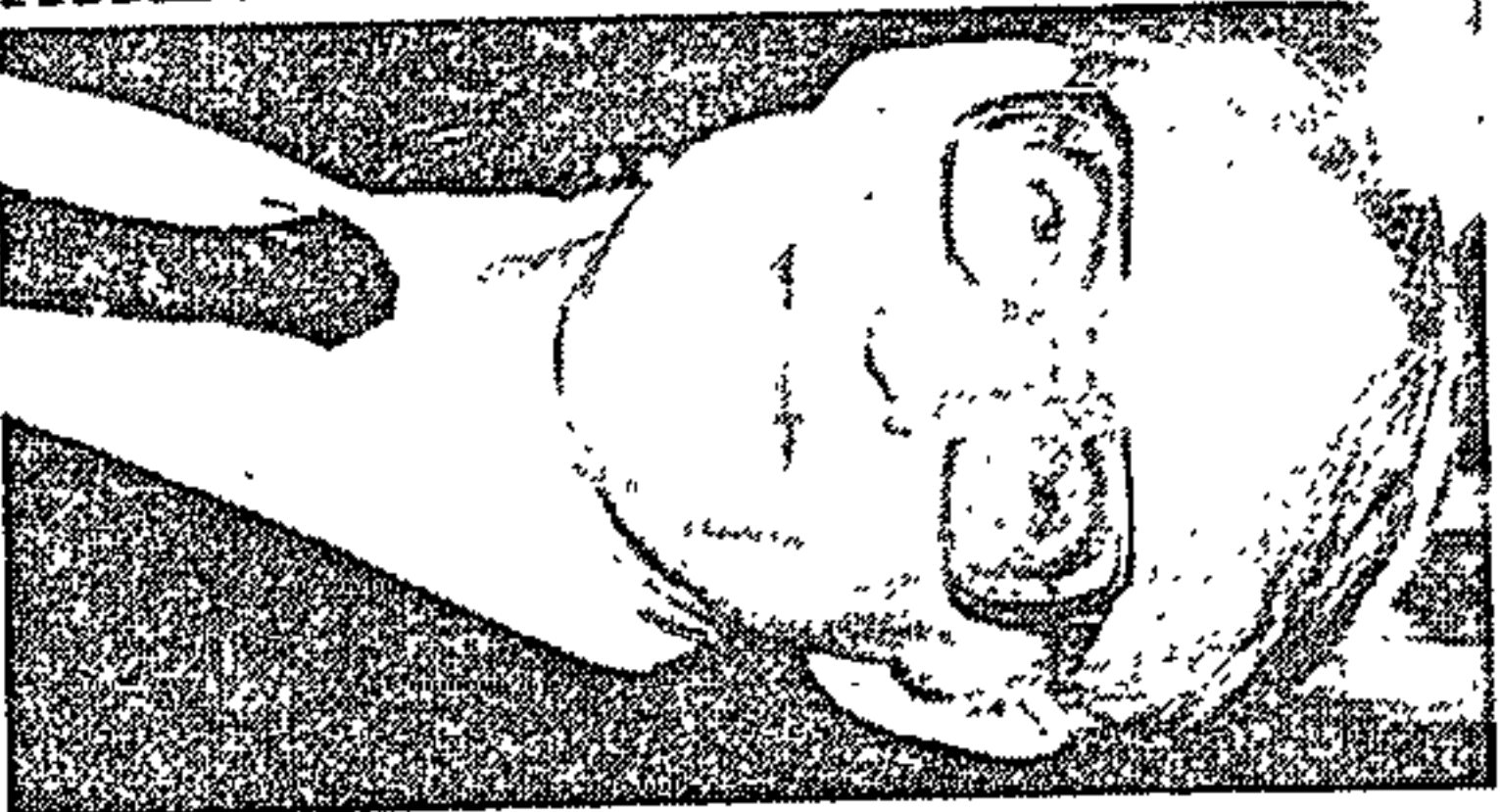
He was also unhappy with the way the Government had handled the President Council's report on the Group Areas.

These were some reasons why it was difficult for those involved in representing South Africa abroad.

He would campaign nationally to project a new vision of the future in which he would:

- Call for the scrapping of the remnants of apartheid.
- Address the central issue of political rights for blacks.
- Present a "programme of action" to deal with fundamental problems and to suggest solutions.

Election 'mystery man' Worrall about to play his hand



DR WORRALL: new spark in election campaign.

Dr Denis Worrall, the former South African Ambassador in London and an unknown factor in the May 6 election, arrived back in South Africa today.

Much of what he intends to do has been left unsaid: the impact he will have on the elections has still to be measured.

He was expected to make a statement to the Press this morning.

Dr Worrall is known to be dissatisfied with the pace of Government reform and is expected to stand as an opposition candidate in the general election, promoting more rapid change.

At 51, the former MP and President's Council member is expected to inject new life into the election campaign being waged by the Progressive Federal Party and other "pro-reform" critics.

Dr Worrall gave an indication of the line he is planning to take in a statement released as he was

preparing to leave London.

He said that a fundamental problem facing the country was reconciliation of the "equally legitimate" claims of Afrikaner and black nationalism.

Dr Worrall said one of the sources of hope in the South African situation was the fact that Afrikaner nationalism recognised black African nationalism, and vice versa.

"The issue, therefore, is not the domination of one over the other, but the terms of their co-existence. How, therefore, to reconcile the equally legitimate claims of these two major forces is the fundamental issue which South Africans must face," he said.

Referring to the two years he spent in London as South Africa's representative, he said an aspect which needed wider understanding internationally was that South Africa did not present a straight

Personality

DENNIS WORRALL

Compiled by Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter and Sapa

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"The issue, therefore, is not the domination of one over the other, but the terms of their co-existence. How, therefore, to reconcile the equally legitimate claims of these two major forces is the fundamental issue which South Africans must face," he said.

Referring to the two years he spent in London as South Africa's representative, he said an aspect which needed wider understanding internationally was that South Africa did not present a straight

face. In his last statement before he flew out last night, he said he had

represented South Africa "sincerely and in good conscience" because he understood the political difficulties which the South African Government faced.

"On the one side, it is opposed by those who do not want reform and the amelioration which it brings, but wish to see the situation polarised and plunged into chaos.

"And, on the other side, it has to face those who oppose change out of fear and uncertainty."

Dr Worrall said most Britons understood the complexity of the situation and that punitive action in the form of sanctions was counter-productive.

Most Britons also realised that South Africa was not a colonial situation.

Dr Worrall said he was leaving Britain "more certain than I have ever been of South Africa's great future".

Colleen Ryan writes that his

short-lived diplomatic career was regarded as a successful one.

Diplomatic observers believe he did a good job defending South Africa during a difficult period.

He entered the diplomatic scene in 1982 when he resigned the chairmanship of the President's Council's constitutional committee. He was appointed Ambassador to Australia, a post he held for two years, before he was posted to London.

But at home, Dr Worrall has a ways been better known as a politician than a diplomat.

He was appointed to the Senate in 1974 and three years later was elected for Cape Town Garden. He resigned when he was appointed to the President's Council.

He is known to be a very ambitious politician and there have been suggestions that he became disgruntled with the NP when it was not given a position in the Cabinet.

Denis Worrall to contest election as independent

304A WWC Post 14/2/87

JOHANNESBURG — Dr Denis Worrall, who served as South Africa's Ambassador to London until yesterday, will break with the National Party and stand as an independent candidate in the May 6 general election.

At a Press conference on his arrival at Jan Smuts

from London today, Dr Worrall announced plans for a nationwide campaign to "restore a sense of direction" to the South African people.

He said he had returned to give South Africans a "sense of purpose and direction".

Dr Worrall, whose sur-

prise resignation from his London post caused major Press speculation about his unhappiness with the Government, said no major attempt had been made by the Government to discourage him from his present course or his leaving the foreign service.

He said that after his nationwide campaign, about which he declined to give details, he would stand for election in the May 6 white election as an independent candidate.

His choice of constituency would be disclosed later, but he did not rule out standing in his home area of Helderberg in the Cape, a seat currently held by the Minister of Community Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

This will be a difficult seat to win. The Port Natal seat, held by the Natal Leader of the National Party, and Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, seems the most likely.

One of the incentives to resign was Mr Botha's reaction to the recent Kwazulu-Natal Indaba proposals, he said.

Mr Botha quickly rejected the findings of the Indaba when they were made public while Dr Worrall has come out in favour of the results.

"The choice of constituency will be intended to demonstrate that the whites in South Africa, as a people, are for very real change," Dr Worrall said.

He said that in the forthcoming election the Government would be seeking a mandate which "speaks to the international community and restores to South Africa a sense of direction".

He stressed that his return was not to fight the Government or side with any party, but to point out that most white South Afri-



Former Ambassador to London Dr DENIS WORRALL faces the media on his return to South Africa today.

we rounded a bend. He touched one of the other bikes when he was flung off his machine."

The clerk of the course, Mr Brian Hoskins, said Mr Lategan must have been travelling at a speed of about 90 km/h on his 250cc machine when he rounded the bend.

Mr Lategan belonged to

aced throughout South Africa.

● Another motorcyclist was injured at the track today when he came off his bike at Hunt's Corner. Mr J P Brink, of Nelspruit, was taken by ambulance to hospital with collar-bone injuries.

● Results of meeting — Page 6.

Worrall to go it alone in general election

304A

● From Page 1

cans wanted real change.

The former ambassador said he had received a great deal of moral and financial support for his campaign, but would not say whether his "national campaign" would involve working with a new political grouping.

He said he believed there was a fluidity in the South African situation which previously did not exist. Party loyalties were loose at present, he said.

"People want to see some light at the end of the tunnel."

He said he accepted that the involvement of the African National Congress and "other organisations" were essential to the solution of many of the problems facing South Africa, but, he stressed that "there is a process which they must follow".

Two major issues had to be addressed by candidates in the coming election.

"One is a real end to apartheid and, secondly, proper attention to the granting of political rights of black people, a real mandate which speaks to black South Africa and to concerned friends and allies internationally."

Dr Worrall conceded the reality of the election was that the National Party would return to power.

"The Government is putting to voters the issue for a mandate (and the) consequences in terms of that mandate will be very far reaching," he said.

● The Federal executive of the PFP meets in Cape Town tomorrow and a decision on whether the party will support Dr Worrall and the former Nat MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, who is also standing as an Independent, is likely to be made then.

The last time an independent candidate won a seat in Parliament was in 1943.

● Turn to Page 2



RUPERT LORIMER

Lorimer is PFP's choice in Bryanston

By DAVID JACKSON

MR RUPERT LORIMER, the former MP for Orange Grove, is to fight the Bryanston seat for the PFP in the May general election.

Mr Lorimer, 55, secured his nomination in the first ballot in yesterday's contest with Mr Ricky Valente, the chairman of the Sandton management committee, and Mr Willem Héfer, a retired mining house executive.

Bryanston — hitherto regarded as a "safe" PFP seat — could return Mr Lorimer to Parliament after a six-year absence.

He forfeited his Orange Grove seat — won in an upset victory for the old Progressive Party in 1974 — in the re-delimitation of constituencies in 1981.

Acrimony

Adding interest to the Bryanston contest is the possible entry as an independent candidate of the former MP, Mr Horace van Rensburg, who resigned amid much acrimony from the PFP last week.

The National Party candidate is likely to be former "spymaster" Mr Craig Williamson.

Mr Lorimer, who has lived in Bryanston for the past 27 years, is a member of the PFP's federal council and chairman of the party's monitoring group on unrest incidents.

He described himself yesterday as a "realistic conservative... a down-the-line, middle-of-the-road Prog" and he discounted the "Van Rensburg factor" as a major issue in the election.

Denial

Meanwhile, Mrs Pat van Rensburg — wife of the outgoing MP — announced last night that she too was quitting the PFP. A former provincial councillor and currently serving on the Randburg town council, Mrs van Rensburg said yesterday she had become increasingly concerned about "the leftist direction of the PFP".

HARALD PAKENDORF is wrong to lecture the PFP for allegedly patronising disaffected Afrikaners Nats.

The PFP patronises no one — least of all Afrikaners.

Like the man who refused to see the movie, but insisted on criticising it, his analysis was embarrassingly inaccurate, and not only about the PFP. Harald's letter must be seen in the perspective of the coming election — which promises to be the most remarkable since 1948.

Consider the possibilities:

- Twenty to 40 Nat candidates are likely to lose their seats;

- Up to six Cabinet Ministers are fighting for their lives and two of them (Wiley and Miller) are near-certain goners;

- The two crown princes — Heunis and De Klerk — are in serious trouble in their constituencies;

- Independent candidates could be elected for the first time since 1943;

- There is no longer a seat in South Africa that can be considered a certainty for the Nats.

If one thinks back to 1981 where the Nats won 80 percent of the seats or 1983 where they obtained more than 66 percent of the votes, then the question arises: how did it all happen?

Research

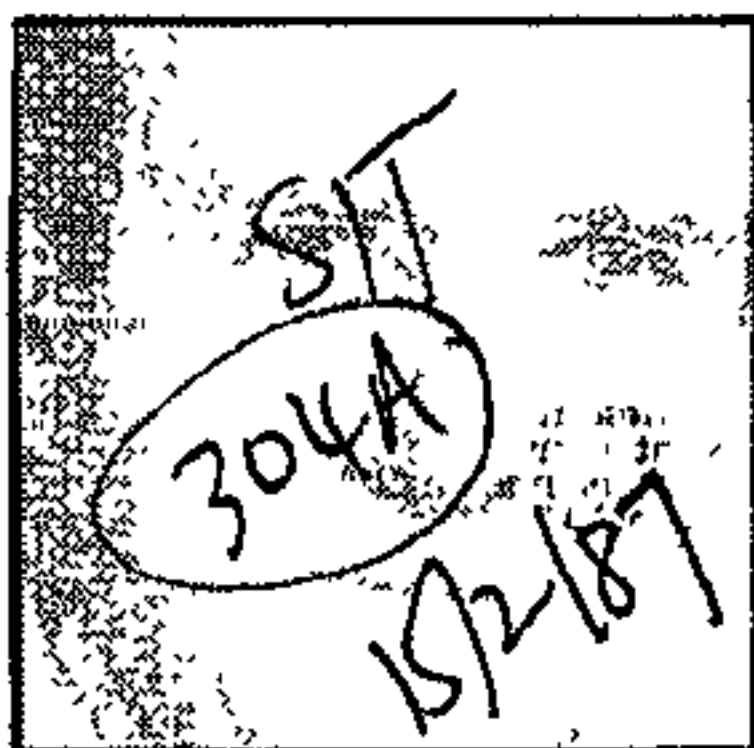
Rather than deal with all of Harald's tedious points, let me answer them by examining the factors that brought about this change and the PFP's response to it.

The most important factor has been the massive shift of white attitudes over the last four years. This is reflected in, and corroborated by, every political research piece done during that time.

Most whites now believe that apartheid will be gone within 10 years and most whites now accept that the tricameral system has failed. More whites favour scrapping Group Areas than retaining it.

Significantly, 37 percent of whites now opt for a non-racial federation with minority guarantees (the PFP model) as opposed to 27

ROBIN CARLISLE



PFP secretary-general, answers columnist Harald Pakendorf's charge last week that the PFP is "colonialist"

percent for the NP model and 20 percent for the CP model.

These attitudinal shifts have split the NP support base down the middle.

The split has been deepened by unmet promises of reform and a recognition that the Nats are incapable of negotiating and thus incapable of governing.

It is critical to note here that the Nationalist politicians are following white attitudinal changes — not leading them.

Against this background, the new leadership team of the PFP under Colin Eglin shaped its strategy in early 1986.

The mission was obvious: to bring about a government that could arrive at a true accommodation acceptable to all in South Africa.

But should the PFP go it alone?

Certainly, with attitudes swinging its way, it would pick up substantial support.

Violent

The old dispensations are breaking up. Homeless white voters are flooding into the political marketplace.

At the same time, our total society is polarising rapidly and becoming increasingly violent.

If evolutionary change is to be effected in the time available, then rapid mobilisation of those voters rejecting the Nats and seeking accommodation is

essential.

This can only be achieved by a broad network of partnerships and alliances — and, without the involvement of significant numbers of Afrikaners, that network cannot be established.

The PFP recognises the difficulties that some voters may have about leaving the NP and immediately joining the PFP.

Precisely for these reasons, the PFP, under Colin Eglin, has adopted a strategy which will not put disaffected Nats before this choice but provide them with a more comfortable choice of leaving the NP to support a Wynand Malan or a Denis Worrall.

There can be no doubt that somewhere down the track the forces seeking accommodation in South Africa will come together in some form of alliance: not a new party in the traditional sense, but an alliance of South Africans who believe in genuine negotiation and who realise that while the group factor will always be present in our South African politics, it can best be accommodated in a free, fair and open society and not by statutory race discrimination.

Disastrous

The PFP is therefore neither patronising nor colonial in its approach to Afrikaners. It recognises that the disaffected left wing of the NP offers a potential which can turn South Africa from its present disastrous course. The PFP strategy takes account of the sensitivities and sensibilities of this group.

Mr Horace van Rensburg went further than Harald in suggesting that in some quarters the PFP was "anti-Afrikaner".

This seems to have been a fairly late awakening for someone who served for 12 years in a caucus 30 percent of whose members are Afrikaners (five percent of the NP caucus are English-speaking). It is also worth noting that young Afrikaners have been the most consistent growth sector of the PFP since 1984.

In the end, as Horace admits, he made a mess of his constituency and paid the inevitable price.

anyone, but I won't give it up."

It's our sunrise, Harald, it belongs to you and me; to Colin and Harry; to Albert and Sam; and to all other South Africans who believe in true accommodation. Let's go for it.

our vision.

To end on a personal note: politicians rise early in election time, and the other day I looked across False Bay and watched the sun rise over Hangklip. "That's my sunrise," I thought. "I'll share it with

The PFP has just such a strategy. Not only a strategy which is increasing its support and stature but a strategy which fosters the growth of other like-minded forces and which looks to a future accommodation with all those who share

Harald needs to recognise that the art of politics lies in assessing the real situation and then implementing a hard-headed and winning strategy to mobilise the favourable forces to bring about the desired result.

The sunrise I watched over False Bay was real enough. It belongs to all of us willing to share it.

More top politico jobs

A BILL providing for the appointment of ministerial representatives – below the designation of Deputy Minister and outside the parliamentary system – was read a second time this week by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

The Constitutional Amendment Bill makes

15/2/87 C/Rep
provision for a ministerial representative to carry out certain functions or duties of a Minister.

The appointment of an officer outside of the parliamentary system would not affect the principle of responsibility of the executive to Parliament, said Heunis. – Sapa. 20/87

Ex-BOSS chief Van den Bergh is Conservative Party candidate

By NEIL HOOPER

SOUTH AFRICA'S former top spymaster, General Hendrik van den Bergh, is coming in from the cold — to the heat of an electoral campaign.

Gen van den Bergh, once one of the most powerful men in South Africa, is running for the Conservative Party in the general election because he has "certain information" and cannot support the Government.

But, true to his profession, the general is not divulging the information.

The former head of the Bureau for State Security (BOSS) said from his farm this weekend that he and other former members of his staff are candidates for the CP in the coming election because of a change of attitude on security by the present government.

Also standing for the Conservative Party are Brigadier "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, the former chief interrogator of the Security Branch, and the former head of the CID, Lt-General Kobus Visser.

Gen van den Bergh said: "I possess information which few other people have, as a result of my work and experience. I was in charge of intelligence during the difficult years.

"Our common enemy then was communism and everything it stood for. I am afraid that this has changed now.

"I believe that the Conservative Party is the right party. I certainly don't support the Government ... it is no

longer the National Party.

"It is not the National Party that I served as a public servant."

Gen van den Bergh, who declined to comment on the state of emergency, was full of praise for the present Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee.

But Gen van den Bergh admitted that he did not have a very high opinion of the new Bureau for Information which monitors Press reporting on the unrest situation, and effectively took over the

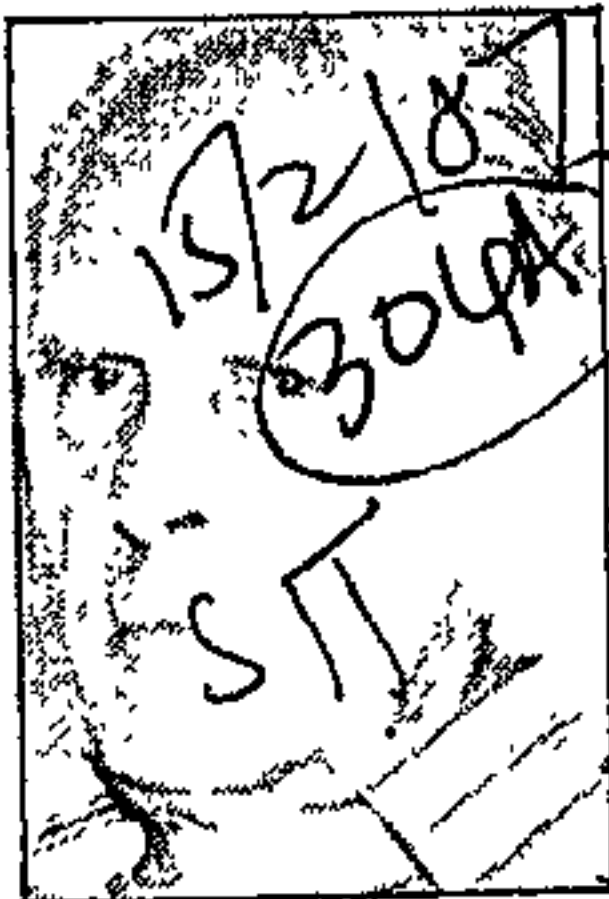
activities of the former Department of Information.

He was intimately involved in the affairs of the former department and its secret projects overseas to promote South Africa's image, under the former Secretary for Information, Dr Eschel Rhoodie.

"The closing down of the Department of Information was a tragedy for South Africa. With the little information available to me the new Bureau for Information is achieving nothing," he said.

And what is his view of the relationship between the CP and the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), headed by Mr Eugene Terre Blanche?

"I see that people say there is a relationship, but I do not attach any importance to it. I have never met Mr Terre Blanche, but I understand that he is a good orator. I am not prepared to condemn a person on what other people say ... they could be prejudiced".



Gen van den Bergh:
He has "Info"

Flak for new Bill

By NORMAN WEST. SJ

A NEW Bill intended to create yet another layer of public service functionaries has drawn flak — over costs, the way it was handled and its implications for democracy. (24) (304A) 15/2/87

The Constitution Amendment Bill creates an undisclosed number of "assistant Ministers" nominated by the State President in order to help full Ministers.

Some critics in Parliament claim the Bill was deliberately switched from one standing committee to another because it could not get support.

And organised commerce and industry has expressed deep concern at the costs of the scheme and the implications of having designated functionaries given such enormous executive power.

The Bill was masterminded by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Diplomat Denis returns to woo moderates: He'll stand as 'Independent bridge-builder'

PREACHING WARRALL



Denis Worrall on arrival at Jan Smuts yesterday

By BRIAN POTTINGER and JEREMY BROOKS
DR DENIS WORRALL has come home to mobilise moderates in a reformist front. His dramatic entry into politics could be a focal point of the forthcoming election.

Yesterday he threw his hat into the political ring by saying he would run for Parliament as "a bridge-builder independent".
The name of the constituency will be announced within days.

Backing

A number of top NP names may come out openly in support of his cause.

Others are keeping their powder dry in the hope that he will form the nucleus of a new reform alliance after the election.

Dr Worrall is also known to enjoy the support and financial backing of leading business figures both Afrikaner and English-speaking.

Observers said Dr Worrall's dramatic move would be a 'fresh reformist breeze' in an election that seemed destined to be dominated by a sterile contest between the ruling National Party and the leading forces to the right of it.

The emergence of two powerful independents — Nat Wynand Malan in Rustenburg and Dr Worrall in the left — create a new force in the of the National Party. The Government will now be compelled to fight full campaigns on both flanks.

United

If successful the Independent together with the Pro-tem Federal Party, could create the beginnings of a new style of alliance of forces which may draw further support from the many "New Nat" dissidents in the NP.

In a statement on his return yesterday, Dr Worrall said he believed many South Africans were united by a single shared desire to be shown a new vision of the country's future.

His frequent appearances on television have given him a large following among South Africans who admired his sincerity and courage.

It is also known to have high support among top Afrikaners who have become impatient with the Government's failure to spell out a clear vision of reform.

His purpose, to be a non-partisan peace-maker in South Africa's stalemated politics.

The former ambassador to London who resigned his post a fortnight ago, faced a large contingent of local and foreign newsmen when he flew into Jan Smuts airport.

Ever the polished diplomat, Dr Worrall positioned himself carefully between the Government and the Opposition.

He said he did not oppose the Government, nor did he favour the Opposition.

"What South Africans need above all is a future in a true spirit of reconciliation and understanding," he said.

"We are always tried to be a bridge-builder between South Africa's two white communities," he said.

He said the rest of the world is in that spirit that it should approach the coming election.

Dr Worrall's impact on the election could be far-reaching.

The popular ex-diplomat, who quit a glittering diplomatic career to become a coordinator for the National Party, has a strong public image.

His frequent appearances on television have given him a large following among South Africans who admired his sincerity and courage.

It is also known to have high support among top Afrikaners who have become impatient with the Government's failure to spell out a clear vision of reform.

WORRALL AIMS TO MOBILISE MODERATES

would be a signal to President P W Botha's administration that there was voter impatience with the pace of reform.

Details of Dr Worrall's political programme have not yet been revealed, but they are expected to centre on creating the conditions for a national dialogue.

The two main issues, Dr Worrall said yesterday, were the ending of apartheid — he said it was dead ideologically but still survived in practice — and the question of black political rights.

The Natal Indaba would be a central point in his programme. It was not necessarily a model for the whole of South Africa, but it was an example of what could be achieved through negotiation.

The balance between group and individual rights is also dealt with in the policy proposals.

When he was asked about his likely choice of a constituency, Dr Worrall said that decision could not be made from 10 000km away.

Where he would go, would depend on the feelers he had put out and the response he received.

There has been speculation that Dr Worrall will stand either in the Western Province constituency of Helderberg (against the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis) or in a Natal seat, possibly Port Natal.

Dr Worrall has close family and past connections with the Helderberg seat, and can count on the support of many Stellenbosch academics.

ics, a slice of the student body and the financial backing of some big names in the wine industry.

But equally alluring is the offer of a Natal seat, the Indaba issue is of more immediate interest to the voters, and influential business interests in Natal are reportedly supporting the Worrall initiative.

The Port Natal seat has a strong National Party and conservative New Republic Party faction, and the incumbent MP is the Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, who was the first to shoot down the Indaba initiative.

Mr Ken Andrew, chairman of the PFP's federal executive, said the party would listen to what Dr Worrall had to say and make decisions about where he should stand.

"At the same time I think it important for all South Africans to realise that it's too late to be equivocal or be all things to all men."

Dr Worrall said he had support — moral and otherwise — and a "think-tank" backing him.

He confirmed that he had made contact with Mr Wynand Malan.

Dr Worrall declined to comment on the substance of his one-hour meeting with the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, at No 10 Downing Street on Thursday.

The meeting was highly

unusual, since Mrs Thatcher only rarely has meetings with departing envoys — and never without her Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in attendance.

On this occasion Mrs Thatcher and Dr Worrall talked by themselves for almost an hour the day before Dr Worrall left for Johannesburg.

Dr Worrall, 51, is a political scientist with degrees from the University of Cape Town and Cornell University in the United States.

From Page 1

damental change, which answers fundamental questions of politics, which speaks to black South Africans and our allies overseas, and which restores a sense of direction and a sense of vision.

Dr Worrall warned that if politicians did not regain the initiative, now the country faced increasing difficulties down the road.

His decision to enter the election was based on his wish to make a positive contribution and introduce a new sense of vision.

Yesterday observers said that strong voter support for Dr Worrall and Mr Malan

"They seek a path out of the present morass of misrule and repression, of tribalism, isolation and economic decline," he said.

"Young people — both white and black — look in vain to their leaders for guidance and inspiration."

Dr Worrall called the election to demand a mandate from voters to give it a real mandate on the question of black political rights and apartheid.

The great majority of whites are prepared for fundamental change.

To Page 2

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The general election on May 6 would serve no purpose unless it was based on a call for a mandate to address the twin issues of rights for blacks and the end of apartheid, Dr Denis Worrall said today.

The former ambassador to the United Kingdom was speaking in a radio interview.

Dr Worrall said his entry into the political arena should not be regarded as him saying the National Party (NP) was "incapable" of delivering the vision needed to address the future.

But, he said, the NP was "approaching the election on a very limited basis".

"I sense that there is a lack of vision in South Africa and that people want a sense of direction, which they are not getting now."

He said what he wished to do was "attempt to show the National Party that there was enormous popular support for a real mandate which would address these issues".

With regard to the Kwazulu-Natal indaba, Dr Worrall said he regarded the attitude of the Government to the indaba

'Black rights must be issue'

30x49
11/2/87

as "unfortunate", adding that it had caused considerable distress among South Africa's friends abroad.

But, he said, it had not been his decision for resigning although he acknowledged that the indaba "might be part of the programme we will be putting forward".

Dr Worrall said the most important thing about the indaba proposals were that they had been worked out by representative organisations in

the Kwazulu region.

And, he added, if people in that region agreed to the proposals, "they should be implemented".

The former ambassador said he did not think the indaba proposals were necessarily the "recipe for the whole of South Africa".

Dr Worrall said it was important to distinguish the indaba concept from the proposals which had been hammered out at the Kwazulu-Natal indaba.

Turning to his future, he said he would be speaking not only to the former NP MP, Mr Wynand Malan, but to "a good number of people".

It was possible, he said, that he and Mr Malan might adopt a different approach. He dismissed suggestions that he and Mr Malan might form the nucleus of a new movement as "speculation".

Stating that he would not have resigned if no election had been called, Dr Worrall said he was optimistic about his plans.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the leader of the NP in the Transvaal, Mr FW de Klerk, has said that Dr Worrall can prove by his choice of constituency that he is not against the Government.

Mr De Klerk said last night that if Dr Worrall stood as an independent candidate in an area that is a safe NP seat, then "the only logical conclusion that can be drawn from that is that Dr Worrall is, in fact, against the Government".

Mr De Klerk claimed that Dr Worrall and Mr Malan were being used by the opposition Progressive Federal Party and "the PFP Press".

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PFP keeps seats open for Worrall

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said last night he hoped to make contact with the former Ambassador to London, Dr Denis Worrall, about his election plans in the next few days.

At a press conference here after an election strategy meeting of the party's federal executive, Mr Eglin said no arrangements had been made with Dr Worrall.

He confirmed, however, that the party had held back on its nominations for two seats — Port Natal, held by the Natal leader of the National Party, Mr Stoffel Botha, and Helderberg, held by the Cape leader, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

"There has been no direct contact with Dr Worrall in the past two weeks," said Mr Eglin.

"I have had messages that he was coming back and I will try to contact him in the next few days."

Mr Eglin said the party had candidates standing by to contest both Port Natal and Helderberg but had held back nominating them in light of speculation that Dr Worrall might be interested in contesting one of them.

"We have no commitment to Dr Worrall, nor he to us and are holding back on our nominations until his position has been clarified," said Mr Eglin.

He confirmed, however, the seats would be opposed with or without Dr Worrall's co-operation. It should also not be automatically assumed the PFP would not oppose Dr Worrall if he stood as an independent in one of them.

"It depends on the stand he takes," he said.

"We could stand back for him but there is no arrangement on this."

Dr Worrall, who could not be tracked down yesterday, has closely allied himself to the Kwa-

Zulu-Natal Indaba and could give Mr Botha a hard fight in Port Natal with the co-operation of PFP.

However, he grew up in the Helderberg constituency and it is thought opposing Mr Heunis, the master-mind behind the tricameral system, would have a far greater symbolic impact.

Leading Nationalists who have become disenchanted with the rate of reform, such as Mr Janie Momberg, the athletics chief, have said they would support an independent reformist candidate such as Dr Worrall. The seat includes Somerset West, where the PFP is in the majority and a section of Stellenbosch where verligte academics have been outspokenly impatient with the government.

● The PFP-NRP alliance is to contest up to 100 seats in the election, the chairman of the PFP's federal council, Mr Ken Andrew, told the press conference.

He said the PFP itself would contest between 80 and 85 seats.

With the PFP, NRP and Mr Malan, the total of reform-minded candidates standing would be in the region of 95 to 100, Mr Andrew said.

However, he added, the PFP was receiving a large number of requests to put up candidates in outlying constituencies.

Mr Eglin said the PFP had received a "fascinating" number of offers in the last few days from people in constituencies the party would not normally contest, offering to help or to stand as PFP candidates.

These offers were being screened.

Editorial opinion P6

See also page 7

THE ELECTION campaign of the National Party, floundering around the in-temperate character of its leader and the confusions of its policy, has been rescued by Horace van Rensburg. Ironically, however, the principal victims are the Afrikaner *verligtes*.

Van Rensburg's accusation that the PFP contains within its ranks anti-Afrikaans elements has handed the Nationalists the instrument they needed to quell the rising rebellion on their left wing.

Already Van Rensburg's strictures have been subtly distorted, by NP information officer Con Botha, for example, to fashion a weapon against the dissidents: "The basic trend of his (Van Rensburg's) statement is that it is not possible for Afrikaans-speaking people to feel at home in the PFP."

That is not quite what Van Rensburg said, but it hardly matters. The accusation is damaging precisely because it is at least a half-truth: there are indeed many people within the PFP who dislike Afrikaners, just as there are many people in the NP who are less than devoted to their English countrymen.

But it is worth noting that historically, within white electoral politics, the Nationalists have consistently exploited Afrikaner xenophobia towards Anglo-Saxons in order to hold their voting majority. Ethnic exclusivity is, after all, an obvious tactic for any group that enjoys an electoral majority.

The English minority, on the other hand, has sought consistently to maximise its own influence by welding alliances with Botha, Smuts, Hertzog and such elements of Afrikanerdom as it could find after the rise of the NP. As a political tactic, it is no more or less reprehensible than Afrikaner exclusivity.

But since 1948 the search for Afrikaner partners has been in-

Time for verligtes to go it alone

KEN OWEN

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B/Day 16/2/87



□ MALAN ... tip of the iceberg that sinks the party?

creasingly a thankless and vain endeavour.

The extraordinary damage inflicted on the PFP, first by Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and now by Horace van Rensburg, is merely different expressions of the difficult task of maintaining a cross-cultural political alliance. And both episodes will surely prove corrosive of trust in the future.

In any event, the old order is changing, and a model for the future is to be found in the Free State. The bi-cultural United Party was eliminated from the province

in the Fifties, and since then the interests of the English community have been permitted to decay to the point where that community is now best compared with the Welsh in Argentina. Irrelevant.

Except for five small enclaves where English remains the dominant language — Cape Town, Simonstown, Durban, Maritzburg and Johannesburg-Sandton — the rest of the country has gone far down the same path.

These facts are worth recounting because they show up vividly the ludicrous and anachronistic nature of the Afrikaners' supposed fears of "anti-Afrikaner" attitudes of the English community. It is like suggesting that American blacks discriminate against the whites, or that the Jews persecuted the Germans, or that the mouse terrifies the cat.

The truth about the latest walls of "Boerehaat" is quite different: it is that there has been a visible decline in support for the National Party and the growing defection of young Afrikaners to the Left. Unless ways can be found to whip the party's Left-wing back into line, Wynand Malan may prove to be the tip of the iceberg that sinks the



□ VAN ZYL SLABBERT ... extraordinary damage to PFP party.

Evidence for this trend has come from Market Research Africa, whose very thorough Socio-monitor study reveals a drop in National Party support from 45% in 1984 to 34% in 1986. Defections from the NP have not yet translated, according to Sociomonitor, into support for the other parties but are expressed for the moment as a profound, apolitical apathy.

Clearly, there is a political opportunity on the Left wing of the NP but Wynand Malan's unwillingness to join the PFP gives uncom-

fortable point to Van Rensburg's accusation that Afrikaners do not feel at home there. And the National Party does its damndest to reinforce this feeling by branding those who do join the PFP as "hensoppers", even as traitors.

These tactics leave the *verligtes* essentially homeless. Within the National Party they are a weak faction, easily driven into line like, in the past year, Pk Botha and Albert Nothnagel. As a result, their potential supporters, lacking leadership, slip into apathy. A few intellectual leaders may find refuge in English universities, but only the bravest — like Malan and Van Rensburg — dare to stand alone.

So where does Afrikaner liberalism — *verligtheid* — find expression? The answer, so long as Afrikaners remain so wondrously fearful of the decaying and powerless English community, is that they must form a new Afrikaans liberal party, or vainly beat their wings against the bars of their NP cage.

The spontaneous flowering of Afrikaner support for Wynand Malan, combined with the vast apathy among younger Afrikaners noted by Sociomonitor, suggests that the time is ripe to launch a modernist Afrikaners party — non-racial, democratic, and just — to express the liberal values within Afrikanerdom.

The emergence of such a party would, for English South Africans, have one enormous advantage: it would free them of the burdensome myth that so tiny a minority — less than 5% of the population — bears any special responsibility to shape the future of this nation.

The five English enclaves would be freed of the paranoid suspicion that they harbour ideas of subjugating Afrikanerdom anew, and the responsibility for protecting civilised values would rest where it belongs: on the tribe that alone wields power.

Sensitive issues 'on hold for election'

Govt 'scared to make decisions'

16/2/87 Star

By Susan Fleming

Many controversial issues have been shelved by the Government. Revealing Government thinking and intentions on these issues could have a major effect on the outcome of the election, say economists and politicians.

Among issues shelved or put on hold were the scrapping the Group Areas Act, the introduction of compulsory school fees for whites, Norweto and civil service pay rises.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the Transvaal, Mr Douglas Gibson, said the Government was scared to make "hard decisions" because it was frightened of losing voters.

"I have been involved in elections since 1964 and there has never been an election where the Government has given so little to the electorate," he said.

Leading businessmen and the official opposition have said one of the biggest issues on hold was reform.

The Group Areas Act had been sent to the President's Council for further consideration.

"The Group Areas Act question cries out for answers and should be a crucial election issue. Instead, it has been swept under the carpet," Mr Gibson said.

"The burning question in South African politics is how do we accommodate the legitimate political aspirations of the black people and have a secure place for the rest of us."

When the Government announced in 1984 that it planned to introduce compulsory school fees for whites it was met with a barrage of opposition. The new scheme was to have been launched last year but was postponed until this year.

Since the election was announced, the Government has been quiet about action on this issue.

The general secretary of the Transvaal Teachers' Association, Mr Jack Ballard, said he had "heard nothing" about school fees for some time.

"I can assume only that this is because of the election," he said.

Mr Gibson said two years ago the Government believed compulsory school fees were so urgent it called an emergency session of the Transvaal Provincial Council.

"Despite the protests of the PFP, the Nats rammed through legislation providing for these fees but have since then not had the courage to implement it.

"No doubt this is one of the unpleasant developments being held up until after the election."

As the countdown to May 6 began, Norweto was another plan to be shelved.

'Norweto election ploy'

The Progressive Federal Party's prospective Parliamentary candidate in the North Rand constituency, Mr Pieter Schoeman, said the shelving of the Norweto plan this week was "an election ploy".

"The Government realised that the electorate was going to vote anti-National Party if the Norweto plan went ahead.

"The whole Norweto plan was a disastrous piece of planning and would have served merely to polarise the community further."

However, while some issues are on hold the mini-budget has been described as a "sweetener" to voters.

The public was offered tax concessions in the mini-budget. The head of the economics department at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Joubert Botha, said providing the public with a "tax bonanza" was "very vote-catching".

"The real question is whether the Government can afford these wonderful concessions. Maybe the truth will emerge when the main Budget is introduced in June," he said.

Marais has carried with him to numerous HNP meetings around the province. But his suggestion of a division of seats — which is generous to the HNP in view of its political strength — has been rejected by the CP.

ATTEMPTS TO UNITE

When the CP held its "unity" conference in Pretoria last month, party leaders made it clear they were dumping the HNP. They explained they had made numerous attempts to unite with the HNP to no avail, and they called on all right-wingers to support the CP.

But Mr Marais has proved once again to be a tough war horse. He has already addressed several meetings and has a full schedule of speaking engagements right up to election day.

Pressure on CP to parley with rival

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

Pressure is mounting on the Conservative Party to make peace with its right-wing rival — the Herstigte Nasionale Party — which is showing no signs of bowing out of the election contest and is nominating candidates in seats to be contested by the CP.

When the State President began hinting about a general election, it is unlikely he could have guessed just how deeply divided his conservative opponents would be on the eve of the election.

Yesterday, the HNP announced the names of another 20 candidates, bringing their total to 50. In most cases, the HNP candidates will clash with the CP — and this could ruin the right wing's chance of defeating the National Party.

The CP has also gone ahead with separate nomination procedures and has announced 59 candidates in the Transvaal alone. So far, mediation attempts by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr. Eugene TerreBlanche have failed.

But CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has left the door open for negotiation by saying he trusted Mr TerreBlanche would discuss his unity suggestions with him personally.

The HNP is still open to an election pact with the CP — and this is the message party leader Mr Jaap

He has also put tremendous pressure on the CP by nominating candidates in many seats which the right wing, if it put up one candidate, would have a good chance of winning.

It is this threat which could push the CP into some kind of truce with the HNP in the next few weeks. However, the animosity that exists between the leadership of the two parties cannot be overlooked. Mr Marais and Dr Treurnicht have clashed in bitter election duels in the past.

The extent of this bitterness has emerged from letters exchanged by the two leaders, which were made public this month.

The pro-Nationalist Party Afrikaans Press publicised these exchanges.

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Momberg offers to back Worrall over group areas

Staff Reporter

REBEL Stellenbosch Nationalist Mr Jan-nie Momberg says he will back Dr Denis Worrall in an election campaign based on a "scrap Group Areas" reform plat-form.

And he would like Dr Worrall, South Africa's former Ambassador to London, to stand in his own backyard in the Hel-derberg constituency against Cabinet Minister Mr Chris Heunis.

The prospect has been described as "tempting" by Dr Worrall.

Mr Momberg, a prominent sports ad-ministrator and a National Party official for 26 years, pleaded for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act with President P W Botha at a NP congress two years ago.

"POSSIBLE SEATS"

Mr Momberg said today he would be able to make his position clear by the end of the week.

"That is when Dr Worrall will be mak-ing up his mind where to stand," he said.

"There are four possible seats, but of course I would like him to come and stand in Helderberg."

Apart from Helderberg, another seat which Dr Worrall may contest is Port

Natal, against the Natal leader of the NP, Mr Stoffel Botha.

"If he wants to make himself available on a reform platform calling for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act I am prepared to support him," he said.

Mr Momberg added that he was still a Nationalist. However, he said: "I am not on any committees."

Dr Worrall — staying with friends at a secret address — met prominent busi-ness and political figures at the weekend, including former National Party MP Mr Wynand Malan.

NEW STRATEGY

He said earlier he intended launching a national campaign to promote "certain ideas" about a new political strategy for the country.

Dr Worrall made it clear that he did not expressly oppose the Government, but that he did not favour the existing opposition parties either.

However, he believed politics in South Africa had reached a stalemate with the Government having abandoned apartheid but without having developed an alterna-tive system.

Govt 'ducks tough issues to woo voters'

14/2/87
304A
SPUR

By Susan Fleming

Major issues — many of them highly controversial — have been shelved or put on hold by the Government in a frantic bid to win votes in the May 6 election, according to political and economic sources.

Among the issues shelved or put aside were the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, the introduction of compulsory school fees for all white children, the Norweto project and the increases for civil servants, the sources said.

The revelation of the Government's policy and plans on these issues could have a major impact on the outcome of the election, Mr Douglas Gibson, leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the Transvaal, said.

Mr Gibson said the Government wanted to avoid taking decisions on controversial issues because it feared it would lose the support of voters.

According to the sources, the Government was balancing civil servants' demands for pay increases against accusations of buying votes in the run-up to the election.

Civil servants have been told they will not get increases before May 6 — but will not be forgotten in the main Budget in June. Government sources have said the increases will be backdated.

Mini-budget criticised

The mini-budget — which offers substantial tax concessions — has been described as a "sweetener" to the voting public on the eve of the elections.

The head of the economics department at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Joubert Botha, said that providing the public with a "tax bonanza" was "very vote-catching".

"The real question is whether the Government can afford these wonderful concessions. Maybe the truth will emerge when the main Budget is introduced in June," he said.

"I do not know how the Government thinks it can afford tax concessions and higher pay for civil servants. The Government should be looking at how it can solve the enormous inflation problem," he said.

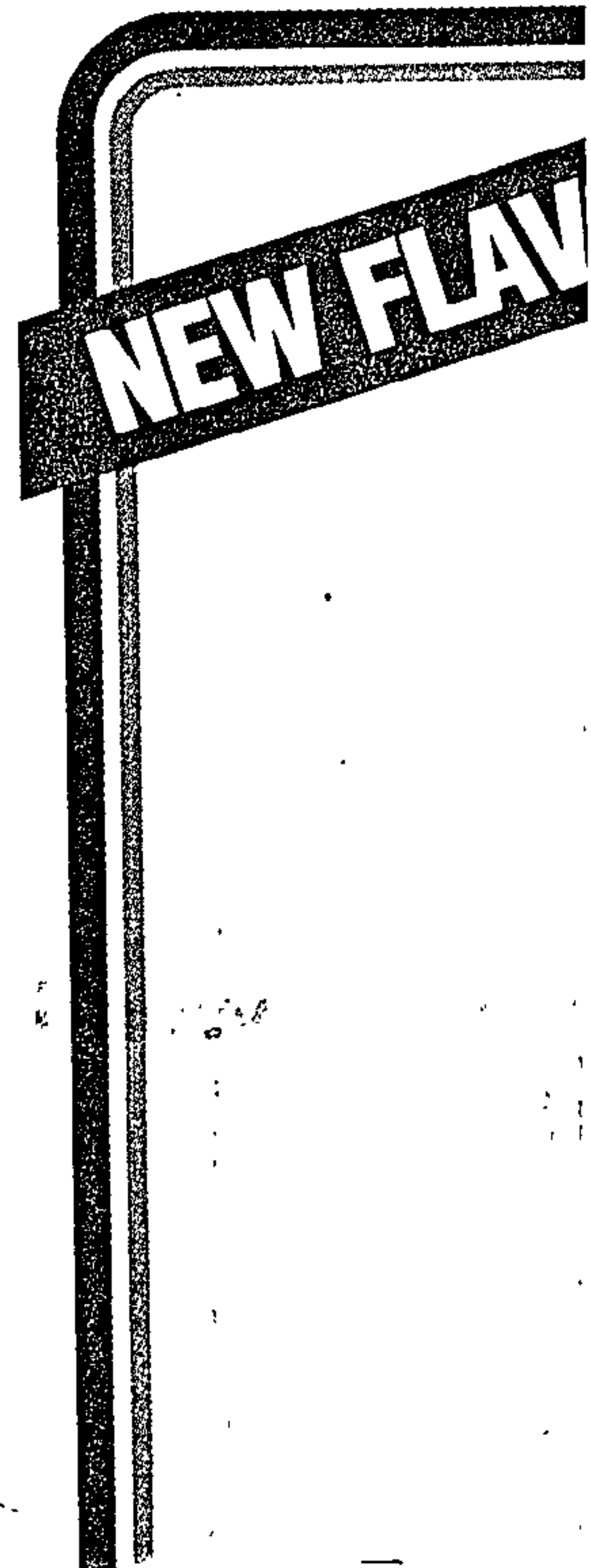
The Government should also be looking at how it could improve investment in this country.

● See Page 11.

Biker crashes into garage wall



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● To Page 2 

**MARTIN CHALLENGOR
and MARGARET SMITH**

An election win for him, possibly

government circles:
"I have not been in

Worrall would not be drawn on where

● To Page 2 

From Page 1

He is standing as an Independent and

the NP."

incurred 114,000.

To this end he has been working with leaders and the ANC.

as generally and to our friends."

Spokesman said

New alliance challenges government

100 candidates stand for reform

CAPK Times 16/2/87 304A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party-New Republic Party alliance is to field at least 100 "reform-minded" candidates in the white election on May 6, the chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, announced last night.

A number of cabinet ministers and deputy ministers, including the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, are to be challenged by the PFP.

Mr Andrew said the PFP would nominate 80 to 85 candidates, although this figure could be increased because the party was receiving requests every day to fight seats it had not fought before, and the NRP would contest 15 seats.

Mr Wynand Malan would also be fighting Randburg as a reform-minded candidate.

'Extremely positive'

He said the party had already identified 72 seats and others would be finalized after negotiations with committees and prospective candidates.

"We will be contesting more seats than have been fought for the past decade.

"The reports from all our regions are extremely positive," Mr Andrew said after a day-long meeting of the party's federal executive, its regional chairman and regional directors.

The PFP's registration drive in January had broken "all previous records by our party", he said.

The party's leader, Mr Colin Eglin, who took over the PFP's leadership again a year ago yesterday, said its election strategy was based on its overall strategy to build up an alternative government.

'Looking for new deal'

People were looking for a new deal, he said.

He said the PFP campaign would be very strong on promoting its vision for the future.

"The government has gone as far as it can, or is able to do, and some other group has to take the process further. We see this election as part of that process," Mr Eglin said.

The PFP's election is to be formally launched with a meeting of candidates in Johannesburg on Saturday, March 7.

The full list of the 72 seats to be fought by the PFP, with the seats they or the NRP at present hold in bold type, are:

Cape: Albany, Algoa, Claremont, Constantia, Cradock, Durbanville, East London City, East London North, False Bay, Gardens, George, Graaff-Reinet, Green Point, Groote Schuur, Helderberg, Humansdorp, Kimberley North, Maitland, Malmesbury, Newton Park, Pinelands, Port Elizabeth Central, Port Elizabeth North, Sea Point, Simon's Town, Stellenbosch, Walmer, Wynberg.

Natal: Berea, Durban Central, Durban North, Greytown, Maritzburg North, Maritzburg South, Pinetown, Port Natal, Klip River, Umfolozi, Umhlanga, Umhlatuzana, Umlazi.

Free State: Bloemfontein North and Virginia.

Transvaal: Benoni, Bezuidenhout, Boksburg, Bryanstown, Edenburg, Florida, Germiston, Hillbrow, Helderkruijn, Houghton, Johannesburg North, Johannesburg West, Modderfontein, Nelspruit, North Rand, Parktown, Pretoria Central, Pretoria East, Roodepoort, Rustenburg, Sandton, Springs, Sunnyside, Turfontein, Vereeniging, Verwoerdburg, Waterkloof, Westdene, Yeoville.

The NRP will contest Amanzimtoti, Durban Point, Mool River, South Coast and Umbilo in Natal, Caledon, King William's Town, Queenstown, Swellendam, Tygervallei and Vasco in the Cape, and the Transvaal seats of Brentwood, Jeppe, Rissik and Rosettenville.



Flanked by her bridesmaids — her sisters Sandy and Beverly — former Miss Universe Margaret Gardiner emerges from St George's Cathedral after her St Valentine's wedding. Throngs of well-wishers flocked outside the cathedral and brought traffic in W. Street to a halt as they gathered to congratulate the couple or just stare in awe at the packed wedding dress, designed by couturier Anthony B. Dr André Nel congratulates wife on a wonderful choice of husband with a cheeky kiss that delighted the crowd.

Another picture on page 9.

Picture: RICHARD

Aids: Couple in suicide pact

PRESCOTT, Arizona. — A man who entered a suicide pact with his wife because both thought they had Aids showed no sign of the disease during an autopsy, coroner's officials said.

Cameron Bentley, 33, found dead in his home on February 2 of an overdose of barbiturates, did not suffer from acquired immune deficiency syndrome, the Yavapai County medical examiner, Dr Phil Keen, said.

Dr Keen declined to disclose the results of tests on Mrs Jean Bentley, 32, who survived.

The autopsy did not indicate what could have led Mr Bentley to believe he had Aids. — UPI

Wrestler's cheek starts crowd brawl

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — An American wrestler, Al "The Body" Perez, received 40 stitches in his forehead — the result of being hit with a steel chair — when a wrestling match turned into a "riot" here at the weekend after the referee had been knocked unconscious.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who was a spectator, was yesterday praised by officials for helping to calm enraged crowds who stormed the ring when Perez interfered in a bout between fellow American wrestler Scott Doring and local hero Tiger Singh.

The referee was knocked out for a few seconds by a flying boot, said the promoter, Mr Sammie Cohen.

"While the ref was unconscious, I pinned Scott to the canvass as he was going for a fall. Perez then jumped into the ring and rolled over so that Scott was on top," he said.

It was at this stage that referee Nieuwoudt got up and awarded a win to Doring which won him the title.

Mr Cohen said he immediately complained the situation to the referee who then reversed his decision. But the crowd, unaware of this, started a brawl.

Perez had to seek refuge from the crowd in his dressing room.

He yesterday underwent X-rays said he had also suffered a broken finger, a slight skull fracture and abrasions to his back, arms and legs. He expected to be out of wrestling up to three months.

*Big fleas have little fleas Upon
their backs to bite 'em, And
little fleas have smaller
fleas. And so ad infinitum.*

This verse was quoted in the House of Assembly last week to illustrate opposition fears that South Africa's State bureaucracy is growing to unmanageable proportions.

MPs of all the main opposition parties are alarmed at the prospect that President Botha's proposed new batch of "ministerial representatives" is but the forerunner of a further vast process of bureaucratic expansion.

One of the predominant fears is that this could be a never-ending process leading to government by a virtual army of high-powered State officials unaccountable to Parliament or to voters.

In terms of the Constitution the State President appears to have powers to make any number of such political appointments.

One opposition objection is that with the Government's already top-heavy bureaucracy, the cost of further expansion could be a tremendous burden on the country's taxpayers.

Assembly storm

The Government's move to pave the way for the appointment of "ministerial representatives" caused a storm in the Assembly when the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning moved the second reading of the Constitution Amendment Bill.

The Bill provides for the transfer of ministerial powers, functions and duties to such representatives, to be appointed by the President.

Opposition MPs argued that in spite of the Government's "rationalisation" programme for the State administration, there was a growing plethora of ministers, deputy ministers and other high-powered political officials appointed by President Botha.

It was pointed out that the President already had 50-odd ministers and deputy ministers, whereas former Prime Minister Mr John Vorster was able to govern the country with 26 ministers and deputy ministers, and General Smuts had 11 ministers and no deputy ministers.

Alarm bells triggered by glut of bureaucrats

Opposition parties fear that President Botha's proposed appointment of "ministerial representatives" could be part of a never-ending process, writes Frans Esterhuysen of The Star's political staff.

Questions to which the opposition parties have tried in vain to get convincing answers from the Government include:

● Why does the country need so many ministers and deputy ministers now and what will the new batch of "ministerial representatives" do? Is there really enough work for all of them, or is it a case of "jobs for pals"?

● Where will it end? How many more such officials are to be appointed in coming years and at what cost to the taxpayer?

Mr Derrick Watterson (NRP Umbilo) summed up opposition fears like this: "It seems to me that the more people we have in jobs the less work they have to do, and the less work they have to do the more assistance they require to do the work that does not exist."

"This is actually what is happening. I believe that as France fell because of this kind of nonsense and the Roman Empire fell because of this kind of nonsense, it will not be long before the National Party empire will fall because of the same nonsense."

Mr Nic Olivier, a nominated MP of the Progressive Federal Party, and others warned that the growing high-powered bureaucracy was a threat to democracy.

"It is senseless to say that the normal principles of parliamentary accountability and responsibility will not be violated by this," Mr Olivier said.

Opposition spokesmen were not prepared to accept Government arguments that cabinet ministers would be accountable to Parliament and to voters for the doings of their "ministerial representatives".



Mr Nic Olivier . . . "beware this threat to democracy".

Such indirect "accountability" could not work in practice when such representatives might not be in Parliament and would speak only via five or more Ministers, it was argued.

The proposed appointment of an unknown number of "ministerial representatives" adds a new dimension to the already highly complex power structure of President Botha's system of government.

At the top of the structure is the executive State President himself, with wide-ranging powers of appointment.

He appoints the members of the Cabinet and of the three Ministers' Councils handling "own affairs". He

also appoints deputy ministers and now, in terms of the new Bill, "ministerial representatives".

An important link with the Government and with Parliament is the 60-member President's Council, which has 25 members appointed by the State President and 35 designated by the three Houses.

Then come the provincial administrators and their executive committees, also appointed by the State President. Next are the regional services councils (RSCs), whose chairmen are appointed by the provincial administrators.

Members of the RSCs will include representatives of every municipality within the defined area of a particular RSC, including black municipalities. And finally come the local authorities as the direct link with the people.

The legislative power of the provincial, or second-tier, government has been removed. This tier now acts as an agent of the State President and his Cabinet.

Fierce opposition

The overall system is a highly complex network of institutions and specialised functions. Political analysts say it is clearly designed to maintain overall white control by the Nationalist Government.

The Government's plan to create a new series of high-powered appointed officials has met with fierce opposition from business, industry and the legal fraternity.

Assocom, the Federated Chamber of Industries and the Association of Law Societies submitted their serious concerns and criticisms of the plan to the parliamentary committee which considered the proposed legislation.

Requests from these bodies to give oral evidence were turned down, according to opposition speakers in the Assembly who insisted they should have been heard.

A CLEAR understanding of the nature and dynamics of the reform process would provide groups working towards a non-racial democracy in SA with unique opportunities for advancing their goals.

This is the view expressed by Steven Friedman, manager of the SA Institute of Race Relations' policy research unit. Government, says Friedman, has always contended that its reform programme is a voluntary and coherent one designed to broaden democracy and create an equal society.

Critics to the Left of the NP dispute this. They say that government has implemented the reform process in response to various pressures. In addition, they say, these reforms are designed to modernise apartheid while retaining the core of NP policy — continued white political dominance.

Friedman is in agreement with this view. It is clear that, while government has said it is prepared to negotiate with black leaders, the non-negotiable principle that political rights must be exercised on a group basis remains. So those who argue that government reform cannot by itself produce fundamental change are correct. But he takes issue with the argument advanced by many extra-parliamentary groups that reform is actually an obstacle to fundamental change.

Opposite effect

While reform may reflect government's desire to control and contain change, there is no evidence that any reform has actually achieved this. On the contrary, influx control reforms, although limited, have significantly weakened government control of the freedom of movement of blacks and opened new opportunities for strengthening black muscle.

Similarly, the labour reforms of the late Seventies attempted to prevent the growth of the black worker's economic and political muscle by directing union power through predetermined channels. However, opening the door to freedom of association has produced precisely the opposite effect.

This suggests, says Friedman, introducing his main thesis, that far from being an obstacle to change, reform — whatever the motives of its architects — actually creates unique opportunities for making it possible.

But, he adds, those who say that it would be best to rely on government-initiated reform to produce change are also misreading the situation. Government reforms, he contends, provide tactical opportunities for those working for change but cannot them-

The 'core' of reform pressures

2044

ALAN FINE

selves produce fundamental change.

Hence, the key task for groups who are working for a non-racial society is to identify those areas where pressure for change can be most profitably directed, as a supplement to traditional protest politics.

Friedman contends that government's willingness to introduce reforms in particular areas depends both on the amount of pressure it faces and the extent it believes it can yield without endangering its hold on power. It has, he notes, often — when under sufficient pressure — made concessions in "marginal" areas, such as labour reform and influx control. But it has never yielded, however strong the pressures, to demands on "core" issues, like the franchise.

So much is self-evident. But the vital point, says Friedman, is that the boundary between marginal and core issues is continually shifting. Thus, until the mid-Seventies, black trade union rights were decidedly a core issue. And until the beginning of this decade so was influx control. But these reforms developed to the point where they came to represent qualitative change.

The corollary, though, is that core issues will only become marginal after other marginal issues have been conceded. Hence there is little hope of government abandoning its adherence to the principle of political group rights while, for example, the Group Areas Act and school segregation remain intact. And core areas will become marginal only when government realises it can abandon them without abandoning power.

Objective economic pressures, says Friedman, have almost always preceded these changes in government perceptions. The need for a stable, relatively skilled black workforce to complement the inadequate numbers of skilled whites prompted the first signs of labour reform — the abandonment of job reservation.

The same pressure was partly responsible for the erosion of influx control and increased expenditure on black education. And the white housing surplus will be the trigger for the abolition of residential apartheid, he predicts. But, he adds, while objective pressures open the door to change by making traditional forms of apartheid less efficient, active opposition — including black resistance — has always been a factor in produc-

ing change. This is illustrated, for example, by the 1973 Durban strikes, which ultimately led to the extension of union rights to blacks, and the 1976 unrest, which led to reforms in education and local government.

But the nature of resistance has a pivotal effect on how change occurs; the key here is not how dramatic resistance is but whether it is strategically effective. The past 14 years have seen the growth of enduring union organisation which has had a marked influence on emerging industrial relations structures and norms. On the other hand, although the 1976 unrest was more dramatic, no equivalent political organisation came into being immediately after 1976. So while certain reforms were introduced, they were on government's own terms.

Foreign pressure for change has had an equally chequered history. Campaigns in marginal areas — like trade union rights, sport and Group Areas — have had and will have some effect. But demands for majority rule, under threat of economic sanctions, have made absolutely no impression on government — because of the imbalance between the extent of pressure and its goals.

Supplement

Hence, argues Friedman, internal groups which rely on foreign pressure as the quick fix will be disappointed. On the other hand, those which see foreign pressure as a supplement to their own efforts may find it useful if the necessary balance is restored.

A further impetus for change is the changing intellectual climate and the adoption by the NP of liberal slogans to describe its aims. Words like "freedom" and "democracy" mean something very different to the NP compared to those on its Left. But it has become possible, in some cases, for opposition groups to convince government to give real content to these concepts.

Further, Friedman argues that government's lack of vision for the future is not something to be lamented.

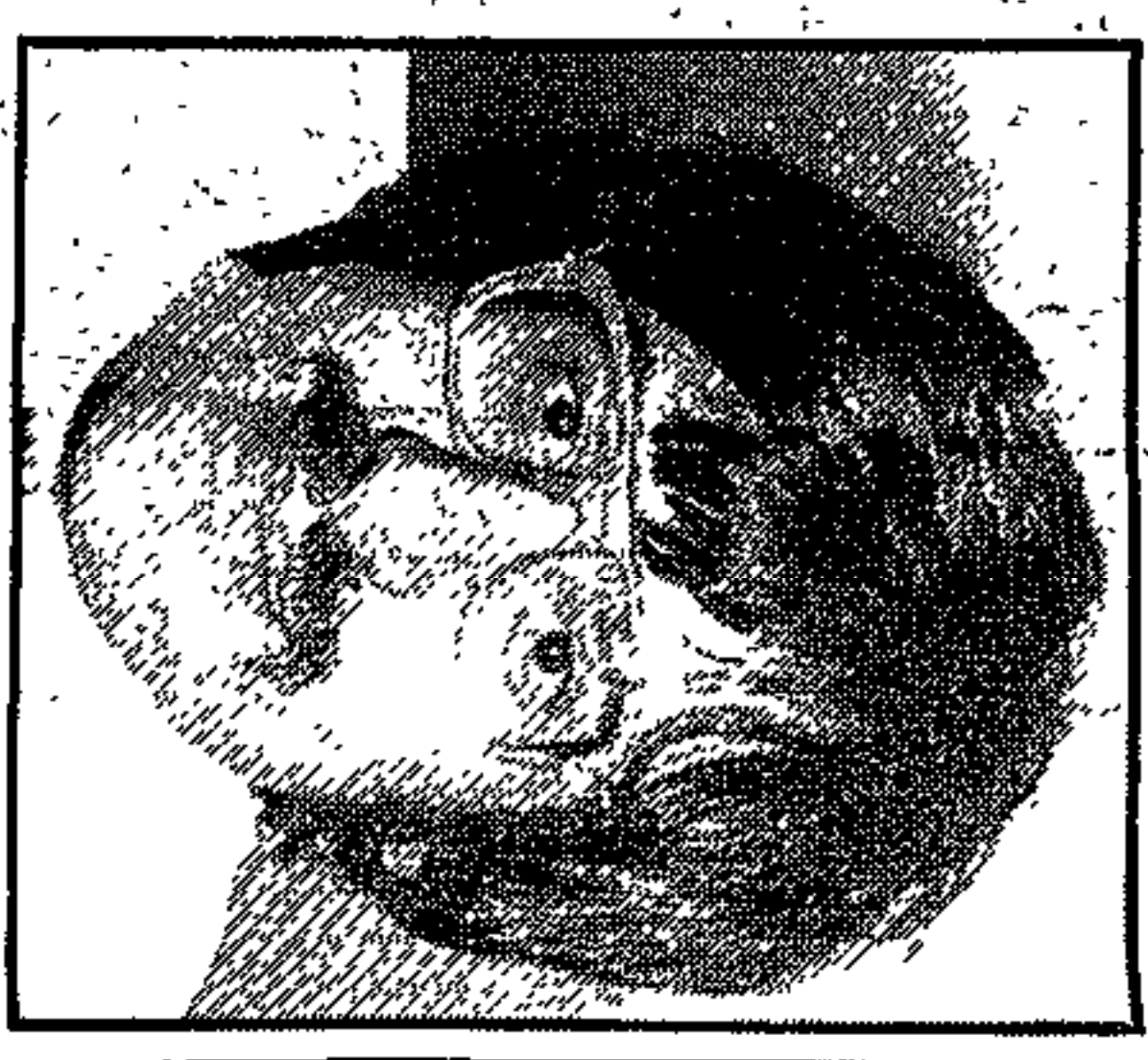
During the Venterian era government knew unshakably where it was going. That it no longer has a coherent plan opens up new possibilities for lobbying groups for the introduction of new ideas. The Urban Foundation, for example, was able to make a vital contribution on influx control reforms.

But this depends on opposition groups

recognising that the process of change will be a long-term one. Whatever the moral justification of calls for universal franchise, they must supplement protest politics with a strategic approach, he says. Obvious targets now are residential apartheid, local government structures, black education and the further relaxation of influx control.

Finally, says Friedman, no single interest group can alone produce change. Business, trade unions, black political organisations, church groups, foreign governments and pressure groups, opposition and liberal NP MPs and public servants all play a role.

They act in different spheres, have different types of influence and their own political agendas. But the fact that they are all exerting pressure makes change more likely.



□ FRIEDMAN ... reform dynamics

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AND FAIRS:

The attention of the honourable member is drawn to the fact that the 1986/87 financial year will only terminate on 31 March 1987 and that the figures indicated below represent payments for the period 1 April 1986 until 31 January 1987:

(a) Vaal Triangle	R 2 018 514,89
(b) Cape Town/Penninsula	R23 580 894,35
(c) Cape Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage	R 8 456 209,69
(d) Durban/Pinetown	R46 540 327,265

Public Service: employees

236. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services:

- (a) How many (i) Whites, (ii) Coloureds, (iii) Indians and (iv) Blacks were employed in the (aa) A Division and (bb) any other specified division of the Public Service, and (b) what total number of persons in each race group were there in the Public Service, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER IN THE STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE ENTRUSTED WITH ADMINISTRATION AND BROADCASTING SERVICES:

Information in regard to persons in the Public Service, as defined in section 7 (1) of the Public Service Act, 1984 (Act 111 of 1984), excluding the National Intelligence Service, as at 30 September 1986 is as follows:

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
(aa) A Division	71 074	4 517	3 596	1 214
(bb) B Division	51 636	20 344	3 304	35 805
Services	64 023	8 522	2 735	29 239
Non-classified	5 831	29 669	1 487	109 849
Whites	192 564			
Coloureds	63 052			
Indians	11 122			
Blacks	176 107			

Television licences

249. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Communications:

- (a) How many television licences were issued in 1986 and (b) what was the amount collected in licence fees in that year?

The MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS:

- (a) 1 818 002;
(b) R108 677 955,41. This amount includes penalties for late payments.

Mines

308. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology:

- (a) How many mines received financial assistance in terms of the Gold Mines Assistance Act, No 82 of 1968, (b) how many persons were employed by each of these mines, and (c) what was the amount of the assistance in respect of each such mine, in the 1985-86 financial year?

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

- (a) Five

- (b) (i) Balmoral Gold Mining Co Ltd — 470 as at 31 December 1985

- (ii) Stanhope Gold Mining Co Ltd — 410 as at 31 December 1985

- (iii) Durban Roodepoort Deep Ltd — 11 780 as at 31 December 1985

- (iv) ERPNI (East Rand Proprietary Mines Ltd) — 21 458 as at 31 December 1985

- (v) Witwatersrand Nigel Ltd — 1 911 as at 31 December 1985

- (c) (i) R 203 376

- (ii) R 4 400

- (iii) R 1 258 902

- (iv) R21 430 793

- (v) R 5 489 039.

Telephones

406. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Communications:

- (1) How many telephones were installed in Alexandra Township for (a) private and (b) business purposes in 1986;

- (2) how many applications for telephones for (a) private and (b) business purposes were received in 1986 from (i) residents and/or (ii) business persons in this township?

The MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS:

- (1) (a) 634, and
(b) 18;

- (2) (a) 1 601, and
(b) 32.

WEDNESDAY, 18 FEBRUARY 1987

+Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Potgietersrus: meeting

1. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any members of the (a) South African Police and (b) other specified security organisations were present at a meeting held at Potgietersrus on or about 16 October 1986; if so, (i) why, (ii) how many in each case, (iii) what was the nature of the meeting and (iv) who was the main speaker at this meeting;

- (2) whether any (a) vehicles, (b) weapons, (c) ammunition and (d) other specified equipment were made available by the South African Police in view of this meeting; if so, (i) of what type, and (ii) in what quantities, in each case;

- (3) whether the South African Police made use of barricading devices on this occasion; if so, (a) of what type, (b) in how many cases and (c) why;

- (4) whether the South African Police made use of helicopters; if so, (a) for what purpose and (b) to whom do these helicopters belong;

- (5) what was the (a) total cost and (b) cost per item in respect of the police activities in this connection?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) Yes.

- (i) To ensure the necessary security in the vicinity visited by the State President be-

cause rumours of terrorist infiltration existed and six armed terrorists were shot dead in the police division concerned, shortly before the date in question.

(ii) 450 members of the South African Police.

(iii) A National Party Meeting.

(iv) The State President.

(b) No.

(i), (ii), (iii), (iv) Fall away.

(2) (a) to (d) Yes.

(i) and (ii) Sufficient to curb a given situation.

(3) Yes.

(a) Barbed wire.

(b) In one instance.

(c) To apply access control whereby the highest degree of security could be ensured.

(4) Yes.

(a) To scout a bushy area adjacent to the place of meeting.

(b) The South African Police.

(5) Because separate calculations of cost in respect of individual police functions are not done, the cost in respect of the activities concerned is not available.

Trespass

15. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds and (c) Indians were arrested for trespass by the South African Police in 1986 in

each of the police station areas on the East Rand?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

	(a) Whites	(b) Coloureds	(c) Indians
Springs	17	19	—
Sundra	—	8	—
Delmas	—	1	—
Heidelberg	1	—	—
Germiston	7	20	—
Edenvale	9	—	—
Bedfordview	—	7	—
Elsburg	3	19	—
Primrose	2	34	1
Benoni	3	—	—
Pretoria	—	4	—
Boksburg	11	118	—
Kempton Park	3	15	—
Brakpan	5	13	—
Nigel	—	4	—
Dunmottar	—	2	—
Total	61	264	1

At police stations not mentioned, no arrests were made.

Joint operations

16. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether the police forces of South Africa and Bophuthatswana undertook any joint operations in 1986; if so, (a) on what dates, (b) where and (c) what (i) was the purpose and (ii) were the results of each joint operation;

(2) whether any persons were arrested or detained on these occasions; if so, (a) how many, (b) by whom, (c) where, (d) when, and (e) in terms of what statutory provisions, in each case?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2) I am not prepared to make known information of this nature because

co-operation between the South African Police and the police force of this Independent State takes place on a continuous basis on different levels of command, which information are not centralised. I do not consider it in the interest of security to comment upon the comings and doings of a police force of another State.

Munundwa Kleinbooi Mahlangu

17. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 20 on 27 May 1986, the inquest into the death of Munundwa Kleinbooi Mahlangu has been completed; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that it will be completed; if so, (i) when and (ii) what were the findings;

(2) whether any persons have been charged with the death of this person; if not, why not, if so, (a) who and (b) when?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(i) 12 June 1986.

(ii) That the deceased was obviously killed in self defence.

(2) No, I refer the honourable member to the above paragraph (1) (ii).

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Unrest-related offences

23. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many persons were arrested by the security forces in 1986 in connection with the unrest-related offences of (a) public violence, (b) malicious

damage to property, (c) arson, (d) murder and (e) assault;

(2) how many of those arrested in 1986 for the above offences (a) were charged and (b) were (i) under the age of 16 years and (ii) between the ages of (aa) 16 and 18 years and (bb) 18 and 20 years?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) 6 046.

(b) 1 188.

(c) 1 324.

(d) 839.

(e) 1 609.

(2) (a) 7 710.

(b) (i) 1 144.

(ii) (aa) 2 076.

(bb) 2 599.

Note: Although it was attempted to do the classification according to the question, it is not possible to classify unrest-related crimes correctly and categorically, because in some instances the crimes are overlapping. In some instances a person is linked to more than one of such crimes, and therefore the category of persons charged cannot be correctly supplied.

Detainees

24. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many persons detained under the 1986 emergency regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act, No 3 of 1953, were subsequently served with restriction orders and (b) to what areas were they restricted in each case?

18/2/87

18/2/87

THE MINISTER OF THE BUDGET AND WELFARE:

(1) Yes.

(a) Pietermaritzburg and District Council For The Care Of The Aged (PADCA) in connection with the Riverside Park project which is at present being erected with the aid of an approved loan from the Department of Local Government, Housing and Works.

(b) The organisation informed the Department on 23 June 1986 that the project would be completed within eighteen months and the Department was requested to make provision for subsidies on running costs as well as subsidies for furniture and equipment.

(2) Yes. The subsidies mentioned will be payable after completion of the project.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Telephones

14. Mr A B WIDMAN asked the Minister of Communications:

How many telephones were installed in the (a) (i) Witwatersrand, (ii) Durban, (iii) Cape Town, (iv) Port Elizabeth and (v) Bloemfontein areas and (b) Republic in 1986?

The MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS:

- (a) (i) 59 309,
(ii) 13 610,
(iii) 19 447,
(iv) 1 721,

HoA

(v) 3 585; and

(b) 178 514.

Note: The figures furnished represent the net additions to the telephone system and include extensions and miscellaneous services.

Police forces: joint operations

32. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether the Government of South Africa has reached any agreements with the government of any independent Black state regarding (a) the operating of members of the police forces of either country in the territory of the other and (b) joint operations; if so, (i) with which such states and (ii) (aa) when, and (bb) what are the details of these agreements, in each case?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Agreements of this nature are normally confidential and details thereof ought not to be unilaterally made known. I am however prepared to inform the Hon Member on a confidential basis about agreements of this nature.

Crude oil

61. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology:

(1) What was the average annual landed rand cost per barrel of crude oil in 1985;

(2) what was the (a) average quarterly landed rand cost per barrel of such oil in 1986 and (b) landed rand cost per barrel of oil as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

(1) R62,69.

Spurred 17/2/87

(2) (a) 1st quarter R54,98
2nd quarter R31,21
3rd quarter R26,27
4th quarter R32,40

(b) January 1987 R38,23.

Voters

73. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many voters were registered in (a) each constituency, (b) each province and (c) the Republic as at 31 January 1987 or the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

Details of voters are attached as requested:

(i) House of Assembly: As at 31 January 1987: Annexure A.

(ii) House of Representatives and House of Delegates: As at 31 December 1986: Annexure B and C respectively.

Note: Figures for the House of Representatives and House of Delegates as at 31 January 1987 are not yet available. Those in respect of the House of Assembly have been processed as a matter of urgency in view of the coming general election.

Annexure A

Summary of Voters' Statistics from the Population Register 31 January 1987
House of Assembly

Cape of Good Hope	838 450
Natal	357 066
Orange Free State	231 502
Transvaal	1 604 396
Total number of voters registered in the Republic on 31 January 1987	3 031 414

Remark

The number of voters registered in each

HoA

electoral division in each of the various provinces is furnished hereunder.

Number of voters registered in each constituency of the Republic
House of Assembly
Province of the Cape of Good Hope

Albany	15 534
Algoa	17 917
Alwal	10 263
Beaufort West	9 440
Bellville	14 834
Caledon	13 533
Cape Town Gardens	16 261
Ceres	10 466
Claremont	16 840
Constantia	19 248
Craddock	10 436
De Aar	10 207
De Kuilen	19 924
Durbanville	23 187
East London City	16 910
East London North	17 303
False Bay	16 924
George	18 565
Gordonia	10 644
Graaff-Reinet	9 819
Green Point	13 556
Groote Schuur	14 977
Helderberg	21 649
Humansdorp	16 583
Kimberley North	14 296
Kimberley South	15 333
King William's Town	17 598
Kuruman	10 257
Maidland	19 184
Malmesbury	18 653
Mossel Bay	14 185
Namaqualand	9 945
Newton Park	17 719
Oudshoorn	12 931
Paarl	15 843
Parow	16 390
Piketberg	14 724
Pinelands	15 970
Port Elizabeth Central	14 641
Port Elizabeth North	16 452
Prieska	8 946
Queenstown	12 240
Sea Point	16 982
Simonstown	20 348
Stellenbosch	13 330
Sundays River	13 144
Swellendam	12 171

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Spurred 17/2/87

Tygervallei.....	17 734
Uitenhage.....	15 768
Vasco.....	16 150
Vryburg.....	10 202
Walmer.....	17 200
Walvis Bay.....	4 592
Wellington.....	18 923
Worcester.....	14 784
Wynberg.....	16 795
Prov. Total.....	838 450

Natal

Amazmitoli.....	18 677
Berea.....	16 614
Durban Central.....	16 697
Durban North.....	18 785
Durban Point.....	17 024
Greytown.....	20 753
Klip River.....	15 356
Mooi River.....	16 300
Newcastle.....	18 407
Pietermaritzburg North.....	18 363
Pietermaritzburg South.....	19 446
Pinetown.....	20 160
Port Natal.....	19 119
South Coast.....	15 922
Umbilo.....	16 806
Umfolzi.....	15 061
Umlanga.....	17 517
Umlaluzana.....	20 567
Umlazi.....	19 340
Vryheid.....	16 152
Prov. Total.....	357 066

Orange Free State

Bethlehem.....	15 865
Bloemfontein East.....	20 551
Bloemfontein North.....	17 263
Bloemfontein West.....	15 863
Fauresmith.....	9 921
Heilbron.....	13 609
Kroonstad.....	15 631
Ladybrand.....	13 707
Parys.....	17 501
Sasolburg.....	20 522
Smithfield.....	13 041
Virginia.....	19 172
Welkom.....	22 511
Winburg.....	16 345
Prov. Total.....	231 502

Transvaal

Alberton.....	21 127
Barberton.....	17 847
Benoni.....	19 870
Belhal.....	28 368
Bezuidenhout.....	21 195
Boksburg.....	21 676
Brakpan.....	20 258
Brenwood.....	23 073
Brits.....	17 506
Bryanston.....	20 824
Carletonville.....	20 663
Delmas.....	22 059
Edenvale.....	20 979
Ermelo.....	17 826
Florida.....	19 354
Geduld.....	21 849
Germiston.....	20 354
Germiston District.....	21 797
Gezina.....	19 666
Helderkruin.....	27 526
Hercules.....	22 047
Hillbrow.....	18 499
Houghton.....	20 239
Innesdal.....	19 314
Jeppe.....	21 843
Johannesburg North.....	18 934
Johannesburg West.....	19 868
Kempton Park.....	21 043
Klerksdorp.....	23 130
Koedoespoort.....	20 920
Krugersdorp.....	21 880
Langlaagte.....	19 403
Lichtenburg.....	16 618
Losberg.....	20 989
Lydenburg.....	16 367
Maraiburg.....	19 781
Meyerton.....	25 686
Middelburg.....	22 756
Modderfontein.....	26 546
Nelspruit.....	20 021
Nigel.....	21 654
North Rand.....	33 783
Overvaal.....	23 081
Parktown.....	18 080
Pietersburg.....	20 399
Portchefstroom.....	18 798
Potgietersrus.....	19 119
Pretoria Central.....	17 535
Pretoria East.....	31 722
Pretoria West.....	24 337
Primrose.....	20 116
Randburg.....	21 007
Randfontein.....	21 937

Rissik.....	19 252
Rooodeplaar.....	23 046
Rooodepoort.....	20 152
Rosettenville.....	19 952
Rustenburg.....	22 713
Sandton.....	24 160
Schweizer-Reneke.....	14 637
Soutpansberg.....	17 690
Springs.....	19 826
Standeron.....	19 742
Stilfontein.....	18 828
Sunnyside.....	17 847
Turffontein.....	23 661
Vanderbijlpark.....	23 506
Ventersdorp.....	15 996
Vereeniging.....	20 724
Vervoeidburg.....	23 911
Waterberg.....	17 741
Waterkloof.....	19 679
Wesdene.....	19 658
Witbank.....	24 567
Wonderboom.....	25 519
Yeoville.....	20 320
Prov. Total.....	1 604 396
Rep. Total.....	3 031 414

Annexure B

Summary of voters' statistical from the
Population Register
31 December 1986
House of Representatives

Cape of Good Hope.....	1 329 980
Natal.....	59 833
Orange Free State.....	28 912
Transvaal.....	144 227
Total number of voters registered in the Republic on 31 Decem- ber 1986.....	1 562 952

Remark

The number of voters registered in each
electoral division in each of the various prov-
inces is furnished hereunder.

<i>Number of voters registered in each constituency of the Republic House of Representatives Province of the Cape of Good Hope</i>	
Addo.....	19 294
Belhar.....	31 320
Swartkops.....	29 732

Number of voters registered in each constituency of the Republic	
House of Delegates	
Province of the Cape of Good Hope	
Swartland	27 918
Table Mountain	18 091
Uppington	24 344
Vredendal	15 554
Wuppertal	16 338
Prov. Total	1 329 980

Province of the Cape of Good Hope	
Natal	
Durban Suburbs	9 403
Greenwood Park	11 896
Natal Interior	9 981
Natal Mid East	10 885
Wentworth	17 668
Prov. Total	59 833

Orange Free State	
Heidedal	4 844
Eastern Free State	5 232
Opkoms	5 339
Southern Free State	6 769
Western Free State	6 728
Prov. Total	28 912

Transvaal	
Alfa Park	10 404
Bosmont	10 130
Eersterus	19 940
Eldorado Park	24 150
Klipspruit West	18 899
Newclare	15 391
Northern Transvaal	3 565
Reigerpark	15 787
Rust Ter Vaal	12 200
Toekomsrus	13 761
Prov. Total	144 227
Rep. Total	1 562 952

Annexure C	
Summary of voters' statistics from the Population Register 31 December 1986	
House of Delegates	
Cape of Good Hope	19 368
Natal	487 871
Transvaal	85 598
Total number of voters registered in the Republic on 31 December 1986	592 837

Province of the Cape of Good Hope	
Transvaal	
Actonville	9 728
Central Rand	15 839
Eastern Transvaal	8 822
Laudium	11 954
Lenasia Central	8 083
Lenasia East	8 138
Lenasia West	9 494
North Western Transvaal	13 540
Prov. Total	85 598
Rep. Total	592 837

Jan Smuts Airport	
113. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:	
(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 1018 on 13 May 1986, tenders for the improvement of the existing terminal buildings at Jan Smuts Airport have been called for; if not, (a) why not and (b) when will tenders be called for; if so, (i) when, (ii) from whom were tenders received and (iii) what was the amount of each tender;	(2) (a) R2 324 742,00. (b) R 89 214,00.

For future reference the attention of the honourable member is drawn to the fact that duties and functions associated with the combating of pollution of the sea by oil was entrusted to the Minister of Environmental- and Water Affairs with effect from 20 May 1986 by Government Notice No 1646 of 8 August 1986. Salvage and the prevention of oil pollution, however, remain the responsibility of the Department of Transport.

(2) whether any tender has been accepted, if not, when is it anticipated that a decision will be taken in this regard; if so, (a) which tender and (b) when will work commence?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) No.

(a) Although the Capital Priority Committee of the Treasury approved the project funds could as yet not be made available.

(b) As soon as funds are made available.

(i), (ii) and (iii) Fall away.

(2) Falls away.

Sea: pollution by oil

141. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(1) How many cases of pollution of the sea by oil occurred in 1986;

(2) (a) what was the cost of combating such pollution in that year and (b) what amount was recovered from the owners of the vessels concerned?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) 135.

211. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Air traffic controllers

Whether there is a shortage of air traffic controllers in his Department at present; if so, (a) how many vacancies are there and (b) in respect of what date in this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

No.

(a) Falls away.

(b) 9 February 1987.

Bus companies

231. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

What total amount was paid to bus companies in respect of subsidies for the transport of passengers in the (a) Vaal Triangle, (b) Cape Town/Peninsula, (c) Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage en (d) Durban/Pinetown areas in the 1986-87 financial year?

Standard 17/2/87

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SOWETAN, Tuesday, February 17, 1987

Govt inspectors spread net

FEARS of a Government clampdown on various community, church and independent educational organisations reached a crescendo last night with news that more organisations are being investigated.

The latest organisations to join the list of those which have been visited by inspectors from the fund-raising section of the Department of National Health and Population Development include the Al-

By ALIMPHAKI

Ian Boesak Foundation, the Black Lawyers Association, Montagu Project in the Cape and numerous organisations in Natal.

Observers see the investigations as a prelude to more drastic action against the organisations, most of which derive

their income from donations raised both internally and from overseas.

It is also feared that the investigations could lead to their being declared "affected" organisations — a move which will prohibit them from raising funds overseas.

President of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana, said

instead of the Government being grateful for the work done by these organisations it seeks to make their work impossible.

Azapo

"We can only condemn the Government for trying to destroy or-

ganisations which are doing tremendous work that in fact should have been done by it," he said.

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation's (Azapo) publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said the Government was engaged in moves to destabilise the organisa-



DR NTHATO MOTLANA... condemns action.

tions. Mrs Sheena Duncan, director of the Black Sash, said their offices in the Cape were also visited by the director of fund-raising.

Tough 'Rooi Rus' lays it on the hard CP line



Brigadier Swanepoel . . . We'll chase the goggas back to Moscow.

By Shirley Woodgate

The communist threat to South Africa and the Government's soft approach to security have been revealed by Brigadier Theuns "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel as the big stick which the Conservative Party will wield in its run-up to the general election.

Launching the CP's campaign at the Waterval Geloftefees Terrein last night, Brigadier Swanepoel, the CP candidate for Westdene, warned: "There are even communists sitting in the Cabinet." He said that President P W Botha had surrounded himself with radicals.

"There are people there in the Cabinet and, if I say they are communists, then I am not overstating the point.

"Mr Botha has allowed himself to be pushed into a corner from which he cannot escape," Brigadier Swanepoel said.

"I believe in negotiation with the enemy only down the barrel of a gun. We must not negotiate with communists, the ANC or any radicals."

Brigadier Swanepoel rates the Americans and the communists equally dangerous. "The ultimate aim of both is the same but their methods differ, one seeking power through money and the other

through ideology.

"The United States has ruled South Africa for the past few years but it is time America got off our back. They would prefer a black government here because it would mean cheaper labour and cheaper materials."

Introduced as "The right man for the right job at the right time", Brigadier Swanepoel hit at the Government's laxity on security.

"Take the kid gloves off the security forces and law will be restored in six months. We'll chase Joe Slovo and those other 'goggas' back to Moscow," he said to applause.

"If I wish to maintain white identity for the the white race of South Africa, then I also wish the same for other race groups — but in their part of the country."

Brigadier Swanepoel also attacked Mrs Winnie Mandela, Archbishop Tutu and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis.

The brigadier warned Archbishop Tutu: "I got you once and I'll get you again. You will never in your lifetime see my dead body on this side of Hell. I am not looking for trouble but if you want it, come and the same will happen to you as in the past. But, Bishop Tutu, this time they will carry you out feet first."

Aims, but no plan in NP manifesto

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party has based its election manifesto on four fundamentals for the future: full participation for all, freedom, prosperity and security.

The bulky manifesto document was released at a Press conference in Cape Town yesterday by Mr Barend du Plessis, chairman of the NP's federal information service.

A "Programme of Action" set out in the manifesto is based largely on the resolutions of the NP federal congress in Durban last August.

It did not spell out the specifics of a plan of action, such as constitutional structures, because, Mr du Plessis said, these were still to be negotiated.

By subscribing to the manifesto, the party says, voters will be giving a positive mandate to the NP on May 6.

The mandate being sought, in a nutshell, is:

1 — By continued reform, to:

- Pursue prosperity and help enhance the quality of life for all.

- Broaden the democratic base of the Government by promoting the participation of all in the governmental processes that affect them, while recognising the right of groups to self-determination and own community life.

- To ensure freedom of religion, freedom of speech and the freedom which constitutes the foundation of sound relationships.

- 2 — To promote security for South Africa by fighting and neutralising the revolutionary offensive.

- 3 — In foreign policy to maintain the sovereignty of South Africa, seek good relations and brook no interference in the process of constitutional reform and in the country's internal policies.

- 4 — To stimulate continued economic growth, prosperity and progress.

The detailed "Programme of Action" which forms

the second part of the manifesto is divided into four components.

As part of "Economic Action", the party pledges itself anew to certain cornerstones for the creation of a positive economic climate:

- Private initiative, based on the ownership of property and effective competition.

- The expansion of international trade relations.

- More extensive economic self-reliance.

- The provision of capital, manpower and opportunities for utilisation by the private sector.

- The transfer or sale of State functions or institutions where possible, desirable and in the interest of society, to the private sector.

- Deregulation where prescriptions are restrictive of economic progress.

- Promotion of the informal sector and small businesses.

The National Party commits itself to the following premises for "Constitutional Action":

- The multi-cultural nature of the country requires special measures for the protection of rights of groups on the basis of maximum self-determination for each and co-responsibility regarding common interests in such a way that the domination of any group over others would be eliminated.

- The right of self-governing territories to voluntary independence is recognised and pursued.

- In respect of areas which do not opt for independence, the NP recognises that all regions and communities within its borders form part of the South African state with the right to participate in the processes and institutions of government agreed to. The party accepts one citizenship for all South Africans.

- The NP believes in democratic systems of government with the right of all groups to participate in the agreed governmental processes and institutions through their elected representatives.

The elimination of any discrimination based on colour, race, cultural affiliation or religion is implied.

With regard to group security, the party believes in the ensuring of an own community life for all communities by means of, among others, the maintenance of own schools and residential areas wherever practically possible.

Self-governing states that do not opt for independence should remain part of the SA state with provision for their participation in political institutions.

For communities outside the national states structures for self-determination must be created to their choice on the legislative and executive levels for decision-making regarding their own affairs.

Full autonomy and even independence for metropolitan areas will not be refused.

With the proposed National Council as precursor, a joint Council of State may be developed in which the leaders and representatives of all the political entities may participate.

In terms of its "Foreign Action", the NP states South Africa will not submit to foreign pressure and prescriptions for change.

South Africa will continue to fulfil a key role as the leading regional power in all important spheres of life and, in particular, will discourage "the utilisation of the territories of neighbouring countries as spring boards for the planning and execution of violence. Disputes are to be settled by negotiation.

In terms of "Security Action" it remains the NP's viewpoint that economic progress and stability must be pursued in order to ensure orderly co-existence.

The total onslaught must be combatted with the full power at the disposal of the State.

The leaders of the Permanent Force of the SA Defence Force, instructors and administrative cadre must come from all population groups.

South Africa must continue to maintain and promote its own armaments industry.

they will be announced on Thursday when the Post Office's mini-budget is tabled in Parliament.

Details of the increases, together with salary rises for postal workers, will probably only be revealed in the main

tions Minister Stoffel Botha will use this week's PO part appropriation to give advance warning that all charges will have to go up significantly if SA's telecommunication needs are to be adequately addressed.

Opposition to 'devious tampering'

Govt 'gravy train' comes under fire

GOVERNMENT has been accused of unashamedly tampering with the constitution for its own devious ends by Opposition politicians and organised commerce and industry.

The growing storm of protest follows the row which erupted in Parliament last week over Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis' efforts to force through a Bill which would allow for Assistant Ministers not directly accountable to Parliament.



● HEUNIS

Opposition to the Bill — the Constitution Amendment Bill — is united in describing it as an undisguised government ploy to expand its political patronage, by extending the "gravy train" to certain individuals.

The Bill is designed to empower the President to appoint some 13 "Own Affairs" ministerial representatives with the rank of Deputy Minister.

It further empowers Own Affairs Ministers in the three Houses to delegate their powers and functions or duties to those appointed assistants when necessary.

The controversial clause was rejected

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

by a joint parliamentary standing committee last year when it was included in the Constitutional Laws Amendment Bill.

The main reason for that rejection was the clause could, in theory, create cushy jobs for an extra 52 highly paid officials.

Heunis has now revived it in a new guise — and that has been accepted by the standing committee on constitutional development and planning.

It comes up for debate in Parliament tomorrow and seems certain of being passed into law.

Suggestions are circulating in parliamentary circles — which have yet to be substantiated — that various promises of job offers have been made to certain "deserving" officials and previous MPCs.

PFP constitution affairs spokesman Nic Olivier criticised the Bill as setting a bad principle and being an obvious move to extend the powers of government to dispense its patronage on a political level.

An "apprehensive" and concerned organised commerce and industry has told government in strong terms the Bill jeopardised the fundamental constitutional principle of ministerial responsibility.

18/Day
17/2/87
304A

Cape Times 17/2/82
**Worrall inundated
with support offers**
506A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Denis Worrall has been inundated with offers of moral and financial support since his return to South Africa.

PRO Ms Barbara Bester said Dr Worrall had been negotiating for financial support for his stand as an independent candidate in the elections.

But details were being kept under wraps and Dr Worrall was unlikely to announce anything before the end of the week.

Prominent businessmen are understood to be meeting with Dr Worrall. Several Western Cape Afrikaner businessmen have said they were prepared to put up money for his campaign.

It is speculated Dr Worrall may contest the Helderberg seat held by Cape NP leader Mr Chris Heunis or the Port Natal seat against Natal NP leader Mr Stoffel Botha.

Sapa reports that rebel Stellenbosch Nationalist Mr Jannie Momberg would back Dr Worrall in a "scrap-group-areas" election campaign.

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Govt pledges to 'continue reform'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party last night released its May 6 election manifesto which pledges the party's commitment to "continued reform".

The Minister of Finance and the NP's chief information officer, Mr Barend du Plessis, said the "programme of action" spelt out in the manifesto was based on NP resolutions at the party's federal congress in August last year.

The preamble to the manifesto states that the NP is committed to "broadening the democratic base of government by promoting the participation of all in the governmental processes that affect them".

It adds, however, that this process entailed the

recognition of the "right of groups to self-determination".

The "reform" mandate also commits the NP to "ensure freedom of religion, freedom of speech and the freedom which is the hallmark of a civilized country".

A section dealing with the party's "Programme of Principles" states that the NP endorses the principle that "everyone, individually and in a group context, shall have effective share in the government decision-making which determines his life, aspirations and needs".

'Democratic systems of government'

The NP, it submits, endeavours to create circumstances that will assure "a decent existence for every sector and the protection of everyone from exploitation of any kind".

In the section dealing with "Constitutional Action", it notes the NP "believes in democratic systems of government with the right of all groups to participate in the agreed governmental processes and institutions through their elected representatives".

Under the section entitled "Security Action", the manifesto states that the NP believes that the "total onslaught" against the constitutional, economic, social and security systems of the country which form part of the international communist-inspired offensive must be combated "with the full power at the disposal of the state".

In the section on "Economic Action", the NP pledges itself to the pursuit of private initiative, based on the ownership of property and effective competition; the expansion of international trade relations; and deregulation where prescriptions are restrictive of economic progress.

It goes on to note the NP's belief in the "sovereignty of law" as the basis for the protection of fundamental rights of groups as well as individuals.

This implied "the elimination of any discrimination based on colour, race, cultural affiliation or religion".

On the issue of "group security", the manifesto reasserts the NP's commitment to "the maintenance of own schools and residential areas wherever practically possible".

DENIS WORRALL finally departed Britain's shores last weekend with many well-wishers here wondering what a lone English-speaker will be able to achieve in Afrikaner-land.

Make no mistake about it: Dr Worrall has many well-wishers here. He was often given a rough ride during his ambassadorship, but even his opponents conceded that, in style and content, his ambassadorial performance was in a class of its own.

Increasingly, too, Worrall had been making it obvious that he thought apartheid was a dead duck.

When the State President himself said that apartheid was "out of date" and Foreign Minister Pik Botha declared that it was "dead," there were wonders that an imaginative ambassador could do with that rhetoric.

This is just what Worrall did — he picked up the rhetoric and ran with it, much faster than Pretoria had intended he should run.

When the time came, therefore, for Worrall to leave South Africa House, in its splendidly commanding position on Trafalgar Square, he had established a firm reputation for himself as an impatient apartheid reformer.

He left with the good wishes of a wide circle of friends and contacts and audible murmurs of "Sock it to them, Denis".

But now that the excitement over Worrall's resignation is wearing off, the question is being asked: what kind of bridges exactly can he build in SA? Governmental power in SA is an Afrikaner monopoly and how can one English-speaker influence that monopoly?

It is quite remarkable how, from its relatively narrow demographic base, Afrikaner nationalism has been able for almost 40 years to exclude so totally the English-speaking section of whites from the political decision-making process.

The few English-speakers who have made it into the Cabinet or on to the National Party's Parliamentary benches have been no more than token partners — like the token blacks one used to see in American films.

We tend to forget just how bitter the division has been between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking whites.

Even when the NP began opening its upper ranks to the Waring and Trollips, it was only a cosmetic move. Waring and Trollip sat uneasily in their seats of office — and were regarded by the majority

of English-speakers as traitors to their own people.

Even more remarkable has been the exclusion of the dominant English-speaking business section of the white community from the governmental process.

Is there a parallel for this anywhere else in the world — where the most important businessmen are not only excluded from decision-making but stand to the Left of the elected government?

As the years rolled on, and English-speakers were kept at a fixed distance from the centre of power by the centrifugal force of Afrikaner nationalism, so a war-weariness descended over many of these English-speakers — a kind of ballot fatigue.

They began to look for excuses to vote for the NP, and in due course they found them — in the emergence of reformism within the NP and in the emergence of the

Afrikaner Right-wing to oppose these reforms.

The NP peaked in the 1977 general election. An estimated 90% to 95% of Afrikaners voted for it and 20% to 25% of English-speakers. By the time the constitutional referendum was held in 1983, the shift was already evident.

Sampie Terblanche estimated that 70% of English-speakers voted "yes" in that referendum, but only 60% to 65% of Afrikaners.

If these estimates are reliable, then 30% of Afrikaners switched allegiance between 1977 and 1983, but 45% of English-speakers switched allegiance. The growth of the Afrikaner New Right, and the imposition of international sanctions, sustained this trend.

President Botha's gut instinct to hold the general election last November (instead of on May 6) was right. That was the crest of another

wave. Since then the wave has been descending. The fervour that was present among whites following the announcement of international sanctions has been ebbing since then.

This is where Worrall — and Wynand Malan — come in. If their defection signifies anything it is that the English-speaking tide is turning against the NP.

English-speakers now are seeking inspiration in a new amalgam which is busy forming outside the NP, consisting of the PFP, NRP and NP dissenters, like Worrall, Malan, Luyt and others.

This is a far more attractive option to English-speakers. At best, under the NP monopoly, they would have been mere voting fodder. Now, if the mould of white politics can be broken, at last they may acquire a share in decision-making.



LONE VOICE? Denis Worrall at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from London last weekend

What bridges can Worrall build in Afrikaner-land?

STANLEY UYS in London

CONT →

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B-Day

18-02-87

But can the mould be broken? Last week I put this question to an Afrikaner nationalist and NP supporter who is on a temporary assignment here in London. He has been here long enough to have his *verligte* views firmed up to a point where I wonder how he can still call himself an NP supporter.

Here we have the phenomenon of the *verligte* at the crossroads. Many of them, like my acquaintance, hold views which in their essentials do not differ significantly from the PFP's.

And he is not alone. A recent opinion poll in SA suggested that 31% of NP followers support basic PFP policies.

Intellectually, therefore, these *verligtes* have broken with the NP — the exodus has started, and it is not only among the intelligentsia. But emotionally many of the *verligtes* are still tied, through the NP, to Afrikaner nationalism.

The dilemma of the *verligte* now is that, intellectually, he knows that the policies on which the NP is founded are flawed and disintegrating, but emotionally he is afraid to seek protection of his identity outside the collapsing NP.

NP-watchers tell us that we must use the term *verligte* to describe Nats who have made the intellectual but not the emotional break with the NP, and the term New Nats to describe those who have been able to make both breaks. By this definition, my acquaintance was definitely not a New Nat.

So where does this leave Worrall and Malan? With two possible new trends, I suggest.

One is that their defection from the NP will swing many English-speaking voters back again — not only behind the PFP, but also behind the new Left-of-NP amalgam for which the PFP will be the nucleus.

The second trend which can be seen emerging is an increase in both the numbers and influence of the New Nats, a steady draining of support away from the NP, which in time will become no more than a husk, a *volks* movement in name only.

I propose to return to my Nat acquaintance later in the year — after the election has been held and its futility demonstrated — to ask him whether he still believes (as he said he did) that the NP can recharge itself simply by lifting itself on to a higher level of reformism, or whether he accepts now that the Afrikaner's only hope of identity survival lies in the new political amalgam which is emerging in the election campaign. I'll let you know what he says.

Top Nat quits

11/2/87 3047



FUN ON SKIS: Princess Diana, left and the Duchess of York indulging in some royal horse-play during a skiing holiday in Switzerland.

Clown Princess, Fergie tussle in snow

The Argus Foreign Service
KLOSTERS (Switzerland). — It was a grand day for the Klostern Klowns as the Princess of Wales and the Duchess of York pushed and shoved each other 3 000 metres up on the ski slopes above this Swiss resort.

It began when they and their husbands, Prince Charles and Prince Andrew, lined up for a photo-call. Fergie nudged Diana, trying to topple her from her skis, and the Princess retaliated.

Push came to shove and the

delighted Press corps — bouncing and jostling for the best angle on the action — saw the two young royals horsing around with an informality not previously seen in public.

But it became a bit much for the husbands.

Eventually Prince Charles and Prince Andrew thought their ladies were a little too undignified. "Come on, come on," Prince Charles said, while Andrew extended a steadying hand to his wife.

Meekly, but still giggling, Fergie and Diana returned to their husbands' sides to complete the call.

Clowning aside, both women would have captured the attention of photographers for their fashion sense.

The Duchess was dressed in a one-piece turquoise suit which showed off her new slim figure, but her sister-in-law stole the show with a charcoal grey one-piece with a distinctive pink star, stripes and a striking Arabian-style cowl.

Momberg and wife resign — hold talks with Worrall

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

ANOTHER well-known Nationalist has resigned from the party.

He is Mr Jannie Momberg, the athletics administrator who was chairman of a National Party branch for more than 20 years.

He announced today he and his wife had resigned from the party.

Mr Momberg also had talks today with Dr Denis Worrall, former South African Ambassador to Britain, who may stand as an independent in the Helderberg constituency, against Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development.

Mr Momberg has said he hopes Dr Worrall will initiate moves that could break the reform deadlock. He said he would work actively for him.

Mr Momberg said that as long as he was a member of the National Party he could not have worked for Dr Worrall.

He did not want to be known as a "rebel" Nationalist. It suited him to be out of the party and it suited the party.

In the past he has pledged support for Dr Worrall if he stands, among other things, on a ticket to scrap the Group Areas Act.

Interest in a possible clash between Dr Worrall and Mr Heunis has been heightened by Dr Worrall's arrival in the Western Cape.

Some Nationalist-minded academics at Stellenbosch have pledged support for Dr Worrall because they believe Government reform moves have stopped. Parts of Stellenbosch fall in the Helderberg constituency.

Apart from meeting some Nationalist dissidents, Dr Worrall is seeing some Progressive Federal Party officers, among them Mr Pierce Newton-King, vice-chairman of the PFP and a past candidate in the Helderberg constituency, where Mr Heunis is the sitting MP.

Mr Newton-King spoke today with enthusiasm about the possibility of Dr Worrall standing in Helderberg.



Mr Jannie Momberg

Highlight debate

He said this would highlight the constitutional debate and the extent to which the Government's reform initiative had stalled.

He expressed support also for a campaign for scrapping the Group Areas Act. Until this happened there could be no real negotiations.

Dr Worrall has been secretive about his moves since holding a Press conference on Saturday on his return from Britain.

A Johannesburg public relations firm he has hired could give no details of his engagements, except that he was having discussions and there had been pledges of support.

When he was tracked down in Gordon's Bay today Dr Worrall confirmed he was having discussions with prominent people and that he was looking at "various possibilities".

He would issue a statement within the next few days.

He was "tremendously encouraged" by the reaction so far, but could not say anything more. There was a good reason for his reticence, he added.

18/2/87
New govt posts 'dangerous'

THE SA economy cannot afford government moves to swell an unproductive area of administration, a University of Cape Town academic says.

Responding to the creation of a further tier of highly paid ministerial posts in an already overweight political bureaucracy, political scientist Robert Schrire says: "The country must now be reaching a point of becoming the most over-governed society in the world."

"A wealthy nation like the US

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

can probably afford massive inefficiencies in its administration. But it is clear this country cannot afford a costly bureaucracy on the scale now being created," he says.

Adding his voice to criticism of the Constitutional Amendment Bill — now before Parliament — Schrire says the legislation also threatens further to undermine the role of Parliament.

FULL autonomy, and even independence, for black metropolitan areas will not be refused, according to the Government's election manifesto released yesterday.

The policy appears to be a revival of the concept of city states hinted at by President Botha last year.

The 18-page manifesto was released by the chairman of the National Party's federal information service, Mr Barend du Plessis, at a Press conference.

It was criticised today by Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin as a modernisation of apartheid.

He said it contained no surprises, and certainly no solutions which were even vaguely acceptable.

"If city states are the best offer, then God help us," he said.

Mr Du Plessis said the manifesto — which includes a mandate to be put to the voters on May 6, and a plan of action to implement policy and principles outlined in the mandate — had been approved by the NP federal congress last year.

"The manifesto says what the NP thinks should be done in South Africa, but does not say how it should be done because this is a matter which is to be nego-

GOVT MOOTS CITY STATES

tiated with leaders of all communities."

He would not say who these leaders would be, but did say that negotiations had already started with certain people.

"What is needed now is to get a mandate upon which more concrete negotiations may be undertaken."

In terms of the mani-

festo, the NP spells out certain points of departure and aims.

NP policies

It articulates the policies of the NP on economic, constitutional, social, international and security matters.

All political entities constituting South Af-

rica — including self-governing states — are to have, to their choice,

legislative and executive structures for self-determination at all levels of government.

For communities outside the national states, structures for self-determination must be created to their choice on the legislative and ex-

ecutive levels for decision-making on their own affairs.
Full autonomy and even independence for metropolitan areas will not be refused.

Structures must be created and developed for the management of common interests in order to make possible deliberation and power-sharing without domination, on the basis of consensus decisions between all the political entities.

A joint Council of State may be developed in which the leaders and representatives of all political entities may par-



Mr BAREND du Plessis
... Minister of Finance.

ticipate in the formulation of policies regarding common interests by way of consensus.

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litical decision-making process.

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Election '87: verligtes at the crossroads

Stanley Uys LONDON

the NP and in the emergence of the Afrikaner Right wing to oppose these reforms.

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English voters

The fervour that was present among whites following the announcement of international sanctions has been ebbing since then.

This is where Worrall — and Wynand Malan — come in. If their defection signifies anything it is that the English-speaking tide is turning against the NP.

English-speakers now are seeking inspiration in a new amalgam which is busy forming outside the NP, consisting of the PFP, NRP and NP dissenters, like Worrall, Malan, Luyt and others.

This is a far more attractive option to English-speakers. At best, under the NP monopoly, they would have been mere voting fodder. Now, if the mould of white politics can be broken, at last they may acquire a share in decision-making.

But can the mould be broken?

with blacks — not on a group or ethnic basis — was unavoidable. But emotionally, in terms of his Afrikaner identity, the prospect of leaving the NP made him feel insecure. He still looked to the NP to reform itself and save the Afrikaners.

The dilemma of the verligte now is that, intellectually, he knows that the policies on which the NP is founded are flawed and disintegrating, but emotionally he is afraid to seek protection of his identity outside the collapsing NP.

My discussion with the expatriate Nat was bizarre: we agreed on almost every practical issue of policy, but emotionally, culturally, I could not reach him. He was still deeply ensconced in the Afrikaner womb.

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Question put

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I pressed my acquaintance on this point with interesting results. Intellectually, he was quite self-confident. Apartheid as a doctrine was washed up and power-sharing

Worrall, Heunis showdown

CAPE TIMES
19/2/87

3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

DR DENIS Worrall, who resigned last month as South Africa's ambassador in London, is set to take on the might of the National Party machine in Helderberg constituency in the May 6 election.

A head-on clash with the leader of the NP in the Cape, Mr Chris Heunis, should produce one of the toughest contests of the election between the "constitutional gurus" of establishment South African politics.

Dr Worrall last night declined to confirm if he would stand in Helderberg but indications were that "The Battle of the Titans" is on.

It is reliably understood that the PFP last night gave the green light for the nomination of its own candidate in Port Natal — the other seat where Dr Worrall was known to be keen to take on the NP's Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The PFP have indicated in the past that they would not put up candidates in Port Natal if Dr Worrall stood there as an independent.

Dr Worrall has spent the past two and a half days discussing the possibility of standing in Helderberg with prominent academics, businessmen and politicians in the Western Cape, including a leading Cape Nationalist, Mr Jannie Momberg, who resigned from the NP yesterday in order to "work actively" with Dr Worrall.

"I would like Dr Worrall to stand in Helderberg. There is much enthusiasm for him there," Mr Momberg said yesterday.

If, as expected, the Conservative Party enters the fray in Helderberg, the seat could become one of the closest contests of the election.

Shared vision

Earlier yesterday Dr Worrall announced that he "must stand in a National Party constituency because it is my belief that even traditional supporters of the NP share... a sense of the inadequacy of the lead which the government is giving."

He said in a statement: "I believe that the country is crying out for a shared vision and a sense of direction — this is so, because the government is misreading the public's readiness for fundamental change."

Transvaal NP leader Mr FW de Klerk also claimed Dr Worrall was being used by the PFP and "the PFP press".

"Suggestions that I am anybody's pawn are fatuous nonsense," Dr Worrall responded.

"My entire political record... underlines my independence," Dr Worrall responded.

Worrall gains Momberg

CAPE athletics chief Mr Jannie Momberg resigned from the National Party yesterday after 30 years to throw his weight behind Dr Denis Worrall and the reform movement in the coming Assembly elections.

Mr Momberg has been working actively to get Dr Worrall to stand in the Helderberg constituency Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Grossly dissatisfied with the government's progress with reform, Mr Momberg said the Group Areas Act had become "almost an obsession" with him and should be scrapped.

"I cannot morally support Dr Worrall against a NP candidate while I am still a member of the party so I resigned," said Mr Momberg.

"It is traumatic, but I feel it must be done. If Dr Worrall can help to get us out of this stagnation I will work for him anywhere."

Election Monitor

by BARRY STREEK

A VOTE in four rural Cape constituencies — Beaufort West, which has 9 440 voters, Graaff Reinet, 9 819 voters, Namaqualand, 9 945 voters, and Prieska, 8 946 voters — is more than three times as valuable as a vote in the two largest seats, North Rand, which has 33 783 voters, and Pretoria East, with 31 722.

The imbalance in the size of constituencies, caused by the controversial loading system, was underlined in Parliament this week by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in reply to a question from Mr Peter Soal (PFP Johannesburg North).

A vote in the four rural Cape constituencies is nearly three times as valuable as the two largest seats in the province — Durbanville, which has 23 187 voters, and Helderberg, which has 21 649 voters.

The largest seats in Natal are Greytown, which has 20 753 voters, and Umhlatuzana, which has 20 567 voters, while the smallest is Umfolozi with 15 061 voters.

The largest seat in the Orange Free State is Welkom, with 22 511 voters, and the smallest is Fauresmith with 9 921 voters. In the Transvaal, North Rand and Pretoria East are the largest seats and the smallest is Schweizer-Reneke with 14 637 voters.

UCASA PLAN TO HELP GOVT

**Offer
to be
envoys
to boost
SA's
image**

MEMBERS of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa would make themselves available as unofficial ambassadors overseas to improve South Africa's image — at a price.

Ucasa has also urged the Government to grant councillors the same status

By MZIKAYISE
EDOM

as members of Parliament or cabinet ministers — with all the perks that go with those positions.

The perks include free travel facilities, including free cars and air travel etc, free housing and free hotel accommodation while on official duty.

These resolutions were taken at a national executive committee meeting of Ucasa in



Mr STEVE Kgame
president of Ucasa.

East London late last year and are apparently the conditions laid down also for Ucasa's participation in the Government's National Statutory Councils.

Documents in the possession of the Sowetan show that each of Ucasa's provincial associations were to supply Mr Steve Kgame with three names for consideration for the "ambassadors" positions.

About 20 top officials of Ucasa attended the meeting

They included Mr Kgame, Mr A L R Xaba, chairman of the OFS region, Mr P D M Nhlapo, chairman of the Transvaal region and Mr M J Khumalo, Ucasa's national treasurer.

Leaders

Mr Kgame said yesterday that he was "aware of the meeting and what took place there, but I'm not prepared to discuss it with the Press at this stage"

This week, when the National Party published its election manifesto, Mr Barend du Plessis said that the government was in the process of negotiating with black leaders

He would not say which leaders he was referring to.

He referred to "independent" black metropolitan areas and said a request for such independence would not be refused.

A spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning said yesterday that she was not aware of the Ucasa resolutions, nor whether the Government would respond to them or not.

Thousands stranded as bus drivers strike

THOUSANDS of commuters were stranded in Pretoria and neighbouring areas over the past two days when scores of bus drivers employed by Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings stayed away from work in protest against the company's refusal to recognise their union.

A BTH spokesman yesterday confirmed the stayaway by its employees, saying contingency plans had been made to ensure that thousands of daily commuters were transported to work-

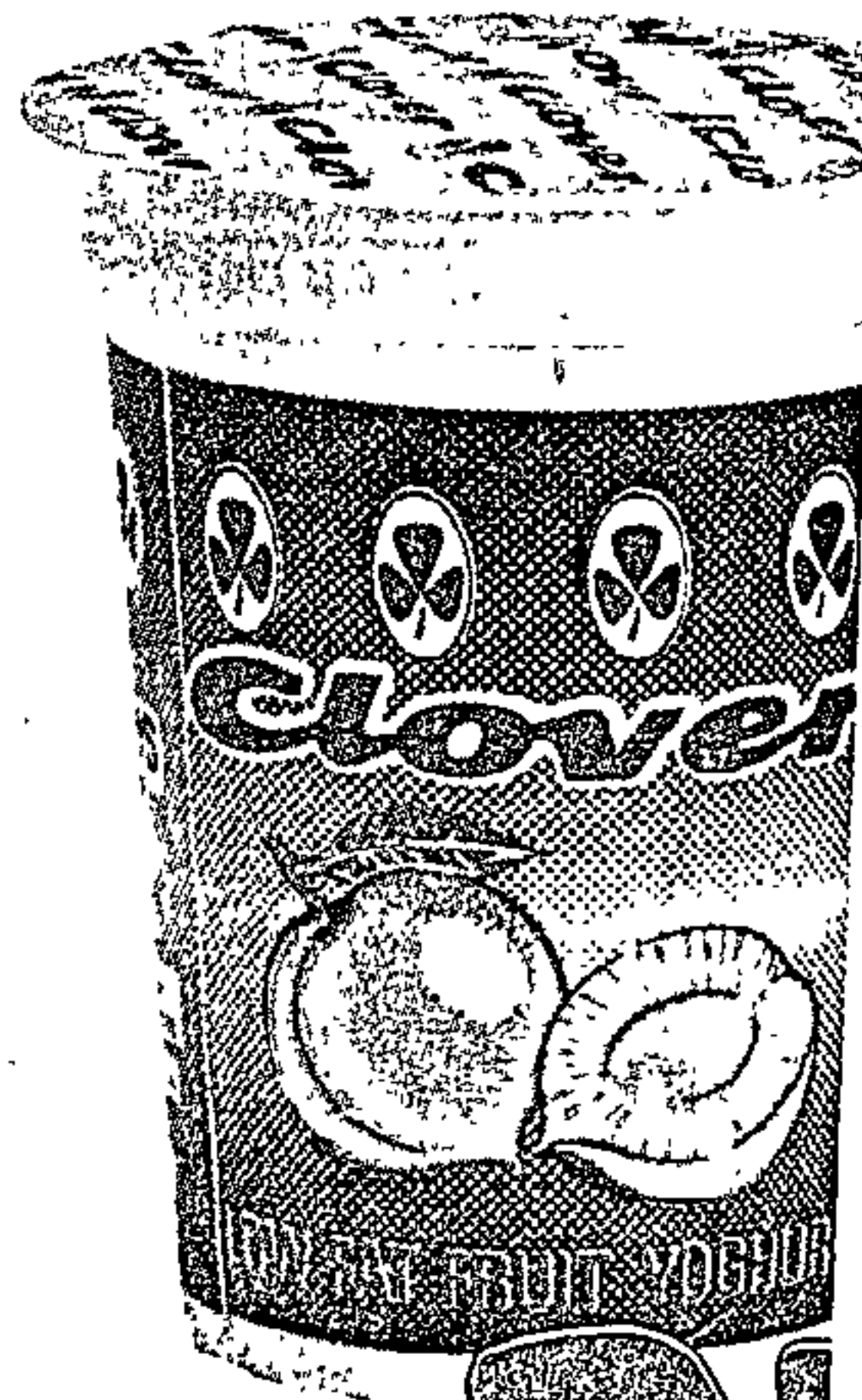
places throughout

The BTH bus the work stoppage of their union Allied Workers' U

A Tawu spokesman that the company refused to grant th "despite the fact t company's employ union".

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**Granny's
battle**

GRANNY Hialele (above) is unable to get an old age pension because her fingerprints have been worn out by years of being a washerwoman — See story Page 3.



Botha seeks mandate for all groups to handle own affairs

Election is of direct interest to blacks: PW

12/2/82
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S. J. M.

The State President, Mr Botha, said last night that in the coming general election he was seeking a mandate from white voters to create structures whereby the different population groups could take decisions up to the highest level about their own affairs.

Mr Botha said in a TV interview that he wanted approval for the creation of structures through which the groups could take their own decisions regarding their cultures, lifestyles and ideals.

He said he was also seeking a mandate to discuss problems common to all the leaders in the country to find an acceptable solution.

Eventually it would be the white voters' responsibility to concede more rights to other communities. That was why the white electorate had to elect the leaders who would talk to the other population groups.

Referring to the security situation, Mr Botha said the Government had to continue with security measures because it was the primary task of any government to protect its citizens from external revolutionary forces.

Reform had to continue even though it would be more difficult than in ordinary circumstances.

Mr Botha said the black population had a direct interest in the May 6 election because they knew that security and stability depended largely on the responsible leadership of the National Party and its Government.

On the subject of Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Botha said that Dr Worrall had exercised his "democratic right" to return to the country. He appreciated the work Dr Worrall had done overseas.

It was his right to stand in the election, Mr Botha said, "but I don't think an independent has a future in South Africa".

Mr Botha said that the Menlo Park incident should have been decided purely on the basis indicated by the Government long ago: "The Government does not interfere in sport affairs in South Africa. This is a matter for sports administrators and parents."

He added that, if the matter had been intelligently handled, it would not have received international condemnation.

When it was suggested that times were hard and there were economic pressures and he was asked whether the Government intended doing anything in this connection, Mr Botha objected to the contention that people were finding things difficult.

When it was pointed out that there was considerable unemployment, he replied: "Some people are finding it hard. Some people in South Africa live better than in most countries in the world."

In other countries governments could afford to handle the economy in such a way that large-scale unemployment was allowed, among others things, to overcome inflation.

In South Africa the Government, because of the composition of the population, had to guard continually against unemployment getting out of hand.

Mr Botha said that no one could talk about the future with certainty but responsible leaders could try to contribute to keeping the country on the path of success, prosperity and security. — Sapa.



Mr Burger Lategan,
confident of the
English vote.

P'burg could provide election surprise

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal
Bureau

PIETERSBURG — In a region where the majority of voters are reputed to be either right or far-right in outlook, the Pietersburg constituency may provide one of the most interesting results in the May election, because of its somewhat different character.

Sandwiched between two of the largest rural constituencies (in terms of area) in South Africa

— Potgietersrus and Soutpansberg — the Pietersburg seat has become decidedly urban in recent years. And the Conservative Party yet has to make a meaningful impact in urban areas, particularly where there are many English speakers.

Pietersburg's extraordinary growth during the last five years, which has brought a huge influx of English-speaking people from the cities, was confirmed this week, when it became known that the constituency now has almost 22 000 voters compared to 13 000 during the 1981 election.

FARMING
At least 70 percent of these voters live in town, with only three small farming communities, at Dendron, Haenertsburg and Zebediela, within the constituency's boundaries. There has been no change in delimitation since the last election.

The National Party candidate, Mr Burger Lategan, believes he has a good chance of winning, because of support from the growing commercial sector, and English-speaking voters, believed to number several thousands.

But his opponent, Dr Willie Snyman (CP), who won the seat as a Nationalist in 1981, is known to have strong support among civil servants, railwaymen and farmers. Since the last general election, Dr Snyman's popularity has not been tested, though by-elections in other Northern Transvaal constituencies have shown a swing to the right.

Mr Lategan, a former mayor of Pietersburg, and presently a member of the President's Council, must be one of the most determined and hard-working candidates in the field. He has already started to walk the streets and to visit extensively.

CONVINCED

He has a strong pro-reformist stance, which has earned him several derogatory titles from his rightwing opponents.

Dr Snyman will fight the election from the familiar CP premises of white constitutional rights and resistance to change.

However, the closure of Pietersburg's only cinema due to the CP dominated town council's "whites-only" attitude is an important election issue. Mr Lategan says he is convinced most voters want the cinema reopened, and would favour the admission of non-whites.

Dr Snyman and his supporters have been noticeably silent on the cinema issue.

Nationalist sources claim Pietersburg showed signs of strong pro-Government support during the 1983 referendum, when the Northern Transvaal (five constituencies) returned a "No" vote by a negligible margin of 3 000.

Challenge to NP leadership

Worrall set to do battle with Heunis

FORMER ambassador to Britain Denis Worrall is set to challenge the NP leadership by standing as an Independent in the Helderberg constituency of Cape leader and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

Worrall, who has had talks with prominent academics, businessmen and break-away Nationalists in Heunis's constituency in the past few days, launched his first open attack on the NP yesterday by likening its election manifesto to a "two-

Imperial shines in debut

LIZ ROUSE

IMPERIAL Group made a highly successful debut in the industrial holding sector of the JSE yesterday, opening at 325c, a premium of 18,2% on the offer price of 275c.

The stock reached a high of 350c and touched a low of 315c, closing at 335c in hectic dealing.

It topped the most active list with turnover at 744 400 shares worth R2,5m in 196 deals.

At the closing price of 335c, potential earnings yield is 10,5% and prospective dividend yield 5,2%.

A total of 14-million shares are in issue, so stags will make hay.

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

year-old lettuce salad that has been taken down from the shelf and dusted off". Worrall said yesterday he would stand as an Independent in an NP seat, but refused to say whether it would be Helderberg or Port Natal, seat of Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha.

But it was reliably learnt last night the PFP was going ahead with appointing a candidate in Port Natal — a further strong indication that Worrall is planning to stand in Helderberg.

Pressure for him to oppose constitutional kingpin Heunis in a direct challenge to top NP leadership grew yesterday. Those prompting him included the PFP, breakaway New Nats such as athletics administrator Jamie Momberg, top Stellenbosch academics, and a top Afrikaner industrialist in the area.

At the same time it was learnt that the NP's Cape mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, was gearing itself for what a source described as "a vicious war" against Worrall if he stood against the Cape leader. Heunis, one of his close associates said yesterday, was "extremely touchy" about Worrall standing against him. "A Heunis versus Worrall fight is going to be a nasty one," the source said.

Politicians agreed yesterday Worrall

● To Page 2



Worrall, Heunis set for battle

would make the greatest impact during the election if he opposed Heunis, but his chances of victory were much higher in Port Natal.

Worrall said in a statement released through a public relations company yesterday, "To demonstrate my point of view to give the government a real mandate, a mandate which speaks to the issues which are bothering South Africans and our friends overseas, I must stand in an NP constituency because it is my belief that even traditional supporters of the NP share this concern and sense the inadequacy of the lead which the government is giving."

□ Cape athletics chief Momberg re-

● From Page 1

signed from the NP yesterday after 30 years to throw his weight behind Worrall and the reform movement.

Momberg, grossly dissatisfied with government's progress with reform, said the Group Areas Act had become "almost an obsession" with him and should be scrapped.

□ In the 1981 general election, Heunis drew 6,287 votes compared with the PFP's 3,345 — a majority of 2,942. The CP, who have announced they would stand in Helderberg, could split the conservative vote.

Indaba put under the microscope in university debate

Mercury Reporter

THE recommendations of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba represented no more than an attempt to 'hijack' the democratic struggle in South Africa, a spokesman for the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Farouk Meer, said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at a debate at the University of Durban-Westville as part of the Orientation Week organised by the Students' Representative Council, Dr Meer said that Indaba representatives had given the impression that they were seizing the initiative.

However, the Congress of Democrats had formulated the Freedom Charter as far back as 1955, and this was the blueprint for a democratic South Africa.

Dr Meer said the Indaba was the initiative of Inkatha, an 'elite' Zulu organisation, and the New Republic Party. Neither body had any power base elsewhere in the country.

Professor W A Ramsden, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Durban-Westville and the man who drafted the Bill of Rights of the Indaba, said the idea of drafting the constitution was to obtain legitimacy, both on the internal and external front.

He said he believed the people of South Africa were poised on the point of liberation and the Indaba was trying to assist that process in a peaceful way.

Mr Gerry Mare, of the Development Studies Institute at the University of Natal in Durban, said the Indaba had to be taken seriously because it was going to affect politics in the Kwa-Zulu/Natal region at central level.

He said the Indaba was often presented as the last chance of peaceful change.

Dangerous

'For the majority of the people in South Africa, there are many steps around the corner,' Mr Mare said. 'It is a step, but within a small and dangerous area'.

The proposals were dominated by capitalist and conservative political interests, he said.

The chairman of the Indaba Support Group, Mr Dirk Kemp, said the Indaba had never set itself up as an alternative to first-tier representation by all the people of South Africa.

He said he did not understand Dr Meer when he claimed the Indaba was trying to 'hijack' the democratic forces in South Africa.

The Indaba was competing in the market-place of ideas and it was up to the people of Natal and Kwa-Zulu to decide whether they wanted it by way of a referendum.

No vote was taken but the 1 000 students in the audience were vociferous in their support of the anti-Indaba speakers.

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Dr Denis Worrall, who will contest the Helderberg seat in the May 6 election.

Picture: Richard Bell

Worrall to stand in Helderberg

Cape Times 20/2/87 30K4

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DEFIANT former envoy Dr Denis Worrall yesterday placed his political future on the line by taking on Mr Chris Heunis and the might of the Cape Nationalist machine in Helderberg.

Dr Worrall's make-or-break showdown with the National Party's Cape leader and the government's chief apartheid architect is likely to be one of the toughest contests of the election.

Mr Heunis's former MPC and party organizer, Mr Jannie Otto, yesterday rated Dr Worrall's chances of victory in the prime Nationalist seat as "slim".

And Dr Worrall's campaign manager, Mr Jannie Momberg — who resigned from the NP after 30 years this week, said plans to open election offices in the constituency were already under way and offers of help were "pouring in".

In a terse response to the Worrall challenge, Mr Heunis said: "It is a free country — Dr Worrall can stand where he wants to."

In his statement, Dr Worrall said: "The government speaks of new political institutions for our fellow black South Africans, but offers nothing more concrete than city states. This is yesterday's politics.

"Unless the government is given a real mandate by voters who normally support it, this election will not have served any purpose at all. Hence my decision to stand as an independent candidate in the Helderberg constituency.

"To win Helderberg I need the support of a substantial number of voters who supported the government's candidate in 1977 and 1981.

"I am confident that I will get this support because the government completely underestimates the readiness of white South Africans for fundamental change. This is what the voters of Helderberg will demonstrate."

Dr Worrall said the government was missing out on a "new spirit" in the country — "a spirit which

Cape Times 20/2/87 30K4
From page 1

thirsts for a clear, shared vision of a democratic South Africa.

"A spirit which cuts across political, racial and cultural lines, and which rejects foreign meddling and violence and slow economic decline.

"A spirit which says that our Republic can be a successful, peaceful place. A spirit which says that South Africa can have a brilliant future — if only we will shake off our political paralysis."

Dr Worrall said South Africans were looking for a vision which would carry them, their children and their grand-children into the 21st Century.

"I share this vision with many other South Africans in all communities, and with Wynand Malan, the Randburg independent, who will give it content in the course of the election campaign.

"Victory for Wynand Malan in Randburg and Denis Worrall in Helderberg will not bring down the National Party government. But what a powerful message it will send.

"A message to the government from white South Africans that they are impatient for answers, that they want some light at the end of the tunnel, that they want to be proud to be South Africans again.

"A message to our fellow black South Africans that there is hope. And a message to well-wishers and friends around the world that peaceful answers are possible," Dr Worrall said.

SPECIAL REPORT — 'Battle of the giants'

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

ELECTION fever has gripped the Helderberg constituency at the prospect of a political "battle of the giants" between the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and his former National Party colleague, Dr Denis Worrall.

Voters of all parties in the constituency foresee a tough and exciting election struggle between the two "gurus" of constitutional affairs in South Africa.

The announcement by Dr Worrall that he will stand as an independent candidate against Mr Heunis has set the constituency abuzz with speculation that the politically powerful Mr Heunis could be toppled as sitting MP for Helderberg — with potentially enormous implications for the National Party, the Government and the entire political scene in South Africa.

Businessmen and farmers in the constituency, part of which is in the fruit and wine country, have high hopes that Dr Worrall's election challenge to the Government could help towards restoring South Africa's international relations, foreign trade and the country's embattled economy.

At this stage, however, most politically-minded people in Helderberg are uncertain about election prospects after the new development.

Waited in suspense

They say much will depend on whether more candidates are to be put up by other parties, particularly the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party.

against Mr Heunis in the 1977 and 1981 general elections, said the prospect of Dr Worrall's candidature against the NP had aroused great excitement and interest in the constituency.

"I certainly hope he will be the key to bringing together a new grouping of verligte South Africans who can reach across the old barriers of language and party. We are all waiting to hear what his platform will be and what his vision is for South Africa," Mr Newton-King said.

Mr Newton-King, a committee member of the PFP in Helderberg, said the PFP had been in the process of nominating a candidate in the constituency.

"We deferred that when we heard that Dr Worrall could be coming into the field as an independent."

The party would consider its position once it knew what Dr Worrall's platform would be for the election.

Mr Charl de Beer, National Party organiser and Minister Chris Heunis's election agent in Helderberg, said he expected a tough election fight but was confident the NP would win.

"The key issue in this election is the continued existence of our country," Mr de Beer said.

Voters would, in effect, vote for or against "reform", he said.

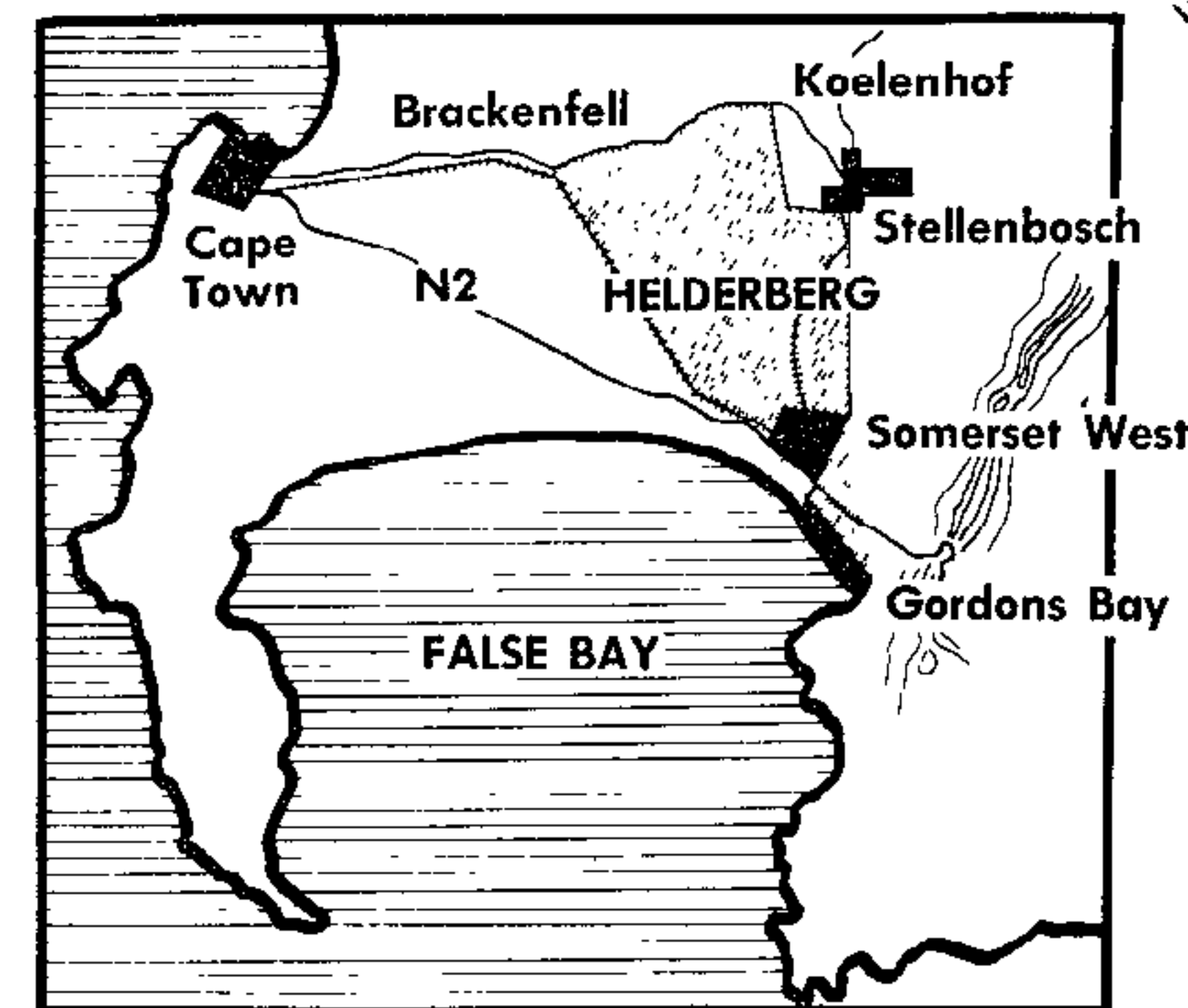
Mr Len de Wet, the Conservative Party's chairman in the Helderberg constituency, said his party had a strong branch in the Somerset West area and also had branches in other parts of the constituency.

The CP still had to decide whether or not it would put up a candidate.

Election fever grips Helderberg



Mr Charl de Beer, National Party organiser and election agent in Helderberg constituency, outside his party's office in Somerset West. This office will be the centre for Minister Chris Heunis's election battle.



The Helderberg constituency

A vision of the future — Worrall

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africans were looking for a new spirit to carry them into the 21st century but the Government was missing out on this and instead came with "yesterday's politics", according to Dr Denis Worrall.

The former ambassador in London made these observations when he announced that he would oppose the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, in Helderberg.

He said the Government had called the election because it wished to renew its mandate after nearly three years of turmoil and general

unhappiness, economic stagnation and increased international isolation.

The country had reason to expect that the mandate the Government would seek would address the fundamental problems of our society. That this is not the case is evident from the Government's election manifesto.

He said the Government called for continued race relations reform, but refused to debate the abolition of the Group Areas Act

It called for negotiation with black leaders, but dismissed the one major product of recent inter-racial negotiation — the Kwa-Natal Indaba.

the PFP and the CP were waiting in suspense all day yesterday to hear what Dr Worrall's decision would be.

In Somerset West, the main town in the constituency, there was much activity in the offices of the National Party and the PFP to prepare for the election. Voters were being contacted and voters' rolls were being checked.

A Conservative Party official said his party had also been working steadily to consolidate support for the party, but he said a decision still had to be taken on whether or not the CP would put up a candidate.

Aroused great excitement

Some party spokesmen saw as possible major issues in the election the country's constitutional future and black participation, South Africa's international relations, and the Government's handling of the economy.

Dr Worrall, with his background as former chairman of the President's Council's constitutional committee, and as ambassador, is generally seen in Helderberg as a key man to challenge Mr Heunis and the Government on such issues.

Mr Pierce Newton-Kings, who was the PFP's candidate

The men in the spotlight

ARMS 20-03-87 (3044)

COUT-3

By KAREN STANDER
Staff Reporter

CLASHES between Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Chris Heunis are nothing new.

In 1982, when Dr Worrall was replaced as chairman of the President's Council Constitutional Committee and posted to Australia as ambassador, it was widely speculated that the reason for his appointment to the relatively minor position was a clash with Mr Heunis over constitutional matters.

In fact, Dr Worrall confirmed at the time that there had been differences of opinion but only on "very important matters".

Dr Worrall's background is more academic than political. Born in Benoni in 1935 and educated at Bellville High School, he has BA and MA (philosophy and law) degrees from the University of Cape Town, an LLB degree from the University of South Africa and a doctorate from Cornell University in the United States.

In 1977 he was elected MP for Gardens and worked his way up in the Afrikaner-dominated party until his appointment in 1980 as chairman of



Dr Denis Worrall

the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council.

After his appointment to Canberra, Dr Worrall launched into a series of very public and highly critical speeches about Australian policies.

Appointed to London in 1984, Dr Worrall became ambassador at a time when relations between the two countries came under heavy strain.

At times he became embroiled in political controversies in Britain and was often at the receiving end of severe criticism of the South African Government's policies and actions.

By KAREN STANDER
Staff Reporter

MR Chris Heunis — Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning — is seen by some political analysts as a possible successor to President P W Botha.

Dubbed "Minister of Everything" by some of his colleagues, the present MP for Helderberg and Cape leader of the National Party is widely regarded as President Botha's right-hand man and one of the most powerful and influential members of the Cabinet.

Jan Christiaan Heunis was born at Uniondale in 1927, matriculated at the Outeniqua High School, George and obtained BA and LLB degrees.

He entered politics in 1959 as the member of the Cape Provincial Council for George and was elected MP for False Bay in 1970.

He was sworn in as Deputy Minister of Finance and of Economic Affairs in 1972 and in 1974 was elected MP for Helderberg.

During his Cabinet career he has held the portfolios of Economic Affairs, Internal



Mr Chris Heunis

Affairs and Constitutional Development and Planning.

His first and major task as Minister was to redraw the constitution which had been kicked around within the ruling party for years.

The position was in itself a fundamentally important one.

Mr Heunis became the link between the Cabinet and the President's Council — ostensibly the crucible from which would arise the new constitution.

His position as chairman of the parliamentary select committee on the constitution placed him at the very centre of the debate over South Africa's new-look constitution.

Need support of many voters

Dr Worrall said it spoke of new political institutions for black South Africans, but offered nothing more concrete than city states.

Unless the Government was given a real mandate by voters who normally supported it, this election would not have served any purpose at all.

"Hence my decision to stand as an independent candidate in the Helderberg constituency.

To win Helderberg I need the support of a substantial number of voters who supported the Government's candidate in 1977 and 1981. I am confident that I will get this support because the government completely underestimates the readiness of white South Africans for fundamental change. This is what the voters of Helderberg will demonstrate."

The Government is missing out on a new spirit in the land. A spirit which thirsts for a clear, shared vision of a democratic South Africa.

The people of this country are looking for a vision which will carry them, their children and their grandchildren into the 21st century.

ARCUS
20-02-87
(304A)

Outcome will depend on new, young voters

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

A KEY factor in the election battle looming in Helderberg will be the way in which nearly 10 000 new voters, including many young people, will cast their votes on May 6.

Another important factor, according to residents in the constituency, is a strong element of disillusioned Nationalists, including farmers, businessmen and academics, who may not vote for the National Party this time.

A fierce struggle is expected to be waged by the candidates — so far Minister Chris Heunis (NP) and Dr Denis Worrall (Independent) — to capture as many of these votes as possible.

A complicating factor, especially for Mr Heunis, could be the possible entry of a Conservative Party candidate who could lure some NP supporters away from the Nationalist fold.

The Progressive Federal Party's role in the election could also be a vital factor which could affect the election result.

According to the latest voters' roll, Helderberg now has 21 649 voters, compared with 13 277 in the 1981 general election.

In that election Mr Heunis, Minister of Constitutional De-

velopment and Planning, won with a majority of 2 942 votes in a straight fight against the PFP. The PFP candidate, Mr Pierce Newton-King, then obtained 3 345 votes in a 73,1 per cent poll — an increase of 1 252 PFP votes compared with the 1977 general election.

Helderberg constituency has as its largest metropolitan area Somerset West with more than 10 000 voters in the town area. The constituency also includes Heldervue, Firgrove, Gordon's Bay, part of the Stellenbosch region, Koelenhof, Vlottenberg, Bottelary and Brackenfell.

The PFP, which has an active organisation in the constituency, claims that its support has grown steadily in recent years.

Mr Pierce Newton-King, a PFP committee member and former PFP candidate, said he believed Mr Heunis made "a fundamental error" in using the Group Areas Act as a key building block in his "constitutional solution" for South Africa.

No reputable black leader would be prepared to negotiate on that basis.

A National Party spokesman said Mr Heunis was well-established as a constituency man who spent much time in the area for discussions with his constituents. He was a popular figure in the constituency.

AWB ready to sue Kerk over actions on members

By Carina le Grange

VENTERSDORP — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will take the Gereformeerde Kerk to the Supreme Court if it disciplines any church member for belonging to the AWB, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said last night.

Speaking in his home town Ventersdorp, the AWB leader said he has been told by his lawyers the movement could sue the church.

Earlier this week it was reported that the Lydenburg congregation of the Gereformeerde Kerk is to discipline church members active in the AWB.

Mr TerreBlanche was roundly applauded by an enthusiastic crowd of 200 packed into the town hall.

Conservative Party candidate for the constituency Mr Fannie van Vuuren also addressed the meeting. Another CP candidate, Mr Pieter Groenewald of Stilfontein, was also present.

Mr TerreBlanche said the AWB gladly shared its platform with right-wing politicians, "but we don't want to enter politics. We don't want to go to Parliament. We want to be among our people, because on the other side of the hills waits Oliver Tambo.

"May 6 will be the last chance that whites will have to determine their future."

PRESS CHALLENGED

He accused the State President of using other people to negotiate on South African issues.

He said Mr Botha "sent a Jew to Lusaka to talk to Tambo. The AWB has a video showing Mr Gavin Relly shaking the hands of this murderer."

Mr TerreBlanche dared the Press to make this accusation public.

He also focused on economic issues and said the AWB was feeding 14 000 poverty-stricken white children in Pretoria and Johannesburg and had done so for a whole year — "The State does nothing," he said.

White South Africans, he said, contributed 66 percent of the country's economy to keep others going.

Mr TerreBlanche accused Mr Botha of being one with international politicians who had the same thought-patterns as "liberals".

"Mr Botha, you are a pawn of the Americans who move you around you cannot put the American in his place unless you lock up the Embassy and send him home with his Coca Cola and cut off his platinum source."

AWB jeers parents from outside the barbed wire

Pretoria Bureau

Parents queuing for last night's mass protest meeting at Menlo Park High School were jeered by about 60 Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) supporters and other rightwingers.

The AWB contingent, which included children, stood outside school gates waving the organisation's swastika-like flag and the Vierkleur of the old Transvaal Republic.

They sang, chanted and swore at Pressmen who tried to take their pictures.

When it was plain they were not going to be allowed in — only parents of pupils were admitted — they held a meeting.

Deputy AWB leader Mr Jan Groenewald said the district police commander had been asked to "negotiate" with parents so a few AWB supporters could gain entry.

The issue at stake, he said, did not concern Menlo Park alone. Others should therefore be allowed into the barbed-wire encircled school. Parents did not agree.

Meanwhile, a traffic department loudhailer advised now absent drivers "all of you parked on the left (a solid yellow line) will get a ticket if you park here again".

A few police lingered on a traffic island, but kept a low profile.

Inside the school hall, proceedings began with a Bible reading: "Love your neighbour as yourselves..."

11645 20/2/87 (304A)

Worrall, Malan to work closely together

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent
DR Denis Worrall and another Nationalist rebel, Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, will work closely together in the election campaign.

Dr Worrall disclosed this yesterday after his announcement that he would stand as an independent in Helderberg against Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The Progressive Federal Party is holding back from nominating a candidate in Helderberg until Dr Worrall has published his manifesto. Nevertheless, it appeared today as if the party would stand back for him.

At one stage the PFP considered Helderberg as a priority seat.

Mr Malan confirmed today that there would be "liaison" between him and Dr Worrall. He could not at this stage say whether they would work out joint policy documents or approaches.

However, they undoubtedly "thought the same" about the future of the country, Mr Malan said.

Mr Roger Hulley, MP, Cape leader of the PFP, said the party had suspended nomination procedures until details of Dr Worrall's manifesto were known.

He said the indications were that the party would stand back to give Dr Worrall a clear run. However, a lot would depend on the manifesto.

Mr Hulley pointed out that Dr Worrall would benefit if the PFP put its committee and organisation in the seat at his disposal.

Dr Worrall appears to be cautious at this stage about active co-operation with the PFP although he would welcome support from individual PFP members.

He said in an interview yesterday that he would be putting a point of view which would be "distinctive" from anything political parties would be saying.

The PFP was not going to dislodge the Government and a new initiative was needed, he said.

"IT'S A FREE COUNTRY"

Meanwhile, the National Party leadership has reacted with disdain to Dr Worrall's announcement.

Mr Heunis, who is also Cape leader of the NP, would only say: "It is a free country. Dr

(Turn to Page 3, col 8)

The Battle for Helderberg: Special report — Page 11.



Mr Charl de Beer, National Party organiser in Helderberg, outside his party's office in Somerset West.

Another ex-Nat to stand as independent



Mr Theunissen

Staff Reporter

A FORMER National Party branch chairman, Mr Terry Theunissen, announced today that he would stand as an independent candidate in the Progressive Federal Party-held Claremont seat in the election.

Mr Theunissen, a freelance financial consultant who also runs a computer business, said he aligned himself with the views "expressed so far by Denis Worrall, Wynand Malan and Horace van Rensburg".

"The Government must abandon the ox-wagon machinery with which they are dismantling apartheid, or get out of the way so that others can do the job."

Mr Theunissen said he believed the public was "fed up" with existing political parties and was looking for an alternative.

(Turn to Page 3, col 6)

Tutu contacts lawyers after threat from CP

20/2/87
3044
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Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — An attack on the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, by the Conservative Party's parliamentary candidate in Westdene, Brigadier Theunis "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, was in response to a threat by the Archbishop on the Brigadier's life, the CP in the Westdene has claimed.

The chairman of the CP's Westdene branch, Mr Manie van Heerden, said that during a recent trip abroad, the Archbishop had "threatened to have the brigadier liquidated — or words to that effect".

Mr Van Heerden did not know if the alleged threat had been made during the Archbishop's recent Australian tour or on another trip.

The claim has been



ARCHBISHOP TUTU

dismissed as "absolute nonsense" by the Archbishop's personal assistant, Mr Matt Esau.

At the opening of his

election campaign, Brigadier Swanepoel issued a warning to the Archbishop, saying: "I got you once and I'll get you again. You will never in your lifetime see my dead body on this side of Hell."

"I am not looking for trouble but if you want it, come and the same will happen to you as in the past. But, Bishop Tutu, this time they will carry you out feet first."

The Archbishop's office considers the remarks to be a threat and has handed the matter to his lawyers, Mr Esau said.

Commenting for the Archbishop, Mr Esau said: "What Brigadier Swanepoel said amounts to a threat. In South Africa we are led to believe those threats can be dealt with in our courts and by our laws."

Tough battle against Heunis

Worrall flings down the gauntlet

FORMER envoy Denis Worrall's showdown with government's chief neo-apartheid architect Chris Heunis is likely to be one of the toughest election tussles in history — and could significantly affect the future of the ruling party.

Defeat for crown prince Heunis, Constitutional Development Minister and the NP's Cape leader, would be a critical blow to State President P W Botha's government and could help catapult SA into real reform and negotiation.

Confirming his decision to take on Heunis in the high-risk Helderberg constituency, Worrall yesterday hitched his fortunes to that of Randburg Independent Wynand Malan, saying victory for them would be a "powerful message to government from white South Africans that they are impatient for answers, that they want some light at the end of the tunnel, that they want to be proud to be South Africans again. A message to our black fellow South Africans that there is hope. And a message to well-wishers and friends around the world that peaceful answers are possible".

Jannie Momberg, prominent Cape businessman and athletics administrator

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

who resigned from the NP this week to lead Worrall's election campaign, said yesterday: "We are ready to roll." He said they were overwhelmed with many offers for financial and other help.

It became clear yesterday Worrall had the backing of some of SA's top Afrikaner businessmen, some of them in the Helderberg constituency, as well as influential academics.

● See Comment Page 4

His group of backers and supporters have carefully studied the possibilities of victory against Heunis, and concluded that if the Conservative Party drew 1 000 and Worrall could lure 1 000 Nationalists' votes, he would make it.

But it is difficult to make predictions because voter numbers have increased from 13 277 in 1981 to 21 649.

Heunis, who until recently told opposition MPs Worrall would "never dare" stand against him, made this unusually terse statement last night in reaction to

● To Page 2

Worrall enters the fray

Worrall's decision: "SA is a free country. Dr Worrall can stand where he wants to."

But Helderberg's former MPC and campaign officer for Heunis, Jimmy Otto, said yesterday Worrall's chances were "extremely slim". He said Heunis was "probably the best constituency MP in SA" and added the campaign organisation was already in gear.

Worrall said yesterday: "The government calls for a mandate to continue race relations reform, but refuses to debate the abolition of the Group Areas Act."

"Government calls for a mandate to negotiate with black leaders, but dismisses the one major product of recent interracial negotiation — the KwaNatal Indaba. Negotiation, surely, requires generosity and a willingness to respect the initiative of others."

"Government speaks of new political institutions for our fellow black South Africans, but offers nothing more concrete than city states. This is yesterday's politics."

"Unless the government is given a real mandate by voters who normally support it this election will not have served any purpose at all. Hence my decision to stand as an Independent in Helderberg."

"To win Helderberg, I need the support of a substantial number of voters who supported the government's candidate in 1977 and 1981. I am confident that I will get this support because government completely underestimates the readiness of white South Africans for fundamental change."

● From Page 1

NP 20/2/87
304A

New evidence of NP 'division' over reform

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

NEW evidence of growing tensions within the National Party emerged yesterday after the party's chief information officer admitted that some members wanted faster change while others wanted to mark time.

Mr Con Botha, MP, said it would be wrong to call the different wings of the party "factions".

He said only one in five NP members were "New Nationalists or Nationalists-in-a-hurry".

In an interview in the latest issue of Inside South Africa, published yesterday, Mr Botha said: "It would be irresponsible of the party to listen only to the call of one out of five because that means an 80% majority is happy with the pace or feels that the pace is a bit on the fast side."

Mr Botha's open admission that there are different wings in the NP, if not factions, is likely to be exploited by the opposition parties on its right

and left during the May 6 election.

The opposition parties have argued that there is little unity in the NP and its chief information officer appears to have confirmed this.

Mr Botha dismissed any speculation that the NP was beginning to crumble.

"If there was any question of a general crumbling then surely Mr Albert Botha would not have come back to the fold."

Asked about the resignations of Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Botha replied: "They were never leaders of factions in the party. Their make-up was different, they were not the focal points of groups of kindred souls."

When it was suggested that this meant there were factions in the NP, Mr Botha said: "I think it would be unnatural with a parliamentary party of 125-odd members if there were not."

"Some people are more forward-looking, others are more inclined to maintain the pace and mark time. But 'faction' is too big a word."

TIONAL

Another ex-Nat to stand as independent

(Cont from Page 1)

Asked why he had decided to stand in Claremont, he said: "I live there. When I decided to stand as an independent, I decided to stand there."

"I don't even know who the PFP MP in Claremont is."

A former chairman of a National Party branch in the Primrose constituency, Mr Theunissen said there was "no real home" for the English-speaker in the NP.

He said the Group Areas Act could not be scrapped before a

suitable solution was found which "would prevent the problems being experienced in parts of Britain".

More affluent members of a group "bought their way into an area", invited their poorer relations to live with them "to the point of overcrowding, only to drag down the standards for everyone".

"While I voted that coloureds should have a say in governing our country, I do not recall giving the Government a mandate to evolve a complicated constitution which leaves out the

blacks."

He could not identify with the PFP "while they are prepared to waffle over tea" with the African National Congress "while their own sons are being shot on the border and women are blown to pieces".

● The by-election in Claremont last year after the resignation of the former leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, was won by Mr Jan van Eck of the PFP with a majority of 3 804. New Republic Party candidate Mr Anthony Leisegang lost his deposit.

Worrall and Malan

(Cont from Page 1)

Worrall can stand where he wants to."

Nationalist propaganda organs have already started portraying Dr Worrall as working in close liaison with the PFP and this is likely to be the party's main point of attack against him.

He had decided that Helderberg was the constituency to illustrate his points best.

He had a family association going back for more than 40 years with the constituency. The seat was also ideal to demonstrate that people were looking for a sense of vision and direction.

"The kind of initiative which I am envisaging as an independent is to put over a reasonably developed and distinctive point of view."

"LOGJAM"

His move and that of Mr Malan opened the possibility of them presenting the Government with a real mandate, from Government-held constituencies, which addressed the fundamental problems — ending apartheid and getting on with negotiations with blacks.

The PFP appeared to be unable to break this logjam and the country would inevitably have a National Party government after May 6. He hoped the PFP would still be the official Opposition.

Further details of where he and Mr Malan stood on the Group Areas Act and talking to the African National Congress would be released soon, he said.

The leader of the NRP, Mr Bill Sutton, today called on NRP supporters in the Helderberg constituency to "support Dr Worrall to the utmost".

He said in a statement that the NRP welcomed Dr Worrall's decision to stand there, Sapa reports.

DAVID WELSH is professor of Southern African Studies at the University of Cape Town. He resigned as head of the Department of Political Studies in protest over the Concor Cruise O'Brien Affair. He wrote this article for the current issue of the journal LEADERSHIP.

THE recent episodes surrounding Dr Concor Cruise O'Brien and his aborted visit to the University of Cape Town remind us that authoritarian, tyrannical behaviour is no monopoly of the right.

The events are well-known: O'Brien, who was invited by me to lecture at UCT, was prevented from lecturing by a group of students, some 200 strong, who objected to his views on the academic boycott. They took matters into their own hands and forcibly imposed their own views on the rest of the university community. It mattered not to them that O'Brien's class was enjoying his lectures, nor that the university is supposed to be a place in which the clash of ideas proceeds by the rules of debate, and not by the silencing of speech.

Fear of restraints

The O'Brien affair reflects a growing authoritarianism of the left. It is a sad irony of South Africa's situation that those who have rejected the authoritarianism of an apartheid government, and suffered under it, show signs of succumbing to the same virus: An inability to tolerate views they do not like. One might have thought that the long experience of institutionalized intolerance and its gross restrictions on freedom of speech and other civil liberties would inoculate people, and give them the antibodies to resist authoritarianism from whatever quarter caught up in its toils.

An example: Robert Mugabe's government in Zimbabwe took over more-or-less holus-bolus the security legislation that it inherited from its predecessor UDI government, and found it useful in dealing with its opponents.

It is a platitude to remark that authoritarianism

We must also fight intolerance of the left

Cape Times 20/2/87

By DAVID WELSH

is as much a phenomenon of the left as it is of the right. Common to both is a fear that restraints upon the exercise of power will destroy their monopolies of power and force them to be accountable. Also common to both are a whole range of techniques of control, most visibly symbolized by an active and feared political police. Regimes of the right seek to shore up and preserve the old order; those of the left seek to destroy it. Both are inclined to share a common belief in a sacrosanct Great Plan.

Those who believe in government under law and in the virtues of an open society should beware of blueprints that embody models of Utopian alternatives; they should beware the commissars who claim exclusive possession of the keys to the "inevitable" and "scientifically-planned" future. This was the hallmark of Dr Verwoerd's thinking and it bears a family resemblance to a lot of Marxist thinking.

Marxist ideas have gained a good deal of currency in South Africa over the past decade. Perhaps it was inevitable that a highly inequitable and authoritarian system like apartheid should conjure up a counterpart on the left with millenarian visions.

In the modern world, Marxism has yoked ill with democratic government. Without exception the Marxist-Leninist state has proved to be an appalling antithesis of democracy, made even worse by

the apparent lack of effective internal reform dynamics. From Lenin's time on, power in this kind of system has been the prerogative of a small clique of a sort of political elect. Nowhere has a government calling itself Marxist maintained democratic norms. That many Marxists genuinely believe in democratic forms (the Euro-Communists of the Seventies, for example) does not invalidate the argument. Marxism by its very nature proclaims a view of the past, present and future. It embodies a comprehensive view of society's dynamics and a Utopian blueprint called "scientific socialism".

Battle not lost

The cast of mind which accepts these beliefs is likely to be highly resistant to accepting the legitimacy of differing perceptions of social reality or alternative political programmes. Political pluralism, or the tolerance of a diversity of beliefs and strategies, is anathema to the True Believer, as Eric Hoffer described the political fanatic.

Readers of this article should not infer from its seemingly gloomy tone a sense of the author's despair. The battle is by no means lost, and the excesses of small numbers of political millenarians should not be confused with the political beliefs and orientations of the masses of ordinary people. There is a job to be done in persuading people of the virtues of tolerance and openness as



David Welsh

political goals.

The job starts right in one's own bailiwick, whether it be a university, a church, a trade union or a club. The democratic cast of mind is not a gift from on high; it is not created (or destroyed) by politicians and constitutions. It is rooted in everyday life and in the culture of a society. Now, as never before, the issues of openness versus conformity, of pluralism versus dogmatism and flexibility versus rigidity, have to be lifted out of the shadows and placed in the spotlight.

Menlo Park body

ousted

PRETORIA. — A motion that the Menlo Park High School management committee disband was carried by 755 votes to 155 last night.

Parents who attended the meeting — following the ban on Kearsney College matriculant Nkululeko "Squeegie" Skweyiya from an athletics meeting — voted that the members resign within a week.

If they fail to do this, the Administrator of the Transvaal or "relevant minister" will be approached by the ad-hoc committee.

The motion was introduced by Dr Stoffel Hofmeyer, father of the school's headboy.

The parents filed past uniformed AWB members near the school gates to attend the protest meeting.

Watched by policemen, 120 AWB members sang "Die Lied van jong Suid Afrika" before dispersing when they couldn't get past stringent security.

□ A committee document, distributed among pupils yesterday to be given to their parents before the meeting, said Nkululeko was prevented from competing by Menlo Park's athletics organizer and the manager of the Durban and Districts team.

The teachers were unavailable for comment.

In response, Mr Stu Davis, chairman of the Durban and Districts High Schools Athletics Association, said last night: "It's absolute nonsense." — Sapa

ALLIANCE POLITICS

Loosening old glue

Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leader Colin Eglin believes SA is heading towards a white alliance government which will pave the way for a transition to non-racial democracy.

This was one of the underlying reasons for the PFP's decision to stand aside in key constituencies in the coming election to allow anti-Nationalist independents into parliament, Eglin told the *FM* this week.

He believes the potential long-term gains are worth the risk of backing independents in what would otherwise be fairly easy wins for the PFP. And the fact that such candidates may be critical of PFP policy, as was Randburg maverick Wynand Malan in his maiden parliamentary speech as an independent, makes no difference.

There is a lively debate on the issue in the PFP. Should the party stand aside for independents who are unwilling to openly endorse PFP policy? Eglin firmly believes the party must take the chance.

He links the move to strategy decisions taken last year when the Progs identified 55 seats as a target for the foreseeable future. To achieve this, the party accepted the need to attract support from a considerable pool of liberal thinkers within the NP who did not really belong there.

"They were there because they either didn't quite like our image, or believed we weren't effective. They were uncomfortable in the NP and had attitudes that were far more similar to ours than the Nats," he explains.

The announcement of the election on May 6 required immediate PFP action. Its first act was to negotiate the alliance with the New Republic Party.

"This did not produce a great deal in terms of organisation, money or votes," Eglin notes. But it did reinforce the concept of the growth of a political party that is accepting the philosophy of re-alignment and alliance politics, as opposed to rigid traditional party politics. "We are serious about growing and we are serious about getting rid of the Nats."

Malan and his supporters fitted the profile of prospects identified by the PFP. But for largely historical reasons, it would have been impossible to achieve a shift of NP members to the PFP if the Progs insisted that they should join the party.

Eglin's philosophy now is that while the PFP must grow, everything possible should be done to "loosen the glue" in the NP to assist the uncommitted to make the break.

"If it is necessary to do that around someone like Wynand Malan, then it is important that it be done. Malan should be there to

shake the trunk of the NP tree and the peaches and the plums and the pears will drop off somewhere else," he says.

He points out that if the PFP opposed Malan, he would have to try to emphasise as many differences as possible with the party and, instead of an alliance taking shape, he would be forced into confrontation.

"In other words," Eglin explains, "the gap will be widened instead of narrowed, and



PFP's Eglin ... creating a gap for disaffected Nats

when it is over Malan will be a defeated candidate. He will not be there shaking the tree and all the people who have supported him will end up being our opponents, instead of potential allies somewhere down the track."

The thinking goes that, as an agent for shaking out the NP dissidents, Malan will intensify the "anguish" of Nat verligtes who will have to oppose him, but are actually on his side. But, says Eglin, "if I didn't believe his basic philosophy was sound, I wouldn't be as confident."

He reckons that sooner or later people with similar basic outlooks will converge on a common political axis. This does not necessarily mean everyone will have to join the PFP or any other party.

"We may go for alliances, mergers or understandings. One is compelled to think of alliance-type politics for the structuring of future governments, and I believe that is going to have to happen because there is no time to consolidate parties into one mass.

"If I play micro-politics, I can say it is easy to win a seat, but if I play macro-politics I must play in terms of the processes that are taking place. We won't be winning Randburg this time round, but I believe we will have a future ally. And on the other hand, we will win neighbouring North Rand, which we

may not have won, and I presume we will do better in a number of seats all the way round as a consequence of the exciting momentum of what we are doing."

Eglin foresees SA being governed in future through a series of alliances. "There has never been a change of government except by way of an alliance," he says, "and to my mind, the speed with which we are going to have to move from a white alliance government to a non-racial government is probably not going to allow the formation of parties.

"We are probably going to have to form new alliances with blacks. So while the parties remain important because they become bases from which the key leaders operate, they don't assume the same dominant significance." See *Leaders*

THE ELECTION

Candidates galore

The highest number of candidates in SA history is likely to stand for parliament in the election on May 6.

The PFP-NRP alliance this week announced the names of 87 constituencies it will contest (PFP 72, NRP 15), and PFP national chairman Ken Andrew says the final total is likely to be closer to 100.

The ruling National Party (NP) is expected to contest all 166 elected seats, partly in an effort to put on a bold front in the face of concerted onslaughts from both Left and Right.

Efforts to forge an election pact between the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party remain deadlocked; it appears at this stage that each party will end up nominating around 100 candidates — most of them in the same constituencies. Nomination day will be March 31.

There were two significant omissions from the PFP-NRP list of seats it will fight: Geduld, the seat of Deputy Education and Development Aid Minister Sam de Beer; and Krugersdorp, where verligte Nat MP Leon Wessels faces a tough fight against the right wing.

Both seats were contested with reasonable success by the PFP in the 1981 general election. With considerable growth in the right wing in both areas in recent years, there is a distinct possibility that both Nats could lose if the PFP splits the votes.

It seems that the PFP has deliberately decided to stand back as a sign to verligte Nats that they are the sort of people needed in the NP to continue the process of frag-

DETAINEES - 2

Vlok's figures

Government has rejected independent estimates that more than 20 000 people have been detained since the imposition of the State of Emergency on June 12 last year. However, information released by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok suggests that the figure could be close to the mark.

In parliament last week he tabled the names of 3 857 detainees held since September 1 last year for 30 days or more.

Added to the 8 551 names of people held for 30 days or more between June 12 and August 18, and the 836 held for 30 days or more between then and September 1, this

makes a total of 13 244 detainees held for 30 days or more from the start of the emergency to the time the report was tabled.

In terms of the Internal Security Act, Vlok is compelled to table only the names of those held for 30 days or more. He conceded in a statement last week that other people had been detained for less than 30 days, but did not disclose numbers.

Independent monitoring groups believe that if these figures were disclosed, their estimates of more than 20 000 detainees would be shown to be accurate.

As the FM went to press, Vlok was due to answer a formal question in parliament by the Progressive Federal Party's Helen Suzman, on the total number of people detained since June 12.

In his earlier statement Vlok said the number of people detained since June 12 was far lower than the estimates of 20 000 to 29 000 given by monitoring groups.

He did not say how many people were currently in detention, but a figure of 5 000 given in parliament last week by Suzman has not been disputed.

What Vlok did say, however, was that 281 children under 16 are still in detention in terms of emergency regulations. He said three of the detainees were 12 years old, 18 were 13 years old, 91 were 14 years old and 169 were 15 years old. He added that more than 1 000 detainees had already been charged with criminal offences.

According to Vlok, the authorities detain people only when it is "absolutely necessary".

HANS MIDDELMANN

Only one man, one vote will do



Cape Town businessman and civic leader Hans Middelman concludes a two-part series in which he outlines a new constitution for SA.

The disaster that threatens South Africa is unlikely to be averted by the re-election of this government in the forthcoming general election. It is not the individuals forming government that are at fault, but rather the system that allows, or rather forces, them arbitrary legislative control over the lives and rights of the majority of the population who have no redress either through the courts or the ballot box.

The present constitution is founded on the premise that there are race groups with irreconcilable interests which must be kept apart — and that the white group, to preserve its own "identity," must dominate the others. This can never be acceptable to the broad mass of South Africans.

The impoverishment and instability of our country is likely to accelerate under the present system. Only by discarding the race group principle and substituting the individual as the prime object of concern can we transcend the struggle for power now being waged — a struggle no group can win and which will progressively impoverish us the longer it continues.

If we could release, on a non-discriminatory basis, the latent energy and talent of all South African people (not the peoples of South Africa — who ever heard of the peoples of America?) we would not have to have a foreign minister to visit parts of our country pretending they are independent and foreign, nor would our rand be worth less than half a dollar.

A constitution based on the primacy of the individual, as distinct from the race group to

which he is deemed to belong, is not only essential to resolve the present conflict — it would also create the conditions for rapid economic growth. It would do this first by re-integrating the South African economy with the outside world, eliminating sanctions and attracting foreign investment. Second and more important, it would make available a vast, at present unused, productive potential and remove the need for massive unproductive expenditure to maintain the present system against external threats and internal disaffection.

For a new constitution to earn general acceptance it must provide for universal adult suffrage — one man, one vote. Nothing less will do.

It must also break with the past by limiting the power of government. It must protect the individual against the tyranny of unchecked parliamentary majorities which have been the ruin of many nations.

New Constitution

The constitution must be rigid, with an independent judiciary empowered and charged with the duty to annul unconstitutional Acts, particularly any that infringe a Bill of Rights embodied in the constitution.

The Bill of Rights would give every citizen equal opportunities, including equal access to education, as well as:

- ☐ Freedom to apply his or her talents and resources to what he or she perceives to be the best advantage;
- ☐ Freedom of movement and the right to own property anywhere in the country;
- ☐ Freedom of association, of thought and expression, and
- ☐ A free press.

The principles outlined so far are the basis of the constitutions of all stable and prosperous countries in the world. When it comes to the mechanics of the election of parliament, government and the president, and the degree of the diffusion of executive powers,

solutions vary from country to country.

The following part of the model of a new South African constitution is drawn with the objective of ensuring formation of a workable parliament and government. It is drawn against the background of our history of enforced racial separation and the wide geographic, economic, linguistic, religious and cultural diversity of our population.

A combination of the best and most appropriate features of the American, Swiss and German constitutions, it is only one of a number of possible variations. It is not prescriptive and is offered here as an example of the kind of solution that can be envisaged in practical terms.

Our model constitution would in the first place provide for a federal structure. It would consist of, say, 10 component states, as determined by a boundary commission; all territorially consolidated, with no enclave of one to be found in another. Broadly they would probably coincide with already accepted demarcations, such as northern Transvaal or western Cape, and would be geographically, not ethnically, defined. Each state would have its own constitution subject to a basic conformity in the appointment of a governor and a legislative structure consistent with that of the federal legislature.

There would be a two-house Legislative Assembly.

The Senate would consist of 60 senators, six from each state, elected for six years, one third of whom would retire every two years.

The House of Representatives would consist of 300 members, elected for four years. Of those, 150 would be elected by constituencies; the other 150 on a proportional vote and state basis, with a minimum of 10% of the state vote required for any party.

Three members of either house would be elected to the presidency for a three-year term by simple majority of both houses. No two members of the presidency may be from the same party and, by rotation, each would

hold the office of president for one year. The other two would be vice-presidents.

The presidency appoints for three years the Ministers' Council or Cabinet, whose members need not be members of the legislature, subject to ratification by the Senate.

This structure is designed to bring together in a single, workable system elected representatives of all shades of opinion and geographical diversity. It would make one-party government impossible, and, in line with the common interests of the diverse population, would make multi-party government desirable and necessary. The rotating presidency should ensure that one year the president could be black, another year, white.

It should be clear that if the white group is to give up its present unfettered right to use the power of the State to coerce all other groups — a power it will have to surrender sooner or later in any event — all groups within South African society must perceive that it is in the general interest to bring the use of power under control, irrespective of who may acquire the authority to wield it. Absolute power corrupts absolutely, as Lord Acton said. If power is to be in the hands of the people, the ordinary citizen must be protected against the whims of those who presume to exercise that power in the name of the people.

Distribution of wealth

Bearing in mind that the majority of South Africans have been and are at an economic disadvantage, any new dispensation must include enabling provisions to deal with this problem.

These cannot, of course, be based on the simplistic view that a redistribution of existing wealth over the whole population would be the answer.

Any solution must proceed from the insight that the production of wealth must precede its distribution. No government anywhere has been as efficient and successful in producing wealth as those in countries where there is free interaction of all the complex components of an economy.

Where, in other words, all people have equal access to opportunities and can freely

interact in the economy, and neither the State nor powerful employer or employee groups can manipulate it. To ensure this is one of the economic functions of the State.

The other function is helping the poor and the disadvantaged. This can come only from general revenue, from taxation of those who create the wealth of the country. Aid must be given directly to those in need. If the State distorts the economy through manipulation of prices and wages or other measures ostensibly in favour of the needy, it inevitably destroys some of the wealth it is trying to redistribute.

Economic council

For this reason the model of the new constitution envisages the creation of a Council for Social and Economic Reconstruction under the chairmanship of the governor of the Reserve Bank.

It is to consist of 15 members, appointed for five years by the presidency from lists submitted by the creators of wealth — that is, private sector organisations, including trade unions.

The council's task will be to consider and report on the Budget and all Bills apportioning federal funds to the states before the Bills go before the legislature. This would ensure that parliament was fully aware of the consequences if it intended to distribute wealth that did not exist, as many countries have done to their detriment.

Assuming the principles of a new constitution along the lines described here would gain the support of the majority of South Africans, how could a peaceful transition to it be achieved?

The answer has been found on many occasions in circumstances which seemed more intractable than ours today.

If it can be convincingly demonstrated that there is an alternative to an intolerable position, some of the very people who misguidedly helped to create it will help dismantle it.

How else did we get rid of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts?

What then must we do? Prosperous societies with the highest quality of life, materi-

ally and culturally, are those that embody the principle of individual freedom. Freedom is the indispensable condition for economic growth and productivity. As has been said: "For, human potential being approximately similar everywhere, it is organisation and institutions which determine winners and losers among human groupings."

If we want to be among the winners, our political institutions must be restructured according to a totally new constitution.

To realise this vision of a new South Africa requires its propagation now by a popular movement. Because our political system has become skewed and divisive, the initiative for this movement can only come out of the economically active population which is not directly involved in politics, but desperately needs a framework in which it can fulfil its aspirations.

This widely diversified private sector, comprising workers, professional people, farmers, traders and industrialists, constitutes the powerful engine that keeps SA going even in adverse circumstances.

The private sector achieves these results because it is innovative and has learned, where it is most successful, to be way ahead of official political thinking. It acts in the knowledge that if clear, impartial organisational structures are understood and accepted by those who work within them, the results are rewarding in human and material terms.

It needs a handful of people of stature, of different colours, to bind themselves together to get this process under way. The model constitution envisages a rotating presidency to ensure that factually and symbolically black and white South Africans work together at all levels to their mutual benefit and for the good of their country.

Private enterprise has long ago discovered that this can be done successfully, and has organised itself accordingly. Its greatest challenge is now to use its initiative and resources to propagate and accomplish the essential fundamental reform of our political structures.

HORACE VAN RENSBURG

The mouse that roared?

One of Horatio Erlank Jansen van Rensburg's most frequent complaints to journalists in the parliamentary Press Gallery was that they ignored his speeches. It was true, in general.

The delivery was usually good, but Van Rensburg's contribution to parliamentary debate lacked the content to make the newspapers. As Progressive Federal Party (PFP) spokesman on the portfolio of National Education, he was unimpressive. His forté for spontaneous and witty interjections will probably be remembered when whatever contribution he may have made to the development of education is forgotten.

But, like a Buddhist monk who burns himself to death in public to draw attention to a particular cause, Van Rensburg forced the press to pay attention last week. He quit the PFP in spectacular fashion, as it became clear that he would not be nominated as the party's election candidate in Bryanston, for which he is the sitting MP.

In a fit of unprecedented pique, he lashed out at his former party colleagues in a manner that shocked even some Nationalist MPs. Van Rensburg — as the rebel, the rogue, the renegade MP — hit the headlines as never before.

In particular, he became the darling of the Nationalist press as he leaked reams of confidential documents detailing his alleged problems with the PFP, thus enabling the Nats to forget, for a while, their own party's considerable problems.

In his lengthy letter of resignation to PFP leader Colin Eglin — a letter released with apparent relish to all and sundry — Van Rensburg accused the party of having weak leadership, unclear policies, being soft on the African National Congress (ANC) and the SA Communist Party, and of being anti-Afrikaner.

Subsequent claims, given banner-headline treatment by the Nat newspapers, alleged that the party had also undermined Kwa-Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and connived with the Conservative Party to sink government at any cost.

The accuracy of some of Van Rensburg's allegations were disputed by former colleagues, but that seemed of little concern to him. By week's end — to the relief of the PFP — it was clear that he had shot his bolt. His motives were obvious, in spite of his claims to the contrary. Unlike the Buddhist monks, Van Rensburg was not incinerated



by his action, but he has gone out in a blaze of publicity followed by burn-out.

By election day on May 6, Van Rensburg's stunt is likely to have been forgotten. It is an improbable election issue, in spite of all Nationalist efforts to keep it alive. But the long-term damage may be more serious.

It is not difficult to trace the origins of Van Rensburg's amazing self-destruction. More than two years of bad relations with his Bryanston constituency committee killed any hope of him being renominated for the seat. It was this, not his attitude to policy or leadership, that was at the root of the problem, and he was well aware of it.

Gossip in the press gallery earlier this year was that Horace had threatened to "tell all" if spurned by the PFP. But, in spite of the warning signals, the intensity of his bitterness came as a shock. Even Connie Mulder, who was swatted down as he was about to pluck the ultimate fruit of South African politics in 1978, and then booted mercilessly from his party, did not spit venom like the MP for Bryanston.

None of Van Rensburg's recent speeches

gave any real hint of the intense dissatisfaction he claims he has with the PFP leadership, policies and internal party matters. His actions become even more suspect when seen against his own admission that he would not have quit the party had he been renominated.

Van Rensburg denies that he will join any other party, but says he may stand as an independent candidate in Bryanston — a distinct possibility now that one of his pet hates in the PFP, Rupert Lorimer, has been nominated as the party's candidate to replace him.

Van Rensburg (51) was long regarded as the odd man out in the PFP caucus. But, contrary to his claims that he was deliberately forced out of the party, his colleagues often went to extraordinary lengths to keep him. This at times when strong demands were made from the lower ranks for his expulsion for various public utterances and actions which were seen as going against party policy.

Now those colleagues are wondering why they ever bothered. There was a sense of utter betrayal when they read what Van Rensburg thought of them and all they stood for. There is no sympathy whatsoever for his actions.

Van Rensburg has often been portrayed by the press as a maverick. He never really seemed to settle into the PFP. He came into the party in 1977 as one of the United Party's "Young Turks," having been elected UP MP for Bryanston in 1974.

Before that, he was UP MPC for Randburg from 1970 to 1974; national chairman of the UP youth movement from 1966 to 1972; a Johannesburg city councillor from 1966 to 1971; a Randburg town councillor and chairman of the management committee from 1972 to 1974; and director-general of the UP from 1972 to 1974. In addition he has a degree in engineering from Wits University.

Van Rensburg has always been placed on the right of the PFP, along with Harry Schwarz (his closest ally in the caucus, and said to be devastated and angered by his former colleague's action). He tended to take a less critical line on government policy and actions than many of his colleagues.

But he was never seen as a Nat, and in spite of the level of bitterness to which he has now sunk, Van Rensburg is still regarded as a man who believes in the basic liberal principles of the PFP.

Why he has decided to inflict as much harm as possible on his former party is not clear except as an act of revenge. He claims it is necessary to make known his reasons for leaving, but this hardly justifies the leaking of unsubstantiated political gossip.

It seems incredible, too, that Van Rensburg could have stayed in the PFP for 10 years if he was indeed so opposed to nearly all that the party stands for — and was prepared to remain a party member, and keep his mouth shut — if given another easy ride back to parliament.

How much damage Van Rensburg's action will do the PFP remains to be seen. There is little doubt that it will affect the party's performance in Bryanston and North Rand in particular, and in nearly all other constituencies to a lesser degree. But if fortune favours the PFP, it will not mean the difference between winning and losing seats.

What Van Rensburg appears not to have considered (or if he did, decided to disregard it) is the damage his action may have caused to efforts to achieve peace in SA by destroying apartheid — a strategy he often claimed to support.


Clouded issues

For the first time since 1948, the Nationalists are on the defensive and the PFP and its allies have the chance of a significant electoral breakthrough. The last thing they needed was an incident to allow the Nats to cloud the issues — but Van Rensburg gave it to them on a plate.

His chances of returning to parliament are slim. If he stands in Bryanston he will probably do no more than split the PFP vote, possibly allowing in the Nationalist candidate. It is not clear where he stands in relation to those other prospective independent candidates, Wynand Malan and Denis Worrall.

But now that his "patriotism" has been proven, he may one day be rewarded with a foreign service posting to "promote" SA's image abroad. There is already talk of it.

More likely, though, that Horace van Rensburg will be remembered only as the seven-day wonder who eventually made the papers.



We'll challenge SABC over bias, says Dalling

Star 21/2/87
304A

CAPE TOWN — The PFP would challenge the SABC in the Supreme Court if the corporation continued to favour the National Party during the election campaign, PFP media spokesman Mr Dave Dalling said in a statement today.

He said it was no mistake that Mr Alwyn Schlebusch had been appointed to take responsibility for the SABC.

"He is President Botha's personal representative watchdog at Auckland Park and will no doubt deliver whatever degree of bias Mr P W Botha requires.

"The PFP does not intend to take this lying down."

PACIFYING

Mr Dalling's statement accompanied the release of a survey of SATV news broadcasts by the Department of Journalism at Rhodes University.

He said the survey showed that the SABC could be seen "more as a pacifying agent than an instrument to bring information to the attention of the public".

It revealed a consistent "over-accessing" of government sources, with little or no attempt being made to obtain differing views of events.

The SABC made little attempt to gather news from any political parties other than the NP or the government, and was a "willingly party to the government's strategy to polarise and isolate all opposition outside the current power structure".

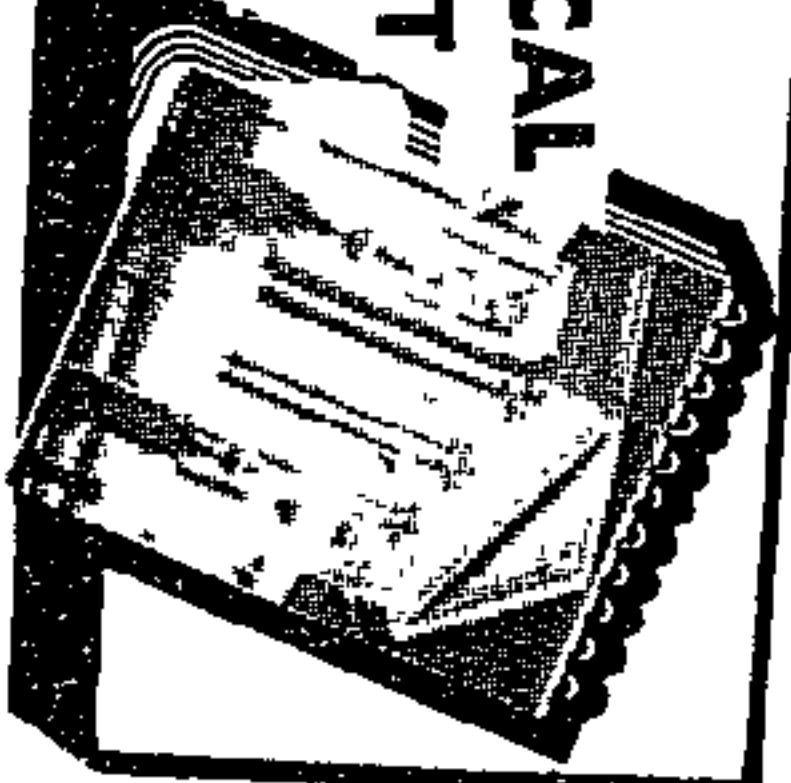
The public was being lulled into a state of "soporific ignorance" by the SABC's non-reporting of any unrest except in the blandest terms and by its ignoring opposition parties and in particular extra-parliamentary organisations.

"An important point to make is that now an election has been announced, the trend to one-sided and partial reporting is being confirmed. The last few weeks' viewing has been pro-Nationalist and one-sided in the extreme."

The PFP did not ask any special favours. It required only that the SABC stick to its conditions of licence, which stated among other things that it was the duty of the corporation to report news "clearly, unambiguously, factually, impartially and without distortion".

Before resorting to law, however, the PFP was more than willing to negotiate with the SABC over fair broadcasting, and to that end he, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin and the party's chief executive officer, Mr Robin Carlisle were trying to arrange a discussion with SABC chairman Mr Brand Fourie and director general Mr Riaan Eksteen. — Sapa.

POLITICAL CIRCUIT



by HUGH ROBERTON

TO some they are known as the "New Nats". Others merely talk of a "new spirit" loose in white politics.

In the cold terminology of opinion surveys they are the growing number of voters who once backed the NP but who now are in a liberal-leaning nonmansland between the NP and the PFP, yet at home in neither.

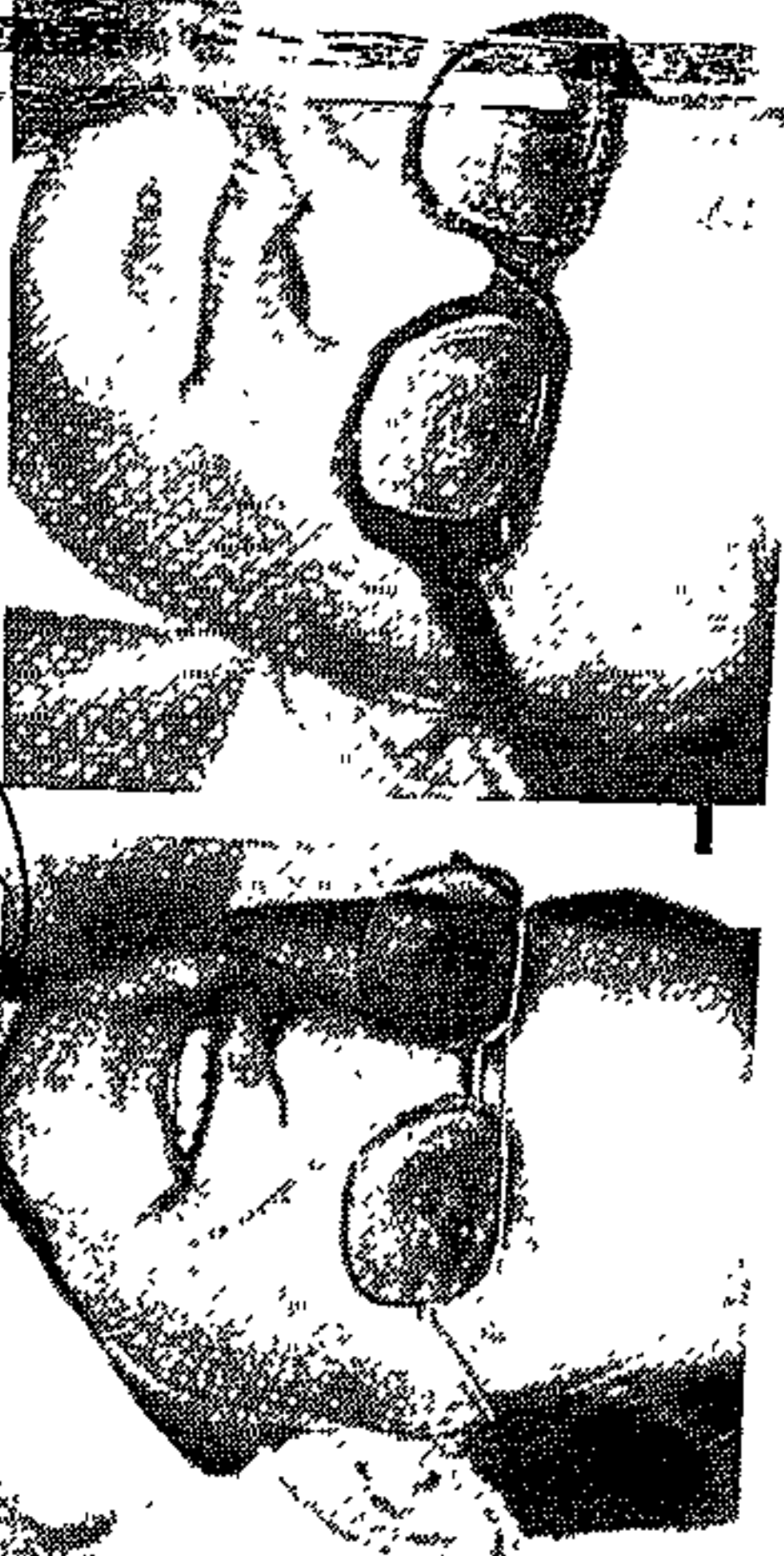
They are the great untapped resource of the May 6 election which none of the official parties seems able to lure.

A Market Research Africa survey has found that the NP's overall support dropped from 45 percent to 34 percent last year and that there was a growing body of uncommitted voters "who are not prepared to choose a party and who feel that none of them represent their views."

And they have given rise to a rarely seen phenomenon in South African politics — the independent candidate whose political ethos is neither NP nor PFP.

FORMER NP representatives like Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan have been careful to closely parallel the perceived sentiments of the nonmansland voters they will be trying to attract in the election. They have parted company with the NP but they have not joined the PFP or any other formal political structure.

Supporting them, *sotto voce*, is one of the shrewdest political strategists in South Africa — Colin Eglin, leader of the PFP. He could snuff out Worrall and Malan simply by putting up PFP candidates in Hel-



Worrall

Malan

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Cont →

The

Colin Eglin



Independents

They stand a better chance of winning than have any independents since shortly after Union

derberg and Randburg, or anywhere else liberal-leaning nonmanslanders might dare to stand for election.

Instead, he has risked the annoyance of some PFP stalwarts by making it clear that the independent candidates will not be members in the PFP is regarded as a malicious distortion).

There is little the PFP can do about its "English" image, even though opinion surveys show that some 60 percent of white voters support the PFP's federal policy and the party's general principles. It has no supporting Afrikaans newspaper. Its views are rarely given coverage by the SABC and there is no other acceptable political home for most English-speaking voters.

IN the circumstances, the Eglin strategy makes sense. It allows independent ex-Nats like Worrall and Malan to draw the support of dissidents in the NP whom the PFP is unable to attract, votes which might otherwise have been cast grudgingly for the NP, or not cast at all. At the same time, should the Worralls and Malans win election, they would in many respects remain beholden to the PFP.

A more intractable image problem for the PFP than its "English-ness" is the perception of some NP dissidents that the party is not a serious alternative government. That, too, is a misconception which could

be put to rest by making it clear that the PFP is willing to join forces with others, that because of the urgency of the crisis it would be willing to reach a compromise with non-members who share its broad view of the future.

And by giving a fair chance to independent ex-Nationalists, the Eglin strategy sends a message to other potential dissidents still inside NP ranks — they don't have to wreck their political careers if they resign, they don't have to embrace the PFP, the crisis has gone beyond party politics and it is time for alliances of like-minded people.

opposed by the PFP, and by offering to hold back even in a seat like Port Natal, which the PFP stands a better chance of winning.

The results is that for the first time in almost three-quarters of a century independent candidates will have to be taken

seriously. Thanks to the Eglin strategy, they stand a better chance of winning than have any independents since shortly after Union.

WHY would Eglin go for this sort of compromise in seats where the PFP could, at the very least, put up a credible performance on its own? He has not spoken in any detail on the subject and neither has anyone else in the PFP.

But there can be little doubt that he is far more concerned with what can be done to build up a broad anti-apartheid alliance in South Africa than he is with the narrow electoral fortunes of his own party.

The attitude seems to be that so long as dissident Nationalists like Worrall and Malan are sincerely committed to fighting apartheid, they should be seen as acceptable partners in a broad alliance; that while areas of disagreement might exist, there is enough agreement on essentials for a viable working relationship.

No doubt there are other considerations, too. The PFP probably does have an image problem in that many Afrikaners see it as an "English" party (though Horace van Rensburg's claims of anti-Afrikaner senti-

Momberg: Power Behind Worrall

By John MacLennan
Political Staff

Mr Jannie Momberg

By John MacLennan
Political Staff

JANNIE MOMBERG, the man who talked Zola Budd into world stardom again after her Olympic debacle, is the engine behind the campaign of Denis Worrall in the fight for Helderberg.

He is 50 percent of the make/break factor in a constituency now held by constitutional guru Chris Heunis. If Helderberg goes, according to popular wisdom, then all is possible.

Your ordinary, commonsense South African will have scored a near-fatal blow on the brow of the apartheid Goliath, the Nats will change direction, we will see the birth of a new pragmatic coalition which could become the Government — and life could be beautiful here. In South Africa. At what is now the sharp edge.

What must be particularly worrying for the governing party is that Momberg is in many ways the type of energetic shaker and mover whom they would like on their side in the coming battle.

He is an Afrikaner, a thinking Afrikaner who believes that his views are reflected throughout the country among kinsmen who are already

saying and doing things which cause great unease in Government circles.

Physically he looks like the sort of person who flies to Loftus Versfeld with his mates in a private jet for a Northerns/WP rugby showdown. He weighs 109 kilos, is married and has four sons and hasn't really had to work since the sale two years ago of the family wine estate Neethingshof.

He likes to read books on war and history and he plans to do both those things in this election.

His background is classical, cream of the crop, NP-voting Afrikaner. He matriculated at the prestige Paul Roos Gymnasium in Stellenbosch and then went on to the sleepy Boland town's university — the producer in modern history of Afrikaner leaders — to graduate in economics and history.

Now 48, he has years of experience as an NP functionary dating from his student days. Why? "My father voted Nat. I voted Nat."

He started having doubts when the NP's policies brought him in conflict with his feelings about coloured people. He well remembers the furore in 1963 when he wrote a letter to the then Minister of Coloured Affairs, our current President P W Botha, over the bar on coloured people in the Cape Town City Hall.

"I gave them hell. I told them I had never seen a skollie in a dress suit listening to a symphony orchestra."

He believes that that "scrap" led to the opening of Cape Town's Nico Malan Opera House to

all races.

"I have always been a staunch fighter for the coloured people," he says. "After all, we grew up together."

He still remembers, as clearly as if it happened yesterday, the misery of one Mr Gandhi Pool, a lorry fleet operator who lived in Stellenbosch's Banhoek Road when it became a white area in terms of the Group Areas Act. Pool was forced to move.

"For the first time in my life I realised what hurt we were causing these people."

During his career as a loyal NP legionnaire he tried to change things from the inside. He counts the elections on his fingers and notes: "Nobody can say I did not fight like a tiger for the party."

In 1985 he came close to the edge at a party congress. The Group Areas Act came up and he wanted it removed. The State President slapped me down. He said that as far as he was concerned it would stay, while he was around. I accepted it. I went with the stream. What he is saying today means the same thing.

He does not envisage any wholesale scrapping of the Act.

"I know you can't just throw it out this afternoon and everything will be fine tomorrow morning. But if a man who is not white wants to buy and can afford it, say R100 000 for a plot in Brandwacht in Stellenbosch, where I live, and another R400 000 to build a house on it, then he must be allowed to do so."

W/1 ARMS

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Some people call that buying apartheid. OK, but at least that's taking colour out of the issue."

He adds: "Everytime I pass District Six, this bomb site, I shudder with shame."

The turning point came when he realised he could no longer live with his conscience.

"I believe it is wrong to be supporting a party actively when you actually believe in something completely different."

The crunch came with President Botha's speech to the President's Council in May last year. He remembers the day. It was the fifteenth. "That was the day he turned his back on reform."

The breakthrough came when he heard that former London Ambassador Dr Denis Worrall was quitting his job to enter politics. Momberg is the man who actually picked up the telephone and called him. Come to Helderberg, he said. Let's do it.

He believes that someone like Worrall can help him to achieve his vision for the future. He also believes that a victory for Worrall will send shock waves through the establishment.

And, finally, he believes that Worrall is the man of the moment who could articulate the aspirations of many voters who find themselves in the wilderness at the moment.

"I have tremendous faith in this country's future. I believe in a new South Africa, full of hope and free of poverty."

Menlo Park now big election issue

DAVID BRAUN
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The racial incident at Pretoria's Menlo Park High School this week has blown up into one of the first big issues in the election campaign.

The white political parties were pointing fingers this week over which one would suffer because of the school management commit-

tee's decision to bar black Natal pupil Nkululeko "Squeegee" Skweyiya from an athletics event.

President P W Botha said on television on Wednesday the incident should have been handled solely by sports management bodies and parents.

The Progressive Federal Party slammed Mr Botha for this, saying it was totally unsatisfactory.

"He evaded the key issue of spurning sports contact because of the colour of a child's skin," PFP spokesman on Education, Mr Roger Burrows said.

The school incident would rebound on the Government in the election, he said.

The Nationalists were not as low key.

Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs and Natal NP leader, "decried" the incident.

Dr Org Marais, Deputy Minister of Finance and MP for Waterkloof, advised parents at the school to kick out the school committee (the parents agreed to do just that at a protest meeting on Thursday night).

The Right took a different view. Mr S P Barnard, Conservative Party candidate in the Pretoria constituency of Hercules said:

"I cannot see the difference between this case and the swim of Minister Allan Hendrickse."

"He is a Minister of the Government and he is not allowed to swim at a whites-only beach and the Government enforces that."

"But when a school tries to enforce its own decision not to admit a black to its athletics meeting the Government criticises that."

"No I am afraid this incident is going to cost the Government plenty of votes," Mr Barnard said.

BUT HE'S TAKEN A POSITIVE STEP, SHE SAYS

The day Anita Worrall's heart dropped

From MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

LONDON. — Dr Anita Worrall's heart dropped when President P.W. Botha announced the general election.

The wife of South Africa's former ambassador to the United Kingdom knew it was a portent. It meant Denis Worrall was about to resign. "Now has come the time... that was the way he saw it," she said. "He had this growing feeling that he could and should make a contribution."

"Had it not been that South Africa was in the position it is in, he would have been happy to continue being ambassador. But he went back in December and became more convinced it was necessary to return to politics. For him, it has always been a question of reform and change. He's always been thinking of how to do this. You know, even as a lecturer that was what interested him."

"It will be a great change, of course, and I

don't think it will be easy. But I believe my husband has taken a positive step."

Surveying two large Pierneefs that dominate the drawing room at Highveld, the ambassadorial home in Kensington, London, Bucharest-born Dr Anita Worrall reflects on what it will mean to leave London.

"These I will miss very much," she says of their imposing geometry of cloud and veld. The paintings belong to the house and will not be part of the Worrall family's new life in South Africa.

She will miss everything about Highveld, she admits — a grand home for diplomats. She has written a book about its history which Christie's are publishing soon and she gives an admiring account of how in the early 1900s the original owners — "a very musical family" — de-

signed the drawing room with a curved ceiling to achieve the finest acoustical effect.

But Anita Worrall is not daunted by the impending change in her life.

"I've had lots of it. I've had so many changes. But perhaps one gets flexible with change."

After an early Rumanian childhood, she moved with her parents to Canada where she later began her studies in Montreal. A deepening interest in child psychology took her to Cornell University in the United States.

It was there, while studying for her doctorate, that she met Denis Worrall.

"He came to Cornell after doing research for his doctorate in Nigeria. We became good friends. Then he returned to South Africa and I stayed on."

But Denis Worrall wrote and asked her to join him and they were soon working together at Natal University in Durban. Anita Worrall's doctoral thesis, in fact, was on bilingualism and intellectual development in children, and the English/Afrikaans equation in South Africa was the focus of it.

Since then, the family — they have three sons, Chris, 14, Lyndon, 11, and Dean, 13 — has travelled widely. An extensive collection of "turtle" trinkets from all over the world is testimony to their wayfar- ing.

They came to London two-and-a-half years ago.

"London has been stimulating and we have been very happy here. We've managed to do a lot of bridge-building. I think South Africa has many friends here, you know, and even people

who get tough with us — and I don't mean picketers, who I don't think know what they are doing — are almost apologetic about it."

While her husband has attended to stately affairs, Anita Worrall has been "building bridges" of her own.

As an ex-officio president of the South African Women's Club, she has founded the Federation of International Women's Associations of London, which now draws members from 27 organisations.

In fact, she will be returning to Britain in June this year for a seminar — "Women today: what have we gained, what have we lost?" — arranged by the Federation.

She will, of course, be drawn into the election as soon as she returns to South Africa and is eager to help her husband, but after that, when



Dr Anita Worrall.

things have settled, she is keen to turn her mind to something new.

While she looks forward to the challenges the family will probably encounter in South Africa, she is dreading packing up in London.

However, if the Pierneefs must stay to grace Highveld, there is ample compensation for the Worralls in two items they will treasure for the rest of their days.

These are autographed portraits of the Queen and Prince Philip, parting gifts from Buckingham Palace.

"These are very special... they mean the most to us, I think," Anita Worrall says. And she adds "I'll have to take them back myself, in my suitcase."



Dennis Worrall — in Helderberg street today.

Support for Worrall

(Cont from Page 1)

Critics charge that Worrall is wishy washy and will have trouble unless he can define his message more clearly. The NP says it knows it is in for a fight and is putting all into the struggle.

Dr Worrall's right-hand man and election agent, Mr Jannie Momberg, says his telephone has not stopped ringing. "Nats are going to vote for Denis. He is the topic of conversation in Helderberg."

Whatever else, Dr Worrall faces an imposing NP machine. It has

Mr de Beer is not to be drawn on NP support other than to say: "Worrall will not win here. We are fighting a man, not a party. He might pick up the votes of Nats in a hurry, but he is no great worry."

Mr Momberg is also an old political pro. In the past few days, he says, 50 people have rung to offer help and he plans to have at least two offices operating next week.

Turning point

He estimates that the

Worrall will win because, in his view, Helderberg "represents almost the whole of the country. The constituency covers the strata of our society. A win here could provide a turning point in politics."

"In Parliament Denis could prove to be a marvellous catalyst. We want the Government to move, to change. We want to make the country safe for our kids. We shouldn't be talking about national councils. We should be talking to the black man about

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ANDRE BOTHA

Now is the time
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Andre Botha in
Park. Follow the
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PRICE
BALANCE

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224 VOOR

SABC's news: PFP court threat

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

THE PFP yesterday threatened to take the SABC to court if it did not end what it labelled pro-government partiality in news and current-affairs broadcasts.

In a statement Mr Dave Dalling, the Progressive Federal Party media spokesman, referred to a survey of news coverage by the department of journalism at Rhodes University, which made several critical findings on the SABC's news and Network/Network broadcasts.

"The last few weeks' viewing has been pro-Nationalist and one-sided in the extreme.

"It is no mistake that Mr Alwyn Schlebusch has been appointed to take responsibility for the SABC. He is President (P W) Botha's personal watchdog at Auckland Park and will no doubt deliver whatever degree of bias Mr Botha requires," Mr Dalling said.

'Soporific'

He said that before resorting to the law, the PFP was more than willing to negotiate a fair broadcasting dispensation with the SABC.

He stressed that the SABC should stick to the conditions of its licence to cover news events "clearly, unambiguously, factually, impartially and without distortion".

By non-reporting on unrest and ignoring of extra-parliamentary organizations, the public was being "lulled

into a state of soporific ignorance", he said.

Mr Sakkie Burger, SABC's senior director-general of news and external services, yesterday said: "I categorically reject any allegation of the SABC's partiality."

He said Mr Dalling was free to take his complaint to court, where the corporation would counter any allegations.

'Trivia'

The (Rhodes) survey was "general" and the researchers were free to make their observations known, Mr Burger said. Another set of researchers could reach a different set of conclusions.

The Rhodes survey monitored a week's sample of news and current affairs between October 3 and 9 last year.

The survey, undertaken by Mr Anthony Walker and supervised by Professor Gavin Stewart, head of journalism studies, described the SABC as "a source of relaxation and entertainment for the essentially white privileged classes of South Africa".

More than half of the time was devoted to sport and "other", which implied that "in a state of emergency more than 50% of the news coverage is devoted to sport and 'other' — a category which is devoted to trivia".

The survey accused the SABC of making little attempt to gather news from other political parties besides the ruling National Party.



British soccer while still a professional
d players on Green Point Common. Sir
d black soccer players in Soweto and
. 15, of Bruce Duncan House.

Picture: ANNE LAING

Nat Matie rebels talk to Botha

CAPE TIMES 21/2/87

304A

Political Staff

STATE PRESIDENT P W Botha faced a 27-man delegation of rebellious Stellenbosch academics in Tuynhuys yesterday amid rumours of another top "New Nat" independent candidate against the National Party.

Dissatisfaction about the NP leadership and the cabinet has been brewing for months at the university that is widely regarded as the bastion of intellectual Afrikanerdom.

The delegation included prominent Afrikaner philosopher Professor Willie Esterhuyse, economics professor Sampie Terreblanche and other senior members of the NP's intellectual backbone, such as law professor James Fourie and philosophy lecturer Dr Anton van Niekerk.

They are members of an influential discussion group, the Stellenbosse Besprekingsgroep. Some have expressed sympathy for independent candidates Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg and Dr Denis Worrall in Helderberg.

'Urgent' discussions

Spokesman for the group Prof Terreblanche confirmed last night that the "urgent" discussions with the State President lasted nearly three hours.

He said the group's existence was not in question and it would formulate a position on certain pressing "issues" within the next week or two.

It was reliably learnt last night that PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin has had discussions with some of the members of the group in the past few days.

There is little doubt that the PFP would withdraw from Stellenbosch if a "New Nat" independent were to stand. There has been strong pressure on Prof Esterhuyse to make himself available.

□ The PFP has decided not to oppose Dr Denis Worrall, South Africa's former ambassador in London, in the Helderberg constituency, Mr Eglin's office announced yesterday.

This means Dr Worrall, who is to stand as an independent, should get PFP backing.

He will stand against Mr Chris Heunis, the Cape NP leader and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Can Jack really slay the giant?

304A

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CONT →

THE battle in the shadow of the Helderberg has all the qualities of a Hans Christian Andersen fairytale.

There is Jack. And the Giant. And that beanstalk to be climbed before battle can be joined.

Whether the scrap between Dr Denis Worrall and Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis has a fairytale ending, or results in the pedestrian drubbing of an upstart, will have to await May 6.

But in the meantime ordinary South Africans should not be denied the pleasure of watching two utter professionals fighting as much over what once united them as now divides them.

First the defender. Mr Heunis is a big man, physically and in his capacity for work.

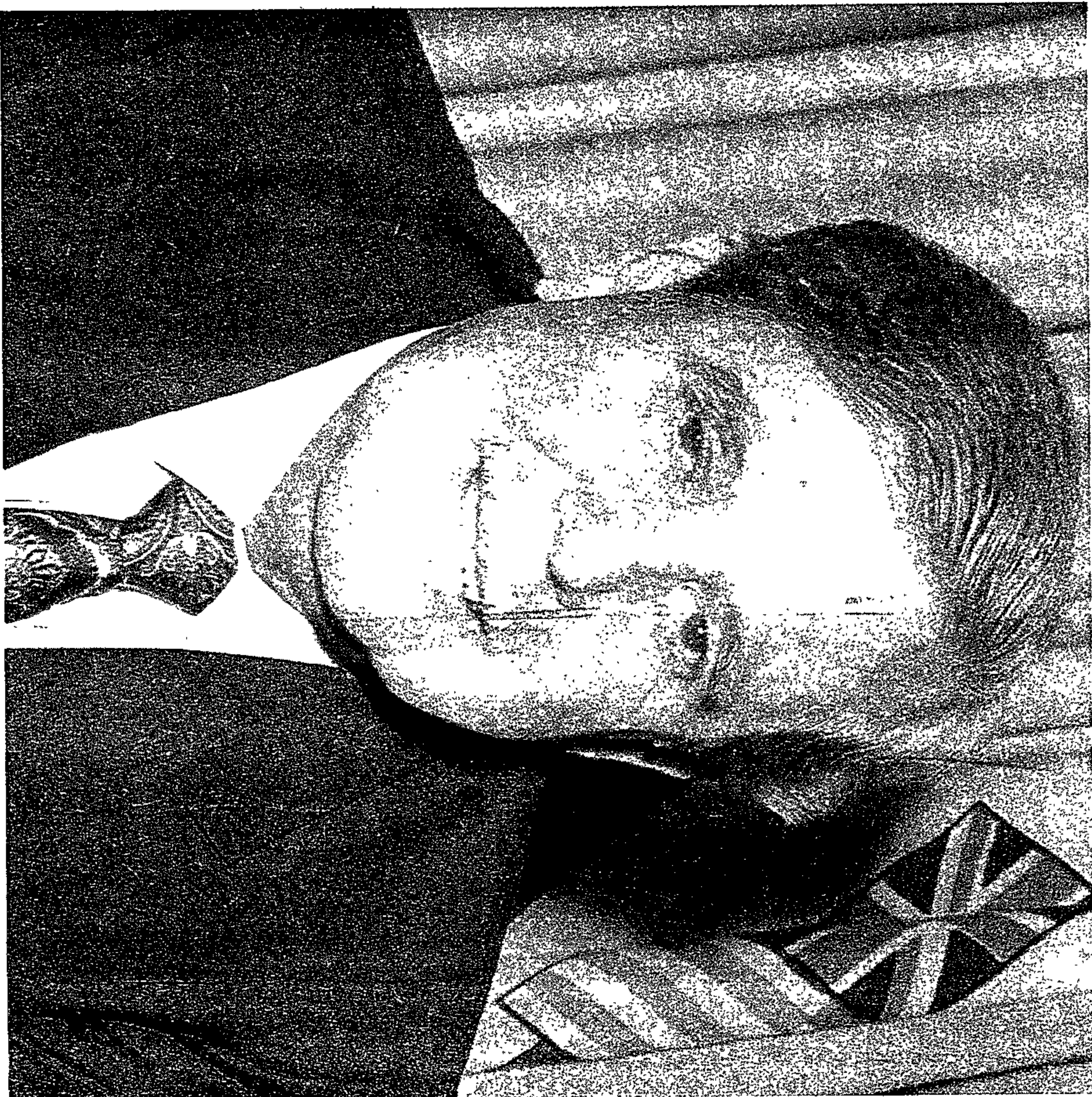
His major drawback is that he speaks in a jargon which few understand. Many people even within his own party, were for a long time too embarrassed to admit they did not know what he was saying, which no doubt accounts to some extent for the present confusion inside and outside the party.

At one time it was accepted as immutable truth that Mr Heunis knew where the country's reform process was headed, even if nobody else did. Jokes at the time held that if Mr Heunis was run over by a bus, the constitution would collapse. There is more scepticism, perhaps realism, now. In service to his party, Mr Heunis has toiled mightily. He was National Party youth chairman at Stellenbosch University in the mid-1940s, when he was taking his B.A.L.I.B., and in 1959 was elected M.P.C. for George. In 1970 he entered Parliament.

He has always kept close touch with the party youth, treating their congresses with an easy mix of the patriarchal and the avuncular, which once went down like a charm.

Not so much any more. Young nationalists have a sneaking suspicion they are ending up with more questions than answers and, although this is probably no different from the past, the current turbulence makes the ruling party's lack of clarity and objectives worrying to the youth. Still, Mr Heunis will have entrée to the student voters in Helderberg.

The challenger is Dr Worrall. He comes from quite a different background to Mr Heunis, being, for one thing, English-speaking and, for another, more academically inclined.



Worrall goes for broke, and the odds against him are awesome. But if he DID pull it off ...

BRAIN POTTYMEER

reports on an election focal point

FOR HEUNIS ... familiarity, loyalty, patronage, visibility

In a busy career he has packed in active politics, stints at universities, journalism and law. He was nominated a senator by Prime Minister B. J. Vorster and elected as Nationalist MP for Gardens in 1977 — a tough fight.

In his maiden speech, on February 14 1978, he said: "The only alternative to current Government policy is an improved Government policy, a policy which is implemented more quickly, a policy which is imple-

mented with greater imagination."

Last Saturday, nine years later to the day, Dr Worrall conceded to a packed Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport's arrival hall that the Nationalist he had served loyally for the period since his maiden speech now lacked both that imagination and celebrity.

"Young people — both black and white — look in vain to their leaders for guidance and inspiration," he said a week ago. "They need, instead to be given confidence and hope. They don't want their country to become a siege society impoverished by



FOR WORRALL ... promises of votes, promises of money, and a vision

examined when he worked on his proposals, he had ample reason to mull over its consequences from the distant but frontline fastnesses of Canberra and South Africa House in London.

His foreign postings he won a little foreign sympathy, although in recent times he found himself less able to defend the Botha administration as to explain its policies, fears, blind spots and potential.

If Dr Worrall had thus underlined the ineptness of the Gov-

the administration made even explanation impossible. Dr Worrall packed his bags and returned home to Helderberg constituency, where he has family and past ties, and where Mr Chris Heunis awaited him atop the beanstalk.

If Von Clausewitz is right in saying that war is simply the conduct of diplomacy by other means, then elections can perhaps be called the waging of arguments by other channels.

This is relevant to Helderberg. What will transpire between now and May 6 is simply the public continuation of an argument be-

gun between Mr Heunis and Dr Worrall five-odd years ago, first over the technicalities of reform, then the style and now the content.

Dr Worrall, it will be remembered, was packed off to Australia after some clashes with Mr Heunis in particular and the Cabinet in general over the tricameral Parliament.

Faced with a choice between national and party interests, Prime Minister Botha came down on the side of party, something

Both Mr Heunis and Dr Worrall play down the clash aspect. Mr Heunis says he has never fought with Dr Worrall, but everybody who was on the inside then knows that he jolly well did — in a very polite sort of way, of course.

Since then Dr Worrall has gone well beyond the original *haddock* of 1982. He now stands for a scrapping of the Group Areas Act, an end to all racially discriminatory legislation, a non-racial political system on the Lindala model and recognition of legitimate black political groups.

Whether the civility will stand the test of a two-month election campaign remains to be seen. Mr Heunis, certainly, can feel a little hurtled. He did not even want the election and now he is saddled with the toughest and highest profile fight in the campaign.

What are the challenger's prospects in Helderberg? What the implications of a victory?

People in the constituency believe the outcome hangs on the votes of 1 200 traditional Nationalists. If they can be suborned, Dr Worrall wins with a majority of a few hundred.

Whether it can be achieved is another thing. Mr Heunis can rely on familiarity, old loyalties, patronage and visibility. He is also covered by the short-fire range of the Cape National Party mouthpieces, *Die Burger*, which during elections can attain awesome levels of journalistic partisanship.

The implications of a victory for the challenger would be profound. It would not be a case of unseating a marginal Minister. Mr Heunis is the President's favoured political son and personifies what passes for the constitutional reform programme of the National Party. Lose the Minister, lose the programme — lose even further public confidence.

It is high stakes stuff for Dr Worrall. But if it pays off he indeed becomes the giant-killer — in more ways than one.

Sleepy Helderberg's 'humdinger' of a battle

By ALAN DUGGAN

THE CONSTITUENCY of Helderberg — Dr Denis Worrall's target in the forthcoming election — is among the most beautiful in South Africa.

It encompasses sweeping valleys and picturesque farms, brooding mountains and spectacularly beautiful seascapes.

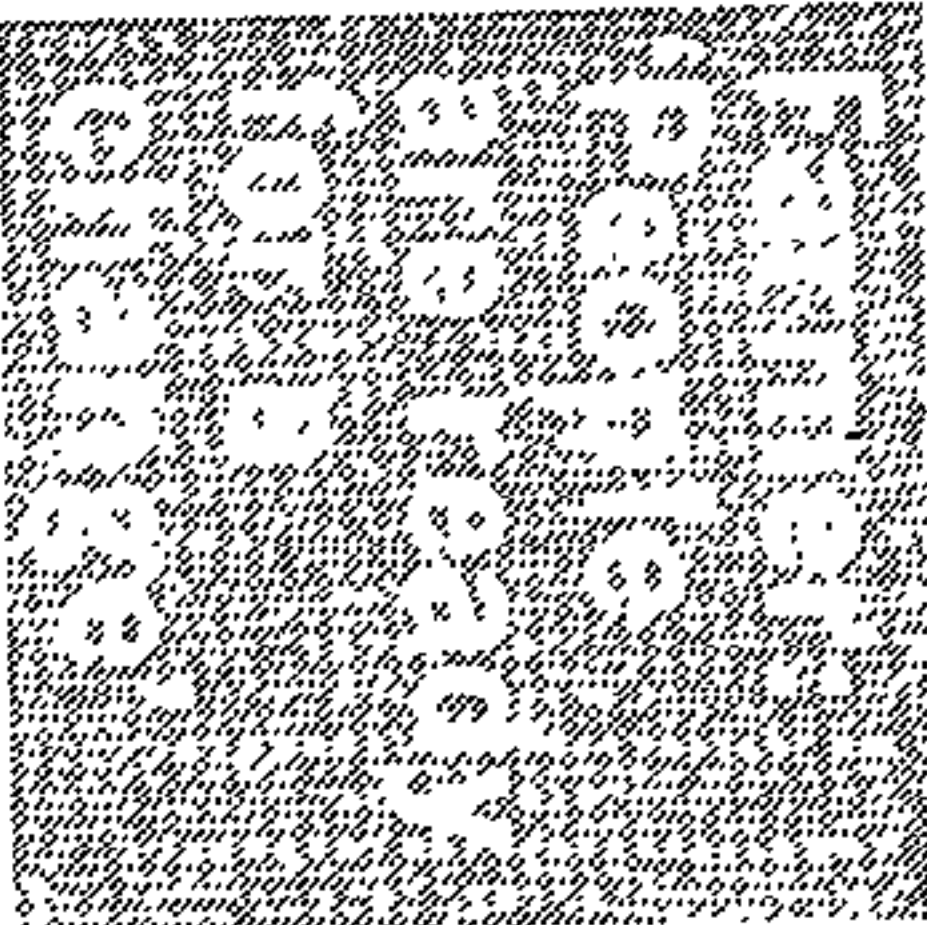
The 20 500 voters who live there wouldn't change it for the world — but many of them would apparently be happy with a new Member of Parliament.

WORRALL'S FRIENDS

A visit to the area this week revealed that Dr Worrall may have more friends in the Boland than the National Party would like to admit.

Dr Worrall's family has owned property in Gordon's Bay for 50 years, and he was married in the Presbyterian Church in Somerset West.

It is a measure of his political



respectability that even National Party supporters do not belittle his talents, as they have done with other Nationalist rebels.

Many voters see the former ambassador in London as one of a new breed of pragmatists — not so far from the National Party as to be dangerous, and not so close as to be trapped by outdated party ideology.

Like any electorate anywhere, they are a glorious mixture: politically aware students, academics, farmers and businessmen live side by side with people who would rather watch television and drink wine than make use of the ballot box.

Views differ widely on the implications of the forthcoming clash of titans — and the sudden projection to national prominence of this sleepy patch of turf.

Farmer Sam Zetler, of the farm Moorberge near Somerset West, is taking a lively interest in the election. He has lived in the area for 61 years and he believes it's a friendly constituency.

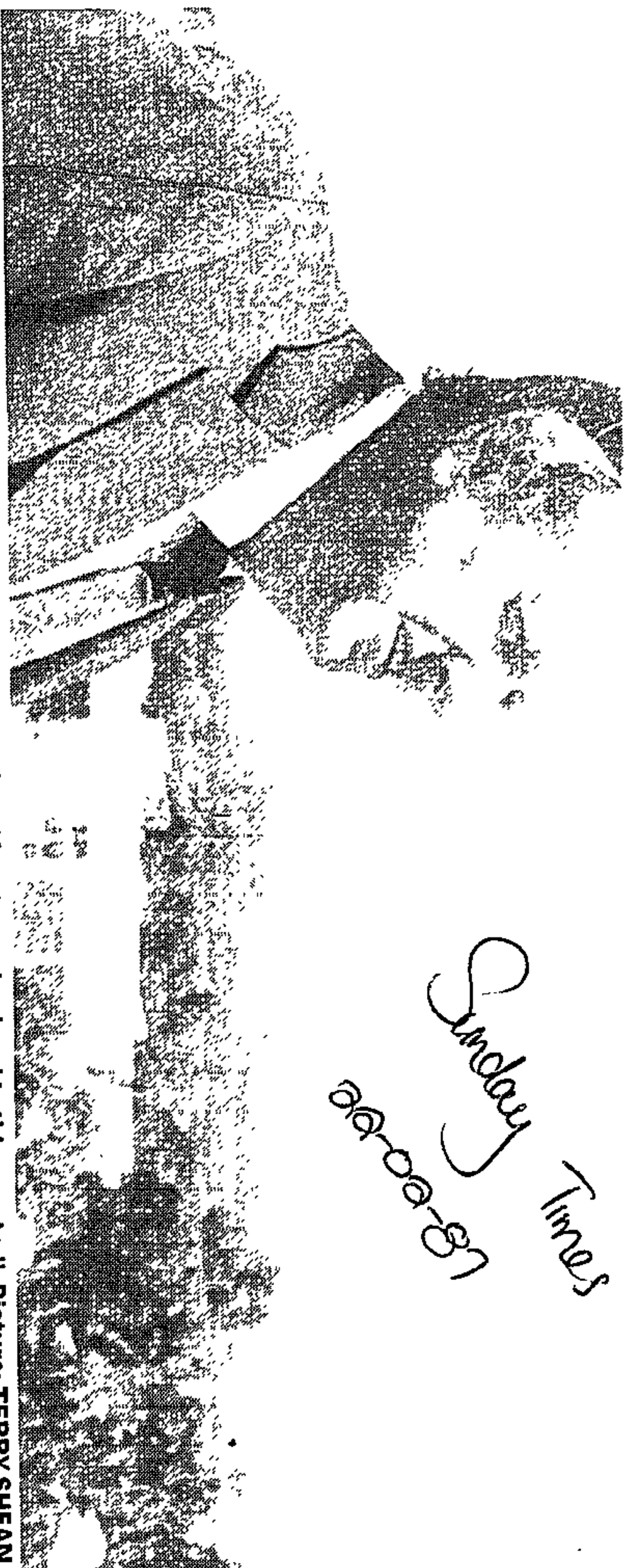
Mr Zetler has seen parties and politicians come and go over the years, and he knows how the voters think.

TO SOON TO ASSESS

"I think Dr Worrall will win a lot of votes," he said this week. "People are ready for a change of direction."

It is too soon to assess Dr Worrall's chances in an election battle, adds Mr Zetler. "They haven't even started yet. Talk to me again nearer the time."

The Sunday Times survey also revealed that the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has amassed formidable support dur-



Jannie Momberg . . . "With the help of people like Dr Worrall we have time to send a signal to this country" Picture: TERRY SHEAN

ing his years as Helderberg's MP. His role as a major architect of constitutional reform will stand him in good stead among voters who profess themselves bewildered by Dr Worrall's intentions. Said one National Party sup-

porter: "The people here may believe the Government is dragging its heels on reform, but that doesn't mean they are going to throw their principles out of the window and vote for a man that just committed mutiny."

Somerset West businessman Edward Laker said he was looking forward to "a humdinger of a battle". He expected Dr Worrall to "steal" many Nationalist votes but was not optimistic about his

chances of victory. "I hope he gets it, though. It will probably encourage our dwindling number of friends overseas." Mr Danie Kriel, vice-chairman of the moderate Popular Students

Alliance in Stellenbosch, said South Africa was ripe for reform, and he believed Dr Worrall was the man who could help bring it about.

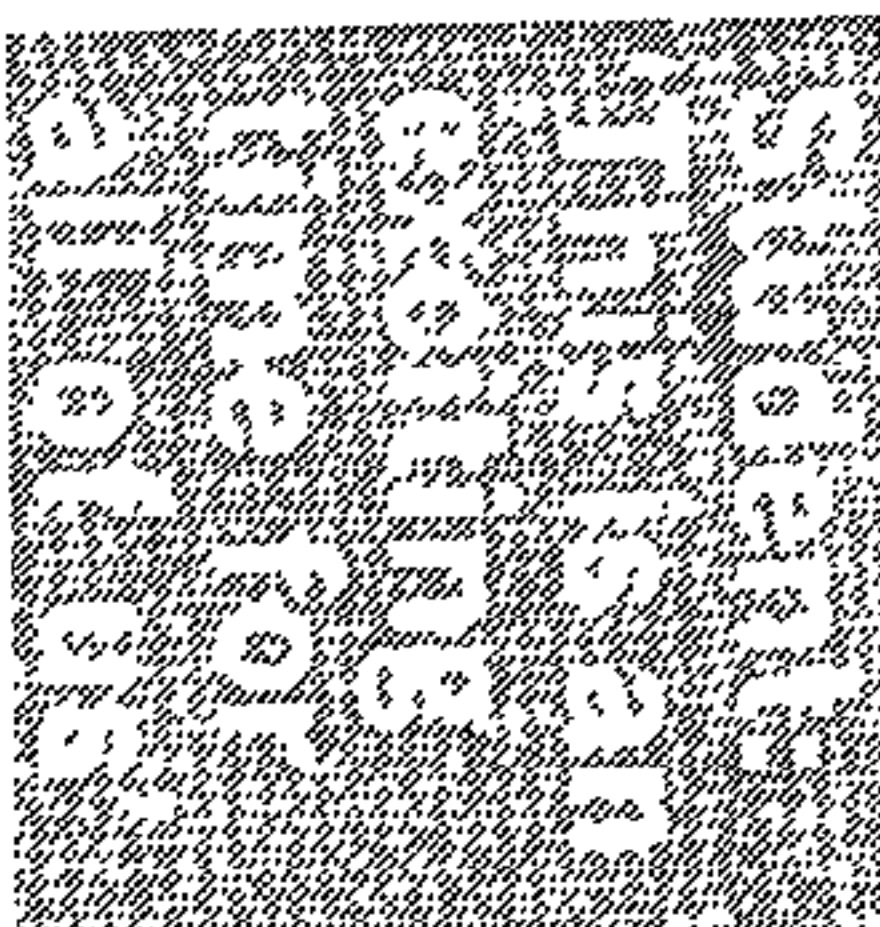
"In fact, Dr Worrall will be addressing his first public meeting on Thursday under our banner. He will be speaking about his experiences in London and what the world expects from South Africa. "This is an exciting time for all of us. This sort of thing wouldn't have happened 10 years ago."

MICROCOSM OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr Jannie Momberg, the sports administrator who has quit the NP to back Dr Worrall, sees Helderberg as a microcosm of South Africa.

He asserted this week: "This is an ideal testing ground for Dr Worrall, the Government and the country as a whole. Too many of us are disillusioned."

Events on May 6 would determine whether South Africans wanted progress or stasis, he said. The 9 000-odd new voters in the constituency would be crucial.



"We still have time to send a signal to this country. We still have time to say, 'this is our land, we love it and we want to save it'."

"And we can do it with the help of people like Dr Worrall. The upsurge of enthusiasm that followed his return has been phenomenal."

Mr Momberg was emphatic that this election would not become a slanging match.

"Mr Heunis is a fine, sophisticated man, and so is Dr Worrall," he said. "I know that both of them will want to fight on issues and principles rather than personalities."

Mr Ludwig Anderson, National Party chairman for Helderberg south and chairman of the NP

election committee, told the Sunday Times that his staff had already launched an all-out campaign effort.

"Our machinery is all ready to roll on special and postal votes."

Much of the constituency between Gordon's Bay and Brackenfell was peopled by old-established farming families, he said.

These were close-knit communities which did not switch allegiance without careful thought.

Dr Worrall's announcement this week that he would stand in his old home constituency has been long anticipated. On his arrival back in South Africa last Saturday a jovial Dr Worrall said he could count on at least 20 family votes in Helderberg.

But the real decision was only taken after he had consulted with some influential figures in the constituency, received a survey of prospects and ensured financial backing.

Response from Mr Chris Heunis, a tireless workhorse, has meanwhile been muted. He reacted to the news that his former colleague and confidant would be standing against him with the words: "It's a free country".

THE CHALLENGE

A NEW force is emerging in white politics.

For the moment this genie is still disparate, uncrystallised around either a single leader or a specific policy, swirling somewhere between the more enlightened wing of the National Party and the PFP.

Two months ago few would have given the time of day on the subject of another white tribal election. Now its every shift and nuance is probed by everyone from those at the bargaining tables to those who have a vote to cast.

Not since the poll of '48 that brought the Nationalists to power has there been such an open election.

Veterans of that time are recalling General Smuts's cavalier, sometimes ill-tempered dismissal of suggestions that his government was in danger — and Dr D F Malan's surprise at winning.

Not that anyone is seriously suggesting this election could involve a change of government.

But those who are edging discussion in this direction, even in high National Party circles, are no longer given the special look of disdain reserved for the unfashioned or just plain crazy.

The reason is that a sober school of thought is rising that suggests this election could lay the ground for such a turnaround in 1989, when the constitution demands that the current Parliament (as opposed to only the white House of Assembly) must be dissolved.

The focus is on the political terrain that lies between the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party, to the NP's left and to the PFP's right. And it involves the emergence of a new force there.

Already the political groundwork for the creation of the new focus, the new force, is being laid.

It is being done not only by the personalities who are establishing themselves on the terrain, but by the powerful, pervasive desire of South Africans for a new deal that these personalities represent.

The intense response from businessmen, academics, politicians and thousands of other South Africans to NP defectors Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall has indicated that they have sounded what was a lost chord in South African politics.

The stand they have taken as independents is emerging, in these early stages of the election campaign, as a beacon around which many expect a new alli-

For the first time since 1948 there's a new spirit abroad in white politics



BY LESTER VENTER
SUNDAY TIMES
Political Correspondent

ance could coagulate during and after this election.

The reason for this expectancy lies with the influential forces, groups and personalities now standing in the wings, waiting for their political roles to become defined.

This weekend a group of academics that amounts to the brains trust of Afrikaans at Stellenbosch was anguishing over its members' political futures after a last-ditch meeting with President P W Botha.

ate last year a scientific poll undertaken by an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper showed that support among whites for the NP had fallen one percentage point below the psychologically meaningful 50 percent barrier.

The newspaper's editor, Dr Willem de Klerk, followed the poll with his assessment that 22 percent of Government supporters would go for a new deal if one were offered to them.

Professor Sampele Terrblanche, one of the Stellenbosch group, upped Mr de Klerk's assessment to 30 percent.

Another market research poll, published only days ago, said Government support among urban whites had fallen last year to 34 percent.

The figures are arguable. The movement isn't.

What the movement is about is former NP supporters, vexed by its absence of

leadership vision, who have deserted the party. It is about people who are still nominally NP supporters but who would rather not be, given an acceptable alternative.

The movement, however, has demonstrated something else: that for all practical purposes few of these people and those that represent them consider the PFP that acceptable alternative.

In a move that history will no doubt judge to the PFP's credit the party has recognised and accepted this.

And it has responded by saying it is willing to be part of a new alliance. It has also put its money where its mouth is and withdrawn from the constituencies where the independents are standing.

And so South African politics stands today in the peculiar position where its most significant weighting has, for the time being, to be measured more by that which does not yet exist, rather than by that which does.

In the wake of this peculiarity, standing assumptions are falling and clichés are being dumped.

One of the significant clichés now up for re-examination in the new openness is that South African politics is in a leadership crisis, through the very absence of leadership.

The argument emerging goes like this: if democracy can be considered the political equivalent of free enterprise, with-

its root element of where there is a demand there will arise a supply, and if the events up till now demonstrate a demand for a new deal — is there the leadership to supply that new deal?

Yes, says the argument, there is.

Look again at the terrain where the demand has arisen. Look among those who are Nats and would prefer not to be, those who were Nats and are now politically homeless, those who are PFP and are prepared to be part of a broader South Africanism, those who constitute the PFP's silent sympathisers but feel unable to identify openly with it.

Here is a white South African community rich in leadership talent. All of them are people who have reached the top in their fields, who have an abundant contribution to make as politicians and ambassadors — but who are stymied in the old order.

Names tumble into the arena: Kurt von Schirring, Denis Worrall, Anton Rupert, Wynand Malan, Pik Botha, Albert Nodding, Andreas Wassenaar, Fred du Plessis, Harry Oppenheimer, Jan S Marais, Willem de Klerk, Harald Pakendorf, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Willie Esterhuysen, Sampele Terrblanche, Marinus Wiechers, Chris Barnard, Louis Luyt, Jan Steyn ... the list goes on.

Not all of these have indicated they wish to be seen in this context. Some may even be angered at being so placed. But the point is this is how they are seen in a new, rising South African consciousness.

Each, in his own way, is not only perceived as representing a resource of leadership supply, but each — although the group is not co-ordinated — has played a part in an ad hoc and influential pressure group pressing for a new deal.

The group includes countless more who are playing and can yet play, a leadership role at all levels of a white South African movement

to find accommodation with its equivalents in black South Africa.

THE NEW

Politics



Now radical groups look to reformers

SOME radical opposition groups in South Africa are reviewing their political strategies after the emergence of the new reform "alliance".

The move — still hesitant and unco-ordinated — marks a dramatic shift away from the protest and boycott politics of recent years.

In one remarkable development the UDP's "white" affiliate, Jodac (Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee), is considering putting up candidates in white general elections —

By DAVID JACKSON

though not necessarily this one.

And in another dramatic move Mrs Sheena Duncan, Black Sash chairman, has written to members saying she believes white politics is more fluid than at any time in three decades, and that opposition groups should review their strategies to see what support they can lend to getting rid of the National Party Government.

Different

A series of tenuous alliances is enticingly in prospect after behind-the-scenes talks between Afrikaner academics and businessmen, individual members of non-

political groups such as the Black Sash, and the UDP and some of its affiliates.

These "New Radicals" — set to introduce a different ingredient to white politics — are seeking to define a "strategy for power" by working within the present parliamentary system.

One plan now being considered in extra-parliamentary quarters is that Independent candidates should not oppose PFP or verligte candidates but fight the Conservative/HNP seats.

This weekend a workshop of extra-parliamentary groups is taking place in a bid to give teeth to the strategy.

It is aimed at influencing white voter attitudes through an undeclared anti-

apartheid front, which would include existing anti-Government forces such as the PFP, the NRP-Indana platform and verligte Nat MPs.

The plan is long-term and not aimed specifically at the coming May elections.

But the "new dealers" hope the bandwagon effect could force a situation where the ruling National Party is defeated in a no-confidence vote by all three chambers in Parliament — or through a failure to get its Budget vote through.

Convention

With the "left" holding a parliamentary majority, the strategists argue, the next phase would be the calling of a constitutional conference — loosely along the lines of the since-discredited "national convention" idea.

The protagonists caution that the movement is only a "a very loose groundswell of opinion" and that there is intense debate and division among the various protest-group factions. There is no suggestion at this stage of seeking any formal alliances with reformist groups.

But a tangible indication of the new thinking comes in a watershed document issued by Mrs Duncan, of the Transvaal Regional Black Sash, a movement that has always taken pains to stay outside the party-political arena.

Fluid

The paper sets out thoughts "designed to provoke debate and to help those of us who work in the white constituency to see whether or not these (1987) elections can possibly be used to take South Africa a step forward towards justice and democracy".

Mrs Duncan — a past national president of the Black Sash — says that extra-parliamentary opposition in the white community can "exert a great deal of influence and may just possibly turn the situation around because of the effect it can have on the composition of doings inside Parliament".

(324A) ST 22/2/87

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

A NEW bombshell hit the National Party yesterday when one of its most eminent theoreticians — Professor Sample Terreblanche of Stellenbosch University — resigned. And he delivered a withering, implicit indictment of President P. V. Botha's leadership.

He said in a statement: "The Government under its present leadership does not possess the will or the vision to bring about appropriate reforms."

Professor Terreblanche is deputy chairman of the SABC and was a close advisor to the NP's Cape leader, Mr. Chris Heunis.

Another top Matie academic, Professor James Fourie, also announced his resignation from the NP yesterday.

Others may follow. The two resignations follow an acrimonious meeting on Friday between 27 Stellenbosch academics and Mr. Botha.

All who attended the three-hour private encounter in Cape Town's Lyntonville agreed to maintain secrecy and neither Professor Terreblanche nor Professor Fourie would say what happened.

However, one of those present later described the meeting as "a disaster."

Another said: "The Government clarified its position, but it was un-



And defections by "New Nats" in the lead-up to the May 8 white elections could be turning into a flood.

The NP has already been rocked by the resignation of South Africa's much-admired ambassador to London, Dr. Denis Worrall. This week he announced that he would oppose Mr. Heunis in the Heidelberg constituency as an Independent.

Dr. Worrall is supported by Mr. Jan Momborg, a wealthy ex-farmer, top sports administrator and prominent NP figure in the area, who also resigned from the party this week.

The first shock for Mr. Botha was the resignation last month of the MP for Randburg, Mr. Wynand Malan, who is also standing as an Independent.

He and Dr. Worrall are combining to conduct a national campaign to rally support for faster political reform.

They have received massive support from all parts of South Africa, much of it from disaffected Nationalists.

In his statement yesterday, Professor Terreblanche said: "I have decided to end my ties with the National Party."

NEW JOHN SHELL FOR VAS DIE EN JOUC 1 PRO ESSUS LE JO

NATOPS TOPTOP

NATS MAY FACE FLOOD OF DEFECTIONS

From Page 1

bosch if one should stand.

Professors Terreblanche and Fourie were in a group of 27 Stellenbosch academics who met Mr. Botha on Friday by a last-ditch bid to prevent a breakaway by some of Afrikaansdom's leading thinkers.

Yesterday, other members of the group were reviewing their positions and sources said there could be more defections.

They are all members of a long-standing, NP-leaning and informal academic discussion group of 34 who have hitherto confined their contact with the Government to private communications.

However, a source said yesterday that after the meeting with Mr. Botha they had decided to adopt a more formal structure and they would now formulate public positions on current events.

The Stellenbosch intellectuals' dramatic move will be a major boost to Dr. Worrall, who is standing in the adjoining constituency.

The Stellenbosch suburb of Dalsig, where many of the academics live, falls into the Heidelberg seat. Others are voters in the Stellenbosch constituency.

Yesterday, several members of the group said "certain deductions" could be made from the fact they wanted to meet for talks before members announced individual or a group decision.

The academics were also keeping alive speculation that an Independent candidate could stand in Stellenbosch. They underlined, though, that the group is not a political organisation and would not itself put up a candidate.

Members met Mr. Botha in October last year, when several were dismayed at his short-tempered response to their concerns and their attempt to urge the Government on to greater reform.

Sympathy

It is believed Friday's meeting centred on the need for significant reform, the abolition of the Group Areas Act, concerns about Government handling of security and the need to eliminate apartheid.

On February 1, three members of the group, Professors Terreblanche, Willie Esterhuyse (Philosophy) and Julius Jeepe (Development Administration), expressed sympathy for Dr. Worrall's cause.

A spokesman for the President's Office said yesterday there would be no statement from Mr. Botha on the resignations.

More cracks in Nat ranks

By DAVID JACKSON

ANOTHER two dissatisfied National Party members have announced their intention to stand as Independents in the May election.

Dr. Johan Billewits, a 37-year-old Richard's Bay veterinarian, is to stand against Mr. Willie Heine, the current National Party MP in the Umfolozi constituency, on a "reformist" platform, although he has no association with Mr. Wynand Malan and Dr. Denis Worrall, also National Party dissidents.

And in Cape Town, Mr. Terry Theunissen is to stand in the Claremont constituency, currently held by PFP member Mr. Jan van Eck.

So far four Independents have announced they will be standing in the May election. A fifth, Mr. Horace van Rensburg, of Bryanston, is expected to announce his candidacy soon.

PFP Secretary-General Robin Carlisle announced at the weekend that the PFP would not be prepared to stand back for Independent candidates in constituencies where PFP nominations had already been made.

Last-ditch

Professor Fourie, head of the university's department of commercial law, said: "I cannot be part of the National Party under its present leadership."

He said a change of thinking and leadership could make him reconsider his resignation.

In the coming election he would support an "acceptable" candidate in Stellen-

To Page 2

Trial of 7 ends dramatically

STATE DROPS TERROR CHARGE

THE Duduza trial ended dramatically on Friday when the State dropped charges of terrorism against the seven accused in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The trial, which started on August 11 last year came to an abrupt end after the prosecutor, Mr John Oberholzer, accepted a plea of not guilty by the accused on the charge of terrorism.

Joseph Titus Mazibuko (18) John Mlangeni (21) Samuel Lekatsa (19) Humphrey Tshabalala (19) Veli Mazibuko (18) Hosea Lengasane (20) and Cedric Dladla (19) had pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism, attempted murder, possession of handgrenades and a bomb and malicious damage to property when the trial started.

They changed their pleas on Friday.

Mr Justice Stafford, sitting with an assessor, acquitted all of them on the main count of terrorism. He convicted each one of them on the charge of possessing a handgrenade.

Duduza trial

By MONK NKOMO

Lengasane and Dladla were also found guilty of attempting to murder Warrant Officer Ben Baloyi, his wife Grace and children during midnight on June 25

or 26, 1985 in Duduza, Nigel.

Lekatsa, Veli Mazibuko and Tshabalala were found guilty of having maliciously attempted to damage the house of Mr David Namane, a businessman in Duduza. Titus Mazibuko and Mlangeni

were convicted for the attempted malicious damage to former community councillor Mr Steven Namane's house.

The seven were arrested after eight of their colleagues were killed and some of them (accused) had their right hands amputated after handgrenades in their possession exploded while trying to attack certain targets in Duduza.

20/8/87
30/8/87
Somerset
23/2/87

23/2/87

Afrikaans 'seen as tongue of oppressor'

Political Reporter

304A
Another leading Afrikaner, industrialist Dr Anton Rupert, has delivered a blistering attack on apartheid — because of it, he said, Afrikaans had come to be regarded as the language of the oppressor.

Dr. Rupert, speaking after being given a service award at a Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) banquet in Pretoria at the weekend, called on fellow Afrikaners to share their language and country with all South Africans.

After apartheid had been added to the Afrikaans vocabulary it had become synonymous with "apart hate" — the only Afrikaans word known throughout the world.

"Because of it Afrikaans is regarded as the language of the oppressor," he said.

He said the destruction of Cape Town's District Six had become a "beacon of alienation" which had caused many to reject Afrikaans.

The 1976 Soweto riots had followed an attempt to force Afrikaans on schools. "Instead, they should have prevented Afrikaans being dropped as an official language after independence in Venda, Ciskei and Transkei."

He said Afrikaans was the mother tongue not only of white Afrikaners but of many brown and black South Africans and the time had arrived when "everyone who calls himself an Afrikaner, and acknowledges that he is from Africa, must accept the call to serve his country with other people."

South Africa belonged to everyone who had made it their fatherland.

"Your future and mine lies not in fearful division, but in fearless co-existence," he said.

(2) The newspapers are printed in terms of State Tender Boards exemptions extended to the Government Printer (SDK 77).

(3) News on constitutional developments is conveyed on a factual and informative basis.

(4) (a) The editorial policy of all the regional newspapers is the same and has as its objective the promotion of effective communication between the Government and regional communities.

(b) The management of the Bureau for Information in accordance with the general objectives of the Bureau.

(5) The editors of the regional newspapers act in their capacity as officials of the Bureau. They do not act in their individual capacities and are not ultimately responsible for the content of their newspapers. This responsibility resides in the Deputy Minister of Information and in the Head of the Bureau. The names of the editors of the regional newspapers are accordingly not relevant.

393. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

KwaNdebele

(1) Whether it is still the intention of the South African Government to grant independence to KwaNdebele; if so, why;

(2) whether any negotiations on independence have been held with the Government of KwaNdebele since its decision in 1986 not to take independence; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the outcome;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

HoA

THE MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) The option for independence of a selfgoverning territory is the prerogative of the government of the territory concerned.

The RSA government will again consider a request for independence by the KwaNdebele government should they so request.

(2) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(3) No.

Detainees: voters

394. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether persons who have been detained under (a) emergency regulations and (b) security legislation and who are registered as voters for the House of Assembly will be allowed to vote in the forthcoming election; if not, (i) why not and (ii) in terms of what statutory provisions; if so, what arrangements will be made for them to cast their votes;

(2) whether such persons will be allowed to receive material pertaining to the election from the candidates contesting the election; if not, why not; if so, on what basis;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) I refer the honourable member to the answer of the Minister of Home Affairs to question number 395.

(2) Yes, depending on the circumstances in each instance and provided that the particulars furnished entails the

normal particulars which a candidate furnishes to all his voters.

(3) No.

Detainees: voters

395. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether his Department will make any arrangements to allow (a) persons who are detained in terms of (i) emergency regulations and (ii) security legislation and (b) awaiting-trial prisoners to vote in the forthcoming election for the House of Assembly; if not, (aa) why not and (bb) who took the decision in this regard; if so, what arrangements?

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a) and (b) No.

(aa) and (bb) Arrangements regarding postal and special votes of voters who are not able to attend a polling station on election day, are made by presiding officers for postal and special votes in accordance with requests submitted to them by such voters.

Infants: assault

396. Mr A B WIDMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many cases of assault on infants by parents were reported in respect of each race group in each province during the period 1 July 1985 to 30 June 1986;

(2) in how many cases in respect of each race group did the infant (a) die and (b) suffer serious injury as a result of the assault?

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1)	Cape Pro- vince	Natal	Orange Free State	Trans- vaal
White	12	6	17	60
Coloured	92	4	1	7
Asian	—	4	—	2
Black	8	117	14	31

(2)	(a)	(b)
White	3	31
Coloured	4	46
Asian	—	—
Black	13	67

Medical doctors

397. Mr A B WIDMAN asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(a) How many medical doctors left the Republic permanently in 1986 and (b) what was the age distribution of these medical doctors?

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a)	80.	Number
(b)	Age	
	20—24	1
	25—34	37
	35—44	23
	45—54	5
	55—64	7
	65+	7

The above mentioned data is for the period January to November 1986. Data for December 1986 is not yet available.

Mental illness/defects

398. Mr A B WIDMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

In how many cases in 1986 (a) were persons referred for inquiry in terms of sec-

23/2/87

304A
Cape Times,

Worrall: Victory or wilderness

By MAX DU PREEZ

THE Battle for Helderberg is going to be one of the fiercest battles for survival in recent South African political history.

Dr Denis Worrall left his plum job of Ambassador to the Court of St James to fight the Cape National Party leader, Mr Chris Heunis, in a seat where the NP majority in 1981 was nearly 3 000. There are many other seats where his chances as an independent would have been a lot better.

Mr Heunis is the government's constitutional architect, State President P W Botha's closest confidante and a man with definite ideas to become the next president.

His defeat would be a crucial psychological blow to the governing party and the end of his hopes to succeed Mr Botha.

A bad performance by Dr Worrall could mean the political wilderness — perhaps a job as political consultant or as member of a think-tank.

But Dr Worrall's backers and supporters have carefully calculated his chances, and firmly believe that he is going to do very well or even win with a few hundred votes.

They believe that if the Conservative Party could draw more than a thousand votes, Dr

Worrall would only need to get the votes of just over a thousand NP supporters to make it.

In the 1981 general election, Mr Heunis drew 6 287 votes compared to the PFP's 3 345, a majority of 2 942. In 1977, Mr Heunis had 8 153 votes and the PFP 2 093, a majority of 6 060.

Helderberg today is one of the bigger constituencies. The number of voters grew from 13 277 in 1981 to 21 649.

It consists of Dr Worrall's hometown, Gordon's Bay (about 2 000 voters), Somerset West (about 12 000), Stellenbosch south of the Eerste River (about 3 000), Brackenfell (about 2 500) and the wine-farming areas around Botetary, Firgrove and Koelenhof.

The HNP has never contested the seat, and the CP's participation would be the first test for the strength of the far right.

Helderberg is described as a very "intelligent" constituency with many professional people, academics and people in the upper-income bracket.

The PFP's main support — and thus Dr Worrall's biggest potential support — has always been in Somerset West and Gordon's Bay where half or slightly more than half of the constituents are English-speaking.

Apart from a lower-income area, Onder-Papegaalberg, the Stellenbosch parts of Helderberg consists mainly of middle-class Afrikaners, academics and business and professional people. This is where Dr Worrall could make serious inroads.

The CP, party organizers believe, has small pockets of support all over the constituency, with fairly strong support in the Brackenfell area.

There is a sizeable number of ex-Namibians in Somerset West (it has become known as Sommer Suidwes) as well as a number of ex-Rhodesians. Most of them are likely to vote CP or NP.

Mr Heunis has a band of very loyal supporters and workers in the constituency, several of whom said yesterday that Mr Heunis was the best constituency MP in SA, telling stories of how available he has always been to constituents.

One NP organizer said there were just over 4 000 card-carrying members of the NP in Helderberg.

Dr Worrall's biggest enemy could prove to be the Cape mouthpiece of the NP, the Burger. As happened in Oudtshoorn in the early 1970s, the Burger is expected to fight Dr

Worrall tooth and nail. Worrall-supporters realize this, but are confident that it would be counter-productive because of the nature of the constituency and of the new style of politics of today.

Dr Worrall's backers believe Helderberg is his type of constituency where his intellectual and sophisticated style would be appreciated by voters.

He has other factors in his favour: More than enough money from wealthy backers, mostly from the constituency, a high profile because of his term in London, and a skilled team of organizers under former Nationalist and well-known wine farmer and athletics administrator Mr Jannie Momberg.

Most importantly, Dr Worrall is a far better communicator than Mr Heunis.

But Mr Heunis is a skilled and extremely ambitious politician and experienced fighter. He knows that defeat will mean an end to his ambitions.

The Battle for Helderberg is going to be much more than a fight between two strong public personalities. It is going to be a war watched with interest by the entire SA and the capitals of the West.



Mr Chris Heunis . . . the constitutional architect



Dr Denis Worrall . . . a carefully calculated chance

BENEATH the turmoil in white politics lie difficult questions about the shape of post-apartheid SA. So far, only the Marxists have put forward answers which integrate means and ends, revolutionary method leading to socialist dictatorship. The rest of us have some thinking to do.

For the moment, the question before the electorate is not whether any reform government might be better than the Nationalists, but whether anything could be much worse.

The economic condition of the country, the tax burden and the corrosive inflation, the lack of security, the collapse of international relations, the intemperance of government, the lack of vision for the future, the confusion of policy and the contradictory currents within the governing party are all subjects that have been widely canvassed.

Debate on these matters has produced an ill-defined, inchoate consensus which — leaving aside the lunatic Right — accepts the need for a negotiated future, and places security at the top of the agenda.

The question of security has always been central to white politics. The extreme Right wing seeks it by perpetual war, arguing that physical survival — no matter how barbarous — outweighs all other considerations.

Vervoeerdian apartheid went one step ahead, seeking safety in separatism; but the past 25 years have proved that hardly any white South Africans find life without blacks to be bearable. Even the Oranjewerkers, trying to do their own dirty work, can make no pro-

AFTER APARTHEID, WHAT?

It's time to start thinking

KEN OWEN

gress against the commendable la-ziness and basic tolerance of their countrymen.

It is the impracticality of apartheid, not its oppressive character, that underlies the National Party's change of direction in the Seventies, a change that culminated in President Botha's reform phase.

That reform has been genuine — whatever the party's purist critics may pretend — but inadequate; well-intentioned but ill-considered. It seeks merely to patch up the holes in Vervoeerdian thinking, and therefore it fails.

There is no need to dwell on the cost of that failure, not only in political and economic terms but also in the sacrifice of democratic mechanisms. One of the worst features of Nationalist rule, indeed, has been the incomprehending retreat from democratic institutions — the disfranchisement of the coloured people, the disgrace and

abolition of the Senate, the elimination of Natives' Representatives, the gutting of the Westminster system, the abolition of the provincial councils, the extension of the power of the executive, the nomination of Members of Parliament, the delegation of legislative functions through sloppy legislation, and the circumscription of the powers of the courts.

It is a truly sorry catalogue, but it pinpoints the intellectual deficiency of the reform movement: having perceived the impracticality of apartheid, and having abandoned the (barely sane) consistency of Vervoeerd, the NP has baulked at taking its new thinking to a logical conclusion. It clings, mindlessly but desperately, to group-think. Having found no security in Ver-

voerd's logical groupings, it seeks vainly for security in the illogical groupings of the tricameral system.

The only alternative, as every Western precedent tells us, is to shift the focus of the search for security from the group to the individual. And it is the political task of serious reformers to persuade the New Nats that a determination to negotiate with Nelson Mandela is not enough; a new system, rooted in common values and calling upon the classical liberal mechanisms to curb the power of the strong, is needed.

Some time ago in Cape Town, economist Charles Simpkins delivered a series of six summer school lectures which had an electrifying effect on the jaded and lonely liberal community.

The first — titled "Why Bother?" — constituted a devastating response to the Marxists (a response

which the undemocratic reformers cannot muster because a system that rests on inequality is indefensible) and revived the liberal idea as an acceptable and workable alternative.

In subsequent lectures, Simpkins made the fascinating observation that all South Africans — black and white, Afrikaans, Zulu or English — cherish a powerful liberal tradition that expresses itself as a belief in negotiation, constitutionality, law, non-violence, democratic mechanisms, free enterprise, and liberty.

There are scores of examples. The first response of the UDF to the state of emergency is not violence but an appeal to the courts. The first instinct of the Menlo Park parents, to cite another kind of example, is to call a mass meeting to reconsider the school board's ban on a black athlete. Our traditions and instincts are democratic, not fascist.

Simpkins challenges us to draw on this common heritage to discover answers to the key question of reform: if not separate, then how?

The lectures have been published by the Institute of Race Relations, which has also (thanklessly) spent the past few years challenging the radical thinking of the far Left. The series — titled "Reconstructing South African Liberalism" — runs to nearly 100 pages and not even its main arguments can be reproduced in this space, but it is altogether brilliant.

For anybody seeking an alternative to apartheid that will not land us in a Mozambique-style socialist morass, Simpkins offers a place to start. The address is: The Institute of Race Relations, 68 De Korte Street, Braamfontein 2000.

MORE academics at Stellenbosch could follow two professors out of the National Party.

Between 200 and 300 academics at Stellenbosch are said to share the misgivings of members of an academic discussion group who met President P W Botha, Chancellor of the University, in Cape Town on Friday.

All of them have doubts about Mr Botha's leadership.

There is also increasing speculation in Stellenbosch about the possibility of a reform-minded independent candidate standing in the general election.

Will for reform

The academics have expressed support for the ideas of Dr Denis Worrall, independent candidate in Helderberg, and Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, who have also left the National Party.

At the weekend, Professor Sampie Terreblanche of the faculty of economics at Stellenbosch University and Professor James Fourie of the law faculty resigned from the National Party. They had attended the discussions with Mr Botha.

Professor Terreblanche said he had concluded that the Government, under its present leadership, did not have the will or the ability to bring about reform.

He said: "For many years I put my academic freedom and credibility at stake to give credibility to the Government's alleged reform. As a social scientist I co-operated closely for many years in order to highlight the true nature of South Africa's problem in Government circles — but without any success."

Disappointed

He said he did not have plans to join another party. He had never considered joining the PFP.

Professor Terreblanche said Mr Botha's discussions with 27 of the 35 members of the academic discussion group had been positive and reasonable but they had left disappointed.

He said in the 1983 referendum many of the academics had accepted promises about reform but they did not realise that the coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament would be such junior partners in the new system.

Professor Terreblanche said the first need was to address South Africa's greatest problem — the dismantling of apartheid.

Professor Fourie said he could not continue in the National Party as reform was taking place too slowly and there was no real vision for reform.

Today Mr Piet Marais, the Stellenbosch MP, said it was time to stand together and muster goodwill to build a new South Africa.

He said he did not want to pretend that everything was normal in Stellenbosch. It was a time of a "great fermentation" of ideas.

As someone in the inner circles of the National Party he knew it was possible to work for a new South Africa within its ranks.

"Phantoms"

But Mr Chris Heunis, Cape leader of the National Party, said the honourable step for someone who disagreed with a party was to leave it.

He described the independents as "phantoms" of the Progressive Federal Party, a party which could not win and therefore put its organisation at the disposal of sham independents.

He said that, as a "Prog phantom", Dr Worrall was nothing but a "Prog vulture candidate".

The academics are to meet again soon and they may issue a statement formulating their ideas.

● Dr Worrall will speak at a public meeting in the Stellenbosch town hall on Thursday night at 7.30. It has been organised by the Popular Students Alliance, an association of moderate and reform-minded students.

Y TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

AKS 23/2/87

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Nat revolt

spreads

DD 23/2/87

304A

DAILY DISPATCH, MONDAY, FEBRUARY

Alliance removes prospect of split vote

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The New Republic Party-Progressive Federal Party alliance in the Border region has negated the possibility of a split left wing vote against the National Party in the forthcoming elections.

But the NP will likely benefit from alliance voters who will support them in seats where they face only right wing parties.

This is the case in Aliwal North where the Herstigte Nasionale Party gained 1 572 votes in 1981. This was 3 139 votes fewer than the 4 711 gained by NP's, Mr J. W. Greeff.

But Mr Greeff has recently been appointed chairman of the President's Council and will not be standing. This time the NP's, Mr J. F. Pretorius, faces the Conservative Party's, Dr H. T. Bekker.

There is no indication yet whether the HNP is going to stand or whether by the time nominations close at the end of March, the HNP and CP might have formed an electoral pact.

In East London City and East London North, however, the NP will be besieged on two fronts. The sitting MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, will have on his left an all out frontal attack by the alliance nominee, and former star NP youth organiser, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaite (PFP). On the right Mr De Pontes will face a rightwing independent, Mr Nic Slabber.

In 1981 Mr De Pontes retained the seat through a split vote between the PFP and the NRP. The NP polled 4 203, while the NRP (2 373) and PFP (2 349) together pol-

led 4 722 votes.

In the 1977 election the Nat majority was 2 951 while in 1981 it had fallen to 1 830. The HNP candidate Mr J. A. Hall polled 460 votes. In East London North, the NP will be pressed even harder to keep the seat won by Mr H. S. Coetzer in 1981 as a result of a split NRP-PFP vote. Mr Coetzer will not be standing for election.

Instead, party organiser, Mr Calle Badenhorst, has been called in to take on the Mr Errol Spring (PFP), a city councillor and former mayor, and rightwing independent, Mr Basil Niemand.

In 1981 Mr Badenhorst polled 3 995 votes as the provincial candidate. In the last election the Nats polled 3 849 votes but the total NRP-PFP vote was 5 855. The HNP candidate, Mr C. S. A. Lutzke lost his deposit with 423 votes.

In Albany, where Mr Errol Moorcroft of the PFP scraped home by just 139 votes over the NP candidate, Mr R. de V. Olckers polled 4 387. Mr L. Crous (HNP) polled 610, just enough to give the seat to the PFP which gained 4 526 votes.

In Cradock, the Conservative Party has already nominated a candidate, Mr S. W. Malan. The sitting MP, Dr George de Villiers Morrison, has resigned from the political arena leaving the task of securing the seat to Mr Tobie Meyer. The NP polled 4 652 votes in 1981 compared with 1 539 by the HNP. The PFP polled 1 276 votes.

Although the NP retained the seat with a majority of 3 113 votes, left and right wing increases over the past six years, and now the PFP-NRP alliance could reduce the NP majority considerably.

Queenstown is at present the one area where a rightwing pact could create considerable havoc for the National Party candidate.

During the last elections the HNP candidate, Mr P. J. de Wet, polled a considerable 1 021 votes, the PFP 1 030 votes and the NRP 2 549 votes. The NP retained the seat with 4 424 going to Mr H. Louw.

The recent announcement that Mr Robert Edelman (NRP), chairman of the NRP in the Cape Province, is to fight Mr Louw as the NRP-PFP nominee means that the entrance of a rightwinger could seriously reduce the National Party's chances of retaining the seat. However, as was pointed out in an editorial in the Daily Dispatch last week, it is ironic that the toughest fight faced by the alliance could be in the only seat in the Cape Province held by the New Republic Party: King William's Town. In 1981 Mr Pat Rogers confounded NP predictions to win the seat by 286 votes. The stronger than expected showing by the HNP's Mr Brian Nel, who polled 1 124 votes clearly affected the NP. Mr Rogers will be facing Mr Ray Radue, a former colleague and now a formidable NP opponent, as well as a possible backlash from diehard NRP supporters who see him as a sell-out to the PFP.

Mr Radue will be out to convince as many of these NRP members as possible to cast their vote for the NP. Mr Rogers attracted 3 429 votes from NRP supporters in 1981 while his National Party opponent, Mr W. H. Deacon, polled 3 143, the PFP polled 1 696 votes. PFP support could very well ensure that Mr Rogers retains his seat.

Daily Dispatch

Monday, February 23, 1987

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Why NP adviser decided to quit

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The government still refuses to admit the "moral untenability of apartheid," according to one of the National Party's most eminent thinkers for the past two decades, Professor Sampie Terreblanche.

Professor Terreblanche resigned at the weekend following an acrimonious three-hour showdown at the Tuynhuys on Friday between 27 Stellenbosch academics, President P W Botha and the chief architect of South Africa's apartheid constitution, Mr Chris Heunis.

"The personal and collective leadership of the National Party has clearly become a major problem," the Matie economist and long time adviser to the NP's Cape leader, Mr Heunis, said in an interview yesterday.

"Without any doubt they (the leadership) have lost the will, capacity and vision for reform — there is no plan."

"A complete rethink is necessary to get South Africa out of this severe local and international crisis but there are no promising signs within the NP that this is likely to happen," he said.

Professor Terreblanche said the NP leadership had become the victims of "frozen perceptions."

"There is an unwillingness to admit what the real problem is — there is a wrong identification of the problem."

"And you cannot move towards a solution until you have correctly identified the problem. It is pointless for a doctor to operate unless he has a correct diagnosis."

Professor Terreblanche said his attempts as a social scientist to communicate to government the "real problems," including the moral untenability of apartheid, had failed.

For years he had risked his academic integrity by defending the government's "so-called reform programme" but his attempts to change the NP from within had not been successful.

Professor Terreblanche said

He pointed out that he had also put his academic credibility on the line by writing "about 50" letters defending the government to the NP's Cape mouthpiece, Die Burger, since 1971.

During this time he and others had been subjected to the criticism that "enlightened academics are one of the major stumbling blocks to reform because they lend credibility to the government."

"Now I feel more than let down — I had to quit."

"Quite a large percentage of enlightened Afrikaners have become totally disenchanted."

Professor Terreblanche said this disaffection did not merely revolve around specific issues like the government's stand on the Group Areas Act.

"This is taking place on a broad level and a comprehensive rethink will be needed to rescue South Africa from the present crisis," he said.

Serviceman murdered

JOHANNESBURG — Police are investigating the bizarre murder of a young national serviceman whose semi-naked body was found in the veld in Sandton, near Johannesburg, at the weekend.

Airman Albert Keiser, 19, who was attached to the South African Air Force Headquarters in Pretoria, had his hands tied behind his back and was dressed only in a pair of underpants.

There was a thick rope around his neck, which was tied to the branch of a tree. His face was covered with plaster of paris and bandage. Only his mouth was visible. — Sapa



The smiles say it all for the Wits University crew who won the Buffalo Grand Challenge for coxless fours at the centenary Buffalo regatta on Saturday. From left; Ian Burman, Erich Mauff, Robin McCall and Andrew Pike. Report page 20

**GETTING MARRIED?
WEDDING CAKE
SPECIAL!
LARGE 3 TIER
R100**



Challenge to Vikings

EAST LONDON — Alfreds Rowing Club of Cape Town have challenged the Vikings Rowing Club of the Transvaal to a 25-km race across Table Bay on March 28.

At the dinner to mark the 100th Buffalo Regatta here on Saturday, a town-crier, representing Alfreds, challenged Vikings to the marathon rowing race and put up a purse of R1 000 — winner take all.

Vikings accepted the challenge. The Table Bay Challenge opens a new chapter in South African rowing — DDC

Regatta results P6

**Agency journalist
detained in T'kei**



23/2/87 B/Day
304A

THE government still refuses to admit that at the root of the increasingly severe crisis enveloping South Africa is the "moral untenability of apartheid," according to one of the National Party's most eminent thinkers for the past two decades, Professor Sampie Terreblanche.

Professor Terreblanche resigned from the party at the weekend, following an acrimonious three-hour showdown at the Tuynhuys on Friday between 27 Stellenbosch academics and President PW Botha and the chief architect of SA's apartheid constitution, Chris Heunis.

"The personal and collective leadership of the National Party has clearly become a major problem," the Matie

Terreblanche tells why he resigned

Own Correspondent

economist and long-time adviser to the NP's Cape leader Chris Heunis, said in an interview yesterday.

"Without any doubt they (the leadership) have lost the will, capacity and vision for reform — there is no plan.

"A complete rethink is necessary to get SA out of this severe local and inter-

● To Page 2 ➡

Professor states his case

national crisis. But there are no promising signs within the NP that this is likely to happen," he said.

Terreblanche said the NP leadership had become the victims of "frozen perceptions."

"There is an unwillingness to admit what the real problem is — there is a wrong identification of the problem.

"And you cannot move towards a solution until you have correctly identified the problem. It is pointless for a doctor to operate unless he has a correct diagnosis."

Terreblanche said his attempts, as a social scientist, to communicate to gov-

ernment the "real problems," including the moral untenability of apartheid, had failed.

For years he had risked his academic integrity by defending the government's "so-called reform programme" but his attempts to change the NP from within had not been successful.

Terreblanche pointed out that he had also put his academic credibility on the line by writing "about 50" letters to the NP's Cape mouthpiece, Die Burger, since 1971 defending the government.

Savings 'not enough to fight 18% inflation'

figures because of new legislation which better reflects the actual amount of bank credit extended to the public and corporations.

This means that comparisons with

both the capital and the interest cost of the banking industry's receivables and with fluctuations in interest rates this

➡ ● From Page 1

Another Independent likely

Rebel profs might fight PW at polls

AS THE Cape rebellion against President P W Botha's National Party widens, Afrikaner academics are expected to put up an independent candidate in Stellenbosch to complement the campaign being fought by Denis Worrall in neighbouring Helderberg.

A Stellenbosch candidate would give a major boost to the budding movement of independent "New Nats" and take the election challenge to Botha into the heart of Cape-establishment Afrikanerdom.

A decision on the issue will be taken this week. The present front-runner is economics professor Sampie Terreblanche, who resigned from the NP at the weekend saying Botha's government lacked the will or the vision to implement proper reforms.

Terreblanche's candidacy would be a bigger psychological blow to Botha than former envoy Worrall's challenge in Helderberg. Stellenbosch is divided between

Business Day Reporter

the two constituencies.

As the NP was reeling under the shock of Terreblanche's resignation, top Afrikaner industrialist Anton Rupert lambasted apartheid at a banquet of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK).

Rupert, head of the powerful Rembrandt group and chancellor of Pretoria University, was given the FAK's award for *volksdiens* recently.

He is widely expected to emerge as one of Worrall's most powerful backers in the Helderberg contest against Cape NP leader Chris Heunis. Rupert and his banker son, Johan, are Helderberg constituents.

The Stellenbosch group, which is extremely influential on campus, has been in close contact with Worrall and Rand-

● To Page 2

2

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, February 23 1987

Academics set to oppose NP

burg Independent Wynand Malan.

Their public disillusionment with government is expected to spread to other Afrikaans campuses and could become a strong factor in the coming election campaign.

Terreblanche's resignation, and that of at least three other members of the influential "Gespreksgroep '85" (discussion group) after a showdown with Botha on Friday, is seen as a major personal knock to Botha and Heunis.

It is understood Heunis clashed sharply with Terreblanche at the meeting.

The desertion of the cream of the NP in the Cape could bring Botha one step closer to a palace revolution, and significantly undermine Heunis's chances to succeed Botha.

Terreblanche and law professor James Fourie stated "the leadership of the party" as one of their main reasons for their resignations.

Terreblanche said yesterday: "Without any doubt, government has lost its will, capacity and vision for reform; there is no plan." Terreblanche refused to be drawn on the possibility of an Independent candidate.

The Stellenbosch discussion group will meet this week to discuss the possibility of an Independent candidate and to prepare a major statement on their vision of

what government should be doing.

It is expected that all 35 members of the group will eventually desert the party, although not all of them are card-carrying members.

Philosophy professor Willie Esterhuyse, together with Terreblanche the leading figure in the group, said yesterday: "I am not even sure if I am a member of the party." He said he would comment further later this week.

Another prominent member, philosophy lecturer Anton van Niekerk, said yesterday he was reviewing his position and would clarify it later this week.

The group's delegation of 27 met Botha and Heunis for three hours in Tuynhuys on Friday. Prominent theologians addressed Botha on the morality of apartheid, and others spoke on constitutional affairs and the security situation.

The "New Nat" movement is also growing in other areas.

Former prominent Nationalist Johan Blignaut, a veterinary surgeon, intends to oppose the NP in Umfolozi as an Independent, while Independents are also likely to stand in Durbanville and Port Natal, seat of Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha.

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Matie prof lashes Nats

Rebellion in Cape grows

Cape Times 23/2/87

304A

By MAX DU PREEZ

AS THE Cape rebellion against President P W Botha's National Party widens, Afrikaner academics are expected to field an independent candidate in Stellenbosch to complement the campaign being fought by Dr Denis Worrall in neighbouring Helderberg.

A Stellenbosch candidate would give a major boost to the budding movement of independent "New Nats" and take the election challenge to President Botha into the heart of Cape-establishment Afrikanerdom.

A decision will be taken this week.

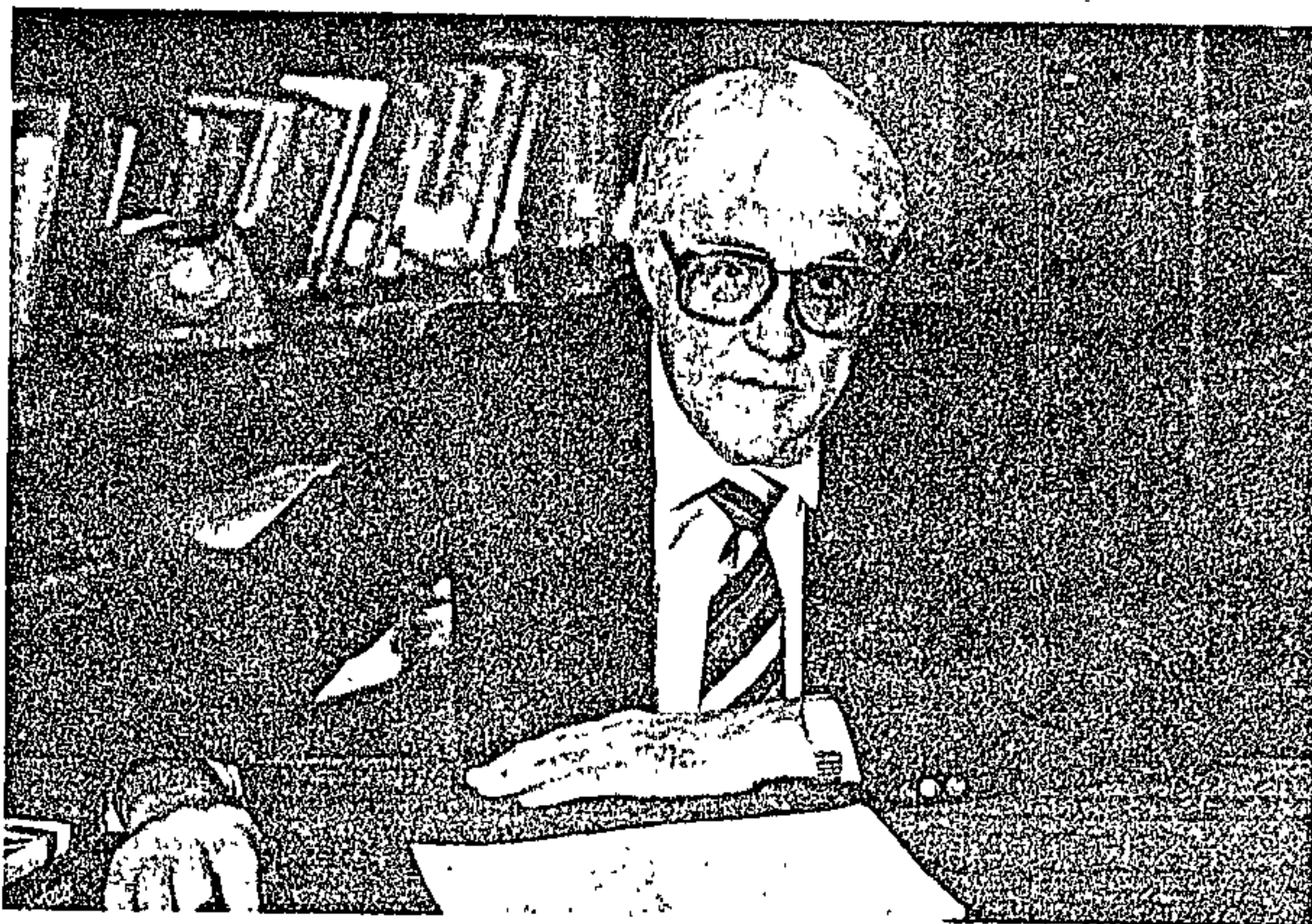
The present front-runner is Professor Sampie Terreblanche, who resigned from the NP at the weekend saying President Botha's government lacked the will or the vision to implement proper reforms.

His candidacy would be a bigger psychological blow to the NP than former envoy Dr Worrall's challenge in Helderberg. Stellenbosch is divided between the two constituencies.

As the NP reeled under the shock of Prof Terreblanche's resignation, top Afrikaner industrialist Dr Anton Rupert lambasted apartheid at a banquet of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK).

He is widely expected to emerge as one of Dr Worrall's most powerful backers in the Helderberg contest against Cape NP leader Mr Chris Heunis. Dr Rupert and his banker son, Johan, are Helderberg voters.

Prof Terreblanche's resignation, and that of



Matie Professor Sampie Terreblanche, who resigned from the National Party at the weekend, at his home yesterday. His resignation, which came after many years as a respected theoretician within the party, has caused an uproar.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

at least three other members of the influential discussion group "Gespreksgroep '85" after a showdown with Mr Botha on Friday, is seen as a major personal knock to Mr Botha and Mr Heunis.

Approached for comment last night on the resignation and the possibility of an independent candidate, an an-

noyed Mr Heunis said: "I have absolutely no comment to make."

The desertion of the cream of the NP in the Cape could bring Mr Botha one step closer to a palace revolution, and significantly undermine Mr Heunis's chances of becoming the next president.

The Stellenbosch discussion group will meet

this week to discuss the possibility of an independent candidate and to prepare a major statement on their vision of what government should be doing.

It is expected that all 35 members of the group will eventually desert the party, although not all of them are card-carrying members.

Professor Willie Esterhuyse, together with Prof Terreblanche the leading figure in the group, said yesterday: "I am not even sure if I am a member of the party." He said he would comment further later this week.

Another prominent member, philosophy lecturer Mr Anton van Niekerk, said yesterday he was reviewing his position and would clarify it later this week.

The group's delegation of 27 met Mr Botha and Mr Heunis for three hours in Tuynhuys on Friday. Prominent theologians addressed Mr Botha on the morality of apartheid, and others spoke on constitutional affairs and security.

In an interview with Political Correspondent Anthony Johnson yesterday, Prof Terreblanche said the government still refused to admit that at the root of the increasingly severe crisis enveloping South Africa was the "moral untenability of apartheid".

"The personal and collective leadership of the National Party has clearly become a major problem," the Matie economist and long-time adviser to Mr Heunis said.

To page 2

P.T.O.

From page 1

"Without any doubt they (the leadership) have lost the will, capacity and vision for reform — there is no plan.

"A complete rethink is necessary to get South Africa out of this severe local and international crisis. But there are no promising signs within the NP that this is likely to happen."

Prof Terreblanche said the NP leadership had become the victims of "frozen perceptions".

"And you cannot move towards a solution until you have correctly identified the problem. It is pointless for a doctor to operate unless he has a correct diagnosis."

Prof Terreblanche

said his attempts, as a social scientist, to communicate to government the "real problems", including the moral untenability of apartheid, had failed.

For years he had risked his academic integrity by defending the government's "so-called reform programme" but his attempts to change the NP from within had not been successful.

He had also put his academic credibility on the line by writing "about 50" letters to the NP's Cape mouthpiece, the Burger, since 1971 defending the government.

During this time he and others had been subjected to the criticism that "enlightened academics are one of the major stumbling blocks to reform because they lend credibility to the government".

"Now I feel more than let down — I had to quit.

"Quite a large percentage of enlightened Afrikaners have become totally disenchanted."

Prof Terreblanche said this disaffection did not merely revolve around specific issues such as the government's stand on the Group Areas Act.

"This is taking place on a broad level and a comprehensive rethink will be needed to rescue South Africa from the present crisis."

Beyers Naude for board of Idasa

By KIN BENTLEY

THE outgoing general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, will chair a high-powered Board of Trustees for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Mr Wayne Mitchell, national co-ordinator of Idasa, said the nine-man board included two prominent Eastern Cape personalities, Professor Peter Vale, head of the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University and the Rev De Villiers Soga, chairman of the Interdenominational Ministers' Association of South Africa.

Dr N Motlana, head of the Soweto Civic Association, is vice-chairman.

Idasa was formed by ex-PFP leaders Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine.

The official launch of Idasa, in the form of a national conference on democracy, is scheduled to take place at the Elizabeth Sun in Port Elizabeth on May 8 and 9.

MORE Stellenbosch academics could follow two professors out of the National Party.

There is also increasing speculation in Stellenbosch about the possibility of an independent reform-minded independent candidate in the general election.

About 200 to 300 academics at Stellenbosch are said to share the misgivings of members of an academic

Academics set to abandon National Party

discussion group who met President P W Botha, chancellor of the university, in Cape Town on Friday.

Doubts

All of them have doubts about Mr Botha's leadership.

The academics express agreement with the ideas of Dr Denis Worrall, independent candidate in Helderberg and Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Rand-

burg, who has also left the National Party.

At the weekend Professor Sampie Terreblanche of the faculty of economics at Stellenbosch University and Professor James Fourie of the law faculty resigned from the National Party. They attended the discussions.

Their reasons were that the reform process was too slow and that the Nationalist lead-

ership did not have the vision for such reform.

The name of Professor Willie Esterhuyse of the philosophy faculty has been mentioned as a possible independent candidate but he said yesterday that he was not interested. He was not after a political position in Stellenbosch.

The Nationalist MP for Stellenbosch, Mr Piet Marais, has countered that there is enough scope to work for change within the National Party.

Mr Chris Heunis, Cape leader of the National Party, said the honourable way for someone who disagreed with a political party was to leave it.

304A
Somerton
24/2/87

REBEL Nats are now looking at widening their base by fielding up to six independent candidates in the election.

They plan to eventually form a new political party of reform-minded moderates.

There are already three rebel Nats who will stand as Independent candidates — Wynand Malan in Randburg, Denis Worrall in Heldeberg and Johan Blignaut in Umfolozi.

Academic Sampie Terreblanche, who resigned from the NP at the weekend, is apparently involved in efforts to put up an Independent candidate in Stellenbosch.

Meanwhile, a source close to Malan said yesterday another two prominent independents were on the cards.

However, negotiations were at such a sensitive stage that the source would not even disclose the province in which they would stand.

The source said the two would stand in "key constituencies" and would in all probability, liaise with Malan and Worrall.

Malan said yesterday he could not comment. However, he said he would work in close association with Worrall and did not rule out the possibility of a new political party "at a later stage".

Political analyst and Malan's media consultant Harald Pakendorf ruled out the possibility of a formal alliance of independent candidates in the election.

While he could throw no light on the other possible independent candidates, he said they would have to be NP

Nat rebels eye two more seats

8/Day
304A *24/6*

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

members to feature significantly as independents.

The envisaged new party will apparently be formed on the basis that negotiation is the key to SA's future and will be aimed at involving a broad spectrum of society from within political parties and political constituencies including "mid-range" CP members and "mid-range" UDF members.

The source said it would aim at forming a flexible political platform to secure a future for all.

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, February 24, 1987

Heunis facing a national phenomenon

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

CAPE NP leader Chris Heunis was not dealing with Denis Worrall as an opponent in Helderberg, but with a national phenomenon clearly manifested in the ferment at Stellenbosch. Worrall said yesterday.

He was reacting to Heunis's weekend comment that Worrall was a "vulture Prog candidate" and the statement by NP MP for Stellenbosch Piet Marais

that Worrall's standing against "the great reformer" Heunis would be "counter-productive to change".

Worrall said: "My candidature cannot possibly be counter-productive to reform. I am standing against Mr. Heunis and he is part of the problem."

"The reason why I'm doing what I'm doing is that government's reform pro-

gramme has shut down. Its election manifesto, the refusal to put the abolition of the Group Areas Act up front, the rejection of the Indaba and the failure to offer anything more specific than city states are clear indications of this.

"Mr Heunis can make smear statements of this kind, but the fact is he is not dealing with Denis Worrall, but with

a national phenomenon clearly manifested in the ferment at Stellenbosch.

"That was the expression of the deepest lack of confidence in government's leadership and the leadership of the party and specifically the lead Mr Heunis has given."

"That is what this election is about," Worrall said.

Worrall 'sets up shop' — support increasing

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

DR Denis Worrall, independent candidate in Helderberg, today opened his offices in the constituency amid increasing pledges of support, in many cases from Nationalists.

Dr Worrall said there was an "extremely interesting fluidity around" in the political situation.

He was heartened by the response and felt even more confident now that he would do well than when he arrived in the constituency last week.

His offices are in Michael's Arcade in the main street of Somerset West. Telephones were still being installed today.

His chief organiser in the constituency, Mr Jannie Momberg, also said things were going well.

Dr Worrall will address a public meeting in the Stellenbosch Town Hall on Thursday.

SHARP WORDS

The meeting has been organised by the Popular Students Alliance and starts at 7.30pm.

Even at this early stage of the campaign sharp words are being exchanged between Dr Worrall and his opponent, Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development.

After Mr Heunis called him a "Prog phantom" and a "Prog vulture candidate", Dr Worrall said:

"The political inelegancy of the analogy and the language aside, Mr Heunis is not simply dealing with Denis Worrall, whose performance in London until a month ago he still respected, but with a national phenomenon."

This was clearly manifested in the ferment at Stellenbosch.

"My candidature cannot possibly be counter-productive to reform. I am standing against Mr Heunis and he is part of the problem."

"SHUT DOWN"

"The Government's reform programme has shut down its election manifesto, the refusal to put the abolition of the Group Areas Act up front, the rejection of the indaba and the failure to offer anything more specific than city states are clear indications of this."

Support for dissident Stellenbosch Professor Sampe Terreblanche has now come also from five academics at the University of the Free State.

In a statement issued in Bloemfontein they said they resigned from the National Party because of the slow pace of reform.

Meanwhile, Professor Willie Esterhuysen of the philosophy faculty in Stellenbosch has told a student group the dissatisfaction among academics over the National Party and the tension in the party's left wing were not merely a small argument among friends.

It was rather a rethink by people who previously had some involvement with the National Party.

(Turn to Page 3, col 6)

Worrall bandwagon starts up

(Cont from Page 1) The party was not prepared to accept power-sharing with blacks up to the highest level in Parliament, at present.

Addressing a meeting of the Popular Student Alliance in Stellenbosch, he said if there was one thing that could make those on the left wing split from the party it was their conviction that blacks would have to sit in Parliament with whites and would be in the majority.

He stressed today that he was not talking of a simple concept of black-majority rule.

This could be called "the Rubicon of the New Nats".

The question was increasingly being asked by such people of how it was still possible to support the policy of the National Party intellectually and philosophically.

MISGIVINGS

Those with misgivings felt the National Party no longer had an inspiring vision for the future and it was not moving ahead strongly enough to dismantle discriminating legislation.

These academics felt white domination had had its day, but the present regime continued to entrench domination.

The dissident group also felt blacks must be represented in Parliament with whites and they must be in the majority.

There were also misgivings about the way the security situation was handled.

Professor Esterhuysen also said the National Party remained a power that could not be written off simply.

It seems unlikely there will be an independent candidate in Stellenbosch.

WON'T STAND

Professor Esterhuysen has been strongly suggested in some circles, but he said again today he was not interested in standing.

He also dismissed suggestions that dissidents could form a new party.

He said this was "nonsensical and impractical".

Other sources in Stellenbosch said it would be difficult to raise enough money to mount an election campaign, that the movement of thousands of students there made a campaign difficult and the standing of the Nationalist MP, Mr Piet Marais, was high.

Diversity is the common ground — De Lange

By Susan Plerning

The chairman of the Broederbond and the outgoing rector of the Rand Afrikaans University, Professor Pieter de Lange, believes South Africa needs a society in which the diversity of the different groups is not a danger, but a common ground.

In an interview this week, Professor de Lange said if there could be some common ground between the different groups there would be a better chance of finding a political solution in South Africa.

He refused to be drawn into the debate about the Government's reform performance, saying he did not wish to be drawn into "pre-election in-fighting".

The National Party has been rocked by the resignation of several disillusioned members who have lashed out at the party's lack of political vision.

The Broederbond was drawn into the row last month when a working document was made public which canvassed a constitutional plan in which blacks would be in the majority in central Government. Professor de Lange did not wish to elaborate further on the document apart from saying that it would be discussed by Broeder "study groups".

Professor de Lange will resign from his influential position as head of RAU in June and will then lead an investigation into the state of universities in South Africa. This report will be completed by January 1988.

These were Professor de Lange's responses to questions put by The Star.

● Could you discuss your attitude towards the elections?

"I do not think that I should become involved in any discussion on the elections or on a pre-election position. I am the rector of this university and I do not think that it is my role to take a political stance."

● Could you discuss your views on the election from your position as the leader of the Broederbond?

"I would not like to bring the Broederbond into the political arena unnecessarily — in the party-political sense anyway. The Broederbond deals with broader issues and the political parties deal with party issues."

● If the Broederbond does not look at party-political issues then what does it do?

"The Broederbond looks at Afrikaner interests in terms of a broader South Africa. We do not ask about people's political affiliation when they join the Broederbond. They are free to express their own views. We do not prescribe their political affiliations. There may, in fact, be members of the Broederbond who are members of the Progressive Federal Party."

● Could we discuss the working document made public last month on the Broederbond plan for a future South Africa?

"I do not want to be drawn further into this debate. All I can say is that the working document will lead to further study within the Broederbond through study groups and so on. There has been a tremendous amount of feedback, but I will not discuss this."

● What are your views on the academics at Stellenbosch University who have voiced their opposition to the Government?

"I do not wish to discuss my views of this. I do not

want to become involved in pre-election in-fighting."

● Your predecessor, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is now the Minister of Education and Development Aid. Do you have any political ambitions?

"I have no political ambitions whatsoever."

● Why have you decided to retire at the age of 61 instead of at 64 when your term as principal should have ended?

"I felt that I could contribute something to the improvement of a greater understanding and mutual trust between the various groups in South Africa. It will not be a media-exposed undertaking. I will look at the middle spectrum."

● Which organisations and people will the middle spectrum include? In your informal discussions will you also include organisations such as the AWB and the ANC?

"I cannot elaborate on what the middle spectrum will cover. But I would exclude those groups who seek solutions through violence. I am convinced that there is a strong groundswell of 'moderates'. Eventually this group will take the initiative. At present the initiative is very fragmented. I will not expand on this and I will remain vague."

● What is necessary if solutions are to be found to the problems in South Africa?

"We need more contact and personal knowledge of each other. We need to develop a broader base of mutual trust. We have terrible stereotypes about each other" (Professor de Lange would not elaborate on these stereotypes).

New bids to unite right wing

Political Reporter

Right-wing mediators are making renewed attempts to reconcile the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party before the election — but they appear to be making little headway.

The leader of the ultra-conservative Afrikaner Volkswag, Professor Carel Boshoff, is prepared to act a mediator.

Attempts to unite the parties by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging have been rebuffed.

A spokesman for the HNP said he knew nothing of the attempts. The HNP was willing to negotiate — provided the CP did not try to merge the two parties.

Dr Frans van Staden, chief secretary of the CP, said "go-betweens" had not succeeded in reconciling the parties.

"The two parties involved are big enough to talk to each other directly," he said.

CP/6 710/15 23/2/0 1

Naude is IDASA board chairman

BY BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

306A

THE trustees of the new Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), who were announced yesterday, reflect a wide range of anti-apartheid figures.

IDASA executive director Dr Alex Boraine said in a statement that Dr Beyers Naude, the retiring general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, would be the chairman of the board of trustees.

The two vice-chairmen are Dr Ntatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association and a recently appointed member of the Southern Life Association; and Professor Jakes Gerwel, the new rector of the University of the Western Cape.

The other trustees are Professor Andre du Toit, the University of Stellenbosch political scientist who is about to join the University of Cape Town; Archbishop Denis Hurley, the Archbishop of Durban and former president of the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference; Mrs S Mohajane, the director of the Careers Guidance Centre in Soweto; Dr Stuart Saunders, the principal and vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town; the Rev De Villiers Soga, chairman of the Inter-denominational Ministers of Association of South Africa; and Professor Peter Vale, head of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University.

PW's tactics cause rumbles in the NP

Strong-arm style fuelling dissent

(30/4/8) 28/2/8 Jan

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The growing dissent among the left wing in the National Party is being fuelled by the personal strong-arm style of President Botha.

There is concern that the measures being taken by Mr Botha could have serious consequences for reform and future negotiations with blacks, and cause a snowball effect on the left of the party.

Many National Party MPs are openly looking expectantly at the retirement of Mr Botha as president, and they expect the election to be the first step in the process.

At the centre of the debate is the brake being put on reform — and President Botha is being blamed squarely for the situation.

There is also growing concern at his bullying tactics, as were seen in the public admonition of Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha last year for suggesting that South Africa could have a black president, and his treatment of the Rev

Allan Hendrikse, leader of the Labour Party, for his swim on a whites-only beach.

This was compounded by the way in which he handled the affair of the chief of Barclays Bank, Mr Chris Ball, and the ANC advertising.

Key to the concern about reform is the heel-dragging on the Group Areas Act, the lack of any real negotiations with blacks, the handling of the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba, the new commitment to independent city states for blacks, and to a far lesser extent the refusal to hold any negotiations with the ANC.

There are increasing complaints in National Party circles about the style of Mr Botha's leadership, with claims that many of his Ministers have virtually abdicated their decision-making powers to him.

This is apparently particularly the case in Foreign Affairs, with many of the key decisions coming from the President's Tuynhuys offices.

It is also an open secret that Mr Botha directly intervened in the recent mini-budget in Parliament to decide that salary increases for public servants should be delayed until after the election.

NP's honeymoon ends as more independents on the bandwagon

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The verligte Afrikaner rebellion continues to spread. It is becoming increasingly likely that independent candidates will oppose the Government in the Stellenbosch and Port Natal constituencies.

Political sources say there is a good chance that up to two more dissatisfied Government supporters, with the necessary business backing, will join the independent bandwagon of Dr Denis Worrall in Helderberg and Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg.

If a final decision is taken to go ahead with independent campaigns, the names of the candidates will be announced within the next week, say the sources.

A former prominent Nationalist in Umfolozi, Dr Johan Blignaut, has also announced he will be standing as an independent.

And in an interview with The Star, influential Stellenbosch academic Professor Sampe Terreblanche who resigned from the NP last week, said there was strong support for his stand.

Verligte Afrikaners — who accounted for 15 to 20 percent of the "volk" — were beginning to vocalise their opposition to slow Government change, he said.

"They may not be strong enough now to make a big impact in this election, but they are not happy and they will not go away," he warned.

Pressure on the National Party was intensified this week when five verligte Free State professors added their names to the list of academics who have criticised the Government's inability to reform. They were sympathetic to the resignation of Professor Terreblanche and his colleague, Professor James Fourie.

Pages of a prepared Post Office budget that would apparently have included more tariff increases were also dismissed.

There are also reports being deliberately leaked to the Press of Cabinet Ministers being overwhelmed by Mr Botha, with one being on the verge of tears last year after rousing the ire of Mr Botha.

Mr Botha's style of government also includes keeping a close watch on all departments, including their spending.

This is done either through a relatively new computer network which links most Government departments, or the use of experts on the Tuynhuys staff.

Evidence of this were recent interviews by senior members of the intelligence establishment of administrators of the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba before the Government rejected the proposals.

This was despite a direct input from the Department of Constitutional Planning.

There have been a number of examples recently which have shown Ministers reacting immediately to any command or anticipated command from Mr Botha.

A senior Minister recently left a party he was hosting to

STAR 25-02-87
(304A)

ESTRANGED BUSINESSMEN

A number of influential Afrikaner businessmen have also become estranged from the NP — including Mr Jannie Momberg in Stellenbosch and Dr Louis Luyt. Industrialist Dr Anton Rupert has also spoken out strongly on apartheid in the last week.

Several leading Transvaal academics have already expressed concern at the Government's reform performance, but it appears unlikely there will be an organised move — such as has taken place at Stellenbosch and in Bloemfontein — to criticise the Government.

Constitutional law expert Professor Marinus Wiechers said earlier this year he no longer backed the Government's tricameral Constitution.

A leading Johannesburg academic who did not wish to be named said the extent of concern in "thinking" Afrikaner circles could not be underestimated. He said, however, many critical Nationalists were in a dilemma — they were alarmed at the polarisation to the left and the right. They were concerned about the possibility of "chaos" if the middleground, in the form of the National Party, disintegrated.

Professor Dirk Kotze, head of the Department of Development Administration Studies and Politics at the University of South Africa, said it had taken a great deal of courage for the Stellenbosch professors to resign.

Professor Kotze, who is not a member of the National Party, said many of the 27 Stellenbosch academics who were at last week's meeting with the State President, would probably not break with the NP, and would eventually drift back.

"It is a pity in one way that influential people like Professor Terreblanche have broken with the NP. President Botha, far more than his predecessors, followed the advice of academics. But it is now the end of that honeymoon."

Professor C J Maritz, director of the Institute of Politics and African Studies at the University of Potchefstroom, said he would remain a member of the National Party.

"Politics is the science of the possible. I believe it is far better to stay in the party and work for rapid change. Once you are outside the party, you will not have a lot of influence with the Government," he said.

make a television appearance on Mr Botha's instructions, while another was said to have avoided answering his home telephone because he thought Mr Botha was going to reprimand him.

Fierce NP, CP clash likely in Pretoria

A fierce election battle between the National and Conservative parties is expected in Pretoria with both having nominated candidates in all 15 seats.

The Progressive Federal Party — depending on an agreement with the NRP — are expected to contest seven seats.

Unless no electoral pact is reached between the two rightwing parties, the Herstigte Nasionale Party will contest all seats except Rissik and North Rand and still have to name candidates in six constituencies. These will be announced before March 31.

Bitter four-cornered fights loom in Pretoria Central, Waterkloof and Sunnyside.

In Pretoria Central, MP Mr Louis Nel will have to ward off some vicious attacks from the PFP, HNP

and CP regarding his involvement in the Info Song scandal.

All four parties will clash in Sunnyside, Waterkloof, Pretoria East, Delmas and Verwoerdburg.

● **CENTRAL:** 17 535 voters registered. NP: Louis Nel (MP); PFP: Ian Douglas Neilson; CP: Mr Johan Language; HNP: to be announcement later.

● **SUNNYSIDE:** 17 847 voters registered. NP: Fanus Schoeman; PFP: Rowan Haarhoff; CP: Paul Fouche; HNP: to be announced.

● **RISSIK:** 19 252 voters registered. CP: Daan van der Merwe (MP); NP: Chris Fisser; NRP: may be putting up candidate following agreement with PFP; HNP: will not contest seat.

● **WATERKLOOF:** 19 679 voters registered. NP: Dr Org Marais (MP); PFP: Professor Abraham Viljoen; CP: Mr Johan Welmans; HNP: Mr Ben Stander.

● **PTA EAST:** 31 722 voters registered. NP: Theo Alant (MP); CP: General H van den Bergh; PFP: has yet to announce candidate; HNP: Mr J de Visser.

● **PTA WEST:** 24 337 voters registered. NP: Z P le Roux (MP); CP: Piet Rudolph; HNP: Attie Treurnicht.

● **DELMAS:** 22 059 voters registered. (MP: Hendrik Schoeman — retired). NP: Professor J Viljoen; CP: Daan Nolte; HNP: Mr D J van Zyl; PFP: may still announce candidate.

● **WONDERBOOM:** 25 519 voters registered. NP: Mr Danie Steyn (MP); CP: Mr Jan van Zyl; HNP: Mr M Peters.

● **ROODEPLAAT:** 23 046 voters registered. (MP: Koos J J Lloyd). NP: Mr Piet Grobler; CP: Dr Tobie Hart; HNP: Mr Willie Marais.

● **INNESDAL:** 19 314 voters registered. NP: Albert Nothnagel (MP); CP: Ds Mossie van der Berg; HNP: candidate to be announced later.

● **KOEDOESPOORT:** 20 920 voters registered. CP: Dr Frans van Staden (MP); NP: Mr TAP Tjaart Kruger; HNP: candidate to be announced.

Emergency stops the Reds — Nat candidate

The public does not realise the extent of communist activity, says the Nationalist Party candidate for Sandton, Mr Roland Host.

Mr Host (42), a first-time candidate for the NP who will stand in the forthcoming election against PFP MP Mr David Dalling, readily admits he is the type of person who "sees a communist behind every bush".

"People do not realise the extent of communist activity here. The total communist onslaught is not calculated over a period of two to three years. It is a long-term exercise."

"If we don't curtail and hinder the development of communist organisations in South Africa we are in big trouble," he said.

Mr Host said the state of emergency was designed to stop this onslaught.

"Intimidation is typical of communist activity. We have all heard of the horror stories of intimidation coming out of the townships — the people forced to drink soap powder."

"The state of emergency will only be lifted when this intimidation is stopped and the black moderate can live without fear again. I support the state of emergency 100 percent."

He said the Nationalist Party was looking for the moderate, middle-of-the-road voter.

"Preliminary figures indicate the NP have a 50/50 chance in Sandton. There are a large number of doubtfuls out there," he said, adding that the public tended to vote for a party's policy and not for an individual candidate.

GROUP AREAS

What would the Nationalist Party do with the Group Areas Act?

"I predict we will see a revamping of the Group Areas Act by February 1988."

"I foresee significant changes — the Act will become a local issue where towns decide for themselves. You cannot do much more," he said.

Mr Host, a sales and marketing director, said he had spent four or five years as party organiser for the National Party.

Nats jubilant as HNP joins Middelburg fray

Own Correspondent

MIDDELBURG — The fight for the marginal Middelburg seat took a new turn this weekend with the town's mayor entering as the Herstigte Nasionale Party's candidate.

National Party supporters were over the moon at the entry of larger-than-life two-term mayor, Mr Johan Strydom, who, they hope, will split the Right vote.

Until then, all indications suggested it was to be a walk-in for Conservative Party candidate (and chairman of the town's management committee), Mr Pikkie Coetzee.

ROMPED

The seat is held by Mr Dries Terblanche of the National Party.

In last week's municipal by-election the CP-supported (although officially independent) candidate romped home to a three to one win over the NP-backed man.

Jubilant CP supporters said they would be laughing all the way to May 6.

Then came the bombshell that Mr Strydom, a liquor store owner and property developer, was going to make it a three-way contest.

However, CP candidate Mr Coetzee said the HNP factor was not a setback.

"We'll win even if the HNP runs, but if they don't you will see the biggest landslide in Middelburg's history."

Mr Coetzee, a wealthy motor trader, who has almost 20 years of town council experience, says he will not campaign against the HNP, only the NP.

This has led Nat party organisers to suspect that the HNP's sudden entry into the election is not serious.

Said the NP's candidate, Mr Terblanche: "I will be very surprised if we see both right-wing parties still around on May 6."

Certainly, the rumours are doing the rounds that Mr Jaap Marais is announcing platteland candidates to prod the CP into an agreement acceptable to the HNP.

However, whether Middelburg ends up a three-way or a two-way contest, it is bound to attract attention.

Although largely a town seat, political pundits still puzzle over the fact

that the HNP almost beat the NP in the 1981 general election. There were only 1 500 votes in it.

Then came a provincial council by-election on the day of the referendum in 1983 when the CP had its first outing at the polls.

Then, too, neither the CP nor HNP could agree on an election pact and the NP won, but the combined right-wing vote was 600 in excess of the NP's.

This enabled the then 29-year-old Mr Terblanche to become the youngest member of the provincial council.

Mr Terblanche is now hoping to represent the constituency in Parliament.

He says his initial canvassing is showing a big return to the NP although he concedes that Middelburg is a very conservative town.

"But no worse than other platteland towns."

The constituency is a large one, from Groblersdal in the north to the coalmine and power stations of the south which are known to be AWB territory.

More than half the voters are in Middelburg itself and they cover the complete spectrum from management of the town's industries (Middelburg Steel and Alloys is the largest) to businessmen, artisans and SADF personnel.

The farming vote is also a powerful block.

There are a sizable number of British and Zimbabwean immigrants in town but few have taken out South African citizenship.

REGISTERED

The voters roll of 22 500 has increased considerably since 1981 when only 14 886 voters were registered.

Since then the giant Middelburg Mine opencast operation and ancillary industries have come on stream and with it a huge influx of new residents.

Both CP and NP candidates admit it's going to be a tough fight.

During the 1983 provincial by-election, several scuffles broke out, with one particularly nasty fight on election night.

But both the NP's Mr Terblanche and CP's Mr Coetzee say this is going to be a clean game with both of them playing the political issue ball, not the man.

Professor spells out reasons for anti-NP revolt

AFRIKANER academics are rebelling against the NP because they do not believe government "has a strategy or plan for breaking away from all the vestiges of white domination", says Professor Willie Esterhuyse.

Esterhuyse, head of Stellenbosch University's philosophy department, said there was a strong feeling among academics that white domination — "blatant and subtle" — was no longer acceptable.

The latest round of dissatisfaction with government was not just a case of "surface squabbling".

"The conflict runs much deeper and revolves around the question of whether academics who have traditionally supported the NP from an intellectual point of view can continue to do so without losing their academic credibility," he said.

Major objections included government's refusal to:

- ☐ Include blacks in Parliament
- ☐ Scrap the Group Areas Act
- ☐ Repeal other racially discriminatory laws.

Esterhuyse said academics wanted government to produce "a clear-cut declaration of intent".

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that Professor Abraham Viljoen, PFP candidate for Waterkloof, yesterday said defections by academics from the NP were so far the "tip of the discontent iceberg".

He said the latest Stellenbosch defections would give momentum to the move away from government. His colleagues at Unisa were also politically frustrated by government paralysis.

Reports by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and Gerald Reilly, 216 Vermaalen Street, Pretoria

Beyers Naude for top post in Idasa

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The outgoing general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, is to chair a high-powered board of trustees for the newly-formed Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Idasa was formed by former PFF leaders Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine last year.

Mr Wayne Mitchell, national co-ordinator of Idasa, said the nine-man board included two prominent East Cape personalities, Professor Peter Vale, head of the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, and the Reverend De Villiers Soga, chairman of the Inter-denominational Ministers' Association of South Africa.

Dr Nthato Motlana, the chairman of the Soweto Civic Association who was recently made a director of the Southern Life Association, is vice-chairman of the board.

The other members are Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape; Professor Andre du Toit, political philosophy teacher at the University of Stellenbosch, also a columnist for the *Eastern Province Herald*; Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban who is also former president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference; Mrs S Mohajane, director of the Careers Guidance Centre in Soweto; and Professor Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor and rector of the University of Cape Town.

Dr Slabbert is policy director of Idasa and Dr Boraine its executive director.

Mr Mitchell said directors from areas such as Border and Natal would be included on the board as Idasa expanded its operations.

Idasa's official launch — in the form of a national conference on democracy — is scheduled to take place in Port Elizabeth on May 8 and 9.

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Psychologists call for new SA

By Sue Leeman

25/2/87

Psychologists have expressed concern over what they call "the continuing hostility and violence in the country" and have called for the removal of degrading legislation, the formation of a "free and open society" and equal education for all.

Following a recent meeting of the Psychological Association of South Africa (Pasa), the association's chairman, Professor Werner Meyer, said psychologists were also offering their help in trying to normalise the situation.

He pointed out that on the one hand there were acts and allegations of violence by the security forces, while on the other there was the unrest situation in the townships.

The country had become caught in a spiral of violence, with aggression breeding aggression. Such a cycle was not easily broken.

Children, in particular, were seeing violence all around them and many were seeing violence as a means of addressing social and political problems.

Every human being, he said, built up for himself a "hierarchy of responses". For many people in South Africa today, violence was high on the list.

He said this ongoing situation would hasten the disintegration of family and community life, and in the shorter term anger and hostility would destroy physical and mental health in South Africans of all ages and race groups. Incidents like last week's attacks by a group of young whites on blacks in Waterkloof could be a manifestation of this overall feeling of aggression and uncertainty.

Members of Pasa called on:

- The Government "to accelerate the abolition "of all legislation in which the dignity of the individual is not recognised, which we consider essential for meaningful reduction in social tensions".
- All political, religious, community, educational or professional leaders to work for a free and open society.
- For "an equitable educational system sensitive to the varied and changing needs of South African society".

The association said it had asked its branches and institute groups to form panels of experts who would offer their help.

Among the services that psychologists could provide were individual therapy for those suffering from violence, including parents of detainees.

Star 25/2/77

Student^(304A) candidate for HNP quits SRC

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

The Herstigte Nasionale Party's youngest candidate in the election has resigned his seat on the University of Pretoria Students' Representative Council.

Mr Gerdus Kruger (25) told The Star that he had resigned because party politics had no place in student politics.

The chairman of the SRC, Mr Buurman Botha, said he was grateful that Mr Kruger had spared the council possible embarrassment.

Mr Kruger will fight the Witbank seat against MP Mr Alwyn Fouche of the National Party and the Rev V J van Wyk of the Conservative Party.

A fourth-year law student, he plans to continue his studies. He said that if he is elected he will study by correspondence.

CAMPUS BAN

He said he did not feel that his youth would be an obstacle. "I have been involved in politics since I left school, and my knowledge of politics is sufficient, compared to most people in Parliament."

"If I want to become involved in politics I had better do so now. There may not be white politics in 10 years' time."

Mr Kruger was involved in a row last year when his right-wing grouping, the Afrikaner Studentefront, was barred from campus by a student poll.

"I may have lost my first political battle then, but we won on principle. People now send their children to Tukkies because they know there is someone there still active in trying to keep the campus white."

Indaba would make whites slaves, says CP

Political Reporter

UNDER the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba whites would be economic slaves in the service of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, senior Conservative Party official, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said in Amanzimtoti last night.

Mr Derby-Lewis, who is standing for Parliament in Krugersdorp, was speaking to about 300 people at a meeting for the CP candidate in Amanzimtoti, Mr Chris Londt.

Mr Derby-Lewis said it would cost Natal taxpayers R470 million to finance the

equalising of education in KwaZulu and Natal as provided for in the Indaba proposals.

He said the Rhodesian Indaba led to Rhodesia having a non-racial constitution, two parliamentary chambers and a bill of rights, as proposed by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

'How much more do you need to hear to convince you that the Government plans to do with South Africa exactly what happened in Rhodesia.'

Mr Derby-Lewis said it was the Left and not the Right who were on the lunatic fringes of politics.

He said Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was a traitor because film made by American television crews which showed South Africa in a bad light was relayed through the SABC of which Mr Botha had been in charge.

He said Mr Botha did not do anything to help 'South Africa's friends overseas' or defend South Africa by providing appropriate pamphlets at embassies abroad.

304A N/M 26/2/87

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Webber named **CP will** for Port Natal **fight Umlazi**

Political Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party candidate for Port Natal in the forthcoming House of Assembly election is former New Republic Party Natal leader, Mr Warwick Webber.

The decision was taken by the PFP candidates' committee last night.

From 1966 to 1977 Mr Webber was United Party MP for Pietermaritzburg District, which later became Pietermaritzburg South, and from 1978 to 1980 he was an NRP senator.

He was expelled from the NRP during the 1983 referendum for advocating a 'No' vote, rejoined the party two years later but recently resigned and joined the PFP.

In the three-way Port Natal contest Mr Webber will be standing against the

Minister of Home Affairs and Communications and the Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, and the Conservative Party Natal vice-chairman, Mr Pat Mohr.

It was also announced last night that the PFP candidate in Umlazi is Mrs Ann Curry, principal of Fulton School. She joins Mr Mike Ellis, who is standing in Durban North, as the second school principal to be standing for the PFP in Natal.

Mrs Curry, who is married with three children, is the fifth woman candidate in Natal.

Umlazi might be a five-way contest with the NP MP, Mr Con Botha, Mr Piet van Rensburg of the HNP, Mr Roelf Reneke of the CP, Mrs Curry and ex-NRP MPC, Mr Lew Phillips, who is considering standing as an independent.

A decision on whether the PFP will stand in Umfolosi is still being discussed.

It seems there is disagreement among PFP leadership about whether to help the ex-NP independent, Dr Johann Blignaut, or to field a candidate and turn Umfolosi into a five-way contest.

Political Reporter

THE Conservative Party announced yesterday that it would fight Umlazi in the forthcoming House of Assembly election and was considering fielding candidates in several other Natal seats.

Mr Flippie Schutte, CP Natal secretary, said Mr Jan Strydom had won the nomination contest for Vryheid and Mr Roelf Reneke would stand in Umlazi.

This brings to eight the number of Natal seats which the CP has announced it will contest. The others are Amanzimtoti, Klip River, Newcastle, Port Natal, Umfolosi and Greytown.

Mr Schutte said the CP might fight other Natal seats and announcements could be expected next week.

It seems Mooi River and South Coast are two seats most likely to be contested by the CP, with an outside chance that candidates will be placed in Umhlanga and Umhlatuzana.

The Progressive Federal Party is watching these announcements with great interest as it believes it will benefit from the splitting of the non-PFP vote in traditionally conservative constituencies.

Former staunch National Party member, Mr Jannie Momberg told Political Staffer, FRANS ESTERHUYSE that his decision to break away from the NP was taken when he came to realise that the Government's "reform" programme was grinding to a halt. *NRK 26/2/87 304A*

Momberg back on political campaign trail

FOR Mr Jannie Momberg, former staunch National Party member, it was an agonising decision to break away from the party and to take a stand against the Government and his former party colleagues.

In an interview yesterday he explained just what it meant to him and why he did it.

"It was like a death in the family, like losing a loved one," Mr Momberg said.

But clearly the break had to come for Mr Momberg, holder of the National Party's F C Erasmus award for 25 years' loyal service to the party.

He had reached a point where he could no longer live with the realities of National Party policies and what he saw as the Government's inability to bring about real reform in South Africa. Last week he announced his resignation from the NP.

Now Mr Momberg, as forceful and enthusiastic as ever, is back on the political campaign trail — to fight for independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall in the election battle for Helderberg, the seat held for the National Party by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, with a majority of nearly 3 000 votes.

Although it will be a three-way contest, following yesterday's announcement by the Conservative Party that it is putting up Mr Len De Wet as its candidate, Mr Momberg sees it as essentially a fight between Dr Worrall and Mr Heunis.

As Dr Worrall's campaign manager, Mr Momberg will be in the thick of the battle against his former party and its "guru" of constitutional affairs.

"I expect a tough election, but I believe Denis can win," Mr Momberg said.

"Chris Heunis is a formidable opponent who will be fighting for his political life



Mr Jannie Momberg

because he wants to be State President.

"But if Denis Worrall's message is understood clearly by the voters, Helderberg will fall to him."

Mr Momberg, well-known as Boland sports administrator and wine farmer, was speaking on the eve of his moving into an office in Somerset West, the main metropolitan centre of the constituency.

He said his decision to break away from the NP was taken when he came to realise that the Government's reform programme was grinding to a halt.

His first serious doubts came after President P W Botha's "Rubicon speech" at the NP's congress in Durban.

In 1985 Mr Momberg clashed with President Botha over the Group Areas Act at a party congress. Mr Momberg wanted the Act removed, but Mr Botha said as far as he was concerned the Act would stay.

"And then, in a speech to the President's Council in May last year, Mr Botha

turned his back on reform," Mr Momberg said.

It became clear to him that President Botha had become "South Africa's greatest liability."

* Mr Botha's handling of the recent swimming incident, involving the Rev Allan Hendrickse at a white beach in Port Elizabeth, was "nauseating".

Mr Momberg said many people within the National Party felt the way the same as he did about the Government's inability to bring about real reform.

His own background in Nationalist politics and his years of loyal service to the party made it all the more difficult for him to reach the decision to quit the party.

Mr Momberg said many people had believed that the 1983 Constitution would be the beginning of a process of constitutional development. But it had not happened — apartheid, as witnessed at Menlo Park and in the implementation of the Group Areas Act, still remained today.

Mr Momberg had known Dr Worrall for years when both of them were in the party. In the last three years he got to know Dr Worrall better.

These visits were made during Mr Momberg's trips abroad to watch Zola Budd's athletics performances.

During those visits, Dr Worrall gave no indication of any misgivings about the Government's direction, and always showed the utmost loyalty to the Government and his country, Mr Momberg said.

When Dr Worrall announced his resignation in London earlier this year, Mr Momberg rang the same evening and asked him "to come to Helderberg" to fight the election against Mr Heunis.

Mr Momberg said he believed a man like Dr Worrall could help to break the reform deadlock in South Africa and to move towards a new vision for the future.

Little change in choice of voters — poll

But breakaway of New Nats,
defections could alter picture

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — There was unlikely to be much change in political affiliations in the May 6 general elections, according to an opinion poll.

The results of a survey released this month by a South African research company, Market Research Africa (MRA), indicated the National Party would still enjoy majority support.

The findings are the result of a comparison of samples of the political opinions of 2 000 whites made by the MRA's Sociomonitor study between March and June 1984, and March and May 1986.

Respondents to the question on what party they identified with most as representative of their views showed little change in support for the parties to the left and right of the National Party, although the New Republic Party was said to have lost some ground.

However, the survey did not take cognisance of the resignations of a number of prominent National Party members and their decision to stand as independent candidates.

These include the former South African Ambassador to Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, the MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, an NP theoretician, Professor Sampie Terreblanche, and a senior Richard's Bay town councillor, Dr Johan Blignaut.

The resignations had not taken effect at the time of the survey.

A possible pointer to the support these "New Nats" could receive is the decline of support for the ruling party from 45 per cent in 1984 to 34 per cent in 1986.

The survey recorded that rather than switch their allegiance to another party, these previous supporters of the

NP had joined the ranks of the uncommitted who were "not prepared to choose a party and feel that none of them represented their views."

"It is not the threat from the left and the right that must be worrying the National Party in the long term, but the loss of appeal to the young," the survey said.

The 16 to 24 year age group expressed the least support for the ruling party at 26 per cent.

The NP received its most support from those in the 35 to 49 age group. Forty-five per cent of those interviewed in this age group supported the NP.

The survey said that while the NP was clearly an Afrikaans party, it enjoyed considerable support from English-speakers and other language groups.

"Even in Natal, where the Progressive Federal Party is strongest, it is outnumbered by the Nationalists."

It said support for the right was highest in the Free State, where the Conservative Party had 12 per cent and the Herstigte Nasionale Party five per cent of the voters' support.

The PFP was strongest in large urban areas where new values were more likely to be found.

This contrasted with the CP and NP, which were strong in the villages and small towns.

The CP was said to have 12 per cent of voters' support in small towns and five per cent in the metropolitan areas.

Another fact determined by the survey was that most South Africans would be willing to ac-

cept a woman state president.

Two out of three white urban adults were in strong positive agreement with the idea, while one in six was positive towards the concept.

Support for a woman as president was stronger among women, with 73 per cent in favour, than in men — of whom 62 per cent were in favour.

The survey found this concept was more acceptable to English speakers (75 per cent) than to Afrikaans speakers (62 per cent).

● Editorial opinion
P20

Sametun 26/2/87.
304A

AMEEN AKHALWYA, Editor of *The Indicator*, concludes his interview with NSL PRO Abdul Bhamjee.

Regarding the NSL's opposition to rebel tours and your moratorium on overseas tours, when you were on TV with Louis Luyt (president of the Transvaal Rugby Football Union) the other night you said you supported them and the TRFU can carry on exactly as they have been doing over the years (if the NSL were to buy Ellis Park). Now the TRFU has also been organising rebel tours. It belongs to the SA Rugby Board, which is racist in the sense that it has an African and a "coloured" association affiliated to it. Isn't that a contradictory position?

I said we must learn to live together. If we are successful in acquiring Ellis Park — it's quite a costly exercise — we will show that if blacks are in control in this country — which they will be, it's a matter of time — we will not use the same systems that the whites used against us.

We want to show our bona fides to say we must all utilise the stadium. It's the people's stadium regardless of your colour or creed. We don't want to be big enough to say that in spite of 300 years of discrimination, when we are in control you will have nothing to fear. We will accept you on certain terms and conditions.

They are free to use the stadium for the same percentage they are paying at the moment and the same terms and conditions as far as interprovincial tournaments and such are concerned.

But if there is a rebel tour in the offing we won't allow them to play. That I must make very clear.

You've been very critical of Sam Ramsamy of Sanroc, saying he had abdicated his responsibility to this country and its sport when he left, that he didn't know what was going on here. Would you say that about a whole lot of political exiles...

I want to put the matter into its proper perspective. It musn't sound as if we're at loggerheads with Sanroc or Mr Ramsamy.

One must acknowledge the enormous amount of work they have done overseas and brought about the isolation of SA sport, because if it wasn't for the isolation we'd still be in the same old days where nothing would happen.

But what we take strong exception to is

Mr Ramsamy creating mischief and trying to besmirch the name of the NSL.

He made all sorts of accusations — we are government orientated, we are supported by multinational corporations. Recently he made a big play about saying that we had sent someone overseas to establish contact for the NSL.

If he can produce a letter from the NSL or any evidence of that, we'll commit suicide, because that's not true. That's an outrageous propaganda exercise.

The NSL is not government linked. It's very



ON THE FIELD ... Bhamjee with Kaizer Motaung and Joe Frickleton.

Abdul Bhamjee on politics and soccer

FOCUS

clean. It fights the authorities every day. If he came to SA and I took him to one million blacks, if 10 greeted him or 10 knew his name, it will be a shock. So it's very easy for somebody thousands of miles away to throw stones at us when he doesn't even know us.

Overseas he has done a marvellous job, but not here.

Sacrifice

I don't want to create the impression that people who left haven't made sacrifices. They have made great sacrifices. Some of them

collaborating with the government?

When we broke away from the NPSL two years ago to form the NSL, it was a difficult task. Quite a few lives were on the line. People were paid to hit me, Kaizer Motaung and Cyril Kobus.

It was just the three of us, but we did it because we believed it was right. (NPSL president) George Thabe was taking us back into the laager. At that time everybody was playing numbers and politics.

So we said everybody's welcome to play. I agree that in a broad

get (an "Indian") to control you and all sorts of things.

So we had to take these guys in Transkei. Bopsol (Bophuthatswana Soccer League) is not really linked with us but we have an organisation in the Mafikeng area that is an associate member of Sasa.

Now we're in a Catch-22 situation. Do we tell these people "thank you very much, when we wanted your number, fine, we had a couple of thousand to inflate our number to play politics, but now that you've done a job for us get out"?

To Page 16

To further achieve these w

P.T.O.

Boycotts

From Page 6

So we think morally it's wrong to tell them "no". Although in the broad context I believe that in the near future when we disenfranchised blacks will get equality, all the homelands will just fall flat because they'll be part of a greater South Africa.

But I must be honest enough to say that, yes, it is a bit embarrassing.

Another criticism levelled at the NSL is that it's getting players from other African countries like Swaziland and Malawi who've been found violating international boycotts and been black-listed. Isn't the NSL now party to breaking its own moratorium on international links?

No. The NSL is a professional organisation. It's business. The 18 first division clubs are autonomous, free to make their own decisions like you make in business, what commodity you keep and what you sell it at.

If clubs want to get players from anywhere — and the contractual agreement they have with them — is none of our business. We can't stop that, we can't tell them that every player they sign must be scrutinised here.

were forced to leave because of circumstances. I don't hold it against them. They have gone out and done a good job.

A lot of people who are sympathetic to the NSL don't want to be linked to it for reasons outlined in some of the questions we've gone over. Another question bugging them is the NSL's promotion of organisations in Bophuthatswana, Transkei and various homelands. Wouldn't this be contrary to your stand of not

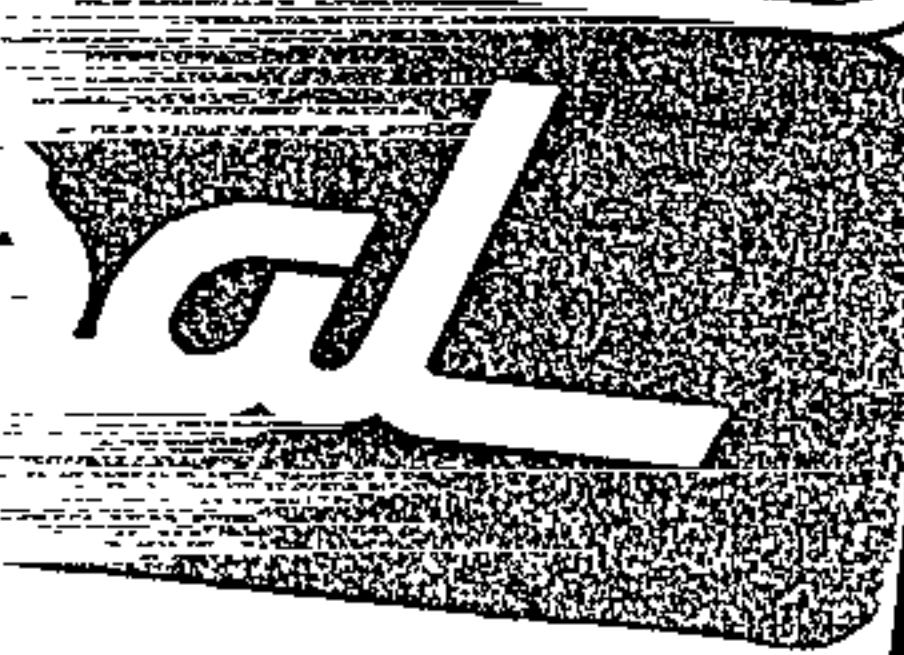
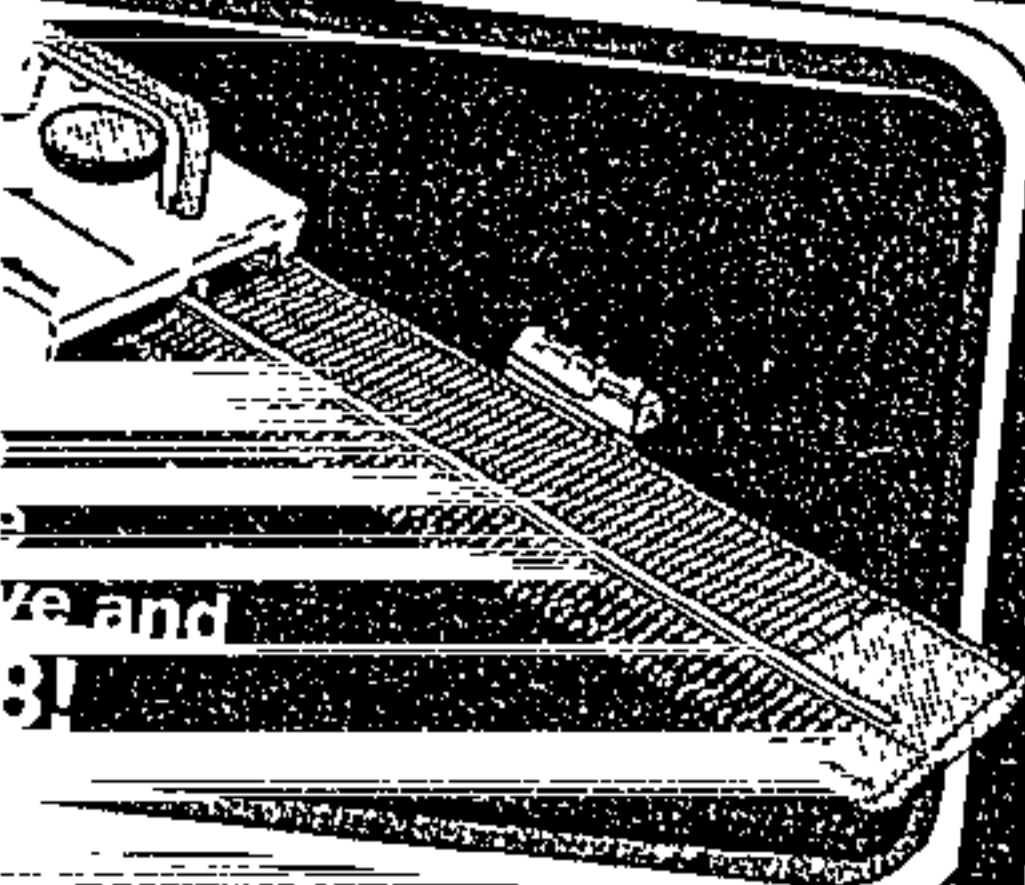
context it is contrary to our principles but I'll be naive to try to defend it.

But we were in a difficult situation. We were all playing numbers and trying to show strength and we must be honest enough to say that today we don't have to do that because we are firmly established. But at that stage we were travelling all over the country and everybody was fighting for power.

We were fighting for numbers and they were going around the country saying how can you

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Worrall in action

304A 80metun 20/2/87

DR DENIS Worrall, independent candidate in Helderberg, has opened his offices in the constituency amid increasing pledges of support, in many cases from Nationalists.

The former South African Ambassador to Britain said there was an

"extreme interesting fluidity around" in the political situation.

He was heartened by the response and felt even more confident now that he would do well than when he arrived in the constituency last week.

His chief organiser in

the constituency, Mr Jannie Momberg, echoed his words.

Meanwhile, Prof Willie Esterhuysen of the philosophy faculty in Stellenbosch has told a student group the dissatisfaction among academics over the National Party and the tension in the party's left wing were not merely a small argument among friends.

It was rather a rethink by people who previously had some involvement with the National Party, he said.

Addressing a meeting of the popular Student Alliance in Stellenbosch, he said if there was one thing that could make those on the left wing split from the party it was their conviction that blacks would have to sit in Parliament with whites and would be in the majority.

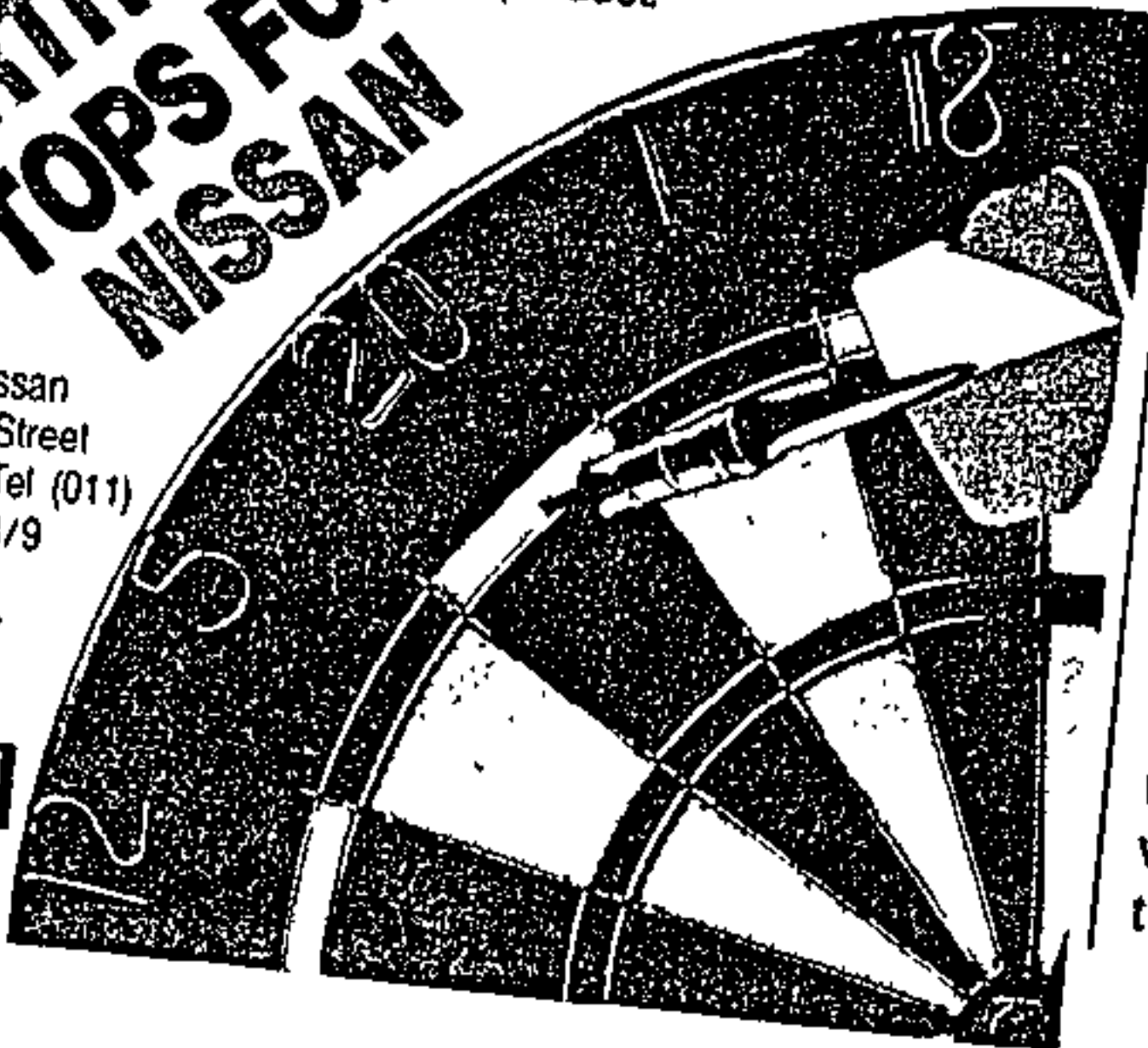
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Black pupil barred but . . .

GOVT MAY REVERSE DECISION

304A

THERE are moves in Government circles to reverse a decision to refuse a Stellenbosch white primary school permission to admit the daughters of a black Malawian clergyman who is studying at the university.

But Father Jonathan Kamwana, whose two daughters were refused permission by the Cape Department of Education to attend a white school in Stellenbosch, is adamant that he will not transfer them from a coloured school in Idas Valley if the decision is reversed.

Although it is official Government policy that, in terms of the "own affairs" in the new constitutional system, there must be separate state schools for the various race groups, the latest incident could become an embarrassment for the National Party in an election campaign and

there are moves to reverse the decision.

The English-language Rhenish Primary School in Stellenbosch has been told that it may not admit the daughters of Father Kamwana who is currently studying for a doctorate degree in theology at the University of Stellenbosch.

The decision was taken by the white "own affairs" department. In terms of its policy exceptions at white schools, pupils of colour are allowed only in the case of diplomats' children. However, private schools are allowed to be "mixed".

The school falls in the constituency of Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs who has not yet commented on the incident.

It was understood that he is involved in moves to have the decision reversed, and there may shortly be talks between himself and the

Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase.

Father Kamwana, a presbyterian minister, said he did not apply for permission to enrol his two daughters Taymike (6) and Joyce (7) to be admitted to the English medium Rhenish Primary School.

He said the Rev Jimmy Stevenson, the Local Presbyterian minister in Stellenbosch, applied on his behalf.

"I was not greatly disappointed when the application was turned down. I would have been disappointed if I had lodged the application myself," Father Kamwana said.

He said Joyce and Taymike, who are attending St Idas Primary School in Idas Valley with their brother Joseph (12) and Chifundo (9) were happy at that school.

CP move raises heat for Heunis

Cape Times 26/2/87 30614

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE decision by the Conservative Party to turn Helderberg into a three-cornered election fight has increased the pressure on incumbent Mr Chris Heunis to retain the key seat.

Mr Heunis will now have to counter a two-pronged attack from Dr Denis Worrall and the CP's Mr Len de Wet.

The CP's decision to enter the fray is likely to benefit Dr Worrall because the far right wing candidate will probably make some inroads into traditional NP support.

Announcing the candidacy of Mr De Wet, a Somerset West businessman, CP Cape leader Mr Jan

Hoon said his party had decided to stand against Mr Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, because he was responsible for a constitutional system which would allow blacks to participate in central government.

He also blamed Mr Heunis for the scrapping of influx control, which meant there were now roughly 900 000 blacks living in the Peninsula.

Mr Heunis was also responsible for the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act no longer being applied, Mr Hoon said.

Meanwhile, Stellenbosch industrialist Dr Anton Rupert has stated that his Rembrandt Group will not sponsor any candidate in the coming election. He also said

that while his banker son, Johan, was resident in the Helderberg constituency, his own home in Stellenbosch fell outside its borders.

□ Professor Marinus Wiechers of the Department of Constitutional Law at Unisa yesterday reportedly described the revolt among dissatisfied Afrikaner academics around the country as a symptom of the slow disintegration of the National Party.

He was reacting to the decision of Professor Floors van Jaarsveld, the former head of Pretoria University's History Department, to quit the NP.

Professor Wiechers said many academics in the Transvaal were questioning the government's policies, and predicted the NP was going to break up.

ELECTION pressure on Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis increased yesterday as the CP officially announced it would contest the Helderberg constituency.

CP tightens the screws on Heunis

26/2/87 304A B1 Day
Own Correspondent

It could make the difference between winning or losing for Heunis, government's chief constitutional architect.

He is already facing a groundswell of local support for former SA envoy Dr Dennis Worrall and a growing rebellion among disenchanted Nationalist intelligentsia who see Heunis as part of the barrier to reform.

Now, with the CP's Len de Wet in a three-way contest, any hope Heunis might have had of votes from the right-wing to counter the PFP support for Worrall will have been dashed.

Heunis, the NP's Cape leader and one

of its "crown princes", will have to win the seat, and win it well, to have any chance of winning the Presidency.

Political observers believe losing the seat could end his political career.

There are thought to be small but strong pockets of CP support in the constituency. Support for the party is being estimated at about 1,500.

Heunis had close to a 3,000 majority in 1981, but since then the voters' roll has increased by about 8,000, which introduces a vital unknown in the campaign.

Report by Ormande Pollak, Mutual Place, Beach Road, Cape Town.

Safair flew arms to the rebels, says US news network

SA accused of aiding Contras

By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau

Washington

A major American news network has charged that South Africa has been in cahoots with US government officials in supplying arms to Nicaraguan rebels fighting a Marxist government.

ABC News reported last night that Safair Freighters, an outfit involved in covert operations for the South African Government, had provided aircraft and crews to fly weapons to the Central American rebels known as Contras.

The deal was run, ABC claimed, by the former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) chief, Mr William Casey, in what was known as a "vest pocket operation", an arrangement close to the chest which Mr Casey handled personally.

ABC News led its nationwide broadcast with the results of an investigation into the alleged South African-Contra link, prefacing the report with a remark on "what lengths the Reagan administration has gone to in order to help the Contras when Congress was against it".

It said the South African Government was "enlisted" to help the Contras with aircraft and flight crews.

"ABC news has learnt that for over three years United States government officials and the South African Government have been working together to provide military assistance to the Contras," the report said.

US aid to the Contras remains a furiously controversial issue in Washington.

The managing director of Safair, Mr Braam Loots, today categorically denied that his company was involved in arms supply to the Contras.

He said, however, that Safair had a share in a United States company, Globe Air, which had leased aircraft to Southern Air Transport, the company which has been accused of supplying arms to the Contras.

Probing

Mr Loots said that he had been aware that the ABC network was probing the arms allegations. He said the TV network had contacted him in December and he had given it "all the information we have".

"As far as allegations that Safair was involved in flying into Central America, it is not true at all.

"It is true that we have a share in a company in the United States called Globe Air which leased planes to Southern Air Transport. Globe Air, as the lessor, has no say in what Southern Air does with its planes.

"It is impossible for a South African company to operate a South African registered aircraft into the US," he said.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said that he knew nothing about the allegations. He had no further comment to make.

It is understood the South African Government will not comment until it sees an official United States report on the Iran-Contra arms scandal which will be released later today.

NATIONAL PARTY

The haemorrhage goes on

304A 27/2/87
FIM

There was consternation in the National Party (NP) this week as it tried desperately to stem the flow of intelligentsia from the fissure in its vulnerable Left flank.

And further shocks for the party are expected within days when the plans of the growing band of independent candidates for the election on May 6 become clearer.

For the first time in decades, the NP is under serious threat from the Left in its Cape heartland as the rebellion at Stellenbosch University grows by the day.

Denis Worrall was scheduled to launch his bid to unseat

Chris Heunis at a public meeting in Stellenbosch on Thursday, and politics in the region was reaching fever pitch as the FM went to press.

The extent of the NP's concern emerged this week when the Nationalist MP for Stellen-

bosch, Piet Marais — who is himself regarded as one of the most liberal MPs — tried to argue that by standing against constitution affairs Minister Heunis in neighbouring Helderberg, Worrall is a threat to further reform.

Another illustration of NP concern was the emergency meeting in Cape Town last Friday at which President Botha and Cape Nationalist leader Chris Heunis tried to convince 27 leading Stellenbosch academics to keep their shoulders to the NP wheel. They appear to have failed.

The following day, one of the party's intellectual gurus, Stellenbosch economist Sampie Terreblanche, and law professor James Fourie — both of whom attended Friday's meeting — quit the party. Other academics who attended expressed disillusionment with the NP's policies and leadership.

This week, Stellenbosch philosophy professor Willie Esterhuyse — long regarded as being within the inner circle of government — also slammed party policy and the lack of reform.

He told a meeting of students at the university that the rumblings on the Left of the NP were far more than merely a "tiff" among friends, and should be seen as a reconsideration or reorientation of people who were earlier involved with the party. The intellectual and academic credibility of

NP policy was being questioned.

Esterhuyse says the dissidents favour blacks in parliament in a *majority* role. He says personally he has severe criticisms of the NP, but has not yet written off the party.

In another blow to the NP this week, five Free State university academics joined the growing band of intellectual rebels and associated themselves with Sampie Terreblanche.

And at the weekend, Rembrandt chairman and former staunch Nationalist backer, Anton Rupert, broke with his traditional

policy of a low public political profile and hammered government during a Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) banquet in Pretoria. His action might start an open revolt among Afrikaner businessmen.

There is now little doubt that the NP is fragmenting to both Left and Right as the election approaches.

It seems certain that an academic will stand as an independent against the Nats in Stellenbosch and align himself with Worrall and Randburg independent Wynand Malan.

The position, vis-a-vis Worrall and Malan, of a number of other independents likely to seek election is still unclear. They include a former Nationalist, Johan Blignaut in Um-

folozi; Terry Theunissen, who will oppose the PFP in Claremont; and Fred Rubidge, who is expected to stand in Graaff-Reinet.

PFP rebel Horace van Rensburg is unlikely to stand as an independent in spite of earlier threats to do so.



Terreblanche



Rupert

Breakaway academics see their first task as convincing people of the necessity for a complete rethink about this country's problems and how to address them, reports DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff.

Onus on new-wave NPs to deliver the goods

NR 6/15 27/2/87

3041

"JA-NEE, dinge is nou aan die roer in Stellenbosch" ... and the breakaway academic group at the forefront of this new-wave Nationalist thinking in the Afrikaner intellectual heartland have a responsibility to deliver the goods.

So says Professor Gerhard Erasmus, head of the department of Public Law at Stellenbosch University: "What's the use of saying 'we're disappointed'. So what. This group has made certain noises and they must now make good what they've set in motion.

"They've led many young students over the years to believe in the reform potential of the National Party and now that they have seen the light, they have a responsibility ... one they've created for themselves having given intellectual legitimacy to Nat policy for so long."

Making good the momentum they have started entails more than academic ideas and policy ponderings. These academics — *ware verligtes* they call themselves — need to throw political concrete into the chasm they have opened, says Professor Erasmus, and apart from creating organisational infrastructures and mobilising student opinion, they need a candidate ...

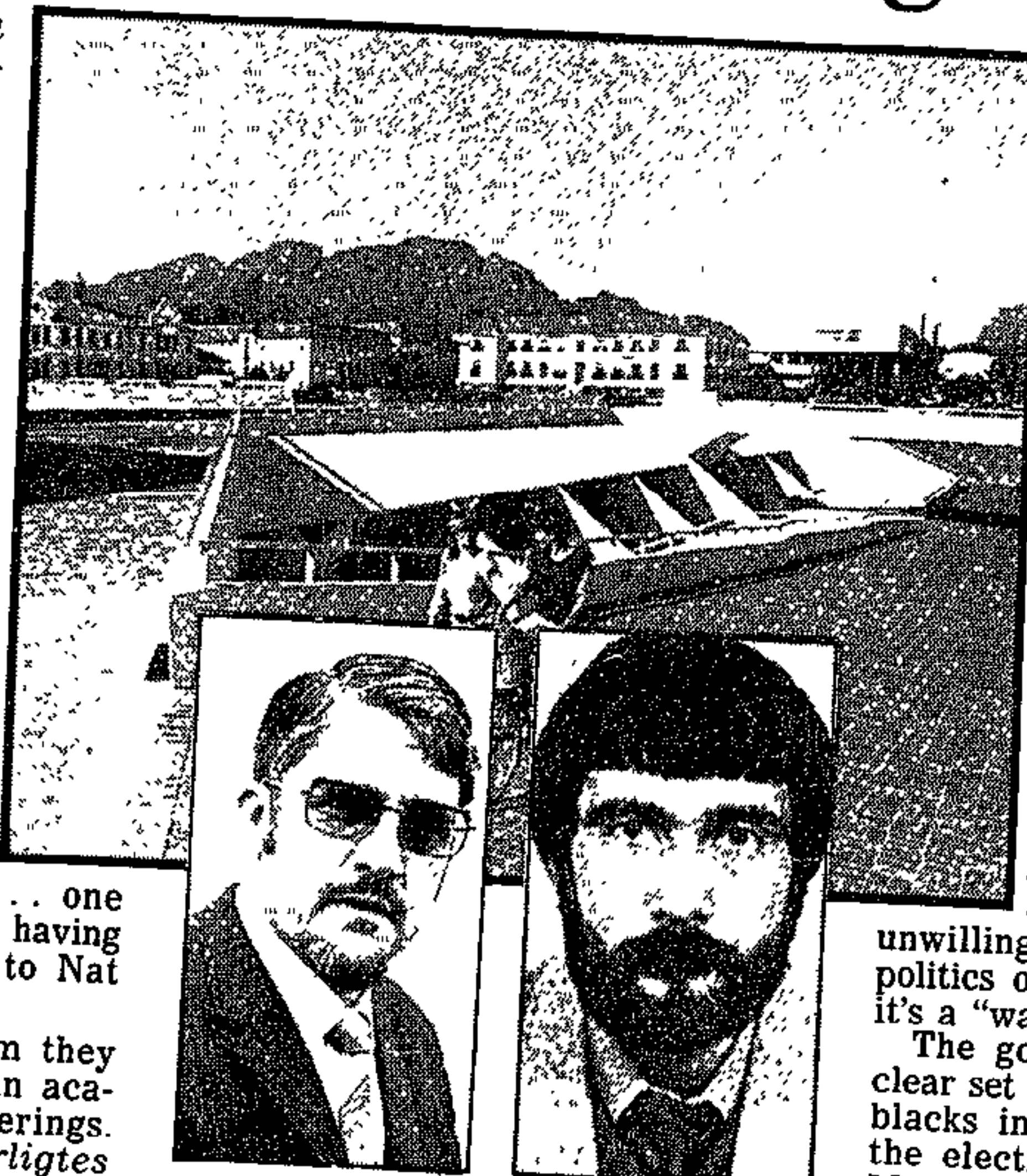
... a subject on which these *ware verligtes* are still very twitchy.

Economist Professor Sampie Terreblanche is the chairperson of Gespreksgroep '85, the discussion group made up of about 35 individual academics who have found this forum to express their disillusion and disappointment with NP policy, the policy that, until now, they have weighted with their academic status.

"In 1982-83 there was reason to be optimistic about an ongoing process of reform but there has been no advancement and we feel let down," says Professor Terreblanche. Their academic integrity has been compromised, they've said.

"But we are a discussion group and won't get involved in a political movement. We will put out statements ... one next week hopefully ... we will have discussions, write articles and I want to write a book."

With respect, that sounds like the pace of academia, not politics and as Professor Erasmus says: "There's a certain atmosphere here now ... the time is right, there's interest, momentum, sensation ... it all depends how this group exploits the uneasiness they've created in Nat circles."



Professor Terreblanche

Professor Erasmus

So what of that responsibility to act now and in time to the urgent beat of a political metronome?

"It's a valid question," says Professor Terreblanche. He avoids the idea that there might be an independent candidate among the group of *ware verligtes*.

"I agree that it would be desirable to have an independent candidate and if the right person with the right credibility would come forward, I'd support him. Stellenbosch now is not an easy proposition, but it's not impossible.

"It's important too that Malan and Worrall succeed.

"And yes, we do have a responsibility to keep the momentum going. But we must do that at an ideas level, not as organisers. We must be a *suurdeeg*, a rising agent to get rid of frozen perceptions. Our first task is to convince people of the necessity for a complete rethink about this country's problems and how to address them."

If that "right and credible" person offers the group his candidacy, would he find support in Stellenbosch?

Professor Erasmus: "The majority of the Law Faculty staff members made their move away from Nat thinking long ago and, yes, we do laugh a little about these Johnny-come-latelies. But there is support for them."

Stellenbosch Nat MP Mr Piet Marais thinks not. "I don't see the possibility of

an independent candidate as a threat. Most of the academics 'in revolt' are longstanding friends of mine and while I wouldn't say I sympathise with them, I understand them ... and we're still friends; I still value their ideas."

"I've strong reformist views but I can propagate those views within the party. I'm convinced reform will take place again ... er ... it's an ongoing process and will continue after the election," he says.

The moderate and "realistic" Popular Student's Alliance on the Matie campus — they operate as an independent student political organisation affiliated to the National Students Forum and

unwilling to tie themselves to party politics or any one-man show — says it's a "wait and see game".

The government might produce a clear set of objectives to accommodate blacks in central government before the election, say spokesmen Nicolas Myburgh and Danie Kriel.

Stellenbosch political scientist Mr Jannie Gagiano doesn't see much going on in Stellenbosch to choose from. He has just released a study claiming that 70 percent of Matie students are still NP supporters and he's unmoved by the *ware verligte* academic revolt.

"The academic group will be talking real reform when they come up with a constitutional alternative that allows blacks competitive access to the political centre. That's the bottom line."

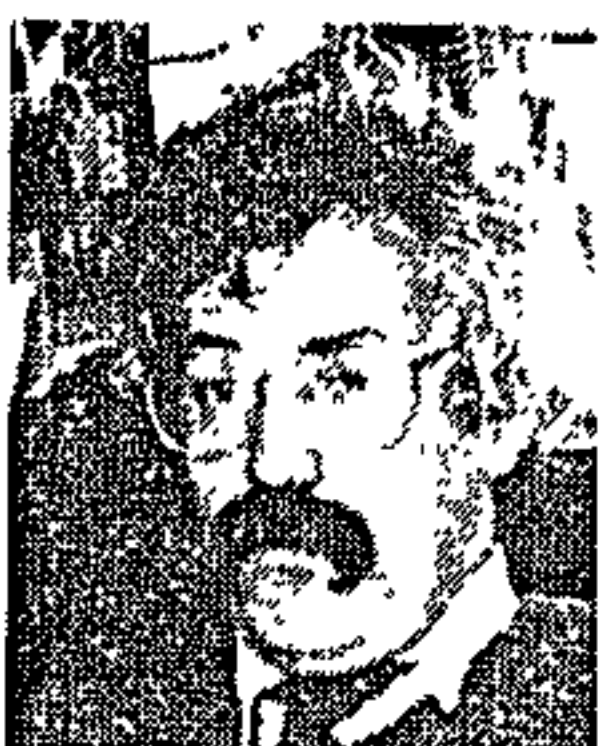
But with the Malans and the Worralls and with a certain amount of election fever in the white electorate, there are without doubt a fairly significant number of people watching the fumbles in the Stellenbosch *suurdeeg*, some of them quite excited by the apparently rising temperature.

So if Professor Terreblanche *et al* fail to "make good", as Professor Erasmus suggests they should, and the Nats clean up the May 6 poll, the anti-climax is going to be all the more felt.

"The Nats can defeat this new group and its momentum but they cannot *onderdruk* — cannot crush — the discontent which about 15 to 20 percent of the Afrikaner electorate countrywide is feeling now," says Professor Terreblanche.

Professor Erasmus counters: "I'll be very critical if they back down and don't deliver the goods. The time is right, the opportunity is there and if they don't take it, there won't be another one for a long time."

An envoy's lot . . .

IN MY
OPINION

Peter Vale is research professor and director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Recently there have been leadership changes at important South African embassies. Glenn Babb (Ottawa), Herman Beukes (Washington), Denis Worrall (London) and Kurt von Schirnding (the United Nations) have either resigned or been recalled.

Von Schirnding has been fairly outspoken on his frustration at the slow pace of the government's commitment to its reform declarations. Worrall apparently shared this frustration but also plans to re-enter public life through tricameralism which he helped to design.

The Babb and Beukes moves have been described as "routine," but both had not long been ambassadors. Public discussion on their recall has been muted, they are still professionals and presumably have no immediate plans to abandon their calling. As a result, we can only join the street speculation that they have been prematurely brought home because they too were critical of the slow progress made by the government they serve. If so, this looks bad for the Botha govern-

ment. Babb and Beukes were both highly regarded by friend and foe alike. Whatever one thinks about their political choice, it is no small achievement to be a South African ambassador held in respect in a foreign land.

While it's impossible, I believe, to hold a brief for this government, one must recognise that the merchandising of apartheid, in its old or revamped version, is not an enviable vocation: the lot of a South African ambassador is not a happy one.

The departure of four talented diplomats at this juncture in the life of the government raises the question of how much notice, if any, the State President or his foreign minister take of what their foreign representatives say about the deepening international hostility which the country faces. Do they really believe that the interests of their electorate — let alone, the country itself — are best served by telling the world to go hang? Is there a hope up there in the Union Buildings that, miraculously, there will be a change of international heart and that the government will win back its eroding legitimacy? Is the tenor of their hostility to the world geared simply to win votes in the platteland, or is it whistling in the dark?

The maxim that a diplomat is a man sent abroad to lie for his country is only a partial truth; the responsible diplomat is also charged with reporting foreign perceptions of his government, however unpalatable these may be. For their part, responsible

governments — especially those which run fairly open economies — calibrate domestic policy options to meet the perceptions of equally responsible external critics. This doesn't mean bowing to international pressure, but it does mean calculating the opportunity-cost internationally of domestic behaviour.

There is no indication that the Bothas, P W or Pik, have done this for years, not that successive Nationalist governments have ever been strong on listening to the world outside. Indeed, scores of retired South African diplomats tell of warnings unheeded in Pretoria's corridors. Foreign criticism, more often than not, has been directed towards whipping up the white electorate. There's nothing distinctively Nationalist about this, of course. Isolated and embattled governments do seldom allow the tail to wag the dog.

However, given the acute international estrangement which the Botha government has recently faced, one would expect the serious minds within its ranks to have carefully listened to the many foreign voices which have offered them support. There is scant evidence that this has happened, and those voices are increasingly muted, whatever the SABC might suggest.

Now we are faced with a situation where even the government's own ambassadors who bring bad tidings are taken from the front-line or feel that they had best jump.

ELECTION

304A

DD 27/2/87

Alliance candidate calls for indabas

Border region may need own solution

**Dispatch Reporter
QUEENSTOWN —**
The New Republic
Party-Progressive
Federal Party alli-
ance candidate in
the white general
election here, Mr
Robert Edlmann,

has called for a se-
ries of nationwide
interracial "inda-
bas".

Speaking at a meeting
in Stutterheim, he said
the meetings should be
organised along the
lines of the recent Na-
tal-KwaZulu "indaba".

But he stressed that
proposals put forward
for that area by the "in-
daba" would not neces-
sarily be suitable for
other parts of the coun-
try, such as the Eastern
Cape and Border.

Mr Edlmann said that
the main failure of the
ruling National Party
was its inability to get
South Africans of all
colours around the ne-
gotiating table. The suc-
cess of the Natal "in-
daba" had shown that
the NRP could do so.



MR EDMANN

"Given the present
state of the country, it is
a disaster that the gov-
ernment has not been
able to get together with
the real leaders of other
population groups," Mr
Edlmann declared.

● A Stutterheim NRP
steering committee,
chaired by Mr. Keith
Fennell, was set up to
liaise with local mem-
bers of the Progressive
Federal Party on joint
electoral campaigning.



GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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CAPE TOWN, 27 FEBRUARY 1987

KAAPSTAD, 27 FEBRUARIE 1987

No. 10642

STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT

No. 476

GG

27/2/87

27 February 1987

It is hereby notified that the State President has assented to the following Act which is hereby published for general information:—

No. 14 of 1987: Additional Appropriation Act, 1987.

No. 476.

27 Februarie 1987

Hierby word bekend gemaak dat die Staatspresident sy goedkeuring geheg het aan die onderstaande Wet wat hierby ter algemene inligting gepubliseer word:—

No. 14 van 1987: Addisionele Begrotingswet, 1987.

Worrall watching

The big question in the battle royal shaping up between Chris Heunis and Denis Worrall in Helderberg is, of course, whether the rebel former ambassador can unseat government's chief constitutional pilot. (304A)

If he does, then Worrall will have proved his contention that government "completely underestimates the readiness of white South Africans for fundamental change." A Worrall win will wipe out the remnants of legitimacy of government's constitutional reform programme, and could herald a major political realignment.

Big stakes indeed, but then Worrall is, as Frederik van Zyl Slabbert puts it, engaged in a "giant-killing exercise."

Worrall will have made his point even if he manages only to reduce significantly Heunis's majority — to say 1 000 votes compared to his 2 942 margin over the PFP recorded in the 1982 election.

Victory for Worrall could go down in history as comparable to the defeat of Jan Smuts by Wennie du Plessis in Standerton in 1948, an event which triggered the demise of the United Party.

On the other hand, though, if Heunis trounces Worrall will it mean that whites generally don't want faster, more dramatic,

reform than the NP is inclined to deliver? Worrall, at least, will have made his symbolically important mark in national politics and could fight again.

However tantalising the prospect of Worrall's success, political observers are cautious about his prospects. UCT's Herman Giliomee, for example, doesn't think the ex-envoy can pull it off, largely because no major class is disaffected with government, as, say, the farmers were with the old UP in 1944. If anything, he reckons that the working class of Helderberg's Brackenfell area will back the Conservative Party.

"By and large," explains Giliomee, who lives in the constituency, "the solid, non-academic middle class of Helderberg don't have severe anxieties or discontent. On the other hand, if the resignation from the NP of Sampie Terreblanche and other important opinion-formers becomes a drift, then Worrall could do well. As it is, his chances of pulling off a surprise victory are already much better than anyone would have thought a year ago."

An important unknown, of course, is the attitudes of the 8 000-plus new voters, including many ex-Rhodesians, in Helderberg since the last election.

Slabbert points out that Worrall will be fighting the NP's formidable machine, but agrees that nothing is impossible, especially in such a state of political flux.

Stellenbosch Professor of African Studies Willie Breytenbach, who served in Heunis's constitutional think-tank two years ago, says Worrall will probably not unseat the minister. However, if the CP puts up a candidate, then Worrall is in with a fighting chance, he adds. Worrall's significance, says Breytenbach, lies not so much in this election as in his future role in white SA politics — he has staked his claim.

He also cautions that independent candi-

dates tend to be nine-day wonders, and says that even two swallows (Worrall and Wynand Malan) don't make a summer. Despite signs of a groundswell against the NP as reflected in the defections of the Mombergs and the Luyts, Breytenbach warns against underestimating the NP in an election.

The personality clash between Heunis and Worrall is well known. But it is a pity, from a reform point of view, says Breytenbach, that two people so similar in political outlook are going in to fight one another. The professor argues that despite apparent differences over group areas and the Indaba, his former boss Heunis would say that he has never rejected either for all time.

In other words, their differences are merely semantic. Breytenbach also suggests that the independents are really "fast Nats, not new Nats." They want *faster* reform. If nothing else, then, the campaign might yet force Heunis to say clearly what he believes and where he is going. ■

THE NEW NATS

Waiting for Worrall



Denis Worrall could have gone for a softer target — Stoffel Botha in Port Natal. That his target is Chris Heunis in Helderberg is a measure of his courage and sincerity. For, as he

points out (see *Face to face*), Heunis symbolises the reform programme of P W Botha's National Party (NP), and, equally, the shoals on which that programme has immovably beached itself.

Worrall's — and Wynand Malan's, Jan-nie Momberg's and Sampie Terreblanche's — calculation is that there is a new spirit abroad in the land: that it manifests itself

Denis Worrall's candidacy in Helderberg shows courage — and nationwide he has intellectual support. Will this be enough to unseat the wily and seasoned, if vague, president-in-waiting Chris Heunis? A warning has been delivered to the incumbent Caesar.

above all in the ranks of disaffected "New Nats" who are gaining the courage daily to fly their true reformist flag.

The P W Botha initiative, once hailed, is dead. The Hendrickse affair, the Menlo Park fiasco, the Chris Ball tirade, obduracy on the Group Areas Act — these are testimony

enough of a leader who has nothing new to offer and who, since the Rubicon speech, has insistently clung to the fraying unity of a party without direction.

An analysis of Worrall's actual position shows the dilemma in which he found himself in London. A public advocate of impending change since 1974 (see box), he speaks of ministers wafting through South Africa House with hints and promises of *big change*; and that means the repeal of Group Areas and of the repellant race classification laws.

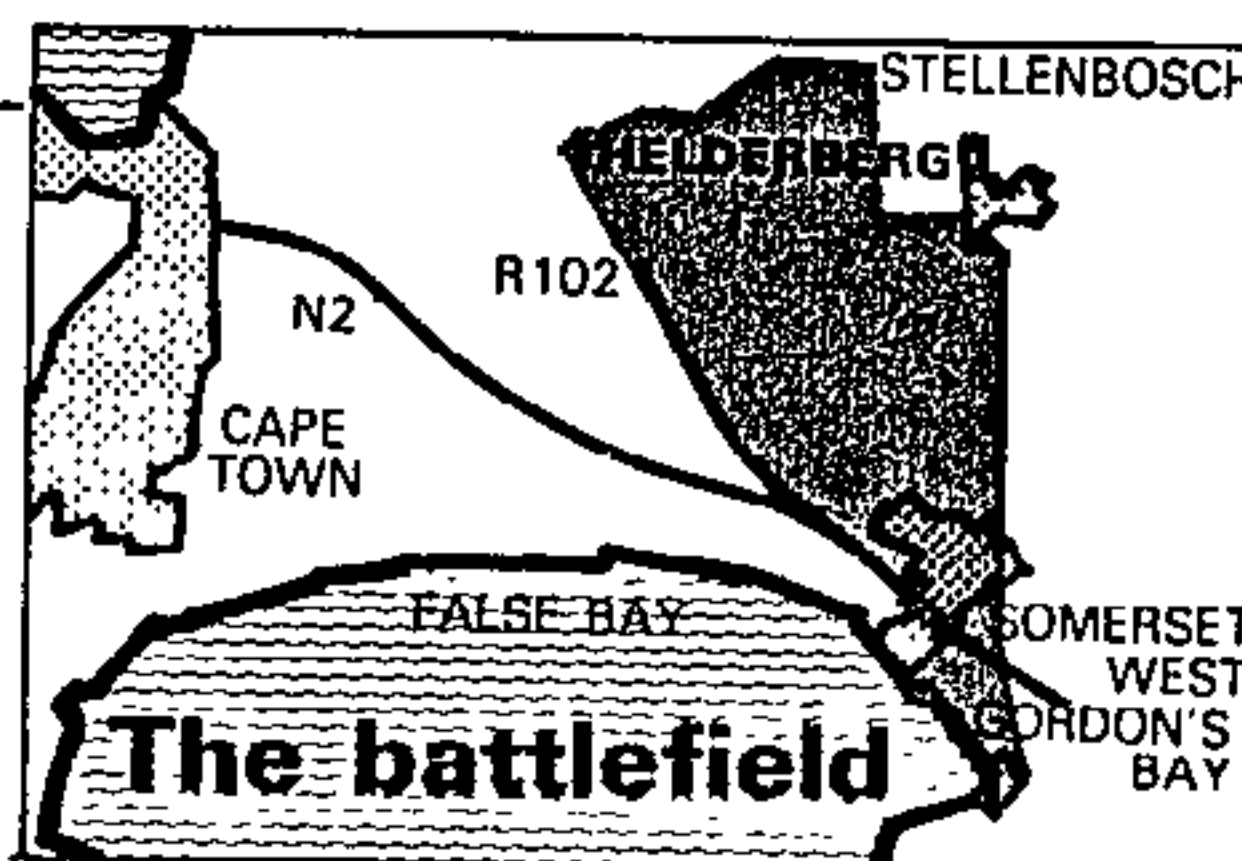
At the same time, it is much, much too late for anyone to hope for a Nationalist reversal to the *status quo ante* the implementation of the new constitution, when the prospect of a fourth black chamber was there, as a consequence of evolution if of nothing else. The

advisory black chamber was rejected by precisely those black leaders (above all Mangosuthu Buthelezi) whom Prime Minister Botha, as he then was, believes incarnate the aspirations of the masses.

Worrall notes that his, and Malan's, position will become clearer as the date of the May 6 election approaches. Certain standpoints will be put by the renegades — for such they are, barring signing up with the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) — for the endorsement of the white electorate.

What then can we expect? The proposed abolition of the last race bastions, certainly — but more, a mandate will be sought for negotiations with black representatives. That means not just the African National Congress (ANC), but other black movements — Inkatha, naturally, the Pan-Africanist Congress, and, where they are real structures in which recognised figures hold power, the homelands.

The economic folly of a KwaNdebele —



where commuters face six hours of travel each day — can and should be relatively easily undone: the repeal of the influx control laws for the non-independent homelands make an absurdity of such an entity in any case. (You have a Norweto, or its equivalent, or you have squatter camps on the doorstep of Pretoria.) But what of Bophuthatswana, or for that matter the Ciskei and Transkei, who appear to be willing to go to war for their land and other claims. They cannot simply be disregarded.

The ANC, again as Worrall notes, is in-

side SA as much as the External Mission subsists in Lusaka, fielding Umkhonto we Sizwe. A one-man-one-vote election with the ANC standing as an organisation committed to a *peaceful* resolution of conflict — a position towards which SA and the ANC were inching last year around the time of the visit of the Eminent Persons Group — seems far removed now. But an all-or-nothing approach is precisely what Worrall *et al* are arguing against — no handover to black power, no entrenchment of white power.

The release of Nelson Mandela would signal the beginning of such a process of negotiation — whatever Mandela or the External Mission may say about a "simple" negotiation about a handover of power to blacks. Such a step is unlikely to enter into the calculations of the New Nats, though Mandela's release is likely to occupy them very much indeed, notwithstanding Albert Nothnagel's grovel to Botha.

A further argument which Worrall and

Areas 27/2/87

Thousands wait for Worrall

DR DENIS Worrall com-

manded eager attention in a Stellenbosch town hall festooned with the South African flag as he played Everyman. The hecklers had either got the wrong town hall or were too intimidated to make a peep.

Posters on every pole in this *hardland dorp* said Dr Worrall Speaks: Everyone Welcome ... Exclamation Mark.

The Stellenbosch intelligentsia were there (including Professor Sampe Terreblanche, chairman of the "Nat academic rebellion"); Gary Player was there ("He's my man"); Jannie Engelbrecht was there and "I heard Bo-land Coetzee was coming too" was the mutter at the crowded Press table.

By 7.10 the town hall which takes 1 100 people seated, was three-quarters full. There were Rhenish school girls, earnest young Maties and the cabernet superior of the local brew. International television cameras teetered and jostled for space. By 7.30 when Dr Worrall entered the hall to a partly standing ovation and a slow steady clapping, the hall was spilling over ... roughly 1 500 people and more were apparently turned away at the door.

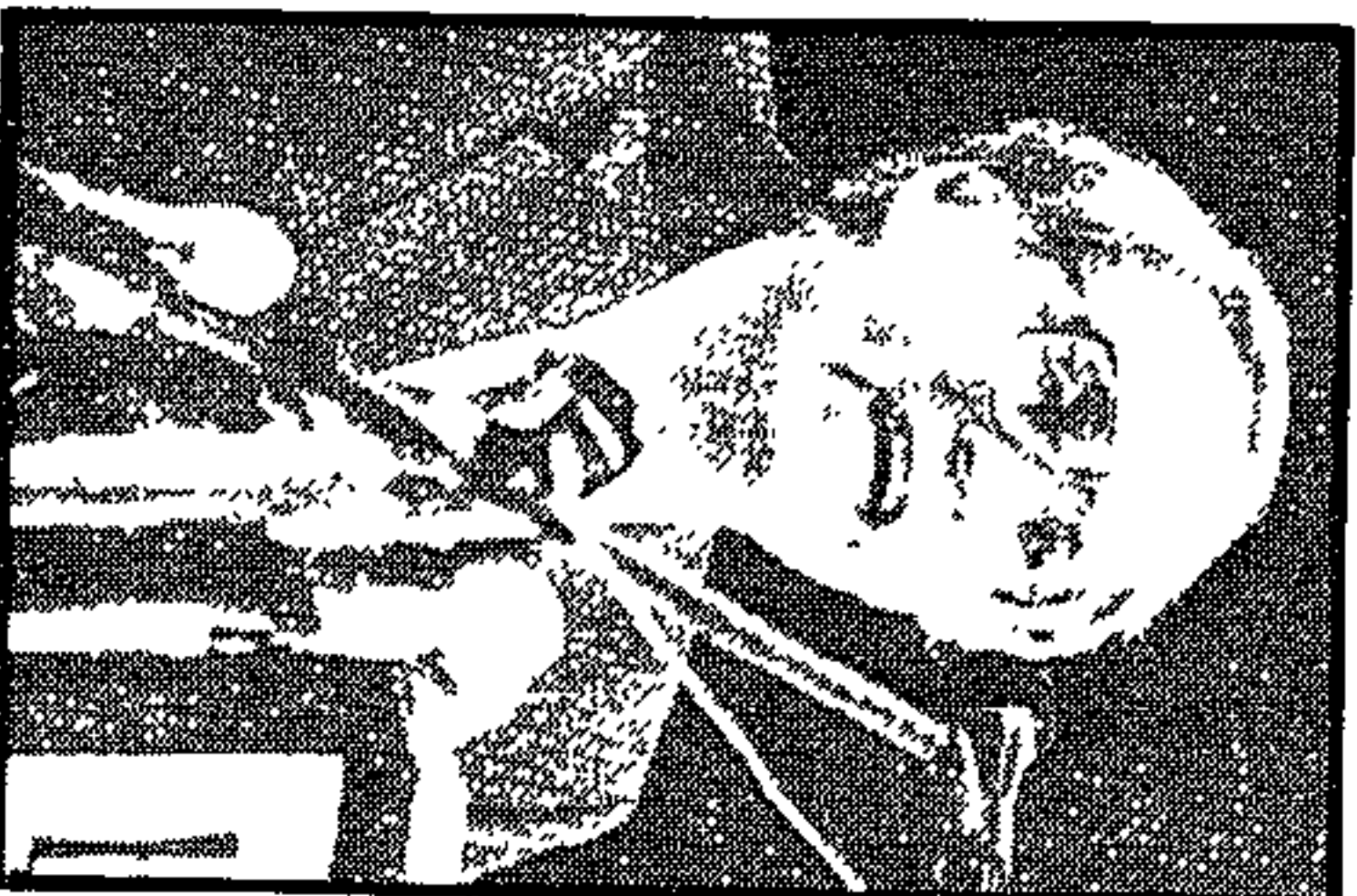
Dr Worrall is smaller than his media image suggests. He wore an understated suit and someone had fixed a blooming buttonhole in his yellow and white campaign colours to his lapel. The ferny bits tickled his neck as he roasted and wilted a bit under the glare of TV lights.

"I'm braaing up here," he said. The politician's human touch.

The first platform he carefully carved was an international one and to those used to the rough and ready down-home politics of *huishoek* and *stadtaal* emotion, he must have been impressive.

The accent was London gloss ... the professionalism of knowing how to handle that watchful beast, the media ... Dr Worrall is not going for the thrust and parry

Reports by
DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff



Dr Worrall, above, addresses a packed hall, right, in the Stellenbosch town hall last night.

of a mud-slinging campaign against Mr Chris Heunis.

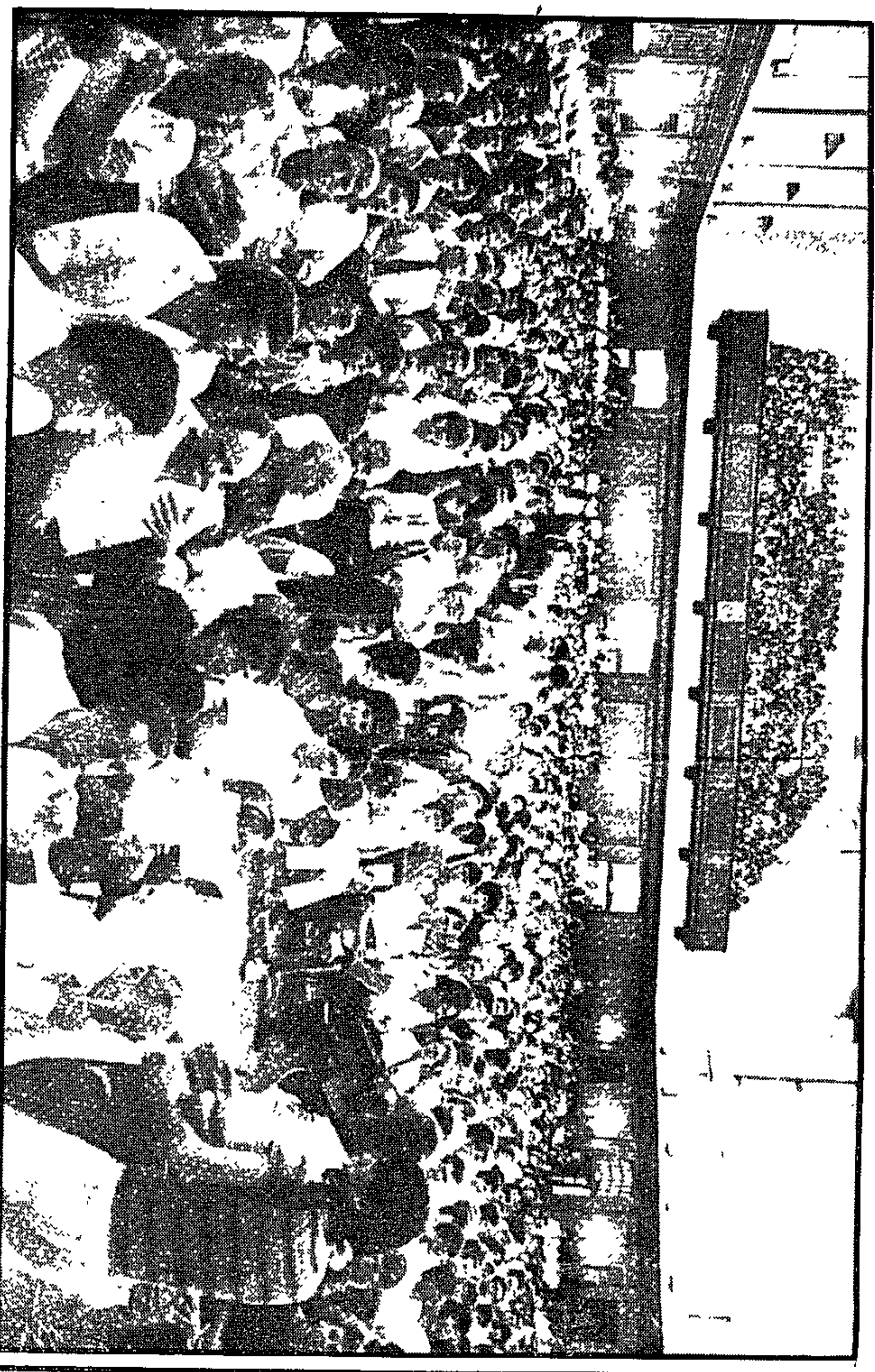
The "Prog-Vulture-Candidate" is playing sophisticated. It's an image on which his former Nat colleagues are going to have difficulty making a muddle stick.

Mindful of those international cameras but not wanting to alienate the *volk*, Dr Worrall struck a compromise which allowed the *volk* to glow with pride at the worldly stature of their man while he beamed to the BBC, CBC, ITV, XYZ.

"There is great international interest in this meeting and, therefore, I shall address the international media first, in English. Then I can speak more intimately to you."

Cue ... Lights ... and Dr Worrall turned on camera with his delighted homecoming message; his anti-sanc-tions stand; his dear friends, the South African problem is one which has to be solved by South Africans.

Dr Worrall's election manifesto is still to come ... "If a Worrall wins, if a Malan wins, that will be a clear message to the government".



'SA thirsty for leadership'

DR Denis Worrall and Mr Wyndand Malan will fight the election on a joint manifesto, Dr Worrall announced in Stellenbosch at the launch of his Helderberg election campaign.

Dr Worrall indicated he would co-operate closely with Mr Malan who is standing as an independent in Randburg.

"We're coming out with our own manifesto and we're going on a national campaign with that manifesto," Dr Worrall told 1 500 people in the Stellenbosch Town Hall last night.

He promised the contents of his election platform soon.

Dr Worrall, who is opposing the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in the Helderberg constituency, crit-

icised the National Party manifesto as a weak document without a vision for the future.

"There are millions of South Africans thirsty for leadership and that sense of vision which will ensure us and our children and our grandchildren a passage to the 21st Century."

Dr Worrall indicated he would co-operate closely with Mr Malan who is standing as an independent in Randburg.

Lesson to the world

If South Africa could provide the answers which allowed different people to live in harmony, it would be a lesson to the world.

"That is our mission, the destiny of this country, and we can realise that destiny in the world on May 6."

He said he perceived a readiness among South Afri-

cans to address fundamental problems and he criticised the government's inability to move away from the concept of groups and accept the demographic realities of the country.

There was a sense of eagerness for a vision which would provide the basis for a shared democracy in which minority rights were safeguarded but in which majoritarian principles applied, he said.

"Our leaders are unfortunately missing that fundamental groundswell of opinion in the country now and this feeling is not restricted to non-Nats and blacks but is being felt by Nationalists too. To demonstrate that I must win Nationalist support."

His success in Helderberg and the success of Mr Malan

in Randburg would be a powerful message to the Government, the black community and the world, he said.

Issues in campaign

He was not against the National Party but against the Government and its leadership.

"And I know many government people agree with me," he said.

The two issues he would be addressing most closely in his campaign would be the Group Areas Act — which the National Party pointedly ignored in its manifesto — and the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba which he described as an impressive step towards negotiation politics which the Government had dismissed.

Worrall: Whites willing to end apartheid

Cape Times 27/2/82

306A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH. — Whites are willing to accept the ending of apartheid and the granting of political rights to all South Africans, Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

Speaking to a capacity audience at the Stellenbosch City Hall, Dr Worrall said the government failed to appreciate the preparedness of whites to tackle the fundamental questions facing the country.

"I have the sense that whites are groping out towards a shared democracy in which minority rights are protected but in which majoritarian principles apply.

"Whites want the situation in this country turned around. But our leaders unfortunately are missing this fundamental groundswell of feeling. Government leaders underestimate

Gary Player is a fan

GARY PLAYER last night said he was "a tremendous fan" of Dr Denis Worrall. Player was a member of the audience which listened to Dr Worrall launch his campaign in the Helderberg constituency last night.



"I think this is one of the most exciting things in South African politics in a long time," Player said.

the willingness of white South Africans to make the sacrifices and adjustments needed to find the fundamental answers.

"Just as blacks have a right to a place in the sun so do whites, especially Afrikaners," he said.

Dr Worrall said he had chosen to stand in the Helderberg constituency because he could best demonstrate the preparedness of South Africans for fundamental change in that constituency.

Dr Worrall said he intended to make the Group Areas Act and the KwaNatal Indaba the two key issues in his election campaign.

"I'm not against the National Party but against the government leadership. I believe that if a Worrall wins in Helderberg and a Wynand Malan can win in Randburg this will send a powerful and simple message — we can move more quickly."

Dr Worrall said that victories by independents in the May 6 poll could

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From page 1

Worrall

Cape Times 27/2/82

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bring hope and confidence to black South Africans. Areas Act — "a source of great bitterness" — from the agenda.

Dr Worrall said that at a time when South Africa was bedevilled by unrest, a stagnant economy and international isolation, the government had produced a very weak election manifesto.

In the manifesto the government asks for a mandate for reform but then it insisted on not removing the Group

The government asked for a mandate to go ahead with negotiation with blacks but then rejected one of the most impressive examples of such negotiation — the KwaNatal Indaba.

The government stated that it wanted to create political structures for blacks but all it could offer was independent city states.

PW insensitive, says Worrall

304A
Worrall
27/2/87

STELLENBOSCH — The reaction of President P W Botha to the Menlo Park black-athlete incident showed insensitivity to the feelings of blacks, Dr Denis Worrall, former Ambassador to London, said last night.

He opened his campaign as an independent candidate for the Helderberg seat by packing the City Hall here with 1 200 people who repeatedly applauded his criticisms of Mr Botha and the Government.

And the squeeze on the Constitutional Affairs Minister, Mr Chris Heunis, Helderberg's MP, increased with a PFP challenge to say publicly

if he supported the application by the Rhenish Primary School committee to admit two black children from Malawi.

But Mr Heunis dismissed the challenge, saying: "I am not prepared to say anything further."

Last night Dr Worrall said, in reference to the Menlo Park incident, that Mr Botha's comment that it happened all over the world but was blown up in SA was untrue.

"Black boys are simply not barred from participating in sport with their fellow scholars anywhere in the world," he said.

"His statement also shows a lack of sensitivity towards the feelings of

black people.

"One has only to compare the realism of Mr Botha on that incident as a leader of the Government with the reaction of the head boy and head girl of Menlo Park, who expressed themselves in a direct manner with their futuristic viewpoint."

Although Mr Botha had erred, there was no one within his political leader group who would point out he was wrong.

"That is also one of our problems. If our perception at the top can be so wrong, then we have a problem with our evaluation of fundamental issues and our addressing of them," he said. — Sapa

After barely two steps inside he rea-

FORCE ARE INVESTIGATING

NP rent controversy upsets Jews

By Carina le Grange,
Religion Reporter

The renting of synagogue property to a National Party candidate in Johannesburg has sparked controversy amid members of the city's Jewish community.

The director of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Mr A Goldberg, said yesterday the board disapproved of any Jewish institution hiring space to political parties.

Mr Goldberg was com-

menting on the Temple Israel in Hillbrow hiring out an office to NP candidate Mr Leon de Beer.

At least one member of the management committee had indicated he might resign as a result and other members have also expressed dissatisfaction.

Mr Goldberg said: "We disapprove of any Jewish organisation hiring out office space to any political party.

"Our policy is that there is no collective

South African Jewish view on political issues — that is the prerogative of individuals. We disapprove of any Jewish organisation or institute becoming identified with any political expression."

Rabbi Herbert Richer confirmed the office has been hired out to Mr de Beer after the space had been advertised.

He said a statement by Temple Israel said: "No discriminatory restriction was mentioned in the advertisement."

Fight for your land — HNP man

By Adele Baleta

27/2/87

304A

Star

The Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) candidate for Pretoria East, Mr Attie Treurnicht, last night appealed to about 80 people at a meeting in Brixton, Johannesburg, to fight for their land and children.

To applause he said: "There is no order in the land even though we have a state of emergency. We say if it is necessary to shoot one black, then shoot him. If it is necessary to shoot a million, shoot a million."

Earlier a member of the audience was made to apologise for calling HNP member, Mrs Stephanie van Heerden "a traitor to the English cause".

When he tried to speak he was shoved off the platform to shouts of "Jews are cowards".

Mr Treurnicht said the Government was frightened of sanctions — "With our mineral riches, at least 85 percent of the world's reserves, we should have the

world crawling at our feet."

"We have seen how the red band of communism has crept around Africa and yet the National Party made a pact (Nkomati Accord) with the communist leader of Mozambique, Samora Machel."

He said South African Indians did not belong in Africa and should go back to India.

To blacks he said: "You can stay in Soweto. You will always remain Zulus or Xhosas and your political rights will be tied to your homeland."

To coloureds: "You can have your own areas where you can find your own political rights."

The CP and HNP had differences. But they should not fight over small issues, allowing Nelson Mandela to become State President.

Mr Treurnicht is the brother of Conservative Party (CP) leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

DENIS WORRALL

Getting the message across →

Ex-Ambassador to Australia and the UK Denis Worrall has resigned from State office to contest the Helderberg constituency against his old rival Chris Heunis. Here he outlines his reasons and plans.

FM: Why are you standing in Helderberg?

Worrall: It is the constituency where I can most effectively make the point I want to make: that is that government is misreading white public opinion. It underestimates completely the readiness of white South Africans for fundamental change. To make that point I have to contest a National Party seat because I must make it with NP supporters.

I think the voters are informed and receptive to my approach. I would like to develop themes and ideas and appeal to interest through themes and ideas. The constituency is also a very nice amalgam of Afrikaans and English plus agricultural interests, people with an export interest and conscious therefore of international attitudes towards SA. The contest in Helderberg is going to provoke tremendous international interest.

What was the final straw that prompted your resignation as ambassador and decision to stand for election?

My decision to come back to SA developed over a long period. The last 18 months in London were very frustrating for the simple reason that I was dealing with promising developments in the international field — the Eminent Persons Group, the

EEC and Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit to SA — and they came to nought. Government was not coming through on its reform goals. This was very frustrating...

But the wish to play a role, which after all is why I went into public life in 1974, became something of an imperative after four years abroad, and I had a growing feeling that government was missing out back home. I have certain developed ideas in this respect and want to feed them in.

Considerations which influenced my decision to come back included the manner in which the President's Council's recommendation on the Group Areas Act was handled. That was a tremendous blow to us abroad because we had had ministers coming through the embassy and giving talks to journalists and MPs saying that Group Areas was being studied and a report was due soon, so expectations were created.

The other key factor was the initial government response to the KwaNatal proposals. Stoffel Botha's initial reaction had a devastating effect on our friends.

Who is backing you (a) financially and (b) with an organisational infrastructure?

All the support I have so far is from individuals. It is not enough as yet because elections in SA — I have discovered — are very expensive indeed.

What do you see as the key issues in the election?

Ending apartheid and specifically a statement on the Group Areas Act. The KwaNatal Indaba must be an issue. Government's handling of it, given its commitment to negotiation, is extremely unfortunate. The Indaba is the most promising product of the inter-racial negotiating process that we have had to date.

What do you believe would be the significance of beating Heunis?

To defeat him would be the clearest indication to government that it must take white SA into its confidence and tackle the fundamental issues which will bring about the sort of SA we all want to see created.

How do you see the future ahead for SA?

A lot depends on the outcome of this election. It is critically important because the system, and political and leaders within the system, have lost the initiative. I have a feeling that this is the last opportunity we have to regain that initiative.



Candidate Worrall interviewed by the FM's Chris Freimond

* endeavours of Wynand Malan and I — which will in time become clearer — could affect the outcome.

You are apparently working very closely with Wynand Malan. What is the significance of that?

While the issues we face in our separate constituencies are different, we have similar styles and certainly our objective is the same. We both sense this absence of vision. For example, what has government to offer young South Africans about to embark on their careers? It is an incredible indictment of government that there is this feeling of utter pessimism and helplessness among young people.

How do you see your relationship with the PFP, particularly vis-a-vis Colin Eglin's strategy of aiming at a broad anti-Nationalist reform alliance?

Colin Eglin has shown great statesmanship by not putting up candidates in Randburg and Helderberg. It was the sensible thing to do in the circumstances. But I disagree with his anti-Nationalist reform alliance approach. Whether we like it or not the NP is the major white political party in SA and will continue to be the main expression of Afrikaner opinion — which is the dominant community within white SA.

The NP is obviously going to win the election, but can you see it ever becoming a vehicle for real change and if so, can you see yourself ever rejoining the party?

One would hope that in this election campaign the point is made sufficiently strongly and with sufficient groundswell that the NP has misread white opinion and that it has to address itself to fundamental change. If this does happen, I believe there are enough people in the NP to sense what must be done. I think the NP could return to the role of the initiator with a sharp cutting edge.

How do you rate P W Botha's performance as head of government?

I can understand his frustration and sense

of resentment in having initiated much change for which he is given very little credit by most Western leaders — Mrs Thatcher is an exception. I respect him as a person. He certainly took chances in appointing me chairman of the constitutional committee of the PC. His big failing is that his perceptions certainly don't match the reality of the South African situation. To illustrate this point I refer to the interview on TV last week in which he was asked about the Menlo Park affair and said this kind of thing occurs all over the world. He went on to say it is only in SA that it is blown up. That is simply incorrect.

You are regarded as one of the key architects of the current constitution. What are your comments on its operation thus far?

I laid the basis, the theoretical approach, and we developed certain thoughts and made detailed proposals regarding the executive. We suggested an executive which was separated from the legislature, and we gave very good reasons why that should be so. But that aspect of the report, which was in fact the bulk of it, was overlooked.

In retrospect do you believe it was a mistake not to include blacks on the first PC and in parliament under the new constitution?

Initially of course the suggestion was that blacks would have a council; it is regrettable that they turned it down because I have no doubt that had blacks accepted to serve on the council we would have seen it merging its functions with the PC.

Black input would have ensured black participation in the 1983 constitution. As it was, without black participation, the practical political circumstances within which the constitutional committee functioned were such that it just wasn't possible to include blacks.

How can blacks be accommodated constitutionally?

Political rights for all South Africans are going to have to be negotiated. What form

that takes will depend on the negotiations. Personally I believe the situation calls for a greater focus on incorporation of blacks. One of the regrettable aspects of the current situation is that the inclusion of blacks is seen in terms of two stark alternatives: the status quo with certain adjustments, or universal franchise in a unitary state. There are many variations in between, but they have not been spelt out, and therefore the whole discussion of this central issue of our politics is very sterile. **What role do you see the ANC playing in the peace process and how would you get the organisation involved?**

A mistake both we in South Africa and Western governments have made is to view the ANC as the only organisation which should be involved in a process of negotiation. There obviously are other organisations as well. Another mistake people are making is to view the ANC as the leaders in Lusaka or London or wherever. The ANC is of course in SA itself. The ANC is a factor in this situation and there is no doubt in my mind that the ANC, among other organisations, must be involved in a process, but the priority is to get that process going.

You appear to be strongly in favour of the KwaNatal Indaba as a process towards negotiated change. Can the process be applied nationally?

Here we have representative organisations in a distinctive region of the country drawing up constitutional proposals of considerable detail for the people of that region. That is its significance. My feeling about the Indaba is that whatever reservations people may have about the proposals themselves, the fact is it should be left to the people of the region to decide whether they want to apply them.

That approach does have a relevance generally in that there may well be other regions of the country where we could get a similar process going.

his ideological allies can muster concerns the economy. At best real growth, at worst reconstruction, cannot begin until SA rejoins the civilised world community. One small step in that direction would be to free the press and the flow of information. The build-up of an interventionist mentality — in which sanctions and boycotts are almost welcomed in some circles as being in some magical fashion job-generators — must be dispelled by the arguments of the free market.

This must give some concern to those who support Worrall. Essentially a brilliant political scientist, he is more at home in the aerial sphere of constitution-making than in economics. Nor has he, any more than Wynand Malan, broken free of the shackles of a government which has allowed the principles of socialism and mediocrity to become endemic in the public sector, and which maintains an overly-protective stance towards key but ageing industries.

A carefully reasoned free-market economic platform — distinguished from the confusion which so often prevails in PFP circles — would be a rational approach to the intelligent voters of the Helderberg, swayed as they are bound to be by the thinking emanating from Stellenbosch. But this raises an important question: whether he has the backing of the intelligentsia, as well as of his 20-odd kinfolk in the Gordon's Bay area, can Worrall win?

Chris Heunis is a constituency man; his accessibility to voters is renowned, and even if what he says tends to turn after a few moments into an impressionistic blur, he is an amiable personality. Doubtless across the country there are more than enough people who would like to see Worrall on the crossbenches — displacing a man who, in innocence or otherwise, is capable of yet more damage than we have seen since September 1984 if he fields yet more unworkable constitutional legerdemain. But we do not enjoy a system of proportional representation, so nationwide support means little in individual constituencies.

What we do have is a bastardisation of the Westminster system — an idea which has been simmering since before 1974, in the conclaves of the Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society (Spro-cas); in the Cabinet of John Vorster (who first mooted a tricameral parliament); and later in the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council (PC), as devised by Worrall, then amended by Heunis.

The constitutional report of Spro-cas — despite the fate of those who participated in the more activist Spro-cas 2 — was a reasoned document which argued that it was not necessary to look to Westminster in seeking a new constitution for a heterogeneous society, such as ours. It did, however, seek to en-



Heunis

trench the rule of law, access to the courts, and so on. However, Worrall declined to sign the majority Spro-cas report; then he popped up as a Nat in 1974, wended his way through the old Senate, parliament, foreign chancelleries; and is now back with an as-yet ill-defined vision for the future.

So — can he beat Chris Heunis at a game

at which he has never really excelled? Heunis leads the Nats in the Cape and would like to be the next president. That, however, depends on the historical numbers game played each time the leadership of the NP comes up for decision. It is from the Transvaal that the prime minister (now president) is traditionally elected, for it has the largest caucus. P W Botha's election was an anomaly, made inevitable by the disgrace of Con-



Worrall

nie Mulder. (The NP is a regionally-based federal organisation.)

This means that, even assuming he defeats Worrall, Heunis must hope for enough attrition to the Right in the Transvaal to rob F W de Klerk of his shot at the top job. It probably also means he has to win over the OFS caucus. But these games must await the outcome of the white election and the retirement of P W

Botha — a retirement which, while long overdue, is not at this stage in prospect.

The president, opinion holds, is angered by the West — and the media — for not giving him full credit for his major reform moves, and the fact that the party split over them. He does not intend to go down in history as a *hensopper*. Fortunately for him, the Herstigte Nasionale Party continues to mistrust the Conservatives since they adhered to the policies of John Vorster, and only broke away a decade and more after Jaap Marais went trolling in the wilderness.

There is another possibility — that Worrall, while failing to unseat Heunis, can summon enough support at the hustings to make a credible national focus for post-Botha reformists. Such a platform would support the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, race classification, separate amenities, and seek to engage credible black leaders in negotiation. However, that way lies the danger of a certain futility given the swiftness with which events are proceeding in SA (censorship notwithstanding). Witness Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

The many South Africans with entitlement to British passports who have been flooding the UK embassy in Pretoria with calls about far-fetched "rescue" missions are one index of the uncertainty about the future which besets the nation.

It must finally be said that Worrall — as a person and a phenomenon — is welcome, bringing a breath of fresh air to a stultified political atmosphere. We have said before that P W Botha is finding that the calling of the election is having consequences he could neither have predicted nor desired. Attrition to the Right is hardly matched by attrition to the Left — but the fact that leading *oorbeligte* Afrikaners have said "no" to the Botha axis is of paramount importance.

We would like to think Worrall can defeat Heunis — for that could indeed get the processes of reform, and in turn economic growth, under way again. But he is going in against a cunning and seasoned opponent. To lose in Helderberg would deal Worrall — and his camp-followers — a grievous blow. The power of Botha's patronage would then assure a longer stasis than most would want to bear; but by then there will be little to be done about it. So to Worrall and Malan and Terreblanche: *voorspoed* — but beware the power of vested interests.

WORRALL'S RISE

- Born Benoni May 29 1935; grew up in the Cape.
- Graduated UCT — BA Hons, MA in philosophy and law. Unisa — LLB.
- 1960 — scholarship to study in US; spent five years there.
- Doctorate from Cornell University, USA, thesis on Nigerian federalism which followed an academic year (1962-1963) as a Cornell research fellow at Ibadan University in Nigeria.
- Held teaching and research posts — mainly international relations and comparative government — at Cornell, UCLA, Natal, Unisa, Wits and Rhodes.
- Appointed to the old Senate by the Nats in 1974.
- Elected Nat MP for Gardens in 1977.
- Appointed chairman of the constitutional committee of the first President's Council in 1980.
- Appointed ambassador to Australia in 1982, before the committee had completed its task.
- Moved to London as ambassador in 1984.
- Worrall is author of several academic books including *South Africa: Government and Politics*, which is regarded as the first general textbook on SA politics.
- Edited the intellectual review journal, *New Nation*, from 1967 to 1974.
- Has travelled widely in Europe, the US and the Far East.
- Is married to a Rumanian-born woman, Anita, whose family emigrated to Canada in 1950. The couple met while Worrall was studying at Cornell. She is a qualified child psychologist. The couple have three sons aged 15, 14 and 12.

Everyman's guide

One of the major criticisms of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba is that the electorate does not yet have a proper grasp of the implications of its constitutional proposals. If the Indaba is to become an election issue, it is important that they do.

According to the Indaba Steering Committee, whose task it is to see that Natalians are kept informed, there is good reason for this. The short notice given for the election, they explain, left insufficient time to embark on a proper information campaign, which is only now getting under way.

Moreover, much of the criticism from government has been directed at the somewhat emotional level of whether or not groups enjoy sufficient protection or whether there is effective power-sharing, rather than any serious discussion of the merits or demerits of the Indaba constitution.

Thus, to help broaden understanding of what the Indaba is about, the FM offers this synopsis.

The Indaba constitution provides for a governor and provincial executive consisting of a prime minister and 10 Cabinet members. The legislature comprises a first and second chamber, made up of 100 members and 50 members respectively, as well as standing committees for each executive portfolio.

Outside the legislature are cultural councils for participation in the protection of specific group rights and interests. Local and traditional authorities form the third and final tier of government.

The mechanics of the constitution are such that everyone over the age of 18, regardless of race, has two votes — one for the first chamber and one for the second.

Representatives in the first chamber (100 seats) will be elected proportionally. Since 90% of the Natal-KwaZulu population is black, it follows that blacks will be the dominant group in this chamber.

The prime minister, usually the leader of the chamber's majority party, will be elected by the first chamber. He will appoint half the Cabinet members, the balance being appointed by the minority parties in the first and second chambers — with the proviso that there should be at least one Cabinet minister from each of the five "background" groups in the second chamber.

The second chamber (50 seats) will be made up of 10 members each drawn from the five specific background groups: African, Asian, Afrikaans, English and a general South African group. Similarly, voting will be on the basis of a simple majority but members may vote within or across background group lines.

The second chamber will deal with all legislation, but an important distinction is that any legislation affecting the rights of

Research done for the Buthelezi Commission showed that the majority of Natalians of all races would support a non-racial, compromise constitution on the lines of the Indaba.

Without a proper referendum to test opinions, Van Wyk observes, he has no way of knowing what support there is for the proposals in the region. But people certainly want to know more about what the Indaba will mean to them and what it represents. Steering Committee members have been drawing capacity audiences everywhere they have been to explain the Indaba's workings.

any background group will have to be approved by a majority of the representatives of that group. In other words, each group has an effective veto over matters directly affecting it.

Strengthening this aspect are the cultural councils overseeing matters of cultural interest such as language, history, religion, traditions and custom. They have the right to view all draft legislation and make representations to the standing committees. Among them, too, will be an economic advisory council which will vet all money and economic bills passing through the legislature.

The ultimate protector of the rights of the individual, however, remains the Bill of Rights. Enforceable by law and part of the constitution, the Bill of Rights enshrines, among other things, the right of anyone to own property anywhere, to seek administrative justice, the right to public education as well as the protection of ethnic, linguistic or cultural rights.

In the legislative flow, legislation will be initiated by the Cabinet, introduced to the first chamber from where it will pass to the relevant standing committee, of which there is one for each ministerial portfolio.

Standing committees will consist of members drawn from both chambers and will include representatives of each political party. No party may have more than 60%, or 9 out of the 15 members of any standing committee.

Standing committees must hear evidence from cultural councils if they oppose particular legislation, and co-operation between parties is assured by the requirement that a majority of more than two-thirds is required for Bills to pass out of the standing committees.

Legislation approved by the standing committee goes back to the first chamber for approval by a simple majority. If it is approved it passes to the second chamber where, again, it must be approved by a simple majority — unless it affects the rights to any background group in which case it must also be approved by the majority of members in that group.

Competing demands

Constitutional expert Professor Dawid van Wyk, who helped draft the Indaba constitution, says it forms a package which satisfies competing demands of the various interest groups and is consequently finely balanced.

Government's major criticisms apparently revolve around the lack of group protection as well as what it perceives to be unequal power-sharing inherent in the proposals. But Van Wyk notes that the consultative and democratic nature of the proposals is evident throughout. It is visible in the over-representation of minority groups in the second chamber, standing committees, the Cabinet and the way the system works in requiring consensus as far as possible in voting.

"There is no provision for the first chamber to ultimately have its way," he says. "Even in the second chamber, blacks could not get a full majority — even with the collusion of others."

"The consensus building mechanisms built into the system make it impossible for the majority to have its own way. Yet it leaves the system flexible enough not to frustrate the majority into becoming obstructionist."

Essentially, where the Indaba and government policy part company is that government sees the country's constitutional future developing along fixed group lines, vis à vis the tricameral constitution, with maximum self determination coupled with an absolute veto in all group own affairs.

The fact that the Indaba has "made the quantum leap from a racially-based constitution to a non-racial one," he says, could account for some of the hostility being directed towards it, "even though government may ultimately be forced to tread a similar path."

Arguments that a unified Natal-KwaZulu with its own regional constitution would be out of kilter with the other provinces, and would ultimately prove to be a costly burden to the exchequer, hold no water either, claims Van Wyk. The region could simply be treated as a "larger, non-racial homeland" and run and financed through existing structures.

'Rebel Nat to stand' in Stellenbosch

30/4/87
w/m
28/2/87

Mercury Correspondent

REBEL Nationalists in Stellenbosch are expected to announce an independent reform-minded candidate this weekend.

And in spite of earlier denials, there is still speculation that the candidate may be Prof Sampie Terreblanche, deputy chairman of the SABC, who resigned from the National Party last weekend.

A group of academics and businessmen were expected to meet in Stellenbosch last night to

formulate their election strategy.

If they failed to finalise their plans last night, they are expected to meet again over the weekend when a candidate is likely to be announced.

It is possible that the candidate will not be an academic because university lecturers stand to lose considerable pension and service benefits if they stand for election to Parliament.

However, if they can take leave of absence, as has happened before, this

would open the door.

Another possible candidate is Mrs Esther Lategan, a businesswoman in Stellenbosch.

She is the wife of Dr Bernard Lategan of the Department of Biblical Studies at Stellenbosch University and the daughter of the former Nationalist MP for Paarl, Mr Wynand Malan.

An independent candidate in Stellenbosch will give a major boost to the growing movement of 'New Nats' who have become dissatisfied with the pace of reform in South Africa and the National Party leadership.

The sitting MP in Stellenbosch, Mr Piet Marais, had a 4 003 majority over the PFP in 1981.

There is also speculation in Stellenbosch that an independent Right-wing candidate may also stand.

Monuments

CAPE TOWN—A further 41 national monuments have been proclaimed in Graaff-Reinet in a special Government Gazette. — (Sapa)

NATIONAL

Coloured people in white area spark row

GLENDIA SPIRO

The National Party candidate for Rosettenville, Mrs Sheila Camerer, who claims to be a reformist as far as NP policy is concerned, said steps should be taken against an "unscrupulous" estate agent who has rented flats to coloured people in the south of Johannesburg.

Mrs Camerer said she had received complaints from Portuguese residents in the La Rochelle area about the presence of coloured people.

But the agent involved, who works for Campbell and Seward, accused Mrs Camerer of creating an election issue as she was the first person to complain about the situation.

He said that the reason he let the flats to

coloured tenants was because the landlord depended on the income for his livelihood. The flats were standing empty after the departure of Portuguese families who emigrated because of the economy.

He said he was not unscrupulous as the rentals for coloured people were the same as those for whites and he had screened the prospective tenants in terms of their class status.

"Surely, in these times, we are trying to overcome racial hatred, not incite it?" he asked.

Mrs Camerer said that there were two blocks of flats in La Rochelle where a few units had been let to people of races other than white and another block of flats near

Wemmer Pan in which black policemen, whose homes were burnt in the unrest, had been given refuge.

She added that no one was concerned about the policemen as this was only a temporary arrangement.

The NP chairman for La Rochelle conducted a survey among 14 families in the surrounding area, she said.

"They were unhappy about their coloured neighbours because they felt their property values would drop."

She said that the agents concerned had given her an undertaking not to do it again.

The estate agent (who did not wish to be named) said: "I maintain that what I've done is fair. I will give the tenants notice only if the Government forces me to in terms of the Group Areas Act."

"I find it sad that the coloured people are likely to be victimised due to a situation that has arisen because of an urge for publicity."

Mrs Camerer said: "I don't think the coloured people are to blame. There are 5 000 coloured families on the waiting list for houses. It is the estate agents who are causing this disruption in community life."

Meanwhile, the New Republic Party candidate for the constituency, Mr Martin Stephens, attacked Mrs Camerer's stand as

"regressing to the old swart gevaar tactics" of her party.

"With all the people in the area to whom my committee members and I have spoken, this has not even been mentioned as a problem."

He said that one of the main issues brought to his attention was the state of the economy which resulted in many children in the constituency relying on feeding schemes at schools.

"Mrs Camerer is unable to address this problem which is a result of Government bungling over the past few years. Instead she is going for a racist Conservative Party type of campaign to gain votes," Mr Stephens said.

Worrall supports black President

28/12/87 B Day 304A



THERE was no reason in principle why SA should not have a black President, former envoy Denis Worrall said yesterday.

● **WORRALL** He told listeners on a phone-in radio programme that "one person one vote" in a unitary state was an essential part of any democratic political system.

Worrall said it was "hypothetical" to say whether jailed ANC

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

leader Nelson Mandela was the right man for the job.

Whoever it was had to appeal to the majority of South Africans, he said. "It would be unwise not to accept a black President as a very real likelihood," he added.

Asked whether he had been embarrassed by having to defend Foreign Minister Pik Botha's statement that it was possible for SA to have a black President, Worrall said: "His statement did not embarrass me in the least. What embarrassed me and SA was the way he was treated." He was referring to President P W Botha's repudiation of Pik Botha.

Commenting on universal franchise, Worrall said: "The question is what form it takes."

He said there was no "overall singular" answer to SA's problems and said it was a matter which needed to be negotiated by all the people of SA.

But SA was making a mistake by isolating the ANC and highlighting it to the point of excluding other organisations, as it was one of many reputable organisations which carried weight with blacks.

Worrall said he had been "doing my job" when he defended government's censorship laws while he was an ambassador in London.

"Ambassadors don't have personal opinions, or private views."

Main aim of CP is to kill HNP — academic

Weekend Argus Correspondent

POTCHEFSTROOM. — The main aim of the Conservative Party (CP) in the white general election is not to attack the National Party (NP) but to wipe out the even more right-wing Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), a top academic here claims.

Mathematics professor Dirk Laurie estimates that if the CP does not enter an alliance with the HNP it could win 27 seats — one more than the official Opposition PFP has at the moment.

If the CP entered an electoral alliance with the HNP the two parties between them stand to gain some 38 seats, giving each 19.

Professor Laurie said it would be a magnificent achievement for the HNP but of little comfort to the CP, adding almost nothing to the party's present total of seats.

Looking at the potential electoral alliance, Professor Laurie said there were bigger policy differences between the PFP and NRP than between the two right-wing parties.

Compromise

"But the PFP and NRP are prepared to work together and compromise to put any candidates to the left of the NP into Parliament," he said.

"In the case of the CP and HNP there is no compromise, although their policy differences are minimal.

"Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr Jaap Marais are unmovable. Their problem about reaching an alliance is centred around personality differences.

"If Dr Connie Mulder were head of the CP I believe that he, as an experienced politician, would have made a pact with the HNP.

"I believe Dr Treurnicht is determined to wipe the HNP out and make sure they get no Parliamentary representation.

Pick up voters

"Traditionally if a party does not have that representation, voters will switch to a party that has. The CP can then expect to pick up HNP voters in the next election.

"That is the one the CP will try to win from the NP."

In an analysis for the Afrikaans financial magazine Finansies en Tegniek, Professor Laurie said he had taken into account the results of numerous by-elections since 1981.

"If there is a pact between the CP and HNP the right-wing alliance would have 29 safe seats (with a majority of over 500) and could take about nine of some 21 marginal seats."

Without the pact there would be some 50 seats where candidates of both right-wing parties would stand.

Precedent

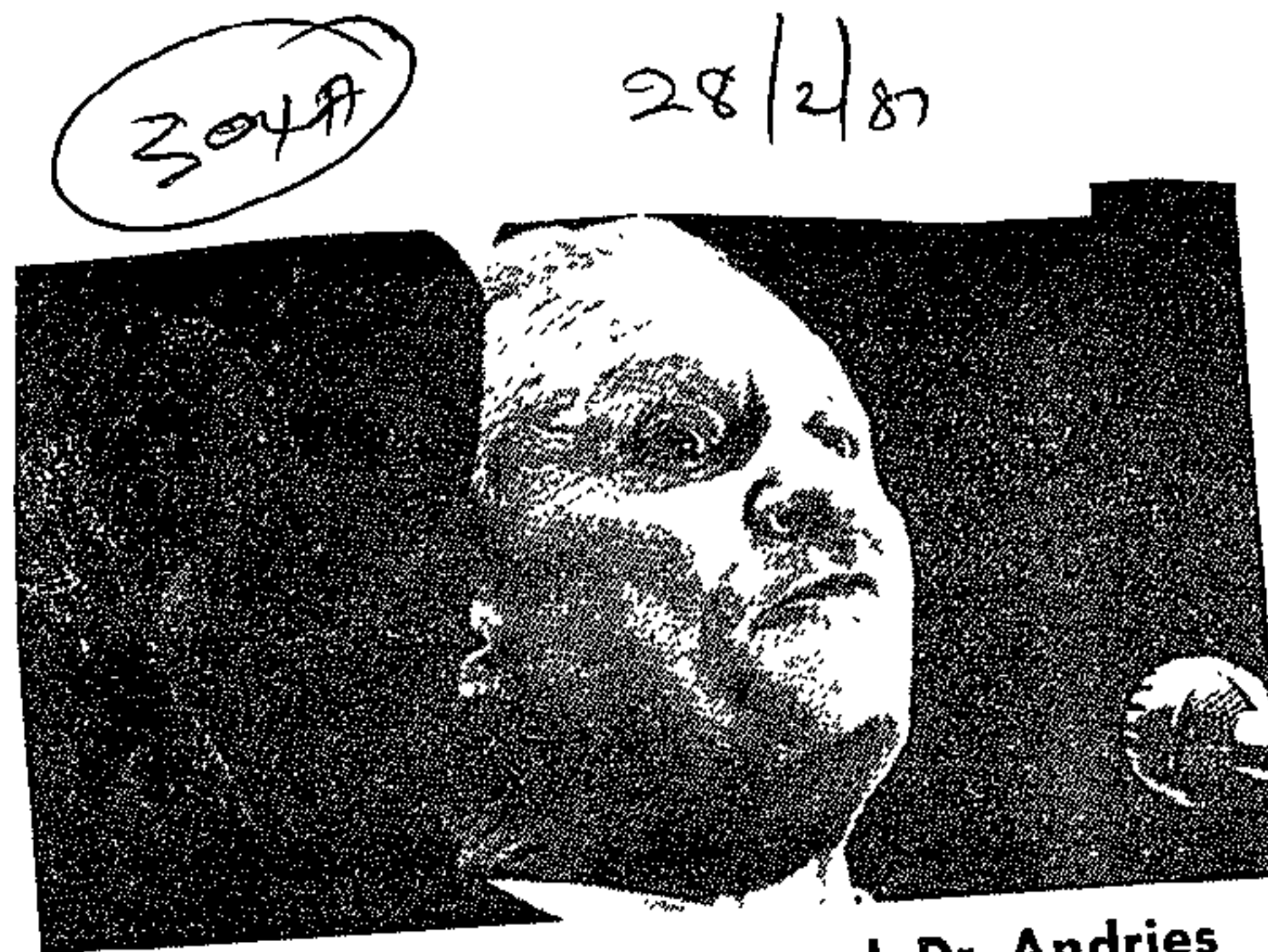
"The only precedent is the by-election in Vryburg, where the HNP could maintain only 23 percent of its 1981 support," he said.

If this same pattern developed in the 50 seats, the CP would have 18 safe seats and could take nine marginal seats.

"The lack of unity among the right-wing not only favours the NP but, strangely enough, also favours the CP.

"All Dr Treurnicht is sacrificing is the right-wing's chance of becoming the official Opposition — something that would be quite vexing if the HNP continued to refuse to unite into one party.

"What he gains would be at least eight seats — and probably a hastening of his goal of destroying the HNP to become the only right-wing party."



Mr Jaap Marais ... he and Dr Andries Treurnicht are unmoveable.