June.
Tension in Vaal over PW's visit to Lekoa towns

Feelings are running high in the Vaal Triangle townships where the State President, Mr Botha, is to be given the freedom of Lekoa on Thursday.

The office of the State President has declined to comment on Mr Botha's proposed visit at which he will be given the freedom of Sharpeville.

News of the event leaked to the Press last week after the Lekoa council's monthly meeting. The council had planned to announce the visit only the day before.

There are complaints about the R12,000 believed to have been set aside to entertain more than 6,000 guests at a ceremony to be held at Mphatjatsane Hall.

A spokesman for the Vaal Civic Association said the country was experiencing the worst repression in its history yet the Lekoa council saw fit to "invite the same man who wields the repression stick" to honour him.

He added: "It is surprising that so much money is to be spent to entertain Botha and his guests. He has done nothing commendable for blacks in these areas and in South Africa as a whole."

"Our children and colleagues are still in detention, the country is under emergency rule and our leaders languish in jails."

The Vaal complex includes the areas of Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Evaton, Boipatong and Bophelong which erupted in violence in September 1984.

An estimated 70 people died in political violence in the Vaal in 1984 and the rent issue which sparked the conflict remains unresolved, with a large proportion of residents still refusing to pay rent 32 months after the first protests.

**ABSORED**

Some black Vaal residents believe Mr Botha's visit is intended to win support for Pretoria's programme of reforms.

Residents said it was absurd that the council, which had no mandate from the people, could invite Mr Botha and grant him freedom of the township.

A number of council employees said they have been ordered to take part.

"It was left to our imagination what could happen if we refused to participate," a worker said.

"Some of us are confused because we do not want to participate but we fear what the consequences of our refusal to be involved might be."

During his visit Mr Botha will hand over a flag to mayor Mr Esau Mahlatsi and pigeons and balloons will be set free when the flag is hoisted.

Mr Botha will also be presented with a wooden sculpture. - Staff Reporter and Sapa-Reporter.

*See Page 9*
Canada rejects PW's call to break ANC contacts

OTTAWA. — Canada has rejected a plea from President Botha to break contact with the African National Congress, External Affairs Minister Mr Joe Clark said.

Mr Clark told the House of Commons the request came in a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr Brian Mulroney, who wants to discuss the South African issue at next week's summit of seven Western industrialised nations in Venice.

**Tambo meeting**

Mr Clark said Mr Mulroney planned to meet ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo later this year and would urge a peaceful solution to the conflict in South Africa.

A British spokesman has confirmed in London that the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, has received a similar letter from President Botha. Letters have been sent to six other Western leaders.

From Washington it was reported that the United States government has expressed its displeasure over recent actions of the South African Government by ordering its diplomats around the world to boycott Republic Day functions.

US officials did not give reasons for the snub, saying only that it stemmed from . . . "US displeasure at recent South African actions in the region".

However, the protest is understood to have been triggered by last week's raid in Mozambique which produced an unusually harsh US response.

Meanwhile, one of the biggest of the annual Republic Day functions went ahead last night at the South African embassy in Washington.

Yesterday's snub may be aimed in part at demonstrating to blacks that the South African Government is being held to account for its actions, even though the US is determined not to lose its leverage.

• In Gaborone the Council of Ministers of the European Community has called on President Botha to end the ANC and the Pan African Congress, lift the state of emergency and release all political prisoners.

It has called for a process of fundamental but peaceful change in South Africa. — The Argus Foreign Service, Sapa-Reuters.
Mixed feelings over PW visit

JOHANNESBURG. — Residents of Sharpeville yesterday were divided over plans to grant the State President, Mr P W Botha, the “freedom of the city” at a ceremony in neighbouring Sebokeng on Thursday.

“Mr Botha has done nothing for blacks in this area or in South Africa as a whole,” said a spokesman for the Vaal Civic Association.

“Why should we invite and honour the man who wields the stick of repression?” he said.

Another resident said, however, that he hoped Mr Botha would bring good news about rent relief and plans to upgrade facilities in Sharpeville and surrounding townships.

A Lekoa official confirmed last week that Mr Botha would be made a free citizen of Lekoa, a group of seven townships, including Sharpeville and Sebokeng, administered by the Lekoa Council on Thursday.

Sharpeville, about 65km south of Johannesburg, was the scene of the 1960 police shooting of 69 men, women and children protesting against apartheid.

Township authorities so far have declined to disclose details of Thursday’s ceremony, but one council source said Mr Botha probably would not enter Sharpeville.

“I gather he will fly over Sharpeville on his way to Sebokeng, where the council plans to entertain some 1,200 invited guests at a cost of about R12,000,” he said.

Residents interviewed in Sharpeville and Sebokeng said they had mixed feelings about Mr Botha’s planned visit, which has not been confirmed by officials in his own Cape Town office.

“We expect him to tell us that rents will be reduced to stop the boycott,” said 64-year-old Mr Reginald Mahabane, a Sharpeville resident who witnessed the 1960 massacre.

“He can do that if he really loves the people of this country, regardless of their race or colour.”

A schoolteacher in Sebokeng said her pupils were asked to march in a parade for Mr Botha, but refused. Instead, her pupils planned to boycott classes in protest against the ceremony.

In a nearby college, a choir mistress said she rejected the visit.

“I flatly refused to take my choir,” she said. “They don’t want to go because they don’t want to be seen as collaborators.”

An artist who carved a wooden sculpture that is to be presented to Mr Botha said he was not told why the council commissioned the work.

“Under no circumstances would I have given a present to Mr Botha,” said the artist, who declined to be named. “I will not attend the presentation either.”

— UPI
Walking the SA tightrope

By NEIL LURSSSEN in Washington

The need to end violence and to create a climate in which the ANC can participate in talks between the SA Government and blacks.

At the same time, however, the Americans have to persuade South African blacks that they are equally opposed to violence for which the SA Government is responsible, that Washington is even-handed in its condemnation.

This is almost certainly the reason why America responded with unusual anger to news of the raid in Mozambique at the end of last week. The perception here was that the SA Government was behind it.

Because impartiality is a cornerstone of US policy, President Botha will have to give something in return if he wants Washington's unreserved help with the ANC. Mr Botha will have to put an end to cross-border raids, and he will have to ease up on apartheid's indignities, like enforcement of the Group Areas Act.

He will also have to see that black children are released from South African cells and prisons—a factor that causes as much dismay in the US as does “necklacing”.

The political climate in Washington at present makes it a good time for both the SA government and the ANC to show a willingness to be reasonable and moderate.

Recent votes in the Senate—such as the Pressler Amendment which seeks to force Frontline States to act against the ANC to qualify for US aid—indicates that Americans want to make a stand against violence, especially “necklacing”.

But this attitude should not be misconstrued as meaning also that there is a corresponding growth of sympathy for the country's white rulers. Opposition to apartheid's harshness is as firm as ever.

A bit of give by both sides would allow the Americans to intervene in the way that President Botha has apparently requested. If US officials try to lean on the ANC to forego violence, they need to show the ANC something they have won from the SA Government.

MR OLIVER Tambo  PRESIDENT Botha  PRESIDENT Reagan
Pik blames raid on ANC

JOHANNESBURG — A British Government spokesman has confirmed that the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, received a letter from the South African State President, Mr F. W. Botha.

In the letter Mr Botha calls on the British Government to end its relations with the ANC.

Similar letters have been sent to six other Western leaders.

Mrs Thatcher received her letter a few days after a private visit to London by the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo. He met no-one from the Foreign Office.

Media coverage of the visit was poor. — Sapa

PRETORIA — South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has reiterated official South African denial that the Republic was involved in Friday's raid on Maputo and suggested opposing factions of the African National Congress (ANC) were responsible for the violence that left three people dead.

A statement he issued on the raid said a climate of violence and uncertainty had overcome Maputo and "gunfire and explosions are the order of the day".

"Recently landmines have exploded on the beach of Maputo, killing civilians," the statement said.

There was also in Maputo — "as elsewhere in neighbouring states" — opposing factions of the ANC who would not hesitate to use violent methods to "eliminate" those with whom they disagreed.

Mr Botha said examples of this sort of violence had taken place recently in Swaziland and Harare.

It was also known there were "forces" in Maputo who had "vested interests" in driving a wedge between the Mozambique and South African governments.

Such forces would "not hesitate to use these sort of (violent) methods".

The ungrounded allegations against South Africa regarding the Maputo raid joined a "chorus of hysterical cries" from certain neighbouring countries, the statement said.

Mr Botha referred to the arrest of schoolgirls in Zimbabwe on allegations of spying for South Africa and described such actions as "ridiculous extremes".

He said he believed the anti-South African propaganda emanating from neighbouring states was aimed at counteracting the US Senate's decision to withhold financial aid from countries which allowed "terrorists" to operate against South Africa from their territory.

In most cases the propaganda served to cover up internal problems and maladministration in these countries, Mr Botha said, and added that he stood by his statement on Friday about the alleged South African attack on private houses in Maputo.

In that statement, he rejected allegations that South Africa had been responsible for the attacks and said the claims were unfounded.

The statement also said the Mozambique Government had to eventually admit they had made a mistake when parading an alleged spy — who turned out to be a "common criminal" — before the international press.

The man was alleged to be a South African spy charged with arranging the deaths of senior members of the Mozambique Government. — Sapa

Editorial opinion P8
The business community must move to make the free enterprise system accessible to others.

In the context of the reforms, the focus is on fostering an environment where businesses can thrive and contribute to economic growth. Policies need to be transparent, fair, and conducive to innovation. The key principles include:

1. **Transparency**: All business regulations should be openly accessible and consistently applied. This ensures predictability and trust in the system.
2. **Fairness**: Businesses should be treated equally, regardless of size or background. This fosters a level playing field.
3. **Innovation Support**: Policies should encourage innovation by providing incentives and support for new ideas.
4. **Efficiency**: Streamlining bureaucratic processes to reduce costs and time for businesses.

By implementing these principles, the business community can play a more positive role in society, contributing to economic stability and growth.

---

**Contact Information**

For more information or to discuss further, please contact the Business Development Office at 123-456-7890. Email: info@businessdev.com

---

*Play in the Reform Process?*

Now what part will businesses play in the process?
Old ‘Fed’ faces back in limelight

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Much troubled water has passed under the bridge since the Federation of South African Women became defunct in the 1960s and, although it is too early to predict precisely what the new look Fed will be like, pointers emerged from a weekend meeting to plan the organisation’s revival.

Comparisons to the “old” Fed are perhaps inevitable — and superficial similarities and differences were readily to hand yesterday as women’s leaders announced to a meeting in Mayfair, Johannesburg, that the organisation would be back in working order within a year.

There were the old colours of black and green, the refrain “you have tampered with women, you have struck rock” and just a few of the former faces — in the persons of Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mrs Helen Joseph and Mrs Amanda (Chada) Cachalia.

There was also the strong presence of women trade unions. The old “Fed” had drawn many of its leaders — Lilian Ngoyi, Bertha Mashaba, Ray Alexander and Frances Baard — from the ranks of unionists.

The continuation of the non-racial Fed tradition was affirmed in the enthusiastic township slogan which greeted a frail Mrs Joseph. “Long live Helen Joseph! Long live!”

Obvious differences from the past were present too — the most obvious being that the new federation will have a new set of affiliate organisations as most of the member organisations of the old Fed were banned in the early 60s.

They included the Women’s League of the African National Congress and the Congress of Democrats.

The affiliates of the new federation are likely to be much larger in number and are likely to range in size to a far greater degree — probably including unions with tens of thousands of members scattered nationwide as well as localised women’s groups.

Few of these affiliates are likely even to have existed during the heyday of the “Fed” in the late 60s.

The report of the weekend conference made it clear that the new Fed would insist its net among church groups, student organisations, unions and youth groups.

Decentralisation promises also to be a principle of decision-making in the new Fed — and it was this policy of extensive consultation, apparently stressed by the younger delegates, which caused a last-minute decision to delay the formal launch of Fed saw for several months.

The introduction of passes for women was the major rallying point of the old federation but women also campaigned vigorously against the introduction of Bantu Education.

In both situations the role of woman as mother, as the cornerstone of the family and protector of progency, was the ideal which moved people to action. Former Fed president Lilian Ngoyi dramatically projected this sense of maternal responsibility. “My womb is shaken,” she said, “when they speak of Bantu Education.”

Some speakers made it clear yesterday that traditional values would still motivate the new Fed in its opposition to apartheid.

Mrs Sisulu, reflecting on the detention of children and deaths of young people in political violence, strongly accused women — especially white women — of failing as mothers since they were prepared to allow the young to die before laying their own safety on the line.

There were also indications that, from the trade unions in particular, new issues more closely related to economics, to societal support of family structures and to sexual equality were likely to be injected into Fed saw.

From Florence de Villiers of the South African Domestic Workers Union (Sadw) came the suggestion that young women could “propel their mothers into struggle”.

“Tell them to join Sadw. The time is now. They must get rid of slavery,” she said, insisting that political freedom was far off until domestic workers asserted themselves as women.
Look for democracy
‘outside Parliament’

Staff Reporter

MANY of the developments that emerged from Parliament over the past seven years were undemocratic and it was important for white people to get involved in the democratic movement outside Parliament, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said last night.

Dr Slabbert was speaking in Athlone at the launch of the monthly Menge Tuesday Club discussion on "Building a United Democratic South Africa".

Dr Slabbert, who heads the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA, said the government tried to convey the idea that extra-parliamentary politics was illegal, subversive, suspect, unpatriotic and dangerous. This created a sense of anxiety for many white people.

Dr Slabbert said the establishment of the tri-cameral constitution resulted in the biggest extra-parliamentary protest. Faced with an extra-parliamentary threat, the government moved into the extra-parliamentary field and tried to deal with the UDF by calling a state of emergency.

But the manner in which it was done instead brought world focus on SA, generated external anger and resulted in sanctions.

UDF speaker Mr Andrew Boraine said Parliament was a barrier to democracy because historically it and structures such as the homeland governments and community councils were seen by most South Africans as illegitimate.

The illegitimacy of Parliament was demonstrated with the UDF’s formation during the 1983 tri-cameral elections.

Despite the tri-cameral parliament’s clear rejection, the resistance was met with two treason trials, two states of emergency and widespread detentions.
The Central Process

The Constitution of India, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, states that the process of delimitation of constituencies is a part of the electoral process and is governed by the Constitution of India. The process involves the creation of electoral constituencies and the revision of electoral boundaries to ensure fair representation of the population. The process is carried out by the Election Commission of India, which is an autonomous constitutional body established by the Constitution of India to conduct free and fair elections.

The process of delimitation is carried out in consultation with state governments and follows certain guidelines and principles outlined in the Constitution. The process involves the creation of new constituencies, the realignment of existing constituencies, and the revision of electoral boundaries to ensure that each constituency has a population equal to other constituencies of the same size.

The process is carried out in a transparent and consultative manner, with the involvement of various stakeholders, including state governments, political parties, and the public. The process is aimed at ensuring fair representation of the population and the protection of the democratic process.

In case of any disputes or challenges related to the delimitation process, the courts have the power to intervene and provide guidance to ensure that the process is conducted in accordance with the Constitution.

The process of delimitation is a crucial part of the democratic process and is carried out in a manner that ensures fair and equitable representation of the population. The process is carried out in consultation with state governments and political parties, and is guided by the principles outlined in the Constitution of India.
Church Rebukes Voters

THE BRITISH AFRICAN PRESS

WESTERN AFRICA
TUESDAY, AUGUST 17

Church Rebukes Voters

...
UDF urges PFP to quit Parliament

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front yesterday called for protest against the year-old state of emergency.

In a statement following a two-day secret meeting last weekend, the UDF urged the Progressive Federal Party to resign from the House of Assembly and called for the dissolution of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

The statement said 200 delegates attended the secret conference.

"This (secrecy) was necessitated by the effects of the state of emergency and the fact that our leadership and activists, who have been in hiding since the emergency was declared June 12, also took part in the conference," it said.

"The conference resolved that June 16 would be "South African Youth Day" in honour of young people who have been jailed, maimed or killed." — UPI
Soldiers clean ghetto for PW Botha's visit

JOHANNESBURG. — Soldiers on clean-up duty yesterday shovelled ghetto garbage in preparation for President PW Botha's visit today to the townships where unrest flared two years ago.

Residents of Sebokeng, about 65km south of Johannesburg, said locals were also ordered to help clean up and painting squads freshened up council offices.

Under heavy police and military guard, Mr Botha will receive “freedom of the city” of six adjoining townships — including Sharpeville and Sebokeng — in his first official visit to black townships since 1979.

Mr Botha has been invited by the Lekoa Town Council, which administers the townships south of Johannesburg.

But the visit has been criticized by community organizations.

“This is just propaganda aimed at the outside world, to make them think that all is normal in this country,” said Mr Doc Mosesi, an official of the Sharpeville Civic Association.

“The freedom he is being given is ridiculous because he will never enjoy it... unless under heavy armed guard,” said association official Mr Killer Mabunda.

The Vaal Civic Association said it was unreasonable to expect residents to support moves to honour Mr Botha while grievances which led to the loss of life had still not been addressed by the authorities.

Lekoa’s town clerk, Mr Nicholas Louw, said Mr Botha was unlikely to address the rent protest. “These are domestic issues,” he said.

A recent survey by the Sowetan newspaper showed that most residents believed Mr Botha should act to scrap or reduce rent payments and write off rent arrears.

The Mphathalatsane Hall in Sebokeng — where Mr Botha is to address Vaal residents — was yesterday turned into a conference centre when scores of top police officers and Lekoa Town Council officials met to prepare for the visit, the Sowetan reported.

As the day-long meeting continued inside the hall several uniformed police, including Lekoa Council policemen, kept guard at the hall.

Taxi owner and funeral undertaker Mr Moepli Modibedi, 54, said: “We can only be pleased about the State President’s visit if he will resolve the issue of rent payments and sell houses to residents at reduced prices of R1 000 or even less for a four-roomed house.”

— Sapa
Building Societies
Granary Bonds Rock
State plan to aid aged causes waves

initial raises

The plan, months, far
the competition, purely, the exposure of growth. New
the competition, purely, the exposure, of growth. New

By Carol Case
Sebokeng goes hi-tech for PW B Day

SOPHIE TEMA

A COMMUNICATIONS substation has been set up in Sebokeng as part of the security procedures for today's visit by President P.W. Botha.

The sub-station manned by SADF members has been set up outside the Mphatlabatsane Hall where Botha is expected to address Vaal residents.

The ceremony is to mark Botha being given the freedom of Lekoa.

In preparation for the president's visit, members of the Lekoa council police and the SADF yesterday removed refuse from open spaces. School pupils said they had received no instructions from their schools about taking part in today's ceremony and would therefore attend classes as usual.

The Vaal Civic Association (VCA) and many residents said they were opposed to Botha's visit.

A statement by the VCA yesterday said: "It is not in the interest of the oppressed masses to grant the State President the freedom of Lekoa while South Africa has been implicated in attacks on Frontline States."

A VCA spokesman said as residents of the Vaal Triangle members of the organisation once more called on Botha to address the rent issue and to halt evictions arising from the rent boycott.

The VCA was also asking for:

- All banned organisations to be unbanned.
- The six people sentenced to death for the murder of a Sharpeville councillor to be pardoned.
- The Delmas treason trial to be dropped.
A SIGNED ANNOUNCEMENT IN SUNDAY PAPERS PROVES ONLY THAT THE STEAMATE CONTINUES. PATRICK LAURENCE REPORTS

The response to PW's call to blacks...

... was not disheartening.

There are stories of credible black leaders and the National Council is concerned in itself. But is significant beyond that. Its importance lies in what it signals about the government.

It is in this context that we must discuss the National Council which has been suspended since it was originally established as a negotiating forum for a new constitution designed to incorporate black leaders into the government.

The future of our family.

"Our mission as the Unlimited building society is to help ensure a more secure life for all South Africans, by providing as many people as possible with the means to own their own homes.

We'll do this by spending our resources on our members' needs, whilst making a fair profit so that all within the Perm Family enjoy the highest standards of personal and computerized service.

We will continue to expand and create new savings opportunities, while retaining the family as the cornerstone of our existence. For we believe a stable and secure family will ensure a stable and secure society.

Our vision, our commitment is to help create a happier, more fulfilled life for all the members of our family, for all who call South Africa home."
EMIGRATION/IMMIGRATION
A TOTAL of 1,478 people emigrated from South Africa in January this year and 518 people immigrated, resulting in a net loss of 964 residents, according to figures released by the Central Statistical Services in Pretoria. In January last year 1,247 people emigrated and 729 immigrated — a net loss of 518.

BLACK TEACHER AND CLASSROOM SHORTAGE
There was a shortage of 21,575 places in Department of Education and Training schools in 1985, according to figures released in parliament by Education and Culture Minister Piet Claisse.

This figure, which does not include the "homelands", is calculated on 40 students a classroom in primary schools and 35 in secondary schools. However, there were 153,637 vacancies at white schools at the end of January this year and 17 white schools and two hostels were not being used for school purposes. Close also said there was a shortage of 100,000 teachers in DET schools while there were 2,041 vacancies at white teacher training colleges. Minister of Education and Development Aid Gerrit Viljoen said that in 1985, 946 percent of teachers in African schools were unqualified or underqualified. A qualified teacher is one with matric and three years tertiary education. Three percent of white teachers were underqualified.

BUREAU FOR INFORMATION PAMPHLETS
The Bureau for Information issued two pamphlets costing R3,000 "to inform black communities on the elections and reform", Deputy Minister for Information, Stoffel van der Merwe, said in parliament.

He said 500,000 pamphlets costing R2,000 and 1,3 million pamphlets costing R1,800 were distributed "shortly before May 6".

Viljoen said the bureau had produced a total of four pamphlets in the past three months, costing R3,400.

HOUSING
According to South African Institute of Race Relations estimates at least 3.2 million housing units for blacks will have to be built outside the "homelands" if each family is to occupy a separate dwelling by the year 2000.

Only 16 percent of Africans are able to purchase a low-cost house without a subsidy, compared with 50 percent of coloureds, 67 percent of Indians and 91 percent of whites, according to figures released by the National Building Research Institute. The NBRI says 43,000 housing units were built for whites in 1984 compared with 8,000 for Africans in "white" areas between 1980 and 1985.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE
BARBARA-ANNE HOGAN, 35, ANC member and former trade union researcher, was detained in September 1981 and is still being held as a political prisoner at Pretoria Central.

She first became politically active as a student at Wits University in 1971 and was arrested in 1974 while delivering pain to a student in solitary confinement. In 1974 she worked for the Johannesburg Organisation to Organise Self-help and an education worker at the Industrial Aid Society.

In 1978 she completed an honours degree in Development Studies and the following year worked for the South African Institute of Race Relations. In 1980 she worked for the Rural Development Trust Fund of the Environmental Development Agency.

At the time of her detention she was involved in assisting the South African Allied Workers' Union set up an unemployed workers union and was on the Wilson Rowntree strike support committee.

Hogan joined the ANC in 1978 and was detained four years later. She spent 13 months in detention as an awaiting trial prisoner. In October 1982 she was convicted of high treason and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, in spite of not having been involved in any ANC military activity.
All will share in running SA—PW

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha has rejected as excuses for not negotiating the demands by some black leaders that he offer a declaration of intent before they commit themselves to joining him in talks.

Addressing dignitaries and a curious crowd of between 1 500 and 3 000 residents of Sebokeng during a ceremony in which the freedom of the black townships of Lekoa was conferred on him by the Lekoa Council, Mr Botha provided no new details of plans to bring blacks into a higher level of administration.

However, he reiterated his intention to become more directly involved in negotiations with black leaders "to bring about a constitution in which every community will have a fair share in running the country".

Cool on council

Lekoa's Mayor, Mr Esau Mahlatsi, urged the President yesterday to abandon the statutory council.

"We express our concern at the establishment of the statutory council," said Mr Mahlatsi. "Great reluctance to participate has been expressed by blacks.

"We urge you to abandon it, but we leave it to your own discretion because you have been entrusted to lead the country to a greater future.

"But the reform with which you have been mandated would be futile if it did not have as its ultimate aim the participation of blacks and whites in Parliament."

Mr Botha was given the freedom of Lekoa, which includes Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong, Bophelong, Zamakela and Refengkgozoo townships.

It was in Sharpeville that 69 blacks were shot dead by police in 1980.

Against all expectations, Mr Botha said nothing about rent, an issue which sparked unprecedented violence in 1984, claiming more than 73 lives.

As a result of this violence 19 men are charged with terrorism, alternatively treason and murder in what is called "The Delmas Treason Trial".

Ironically, Mr Botha ended his visit by visiting Sharpeville as well.

Waved flags

Traffic on the main road between Sebokeng and Sharpeville halted. The route was heavily guarded by traffic officers, police and soldiers.

Mr Botha's next stop was the George Thabe Stadium.

At the stadium Mr Botha was welcomed by an enthusiastic crowd of about 300 people, mainly children who waved flags and shouted.

He beamed at them, walked to a helicopter and flew out.

ACCORD: President P W Botha and the Mayor of Lekoa Mr Esau Mahlatsi touch hands in a gesture of friendship during a tour of eight townships in the Vereeniging area yesterday.
"FREEDOM" for PW

Police, army out in force

PRESIDENT PW Botha yesterday said the outcome of the recent white elections was of direct concern to the country's black people and had provided a signal of hope and opportunity for them.

Mr Botha was speaking before about 4000 Vaal residents who came to see him being granted the freedom of eight townships in the area by the mayor of the Lekosa Council, Mr Eesa Mahlaba.

Thousands of armed police and soldiers were outside the Mphahlela Hall in Sebokeng where the ceremony was held amid jubilation and flag-waving.

Happy President Botha, who arrived with some members of his Cabinet, among whom were Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, told the cheering councillors and residents how happy he was to be among thousands of black people.

"I just want to see him"

By Themba Molefe

Anxiety and general excitement marked the long wait by scores of men, women and children who braved a bitterly cold morning at Sebokeng yesterday for the arrival in the Vaal of the State President, Mr PW Botha.

A security-crazed local businessman, who had been waiting with the crowd at Mphahlela Hall, Zone 14 since about 2am, said: "I always see the man on television but today I just want to see him in flesh."

Sebokeng residents could not hide their excitement.

"Police cars were everywhere. The hall itself was like a fortress with literally hundreds of uniformed and plain-clothed members of the South African Police guarding the place from early in the morning."

"The hall had been under surveillance since Mr Botha's visit was announced two weeks ago."

Police dogs and tiger carrier vehicles were in abundance and by 1am the police had cordoned off the Sebokeng area centre housing Mphahlela Hall.

The Sebokeng town's civic procession, led by the Mounted Police and the Sebokeng soccer team, was surrounded, as well as other vehicles arriving at the complex in the morning.

Police troops were on top of buildings surrounding the hall. Children went to school as usual, but by noon many were roaming the streets with all roads apparently leading to the hall.

"There were mixed feelings at the council offices at Houtskop. A woman employee said: 'We were told to buy new clothes and be dressed to kill.'"

Another said: "It is quite ironic that the council should spend thousands of rands for the President's visit. The council is broke."

Others said it was ridiculous that two buses would be slaughtered. "Many people are hungry in the townships, why spend so much for just a day's visit?" one commented.

Streets in the townships were cleaned of litter and rubbish dumps which had accumulated since September 1984 when the last president broke out.

The Sebokeng hostel "market place" — where unemployed residents sell anything from chicken feet to secondhand clothing — was set free of hawkers apparently because they would be an eyesore which Mr Botha shouldn't see."
THOUSANDS of people gathered to listen to State President P W Botha outside Mphathalatsane Hall, Sebokeng yesterday.

Botha is given 'freedom'

This was his second such 'privilege' from the black community. He was first conferred with the freedom of Moria City before "millions" of black people, he said.

President Botha said he was aware that there were people in South Africa and outside the country who said that the election was a useless exercise, that it merely added to the frustrations of the black community.

The mandate he asked for was a clear one. It was a mandate for peace, security and development.

"It was a mandate to enter into negotiations with black leaders and representatives about power sharing among all of the peoples and communities of our country. Therefore, I wish to renew my invitation to the responsible leaders of our black communities to come to the conference table," he said.

Unrest

He said for too long there had been unrest and instability in some communities and townships — this serves no positive purpose at all.

"I call upon you," he said "as responsible leaders and members of this community to assist the Government in its attempts to rid our society of the influence of radicals and fanatics who kill people and destroy property."

He said another challenge facing all of us was to develop a constitutional dispensation in which all of the communities in the multi-cultural country will be given an opportunity to share the responsibilities and the benefits of the land.

Local

He said that South Africa had broadened the base of its democracy and of participation in the constitutional system — on the national, the provincial and the local government level.

"I mentioned that when some of the black 'nations' sought 'emancipation', self-determination and independence in their traditional areas of settlement, and when others sought self-government in their national states, this was not prevented.

This, according to Mr Botha, was achieved peacefully and democratically through negotiations.

Mr. Botha went on about the various councils and bodies that the government plans to include blacks in and how much he was prepared to help along these lines.

He was prepared, he said, to negotiate with leaders who reject violence and intimidation as instruments for achieving political ends.
On Statutory Council

Black, District v. Coo

By Mahali Muasa
Blacks will share power, Botha tells township

SOMEBWHERE IN AFRICA. - Mrs. Elize Botha clasps hands with a Soweto resident during yesterday's controversial visit by the presidential couple to the Lethabo township complex.

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg. - President P.W. Botha said yesterday he would choose leaders from existing black local governments, such as the Lethabo town council, who bestowed the freedom of their township on him, to negotiate a power-sharing dispensation for the country.

Mr. Botha renewed his invitation to "responsible leaders" to come to the conference table and serve on the proposed National Statutory Council.

Promising to help those black communities and groups who were now prepared to bring forward their leaders, Mr. Botha said "the time for excuses is over."

Mr. Botha told a large audience in the dusty parking lot outside the council offices that the election mandate given to him by whites proved they understood the desire of every community to determine its own affairs.

He said: "Democratic processes have produced educated, capable and representative leaders with whom I am prepared to negotiate about a dispensation in which our black communities will share power."

When Mr. Botha stood to address the crowd, thousands of children and women ululated and the crowd waved red and white flags.

The mayor of the Lethabo council, Mr. Esau Mahlatsi, warned Mr. Botha not to force the National Statutory Council on people who did not want it.

"People should be allowed to make their choice and the President should not force the National Statutory Council on those who were not in favour of it," he said.
R1,8-m facelift for PW's house

Political Staff

A FACELIFT for the State President, Mr P W Botha's official residence, Westbrooke, on Groote Schuur Estate, is expected to cost R1.8 million.

The Minister of Manpower and Public Works, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said in reply to a question by Mr Peter Soal of the Progressive Federal Party that the work would include a new fence, repairs and renovation.

Mr Du Plessis said the total estimated cost involved was R1 670 000.

Taxpayers will pay R70 million for additions and alterations to the tricameral parliamentary complex, according to the government's latest estimates.

A memorandum tabled in Parliament yesterday by Mr Pietie du Plessis estimates that R39 470 000 will eventually be spent on "alternations, additions, restoration, adaptation, parking facilities and additional accommodation" for the President's Council, Marks Building, Stalpelen, and Tuynhuys complex.

The cost of additional accommodation and alterations to the Houses of Parliament is put at R30 100 000, while R1 350 000 has been earmarked for the purchase of "additional accommodation".

Total estimated cost: R70 820 000.
Give blacks more power, Lekoa mayor urges Botha

LEKOA Town Council mayor Esau Mahlatsi yesterday warned President P W Botha not to force the National Statutory Council on people who did not want it.

The President was visiting the township to accept the freedom of Lekoa. Mahlatsi also called on Botha to allow blacks to be represented in Parliament, as the first step towards his planned reform process.

"People should be allowed to make their choice and the President should not force the National Statutory Council on those who are not in favour of them," he told Botha and senior Cabinet members, including Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis.

When Botha stood up to address thousands of children — some wearing ANC colours — women saluted and waved red and white flags.

Some who attended said they had thought Botha would talk to them about rents in the township. They felt that if Botha wanted to negotiate he should release those they regarded as their "true leaders".

When Mahlatsi addressed the crowd he said the time had come for SA's white and black populations to share the wealth and privileges of the country.

After he had conferred the Freedom of Lekoa on Botha, the mayor said: "We invited Botha to our township to see for himself the problems our people face and how they live, and this will perhaps urge him to speed up the process of reform."

Botha and Mahlatsi both inspected the guard of honour formed by the Lekoa Council Police.

Scores of policemen and soldiers patrolled the area in which the ceremony was held.
The Botha visit

Troubles began 26 years ago.

His reception in Sharpeville was

in sharp contrast to that in Sebokeng. In Sebokeng there was no enthusiastm, no shouting.

But when he entered Sharpeville's

George Thabe Stadium after a brief tour of the township, Botha was given a rousing reception by close to

500 primary school children.

Law and order minister Adriann

Volk commented: "It is a very wonderful experience for me. How can they receive us like this?"

Reminded that thousands of children of the same age had been in detention, he said "You heard this week that only 11 children remain in the cells. In any case, this is not my indaba. The State President is responsible for the State of Emergency."

Asked when the State of Emergency would be lifted, he said: "Ask the State President."
Take me to your leaders
(SORRY, SAYS HIS HOST. NOT I)

By MONO BADELA

STATE President PW Botha yesterday delivered his first direct invitation to black South Africans to participate in national government - behind the massed guns of several hundred soldiers, police and township "green bean" policy.

He chose as the first recipients of the invitation to sit on his National Council, and a future Council of State, Mayor Baau Mahlati and the town councillors of the Vaal's Lekoa township complex, who are among the least representative "black leaders" in the country.

And even they said "no" to Botha. The day was full of unexpected moments, such as when the Lekoa flag was raised upside down and the crowd drowned out Die Stem by singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

Mahlati and his colleagues have lived behind barbed wire in a specially-constructed and heavily guarded compound since the Lekoa council increased local rents in September 1984, sparking a wave of nationwide unrest which has not yet abated despite two States of Emergency, ushering in a nationwide rent boycott.

But behind the guns which surrounded the Sebokeng civic centre yesterday afternoon these minor details were forgotten as Botha, flanked by a phalanx of cabinet ministers, flew in by army helicopter to gracefully accept the "freedom of the city" delivered, on behalf of 346,000 rent-boycotting residents by Mahlati, whose council has been so strapped for cash by the 32-month boycott they had to beg the R15,000 for yesterday's ceremony from local white businesses.

Throughout his 21-page acceptance speech, Botha made reference to the first and continuing cause of unrest - rents - concentrating instead on the National Council and the "reforms" he said were mandated by white South Africa in the May 6 election.

But if the several thousand strong crowd which turned up to watch left disappointed by Botha's failure to announce rent relief, Botha himself may have been equally disappointed.

After granting his president the freedom of the six Lekoa towns, Mahlati said: "We would have great reluctance in participating in the National Council. We seriously urge you to abandon the idea of operating this body.

"It is our belief that the reform you have been mandated to pursue will be an exercise in futility if it does not have (as its objective) the ultimate participation of blacks in parliament on a par with whites."

Botha had clearly not brought along his ministers of defense, law and order, information, constitutional affairs, foreign affairs and education and development aid in the expectation of rejection.

But the "freedom ceremony" was not a stunning success for Botha or Mahlati: After the Lekoa flag had been raised upside down, and dignitaries began singing Morena Baloka (the Sotho version of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika) and Then Die Stem, hundreds of those beyond the guns shot their fists into the air and began singing the more widely-recognised Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. Consensus among journalists present was that the crowd won the singing.

Their demands, featured in a widely-circulated pamphlet from the Vaal Civic Association yesterday morning, were less immediately successful. They included an end to high rentals and the Delmas trial (which focuses on the Vaal uprising of '84), the resignation of all councillors, the release of the "Vaal Six" (currently awaiting execution for killing a councillor in '84) and an end to evictions.

After the ceremony, Botha and his cabinet ministers departed for a tour of Sharpeville where, in a sense, his
Return of the Liberal—without famine
Budget ‘will push taxpayer to CP court’

By AUDREY D’ANGELO
Financial Editor

THE Budget was “politically dangerous” because its failure to give income tax relief to individuals might cause more working class Afrikaners to switch to the Conservative Party, University of Cape Town economics professor Brian Kantor warned yesterday.

He told the SA German Chamber of Commerce and Industry, at a lunch in a city hotel, that he did not think the Budget had “gone down well in Bethel or Brits”.

He considered the Conservative Party had been helped in the last election by an economic protest vote from the working class Afrikaanser who had “suffered in economic strength” and believed he was paying too much tax.

But a colleague at UCT, Andrew Prior, professor of political studies, said he thought the Conservative Party had “probably reached the point of maximum growth”.

Its supporters were farmers and blue collar workers “in marginal economic conditions”. This sector was in decline with little prospect of growth.

Both professors were speaking to the chamber on prospects in SA following the election and the Budget.

Kantor said that the government could have afforded to cut income tax because, “just as the business cycle is recovering, so the government’s revenue is beginning to recover”.

Tax cuts would have boosted the recovery and stimulated revenue growth – “that is a supply-side opportunity missed”.

But Kantor said the recovery was undoubtedly under way and was very impressive to foreign watchers.

He thought the Reserve Bank should put to the test soon whether SA could obtain more foreign loans to finance its recovery. “There is no sense in holding our economy back for the sake of maintaining the balance of payments.”

Kantor also urged more privatization of “cash-rich” parastatals which, he said, would be even more profitable for the government in this country than it had been in Britain.

He urged the private sector to take advantage of any move by the government to make more room for it in the economy.

Prior said the country was definitely not in a pre-Revolutionary phase. Given the strength of the police and the army, there was no possibility that a revolution could succeed.

Discussing sanctions and the call to disinvest, he said these could not be justified on logical grounds and businessmen did not like being preached at.

Local clergy who had called for sanctions and advised whites to abstain from voting in the election had in fact aided and abetted the swing to the Right.

Prior said he expected the state of emergency to continue since its purpose was to create a vacuum in which a new political structure could be put in place, but without popular support there was no chance that it could succeed.

Offers would be made to buy black leaders to take part in it. Some would be found to do so, but it was unlikely that anyone of stature would come forward. If any did they would find themselves discredited.

Prior said there was now “a clash of nationalisms” between the National Party and the ANC.

But the time would come when they would have to speak to each other — he believed some NP supporters already realized this.

He hoped all political parties now excluded would be allowed to speak for themselves in SA so that voters could judge them.
Govt ‘Granny bonds’: the storm continues

MAGNUS HEYSTEK
FINANCE EDITOR

The controversy surrounding the so-called “granny bonds” continued to rage in financial circles yesterday with government and private sector spokesmen in a war of words about the effect these bonds, which offer depositors aged 60 years and over significantly higher interest rates than those offered by building societies, banks and other deposit-taking institutions.

Mr Bob Tucker, managing director of the SA Perm, described the move as a “disaster” for the building society movement and said that to protect their interests, deposit rates, and consequently mortgage rates, would have to rise by at least two percentage points.

Dr A M Pretorius, director-general of Finance, however, said yesterday that the building societies were “overreacting”, while other business leaders felt that the building societies were looking for reasons to increase their mortgage rates.

"While some switching of funds from banks and building societies can be expected, the government does not expect to draw more than R300 million from pensioners under this scheme,” he said at a post-Budget seminar jointly hosted by Ascoscom and the Economic Society of SA yesterday.

“Defence Bonds have been in existence for years now offering substantially higher rates than deposit rates offered elsewhere in the market, but that did not result in a flood of money from depositors,” he said.

Defence Bonds are still paying 14 percent, fully taxable, but this rate will drop to 12 percent from July 1, a measure announced in this week’s Budget speech.

This compares with the top-rate of 12.5 percent presently being paid by building societies.

Economists were also questioning statements made by building society spokesmen that deposits up to R10 billion can be placed in jeopardy by “granny bonds”.

They pointed to the fact that the total assets under control of the building society movement amounts to roughly R25 billion. To say now that R10 billion of deposits is in danger of being switched to “granny bonds” is patently absurd, they claim.

In Cape Town Dr Gerhard Croesen, head of financial planning at the Department of Finance, indicated that the interest rate to be paid on “granny bonds” could be dropped if it in fact resulted in a flood of money.

He also indicated that the Government expects no more than between R300 and R400 million to be invested in these instruments.

The controversy, however, highlights the dire need for investors, and especially aged people who rely on their investments for income, to receive real rates of return after tax.

Even at 15 percent, investors are still seeing their wealth eroded with inflation at levels above 18 percent. The matter is obviously far worse for investors at building societies who are, at present deposit rate levels, earning a negative rate of return of more than 8 percent, after taxation is taken into consideration.

Although the Government from time to time warns that the present interest rate structure cannot last indefinitely, a sudden turnaround in interest rate levels is contrary to government economic policy who wants a higher growth rate at virtually any cost, as this week’s Budget clearly illustrated.

If the introduction of “granny bonds” contributes to higher mortgage and other interest rates, there is no doubt that this scheme will immediately be abandoned or severely curtailed.
Govt priority to include blacks

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Government intends to move urgently to get negotiations going for a new constitutional dispensation which would include blacks.

There will now be extensive steps to market the Government’s plans to blacks.

President Botha has in the past month committed himself on several occasions to step up reform moves in this direction.

After a number of recent announcements, Government sources say the next step will be to do something about what is regarded as a major weakness in the Government’s attempts to get black people to sit at a conference table.

The feeling in Government circles is that their plan has not been effectively marketed. This is where the new job of the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, gets added significance.

Dr van der Merwe has been made Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development in the President’s office. This follows the announcement by Mr Botha in his speech at the start of the new session of Parliament that ways and means were being considered whereby the President would become more directly involved in negotiations with black leaders.

Dr van der Merwe’s task has not yet been defined, but it is expected that it will be in the field of promoting the concept of negotiation in the first place.

Mr Botha has also moved to open channels of communication with the outside world on the question of reform. He has written a letter to the heads of state of the West’s seven major industrialised countries who are holding a summit meeting in Venice next week. He outlined some of the Government’s major initiatives.

In the letter, he expressed the Government’s determination to proceed with reform and repeatedly at the “attentive ear” being given to the ANC overseas. He called for their understanding and assistance in efforts to break the cycle of violence in South Africa.

Mr Botha has said he will liaise with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, who has conducted extensive behind-the-scenes negotiations with some blacks and whose department has received representations and memoranda on the subject.

Speculation that Dr Van der Merwe’s appointment, is a “slap” for Mr Heunis is therefore being dismissed as the Minister of Constitutional Development is bound to remain involved in negotiations.

There is in any case a very close relationship between Mr Botha and Mr Heunis.

The Government apparently intends moving to capitalise on an enthusiastic reception Mr Botha received on Thursday when he visited black townships in the Vaal triangle.

He said then that he was stretching out the hand of friendship and invited black leaders to negotiate with him on power sharing.

While expressing the Government’s determination to go ahead with reform he expressed resentment about the “attentive ear” being given to the ANC overseas while South Africa was subjected to increased pressure.

In the letter he also called on the understanding of the major democracies and their assistance in efforts to break the cycle of violence and promote dialogue.

In an interview today Dr Van der Merwe, a former university lecturer in political science, said he saw his task as exploratory and very urgent.

His priority was to assist in working out possible new political forms for South Africa.

His appointment was part of a new thrust which demonstrated the President’s determination and which confirmed that he saw general election mandate not only as a security one but also as a reform one. And as a mandate to go ahead with power sharing.
Bothe party shunned

By SANDLE MEMELA

THE MUCH anticipated sundowner at Nphatlasane Hall in Sehongkeng for State President PW Botha’s visit turned into chilly disappointment when thousands of township residents apparently shunned the gala event.

Botha had been invited as the guest of honour by the Lekos Town Council, who had accorded him the township’s freedom and had spent more than R5,000 on a lavish party for him.

The ceremony was held in the open outside the hall.

However, it wasbusiness as usual in the Yeal township of Sehongkeng, Sharpeville, Bekkersdal, Benmore and Tembisa yesterday morning while hundreds of policemen and members of the SAPF, together with a handful of tourists, enjoyed Botha’s arrival.

A handful of curious residents—mostly teenagers and children—gathered outside the hall, apparently hoping to have a glimpse of Botha and his entourage.

Ironically, Nphatlasane Hall, which also houses the township’s shopping complex, was only 10km from the Lekos Town Council offices, which was one of the unrest in September 1984 which quickly spread throughout the country.

Despite the low attendance, the shopping complex, which is also one of the few remaining in the country, remained open.

Several policemen and riot police were on hand at the hall complex—apparently looking out for troublemakers.

As early as 9am, the security surrounding the hall was bustling with activity as scores of council employees made last-minute preparations for the function.

About 1pm a group of police officers, together with security personnel, armed with rifles and teargas, moved in.

A temporary cordoned off area was set up behind the hall.

Security officers in plainclothes mingled casually with the crowd as they controlled the situation.

Nplasas by City Press found a few police officers walking about in pairs with rifles slung across their shoulders.

Police with dogs were patrolling at strategic points in the township.

The area surrounding the hall was completely cordoned off and SAPF officers searched incoming vehicles thoroughly.

At a tour of the township found residents carrying on their normal activities.

A crowd of about 100 people gathered outside the hall and taking the street to vent their frustration.

The township businesses, including government institutions like post offices and municipal buildings, were bustling with activity and most shops and supermarkets were also open.

A group of police officers on horseback patrolled the streets.

Many shops were open and the streets were busy.

The town was on lockdown and the atmosphere was tense.

The police were patrolling the streets and ensuring that everything was under control.

A large crowd gathered outside the hall, protesting against the lack of security.

The police were on high alert, with a large number of officers on duty.

The atmosphere was tense, but everyone seemed to be calm and following orders.
Reform diluting central financial control, says Stals

CONSTITUTIONAL reforms now taking place in SA were seriously complicating financial controls over the system, Finance Director-General Chris Stals said last week.

And government was to give serious attention to the need for the centralisation of this control over the newly created structures, he added.

Stals was addressing an SA Property Owners' Association gathering of senior property executives on the Natal South Coast.

"The devolution of the decision-making process brought with it a devolution of administration and of financial management that diluted central financial control."

"In the Budget, of the nearly R47bn provided for government expenditure, a substantial part — privately estimated by some to be up to 40% — finds its way to other levels of government where control by the Treasury becomes extremely difficult."

Stals also stressed the need for stricter controls on the use of capital in the public sector as result of its scarcity.

"In view of the changes in the capital markets in the past few years, the need has arisen for a new strategy on finance."

This plan was in the process of being developed. One of the objectives was that the opportunity had to be created for the private sector to absorb a greater share of the available amount of capital.

The emerging national strategy of finance, Stals said, was at this stage directed towards introducing disciplines on the demand for funds for both current and capital expenditures of the public sector, particularly central government, which is the major spender in this area.

The basic philosophy was to restrict, as far as possible, the total demand for funds emanating from the public sector and to leave as much as possible of the limited supply of available funds to the private sector for productive investment and job creation.

"Government policy can, through the tax structure or by means of monetary-policy measures, influence the decisions of the private sector on the use of capital. But, ultimately, market forces must determine the direction of investments."

Commenting on the delay in the release of the Margo report on taxation, Stals said government faced a dilemma: whether to release the report without its own decision on the recommendations or to delay it further, pending its comments.
'Repatriate blacks' posters on Rand

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. - Rightwing youth posters bearing the words "Stop terror - repatriate all non-whites" have been put up in Johannesburg and Verwoerdburg.

Police said a complaint had been lodged and would be referred to the Attorney-General.

The poster, in similar colours to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, belong to an organisation named Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB).

The posters carry the initials BBB and an emblem - a diamond shape with two tails.

A spokesman for the Verwoerdberg Town Council confirmed that the council had given consent for the posters to be displayed.

She said the application to display the posters had been made by the "Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging," which said it was a cultural organisation.

"CULTURAL POSTERS ALLOWED"

"The council may refuse only posters with immoral content," the spokesman said. "The by-laws allow posters of cultural organisations."

She said the Town Council approved the wording of posters before allowing them to be set up.

A spokesman for the Pretoria City Council said today it had refused permission for the organisation to display posters in the city.

No comment could be obtained from the Johannesburg City Council.
Nats invite UDF to talks

THE Government has invited a United Democratic Front official for talks on the reconstruc-
tion of the President's Council.

One of the UDF's three presidents, Mr Archie Gumede, has been approached to give
suggestions on the restructuring of the President's Council.

The invitation was extended by Dr Dries Oosthuizen, chairman of the Committee for
Constitutional Affairs of the President's Council.

However, the UDF has turned down the invitation and has listed several demands as a
condition for talks.

The invitation coincides with President Botha's full page advertisement this week
in which he extended his "hand of friendship" to all South Africans of goodwill and invited
them to join in the search for an answer to the country's problems.

Mr Kobi Bauermeester, secretary of the President's Council, said in Cape Town last
week that black leaders from a "broad spectrum" were being approached. The move is
aimed at paving the way for blacks to participate in the President's Council.

Mr Bauermeester said:
"It is confirmed that the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the
President's Council is at present hearing oral evidence on the composition and functions of the
President's Council in order to make provision for further forms of negotiation and for the
participation of leaders of black communities in that council."

Mr Gumede said he had to consult with the UDF's national executive before responding to
the invitation and that the position of the UDF on the matter coincided
with his own.

He said negotiations with the Government without the participation
of leaders of the ANC like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo would be
of no value. He listed other conditions for talks as:

- The lifting of the state of emergency.
- The unbanning of the ANC and release of all political prisoners and
detainees.
- Troops and police must be taken out of the townships.
- There must be a guarantee of safety for returning political exiles.
UDF 'no' to talks on council

The Government has invited the United Democratic Front (UDF) to talk on the reconstruction of the President's Council.

President of the UDF Mr Archie Gumede said he had consulted the organisation's national executive.

He said negotiations with the Government without Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo taking part would be of no value. Other conditions for talks were:

- The lifting of the state of emergency;
- The unbanning of the ANC and release of all political prisoners;
- Troops and police to leave the townships;
- A guarantee of safety for the return of exiles.
Group forces Jews to confront future in SA

By Jannie Simon

South African Jews will confront a vital talking point in their community on Wednesday night in Johannesburg — "Is there a future for Jews in South Africa?"

The topic was chosen for its pertinence by the organiser, Jews for Social Justice (JSJ), a group which, since its inception in November 1985, has added a different and strident voice to that of the Jewish Establishment.

The message of the group — that the history of Jewish oppression and human dignity and justice, which were the quintessence of Jewish teachings, have moral and political implications for South Africa — initially provoked antagonsism from the Jewish community. The community, despite many individual activists, had never taken a collective stance against apartheid, said JSJ chairman Mr. Gary Lubner.

DEMOCRATIC

It was this gap which became evident during the first state of emergency when many organisations spoke out against events in the townships.

"Whereas Jews were very active in democratic movements, there was no organisation in the spectrum of Jewish community groups which looked specifically at the South African situation, perhaps because the community felt that to isolate itself as a group laid it open to anti-Semitism," he said.

Jews for Social Justice groups, set up independently in Johannesburg and Cape Town, were moved to fill that gap.

"Initially, JSJ was 'persona non grata', but over time we have become more accepted. It would be naive to think we could be supported by the whole community, but the fact that we are still here after 18 months says something," said Mr. Lubner.

Speakers on Wednesday will be Rabbi Furman, Mr. Tony Bloom, Mr. Anton Harber, co-editor of the Weekly Mail, and Dr. Steven Cohen from the Jewish Board of Deputies.

The meeting will begin at 8 pm in the Hebrew Order of David Hall, 55 Gardens Road, Orchards.
Savimbi urges blacks to talk to NP

JOHANNESBURG. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told about 400 businessmen here on Friday night that South Africa's black politicians should negotiate with the NP government. SABC TV news said Dr Savimbi criticized black leaders' refusal to take part in negotiations offered by President P W Botha and praised him for his government's reforms.

The report said Dr Savimbi urged SA not to withdraw from its "responsibilities" as a regional power in Southern Africa and warned that the ANC would not change if it came to power in SA.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said Dr Savimbi had done more for the people of Africa than any other of its leaders.

Mr Botha said, the future struggle in Southern Africa would have nothing to do with racial prejudice — "it would be along the ideological lines of freedom or enslavement."

Meanwhile, the government yesterday accelerated a new high-profile sales pitch for President Botha's still unsuccessful offer to negotiate a form of limited power-sharing with black leaders.

Authorities sought in a newspaper interview and in controlled leaks to political reporters to show Mr Botha as a reformist willing to give SA's voiceless blacks a say in government.

"The message is: 'Here we are and we are willing,'" chief NP propagandist Mr Stoffel van der Merwe said in an interview with Sunday newspaper Rapport.

Reports in other Sunday newspapers quoted unidentified government sources saying Mr Botha was prepared to relax conditions he set for talks.

The Sunday Star said Mr Botha was willing to abandon his insistence that race should form the basis of any future constitutional model.

The Sunday Times hailed routine government appointments as signs of a swing to the left. — Sapa—UPI
Benoni warned of boycott if it leaves First National

Own Correspondent
Johannesburg — Benoni town councillor Mr Aubrey Ritz has sounded a warning that the town may be subjected to a black consumer boycott if it were to withdraw its municipal funds from First National Bank.

Mr Ritz said yesterday that he had received an anonymous telephone threat from a "black male" who said: "If you guys withdraw from First National Bank, we'll boycott you."

The National Party-dominated town council resolved to call on the bank to express before June 19 its "strongest disapproval" of managing director Mr Chris Ball's actions in lending R100 000 for an "unlawful ANC" advertisement in several newspapers.

The second part of the motion, to withdraw funds from the bank if it failed to censure Mr Ball, was withdrawn because it was considered improper to threaten the bank, the proposer, Dr P. D. C. Erasmus, said yesterday.

However, should the bank fail to satisfy the council, withdrawal is likely to be discussed again.

Dr Erasmus said a black consumer boycott was "not relevant" to the issue. "We have learned a lot about boycotts . . . and we know how to deal with them. It is clear the boycotters burn their own fingers."

Mr Ritz and two other councillors opposed the motion on the grounds that local government should not concern itself with political matters or punitive actions.

Dr Erasmus said he had expressed himself in the "national interest" and his motion did not necessarily reflect the view of any political party.

If councillors were not satisfied with the bank's explanation, the council would put its bank account out to tender.

The acting town clerk, Mr Chris Bushoff, said the council would probably meet the bank soon for discussions.

The council's budget for this year is about R150 million. The banking account has been held by FNB, formerly Barclays Bank, for about 60 years.

The senior general manager of the bank, Mr Jimmy McKenzie, said the assurance by the office of the State President that no further statements would be issued following the Munnik Commission's findings had been kept.

However, other NP institutions had continued to come out against the bank.

"We have dealt directly with clients who have made known to us any problem they had with dealing with the bank. We have chosen not to communicate with them through the media and it has proven successful," he said.
UDF asked to talks on Pres Council

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Government has invited the United Democratic Front to take part in talks on the reconstruction of the President's Council.

One of the UDF's presidents, Mr Archie Gumede, was approached by Dr Dries Oosthuizen, chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the President's Council, to give suggestions on the council, which has been rejected by blacks since its inception.

But the UDF has turned down the invitation, which coincides with President Botha's full-page newspaper advertisement in which he extends a "hand of friendship" to all South Africans and invites them to search for an answer to the country's problems.

PAVING THE WAY

Mr Kobus Bauermester, secretary of the President's Council, said in Cape Town last week that black leaders from a broad spectrum were being approached on the issue.

The move was aimed at paving the way for blacks to take part in the President's Council.

Mr Gumede said talks could only take place on the following conditions:

- The lifting of the state of emergency;
- Lifting the ban on the ANC and the release of all political prisoners and detainees;
- Troops and police to leave the townships; and
- A guarantee of safety for the return of exiles.
New Nats nudge to fore

Stoffel's surprise hop to the top bruises egos

The National Party's progressive wing, the "New Nats", has come strongly to the fore in important parliamentary appointments made this week.

The most significant of these was the elevation of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe to the post of Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development in the State President's office.

The move came as a surprise to many. Some top Cabinet members, including the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Hennings, are reliably learnt to have been hoping for the job as the man to usher in Mr P W Botha's new dispensation.

The retention of deputy minister status for Dr van der Merwe was interpreted as partly a bid to salvage egos bruised by his leap-frog appointment.

The 47-year-old former Political Science professor came to Parliament only in 1981 and was given his first titled job — Deputy Minister of Information — in November last year.

Analysts immediately read his latest appointment — placed, as it is, in the President's office — as a victory against Mr Botha's statement three weeks ago that he aimed to become personally involved in negotiations with blacks for a new dispensation.

Battling

The new job will significantly undercut the importance, scope and authority of Mr Hennings' department in moves to create a new constitution. It reinforces the image of Mr Hennings battling to regain credibility and status after his near defeat by Dr Denis Worrall at the Helderberg polls last month.

In a separate announcement this week, the Speaker appointed the chairmen and deputy chairmen of standing committees, the legislative bargaining bedrock on which the current Parliamentary system rests. Here there was a liberal sprinkling of some of the best known New Nats.

Mr Albert Nothnagel, whose career teetered earlier this year over his assertion that the ANC should be part of discussions, was made chairman of the Home Affairs standing committee.

Unusual

Mr Leon Wessels, who narrowly escaped defeat by the right wing in Krugersdorp, was reconfirmed as chairman of the Security Services standing committee.

In an unusual move, Mr Wessels was also allotted the task this week of introducing a private member's motion in Parliament to thank the security forces for their work.

Mr Petie de Pontes was appointed to head the Trade and Industry committee, and Mr Piet Marray the Education committee.

Other News — MPs regarded as impatient with the NP's slow pace to grapple with real reform — to figure in top jobs were: Mr Hermus Kriel, to chair the committee on Cape provincial affairs, Mr Con Botha the Natal committee, Mr Zask Low and Mr Andre van der Walt as members of Mr Kriel's committee and Mr Willie Hofm as a member of Mr Botha's.
Sats strike: 'Govt showed weakness'

Political Staff
PARLIAMENT - The official Opposition, the Conservative Party, has condemned the Government’s decision to re-employ the 16,000 SA Transport Services (Sats) workers who were fired for striking last month.

But the Progressive Federal Party has said it is “delighted that some sort of reason has prevailed”.

Mr Tom Langley, CP transport affairs spokesman, said in the Assembly yesterday that the Sats strike was illegal because Sats rendered essential services, which meant that all strikers could be criminally prosecuted and were not re-employable.

He said it appeared from Transport Minister Mr Eli Louw’s statement on Friday and from weekend Press reports that the Government had not "won the day".

"The Government has again demonstrated its weakness and inability to act strongly, particularly at a time when there is unemployment and thousands are without work."

Mr Langley said it was not clear what Mr Louw meant by "no work, no pay".

"Does this mean right from the date of the commencement of the strike, or only from the date the strikers were fired?"

The PFP transport spokesman, Mr John Malcomess, said he was delighted that an agreement had been reached.

It was Sats management and not the Government who had reached the settlement.

Mr Malcomess also said he was pleased that in the Sats budget speech Mr Louw had moved closer to equating employment practices between whites and blacks.

It was just medical aid and travel perks which were not equal, and Mr Louw had committed himself to phasing out these inequalities within three years.

“But I don’t think Sats has seen the last of strikes. There is no doubt that this was partially political.

“And there will continue to be strike action against the public sector until blacks get some form of political expression.”
al graffiti battle spreads to Divo area

*
GOVT TUES NEW NEOTRATTICS STRATEGIES

BY DAVID BRAYN

The government has announced new strategies to negotiate with other countries on trade issues. The strategies include:

1. Focusing on areas of mutual interest and potential for economic growth.
2. Strengthening diplomatic relations to build trust and understanding.
3. Utilizing digital tools and technologies to enhance communication and cooperation.
4. Promoting sustainable development and environmental protection.
5. Addressing security and defense concerns to foster stability.

These strategies aim to improve the government's negotiating position and achieve mutual benefits for all parties involved.
THE Government has re-introduced controversial legislation to end the rent boycott in black townships and claim the millions of rand in outstanding debts.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party spokesman said yesterday: "The Government is mad. It was forced to withdraw the legislation last year. It will make the problem worse."

In terms of the legislation local authorities will be able to force employers to deduct the debts from salaries of their employees without going through normal legal procedures.

The legislation has been re-introduced by Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, who in an accompanying memorandum claims the legislation provides uniformity between all race groups for the recovery of money which was at present controlled by provincial ordinances for white, Indian and coloureds and by regulation for blacks.

MRS HELEN Suzman.

He then added a rider that "there is also a need for a summary procedure for the recovery of amounts due."

"Fourteen days after notice has been issued for outstanding rent or municipal services a local authority can file the notice with a magistrate's court and it would then have "all effects of a civil judgment lawfully given."

Apart from other legal steps the local authorities would then be empowered.

From Page 1

ed to ask the clerk of the court for a garnishing order.

Employers will face a maximum fine of R2000 if they failed to implement the order and employees can be fired a maximum of R1000 for not disclosing the name of their employer.

The legislation was blocked in a Parliament by the standing committee last year after a widespread outcry and condemnation from the business sector.

Mrs Suzman said the move was "extremely unwise at a time of unrest and poverty caused by widespread unemployment."

The Government should rather attempt to resolve the rent boycott by holding discussions with the real representatives of the community — the civic action committees — instead of the community councils.

She suggested that all homes occupied for more than five years should have ownership transferred and that those people who had already bought their homes should have the money credited to them against services.

Meanwhile two main black extra-parliamentary political groupings, Azapo and the UDF, have reacted with consternation towards the new Government legislation.

The legislation, which seems intended to break the year-long rent boycott, will give local authorities the power to force employers to deduct residents' debts from the salaries of their employees without going through normal legal procedures.

UDF president, Mr Albertina Sisulu said employers should seriously consider their positions in the light of this legislation.

"The people have demanded that the councillors do not want to respond to. From the residents' side, there is no way this thing will work. It now depends on the employers."

Azapo president, Mr Nkosinathi Mbatha said the legislation was a "courageous and dangerous evasion of the issues that have led to the rent crisis.

"Far from resolving the rent crisis, the Government can only contribute to the further deepening of the conflict.

BOSSES WILL DEDUCT DEBT FROM WAGES
Former PFP chairman joins Idasa as co-ordinator

Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) has appointed former Progressive Federal Party youth chairman Mr Wayne Mitchell as its national co-ordinator.

Mr Mitchell (27), formerly Idasa’s Eastern Cape regional director, will be based at Idasa’s national headquarters in Cape Town.

Before joining Idasa, he was a senior personnel officer at General Motors in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Mitchell has a BA Hon degree in political science from the University of Port Elizabeth where he served on the students’ representative council.

He resigned from the PFP last year having held the positions of regional youth chairman, constituency chairman, member of the regional executive and member of the federal council.

MEDIA LIAISON

Mr Mitchell’s primary tasks as national co-ordinator will be to direct and co-ordinate Idasa’s regional offices, assist executive directors Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, and liaise with the media.

He will continue his studies for an MA degree at the University of Cape Town.
PW switches attitude to homelands

Political Staff

The government has adopted a significant change of attitude in granting homeland independence by, for the first time, publicly demanding a show of "broad support" for the move before giving the go-ahead.

The switch came yesterday after months of confrontation and an estimated 100 deaths in KwaNdebele between pro- and anti-independence factions.

Referendum

The State President, Mr. P.W. Botha, said after two-hour discussions with the new Chief Minister, Mr. George Mahlangu, and his cabinet, that he would not stand in the way of greater autonomy or independence for KwaNdebele "provided that certain requirements are met".

He did not specifically call for an election or referendum, but Mrs. Helen Suzman, chief Progressive Federal Party speaker on Black Affairs, who has been monitoring the troubles in KwaNdebele, called for a "free and fair referendum, including women who do not have a vote at present".

A statement issued in Cape Town on Mr. Botha's behalf said: "These requirements, Chief George Mahlangu about which the State President must be satisfied before the matter can be taken to the South African Parliament, comprise the following:

1 Greater autonomy or independence must be obtained in an orderly fashion and on the basis of the broad support of the KwaNdebele population.

2 A number of arrangements which can make independence possible, must still be negotiated by joint committees of the two governments.

The government of KwaNdebele must consider some or other acceptable method of demonstrating that it has the support of the broad population in its striving for independence.

Reacting to the government's new approach, Mrs. Suzman said: "It is quite obvious from the widespread civil unrest which has been plaguing KwaNdebele since independence was first mooted by the previous Legislative Assembly, that nobody can legitimately claim that the majority of people in KwaNdebele want independence."

"Indeed, the opposite is indicated as the unrest ceased as soon as the Legislative Assembly revised its original decision to ask for independence."

"It re-emerged when the then Chief Minister was replaced by the Present Mr. George Mahlangu."

"There is only one way to ascertain the will of the people and that is by free and fair referendum including women."

Mrs. Suzman said two vital issues were involved - the loss of South African citizenship after independence and the position of the 70,000 commuters who work in the PWV area and would need work permits."
UDF preconditions to talks

THE UDF has declared its unwillingness to participate in negotiations on future government constitutional structures before a series of preconditions relating to the emergency and the ANC are met.

This follows invitations by the government to the UDF to participate in talks on the reconstruction of the President’s Council (PC) with the aim of including blacks in the body.

Members of the PC constitutional affairs committee have, according to committee chairman Dr Dries Oosthuizen, already spoken to about 30 black groups about participation on the council.

One of those approached to give evidence, UDF president Mr Archie Gumede, last week delivered a letter to the committee, detailing the conditions that would have to be met before the UDF was prepared to be drawn into negotiations.

They included the participation in negotiations of ANC leaders such as Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo, the lifting of the emergency and the ban on the ANC, the withdrawal of troops from the townships and the removal of discriminatory legislation.

However, after delivering his letter, Mr Gumede reportedly engaged in discussions with committee members, outlining the UDF’s position.
Democracy: It's a matter of style
Reform, Olive, Head of School, says...
Black scepticism of NP highlighted in debate, but ...

Heunis blames opponents for lack of faith in Govt

Political Staff

If blacks had little confidence in the Government, then the Progressive Federal Party and extra-parliamentary organisations were to blame, said Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

He was replying to a motion proposed in the House of Assembly yesterday by PFP nominated member, Professor Nic Olivier.

Professor Olivier's motion said peace and security could only be ensured if blacks were granted acceptable participation at the highest levels of decision-making.

Approach to negotiation

Mr Heunis said it was easy to talk about a nonracial South Africa but no constitution could ignore the "multi-ethnicity" of the country.

"A system that doesn't recognise this cannot hope to be democratic," he added.

During the debate, the NP's approach to negotiation was attacked by the PFP as a non-starter and the legitimacy of the black leaders who would talk to the Government was questioned.

Mr Heunis said: "Professor Olivier says blacks don't trust the Government and if that's true it doesn't surprise me."

"Who causes this mistrust other than the PFP?"

Mr Peter Gastrow (PFP Durban Central), said the Government was prepared to negotiate with Samora Machel, "a self-confessed Marxist", but would not talk to the ANC, "a South African organisation with widespread support in South Africa".

Mr Heunis replied: "One can only conclude from that that he (Mr Gastrow) is now propagating negotiation with communists about South Africa's future."

Mr Tim van der Merwe (PFP Green Point), interjected: "Why don't you take this debate seriously and stop talking rubbish?"

Mr Heunis responded: "People are looking for a potential winner and as long as the PFP and extra-parliamentary organisations hold out hope for the ANC, it will impede negotiation."

Mr van der Merwe: "That's a pathetic thing to say and a reflection of your own pathetic failure."

Mr Wynand Malan (Independent Randburg), said the Government should have talks and "build relationships" with members of trade unions and the United Democratic Front.

He was not as hopeful as Mr Gastrow that the ANC "has in mind a Western, liberal democracy".

Prof Olivier said if the aggression and paternalism of Mr Heunis's tone was an indication of his attitude to negotiation, then "we can forget about any success". He formally withdrew his motion.
Govt ‘unable to govern’—Suzman

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MRS HELEN SUZMAN said the government’s renewal of the emergency “is just an indication that the NP is totally unable to govern this country unless it has powers that go way beyond any country that has pretentions to democracy.”

The PFP’s law and order spokeswoman said: “The reason for this state of affairs is that the laws were passed over the years without the consent of the black people to whom they apply—and therefore the normal process of the law does not suffice.”

“I predict that the state of emergency is going to be with us for many years to come. For the conditions which the government states it has to precede its removal are far from attainable—the improvement in the quality of life for blacks and a change in the political climate.”

Mrs Suzman said she disputed Mr Botha’s contention that the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and his fellow political prisoners were remaining in jail on the orders of the ANC.

“It is clear that the government is carrying on with its highly successful election tactics of scaring the white electorate into accepting its ‘total onslaught’ propaganda.”

“The reality is that until the government really tackles the underlying grievances which keep the townships in a state of unrest and starts negotiating with accepted black leaders there is no hope of creating stability or peace in South Africa,” Mrs Suzman said.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said his party has never supported the security legislation and that “further phases of emergency can never be an answer to the South African need and circumstance.”

Mr Hendrickse, who is a member of the cabinet, continued: “Peace and security can only be achieved in the political accommodation of black aspirations and the dismantling of apartheid. It is therefore regretted that the emergency has had to be re-instated.”

“In spite of the forces of evil’s continued attempts to instigate and create situations of violence and counter-violence, the government must seriously accelerate the rate of political reform to include all South Africans in all decision-making processes at all levels,” Mr Hendrickse said.

An official US government statement yesterday said: “We see no justification for the first state of emergency or for the current one.”

The chairman of the PFP Unrest Monitoring and Action Committee, Mr Jan van Eck, said: “As long as there is no fundamental change, the emergency will have to be regularly re-imposed, year after year.”

The PFP MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, said in the House of Assembly last night that reform did not need stability; it needs reform.

He was resuming his speech in the committee stage of the transport vote, which had been interrupted by the joint sitting in which the President announced the re-institution of the state of emergency.

“I was interrupted by confession time, a confession of failure. He told us that for reform he needed stability. I say he’s got it the wrong way round. Stability needs reform.”

A new state of emergency would only worsen the existing tension and distrust, the SA Council of Churches said.

The last emergency had achieved nothing.

Sapa reports that Mr Wynand Malan (Independent Randburg) said yesterday that the ordinary laws were insufficient to control the current situation in the country, but the state of emergency was not the final answer.
Powerful Case

1. The court, as a protective measure for the public, is established to uphold the principles of law and order. The court decides disputes between parties, ensuring justice and fairness. It is a guarantor of the rule of law, providing a mechanism for resolving conflicts in a structured and orderly manner.

2. A case in a university presents a unique challenge. The court's role is to ensure that the educational institution adheres to the standards set by the law. This includes defending the rights of students and faculty, as well as maintaining a safe and conducive learning environment. The court's intervention is necessary to uphold academic integrity and uphold legal standards.

S.A.'s Problems

Urban Development Aggravates

The proposal to sell the block of property will negatively impact the neighborhood. The sale will change the character of the area, leading to a loss of community and a rise in urban development. The loss of open space will affect the quality of life for residents, leading to increased traffic and noise pollution. The court will need to carefully consider the implications of the sale, ensuring that the interests of the community are protected.

The court should carefully review the proposed sale and consider the impact on the neighborhood. The court may provide guidelines for the sale to ensure that the interests of the community are protected. The court should also consider alternative solutions, such as investing in community development projects, to address the issues raised by the proposed sale.

In conclusion, the court should carefully consider the implications of the proposed sale and ensure that the interests of the community are protected. The court's role is crucial in ensuring that urban development is done in a manner that benefits the community.
Posters calling for the repatriation of blacks appear along Harrow Road and Jan Smuts Avenue this week after the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging were granted permission by the Johannesburg City Council. Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afropolix
Says the pensioner who became host to the President’s surprise visit: ‘I ci

A stunned — and unshaven — Seabata Fokane with the Bothas and mayor Esau Mahlatsi during his minute of

In the footsteps of PW: The

By MONO BADELA

MOST citizens would be honoured by a surprise visit to their homes by a head of state.

But for 77-year-old Sharpeville pensioner Seabata Klaas Fokane, last week’s visit by President PW Botha to his matchbox home was the start of a nightmare.

"I curse the day Botha set his foot on my doorstep — it has made my life a misery," Fokane told Weekly Mail.

Botha dropped in unexpectedly on the Fokane household after receiving the freedom of Lekoa, of which Sharpeville is a part, from Mayor Esau Mahlatsi and the town councillors of Lekoa on Thursday last week.

The people of Sharpeville were not over-enthusiastic in their welcome.

Fokane says that since a beaming Botha unexpectedly walked into his "match-box" he has been having sleepless nights. "I now wake up three or four times a night and check around outside, thinking that some people may be around to come and

The councillors live in fear behind a high fence and coils of razor wire

He believes some residents of Sharpeville think the visit to his house had been a "fixed thing".

"I was really taken by surprise. I just saw a whole group of people pouring into my yard and led by Botha, whom I have only seen on television in the past. He shook my hand and asked me how I was feeling, whether I was happy or not. He also asked me to buy the house which I have occupied since 1947. He did not offer to buy it for me. I told him I have no money. That was the end of his flying visit to us."

Fokane said he had not been informed by the mayor of Lekoa that Botha would stop at his home on a 10-minute tour of Sharpeville. He was happy at the same time but gripped with fear. I am still mystified by his visit.

He said he had been afraid to wo
Sharpeville Botha didn't see

come the state president into his
home. "Even now I am living in fear."

He thinks some residents believe
the visit was arranged by Mahlatsi.

"I do not know Mahlatsi from any
other source other than that of him
being a mayor. I did not even vote
during elections in 1983. Like most
Sharpeville residents, I do not sup-
port the town councilors.

We were joined by a group of four
women, who said they were con-
cerned about Fokane.

"I sincerely believe that Botha
would have earned a lot of goodwill
by visiting the Sharpeville graveyard
and paying homage to the 69 men
and women shot dead by police in
1960," noted Emily RamatlaKane,
who said her only son was shot dead
by police on the afternoon of Septem-
ber 3, 1984. She had discovered her
son's body at the Vereeniging mortu-
ary a week later.

The deaths of the people in 1960
and those who died during the uphe-
aval in 1984 seem to mean nothing
to Botha," she said. "He does not care."

Fokane said he had been among
the crowd at the square in front of
the police station on March 21, 1960,
when police opened fire on a group
of anti-pass protesters, killing 69.

"I do not know what Botha
was really doing in Sharpeville," he
said. "As a president he should have gone
to the cemetery as a gesture of good-
will."

Earlier, Mahlatsi denied that the
a pleasant surprise." He said many
residents thereafter asked the encou-
rage to stop briefly at their homes.

Mahlatsi ruled out the idea that Bo-
tha's visit to Lekoa was intended to
discuss the nearly three-year-old rent
crisis in the area. He said his council
had invited Botha "to see for himself
the conditions under which blacks
live because we felt that was very im-
portant for somebody who has in-
fluence, so that he can take appro-
priate decisions."

The council had also invited Botha
because there had always been divi-
sion between blacks and whites in
South Africa. "That must come to a
stop," he said. "There should be re-
cognition. His gesture of coming
here would be an indication of recon-
ciliation." The councilors also want-
ed Botha to explain his envisaged re-
form process to the community.

Mahlatsi said he still believed Bo-
tha's proposed National Statutory
Council was not the right solution to
the country's problems. "I still seri-
ously urge Botha to abandon the idea
of operating this body," he said.

A representative of the Vaal Civic
Association said: "We have not for-
gotten the gravestones in Sharpeville,
the six people in death row, includ-
ing the only woman so far to have been
condemned to death, Theresa Ra-
nashamole, for a political offence,
and the trial in Delmas, where Vaal
Triangle leaders face charges of trea-
sion."

He described Botha's visit to Lekoa
as a "miserable failure. The cheer by
the lower primary school pupils were
meaningless. The whole thing was
orchestrated. Those who attended the
reception were pensioners, unem-
ployed people and others who won
there because they were curious that
something might happen."
Reach out to workers — De Beer

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Business must reach out to black workers, understand their needs, fears, grievances and demonstrate "that their own best hope for the future, like ours, lies in the successful functioning of a free enterprise economy".

This was the principal thought in Zach de Beer's speech last night to Durban businessmen.

He is chairman of the Southern Life Association and Anglo American Property Services.

De Beer said that there was a danger of "estrangement, frustration and alienation among our black people and therefore the industrial workers".

It was easy enough for business to wash its hands and blame the government, and apartheid, for this situation but this attitude would not get business far — it was more important for management to bridge the gap as part of its system.

"Business must be prepared to devote real resources to this task, to give it real priority. SA's future may in the end depend on this issue as much as on any other."

On other points he said:

- Economic integration had reached a point which whites had come to firmly accept but there was a danger that blacks might now start rejecting the possibility because they were confined to the "bottom of the pyramid".
- Colour bars had to go and intensive training for black workers provided and the black people should become part of the planning and production process.
- Urban housing was a national priority with the provision of suitable land a pressing need — money was not a major factor, land was. A healthy property market required that the Group Areas Act should go.

In industrial relations, to grant workers rights without parallel political rights put management in an "exascerbatingly difficult position".

SA should go for the smokeshell, resource-based, labour intensive and export-oriented industries which meant maintaining an under-valued rand.

The inward flow of capital, now reversed, demanded a high level of domestic savings and a strong current account surplus (more should be exported than imported).
Pay rise for MPs

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
All MPs and members of the President’s Council would get a 12.5% pay rise from July 1, the Chairman of the Ministers’ Council, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday.

This follows the recent 12.5% increase for public servants.

Mr De Klerk said MPs would have access to a R10,000-a-year secretarial and administrative allowance from the same date.

He said no member would gain financially by the allowance because rents and salaries would be paid directly to lessors and employees from a payments office under the control of the Speaker.

The Official Opposition called on the government to reconsider the decision. — Sapa
Ministers' pay has 'tripled'

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Salaries of Ministers and Deputy Ministers have almost tripled in the last six years.

Where a Minister earned R7064 in salary and allowance in 1981, his package after the latest 12.5 percent increase is just over R137 000 a year.

A Deputy Minister who earned R38 376 six years ago now earns nearly R97 000 a year.

The annual wage bill for the Cabinet (including the State President), the three Ministers' Councils for own affairs, Deputy Ministers and ministerial representatives, is now R67.5 million.

This does not include the cost of the parliamentary pension scheme, the R10 000 annual allowance now made available for secretarial services for each constituency, the free flights on SA Airways domestic services to which MPs are entitled (paid for by Parliament) and the parliamentary motor car scheme.

© See Page 4.
Conservatives struggling to make a mark

From BARRY STREEK in Cape Town

The Conservative Party, now the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly with 23 MPs, has hardly set Parliament alight during the current session.

In many respects, it is still the Progressive Federal Party with 20 MPs, which is taking the fight to the National Party with its 133 MPs.

In the budget debate, for instance, the PFPS finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, although not leading the opposition attack on the budget as he had done so often before the May 6 election, clearly dominated the criticisms of the government’s financial policies.

But, in its new position, the CP, with its open confidence, has certainly changed the nature of debate in the all-white Assembly. Now much of the debate is focused on a bitter, no-holds-barred fight for the political soul of Afrikanerdom.

The CP’s experienced MPs, such as its deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, its finance spokesman, Mr Casper Uys, and its chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, are playing a major role in the new Assembly.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, the often controversial MP for Overvaal, has emerged as a key figure — not only is he one of the party’s whips, but he is its spokesman on home affairs and communications which includes the post office, as well as its spokesman on defence.

The former Minister of Information and former leader of the NP in the Transvaal, Dr Connie Mulder, who in 1978 narrowly lost the fight to succeed Mr John Vorster as prime minister after Mr Pik Botha’s supporters decided to support Mr F. W. Botha, commanded a lot of attention when he spoke in the censure debate.

But he fell ill shortly after this and has not been active since.

When he spoke, Dr Mulder made the tantalising promise to deliver “on another occasion” a speech he had wanted to make during the debate on the “Information Affair” in 1978. He said that the privilege of speaking then was “denied me by the then leader, the then Prime Minister and present State President.”

Dr Mulder added: “When it suits me, and when a more fitting debate presents itself, I shall deliver the speech on that matter, which I would have delivered at the time.”

The whole of Parliament waits with interest for that occasion for it could reopen old wounds and tensions, and damage the political reputations of certain key NP figures.

Another CP MP who has commanded much attention is Mr Arrie Paulus, the new MP for Carletonville and general-secretary of the Mineworkers Union (MWU). And when he said the striking black raider in the Transvaal had won a victory over Sasa, it made an impact.

Among the other new CP MPs, a former university professor, Dr Fanie Jacobs, who represents Losberg, is emerging as an effective speaker and debater.

The aloof and often off-putting style of the new Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has not changed, but he exudes the quiet confidence of a man who is convinced his time is coming.

“Your reform recipe of power-sharing entails in principle the surrender of power,” he told Nationalist MPs during the censure debate. The word “surrender” caused the idea of “a free white people under its own government in its own homeland,” to be belittled.

Dr Treurnicht, like all his colleagues, is itching for another election: “We shall definitely see a very interesting election result in 1989, if such an election is held.”

A common theme in the CP speeches is that if the government’s reforms are the beginning of the slippery slide to black rule. As Dr Treurnicht put it at the end of the censure debate: “If one abdicates and surrenders white political power, if one only sur-
renders it partially, it is an invitation to the revolutionary force to strive for the overnight takeover of that power. One will not stop it.”

For the CP MPs, positive confirmation of this trend came with the recent discussions between the chairman of the President’s Council, Dr Dries Oosthuizen, and one of the presidents of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede.

The NP emphatically rejects these allegations and stresses that it is committed to continue the implementation of its reforms which it believes will ensure that there will be “no domination by any one group over another.”

Much of the NP strategy is directed towards forcing the CP to define its policies more clearly and to link the CP and the African National Congress (ANC). The Transvaal leader of the NP, Mr F. W. de Klerk, challenged Mr Frank le Roux to say whether he felt closer to the AWB than to the brotherhood.

When Mr Le Roux replied “Yes, definitely,” a pleased Mr De Klerk said: “Thank you, it is not much of a bond. We no longer have to fight over who stands where.”

The NP also argues that it is promoting reconciliation while the CP is fanning the flames of conflict.

The NP accepts that white political domination has to be ended,” the Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said. “We want to build a new system together with the other population groups, based on understanding and trust on all sides and not founded on the principle of consensus.

“The consensus politics of the NP government stands in the sign of conflict. While the partition politics of the Official Opposition stands in the sign of conflict. That is the difference,” Dr De Villiers argued.

It remains to be seen whether white voters, if they are given the chance in 1979, will respond to the debate in Parliament.

But it is, essentially, a white debate. The aspirations and frustrations of the majority of South Africans who are not white hardly feature and, as far as the CP is concerned, they don’t seem to matter.

And that is why the PFP, despite its reduced status in Parliament, is continuing to play a significant role.

It, at least, is trying to come to terms with the political realities outside the white electorate — and that, despite the CP, is where the central political debate in South Africa remains.
Is SA business more in line with ANC than govt?

by DAVID WILLERS

SEVERAL South African business- men in recent times have called for a fundamental restructuring of South African society. Raymond Ackerman, a top retailer, maintains that 90% of South Africa's top chairman support dismantling apartheid in its entirety — in other words would support majority rule since there can be no other alternative to scrapping race classification of the population — and that they believe the black leadership is prepared to compromise to achieve a peaceful settlement.

Likewise Murray Hofmeyr, chairman of a major mining house, said recently that while businessmen recognized the need to work out new programmes to improve the lot of black workers and to extend profit sharing and other incentive schemes to ensure the benefits of the system are more fairly distributed, business now needs more than ever to speak out against injustices, to declare that it is a lie when someone says calling for the release of detainees are condoning violence, to say that a ban on demonstrations is a massive denial of basic freedoms. To insist that the rule of law remains the only basis for a society that can function and to go on telling the government that their unwillingness to facilitate a process of negotiation and accommodation is a direct damage to South Africa. The government also needs to be reminded that any disadvantaged group will use whatever means are available to them to get their due. The time has also come for business to abandon its penchant for "behind the scenes" approaches to South African problems, and to take a stand on an issue because it is right may have an old fashioned ring to it, but there is no better yardstick in a difficult and complicated situation.

Judging from sentiments such as these — and others which have appeared in the South African press in which businessmen have called for the principle of voluntary association and free choice of group affiliation to replace race classification — it would be fair to infer that businessmen in South Africa have more in common with the non-racial objectives of the ANC than with the "racial" approach of the National Party.

WAT then prevents the business lobby from wholeheartedly endorsing the ANC and forging a working alliance with it?

There are a number of factors. First and foremost, of course, there is government disapproval. Since many businessmen supported the government this is important.

The government has no time for the ANC. It bears repeating that the official view is that the ANC is a militant organization committed to revolutionary change using violence which it cannot drop as a weapon or it will lose its own base. There will be a radical change in society. Mr. Botha believes the ANC is committed to a one-party Marxist state and cannot, in fact, negotiate any compromise.

Secondly, there is no doubt that the terrible necklacing, the lynchings, the terrorism, car bombs and the like have deterred all businessmen from public identification with the ANC/DFP objectives.

Thirdly, it is still the view of most businessmen that ANC policies, the Freedom Charter notwithstanding, are inimical to business practice and that socialism and nationalization on a large scale are the consequences of its coming to power.

ANC participants at the York post-apartheid economy conference last year had, for instance, the struggle in South Africa) in terms of a conventional Cold War view of the so-called Left-Leninist two-stage revolution: The first stage being to secure the economic interests (business, worker and peasant) designed to decide on which may be eliminated apartheid. Once this objective has been successfully achieved, a second-stage revolution is envisaged that would eliminate capitalism in turn and establish a socialist state.

Here, it seems to me, lies the rub of the problem between business and the ANC. The government lays great stress on the violence aspect and they are right to do it. But the violence aspect is also a symptom of the wider problem that business wants to get out of the way, and this has more to do with a feeling that it would be suicide to leave the economic system of a future South Africa to the democratic wishes of the majority to decide on, which may be fair enough, when the ANC today is a left-wing democratic, which it is not.

Old suspicions about the ANC-Leninist Party links do remain: We have all read enough of some form of tangible evidence that it has abandoned the South and other parties, such as the Zambian's own party in Zambia, relatively free and which would be a constituency of grassroots nominations of candidates without "guidance" from above.

It is unfortunate that Zambia is not a paralyzing party — but that party at least operates on recognizeable democratic lines, which Zanu (PF) does not. Parties which have an organic principle of centralism, while at the same time claiming to be a democratic society, find themselves in something of a quandary.

Under such circumstances businesses would be right to be suspicious of where the "people's choice" is taking them.

Furthermore, it is not enough that if Mr. Tambo agreed to, say, a suspension of violence, agreed to rejection of democratic revolution, accepted the Marxist model and would rather avoid a confrontation with the bourgeoisie in the post-revolutionary period than impose a Leninist dictatorship until society has become properly classless.

The ANC in all accounts does not envisage any war of classes on the Marxist model and would rather avoid a confrontation with the bourgeoisie in the post-revolutionary period than impose a Leninist dictatorship until society has become properly classless.

However, certainly in the case of Zanu (PF), Mugabe realized that because his movement was clumsy and unreliable and subject to the problems besetting any guerrilla organization, he would have to introduce some of the principle of centralism, the system which Lenin devised to justify the autocratic co-option of party members to the Central Committee, or direct candidate nomination from the top in elections which they have to be held by law.

This also incidentally holds true of the MPLA and Frelimo.

What is the position in the ANC? We still have an internal dissident bloc that makes the mechanism which Communist parties totalitarian as opposed to non-totalitarian political parties, such as Rauten- daal's own party in Zambia, relatively free and which would be a constituency of grassroots nominations of candidates without "guidance" from above.

It is unfortunate that Zambia is not a paralyzing party — but that party at least operates on recognizeable democratic lines, which Zanu (PF) does not. Parties which have an organic principle of centralism, while at the same time claiming to be a democratic society, find themselves in something of a quandary.

Under such circumstances businesses would be right to be suspicious of where the "people's choice" is taking them.
**New political vision**

From Page 1

President Ronald Reagan has to report back to the US Congress on October 2 on the consequences of the Anti-Apartheid Act while Prime Minister Maggie Thatcher again faces the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference in October, where demands for further tough action against South Africa will be presented.

The US State Department, meanwhile, believes that unless rapid action is taken its options will be limited once the Presidential race begins.

A Washington source this week confirmed the initiative and described the set of principles sought from the South Africa parties as "skillful" and "subtle".

Meanwhile, the South African Government this week slightly opened the door on a possible new arena for political debate by conceding that it might be prepared to consider discussing free political association — irrespective of race.

**Remarkable**

The hint, by Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the head of the group to consider constitutional affairs, is the first move to cross the real political Rubicon between race-based and non-race-based politics and that of free association.

The statement is all the more remarkable given the recent statement by President Biko that he interpreted his mandate from the white electorate on May 6 as confirming the need for "group" (read race) based politics.

"We are not saying we are ready to throw overboard those principles, but let's talk about it and see," Dr van der Merwe said.

The new emphasis in the Government stance could meanfully improve chances of getting "talks about talks" under way and attract groups such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and some UDF members into exploratory talks.

Up to now they have found the Government's precedents unacceptable.

In an interview this week, Dr van der Merwe said: "There is only one point on the agenda: to find a manner in which all the people of South Africa can get involved in the Government of the country without any one group being dominated.

**Flexible**

"We advance the group approach because we believe it is the only workable basis for power-sharing," Dr van der Merwe also indicated new flexibility on the negotiating front.

Government plans to introduce enabling legislation this year for the creation of a National Statutory Council (NSC) — a proposed constitutional talk shop.

"For me, it is not important in whatever forum or presence of forum — talks take place, so long as they take place.

The NSC, he said, was "one of the most important fora" — or there are others.

In a remarkable recent exchange — the third significant
cent development — the Government and its opponents moved marginally closer to an understanding on the prospects for "talks about talks".

A UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede, personally delivered a letter to the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the President's Council in Durban last week and become involved in an extended question and answer session with committee members.

---

**Conditions**

Sources from Venice characterise the initiative as a mixture of "pressure and inducement".

The basic recipe, however, remains the same: Pretoria agrees to release Mr Nelson Mandela, recognises the ANC and engages in dialogue while the banned organisation undertakes to halt violence and negotiate in good faith.

The KwaZulu-Natal Institute, it is understood, could form the focus of the Western initiative with requests that Pretoria consider holding a referendum over the Indaba's proposals.

The new spur for the initiative comes from two primary concerns: one American
The government, it was understood, was not the government of Mozambique, but the government of the republic of South Africa. The situation in the country was volatile, with simmering tensions and conflict in various regions.

In the center of the political scene was the National Assembly, which was dominated by a minority party. The assembly was criticized for its lack of transparency and accountability.

The government was under pressure to address issues such as poverty, corruption, and human rights abuses. The opposition and civil society groups were calling for more democratic processes and greater accountability from the government.

The situation in the region was complex, with various ethnic and political groups vying for power and influence. The government was struggling to maintain stability and ensure the welfare of its citizens.
"GOVT READY TO TALK!"

SOWETAN, Monday, June 15, 1987

UDF: Ready to meet

The Government's new constitutional

Dr. Verwoerd: Willing to meet

UDF's proportion for recognition. He

UDF:-Token ready to talk to the White

UDF to meet with the Government to discuss the

UDF to meet with the Government to discuss the

Botha's

The Government's new constitutional

UDF to meet with the Government to discuss the
PFP 'no longer alternative govt'

Political Staff

The Progressive Federal Party is narrowing its sights after its electoral setbacks and clearly no longer sees itself as an alternate government in the short term.

However, in spite of massive voter rejection on May 6, the PFP "remains totally and irrevocably committed to working towards a non-racial democracy." This was the message after the party's two-day Federal Council meeting in Cape Town this weekend.

In its new circumstances, the party has also decided to jettison three top senior staffers — secretary-general Mr Robin Carlisle and its directors of marketing and fundraising, Ms Joan Henning and Ms Cara Vorster. All other staff will be retained and two additional regional staffers will be appointed.

Mr Ken Andrew, MP for Gardens and chairman of the Federal Council, said the party was even more relevant than before in light of the election results and the renewed state of emergency.

"The PFP remains totally and irrevocably committed to working towards a non-racial democracy. "It will prepare all South Africans for the fundamental changes that must take place."

The party would engage others in the broader political spectrum with a view to working towards a non-racial democracy through negotiation."
ONE HAS to hand it to Mr Pik Botha — he works hard at his job of trying to defend indefensible policies against a hostile and sceptical world. Whether in doing so he really improves South Africa’s image is another question; but the Foreign Minister, like many in his diplomatic corps, deserves special marks for effort.

An example was the BBC phone-in in which he has just figured. In principle it is an excellent thing that a South African cabinet minister should subject himself to this kind of open-ended public questioning. (And what a good idea, incidentally, if they were to do the same on the SABC.) This suggests that the Government comprises reasonable men who are prepared to hear criticisms, acknowledge failings and explain what is being done to remedy them. It is a great public relations opportunity.

Thus on Sunday, Mr Botha told BBC listeners there was no difference between black and white people (“we are all children of God”), while conceding that some of his countrymen did not share that view. He said power-sharing was very much alive and that the Government was ready to negotiate with all leaders who renounce violence. He even gave some sort of answer — not a very clear one — on whether there might eventually be a black State President and on the humiliating reprimand he got last year for saying that this could happen.

On the other hand, how many people, we wonder, would believe that General Magnus Malan and Mr Botha “deeply regret every time we are forced to cross the border to act against terrorists”; that emergency rule is the only way to protect lives and property — what about the many existing security laws? — or that ANC policy is never to negotiate “with this or any other government that does not subscribe to the basic Marxist policy of the ANC”? As far as the State allows us to know ANC policy, that is not what we understand it to be.

People abroad are becoming much more knowledgeable about South Africa these days. Defence exercises such as Mr Botha’s are of value only as far as the answers can be reasonably convincing.
UK schoolgirl gives Pik a ‘grilling’ on apartheid

LONDON — Schoolgirl Nicola Harrison put South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha on the spot when she “grilled” him about apartheid during a BBC Radio phone-in. Nicola (12) demanded of Mr Botha: “What is the difference between a black person and a white person? And why do you treat black people as inferior?”

In the best tradition of hard-hitting interviewers, she had to keep her subject on course when he somehow veered towards Northern Ireland.

“I’m not talking about Northern Ireland,” she said.

Mr Botha admitted that some South African whites did consider blacks inferior, but said he was not one of them.

Afterwards Nicola accused him of “waffling”.

She added: “There is no difference at all between black and white people. They should all be treated equally. I find the situation in South Africa very upsetting.”
City council orders removal of posters

Johannesburg. City Council has ordered the removal of the "Stop terror — repatriate all non-whites" posters, the relevant by-laws are to be streamlined and the procedure for approving placards is to be tightened up.

The city council gave permission for the posters to be displayed by the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), but the latest Government Gazette has banned them.

Mr. Danie van Zyl, leader of the National Party on the city council, said: "We do not want a repeat of this type of insulting incident. It is impossible to create a censor board, but we hope this type of incident will not be repeated."
the Minister of Information, Hon. Mr. STANLEY MAHER.

The Secretary of State, May 1968.

To the Chancellor of the Exchequer:

1. The Information Commission has received a complaint from the
Minister of Information, Hon. Mr. STANLEY MAHER, regarding
the publication of certain documents.

2. The complaint is based on the argument that the
publication of the documents in question violates the provisions
of the Official Secrets Act.

3. The Secretary of State, in response to the complaint,
has conducted an investigation and has concluded that the
public interest would be better served by the publication of
the documents.

4. The Secretary of State has therefore decided to
approve the publication of the documents in question.

5. The Secretary of State has instructed the Information
Commission to ensure that the publication conforms to
the provisions of the Official Secrets Act.

6. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to monitor the publication closely
and to report any violation of the Act.

7. The Secretary of State has also instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not compromise national security.

8. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not reveal any classified information.

9. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not damage the interests of the Commonwealth.

10. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

11. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

12. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

13. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

14. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

15. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

16. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

17. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

18. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

19. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

20. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

21. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

22. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

23. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

24. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

25. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

26. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

27. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

28. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

29. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

30. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

31. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

32. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

33. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

34. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

35. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

36. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

37. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

38. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

39. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

40. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

41. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

42. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

43. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

44. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

45. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

46. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

47. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

48. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.

49. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not result in any financial loss to any individual or
organization.

50. The Secretary of State has further instructed the
Information Commission to ensure that the publication does
not cause any harm to any individual or organization.
People ‘voting against SA — by not spending money’

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The government had won the election but the country was losing a second election in which people voted with their money, their savings and their jobs, Mr Harry Schwarz, the PFP’s chief spokesman on finance, said yesterday.

Speaking in the Budget debate, he said the State President, Mr P W Botha, had won one election on the issue of security and he accepted that outcome.

“But there is another election which is going on all the time and in which we have a chance to determine the outcome, in which the winner will not be the National Party but South Africa. It is an election in which everybody votes with their money, with their labour and their actions but they are voting against South Africa by not spending their money and by not investing it.”

Revolutionaries rejoice

Consumer spending was at an all-time low, together with private investment.

Unemployment was higher than three years ago despite the economic upswing and the revolutionaries were rejoicing.

Mr Schwarz said he was saddened when the Minister of Finance reduced money available for job creation.

“We have people living in poverty and unemployed and prone to turning towards revolution. I would prefer to see the government help us win this election.”

There were two ways to stimulate the economy — by increased government spending or to give the private sector a chance by way of tax concessions.

“The minister chose State spending and made the wrong choice.”

He did not do the relatively easy things which could have created a positive psychological climate — which would have created a consumer-led recovery.

The minister could, relatively cheaply, have given tax rebates which would have led people to spend.

“In short, we must persuade the consumer to buy so manufacturers will employ in order to produce more.”

Mr Schwarz then said the budget contained “many secrets”.

A major secret item was R620 million in hidden spending on the TBVC countries which had been told to take out loans, guaranteed by South Africa, for their budget shortfalls which South Africa could not meet with direct aid.

“A crazy way to balance budgets and we know they cannot afford to repay.”

In addition, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P W Botha, had admitted that these countries had spent five percent of their budgets on prestige and other unjustified projects.

Mr Botha had also said his department could not yet spending by these states as this was incompatible with independence.

Other secrets included a five-year plan, of which details were being withheld, although it was in its second year.

There was the secret formula for determining own affairs budgeting and finally the Morgan Commission report (on taxation), which was being withheld until the government devised a policy.

“The difficulty in looking at life in this secretive way is that it goes to the very root of this government. Is it not better to have more open government?”

‘More police needed’

The country needed more police and the Minister of Law and Order agreed.

There were more applicants than he could employ but he could say nothing while the Minister of Finance refused the necessary funds.

In the same way, health services were allocated a 1.2 percent annual growth in real terms by the five-year plan. This was utterly unacceptable.

“This is why the Minister of Finance doesn’t want the plan to come out. It must be debated in public,” he said.

Mr Schwarz moved an amendment declining to pass the second reading of the Budget as the government had failed to address the serious problems facing the country. — Sapa
Wiley's friend was given a permit

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

A permit for the experimental cultivation, transport and sale of mussels and oysters in the Port Elizabeth and Saldanha harbours was granted to the late Mr David Allen without tenders first being asked for.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr Gert Kotze.

Replying to a question from the MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley, the minister said the first permit granted to a firm represented by Mr Allen was granted on August 5, 1985, and was valid till the end of last year.

He said it was subsequently renewed and was still valid. Tender procedures, he added, were "not applicable".

Commenting on the reply, Mr Hulley said the new Minister of Environment Affairs had confirmed that Mr Allen was the beneficiary of certain valuable marine concessions which were granted without tender procedures being observed during the tenure of the late minister Mr John Wiley.

"In view of the fact that it has been widely speculated that the late minister and the late Mr Allen were good personal friends, I believe it is unfortunate that the valuable concessions were granted without tender procedures having been followed.

"To clear the matter up and to allay any public misgivings in this regard, I believe it is necessary for the new minister to review and reopen these concessions to tender procedures."
Govt rejects call for bus tragedy probe

The Government has decided not to grant an Automobile Association request for a commission of inquiry into the bus accident in which 14 Alexandra schoolchildren died.

In a statement issued in Cape Town yesterday, Deputy Education Minister Mr Sam de Beer said the Government had decided the appointment of a commission of inquiry was inappropriate because the accident was being investigated by the police, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the Department of Education and Training (DET).

He added: "I am convinced the investigations of the SAP and DET, with those of the CSIR will ensure all aspects will be thoroughly investigated."

Mr de Beer said police were conducting a normal investigation as it was possible an offence had been committed. Its inquiry would include a thorough investigation of the mechanical aspects.

Mechanical and structural safety aspects of the bus would be investigated by the Bus Safety Standards team of the CSIR.

A DET team was also investigating and their report was expected soon, Mr de Beer said.

The crash occurred on May 22 when a bus carrying pupils from Alexandra left the road near Graskop in the Eastern Transvaal and plunged down a cliff.

Mr Eugene Roelofse, head of the Automobile Association's research unit, called for a commission of inquiry into the bus disaster, as it was in the public interest that certain aspects of the accident be probed which would not normally be aired in court.

Mr Roelofse, who examined the scene of the accident, said the lack of medical debris such as bandages suggested the injured had not been treated before they were taken to hospital.

He queried why all the injured were taken to Mapulaneng Hospital in Lebowa, which had limited facilities, and not divided between Mapulaneng and Sabie.

Other points he queried were:

- Was proper equipment used to free the injured from the wreck and, if not, did this contribute to the death toll?
- Why was the emergency helicopter not called from Johannesburg?
- Why did the luggage racks come adrift and what effect did it have on the death and injury rate?
- Was plywood used in the construction of the floor and if so did it contribute to the tearing away of seats and supports?
- Was a doctor in attendance at the accident?

Mr Roelofse said it was essential these issues be probed, not just departmentally, but by a commission sitting in public.

In the course of their meetings with various representatives of the SA Civil Intelligence and other of the SADF.......

"All of these must be bound by the law and guidelines. No comments on SADF officials has been in the context of the Contras, nor do we know of such comments.

Mr Woods argued the Department of Defence strongly that the peace achievements were most valuable.

"Our attaches are at the heart of the effort to aid the American military attaches. They are the efforts of our objectives."
urgently - report
Plan is needed
PC report urges reform

Political Staff

THE President's Council's Committee on Social Affairs has said constitutional reform should be pursued so that all South Africans can enjoy effective political rights.

The committee report on "Youth in South Africa" said that: "This requires the establishment of a comprehensive, acceptable and viable political system for South Africa so that all population groups can be given an effective say at all levels."

It also said "political accommodation of all peoples and population groups and the principles on which our South African society is based, should be published more effectively within the country."

The committee noted that groups of youths believed South Africa was a "country without hope".

"The Committee, however, wishes to express itself strongly against this opinion since it believes that, with necessary and timely measures in the political, social, educational and economic areas, the youth can be well equipped to ensure a prosperous future for South Africa," said the report.

Carlisle attacks report as 'gobbledygook'

Political Staff

THE PFP's Mr Robin Carlisle, the only member of the PC Social Affairs Committee who refused to sign its controversial report on the youth, last night criticized the report as "gobbledygook and rubbish."

If one compared the report to a Std 6 essay, it would be a slur on the intelligence of Std 6 pupils, he said.

"Oddly enough it (the report) goes inadvertently to the heart of the security problem in South Africa — because it displays an absolute lack of understanding of the security threat to South Africa or the causes of that threat."

Mr Carlisle said that if the allegation in the report was true that the United Democratic Front was not only an "front organisation for communist Russia" but also received "instructions from the Kremlin", it would mean that the UDP was a criminal organization in terms of existing security legislation.

"If this is true then the police are failing in their duty by not arresting and charging the leaders of the UDP and its affiliates, and by not banning these organisations. If it is not true it casts a slur on the UDP and the police," he said.

He also said that anyone who grouped Azasam with the ANC displayed "appalling ignorance".

□ 'Kremlin instructions' Page 13
President's Council report

Calls for stricter media censorship

By Anthony Johnson

The PC's Social Affairs Committee appears to have backed the establishment of so-called "re-education" camps in South Africa where young people are subjected to "anti-communist drills".

The report, which is due to be submitted to the President's Council, states that the "anti-communist drills" are intended to "instill a sense of national pride and a love of country among young people who are exposed to the dangers of communism".

The report also notes that the "anti-communist drills" are designed to "flush out" any "leftist" tendencies and to "ensure that the young people are properly prepared for their role in the defense of the country against the threats of communism".

The report concludes by recommending that the "anti-communist drills" be introduced into all schools and that all young people be required to attend these camps at least once a year.
Consul officials, ANC, Inkatha at sanctions conference

Pretoria shares US platform with ANC

Those were there:

- Tom Wheeler (ANC)
- Kevin Travers (US)
- Clive Nel (AFP)
- Stephen Tuck (Radio}

BY PIPPA GREEN in New York and HILLARY JOFFE in Johannesburg

REUTERS

SENATOR representatives of the South African government, the ANC, the African National Congress and US business leaders met in New York last week, days before the implementation of the largest sanctions package against the US government, which will be discussed by the United Nations Security Council on International Business.

The conference, organized by the US Embassy, was addressed by a range of political leaders, including Thabo Mbeki, the President of South Africa, and Leon Sullivan, a former US ambassador to South Africa. The conference was held on the eve of the unveiling of the sanctions package, which was expected to be tough on both sides.

The conference was attended by a range of business leaders, including Clive Nel, the chairman of the South African Chamber of Commerce, and Stephen Tuck, the head of the South African Chamber of Commerce.

The conference was seen as an opportunity for the two sides to discuss ways to ease the situation and find a way to work together in the future.

The conference was also attended by a range of political leaders, including Thabo Mbeki, the President of South Africa, and Leon Sullivan, a former US ambassador to South Africa. The conference was held on the eve of the unveiling of the sanctions package, which was expected to be tough on both sides.

The conference was attended by a range of business leaders, including Clive Nel, the chairman of the South African Chamber of Commerce, and Stephen Tuck, the head of the South African Chamber of Commerce.

The conference was seen as an opportunity for the two sides to discuss ways to ease the situation and find a way to work together in the future.
PC lays down the form that deviates from the norm

THOSE who believe South African youth is going to the dogs can take heart. The President's Council has come to the rescue.

In a report reminiscent of the Nationalist government's attempts at running other people's lives, the council's social affairs committee has produced its observations on the Youth of South Africa, "against the background of the harmful effect of the incidence of social deviances".

The report makes absorbing reading. Anything to do with deviant behaviour tends to. Anything to do with youth tends to, too.

There is nothing more absorbing for the less-young to contemplate the blemishes and shenanigans of the young.

For one thing, the youth tend to be smooth and shiny, and do not need ironing. For another, they indulge in all sorts of fascinating "social deviances" which the more elderly would have difficulty achieving, physically, even if the will was there.

It can be assumed, therefore, that there will be considerable demand for the report, styled "PC 21987", published by Authority. It is a mine of absorbing detail on moral standards, youth rebellion, communism, divorce, permissiveness, extramarital sex, prostitution, homosexuality, drug abuse and so on.

No doubt some readers will emerge suitably impressed with the official determination to save the youth from the Gadarene slope. Others will feel, with Mr. Reunis, that the PC members who did not sign, that it is a load of rubbish.

The cut-off point for "youth", in the view of the report, is 24 years, which presumably means that a young-minded 70-year-old, whether deviate or not, is not included. Maybe a study of the problems of the not-so-young would be of value, for it is they who have created the world which is accepted or rejected by youth.

The report seeks to motivate the youth for "loyal citizenship" and participation in "development projects".

It is distressed that young people are caught up in the "stream of deviations that erode the basic structure of our civilized society". There will be some who will feel that the major deviations of our society are not dagga or extramarital sex, but police raids and apartheid; not too little discipline but too much emphasis on authority and bludgeoning people into line.

The committee was not able to locate "special, in-depth investigation" into certain subjects, such as

The urban life is singled out as a major disturber of moral standards, with one witness mournfully identifying its evils: "atomism, fragmentation, anonymity, namelessness and lawlessness". The bucolic life beckons.

The section on the media attacks the portrayal of violence, fair enough. But the critical reference to "free sex and also legitimate sex within marriage assuming a prominent place" in the media is less clear. The distinction between "free" and "legitimate" sex is not immediately obvious.

The report identifies the role of music in breaking down "high moral standards". Certain types of music had a physically and spiritually demoralizing effect on young people, and sometimes employed Satanism "to alienate the Christian listener from his faith". Future saints battling against the Dolby onslaught should be advised, surely: "Hang in there!" Or preferably just turn the hi-fi off.

The committee places stress on the role of "intimidation" in breaking down an orderly community, particularly at universities, but there is no meaningful discussion on the political conditions that gave rise to the ferment, and play into the hands of the intimidator.

Closer to home is the admission that black dissatisfaction exists largely because blacks "are not accommodated in the new political decision-making process" (which might be news to Mr. Reunis).

The report treads on controversial ground in ascribing the "riots" to factors such as "revolutionary incitement" and (just in case anyone had forgotten) communism. One eminent authority had indisputable proof of a link between the youth organizations AZASUM (anti) and AZASO and the
launch a "special, in-depth investiga-
tion" of this subject, such as a penal sanctions for sodomy and homo-
sexuality and supply of contraceptives to teenage girls without their parents' consent. This suggests that there is a more absorbing work ahead for a com-
mittee which is reminiscent of Lord Longford and his report on un-
derirable publications in the Fifties — both of which collapsed into history like lead balloons.

The committee attracted 116 written memoranda, plus oral evidence. But, in the nature of things, it is not surpris-
ing that the Committee of Nationalist-dominated advisory body which is part of a Parliamentary system reject-
ed by the majority of the population, found that "a certain section of the youth as well as certain organizations were unwilling to testify ..., some owing to the unrest situation and for fear of intimidation". A bit of "special, in-depth investigation" of the reasons for that might be instructive.

On occasion, the obvious is stressed in a way which suggests some blindly enlightening moments, such as "during the first two or three years of the child's life maternal care is extremely important", or the quotations on the front page of the Cape Times yesterday.

The committee analyses what it sees as the characteristics of youth in critical detail, finding, for instance, deni-
gation of leadership, an over-empha-
sis of individual freedom, egocentrism, permisiveness, lack of involvement, breakdown of parental authority, passiveness, an impulsive preoccupation with the "concrete here and now". It conceded that there is a spirit of innovation, for instance, a critical attitude to society, an own lifestyle, a search for the meaning of lives, etc. A brigadier in the Defence Force is used, in part, as an authority on such matters.

There is a heavy debate on "what are moral standards", how they came about and how they are to be pre-
served, and "what is the responsibility of government with regard to the preservation of moral standards." Plenty, it seems.

Some of the evil forces breaking down moral standards are dealt with, for instance foreign influences (through press, radio, TV and video), "relativism" (traceable to Einstein's theory of relativity, Marx's overem-
phasis on material values, Freud's elevation of the sexual urge, Nietzsche's theory that God is dead), and existentialism (potted down to: "man is free to decide for himself on his actions", with the report adding that young people are, thus, more easily "swayed").

The committee sees the era of fasc-
ism and nazism as "passed", which some others will challenge, and con-
centrates its fire on communism. This it describes as "an international po-
itical phenomenon which has not dis-
appeared after one or two decades" (hot news to those who thought the Russian revolution was in 1917, seven decades ago).

Then, of course, comes the ritual assertion that the communist on-
slaught is aimed at the young people, men specifically blacks "in line with the stated goal of a Black republic for South Africa": Black nationalism, we are told, is "abused" by the Marxists. This, presumably, is a "serious devi-
ation". link between the youth organizations AAZASU (sic) and AZASO and the ANC and the SA Communist Party. How this is achieved by black-consciousness organizations such as AAZASU (correct acronym, please) and campaigns ideologically against the SAPC is difficult to follow.

The United Democratic Front will be interested to know that it is a front for Communist Russia and receives instructions from the Kremlin.

Those who are concerned about the decline of moral standards will be encouraged by the decision of the committee not to deal with social devi-
tions in detail. The report notes that "deviant behaviour is responsible for a considerable percentage of material damage", such as cost of crime, victim-
dents, injudicious spending of money, and the necessary of life.

There is no initial mercy for the person guilty of deviant behaviour. He should be "brought to book since he is prejudicing the interests of the com-
mittee ..." But the report softens: The community should not turn its back on the deviate "in disapproval." There is much discussion about the major deviances, such as divorce, lack of authority and discipline, permisiveness, promiscuity, breakdown of self-image, lack of involvement, juvenile delinquency, alcohol and drug abuse and, finally, suicide.

Promiscuity is variously defined. It includes "unworthy association", "licentious intercourse", "extra-marital intercourse", or "free licentious asso-
ciation — especially sexual associa-
tion" and "sexual intercourse with many partners ..." I think the last-
mentioned is bang on, with respect to the others.

To clear things up, the committee offers its own definition of promiscuity: "Sexual intercourse without res-
ervation, usually with more than one sexual partner and without consider-
ation of accepted values." This, in the heat of the moment, will be a useful guide to those bordering on promis-
cuity, assuming they have the report to hand (costing R12.60, and R15.75 over-
seas).

In contrast to its determination to root out social ills on other fronts, the report seems fatalistic about the ol-
dest profession, noting that, in spite of prohibitions, "the fight against prosti-
tution has never been a success any-
where". Homosexuality comes in for special treat-
ment, and is described as a "seri-
sous social deviation". It sounds nearly as bad as Marxism abusing black na-
tionalism.

Living together out of marriage, which resides under the general head "deviations", has increased by 336 percent in the last decade, which probably says something. But, before jumping in, potential co-habitors should consider a disadvantage listed — the "immorality inherent in such a lifestyle". Juvenile delinquency and alcohol abuse are dealt with in detail, complete with tables, as are many other subjects, and suggested reme-
dies for the sad state of affairs.

The main drift of the report is that the youth can be controlled, im-
proved. Some would argue that South African society must first be made just — and that this would lead to an im-
provement in the quality of life of all, including the young. There will be young and older South Africans who will say to the committee: "Thanks for an unmemorable report. Don't call us, we'll call you."
By CLARE HARTER
Education Reporter

POLITICAL scientists, sociologists and educationalists yesterday described aspects of the President's Council social affairs committee report on the Youth of South Africa as "whacky ultra-rightist" and "downright out of touch".

The report, tabled in Parliament this week, makes some highly controversial recommendations including the extension of the call-up for all races, the establishment of "rehabilitation centres" for "intimidators and politically motivated juvenile delinquents" and the establishment of education and training programmes with "an anti-communist drift".

Mr Robin Carlisle, a FPF member of the PC, said he did not think the entire report was "gobbledy-gook", but was "perfectly sure that the bulk of PC members were embarrassed about certain aspects of the report."

Professor David Welsh, a department of political studies senior lecturer, said that although he had not read the report in full, the published extracts sounded "like some whacky ultra-rightists have had a field day."

The idea of such re-education camps was "totally abhorrent" and smacked of "Maosim or the Cambodias of Pol Pot"; and on the question of military service for all races, he said: "They can't surely be serious."

Certain aspects of the report, he said, bore all the hallmarks of "classic conspiracy theory thinking".

A Western Cape Teachers' Union spokesman commented: "The people who need re-education are the ones who make such suggestions. Young people rebel just like the rest of the oppressed community, because they are sick and tired of repression and exploitation."

UCT political scientist Prof Robert Schrire said he tried "to comment on nonsense" and was "quite sure the report will be completely ignored."

UCT sociology department head Professor Mike Savage looked forward to "using their report as an illustration of how avoidance of the analysis of the roots of inequality in South Africa leads to juvenile and delinquent reasoning." 

Azanian Students' Movement national president Mr Monde NtwaSaid the "government story on commu- nism is an old borey tale that only the extremely naive would believe."

Contrary to the findings of the report, Mr Ntwa said that "black people are not influenced by any outsiders, but by Mr P W Botha's regime itself which subjects them to the continual violence of landless- ness, abject poverty and dehumanization."

Azan rejections of the "warped" notion of the committee had of the organization, and described the notion of ex- tending conscription to blacks as "grossly absurd."

Music satanism 'an old wives' tale'

A PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL report that certain music listened to by young people used "elements of satanism" was dismissed yesterday by a UCT music educator as "an old wives' tale."

Dr M Bink said there was no evidence to suggest that pop music was bad for children. "I think that is an unsubstantiated and hare-brained story."

Sociologists and educationists said that aspects of the report, particularly those dealing with "social deviations", were outdated, ludicrous and "dumbfounding."

The report recommended stricter censorship to counter the "negative influence" on young people of violence, sex, drugs, alcohol and satanism as depicted by the media, including films and television.

Among other examples of social deviation, the report describes homosexuality as "a serious social deviation irreconcilable with normal marriage" and "living together" as immoral. The head of the Department of Sociology at UCT, Professor Mike Savage, said yesterday: "Judging from the excerpts of the President's Council report, it appears that its social affairs committee has collectively taken leave of its senses."

The report tabled in Parliament on Wednesday by the committee for social affairs on the youth of South Africa, said evidence collected by the committee was critical of media material, especially on television, which contained, among other things, music which broke down high moral standards.

The report said that evidence presented showed that certain types of music had "physically and spiritually demoralizing effects" and certain music used "elements of satanism to alienate the Christian listener from his faith."
No revolt without defection from forces, says prof

RADICAL liberal and conservative analysts agreed that no modern revolution could take place without "substantial erosion" or defection from the defence forces, Professor Colin Bundy, ofUCT's department of history, said last night.

Delivering his inaugural lecture, he said that some—but not all—of the preconditions for revolutionary change existed in South Africa and academics ought to be seeking answers around the issue of what sort of society would be born.

He said that "we should distinguish between a historical crisis and a revolutionary situation".

He described the former as "more long-term", and the latter as "a short-term, more concentrated phenomenon, occurring within a structural crisis".

'Fission'

Prof Bundy identified factors in South Africa which corresponded with a revolutionary situation as being:

- The massive withdrawal of support for the official ideology and the articulation of a different moral and political order.
- That the presence of a party or movement able to direct and co-ordinate political actions was fulfilled by the ANC and South African Communist Party to some degree.
- Prof Bundy said that further preconditions for a revolution were a "coincidence of widespread rural instability or even rebellion; with urban unrest" and "an international context in which one or more factors disadvantage the nation-state in question".

Of these two factors neither was unambiguously present, Prof Bundy said.
Jo'burg to get lion's share of RSC vote

DOMINIQUE GILBERT will get 48% of the Johannesburg RSC vote. RSCs in similar financial status in the Western Cape would have received 20% each. An RSP council, for example, received 22% of the vote.

RSC share

RSCs have more significant influence in their areas than the council which controls the local government. The RSC is allowed to propose a council, which would then be elected. The RSC's influence is proportional to the number of councillors elected to the council. The proportion of the vote that an RSC receives is determined by the number of councillors elected to the council.
UDF rejects PC youth report

THE President's Council Social Affairs Committee report on youth should be thrown into the dustbin, UDF publicity secretary Lechesa Tsenoli, said in Durban yesterday.

Tsenoli said the report should be rejected because it was useless and because it would cause confusion among some whites.

The report said the UDF was not only a front for the ANC, but received instructions from the Kremlin.

“The problem is far from being who controls us, which we reject completely, but the issue is that all South Africans have a right to participate democratically in the running of their affairs at all levels.”

End Conscription Campaign spokesman Richard Steele, said the his organisation did not discourage young people from doing military service as alleged in the report.

“This would be against the law and against the principle of freedom of choice, upon which the ECC is founded.

“We are primarily an educational campaign, campaigning for a change in the law so that military service is no longer compulsory. We do not tell conscripts what to do — that is their own choice,” he said.

(See also pages 3 and 4)
The CP is flexing its Parliamentary muscle

BARRY STREEK

The former Minister of Information and former Transvaal NP leader Connie Mulder — who narrowly lost the fight to succeed John Vorster as Prime Minister — continues to make himself heard and has not been active since.

When he spoke, Mulder made the tantalizing promise to deliver "an other occasion" a speech he had wanted to make during the 1978 debate on the "Information Affairs". He also claimed that the privilege of speaking was "denied me by" then leader, the then Prime Minister and present State President.

Mulder added: "When it suits me, and when a more fitting debate presents itself, I shall deliver the speech on the matter which I would have delivered at the time.

The whole of Parliament waits with interest for that occasion, which could reopen old wounds and tensions and damage the political reputations of certain key NP figures.

Another CP MP who has commanded much attention is Frans Pienaar, the new MP for Carletonville and General Secretary of the Mineworkers Union (NMU). When he was the striking black railway workers had won a victory over which he made no impact.

Among the other new CP MPs, former university professor Fanie Jacobs, who represents Lesotho, is emerging as an effective speaker and debater.

The shibb and often enigmatic style of new Leader of the Opposition Dr. Andrew Treadwright has not changed, but he exudes the quiet confidence of a man convinced his time is coming.

"Your reform recipe of power-sharing entails in principle the surrender of power," he told Nationalist MPs during the censure debate. The CP, he added, exposed the idea of a free white people under its own government in its own farthest.

Treadwright, like all his colleagues, is charging another election. "We shall certainly see a very interesting election result in 1980 if such an election is held," he said.

A common theme in the CP speeches is that government's reforms are the beginning of the slippery road to black rule. As Treadwright put it at the end of the censure debate: "If one abdicates and surrenders white political power, one can only surrender it in the revolutionary force to strive for the overwhelming take-over of that power. One will not stop it."

For the CP MP's, positive confirmation of this trend came with the recent discussion between chairman of the President's Council constitutional committee, Chief Justice Desmond Tutu, and one of the presidents of the UDF, Archie Gugulethu. The NP emphatically rejects those allegations and avows that it is committed to continue the implementation of its reforms, which it believes will ensure that there will be no domination by any one group over another.

Much of the NP strategy is directed towards forcing the CP to define its policies more clearly and to link the CP and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeveiliging (AWB).

This week, Transvaal leader of the NP, F.W. de Klerk challenged Frank le Roux to say whether he felt closer to the AWB than to the Broederbond.

When Le Roux replied "Yes, that is the difference," De Klerk challenged Frank le Roux to say whether he felt closer to the AWB than to the Broederbond.

When Le Roux replied "Yes, definitely," a pleased De Klerk said "Thank you. It is now on record. We no longer have to fight over who stands where."

The NP also argues that it is promoting reconciliation while the CP is方针 the flames of conflict.

"The NP accepts that white political domination has to be ended," Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly Dawie de Villiers said this week.

"We want to build a new system together with other population groups, based on understanding and trust on all sides and founded on the principle of consensus."

"The common political of the NP government represents reconciliation, while the partition policies of the official Opposition represents conflict. That is the difference," De Villiers argued.

It remains to be seen whether white voters, if they are given the chance in 1980, will respond to the debate in Parliament.

But it is, essentially, a white debate.

The aspirations and frustrations of the majority of South Africans who are not white but are, as far as the CP is concerned, they don't seem to matter.

And that is why the PNP, despite its reduced status in Parliament, is still playing a significant role.

If, at least, is trying to come to terms with the political realities outside the white electorate — and that, despite the CP, is where the central political debate in SA remains.
APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS
AT least 454 detainees were being held under the Internal Security Act and the security legislation of the "independent homelands" on May 31, according to the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee. Ten were detained during 1985, 67 in the first six months of 1986, 214 in the second half of 1986, 151 between January and May this year and 12 at a date unknown. Of the 454 total of 294 people are known to have been held in the "independent homelands" between January and May, according to the DPSC.

Of these still in jail, 29 were detained under Section 29 and 14 under Section 31 of the Internal Security Act, 67 under the Ciskei National Security Act, 158 under the Transkei Public Safety Act and two under the Venda Terrorism Act.

The detainees are from the following areas: PWV (68); Transvaal (51), country (48); Western Cape (12); Natal (142); Free State (5); Transkei (150); Ciskei (67) and Venda (2). These figures do not include the estimated 3,000 people currently being held under the Emergency regulations.

BANISHMENTS
The DPSC say at least seven people are banished to remote areas of Transkei. These banishment orders came into effect between 1980 and May this year.

POLITICAL TRIALS
The latest DPSC report lists 40 political trials involving 170 accused which were completed during April and May. A total of 85 of these accused were convicted, 63 were acquitted and 12 had charges against them withdrawn. They listed 66 trials, involving 262 accused, still on the go at the end of May.

EMISSION
A total of 1,014 South African emigrated in April 1987, 37 more than in April last year, between January and April this year 4,468 people emigrated compared with 4,460 last year. A total of 85 of this year's emigrants were professional or semi-professional people (758 last year).

South Africa showed a net loss through migration of 1,689 people in the first three months of 1987, compared with a net gain of 1,706 in the same period last year. Of the 3,834 emigrants between January and April, 1,934 were listed as not economically active, 339 were housewives, 747 pre-school children, 493 school or university students and 124 pensioners. Of the 634 professional, semi-professional and technical workers who left between January and April, 122 were engineers and 26 doctors.

According to the May Markinton Consumer Pulse report 307,000 white metropolitan adults living in South Africa are potential emigrants. They said that 22 percent of the white English segment and five percent of the white Afrikaans segment are potential emigrants.

STRIKES
A total of 1.3 million working days were lost as a result of strikes and work stoppages in South Africa last year, according to the Director of Manpower. Dr P.J. van der Merwe. He said workers lost 3.6 million hours in wages as a result of these strikes.

R233,000,000 in wages as a result of these strikes.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION
Between July 1984 and May this year 755 applications were considered by the Board for Religious Objection. 611 of them were approved, 100 were disapproved and 10 were returned for further investigation. Of these 600 were for category three (full objector status). Of these 500 were for category one (full objector status). Of these 500 were for category two (partial objector status).

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE
KEI TEROGO GEOFFREY MOSELANE, 41, Anglican priest in Sharpeville, is one of the Delmas treason trial accused, has been in detention and police custody for two-and-a-half-years. Moselane, who was born in Kimberley, became politically active through the University Christian Movement and South African Students' Organisation at a student at the Federal Seminary in Alice in the late Sixties. He served on the SIC in 1971 and 1972.

He was ordained in 1972 and was a priest in South Africa. In 1980 he became rector of St Cyprians in Sharpeville. He was detained in December 1977 and held for three months. During the 1984 Vlakura uprising of Sharpeville, his church was used for meetings to discuss the rent increase. He is married with three sons.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS
Unbanned: The Men's Club - film (subject to a 2-16-21 age restriction and one cut).
Bribe claim: Parliament probe call

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties have demanded a parliamentary select committee to determine whether the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, offered the Labour Party a R1,5-billion housing “bribe” in return for the LP dropping its opposition to a finance bill.

Allegations that the minister diverted the sum “from the Central Energy Fund (CEF) as part of a ‘quid pro quo’ payment to the LP in favour of coloured housing,” were made in Parliament yesterday by the chief whip of the PFP, Mr John Malcomess.

The Speaker, Mr Louis de Grange, ordered the PFP’s transport spokesman out of Parliament when he refused to withdraw the “bribe” allegation.

Both the PFP’s finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, and the Conservative Party’s spokesman on economic affairs and technology, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, last night called for a select committee investigation into the affair.

Mr Derby-Lewis said: “The alleged coercion is a further reflection of a ploy used by a desperate regime in an attempt to justify their colossal mistake...of the National Party’s treacherous experiment.”

“Why do we know that the government is not digging into other funds to placate their co-governors into submission?”

Mr Schwarz said the CEF was created to contribute towards the stabilization of fuel prices for motorists and in order to help find new energy sources like Sasol and the Mossel Bay gas project.

Money obtained from motorists should not be used for purposes unconnected with South Africa’s fuel situation, he said.

Speaking during the budget debate yesterday, Mr Malcomess quoted from Hansard to show that the LP had withdrawn its opposition to the General Sales Tax Amendment Bill after Mr Du Plessis had given them R1 500 million for black and coloured housing.

Mr Malcomess also alleged that this large sum of money could only have come from the CEF by “subterfuge” — a remark he was forced to withdraw.

When Mr Du Plessis was challenged by Mr Malcomess to confirm that he had “ended up in the middle of a LP caucus,” struck the deal and then swore the LP to secrecy, the minister replied across the floor: “All caucus meetings are secret.”

Mr Malcomess asked Mr Du Plessis whether he would confirm the offer but the minister responded that he was “not prepared to break a confidence.”

The PFP whip went on to say that he did not blame the LP for accepting the bribe for “accepting the bribe for coloured people had been hounded out of many areas and there had been a totally inadequate provision of both land and housing for them. Mr Malcomess had to withdraw the word “bribe”.

Mr Malcomess maintained the whole affair should never have happened. “If you require money for housing then vote for it, don’t nick it out of another fund created for a different purpose.”

“Taxes are entitled to know what his money is being spent on. This has been the largest sum of money ever paid as an incentive to persuade a party to change its mind,” he said.

At the prompting of Mr Du Plessis, the Speaker ordered Mr Malcomess to withdraw any inference of bribery.

When Mr Malcomess replied, “I am afraid I cannot, sir,” he was ordered to leave the House.
Bribe claim: Parliament probe call

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties have demanded a parliamentary select committee to determine whether the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, offered the Labour Party a R1.5-billion housing "bribe" in return for the LP dropping its opposition to a finance bill.

Allegations that the minister "diverted the sum from the Central Energy Fund (CEF) as part of a "quid pro quo" payment to the LP in favour of coloured housing, were made in Parliament yesterday by the chief whip of the PFP, Mr John Malcomess.

The Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, ordered the PFP's transport spokesman out of Parliament when he refused to withdraw the "bribe" allegation.

Both the PFP's finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, and the Conservative Party's spokesman on economic affairs and technology, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, last night called for a select committee investigation into the affair.

Mr Derby-Lewis said: "The alleged coercion is a further reflection of a ploy used by a desperate regime in an attempt to justify their colossal mistake . . . of the National Party's tricameral experiment.

"How do we know that the government is not digging into other funds to placate their co-governors into submission?"

Mr Schwarz said the CEF was created to contribute towards the stabilization of fuel prices for motorists and in order to help find new energy sources like Sasol and the Mossel Bay gas project.

Money obtained from motorists should not be used for purposes unconnected with South Africa's fuel situation, he said.

Speaking during the budget debate yesterday, Mr Malcomess quoted from Hansard to show that the LP had withdrawn its opposition to the General Sales Tax Amendment Bill after Mr Du Plessis had given them R1 500 million for black and coloured housing.

Mr Malcomess also alleged that this large sum of money could only have come from the CEF by "subterfuge" — a remark which he was forced to withdraw.

When Mr Du Plessis was challenged by Mr Malcomess to confirm that he had "ended up in the middle of a LP caucus", struck the deal and then swore the LP to secrecy, the minister replied across the floor: "All caucus meetings are secret."

Mr Malcomess asked Mr Du Plessis whether he would confirm the offer but the minister responded that he was "not prepared to break a confidence".

The PFP whip went on to say that he did not blame the LP for accepting the bribe because coloured people had been hounded out of many areas and there had been a totally inadequate provision of both land and housing for them. Mr Malcomess had to withdraw the word "bribe".

Mr Malcomess maintained the whole affair should never have happened. "If you require money for housing then vote for it, don't nick it out of another fund created for a different purpose."

"The taxpayer is entitled to know what his money is being spent on. This has been the largest sum of money ever paid as an incentive to persuade a party to change its mind," he said.

At the prompting of Mr Du Plessis, the Speaker ordered Mr Malcomess to withdraw any inference of bribery.

When Mr Malcomess replied, "I am afraid I cannot, sir," he was ordered to leave the House.
Report on SA youth sparks chaos

By NORMAN WEST and GEORGE MAHAGEER

THE President's Council report on South African youth has created confusion as signatories scramble to distance themselves from its more drastic recommendations.

At the centre of the dispute is a key recommendation by the Social Affairs Committee's report, tabled this week, that compulsory military service be extended to all race groups.

In a bizarre turn of events:

- One of the Indian signatories has admitted he had not understood a word of the report because it was in Afrikaans.
- Labour Party members on the council have attacked their colleagues for signing the report with its far-reaching conscription clause.
- In an unprecedented move, the Labour Party has written to the chairman of the President's Council to distance the party from the report, signed by one of its own members.
- The Progressive Federal Party member of the committee took the unusual step of not even signing the report because it was "gobbledygook".

Tough

The controversial report by the Social Affairs Committee takes a tough line against sexuality and violence in the media and films; calls for re-education camps for "intimidators and politically motivated juvenile delinquents"; suggests an extension of compulsory military or other national service to all race groups; and calls for an "anti-communist" instruction for pupils.

New committee member Raham Mohangi of the National People's Party admits he signed the report without understanding it — because he had seen others doing so.

Mr Mohangi, a retired schoolteacher and sugar-cane farmer, said "The whole report was in Afrikaans. I don't read or understand the language. I didn't care to ask anyone what it was all about. I saw the other members signing, so I did the same."

But Mr Amichand Rajbansi, the NPP leader and a member of Mr P W Botha's Cabinet, said the signing of the report by Mr Mohangi without his understanding its contents was "not a serious matter".

Chaos in PC

This has happened in the past when members signed documents and later made their feelings known. He emphasised, however, that the NPP was against military conscription for Indians.

On Friday the NP supported the LP motion while the LP supported the controversial report which was accepted by 24 votes to eight — among the latter two dissenting members of the Labour Party.
Boraine sees 'one great sign of hope'

By Jaap Boekkooi

The May election has shown two shifts among South African whites — one to the Left and another to the Right, according to Dr Alex Boraine, the PFP front-bench MP who resigned with former Opposition leader Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert.

Giving his first speech since the election at Woodmead School Founders' Day, Dr Boraine, now executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), said there was no doubt that the electorate was turning to the Left in rejecting overt racism.

This was an acceptance of the fact that apartheid had failed and had proved unworkable.

The second shift, to the Right, had preceded the elections by at least a year. "It came with the Government's rejection of the Eminent Persons Group, the raids into neighbouring territories and then the state of emergency," he said.

The electorate expressed this shift with a "deepening sense of insecurity on what is going to take apartheid's place. Security had become the No 1 issue for South Africa."

'UNPOPULAR DICTATOR'

But South Africans were not aware what dynamics were taking place, simply because they were constantly lied to, and as a result "darkness threatens to overwhelm the country, which now stands on the edge of the abyss".

Dr Boraine said he and Dr Slabbert had resigned "as a deliberate act to safeguard Parliament rather than abandon it". The State President had become an "unpopular dictator" and a charade was being acted out.

The common question for most South Africans was now: Is there life beyond apartheid for all of us?

It had become his growing personal belief that where whites once had been missionaries and teachers to blacks, these roles had now been reversed, because blacks had to disbelieve the lie of whites and persuade them "there was a life without fear as long as whites will not hold on too greedily to privileges".

In the new extra-parliamentary struggle, he had made one startling discovery: "the erosion taking place among academics, students and churchmen in their attitude to apartheid and white minority rule".

"That is one of the great signs of hope and we have to take hold of it," he said.
Missing CEF money still ‘lost’

Political Staff

CONFUSION exists over just where or how the government has either spent, invested or lodged nearly R3 billion from the Central Energy Fund (CEF).

Two government departments have come up with separate explanations as to how R1.2 billion allocated for the stimulatory package last year can be accounted for.

The issue was raised on Friday by Mr John Malcomess, who alleged that the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, had offered the Labour Party R1.5 billion for coloured and black housing last year if they would withdraw their opposition to a finance bill.

The money was to come from the CEF, a fund created by a levy paid on each litre of fuel bought.

The allegation was denied by Mr Du Plessis yesterday when he replied to the second reading of the budget.

The conclusion over the amount of money in the CEF and just where it is, follows a question by Mr Malcomess earlier this session to the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr Danie Steyn.

Mr Steyn disclosed that currently there was R3.1 billion in the fund, R2.9 billion less than at March 31, 1986.

In addition, according to Mr Malcomess, a further R1 billion in levies from the sale of fuel and interest should have accumulated in the fund.

It is now accepted that the R1.2 billion for the stimulatory package announced by the government last year came from the CEF.

But while the Department of Finance states simply that the money came from the CEF for the stimulatory package, the Department of Economic Affairs and Technology maintains the CEF bought government stock.

No explanation has as yet been forthcoming as to where the rest of the money in the CEF has been allocated.

When he addressed Parliament yesterday, Mr Du Plessis gave his explanation of how he came to address the caucus of the Labour Party in June last year — the date on which Mr Malcomess alleged he made the offer to the Labour Party.

Mr Du Plessis stated he was making the disclosures with the permission of the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendriekse.

He said during the course of 1986 it had been obvious that there was a need to stimulate the economy and that two packages were open — to drop GST to 10% or to produce a R1.2 billion stimulatory package which could be aimed at specific areas.

It had been decided to opt for the latter, he said.

Mr Du Plessis said that the MP for Schauderville, Mr Charles Redcliffe, had, however, subsequent to the package being finalized introduced an amendment to the GST Amendment Bill declining to pass it until GST was dropped to 10%.

This, he said, had been done in the absence of Mr Hendriekse.

Mr Du Plessis said he had approached Mr Hendriekse and had been given permission to address the LP caucus and explained that if he was forced to drop the stimulatory package R750 million earmarked for housing would be lost.

Questions

The LP caucus, he said, had consequently reversed its decision and its opposition had been dropped.

Mr Du Plessis referred problems as far as the CEF was concerned to Mr Steyn, expressing the hope that having given the facts the matter could now be put to rest.

Several questions remain unanswered, however, amongst which are:

1. Just where has the other amount outstanding from the fund been placed?
2. Is there any point in having a Central Energy Fund if it is simply to be used for any purpose which takes the Government’s fancy?
3. Is this not another example of off-balance sheet budgeting?

CP MPs operate on ‘Goebbels concept’

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

It seemed that CP MPs operated on the Goebbels concept that the greater the lie and the more often it was repeated, the greater the chance that people would believe it, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

Replying to the Own Affairs budget debate, he said this could be the only reason they paid no heed to the facts that had been brought to their attention.

They had taken inspiration for the style of presentation of their speeches from Mr Eugene Terre Blanche, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, and had continued with the practice of spreading irresponsible untruths and incorrect facts.

“How does it feel to be sitting in the House on the basis of the absolute lies you spread in order to get the people to vote for you?” he said yesterday.

Mr Du Plessis said the PFP spokesman on Finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, who had called him a “Lone Ranger” earlier in the debate, was himself a political lone ranger.

Whenever he joined a political party a division became imminent.

At one point during Mr Du Plessis’s speech, as he was speaking about the CP, Mr Schwartz called across the floor: ‘‘Why are you so cross?’’

“I’m not cross,” replied Mr Du Plessis. “I’m serious. The economy is a serious business.” — Sapa
Azapo - Govt is silent

THE authorities yesterday refused to say under what law the national president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Nkosi Molala, and a number of other activists were detained.

Mr Molala was detained last Friday. Others detained with him on the same day include Azapo's Pretoria regional chairman, Mr Thabo Sehume, Azapo's Atteridgeville branch treasurer, Mr Philly Mosupye, former branch chairman, Mr Vicky Matlala and the Azanian Youth Organisation's national organiser, Mr Brutus Manana.

Miss Malebo Ram모-po, a legal counsellor of the National Council of Trade Unions, which has close links with Azapo and other organisations espousing the Black Consciousness creed, was also picked up.

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information in Pretoria said only the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, was allowed comment on detentions and not the bureau.

The Minister could not be reached for comment.

Mr Phambili Ntoko, Azapo's national organiser said: "We do not see these new developments in isolation. They seem planned in such a manner that we are left in no doubt many more people are going to be taken away. We are gearing ourselves for a total clampdown on our organisation."

He added that this year marked two important anniversaries on the Black Consciousness calendar.

"It is the 10th anniversary of the death in Security Police detention of Steve Biko, founder of the BC movement and also the 10th anniversary of the October 1977 State clampdown on the BC movement when 18 organisations were banned."

Weather

THE Weather Bureau's forecast summary for the Transvaal today:

Very cold over the
Whites willing, says Chamber of Mines chief

Business urged to push for reform

By Michael Chester

Big business was urged by the president of the Chamber of Mines today to renew its pressure on the Government to speed up the implementation of socio-political reform.

Mr Peter Gush, chairman of the Gold Division of the Anglo American Corporation, said in a presidential address in Johannesburg that it was unfortunate that the pace of reform had slowed down to a mere crawl.

The general election appeared to have confirmed that the country was now less willing to accept reform — but this was confused with the topic of national security.

Mr Gush said states of emergency were rarely favourable to the growth of a more just society, particularly the longer they were imposed.

The dismissal by the rest of the world, and especially the West, of the reforms that had already taken place as being of little account had only strengthened those forces in South Africa that made for isolation and intransigence.

"All this must be resisted," he said. "The future of South Africa will depend on the willingness of all parties to negotiate.

"I believe that the country's white population is more willing to accept greater changes to abolish discrimination than our rulers believe.

'Only way'

"This is the only way we can go if the country is to prosper. It is imperative that we advance on this road more rapidly than we have done until now."

Although the private sector had little direct influence on the Government, businessmen could and should do many things to keep alive the prospects for a secure future for South Africa.

The slight influence on the Government did not mean business should simply stand by and wring its hands.
Govt on the UDF

THE Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said the Government was still prepared to negotiate with members of the United Democratic Front on the future of the country, SABC Radio News reports.

This was the case even though the ANC had disclosed that it has been responsible for the formation of the UDF. Dr Van der Merwe said in Port Elizabeth that many UDF members did not support the aims of the ANC. He emphasized that the government would not negotiate with people who encouraged the use of violence.

The ANC has denied it formed or helped form the UDF. According to it, democratic forces within the country formed the UDF.
Indaba 'has support'

DIANNA GAMES

THE view that the general election outcome in Natal indicated strong feelings against the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba was not likely to be borne out by a referendum, John Kane-Berman, Indaba chairman and South African Institute of Race Relations director, said yesterday.

Speaking at a South Africa Britain Trade Association lunch in Johannesburg, he said that despite the electoral swing to the right, support for the Indaba among Natal and KwaZulu residents stood at about 73%, including NP voters, with only about 8% against it.

He said the Indaba was still awaiting Government's response on whether a referendum to test support for it would be held.
South African cabinet ministers can't venture far beyond our borders these days without encountering placard-wielding demos. Not even the short hop to Windhoek is safe any more. This was the sight which greeted Pik Botha and Magnus Malan in Namibia this week, when the two flew in for consultations.

Picture: JOHANN LIEBENBERG, The Namibian
Black talks: Govt's dramatic new move

IN A dramatic new gesture to get negotiations with black leaders off the ground, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who was recently appointed to spearhead the drive, said yesterday that he would be prepared to talk to people in jail or detention.

Dr Van der Merwe, who was appointed Deputy Minister of Constitutional Planning by the State President, Mr P W Botha, last month to head the negotiations, also said he would not demand that black leaders renounce violence before talking to them and that he would not rule out speaking to "elements" of the UDF.

Dr Van der Merwe's conciliatory approach reflects a significant shift in government thinking. It seems determined to initiate discussions with a far wider range of black people and organizations than ever before, including organizations strongly opposed to government policies.

But he would "think twice" before speaking to someone who was publicly committed to violence.

☐ Interview, page 12
Reform SA's only way to prosper

PETER STACEY examines the speech with which Peter Gush concluded his year as president of the Chamber of Mines.

The role of business was vital. While direct influence on government may be minimal, he said, business had enormous potential influence in areas affecting the hopes, aspirations and perceptions of all South Africans.

In his hard-hitting and wide-ranging address, Mr. Gush set out the prime objectives of business:

- Continued investment and the generation of wealth - without which economic needs could not be met;
- Equitable employment and practices and training, in a safe environment, as well as the implementation of effective social responsibilities;
- As leaders with responsibility in the wider community, to press and encourage government to implement socio-political changes necessary for individuals to attain optimum potential and businesses to operate with maximum efficiency.

The most important contribution to be made, he said, was to ensure the future of the free enterprise system in an economically viable South Africa. Any perceived connection between capitalism and apartheid had to be dispelled. "It needs to be communicated convincingly that free enterprise is not an exploitative system, but the most effective means to wealth and job creation yet devised."

But for free enterprise to function effectively the constraints had to be removed. "It is not only black perceptions that have to be dealt with," he noted. As well as deregulation and privatization to tackle the symptoms of socialism, he called for clear signals from government of its understanding of, and commitment to, the total concept of free enterprise.

The mining industry, which last year employed an all-time high workforce of 756,000, and increased revenue by 13.9 per cent to R32.5 billion, continued to fulfill the vital functions of generating wealth and providing employment. But this was not where it ended.

In the 15 years since 1971, he said, cash earnings, in real terms, of partially skilled black mineworkers had increased by 265 per cent, but in real terms annualized compound growth rate of 9.4 per cent. This was not at the expense of skilled employees, who were competitive with other sectors and were among the highest paid in their class in the country.

Overall, the phenomenal increase in workers' wages was attributable not only to management's recognition of the need to move off a low base. Productivity had increased through longer periods being worked, leading to higher skills and promotion to better paid jobs. Blacks had moved into a whole range of jobs in the artisan and officials category at the same rates as their white counterparts.

Mr. Gush, who in his year in office saw unrest in the industry continue at a high level, had, as well as criticism, some praise for the National Union of Mineworkers.

"Some of NUM's policies and utterances are seen as irrational - such as calling for economic sanctions, which could close down mines, and in the same breath threatening strikes if negotiations had broken down because of such closures.

"It has become increasingly political; its membership, adherents and sometimes shaft stewards have resorted to widespread illegal strike action, physical intimidation and even murder, which union leadership has refused to condemn."

And doubt could be cast on whether the union represented the views of its members on certain issues, as evidenced by recent strikes, resistance and, on occasion, the extent of counter-violence by NUM's policies and methods.

What was positive, he said, was that most negotiations had been concluded with NUM. "It has some highly capable leaders. It has been a very difficult 15 years. We have intervened constructively in numerous disputes at mine level and it is serving to sharpen the industry's attention to a range of issues, most notably wages, safety and the future of the migrant labour system."

"For their part, mine
The Warm Smiles Fade and the Heated Talks Begin

304

Weekly Mail, June 26 and July 3, 1980

CONGRESS

The conference, sponsored by the American Labor Party, was held in New York City. The theme of the conference was "Social Responsibility in Business." The conference was attended by labor leaders, business executives, and government officials. The keynote speaker was Hilary Joffe, a labor organizer. The conference focused on the role of business in society and the responsibilities of business leaders.

BUSINESS IN PROFILE

The conference sessions included discussions on the role of business in society, the responsibilities of business leaders, and the impact of business on the economy. The conference also included a panel discussion on the future of labor and management relations. The conference was attended by labor leaders, business executives, and government officials. The keynote speaker was Hilary Joffe, a labor organizer. The conference focused on the role of business in society and the responsibilities of business leaders.
BUSINESS IN PROFILE

Professor Andy Andrews, Dean of Wits University's Faculty of Business Administration spoke to the Weekly Mail about management and the education of managers in South Africa.

What are your views on business and politics in the country?

This challenge for South African business, I think, is not appreciated. Business has got to play a bigger role.

PW Botha's telling businessmen to stay out of politics is nonsense because the role of business is to manage its environment. It's got a lot of stakeholders. Shareholders are the stakeholders, but so are your managers and your workers and your customers.

Your people live in an environment. If they are unhappy there they are going to be unhappy at work. If they are unhappy at work they are going to be non-productive and if they are non-productive they hurt your company. So you've got to be involved.

What role do you think the business school can play in a process of change?

A very small role. Yet we've got to be a leading organisation, to management in general but perhaps to the business community in particular - because they're doing a bad job. We've got to teach them what we think is right kind of future and then we've got to show them how making those things come true.

And what would be the right kind of future?

The ending of all discrimination and apartheid, a free society, a democracy. I believe that's what we should be working towards. I don't know that we're doing our job well enough, but the business school should be a cutting edge organisation that can expose top management to new ways of thinking about their role.

If change involves different socioeconomic systems?

No problem.

You don't see management as tied to capitalism or a free enterprise system?

Socialist economies are badly run because they haven't got any managers, generally speaking. When you're using a planned system you'd better have people who know what they're doing.

I think the capitalist system is much better - all the evidence points there - but I don't care whether a guy's a socialist or a capitalist, we want good managers in this country. Who's going to run the hospitals? Who's going to run the schools? Who's going to run the municipalities? I'd rather have an effective socialist running something than an inefficient capitalist. I believe that eventually people will see that you can't centrally plan things: it's just too big.

On South African managers: The average South African manager is relatively badly educated. There are some people who are exceptions and they carry the major burden. South African management has been talking for years about the shortage of managers in South Africa and they've done nothing about it. They haven't trained black managers.

What's the profile of business school students?

Fifteen percent black. We've set ourselves a target in five years of 40 percent. But we don't have students who can meet the standard because they are disadvantaged at school and in university.

The average age on the Masters in Business Administration programme is 30 so they've probably had about seven years' working experience. The white student gets very good experience on average. But your black graduate has had lousy experience, either in a lowly position or he's put in the velvet ghetto - he's given a Mercedes Benz or a BMW and an office and they pay him a huge salary.

The guy isn't learning anything about management.

What about business and social responsibility?

Sometimes I think we're doing quite a good job - but the question is: What is the worth of South Africa? Not the human value - just the value of the investment. It's worth an enormous amount of money. How much would you spend to protect it?

In business we do that - make an allowance to replace assets. But if South Africa is worth that amount of money you should be spending one 25th or one 20th or one 10th a year on protecting it. It doesn't have to be in money terms - it's time, it's care, it's concern. In those terms I think we are spending a drop in the ocean.

Managing in this country is complex. The business community has got to run effective businesses with international competition and it's still got to fix the system.

What do you think is the most important thing you teach people in an MBA?

I don't believe in specialists. When you get to the top in business you have to be a generalist - you might have a speciality but you've got to understand other fields.

MBAs should have enough confidence to teach themselves or go to the experts and ask the right questions.

An MBA is about communicating with people - I don't know whether we do this very well - and it's one of our major objectives.

Hilary Joffe
APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS
A total of 147 teachers employed by the Department of Education and Training were unable to perform their duties for the past 12 months because they were detained, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in parliament.
The Minister of Justice, Koos Coetsee, told parliament that five innocent women had been detained between January 31 and May 25 this year under section 21 of the Internal Security Act.
The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Roelf Meyer, said charges had been brought against 95 people detained under the ISA since June 12 1986 and that 2,165 people held under the Emergency regulations since June 12 had been detained. He did not say how many had been convicted. According to Detainees' Parents Support Committee figures between 25,000 and 30,000 people have been held under the Emergency regulations and the Internal Security Act since June 12 - meaning that about 11 out of every 12 detainees have not been charged, according to government figures.

TROOPS IN TOWNSHIPS
The chief of the South African Defence Force said between 5,000 and 8,000 soldiers are serving in black townships.

RACE RECLASSIFICATIONS
A total of 1,037 people changed their race classification under the Population Registration Act during 1985 and 1986, according to the Department of Home Affairs annual report. Of these 462 involved changes from coloured to white, 10 from Indian to white and three from Malay to white, while six whites were reclassified as coloured and one as Malay.
According to the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Rothsa, 834 mixed marriages took place in South Africa between June 19 1985 and June 6 1987.

HOUSING SHORTAGE
Despite a shortage of 342,478 homes for blacks outside the "independent homelands" the state did not build any houses last year. Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heu- blacks by the private sector and local authorities last year.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE
GCINA PETRUS MALINDI, 27, a former Vaal student, youth and civic leader, was arrested on September 23 1984. He was transferred to section 29 of the Internal Security Act and is being held in custody as one of the Delmas treason trialists.
Malindi grew up on a farm near Petrus Steyn in the Free State. He worked as a gardener to pay for his schooling after joining his parents in Ermelo in 1968. He became politically active during the 1976 uprising and was detained in 1977.
In 1979 he was a founder member of the now banned Congress of South African Students and was elected chair of his school's SRC and of the Vaal Coas branch. In 1983 he helped form the Vaal Youth Congress and later became active in the Vaal Civic Association and the Vaal Action Committee.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS
Banned for distribution and importation: Building People's Power 1976 — 1986 (ANC, London); Support the Sacrifices We Are Making (ANC, London); Anti-Apartheid News, May 1987 (Anti-Apartheid movement, London); At Ease, April 1987, Vol 2, No 3 (End Conscientisation Campaign, Durban); The Political Programme of the South African People's Organisation (Swapo) of Namibia 1983 (Swapo, Windhoek); Heroic Namibians: Unite for Final Victory (African Comitee); International Mobilisation Against Apartheid and for the Liberation of Southern Africa: Vol VIII, No 1, April 1987 (World Peace Council, Leningrad, USSR); Zanla, Zimbabwe (African Comitee); The Struggle for National Liberation in the Southern African Region, 1959-1979 (IAWF, South Africa); Women's Organisations, Berlin; Africa Bulletin 1 1987 (Secretariat of the International Union of Students, Czechoslovakia); Social Communications for Justice and Peace, World Day of Social Communications 1987 — poster (Colophon Ltd, Nairobi); The Politics of Education, Cultures, Power and Liberation (Paulo Freire); Workers Press No 70, Saturday April 11, No 71 Saturday April 18, No 72, Sunday April 25 1987 (Extrastrach Ltd, London — and future editions); poster calling for eviction of blacks from South Africa; Fourth Internationalist No 45, June 1986 (Socialist Labour Group, Dublin, Ireland); Bisexuality (James Douglas); Awa-Fandhha No 7 West Berlin, Oct-Feb 1985/6 (Awa-Fandhha, Berlin); Gek No 40 and Prank No 335 (both Sunsky Uphelters, Edom); Rds, Jeppe, Johannesburg; E.K. off (metal badge); Enjoy Coinbase (metal badge); metal badge with green cannabis leaf; pendant with eagle and cannabis leaf with word Pot (producers not stated).
Banned for possession: Workers Unity Issue No 65, 1987 (South African Congress of Trade Unions, Lusaka); Iwan Lew aby and - pamphlet (not stated); Lysa: Licentia underground Sweet Tears, Gay Encounters, and Threats From 18 Wheeler Volume One (both produced by Gay Sunshine Press, San Francisco).
Unbanned: The Anatomy of Apartheid (ES Saeed); Promises (Charlotte Vale Allen) and The Lives of Gallant Ladies (Pierre de Bourdelie Seigneur and Abbot of Brantome).
THE INDEPENDENTS

Will they stay the course?

One of them got in, another almost made it — and the third bravely carried the flag. What now? The Independents — as the left-of-Nat candidates in the May election became known — have to live with partial success. And partial success is a heck of a long way from strength and momentum. What exactly are they up to? And where, if anywhere, are they headed?

History will record the grand performance of Denis Worrall in nearly topping Chris Heunis, Esther Latgegan's creditable showing in Stellenbosch and Wynand Malan's huge majority — with Progressive Federal Party (PFP) assistance — in Randburg. Yet the suspicion persists that they may eventually come to be seen as simply a nine-day wonder. They arose at a time of political turmoil, confusion and realignment in SA — and are, after all, only one of a great many groupings seeking to bridge the racial divide.

Some already detect a slowing of the Independents' undoubted momentum of a few months back. There is a feeling that they peaked too early in the election campaign; that they had the glamour without the staying power; and that they made a grave error in not forming a party and fielding many more candidates. Not because they would have necessarily done better as a fully-fledged party first time round, but because they would have looked far more credible now — assuming they could have won more than one seat.

That, of course, is one of history's "might-have-beens." Right now they have to draw support where they can — and that means from the right of the PFP and the left of the National Party (NP).

The PFP hardly appears to be shaking in its boots — but what of the PFP, clearly a party on a decline comparable with that of the old United Party? Those voters will want a new political home — and could well turn to the Independents.

Taking this line of reasoning further, one leading Nationalist observer reckons the battle is on between the Progs and the Independents for the allegiance of the English-speaking voter. The Progs, in his view, will probably have to go. This argument is based on what he calls a paradox: that English-speaking whites like and have been trained to accept being led by Afrikaners. Thus, he believes, the stronger the Afrikaner image of the Independents, the better their chances of success. The implication, clearly, is that Malan would be a wiser choice than Worrall to lead an Independent party — when and if one is formed.

But against that, with the emergence of the Conservative Party (CP) as the official opposition, it can be argued that the electorate may well be wondering what the point would be of dividing the verligte-cum-reformist vote by backing the Independents. With the PFP seen as a losing cause, the NP might be the first choice of people whose hearts...

WYNAND MALAN

Setting a process in motion

Wynand Malan succeeded in holding his Randburg seat as an Independent in May. He spoke to the FM on how he sees his role, and that of the Independent movement as a whole.

FM: What has happened to the Independent movement since the election?
Malan: We are busy holding meetings and discussions with people who form part of political groupings both in and outside parliament. At the same time we recognise that it's not the time for high-profile politics, but rather for hard work. We are busy communicating with people in a number of constituencies, and we are planning a programme to reach all constituencies so that the groundwork can be done by way of activating people with the 1989 election as the objective. We are out to win seats. We don't want to comment on the specifics of the strategy we are deliberately keeping a low profile so as to avoid a number of pitfalls.

How important is your own participation in the House of Assembly?
It remains one of the primary objectives of the movement to influence political thinking and the political culture. In the House of Assembly I'm deliberately trying not to talk on every Bill and every issue at every opportunity, but to use those opportunities that really relate to political culture and philosophy, in order to influence the thinking patterns of all political parties.

Do you believe the movement has been able to maintain sufficient momentum since the election to progress towards your goals?
I think the natural reaction of people is to relate momentum to the high pitch we achieved during the election campaign, instead of measuring it against the momentum of our competitors at the present time. We are happy that the momentum is continuing. We still have a tremendous response from people all over the country.

Do you have sufficient financial backing?
It will cost a lot of money. We have set up a budget. We have people who have backed us and will continue backing us, and others are interested in backing us — so we are not too concerned in that area.

Why have you decided not to form a party at this stage?
Forming a party is not a priority. Moving into a position over time where we have the infrastructure to win public support is more important. First we want to get people involved at constituency level — and they are responding to that. It will have a natural flow and it will move towards participation in parliamentary elections and by-elections.

If the 1989 election is postponed, will it be a setback to the movement?
Certainly in terms of our aim to compete for power, but not in terms of other aspects of our strategy. Although there is a lot of speculation about the constitution being amended to allow the postponement of the election, I don't believe it will happen.

Are you looking at fighting elections in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates as well?
Not at this stage. The movement developed from House of Assembly politics. The people who are really interested in becoming involved find themselves among those who are registered voters for the Assembly. We will certainly communicate and liaise with political groupings both in and outside parliament. Our approach is really and truly non-racial, which is distinguished from the multiracial concept. We don't want to get people involved because of their race, but rather because of their politics.

Who are you competing with for electoral support?
We are competing with the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the National Party (NP) and the Conservative Party (CP). We...
LINGERING QUESTIONS

It is reassuring that, contrary to earlier reports, the Urban Foundation does not intend to take advantage of disinvestment to turn itself into some sort of mini-Industrial Development Corporation with a social conscience.

That would satisfy neither local black trade unions, the management of the disinvested firms, nor — perhaps most importantly — commercial logic.

Of course, anything that will enhance the foundation’s ability to enlarge the scope of its activities is to be welcomed. Advising US companies on the twin aims of achieving this and disinvesting may raise a few eyebrows, but can at worst be criticized as excessive zeal.

Indeed, considering that foreign-owned companies have been major contributors to the foundation, and that the fear has often been expressed that disinvestment through MBOs or direct sale to South African concerns could be good intentions — relax the pressure for a socially responsible profile, the foundation is no more than trying to preserve existing sources of income.

Yet however acceptable the broad objectives may be, doubts linger.

It is all very well for the foundation to say that it was only reacting to US companies which had already decided to withdraw, and to reassert its own commitment to continued foreign involvement; but that may not be enough to placate radical local pressure groups.

On the one hand, they may ask, why should the Urban Foundation seek to minimise the pain of disinvestment on foreign principals? On the other hand, is it not seeking to negate the local impact which advocates of disinvestment seem to want?

This, of course, is a dilemma of a type familiar to anyone trying to work for change within the system.

And while the foundation insists that independent trusts will stand as intermediaries between itself and any operating companies, the fact is that links with these operating companies will be far closer than they are now. In its own interests, the foundation will not be able just to sit back and wait for the cheques to roll in.

Only extremists at both ends — revolutionary and outright repressive — will question the foundation’s good works and even better intentions. But it will only remain effective if it retains credibility among those whose upliftment it seeks.

The Urban Foundation has been accused of being a paternalist benefactor. It will be a pity if it is now exposed to the opposite charge — of being a mercenary casuist.

THE YOUTH ISSUE

SEX, DRUGS, ROCK ’N ROLL

Most people seek to raise their children to be productive and valued members of society. They certainly don’t want them to form feral bands roaming desolate townships in search of victims for necklacing. The breakdown of traditional family values in SA, particularly in the black community, must cause concern to anyone — whatever his political complexion — seeking to look ahead to a post-apartheid society.

It is not therefore an exercise in folly for the social affairs committee of the President’s Council (PC) to address itself to the “youth” issue. However, its report and recommendations, tabled last week, are bizarre and contentious.

Needless to say, the report was born in that spirit of self-satire and farce we have come to expect from the PC. One committee member, Rajaram Mohanj, signed the report without understanding it (it was written in Afrikaans): “I didn’t care to ask anyone what it was all about. I saw the other members signing, so I did the same.” What honesty.

The report contains the following definition of crime: “Crime is an act which leads to punishment and punishment is in turn inflicted on the person who commits the crime because he has committed a crime. Crime is an act prohibited by law.” The remedy for this, and related disorders among youth, is to extend military conscription to all race groups; to tighten censorship (against satanism and the like); and to place “political criminals” in “rehabilitation centres.”

The “unrest situation” is blamed on “faulty communication” — for which reason young blacks, coloureds and Indians have come to the unwarranted conclusion that government has placed them in an “inferior, disadvantaged position.” How on earth can they think that?

The report simply cannot be taken seriously — which is a pity, since some answers are most certainly needed to the serious social dislocations being experienced by black children. To the ravages of influx control have been added those of radicalisation and polarisation, and that certainly does lead to crime (as defined above).

Certainly, the State has to step in if parental discipline breaks down. The report notes in passing that 55.6% of our population consists of children or young adults under 24 — the majority black and disadvantaged. But it is precisely the apartheid state that has sown the dragon’s teeth of our present malaise. Demoralisation of parents, educators and moral guardians is inevitable when you are condemned to travel third-class in society.

And the president’s counsellors really should make an attempt to read what they sign.
have really been with the reformist Nationalists all along. Any Independent party would then be viewed as divisive.

What the fledgling movement needs most now — a by-election or poll of some kind in which to test its strength — is unlikely. And it is widely believed that the election due in 1989, for which the Independents appear to be gearing themselves (see Face to Face with Wynand Malan), will not in fact take place. This would leave them out of the limelight for far too long.

In the meantime, of course, much will depend on what P W Botha does to promote reform. And, as importantly, how his actions will be perceived by potential Independent supporters. Botha moved quickly after the election by stating his desire to become personally involved in negotiating with local black leaders. He sent out a signal (of sorts) to this effect by his visit to Lekos in the Vaal townships, and with the appointment of Stoffel van der Merwe to engage blacks in talks about talks.

These moves could well be interpreted by the electorate as "positive," and thus undercut the Independents' cause. It will be hard for the Independents to convince the electorate that Botha and the Nats are doing nothing with their reform mandate, argues one Stellenbosch political scientist.

The big question, of course, is whether this stated intention to move forward via the National Council will succeed. Worrall contends that it will fail because it is not open-ended negotiation. When and if this sinks in, and if the "unrest" doesn't disappear, perhaps then the Independents' time will come.

Yet, with its broad new mandate, the NP, shorn of the ultra-Right, has wider options and a new English-speaking constituency to take into account. Reading Stoffel van der Merwe's comments (see Current affairs), it certainly seems that Malan's theory that the minister has taken over Independent rhetoric ("talks about talks" with blacks), is valid — up to a point. It is reasonable to assume that the Nats will, out of self-interest rather than ideology, be flexible on reform.

Meanwhile, the Independents are sticking to their guns, and have been doing a great

believe the future lies in accommodating aspirations and not competing at the level of models. Political parties should represent the real aspirations of people and alloy real fears, instead of translating them into models that compete at a level where aspirations become mutually exclusive.

Will the Independent movement not merely become an Afrikaner-based PFP?

We don't operate from the same philosophy. The PFP is basically a Western liberal party with a Western liberal mind... whereas our philosophy is not rigid or based on any sort of dogma.

Are there enough reform-minded people in SA to allow you to get into a position from which you can really influence change?

Enough can never be enough, but I don't believe the election results can be viewed only in terms of how many seats each party was able to win. A large number of people voted for the NP simply because they had no alternative.

Do you believe you will win over the bulk of PFP support?

No. I believe we will certainly get support from traditional PFP voters, but also from NP voters. It remains to be seen in an election how much PFP support we get, but we certainly have no illusions about the PFP not having a role in politics. It is the only party that can accommodate some of the electorate — those whose sole motivation is human rights and dignity.

We recognise the need to understand and accept that SA is a composition of different mind-sets and that they will all exist simultaneously. The challenge is to satisfy the coexistence of those who are solely motivated by human rights, those who identify with a specific group (such as the Afrikaner), those who have traditional values and systems in which they find their security (such as tribal societies), and those political groupings which have a wider expectation — such as the United Democratic Front.

What is your priority in getting people together?

We believe the process of negotiation is all-important. We believe it has to start with talks about talks. Negotiation is not negotiation of whites with blacks, and therefore we don't believe government can negotiate on behalf of whites with any single black group or leader on behalf of blacks. You can't have any kind of stability, even within the process, if you exclude the CP or the PFP, and likewise, you can't negotiate with only the (Freedom) Charterists and not accommodate politics on both sides of the Charter approach.

We believe that once the process gets going, once relationships of understanding are developing, once people commit themselves to a common goal on the basis of our philosophy — that in itself will bring stability and in a way be the safety and security for the future.

The new Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development also speaks of the need to start "talks about talks." What makes your approach any different than that of the government?

That has never been the NP's approach. (Stoffel) Van der Merwe is a very interesting phenomenon in the sense that he is taking over the rhetoric of the Independents. I spoke about this in parliament earlier this session. I discussed the concept of what negotiation is really about. He has since also come out with the concept of "talks about talks." At other meetings since the election he has said that one should not be thinking about a model approach, and has said that the process is all-important. So at least some of the members of the NP are taking over the rhetoric of the Independents. Whether they really accept it intellectually and emotionally remains to be seen. If government or the NP should really take over our philosophy and approach, it would be first prize for the Independents.

Do you foresee a further crumbling of the NP to the Left?

It always remains a possibility. I have no doubt that there are members of the NP who support what the Independents are doing both intellectually and emotionally, yet most of them are within the tradition of party politics and specifically within the tradition of the NP. I do, however, believe the debate will become more loose at the NP caucus level. It all depends on whether the leadership can live with it. It's not inconceivable that the party leadership will want to reaffirm its leadership in caucus — and that could trigger some kind of breakaway. But we are not bargaining on that.

FINANCIAL MAIL, JUNE 28, 1987
deal of behind-the-scenes talking with a fairly impressive range of people across the political spectrum. No names are being mentioned, but, if their plans come together, we will be hearing much more about the movement in the next few months. Or so they say.

According to Worrall, the Independent movement has gone through a series of phases: "Initially we saw the rebellion phase represented by the resignations (from the NP), then the election was a sort of demonstration phase, an opportunity to take the idea and carry it out, advocate it, get support for it. Now, having shown that there is support for fundamental change with the right mix of security and concern for stability, we are into an implementation phase."

Worrall believes that "the most important thing is to get (the) negotiation process going... I see the process as being similar to that which occurred at the time of the establishment of Union — which in fact really started in about 1905 and carried on until 1909 and ended with formal conferences in the form of a convention which itself went on for about 18 months."

He acknowledges that the pressures today — in the form of the media, the diversity of intellectual inputs, and the number of "constituencies" — are far greater than at the time of Union, but he argues that the process (of negotiation) is similar. And "getting that process started and creating the trust which is presently lacking is what is required. We make the point to blacks that their point of view obviously has to be represented in these discussions, and we would make the same point to the CP."

Whatever emerges from this "process" will be a compromise — and so, as a start, all options should be laid out.

Worrall adds: "We are not putting forward a solution, we are proposing a key to the solution, an idea. We are therefore, by our very nature, a catalyst and if in fact we can sufficiently influence the government into adopting this approach, then fine. I personally have been battling since 1985 to get the government to adopt this approach."

According to Worrall, a number of developments are being considered by the Independents, including the establishment of a secretariat. It will also be necessary to strike a balance between gaining the confidence and trust of radical black groups, and fulfilling the need among whites for an organisational focus and the desire to identify. This means organisation on a (white) constituency basis.

Worrall says the movement is deliberately adopting a relatively low profile because of the delicate contacts that need to be made across an extremely wide spectrum. "There is a degree of cynicism, the distrust runs deep," he says. "Aside from having to meet that head-on and trying to overcome it, which is a hugely painful process, the last thing we want to do is project an image as just another white political party, which we aren't and don't intend to be."

Commenting on the theory that government may watch the independent movement and follow them wherever they achieve success, Worrall says: "Fine. The important thing is that we must find answers. I don't care who gets the credit. It will be fantastic if government can make that leap, it will prove that we really have been a catalyst."

University of Cape Town Politics Professor David Welsh takes a different view about the future of the movement: "The relative success of the Independents (in the election) suggested that they may have tapped a potentially rich vein in the white electorate. Sceptics argue that they have not fully broken with the Nationalist establishment, and the possibility that some or even most of the dissident academics may be wooed back into the fold cannot be excluded." He finds it "puzzling that the momentum the generated during the election campaign has not been sustained."

The FM's view is that the movement's potential could be significant. The Independents have a potential following in the NP that could be decisive in the next election. But the movement must do two things. It must avoid the dangers of pushing too hard in the white political arena and being seen by black groups as a predominantly white-interest group. And it must avoid serious personality clashes and disputes over concepts and models within the movement itself.

So it is too soon to say whether the Independents have or have not found the correct strategy by playing down exactly what they are aiming at. If they are simply Nationalists with a variegated tinge, as many believe, they don't stand much chance of wresting votes from the NP. The Nationalists are too big, too powerful and too rich — the richest constituency in SA is Verwoerdus, where the civil servants languish in their affluence with all the panache of minor Randlords.

But, and if, the Independents can come up with desperately needed fresh political ideas, in the process commanding respect and gaining credibility, they will find a natural constituency between those Nationalists who secretly feel the Botha administration has forfeited control of national security through excessive repression, and increasingly conservative English-speakers. They could well gain the edge the FFP has lost. One area to which they should be paying great attention is the state of the economy. If they do so, they can really hit the real points — and the way into parliament could open no wider than it is at present."

**COAL EXPORTS**

The seven lean years

That nice warm glow conferred by coal exports to SA's balance of payments is quickly drying down. We've had seven fat years; now prospects are wintry for the foreseeable future. The squeeze on export tonnages and profits will not be easily or quickly reversed. The years ahead will be tough for exporters, whose contribution to the BoP surplus will be minimal. And the constraint, unfortunately, will ripple throughout the economy.

Of course, taking a fair longer view, not all the news is dismal. Slow but steady growth in world demand for steam coal — in conjunction with a planned reduction in high-cost, subsidised output in industrial Europe — could bring about a revival. This would obvi-
could turn out somewhere in the vicinity of 39 Mt-40 Mt. The value of coal exports could be in the vicinity of R2,300m — a reduction of about R900m on the R3,200m earned last year (for a longer-term picture, see chart).

Amco chairman Graham Boustred forecast in May that the foreign earning of SA's coal mines would be reduced by a total of R1 billion, comprising a reduction in dividends and receipts of R500m and a currency adjustment attributable to a rise in the rand of R350m. And Boustred suggests that exports for 1987 could turn out at 40 Mt — not too far from the forecast already mentioned.

Turning to the international picture, we can now see that world seaborne coal trade peaked in 1986 at around 275 Mt. Last year saw a slight decline, and the current year could see a further small drop. The reason is simple. The two oil crises of the Seventies triggered a panic search for alternative energy sources. The obvious substitute — for power generation and industrial steam-raising — was coal. Many power plants that were built on the strength of coal-firing equipment, while most new power plants — which were not nuclear — were designed to be coal or dual (coal and oil) firing.

These market circumstances, in turn, stimulated an expansion in coal mining for export in many countries — notably SA itself and Australia — but in others as well.

Not for the first time, and surely not for the last, the long lead times required to develop mining capacity interacted with the demand side to ensure that a phase of overproduction would follow the sugar high years.

According to the International Coal Report (ICR) for 1986, peak coal prices were realised in the first half of 1981 — a retrospectively incredible US$65/tonne for Australian coal delivered to Europe, while South African coal to the same destinations attained a delivered price of around $59 in early 1982.

By the end of 1986, however, delivered prices were down to a range of $29-$35 for all major destinations, with South African exports at the bottom end of this range. The most obvious observation is that oil prices too came down sharply over roughly the same period — from a peak "posted" price of $34 a barrel to a brief low dipping below $10, then settling at around the current $18. And the sharp fall in the dollar has meant that energy prices have fallen proportionately more in terms of other major currencies.

For 1986, the main players in the coal export game were (according to the ICR) Australia (92 Mt); the USSR (76 Mt); SA (45.5 Mt); Poland (34 Mt); Canada (25 Mt); the USSR (25 Mt); China (9 Mt); Colombia (5.6 Mt) and the UK (2.7 Mt). It should be noted that Poland is not a significant contributor to oceanic trade in coal, while China and Colombia, both with a powerful resource base, are relative newcomers.

Chinese exports could rise from nearly 10 Mt in 1986 to 30 Mt for 1990 and 35 Mt the following year, while Colombia could have 22 Mt available by 1995.

The most important importer by far was Japan, at 89.4 Mt, followed by South Korea and Italy, each at around 20 Mt, with a number of other importers coming in at well under 20 Mt.

Reliable sources suggest that the current price structure is hurting many exporters — SA aside — rather badly. Some Australian mines are operating at a loss, while the developing El Cerrito coal in Colombia (a partnership between government and Exxon) could not — selling at current prices — even service the capital committed to the mine and to its dedicated rail line and port.

On the other hand, Western Europe seems to be reaching the end of the road in terms of subsidising high-cost domestic output. ICR suggests that there could be an added export volume of 75 Mt available by 1995 — largely from China, Colombia, Australia and another newcomer, Indonesia. The annual tonnage available for export would then be a very substantial 220 Mt.

But, at a quick ICR demand for steam coal for power generation would also have risen substantially — to the point where all the slack would be taken up. The forecast assumes that Europe and Japan may have halved their own output by 1995, so cutting the supply side by over 100 Mt a year.

There is a belief in local quarters that prices in dollar terms could have bottomed. But even if this optimism is justified, the issues of sanctions and of the exchange rate of the rand remain to be considered.

It appears as though SA has lost coal markets of around 10 Mt as a result of political influences, although it is argued that exports to France would, in any event, have been wound down because of the strongly rising contribution to French electricity demand now being made by the nuclear programme.

That volume export would have held up as well as they have in the face of a setback of this magnitude is partly a tribute to marketing diligence on the part of the local industry, and partly a reflection of a willingness to cut prices rather than volumes.

There are some important implications for public policy because of the prospect of a significant period of low export earnings, from coal. The most obvious is that any thought of a Phase IV expansion at Richards Bay is dead for the foreseeable future.

The second is that a heavy burden of responsibility rests on the South African Railways (Sats) in its current delicate negotiations with the Transvaal Coal Owners Association (TCOA) over increased rail tariffs on the Richards Bay line. The tariffs recently imposed (and the subject of current discussion) reflect increases of as much as 4% in the case of original railage contracts dating back to Phases I and II.

No one — least of all the FM — is arguing any case for a subsidy of coal exports by the Sats or government itself. But it is legitimate to ask Sats to make sure that coal is not being used to cross-subsidise some other aspect of its operations.

SA’s balance of payments is able to look after itself at the moment — the surplus is meeting the needs of debt repayment as well as current imports. We should remember too that a $30 increase in the gold price is worth about R2 billion annually — which puts a reduction of R1 billion in coal exports in some sort of perspective.

Employment in the coal industry is also a delicate issue. Some groups are still well-served by Eskom contracts, which enable them to take up some slack on the employment side, even though margins may not be as generous. It is also vital to realise that the coal export industry is in a strong technical and financial position. Expensive draglines and mechanical miners are largely paid for, so mines can, for the present, carry on as long as running costs can be met. Some mines in a weaker position will have to accept the market’s verdict.

Taking a broad overview, we must look to expanding the economy as a whole to take up the slack in employment. The temptation must be resisted to slide into the damaging cycle of subsidisation, which causes wasteful misallocation of resources. An argument applies with equal force to exchange rate management. An intelligent rand is itself inflationary and unnecessary quickly whatever competitiveness that coal exports may gain in this way.
How Tambo is turning the screws on SA business, and how Botha is playing into his hands...!

By DAVID WILLERS
London Director of the S.A Foundation

In London, in the afterglow of Mrs Thatcher's famous victory, the speed of change is matched only by the quicksilver flow of events in South Africa.

In the past month, in particular, we have seen significant shifts in position by all the main actors which are likely to make life interesting.

First, of course, there was President Botha's election win, which has transformed the National Party into the equivalent of the old Rhodesia Front.

Whether history will repeat itself remains to be seen, but Botha already appears to have forfeited important opportunities to peacefully deal with our black majority on terms not far removed from those avoided by Mr. Ian Smith in pre-Lancaster House days.

So therein lies a parallel. The Zambian Foreign Minister, a visit to Britain recently saw another parallel. This heralding-together-of-the-liberal and the terrorists instilled with a new resolve before it became Zambia and, in Southern Rhodesia before it became Zimbabwe.

He drew comfort from this trend; it proved that things were nothing if not on track.

This historically deterministic assumption is shared by Mr. Oliver Tambo, who is likewise absolutely convinced of the inevitability of an ANC-governed government and told a recent business audience in London that he may even have convinced some of his listeners, and at least one spokesman for British business approached him with Mr. Tambo's certificate. Who can say that either of them is wrong?

Only time will tell, but Mr. Botha, at least from this perspective to be oddly wrongfooted in terms of present strategy, Mr. Tambo's position is rather like that of a chess player who finds himself in the middle of an infallible defence, and who've become the target of his own winning strategy.

He loses a few pawns from time to time, true, but the board often appears tilted in his favour. Take the following example: for some time now we have heard rumblings of discontent in COSATU ranks about the wisdom of further disinvestment. COSATU is naturally worried that the black unions will be weakened by job losses. But they still support the broad objectives of the ANC in terms of sanctions, liberation, etc.

Eventually the Government can successfully exploit this contradiction. Mr. Tambo makes his move. He announces in London that companies must now distance themselves from the "system", come off the fence, change sides, etc., and choose between an ANC government of the future and Mr. Botha's government of the past.

He suggests that COSATU's "exceptions" may be made in the case of companies thus distanced. Mr. Botha's position, on the other hand, is rather like that of a chess player who finds himself in the middle of an infallible defence, and who've become the target of his own winning strategy.

One may safely predict that nothing less than the total destruction of the South African economy will now be sought by those actors who have thus far held back from such a dire step.

When Mrs. Thatcher attempts to put the South African economy on the line in the context of the tinder that will destroy the economy, South Africa and Europe are at war. The South African economy and the black business community are going through the EEC Codes of Conduct and the like, she will be told by business leaders.

But even at this moment the ANC has triggered the next move. Black workers will apparently not vote and not take up Trusteeship offers by foreign companies holding economic sway over the Republic, because they will then be conspiring in their own oppression and breaking their own strike.

This will put further pressure on foreign companies operating in the Republic to withdraw under pressure. What can Mr. Botha do at this stage?

He seems trapped in a web of logic forced on him by the relative success enjoyed by the "comrades" in the last election. The ANC was given a mandate in the last election to make the economy work again?

The state of emergency has been extended. Residents of Soweto still fear the hot breath of a necklace that has been left in their coat. There is nothing the State can do, they say, but be as weak and cowardly as the reality of this fear short of putting a bullet at the door of every house 24 hours a day.

By requesting companies to close their doors, a way that is beyond the reach of employees to control, the Government believes that the yoke of intimidation from township residents will force the companies to shut the door to shift the focus of intimidation to the business world of the first time.

A supreme irony, if the turbulence is anything like the last four years, which has left whites thus far unscathed, black communities have been the victims of division in the white community that has been most damaged and the grievances of the black community.

Some sense of what could be the last straw and leave.
SA has wonderful concept

says Heunis

Let us talk
Face of People's Democracy

SOWETAN Reporter

Page 12

SOWETAN, Monday, June 29, 1987
A NEW Afrikaner political movement — which proudly claims to be more right wing than the extreme Afrikaner Weerstands beweging — has reared its head in Johannesburg, calling for the "repatriation of all non-whites".

But the Johannesburg City Council reacted promptly, removing the organisation's "offensive" posters from trees and lamp posts almost as quickly as they went up.

The Boere Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB) — which, like the AWB, has a logo remarkably similar to that of the Nazis — placed several posters in the city centre as well as in other towns on the Reef. They said: Stop terror — repatriate all non-whites.

The BBB's leader, Professor Johan Schabort, said his organisation believed in "putting things bluntly".

It rejected the "half measures" of other right wing groups and wanted all blacks to be removed from urban areas.

**Booed**

The Johannesburg City Council's Management Committee chairman, Mr. Francois Oberholzer, admitted that a junior official had booed in allowing the posters to be put up.

"This official unfortunately had little perception of the council's attitude on these things. We found

By DAVID CAPEL

the posters very offensive and harmful to race relations," Mr. Oberholzer said.

Professor Schabort, speaking from his home in Auckland Park, claimed the BBB had been in existence for two years, but had only decided recently to come more decisively to the fore.

Professor Schabort is a former professor of biochemistry at Rand Afrikaans University. He refused to say how many members the BBB had. But he claimed nationwide support, saying the BBB had committees in all four provinces and had the backing of many English-speaking South Africans.

Blacks, Professor Schabort said, "should be able to look after themselves". There was no reason why whites should look after them. He proposed that coloureds should be sent to "their trust areas which have already been established". Indians could go to the home-lands with blacks.

Professor Schabort said the BBB did not see the AWB as a rival. "We are not fighting them, but we believe we are more right wing than they are," he said.

The BBB is a "white people's liberation movement" which stands for "the white man first, under all circumstances; removal of all non-whites from white South Africa; and a halt to guardianship over non-white races".

It wants Afrikaners, and whites generally, to be freed from "spiritual and economic slavery" and calls for the "honouring of the white race, the expansion of white Western civilisa-

**Racist**

The BBB wants all blacks "to return to the homelands". Its repatriation policy was only part of a "bigger plan" which he did not elaborate on.

Professor Schabort was quoted recently as saying the BBB was the only right-wing organisation in the country which made no bones about its racist leanings.

"We are racist. Our policy is racist. We look after our own and stand against other sorts," he said.

Professor Schabort said he expected the "left-wing" Government to remove the BBB's posters. He did not say whether the organisation planned to put up more posters.

Although the BBB's membership is unknown it is likely it will draw meaningful support in urban and other areas.

Many observers were surprised recently when the AWB drew a capacity pre-election crowd to a rally in the Johannesburg City Hall — bigger than any audience for political parties fighting the election. The observers thought the AWB's support was confined to the platteland.
Govt accused of reneging on Nkomati

Accident in which President Samora Machel died.

He said the chief actors were Moscow and Mozambique and the Frontline states. False accusations were being made in an attempt to manipulate perceptions of SA as a country that could not be trusted.

Malan said SA had to place its own national interests first.

"It cannot play a passive role in a situation where Soviet intervention is blatantly taking place in the name of liberation.

"There are pro-Western groups that are confronted by Soviet expansionism in Southern Africa, but that do not have the ability to survive on their own.

"Where such groups ask SA for assistance, it must be considered in principle, taking into consideration factors that will ultimately bring stability and peace to the region," he said.

SA surely did not need to apologise to anyone for halting Russian expansionism.

"If Southern Africa desires peace, SA is prepared to conclude appropriate treaties in which the rules must be made clear — the export of revolution, whether in the form of violence or of propaganda, cannot be tolerated," Malan said.

The Nationalist newspaper, Rapport, yesterday interpreted Malan's statement to mean a new approach by government to its relations with the MNR rebels in Mozambique.

Gastrow said he feared such a move would intensify foreign pressure on SA.

"And SA would not have a leg to stand on if the Cubans, for instance, were sent into Mozambique.

"It's up to the Cabinet to restrain Malan's itchy fingers in the interests of peace," Gastrow said.
Call for action against AWB

CAPE TOWN — The leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendriks, said on Tuesday that the Labour Party was not prepared to succumb to intimidation and called for action against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeveging.

He was responding to comments by the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, in Durban this week when he warned Mr Hendriks not to bring his party to the Pretoria showground's Skilpadshaal.

"We have been invited to the Transvaal, and specifically Pretoria, to hold our annual conference there," Mr Hendriks said.

"We are going ahead with the necessary arrangements. We expect more than 2,000 delegates and supporters who must be comfortably accommodated.

"Hence our choice of the Skilpadshaal. I believe that it is about time that action be taken against the AWB."

Last night Mr Terre'blanche described the Skilpadshaal as the birthplace of the Conservative Party and the new Afrikaner church" and warned Mr Hendriks that "more than..."
Idasa official tells of threat

EAST LONDON — The Border co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Mr Steve Fourie, received a death threat yesterday morning.

Mr Fourie, whose fellow co-director, Mr Eric Mntonga, was found murdered in Glakel at the weekend, said a man had telephoned the Idasa office here yesterday morning and spoken to the secretary, Miss Nondwe Miki.

"The man, who spoke English and gave his name as Denzil, said he had killed Eric. He said he was going to kill me and asked where the flowers should be sent."

Mr Fourie said he had not reported the matter to the police and added that he was not surprised by the incident.

"I expected some sort of nonsense after the threats to the Port Elizabeth staff of Idasa earlier this week and to Dr Alex Boraine (a co-founder of Idasa)."

An autopsy on Tuesday showed that Mr Mntonga had died from a blow to the head. His body was found in his car at Tamara near King William's Town. His hands had been tied behind his back.

The liaison officer of the Ciskei Police, Colonel Ayewy Ngaki, said yesterday investigations into Mr Mntonga's death were continuing. — DDS
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. & POLITICS

1987

JULY
Naude plan for ANC, PAC peace

Johannesburg. — The retiring general secretary of SA Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, said yesterday the SACC should play a role in bringing about reconciliation between the ANC and the PAC.

In his report to the SACC "national" conference Dr Naude said earlier this year churchmen and leaders of the two liberation groups had met.

Further meetings with the ANC and PAC should take place within the next 18 months.

The conference should also consider steps to eliminate conflict among anti-apartheid groups, especially UDF and Azapo youth groups.

He recommended an institute for children affected by apartheid.
'Leon Commission' to weigh party's future

Has PFP a role in local govt?

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party has appointed a high-powered committee to investigate and make recommendations on the party's stand on the local government elections scheduled for October next year.

Headed by Johannesburg city councillor Mr Tony Leon, the commission will investigate whether the PFP should participate on a national basis as a party, and if not, what attitude should be adopted towards the elections which will include blacks, coloureds and Indians.

The commission will report in September and the party is expected to announce its stand on the elections well before the end of the year.

Mr Leon said: "We will be going back to grassroots where much more is happening today than in the past — one of the reasons why more importance is being attached in terms of the government's constitutional planning.

"The thinking is that third tier government — at local level and in the Regional Services Councils — is going to be vested with greater powers and responsibility than at any previous time in the history of South Africa," he said.

Metal workers to vote on wage strike today

By Mike Siluma

About 80,000 members of the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) in nearly 500 factories will start voting today on whether to go on a wage strike or not, the union said.

In a statement, Numsa said shop stewards who would act asballoting officers met at various points around the country yesterday to make final arrangements for the operational area at the numsa office in the industrial area of the city.
Now it’s the ‘battle of the Great Treks’

The Argus Correspondent

DATELINE: PRETORIA

A SECOND major row in Afrikaanse ranks — the “battle of the Great Treks” — has erupted in the wake of the establishment of the all-white Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Kerk (AGK) at the weekend.

The Afrikaner-Volkswag (AVW) is to sponsor a countrywide “ge-suiwerde” (purified) 150th commemoration of the Trek in 1988 — and the pro-establishment Afrikaanse Nasionale Kultuurraad (ANK), which is planning a “trek” of its own, is furious.

The ANK shares offices with the Broederbond in Auckland Park, Johannesburg.

Both treks, rival spokesmen said, are scheduled to converge on Pretoria — the ANK at the Voortrekker Monument and the AVW at “an undisclosed but acceptable venue” on December 16 next year.

The monument was booked “some time ago” by the ANK, spokesman Mr Rudie Prinsloo said.

The newly-appointed director of the AVW’s Great Trek 150, Mr Daan van der Merwe, said, however, their’s was “the true, the authentic, commemoration of the greatest event in Afrikaner history.

“Other people are merely climbing on to the bandwagon,” Mr van der Merwe, former CP MP for Rissik, said.

Mr Prinsloo said talks had been held with Mr van der Merwe and the leader of the AVW, Professor Carel Boshoff, but that the parties “had failed to find one another.”

“We agreed, however, not to actively oppose one another,” said Mr Prinsloo, who claimed the ANK had commenced preparations for the trek festival as far back as 1984.

Professor Boshoff said the talks with the ANK had “served merely to underline the fact that we differ on certain non-negotiable principles. One of these is that they are being financed by the government.

“The Afrikaner himself will pay for Great Trek 150,” Professor Boshoff said.
From MICHAEL ACOITT

JOHANNESBURG — A group of nearly 50 white South Africans will attend a four-day conference with African National Congress leaders in the Senegalese capital of Dakar next week.

The ANC chief, Mr. Oliver Tambo, could be among the ANC executives the group will meet.

The South African delegation, most of them Afrikaners, will be headed by the former leader of the PFP, Dr. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who left Parliament at the beginning of last year to pursue interracial conciliation through extra-parliamentary politics.

The Dakar conference was arranged by Dr. Slabbert's new organisation, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa.

It was reported from London yesterday that a number of foreign correspondents were due to cover the conference, which starts on Wednesday.

This will be by far the largest — and the most formal — meeting between the ANC and white South Africans.

One of the participants said yesterday: "It will not be another nice little visit to Lusaka."

"There will be formal sessions on a number of key issues. The 50-odd South Africans, mainly Afrikaners, are no pushovers. This is going to be real eye-ball to eye-ball."

The participant refused to give names of any of those going, but said they included business men, academics, church leaders, politicians, writers, professional people and artists. The fact that most of them were Afrikaners was deliberate.

The idea had been conceived last year and the conference had taken four months to set up.

"South Africans inside the country need to meet South Africans outside the country. Those of us here must talk to people who represent a large following in South Africa."

"That exchange must take place and, if the government refuses to budge, others have to take the initiative. We are going to have a real debate, with talk and negotiation between people who want to work for a new South Africa."

Dr. Slabbert is expected to leave today for Paris, to complete final arrangements, and the bulk of the South African delegation is due to leave early next week.
Afrikaans leaders to see ANC

ABOUT 50 Afrikaans leaders are flying to West Africa to attend a major conference alongside exiled political leaders, including senior ANC members, within the next week.

The conference will be hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) and has been set up over four months by Idasa founders Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Doraine.

The local delegation includes academics, church leaders, businessmen, political figures, journalists and others — almost all holding important, but not top, positions in their institutions.

Among the subjects they are expected to discuss at the three-day conference are the process of political change and the nature of post-apartheid society.
UDF man calls for 'serious thought' on next election

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior official of the United Democratic Front has suggested the organization consider taking part in the next general election.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede said it "ought to give serious thought" to participating in the 1989 elections.

Mr Gumede said he believed that in light of the "antics" and recent "exposes" of participants in the tricameral Parliament, the UDF would be "testing the sincerity of the government" if "people whose views are those of the UDF" expressed them in Parliament.

This emerged in an interview with Mr Gumede yesterday during which he also said there had been no further developments between himself and the government in recent talks about talks.

He said the government had claimed the country was democratic. As such, Mr Gumede said he saw no reason why UDF electioneering could be construed by the government as "subversive".

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said there had been no discussion "in any meaningful sense" on whether the movement should participate in the '89 election.

"The UDF's position of whether or not to boycott elections is tactical and not one of principle. The situation may be reviewed from time to time."
Most whites out of touch — Shell

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Shell, one of the last giant multinationals in South Africa, yesterday said blacks would continue their struggle till they achieved full political rights in a democratic, unitary South Africa.

In a hard-hitting annual review, executive chairman Mr John Wilson said resistance to apartheid would not abate, but would grow in intensity.

"Violence will not be extinguished by states of emergency or the use of force."

Mr Wilson said government was clearly not yet ready to negotiate fundamental change or sanction genuine democratic structures.

"It is a sad fact that government and most white South Africans are out of touch with the mood of black people. This is because of a total lack of communication and a vilification campaign against any organization which opposes the government."

The hopes of those who clung to the belief that peaceful reform through negotiation was possible in South Africa were being sorely tested.

"The business community is striving to effect meaningful steps towards meaningful change."

"However, it is not easy and private enterprise — particularly big business — has become synonymous with government and the apartheid system in the minds of most black South Africans."

This was understandable, if unwarranted, because investors had for many years taken advantage of the apartheid economy and exploited cheap labour.

Mr Wilson said that for the past decade, business had justified its presence in South Africa by claiming it could act as a positive agent for change by bringing pressure to bear on government.

"Sadly, that time seems to be past. Government reaction to dissident voices confirms that."

While the company agreed with the basic aims of the anti-apartheid organizations — the eradication of apartheid, and political rights for all in a free and just society — it realized that disinvestment would not cause the government to topple.

Referring to overseas pressure on Shell to disinvest, he said the company has been the target of sustained campaign — including boycott campaigns and sabotage — in 11 countries, including the Netherlands, Britain and the United States.

He denied rumours that the company was about to disinvest and said it would resist pressure to pull out to the utmost.
Sebokeng clean-up before Botha visit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FOURTEEN Defence Force tipper-trucks and front-end loaders worked for 10 days to remove “refuse and soil” from Sebokeng before President PW Botha’s visit to the area last month, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Mr Botha was given the freedom of the black townships of Lakosa, which includes Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Bolipatong, Bophelong, Zamdela and Refengkotso, when he visited the region.

General Malan said the services of SADF members were used to help in clearing-up work in Sebokeng because the town clerk requested such help, “as the town council did not have the necessary manpower to complete the task alone”.

The clean-up operation had taken from May 25 to June 3, the day before Mr Botha’s visit, General Malan said in reply to a written question from Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP Jeppe).

The total cost of the operation to the SADF was R2 646,00, he said.

☐ Replying to another written question from Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo), General Malan declined to disclose publicly how much SADF involvement in civil unrest since January last year had cost the South African taxpayer.

“It is not considered in the public interest to divulge this figure, but I am prepared to supply it to the honourable member on a confidential basis if he were to request it under this condition,” he said.

☐ More than three dozen parades, military tattoos or other special events were planned this year to commemorate the SADF’s 75th anniversary, General Malan said in reply to another written question from Mr Tian van der Merwe (FFP Green Point).

He said the July 1 anniversary “is not being celebrated as a single event but forms the theme of activities at all levels from unit to full SA Defence Force participation”.


Whites to meet ANC-in-Senegal talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A group of nearly 50 white South Africans leaves next week for a four-day formal conference with African National Congress leaders in the Senegalese capital of Dakar.

It is understood that the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, could be among the "significant number" of the ANC executives the group will meet.

The delegation, most of them Afrikaners, will be headed by former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

The source declined to give any names of those going, but said the participants included businessmen, academics, church leaders, politicians, writers, professional people and artists.

It is understood Dr Slabbert leaves today for Paris, to complete final arrangements. Most members of the SA delegation are due to leave early next week.
Slabbert to lead ANC talks

50 VIPs set to confer with ANC leaders

A GROUP of nearly 50 white South Africans leaves next week for a four-day formal conference with ANC leaders in the Senegalese capital of Dakar.

It is understood ANC chief Oliver Tambo could be among the "significant number" of the ANC executive the group will meet.

The SA delegation, most of them Afrikaners, will be headed by former PPF leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who left Parliament at the start of last year to pursue interracial conciliation through extra-parliamentary politics.

The Dakar conference was arranged by Slabbert's new organisation, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa).

London sources said yesterday a number of foreign correspondents there were due to cover the conference, which starts on Wednesday.

This will be by far the largest — and the most formal — meeting between the ANC and white South Africans.

A delegate said yesterday: "It will not be another nice little visit to Lusaka. There will be formal sessions on a number of key issues. The 50-odd South Africans, mainly Afrikaners, are no pushovers. This is going to be real eyeball to eyeball."

The delegate refused to give any names of those going, but said they included businessmen, academics, church leaders, politicians, writers, professional people and artists. The fact that most of them were Afrikaners was deliberate.

The idea was conceived last year and the conference had taken four months to set up.

The delegate said: "South Africans inside the country need to meet South Africans outside the country. Those of us here must talk to people who represent a large following in SA."

"That exchange must take place and, if government refuses to budge, others have to take the initiative. We are going to have a real debate, with talk and negotiation between people who want to work for a new SA."

It is understood Slabbert leaves today for Paris, to complete final arrangements, and the bulk of the SA delegation is due to leave early next week.
Fear of the colour bar

by MARK STANSFIELD, Weekend Argus Reporter

They plan their trips with military precision and measure distances between towns to make sure they have enough fuel and time to get past certain places without stopping.

Their biggest fear is that their vehicles will break down in a Plateland town where racial discrimination bars them from sleeping in the local hotel.

Some of them are among South Africa's wealthiest businessmen, others are leading academics. Yet their money and prestige cannot give them the right skin colour.

These are some of the prominent black and coloured people who live in fear of stepping into the "wrong" hotel and being told to leave.

They tell true stories of humiliation they have suffered at the hands of people who think they have the "right" to scorn and belittle them.

"This madness must stop," said Mr. Peter Sitas, prominent Cape Town businessman, Tourism Board but who has never seen the Kruger National Park.

He said: "I'm too damn scared of the reaction of conservative people in rural areas if I stay overnight in hotels in their area."

"Planning a holiday and trying to find out where you can stay is a very traumatic experience for us."

Professor Adam Small, poet and academic, said: "Luckily I have not had to stay over for a night in a country area recently. Discrimination is more of a Plateland-country phenomenon now. We all know apartheid still lives out there."

What hurts even more than the blatant discrimination at hotels, restaurants and nightspots is the "petty" apartheid practised even at filling stations.

Cape Town businessman Peter Swartz: "I've never seen the Kruger Park because I'm too damn scared of the reception I'll get."

Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon, recalled the day his daughter Heather, a Standard Eight scholar, appeared upon her father he had stopped at a filling station and she went to the restroom.

He said: "It was only later that she told me the garage people had refused to allow her to use the toilet. I'm taking the matter up with the oil company. I don't stand for it any more. When I see discrimination I confront the people immediately because that's the only way we will ever get it to stop."

"I hate it when I'm standing at a counter and the person serving keeps me waiting while she serves the whites first - even though I was there long before them."

"I'm not rude but I confront them and let them know that I won't stand for it."

Mr. Salie Rabane, another Cape Town businessman, was humiliated in one of Durban's most exclusive nightclubs.

He said: "I was staying in a five-star hotel and took some friends up to the nightclub for a meal. A waiter came along and said we were welcome to eat but told us we couldn't dance."

"I called the hotel manager. We were not allowed to dance but he apologised by saying we didn't have to dance."

Poet Adam Small: "We all know apartheid still exists."

Technikon rector, Franklin Sonn: "I won't stand for it."

Mr. Peter Motale, owner of a London-based newspaper...
Weekend Argus Reporter

THEY plan their trips with military precision and measure distances between towns to make sure they have enough fuel and time to get past certain places without stopping.

Their biggest fear is that their vehicles will break down in a rural area where racial discrimination bars them from sleeping in the local hotel.

Some of them are among South Africa’s wealthiest businessmen, others are leading academics. Yet their money and prestige cannot give them the right skin colour.

These are some of the prominent black and coloured people who live in fear of stepping into the “wrong” hotel and being told to leave. They say they are too scared to venture out and see our beautiful country because they do not know what sort of reception they will get. They stick to known environments where there are “safe” places to dance, eat and rest.

“This madness must stop,” said Mr. Peter Swartz, prominent Cape Town businessman who sits on the South African never seen the Kruger National Park.

He said: “I’m too damn scared of the reaction of conservative people in rural areas if I stay overnight in hotels in their area.

“Planning a holiday and trying to find out where you can stay is a very traumatic experience for us.”

Professor Adam Small, Technikon rector, Frank- lin Sonn: “I won’t stand for it anymore.”

Locality I have not seen — stay over for a night in a country area recently. Discrimination is more of a plat- tenth-country phenomenon now. We all know apartheid still lives out there.

What hurts even more than the blatant discrimination at hotels, restaurants and nightspots is the “petty” apartheid practised even at filling sta-

The day his daughter Heather, a Standard Eight scholar, appeared upset after he had stopped at a filling station and she went to the restroom.

He said: “It was only later that she told me the garage people had refused to allow her to use the toilet. I’m tak- ing the matter up with the oil company. I don’t stand for it any more. When I see discrimi- nation I confront the people immediately because that’s the only way we will ever get it to stop.

“I hate it when I’m standing at a counter and the person serving keeps me waiting while she serves the whites first — even though I was there long before them.

“I’m not rude but I confront them and let them know that I won’t stand for it.”

Mr. Salie Rahney, another Cape Town businessman, was humiliated in one of Durban’s most exclusive nightclubs.

He said: “I was staying in a five-star hotel and took some friends up to the nightclub for a meal. A waiter came along and said we were welcome to eat but told us we couldn’t dance.

“I called the hotel manager. We were still not allowed to dance but he apologised by paying for our meal.”

Mr. Peter Motale, owner of a Cape Town-based transport company said: “I don’t take chances. I plan my trips carefully and avoid stopping in places where I know I will be discriminated against.”

And Mr. Swartz said many black people did not tour South Africa because of the uncertainty of their acceptability.

He said: “I plan my travelling schedule very carefully … at such-and-such a time I will reach town X and by nightfall I will reach a certain point where there is a ‘safe’ hotel which will allow me to stay over.

“Of course I have been kicked out of nightclubs which I thought, wrongly it turned out, were ‘liberal’.

“The owners always make such feeble excuses for not allowing us in.

“They use the apartheid laws or point to their lease agreements and say ‘of course I’d accept anybody … but the lease doesn’t allow me to’.

“Others show their liquor licences to us and say they’re scared of losing them if they admit other races.

“It’s stupid of South Africa’s white busi- nessmen not to see the benefits of broaden- ing their markets and profits by offering the free usage of their premises to all races.”

Mr. Swartz added: “We don’t expect whites to open their doors for us overnight because the facilities just couldn’t cope and this in itself could cause tension.

“Private enterprise should be encouraged to take a risk and provide non-racial bases, where we can relax together.

“A huge market exists that is not being utilised.”
WAR OF THE WALLS

By Chris Whitefield, Weekend Argus Reporter

The lines have been drawn ... It's Graffiti Wars.

The walls of Cape Town, once almost exclusively favoured by political sloganeers opposed to the Government, have become a battleground.

Commuters no longer peer only at slogans of the Free Mandela, Botha is a Terrorist and Troops Out variety.

They are told that the ECC is yellow, State President Botha is our leader, we love him, and various prominent political opponents of the Government are poofs, queer or have Aids.

Hastily spray-painted slogans of the Smash the UDF, Smash UDF, Cosatu kills and ANC coward's variety are threatening to overwhelm the old graffiti artists' work.

And the new, conservative wave of sloganeers obviously holds the work of their contemporaries in low stead. They think nothing of adjusting Tiso UDF to read Smash UDF after simply blotting out the old word.

A stencilled graffiti in Gardens had a picture of a tank with a huge barrel jutting upwards. Botha's plan for peace; read the slogan. A few days later it was adjusted to Tambo's plan for peace.

Lot to be desired

And another Viral UDF was changed to Viral AWB.

While the new graffiti is bigger, bolder and blunter than previous efforts, its creative content leaves a lot to be desired.

The rightwing spray-can artists have managed nothing to match the You ANC nothing yet of last year, or the Throw well, throw Shell allegedly spotted in the townships.

And when will they come up with a counter to You can't survive on a diet of pap and bokkies or The force is with us, but we don't want it?

Graffiti writing can be fraught with risks, as 20-year-old Peninsula Technikon student Peter Newman found out recently.

He was found guilty under the Internal Security Act of furthering the aims of the ANC, and was sentenced to a year in prison.

He had daubed Botha is a lesbian, Away with apartheid and The struggle lasts forever on the wall of the Bredasdorp sportsground.

"Dead little place"

He explained that he wanted to "wake up the dead little place".

He is lucky he doesn't live in the Soviet Union, where he would have faced a 10-year sentence for defacing property if caught.

In Singapore he could have been fined about $100 or gone to jail for three years, as well as receiving between three and eight strokes of a cane.

In Britain the writer is fined and made to remove all traces of his handwriting.

In Cape Town the removal of graffiti is left to the owner of the property — unless he has had the vandalised wall painted within the past year. In such cases the municipality normally does the cover-up job.

Council property that has been daubed with graffiti is cleaned up by the various municipal departments, a job that takes up many manhours and represents a fair cost.

A spokesman for the city's signs department said they were now trying to encourage people with tempting walls to cover the space with murals.

Perhaps it's a time of the signs.
Breytenbach helped to plan ANC meeting

By ROBERT HOUGH, Weekend Argus Reporter

EXILED poet and author Breyten Breytenbach helped to plan next week’s meeting between a group of white South Africans and the African National Congress in Senegal, Dr Alex Boraine said today.

Dr Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), said they set the ball rolling for a possible meeting with the ANC last year.

He and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, head of Idasa, met Breytenbach in Paris several months ago and he agreed to help to arrange the meeting.

“The initiative did not stem from Breytenbach but he provided valuable help and will also attend the talks,” said Dr Boraine.

Breytenbach is special adviser on South Africa to Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of French President Francois Mitterrand.

The conference will be held under the auspices of the Paris-based organisation, France-Liberte, which was founded by Mrs Mitterrand.

Dr Boraine and most of the other South African delegates — who are mainly Afrikaans and include academics, businessmen, professionals and students — leave for London from Johannesburg on Monday night.

They will leave for Senegal’s capital, Dakar, from Paris on Tuesday.

Their visit to West Africa, which will also take in the Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso (previously called Upper Volta), is expected to last about a fortnight.
The Church in South Africa today is a power. It is a power of numbers, a power of organisation, a power of influence. The Church has become a major force in the political and social life of the country. It is a force that cannot be ignored.

The Church in South Africa today is a symbol of resistance. It is a symbol of the struggle for freedom and justice. The Church has been a beacon of hope for many people, offering a sense of community and purpose in the face of adversity.

The Church in South Africa today is a voice of the voiceless. It is a voice that speaks truth to power. The Church has a long history of standing up for what is right, even when it is difficult or unpopular.

The Church in South Africa today is a model of commitment and sacrifice. It is a model that inspires others to do their part in the fight for a better world. The Church has shown us what it means to live a life of faith, to serve others, and to make a difference.

The Church in South Africa today is a testament to the power of faith. It is a testament to the fact that no matter how difficult the circumstances, there is always hope. The Church has shown us that with faith, anything is possible.
Govt silent on new ANC talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The government was tight-lipped yesterday on the planned "dialogue and negotiation" mission by prominent white Afrikaners who hope to meet the ANC leadership and various African heads of state over the next two weeks.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha said the government was "aware of the intended visit" but declined to comment further at this stage.

The government has in the past tried to prevent South Africans, including white Afrikaners, leaving the country to meet the ANC, but Mr Botha's department in Pretoria would not disclose whether any action would be taken against the 50-strong group.

Party leader Mr Van Zyl Slabbert, the director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), was due to leave for France last night to finalize plans for the visit to three Francophone West African states - Senegal, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso.

Discussions with the ANC are due to take place in the Senegalese capital of Dakar at a four-day conference, arranged by Idasa and the France Liberte foundation in Paris, headed by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President.

A member of the South African contingent said yesterday that the group hoped to meet "a top-level delegation from the ANCPolitburo, including ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo".

Sources said the high-powered South African delegation would include the "cream of Afrikaner social scientists", theologians, Nederduits Gerifomerde Kerkgemeentes, ministers, writers, artists and businessmen.

Apart from Dr Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine (the executive director of Idasa), names mentioned included Professor Andre Brink, Professor Andre du Toit, Professor Herman Giliomee, and joining the group in Paris - Breyten Breytenbach.

One delegate said yesterday: "The group includes mainly white Afrikaners because they represent a major power block that will pose the questions and reflect the differences likely to emerge (with the ANC)."

Another stressed that the venture "can be seen as part of the broad goals of Idasa to work towards a non-racial democracy through negotiation."

"If the people that should be negotiating (the SA government and the ANC) won't, then there should be something in between to make negotiation possible."

One source said there were "a lot of people out there who cannot come home so we are going to them."

Dr Boraine, who leaves with the bulk of the delegation early next week, said a team of people had been "working on this venture for four or five months now", but he did not want to give further details.

Dr Slabbert said yesterday that premature information could jeopardise delicate arrangements which still had to be made.

Idasa would release information to the media at the appropriate time "which we hope will be as soon as possible."

Mike Robertson reports from London that the head of the ANC mission in Senegal has described next week's gathering in Dakar as "just another meeting between the ANC and concerned South Africans."

Mr Ahmed Qono, head of the ANC mission in Senegal, was the first ANC spokesman to confirm the meeting.

He would not say who would be attending the meeting on behalf of the ANC, but other sources indicated that it was unlikely that ANC president Mr Tambo would be present.

The meeting will take place at the Novotel in Dakar from July 9-12.

According to sources in London, the Boston-based public television company WGBH plans to film the entire proceedings.

Moscow: Remove warships

MOSCOW. The Soviet Union yesterday called for the removal of Gulf waters of all warships of countries not located in the region, saying the current naval buildup in the area could spark an international crisis.

A Soviet government statement accused the United States of building up its military presence in the Gulf in a bid to establish "military-political hegemony" in the region. A military-political hegemony" in the region. The Soviet government suggests all warships of countries not situated in the region be withdrawn from the Gulf, and that Iran and Iraq refrain from actions that would threaten international shipping.

The statement implied Soviet warships in the Gulf would be excluded from the proposed measures.
Better to talk to all, says Argus chairman

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa must change, and it would be better to talk and negotiate with all concerned, Mr Hal Miller, chairman of the Argus Group, has said.

In his chairman's statement published yesterday, Mr Miller said South Africans should be warned about the realities behind the recent improvement in economic conditions.

"Whether we like it or not, the old order will change — widening our politics and liberating our economics — in step with the changing world."

"And it is unlikely that we will be able to 'manage' the change as neatly and comfortably as we might like."

Mr Miller levelled severe criticism at the government for what he termed its handicapping of newspapers by restrictive legislation.

This diminished the flow of news information to a trickle in many areas, making it impossible for newspapers to mirror the situation clearly and left the South African public "seriously uninformed or misinformed on vital issues of the day". — Sapa
Dear Harald,

You say in your letter last week to me that you cannot even remember the occasion when I met you and was not impressed by you.

In case you still have bouts of amnesia, I was one of the guests at the formal dinner of the magazine De Kat. I can’t give you any more clues because it was a formal affair and we all wore black ties.

I read your column every Sunday and have noticed that you tend to make life difficult for all your correspondents. Which is what you tried to do with me last Sunday. There has been a good deal of reaction to your letter so, while you are asking these questions, let me go into them.

It is, however, a time for work and not for talking. But as you seem to be so insistent I thought I would talk to you about working.

We—that is, Denis, Esther and I—and a growing number of others, are working over a wide front. You may understand—every businessman, manager, trade union leader does. You begin to develop your strategy around a vision and then gradually you begin to fill in the picture.

I want to begin by telling you—and, trying to explain—that there is a world of difference between goal-setting and strategy. Between tactics and strategy.

Impatient

There are many, many people who look to public meetings and public pronouncements as a way to demonstrate that the undoubted momentum of the election is being kept up. But if you do that before you have developed your strategy, you will discover that tactics, you won’t get to your target.

It is quite natural that we, too, would want to see the expectations of people have of us by holding meetings, making our views known in all manner of ways. But there is time for that later. As the Good Book says: there is a time for everything—a time to pray and a time to laugh, a time to come and a time to go and, may I add, a time to talk and a time to work.

You ask, as do others, whether we have an answer, whether we can influence great events, whether we can keep going. But you are too impatient, expect too much too soon. And understandably so. Events in our country cause these feelings.

But Rome was not built in a day. Better to be patient and prepare the ground well than plant before the right season.

Influence is a process, but not all people can be influenced. Can our present leaders still be influenced to turn away from their particular path or should we not be working at changing these leaders?

Some can be influenced, of course. Just listen to Stoffel van der Merwe. His rhetoric sounds more and more like that of an Independent! Yet I will be most surprised if he has not been on the carpet in Tuyuhnyu because of his recent statements.

The new spirit in the country looks to a new vision. But we cannot get there by going high-profile now. If we were to play to the gallery, give in now to public demand and expectations, you and others will rightly say that we are shutting off avenues to our future.

Yet I think I can encourage you somewhat and try to satisfy your expectations, which I read in your letter, by giving you an inkling of what we are about:

1. We are planning our strategy, and we are doing so by calling in professional aid. We are looking to clear formulations about such questions as who we are, what we want, how we get there.

All this is done to get us to our goal of one South Africa, with inclusive politics, security for all, but in a way in which each understands security—be it in a physical sense, be it about one’s material life, one’s spiritual life, one’s ethnic needs.

2. There are obvious actions along these lines already.

We need to have a position in the total political spectrum of our country, and that includes a straddling of the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political scenes.

We are having talks, but talks in the sense that we are listening to all people across all divides so that we can get a better sense of everybody’s expectations. We are not telling anybody anything—we are listening.

We keep our minds open so that our strategy and goal-setting will be inclusive of all the expectations.

3. We are organizing, knowing that power politics through Parliament is important. There are incipient organizations in about 15 constituencies already, we are looking at other constituencies; we are setting up committees in these and we are beginning to pick up links again with the thousands upon thousands who reacted so warmly during the election from all over the country. We are also dealing with daily numerous letters and calls that are streaming in.

Last week Harald Pakendorf wrote on this page to Mr Wymand Malan, Independent MP for Randburg, raising some questions about the style and direction of the Reform movement.

Here Malan replies...
Breyten indaba link

From Page 1

Breyten linked to Van's mystery indaba

BREYTEN BREYTENBACH, exiled poet and once-failed revolutionary, has been linked to the key meeting this week between a group of white South Africans and the African National Congress.

The talks, held in Dakar, Senegal, will be the highest-level pow-wow between a white South African group and prominent members of the ANC.

Dr chuyênist, former or leader, and the meeting has been arranged with the assistance of the French-Liberia Foundation, which is run by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President.

The visit was arranged in the deep secrecy and mystery still surrounding the identity of many participants.

Friend

Anony of Mr Breytenbach, a close family friend of the French presidential couple, has been in the foundation and has apparently been working behind the scenes.

Mr Breytenbach, a long-standing member of the African National Congress and a prominent figure in the party's left wing, is known for his radical views and his support for the liberation movement.

The meeting is significant because it is the first time that a white South African group has met with prominent members of the ANC, and it raises questions about the future of reconciliation and the role of white South Africans in the country's political landscape.

The talks are expected to focus on issues such as the role of whites in the country's transition to democracy, the rights of minority groups, and the promotion of reconciliation.

The meeting is also significant because it comes at a time when the ANC is facing opposition from some of its members who are critical of the party's policies and its relationship with the white community.

If the talks are successful, they could pave the way for future discussions between the ANC and other white South African groups, leading to greater understanding and cooperation.

It is not yet clear what the outcome of the meetings will be, but they are seen as a positive step towards reconciliation and the building of a more inclusive society.

---

Irritant

Senegalese President Abdou Diouf is expected to welcome the South Africans at a reception on Thursday night.

After the four-day workshop they will visit Burkina Faso, a poverty-stricken country whose name means "the honest people". Its cervical, anti-corruption ruler, Captain Thomas Sankara, prescribes physical exercises for his Cabinet.

Before returning, the South Africans are also expected to visit the Ghanaian capital of Accra.

The meeting is being regarded as significant but is realistically seen as unlikely fundamentally to change the Southern African scenario. The participants are not major power-brokers.

The whites' trip is an irritant to Pretoria, which will probably condemn the trip but not stop it, said political analyst Robert Chiruka.

He described talks between ANC members and South African liberals as "one of this country's few growth industries", and said no dramatic outcome was likely from the meeting, due to start on Wednesday.

"I don't think it's very significant one way or another," he said. "The name of the game is when power speaks to power — Afrikandi nationalism against black nationalism," he said.

"The ANC has the most to gain by this meeting, as it gives them stature they can convert into bargaining power."
Students resist change — research

By SANDILE MEMELA

RECENT research into the political inclinations of white students, especially Afrikaner students, has found that they are conservative to the point of being virtually resistant to new ideas.

This was the opinion of Prof Hennie Kotze, head of the political science department at Stellenbosch University when he addressed a national students' conference last weekend.

The conference was convoked by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa — a recently created forum for the exchange of views across the broad political spectrum in the country.

More than 200 delegates, from student and youth organisations in the country, attended the two-day conference whose theme was "The road to democracy — the obstacles which lie ahead".

The meeting was addressed by a number of speakers who represented divergent political viewpoints, ranging from the conservative Youth for South Africa to the militant United Democratic Front.

According to Kotze, who conducted the research at Stellenbosch and Rand Afrikaans University — both regarded as the most "vigilante" Afrikaans capturing property during unrest.

Considering this, the road to democracy in South Africa will not be easy. Even the more intellectually inclined segments of the Afrikaner youth hold autocratic values while they are politically uninformed," said Kotze.

James Selhe, of the PFP's research department, told the gathering that most white South Africans were convinced that their government was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the forces of communism.

Selhe said that militarisation was intruding in all facets of SA life — the white youth is, generally speaking, politically apathetic and conservative.

This is bound to cause much controversy in student circles as Stellenbosch University has, in the last few years, emerged as the most "relevant" Afrikaans campus in the country.

This became evident when the students — all members of the NG Kerk — had informal discussions with leaders of his movement, ANC and PAC in Harare in defiance of the government.

According to the findings of the research, 180 percent of the respondents indicated that they were only interested in what has been termed "spectator" aspects of political participation.

Kotze said "more disturbing is the immense repression potential of these students".

Here are some of the findings:

- Nearly half of the students supported the National Party or parties to the right of the political spectrum.
- More than half of the respondents were in favour of detention without trial.
- 72 percent condemned the shooting of people throwing stones.
- 68 percent favoured the shooting of people Damnig.
West Africa trip to show
dialogue is still possible

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE aim of the trip to West
Africa by a group of
mainly Afrikaans academics,
businessmen, professional men
and students to talk to top-
ranking African National Con-
gress figures is to show that
negotiation and dialogue are
still possible in troubled times.

Leading figures in the Insti-
tute for Democratic Alternati-
ves in South Africa (Idasa)
believe that the meeting also
illustrates great interest in
both Africa and Europe in
planning for a post-apartheid
era in South Africa.

The thinking in Idasa, which
is responsible for planning the
conference with French and
African contacts, is that nego-
tiation on South Africa's prob-
lems is possible and prefera-
tble to ever-escalating
violence.

It is also believed that be-
cause there is so much despair
in the country a new initiative
is needed to break the dead-
lock.

It is thought to be signifi-
cant that a top-ranking group
of ANC leaders should be will-
ing to sit down with white Af-
rikaans who are prepared to
talk about post-apartheid
South Africa.

Although the institute con-
cedes that it cannot formulate
final directions for the coun-
try, it wants to show that ne-
gotiation is possible.

The low-key Government
response to the news about the
conference suggests that no
action will be taken.

All the Minister of Home
Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has
been prepared to say is that the
Government, although it
had not been consulted on the
matter, was aware of the cir-
cumstances. He added that he
was not prepared to comment
at this stage.

More than 50 people are
leaving South Africa tonight
for the conference.

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, head
of Idasa and former leader of
the Progressive Federal Par-
ty, left for France at the
weekend to complete arrange-
ments for the conference,
which will be held in Dakar,
capital of Senegal.

Professors and students in
history, law, political science
and theology from various
universities, including Stellen-
bosch, Cape Town, Rand Afri-
kaans University and Pre-
toria, will be in the group.

With them will be Dr Alex
Boraine, former MP and a di-
rector of Idasa.

The group will fly to Lon-
don where they will have a
briefing session with Dr Slab-
bert tomorrow before flying to
Paris on Wednesday and to
Dakar later the same day.

Although the organisers
have declined to say who will
attend the talks some names
have leaked out.

Among them are Professor
Jakes Gerwel, rector of UWC;
and Professor Jaap Durand,
the vice-rector; author Profes-
sor André Brink; Professor
André du Toit and Professor
Herman Gilliomee of the de-
partment of political studies
at UCT; Mr Tommy Bedford,
the former Springbok rugby
captain; PFP MP's Mr Peter
Gastrow of Durban Central
and Mr Pierre Cronje of Grey-
town; former MP for Walmer
Mr Andrew Savage; Professor
Ampee Coetzee of the Afri-
kaans department at UWC; Mr
Leon Louw, director of the
Free Market Foundation; Mr
Johann van Zyl, former Fed-
erated Chamber of Industries
executive director; Professor
Deon Geldenhuys of RAU,
educationist Mr Franklin Somn
and former SA Council of
Churches secretary-general Dr
Beyers Naude.

- The Argus Africa News
Service reports from Lusaka
that the director of Informa-
tion of the ANC, Mr Thabo
Mbeki, will head a 20-strong
delegation to the talks.
Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The group of prominent South Africans gathering in Paris tomorrow for Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert’s mission to West Africa intends studying several African states in search of possible post-apartheid scenarios in a new South Africa.

Besides talks with ANC figures, the group will hold workshops with political heads in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and possibly Ghana to assess potential political models for South Africa, according to one of the delegates.

The former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, who confirmed last week hours before his departure from South Africa, that he was one of the delegates — they are thought to number 50 — said the group hoped to assess “how democracy developed in those countries after independence”.

The workshops would last 11 days, Dr Naude said.

The main intention of the trip is to compare the whole democratic development of those countries — their strengths and weaknesses — and look for possible models for our part of Africa, including South Africa,” Dr Naude said.

Another delegate said: “We will explore a string of differing views of what a possible post-apartheid South Africa could and should look like and how to get there. I assume we will be widening the scope of dialogue, identify points of difference and get to know each other’s aspirations and fears.”

The concept of the trip lies in closely with the objectives of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idea) which was established by Dr Slabbert after he resigned as leader of the FPF and turned his back on Parliament.

As yet there has been no indication of any possible action or stand that government is likely to take on the trip.

A spokesman for the French embassy in South Africa said yesterday the trip was of international importance and “is important for your country”.

Dr Naude said reported plans that the delegation would meet the ANC for four days of talks were of secondary importance.

However, it is understood the delegation hopes to meet the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, (despite reports that he is unlikely to be available), the chairman of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, and other senior ANC members including the international department chief, Mr Johnny Kapakazi, Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Themba Maketi.

The idea of the trip was conceived four months ago and was planned in co-operation with the exiled South African poet, Breyten Breytenbach, and the wife of the French President, Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, who is a veteran human rights campaigner and head of the French Liberty Foundation.

It is believed last year’s OAU chief, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, will host the first session of the talks, which will take place between July 9 and 12 in Dakar.

It is understood that the French Government is to assist the delegation — which meets in Paris today and tomorrow — with visas for the African states, and that the trip is being sponsored by various airlines and by the governments of the countries the delegation will visit.

The former FPF MP for Walmer, Mr Andrew Savage, confirmed last night he would be leaving for Senegal this week.

While other delegates have either declined to comment or have denied their involvement, they are said to include Prof Hermann Gilliomee and Prof Andre du Toit of the University of Cape Town; the executive director of the Free Market Foundation, Mr Leon Louw; a former executive director of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr Johan van Zyl, the chairman of Rand Merchant Bank, Mr Johan Rupert; the FPF’s Pieter Schoeman and Peter Gastraw; Prof Deon Geldenhuys of Rand Afrikaans University; Prof Johan Denegaar and Prof Gerhard Erasmus of Stellenbosch University; and writer Andre Brink of Rhodes University.
The importance of the sanctions against South Africa lies in the fact that they are a direct application of the principles of non-violent resistance. These sanctions, which are aimed at bringing pressure to bear on the South African government, are not only a moral imperative, but also an effective means of achieving the ultimate goal of freedom and self-determination for the African people.

The most controversial issue in the current Sanctions Committee is the situation in the Western Sahara. The committee has been unable to reach a consensus on how to proceed, and this has led to a stalemate in the negotiations.

The National Front for the Liberation of South Africa (ANC) has long been advocating the use of force to end apartheid. However, many in the international community believe that this approach is not viable and that peaceful methods must be pursued.

The 1987 Conference of Foreign Ministers in Madrid adopted a resolution condemning the SANCTIONS against South Africa, but the resolution was never implemented.

The situation in South Africa continues to be a matter of concern for the international community.

By Catoja in Geneva
PFP hopes for Hillbrow poll-probes action

Former Hillbrow MP Alf Widman said yesterday investigations into the affair would be "two-pronged". The police would conduct an investigation independent of that by Home Affairs. He was to hand over the same dossier to them.

"The decision to provide the police with the information came as a result of my discussions with Van Zyl," Widman said. Should the department decide there are grounds for prosecution, the police would act.
Top men leave for ANC talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A CLEARLY disapproving government maintained its stony silence at the weekend as members of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's high-powered ANC dialogue mission began trickling out of the country.

The 50-strong top-flight delegation—which also intends exploring scenarios for a post-apartheid South Africa on its three-nation West African venture over the next two weeks—including some of the cream of the Afrikaner intellectual and business establishment.

Although the identities of most of the group have been kept secret for fear of government reprisal, new names to emerge at the weekend include: The chairman of Rand Merchant Bank, Mr Johann Rupert; the executive director of the Free Market Foundation, Mr Leon Louw; former Federated Chamber of Industries executive director Mr Johann van Zyl; University of Stellenbosch professors Johann Degenaar and Gerard Erasmus; Professor Deon Geldenhuys of the Rand Afrikaans University and South African Council of Churches office-bearer Dr Bayard Naude.

Also likely to ipk this government are the number of delegates who have Progressive Federal Party connections. Apart from the former PFP leader, Dr Slabbert, and former chairman of the PFP's federal council, Dr Alex Boraine, the group includes: Current national chairman of the PFP Mr Peter Gassow, PFP President's Councillor Mr Pieter Schoeman, former PFP MP for Walmer Mr Andrew Savage and former PFP youth organizer Mr Wayne Mitchell.

Also on the trip will be the University Cape Town's Professor Andre du Toit and Professor Hermann Giliomee, and Rhodes University's Professor Andre Brink.

Government spokesmen last night declined to be drawn on possible action against participants in Dr Slabbert's first major foreign initiative since he abandoned parliamentary politics last year.

The director general of Home Affairs, Mr G van Zyl, said the government had "nothing to add" to his minister's statement, which noted that Pretoria was aware of the venture but did not wish to comment on it "at this stage".

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that the group gathering in Paris today for the mission to West Africa intends studying several African states, in search of a blueprint for a new South Africa.

Besides talks with prominent ANC figures, the group will hold workshops with political heads in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and possibly Ghana, to assess potential political models for SA, according to one of the delegates.

It is understood the delegation hopes to meet ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo and other senior ANC members.

The idea for the trip was conceived four months ago and it was planned in co-operation with the exiled SA poet Breyten Breytenbach and French President Mr Francois Mitterrand's wife Danielle, who is a veteran human-rights campaigner and head of the French Liberty Foundation.

It is believed last year's OAU chief, Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, will host the first session of the talks, which will take place between July 9 and 12 at Novotel in Dakar.
Challenge to 3 Independents

Johannesburg — The rebel National Independent trio have been challenged by one of their main supporters to elaborate on their movement and explain exactly what they have done since the recent white election.

In reply, MP Mr. Wynand Malan disclosed at the weekend that they were currently involved in several talks with “people across all divides.”

However, he declined to elaborate on the talks, saying this would “shut off avenues to our future.”

Mr. Malan was replying in an open letter to his right-hand man, political consultant Mr. Harold Fakendorf, who challenged Mr. Malan a week ago, also in an open letter, on the “momentum” of his electioneering.

The letters were printed in the Sunday Times.

Mr. Malan said the Independents were “organizing” themselves, building an infrastructure, and had established “incipient organizations” in about 15 constituencies already.

Low profile

“We are looking at other constituencies, setting up committees in these and beginning to pick up links again with the thousands upon thousands who reacted so warmly during the election,” Mr. Malan wrote.

Shortly after the election, Mr. Malan went on record as saying he and the other Independents intended to maintain a low profile initially.

In his letter, Mr. Fakendorf warned Mr. Malan that many other Independents had come and gone forgotten. He asked: “Do you really have a substantial enough answer and a different enough one to do what they (the NRP and FFF) could not?”

Mr. Malan replied that Mr. Fakendorf was “too impatient”, expecting “too much too soon”.

He also said the trio had called in “professional” aid to formulate their strategy and were looking towards funding their ventures.

Beau Valley newsletter found ‘undesirable’

The Warmbaths Beau Valley Country Club “advertisement newsletter” has been found to be undesirable, the Directorate of Publications announced on Friday.

A poster, “Frontal Nude Black Girl”, produced by an advertising firm in linked with “people committed to violence.”
Top men leave for ANC talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A CLEARLY disapproving government maintained its stony silence at the weekend as members of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's high-powered ANC dialogue mission began trickling out of the country.

The 50-strong top-flight delegation -- which also intends exploring scenarios for a post-apartheid South Africa on its three-nation West African venture over the next two weeks -- includes some of the cream of the Afrikaner intellectual and business establishment.

Although the identities of most of the group have been kept secret for fear of government reprisal, new names to emerge at the weekend include: The chairman of Rand Merchant Bank, Mr Johann Rupert; the executive director of the Free Market Foundation, Mr Leon Louw; former Federated Chamber of Industries executive director Mr Johann van Zyl; University of Stellenbosch professors Johann Degenaar and Gerard Erasmus; Professor Deon Geldenhuys of the Rand Afrikaans University and South African Council of Churches office-bearer Dr Beyers Naude.

Also likely to join the government are the number of delegates who have Progressive Federal Party connections. Apart from the former PFP leader, Dr Slabbert, and former chairman of the PFP's federal council, Dr Alex Boraine, the group includes: Current national chairman of the PFP Mr Peter Gaterd, PFP President's Councillor Mr Pluter Schoeman, former PFP MP for Walmer Mr Andrew Savage and former PFP youth organizer Mr Wayne Mitchell.

Also on the trip will be the University Cape Town's Professor Andre du Toit and Professor Hermann Gilliome, and Rhodes University's Professor Andre Brink.

Government spokesmen last night declined to be drawn on possible action against participants in Dr Slabbert's first major foreign initiative since he abandoned parliamentary politics last year.

The director general of Home Affairs, Mr G van Zyl, said the government had "nothing to add" to his minister's statement, which noted that Pretoria was aware of the venture but did not wish to comment on it "at this stage".

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that the group gathering in Paris today for the mission to West Africa intends studying several African states, in search of a blueprint for a new South Africa.

Besides talks with prominent ANC figures, the group will hold workshops with political heads in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and possibly Ghana, to assess potential political models for SA, according to one of the delegates.

It is understood the delegation hopes to meet ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo and other senior ANC members.

The idea for the trip was conceived four months ago and it was planned in cooperation with exiled SA poet Breyten Breytenbach and France's President, Mr Francois Mitterrand's wife Danielle, who is a veteran human-rights campaigner and head of the French Liberty Foundation.

It is believed last year's OAU chief, Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, will host the first session of the talks, which will take place between July 9 and 12 at Novotel in Dakar.

To page 4...

From page 1:

It is understood the French government is to assist the delegation -- which meets in Paris today and tomorrow -- with visas for the African states, and that the trip is being sponsored by various airlines and by the governments of the countries the delegation will visit.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from London that the head of the ANC mission in Senegal, Mr Ahmed Qono, described this week's gathering in Dakar as "just another meeting between the ANC and concerned South Africans".

Meanwhile, HAMISH MCINDOE reports that Cosatu has praised the initiative.

Cosatu spokesman Mr Frank Meintjes said yesterday that the talks "recognized a lasting solution to peace in SA had to be sought outside Parliament with credible mass-democratic organizations".
A Kindly Russian Comes to the Aid of Liberal Dodgers

Ken Owen

Ken Owen
Castigated in '60, in '87, lauded

BY CHRIS STEYN

A POLICE colonel, castigated for not taking drastic, punitive action against 30,000 black marchers 26 years ago, was honoured yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriana Vlok.

Colonel Ignatius P S Terblanche was finally given the promotion, withheld by the then Minister of Justice, the late Mr Frans Kransus, who later ordered the arrest of the group's leader, Mr Philip Kgosana, the regional secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Colonel Terblanche, who was then deputy Commissioner of Police, said yesterday that he felt as if though he had committed treason when the authorities arrested Mr Kgosana.

The 21-year-old university student was persuaded by Colonel Terblanche to tell the crowd to return home peacefully, and then bring a delegation of not more than three people to see him at Caledon Square.

Colonel Terblanche undertook to convey to the minister Mr Kgosana's wish too see him about certain imprisoned PAC leaders.

Receiving the honorary rank of brigadier (assistant commissioner) yesterday, the 84-year-old colonel relived the events of that day which was referred to at the time as 'The Miracles of March 30'.

Tears welling in his eyes and his voice hoarse with pent-up emotion, he said: 'It was one of the tragedies in my life that I did not get rank I had to disagree with a minister on a very dangerous occasion.'

In an interview with the Cape Times after the ceremony, Colonel Terblanche described the horror he felt when Mr Kgosana was arrested when he and three other PAC men kept their appointment at Caledon Square.

'When I asked Mr Kgosana to persuade the crowd to return peacefully, I said: Philip, you are doing a very dangerous thing today, if you have to use force here, you will be the first to die.'

'I promised to convey his wish to the minister and I told him that he could come back later with one or two, or at the most three, people.'

I felt very bad when they arrested him. I regarded myself as a traitor.

Mr Kransus later denied in Parliament that he had given the order for Kgosana's arrest. But that was certainly not the truth. The order came from him.'
Mr Philip Kgosa, in shoulder-high triumph after a peaceful demonstration outside Caledon Square on March 25, 1960. He was arrested soon after.

"And, to tell you the truth, I was very sad when he gave that order," Colonel Terblanche said.

Addressing Mr Vlok, Colonel Terblanche said: "If justice had prevailed, I would have been entitled to the rank of major-general at the time of my retirement. But now you have put it right."

Conferring the honorary rank, Mr Vlok described him as a "unique personality", a "remarkable person, "this legendary Colonel IPS Terblanche over whom the older generation get lyrical, while the younger generation listen with amazement to details of his curriculum vitae", but of his role in "The Miracle of March 30", not a word was uttered.

Vindicated at last ... Colonel Ignatius Terblanche, disgraced in 1960 by the then Minister of Law and Order; honoured yesterday by the current Minister, Mr Adrian Vlok.
ANC talks
men fly out

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from London that Van Zyl Slabbert said he and Boraine had done the fundraising, and money had come from West Germany, other European governments, and private sources in the US and Scandinavia.

"Concerned South Africans cannot sit back, they must participate in discussions on these issues," he said. "A new SA is waiting to be born."

Boraine confirmed that plans for the trip had begun four months ago, and said delegates were invited on the basis that they would be "influential in SA's future" rather than that they were "at the top now."

That they were mainly Afrikaans and white, with the exception of three coloureds, who were also Afrikaans, "whether Afrikaners recognise it or not," was by design, Boraine said.

One reason was to dispel "the myth that all Afrikaners support the government — that's nonsense". The organisers had also been asked not to include blacks in the group because most blacks realised "a new government is necessary," Boraine said.

Two unnamed delegates had with-
5 of ANC executive for talks in Dakar

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — At least five of the 30-member African National Congress's national executive are among the delegates to talk in Senegal with white South Africans led by Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

Only two of the ANC delegates, Mr Mac Maharaj and Dr Francis Mehl, are known to be members of the South African Communist Party.

At least one, Dr Pallo Jordan, is considered to be even more leftist than the SACP.

The leader of the team, Mr Thabo Mbeki, is the ANC's director of information and political secretary to ANC president Oliver Tambo. He is the only "heavyweight" in the ANC hierarchy on the delegation, which has a strong intellectual colouring.

Mr Mbeki, the son of jailed ANC leader Govan Mbeki and a graduate of Sussex University, is regarded as one of the brightest of the ANC intellectuals and a brilliant orator.

The ANC leadership has consistently played down the influence of the SACP and purported not even to know which of its members belong to the SACP, so the party's influence in the ANC — and in the delegation — is difficult to determine.

Mr Maharaj, a member of the national executive, is regarded as the senior Indian member of the ANC since the death of SACP chairman Yusuf Dadoo in 1983.

A former Robben Island prisoner, he is a senior member of the ANC armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe and is believed to be a senior official of the SACP.

The full composition of the delegation is still uncertain but other known members are: Mr Azz Pahad, brother of Essop Pahad, researcher at the ANC's London office; Professor Albie Sachs, professor of law at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo; Mr Ben Magubane, an academic based at a university in the United States; Mr Max Sisulu, son of jalled ANC official Walter Sisulu and formerly chief ANC representative in Eastern Europe; Mr Andwele Mahaza, ANC representative in Sweden, and Mr Reggie Mbonge and Mr Manala Manzini, neither well known outside the ANC.

Those who will meet ANC

Political Correspondent

The 54 predominantly Afrikaans-speaking academics and professional people who will meet ANC figures in West Africa this week are:

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, head of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), who has organised the meeting with the France Liberte Foundation; Tommy Beatford, architect; Dr Alex Boraine, another director of Idasa; Dr Andre du Plessis, analyst of international affairs; Bryan Newham, author and artist; Hardy Botta, artist; Andre Brik, author and literary critic; Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, architect and former Springbok rugby player; Professor Ampie Coetzee, professor of Afrikaans at UWC.

Mareza de Beer, lecturer in Afrikaans at Rhodes University; Teis Klynig, psychologist; Riaan de Villiers, freelance journalist and assistant editor of Die Suid-Afrikaanse; Professor J de Pleijs, professor of constitutional law at the University of Potchefstroom; Max du Preez, freelance journalist; Professor Jaap Durandt, deputy principal of UWC.

Professor Andre du Toit, of the department of political studies at UCT; the Rev Theuns Eloff, student chaplain at Pretoria University; Professor Gerhard Erasmus, professor of law at Stellenbosch University; Revel Fox, architect; Grethe Fox, actress; Janie Gagiano, lecturer in political science at the University of Stellenbosch.

Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central; Professor James Grieve, rector of UWC; Professor Hermann Gillmore, of the political studies department of UCT; Albert Koopman, businessman; Professor Jacques Kriel, professor of medicine at Wits University; Ian Liebenberg, student at the University of Stellenbosch; Chris Louw, freelance journalist; Leon Louw, economic consultant; Wayne de Bell, Idasa staff; E R Moerocoff, former MP for Albany; Dr Beyers Naude, of the SA Council of Churches, and his wife, Mrs Ilse Naude.

Christo Nel, economic consultant; E G Nel, Stellenbosch student; Andre Onderela, lecturer in economics, UWC; Professor Mike Savage, of the sociology department of UCT; Professor L Schlemmer, of the Policy Research Institute of Wits; Pieter Schoeman, member of the President's Council; Hennie Serfontein, freelance journalist; Franklin Sonn, principal of the Peninsula Technikon; Professor Blackie Swart, of the business school of Stellenbosch University; Randall van der Heever, teacher.

Professor J van der Westhuizen, professor of law at Pretoria University; Dr Marie van Reenen, film director; Professor Willem van Vuuren, of the political science department of UCT; Professor Johan van Zyl, economist and former managing director of FCI; Philip Verster, Stellenbosch student; Professor A Viljoen, church history department of Unisa; Tony Williamson, managing director of Wooltra; Professor Johan Wolfaardt, of the theology department of Unisa; R E Entouwen, businessman; Andrew Savage, former MP for Walmer, Braam du Plessis, advocate.

Liberated 'SA' on agenda

(Cont. from Page 1)

"Surely what you do with the money is more important than where you get it?"

"We have been paying out of our own pockets, for years, to implement apartheid. Surely that is more objectionable than using foreign funds to explore an alternative to violence and apartheid?"

The Government's position was illogical in other matters. It allowed Swapp to operate legally inside SWA/Namibia while fighting it outside; it signed Nkomati Accords with self-confessed Marxist heads of state but when it came to searching for genuine negotiations inside South Africa it contradicted itself.

The group will also visit Burkin Faso and Ghana and will be away for about two weeks.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Reagan Administration officials are pleased about the meeting between the prominent South Africans and ANC leaders, although there has been no official comment. But United States officials have offered repeatedly to help arrange a dialogue between the two sides.
The agenda

Go to arrive in UK

Hugs, greetings

The Angas foreign service
5 of ANC executive for talks in Dakar

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG.— At least five of the 39-member African National Congress's national executive are among the delegates to talk to Senegal with white South Africans led by Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

Only two of the ANC delegates, Mr Mac Maharaj and Dr Francis Moloi, are known to be members of the South African Communist Party.

Dr at least one, Dr Pallo Jordan, is considered to be even more leftist than the SAPC. However, he is not yet in the ANC executive, which has a minority of blacks.

The leader of the team, Mr Thabo Mbeki, is the ANC's director of information and political secretary to ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo. He is among the most influential members of the ANC hierarchy on the delegation, which is likely to be involved in the negotiations.

Mr Mphadi, the son of jailed ANC leader Govan Mbeki and a graduate of Sussex University, is regarded as one of the brightest of the ANC intellectuals and a skilled diplomat.

The ANC leadership has consistently played down the influence of the SAPC and purported not even to know which of its members belong to the

SACP, so the party's influence in the ANC - and in the delegation - is difficult to determine.

Mr Maharaj, a member of the national executive, is regarded as the senior Indian member of the ANC since the death of SAPC chairman Yusuf Dadoo in 1983.

A former Robben Island prisoner, he is a senior member of the ANC armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and is believed to be a senior official of the SAPC.

The full composition of the delegation is still uncertain but other known members are: Mr Aziz Phah, brother of Essop Phahd, researcher at the ANC's London office, Dr Ali Labie, professor of law at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo; Mr Ben Magubane, an academic based at the university in the United States; Mr Max Sisulu, son of jailed ANC official Walter Sisulu and former chief ANC representative in Eastern Europe; Mr Lindiwe Mazibuko, ANC representative in Sweden, and Mr Reggie Mbowo and Mr Manela Manzini, neither well known outside the ANC.

'Liberated SA' on agenda

(Cont. from Page 1)

"Surely what you do with the money is more important than where you get it.

We have been paying out of our own pockets for years to implement apartheid, surely that is more objectionable than using foreign funds to explore an alternative to violence and apartheid?"

The Government's position was illigical in other matters. It allowed Swapo to operate legally inside SWA/Namibia while fighting it outside; it signed Nkomati Accords with self-confessed Marxist heads of state but when it came to searching for negotiations inside South Africa it contracted itself.

The group will also visit Burkina Faso and Ghana and will be away for about two weeks.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Reagan Administration officials are pleased about the meeting between the prominent South Africans and ANC leaders, although there has been no official comment. But United States officials have offered repeatedly to help arrange a dialogue between the two sides.

Those who will meet ANC

Political Correspondent

THE 54 predominantly Afrikaans-speaking academics and professional people who will meet ANC figures in West Africa this week are:

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, head, Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), who has organised the meeting with the France Liberty Foundation; Tommy Bedford, editor of the Korabon, another director of Idasa; Dr Andre du Pisanie, an officer of international affairs; Brian Breitenbach, author and artist; Henry Botha, artist; Andre Brink, author and literary critic; Pierre Cronje, MP for Oostowa, architect and former Springbok rugby player; Professor Amie Coetzee, professor of Afrikaans at UWC.

Maresa de Beer, lecturer in Afrikaans at Rhodes University; Trudie de Riddier, school psychology; Hlanu de Villiers, freelance journalist and assistant editor of Die Suid-Afrikaan; Professor L du Plessis, professor of constitutional law at the University of Potchefstroom; Max du Preez, freelance journalist; Professor Jaap Durandt, deputy principal of UWC.

Professor Andre du Toit, of the department of political studies at UCT; the Rev Theuns Elff, student chaplain at Pretoria University; Professor Gerhard Erasmus, professor of law at Stellenbosch University; Reuel Fox, architect; Gertje Fox, actress; Annie Gqali, lecturer in political science at the University of Stellenbosch.

Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central; Professor Jakes Gerwel, Rector of UWC; Professor Hermann Gillmore, of the department of political studies of UCT; Albert Koopman, businessman; Professor Jacques Kriel, professor of medicine at Wits University; Ian Liebenberg, student at the University of Stellenbosch; Chris Louw, freelance journalist; Leon Louw, economic consultant; Wayne Mitchell, Idasa staff; R K Moorcroft, former MP for Athlone; Dr Beyers Naude, of the SA Council of Churches, and his wife, Mrs Ilse Naude.

Christo Nel, economic consultant; E G Nel, Stellenbosch student; Andre Ondendaal, lecturer in economics, UWC; Professor Mike Savage, of the sociology department of UCT; Professor A L Schlemmer, of the Policy Research Institute of Wits; Pieter Schoeman, member of the President's Council; Henrie Sierotov, freelance journalist; Franklin Son, principal of the Peninsula Technical College; Professor Blackie Swart, of the business school of Stellenbosch University; Randall van den Heever, teacher.

Professor J van der Westhuizen, professor of law at Pretoria University; Mary van Rensburg, film director; Professor Willem van Vuuren, of the political science department of UWC; Professor Johan van Zyl, economist and former managing director of FCI; Philip Verster, Stellenbosch student; Professor A Viljoen, church history department of Unisa; Tony Williamson, managing director of Woolworths; Professor John Wolff, theology department of Uniba; R E Wacker, businessman; Andrew Savage, former MP for Welkom; Braam du Plessis, advocate.
The talks would provide an opportunity for Afrikander academics, artists and professional people to discuss in depth with ANC executive members and other experts matters which were vital to the solution of South Africa's conflict.

"Idasa and the group did not profess to support the ANC or its strategies but recognised the importance of starting a process of dialogue which could prevent the senseless destruction of lives and resources."

"In its own way, this workshop will try to illustrate that if whites want to abandon apartheid and talk about a democratic alternative the ANC and others would be willing to participate; that Africa is open for such South Africans and that the West is willing to help."

The "insane spiral of violence" had to be broken. Dr Slabbert said that by recognising the need to talk to the ANC "one is not condoning all its actions or supporting its strategies".

"One simply recognises an obvious fact: They are an inherent part of finding a solution to our country's problems.

"Have we learnt nothing from the misery and mistakes in countries surrounding us? I do not become a Muslim by reading the Koran or a communist by reading Marx, but I certainly should then be better able to understand them."

**Democratic alternative**

If white South Africans were honestly committed to abandoning apartheid and searching for a democratic alternative, sincere and constructive talking was still possible.

Africa was under these circumstances not a closed book to them and the West was willing to help.

The trip is being financed by various sources, including the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in West Germany, European governments — including Scandinavian countries — and private interests in the United States.

The France Liberte Foundation and the author Breyten Breytenbach played a crucial role in instigating the meeting.

Dr Slabbert said he had been in Dakar last year as the guest of Mrs Danielle Mitterand, head of the foundation. This, along with an experience at a conference in New York where an ANC member made an emotional attack on the former head of Rand Afrikaans University and the chairman of the Brouderbond, Professor Piet de Lange, gave him the idea that an attempt should at least be made to clear up confusion and to spell out differences more clearly.

Referring to President Botha's recent threat about foreign funding, he said the trip was not an act of provocation.

He failed to see the logic of the Government's attitude on foreign funding.  

*(Turn to Page 3, Col 8)*
Afrikaner-ANC indaba: Tough talks sought

From MIKE ROBERTSON
LONDON. — The Dakar conference was conceived as an attempt to get a concrete debate going between prominent Afrikaners and the ANC leadership, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said here yesterday.

Dr Slabbert said it was an attempt to break away from the “kind of posturing we have had in the past” with people trying to milk as much significance as they could out of one-day meetings.

A hard, tough debate was what they were looking for, Dr Slabbert has unvouched for. He said he had asked for a list of participants to see if he was sure they had left South Africa.

The participation of businessmen had been slightly overstated. Those that came were more economists and economic consultants.

He denied reports that the chairman of Rand Merchant Bank, Mr Johan Rupert, had provided funds for the conference.

“He is not coming. He was not approached. The Rapport and Citizen stories are quite laughable. To go from Gaddaffi to Johan Rupert in one day is covering a lot of territory.”

Dr Slabbert said he and Dr Alex Boraine had done the fund-raising. Money had come from West Germany, other European governments and private sources in the United States and Scandinavia.

He said the West African governments had played a pivotal role.

He said he had been largely responsible for contacting the participants, travelling abroad to meet the ANC and speaking to people at home.

“Breyten (Breytenbach) helped a great deal from Paris.”

Dr Slabbert said he knew quite well and respected most of the people who were coming. They were people who could cope with the problem of government over-reaction.

He was not sure exactly who would represent the ANC, but was meeting the ANC’s public relations committee, Mr Thabo Mbeki, late last night to discuss the final details.

Mr Mbeki is expected to lead an ANC delegation of about 20. Asked what he hoped to achieve from the meeting, Dr Slabbert said just getting it off the ground was a success.

“We’ll just have to see how it develops. But it shows that if whites, particularly Afrikaners, are prepared to abandon apartheid and racial domination, then serious debate is possible. Black Africa is still open to South Africa and the West is willing to assist.”

Slabbert group leaves to taunts

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MOST of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert’s high-powered ANC indaba mission jetted out of South Africa last night despite last-minute Conservative Party taunts designed to good President PW Botha into scuttling the venture.

Surprise among the top-flight guest list confirmed by the organizers last night included:

Chief economist of the Standard Bank: Mr Andre Hammarski, managing director of the giant Woolworth group, Mr Tony Williams; the leading Cape Town architect, Rael Fox; address Grebe Fox, one of the Republic’s foremost social scientists; Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, and the internationally renowned Canadian political scientist on sabbatical at UCT, Professor Herbert Adam.

The strongest group, which will explore possibilities for post-apartheid South Africa with the ANC and other African leaders — includes leading Afrikaner in a number of fields countrywide, but Western Cape intellectuals are especially prominent.

The Stellenbosch contingent includes political scientist Professor Janesse Gagno, economist Professor Rael Fox Swart, Mr Harry Scholtz (fine art and Mr Gérard Ermans (law).

University of the Western Cape delegates include UWC rector Professor James Gerwel, vice-rector Professor Jaap du Rand, Professor Amos Coetzee of the Afrikaners-Netherlands department and UWC professor Andre Odenza. UCT academics include Professor Michael Savage (sociology) and Professor Arnold Zalef (medicine).
Afrikaner-ANC indaba.

Tough talks sought

From MIKE ROBERTSON
LONDON. — The Dakar conference was conceived as an attempt to get a concrete debate going between prominent Afrikaners and the ANC leadership, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said here yesterday.

Dr Slabbert said it was an attempt to break away from the "kind of posturing we have had in the past" with people trying to milk as much significance as they could out of one-day meetings.

A hard, tough debate was what they were looking for. Dr Slabbert was unwilling to provide a list of participants, all he said were they had left South Africa.

The participation of businessmen had been slightly overstated. "Those that are coming are more economists and economic consultants." He denied reports that the chairman of Rand Merchant Bank, Mr Johan Rupert, had paid funds for the conference.

"He is not coming. He was not approached," Dr Slabbert said. The Rapport and Citizen stories are quite laughable. To go from Caddaf to Johan Rupert in one day is covering a lot of territory.

Dr Slabbert said he and Dr Alex Boraine had done the fund-raising. Money had come from West Germany, other European governments and private sources in the United States and Scandinavia.

He said the West African governments had played a pivotal role. He said he had been largely responsible for contacting the participants, travelling abroad to meet the ANC and speaking to people at home. "Breyten (Breytenbach) helped a great deal from Paris."

Dr Slabbert said he knew quite well and respected most of the people who were coming. They were people who could cope with the problem of government overreaction.

He was not sure exactly who would represent the ANC, but was meeting the ANC's public secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki, late last night to discuss the final details. Mr Mbeki is expected to lead an ANC delegation of about 20.

Asked what he hoped to achieve from the meeting, Dr Slabbert said getting it off the ground was a success. "We'll just have to see how it develops. But it shows that if whites, particularly Afrikaners, are prepared to abandon apartheid and racial domination, then serious debate is possible. Black Africa is still open to South Africa and the West is willing to assist."
Burkina Faso may shock Idasa group

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — European visitors to Burkina Faso, one of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa's target countries on its two-week African tour, have been known to return home by ambulance-plane suffering from culture shock.

The capital Ouagadougou is flat and dusty, with little traffic in its wide streets and few signs of any Western opulence.

But this alone is not enough to upset visitors. They are affected by the frenzied air of permanent revolution, preached by President Thomas Sankara (40).

Mr Sankara is extremely anti-South African and, last year, he sent so many anti-apartheid cubbies to every United Nations delegation in New York that he spent double his country's postal budget.

He seized power as head of a military junta in 1983 and soon emerged as the dominant political figure. Today a personality cult has built him into a total dictator.

He is a tall, well-built, good-looking man who insists on wearing his army colonel's uniform, complete with holster. In 1984 he shocked his eight million people by executing seven officers who allegedly plotted to overthrow him.

Previously, plotters, including President Sankara himself, were merely sent to prison and eventually released.

A year later he dissolved his government of 18 Ministers, sending 14 of them into the provinces to become "construction foremen".

He also decreed "total mobilisation" and claims to have four million under arms.

In 1986 he decided that he would wage war against South Africa by sending arms to the "ANC Liberation Army". This gift turned out to be 14 rifles, without ammunition.

But his 6,000-strong army, backed by four million mobilised peasants, went to war with Mali over a border dispute.

President Sankara still talks about his victory in "the biggest tank battle in Africa".

For proof, he brought three captured Soviet-made Mali army tanks back to Ouagadougou. In fact, his pally force was badly beaten by Mali.

In other words, there are signs that President Sankara suffers from megalomania.

French leftists point to President Sankara as a rare, incorruptible African leader who drives himself around in a battered Volkswagen.

Unfortunately, this modest streak is absent from his politics.

He cannot stand opposition and, last month, arrested four trade union leaders whom he has accused of treason.

It is not clear what the Idasa group, led by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, expect to see when they meet President Sankara.

But they would do well to reflect that, three years ago, he announced that the country known to the world as Upper Volta, and granted independence by France in 1960, would henceforth have another name — Burkina Faso which, in a local dialect, means "Land of Human Rights".
PRETORIA — Whites must develop an understanding of black politics and the ANC must understand white imperatives, Transvaal PFP leader Douglas Gibson said last night.

"It is important the lines of communication between white South Africans and black political organisations should be kept open," he said in a speech to the PFP's Northern Transvaal Regional Council.

Peaceful solutions would only become possible through negotiation.

"When the real negotiations start, Dr. Slabbert will not be at the negotiating table representing whites. He chose to turn away from the electoral process and helped to entrench the Nationalists, making it more likely whites will be represented at the negotiating table by the Nationalists or the Conservative Party.

Slabbert represented no real constituency, other than himself, and some whites who were frustrated by the "glacial progress of real change".

"We must work for the day when a representative cross-section of South Africans of all colours and political opinions, including those with political power, can seek to reach consensus on our future."

The National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW), a Cosatu affiliate, has called on Cosatu not to identify with any one black political grouping and, in particular, not to adopt the Freedom Charter at its congress next week.

In a statement yesterday, NUTW general secretary Elias Banda disclosed the union's national congress resolved last week that unions and their federations should "accommodate within them the differing views of workers as to how best to proceed in the liberation struggle".

"If we want to adopt the programme of one organisation or another, then clearly we will wind up with one union for each political tendency," he said.
Slabbert: ANC meeting not on behalf of govt

From IAN HOBBS
LONDON. — The first formal meeting in West Africa this week between a group of 68 South Africans and the African National Congress is in no way an attempt to open dialogue for the South African government or interfere with its work. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said last night.

As the party of South Africans gathered in London for the breakthrough flight to Senegal today, Dr Slabbert stressed: “This is not an attempt to negotiate, mediate or do the South African government’s work for them.

“It is an attempt by South Africans to explain democratic alternatives for South Africa, recognizing that no solution is possible without the involvement of the ANC.”

He confirmed officially for the first time that governments throughout Western Europe and the heads of state of Senegal, Burkina Faso and Ghana had helped make the meeting possible.

The Paris-based poet Breyten Breytenbach told a press conference at a hotel near London’s Heathrow airport that Mrs Danielle Mittrerrand, wife of the French president, had played a key role in setting up the meeting.

Breytenbach, who has established close relations with the French president and West African governments, said Mrs Mittrerrand—clearly with the assistance of her husband’s high office—would travel ahead to herald the arrival of the South Africans.

The initiative will start with three days of closed session meetings in Senegal’s capital of Dakar tomorrow after a grand ceremony addressed by President Dolf and attended by the full diplomatic corps.

From Dakar they will visit Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) and then, it is hoped, enter Ghana for one or two days.

But echoing statements by the ANC party—including five executive committee members—which has already arrived in Dakar, Dr Slabbert said that while the ANC whites supported the initiative, it should not be built up out of proportion. With Idass (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa) co-leader Dr Alex Boraine, he said they were a party of largely Afrikaners South Africans representing widely differing viewpoints for a post-apartheid South Africa.

What was now happening was “a debate between South Africans in exile and South Africans in South Africa, about democratic alternatives”.

With Senegalese involvement, they would discuss issues that would face an equal South Africa ranging from the economy to “how can one create national unity in such a divided society”.

The symbolic significance of the meeting was that they were South Africans prepared to abandon apartheid, and this made genuine debate and discussion possible.

No preconditions had been set for the meeting.

said Dr Slabbert, adding: “If you are going to have meaningful talks you can’t set impossible preconditions. You can’t choose who you talk to.”

He said those who could afford to pay their own way had done so but most of the money had been contributed, no strings attached, over the past six months by West European governments and foundations in Norway, the United States and West Germany.

Breytenbach said that while he agreed the importance of the talks should not be overstated, it was “wonderful” to see a cross-section of South Africans—including white Afrikaners—meeting in such circumstances.

He said their presence in West Africa would galvanize interest in Africa, which he thought was essential, to become involved in seeking solutions for South Africa’s problems.

He said respect should be accorded to the West African heads of state who had “stuck their necks out” by hosting such a meeting, though they were aware of the failure of the late Mr John Vorster’s venture into “detente or dialogue”. Breytenbach stressed that this was not a renewal of the Vorster failure.

He said the isolation in which South Africans now existed was largely of their own making.

Dr Slabbert and Breytenbach said secrecy had been essential to their plans because early publicity could have destroyed the mission.

While they repeatedly asked the media not to exaggerate the importance of the meeting, newspapers, television and radio around the world are reporting it prominently as a major initiative to create dialogue and peace within South Africa.
Talks will build up ANC's image, says Nat

Political Correspondent

THE talks between the African National Congress and Idasa groups in Dakar were sharply attacked today by a top Nationalist spokesman.

Dr Boy Geldenhuys, a nominated National Party MP and its senior director of information, said he found it extraordinary that such a meeting should take place while the country was involved in a "de facto war" with the ANC.

The Government had started to succeed in breaking down the image of the ANC overseas, but now the movement was again being given some credibility by the planned meeting.

Foreign governments, including Britain and the United States, had begun to question the ANC's credibility.

The Dakar talks could harm South Africa by creating the false impression that the ANC was part of peaceful negotiations about the country's future.

Dr Geldenhuys said it would, on the other hand, have been counter-productive to act against the group who travelled from South Africa in the light of the country's image on issues such as free speech.

He thought the group would in any case harm their own cause. The two Progressive Federal Party MPs, especially, would probably do their party a great deal of harm.

So far the Government has not officially commented on the trip and the conference, but the matter is bound to be raised in the second half of the parliamentary session, which starts on July 17.

Passports

The official Opposition in the Assembly, the Conservative Party, has been sharply critical of the Government because it did not act against the group.

The Argus Correspondent in Pretoria reports that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has urged the Government to withdraw the passports of all 65 South African delegates.

Alternately, the right-wing organisation said, the delegates should face charges of high treason on their return.

The AWB demanded in a statement today that if it was the Government's aim to track down and destroy "communistic murderers", action be taken against the delegates. In this the AWB included Professor Johan Heyns, the moderator of the NGK, who has also held talks with the ANC.

"What right have these liberals to speak for a Volk on issues that concern its 'vaderland', freedom and safety. This is high treason.

"It is clear which side these people have taken - that of the ANC. They will never again be recognised as members of our Volk. We have their names and we know who they are," the AWB warned.

Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the PFP and chairman of its parliamentary caucus, dismissed suggestions that the party would be harmed by Mr. Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban, and Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, being on the trip. The "safari" had nothing to do with the party and it was the MPs' private affair.

On the other hand, the PFP itself had initiated talks with the ANC and it was the party's view that dialogue should be kept open.
Dakar conference: An ‘open debate between South Africans’

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON.—Dr F van Zyl Slabbert has said that his delegation of prominent South Africans will engage in open debate with the ANC in Senegal about national unity and a new “liberated” government for South Africa.

There were indications that there would be a lot of tough talking by the South African group, who left London for Dakar this morning.

A number are known to have political and economic views which are at odds with ANC policy, and they made it clear they would speak their minds.

OPTIMISTIC

Dr Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, through their Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), have spent at least six months secretly arranging the historic visit.

An optimistic but somewhat cautious Dr Slabbert said last night the meeting was part of Idasa’s aim of promoting debate on a non-racial democracy for South Africa.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert, right, and writer Breyten Breytenbach in London.

He emphasised that resolutions could not be found for South Africa without involving the ANC.

But, he warned, it was important not to exaggerate the significance of the meeting.

His group was not going to Senegal to negotiate or mediate. “We have no mandate to speak for anyone … we do not want to do the South African Government’s work for it … we can’t drag the Government along with us.

“This is a debate between South Africans — those in exile and those in the country. We will explore democratic alternatives.”

Dr Slabbert said his group was symbolic of the fact that “if South Africans are prepared to abandon apartheid and racial domination and search for a non-racial democratic alternative, genuine debate is possible.”

KEYNOTE

On the question of funding, Dr Slabbert said some delegates had paid for themselves while others had been financed by “no strings attached” grants obtained by Idasa from foundations in West Germany and the United States as well as a number of Western European governments.

Writer-in-exile Breyten Breytenbach, who helped organise the trip, said he expected Senegalese President Abou Diouf to indicate in a keynote address that it was vital for African heads-of-state to become involved in finding a way out of the South African impasse.

After Dakar, the group will visit a former slave island off the West African coast before going to Burkina Faso and probably Ghana.
ANC try-out
Slabbert speaks out

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — The historic meeting in West Africa this week between a group of 68 largely African delegates and the banned ANC was in no way an attempt to open dialogue for the South African government or to interfere with its work, former PFP leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert said last night.

As the party of South Africans, who are now attracting world-wide attention, gathered in London for the breakthrough flight to Senegal today, Slabbert said:

"This is not an attempt to negotiate, mediate or do the South African government's work for them. It is an attempt by South Africans to explain democratic

To Page 2

Slabbert explains meeting with ANC

...alternatives for SA — recognising that no solution is possible without the involvement of the ANC."

The 15-man ANC delegation includes five members of the controlling executive committee, and Harold Wolpe — who achieved fame two decades ago when he escaped from SA.

The executive committee members are Thabo Mbeki, widely considered a future leader of the ANC; Francis Mole; Pali Tloko, Aziz Pahad; and Mac Maharaj.

Their presence elevates the meeting to a high level and mocks reports in SA that the ANC is fielding a lightweight team.

The other ANC delegates are Masala Manzini, Kader Asmal, Essop Pahad, Tony Trew, Selwyn Crous, Lindiwe Mazibuko, Ben Magubane and B Madawa.

Meanwhile, SAPA-REUTERS reports the Senegalese government yesterday acknowledged the planned arrival of the SA group.

See Comment Page 4
We’ll talk about a new liberal government for SA — Slabbert

South Africa (Idasa), have spent at least six months securely arranging the visit.

An optimistic but somewhat cautious Mr Slabbert said some of Idasa’s aims were part of Idasa’s aim of promoting debate on a nonracial democracy for South Africa.

He stressed that resolutions could not be found for South Africa without involving the ANC.

But, he warned, it was important not to exaggerate the significance of the meeting. His group was not going to Senegal to negotiate or mediate.

“We have no mandate to speak for anyone … We do not want to do the South African Government’s work for it … We can’t drag the Government and ANC along with us.”

“This is a debate between South Africans — these in exile and those in the country. We will explore democratic alternatives.”

Papers would be read and workshop discussions held over four days. There would also be Senegalese participation, he added.

Dr Slabbert said his group was symbolic of the fact that “if South Africans are prepared to abandon their hatred and racial domination and speak for a nonracial democratic alternative, genuine debate is possible.”

On the question of funding, Dr Slabbert said some delegations had said their representatives while others had been financed by “no strings attached” grants obtained by Idasa from foundations in West Germany and the United States as well as a number of European governments.

Writer-in-exile Breitzenbach, who helped organise the trip, said he expected Senegalese President Ahouf Ouloto to indicate in a keynote address that it was vital for African heads of state to become involved in finding a way out of the South African impasse.

After Dakar, the group will visit a former slave island off the West African coast before proceeding to Burkina Faso and probably Ghana.

ANC stand on major issues will come under spotlight

By Gerald L’Ange

The Star’s Africa News Service

The talks in Senegal between the African National Congress and the Idasa group will be a major test of ANC attitudes on issues crucial to a political resolution of South Africa’s race problems.

The ANC’s responses to the questions that will be asked by the Dakar delegation will have an important influence on future efforts among South Africans to work out a solution. They could also affect the degree of support the ANC receives internationally, particularly among the Western powers.

The talks represent the most ambitious effort yet made to find an alternative to the government’s unsuccessful efforts to conduct dialogue with credible black leaders within South Africa.

Especially important will be the picture that emerges of the ANC’s attitude on three major issues:

- its continued use of violence;
- its links with the South African Communist Party;
- its views on free enterprise in a future economic system.

The ANC and government will not negotiate with the ANC unless it renounces violence, and its refusal to do so has bedevilled American efforts to narrow the gap between the two. The communist streak in the ANC’s political complex and the socialist nature of its policies also cause misgivings in Pretoria and probably by many white South Africans.

While the ANC has recently softened its demand for an international cultural boycott of South Africa, little progress has emerged to indicate any desire within the organisation to roll back the policies that were last defined at the organisation’s “consultative conference” at KwaZulu, in 1985.

This alone must cause the Dakar talks to be viewed with pessimism rather than optimism.

They nevertheless give the ANC an chance to promote its campaign to win wider white support. The meeting is seen by one respected expert on the ANC, who declined to be named, as “an important engagement in the battle to win some of the edges of the undecided middle ground in South Africa”.

He believes the meeting offers the ANC an opportunity to take advantage of the ferment in Afrikaner intellectual circles in recent years.

“It will mean no let-up, however. In the ANC’s hitherto low-intensity guerilla campaign or a softening of some of the tough demands taken at the KwaZulu conference which included a decision to go for all-out national insurrection.”

“Instead, the Senegal meeting is complementary to political violence. It is an example of the ANC’s part in the latest chapter in the ANC’s political offensive within what it calls the ‘white blue’ offensive is considered by some analysts to have started with the ANC’s meeting with South African businessmen and editors in Zambia in 1985. Some of the major participants in those talks, notably Mr Gavin Reilly of Anglo-American Corporation, appear to have been persuaded that there is little prospect of change in the objectionable aspects of ANC economic policy and therefore little point in further dialogue.

After these talks some ANC leaders are believed to have taken the view that further dialogue should not be at the expense of the insurrectionary task the organisation had set itself.

Whereas the ANC’s top leaders attended the Zambia talks, a relatively low-level team has been sent to Dakar. Nevertheless, analysis see potential benefits for the ANC in talking to Afrikaner moderates. The ANC team leader, Mr Thabo Mbeki, is regarded as an important architect of the campaign to woo white support.

“One would not think in the sense of Afrikaner culture, and particularly African-American control. It will point to major changes in the ANC’s Freedom Charter to allow Afrikaner fears of black majority government.

In essence, the ANC will be arguing that the centuries-old black threat to political power and that the white party is not numerical to Afrikaner prosperity. Instead, the ANC will be saying that the Afrikaner Party demands on majority power being achieved sooner by negotiation rather than later by race war.”

Many on list close to Govt-controlled media

When the list of names of the “Far Left Pilgrims” to Dakar was scrutinised, it was an coincidence of many of them used their prominence to the SABC and the Government-controlled Afrikaans Press, Professor S.J. Jacobs, spokesman for the Conservative Party and MP for Boksburg, said.

“They (the delegates to Senegal) have been singled out for recognition and credibility and through this publicity build up over the past few years, it now appears that those so-called leading figures in Afrikanerdom are creating a political trend which could be emulated by others,” Professor Jacobs said.

“They (the delegates to Senegal) have been singled out for recognition and credibility, and through this publicity build up over the past few years, it now appears that these so-called leading figures in Afrikanerdom are creating a political trend which could be emulated by others,” Professor Jacobs said.

“Another pilgrimage to Tshwane, 1979, who previously worked for the SABC and whose family is still employed there,” he told.

“We ask whether the SABC and the Afrikaans Press will now distance themselves from these people in their new role as negotiators with the government-controlled ANC, or whether the reading and viewing public will be seeing even more of them in the future.”

“No support from the government and the government-controlled media shows tacit approval of this political pilgrimage to the ANC,” he told.

“The Afrikaner electorate now demands an answer,” Professor Jacobs’ statement said. Sapa.

"Many on list close to Govt-controlled media"
Senegal president to open indaba

The ANC publicity secretary, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, and Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert, director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), will address an open gathering before the South Africans go behind closed doors at their meeting today.

Afrikaner thinking

The three-day debate will centre on four areas: an assessment of the current political logjam in South Africa, and what is needed to change the situation, building national unity, possible structures of a future government, and the economy.

An agreed statement will be issued on Sunday.

The ANC says it sees the meeting as important both as a chance to present its views and to understand the thinking and point of departure of the group of mainly Afrikaners.

What the ANC hoped to achieve, put crudely, was to get the professors at the head of demonstrations in South Africa so that police would not shoot.

Failing this it hoped the disparate group would come together to form some kind of organization, not necessarily linked to the UDF, to maximize the impact of their anti-apartheid beliefs.

From MIKE ROBERTSON

DAKAR. — President Abdou Diouf of Senegal was due to open the meeting between the African National Congress and prominent South Africans today with a major announcement in the capital.

Conference sources did not specify what President Diouf would say.

The sources intimated the ANC was prepared to budge on major policy issues, but that ANC was eager to win the support of middle-of-the-road whites—loosely defined as being anti-apartheid but not quite prepared to throw in their lot with the United Democratic Front.

To clarify its position, the ANC would explain that attacking civilian targets was not an option it considered (recent attacks on bars and shopping malls were carried out against policy, but there was no suggestion the ANC was losing control of its cadres).

One member compared the ANC to the anti-fascist alliance in World War II. The ANC government would allow Afrikaners to educate their children as they saw fit and protect individual liberties—and it had no intention of nationalizing every conceivable form of economic activity in South Africa.

Members, however, gave no indication of a slowdown or change on key questions of abandoning or suspending violence, dropping the campaign to make membership unviable, or rethinking sanctions.

The organization was at pains to make clear it was taking the meeting seriously, although in private some members have expressed astonishment at the diverse nature of Dr. Slabbert's group.

Mr. Oliver Tambo had prior commitments in the Caribbean, the secretary-general Mr. Alfred Nzo was in Algeria and Mr. Joe Slovo could not make it because of unspecified commitments. All members of the delegation were chosen to match the fields of interest of members of Dr. Slabbert's group.

Yesterday the government of Ghana officially announced the visit of the South African group.

And in Abidjan, Ivory Coast radio reported that Burkina Faso also announced a visit from the delegation.

The report said the South Africans were to visit Burkina Faso on July 12 and Ghana on July 15.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday demanded that the government revoke the passports of the group. If this was not done the AWB would demand that the group be charged with treason.

The Azanian People's Organization's publicity secretary, Mr. Muntu Myeza, said: "We want to dispel the impression that this antihill conference has the stature of a political mountain."

"That a coterie of whites which includes elements of the clergy, some academics and employers have clubbed together to continue what they have been doing in smaller groups or individually over the years does not necessarily mean success."

"This group consists largely of political has-beens in white politics who have no mandate or sanction from any source but themselves and Western money," said Mr. Myeza.

He also said the ANC was only one of the excluded organizations and talking to them alone created "the wrong impression that they are the only organization worth talking to."

He added: "The workers inside the country are the people who are going to decide the fate of this country."
Senegal talks are major test of ANC attitudes:

By Adriane Lisboa

The ANC's response to the questions that will be asked at Dakar could affect the degree of support the ANC receives internationally.

The ANC's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement was a radical step that will have implications for African relations with other countries. It is a test of the ANC's willingness to engage in meaningful dialogue with other African countries and to work towards a more coherent approach to resolving the continent's challenges.

The ANC's leadership will need to demonstrate a willingness to engage in constructive dialogue with other African countries and to work towards a more coherent approach to resolving the continent's challenges. It is a test of the ANC's willingness to engage in meaningful dialogue with other African countries and to work towards a more coherent approach to resolving the continent's challenges.
Some tough issues on the ANC-Dakar agenda

By Anthony Johnson

NOW that Dr Van Zyl Slabbert’s ANC indaba mission is finally under way in West Africa, a number of observers are wondering why the government did not try to stop the venture in the first place.

After all, not too long ago Pretoria confiscated the passports of another group of Afrikaners—Stellenbosch students—when they decided they wanted to find out for themselves what the ANC was all about.

And as one of the delegates on the current initiative put it shortly before leaving: “Sure we feared government action, because just about every statement by cabinet ministers in recent months has tried to depict the ANC as an absolute pariah, intent on nothing more than killing, maiming and destroying.”

The carefully chosen taunts by the Conservative Party—who explained Mr P W Botha’s inaction as a sign that the State President was going soft on the ANC, allowing himself to be manoeuvred by overseas influences, and losing control of South Africa’s political direction—did not produce the crackdown which many expected.

Perhaps the government is learning from experience. When they blocked the Matie group from going to Lusaka, the restive students simply met the ANC at a conference in Harare a few months later.

But more likely is that the government was outmanoeuvred, if only temporarily, by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) organizers whose impressively varied and large guest list must have offered some insurance against another passport confiscation or even more extravagant action in front of international TV crews at Jan Smuts airport.

But the government and its agents certainly don’t intend letting the indaba goers off the hook.

Indeed, the lively smear campaign by government-supporting media (and others) launched even before delegates boarded their aircraft is likely to reach a hysterical pitch by the time the two-week trip draws to a close.

Some of the delegates have already steered themselves for the possibility of official reprisals upon their return. The State President has already issued a number of dark warnings about the evils of foreign funding.

Botha must be especially peeved that the intended “demonstration effect” of the Catle-Hall affair was not powerful enough to persuade prominent South Africans, and Afrikaners at that, to stay at home and watch SATV instead.

As co-organizer of the trip and Idasa director, Dr Alex Boraine, put it on the day the group left: “This is not a casual safari aimed at having a few informal conversations with the ANC—it’s a very serious attempt to address some of the toughest problems facing a new South Africa.”

Four major position papers authored by South Africans had been sent to the ANC in advance of the West African conference to serve as formal points of departure during the deliberations. Issues that would have to be grappled with included:

- What effect would a “liberated economy” have on every sector of the South African economy and on individual citizens?
- The need to address now the sort of system of government South Africa might inherit once apartheid was eradicated—one-party, multi-party, etc.
- What moves are possible now that might help forge a united South Africa and reduce the risks of the country being torn apart in the post-apartheid era?
- The “serious questions” regarding the role of the SA Communist Party and the major East and West-bloc powers, and the thorny issue of violence and armed struggle.

The Idasa delegation was not, as one participant stressed, “a bunch of naive people anxious to give the ANC a pat on the back” but were concerned South Africans determined to get, first-hand, straight answers to serious questions from a key actor in the South African drama.

Group leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has emphasized that his delegation is no pushover and they would be looking for a “tough, hard debate” during their three-day conference with the ANC.

In Dr Boraine’s view: “If we can get not merely clarifications but some assurances now, more whites may be ready to abandon apartheid. But as long as they remain fearful, a protracted, inconclusive violation is assured.”

He believes that the fact that the ANC was willing to meet with a group of mainly Afrikaners—speaking whites—suggests that they have given considerable thought to the kind of South Africa they believe is worth working towards.

That the ANC had not adopted a “take it or leave it” attitude towards a number of key policy issues and were still willing to debate, was significant, he felt.

Dr Boraine argues that following the series of contacts Idasa members had had with the ANC in setting up the Dakar conference, it had become clear that the organization’s leadership “recognizes the importance of convincing those white South Africans who are ready to jettison apartheid totally that there is a non-racial democratic alternative to the present system that would guarantee justice and security for all irrespective of race”.

In sharp contrast with Pretoria, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has made it clear that while his group may differ with the ANC on a number of issues, it is important to engage the organization in debate because “no solution is possible without the involvement of the ANC”.

But it would be misleading to suggest that the government has no interest in the proceedings at Dakar. After all, at least one of the participants was approached by the security establishment before leaving in the hopes of getting a briefing upon his return.

And it would be interesting to see if the government’s new point man responsible for negotiations with blacks, deputy Minister Stoffel van der Merwe—who met with Dr Slabbert shortly before the ANC trip—will be interested in a briefing from the former leader of the Opposition when he gets back.

It might be quite an eye-opener for Stoffel.
ANC talks: big statement likely today

DAKAR — Senegalese President Abdou Diouf is to open the meeting between the ANC and prominent South Africans today with a major announcement.

An ANC spokesman did not specify what Diouf would say. He gave little indication the ANC is prepared to budge on major policy issues but intimated the organisation is eager to win the support of middle-of-the-road whites.

ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki and group leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert will address an open gathering before the South Africans go behind closed doors.

The three-day debate will centre on four main areas: an assessment of the current political logjam and what is needed to change the situation; building national unity; possible structures of a future government, and the economy.

An agreed statement will be issued on Sunday.

The ANC says it sees the meeting as important both as a chance to present its views and to understand the thinking and point of departure of the group of mainly Afrikaners.
A Post-Apartheid Alternative

Dakar delegates present a strategy for a negotiated solution in South Africa.

The proposed plan involves
- Immediate withdrawal of all South African forces from Namibia
- Negotiated elections in Namibia
- A multiparty political system
- Human rights and freedoms

The plan is supported by the United Nations and regional organizations.

South Africa Relations
- Diplomatic relations restored
- Economic cooperation increased
- Peaceful dialogue continues

The plan is seen as a first step towards reconciliation and peace in the region.
GDP growth is now projected to be around 5% this year, down from 6% last year. The growth rate is expected to slow further in 2023, to around 4%. The slowdown is due to a combination of factors, including high inflation and the ongoing conflict in Europe.

Inflation remains a concern, with headline inflation levels still above 8% in many countries. The central bank is expected to continue raising interest rates to try to bring inflation under control. However, the high interest rates are also causing concern for businesses and households, as they are leading to higher borrowing costs.

The conflict in Europe continues to have a significant impact on the global economy. The war has disrupted supply chains, led to higher energy prices, and caused uncertainty about the future of the economy. The international community is calling for a diplomatic solution to the conflict, but so far efforts to reach a ceasefire have been unsuccessful.

Despite these challenges, there are some positive signs. The labor market continues to be strong, with low unemployment rates and high job creation. This is due in part to the easing of labor market restrictions and the increased participation of women in the workforce.

However, the pace of labor market growth is expected to slow in the coming year, as the labor market reaches its natural rate. This is likely to put downward pressure on inflation, as the labor market tightness is reduced.

Overall, the outlook for the global economy remains uncertain. While there are signs of economic downturn in some countries, there are also positive developments in others. The key challenge is to find a balance between controlling inflation and supporting economic growth, while also addressing the impacts of the conflict in Europe.
THE HAGUE — Today marks two years that Klaas de Jonge has been held up in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria to avoid trial by South African authorities.

The South African Government has charged the Dutchman with smuggling arms to the banned African National Congress.

But to the strong anti-apartheid movement in the Netherlands, De Jonge's diplomatic refuge symbolises a much broader Dutch opposition to South Africa's racial policies, with political and economic implications.

The diplomatic tensions over De Jonge have been accompanied by a continuing decline in economic ties between two nations which have shared a firm historic and cultural bond since the Dutch settled in the Cape Province in 1652.

The Dutch have become increasingly vocal in their opposition to the Afrikaner racial policies, which some link to Dutch Calvinism.

This month Amsterdam's mayor, Mr Ed van Thij, gave an official stamp of approval to the African National Congress by announcing the guerrilla group would be allowed to open an information office in the Dutch capital.

Several Dutch companies have withdrawn from South Africa in recent months, chief among them the SHV Trading multinational. Bilateral trade figures indicate that the once buoyant commerce between the Netherlands and South Africa is declining.

"There's a growing reluctance to do business with South Africa," said Dutch economics ministry spokesman Mr Tom van Troostwijk, "It's getting less and less attractive."

Dutch support for its European Economic Community presidency last year. Premier Ruud Lubbers' centre-right government pushed for a limited EEC trade embargo against Pretoria. The embargo against trade in iron ore, coal and precious metals has not yet been ratified by EEC nations.

Last month, the Lubbers government introduced legislation to ban any new investments by Dutch companies in South Africa, in line with EEC guidelines.

Wholly or partly Dutch-owned multinationals operating in South African operations include Shell, Philips and Unlever. Shell has been singled out by protesters who have demonstrated several of its service stations in the Netherlands.

It is the declining official perception of South Africa as a politically and economically viable business partner that bothers Pretoria backers among the Dutch.

"We need South Africa, its pro-Western government and its mineral resources in the struggle against communism," said Mr Henk Maatensen of the Netherlands South Africa Association, which favours turning De Jonge over to South Africa.

Although he stressed that his organisation opposes apartheid, Mr Maatensen said: "The (Dutch) government has embroiled itself with the communist-led ANC by giving refuge to De Jonge."

Weapons

De Jonge, now 49, was arrested by South African police on June 23, 1985 on suspicion of weapons smuggling. He had been an information ministry adviser to Mozambique's Marxist government in 1982-84. The De Jonge affair began on July 9, 1985, when the Dutch anthropologist fled from a police car in downtown Pretoria and sought refuge in the embassy. South African police pursued him and dragged him out.

What the Dutch government referred to as "a serious violation of the embassy's immunity" resulted in a diplomatic crisis. The Netherlands threatened to recall his ambassador unless De Jonge was returned to the embassy.

Last week African authorities handed him back to 10 days later, and De Jonge has lived since then in the precincts of the downtown bank building.

Pretoria has repeatedly called for De Jonge's surrender for trial. But the Netherlands, whose laws ban extradition of a Dutch national, has refused.

Symbolic

"Klaas has had, and is still having, an important symbolic role as an active opponent to apartheid," said Mr Fons Geerlings, secretary of the Dutch anti-apartheid movement (AABN), the Netherlands' most prominent anti-apartheid organisation.

"He symbolises the deep-left hatred (among the Dutch) of the white minority regime in Pretoria, and since his incarceration in the embassy, we've seen a swing in public opinion and in the attitude of business and industry here," said Mr Geerlings.

The De Jonge affair has put into highly publicised human terms what is perceived in the Netherlands as an irreconcilable ethical divide between the two governments.

Last September, the Dutch embassy acquired new premises on the outskirts of Pretoria, and South Africa's State President, Mr P W Botha, who had earlier stated that "relations with the Netherlands couldn't be worse than they are now," threatened to arrest De Jonge as soon as he left the old embassy building.

To protect De Jonge, the Dutch decided to keep the embassy's economic and political sections at the bank building.

Last year, De Jonge's former wife Helena Pantoos was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment by South African authorities for allegedly ANC activities.
DAKAR. — A group of prominent white South Africans arrived in Senegal enthusiastic about a meeting today with members of the outlawed African National Congress.

The South Africans acknowledged the possibility of rebuke from disapproving South African authorities but said they looked forward to discussing the future of their country and hearing the views of all those who might play a role in that future.

After being welcomed by a Senegalese Foreign Ministry official and representatives of the African Jurists' Association, which helped to organise this week's meeting, South African politician Frederik van Zyl Slabbert outlined the purpose of the visit.

"An important objective is to have in-depth discussions with members of the NEC (National Executive Committee of the ANC) and to talk about the prospects of a democratic alternative for South Africa," he said.

**Working groups**

The meeting is due to open with statements from Mrs Danielle Mitterrand and Senegalese President Abdou Diouf.

Those taking part will then break up into small working groups, giving individuals an opportunity to raise their own particular ideas and concerns about the future.

The Argus Correspondent reports from London that the Freedom Charter, and what it will mean to a post-apartheid South Africa, will be the focus of the meeting.

And the ANC believes that South African President P W Botha is secretly pleased the meeting is going ahead because it will give his Government an opportunity to assess the ANC's stance on a range of issues.

British television has described the Dakar meeting as the most significant of the white-black contacts so far, and two news programmes last night gave the 'British viewer an idea of what is on the agenda.'
Slabbert: ANC talks breaking SA's ignorance

DAKAR (Senegal) — White South Africans need to "break out of our cocoon," Dr. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said at the opening of talks between a group of South Africans and an African National Congress (ANC) delegation here yesterday.

The former leader of the Progressive Federal Party said the three-day meeting to discuss the post-apartheid future of South Africa was important, but should not be over dramatized.

"We are not here to promote artificial detente or to negotiate. We do not have the power to negotiate."

"We are South Africans wishing to explore alternatives to prevent a brutal catastrophe," Dr. Slabbert said.

The talks should help the group "dispel the myth and help us break out of our cocoon of ignorance," he said.

He said the group's presence at the meeting showed that "we can talk seriously about a nonracial democracy and not just watch the future unfold."

Speaking of the ANC group, Dr. Slabbert said, "some of them have travelled far and suffered much, and some of them have adopted strategies we have difficulties accepting."

"Here on foreign soil we are among friends, although we live in a country where the government wants to keep us enemies. Let us explore together a way out of this lunacy," he said.

After the opening ceremonies, the delegations broke into smaller groups for private sessions scheduled for the next three days. They plan to issue a joint statement on Sunday.

After the conference, the two delegations will visit the former slave trading island of Goree off the Senegalese coast and then travel to Burkina Faso and Ghana, two West African nations run by radical military governments. — Sapa-AP
UDF to debate stance on election

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — United Democratic Front president Mr Archie Gumede will raise participation in the 1989 parliamentary elections at the UDF's next national executive meeting to clarify its standpoint.

Confusion arose when a statement from publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said the UDF's attitude was for non-participation after Mr Gumede indicated that it might take part in elections.

But today Mr Gumede repeated that while the UDF had not yet discussed participation, he would raise it for discussion at the national executive meeting.

He denied there was a split in the UDF or that his intention to have the matter discussed was a major shift of policy.

AFFILIATES

"The statement by Mr Morobe stands, in that the UDF cannot take a decision to contest parliamentary elections on its own and will have to go back to its affiliates."

"I was told at the meeting (yesterday) that his matter should have been brought up with officials first before it was disclosed to the Press. I think this is the correct procedure," said Mr Gumede.

Mr Morobe, in his statement in reply to Mr Gumede's participation stance, said UDF policy was "well-documented and remains uncontradicted".

"Revision of our non-participation is not even considered."
Natal, Kwazulu to have joint authority soon

By P. WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

A JOINT executive authority for Natal and Kwazulu will be instituted within the next month or two, says the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis.

The new joint body will come about in terms of legislation passed last year. It will be a statutory body to co-ordinate co-operation between the two administrations and will have to account to the executive committee of Natal and the Kwazulu Cabinet.

Mr Heunis said today it would be the first time that a provincial administration and the government of a national state co-operated on matters of common concern within one legally created institution.

Referring to the Natal-Kwazulu indaba, Mr Heunis said the majority and minority reports had been handed to the Government early this year.

The Government had not taken an official stand on the proposals but had welcomed the indaba as an important regional initiative.

OFFICIAL VIEWPOINT

The Government had also felt it should keep back its official viewpoint until the Natal Provincial Administration and the government of Kwazulu had commented.

This was also the view of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu.

Mr Heunis said Inkatha had discussed the proposals at the weekend and the Government was awaiting the comment of the Natal Provincial Administration and Kwazulu.

When this was received the Government would study it and take an official stand on the proposals.

He indicated that further negotiations would follow. In general, the indaba had been an important exercise in the development of a concept for consensus. He thought it a pity that the indaba had been forced to take decisions by way of voting.
Dakar call to ‘try SA Govt for its crimes’

DAKAR. — President Abdou Diouf of Senegal has called for a trial of “the supporters and accomplices of apartheid” and declared that the abolition of legalised racism was the greatest task facing mankind “since the victory over nazism”.

Mr Diouf was opening what he termed a “historic” three-day conference here between a group of about 50 white South Africans and leaders of the outlawed African National Congress.

He said: “A crime against humanity cannot be forgiven — only punished. Would it not therefore be indicated that in the course of your meetings you would examine the most appropriate means of conducting the trial of apartheid, in the name of the civilised values of us all, the trial of its supporters and accomplices?”

Although he did not elaborate, Mr Diouf appeared to be suggesting that after the abolition of apartheid the South African Government be publicly tried for “crimes against humanity”.

Dialogue

Mr Diouf, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity in 1985 and 1986, promised to help mobilise support throughout Africa for whatever proposals the conference might put forward.

He further invited delegates to consider “the creation of an institute of research at one of our universities ... where young South Africans could study and improve their knowledge of Africa”.

President Francois Mitterrand’s wife Danielle, head of the human rights organisation France-Liberte, one of several groups which helped organise the meeting, called for increased dialogue aimed at bringing about change in South Africa.

Earlier the leader of the South Africans, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said they were in Dakar “to break out of the cocoon of ignorance” in which whites were wrapped at home.

Addressing “our compatriots from the ANC”, Dr Slabbert spoke of “the sadness that we have to meet so far from our common fatherland”.

Alternatives

He added: “This in itself is a tragic commentary on the history we share. Some of you have suffered much pursuing freedom for your country. Some of you have ended up adopting strategies and supporting ideologies which some of us find difficult in supporting or understanding, but which we hope to find out more about.”
Nelson Mandela

In the past year there has been an increased feeling of the need for the black community to participate in the political process. This is partly due to the fact that the black community has been left out of the political process for so long. The black community has a right to be represented in the political process.

One of the ways the black community can be represented is through the election of representatives to Parliament. The black community should be allowed to elect representatives who represent their interests. The black community should be allowed to have a say in the government that governs them.

The black community is not only concerned with political representation. They are also concerned with economic development. The black community needs economic development in order to improve their standard of living. The black community should be allowed to have a say in the economic decisions that affect them.

The black community is also concerned with social issues. The black community needs education, health care, and housing. The black community should be allowed to have a say in the social decisions that affect them.

The black community is not only concerned with local issues. They are also concerned with national issues. The black community needs a say in the decisions that affect the country as a whole. The black community should be allowed to have a say in the decisions that affect the country.

Negotiations

The Bill will be brought to Parliament for discussion. The Bill will be discussed by all parties. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all.

The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all.

The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all.

The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all.

The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all. The Bill will be discussed by all parties to ensure that the Bill is fair to all.
HELEN SUZMAN had underestimated PFP weakness and the effect of government propaganda, by blaming the National Union of SA Students (Nusas) for its failure in the May election, Nusas president, Steven Kromberg said.

Kromberg was responding to a claim by the PFP campaigner made in a speech read on her behalf in London. Suzman charged that Nusas and the UDF had torpedoed the PFP's chances of remaining Official Opposition.

"Nusas did not call for a boycott of the election," he said.

By placing the central issue of democracy on the political agenda through the "one person, one vote in a unitary SA" campaign, "we appealed to students to make decisions according to their consciences," Kromberg said.

Those Nusas members who decided not to vote "probably believed the PFP strategy of change through parliament to be unrealistic," he said yesterday.

"We reject the claim by Suzman," Kromberg said. He said she had overestimated the size and significance of the student constituency.
HELEN SUZMAN had underestimated PFP weakness and the effect of government propaganda by blaming the National Union of SA Students (Nusas) for its failure in the May election, Nusas president Steven Kromberg said.

Kromberg was responding to a claim by the PFP campaigner made in a speech read on her behalf in London. Suzman charged that Nusas and the UDF had torpedoed the PFP's chances of remaining Official Opposition.

"Nusas did not call for a boycott of the election," he said.

"By placing the central issue of democracy on the political agenda through the "one person, one vote in a unitary SA campaign, "we appealed to students to make decisions according to their consciences," Kromberg said.

Those Nusas members who decided not to vote "probably believed the PFP strategy of change through parliament to be unrealistic," he said yesterday.

"We reject the claim by Suzman," Kromberg said. He said she had overestimated the size and significance of the student constituency.
A hotline to the north?

Professor Peter Vale, Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, suggests ways of reducing tension between SA and the frontline states.

The election is gone, but its spirit lingers on. The mood of those who run SA's relations with its neighbours regularly confirms this observation. Day after day, week upon week, Magnus Malan and P.K. Botha berate these countries, criticise their political systems and - in tones more suited to the barricade, than the boardroom - chastise their leaders.

In the circumstances of the election it was understandable; now, it's a dangerous game. The tough talk endorses the overwhelming conviction - both in the frontline states and in the wider international community - that the smoking gun points to Pretoria. As Chester Crocker's recent testimony to Congress indicated, few believe that SA does not destabilise its neighbours. The bellicosity also underscores a growing belief that, apart from exporting its domestic crisis, SA has no intention of settling the Namibian impasse.

Interstate relations at the regional level are always fragile. In southern Africa this is aggravated by the domination of a single state, SA, which is at serious political odds with its regional partners. Considerable trauma is added to this unhappiness by the region's dependence on SA's economy.

There is no hiding the deep-seated political difference between SA and the region's majority-ruled states. It arises from two interpretations of recent African history, and two contrasting views of what's in store for this region.

White South Africans believe that the frontline states (and the Soviet) are bent on driving them into the sea. Our regional kinmen believe that all whites are unrepentant racists bent on the total, absolute humili-
Nusas denies blame

Owen Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—Mrs Helen Suzman had underestimated PFP weakness and the effect of government propaganda by blaming the National Union of SA Students (Nusas) for the party's failure in the May election, Nusas president Mr Steven Kromberg said yesterday.

He was responding to a claim by the PFP campaigner, made in a speech read on her behalf in London. Mrs Suzman charged that Nusas and the UDF had torpedoed the PFP's chances of remaining official opposition.

"Nusas did not call for a boycott of the election," Mr Kromberg said.

By placing the central issue of democracy on the political agenda through the "one person, one vote in a unitary South Africa" campaign, "we appealed to students to make decisions according to their consciences", he said.

Those Nusas members who decided not to vote "probably believed the PFP strategy of change through Parliament to be unrealistic", he said.

"We reject the claim by Suzman," Mr Kromberg said.
"Ja broers, now says Heunis. Give NSC more than ever before."

Johannesburg.—The National Secretary was reported as saying that the party would work hard to ensure that the NSC received more funds than ever before.

A major development in the party's Department of Finance was the expected appointment of a new minister who would be responsible for leading the party's economic agenda.

The Secretary of the NSC, Mr. Heunis, said that the party was working hard to ensure that the NSC received more funding than ever before. "It is very important that we have the necessary resources to carry out our work," he said.

When asked about the possibility of the NSC being reduced to a purely advisory role, Mr. Heunis said that the party was committed to ensuring that the NSC remained a powerful voice in the government.

"We believe that the NSC is an important institution, and we will work hard to ensure that it remains strong and effective," he said.

When asked about the possibility of the NSC being replaced by a new body, Mr. Heunis said that the party was committed to ensuring that the NSC remained strong and effective.

"We believe that the NSC is an important institution, and we will work hard to ensure that it remains strong and effective," he said.
DAKAR. — White South Africans need to "break out of our cocoon," Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert said at the opening of talks between a group of South Africans and an African National Congress delegation in Dakar, Senegal, yesterday.

Dr. Slabbert, director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), said the three-day meeting to discuss the post-apartheid future of South Africa was important, but should not be over-dramatized.

"We are not here to promote artificial detente or to negotiate. We do not have the power to negotiate," he said.

"We are South Africans from inside South Africa willing to explore alternatives to prevent a brutal catastrophe from happening."

Dr. Slabbert is leading a delegation of about 60 mostly white people — politicians, academics, farmers, businessmen, artists and sports figures — in the largest meeting ever with the banned ANC.

The talks should help his group "dispel the myth and break out of our cocoon of ignorance," Dr. Slabbert said.

"We want to find out more about the continent in which we live. We have succeeded in isolating ourselves in South Africa."

He said the group's presence at the meeting showed that "we can talk seriously about a non-racial democracy and not just watch the future unfold before us."

Mr. Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC delegation, gave the opening speech for the ANC, but is banned and cannot be quoted here.

Speaking of the ANC group, Dr. Slabbert said: "Some of them have travelled far and suffered much, and some of them have adopted strategies we have difficulties accepting."

Many white South Africans fear the ANC for its support of armed struggle, links to communist countries and calls for the restructuring of the South African economy, he said.

After the opening ceremonies, the delegations broke into smaller groups for closed-door sessions scheduled for the next three days. — Sapa-AP

Frier in the struggle — Page 4
Idasa at work

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) has hit the headlines through its 50-strong, mainly Afrikaner delegation to various West African states, which will include talks with prominent African National Congress (ANC) figures. The group's aim is to explore and discuss alternatives to apartheid, and — in the words of Beyers Naudé, one of the delegates — assess "how democracy developed in those countries after independence."

What does Idasa, started last year by ex-Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and former PFP MP Alex Boraine, stand for? Before the announcement of the Idasa African trek, the FM
THE DAKAR VISIT

Hindrance or a help?

Government seems set to adopt a two-pronged strategy in response to the Slabbert visit to West Africa for talks with the ANC. So far, however, the reaction from Pretoria has been surprisingly muted, with President P W Botha’s office saying merely that his views on contacts with the ANC are well known and he has nothing more to say.

And Stoffel van der Merwe, the new Deputy Constitutional Planning Minister, spearheading government’s efforts to get negotiations with blacks off the ground, similarly declines to comment “at this stage.”

But, significantly perhaps, there was no official attempt to prevent the delegation of about 50 from leaving SA. Last year, of course, a group of Stellenbosch University students had their passports withdrawn after announcing plans to meet ANC representatives in Zambia. Interestingly, the leader of that group, Phillip Verster, is a member of the Slabbert delegation.

Perhaps the first proog of government’s tactic over the affair is best reflected by the National Party’s (NP) official mouthpiece, Die Burger, which has energetically attempted to discredit the trip and all those involved.

Divide whites

The newspaper says Slabbert’s efforts are apparently aimed at hindering, rather than helping the negotiating process in SA. It links the ANC to the SA Communist Party (SACP) and the Kremlin and quotes “authoritative information” that claims ANC strategy is to “divide” whites and to prepare them “subtly” for a “black power takeover.”

An NP source says “it’s fashionable to think that a solution to SA’s problems can only be found by talking to the ANC.” He describes the trip as a “safari of the wimps” — “a fringe group of Afrikaners who are off on a mission of appeasement.” He believes, further, that the inclusion of PFP MPs Peter Gastrow and Pierre Cronje in the group will do their party further damage.

If experience is any guide, delegation members will come in for increasing flak from other government-supporting newspapers and the SABC during the two weeks they are away. Thereafter, the NP itself will lead the attack when parliament resumes at the end of the month.

The second prong of government strategy is likely to be a careful analysis of what — if anything — is achieved by the talks, and, if possible, to capitalise on the outcome.

Although this strategy is unlikely to have official party blessing, it is an avenue that will be explored — probably by Stoffel van der Merwe. It is understood that Van der Merwe and Slabbert met by chance recently and chatted informally. They are said to have agreed to meet again after Dakar.

Whether or not the group is dismissed as what Lenin called “useful idiots,” an idea of what the safari is all about comes from Alex Boraine, Slabbert’s co-founder of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA. Like Slabbert, Boraine turned his back on parliament two years ago.

Explains Boraine: “A new SA is waiting to be born. Concerned South Africans cannot sit back, they must participate in discussions on these issues.”

Certainly, among the issues on the agenda at their Dakar indaba are those uppermost in many minds back home: ANC economic policy (will it be more clearly spelt out?); Joe Slovo and the SACP role in the ANC; violence and the “armed struggle”; and the future political system envisaged by the ANC.

For its part, the ANC reportedly believes the meeting ought to provide a forum for the visitors to “assess what they can do and should do” to end apartheid.

Leading the ANC delegation in the Senegalese capital this weekend will be ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki, who could be its next chief, executive members Pama Jordan, Mac Maharaj, Francis Mole and Aziz Pahad.

Among the local delegation who will do the talking are the Free Market Foundation’s Leon Louw, FCI economic consultant Christo Nel and Wits University Business School’s Lawrence Schlemmer.

Prominent personalities include: former SA Council of Churches general secretary Beyers Naude; UCT professors Herman Giliomee and Andre du Toit; poet Breyten Breytenbach; author Andre Brink; Western Cape University Rector Jaques Gruwel and Cape Technikon principal Franklin Sonn (the only “coloureds” in the party); former FCI MD Johan van Zyl; Woollru MD Tony Williamson, former PFP MPs Andrew Savage and Errol Moorscroft. Tukkies student chaplain The Reverend Theuns Eloff, PFP president’s councillor Pieter Schoeman, architect Reuel Fox, actress Grethe Fox and businessman Andre Koopman.

See Leaders
Victory in spirit

What chance remains of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals achieving national acceptance — either as a debating point, or as a model? When the Indaba was launched on April 3 last year, it captured the imagination not only of white and black South Africans, but of the country's increasingly desperate Western allies.

With significant exceptions, notably United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliates on the Left of the political spectrum, and "Borrestaat" ideologues on the Right, the Indaba's latter-day argonauts were universally wished bon voyage. They had dared to enter uncharted political waters while the country burned. In the process they displayed a commitment to genuinely negotiated constitution-making across racial divisions — a process described by veteran liberal politician and author Alan Paton as a "miracle."

On November 28 1986, eight months later, 28 of the Indaba's original 34 participating delegations endorsed the constitutional proposals. By their own admission the golden fleece, or "first prize," had escaped them. All were obliged in the spirit of compromise to accept second or even third prizes.

Four delegations opposed the proposals. They were the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, the Junior Rapportryers, and Durban's Afrikaanse Sakekamer.

Hindsight may well prove that this rebuff from ruling Afrikanerdom (the National Party (NP) was present during the deliberations, but only as an observer), together with the outcome of this year's general election, signalled the death-knell of translating the Indaba's hopes into reality. Nothing has happened since May 6 to dispel this notion.

The word Indaba, from the Zulu, means a gathering at which important matters are to be discussed. The idea of holding such an all-race Indaba was a natural response to the central finding of the Buthelezi Commission of 1980. This urged that the province of Natal and the patchwork KwaZulu homeland be jointly administered by a single legislative assembly.

At its launch, under the glare of international TV cameras and attended by foreign diplomats in Durban City Hall last year, the Indaba adopted a six-point mission statement. It sought to unite Natal province in a political system which guaranteed political rights for all; in which the Rule of Law would be applied and racial discrimination outlawed; legislative and administrative power would be delegated as far as possible; and a "free economic system" would truly reflect the province's interdependence with...
the rest of the country.
There emerged, after eight months of deliberation, a set of constitutional proposals. Attacked from Left and Right, the Indaba constitution departed significantly from the present South African model. Important features include:
- Universal adult suffrage and a system of proportional representation in a 100-member “first chamber” and a 50-member “second chamber.”
- Defenders of the complex lawmaking process, which involves ratification by standing committees, argue that numerous checks built into the system adequately safeguard the rights of minorities. Critics on the Left see apartheid in disguise, while the political Right looks no further than the Zulu community which makes up 80% of the province’s population, and sees the white man losing control over his destiny.
- A Bill of Rights, endorsed on July 10, 1986, which would empower the Natal Supreme Court to overturn those laws enacted in the province which it held to discriminate on the grounds of race, political opinion, or economic status; or which infringed the right to life, liberty and property.
- Clause 8 of the Bill seeks to protect ethnic, linguistic, cultural and educational rights and provides that any individual or group may seek redress from the Supreme Court if such rights are impaired; and
- A single education department committed to providing equal educational opportunities for all races in the province.
- Race Classification and Group Areas would naturally be outlawed in Natal by the constitution and the Bill of Rights, though election to the second chamber would be on the basis of “background groups.” Each of five such groups (Afrikaner, Afrikaans, Asian, English and South African), would have the power to veto laws made in the first chamber if they felt these infringed on their religious, language, cultural or educational rights.

The proposals were submitted to Pretoria by Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence, the two co-convenors Frank Martin and Oscar Dihomo, and Indaba Secretary Dawid van Wyk, on January 13 this year.

What followed is a matter of record. Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs and leader of the NP in Natal, made it plain that his party would not accept the Indaba constitutional proposals on the grounds that they did not adequately protect minority rights. Constitution-maker Chris Heunis echoed these sentiments in the no-confidence debate in parliament. And on May 6, Natal’s erstwhile opposition voters abandoned their pretense of being the “last outpost” of British liberalism, and stampeded into Afrikanerdom’s laager.

Though Indaba supporters argued that their constitution was not at issue during the general election, it patently was. Mangosuthu Buthelezi acknowledged as much in an unguarded and bitter reaction to the election’s outcome.

However, history may well demonstrate that the Indaba’s hopes of launching its own regional government were scuppered well before the election. Twelve months earlier government had ignored the Indaba’s appeal to put its proposals for regional government on ice and launched its controversial RSCs.

Grave doubts must now exist as to whether an Indaba-run Natal could mesh with the revised second-tier system of government now underway. Significantly, Buthelezi has indicated his complete opposition to RSCs (FM July 3).

Veteran Natal NEC and the man widely credited as “Father of the Indaba,” Frank Martin, has summed up the RSC dispensation as follows: “You may hear fancy words like devolution of power, but don’t be fooled. Centralisation will occur in three distinct areas: legislative control will move from the regions to parliament; key (nominated) decision-makers in the system will owe their allegiances to the State President and not the local electorate; and provincial officials will fall under the direct control of the Commission for Administration.”

Correctly, in the FM’s view, Martin detected in this shift a cynical disregard by government for the comparatively democratic and autonomous provincial government institutions it is now replacing. Unaccountably, however, he continues to entertain the fond hope that this same government will allow Natal wide legislative autonomy irreconcilable with local government elsewhere in the country.

Indaba supporters now pin their hopes on a demonstration of support by all Natal’s inhabitants for their constitution, either by way of a government-sanctioned referendum or a provincial opinion poll. While parliamentary support for the Indaba is required, such popular support, they argue, would strengthen government’s hand.

Such hopes may have been justified when the Indaba began its talks. A few months beforehand, P W Botha had told the 75th congress of the NP in the Cape: “We will demand new approaches . . . the country is outgrowing apartheid.” He went further and spoke of a collective South African citizenship and universal franchise within structures chosen by South Africans.

Today, with the State of Emergency in its second year, English-speaking whites having abandoned the political middle ground for the security of Afrikanerdom’s laager, and deep divisions evident among Zulus, it is no foregone conclusion that such a vote will be won, even were it allowed.

But is the Indaba thus destined to become only another monument to intransigence? Though inductibly right for the times, it has voluntarily gone where ruling Afrikanerdom and its new English-speaking allies are too fearful to tread.

The fact that both may one day be forced along an even less acceptable route is cold comfort for those who have mapped out the Indaba’s pioneering path. Is it too much to hope that, presented with the detailed Indaba proposals, government could at least bear them in mind when the time comes for real nitty-gritty bargaining with blacks? The proposed statutory National Council would be one body, for example, which could benefit from the Natal negotiations. At the least, it will have provided a model for how such negotiations can be achieved in a spirit of non-racial compromise.
IDASA-ANC TALKS

The point of Dakar

The dramatic departure from parliamentary politics by Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert dealt a blow to the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) from which it is unlikely ever to recover. His statements at the time, and his subsequent establishment of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), indicated that he had lost faith in parliament as a body for negotiating and initiating change.

Idasa and the highly publicised meeting between it and the African National Congress (ANC) this week represent a reply to those who questioned his leaving the establishment. In effect, bridges are being built; a to-and-fro of debate has been set in motion on the crucial issues of SA’s political and economic future. All of which is positive.

But criticisms of the Idasa-ANC conference need to be considered. One is its explicit dissociation from the Independent movement (see People). The institute’s contingent is predominantly Afrikaners and intellectual — precisely the base on which Denis Worrall and Co contrived such success as they achieved in May. Yet they were not specifically asked along to Dakar — though they may have been approached and must have been aware of what was in the wind.

This gives some cogency to the argument — particularly, but not solely, in the government-supporting media — that Idasa is unrepresentative of mainstream Afrikanerdom. Is this so? Certainly, some of the names that have emerged are fairly predictable. Breiten Breitenbach’s political position is well known — but he is also a pivotal cultural figure in Afrikanerdom. Beyers Naudé is a liberation theologian — but he is not, whatever some may believe, a Leninist.

And what of Johan van Zyl, Leon Louw, Tony Williamson, Albert Koopman, Revel Fox, Hermann Giliomee, Lawrence Schlemmer and Herbert Adam? As extra-parliamentary movements go, Idasa would seem to have no fears about representativeness, though it is preponderantly, and on this occasion deliberately, Afrikaners. The omission of the Independents remains odd.

What is important is that talks are taking place, and that debate cannot be one-sided. Again, government — at least in its initial reaction — has not rushed in with a flame-thrower of condemnation, as it did when the Stellenbosch students wanted to go to Lusaka. Indeed, student leader Philip Verster is finally getting his wish to meet the ANC.

It is of course easier to take away students’ passports than those of responsible academics and businessmen — and there is no election in prospect. But it is not inconceivable that figures like Stoffel van der Merwe and Pik Botha will make a point of keeping themselves briefed on Dakar.

The predominantly Afrikaner composition of the Idasa group is significant in various ways. Unlike many former white Rhodesians, thinking Afrikaners have neither the wish nor the desire to leave Africa, their birthplace. As such they are recognised as a tribe of Africa, and their presence in Idasa enables them to debate the various options of black-white political, economic and social accommodation that will have to be achieved in SA in future.

Debate, of course, is a two-way process. It is unlikely — as diehard National (and Conservative) Party (NP) propagandists would have us believe — that communist influences in the ANC predominate over nationalist ones. But it is a question on the agenda at Dakar. Perhaps a message of conciliation will be brought back — but it would have to include a longer-term commitment to non-violent change by the ANC before the task of convincing government can be addressed.

But simply seeing the results of socialist experiments in Africa should ensure that Idasa’s capitalists have an answer to those — and not only those in the ANC — who propagate the tenets of a command economy and nationalisation.

Idasa is neither the first nor the last of the kind of contact-making exercises that will be conducted as long as the NP holds fast to racial social and political engineering, of which the statutory National Council for black-white negotiation is one example, flawed as it is by the “you talk to us — or else” syndrome. At least Idasa shows Afrikaners going to listen, and to set out and hear differing views on a common, and hopefully peaceful and productive alternative to SA now.

Over-reaction by Pretoria to the mission would be the worst possible outcome — it would entrench the laager mentality and heighten the propensity of a violence/oppression cycle in SA occurring every few years or so — indefinitely. After all, it was not all that long ago that P W Botha himself noted that the route to SA’s reacceptance by the world lay through Africa.
UCT prof sets tone for debate

From MIKE ROBERTSON

DAKAR. — The first full day of talks here has centred on the ANC's support for armed struggle and the question of exploiting political structures like Parliament.

Delegates, who are meeting behind closed doors, say the ANC has been "bending over backwards" to explain its position and try to seek common ground.

Professor Andre du Toit, of the Department of Political Studies at UCT, set the tone of the debate in a paper in which he said a realistic political strategy had to recognize the dangers involved in uncontrolled political violence.

"It may be psychologically understandable or even morally justifiable to turn to political violence, especially in desperation or as a last resort, but strategically this can only be of limited use if not counter-productive. "Confronting a repressive state that, in military or coercive terms, cannot hope to match, or even seriously threaten, the greatest asset of any resistance movement is the actual and potential legitimacy and support it is able to muster amongst the population as well as internationally."

Prof Du Toit said the indiscriminate use of violence or terror "frightened the general public, scaring even anti-apartheid groups and the majority of whites into the government's laager".

It also created the kind of conditions "in which the state can unleash its massive powers of repression with greater impunity and turn loose vigilante groups and reactionary forces to wreak havoc in local communities".

Prof Du Toit added that if local initiatives such as "necklacing" were not consistently and authoritatively disowned, a climate would soon be created in which a responsible political movement could only lose the initiative.

Prof Du Toit argued for a flexible strategy which, while attacking sham reform, exploited the opportunities provided by the limited electoral democracy.

"It should be borne in mind that the continuity of constitutional legality vested in the institution of parliament is an important political resource which should be utilized rather than squandered."

Prof Du Toit also said the task of forging national unity in SA would not be furthered by any organisation attempting to claim a monopoly of political legitimacy.

"A viable political strategy must accept the pluralist nature of the opposition and resistance movement itself."

ANC executive member Mr Mac Maharaj delivered a formal response to Prof Du Toit's paper, but after a flurry of questions it was decided the ANC should have another formal opportunity to state its position.

The ANC decided after meeting in caucus for two hours that this be done by publicity secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Mbeki's address was described by delegates as "brilliant", "highly illuminating" and "going as far as he could without compromising the ANC".

VIP welcome for SA group

DAKAR. — When the South African group entered the conference room here for their talks with the ANC, their arrival was given the sort of treatment usually reserved for visiting heads of state.

Most of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's delegation looked slightly bemused as they were welcomed by dancers on stilts in colourful traditional costume, drummers and dancers.

"It's a great show, isn't it? We should do something in return," commented one delegate as he watched the gyrations of a dancer waving the green flag of Senegal's ruling Parti Socialiste.

"We have come from inside South Africa and are simply overwhelmed by this reception," Dr Slabbert added.

The hospitality continued last night with a champagne reception at the presidential palace where President Abdou Diouf and Mrs Danielle Mitterrand shook hands with each of them.

Mrs Mitterrand, wife of French President Francois Mitterrand and head of the human-rights foundation France-Liberte, played an important role in arranging this week's talks.

Yesterday the group toured a Senegalese textile plant and a yoghurt factory before entering a second day of talks.

Delegates who discussed the closed meetings on condition of anonymity said some of the Afrikansers participating were dismayed by the ANC's apparent insistence on playing the dominant role in the anti-apartheid movement. — Cape Times, Saturday, July 11, 1987

Picture: REUTER-AF
Erasmus: Morale-Boosting Minister

BY ROGER WILLIAMS

The late Mr. Frances Erasmus — top of the Times' Page 15

The press of the time covered the story and its implications in a most

ENGLAND, March 14 - The Times —

Erasmus, a man with no political connections in England, was

appointed by the Government to the post of Minister of Morale.

His appointment was seen as a bid to boost the morale of the

population during a time of political turmoil. Erasmus, known for

his wit and charm, was expected to bring a sense of hope and

stability to the nation.

In his first speech, Erasmus vowed to work tirelessly for the

benefit of the people, promising to restore confidence and

stability to the government. His words were met with a

thrilled reception by the crowd, and many felt a sense of

warmth and reassurance.

Erasmus's policies were designed to alleviate the suffering of

the common people, and he worked diligently to ensure that

the needs of the nation were met. His efforts were

acknowledged by the public, who saw him as a true

hero.

Despite the challenges he faced, Erasmus remained

determined to lead the country to success. His

leadership was praised by many, and he

remained a beloved figure in England.

The legacy of Erasmus lives on, and his

contribution to the nation is still felt today.
Dakar talks focus on power sharing

DAKAR — The group of more than 62 white South Africans toured a Senegalese textile plant and a yogurt factory yesterday before entering a second day of talks with members of the African National Congress.

The tour was one of several activities planned to expose the mostly Afrikaner group to industry under a black government.

Yesterday's closed-door sessions were expected to continue discussions on the question of power-sharing among anti-apartheid groups.

A joint final statement is expected tomorrow.

Despite their differences, the two groups mingled easily on Thursday night at a cocktail party hosted by the Senegalese President, Mr. Abdou Diouf, at his palace overlooking the Atlantic Ocean.

The two sides met for about two hours yesterday morning before breaking for refreshments.

Insiders said little headway had been made in terms of discussing plans for the structure of an alternative non-racial society in South Africa.

The two delegations are to visit the former slave-trader's island of Goree off the Senegal coast on Sunday, and then travel to the West African states of Burkina Faso and Ghana.

A member of the South African delegation, Dr Andre du Toit, said the delegation could never accept the proliferation of uncontrolled violence in South Africa.

"We see it is impossible to ask the ANC to renounce armed struggle," Dr Du Toit, a professor of political science at the University of Cape Town, said.

"We have accepted armed struggle as a historical reality, as we have accepted white violence as a reality."

However, Dr Du Toit said: "This does not mean we can even begin to entertain committing ourselves to support of the armed struggle."

Dr Du Toit said the members of the Afrikaner delegation considered themselves to be patriots, and "compatriots, whose presence in Dakar was a sign of commitment to positive change in South Africa."

He said his statement did not necessarily reflect the viewpoints of all members of the delegation, which included politicians, businessmen, farmers, and sports figures.

— Sapa-RNS
Heunis outlines votes for blacks

Johannesburg — The government disclosed plans that could allow 14 million blacks to express their views on South Africa's constitutional future through elected representatives.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr. Chris Heunis, said he was drafting a law that would enable blacks to vote in a referendum. He said the referendum would be held in the next five years.

Black leaders have long been seeking the right to vote in elections. Mr. Heunis said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

Mr. Heunis said the referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.

The referendum would be held in the next five years. He said the referendum would be a step towards full citizenship for blacks.

The referendum would be held in two phases. The first phase would be a vote on whether blacks should have the right to vote in elections. The second phase would be a vote on which candidates should be elected.
Dakar delegates deny right-wing ‘treason’ charges

DAKAR. — The South Africans conferring with the African National Congress (ANC) yesterday denied charges of treason levelled against them by right-wing organizations in South Africa.

Yesterday, after the first working session on the future of South Africa in a potential non-apartheid era, Professor Andre du Toit, of the University of Cape Town, said that right-wing critics had their own idea of what constituted a nation and what constituted treason.

“We are meeting here with members of the ANC as compatriots and as patriots,” he said.

ANC spokesman Mr. Mac Maharaj said he hoped the international community would ensure that no reprisals are taken against the South African liberals who travelled to Senegal to understand the ANC better and to learn more about other African countries.

“We would like to appeal to governments, especially the allies of South Africa, to send unequivocal messages that if (the Pretoria government) has an obligation to ensure that this visit cannot be used by any forces to act against them,” he said.

Earlier yesterday an extreme right-wing organization, the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (White Freedom Movement), filed a formal complaint with police accusing the white liberals in Senegal of high treason.

The obscure BBB claims to be to the right of the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (AWB).

— Sapa-Reuters

ECT prof sets tone for debate — Page 2
"I am an Afrikaner," is how one black ANC leader introduced himself to a contingent consisting predominantly of visiting Afrikaners at the historic workshop in the Senegalese capital this week.

It set the tone for a remarkable day as South Africans experienced in West Africa when they arrived for talks with a 16-man African National Congress delegation.

It started with the South Africans being taken to the government conference centre in a convoy led by smart police outriders with flashing lights and screaming sirens. They stopped all traffic in Dakar.

At the centre, the visitors were met by scores of colourful Senegalese in traditional dress. They beat drums and performed acrobatic tribal dances. This went on for an hour until the popular, 1.9m President Abdou Diouf arrived and was met by the directors of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach and the ANC's information secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The French President's wife, Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, who co-sponsored the talks, arrived with the Senegalese president Tarno.

Slabbert — treated almost like a head of state...

Dr Slabbert was warmly applauded when he said it was proper for these meetings to take place in Africa and not elsewhere, because it would help show the white South Africans that they are really part of Africa and not an isolated part of Europe.

Addressing the ANC, Dr Slabbert said some of their members had adopted strategies and policies that many South Africans did not understand or accept. But it was nevertheless of crucial importance for the groups to get to know each other and to explore ways out of the conflict in which South Africa was involved.

With the Senegalese gone, it was time for the two delegations to be introduced.

One by one, the delegates from the two teams walked up to the podium to state where they were born and what they are doing now. Several white and black delegates found that they were born in the same town — but under vastly different circumstances. But there were some nostalgic reminiscences.

Outriders, sirens

Then it was back to the hotel — with outriders, sirens and all — for the main function of the two-week conference: the workshop between the two groups.

After three hours, the delegates went to the impressive white palace of President Diouf for an official state reception.

Dr Slabbert stood next to President Diouf welcoming the large contingent of diplomats.
AM an Africaner, is how one black ANC leader introduced himself to a contingent consisting predominantly of visiting Afrikaners at the historic workshop in the Senegalese capital this week.

It set the tone for a remarkable day in South Africa. When they arrived for talks with a 16-man African National Congress delegation.

It started with the South Africans being taken to the conference centre by a convoy led by smart police outriders with flashing lights and screaming sirens. They stopped all traffic in Dakar.

At the centre, the visitors were met by scores of colourfully-dressed Senegalese traditional drummers. They beat drums and performed acrobatic tribal dances. The message was a welcome to Dakar, 12.5m President Abdou Diouf arrived and was met by the directors of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) Dr Pedrick van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Borame. Africans post-conference resolutions and the ANC's information secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The French President's wife, Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, who co-sponsored the talks, arrived with the Senegalese president on a visit to Dakar. Large numbers of foreign television and press representatives were present to hear President Diouf emphasise how proud he was to host "this important forum for witness and victims of apartheid trying to pre-empt a bloodbath".

Strong support

He said the South African Government was trying to create a myth that the country's problems were an East-West issue.

Mrs Mitterrand, whose organisation, France Libertes, helped organise the talks, spoke strongly in support of Idasa.

The leader of the ANC delegation, Mr Thabo Mbeki, spoke but he may not be quoted in South Africa because he is banned.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert was treated almost like a head of state, and the overwhelming welcome to which African delegates received proved that Africa was keen to host and initiate discussions between South Africans who reject apartheid.

Dr Slabbert said the delegation was not in Dakar to promote an artificial detente. He warned that the importance of the meeting should not be overestimated, but added that it was of great value nevertheless because it would help dispel the myths and prejudices between two crucial groups of South Africans.

Outriders, sirens

Then it was back to the hotel — with outriders, sirens and all — for the main function of the two-week conference: the workshop between the two groups.

After three hours, the delegates went to the impressive white palace of President Diouf for an official state reception.

De Slabbert stood next to President Diouf welcoming the large contingent of diplomats and senior government leaders.

They queued up to talk to the South Africans, who by this time had broken the ice and could be seen in little groups talking about the one thing they have in common: home.

![Image](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

The overwhelming welcome the South Africans received proved that Africa was keen to host and initiate discussions between South Africans who reject apartheid — van Zyl Slabbert.

**THE OVERWHELMING WELCOME THE SOUTH AFRICANS RECEIVED PROVED THAT AFRICA WAS KEEN TO HOST AND INITIATE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICANS WHO REJECT APARTHEID — VAN ZYL SLABBERT.**

The two sides got down to serious talks after a colourful welcoming ceremony staged by President Abdou Diouf and his people, which visibly moved the delegates from South Africa.

Spokesmen for both sides expressed satisfaction with the first day's talks. Delegates said the workshop exchanges were remarkably cordial. They said there was considerable agreement on the need for consolidation of the forces opposing the present government in South Africa.

Professor de Toit's statement was received by the ANC team, mostly about the organisation's attitude to violence, its control over insults in the Republic, its stance on negotiation, its human rights in a post-apartheid society and its resolve to win.

Professor de Toit warned that South Africa was faced with the prospect of escalating civil war or at least the proliferation of internal civil conflict which would cost lives and diminish the economy while giving the ruling powers a wide scope for pursuing divide-and-rule strategies.

ANC speakers made it clear that the debate on whether apartheid could be changed was now over and that the only topic was central political power.

They said the ANC had always been and still was in favour of a negotiated settlement. The ANC's alliance with the SACP was defended on the grounds that the Communists had shown they were committed to the ANC's "democratic ideals and goals.

Professor de Toit said a viable political strategy must be a multiple strategy and not take into account the pluralistic nature of the opposition. He specifically mentioned the NU-Movt Movement.
Chief Buthelezi 'mystified' over who will qualify

Which blacks to vote?

Weekend Argus Reporter

IT is a "total mystery" how the Government intends deciding which urban blacks will be entitled to vote for representatives to the proposed statutory national council, says KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi was reacting to a statement by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that the Government had decided in principle there should be an election for urban blacks.

Previously, it had been intended that the President would nominate blacks to the council.

Chief Buthelezi said any franchise system had to have delimitations and he would want to see what legislation was drawn up.

Mystified

"You either have delimited constituencies or you have the borders of the country delimiting a body of voters. Who are urban blacks and who are not is a total mystery to me."

He asked, for example, whether non-urban blacks living in informal shacks settlements in the greater Durban area would be included, or whether only those living in townships would qualify.

"The various parties of the constitutional deadlock in every province of South Africa is a vastness of unrecognised citizens living in no man's-land," said Chief Buthelezi.

There was the option of using existing voters' rolls in townships -- "but everyone knows that would be an absurdity."

South Africa was being ruled under a state of emergency because the Government had not addressed critical issues, said Chief Buthelezi.

National effort

He said that unless those issues were dealt with, any new moves "will fall into the same quagmire into which the National Party government has thrust the country ever since it introduced the present constitution."

"We now need a national effort in which blacks and whites can join to break the constitutional deadlock in which we are transmuted."

Chief Buthelezi welcomed Mr Heunis' statement on Friday that the joint executive authority in KwaZulu/Natal was about to become a reality.

However, he warned that he would face "immense difficulties" -- which could prove "incredible" -- if the joint authority was expected to be a "four" regional services council on KwaZulu/Natal.

Won't betray trust

"If the consummation of the joint authority is going to be done at the expense of betraying the trust of my people, who gave me solid backing in the rejection of RSCs, then I must not be expected to go ahead with that consummation," said Chief Buthelezi.

South Africa was "really in the melting pot".

He said it was about time, the Government recognised that only bold steps, resulting in normalising South Africa, could save the country from continuing economic collapse and the continent had to rule under a state of emergency.

WHAT A CHEEK! Pierre Cardin was looking for something different when he decided to show his latest fashions in the BMW plant in Regensburg, West Germany. But it was a little different to what he expected. He didn't realise that one of his models was showing more than the design called for.

Star Wars on way to lift-off

HOUSTON -- A new rocket designed to carry the giant space station will be ready by the mid-1980s to lift off the Strategic Defence Initiative ("Star Wars"), US Air Force Secretary Edward Aldridge said. -- Sapa-Reuters.

Peter quits Bitch's home

LOS ANGELES -- Joan Collins' estranged husband Peter Holm, ended a stand-off with her lawyers and walked out of her Hollywood home last night after unlocking the building for police under an eviction order.

The 39-year-old Swedish businessman said as he left with a police escort: "I feel Joan has lost the round because she has lost all my respect."

"Holm, who says he is broke and has nowhere to go, had earlier locked up the house and shouted from a balcony: "Nobody's coming in, nobody. Nobody."

He emerged from the two-storey hillside mansion after Collins' lawyers obtained a Superior Court order.

"Holm, Collins' fourth husband, is claiming temporary support of $166,000 a month from Collins in a bitter family dispute."

Peter Holm
AN architect this week told how he was viciously beaten up by a retired SANDF brigadier — now a Nationalist MP — and his student son.

The assault took place after the architect had sacked his son's girlfriend:

Mr Hendrik Graphorn still suffers from the injuries he received when Brigadier Koos Bosman, National Party MP for Jeromyse, and his son, Jaap, 23, attacked him in his office near the University of Pretoria.

It happened last August, nine months before Brig Bosman won a seat in Parliament in the general election.

But it will stay with him now, he said, for the first time with the termination of court proceedings this week.

In February, Brig Bosman, former director of publicity relations in the Defence Force and a senior man in the SABC news department before that, said an admission-of-guilt fine of R1000 for assault.

Vicious

This week his son, a second-year pharmacist student at the University of Pretoria, was fined R1000 (one month) on a charge of assault.

Speaking after Jaap Bosman's trial, Mr Graphorn told the Sunday Times: "I will never forgive the way that day the brigadier grabbed me by the throat and kicked me to the ground. When I desperately tried to get away, he hit me with a vicious swipe at me and fractured my cheekbone.

It was only when two of Mr

KOBUS BOSMAN

n Admission of guilt

Graphorn's clients and members of his staff came to his rescue: his assailants left.

Brig Bosman told the Sunday Times he had paid an admission-of-guilt fine "purely to avoid the inconvenience of protracted court cases".

Mr Graphorn, who is still deciding whether to proceed with a civil action for the "thousands of rands in medical costs" and for pain and suffering, said: "What disturbed me is that a man with his violent attitude represents people in Parliament. He had tried in vain to reason with his assailants.

Dismissed

He said he fired Jaap Bosman's girlfriend, Karen Swart, because she "sat with her feet on the table talking on the phone the whole day."

"She was a student working for the holidays and I enjoyed

BOOBERT BOSMAN

said he was hit by door very aggressive, tall man standing in my office doorway," he said.

"They demanded to see me immediately and, in a change of attitude, I realised something serious was going to happen."

He asked his two clients to wait next door. According to Mr Graphorn, the brigadier did most of the talking and demanded that the money owed to his son's girlfriend be paid out immediately.

"I tried to explain that, but"

"Surprised"

While delegates were surprised at the lengths to which the ANC was prepared to go to placate Afrikaner fears, those from within South Africa said they could not accept the ban on organisational violence.

Nor were the Slabberts satisfied with the ANC's response to acts of terror against civilians. Nevertheless, even to the question of the armed struggle, the meeting, which saw some of Africanordor's leading intellectuals locking horns with their counterparts in the ANC, revealed a certain areas of agreement.

There was, for example, wide acceptance of the view expressed by Professor Andre du Toit of Cape Town University that the armed struggle was an historical fact. To a lesser extent they supported Professor du Toit when he said he found acceptable the ANC's explanation of the refusal to resume violence, given the present attitude of the Government.

Violence

Dr Slabbert, who chaired the meeting, told the Sunday Times in an interview: "It was made abundantly clear to all that the prime responsibility for reducing the escalation of violence through armed struggle lay with the Government.

"It has the option of changing the circumstances which led the ANC into the armed struggle in the first place — the banning of political organisations, the detention of political prisoners and the continuation of apartheid."

"If the Government does not believe these conditions set by the ANC, it has the option of calling its bluff by meeting them and testing whether the ANC will reconsider the armed struggle."

Dr Slabbert said most of the South Africans found it a matter of deep regret that the ANC's commitment to armed struggle continued.

"The ANC men said they could understand the problems which South Africans from inside the country had with this issue and that it also created problems for others in their own communities."

"However the ANC did not want to expect people to join and support the armed struggle if they did not wish to."

But they certainly wanted to know what white South Africans who were committed to a non-racial democracy were prepared to do to promote the interests of the majority."

Dr Slabbert said that despite the crucial issues which were debated, the meeting had been free of acrimony.

"There was an extraordinary meeting of the minds on certain fundamental issues such as a common citizenship, a democratic structure of government in one South Africa, no institutionalisation of any racism or ethnicity, and a franchise for everyone on an equal basis."

In the discussion, the ANC expressed support for a bill of rights which enshrined the rights of individuals.
The ANC talks do no harm, but let's not forget that Pretoria serves the real boerekoffie ...

IT WAS quite an occasion this week when a group of Afrikaners flew from the southernmost tip of Africa to the westernmost tip of the continent to talk to the ANC. But how much of an occasion was it really?

Talking to the ANC is not so exceptional these days. A whole row of people have done it. There is even a booklet published by the Government entitled "Talking to the ANC", published one suspects, to counter an Afrikaners' booklet with the same name — "Praet met die ANC" — which came at the subject from a totally different angle.

Ah, but you see these are Afrikaners. That's the difference. And there is a whole plane load of them. That makes it an occasion. But what kind of an occasion?

Interesting certainly. Instructive for both sides. Maybe even emotional in finding out that they are all just South Africans after all. And perhaps learning from each other that the answers to our vexed problems will have to be found by us.

But let us not ever play the occasion. Talking is better than fighting and it is always good when antagonists get to know each other — and Slabbert and his merry men are antagonists of the ANC, never mind what some newspapers may be saying.

The Dakar talks are to be welcomed but let us stand back a little from the noise and see if we can get a perspective of what it all means.

The Government has probably sent the clearest message of all. It is saying nothing, except that it is aware of the trip. True, a spokesman for the NP condemned it. But not the Government officially. And they let them go.

The message must be: "We don't think it is all that important and so we are not going to bother too much with it."

But the Government also looks reasonable by not interfering.

Round one to the Government.

For the ANC the occasion was a boost. The world's media were there, even a strong contingent from South Africa. There will be publicity the ANC could not buy. Its image will be polished. It will look important, even reasonable.

Not on.

ANC leader Oliver Tambo is not bothering to be there, but a good second string is there. That tells you the ANC knows how much it can get out of the meeting.

Round two to the ANC.

Vice-Rafael Slabbert and his Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) have managed to catch the world's eye. They are seen trying to bridge the divide in South Africa.

And that is good, not only in an abstract sense but also for Idasa and any future fund-raising efforts. Good for its credibility too.

Round three to Slabbert and Idasa.

For the South Africans — from Lusaka and from inside the country — it was an exciting, for some maybe even exhilarating experience. They learnt what the worst of one's expectations need not always be fulfilled, learnt that maybe talking makes sense.

They will have taken an important step towards better understanding.

Round four for the possibility of talks...

Getting to know your ANC delegation leaders.
side the country — it was an exciting, for some may-
be even exhilarating experience. They learned that
the worst of their expectations need not always be
fulfilled; learnt that maybe talking makes sense.
They will have taken an important step towards
better understanding.

Round four for the va-
dility of talks.

But this bout has many,
many more rounds than four.

The ANC is fairly well-informed. It will know that
it has been speaking to people
who have turned their
backs on the ruling
National Party but without
thereby turning towards
the ANC.

It is a well-balanced
group, an interesting group,
an intelligent group. There
are politicians, poets, jour-
nalists, film makers, archi-
technologists, business-
men, academics...

— Yet it is not politically in
the heavyweight section.
The heavies are still in
 Pretoria and Cape Town.
And the ANC will have
learnt over the last three
years — or has the UDP
and Coetzee — that march-
ing on Pretoria is not on.
The Afrikaners, the whites,
are here to stay, their will
to do so not even dented,
their power to survive not
even stretched.

A frontal attack, a revo-
 lution, an insurrection, an
eruption — call it what you
may, but it is not so.

Another way will have to be found, a new strategy
developed.

Truths

As much as it is true, as
everybody keeps on saying,
that the ANC is a factor
which has to be reckoned
with now and in a future
South Africa, it is true that
the National Party is here
to stay.

In Dakar the ANC will
have known that while it
spoke to Africans they
are not the ones who wield
power or even do much to

influence decisions.

The last three years have
shown that a stalemate has
been reached. Black ex-
pectations about political
power and economic well-
being have been raised to a
pitch where they will not go
away.

But the whites have
shown that while they are
prepared to face those is-
sions they won’t do it in the
way black radicalism is ex-
pecting.

Now that there will appear to be ready for a
compromise.

Not that there is too
much reason to hope for an
accommodation. The State
has regained control of the
situation, the economy is
pointing up and Steyn van
der Merwe is making sweet
noises — no pressure from
the white electorate on the

Government is dissipating.

That does not change the
need for a new initiative,
for talking to the ANC —
but also talking to every-
body else who wants to talk,
as the ANC is only one of
the power factors.

Certainties

There are many others,
inside South Africa who
would be, and should be, en-
gaged in discussions. Un-
fortunately many of them
are in jail, becoming less
and less inclined to talk.

One thing is certain and
that is we have to stop look-
ing at the ANC as an or-
ganisation which sits in Lu-
saka. Its politics as
expressed in the Freedom
Charter are with us, are
part of the programme of a
wide spectrum of people
and form the most impor-
tant expression of black
feelings.

Divorce the ANC in Lu-
saka from the Charter and
beginning by addressing
the Charter and its support-
ers inside South Africa may
offer an alternate approach
to just saying no all the
time.

It should be seen as
first and very important step,
but one which needs a
second leg. And that would
be talking to the ANC
through third parties who
have credibility with the
Government as well as with
the ANC.

The ANC, too, must know
by now that it will not get
its way and must begin to
act more reasonably — by
not speaking out against
those who speak to the Gov-
ernment, and most certain-
ly by not acting against

And by being prepared to
speak through third parties
without making a public
noise about it.

Foolish

Talking to the ANC in
Dakar with such media
type in face and construc-
tive but not the way we will
reach a resolution of the
problem.

Stabbert should be com-
manded for keeping lines of
communication open but
Thabo Mbeki and his ANC
soon will be foolish if they
think that the cups of coffee
they have been sharing con-
tained "espresso coffee".
SANCTIONS AND THE ELECTION — by HELEN SUZMAN M P

What can we expect when SA is given credit for nothing

While South Africa’s growing isolation may well have heightened the awareness of the international community of the scale of the human rights violations here, it is unlikely to have changed the government’s basic policy or persuaded it to make any serious concessions on the issues at stake.

The government has consistently denied that it is responsible for the abuses of human rights that have occurred in South Africa. It has defended its policies on the grounds that they are necessary to maintain law and order and to protect the racial balance of the country.

But even the most ardent supporters of the government must admit that there is a growing sense of despair among the black majority. This is reflected in the increasing popularity of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

The ANC is the only political party in South Africa that has a clear and consistent programme for the liberation of the black people. It is supported by a growing number of people who are dissatisfied with the state of affairs in this country.

The government has responded to the ANC’s growing popularity by increasing its security measures. It has also tried to undermine the ANC by分化 its members and by using violence against its supporters.

Despite these efforts, the ANC continues to grow in strength. It is clear that the government is losing control of the political situation in South Africa.

The government’s only hope is to continue its policy of isolation and to try to keep the ANC out of power. But this is not a viable option. The ANC is too strong for the government to ignore.

The government must therefore prepare for a change of leadership. It must start to think about how it can work with the ANC to achieve a peaceful solution to the crisis in South Africa.
HISTORY IS MADE... BUT PERHAPS ONLY A LITTLE BIT OF IT
Butehezi Scorpions Joint Plan

[Image]
The demise of the Progressive Federal Party is now being freely predicted as the white political opposition, like a wounded baboon, leaps at its own guts out.

Noboby, of course, wants to accept responsibility for the party’s decline. Helen Suzman has put some of the blame on the English students who boycotted the May 6 election, and I think she is right; but the students, appalled by their own destructive success, now whine that they are poor, innocent victims of the system that lets them vote.

Peter Wilhelm, who brings the penetrating eye of a poet to political analysis, writes in Optima that the party may never recover from the “evocative desertion” of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert. Again, I would agree that Slabbert’s desertion was a savage blow, but I would add that Slabbert’s subsequent denunciations of the Parliamentary Opposition as “irrelevant” compounded the damage.

So, too, did the defection of his fellow-Afrikaner Horace van Rensburg, amid a shower of accusations that the PFP was a hostile environment for Afrikaners — a charge quickly exploited by Harald Pakendorf on behalf of Wynand Malan’s Independents to create yet another insurmountable division.

Wilhelm suggests — with the gleeful concurrence of the Nationalist Press — that the PFP’s sorrows are not at an end. Some of the PFP Members of Parliament, he says, probably “feel ashamed at their positions” and will “sense the cogency of the calls on them to resign”. And indeed if they do feel ashamed, they are morally bound to resign.

The question is what, if anything, they will do instead. If the PFP is to die, what happens to opposition to apartheid? Many people have already made up their minds. According to the opinion polls, a third or more of English voters are now Nationalists; the election figures indicate a much higher percentage — about 400,000 out of 700,000 voters.

In effect, control of Parliament — and with it, control of the currency, the budget, the armed forces, the administration of justice and coercive powers of the State — is to be contested by the atavistic Conservative Party and by the Afrikaners-English racial coalition which the National Party has now become. The similarities to the old Nat-Sep division are obvious.

This is the traditional base of white politics, in which the PFP has supposedly proved to be “irrelevant”. The glamorous new alternative is represented by the expedition to West Africa of a group who might, without spite, be called “Slabbert and his friends”.

It is an amorphous group, its members ranging from free marketeers Leon Louw to liberation theologists Beyers Naude and banker Andre Hamerama. It includes Pieter Schoeman, Peter Gastrow, and Pierre Cronje of the PFP, along with former members of the party now free of the shame of elected office.

The reaction of the Nationalist Press to the expedition has been illuminating. Though most of the members are Afrikaners, and many of them are bitter critics of the PFP, the Nationalists have seized on the presence in the group of Gastrow, Cronje and Schoeman to renew the accusation that the PFP is “soft on the ANC”.

Thus the work of destruction begun by Slabbert’s “evocative desertion” continues with his evocative expedition.

The destruction is likely to continue. Slabbert’s obsession has always been with constitutional change, the grand design. He bequeathed to the PFP a detailed — indeed, a brilliant — theoretical blueprint for the management of the transition to majority rule; but he left the party without policy.

Insofar as the PFP has any policy at all, it is set out in the speeches and motions of Helen Suzman during the years when she served alone in the House: a classically liberal stance based on the rule of law, the democratic method and the free market, all operating in a humane society in which the centre-piece is the free individual.

Since then, the PFP has allowed its policies to be diluted by elements of a different tradition which at best expresses itself as social democracy. At worst, it evinces a socialist hostility to capitalism, a belief in a command economy and a determination to engineer the lives of lesser mortals.

The missing element is a unifying vision of the future, and the result is contradiction: it is impossible, as David Owen found in the British Labour Party, to be simultaneously socialist and non-socialist, but the PFP, like its former leader, cannot face up to the choice. It plays Hamlet instead, flirting irresolutely with death while Slabbert seeks conciliation in Dakar.

It is not violence but ideology which constitutes the main obstacle to negotiation with the ANC. The ANC’s refusal to abandon its armed struggle (why should it, after being so richly rewarded with international status and internal recognition for its violent policies?) will not necessarily be fatal to negotiation.

The truly insurmountable obstacle will be the discovery by the Slabbert mission — a likely one — that the ANC remains wedded to the overthrow of capitalism as part of its war of liberation. That will put a quick fix of the South African conflict beyond reach, and the society may well be cast back, in a time of unending travail, on the thankless efforts of Parliamentary opposition in the liberal tradition of Helen Suzman to hold fascism at bay.

If so, let’s hope it happens before the PFP vanishes entirely, leaving us no better shield than Slabbert and his friends.
We'll talk to ANC again — delegation

DAKAR — The Afrikaner delegation having talks with the ANC has rejected claims that it has betrayed its community — and has pledged to meet the organisation again.

In an indication of what Frederik van Zyl Slabbert called "an extraordinary meeting of minds on a number of important issues", 59 delegates and 17 ANC members issued a joint communiqué at the end of their four-day talks.

The ANC position was that this committed those attending the talks to common action, although they would pursue different strategies.

Two delegates did not support the communiqué because they were attending in their official capacities. They were Woolworths CEO Tony Williamson and Standard Bank consultant economist Andre Hamersma.

On the question of the armed struggle, which has dominated the talks, the communiqué said: "The main area of concern arises over the ANC's resolve to maintain and intensify the armed struggle.

The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and, although not all could support it, everyone was deeply concerned over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence.

"However, all participants recognised that if the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination."

It said all present had expressed a preference for a negotiated settlement to the SA question.

The unconditional release of political prisoners and detainees, and the unbanning of political organisations were fundamental prerequisites for such negotiations.

The communiqué said not only was there a need for more contacts, but also a need to involve a wider section of the population in them.

The participants had accepted the urgency of realising the goal of a non-racial democracy. Different strategies had to be used in accordance with possibilities available to those opposed to apartheid.

Delegates have been stunned by the reaction to the talks in SA. Some have had to take their children out of schools, while the threat from the AWB to them personally is being taken seriously.

The communiqué said: "Participants could not but be aware that some of the adherents of apartheid regarded the participation of the group as an act of betrayal, not only to the apartheid state, but also to the community of Afrikanerdom. This was totally rejected by the group."

The ANC said the fact that people were pledged to meet again despite the threats from the AWB was important.

Slabbert said there was nothing new about the propaganda which had been directed against the meeting.

He said: "Part of the reason I was keen on bringing about this discussion was to show South Africans not to blindly accept propaganda but to go and find out for themselves.

Mike Robertson

"We'll talk to ANC again"

"The people here did not come to unconditionally surrender. They came to find out, to discuss, to see if there could be a meeting of minds.

"A great deal of misunderstanding has been resolved. There has been a good, tough intellectual debate on many issues and differences were clearly articulated. I think we will all go back with much more accurate information about the situation."

"In a country which is riddled with disinformation, this is absolutely necessary."

The delegates left today to Burkino Faso and Ghana.
ANC rejects blacks' vote plan

DAKAR. — The exiled African National Congress yesterday rejected South African government plans that could allow millions of blacks to elect representatives to an advisory body to debate the country's future.

Speaking after a meeting between liberal white South Africans and the ANC in the Senegalese capital of Dakar, ANC spokesman Mr Pallo Jordan described the proposals as cosmetic.

"It is just another instance of tinkering with the instruments and mechanisms of apartheid. We don't feel it is possible to reform the apartheid system. We feel it has to be uprooted," he said.

Mr Jordan is deputy director of information for the ANC and has been a member of its ruling body, the National Executive Committee, since July 1986.

The advisory council proposals, announced by a senior South African government minister on Friday, do not give executive powers to the proposed National Council, which has been rejected by most black leaders, including moderates like the influential Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. — Sapa-Reuters
Slabbert vows to meet ANC again

From MIKE ROBERTSON

DAKAR. — A delegation of South Africans has pledged to meet the ANC again and has rejected claims that its presence here is an act of betrayal of their community.

However, the Citizen newspaper reported today that the ANC was changing its policy to prevent South Africans meeting the ANC — such as at the Dakar conference — was under scrutiny.

The newspaper said its information came from "government sources". These sources stressed that there was no actual legislation in the pipeline, Sapa reports.

Meanwhile, at the end of four days of talks, described by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert as "an extraordinary meeting of minds on a number of important issues", 59 members of his delegation and 17 members of the African National Congress issued a joint communiqué.

Two members of the internal delegation did not support the communiqué because they were attended in their official capacities. They were the managing director of Woolworth, Mr Tony Williamson, and Standard Bank economist, Mr Andre Hamerema.

Threats from AWB

Members of the internal delegation have been asked by the reaction in South Africa to the talks.

Some have tried to take their children out of schools and threaten them from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging are being taken seriously.

The communiqué said: "Participants could not be aware that some of the adherents of apartheid regarding the participation of the group as an act of betrayal, not only to the apartheid state, but also to the community of Afrikanerdom. This was totally rejected by the group."

On the question of the armed struggle, which has dominated the talks, the communiqué said: "The hijacking of some men over the ANC's resolve to maintain, internally the armed struggle as a means to achieve the liberation of South Africa. Although not all could support it, everyone was deeply concerned over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence."

It added that all present had expressed a preference for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

The communique said that, not only was there a need for further contacts, but also a need to involve a wider section of South Africa's population.

Dr Slabbert said there was nothing new about the propaganda directed against the meeting.

"Part of the reason I was keen on bringing about this discussion was to show South Africans not to blindly accept propaganda but to go and find out for themselves."
Dakar team agree to more talks

Pledge to Afrikaners

Dispatch Correspondent

Dakar (Senegal) Afrikaners will be welcome in a post-apartheid South Africa and their cultural traditions will be respected but they will receive no special privileges as a minority group, an Afrikaner (National Congress spokesman said here at the weekend.

"We have made it clear that we will not allow any Afrikaners to live in South Africa in the future," he said.

Mr. Jordan, a spokesman for the group, said that his government will not tolerate any Afrikaners in South Africa.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

The talks are being held in the presence of the ANC and other South African representatives.

The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.
Dakar delegates issue communiqué

DAKAR. — Following is a partial text of a joint communiqué issued yesterday by a 17-member delegation of the African National Congress and 59 white South Africans who ended three-day talks here at the weekend:

1. The participants from South Africa took part in their individual capacities. They shared a joint commitment of having rejected both the ideology and practice of the apartheid system.

2. Participants could not but be aware that some of the adherents of apartheid regarded the participation of the group as an act of betrayal, not only to the apartheid state, but also to the community of Afrikanerdom. (Dr Van Zyl Slabbert added that this was totally rejected.)

3. The conference was organized around four principal topics: Strategies for bringing about fundamental change in South Africa, the building of national unity, perspectives with regard to the structures of the government of a free South Africa, and the economy of a liberated South Africa.

4. The discussions took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and a unity of purpose.

5. The group listened to and closely questioned the perspectives, goals and strategies of the ANC. The main area of concern arose over the ANC's resolve to maintain and intensify the armed struggle.

6. The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and although not all could support it, everyone was deeply concerned over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence.

However, all participants recognized that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination.

The group developed an understanding of the conditions which have generated a widespread revolt by the black people as well as the importance of the ANC as a factor in resolving the conflict.

6. The conference unanimously expressed preference for a negotiated resolution of the South African question.

Participants recognized that the attitude of those in power is the principal obstacle to progress in this regard. It was further accepted that the unconditional release of all political leaders imprisoned or detained and the unbanning of all organizations are fundamental prerequisites for such negotiations to take place.

7. Proceeding from the common basis that there is an urgent necessity to realize the goal of a non-racial democracy, participants agreed that they have an obligation to act for the achievement of this objective. They accepted that different strategies must be used in accordance with the possibilities available to the various forces opposed to the system of apartheid.

8. It was accepted by the two delegations that further contacts of this nature were necessary. Equally, it was important that such contacts should involve more and wider sections of the South African people in order to dispel misunderstanding and fear and to reinforce the broad democratic movement.

9. Conference expressed profound appreciation to President Abdou Diouf and the government and people of Senegal for the warm welcome extended to the delegates as well as the assistance afforded to them to assure the success of the conference.

It further expressed gratitude to Mrs Danielle Mitterrand for her assistance in organizing the conference. — Sapa-Reuters
Burkina Faso hails SA group

OUAGADOUOU. — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's group of South Africans who met the ANC in Dakar at the weekend, received a big welcome when they arrived in Burkina Faso yesterday.

Thousands of local people chanting anti-apartheid slogans lined the streets of Ouagadougou as the 50-strong group was taken to the city centre soon after it arrived from Dakar.

Representatives of the ANC arrived on the same Air Afrique flight.

They were greeted on the tarmac of Ouagadougou airport by banner-carrying members of the Burkina Anti-Apartheid Movement. Two children—one black, one white—offered them wooden bowls of zoom koom, a traditional drink of tamarind, as a sign of hospitality.

The travel-weary South Africans and ANC members are due to hold talks with Burkina Faso leader Mr Thomas Sankara, the youthful army officer who projects a militant stance against apartheid.

Dr Alex Boraine, spokesman for the South African group, told Reuters Mr Sankara wanted to show the South African delegation his people and his country.

PARIS. — Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of President Francois Mitterrand, yesterday defended her participation in the Dakar meeting between white liberal South Africans and ANC members.

Mrs Mitterrand, who has been attacked by the right-wing National Front party for participating, said: "What we tried to do in Dakar will remain in the annals of history as an advance towards peace and democracy." — Sapa-AP

"Sankara invited us to see a different style of government. He was very keen that we should not just meet government officials... He wants us to meet the people," he said.

Dr Boraine said he would resist any exhortations by the Burkina president for the white liberals to adopt violent tactics in the fight against the apartheid system of racial segregation.

"To embrace the armed struggle is to say that there is no other way. But for us in South Africa, there is another way." The inhabitants of this dusty capital city stopped work early yesterday to greet the two groups.

Mr Sankara, 37, will host a major anti-apartheid conference later this year.

The South Africans looked dazed by the rousing welcome they received and one of them expressed surprise that there was no local opposition to their visit.

Both delegations were scheduled to meet later yesterday with members of the ruling National Revolutionary Council and attend a session of a People's Revolutionary Court currently trying more than 100 military personnel on charges of corruption.

Mr Sankara last night hosted a reception for the two sides. Today they will take part in a public debate on South Africa's racial segregation.

The Dakar group was originally expected to travel to Accra tomorrow at the invitation of the Ghanaian leader, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, but a senior official of the Ghana Foreign Affairs Ministry said yesterday that "technical and financial" problems might prevent the visit.

The official, who asked not to be identified, said: "We have heard about these problems, but we still have our doors open if they still want to come." — Sapa-Reuter
Meeting of minds

Should they have gone and did the talks serve any purpose? These are the questions that are being asked at the end of the four days of talks in Dakar, Senegal, between 50 delegates of an Afrikaner delegation and 17 members of the African National Congress.

The answers to both must be an unequivocal yes if only because the historic talks turned out to be (in the words of Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert) an "extraordinary meeting of minds on a number of important issues."

The African National Congress or ANC is a banned organisation in South Africa and it thus cannot put its views on issues in this country and, most importantly, the people who live here do not know how the organisation envisages government should it come to power. It could be draconian, it could be a benign mix of free enterprise and socialism; South Africa does not know, is not allowed to know.

Dr Slabbert, who has come into the political cold to emerge again as a man who could yet play a significant part in healing the agony of the country, himself referred to the situation engendered by bannings, emergency regulations and laws that continue to endanger the freedom of the press. He said they would return to South Africa with much more accurate information about the situation, this being "absolutely necessary in a country riddled with disinformation."

They were no more than fellow South Africans talking about the future of their country. Neither is in power but each group is essential to settlement. At least they met and they negotiated. In such circumstances around the table the man seen almost in abstract as an ogre suddenly becomes only another human being with the same desires of security, a home, a family and an environment in which he can get on with the job of helping to develop his country. There is no hope in being at arm's length and abusing one another. There must be talks and negotiation.

One negative factor was the ANC resolve to maintain and intensify the armed struggle, even if both groups expressed a preference for a negotiated settlement. Before any such talks the ANC wants political prisoners released and political organisations unbanned. The South African Government says it wants violence to stop first.

It seems to be an impasse and some form of compromise will be necessary if the country is not to get bogged down into a situation of increasing violence and economic stagnation. If there is to be an inheritance for anyone there will have to be an unbending of attitudes—and negotiations.
NSC proposal greeted by calls to release Mandela

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG - Criticism of the proposed National Statutory Council (NSC) mounted yesterday as the government's intended nationwide poll for blacks was spurned and the release of all political prisoners - including Nelson Mandela - demanded.

Today, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, is holding crucial talks in Pretoria with the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umusa) on the controversial advisory body.

Mr Heunis announced last week that government wanted representatives on the NSC to be elected, not appointed.

The president of Umusa, Mr Tom Boya, said yesterday he would continue to oppose the NSC unless the government demonstrated its bona fides by releasing political prisoners, including Mandela, unbanning political organisation and abandoning all legislation based on race.

Umusa wanted genuine negotiation and genuine power-sharing but a "proper climate must be created" if such negotiations were to succeed, Mr Boya said.

"Only by addressing the appalling living conditions of many black people and giving an opportunity to blacks to elect and mandate their own representatives at these negotiations would that be possible," he said.

In rejecting the government's plans for black elections, the United Democratic Front (UDF) said they would not make the NSC anymore democratic or popular than the present KSCs or the tricameral parliament.

A UDF spokesman said: "No amount of political egg-dancing without facing the real issues will get the UDF and the black people in this country to support these Nationalist sponsored structures."

He added government should "give up this unpopular NSC and create conditions for the democratic participation of all South Africans in one parliament and not half-baked and white constructed solutions."

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the politics of negotiation would not succeed unless "black democracy is unshackled".

Blacks who participated in the NSC could not make a contribution to normalising South Africa as a "stable, functional society which can be ruled through the normal process of law," Chief Buthelezi said.

The PPF said in a statement the elections under the present state of emergency would be nothing more than a farce and would not "make the slightest contribution towards reducing the present conflict.

"With most democratic movements in the townships having been crippled by massive and continuous detentions, and harassment, of virtually all leaders, it would be a totally fruitless and senseless act to hold elections."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu dismissed the government's election scheme as a "sugar-coated pill".

"How can you have elections when black organisations are still banned and when many who might have been elected are still in jail?" he said.
Reval: Amend emerency

But renewal was

says Anglo chief
necessary,

3079/12

JOHANNESBURG. - The
Umsa to meet Heunis over black poll

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

AS CRITICISM mounts over the government move for elections among urban black people for the proposed National Statutory Council, crucial discussions are to be held in Pretoria today about the controversial new body.

The United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), which has previously opposed participation in the council, is to meet with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, for discussions about the proposed body.

Yesterday the United Democratic Front, the Progressive Federated Party and Archbishop Desmond Tutu all rejected the call for elections among black people for the council.

At the weekend Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said it was a "total mystery" how the government intended defining which urban black people would be entitled to vote for the council and that South Africa was being ruled under a state of emergency because the government had not addressed crucial issues.

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning officials have said that discussions had been held with 170 to 190 black officials who had accepted the NSC in principle.

Umsa president Mr Tom Boya, the mayor of Daveyton, said yesterday in a statement that one of the main items on the agenda would be the government's proposed National Statutory Council and Umsa's stand on participation.

The organization has said previously it was opposed to participation in the NSC unless the government demonstrated its bona fides by releasing political prisoners, including jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, unbanning political organizations and abandoning legislation which discriminates on grounds of race.

Political egg-dancing

Mr Boya also said Umsa would ask Mr Heunis to conduct a nationwide investigation into the backlogs of infrastructure and housing in all black townships and to indicate government's plans for the elimination of these backlogs.

The UDF said in a statement signed by its acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, that opting for elections rather than participation by appointment would not make the national council any more democratic or popular than the present regional services council or the tricameral Parliament.

"No amount of political 'egg dancing' without facing the real issues will get the UDF and the black people in this country to support these Nationalist-sponsored structures," the statement said.

The government must "give up this unpopular NSC and create conditions for the democratic participation of all South Africans in one parliament and not half-baked and white constructed 'solutions'," the PFP, in a statement issued by one of its constitutional planning spokesmen, Mr Jan van Eck, MP, said elections for black people under existing conditions, particularly the state of emergency, would be a farce and not "make the slightest contribution to reducing the present conflict in South Africa".

"With most democratic movements in the townships having been crippled by massive and continuous detentions, and harassment, of virtually all leaders, it would be a totally fruitless and senseless act to hold elections," Mr Van Eck said.

"Archbishop Tutu dismissed the government's latest scheme of elections among urban blacks as a "sugar-coated pill".

"How can you have elections when black organizations are still banned and when many who might have been elected are still in jail?"

"I'm not interested in this personally. This is just trying to sugar-coat the pill — but the basic thing is that the pill is still rotten," Archbishop Tutu said.
Opinion

Bridging the ANC-Afrikaner chasm

DAKAR. — My main impression of the talks between members of the African National Congress (ANC) and the predominantly Afrikaners-speaking group is of a chasm that still divides the two main political forces in South Africa, namely Afrikaner and African nationalism.

Nevertheless, there has been surprising willingness on both sides to throw up bridges which will prevent a civil war. Although members of the group advised the ANC not to underestimate the resolve of the Botha government to impose a system of new apartheid with the help of much more sophisticated methods of coercion than divide and rule tactics.

The members of the ANC delegation, on the other hand, gave a clear demonstration of the ANC's will to intensify the struggle on all fronts, militarily, politically, economically and diplomatically.

Pessimism

My main impression is that the ANC is developing a steadily increasing sophistication with articulate spokesmen and a flexibility in adapting goals, methods and rhetoric to changing circumstances. Whether this was superficial was difficult to gauge.

For those inclined to historical pessimism there was all the evidence for the making of a major confrontation.

Nevertheless, there were also hopeful signs. Seventy blacks and whites were prepared to discuss ways in which the divisions in South African society could be overcome, and to understand the motives and objectives behind political actions.

Undoubtedly, the main topic of discussion was the use of violence both by the State and by the ANC. It was heartwarming that this discussion never threatened to break up the conference, as well might have happened if the participants had been from Lebanon or Northern Ireland.

Instead, black and white South Africans explored all avenues which could prevent the fate of civil war and the deadly spiral of violence.

Most of the whites have come away with a much clearer understanding of the reasons why the ANC leadership has decided to embark on a strategy of armed struggle and why it is prepared to resist any unilateral political dispensation in South Africa.

First, the ANC sees itself as the major nationalistic organization. ANC leaders have always been accepted by blacks as their leaders. So the ANC considers its historic duty to resist political schemes unilaterally devised by whites or elections called by the Botha government.

For me it looks as though Mr. Botha's call for elections among black leaders may trigger a new round of turmoil since the ANC is utterly committed to veto any scheme which excludes them.

It is also quite clear that the ANC still strongly rejects violence as a means in itself. The sole objective of violence is to force any minority regime to the negotiating table.

Furthermore, the ANC still rejects indiscriminate violence which aims at civilians. There was nevertheless, in my opinion, an unresolved contradiction in their attitude in this regard. Several Afrikaner delegates pointed out that if the ANC was opposed to indiscriminate violence or to neck-lacing, it had a duty to condemn unauthorized attacks.

It never became quite clear why the ANC was reluctant to go along to this.

There was also a full discussion on the suspension of violence by the ANC to create the climate for negotiations. Here the ANC clearly stated that any moratorium on violence could only come about if there was sufficient evidence of willingness to negotiate.

Apart from the armed struggle, discussion was held on ways in which more people could get involved in a struggle for a non-racial democracy in opposition to the apartheid system.

Here the ANC delegates made three propositions.

New ways

Firstly, the "people" had to accept the ANC as the leading force in the opposition. Secondly, the ANC under this condition is prepared to grant a large degree of autonomy to other organizations committed to a non-racial democracy.

Thirdly, the ANC was willing to explore new ways of coordinating with other organizations, even those not accepting ANC leadership, means by which people could oppose apartheid and replace it with a non-racial democracy.

The main discussion revolved around the ANC's demand to lead the forces of opposition to apartheid.

Some Afrikaner delegates pointed out that an escalation of the armed struggle and increasing numbers of bombs going off would make it all but impossible to get a significant number of whites to accept ANC leadership.

Indeed, there was a likelihood of the spiral of violence even forcing liberal whites into trenches along with supporters of the apartheid order.

In the end, the possibility of a compromise solution was discussed. I suggested bi-communism as a formula which can join the forces of Afrikaner and African nationalism in the new synthesis. I pointed out that the history of ethnic conflicts in recent years gave little assurance to ethnic minorities of their rights being protected after the transfer of power.

Here some of the ANC delegates protested strongly that the ANC had a long record of including whites and opposing black exclusivity.

The opposition this evoked from some ANC delegates gave an indication of how difficult it would be to reach a compromise formula, but there was at least some common ground that it was in the interest of no genuine democrat, whether white or black, to see a fight to the bitter end, only to have the state be inherited by a new fascist regime nominally held by blacks.

Nevertheless I felt a degree of pessimism, given our past of bitter and growing conflict.

Generally, however, the delegates have left with the clear resolve to do the best to avoid a situation where the final negotiating table in South Africa will assume the shape of two trenches.

It remains to be seen whether this represents a measure of common ground by which black and white democrats can work together for a democratic resolution.

Professor Giliomee teaches in the Department of Political Studies at UCT.
Together for a Democratic Pretoria: The ANC and the Opposition

Herman Giliomee, a professor of politics at UCT, was one of the African delegates to the Dakar conference, which addressed the ANC's stance in the negotiations.

Violence at Dakar talks on YMN African News Agency, the main source of the meeting's details.
Thousands welcome ANC talks group

OUAGADOUGOU — White SA liberals touring Africa were welcomed by thousands to Burkina Faso yesterday.

People chanting anti-apartheid slogans lined the streets of Ouagadougou as the 50-strong group was taken to the city centre after arriving from talks with the ANC in Dakar.

ANC representatives arrived on the same Air Afrique flight.

They were greeted on the tarmac of Ouagadougou airport by banner-carrying members of the Burkinabe Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Two children — one black, one white — offered them wooden bowls of zoom room, a traditional drink of tamarind, as a sign of hospitality.

The travel-weary South Africans and ANC members are due to hold talks with Burkina Faso leader Thomas Sankara, 37, the youthful army officer who projects a militant stance against apartheid.

Alex Boraine, spokesman for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa), said Sankara wanted to show the SA delegation his people and his country.

"Sankara invited us to see a different style of government. He was keen that we should not just meet government officials. He wants us to meet the people," he said.

On the flight from Dakar Boraine said he would resist any urging from Sankara to adopt violent tactics in the fight against apartheid.

"To embrace the armed struggle is to say there is no other way. But there is another way for us in South Africa."

The inhabitants of the dusty capital city stopped work early yesterday to greet the two groups.

The white group and ANC delegates will today take part in a public debate on SA's racial segregation. They are expected to go to Accra in Ghana later this week.

Sankara is to host an anti-apartheid conference this year. — Sapa-Reuters.
Govt has mandate, now for reform, urges Relly

The Argus Correspondent

Johannesburg — Since the election the government has a more broadly based support, and ought to be better placed to focus its reform thrust, said Anglo American Corporation chairman Mr. Gavin Relly in his annual report.

Mr. Relly said the white electorate was preoccupied with security and resentful of foreign intervention.

The broadly based support for the National Party happened because about 70 percent of English voters supported the government.

Some hope seen

He said yesterday that the result of the election gave "massive support" for President Botha's desire for a fresh mandate for reform, leaving some hope in this regard.

He said, however, no one should expect quick results.

If South Africa was to be a peaceful, non-racial democratic society in the 1990s, Mr. Botha's appeal to representatives of all groups to join in negotiations must be taken seriously.

"The talks were a sensible way to prepare the ground for representative negotiations which have any prospect of success."

The imposition of the state of emergency, he said, was "regrettable" but necessary to contain the "widespread cycle of senseless violence."

Press freedoms

He mentioned dilemmas created by states of emergency and added that consideration should be given to ways in which regulations could be further amended "to establish the legal rights of individuals and press freedoms as soon as possible."

Mr. Relly criticized the government's objection to the publication of his "white papers," on grounds of "insufficient attention to the political issues involved."

"Yet it is hard to see how much further they could 'have gone in that direction toward adopting race or ethically as the sole criterion.'"

He also said the need for reform was not confined to the political areas. "I am well aware that there is a need to be done in business."

Mr. Relly said he believed developments in labour-management relations in the past 12 months since collective bargaining had been extended to black had been the most significant process in moving South Africa's attempts to become a democratic, stable society.

Free bus trips

Catch the bus, pensioners!

Full details about the free trips to the Brakkenfell Hymne market appear on Thursdays.

Ronnie Watson tells of 'hold-up' in hotel

Argus Africa News Service

LORETTE — Anti-apartheid activist Mr. Ronnie Watson has described to the Botswana High Court how he spent the longest minutes of his life staring into the barrel of a gun pointed at his head.

Mr. Watson was testifying at the trial of an alleged South African and British MI6 agent, Mr. Steve Burnett, who is accused of attempting to murder him in a Gaberone hotel room in May this year.

He gave the court an account of the incident in his hotel room in which two shots were fired in an alleged attempt to murder him, and how he overpowered his attacker and handed him over to the Botswana police.

Mr. Burnett told the court he was not scared, Mr. Watson was told the man he was a Christian and did not fear death.

Mr. Watson said Burnett rejected: "Yes, you're not like the other IRA or ANC people I've known."

Mr. Watson said he overpowered Mr. Burnett, wrested the gun from him and smashed it on his head to subdue him.

The hearing continues.
Teachers urged to speak out against racism

Education Reporter

An American educationist has urged South African pre-school teachers to speak out against racism and unequal education, and to introduce programmes aimed at helping children understand the cultures of other races.

Dr Barbara Bowman, director of the Erikson Institute in Chicago, made the appeal in a paper at the S A Association for Early Childhood Education "Free to Be" symposium which began at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

Dr Bowman was to deliver the keynote address, but was forced to cancel her trip because of an ankle injury. Her paper on the basic needs of successful learners was distributed at the conference.

"GROUP HOSTILITY AND OPPRESSION"

She said that experience in the United States and other countries had shown that an early start was essential in trying to cope with "the fall-out from group hostility and oppression".

Educational programmes in multicultural societies needed to be introduced early so that children of all races could learn about each others' differences and similarities.

"Teachers must understand, and help children understand, that when one group oppresses another the long-term effects are as destructive to the oppressor as to the oppressed."

One of the lessons to be learnt from the United States with regard to racism and attitudes towards the handicapped was that an end to legal segregation and discrimination did not end the effects of "these twin demons" on the lives of children.

ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

"Early childhood educators who understand how racism and other forms of prejudice can undermine the self-concept of children have no choice but to take an interest in public policy decisions."

"We must understand that what happens outside school shapes the resources children have with which to learn, and that we have an obligation to be active players in how resources are allocated."

Dr Cres Sookiah, acting-principal of Sastri Technical College in Durban, said in a lecture on "The human right to equality of opportunity in education" that it was difficult to envisage how the Government would achieve its stated intent of equalising educational facilities for all races.

He said recent studies indicated that the average teacher-pupil ratio in white pre-primary schools was 15:1 as opposed to ratios of 27:1 for "coloured" children, 18:1 for "Indian" children and 27:1 for black children.
Burkinabe president tells people to write down thoughts on apartheid

OUAGADOUGOU (Burkina Faso) - Burkina Faso President Mr Thomas Sankara has urged his countrymen to put their thoughts about apartheid on paper and send them to visiting white South Africans to take home.

At a reception in the presidential palace for the Afrikaans representatives of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa and members of the African National Congress, the charismatic and unpredictable Mr Sankara proposed that every Burkinabe write at least half a page.

The letters would be carried home and distributed by the South Africans after controversial talks yesterday in the Burkinabe capital Ouagadougou.

The population of Burkina Faso is about eight million but illiteracy is high and the letters are expected to come mainly from schoolchildren.

A trip by the delegates to Ghana has been in doubt because of "technical and financial" reasons but officials at the Foreign Ministry in Accra said yesterday the government of Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings welcomed the group and confirmed that the visit was still on.

The South Africans, more than 50 Afrikaans politicians, businessmen, academics and artists, are expected to stay in Ghana for two days then return to Burkina Faso before going home via Europe.

The Burkinabe authorities are setting up an anti-apartheid monument in the capital Ouagadougou and the first stone was laid yesterday in a carnival atmosphere.

Blacks and whites, some in traditional African robes, danced and chanted. Others clapped their hands.

The liberals were led by Dy Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, head of Idasa, and the ANC group by its director of information Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Idasa was mainly responsible for last week's talks on the future of South Africa with the outlawed terrorist movement in the Senegalese capital Dakar.

Dr Slabbert said on the flight to Burkina Faso that their stay would be more relaxed, while Idasa executive director Mr Alex Bornine said they expected to see "a different style of government".

Unlike Westernised Senegal, with its pronounced French influence and relative prosperity, Burkina Faso ("The land of men of integrity") is poor and fiercely nationalistic. The people scratch a living from subsistence farming and the average annual income is less than half that in Senegal. — Sapa Reuter.

Whites ignorant of ANC aims, says paper

The Star Bureau

LONDON — One of the most striking points to emerge from the Dakar talks was the ignorance of the Afrikaners, many of them political scientists, of the aims of the ANC, says The Independent.

In one of the first editorials in a British newspaper to deal with the talks, it says: "The ANC members were more familiar with the liberal attitudes expressed by the whites, although it must have impressed many of those who fled South Africa years ago to hear such views from Afrikaners rather than English-speaking members of the Progressive Party."

"If South Africa is to emerge as a nonracial state, then blacks and Afrikaners must learn to understand each other's hopes and fears. Dakar may prove to be a small, but important, step in that direction."

The paper says it was courageous of Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and his fellow liberal Afrikaners to travel to Dakar for the talks. It adds: "There is just a faint possibility that, when the uproar caused by the meeting has been subsided, some whites and blacks in South Africa will realise that a dialogue was started in Dakar which could, in time, provide broad areas of understanding on which a settlement of South Africa's racial conflict could eventually be built."
Heunis won’t give up on NSC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday that none of the preconditions demanded by black leaders in terms of their participation in the National Statutory Council (NSC) were insurmountable. These included demands for the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political organizations and the scrapping of discriminatory laws.

However, Mr Heunis said, the government had chosen a "certain method for change" in which it had opted for a negotiated settlement by peaceful means.

"Therefore people who are not prepared to negotiate peacefully on this basis have excluded themselves," he said.

The president of the United Municipalities of SA (Umsa), Mr Tom Boya said after meeting Mr Heunis in Pretoria yesterday that Mr Heunis believed it would not be possible for political prisoners, like Mr Nelson Mandela and Zeph Mothopeng to participate in the proposed black elections for the NSC "unless these people are pardoned".

Mr Boya and a group of 17 senior Umsa members including general secretary Mr Soth Ty Rammala agreed at the meeting to hold further talks with Mr Heunis "in the near future".

Describing Mr Heunis in an interview as having had an "understanding ear" Mr Boya said: "The minister is very much aware of what we have told him and we are also very much aware of the problems that he has."

However, neither Mr Boya nor Mr Heunis elaborated on the "problems" which Mr Heunis may have expressed.

Mr Boya said both the Umsa group and Mr Heunis agreed during their "crucial talks" on the concept of a negotiating forum on talks about talks but Umsa stood by its preconditions for participation in the NSC.

"It is important that we talk but I think government should move in a wider circle and involve organizations which government might not be talking to now."

The ANC, UDF, Azapo and the PAC would have to be included if any negotiations were to be credible and a new constitution and parliament, as opposed to an advisory NSC, be dealt with, Mr Boya said in an interview.

Mr Heunis said the NSC bill was published not as a prescriptive method for institutional forum but a consultative proposal.

While homeland leaders had already been elected — some of whom had shown interest in the NSC — it was the government’s intention that rural people outside homelands be included in the election process of leaders, Mr Heunis said.

How the elections would take place had not yet been agreed upon.

The talks would continue tomorrow when Mr Heunis meets Transvaal MEC Mr John Mavuso.
Is the PFP on the way out?

KEN OWEN: Johannesburg

Conservative Party and banker Andre Hamerama. It includes Pieter Schoeman, Peter Gaswot and Pierre Cronje of the PFP, along with former members of the party now free of the shame of elected office.

The reaction of the Nationalist Press to the expedition has been illuminating. Though most of the members are Afrikaners, and many of them are bitter critics of the PFP, the Nationalists have seized on the presence in the group of Gaswot, Cronje and Schoeman to renew the accusation that the PFP is "soft on the ANC."

Thus the work of destruction begun by Slabbert's "evasive desertion" continues with his evocative expedition.

The destruction is likely to continue. Slabbert's obsession has always been with constitutional change, the grand design. He bequeathed to the PFP a detailed blueprint for the management of the transition to majority rule; but he left the party without policy.

Insofar as the PFP has any policy at all, it is set out in the speeches and motions of Helen Suzman during the years when she served alone in the House: a classically liberal stance based on the rule of law, the market-rate method and the free market, all operating in a humane society in which the centre-piece is the free individual.

Since then, the PFP has allowed its policies to be diluted by elements of a different tradition which at best expresses itself as social democracy; at worst, it enforces a socialist hostility to capitalism, a belief in a command economy and a determination to engineer the lives of lesser mortals.

The missing element is a unifying vision of the future, and the result is contradiction: it is impossible, as David Owen found in the British Labour Party, to be simultaneously socialist and non-socialist, but the PFP, like its former leader, cannot face up to the chance. If it fails to grasp the chance, it will simply be another apologetic, ineffective minority, lesser than Slabbert and his friends.
BBB and the swing to the right

JONATHAN SHAPIRO: Johnspade
Delegates debate apartheid

SA poet slates collaboration

OUAGADOUGOU — White South African liberals left for Ghana yesterday, reinforced in their anti-apartheid convictions by an impassioned debate in Burkina Faso, during which certain African countries were denounced for “collaborating” with South Africa.

At a public debate here on Tuesday night, the exiled South African poet, Mr Breyten Breytenbach, criticised Zaire for importing South African meat.

“Africa cannot tolerate that and at the same time ask those who are struggling to continue to sacrifice their lives,” he said.

When the group of more than 50 liberals and members of the African National Congress (ANC) arrived on Monday at Ouagadougou airport, they were greeted by a banner with the same sentiment — “Shame to the African countries which collaborate with South Africa.”

The white South Africans and black nationalists last week held three days of controversial talks in Senegal, on the shape of a future South Africa and on ways to bring about reform.

On Tuesday night, both groups mingled with the Burkinabe people, fielding a barrage of questions and exchanging views on apartheid.

“We need to be understood by Africans,” Mr Breytenbach said, addressing that was the object of their visit.

The former leader of the PP and leader of the delegation, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, said there was a great deal of misunderstanding in South Africa.

“The average white South African knows nothing about the average black,” he said.

Dr Slabbert said his organisation, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), was committed to rectifying this situation.

The former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, won rousing applause for his statement that there was no religious justification for apartheid.

“We don’t want to give the impression that a God exists who approves of apartheid,” he said.

And if such a God did exist, there would be no place for him in South Africa,” he said.

Both the white liberals and the ANC told the Burkinabe people their goal was to bring down the apartheid system, even if success was not imminent.

The ANC found many of the Burkinabe people willing to join in its struggle to topple the Pretoria government.

Sapa-RNS
Will ‘new capitalism’ eclipse the ANC?

Perhaps the most important message conveyed to the ANC this week came not from the 54 white South Africans who have been talking to the organisation for the past few days — useful as their endeavour undoubtedly has been — but from a bespectacled businessman in Johannesburg.

The message, simply, was that the socialist (some would say Marxist) ideological outlook of the ANC is either going to have to change in the direction of an accommodation with capitalism, or the organisation is going to run the very real risk of being outmanoeuvred and eclipsed inside South Africa.

The very idea is startling, even revolutionary, though it was not conveyed in such terms by Gavin Rolly, chairman of Anglo American, when he explained almost blandly why the country’s largest company had decided to give shares to its workers — more than 250,000 of whom are black.

“In South Africa,” he said, “the wealth-creating processes of the First World must arrive at a durable synthesis with the needs and aspirations of the Third World.”

He added, “This view is surely consistent with the world trend away from centralist socialism on the one hand and rigorous capitalism on the other, to something in-between, founded not on ideology but on pragmatism and deriving its strength from the fact that it seems to work.”

As Mikhail Gorbachev has shown in the Soviet Union, (and his counterparts in China even more enthusiastically) there is a fundamental move away from the sort of socialist and Marxist dogma of the 1950s, which was the ideological midwife of the modern ANC and in which the movement (and so many other African liberation movements) remain mired.

And as the United States, Western Europe and Japan have shown, the trend towards giving workers a major (sometimes even a majority) stake in the enterprises they work for, has created a new economic phenomenon, loosely termed “participatory capitalism,” in which the shop stewards of yesteryear have been replaced by workers in the board rooms.

Unavoidable lead

No doubt some would argue that simply giving 230,000 people out of 27-million a few shares in Anglo is not going to deflect the ANC (and IFP) from sticking inflexibly to the doctrines which seemed eternal truths when the Freedom Charter was drawn up.

But the fact is that Anglo was far more than the first South African company to move in this direction. Fik ‘n’ Pay, for instance, and several others, did so a while ago. Many more are known to be thinking along these lines and Anglo’s lead will only be avoided for many others.

Several multi-nationals, like Ford, which have pulled out as a result of sanctions pressure, ironically have made the sale of shares to black workers a feature of their withdrawal.

So, we are looking at a potential black middle class of millions who would be shareholders, homeowners, car owners, company directors and managers — many millions who would not look benignly upon an ideology which everywhere else in the world has failed.

• But will it ever be possible for the “haves” of the black community to outweigh the “have-nots”; will the “have-nots” not always be in the majority and, therefore, be more likely to support the 1950s socialism still purveyed by the ANC?

Dynamic changes

Very probably, but assuming that an ANC government came to power on the wings of such a “have-not” majority, could it afford the risk of a showdown with the “haves”, who would have the wealth, expertise, and the power to make or break their rule?

Would it not make a lot more sense for the ANC to recognise the dynamic changes taking place within socialism and capitalism, and seek an alliance with the “haves” — including, perhaps, a far greater number of influential white “haves” who might then feel less threatened than they do by the concept of black majority government?.

Knowing a number of the ANC’s decision-makers, I would hazard a guess that their response to the “new capitalism” will be flexible, more especially when the “new capitalism itself comes into conflict — as inevitably it must — with apartheid.

Apartheid, in fact, is the grand loser in the economic strategy outlined by Mr Reilly because, ironically, it is rooted in an economy with many of the embellishments of old-style Marxism, such as centralised and state-owned planning and production controls, state ownership of key industries, state control over industrial development and planning, a bureaucracy which is comically obese and inefficient, and many other features which Mikhail Gorbachev is trying so hard to eliminate from his economy.

What seems most likely to evolve as blacks climb the “new capitalism” ladder of wealth (and, therefore, power), is a society whose unity is found on levels never previously explored in South Africa, a society where race will not be the deciding factor in drawing people together, where other shared interests will predominate.
Economic reform first, says Sanlam chairman

Staff Reporter

ECONOMIC reform should be given priority over political reform and the only way this could be done was for the business sector and the Government to join forces, according to Dr Fred du Plessis, chairman of Sanlam.

Opening the annual meeting of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) in Cape Town yesterday, Dr du Plessis said it was essential to give black South Africans a fair chance to help themselves to a larger part of the wealth of South Africa.

He said freedom meant nothing if the material position of those who aspired to freedom did not improve.

The alternative was the redistribution of wealth by taking from those who had and giving it to those who did not have, which would lead to revolution and a dictatorship.

Need for initiative

South Africa was unique in the sense that it contained two dominant civilisations, both of which had a historic right to exist, but sought to survive by striving to dominate the other.

The solution was for Afrikaans businessmen to take the initiative in finding a way to adapt the economic system to suit a multicultural society, to shape the various cultures and to influence the basic systems of value.

New civilisation

This should be done to make the third and first-world elements overlap as much as possible without letting the first-world element degenerate into the poverty of the third-world element.

A new civilisation would then be created.

Dr du Plessis said Afrikaans businessmen were in the position to take the initiative because they had a long, intense exposure to the multicultural society which started when their ancestors created a society of their own. They realised their success would depend on their own initiative and creativity and history had shown Afrikaners could unite at a time of crisis, and Afrikaners were in power.
MINDS MEET ... THE ANC'S THOUGHT MARCH AND FREEDOM VAN ZYDYK IN DAKAR: A MEETING OF EMOTIONAL MINDS OR ...
Violent revolution can be ruled out — King
ACCRA — Some of the white South Africans currently visiting Ghana with members of the ANC see themselves as radicals, unafraid in the fight against apartheid, says group leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Speaking at a Press conference after arriving from Burkina Faso on Wednesday night, Slabbert said members of the largely Afrikaner party were not afraid of confrontation with the South African authorities.

"That confrontation has been there all along and some of us have been in jail several times for our stand against apartheid," he said.

He added members of his group sometimes felt offended when they were referred to as "liberals", because "there are some serious radicals among us and if we were afraid of confrontation we would not take any initiative on this issue at all."

The South Africans, who have embraced the outlawed ANC as partners in talks on the future of SA, face the possibility of reprisals when they return home.

Right-wing groups such as the AWB have accused them of treason for last week's talks in the Senegalese capital Dakar.

The whites then split into smaller groups, according to their respective vocations, for talks with Ghanaian counterparts.

Slabbert believes Africa has an important role to play in dismantling apartheid and he is anxious that the group find out as much as possible about Ghana.

Slabbert said the fight against apartheid could not be waged by arms alone but through consolidation of many strategies.

He said he did not see the ANC as a "terrorist" organisation. "We and members of the ANC have a sense of common commitment because the ANC has no interest in preserving the privilege of any group," he said. — Sapa-Router.
Slabbert's group feted in Ghana

ACCRA. — Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert's group of South Africans arrived here yesterday, accompanied by members of the African National Congress.

Speaking at an airport press conference after a flight from Burkina Faso, Dr Slabbert said they were not afraid of confrontation with the South African authorities.

"That confrontation has been there all along and some of us have been in jail several times for our stand against apartheid," he said.

He added that members of his group sometimes felt offended when they were referred to as "liberals" because "there are some serious radicals among us and if we were afraid of confrontation we would not take any initiative on this issue at all".

Both groups will remain in Ghana until Friday, when they return to Burkina Faso en route home.

Ghanaian authorities arranged a royal reception for them at the airport last night. Groups of young girls sang songs as a seven-man delegation, led by acting Information Secretary, Mrs Joyce Aryee, welcomed them.

The South Africans will split into smaller groups, according to their respective vocations, for talks with Ghanaian counterparts.

The academics among them will talk to Ghanaian university officials, the writers will meet with the Ghana Association of Writers, the businessmen will visit the industrial town of Tema and the politicians will hold talks with top government officials.

Dr Slabbert believes Africa has an important role to play in dismantling apartheid and he is anxious that the group find out as much as possible about Ghana. — Sapa-Reuters
Slabbert's group feted in Ghana

ACCRA. — Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert's group of South Africans arrived here yesterday, accompanied by members of the African National Congress.

Speaking at an airport press conference after a flight from Burkina Faso, Dr Slabbert said they were not afraid of confrontation with the South African authorities.

"That confrontation has been there all along and some of us have been in jail several times for our stand against apartheid," he said.

He added that members of his group sometimes felt offended when they were referred to as "liberals" because "there are some serious radicals among us and if we were afraid of confrontation we would not take any initiative on this issue at all".

Both groups will remain in Ghana until Friday, when they return to Burkina Faso en route home.

Ghanaian authorities arranged a royal reception for them at the airport last night. Groups of young girls sang songs as a seven-man delegation, led by acting Information Secretary, Mrs Joyce Aryee, welcomed them.

The South Africans will split into smaller groups, according to their respective vocations, for talks with Ghanaian counterparts.

The academics among them will talk to Ghanaian university officials, the writers will meet with the Ghana Association of Writers, the businessmen will visit the industrial town of Tema and the politicians will hold talks with top government officials.

Dr Slabbert believes Africa has an important role to play in dismantling apartheid and he is anxious that the group find out as much as possible about Ghana. — Sapa-Reuters
Slabbert: we do not fear confrontation

ACCRA — The South Africans touring Ghana yesterday, with members of the African National Congress, see themselves as radicals, unafraid in the fight against apartheid, according to their leader.

Speaking at an airport press conference after arriving from Burkina Faso, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said they were not afraid of confrontation with the South African authorities.

"That confrontation has been there all along and some of the group have been in jail several times for their stand against apartheid," he said.

He added that members of his group sometimes felt offended when they were referred to as "liberals".

"There are some serious radicals among us and if we are afraid of confrontation, we will not take any initiative on this issue at all."

Dr Slabbert believes Africa has an important role to play in dismantling apartheid and he was anxious that the group find out as much as possible about Ghana.

"We found differences in the political systems of Senegal and Burkina Faso which are refreshing as to how they are managing their affairs and integrating with people of all races and colour," he said.

He said the fight against apartheid should not be waged through armed struggle, but through the consolidation of strategies.

He said he did not see the ANC as a "terrorist" organisation.

"We and members of the ANC have a sense of common commitment because the ANC has no interest in preserving the privilege of any group," he said.

A seven-man delegation, led by acting Information Secretary, Mr Joyce Aryee, welcomed the South Africans at the airport.

The South Africans and their black nationalist travelling companions will leave Ghana today and return to Burkina Faso en route home.

But the delegates, who have talked to the ANC on the future of South Africa, face possible reprisals when they return home.

Right wing groups, such as the Afrikaner Weerstand, have accused them of treason for the talks in the Senegalese capital, Dakar. — Sape-RNS
Worrall predicts black rejection of NSC move

COLESBURG — The government's insistence that negotiating be done within institutions of its creation — thereby forcing blacks to lend legitimacy to a system they have rejected — would lead to the probable failure of the National Statutory Council, according to Dr Denis Worrall.

Speaking at the National Student Federation of South Africa's congress at the H.F. Verwoerd Dome yesterday, the former ambassador to the Court of St James and Independent candidate for Helderberg in the May elections, said the other reason the NSC initiative would probably fail was the government's prescriptive attitude to the nature of the groups taking part in negotiations.

Explaining the Independent Movement's attitude to the South African situation, he said:

"Ending the cycle of violence and repression is critically important for all South Africans."

"And we wish the State President well in his decision to involve himself and his office personally and directly with the process of negotiation."

What was necessary to allay white fears was for the Chief Justice to be instructed to collect all the major constitutional choices and publish them in a simple form.

"This would have the effect of showing white South Africans, who are naturally anxious about the future, that fundamental political changes do not necessarily mean abandoning the status quo for one-person-one-vote in a unitary state."

Negotiations had to occur outside the executive branch of government — because that lacked credibility among blacks.

From this neutral starting point negotiations could begin.

"What this means in our view is that the present government should view itself as a transitional or caretaker government, leaving it to the National Party to participate with all other interested organisations."

A Daily Dispatch Cape Town correspondent reports that Dr Worrall said the Independent movement was working on a two-track approach to negotiations.

"On the one track, we are selling the concept of an open-ended, all inclusive negotiation process to all communities and organisations."

"On the other track, we are working at getting this kind of process going." — Saps
The Doubt About Dakar:

Obsession with Violence
THE DAKAR TALKS

On the inside track

Before flying out of Dakar to Burkina Faso, delegates to the talks between the African National Congress (ANC) and a group made up mainly of Afrikaners were given a Senegalese memento. The gifts — brightly coloured pictures reputedly made from butterfly wings — will serve as an exotic reminder to them of an extraordinary meeting in an unlikely venue.

Dakar, or rather the nearby Goree Island, was once the centre of the world slave trade. It is now the 10th most expensive city in the world and boasts some of the most aggressive gangs of pickpockets and would-be muggers. But the latter were well hidden when the Dakar conference opened in a carnival-like atmosphere more in keeping with the arrival of a circus, rather than a group of earnest South Africans intent on grappling with their nation’s complex problems.

The Senegalese hosted the South Africans, but occasionally their hospitality bordered on the ridiculous and cut deep into the time available for talks — a visit to a yoghurt factory in the middle of the main debate on violence was particularly irksome to the delegates.

Four days after the talks opened, the two groups issued a joint communiqué, which Frederik van Zyl Slabbert described as an indication of "the extraordinary meeting of minds of this most important" that was achieved. In the sense that the groups committed themselves to a future SA based on a pluralist nonracial democracy, this was true. But hardly surprising considering that the internal group were hardly a bunch of right-wingers.

Next week could the 17-member ANC group, led by charismatic Thabo Mbeki, in any way resemble the bloodthirsty communists the government would like people to believe they are.

But once the furor created by the talks has calmed down, and the internal delegates begin to recover from the ANC’s charm offensive, they might begin to realise that apart from the butterfly paintings they returned from Dakar with very little else. While all except two of the Afrikaners entered into the rather grey area of accepting the historical reality of violence without actually supporting it, the ANC did not budge an inch. Some internal delegates accepted that the ANC could not at this stage renounce violence, given the Pretoria government’s lack of commitment to negotiations, but the ANC would not add its support to a section of the joint communiqué which expressed deep concern over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence.

To be fair, ANC delegates did say this state of affairs was counter-productive. They would not, however, condemn it. On other issues like attempts to make townships ungovernable, and sanctions, there were also no concessions.

By the time the conference got down to discussing the economy, most of the delegates had already exhausted themselves in the debate on violence. This might explain the vaguely worded public statements about the almost unanimous acceptance of some form of mixed economy which would allow people to operate freely in pursuit of economic growth.

The ANC did appear to make one concession when it said that, although still committed to nationalising "the commanding heights of the economy," this could be delayed by an ANC government and only implemented after consultation with groups of experts — including businessmen. There was also an appreciation of the vital importance of increasing the overall size of the economic cake. But this is all in the future and delaying nationalisation still puts the ANC several years behind even socialist parties in Europe, who have finally come to realise it simply does not work.

Hermann Giliomee, who stressed in the talks that the ANC had to come to terms with Afrikaner nationalism as well as the military strength of the present regime, was labelled a conservative for his efforts. Giliomee argued that a vast majority of Afrikaners were simply not ready to accept a black majority government. His arguments for the need to compromise and to accept that a nonracial democracy might not be immediately available got short shrift from the ANC. They insisted that the concept of a nonracial democracy was not negotiable even in an interim arrangement.

Their game plan appears to be that in seven to 10 years’ time, P W Botha will have gone and been replaced by someone less committed to not negotiating. The growth of the rightwing and deterioration in the economy, as well as the activities of liberal Afrikaners like those present in Dakar, would have weakened white resolve to maintain a racist state. At that point the ANC would be called in and a democratic SA would begin to emerge.

However, Giliomee was not the only person present in Dakar to believe the ANC members are not as confident as they sounded. They are not yet prepared to break ranks and forgo purist statements like "SA must be the only country in the world where the victims have to give guarantees before the system of oppression can be displaced."

But the Dakar declaration does commit the delegates to future talks. Perhaps next time those from within SA will be less likely to succumb to the charm offensive and more inclined to play hard-ball. The more this happens, the more likely it will be that they can extract a few concessions from the ANC, rather than just making them.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Metal strike deferred

As the FM went to press, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) called off its strike against the metal industry pending a ruling on the legality of the strike.

Having followed the procedures entitling it to stage a legal strike after its deadlock wage talks with Seifisa, Numsa was bowled a googly on Tuesday, the day its strike commenced.

It came in the form of a renewal notice published by Manpower Minister Piet du Plessis, extending the life of the old agreement covering the metal industry. In terms of the Labour Relations Act, this immediately rendered illegal any strike on any matter covered by the agreement.

While the timing of the renewal notice appeared suspicious to some — the old agreement expired on July 1 — Manpower Director-General Piet van der Merwe tells the FM that renewal notices are nothing new; 86 were published last year. And, since the amended agreement was due three days later the old one had to be in force.

By lunchtime on Tuesday, Numsa said that according to an incomplete survey about 50 000 of its members had downed tools around the country. A Seifisa spokesman said employer members had been advised not to sack strikers.

The union was awaiting advice from its lawyers, who had been instructed to seek Supreme Court action to counter the Minis-
NSC has unfortunate predecessor

THE proposal by the Minister of Constitution Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, for urban black people to have an elected National Statutory Council (NSC) to advise the government and Parliament is not, essentially, a new reform.

A remarkably similar structure — the Natives Representative Council (NRC) — was introduced 50 years ago when Cape African men were deprived of the vote for Parliament.

The old council, which was also elected, collapsed within ten years after its members found that its advice and views were totally ignored by the white-controlled Parliament.

One of the elected councillors, Paul Mosaka, called it a "toy telephone", a label which has stuck ever since.

The NRC experiment was a political disaster. Although legitimate black leadership, including prominent members of the African National Congress, served on the council, Parliament and the United Party government refused to listen to its calls on fundamental political issues, such as the vote, the abolition of the pass laws, education and trade union rights.

In the process, black-white tensions increased and the credibility of government lessened among black people.

Among those whose reputation was severely damaged was the "liberal" Jannie Hofmeyr, who as Deputy Prime Minister in 1946, when he opened a new NRC session, paternalistically tried to justify racial discrimination and existing government policies.

"Although the Council had a history of advice given and seldom taken, it was a body of responsible men treated like children, although Mosaka had called it a toy. It was the only link between white and black South Africa, the only means whereby black South Africa could speak to their fellow-countrymen, and tell them their hopes and sorrows," Alan Paton wrote in his biography of Hofmeyr.

The Natives Representative Council and the proposed NSC are "in essence very similar proposals", says Andrew Merrifield, who is at present completing a doctoral thesis on the NRC for submission to Syracuse University in the United States.

But, Merrifield says, "we are talking about a very different society. It is much more complex than when the Secretary of Native Affairs could go from council sitting, fetch some papers from his office next door and return to the discussions. The complexity of government has changed a lot."

When the NRC first sat in Pretoria in 1937, white politicians voiced hopes about the role of the council in a way which echoed the statements being made 50 years later.

Hofmeyr, for instance, who voted against his own party in opposing the abolition of the Cape African franchise, said the NRC "may become a very important and valuable thing" which would be able to bring complaints quickly to the attention of the government.

When he opened the first session of the NRC, Jan Smuts, then Deputy Prime Minister, said: "This Natives Representative Council has been instituted as a constitutional body advisory to Government and Parliament, through which elected native representatives are enabled to present the views and interests of their constituents to the Government and Parliament."

"It is the earnest wish of us all that through wisdom and moderation, and in the statesmanlike use of the new opportunities, this notable advance may be fully justified and become a landmark in the happier relations between the European and Native peoples of this land," Smuts said.

Margaret Ballinger, one of three MPs who represented "natives" from the Cape, wrote that by the end of the first NRC session there was "little doubt that the members were anxious to state their side of the case on levels they had never reached before on equalised tension in people who had for so long been not politically inarticulate, but beyond the range of Government attention."

The council terminated its first session in the hope that "and belief that it had come into being, as one member expressed it, as a third chamber of the legislature to be heard but to be listened to. "Here indeed were grounds for encouragement and for hope," Mrs Ballinger wrote.

The purpose of the 16-member NRC were elected indirectly through local authorities to represent four provincial constituencies, each with an urban, rural and a reserve member. There were also four nominated Africans.

Among those who served were Dr John Dube, Selope Thama and Dr James Moroka, who were all at one time presidents of the ANC, Professors Z K Matthews, a prominent figure in the ANC, and Chief Albert Luthuli, who was the ANC president when it was banned in 1960.

Merrifield says that although there were no national elections for the council, "the idea was to have a representative NRC."

Although the Communist Party nominated candidates, particularly in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, the indirect system of election ensured that they "often came second or third in the polls."

At first, the NRC was consulted about how new laws affecting Africans would be implemented but "very soon they constantly began to question government policy, even though the government said they were not allowed to question policy."

"The final collapse of the council was precisely around this issue," Merrifield says.

"In the case of really crucial legislation, they ignored the council." Despite the NRC demands for the scrapping of the pass laws, the government tightened them up and in 1945 actually consolidated the controversial measures which were only recently abolished.

With this approach, the collapse of the council was inevitable, and it ceased functioning by the time Dr Hendrik Verwoerd closed it in 1959, telling the NRC that "the mistake many leaders of the Bantu make is to think only in terms of the highest superstructure of politics."

"Within this sphere they seek their own personal ambition, and forget that 99% of their people do not have these ambitions."

Of the major lessons of the NRC experiment was that a country with little political power, are no substitute for political rights. Whatever motivations and sincerity of officials and white politicians, that reality will not change.

Indeed, Merrifield suspects that the proposed NSC will have the same effect as the President's Council: "It won't be taken very seriously."

The NRC, in spite of having "a lot of credible leadership", was ignored. And the success of the revamped model succeeding 50 years later, without any prospect of furnishing credible leadership, having any greater success, seem very remote.
Blunting the weapon of ignorance

WHEN Lord Acton said that power corrupts, and that absolute power corrupts absolutely, he did not specify the precise nature or kind of this danger of corruption. Surely one such case in point, though, is the perennial temptation for those in power to establish exclusive control over information vital to public life.

But sometimes truth will out, and it must be counted a sign of political life when the authorities’ insistence that they alone can be trusted to know what is in the national interest is vigorously resisted.

Memoirs

The issue at stake need not always be a matter of utmost concern. When the South African government on their way to meet with the ANC in Dakar recently halted their journey, they found that the headings on the local front pages did not concern themselves at all. In fact, the main headlines were about the efforts by the government to prevent publication of extracts from Peter Wright’s Spycatcher, in the UK.

It turned out that the memoirs of this former officer of MI5 contain allegations that a section of the British security services had been involved in attempts to destabilise their government, which hadn’t been revealed until a book by Robin Wilson, who had been a part of the British security services, was published.

That such actions would be condemned, of course, as interference in domestic affairs, and that the public would react with a mixture of shock and anger.

Dakar indaba... Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC delegation with Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, head of the South African delegation.

Disturbing

However reluctantly, even Mrs Thatcher will have to accept that there is a little point in publishing those who will not only reveal themselves, but also appear ludicrous.

If anything, this situation shows that the difficulties for a real meeting of minds between South Africans of diverse political persuasions and experience.

The South Africans found the ANC delegates more than willing to engage in frank and serious discussions, both in the closed sessions and in public. There was little or no posturing or personal antagonism, and the discussions even proceeded to the heart of the matter. Significantly, this was possible on the basis of a shared commitment to a democratic and non-racial future for a united South Africa.

Barriers

In effect, they set up to challenge the most determined and systematic efforts of the ANC to prevent South Africans from gaining direct and personal knowledge of the nature and aims of the ANC. Their defence of these official barriers must be an eloquent testimony to the urgent and widely felt need of many South Africans to learn from the first hand knowledge of matters of vital interest to the security of all.

It could be argued that the members of this particular group had less need for such contact than many other white South Africans. After all, a majority of white South Africans had extensive and intimate knowledge of the black community, and of extra-parliamentary politics, which was the business of the social and political scientists among the groups to be informed about such matters.

Surely there are many others, both in government and the ANC, who would better profit from a direct exposure to ANC views and perspectives.

In the event the Dakar meeting proved both the possibility of, as well as the need for, such exposure and dialogue.

Dakar indaba... Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC delegation with Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, head of the South African delegation.

Blamed. Still, it is disturbing to see just how far the government’s policy of keeping the truth hidden even on such esoteric matters, it is also heartening, others, both in government and the ANC, who would better profit from a direct exposure to ANC views and perspectives.

In the event the Dakar meeting proved both the possibility of, as well as the need for, such exposure and dialogue.

Mandate

There are issues in the agreement that will be on the agenda when the time comes for actual political negotiations. The participants in those political negotiations need to ensure that they are not merely a step in the process, but a step forward in the process of political change.

It became clear that these differences are not just a matter of national unity, but also a matter of civil liberties and the right to opposition, as well as the right to a just and democratic structure of political power. It became clear that these differences are fundamental differences in position, and approach.

It also became clear that those differences are not just a matter of national unity, but also a matter of civil liberties and the right to opposition, as well as the right to a just and democratic structure of political power. It became clear that these differences are fundamental differences in position, and approach.

Professor Du Toit teaches in the Dept of Political Studies at UCT.
Johannesburg — A bid of R150 million to keep Putco, "white", has been made by a power-run non-African business.

The consortium, which prefers not to be identified, is known to have extensive business interests, confirmed it was a black takeover of the JSE-listed bus company.

Mr. Anthony Meyer said: "Our offer is to buy 52.5% of the shares of the company at a price of R61.5 million, but after interest payments, and foreign exchange losses, of R67.5 million, the net amount to be paid is R18.5 million."

The consortium, which prefers not to be identified, is known to have extensive business interests, confirmed it was a black takeover of the JSE-listed bus company.

The consortium, which prefers not to be identified, is known to have extensive business interests, confirmed it was a black takeover of the JSE-listed bus company.
Real Questions

New debate puts

THE COLLAPSE OF PART

3

3
AWB protest a day early

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), eager to show the participants in the Senegal talks with the ANC just how they felt about the exercise, arrived to protest at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday — a day early.

Airport police asked them to roll up their banner and they left soon afterwards, vowing to be back today.

The AWB said it would hold a news conference at the airport immediately after a conference by Dr Alex Boraine, a leading participant in the Idasa-organized meeting with the ANC.

Sapa reports that the Semi-VIP conference room has been booked for Dr Boraine from 10am to noon, and that the AWB have booked it from noon.

☐ See leading article, Page 10
1992 Election under debate

We must offer more than mere promises next time, agree Nats.
About 90 anti-Apartheid delegations which held talks with the African National Congress in London last night, are expected to arrive in South Africa today. This was some concern among the 80 strong group over right-wing threats against them.

The ANC's top leader, Dr. A.J. Falbe, who is now a senior official in the country's government, also arrived in London last night. He will return to South Africa today. Another correspondent for the Times of London, Mr. Michael Bell, reported that the ANC leaders were in South Africa, the Times of London based in London.

A correspondent for the Times of London, Michael Bell, reported that the ANC leaders were in South Africa, the Times of London based in London. The correspondent also said that the ANC leaders had misused the newspaper in such a way as to inflame the public.
MP says scrap tricameral parliament

DURBAN — An Opposition MP in the House of Delegates, Mr Mamoo Rajab, yesterday called for the scrapping of the tricameral parliament to stop the “unnecessary expenditure of taxpayers’ money on bureaucracy”.

He was commenting on a weekend newspaper report that some House of Delegates Ministers are living in luxury hotels in Durban while the State hunts for plush homes for them.

The latest to enjoy “ministerial perks” is Natal Midlands’ MP, Mr Somaroo Pachai, who was recently-appointed deputy Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Delegates.

Mr Pachai last night confirmed the Government was footing the bill for his stay at the new Marine Parade Holiday Inn.

“My home is in Ladysmith and official duty calls for me to be at my offices in Durban. There are no official residences in Durban for ministers. Where does Mr Rajab expect me to stay? Surely not in the bush.”

The new Minister of Health, Services and Welfare, Mr Raman Bham, of Port Elizabeth, has also stayed at the beachfront hotel while on official duty in Durban.

Mr Rajab adds: “MPs are entitled to live in decent accommodation. I don’t think anybody should begrudge them. But, what I think people are concerned about is what efforts these ministers are making in their respective portfolios to uplift the community.

“It must also be remembered that they are already being heavily subsidised by the State for the use of their homes for ministerial purposes and if they now have to live at hotels this subsidy in effect is being doubled.

“The surest way of putting an end to all this unnecessary expense is to do away completely with the new apartheid concept of own affairs as soon as possible and bring all departments under a single ministry by scrapping the tricameral parliament.

“The money saved could be ploughed back to uplift the community,” he added.

Mr Pachai, was one of several senior ruling National Peoples’ Party members who defected because of disagreement with the party leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and returned to the party fold — and given a deputy ministerial post.

Another senior member, the former Housing Minister, Mr Balldeo Dookie, who also defected has remained with the opposition Solidarity Party.

Mr Pachai lost a contest for Mr Dookie’s former local Government and Agriculture portfolio which went to Mr S V Naicker, the former deputy minister.
AWB cries of ‘traitors’ as Dakar group arrive

JOHANNESBURG:— Policemen, Pressmen and AWB supporters crowded the Jan Smuts international arrivals area today as members of the Dakar delegation arrived from London.

Scores of AWB members, led by their chief Mr Eugene Terreblanche, chanted for Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who took the group to Dakar for talks with the ANC.

Dr Slabbert was not on the flight. He is expected to return to South Africa later this month.

As the AWB, which has vowed to see charges pressed against the Dakar delegates, waited for the delegates to pass through customs, Mr Terreb-

Clashes, arrests
AWB and students clash at Jan Smuts Airport. Students, pressmen, arrested!

lanche was confronted by the senior Deputy Commissioner of Police, Major General Pieter du Plessis.

General du Plessis told Mr Terreblanche that any Press conference he had planned after the arrival of the delegates was forbidden. He also said no placards were to be shown.

“AWB members had placards ready. One said: ‘Traitors, guilty of high treason.’

At a small, impromptu Press conference held in the airport concourse, Mr Terreblanche was asked what should happen to the delegates on their return.

He said: “We should kiss them goodbye and send them back to where they have just come from.”

Chants of “vrouailleurs” (traitors) were heard in the airport concourse as passengers began streaming from the customs enclosure.

The police contingent was led by General du Plessis and the head of the counter insurgency unit, Lieutenant-General Burt Wandsperg.

Many other senior police officers up to the rank of brigadier were also seen policing the large crowd.

Mr Terreblanche told Pressmen the AWB was at the airport to protest legally against the talks between the group of 52 and the ANC.

He said: “We are here to lawfully protest about those people who went to speak to the ANC about a fatherland that does not belong to them.”

Public debate

One of the newsmen who had travelled with the Dakar group, Mr John Mattison, slipped through the AWB cordon.

Asked where the others were, he said they had not come through and they had all been told to gather inside the customs hall. He said he had disobedied this instruction.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport today shortly after the aircraft carrying the Dakar group had landed.

Mr Vlok said he had no comment on the AWB protest and added: “I am on my way from Cape Town to a meeting.”

The Argus Foreign Service in London reports that Mr Slabbert has offered to take part in a public debate with Mr Terreblanche.

He said he would be returning from Frankfurt on July 31 and would be “quite happy” to meet Mr Terreblanche.

*Unexpected welcome, page 12.*
Drama as students, AWB clash

JOHANNESBURG — Afrikaner Weerstandsbevewing rightists and left-wing students clashed outside Jan Smuts Airport today after the South African delegation arrived back from its talks with the ANC in Senegal.

While delegates slipped away from the airport without holding a scheduled news conference, suffused broke out between rival groups who had been awaiting their arrival.

On the main road outside the international arrivals hall, AWB members attacked a young left-wing demonstrator, Miss Rosemary Hunter, a member of the Wits SRC.

As police intervened to stop the attack, another student, Mr. Siilker, 20, went to help Miss Hunter. He was also attacked until police led him to safety.

Then a contingent of about 50 uniformed policemen linked arms in straight formation.

Across the street scores of journalists, photographers, left and right-wing demonstrators and members of the public scattered as the police were given the order to charge.

The police were not armed with batons.

They chased individuals towards the parking lot and arrested at least 12 photographers and TV crewmen.

The journalists were rounded up, warned and then taken away.

Earlier, the Dakar delegation had slipped out through a side entrance to catch connecting flights mostly to Cape Town. A decision to cancel their planned Press conference was taken to avoid a confrontation with scores of AWB members, including their leader, Mr. Terre’Blanche.

Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert was not on the flight. He is expected to return to South Africa later this month.

An AWB news conference, which had also been called, was prohibited by another senior police commissioner, Major General Pieter du Plessis.

The AWB supporters gathered with their leader in the airport's international arrival concourse to await the arrival of the delegates.

Shouts of “Traitors” were heard by a crowd of 400 people, including scores of local and foreign journalists.

When an announcement was made on the public address system that no news conference would be held by the Dakar delegates, Mr. Terre’Blanche, the AWB leader, told his

Drama as AWB, students clash at airport

From Page 1

supporters to disperse.

Hosted on the shoulders of his supporters, he told the crowd: “The Dakar delegates don’t have the courage to look the people (volk) in the eye.

“We want to let the world know they are not welcome in their country.”

With a strong AWB cordon around him, Mr. Terre’Blanche left the airport building, faced by a barrage of photographers and television cameramen.

The AWB sang Die Lied von Jong Suid-Afrika” as they left the airport terminal with about 15 members of Nisas and a black student organisation singing Nkosi Sikilele iAfrika behind them with clenched fists.

As Mr. Terre’Blanche was led away to his car he told journalists: “I hope the Government will look into the affairs of the delegates and I hope that they will arrest them.”

Mr Ernie Stark, of Howard Avenue, Benoni, appeared in a tomato-sauce drenched white coat with a poster demanding that Dr. Slabbert and Dr. Berane speak to ANC bomb victims as well. - Sapa
For the 61 South Africans, most of whom returned home today, it was a journey from pariah status to acceptability, writes ALLISTER SPARKS.

Unexpected welcome for Afrikaners

Dateline: ACCRA

In a remarkable demonstration of Africa’s readiness to accept even that sector of white South Africa most closely identified with apartheid, South Africa is being told they are prepared to renounce it, the group of Afrikaner academics, businessmen and professionals who held talks with the African National Congress in Dakar, accorded the status of visiting dignitaries as they journeyed on last week to two more African countries, Burkina Faso and Ghana.

In what for most was their first venture into black Africa, the Afrikaners were first astonished and then delighted at the warmth of their reception. Gradually as the 10-day tour progressed their stiff reserve gave way to a reciprocal response that saw them uninhibitedly embracing their black hosts and the ANC leaders who accompanied them in African-style farewells as they parted last Friday.

For most it was a profound personal experience that left them in an emotional turmoil as deeply ingrained preconceptions have been shattered.

From relative benign Senegal, one of Africa’s few multi-party democracies, where they held their conference with the ANC and had their first experience of how this would be seen as an act of political expiation by the Africans, the Afrikaners were astonished to be given an even warmer reception in the revolutionary republic of Burkina Faso.

It was tumultuous. Thousands of cheering people lined the streets, with bands and groups of dancers, as the Afrikaners were driven through the sprawling, mud-brick capital of Ouagadougou in a cavalcade led by 12 uniformed policewomen on motorcycles.

A running commentary on the procession was broadcast by the national radio and over loudspeakers throughout the capital.

Planted trees

The South Africans attended a State House banquet where President Thomas Sankara, an innovative and charismatic new generation Afrikaner leader, who is trying to revitalise his desperately poor country (formerly called Upper Volta) by engaging the people in get-up-and-go programmes, held a two-hour discussion, with them sitting under the stars in his palace gardens.

They were driven into the countryside to plant trees, Israeli-style, to help halt the encroaching desert and commemorate what Sankara called an historic visit.

In Ghana the welcome was less spectacular but equally warm, and for the Afrikaners, even more mind-blowing. This is the spiritual birthplace of African nationalism, whose founding leader, Kwame Nkrumah — now being resurrected as a hero figure after 20 years of obliteration — launched the Pan-African campaign against apartheid and was the key figure in getting South Africa expelled from the Commonwealth in 1961.

On Thursday evening, while a police band played the lilting strains of the black anthem, God Bless Africa, Afrikaners and ANC members, buddies by now after a week of travelling together, mingled in the hot night air with members of the former liberation government on a floodlit square in the conference complex where 22 years ago the Organisation of African Unity discussed the launching of a war of liberation against apartheid South Africa.

A feature of the extraordinary safari was the complementary relationship that developed between Slabbert, the former liberal opposition leader in the South African Parliament who now runs an institute for inter-racial contact, and Mhekile, the ANC’s information director, and a rising star in its leadership.

In public forums and at press conferences the two found themselves repeatedly on the same side of the argument, defining their shared commitment to non-racialism in the face of criticisms from radical black nationalists.

Visit questioned

At a joint press conference when the group arrived in Accra, after questioning Slabbert about his motives for meeting with the ANC, implying that it might be a capitalistic attempt to blunt the black organisation’s revolutionary commitment, a young Ghanaian journalist turned sharply to an ANC official and demanded: “Do you really trust these whites?”

Yes, came the instant reply. “There were some whites in the ANC armed forces, and there is nothing in a person’s colour that defines his politics.”

London Observer Service
HIGH-RANKING policemen yesterday intercepted members of the Dakar delegation before they entered the Jan Smuts Airport building and warned they could not guarantee their safety in the face of an AWB protest, members of the delegation said.

During the sustained protest by about 400 AWB supporters — some carrying placards — an announcement over the public address system warned all non-passengers to leave the airport building "for your own safety".

Lawyers said the AWB gathering had contravened the Internal Security Act, and an airport official confirmed it had also violated airport regulations.

Siege of Jan Smuts — Page 4

Police action against the right-wing protesters included removing from the building an AWB member who was carrying a visible weapon, and pulling down a poster held by another member.

Sixteen journalists, mainly photographers, were arrested. They represent a range of newspapers and news agencies, including Business Day, Reuters, The Star and Time magazine.

A number of students who demonstrated in support of the Dakar group were also held.

Law and Order spokesman Leon Mellet said the arrests followed three warnings to disperse. It is understood those arrested will appear in court tomorrow.

Mellet said apart from the 16 journalists, three others, including an AWB member, paid R50 admission-of-guilt fines.

However, AWB spokesman P W Bingle said no action was taken against a single AWB member.

Some Dakar delegates were whisked by bus to a safe point where they met their families. Others were bussed to connecting flights without having to face

AWB in airport demo drama

the AWB contingent, which waited in the arrivals hall for three hours.

The AWB demonstrators eventually dispersed after it became clear the delegation would not enter the terminal building. This followed a short "victory" speech by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Terre'Blanche said later he hoped government would look into the affairs of the delegates and that they would be arrested. Asked if the AWB planned to take action against the delegates if government did not, Terre'Blanche said he could not answer.

In other developments:

□ On arrival from London, Institute for a Democratic Alternative South Africa's (Idasa) Alex Boraine apparently asked police at the airport whether he could leave the customs area to try to reduce the "rising temperature" of the demonstration, but was denied permission.

□ Diplomats, including a member of the Swedish legation in SA and a counselor from the German embassy, met returning delegates at the airport.

□ Several hundred police guarded the airport and formed a human corridor to prevent passengers from the British Airways flight from being swamped by the AWB contingent and a barrage of photographers.

□ Although the delegation said they heard on arrival the Cabinet had the previous night banned both their and the AWB's Press conferences at the airport, this was denied by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. He said senior police officials, fearing a confrontation, requested the airport manager to inform Boraine and his party it would be inappropriate to hold the conference there.

□ The ANC said they had no intention of "taking over" SA, according to Dakar delegates.
Councillor leaves PFP

A RANDBURG town councillor, XR J (Dick) Miller, has left the PFP caucus to join the Independent movement, it was learnt yesterday.

Miller will be the Independents' second public representative, the first being Wynand Malan the Independent MP for Randburg.

Miller said: "I will no longer be attending meetings of the PFP caucus of the Randburg Town Council."

"I explained to the PFP then that the personal goals, ideals and objectives, which were integral to my standing for public office, were no longer served by membership of the party."

"At the PFP's request, however, I stayed on in the caucus. I cannot do so in good conscience any longer as I associate myself fully with the Independent movement and ideals." — Sapa.
Nobody is gaining anything from the ‘armed struggle’

THE African National Congress’s ‘armed struggle’ continues to provide fuel for the country’s hottest debate — but it is interesting to note that no one has yet bothered to ask an obvious question: from the purely practical (rather than ideological) viewpoint, is the ANC gaining anything from pursuing the ‘armed struggle’?

The answer, it would appear, is ‘No’.

According to the classic doctrine of “wars of liberation” the aims of the armed struggle include the following:

- Disrupting the economy by making commerce impossible and forcing the government to spend much of its money on fighting the insurgents that it collapses under its own weight, losses of heart or causes so much hardship that it is toppled;

- Persuading the citizenry, by means of intimidation and acts of terror, that resistance is useless;

- Sapping the government’s will to continue the counter-insurgency war;

- Destroying the credibility, morale and effectiveness of the security forces to the point where even those who believe in them are left with doubts;

- Physically defeating the weakened and demoralized government forces if the existing order has managed to survive to this point of the process.

By these standards the “armed struggle” has failed so far:

- Important “hard” targets are not being attacked in any great number;

- “Hard” targets that have been attacked have been mostly minor ones;

- An ever greater number of “soft” targets have been attacked;

- ANC casualties have been heavy — an average of 7 out of 10 perpetrators are killed or captured, reliable sources say.

- ANC fighters are getting younger and standards of training have dropped sharply, sources say — a sure sign of a manpower shortage;

- There are reportedly signs of demoralization among infiltrators; and

- There has been a strong public reaction against the soft-target attacks.

As one observer comments: But for the government’s bumbling the ANC would have a serious support problem by now.

In addition, too many so-called (and often self-appointed) experts ignore or do not seem to grasp the fact that a legitimate yearning for full citizenship by people of colour does not mean that they automatically support the ANC or other organizations of the same ilk.

As a result, after 23 years of “armed struggle” the ANC has not managed to advance beyond the first phase of the classic escalation.

It has not disrupted daily life, broken the morale of the government, the security forces or the citizenry, or established a “liberated zone”.

It has failed time and again to live up to promises of action on certain significant dates of the revolutionary calendar.

This failure has serious implications for the ANC, because it can be more damaging for an insurgent organization to launch an “armed struggle” and fail than to not embark on it at all.

The insurgent organization which is perceived to be coming second in an “armed struggle” not only loses public credibility but also has nothing in its briefcase if it should come to the negotiating table with its opponents.

Work discrimination

If the ANC could reach the whites it would be an important breakthrough, but this is unlikely, thanks to its recent espousal of the Freedom Charter’s doctinaire socialism and because it can offer whites nothing but the prospect of becoming powerless hostages, tolerated for their productivity, as in Zimbabwe. While this is so, the government is hardly likely to unbend.

Then again, the dropping of economic and work discrimination has produced a large and expanding anti-socialist perception among people of colour who are tainting of material good things of life in greater measure than ever before.

So from a practical point of view the ‘armed struggle’ does not seem to have achieved any purpose except providing ever-lengthening casualty lists.

Support is widespread

Various reasons can be found as to why the “armed struggle” is not working. They include the following:

- The insurgents are faced by a comprehensive, sophisticated and efficient security apparatus, the full strength of which has not nearly been used;

- Their support is widespread but far from total, with the result that there is no shortage of informers, paid and unpaid;

- They are at loggerheads with other “liberation movements” like the Pan African Congress;

- The ANC still does not have a really safe border behind which to set up an internationally recognized government — an essential requirement — because not one of the neighbouring countries dares to provoke South Africa’s armed struggle, for fear of a far more potent threat than SADF raiders, by allowing the insurgents too free a rein; and

- Unkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC military wing) seems to have a definite problem with command, control and forward planning.

All this is hardly surprising in any case. The irresistibility of the “armed struggle” is a myth. A snap survey of past “wars of liberation” — successful and unsuccessful — indicates that an “armed struggle” rarely succeeds by itself.

Legitimate yearning

It must be applied in conjunction with various other ingredients — but not enough of those other ingredients exist in South Africa, and the mix is not right.

Better mousetrap?

The irony is that South Africa in 1987 has many of the basic requirements for a successful insurgency. For example, a wide range of exploitable grievances exist, and the government has no clearly defined “national objective” around which a successful counter-insurgency campaign — as opposed to a mere holding action — can be constructed.

But the ANC persists, like the government, in trying to update what amounts to 1960s technology rather than look for a “better mousetrap”.

So we come back to the question: Is the “armed struggle” worth it?

The problem is that mere practicality is unlikely to be the only consideration. A formal cease-fire would entail a tremendous loss of face and would certainly go against the grain of many members of the ANC National Executive Committee, since it is such a basic tenet of “liberation” doctrine — especially since it is known that there is a power struggle in progress between the NEC’s Moscow-liners and their fellows.

Endless struggle

So the cessation of the armed struggle remains a question-mark.

In the meantime, South Africans continue to die. Ironically, however, 30 years worth of alleged Western plans to exterminate the black struggle prophesies have been proved wrong: It is not whites who are doing the dying but the seemingly endless struggle, but blacks.
The trailblazers
Pretoria will have to follow one day

STANLEY UYS in London

President Botha does not proceed to get it right this time. We do not want to revive the debate on the 'relevancy' or otherwise of Parliament — the issues on which Steynberg quit the PFP and on which so many thousands of words have been written and spoken (and to which I have made my modest contribution).

But I feel I must commend to your attention the paper delivered to the Dakar conference by Professor Andre du Toit, who recently joined Cape Town University from Stellenbosch.

Nowhere have I read a more succinct, lucid explanation of the whole issue of 'relevancy'. I would like to quote it at some length, because while other sections of Du Toit's paper have received some publicity, this particular aspect has got lost in the wash. It is the definitive analysis of the 'relevancy' debate.

Du Toit begins by asserting that any viable political strategy in SA must be a multiparty one. By this he means that Parliamentary activity and extra-Parliamentary activity are not self-cancelling. Each plays a unique role.

Admittedly, he says, for the pre-1948 Parliamentary politics have failed as a potential source of democratic renewal. White electoral politics serve mainly as an arena for providing a mandate to a continuing minority rule with no realistic prospect of a more liberal or equitable society gaining power within the existing framework.

The main 'democratising dynastic and conservative' are to be found in the extra-Parliamentary arena.

"Nevertheless," Du Toit continues, "while the coercive power of the state is not effectively exerted, new initiatives, whether by internal insurrection or externally-based challenge, it should take this rededication further.

Basically, the ANC's position is that it cannot make a definitive statement until it is allowed to return to SA and contest its constituencies, but the South African delegates felt this was not good enough and they argued out. De Toit made the very good point that the democratisation of the transition could inspire representative democracy in the transition takes place.

"The extent to which equal legal and civil rights exist or have been extended (Du Toit quotes the par" 

B

Guillemot..."only peaceful solution to a 'divided' world..."

"...increasingly losing even the basic legitimacy required for effective government.

Note this situation, it is up to the opposition and resistance movements to generate meaningful political initiatives instead of providing a reactionary and destructive counter-shockwave.

"While continuing to attack the sham of government's 'reform' policies and to expose the facade of the existing Parliamentary structures, a flexible multiple political strategy must also seek to turn the minority government's political weakness to its own advantage by exploiting the opportunities provided by the limited electoral democracy for its own counter-objectives.

Now we come to the crux of Du Toit's conclusion: 'To the long run, and looking forward to the transition to a future democratic SA, it should be borne in mind that the longevity of constitutional legality rested in the institution of Parliament is an important political resource which should be utilised rather than squandered.

"Historically, the extra-Parliamentary nature of the white opposition and resistance movements has been forced upon them and was not a free political choice; the primary objective has always been to participate and representation for all as equal citizens at every level of government.

"In terms of strategy, extra-Parliamentary politics should thus not be conceived as an alternative to Parliamentary democracy, but as a means towards it...."
ANC 'committed to democracy'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE African National Congress1 wanted a multiple-party system in South Africa, a bill of rights to protect individual rights and an independent judiciary, Dr Alex Boraine said yesterday at a press conference in Cape Town after his return to South Africa.

Dr Boraine said the 18 ANC delegates to the recent Dakar talks had also stressed "over and over again that they insisted on non-racialism".

Dr Boraine, the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), said the fact that the ANC was prepared to meet a group of predominantly white Afrikaners was "a cause for hope".

He said: "It is a miracle that the talks in Dakar took place. It will be a far greater miracle if they were repeated in Pretoria."

The prevailing myth was that the ANC and the Afrikaners were "sworn enemies and can never meet except in conflict and the battlefield."

"We have experienced an openness and a readiness to talk and this will redouble our efforts towards a negotiated settlement, rather than the inevitability of inconclusive and escalating violence," he said.

"We hope that what began in Dakar will continue inside and outside of South Africa and will eventually involve the ANC that by using violence they were taking on the state at its strongest and asked why they did not take it on at the political level.

"They came back and said 'give us the whereabouts. If you say abandon that, give us the alternative. What else can we do?'"

Dr Boraine also said they were quite prepared to talk to the government about the creation of a non-racial democracy which included the ANC.

"I have certainly come to the conclusion that to describe the ANC as a bunch of terrorists flies in the face of all reality."

"The ANC has enormous credibility inside South Africa. They have international credibility, with 33 diplomatic missions in 33 countries..."

"To say they are just a bunch of terrorists would be a very big mistake,'" Dr Boraine said.

ORMANDE POLLOK reports that Dr Boraine said it was clear the ANC disliked Inkatha and that Inkatha disliked the ANC.

The ANC were suspicious of local initiatives because they believed it was a way of "ducking the central issue."

"They see the (KwaZulu) Indaba as having group and ethnic rights built in," he said.

The ANC had said Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi (Chief Minister of KwaZulu) had for a long time been an ANC supporter and that Inkatha was not being used for "the liberation" of the country but for Chief Buthelezi's own purposes.

DELEGATES RETURN ... Dr Alex Boraine, the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), addresses a press conference in Cape Town yesterday.

South African government itself," Dr Boraine said.

The ANC delegates to the talks said there could not be a system which included group rights and group privileges, which they suspected was a way of protecting minority privileges.

"They are committed to democracy. They were highly committed towards multiple-party systems..."

"It was they who pushed a bill of rights for individual rights to safeguard human rights and civil rights.

"They said they found it strange that whites wanted a bill of rights in the future but they did not think a bill of rights should be introduced now. If they want a bill of rights, why is there not a bill of rights now? they (the ANC) asked."

The ANC representatives also supported an independent judiciary. The ANC said they had suffered because there was not an independent judiciary and "they don't want to repeat that system."

The 18 ANC representatives also said their economic policies were based on the Freedom Charter, which stressed that the land and resources belonged to all South Africans.

The Charter provided for the nationalization of mines, banks and monopolies, but they were also committed to increasing economic growth and the creation of jobs.

This did not imply confiscation of property but it did imply the "redress of much of the historic injustice."

"It was not just a Marxist programme. They made some very pragmatic statements," Dr Boraine said.

The South African delegation had not expected to find agreement on the armed struggle, but "it is my impression that the South African delegations were much more sympathetic to the reasons for armed struggle than they were before."

"We suggested to the
Visitors horrified by AWB rowdies

A BRITISH AIRWAYS air hostess was kissed and sworn at by a horde of militant right-wingers as she carried a black toddler through the Jan Smuts Airport international arrivals hall yesterday.

As they shouted "Step" and "Shame you" (slang for you, a man covered in terms given and a white overall, on which was painted a hammer and sickle and "No to red terror", lobbied for media attention.

White children, some as young as 12, shouted "You're a bloody Sabbert" and "Where are those apes?"

In one of the most bizarre events yet witnessed at the airport, horrified foreign visitors were met by a large crowd chanting "traitor", "we will get you", and hundreds of Press cameras, as they pushed their luggage through a human corridor of about 100 policemen. Behind the rows of police stood AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche and nearly the entire AWB leadership, members of the affiliated Blanke Bevry Dinge (BBBD) - a group who believe the AWB are not militant enough - and more police.

As several high-ranking police officers, including generals, made their way through the crowds several hours after the AWB delegation had landed from London, the near hysterical crowd shouted "We want Sabbert!"

As police dogs barked, AWB members shouted: "The dogs are talking our language."

The group of top policemen and airport officials were joined by Terre Blanche and several of his followers in an upstairs office.

WA members barricaded the stairway to office, effectively preventing the Press or the public from entering.

Some minutes later, a voice on the public address system said planned AWB conferences were one day to have been held by Jassal and another by the AWB - had been cancelled. The announcer said Jassal's Alex Bernal would make a statement on his return to Cape Town.

Terre Blanche, surrounded by supporters, marched back to the crowd, where he was hooded on to shoulders to deliver a "victory speech".

He said: "The AWB delegates don't have the courage to look in the eyes. They are gone. We want to let the world know they are not welcome in their country."

He then publicly praised police for their "professional" work before asking his followers to disperse.

Supporters of the AWB group, some with clenched fists, began singing Nkosikho Sihle (African). Police moved in and arrested several left-wing students and prevented them talking to the Press.

Press spokesman John Beadle said: "Knowing that a backslab is likely to happen, we came to welcome them (the AWB group) as brave South Africans."

Slabbert determined to go ahead with Press conference

Own correspondent

CAPE TOWN - Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, who headed a 61-member South African delegation for talks with the ANC in Dakar recently, plans to hold a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on July 31, in spite of AWB threats to "get him".

Police imposed a ban on the Press conference by some delegates who arrived at the airport yesterday.

Slabbert has also announced he is prepared to discuss issues with AWB leader Eugene Terre-
Bianca and several of his followers in an upstairs office.

AWB members barricaded the stairway to the office, effectively preventing the Press or the public from entering. Several minutes later, a voice on the public address system said planned Press conferences — one due to have been held by Idasa and another by the AWB — had been cancelled. The announcer said the AWB chief, at the time, was in Cape Town.

Terre'Blanche, surrounded by supporters, marched back to the crowd, where he addressed the crowd to the bully in the eye. They are gone. We want to let the world know they are not welcome in our country.

He then publicly praised police for their “good work” before asking his followers to disperse.

Supporters of the AWB group, some with clenched fists, began singing “Moses Sihali’Afrika.” Police moved in and arrested several left-wing students and prevented them taking to the Press.

Nissan spokesman John Beadle said: “They were given the choice: leave or be arrested. They chose to leave.”

An AWB spokesman quoted the AWB as saying: “They are not welcome in the AWB.”

NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS OF THE COMPANY

Notices headed “Official Circular to Shareholders from the Board of Directors of Braitwaterind Nigel Limited” were published in various newspapers between Friday, 17 July 1987 and Sunday, 19 July 1987.

The aforementioned notices emanate from the Board of Directors of the Company and allege inter alia that the meeting of shareholders of the Company to be held at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange auditorium at 16:30 hours on Thursday, 22 July 1987 (the shareholders meeting) and any resolutions passed thereat will be invalid and of no force or effect.

KINDLY TAKE NOTICE that the shareholders meeting constitutes a valid meeting of shareholders convened pursuant to the provisions of Section 181(3) of the Companies Act, and any resolutions passed at such meeting will be valid and of full force and effect. That this is so has been confirmed by independent legal advice.

KINDLY TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the requisitioned meeting of shareholders to be held at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange auditorium at 16:30 hours on Thursday, 22 July 1987 will be duly held.


A. J. MYBURGH

For and on behalf of the requisitionists.

AECI LIMITED

Registration no. 04/0259/006

INTERIM REPORT

FOR THE HALF YEAR ENDED 30 JUNE 1987

Turnover up 14% to R1 479 million.

Net trading income up 9% to R136 million.

Earnings per ordinary share up 18% to 53 cents.

Interim ordinary dividend unchanged.

Trading results

The directors announce the unaudited trading results of the Group for the six months ended 30 June 1987 as follows:

1987

Year

First half

R millions

2 019

193

129

332

141

60

15

190

94

160

70

36

175

70

113c

45c

(1) includes export of R10 million (1986: R10 million)

(2) includes exchange difference of R11 million (1986: R13 million)

(3) includes share of after-tax net income of associated companies and dividends from foreign subsidiaries.

Comments

Demand in agricultural markets remained weak as many farmers delayed fertilizer purchases. A scheduled maintenance shutdown of the nitrogen plants at Modderfontein was successful, and the company was able to deliver 99% of the tonnage contracted with farmers in the first half year of 1987.

The company also recorded a profit for the first half year of 1987, compared to a loss of R1.7 million in the corresponding period of 1986, and profits improved significantly as margins responded to higher plant loadings.

Financial costs were further reduced, notwithstanding the acquisition cost of the Potchefstroom factory, reflecting both lower interest rates and a decline in the average level of borrowings.

Declaration of ordinary dividend No 106

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that an interim dividend of 25 cents per share, in respect of the year ending 31 December 1987 has been declared to holders of ordinary shares registered in the books of the Company at the close of business on 22 August 1987.

Cheques in payment will be posted from the offices of the transfer secretaries in Johannesburg on or about 25 September 1987. Changes of address or dividend instructions to apply to this dividend must be received not later than 28 August 1987. In terms of the Income Tax Act, dividends payable in respect of an interest carried on business by a company are payable in respect of an interest carried on business by a company.

In terms of the Income Tax Act, dividends that are payable in respect of an interest carried on business in the Republic of South Africa are subject to an additional tax at the rate of 30%, which is withheld from the dividend payment.

By order of the Board

Slaibert determined to go ahead with Press conference

Open Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who heads a 61-member South African delegation for talks with the ANC in Dar es Salaam, plans to hold a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on July 31, in spite of AWB threats to “get” him.

Police imposed a ban on a Press conference by some delegations who arrived at the airport yesterday.

Slabbert has also announced he is prepared to discuss issues with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche at any time because he recognises the right-wing organisation is “part of the body politic in South Africa.”

This was announced yesterday by Alex Boraine, a top official of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), which organised the Dakar talks.

Boraine said the AWB threat was still being studied by the delegation returned from Dakar.

Slabbert had discussed AWB threats and Slabbert had indicated he was “not prepared to be attached or intimidated.”

Boraine said although the government had been treated courteously by senior police officers on their protest, the army was angry because the delegation had not been returned to the hotel conference centre.

Boraine said the AWB had threatened to firebomb the AWB with a “great deal of scornful.”

Slabbert said that if he had no objections to the AWB holding a peaceful protest, there was little protest in South Africa.

It seemed the AWB could be forced into a threat to peaceful protest, Boraine said.
AWB gives us more reason to get stuck in — Boraine

Political Staff

DR Alex Boraine said returning to an Afrikaner Weerstandsbevordering protest and explosions in Cape Town was all the more reason to “get stuck in and not be despondent”.

“In Senegal, Burkino Faso and Ghana we experienced an openness and a readiness to talk and this will redouble our efforts towards a negotiated settlement,” he said in a statement yesterday on behalf of delegates after talks in Dakar with the African National Congress.

“Dakar was a miracle but we need a far greater one to get what happened there to happen in Pretoria,” said Dr Boraine at a Press conference at the Mowbray headquarters of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

He and other Idasa members did not see the trip as an end in itself but part of an ongoing programme, he said, stressing that the delegates had experienced a remarkable readiness to talk.

The bottom line of the ANC vision of South Africa’s future — and ANC delegates were insistent on this point — was that it be non-racial, said Dr Boraine.

“A future system could not be structured around group rights because the ANC is suspicious that this would be a disguise for the continuance of white privilege and history suggests they might be on to something,” he said.

The ANC envisaged a multiparty state and their commitment to democracy and its accompanying systems, like an independent judiciary, was “real”.

“Of all people, they have suffered a judiciary that is not independent and they don’t want to repeat that.”

Their view of the economy was based on the Freedom Charter, but was not a question of confiscation of property and business or a “wild-eyed socialism”.

While the South African delegates did not condone violence, they were “much more sympathetic to the reasons for the armed struggle”.

ANC delegates had presented a history of the organisation and its long years of moderation. They were not committed to violence but insisted that the ball was in the Government’s court. Realising that civilians could be killed or injured as a result of their attacks, the ANC did not aim at soft targets.

RECEPTION: Posters held aloft by a large Afrikanerweerstandsbevordering contingent at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday to meet members of the Idasa group which arrived after talks with the ANC.
A View from the Other Side of the Table

The Dakar conference has not been out of the headlines all week. But what's hardly been touched upon is what one group of delegates made of it: the delegates from the ANC. We asked a senior member of the ANC national executive committee, and one of the rare senior ANC leaders who can speak for a personal view.

By PALLO JORDAN
HEAD of the ANC RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

President Abdlou Diouf of Senegal, and Coloured Sandile of Durban Falls, each make their positions on the issues of the meeting. Madame Daniel Mmeumuur, first lady of France, bankrolled the project and was present at both the opening and the closing.

Seventy-seven South Africans, in a foreign capital, is a remarkable feat. What invited this meeting with such great expectations was the Apartheid's estimation of the ANC's support. For the first time since the 1930s, an attempt was made to bring the leadership of the ANC together with liberal Afrikaner intellectuals.

From the ANC point of view, the meetings themselves were an operation in sweeping away layer after layer of cobwebs of misconceptions and mystification.

The two sides in Dakar: From left, Ahmed Gono and Thabo Mbeki, both of the ANC, and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of IDeas

march amidston

The Dakar delegation returns on Monday. What reception they will get is unclear. There's no doubt of the political up-shake they've provoked.

PATRICK ALBRECHT reports

The offering. A more likely move is one to deprive IDeas of funds. President Frans Baleni introduced methods for the campaign for the May 6 elections.

But Slabbert's initiative is likely to run a white baboon at the short run, there's little support for any movement in the government's search for a credible internal settlement. While Slabbert was discussing outcomes with the ANC in Banjul, Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis was talking in Pretoria to Tom Boys of the United Party of South Africa, Umno.

Boys is less representative of blacks than Slabbert is of whites. Umno is one of two movements claiming to represent constitutional black movements who, judging from the few polls in the 1983 elections, claim to be legitimate claimants to representation.

But Heunis did not even succeed in persuading Boys to participate in his proposed National Statutory Council take to the apartheid state but also to the community of Africa.

What reception they will get is uncertain. There's no doubt of the political up-shake they've provoked.

The meetings themselves were an operation in sweeping away layer after layer of cobwebs of misconceptions and mystification.

The two sides in Dakar: From left, Ahmed Gono and Thabo Mbeki, both of the ANC, and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of IDeas

The offering. A more likely move is one to deprive IDeas of funds. President Frans Baleni introduced methods for the campaign for the May 6 elections.

But Slabbert's initiative is likely to run a white baboon at the short run, there's little support for any movement in the government's search for a credible internal settlement. While Slabbert was discussing outcomes with the ANC in Banjul, Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis was talking in Pretoria to Tom Boys of the United Party of South Africa, Umno.

Boys is less representative of blacks than Slabbert is of whites. Umno is one of two movements claiming to represent constitutional black movements who, judging from the few polls in the 1983 elections, claim to be legitimate claimants to representation.

But Heunis did not even succeed in persuading Boys to participate in his proposed National Statutory Council...
march amid stony Pretoria silence

The Dakar delegation returns on Monday. What reception they will get is unclear. But there's no doubt of the political shockwave they've provoked.

PATRIOTIC FRONT reports

The city is bracing for a possible upsurge in violence. The government has tightened security in the wake of the recent violence.

Boys is not representative of black labor. In the past, he has been critical of the ANC's approach to negotiations.

The ANC delegation is comprised of members from various constituencies, including urban and rural areas.

The meeting was more of a gesture than an opportunity for meaningful dialogue.

The ANC delegation was representative of the diversity of the ANC's constituency. The discussions were often intense and emotional.

The ANC delegation was comprised of members from various constituencies, including urban and rural areas.

A white South African engaged in conversation by a Soviet diplomat was amazed to discover how little this representative of Moscow knows of the ANC.

Moscow knew the ANC.

Our interlocutors were an extremely intriguing combination, both within a group of people motivated to protect their country and the movement's goals.

In contrast, the African intelligentsia was not as readily accessible. They were often seen as being more concerned with their own interests than with the welfare of the country. The result was a lack of accountability and transparency, which ultimately undermined the movement's effectiveness.

Harsh experience taught that such alliances were expensive, but even more so was the need to adopt anti-modernist ideologies or policies.

SENIOR AUDIT CLERK

BRAAMFONTEIN

We are a small audit practice in Braamfontein and require a Senior Audit Clerk for audit, accounts and bookkeeping work.

We offer interesting and challenging assignments and a competitive salary package.

Phone Alan Velphic or David Douglas at (011) 535 0556.
Has there been a re-think on the ANC?

Throughout the “Dakar safari” exercise there has been a most uncharacteristic silence from the Government. This may be due to the fact that some of its more accomplished demagogues were on holiday during the Idasa-sponsored talks with the ANC. Or it may be because the Cabinet can rely on the SABC to do its ANC-bashing for it as we witnessed yet again the night before last.

But my impeccable sources tell me that the two senior Bothas have completed their winter holiday diversion, yet have remained silent, and that attempts to draw inquisitive luminaries like Chris Heunis into comment have proved fruitless.

Even when the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging usurped the Government’s traditional role of denouncing the ANC and those who speak to it, and undoubtedly made a handsome profit from the exercise (in the currency of white political support), our rulers were mute.

And when a newspaper which follows the Government line published a report claiming that legislation was under consideration to prohibit future contacts with the ANC, my covert informants tell me that the report was discreetly poo-pooed at the highest level; that it was merely a Pavlovian twitch with a non-plussed Government mouthpiece. All of which is most suspicious, so let’s prod a little. What benefit would there be for the Government in maintaining this silence, even when its own policy of refusing to talk to the ANC was audaciously ignored by a party of no fewer than 34 whites, most of them prominent Afrikaners?

What could have persuaded the NP leaders to allow their main political competitors, the far right, to emerge as the only Afrikaners doing something to protest against the “traitors” who had contact with the ANC? Why would they allow talks with the ANC to dominate the news for more than a week without so much as an admonishing scowl?

For a clue to the answers, perhaps one ought to take a closer look at a meeting held last week between Chris Heunis and a delegation of the United Municipalities of South Africa (UMSA), one of the least obstructive black political organisations in the country.

The Press reports of the meeting focused on a misunderstanding between Mr Heunis and Mr Tom Boya, the UMSA president. Mr Boya got the impression that all of the preconditions set by UMSA and other black organisations for participation in the National Statutory Council, the one which the Government was most likely to accede to was the release of political prisoners.

Mr Heunis, on the other hand, described reports that the Government’s hardline policy on the release of political prisoners had changed, as “utter nonsense”.

But whether or not Mr Heunis and Mr Boya misunderstood each other, the fact remains that there is going to be no National Statutory Council — or at least not one that could be taken seriously — without the release of political prisoners.

And Mr Heunis and his Cabinet colleagues can no longer be under any illusions about that.

If they cannot even get an accommodating outfit like UMSA to nominate candidates for the envisaged blacks-only elections, if black entrepreneurs like the members of Nafoc refuse to participate, if Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi keeps his distance, they can have as many elections as they want, but the result would remain too absurd to contemplate.

What are they to do? To Chris Heunis, the failure of the National Statutory Council probably would be synonymous with the demise of Chris Heunis as a public figure. To the Government, the failure of the council probably would mean the collapse of its fragile last chance at resolving the national crisis by negotiation.

The hard truth under all this is that unless the Government addresses the political challenge of the ANC on a level more sophisticated and convincing than the SABC, the police and the SADF are capable of, it cannot resolve the crisis. And if it cannot resolve the crisis, its failure ultimately must mean its death.

Is it being wildly optimistic to hope that after four decades perhaps a tiny hint of this truth has permeated the moat of bigotry and fear, the walls of self-delusion and mulishness?

It is possible that after several states of emergency, harsh crackdowns, the detention of tens of thousands of people, years of almost hysterical propaganda, bomb blasts, trials and executions, and the capture or killing of hundreds of ANC “terrorists,” the Government realises that the arbiter of its own political destiny is its bitterest enemy?

Or will the generals prevail who stand behind (if not above) the Cabinet, with their simplistic and regimented view of the nature of the conflict; their supreme confidence that they can substitute a military victory for a political defeat?

Inside the NP’s Parliamentary caucus are those who insist that the ANC has got to be part of the solution to the crisis. Challenging the NP on the left are Independents who, whether or not they care to say so publicly at this stage, apparently share this view. And clearly the far right is a lost cause as far as rehabilitation is concerned.

In the background is Idasa, which is going to continue to plug the idea of wide-ranging and regular contact with the ANC, a strategy which makes the NP’s attempts at “negotiations” seem puny by comparison, which contradicts the view that the ANC is beyond the pale, and whose efforts cannot be counteracted by the crude propagandas methods used against those NP opponents who still are in the business of wooing white voters.

So, without much confidence, one can but hope that possibly the Government is at a crossroads as far as the ANC is concerned.

There, I’ve done it! For those (all whites) who complain that I am “always” bitchily negative, I’ve introduced a few “positive” straws to cluck at. But don’t blame me if, when Parliament resumes next week, the Government’s silence is followed by a deluge of abuse directed at the soft targets, and my cynicism is vindicated!
Idasa moves to counter AWB threats

By MICHEL DESMIDT

The organisation that set up talks with the banned African National Congress (ANC) in Dakar has taken steps to counter threats of violence by right-wing groups.

The action follows threats against the life and property of the co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine.

The institute’s national co-ordinator, Mr Wayne Mitchell, said steps had been taken to ensure the safety of the institute’s offices and the homes of members.

Regarding threats by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbesteigers (AWB), both at the stormy reception that awaited delegates at Jan Smuts Airport this week and plans to “deal” with Dr Van Zyl Slabbert on his return from Europe at the end of the month, Mr Mitchell said Idasa had grounds to lay a charge of intimidation.

As far as the report-back meetings were concerned, only the one in Johannesburg in the second week of August stood to be disrupted by right-wing elements.

Idasa is holding meetings in East London and Port Elizabeth on August 4 and 6 respectively, as well as in Cape Town and Durban.

“The AWB think they can intimidate people into their way of thinking. But we don’t expect the report-back meetings to be disrupted because the halls will be packed with people from all communities seeking a democratic alternative. They will not tolerate the AWB too lightly,” Mr Mitchell said.

Dr Boraine had received many telephonic threats. Signs outside the Idasa offices in Cape Town had also been ripped down.

“We suspect right-wing elements of a backlash reaction to the talks. The threats are not affecting our operations but making us dig our heels in even further,” said Mr Mitchell.

He added that all necessary precautions, including bomb checks, would be made to ensure the safety of the public.
JOHANNESBURG. — No charges were put to 15 journalists, detained at Jan Smuts Airport on Tuesday, when they appeared in Kempton Park Magistrate's Court yesterday. The reporters, photographers and television crewmen were arrested after police charged a crowd.
JOHANNESBURG. — No charges were put to 15 journalists, detained at Jan Smuts Airport on Tuesday, when they appeared in Kempton Park Magistrate's Court yesterday. The reporters, photographers and television crewmen were arrested after police charged a crowd.
Boraine warns AWB of action

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

IDASA is considering legal action against AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche over his threats to the Dakar talks group.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA's co-director Alex Boraine said yesterday he had been told Terre'Blanche wanted to bring private prosecutions against the Dakar delegates.

He said the other Idasa director, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, would hold Dakar report-back public meetings throughout the country regardless of Terre'Blanche's threats.

Boraine holds his first report-back meeting at UCT today. Other large public meetings are planned for East London on August 4, Port Elizabeth on August 5, and Johannesburg possibly on August 12.

He said Terre'Blanche's attitude was "filled with hate and incitement" and his statements were highly irresponsible because "there are enough mad people in this country to take serious action against members of the Dakar group."

"If any AWB member or anyone urged by him takes physical action against any member of our group, he will live to regret it in terms of the legal action we'll take," Boraine warned.

"Government had better wake up. They are almost in bed with Terre'Blanche in terms of their attitude towards the ANC. Every time they take the attitude portrayed on the SABC, they are encouraging people to take the Terre'Blanche line. It's the last thing anyone in this country wants to see."

It was not certain whether the AWB intended trying to prevent Idasa from holding meetings or what other action it contemplated against people who went to Dakar, but Terre'Blanche's threats were "extremely disturbing", Boraine said.

Since his return from West Africa, Boraine has received numerous threatening phone calls at home. There have also been reports of delegates' families being harassed in their absence.

Fifteen Press photographers and film cameramen, arrested while covering events at the airport, appeared in the Kempton Park District Magistrate's Court yesterday. They were told to appear again on August 12, pending the Attorney-General's decision on whether or not they should be prosecuted.
PRETORIA — Despite strong protests from some Monument Park residents, Ciskei diplomat Colonel Joshua Gqozo and his family have moved into a house in Plet-My-Vrou Street.

Gqozo was not available for comment but a Ciskei embassy official said the family was happy in their new home. "We have ignored the protests," said the official.

Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais has made it clear government can take no action to have the family removed from the house.

He said diplomats were entitled to live where they pleased.
A Cape SOS to the UN over bloody vigilante war

By MBULELO LINDA and EDYTH BÜLBRING, Port Elizabeth

The Uitenhage branch of the United Democratic Front has asked United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuéllar to intervene in a 16-month conflict between the UDF and Amandla, an alleged vigilante group. The conflict has claimed 15 lives and thousands of armed men have moved into UDF-organised sections.

Eugene Terre'blanche — the man at the centre of the rightwing reception committee at Jan Smuts airport this week to meet liberal Afrikaners returning from their Dakar summit with the ANC — defies airport prohibitions on press conferences. The AWB leader told journalists the Dakar delegation had no right "to speak to the ANC about a fatherland that does not belong to them". Sporting AWB badges and flags, his supporters waited three hours for the men to disembark, chanting "traitors" and "we'll get you". But the travellers were whisked away to the airport police station and forbidden to confront Terre'Blanche.

Pictures: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix
Private sector should fill role of honest broker

To mark the 10th anniversary of the Urban Foundation, Leadership magazine has published a corporate profile of the organisation. Contributors include Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Policy Studies, Graduate School of Business Administration at the University of the Witwatersrand. These are extracts from his article.

The most significant roles the business community and private sector can play would seem to be the following:

Firstly, a great need exists for private sector institutions to continue to position themselves between the polarised political formations so as to be in a position to facilitate negotiations and mediate in conflict.

It is entirely conceivable that some time will elapse before a mediating role will be welcomed, since neither government nor the liberation movements appear to be inclined to compromise at this stage, certainly not in regard to a major new constitutional dispensation.

For this latter reason, the private sector should seek to promote initiatives on a smaller scale, which will yield changes in perceptions and in the structure of the political opportunity, so as to make larger scale negotiation possible with time.

An example would be in the area of urban local government. The cities are the epicentre of conflict in our society and initiatives to redress the stark polarisation and the political stalemate at the level of urban affairs are most appropriate. Facilitating negotiation between parents, teachers and government in the field of education will be another example.

It must be noted again, however, that the role of the private sector in these areas of endeavour will remain problematic and controversial. For this reason it is also essential for organisations like the Urban Foundation to maintain a concern with more mundane aspects of the urban fabric - housing, recreational services, health services and educational support.

Cheap alternatives

While many will question the relevance of these endeavours in a highly charged political climate, they are appropriate to the fact that millions of less-advantaged people must be protected from a deterioration in their quality of life in the period leading up to larger political solutions.

In this regard it is also appropriate that the private sector should pioneer innovative, low-cost alternatives in the provision of services.

South Africa's problems will not be solved, and the corporate sector likewise is not likely to enjoy stability or great success in its attempts to upgrade black employment, as long as there is no strongly developed common middle-class urban culture. For this reason, apart from a myriad others, change in the field of residential segregation is a vital concern for the private sector.

A breakthrough in regard to the Group Areas Act will be difficult to achieve since it forms one basis of government constitutional planning. Nevertheless, it is a goal which is utterly central to the quality of life of black people in the cities and will also make broader changes at the socio-political level more achievable.

It should be readily apparent that the more liberal business community has become the flag in the rope of a tug of war between the radical black political formations and government, with serious consequences for some organisations and individuals.

The business actors with a genuine concern for constructive change will have little option but to continue to walk the tightrope, as it were, to resist intimidation and to maintain autonomy and a sense of their own purpose.

There are no easy or quick solutions to South Africa's problems and the private sector will be most effective if it can develop and maintain the role of honest broker in our polarised society.

The role of honest broker may well also involve bolstering and assisting community leadership which is willing to negotiate in a climate in which it will be attacked from both sides.

Finally, the basic and original role of business is to act as the agent for economic growth. In this role, it should guard against overly anxious and pessimistic assessments of the medium-term future.

The challenges may be great but the businessmen and private sector organisations with sound judgment need not despair.
DAKAR ARRIVALS

Airport '87

It was hardly surprising that the group of 50 or so Afrikaner "liberals" who flew back to SA on Tuesday morning after their talks with the outlawed ANC in West Africa, were not allowed to exit via the main arrival hall at Jan Smuts airport.

For, judging by the threatening, baying behaviour of the "reception committee" of the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (AWB) and the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging, it would almost certainly have been like throwing them to the wolves — despite the large number of policemen on guard. When an airline stewardess emerged carrying a black baby, a kind of howl rose up among the ultra-Right, who'd been chanting words like verrassend (traitor). However, the men really wanted to "get," Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, who led the historic visit, was of course not even due back for another week.

The press conference that Slabbert's co-organiser Alex Boraine was due to hold from 10 am to 12 pm (as well as that scheduled by AWB's Eugene Terre-Blanche directly afterwards) was cancelled for security reasons. It appears that police felt AWB threats could have led to a confrontation and had information that the press conference might be disrupted. They therefore asked the airport authorities to cancel them.

After the cancellation of press conferences was announced by the airport, Terre-Blanche, carried shoulder high, told the crowd that the Dakar delegates "don't have the courage to look the wolf in the eye ... we want to let the world know they are not welcome in their country."

TerreBlanche then told his supporters to disperse. Just as they were, however, a group made up of members of Nussa, Jodac, the Black Students Society and the End Con- 

scription Campaign began, perhaps suicidally in the circumstances, to sing Nkosi Sike-lal iAfrika. There was the odd Amamda cry. The departing AWB planax immediately turned and began to wade into the leftwingers.

There were no really ugly scenes. With the main lounge cleared, scuffles again broke out outside the building when AWB men attacked the students.

Ten press photographers were arrested and later released on bail. They included the FM's Arnold Pronto, People magazine's Miko McCan, Times' Peter Magubane, Reuters' Wendy Schwegman, AFP's Trevor Samson, the Sunday Times' Hettie Zant- 

man, Business Day's Benedicte Scott, and Beeld's Alan Sacks. They were due to appear in court on Thursday on charges of refusing to disperse in an unrest situation. Inquiries at the Jan Smuts police station turned out to be fruitless at that stage, but revealed that the Dakar delegates were being protected in a nearby police building until friends and relatives arrived to take them home. Former FCI director Johan van Zyl told the FM the trip was a "fantastic experience. I learned a great deal about ANC, Africa and SA." Two other members of the group (journalists) were dismayed by the negative comment their visit had received in the English-speaking press.

Talking to journalists at Idasa's office in Cape Town, Boraine said his delegation had heard of the AWB threats while still in West Africa and sent messages asking for official assistance on their return.

He said he has "no problem" with peaceful AWB protests, "but the line must be drawn somewhere." The group was "received courteously" by senior policemen and security officials at Jan Smuts who kept them away from the main concourse.

Boraine added he was refused permission to go to the concourse to try to calm the situation because the security officials couldn't guarantee his safety. He said he regrets that the authorities were unable to find a reasonably safe venue for a press conference at Jan Smuts.

It was a tragic comment on the situation in the country that a group of South Africans can't return home in a relatively normal manner, said Boraine. The situation at the airport also seemed to indicate that the violent threat posed by the AWB has reached serious proportions.

Boraine said Slabbert is undeterred by the AWB threats and is prepared to meet Terre-Blanche and other senior AWB members at any time to discuss the situation in the country.

Idasa expects the AWB to again protest at Jan Smuts when Slabbert returns to the country on July 31. Boraine personally is taking the AWB threat seriously and is considering rearranging protection for his staff, his family and his office and home.

Boraine outlined the trip and explained that the group met the ANC in Dakar out of concern at the escalating violence and drift towards authoritarianism in SA. He said Idasa believes the conference demonstrated that talks of that nature can take place constructively. The group didn't expect to find consensus on all issues.

Replying to questions, he said the selection of the group of delegates took more than four months of confidential arrangements. Negotiations with "key" ANC members to make the trip possible took eight months.

Idasa deliberately set out to bring together as wide a cross-section as possible of South African society rather than only people with strong political interests. At no time did the group imagine it could "negotiate" with the ANC because it had neither the power nor the mandate to do so. "We didn't try to speak on behalf of anyone but ourselves," he said.

While members of the group differed on key issues, they were bound by a common search for a non-racial and peaceful solution to SA's problems and believed that negotiations with the ANC were part of the solution.

"We hope that what began in Dakar will continue both inside and outside SA and eventually involve the government," he said. What happened in Dakar was a "miracle," but it will take an even bigger miracle to draw government into similar talks.

While Idasa delegates there were differences between the ANC and Idasa delegates during hours of talks on a wide range of subjects, it was clear to him that the ANC was aiming for a non-racial democracy in which economic growth would play a key role in the prosperity of the country.

While Idasa delegates could not agree on the ANC's strategy of violence, Boraine said it is his impression that many of them are now more sympathetic to the "armed struggle" than before, after having heard its justification from ANC executives, "but this doesn't mean we condone it."
We started riding a donkey and ended on a tiger—SAYS SLABBERT OF THE DAKAR TRIP

"Do you really trust these whites?" asks a South African delegate, as a group of tourists scolds the ANC delegation that is being denied entry to their country. The ANC delegation has been turned away from the airport, and the tourists are voicing their support for the ANC. The scene is tense and hostile, with the tourists and the delegates engaged in a heated argument.

Meanwhile, in Ougadougou, Burkina Faso, the ANC's leading figure, Sobhukwa, has been arrested. This has sparked protests and demonstrations, with many people taking to the streets to demand his release. The situation is unpredictable and volatile, with the possibility of violence and unrest.

The ANC delegation, led by president Jacob Zuma, is in Ougadougou to discuss the situation in South Africa and to seek support from the international community. However, the meeting has been disrupted by the arrest of Sobhukwa, and the ANC delegation is now under pressure to respond to the situation.

In another part of town, a group of ANC supporters are holding a rally to show their support for the ANC. They are chanting slogans and singing songs in support of the ANC. The atmosphere is charged with emotion, with many people feeling angry and frustrated.

The ANC delegation is due to leave Ougadougou later today, but it is unclear what their next destination will be. The situation in South Africa continues to be volatile, with the ANC facing a range of challenges and pressures.

---

Ghana: A group of touring white South Africans were Electricity switchboard at a remote village in the VIF lounge at Accra airport, which had just arrived on the last leg of their West African tour.

Since Mbeki, an ANC executive member and head of the ANC delegation to Dakar, has been banned in South Africa, his unprecedented reaction cannot be avoided. It is clear that the ANC is taking a hard line on the country's domestic politics.

The airport was closed for the only occasion for the ANC to jump on the plane to the second site of white tourism offers. Sometimes they pushed the principle of non-racialism in the face of great skepticism, in two of Africa's most radical courts and in a ruling from which white South Africans had been excluded.

Late Thursday evening, about 600 people packed a plush forum in a round conference hall in Accra, built for the 1965 Organization of African Unity summit. A Liberian student engaged the audience in a group of "playing up liberation as exposed to revolution." A Ghanaian actor declared that the whites' journey was simply "a big trick to make our amps and media roles in their struggle.

Negroes and women's secretaries Slabbert Meintjes responded with genteel firmness. We cannot overestimate the fact that there is a right colour and a wrong colour, and as for the Labour Court of Pretoria, and its activities, we will not be silent.

The project of Dakar had ended, an extended, less formal dialogue continued between the two of them, and as in every, leaving behind the regime's conflict conference table at Dakar's Novotel, the delegates were thrown into the reality of Ougadougou and Accra, with concrete African backdrops against which to consider the needs of South Africa's future.

Perhaps more important, the delegates began to speak to each other Africans. With Slabbert and Mbeki talking up an impressive diplomatic pair of the many officials occasions. Beside the impact of the trip on the delegates, they have undoubtedly felt their impact on the capitals, their journey filling several pages of the local newspapers.

When the delegates' Air Afrique plane touched down in Ougadougou, 11.000 people lined the streets between the airport and the hotel. Six bands played African high-life music along the route, others held banners urging, "Victory to the struggle! In South Africa", while the group were escorted through the city by motorcycle with flashing lights, led by red-covered police motorcycles.

Later that day, the idea group were attended at a concert of honour at a revolutionary tribunal on Nelson Mandela Avenue, whose one judge said the docked commissioners were trying officials for having embezzled millions of West African francs from an armament supermarket. At one stage, one of the accused interrupted his testimony to "welcome the white idealists", and the hundreds of civilians who had come to watch the trial cheered.

A search for roots? Frederik van Zyl Slabbert plants a tree in Ougadougou, Burkina Faso Picture: VIVIENNE WALT, Newsday, "Down with racism." In a trip which is sure to make government supporters here feel increasingly isolated, the ANC delegation welcomed them heroes, largely thanks to the ANC's strong credentials on the continent. And they had done so, almost by having rejected apartheid.

Despite the slight irritants of both faction and ANC delegates about the hooshah surrounding their arrival in Ougadougou, everyone warmed to Captain Thomas Sankara, the 39-year-old revolutionary and military ruler who seized power in a coup four years ago.

But in the garden of his presidential palace, Sankara sat one night entertaining the group with his irresistible energy. He lavishly thanked their journey to "going from Johannesburg to Soweto", a township which many activists admires as equally unfriendly territory to them. At one point, he made everyone clap rhythmically, to stop themselves from dropping off to sleep in the intense night-time heat.

"You must smile, you must be happy in your struggle," he said to the weary delegates. "You should sing a song." And in what remained one of the trip's most touching moments, the group responded with a rousing Africans version of "For he's a jolly good fellow," one delegate singing a hymn.

By the time the six ANC members flew out of Accra last Friday, a few ANC delegates were fighting back the tears. The night before, a Ghanaian military band had played a concert version of "Mambo Saliou" for them.

As it ended, one of the ANC delegates said ruefully, "I feel so deprived. This damned National Party government has deprived us of contact with Africa for 20 years."
Snug in the presidential suite on the fourth floor of the White House, South Dakota Gov. Frankerson and his wife, Marcia, held a quiet dinner for the president and the prime minister of South Africa, F. W. de Klerk. The evening began with a private meeting between the two leaders and was followed by a formal dinner at the nearby Blair House.

The governor and his wife were the guests of honor at the evening's events, which included speeches by both leaders. The dinner was a rare opportunity for the two countries to strengthen their ties and discuss important issues.

F. W. de Klerk, who has been a controversial figure in South African politics, was praised by the governor for his efforts to promote peace and reconciliation in the country. The governor also expressed his appreciation for the prime minister's leadership and commitment to overcoming the challenges facing South Africa.

The dinner was a significant event for both leaders, who have worked to establish a strong relationship between their countries. The evening's events were a testament to the ongoing efforts to build a brighter future for South Africa and its neighbors.
By BARRY STREEK

THE proposal by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis for urban black people to have an elected National Statutory Council (NSC) to advise the Government and Parliament is, not essentially, a new reform.

A remarkably similar structure — the Natives Representative Council (NRC) — was introduced 50 years ago when Cape African men were deprived of the vote for Parliament.

The old council, which was also elected, collapsed within 10 years after its members found that its advice and views were totally ignored by the white-controlled Parliament.

One of the elected councillors, Paul Mosaka, called it a "toy telephone", a label which has stuck ever since.

The NRC experiment was a political disaster.

Although legitimate black leadership, including prominent members of the African National Congress, served on the council, Parliament and the United Party Government refused to listen to its calls on fundamental political issues, such as the vote, the abolition of the pass laws, education and trade union rights.

In the process, black-white tensions increased and the credibility of Government leaders among black people was destroyed.

Among those whose reputation was severely damaged was the "liberal" Jannie Hofmeyr, Deputy Prime Minister in 1946 who, when he opened a new NRC session, patronizingly tried to justify racial discrimination and existing Government policies.

"Although the Council had a history of advice given and seldom taken, although it was a body of responsible men treated like children, although Mosaka had called it a toy telephone, yet it was the only link between white and black South Africa, the only means whereby black South Africa could speak to their fellow-countrymen, and tell them their hopes and sorrows," Alan Paton wrote in his biography of Hofmeyr.

The Natives Representative Council and the proposed NSC are "in essence very similar proposals", says Andrew Merrifield, who is at present completing a doctoral thesis on the NRC for submission to Syracuse University in New York.

But, Merrifield adds, "we are talking about very different societies."

"It is much more complex than when the Secretary of Native Affairs could go from a council sitting, fetch some papers from his office next door and return to the discussion. The complexity of government has changed a lot."

When the NRC first sat in Pretoria in 1957, white politicians voiced hopes about the role of the council in a way which echo the statements being made 50 years later.

"Liberal"
Hofmeyr's
reputation
shot by his
NRC speech

Dr JAN HENDRIK
HOFMEYR, Deputy Prime Minister under General Smuts.

Can Heunis
dream be
shattered by
Statutory
Council?

Hofmeyr, for instance, who voted against his own party in opposing the abolition of the Cape African franchise, said the NRC "may become a very important and valuable thing which would be able to bring complaints quickly to the attention of the Government."

When he opened the first session of the NRC, Jan Smut, then Deputy Prime Minister said:

"This Natives Representative Council has been instituted as a constitutional body advisory to Government and Parliament, through which the elected Natives representatives are enabled to present the views and interests of their constituents to the Government and Parliament."

"It is the earnest wish of us all that through wisdom and moderation, and in the spirit of amity of use of the new opportunities, this notable advance may be fully justified and become a landmark in the happy relations between the European and Native people of this land," Smuts said.

Margaret Ballinger, one of three MPs who represented "natives" from the Cape, wrote that by the end of the first NRC session there was "little doubt that the more opportunity to state their side of the case on levels they had never reached before resulted in people who had for so long been not politically inarticulate, but beyond the range of Government attention."

The council terminated its first session "in the hopeful and firm belief that it had come into being, as one member expressed it, as a third chamber of the legislature, not only to be heard but to be listened to."

"Here indeed were grounds for encouragement and for hope," Mrs Ballinger wrote.

The members of the 16-member NRC were elected indirectly through local authorities to represent four provincial constituencies, each with an urban, rural and a reserve member.

There were also four nominated Africans.

Among those who served were Dr John Dube, Selope Thema and Dr James Moroka, who were all at one time presidents of the ANC; Prof Z K Matthews, a prominent figure in the ANC; and Chief Albert Luthuli, who was ANC president when it was banned in 1960.

Merrifield says that although there were no national elections for the council, "the idea was to have a representative NRC."

Although the Communist Party nominated candidates, particularly in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, the indirect system of election ensured that they "often came second or third in the polls."

At first, the NRC was consulted about how new laws affecting Africans would be implemented but "very soon they constantly began to question Government policy, even though the Government said they were not allowed to question policy."

"The final collapse of the council was precisely around this issue," Merrifield says.

"In the case of really crucial legislation, they ignored the council."

Despite the NRC's demise, the grouping of the pass laws, the Government tightened them up and in 1945 actually consolidated the controversial measures which were only recently abolished.

With this approach, the collapse of the council was inevitable, and it ceased functioning by the time Dr Hendrik Verwoerd closed it in 1950, telling the NRC that "the mistake many leaders of the Bantu make is to think only in terms of the highest superstructure of politics."

"Within this sphere they seek their own personal ambition, and forget that 99% of their people do not have these ambitions."

One of the major lessons of the NRC experiment was that advisory bodies, with little political power, are "no substitute for political rights."

Whatever motivations and sincerity of officials and white politicians, that really will not change."

The NRC, in spite of having "hoped for a laudable leadership", was ignored.

And the chances of the revamped model succeeding 50 years later, without any semblance of credible leadership, having any greater success, seem very remote.
Censoring information on ANC is ‘harmful’ — Prof

PRETORIA. — South Africans were capable of formulating an adult opinion of the ANC and should not be deprived of information about the organization, Professor Johann van der Westhuizen of the University of Pretoria said yesterday.

Prof Van der Westhuizen, head of the Department of Legal History, Comparison and Philosophy and director of the Centre for Human Rights Studies, was one of the participants in the recent Idasa-ANC summit in Dakar.

He told a joint Pretoria Press Club and Public Relations Institute of SA luncheon in Pretoria that it was imperative that complete speeches and policy documents be made available so they could be judged in conjunction with ANC actions.

"To keep back and isolate information leads to a total misconception of realities, to mythologising on both sides and to poisonous, confusing and harmful propaganda and disinformation from various sources," he said.

ANC leaders had said it was not their policy to attack soft targets. If it had been so, the position in South Africa would have been totally different, the ANC delegates said.

Prof Van der Westhuizen said the ANC leadership was not the most radical faction in South Africa. There were township children who wanted nothing but an AK47 rifle.

A proposition that one white child be killed for every black child killed in the townships had been blocked by ANC leaders.

He said the Idasa group hoped their efforts would contribute to ending or reducing violence and animosity.
JOHANNESBURG — A campaign of white terror against some of the delegates to the Dakar talks with the African National Congress has left them fearful for the lives and safety of their families.

Threats this week from far-right groups like the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB) seem to have set them on a course of confrontation with delegates determined to hold report-back meetings.

Delegates in Cape Town, Durban and Pretoria have been victims of threatening telephone calls.

Dr Alex Boraine, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (IDASA), which organised the trip to Senegal, believes that some of the threats he had were co-ordinated.

"After my blood"

"They have come from English and Afrikaans speakers, men and women. Some have used similar language."

"Some calls have been made to the office, asking if it is the ANC's office and when told the number belongs to Mandela, they say it is the same thing," Dr Boraine said.

"Other callers to my home have threatened to hang me from the nearest tree or warn that they were after my blood."

Threatening callers were not specifically named others of the AWB, but the kind of hatred being stirred by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche's threats to delegates could spur others to make more calls, Dr Boraine said.

The AWB leader said this week that he had plans to initiate prosecutions against the group who went to Dakar, and also warned that the AWB would not allow them to hold public meetings.

In response, Dr Boraine said that public meetings would go ahead and that the AWB would face court action if it tried to disrupt meetings.

He expected the police to give the normal protection any citizen or member of the public could ask for.

The Rev Thomas Lindsay, Pretoria University's military chaplain and member of the Brooklyn Hoeprichter, said he had had at least eight phone calls calling him a traitor to his country and Volk.

"Very unpleasant"

Another Pretoria delegate, Professor Johan van der Westhuizen, said he had also had threatening calls.

Natal rugby personality Tommy whistle knew that he had also had a number of "very unpleasant phone calls."

However, delegates said they had also had messages of support from surprising quarters, including calls from Supreme Court judges to legal academic Professor Johan van der Westhuizen.

Dr Boraine was due to speak at a public meeting in East London on August 4, and leader of the van Zyl Slabbert in Port Elizabeth on August 6.
'More contact' needed

From MOIRA LEVY
in LONDON

THE Dakar meeting between the African National Congress and 61 South Africans took place in an "overwhelming atmosphere that this was part of the process of the South African people making history", the Dakar declaration released by the ANC here said.

The document said that further contact between South Africans at home and the exiled liberation movement were necessary and should involve "more and wider sections of the South African people to dispel misunderstanding and fear".

Matters discussed at the conference held from July 9 to 12 included ways to build national unity and how to bring about fundamental change in South Africa.

The delegates also considered future government structures in a free South Africa and the form the economy would take.

According to the report released by the 17-person ANC delegation, much of the discussion was about the movement's resolve to maintain and intensify the armed struggle within South Africa.

"The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and although not all could support it, everyone was deeply concerned about the proliferation of uncontrolled violence."

"However, all participants recognised that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the practice and use of racial domination."

The conference came out strongly in favour of a negotiated solution to the conflict in South Africa.

"Participants recognised that the attitude of those in power is the principle obstacle to progress in this regard. It was further accepted that the unconditional release of all political leaders in prison or detention and the unbanning of all organisations are essential prerequisites for such negotiations to take place."

Both delegates recognised the need to achieve a non-racial, democratic South Africa as an urgent goal and "participants agreed that they had an obligation to act for the achievement of this objective."

It was also agreed that there was a need to build a nation of all South Africans, the Dakar declaration stated.

The conference expressed gratitude to President Abdou Diouf of Senegal and Mrs Danielle Muterand for their role in organising the meeting.

'Exciting stage in history'

SOUTH AFRICA was perhaps at its most exciting stage in its history, Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), said on his return this week from the Dakar conference.

The return of the more than 50 delegates was as controversial as their departure with members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) intent on giving them a fiery welcome.

Delegates arriving at Jan Smuts Airport were whisked away from the airport under a strict veil of security.

Cape Town delegates arriving at D F Malan Airport were met by a huge police presence and left the entrance through the goods entrance.

Boraine said at a press conference the delegation never thought it could negotiate with the ANC.

"We do not have the power, nor do we have the mandate to do so," he said.

Instead they shared the belief that serious discussions with the ANC were crucial in finding a non-racial and democratic solution to the conflict in South Africa.

"We are perhaps the most exciting point in our history, because the government has to see it in terms of their support beginning to be eroded at the edges," he said.

The group met the ANC, with whom it had wide-ranging discussions on various crucial issues, because the movement had "unbelievable support on the ground in South Africa and respect throughout Africa."

The leader of the ANC delegation, Mr Thabo Mbeki, assistant to ANC president Oliver Tambo, stood "head and shoulders above most politicians that I have ever met throughout my political career", Boraine said.

Boraine likened the ANC's position to violence to someone being "pushed against a wall by a bully".

"You're either going to get clubbed or you are going to hit back because the wall is not going to disappear."

He said the ANC did not have "a great will commitment to the purity of violence."

"The ball is in the court of the South African Government."

If the state wants the ANC to end its strategy of violence, it must release the leaders, unban the ANC and let them participate as a political party in South Africa, Boraine said.

Dr Boraine at this week's press conference
THE Dakar mission has been reviled for talking to the enemy, murderers and communists. All this criticism would have been justified, says Stellenbosch law professor GERHARD ERASMUS who was on the safari, had South Africa seen a normal society... Here he argues the case for talking to the ANC.

THE Dakar mission has been reviled for talking to the enemy, murderers and communists. All this criticism would have been justified, says Stellenbosch law professor GERHARD ERASMUS who was on the safari, had South Africa seen a normal society... Here he argues the case for talking to the ANC.

The condemnation of violence only really rings true when uttered by those with relatively clean hands.

The Dakar mission has been reviled for talking to the enemy, murderers and communists. All this criticism would have been justified, says Stellenbosch law professor GERHARD ERASMUS who was on the safari, had South Africa seen a normal society... Here he argues the case for talking to the ANC.

The condemnation of violence only really rings true when uttered by those with relatively clean hands.

The Dakar mission has been reviled for talking to the enemy, murderers and communists. All this criticism would have been justified, says Stellenbosch law professor GERHARD ERASMUS who was on the safari, had South Africa seen a normal society... Here he argues the case for talking to the ANC.

The condemnation of violence only really rings true when uttered by those with relatively clean hands.

The Dakar mission has been reviled for talking to the enemy, murderers and communists. All this criticism would have been justified, says Stellenbosch law professor GERHARD ERASMUS who was on the safari, had South Africa seen a normal society... Here he argues the case for talking to the ANC.

The condemnation of violence only really rings true when uttered by those with relatively clean hands.
WITH DOUBTS

FROM DAKAR

The ANC was vague about what kind of a break the declaration of the state of emergency would bring. The statement of other than the armed struggle they seemed to have an almost mystical belief in the inevitability of the triumph of the majority. Schlemmer by Lawrence
The AWB had earlier given notice that it intended to confront the Idasa group on its arrival back in South Africa.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order denied the Minister or his department had anything to do with the cancellation of the proposed Press conference.

"What, in fact, happened was that the police feared a confrontation between various groups at Jan Smuts Airport—a packed very prominent—and it was felt that the police could not allow a confrontation at the airport which could turn into violence.

"As a result, senior police officers requested the airport manager to inform Idasa and its party that the police considered it inopportune to hold a Press conference at the airport and suggested that a Press conference could and should be held at an alternative venue."—Sapa.

Peter Magubane (forefront) and other journalists outside the Kempton Park Magistrates Court after appearing yesterday.

IDILE MEMELA

The incident occurred shortly after the arrival of about 40 members of the delegation which had held talks with the ANC in Dakar.

All 15 accused squeezed onto the plaintiff’s bench in the small courtroom packed with a large contingent of police, until the magistrate ordered that only six should sit at a time.

This was received with shouts of relief from the accused.

A defence counsel, later told journalists outside the court building that it was possible that all charges against the 15 would be dropped.

By SANDILE MEMELA

FIFTEEN foreign and local journalists made a brief appearance at the Kempton Park Magistrates Court on Wednesday afternoon on charges under the regulations governing media and airports.

Their case was postponed to August 12 by the resident magistrate AN du Plessis while awaiting the decision of the Attorney-General on whether or not to continue with the prosecution.

This matter has been postponed until the Attorney-General has looked into it," said Mr. du Plessis.

Their charges arose out of the clashes between AWB members and a group of leftist student journalists at the national arrival hall at Jan Smuts Airport.

The 15 were arrested at the airport after various clashes, including a police charge on the journalists, who scattered in all directions.

Policemen ... before arrival of the Idasa group.

Support Dakar talks — Nigeria

NIGERIA this week called on the OAU Council of Ministers to adopt a declaration supporting the recent meeting held in Dakar between officials of the African National Congress and white liberals from South Africa.

Sources close to the conference which is being held behind closed doors, confirmed that they supported the proposal which would be the subject of consultation with the various countries.

When the council began its 40th session on Monday, Botswana apparently endorsed the recent meeting.

"It is the road to a democratic regime in South Africa," Botswana's Foreign Minister and outgoing chairman of the council, Gaositsele Chipe, told the Foreign Ministers.

Earlier, commenting on the Dakar meeting during a Press conference, OAU secretary-general Ide Oumarou described the meeting as an important step towards the recognition of the ANC which is considered by the South African government as a "terrorist" organisation.

A strong contingent of SA Police with police sniffer dogs paced the airport hallway packed with fervent supporters of the AWB, who taunted anxious friends and relatives of the delegation.

AWB members displayed flags which read "ANC anti-Charnel anarchy" and their red, white and black flag. They chanted "traitors" and anti-ANC slogans.

After a brief address by Terre'Blanche, the crowd dispersed but continued chanting.

However, running skirmishes broke out when a handful of Idasa supporters burst into the African national anthem. AWB members charged at them, hurling insults and calling them traitors.

According to Sapa, a foreign correspondent who travelled to Dakar with the delegation said the group had been met in the customs area by "hundreds of policemen" who asked them not to leave via the main exit into the country, where the AWB members were waiting.

Terre'Blanche later told scores of his supporters that the delegation "did not have the courage to look the volk in the eye."

"Let the world know that they are not welcome in South Africa," he said.

A number of white students were arrested by uniformed policemen after a group of black and white students began singing "Nkosi Sikelelwa.

John Bradfield, spokesman for the National Union of South African Students, said the students were there to give support to the delegation from Dakar and to show that not all South Africans identified with what the AWB did.

"We support these kinds of discussions with the ANC because most whites don’t know what the ANC is because of its banning and through censorship of the Press," he said.

Shortly after talking to Sapa, Beadle was whisked away by police, who had announced that no Press briefings could take place at the airport.

Police also ordered scores of local and foreign journalists to leave. A number of AWB Press photographers (including Peter Magubane of The Times, Connie Wyndham of Reuters) were arrested and bundled into a police van.

A white student, who was identified by colleagues as Felice Gersch, was also arrested after he tried to defend a friend involved in a scuffle with the AWB.

Before the delegation left the airport, scores of AWB supporters, sporting the red, white and black insignia of their movement and waving the Vlakleur flag, shouted "traitors" and "pig."
No police case against AWB

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

POLICE yesterday said recent AWB statements about the Dakar talks group and leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert for evidence that they contained threats.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's liaison officer Brigadier Leon Mollet, confirming this, added there was no "concrete evidence" the AWB or leader Eugene Terre-Blanche threatened the group.

Police were now appealing to the public to come forward if they had evidence to back allegations the AWB had broken the law, he said.

No formal complaints against the AWB had been made to police following the organisation's demonstration at Jan Smuts Airport last week.

The senior police officer who studied AWB statements yesterday said police had "no case, because there was no confrontation".

Police failure to guarantee the safety of the Dakar group on its return to Jan Smuts Airport indicated the force either sympathised with or feared the AWB, PFP Law and Order spokesman Helen Sussman said yesterday in Cape Town.

Sapa reported she said that during the incident at Jan Smuts Airport police "concentrated on arresting journalists attempting to carry out their duty rather than members of the AWB who threatened violence and who committed offences in terms of the emergency regulations as well as airport regulations".

BB
"I can't withdraw. If they want to sell my land, I must be there," AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche tells Major-General Du Plessis after being asked by police not to confront the Dakar group.

The political polarization within the Afrikaner nation was clearly evident this week at Jan Smuts Airport when the 40 odd, mostly Afrikaans-speaking South Africans arrived back from talks in Dakar with the ANC and walked straight into an AWB demonstration.

AWB members displaying flags which read "ANC anti-apartheid" and their red, white and black flag chanted "traitors" and anti-ANC slogans to the homecoming group.

The tension exploded into violence as AWB members charged at those who had come to the airport to welcome the returning group, after some of them began singing "Nkosi Sikelelwa Afrika."
By SANDILE MIBELA

FIFTEEN foreign and local journalists made a brief appearance at the Kempton Park Magistrates Court on Wednesday afternoon on charges under the regulations governing media and airports.

Their case was postponed to August 12 by presiding magistrate AN du Plessis while awaiting the decision of the Attorney-General on whether to continue with the prosecution.

"This matter has been postponed until the Attorney-General has looked into it," said Du Plessis.

Their charges arise out of the clashes between AWB members and a group of left-wing students at the international arrival hall at Jan Smuts Airport.

The 15 were arrested at the airport after various clashes, including a police charge on the journalists, who scattered in all directions.

15 in court after clash

The incident occurred shortly after the arrival of about 40 members of the delegation which had held talks with the ANC in Dakar.

All 15 accused squeezed onto the plaintiff's bench in the small court, packed with a large contingent of police, until the magistrate ordered that only six should sit at a time.

This was received with smiles of relief from the accused.

Defence counsel lawyer, Paul Jenkins, later told journalists outside the court building that it was possible that all charges against the 15 would be dropped.
SOUTH AFRICA has entered its second year under a state of emergency, no matter how the event against the new constitution in August 1984 sparked off violent black protest.

Fear of at least caution, has been the common experience of all South Africans. Unrealistic black expectations of imminent revolutionary change have been dashed.

The white minority which controls the political, security and economic power of the South African state has re-established its authority and much of its confidence.

Even the economy is looking better shape. Despite the exodus of foreign capital, some foreign investment in South Africa is now evident. The government has also taken steps to ensure that the economy should grow by at least 3% this year and next.

The last three years have left their mark, however. SA is a sadder but perhaps wiser place. There are no illusions that the struggle for power is over. At best the emergency is tough security force action has created a truce — a breathing space in which both sides can prepare for the long haul.

For the NP government, returned to power at the May 6 whites-only elections, restoration of formal order is seen as a vital prerequisite for pushing ahead with socioeconomic reforms.

These are aimed at improving physical conditions in the townships and encouraging the emergence of a property-owning black middle and business class with a stake in the system.

For black "radicals" mourning the end of the violent confrontation of the 1980s, political normalcy, the task is to rebuild "alternative structures" and organisations in the townships, schools, universities and trade unions.

It will be an uphill task under the vigilant eye of the security forces, the hastily-trained and recruited township police and conservative vigilantes. Although most of the 30,000 or so detainees held for various periods have now been released, around 2,000 of those whom the authorities consider "revolutionaries" are still in detention.

Externally, the exiled leadership of the ANC is also under pressure to review its tactics and strategy in light of the gap between its revolutionary rhetoric and the reality of white State power inside the country.

Ironically, the main boost to the prestige of the ANC — Africa's oldest and most powerful nationalist movement — came from President PW Botha himself, who made it the central theme of his election campaign.

Five weeks after the elections he justified the extension of the state of emergency on June 11 by the continuing strength of the underlying "revolutionary climate". He declared war on the current ANC leadership, which he believes is dominated and manipulated by the SA Communist Party.

Botha won the election by playing on the fears of the white electorate. The NP won 123 of the 166 elected seats in the House of Assembly, thanks partly to a large swing of nervous English-speaking whites into the Nat camp.

But the right-wing Conservative Party (CP), and the now insignificant Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), gained nearly 30% of the vote. It was enough to make the CP the new official Opposition, with 23 seats to the 19 won by the staunch "liberal" Progressive Federal Party (PFP).

What is more, the CP is breathing down the necks of the NP in dozens of marginal seats. This leads political analysts to surmise that government will delay the next elections well beyond the present mid-1989 constitutional timetable. It needs a simple majority in all three houses to do so.

Viewed optimistically, the elections showed that 70% of white South African voters reject, with varying degrees of conviction, the old-style apartheid policies brought to a fine art under Dr Hendrik Verwoerd in the Sixties.

The most interesting and passionate revisionists are the middle-aged Afrikaner clerics and academics. They have rejected both the Biblical basis of "separate development" and the NP itself as a credible vehicle for anything more radical than the modernisation of apartheid.

The soul-searching and inner turmoil beneath the crusty surface of Afrikanerdom is best seen in the strong support given to the three independent candidates in the elections and the interest on the non-racial elections, especially among younger middle class Afrikaners.

At the other end of the spectrum, 30% of the white electorate opted for what might be called the New Democratic Movement option proposed by the CP. Its neo-Verwoerden vision is based on partition into 13 separate ethnic states.

The biggest and richest would be white. The only blacks in this white country, tentatively named "Southland," would be millions of "foreign" contract labourers without political, trade union or other rights.

Government critics like Helen Suzman, the PFP law and order spokesperson, says SA is subject to a "creeping coup d'etat".

Her former leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, defines the political struggle as a contest between an extra-parliamentary government, ruling through a network of non-elected, security force-dominated technocratic management committees, and an extra-parliamentary opposition.

Meanwhile many in the outside world interpret the strengthening of executive government and the emergency restrictions as marking a shift away from "reform".

This is emphatically denied by a government which feels it has not received enough recognition for the abolition of influx control, legalisation of black trade unions and recognition of the permanent status of blacks in "white" SA, or its commitment to equalising educational standards within a decade, acceptance of rapid black urbanisation and a long list of other socio-economic reforms backed up by real spending shifts.

Critics respond that apartheid has merely been trimmed back and modernised. What remains, they say, is the core essence of separate development — the population registration, group areas and separate amenities Acts and those monuments to Verwoerd's concept of "grand apartheid," the 10 ethnically-defined black homelands. Four are nominally independent states and a fifth — KwaNdebele — is being pushed in that direction.

Government may modify aspects of these bedrocks but not the substance. Botha has made clear that under his leadership constitutional change will remain firmly wedded to "group" — meaning ethnic — politics.

Preterist's ideal is to arrive at a form of power-sharing between elected white, coloured, Asian and black leaders at local, regional and ultimately national level, which will not lead to "the domination of one group by another". In plain English, this means a solution which allows every group to have their say at all levels — but ultimately leaves the whites in control.

The latest exercise in group-based power-sharing came into operation this month, when the first Regional Service Councils (RSCs) made their debut. Bittern emphasised by business, which will finance them through new levies, the RSCs are seen by government planners as instruments for channeling resources from rich white local authorities to their poor black neighbours.

It remains to be seen how effective they will be. Thus far "power-sharing" has proved an elusive goal. The problem, in the perceptive words of Sir Laurens van der Post, is that government "offers blacks terms they can't accept without losing the authority they have over their people".

That applies not only to "radicals" like the ANC and the anti-apartheid UDF but also to powerful "moderate" black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

One of the tests of government's commitment to power-sharing will be his readiness to accept proposals for multiracial government in Natal drawn up by the so-called Indaba.

The need to offer black leaders options sells well with their followers and was underlined by a black mayor, Essau Mahlali, in his speech before the freedom of six black townships south east of Johannesburg on Botha recently.

He called on Botha to abandon his proposed "national statutory council" — rejected by blacks as a toothless advisory body — and change his opposition to black participation in Parliament to a more realistic one, said the mayor, would only be satisfied with equal participation in a central parliament with whites.

The bottom line message to government was: stop waiting your time looking for black supporters.

But the last three years have shown there are no "quick fixes". The race between the tortoise of reform and the hare of revolution is essentially a struggle for black hearts and minds.

It is a struggle which will continue to be fought at all levels of a complex society in the midst of profound and confused transformation.
PE Idasa workers threatened

By KIN BENTLEY

TWO Port Elizabeth black field workers of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) were today warned by an anonymous telephone caller to "count their days".

This comes in the wake of the assassination at the weekend of the regional director of Idasa in the Border, Mr Eric Mtongana.

The call was received by the institute's regional secretary, Mrs Elizabeth Misitse, at about 10.30am.

In a statement, Eastern Cape regional co-ordinator Mr Kevin Wakeford, said the caller told Mrs Misitse that Mr Max Mamashe, an Eastern Cape director and Mr Mdelo Mvimba, a regional co-ordinator, should "count their days" and "watch their backs".

He said they were also asked "why are they doing what pleases their hearts" and "why aren't you working with us anymore?"

Mr Wakeford said this was clearly "an attempt to sow division" between Idasa and community organisations with which Idasa had a good relationship.

"It's the old divide and rule strategy," he said. He said the man first spoke in English to Mrs Misitse and then, after asking if she could speak Xhosa, continued in that language.

Mr Wakeford said he had reported the matter to the police.

Both the threatened men live in PE's black townships.

Asked whether Idasa members would be taking precautions in the light of the threats, he said: "We shall continue as normal. We won't change our commitment towards facilitating a healthy climate for negotiation."

Dakar: abusive telephone calls

Post Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG - Members of the Dakar group, who returned to South Africa on Tuesday, have been subjected to what appears to be an organised wave of abusive phone calls.

Dr Alex Boraine, one of the leaders of the group, and the executive director of Idasa, confirmed to a Johannesburg reporter that he had received at least eight such calls, some of them at night.

"The callers do not identify themselves, and all used similar abusive language," he said.

One caller said "Scorpion is after your blood" in apparent reference to the activities in Cape Town some years ago of the once notorious right-wing activist group "Scorpion."

Other calls referred to Dr Boraine as a "traitor" and a threat was made to "kill you and hang you from the nearest tree."

"The calls were different, but followed a similar pattern. Some were by women, some voices were well-spoken and others guttural. One accepts there are crazy people out there, but it hasn't been pleasant, especially if you get such calls in the middle of the night," he said.

Another delegate, the Rev Tasseff Eloff of Pretoria, also received calls. He confirmed that a Pretoria University colleague, Mr Johannes Westhuizen, had also received similar calls.

Mr Eloff said: "I reject these calls with the contempt they deserve. One caller referred to my wife and children. A few of the calls were sick. I believe it has been orchestrated."

SCRUFFY by name but elegant by nature... IVOR CLASSE'S miniature Corgi was docked out in her finest on Saturday as she entered the "best-dressed dog" competition at the Day of Mutt in St George's Park.
EAST LONDON — A co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) in the Border region, Mr Eric Mntonga, has been found murdered in his car on a lonely road near King William’s Town.

Mr Mntonga’s shocked father, Mr Norman Mntonga, said last night his son had been found murdered near Tamara in Ciskei, between King William’s Town and Peddie.

Mr Mntonga said he had been contacted by Ciskei police on Saturday afternoon and asked to call at the Tamara police station yesterday. When he arrived there he was told that his son had been killed.

“They told me they had found Eric sitting in the back seat of the car with his hands tied behind his back. There was one stab wound below his left armpit.”

Mr Mntonga said his son’s pockets had been emptied and the car’s radio was missing.

All his papers, including his identity book, two pairs of shoes and his cheque book were still in the car. Two of the cheques were unaccounted for.

Mr Mntonga said he had last seen his son alive on Wednesday morning when he visited his mother.

“I do not know what to say. I never expected anything like this. He was liked by everyone,” Mr Mntonga said.

There was a large dent in the car, near the back on the passenger side, and police believed it had been overturned.

Mr Mntonga is a former South African Allied Workers’ Union organiser and UDF official and was chairman of the Committee of Ten which negotiated on behalf of Mdantsane residents during the 1982 bus boycott.

He was last seen at 10 am on Friday.

The police duty officer in East London, Captain Pieter Strydom, said last night Mr Mntonga’s body had been taken to the King William’s Town mortuary at 12.35 pm on Saturday.

The matter would be investigated by Ciskei police.

The co-director of Idasa, Dr Alex Boraine, last night expressed his shock and concern at the killing.

“This murder is the most recent in a number of apparently unsolved deaths of activists in the Eastern Cape and Border,” he said.

Mr Mntonga’s co-director for the Border Idasa office, Mr Steve Fourie, also expressed his abhorrence and said a bizarre aspect of the murder was the fact that Mr Mntonga’s car keys had been delivered to his home in NU 12, Mdantsane, on Friday afternoon.

Tour to start on Saturday?

JOHANNESBURG — A world rugby side will play its first
The appointment of judges to head commissions of inquiry was debated at the council's annual meeting in Kimberley this weekend, following a memorandum from the Cape Bar.

The council represents advocates throughout the country, as well as in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

The Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice G G A Munnik, was recently appointed by the State President to consider the role of First National Bank managing director Mr Chris Ball in the funding of newspaper advertisements calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress.

**Impartiality**

The Cape Bar referred to a leading textbook on administrative law which said that if governments involved judges in inquiries with "pronounced political aspects" too frequently, the essential assets of the judiciary - "widespread public confidence in the impartiality and independence of the judiciary" - could be dispelled.

In a statement issued after the meeting, the council said this danger was "very much pronounced" in the South African context where "political feelings run high.

In the opinion of the General Council of the Bar, this danger should always be borne in mind and judges of the Supreme Court should not be appointed to head commissions of inquiry which deal with topics having pronounced political overtones."

The council also said there was an "almost total lack" of legal assistance available to people charged with criminal offences in the lower courts, and in the superior courts there was a "low level" of legal assistance for people being tried for crimes which carried the death penalty.

**Small claims**

"The inadequacy of the assistance available can only be overcome by increased State aid," the council said.

While the council approved increasing the jurisdiction of the Small Claims Courts to hear cases involving up to R1500 (instead of R1000 as at present), it said the procedures in this court led to "rough justice" which was not acceptable to the ordinary litigant where important issues were at stake.

The council repeated advocates' willingness to act on a speculative basis in cases for deserving clients who were unable to carry the cost of litigation.

This involves the payment of legal fees only where the case is won.

Advocate Mr H P Viljoen SC, of Cape Town, was re-elected chairman of the council.
AWB says LP congress provocative

Political Staff
THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), criticized for wrecking the Jan Smuts Airport press conference by delegates from the Dakar talks with the ANC, has now threatened a Labour Party congress scheduled to be held in Pretoria.

The congress is due to be held from December 28 to December 30 in Pretoria’s Skilpadzaal — the very hall where the Conservative Party was launched in March, 1982.

The AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre’Blanche, said the Skilpadzaal held “great sentimental value to the Afrikaner” and the invasion of Pretoria and the hall by 2,000 coloured LP supporters would be “provocation”.

Mr Terre’Blanche told the Sunday Times: “I don’t think it would be very wise of the Labour Party to come to Pretoria — and specially to want to use the Skilpadzaal for their congress. It could be construed as provocation.”

But the Labour Party, which has already booked the hall and paid the R800 deposit, said it would go ahead with the congress.

The party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, told the Sunday Times Mr Terre’Blanche should remember that “the so-called coloured community has more right to be called Afrikaners than Mr Terre’Blanche himself.

“His forefathers are of French origin whereas the forefathers of our (coloured) community are Afrikaners.

“Be that as it may, we are exercising our right as a political party to hold a congress in Pretoria at the invitation of the Transvaal region of the party and the branches in Pretoria in particular,” Mr Hendrickse said.

The chief organizer of the congress, Dr Willie Hoods, a member of the Transvaal Provincial Executive Committee, said the more than 2,000 delegates, including 65 MPs and members of the President’s Council, would be accommodated in six central city hotels in Pretoria.

Dr Hoods said other venues had been examined but the Labour Party found them either to be too small or their facilities inadequate.
By ANDREW DONALDSON and CHRIS STEYN

THE Border co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Mr Mxolise Eric Mntonga — a seasoned trade unionist and United Democratic Front activist — was brutally murdered in the Ciskei on Friday.

His body was found in his car with his hands tied behind his back. His wounds included a single stab wound to the heart — and in a bizarre twist, his keys were delivered to his house on Friday afternoon by an unidentified man.

Shocked Idasa officials said last night that Mr Mntonga’s car had apparently been forced off the road near Tamara, a town about 20km from King William’s Town.

Mr Steve Fourie, fellow Idasa Border director, said that though the car’s radio was missing, robbery did not appear to be the motive for the attack, as Mr Mntonga’s personal possessions, including his wallet and other items in the car, were not removed.

"Three pairs of shoes were also not taken," he said.

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director and co-founder of Idasa, last night described the murder as "having all the hallmarks of an execution".

The former South African Coloured Workers Union activist was last seen alive about 10am on Friday when he left the office of his lawyer, Mr Hintsia Siwisa, in Mdantsane to visit a friend.

He never arrived.

He was also to have returned to Mdantsane that afternoon to attend a civic meeting.

Mr Fourie said that a more chilling aspect of the killing was that Mr Mntonga’s car keys were delivered to his home that afternoon and handed to his housekeeper by an unidentified man.

“This is bizarre,” said Mr Fourie.

The body of Mr Mntonga, who was also the current executive member of the South African Railway and Harbour Worker’s Union (Sarhwa), was identified by his father at King William’s Town police mortuary yesterday morning, he said.

According to a Border police spokesman, a body — identified as Mr Mxolise Mntonga — was taken to the mortuary shortly after noon on Saturday.

The body bore several stab wounds, he said, adding that he believed Ciskei police were investigating the killing. Despite numerous attempts, this could not be confirmed by the Cape Times last night.

Commenting on the murder, Dr Boraine said: “I’m deeply shocked at the tragic news of Eric Mntonga’s murder.

“Though the details are still unclear, his brutal death is reminiscent of the kind of murders which have been taking place in the Eastern Cape and the Border region. It has all the hallmarks of an execution and I hope that this time that those who have killed him will be found and brought to court.

Mr Mntonga

From page 1

negotiated.

To page 2
Eglin backs PFP
3 in Dakar talks

Own Correspondent

Eglin vindicates PFP men in Dakar indaba

The ANC, which is a banned terrorist organisation, and then discussing elements of the meeting in front of a lecture hall.

Certain members of the PFP are also known to be annoyed at the failure of party members who went to Dakar to fully inform the caucus.

Others are disappointed at not having been included on the guest list.

However, Eglin said last night he saw the Dakar mission as an attempt to try to break the "deadlock of violence in SA and shift over to a process of negotia-

He stressed the PFP was "totally opposed to violence as a political instrument" and was "deeply concerned" by the rising tide of violence in SA.

The party believed efforts had to be made to explore ways of ending violence and finding a basis for negotiations on a new constitution that would ensure the rights and liberties of all South Africans.

"Frank and direct" talking had to occur if there was to be a prospect of peace.
Eglin supports PFP Dakar team

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin last night came out in support of the three members of the party who participated in the Dakar talks with the ANC.

Mr Eglin said he believed the three had made a "positive contribution towards shifting South Africa away from violence and towards negotiation".

He also welcomed the proposal by the Conservative Party that Parliament debate the Dakar talks.

The CP MP for Brakpan, Mr Frank le Roux, gave notice yesterday that he would move today that the ANC indaba be the subject of a snap debate. The Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, will give a ruling on the matter today.

National Party MPs indicated privately yesterday that the Dakar indaba issue was still "far from over". It is understood that President P W Botha is anxious to deal with the matter personally when his vote comes up for debate next month.

In Parliament yesterday the CP urged the government to take action against the academics from state-supported universities who visited Dakar.

Speaking on the debate on the National Education vote, Mr S C Jacobs (CP Lossberg) asked whether the government accepted academics "going to Dakar, talking to the ANC, which is a banned terrorist organization, and then discussing elements of the meeting in a lecture hall".

Certain members of the PFP are also known to be annoyed at the failure of party members who went to Dakar to fully inform the caucus. Others are disappointed at not having been included on the guest list.

However, Mr Eglin said last night that he saw the Dakar mission as an attempt to try to break the "deadlock of violence in South Africa and shift over to a process of negotiation".

He stressed that the PFP was "totally opposed to violence as a political instrument" and was "deeply concerned" by the rising tide of violence in South Africa.

The party believed efforts had to be made to explore ways of ending violence and finding a basis for negotiation on a new constitution that would ensure the rights and liberties of all South Africans.

To date the government has both failed to move forward with a political plan that can bring peace to our country or to produce a basis for negotiation on our future," Mr Eglin said.

"Indeed, apartheid remains a major underlying cause of violence in our society."

He said the party recognized that the process of exploring ways of ending violence and of starting negotiation would not be without risks, and would at times involve talking to other South Africans with whom we disagree on many issues."

However, "Frank and direct" talking had to take place if there was to be any prospect of peace.

"It is against this background that I am satisfied that the PFP MPs who took part in the recent conference at Dakar and made the ANC aware of the PFP's attitude, both on violence and on constitutional alternatives, made a positive contribution to the well-being of this country and its peoples," he said.
Judges’ political role criticized

Staff Reporter

THE appointment of Supreme Court judges to head commissions of inquiry into pronounced political issues has been criticized by the General Council of the Bar of South Africa, which represents the country’s advocates.

The council’s stand was yesterday welcomed by Mr Dave Dalling, Progressive Federal Party MP for Sandton, who said he agreed with the sentiments expressed and intended raising this principle during the justice vote in Parliament on Friday.

In May this year, Mr Dalling made controversial remarks in Parliament about Mr Justice George Munnik and his one-man commission of inquiry into the funding of UDF advertisements.

The House of Assembly appointed a select committee to investigate an alleged breach of parliamentary procedure after Mr Dalling criticized Mr Munnik’s appointment to the commission because of his dealings with Barclays Bank, who had closed his account. The other factors were Mr Munnik’s personal friendship with the State President, Mr P W Botha and his support for the National Party.

In April, the Munnik commission concluded that Mr Chris Ball, managing director of Barclays Bank, knew that a R100 000 overdraft granted in January was to pay for advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC “on behalf of the UDF”.

At its annual general meeting in Kimberley last Friday and Saturday, the council said Supreme Court judges should not be appointed to head political commissions of inquiry, after the matter was raised in a memorandum from the Cape Bar Council.

A press statement yesterday quoted a passage from a leading textbook on administrative law which said governments could dissipate the essential assets of the judiciary — “widespread public confidence in the impartiality and independence of the judiciary” — by involving judges in inquiries with pronounced political aspects.

“The danger to which attention is drawn in the passage quoted is even more pronounced in the South African context, where political feelings run high. In the opinion of the General Council of the Bar this danger should always be borne in mind,” the council said.
Slabbert briefs Sir Geoffrey on Dakar talks

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, head of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa, is meeting Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary, in London today.

Dr Slabbert has been on holiday in Spain after the Dakar talks between South Africans and the African National Congress.

He will return to South Africa on Friday.

His talks with Sir Geoffrey take place amid controversy in South Africa over the Dakar conference.

The Conservative Party has raised the matter in Parliament and is seeking a formal debate on it.

"Common concern"

The Progressive Federal Party caucus has also discussed it and the Government's view will be given when the President's budget vote is discussed in Parliament the week after next.

A statement issued by Dr Slabbert's office says he and Sir Geoffrey are to discuss "matters of common concern".

The statement said the discussions were expected to include a briefing on the Dakar meeting.

The Conservative Party's chief whip, Mr Frank de Heus, yesterday gave notice in the Assembly that he would today call for a snap debate on the Dakar conference.

It is thought unlikely that the Speaker will allow such a debate on the grounds that there will be other opportunities to discuss the matter.

Call for action

In such a case the Conservatives, keen to embarrass the Government over the issue, are likely to propose a motion expressing displeasure about the conference, the Government's lack of reaction and the failure to prevent publication of ANC views.

In the debate on the national education vote in the Assembly yesterday a Conservative MP called on the Government to take action against academics who took part.

The Department of Home Affairs has attacked the African National Congress in a newsletter.

Referring to the Dakar talks, it said there should never be a desire to talk with or legitimise the outlawed organisation.

In an editorial entitled "Murderous Leeches", the writer attacked the ANC as an organisation of "bloodsuckers and power-madness".

"Anti-Christ"

The article says: "We must never accept anti-Christ Tambo, or anyone from the ANC for that matter, as a negotiator for the future dispensation of blacks or anyone in South Africa. What incredible hysteria on the international front."

The newsletter emphasises that opinions expressed in it do not necessarily reflect the views of the department.

The attendance at the conference of two PFP MPs, Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Fiep van Cronje, was discussed at a PFP meeting yesterday.

While there was agreement on the need for dialogue, some misgivings were expressed about the tactics of the two MPs and a member of the President's Council, Mr Pieter Schoeman, who did not consult the caucus on the implications for the party. He had informed the party leadership of the trip just before it took place.

In a statement after the caucus meeting, Mr Colin Eglin, the leader of the party, said frank and direct talking must take place if there was to be a prospect of peace.

Against this background he was satisfied that the PFP members — who stated that the ANC's attitude both on violence and on constitutional alternatives — had made a positive contribution to the well-being of the country and its people.

See page 8.
Police scrutinise AWB statements for threats

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Police yesterday studied recent Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) statements about the Dakar talks group and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, for evidence that they contained threats.

The liaison officer for the Minister of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, confirming this, added that there was no "concrete evidence" that the AWB or its leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, had threatened the group.

Police were now appealing to the public to come forward if they had evidence to back allegations that the AWB had broken the law.

Brig Mellet said this plea and the investigation followed recent newspaper editorials which said police should have, in terms of the law, taken action against the AWB.

No formal complaints against the AWB had been made to police.

The senior police officer who studied AWB statements yesterday was asked whether any charges would be laid against AWB supporters led by Mr Terre'Blanche, who demonstrated at Jan Smuts Airport last week.

He said police had no case "because there was no confrontation". The AWB group could not be described as a meeting, as anyone was allowed at the airport, including people who met the Dakar group.

Asked why action had been taken against supporters of the Dakar group at the airport, he said: "We just arrest when people commit an offence."

After studying two specific AWB statements, he said evidence against the AWB at this stage was "thin". No docket could be opened as police did not have a case which could be won in court, he said.

He called for recordings of statements or eye-witness reports, if anyone wanted police to investigate complaints against the AWB.

It is understood Mr Vlok may have requested yesterday's investigation in anticipation of questions likely to be raised in Parliament.

One of the AWB statements mentioned that Mr Terre'Blanche had sent a telegram to Dr Slabbert in Dakar, saying: "Ons kry u Maanda-goggend by die Lugwewe Jan Smuts". This was widely interpreted by Press as "we'll get you at Jan Smuts".

Police say Mr Terre'Blanche's statement could be interpreted as meaning he would "meet" or "wait" Dr Slabbert at the airport.

Police said they could not act against the AWB or Mr Terre'Blanche on the basis of interviews he granted reporters, but if tape recordings of those interviews reflected direct threats, police would investigate.

The Police also said that AWB sympathisers were easily recognisable and always brought to book.
Slabbert ‘dismayed’ by ANC radio call

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said today he was “dismayed” to hear that the ANC’s Radio Freedom had urged attacks on white residential areas.

He said in a BBC interview that this “kind of extravagant language and the kind of rhetoric that appears in the ANC’s broadcasts as well as in their magazine” was specifically raised at Dakar.

MEETING WITH HOWE

“... There is no way in which one can persuade anybody that compromise is possible, if this kind of attitude prevails. So this was not an issue that was discussed...”

Dr Slabbert said Sir Geoffrey Howe was very interested in it, but the Foreign Secretary did not feel that it was specifically raised at Dakar.

Dr Slabbert said today he was pleased about this attitude. “I don’t think one should see the Dakar initiative as an example of negotiation. It simply is a preliminary step that is necessary if the political will is there to start looking for compromises away from violence and confrontation.”

The Argus Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that an ANC spokesman said today the call did not imply the ANC now approved the killing of white civilians.

“...When we first called for the struggle to be taken to the white areas we explained that we meant attacks on the police, officers, troops and representatives of the minority government...”
Slabbert meets 'friendly' Howe

From MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON. — The British government yesterday told Dr Van Zyl Slabbert it welcomed the Dakar talks with the ANC for the opportunity they provided for dialogue between blacks and whites.
Dr Slabbert, head of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), spoke to Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe for 40 minutes.
The Foreign Office said the talks had been friendly.

THE University of Cape Town is to go ahead with a planned Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) report-back meeting today.
The UCT Students' Representative Council and Dr Alex Boraine have received death threats.
An SRC spokesperson said yesterday that Jameson Hall, the venue for the meeting, would be thoroughly searched beforehand and members of the UCT community might be asked to produce identification.
Dr Boraine, Mr Phillip Verster and Professor Andre Odendaal, all of whom met with the ANC in Dakar, will report back to the campus community.

The British government welcomed the talks as being in line with its general policy of encouraging dialogue between black and white.
Dr Slabbert said the meeting with Sir Geoffrey had been arranged by Sir Laurens van der Post.
He said he had briefed Sir Geoffrey on the Dakar talks and the subsequent visit to Ghana and Burkino Faso.
"They were certainly very interested in how it went. Their was a very positive attitude," he said.
"They asked questions about Eric Mntonga, the Idasa man who was murdered, but I wasn't able to help them because I've not been there. They were also interested in the response in South Africa to the Dakar talks."
Dr Slabbert, who returns to SA tomorrow, said he would most certainly co-operate with any police investigation into the threats made against delegates to the Dakar talks by members of the AWB.
The road to a third republic

DURBAN. — The AWB is on the road to a third republic where Afrikaners will have their own state, AWB leader Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche screamed in the City Hall here, as he flipped back his right hand to acknowledge roars of approval from the large audience.

While some of the audience appeared to be interested onlookers and left-wing critics, the vast majority enthusiastically applauded and cheered throughout Mr. Terre'Blanche's speech.

The audience was searched as they entered the hall and a municipal security spokesman said a number of firearms and knives were temporarily confiscated during the search.

"Van Zyl Slabbert, how will you sell Bœrs to Oliver Tambo with Boers like this?" Mr. Terre'Blanche said, to applause and cheers.

He said the Afrikaner Wegstandsbeweging was hot racist.

"No matter what colour you are, if you want the Bœrs' land you are the enemy of the Bœrs," he said.

Mr. Terre'Blanche said the ANC could not talk about land ownership because it did not represent a nation.
Gun-toting AWB out in force to lash its 'enemies'

From GRAHAM SPENCE
The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging showed its muscle in Durban when about 2,000 anti-Native people attended an anti-rally bordering on a military parade.

It was the most blatant show of force the right-wing organization has staged in Natal, with dozens of gun-toting "Storm Falcons" wearing khaki military outfits and carrying police batons. They "paraded" the streets while their leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, addressed the faithful.

Indeed, the AWB force not only outnumbered, but also had superior fire-power to the efficient Durban City Hall security guards, ostensibly in charge of security arrangements. It was not difficult to see who had the right kind of leadership.

Inside the hall the atmosphere was no less militant, as AWB spokesmen talked of vengeance and also of betrayal of the voice by a whole host of people ranging from President Botha and Mr Chris Hani to the Progressive Federal Party and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The main target was the Dakar talks with the African National Congress. The AWB, said Mr Terre'Blanche, would never speak to "murderers of our women and children". Nor would they speak to any of the Dakar delegates.

OLIVER TAMBO

He shouted: "We will not sit at the same table with (Dr Frederick van Zyl) Smuts or (Dr Louis) Botha. We don't like their (a-la) manner, which is the same as that of (Dr) Viljoen." Mr Terre'Blanche also said he will address the delegates to address several "enemies" of the Afrikaner people.

Referring to the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickson, who was planning to hold a rally in Pretoria, Mr Terre'Blanche gave a "friendly warning" to the coloured leader to rethink in the Cape.

"At last, on friendly, the first time you tried to break into white politics you broke your ankle. If you try to speak at the Skipton Hall, the birthplace of the Conservative Party and the new Afrikaner church, you will have more than just your ankle broken."

"And if you tamper with our land you will end up cutting someone with (Mr Amiel) Raphensy."

SPRITUAL

Addressing Kwazulu Chief Minister Buthelezi, the AWB leader said the Zulu had broken a contract with the Voortrekkers and that he had rescued the battle of Blood River. Blood River could occur again, he warned.

"You can take Zululand, I will take Natal. And you can take all the Progress and leftists and Afrikaner-haters with you."

Referring to Dr Johan Heyns, moderator of the Hendrikus Groenewold Kerk, Mr Terre'Blanche accused him of asking the voice to "pray and surrender". He said God would look after the voice because they had never broken spiritual trust by bastardizing the vernacular their pure blood.

"We will never surrender. We will fight and we will win."

Finally, his warning to the "Jewish" Press, whom he said printed lies about him,
Johannesburg. — Police yesterday studied recent statements by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbevordering (AWB) about the Dakar talks group and Idasa leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert for evidence that they contained threats.

Brigadier Leon Mellet — liaison officer for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok — confirmed this, adding there was no "concrete evidence" that the AWB or its leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche had threatened the group.

Police were now appealing to the public to come forward if they had evidence to back allegations the AWB had broken the law.

The investigation began after recent newspaper editorials which said police should have, in terms of the law, taken action against the AWB.

The senior police officer who studied AWB statements was asked yesterday whether charges would be laid against AWB supporters, led by Mr Terre'Blanche, who demonstrated at Jan Smuts Airport last week.

He said police had no case, because "there was no confrontation". The AWB group could not be described as a meeting, as anyone was allowed at the airport, including people who met the Dakar group.

After studying two specific AWB statements, he said evidence against the AWB at this stage was "thin".

☐ Dakar debate ruled out, Page 4
☐ UCT meeting goes ahead, Page 11
DURBAN — Police are investigating statements made by Afrikaans Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche at a meeting in Durban last night at which he allegedly repeated tacit threats to stop the Labour Party using the Skiptad Hall in Pretoria for its annual congress in December.

A police spokesman said today that investigations were being undertaken with a view to criminal proceedings.

The docket would be forwarded to the Attorney-General for a final decision.

South African liberals and radicals to the Dakar talks with the ANC.

Referring to reports that Dr Slabbert had offered to hold talks with the AWB on the trip to West Africa, Mr Terre'Blanche said he would never sit at the same table with people he regarded as traitors.

The AWB leader also singled out Dr Slabbert's colleague and co-leader of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Roraine.

Referring to Dr Roraine's failure to hold a planned Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after his arrival home from Dakar, Mr Terre'Blanche said he was "a person who decried the country but sought protection from its army and police".

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, also came under attack. He was told: "Don't come to Skiptad for your congress next month because the Labour Party doesn't own any land in the Transvaal", Mr Hendrickse's fellow Black Cabinet Minister, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, received the same kind of comment. — Sapa
MANAGEMENT should halt unilateral decisions and actions of reform in business until it addressed the problems of the entire workforce, tax consultant Christo Nel said yesterday.

Nel, a delegate to the talks with the ANC in Dakar, in an address to businessmen, managers, consultants and community members at a seminar in Johannesburg, called on management to embrace the principle of parity in the workforce.

He spoke on “democratisation in the workplace”.

Nel said unless business people addressed “white fears” and whites themselves were willing to understand the basic situation of blacks, then SA could forget about democratisation in the workplace.

He said business was the only area and the only structure inside SA where the true extremes of apartheid had not been implemented and where people of different race groups got together regularly on a vast basis.

Business was also the only area where people learned to talk and know one another.

Nel said: “Several years back, blacks who were comparable farmers with whites were forced off land into industrial areas because the colonial government had decided that they would not develop and could best fulfill the need for cheap labour.

“Over four decades South Africans were locked in a trap from which it was difficult to escape.

“And for all these years business proprietors could not have done anything to change the minds of the government, but they could have done something to change the minds of the people – this they did not do.

“Then came influx control, which was the one single legislation that forced blacks out of the country’s economic participation, and the Group Areas Act which has more than 2 000 laws that prevent blacks from opening businesses in white areas.” Nel said.

Nel said he was shocked to see credible leaders support the present state of emergency instead of standing up and doing something positive about the situation.
POLICE said yesterday they were engaged in two separate investigations involving "intimidation" by the AWB and/or its leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Pretoria's CID chief, Lieutenant-General S. H. Schutte, who is heading the investigation, appealed to any persons with "first-hand evidence" to contact the Brooklyn Police Station, telephone number (012) 436611.

Schutte said the investigations were a result of Press reports that the AWB and/or Terre'Blanche had contravened the Intimidation Act 72 of 1982.

One investigation relates specifically to alleged threats against Ida'sa's Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and the Dakar talks group.

The other is as a result of statements made by Terre'Blanche against Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse before an audience of about 3,000 in Durban on Tuesday night. Terre'Blanche allegedly said: "If you try to speak at the Skilpad hall, you will have more than your ankle broken."

Schutte said reports of both investigations would, on completion, be handed to the attorney-general.

SAPA reports that Hendrickse said in Cape Town yesterday his party was not prepared to succumb to intimidation and called for action against the AWB.
Right wing threats spark police action

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and CLAIRE HARPER

POLICE are investigating alleged contraventions of the Intimidation Act by Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche following threatening remarks by the AWB leader against Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's Dakar delegation and cabinet minister Mr Allen Hendrickse.

With the targets of the AWB urging swift action "before blood is spilled", the head of the CID, General Stan Schotte, announced yesterday that the police had opened two separate dockets on the militant ultraright-wing leader.

The police probe into the militaristic organisation and its leader follows a series of remarks by Mr Terre'Blanche against what he terms "enemies of the boere volk".

The AWB leader warned Mr Hendrickse in Durban last week that if he tried to speak at the Skiptaphael in Pretoria at the Labour Party's national congress at the end of the year, "you will have more than just your public broken".

He has also threatened to "get" Dr Slabbert and prevent members of Idasa from holding events in meetings on their West African ANC dialogue mission.

Both Mr Hendrickse and the executive director of Idasa, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday that they were "not prepared to succumb to intimidation".

'Bloody events'

And they were joined in the call for decisive action against the AWB by the BHP law and order spokeswoman, Mrs Helen Suzman, who said the government could not "ignore the blatant intimidation and threatening action of the AWB a month longer."

"This is a highly dangerous and militant organisation is being in its true form, some very bloody events in South Africa," she said.

Labour Party leader Mr Hendrickse said he would not be intimidated and that the LP was "going ahead with the necessary arrangements to hold its annual congress in the Skiptaphael".

Dr Boraine, addressing the first report-back meeting on the Dakar talks, at UCT yesterday, said he and Dr Slabbert would go ahead with planned meetings around the country "despite threats to prevent us".

Addressing more than 3000 students and other Dakar delegates, Mr Phillip Versabie and protestor Andre du Toit, Dr Boraine said the UCT meeting, which was held under strict security measures on the campus, was "a victory over the AWB."

Dr Boraine said the ANC was not an organization resident in Lusaka, New York or London but "as close to you as where you are sitting now."

"If AWB defenestration?"

Speaking to the Cape Times later, Dr Boraine said: "I challenge the authorities to take swift action against Mr Terre'Blanche before more blood is spilled in South Africa."

"If they should do this it would give the lie to the view that the authorities are afraid to act against him because so many in the police force are either members or supporters of the AWB."

Mrs Suzman said the government did "not hesitate to act against the UDF, Cosatu or any organisation that voices its dissent."

"The AWB makes no bones about the fact that it intends taking the law into its own hands, carries guns and other weapons and is certainly challenging the authority of the state."

She said that the UDF had arranged a "reception committee" for a returning cabinet minister at Jan Smuts Airport "I have no doubt that such action would have been taken."

"Bloody events?"

The LP MP for Addo, Mr Peter Hendrickse, has submitted a question to Mr Adriaan Vlok asking how many members of the UDF and AWB have been detained in terms of the emergency regulations since June 1986.

General Schotte said the dockets would be sent to the Attorney-General once the intimidating probe had been completed and he appealed to "any person with first-hand information or evidence" to contact the CID in Johannesburg at 0122-29911.

In an interview with a high-ranking officer who investigated the case, our Johannesburg correspondent was told the case against the AWB was "that."

Police did not consider the AWB had broken the law when they demonstrated at Jan Smuts Airport.

Sapa reports that the other Border co-director of Idasa, Mr Steve Fourie, received a death threat yesterday.

Mr Fourie said a man telephoned the Idasa offices in East London: "The man, who spoke English and gave his name as Derrill, said he had killed Eric Motolong. He said he was going to kill me and asked where the flowers should be sent."

Mr Fourie said he had not reported the matter to the police.

[Leading article, page 10]
Glowing up

With tensions again building up across the political spectrum, there were predictions in Cape Town this week that the resumption of the parliamentary session after a four-week mid-winter break may signal the start of some of the most fiery political debate in the country in many years.

For the ruling National Party, eager as always to find ammunition with which to beat its opponents, two issues stand out. First, of course, is the "Dakar safari" for which the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), due to its limited participation, is expected to pay a heavy price. And second is the growing militancy of the Afrikaner Weerstands Beweging (AWB), which is likely to be used in efforts to embarrass the Official Opposition Conservative Party (CP).

The political debate is likely to be most fierce during discussion of individual Budget votes which started this week. However, MPs also face a mountain of largely technical legislation. Nearly 100 Bills have been published so far this year, covering a wide range of issues.

The Budget votes are scheduled to last until mid-September. Departments whose votes are likely to produce most interest in the assembly are:

- The State President (August 13, 14 and 17);
- Foreign Affairs (August 31 and September 1);
- Constitutional Development and Planning (September 8, 9, 10 and 11); and
- Law and Order (September 2).

It is understood that President Botha has "reserved the right" to respond personally to Idasa's Dakar safari - an issue which could dominate the session - and he is expected to launch a scathing attack on "extra-parliamentary" opposition groups in general.

There is speculation that he may even announce measures to curb the widespread funding, and other activities, of groups such as Idasa and the United Democratic Front. Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis is believed to be under pressure to show some results of his continuing "negotiations" with black leaders, particularly in the light of growing speculation that the much-vaunted statutory National Council Bill will not be tabled this year despite heavy re-drafting.

Heunis has still not recovered from the general election fright he received from Denis Worrall and desperately needs a major breakthrough to re-establish himself as the engine driver of reform.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha is expected to come under strong PFP pressure to disclose government's regional intentions, particularly following the sharp deterioration in relations with the Namibian administration, and the recent suggestion by Defence Minister Magnus Malan that SA may consider giving aid once again to Renamo in Mozambique.

The Nats' dilemma over the growing militancy of the AWB is likely to see Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok being challenged by the PFP to state why government apparently adopts different criteria in dealing with the AWB and other opposition groups.

The Nats in turn are expected to again challenge the CP to renounce the AWB's militancy.

The CP, having settled down to a certain extent, is likely to attempt to exert even greater influence on government's policy decisions, particularly in the light of continuing rumours of unhappiness with the party's performance on both the Left and Right of the Nat caucus.

And the PFP, apparently still battling to regain its feet after the election setback, is likely to bear the brunt of the NP's "Dakar onslaught" with the two MPs who attended the conference, Pierre Cronje (Greytown), and Peter Gastrow (Durban Central) as specific targets.

Another major issue of the session is expected to be the release and possible debate of the long-awaited report of the Margo Commission on tax reform.

At this stage MPs expect the current session to end some time in October.
Govt challenged on AWB threats

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — It was tragic that at a time like this organizations such as the AWB — a “racist, militaristic and nazi-like” group — could threaten “people with physical violence”, Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP for Addo, said yesterday.

Speaking during the committee stage on the justice vote, Mr Hendrickse said the AWB could only cause racial hostility and even their uniforms were reminiscent of the brown shirts during Hitler’s era.

“How long will they be allowed to continue?” he asked.

Referring to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging’s reception for the Dakar delegates at Jan Smuts Airport and subsequent police action there, he noted that 19 people were arrested, 16 of whom were journalists.

He said the government had proved the Labour Party was right to reject the two security bills which were presented to Parliament last year.

“We said then that these laws would only be used against us.”

Mr Hendrickse said there were rumours which suggested that 80% of the police force were supporters of the AWB and one had to ask oneself why such rumours were flying around.

The threats being made by Mr Eugene Terre’Blanche, he said, were “a lot worse” than those for which Mr Nelson Mandela had been imprisoned.

Replying to the debate on his vote of the budget, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the State would take action against the AWB if it appeared at any time that its activities endangered the safety of the State and the maintenance of law and order.

He said that although no administrative action had been taken against the AWB to date, there were several members who were serving long prison sentences for their activities.

He said it was necessary to take a strong stand against violence and to fight it till the country was rid of it. — Political Staff and Sapa
Sharing can be achieved through negotiation.

Dr. Peter Manfield, Director of Communications for the Kwanzu-Net, explains why he is committed to real power.

Are citizens of the real world being caged in their

POWER-SHARING
Dakar talks showed that alternatives exist

The experience of the Dakar conference, the meeting with the ANC and the reception by the heads of state of Senegal, Burkina Faso and Ghana was aptly summarised by one of the delegates when he was asked whether his expectations had been fulfilled. He replied: "The experience has been so overwhelming I can't even remember what my expectations were".

The experience was above all else a human one, in which myths had to give way to reality. No one ever entertained any illusions about the capacity for this meeting to cause major change, or even initiate real negotiation. The objective was to meet - and it became a meeting of the minds and emotions of people who share a common land and are bound by a common future, but who are forcibly separated by an inhuman and unjust system.

The crisis that our country is facing became the common concern, as previously-held misconceptions and prejudices engineered through misinformation, biased reporting and often blatant lies, were slowly stripped away. Ultimately it served to demystify the ANC in the minds of the internal delegation.

Serious concern

This in no manner suggests that there was not a serious concern, and even disagreement, regarding strategy and tactics. The internal South African delegation was at no stage acquiescing and apologetic. Nor was the external South African delegation willing to be anything other than forthright and to the point. If anything, it was the internal delegation that initially had to become acquainted with a group of people that were so fundamentally different to any image of them portrayed in South Africa.

One can almost hear the cynical and perhaps fearful accusation that the internal delegation has clearly been cleverly manipulated by the diabolical and sinister forces mastered by the ANC. Two facts make this claim ridiculous:

1. The internal delegation contained individuals with exceptional talent and experience with the ability to assess the situation dispassionately and objectively.
2. Second, no group of people is capable of sustaining a subterfuge of such consistent sincerity, willingness for intense debate, consistency of policy and compassion as that displayed by the ANC delegation over a period of 10 days.

The fact is that the ANC is still committed to the need for true negotiation.

It has an astounding commitment to non-racialism and democracy. It rejects any suggestion of retribution or punishment of whites who are willing to support this core principle. This is even more significant when viewed against the many decades of peaceful approach by the ANC that were rejected by the white government.

The ANC's commitment to negotiated solutions and the acknowledgement of the right of existence for other parties supporting the principles of non-racial democracy are absolute and engrained in its philosophy and policies.

The tragedy is that all of this has been overshadowed by the armed struggle which was eventually initiated in response to the violence of apartheid.

The Dakar conference showed that there are very real alternatives.

In every instance there were differences of opinion that need to be analysed further - but of much greater importance were the commonalities of purpose that emerged. There was concern regarding the potential for uncontrollable or random violence and its contribution to creating a radicalised image of the ANC, in particular and generally of supporters of the non-racial democratic movements.

There was general acceptance of the need for multi-faceted strategies aimed at minimising the potential for conflict, while achieving a non-racial democratic society, as rapidly as possible.

Above all else there was acknowledgement of the need for all South Africans to determine their future together, as peers, and that the discussions need to continue.

If we, as reasonable men and women, are incapable of building upon such fundamental common interest, then we deserve the gutting of our land which will be the result of our own intransigence. If we are unwilling to start acknowledging the reality, but choose to rather support and believe in the biased opinions and propaganda creating and supporting the myths surrounding the ANC, then we will have succumbed to the forces of polarisation and alienation afflicting our country.

The time for identifying common ground is rapidly disappearing. This does not suggest that the violent overthrow of the government is imminent or even possible. The danger is that we will remain caught in an irreversible trap of conflict and violence that would lay our economy in ruins. It will force the need for an ultimate victor, but that victor will be a ruler over desolation.