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SOUTH AFRICA TODAY.
Job ‘reservation’
by Rajbansi is
apartheid, says NIC

Mercury Reporter

The Natal Indian Congress has warned the Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr. Amieh and Rajbansi, against purging whites from State departments dealing with Indian affairs.

Senior NIC spokesman Dr. Farouk Meer said Indians and other blacks had always objected to whites practising apartheid when employing people, and now Mr. Rajbansi was doing the same thing by embarking on a policy of Indianisation, he said.

Mr. Rajbansi, who is also the leader of the National People’s Party at present the ruling group in the House of Delegates, chairman of his Council of Ministers and the only Indian member of President Botha’s national Cabinet, announced recently that more than 1,000 jobs were being created in the Indian ‘own affairs’ department.

Expansion

He had said preference would be given to Indian applicants.

But the NIC yesterday warned against a purging of the civil service of whites merely for the sake of ‘Indianisation’ of State departments dealing with Indian affairs.

Dr. Meer said merit and not race must be the only criterion in employment selection.

He said respected economists had warned against further expansion of the civil service which, according to them, was overcrowded already and was considerably less productive than the private sector.

It is no use further destroying the economy by enlarging the bureaucracy and pouring more money into it,” said Dr. Meer.

Mr. Rajbansi has denied this.

He said he was all for ‘merit’ selections, but one had to take into account the prevailing abnormal jobs situation in which the ‘proverbial dice’ were heavily loaded in favour of whites with an abundance of work opportunities.

“We will be failing in our duty to our community if we do not pave the way for our own educated youth to fill positions at least in those avenues presently open to them,” he said.

Mr. Rajbansi said many Indians had telephoned to congratulate his party on its initiatives.

“Surely they can’t all be wrong,” he said.
Feuding factions add fire to Tvl PFP's congress

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Veteran MP Mrs Helen Suzman remarked: "Isn't it marvellous that we have such a democratic party?"

Mrs Suzman was speaking during a refreshment break at the Progressive Federal Party's Transvaal congress in Sandton at the weekend.

She was commenting on journalists and an academic observer on a fiery debate which had just taken place on the issue of military conscription.

The debate was one of several during the two-day conference which highlighted the growing divisions among even moderate South Africans as to how best to tackle the country's snowballing problems.

OVERRULED

It was a debate in which the younger, more militant wing of the party had successfully overruled even the official spokesman on defence, Mr Philip Myburgh, by insisting that there should not be compulsory call-ups for those who did not want to defend the system they did not believe in.

In part the proceedings at the Sandton Civic Centre, in a constituency which is controlled by the PFP at all three levels of government, were an exercise in nostalgia. They coincided with the 20th anniversary of the breakthrough by the founders of the old Progressive Party from the then United Party.

Dr Zac de Beer, one of the breakaway MPs and now a prominent businessman, recounted the events which led to the birth of the PFP.

Several of those founding members are still active today, including Mrs Suzman and Mr Colin Eglin.

Their party is still based solidly on its opposition to apartheid and on the principle of a just and equal society for all South Africans.

At this year's Transvaal congress the delegates were united in their rejection of separate development, their condemnation of what they called the Government's economic debates and their concern at the policies and circumstances which sparked the recent widespread civil unrest.

But debating the solutions to these problems often threw into sharp relief the fundamental divisions between the two major factions which make up the PFP coalition.

There were robust and, at times, heated debates.

Leaders sniped at each other publicly. During refreshment breaks there were loud and angry arguments.

The approach of the purists, or Old Pros, differed sharply from that of the Reformists, or members who broke away from the United Party 15 years after the Progressive Party's founders did.

DEFIANCE

They clashed spectacularly over whether they should defy the Prohibition of Political Interference Act and admit blacks to the membership illegally.

The reformists won that round and, by popular vote, the Transvaal congress decided it would not accept non-white members until the law allowed it to do so.

On the matter of military conscription the purists triumphed and it was decided that under a Porg government there would be only a large professional army of volunteers.

In the course of these lively debates one side branded the other old, cold and weary, while the other retorted that it was time that somebody, unlike the radical element in the party, was prepared to speak out against all forms of violence, not only that by the Government.

Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert summed up the consultation debate, in which one side wanted to spread the fence burden to safeguard the borders for peaceful change and the other declared: "Let those who want apartheid die for apartheid". He warned that the issue threatened to tear society down the middle.

South Africa ignored the congress's decision on the matter at its peril, he said.

One issue all delegates agreed on was that a political solution to the country's problems was inextricably interwoven with an economic solution.

INSTABILITY

Mr Harry Schwarz, the chief spokesman on finance, said that the Government's policies, in this regard would in other countries and under other circumstances have brought about not only the fall of the Minister of Finance but also the fall of the Government.

In the light of the deteriorating economic situation, Mr Schwarz pointed out that weakness in the economy at a time of rising expectations was a recipe for increasing instability.

One thing was certain, he said: in chaotic economic conditions no party committed to peaceful change had a fair chance of success and only violence and disaster could follow.

The conference pinpointed and analysed all the problems currently facing the country and concluded that the PFP was still the only party capable of dealing realistically with the forthcoming disaster.

Delegates agreed that in times of racial unrest and economic decline the PFP's challenge and role would be to refurbish its image, attract more young members and hammer home its message to the electorate.

The party could not stand by and refuse to help the poor and unemployed.

And, in the words of Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader, the PFP had to force the National Party in debate in Parliament to reconcile its desire to move away from domination with a constitution and system of government which was riddled with discrimination.
Expansion of membership base is urgent, says Gibson

Mr Douglas Gibson, newly elected Transvaal chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, believes the party has only a few years left to establish itself as a truly broadly based alternative in South African politics, writes David Braun.

"The fact that the Government has undemocratically postponed elections at all three levels of administration does not remove the need for urgency for us to greatly expand our membership and support over the next few years," Mr Gibson said shortly after his unanimous election at the party's Transvaal congress at Sandton on Saturday.

"I feel that our challenge in the next few years is to expand our own worker base so that we can in turn broaden our support base.

"The PFP has got to find ways and means to communicate more effectively with the public.

"In particular we must create more of a Transvaal identity as so much of our leadership is based in the Cape.

"We must bring home the message that we are an all-South African party."

Mr Gibson (32), who is also leader of the opposition in the Transvaal Provincal Council, intends using his new office in the party to step up the frequency of comments by himself and other provincial leaders to the Press.

He also plans to investigate ways and means of persuading the SABC that PFP views have a right to be heard.

"We will furthermore have to communicate more effectively with the man in the street by way of selective mailings to particular interest groups," he says.

REALITIES

Mr Gibson predicts that the economic realities of South Africa are going to force the National Party into an increasing acceptance of what the PFP stands for.

"That is why it is vital that we remain as a strong pole," he says.

"If all the pressure comes from the right wing (the Conservative Party) then the Government, like any other political party anywhere in the world, will move to the right."

Mr Gibson says he is proud to be a member of the PFP for four basic reasons:

- The party stands for decent things.

- He has never had to apologise about being a member or about the things the PFP stood for.

- The PFP is honest. It does not indulge in nudge-nudge, wink-wink politics, saying one thing to the voters and meaning another.

- In the best sense the PFP is a patriotic party, because it is proud of everyone in South Africa, not only the people who belong to a particular language group or racial group.

It is dedicated to advancing the interests of everyone in the country.

It is proud of the very variety which makes South Africa such a wonderful country with such potential.

- The PFP is the party of hope for South Africa.

After the Anglo-Boer War there was a situation where there had to be a reconciliation of the white people of the country.

The PFP has exactly the same task, because it is imperative in politics today that there is also reconciliation between the people of colour, different race groups, different religions, different views and all the things that can potentially divide South Africa.
Disarray in PFP over race furore

Serious policy differences between the Progressive Federal Party's liberal and conservative factions found its senior public representatives in disarray today.

The conservatives are furious that the party's Federal Council has reversed a Transvaal Congress resolution on the admission of members of race groups other than white.

Today Mr David Dalling, MP for Sandton and a Federal Council member, met party leader Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, but he was not prepared afterwards to make a statement immediately because he was still considering what to do.

He said: "I'm not prepared to rush into print on such a sensitive matter."

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert could not be reached for comment.

Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, who persuaded the congress on Friday not to defy the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, but to resolve to accept members of other race groups only after the law had been repealed, would also not comment until after studying the Federal Council decision.

But party spokesmen were adamant that the row did not presage a party split.

Mr Dalling argued vigorously that such a resolution was tantamount to inciting people to break the law.

"Mr Schwarz said if the party decided to accept members of other race groups it would be committing an illegal act."

The Federal Council also endorsed a resolution which Mr Schwarz had opposed on the issue of compulsory military conscription.

Taking into account the party policy of maintaining a professional rather than a conscripted army, and the possibility of extension of conscription to Indian and coloured people, as well as the growing militarisation of South African society, the council resolved to press for an end to military conscription.

Mr Douglas Gibson, the new Transvaal chairman, said today that it was absolute nonsense that the party was about to split over the differences.

"There has never been a Transvaal congress where we have not had robust debate. The PFP in the Transvaal is known for its vigour and liveliness."

"As far as the Federal Council is concerned, the decisions taken were taken after extensive debate and I am sure all members will abide by the democratic decision."

The PFP decision to open its doors to all races was described by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) today as a departure from grand apartheid, but a move that would not serve black interests.

Symbolic

"It will provide only a token symbolic presence," said a spokesman.

Approached for comment on the decision to defy the Political Interference Act and sign up members of other race groups, Azapo said the PFP represented English-language and business interests in South Africa.

"The decision won't give blacks who move into the PFP any real chance to shape the future direction of the party, and they will remain junior partners," said Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, chairman of Azapo's Soweto branch.

Mr Mkhabela added that formerly, when all white institutions opened their doors to all races, the relationship which developed was "a one-way path with all the concessions coming from the black community."

* See Page 9, World section.
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**PPF's caucus to discuss defence differences**

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, is calling together the full caucus on Thursday to resolve differences within the party.

These centre on the weekend decision by the Federal Council to open membership to all races and to press for an end to military conscription.

Developments yesterday related to the conscription issue were:

- Mr Philip Myburgh, MP for Wynberg, resigned as parliamentary spokesman on defence.
- Dr Slabbert has taken over this portfolio.
- Mr Alf Widman, MP for Highbury, resigned from the PPF's defence group.
- Mr Reuben Sive, MP for Bezuidenhout, resigned from the defence group.
- Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, also resigned from the defence group and called on Dr Slabbert to hold a federal congress of the party. This is the highest decision-making body and can override the Federal Council.

Mr Brian Goodall, deputy spokesman on defence and MP for Edenvale, said today that although he disagreed with the PPF's decision he would like to remain a member of the party's defence group.

He said it was no secret he supported the views of Mr Myburgh, but expected the whole matter to be resolved at the meeting of the caucus.

Dr Slabbert, who last night was attending a fund-raising dinner in Port Elizabeth, denied that a rift had developed in the party.

Reacting to Mr Schwarz's call for a federal congress, Dr Slabbert said this would be decided on its merits.

At a Press conference after the dinner Dr Slabbert disagreed with Mr Dave Daling, MP for Sandton, who said that opening membership to people of all races was tantamount to inciting people to break the peace.

*To Page 2, Col 1*
Tuition Fees Standing Orders in St Paul's

See Page 1, World section

But the English, with the English, and the English, and

As this may be a desultory

The Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking at the

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See Page 1, World section

But the English, with the English, and the English, and
CP claims credit for removals

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party is taking full credit for the pending removal to their own areas of hundreds of coloured people and Indians living illegally in the white Johannesburg suburbs of Hillbrow and Mayfair.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, Johannesburg regional chairman of the CP, who has been personally involved in a campaign to kick coloured people and Indians out of the white areas, today hailed the Government's announcement that the "illegals" would be provided with housing in their own group areas as a "signal victory by the CP for the people of Hillbrow and Mayfair".

He said his party has made what it called "Government laxity with regard to the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Hillbrow and Mayfair" an issue in the parliamentary and provincial by-elections next week.

NEW HOUSES

Mr Derby-Lewis said the coloured people and Indians involved also had the CP to thank for their new housing, while the legal residents of the two white suburbs had the CP to thank for the return to "legality" in their areas.

Because of the Government's decision, the CP was suspending the legal action it was planning against landlords who were allowing coloured people and Indians to live on their properties.

Mr Derby-Lewis added that the CP would monitor the situation closely to see that all coloured people and Indians left the areas, and that none was allowed to live there again.

See Page 4, World section
Minister walks out of civic reception

Mercury Reporter

THE Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Delegates, Dr M S Padayachy, together with a group of doctors and businessmen, walked out of a civic cocktail party held in his honour in Ladysmith, it was revealed yesterday.

Another MP, Mr Somaroo Pachai, also walked out after white councillor had spoken to Dr Padayachy about their late arrival.

Mr Pachai, MP for Northern Natal, said the incident had taken place on Tuesday after the minister and his party had arrived 20 minutes late for the party given by the town's Mayor, Mr D A Reineke.

Mr Pachai said he had written a letter to Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, in connection with the "unfortunate incident."

A visit with the minister to various hospitals in the area had caused the late arrival, said Mr Pachai.
Unban ANC, Govt told

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE South African Institute of Race Relations yesterday called on the Government to revoke the bannings on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and other black political organisations.

The call was made in a resolution passed unanimously at the SAIRR council's general meeting held on September 8. The contents of the resolution and the background paper — Towards a Climate for Negotiation — were conveyed directly to the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, according to a statement released yesterday.

The institute's call for the lifting of bannings on organisations refers to the ANC, PAC, which were banned in the 1960s, and the 17 "Black Consciousness" organisations banned on October 19, 1977. It also says that "political prisoners should be released and easily allowed to return to South Africa, if they renounce violence".

In its background paper, the SAIRR said "it is of the utmost importance to arrest the structural deterioration in race relations that has been taking place" and that this must be done by "a dramatic demonstration" of white good faith towards blacks. Revoking the bans would not on its own solve the country's problems, but such a move is an "unavoidable pre-requisite" for creating a climate in which negotiation can take place.

"The institute holds no brief for any particular organisation. The key point is that people be able to make democratic choices. It is therefore imperative that they be accorded the legal right to do this through lawful organisations using lawful strategies," the SAIRR said.

The background paper notes that the institute council's call is not merely a reaction to recent violence "but an attempt to point a way out of the political impasse in which the country finds itself as a result of increased polarisation and the absence of channels through which blacks can effectively and constructively participate in the political life of the country."

The SAIRR added that people denied democratic opportunities today cannot be expected to cherish and protect those opportunities tomorrow. In its view the bannings were not only incompatible with democratic norms, but have proved futile anyway. Far from putting a stop to public demonstrations against apartheid, they have helped make a proportion of anti-apartheid action violent.
Dissension of unity
a show still
but
PPF agitations over call-up and membership
Talking to the ANC 'would be consistent'

BY PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

PAST Government statements carry the implication that it is prepared to talk to the banned African National Congress. Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town said yesterday.

Prof Welsh, co-author of a study on South Africa's constitutional options, was commenting on the call by the Institute of Race Relations for the lifting of the banning orders on the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress and 18 black consciousness organisations.

Prof Welsh referred to two statements by the Schlesbusch Commission in 1980 — and accepted by members of all political parties in Parliament at the time — and, more recently, to a statement in the 1983 annual report of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The Schlesbusch Commission statements were that:

- The process of designing future constitutional structures should be accompanied by the "wildest possible consultation and deliberation with ... all population groups" to raise the level of acceptability of the new constitution.
- The President's Council, as the body charged with creating a new constitution, should be composed of nationally acknowledged experts and "people regarded by their respective communities as leaders".

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning report said: "The realities and demands of the constitutional development of blacks should be considered with an open mind and with a new vision."

Prof Welsh commented: "If they believe what they have committed themselves to in the past, then talking to the ANC is a consistent step."

He added: "We are a society virtually at war with itself. The only way in which we can end the endemic violence is by talking to all segments of black opinion, no matter how unacceptable the views and strategies some of these segments may be to general white opinion."

Prof Welsh recalled that Mr Ton Vosloo had, as editor of Beeld, made a cautious and qualified plea for talks between the Government and the ANC when he predicted in 1981 that a day would come when it would have to negotiate with the ANC.

Mr Vosloo has since risen to become managing director of Nationale Pers.

Copies of the institute's resolution and of the background paper were sent to President P W Botha and to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange.

The Office of the President referred the Rand Daily Mail to Mr Le Grange for comment. Mr Le Grange said yesterday he had taken note of the resolution but was not yet prepared to comment.
Slabbert reflects on resolutions

The resolution of the PFP's federal council to press for an end to compulsory military conscription necessitated a readjustment and re-statement of some of the party's fundamental principles on defence. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert told the special meeting of his parliamentary caucus here yesterday.

In a written statement of interpretation of party policy distributed at the meeting, Dr Slabbert said the PFP believed firmly in the need for a strong, efficient and capable defence force for South Africa, and that it was vital that the defence force be seen to be above controversy, non-partisan and completely impartial.

However there were also cogent political, economic and military reasons why conscription such as existed in South Africa should be brought to an end.

A military organization was not something that could change overnight or in a sudden and unplanned fashion.

Non-racial

"Therefore an end to conscription will take time, but a start has to be made now by beginning to enlarge the defence force on a full-time, non-racial and professional basis," he said.

"We have no doubt that a non-discriminatory defence force providing equal opportunity for all its permanent members will become the spearhead for reform and conciliation, rather than run the risk of being seen as a partisan instrument of coercion.

"In addition to the enlargement of the defence force on a full-time non-racial basis, the extension of a volunteer reserve arm of the defence force can be proceeded with."

"As the expansion of the full-time professional defence force and the volunteer reserve arm progresses, so also progress can be made with the phasing out of conscription as part of our military organization until it is no longer necessary."

"We accept that reform is going to be fraught with difficulty, and that the threat of instability and disruption will always be present. We also accept that there may be organizations and groups who wish to exploit this situation for revolutionary, violent or other disruptive ends.

"But equally, we accept that the vast majority of South Africans have legitimate grievances and experience extreme hardships which cry out for remedying."

"Precisely because of these considerations, the PFP believes that the defence force should be above controversy and should be accepted by all groups as an impartial guardian of stability and order.

"It is precisely in this context that conscription, such as is practised in South Africa today, will become increasingly controversial."

"Therefore, for the PFP to press for the 'end of conscription' is not to undermine the role of the defence forces or to hamper it, but to allow for the possibility that it can become an effective and necessary agent of reform."

Dr Slabbert issued a similar written interpretation of policy on party membership. Earlier this week the federal council called for the repeal of the Political Interference Act, and opened its doors to people of all races.

Dr Slabbert said in yesterday's statement that voluntary association of the individual was a fundamental principle underlying all PFP policy and philosophy, and the party believed that the individual should be free to belong to any legal political party of his or her choice.

Irrelevant

Since the implementation of the new constitution, the Political Interference Act had come under the spotlight and been shown to be redundant and irrelevant.

The UDF, he said, was a political movement with non-racial membership operating openly within South Africa, while the leader of the Labour Party had not been prosecuted for defying the law.

"We in the PFP do not accept that the above examples constitute incitement to break the law or openly defy all the laws of the country," said Dr Slabbert.

"Similarly by adopting the above resolution, it is not the PFP's intention to actively recruit membership from people who belong to different racial or ethnic groups than the majority of present members of the PFP, nor incite anyone to deliberately break the law.

"We simply affirm our deep conviction in the principle of voluntary association and that when someone applies for membership of our party we are not prepared to take the racial or ethnic membership of such a person into account as a condition for joining the party."

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Dr Slabbert said it was the duty of the PFP to point out clearly that "under certain conditions and 'technically speaking', a person was liable to prosecution if he or she became a member."

(Report by Ben Maclean, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)
PFP gives way to rebels on call-up

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PEACE broke out in the Progressive Federal Party yesterday as the parliamentary caucus closed ranks behind leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and slapped a gag on the dissidents going public with their grievances.

After a five-hour special meeting in Cape Town yesterday, the caucus endorsed by "an overwhelming majority" Dr Slabbert's interpretation of the party's policy on conscription and open membership.

It also declared that "each member of caucus is bound to honour this endorsement of the PFP caucus".

Compromise

A split was averted by compromising with the rebels on the contentious move for an "end" to conscription, but the caucus reaffirmed its federal council's decision to throw the party open to all races.

Although caucus chairman Mr Colin Eglinton would not disclose who the dissenting voters were, it is understood that only a handful of members were still actively opposed to the policy on open membership, while resistance to the newly spelt-out defence policy has been all but eradicated.

Expulsion

Any member who refuses to toe the party line on either conscription or open membership as enunciated by Dr Slabbert yesterday, faces immediate expulsion.

However, the depleted rebel ranks are clearly not prepared to give up their bid for a federal congress, which would provide them with a legitimate platform to call publicly for a reversal of the contentious policies that have severely tested party unity.

Dr Slabbert announced yesterday that he had authorized a meeting of the federal executive next week to consider the question of a federal congress.

The chances of the executive granting the rebel clique an opportunity to rehash publicly the divisive issues all over again seems remote at this stage.

Tense

MPs and members of the President's Council converged on Cape Town from all parts the country yesterday and filed into a tense caucus room about 11am.

Less than two hours later they emerged to pore over lengthy documents written by Dr Slabbert setting out his interpretation of the two controversial policy decisions by the Federal Council last weekend.

Dr Slabbert noted that the council's decision to press for an end to compulsory military conscription necessitated "readjustment and re-statement of some of the fundamental principles and guidelines of the party on defence".

While spelling out in detail why the party still believed conscription as it existed should be brought to an end, the declaration in essence represents a shift to-
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While spelling out in detail why the party still believed conscription as it existed should be brought to an end, the declaration in essence represents a shift towards the old party policy and an apparent softening on the original council decision that led to resignation of the bulk of the defence group.

In the document, Dr Slabbert explained the political, economic and military reasons for ending conscription, but...
layed the fears of those concerned by the pace of this process by noting: "Military organization is not something that can change overnight or in a sudden or unplanned fashion."

"Therefore an end to conscription will take time, but a start has to be made now by beginning to enlarge the Defence Force on a full-time, non-racial and professional basis."

Later in the declaration he noted: "As the expansion of the full-time professional Defence Force and the volunteer reserve arm progresses, so also progress can be made with the phasing out of conscription as part of our military organization until it no longer is necessary."

Political observers yesterday interpreted this as a virtual restatement of the party's old policy with a view to stemming concerns among more conservative members that, as one source put it, "conscription will by no means be wiped out irregardless of the consequences".

A large multi-racial professional army would have to be fully backed up by reserves before conscription could end.

**Non-partisan**

Dr Slabbert emphasized that he believed in a strong non-discriminatory defence force, which had to be seen to be non-partisan and above controversy in its role of providing stability and guarding the interests of all inhabitants.

In setting out his interpretation of the policy on open membership, Dr Slabbert pointed out how the government and the Labour Party were floating the 'improper' political influence of the government.

"Since the conception and implementation of the new Constitution, this act has come under the searchlight and has been shown to be redundant and irrelevant."

However, the FPP would not incite anyone to deliberately break this law, which was currently under investigation by a parliamentary select committee.

**Conviction**

"We simply affirm our deep conviction in the principle of voluntary association and that when someone applies for membership of our party we are not prepared to take the racial or ethnic membership of such a person into account as a condition for joining the party."

When a person wishing to sign up was technically liable for prosecution, it would be the party's duty to point this out.

"But it is not the responsibility of the FPP to actively intervene with the voluntary association of the individual," said Dr Slabbert.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)
POLITICS

The Prog divide

There is not likely to be any clarity on the divisions shaking the unity of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) until after the party's caucus has met this week. National Party (NP) strategists, hoping to pick up urban English-speaking support to compensate for the loss of Afrikaner votes to the Conservative Party (CP), are watching developments with interest.

Their hopes for a major split are unlikely to materialise, though there may be some resignations.

PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert points out that disagreement has more to do with methods than principles. Thus everyone concerned agrees that the party should be able to admit people of all colours – but there is disagreement over whether it should ignore, and take the legal risks of ignoring, the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

Disagreement over military conscription is more serious and has led to four resignations from the party's parliamentary defence group – including that of its chairman, Philip Myburgh, and its former chairman, Harry Schwarz. Schwarz points out that the party's new attitude to black members and to conscription means that it no longer supports the policies on which it fought the last election. He wants a federal party congress to be called to thrash out the issues.

Slabbert, however, points out that it is still party policy that there should be a strong, sound defence force. The argument is now over ways of achieving this – possibly through a professional army with volunteer back-up.

Slabbert has personally taken over the party's defence portfolio – obviously to avoid association with either the Schwarz wing of the party or with the "old Frags," with whom Schwarz often clashes. He is therefore in the best position to effect a compromise and avoid facing the next defence debate at the head of a divided caucus.

From the NP point of view, the major point of interest is the reaction of English-speaking voters. If they react negatively to either or both of the PFP party changes, most of them will have nowhere to go but to the NP.
SOWETO

Tariff confusion

Fear of possible backlash from residents prompted Soweto Council chairman and his deputy to repudiate as “unfounded” an announcement by town clerk Nico Malan that water and electricity service charges in the area are to be increased – despite the fact that notices have already been sent to consumers.

The electricity tariff is intended to rise by 0.8c from 4.7c to 5.5c a unit for metered households from the beginning of December and by R3.15 from R12.65 to R15.80 a month for unmetered households.

Hostel rents are also to go up by R6/month early in the new year. Residents in the three hostels in Johannesburg who now pay R23.50 a bed a month will be paying R29.50 when the new tariffs come into effect.

But the new monthly rental for hostels in Soweto will be only R18 – they pay R12 a bed a month compared to R23.50 in city hostels.

Malan has explained that the water and electricity tariffs were going up because both the Rand Water Board and Escom increased their charges earlier this year.

The proposed hikes for service charges, announced by town clerk Malan in circulars to consumers, have angered both council chairman Ephraim Tshabalala and his deputy Isaac Buthelezi.

The two men claim they know nothing whatsoever of the proposed hikes.

Tshabalala accuses Malan of working with the council’s management committee without consulting him. He claims that he, as chairman, will have power to negotiate the current rents until the West Rand Development Board gives him the council’s financial accounts.

His deputy, Buthelezi, does not only express ignorance of the proposed increases for services but also rejects reports in newspapers of the proposed increases as “mischievous.”

The attitude of both Tshabalala and Buthelezi is likely to cause confusion in the community, with residents wondering whether the increases are official or not.

POLITICS

Beyond verligtheid

There is a strong new movement among verligte Afrikaner intellectuals in the National Party (NP). Impatient with the pace of reform, they appear to be demanding nothing less than the toppling of the pillars of apartheid.

There are three kinds of verligtes, says one of the most prominent “neo-verligtes,” Randburg MP Wynand Malan: “The pragmatist who wants to remain privileged but wants some plasterwork to be done; the verligte who does not talk or think further than methods in the transition stage; and the verligte who demands that changes be made now – not only in style but also in structure.” It is this last brand of verligtes that is becoming very vocal.

The new verligtes made their first public appearance at the recent annual congress of the Reformatory Movement of SA (Remsa), a Calvinist organisation with a mostly Transvaal membership. Speaker after speaker criticised government for the slow pace of reform and used words seldom heard before from Afrikaners still inside the NP: unitary state, open society, resistance.

Remsa vice-chairman Elwind Beukes of Free State University summarises the spirit of the congress like this: “We cannot support a government or dispensation that is not breaking down structures of discrimination and injustice in a constructive but energetic way. We are warning that the voting public are beginning to reconsider its support for the governing party because of a lack of reform. For a change we must have structural change to keep pace with changing attitudes.”

Remsa chairman Willem de Klerk, editor of Rapport, said in his closing speech at the congress: “Government must know that it will have to move with considerable speed, otherwise it will lose support. It will most definitely lose the support of verligtes if its proposals on black political rights amount to small potatoes as yet dest it is not met kome lampoen kom.”

The new movement is not confined to Remsa. Before the Treurnicht breakaway, old-style verligtes under the leadership of the likes of Stellenbosch’s Willie Esterhuysen and Sampie Terreblanche were labelled left of the party. Today they are reckoned to be centrista comprising the broad mass of the party, while the Left is made up of the “angry young men” of the new verligte movement. Interestingly enough, most of the new verligtes are from the northern provinces.

Free State University lecturer Albert Weideman calls it a “farewell to verligtheid.” Political columnist Piet Muller of the cautiously verligte daily Beeld analysed the new movement and concluded that the future “indeed lies beyond verligtheid.” Rapport’s columnist Pollux called it a “brain shudder,” while Unisa law professor Marius Wiechers sees it as a “significant shift” in enlightenment.

Wiechers explains that old-style verligtes rejected the two political models available in SA — the integrationist model with its emphasis on a unitary state and an open society on the one hand, and the segregationist or apartheid model on the other hand. He says old-style verligtes believed the solution lies between the two: “structured association,” power-sharing, consensus, group rights.

The new verligtes see this “structured association” as “dolled-up apartheid.” They are asking for a new look at the implications of an open society and a unitary state.

Forced removals

The new verligtes also express themselves very strongly on influx control, forced removals, black citizenship, the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Political Interference Act and the Population Registration Act.

There is considerable pondering over the difference between the new verligtes and the group known as the “oorbeigites” (literally translated it means over-illuminated) like Cape Town University’s Herman Gilleomee and Stellenbosch’s Johan Gagenaar and Andre du Tert. The main difference seems to be that the new verligtes believe that the NP is still the best vehicle for change and that they can achieve more by staying inside.

But that can change, says Potchefstroom political scientist Pien Coetzee: “I am not married to the party. They did not buy me. The time may come that I give up my membership.” Potchefstroom law professor Lourens du Plessis adds: “We as Christians have not thought enough on what form of resistance to unjust laws can take. It does not only mean to take up arms or to wave placards. One way of resistance is to vote against government.”
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party congress to be called to thrash out
the issues.

Slabbert, however, points out that it is
still party policy that there should be a
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bly through a professional army with vol-
unteer back-up.

Slabbert has personally taken over the
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caucus.

From the NP point of view, the major
point of interest is the reaction of English-
speaking voters. If they react negatively to
either or both of the PFP party changes,
most of them will have nowhere to go but
to the NP.
BY-ELECTIONS

The perils of Primrose

If the National Party (NP) loses next week’s parliamentary by-election in Primrose — and there seems a real chance that it will — up to 40 other NP seats must be considered vulnerable to the Conservative Party (CP). It could be the urban breakthrough the CP needs.

NP and CP organisers in the constituency agree that it is a very close race. Two weeks ago, NP sources in Primrose were fairly confident of winning by 600 votes or more. After the row over State President Botha’s R303 000 gratuity, they are less confident.

Primrose fell vacant when former Minister of Co-operation and Development Piet Koornhof resigned to become chairman of the President’s Council. He held the seat with a majority of 4 399 votes against the HNP in the 1981 general election. This time the CP and the HNP are in alliance.

Primrose, a Germiston constituency, is largely made up of middle-class and lower middle-class people, most of them Afrikaans-speaking. It is tailor-made for the exploitation of bread-and-butter issues. In fact, the Primrose contest may well be one of the first in recent parliamentary history to be decided on economic questions.

The CP has been swift to seize on tax inequities, high interest rates, white-collar unemployment, molly-coddled civil servants, and the whopping gratuities paid to former office-bearers of the Westminster system to stir resentment and envy in this sullen suburb with its unkind memories of Koornhof.

That the NP is extremely worried about its chances — and the effect of the President’s golden handshake issue — is clearly demonstrated by the 11th-hour decision to bring in Botha to address the party’s final campaign rally on Tuesday. If last week’s Vredendal meeting is anything to go by, it is going to be a show of force. For the sake of the NP, it will need to be a tour de force as well. One organiser the PM spoke to sincerely believes that the president is going to swing the vote back to the NP.

The NP blames the English-language newspapers for indirectly boosting the CP in Primrose. They highlighted Botha’s cash payout and waved sinister innuendo into it. It was also the English press that gave much publicity to a childhood experience of President Botha when he rode his horse through the house of his father’s bywoner, the father of A C van Wyk, who later became a Nationalist MP.

Arguably, though, the same English newspapers boosted the NP’s chances with sharp criticism of government’s brag-dodge security and diplomatic actions — thus demonstrating, from Primrose’s viewpoint, that government is still strong despite its preparedness to share power.

The Johannesburg Afrikaans daily Beeld has been fighting a gallant battle for the NP and has been quite effective in showing how inconsistent CP leader Andries Treurnicht was in his statements on the Coventry Four and other policy issues. But somehow that does not seem to have had much impact on the Primrose voter.

Political observers with an eye for the absurd have unearthed a paradox in Primrose: that a CP victory could benefit the NP substantially. It could cause a major shift to the NP by FFP followers terrified of a CP government. It is argued that conservative-minded Progs may well be looking for an alternative political home as a result of fairly radical decisions by the party to open its doors to all races and to ask for an end to military conscription.

The latter decision has already led to the resignation of almost the entire FFP defence group. Many of the more conservative FFP members will probably be unhappy with the decisions, and since the NRP is not seen as an alternative political home any more, many could join, or at least vote for, the NP.

On the same day as Primrose, voters of George, P W Botha’s old seat, will have to choose between the NP, FFP and HNP in parliamentary and provincial by-elections, while the Parow parliamentary and provincial by-elections will be contested by the NP and CP only. The two parties are also contesting a provincial by-election in Piketberg. The NP is confident of a victory in all these elections.
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BUSINESS AND POLITICS
Time to speak out

SA businessmen are increasingly adding
their voices to the call for political reform
(see Leaders). Increasing labour unrest
could speed up this process as business
finds itself caught between the anger of the
Black workforce and government obscur-
antism.

Most of the recent political statements
by senior businessmen centre on influx con-
 troll, because it's bad for business. But there
are those, like Premier Group's Tony
Bloom and Anglo American's Gavin Relly,
who go further, questioning the morality of
apartheid and measures like forced remov-
als and detention without trial. (Even the
normally cautious councils of Assocom,
FCCI have questioned the detention
time of trade unions.)

Says Bloom: "I have always totally rejec-
ted the notion that businessmen should stay
out of the political field, in SA business and
politics are inextricably interwoven and I
believe it is not only the right, but indeed
the duty of business to take part in the
broader issues of society and contribute in
its way to the problems we face as a
country.

"For heaven's sake, let us not always
wait for a crisis to invoke our conscience.
Let us be prepared to question our policies
rationally and without being accused of
a lack of patriotism. For what is ultimately
at stake is not merely the profitability of
business or the survival of the system of
free enterprise, but possibly the survival of
the total SA community."

Mile de Villiers of the USSA Leadership
Exchange Programme (Ussalep) Mike
Sinclair takes it further: "It is the opinion

of the middle-ground in black urban society
that business can no longer exculpate itself
from the state of civil violence, business
men must take all responsibility to government, the drought, the recession
and communist agitators. The reluctance of
the private sector to grasp the political net-
tle in addressing the "real" causes of black
social unrest (as perceived by blacks) is tak-
ning on as contributing to the widely propa-
gated perception of complacency between
capital and state.

"Indeed, there is a growing belief, limi-
ted only to black opinion, that the pri-
ivate sector, ascribing the destabilisation of
the business environment to reform, may
more effectively inhibit the progress of
reform than the right wing. It is alleged
that the private sector has only lobbied for
limited political change when it is in the
interests of continued economic growth, to
do so; influx control being the current
example."

This is what some leading businessmen
have been saying.

LTA chairman Zac de Beer: "Influx control
in SA is discriminatory and offensive to hu-
man dignity. It negates the basic principles
of free enterprise and interferes with eco-
nomic progress. It obscures the facts that
are essential to proper planning. Moreover,
it is a spectacular failure here, as it is
elsewhere."

Anglovaal chairman Basil Hersov:
"Urbanisation is an inevitable and irrever-
sible process, requiring carefully consid-
ered initiatives rather than futile and expensiv-
ate attempts to counter its progress. It cannot
be emphasised too strongly that the current
concentration on only one element, namely
the control over the movements of people,
remains a politically facile and dangerous
response."

Toyota chairman Albert Wessels:
"Urbanisation is not an evil, and it is not a
problem either. The problem is that the
cities are not equipped to accommodate
black urbanisation. The solution is there-
fore, not influx control, but the quicker de-
velopment of new cities."

Overwhelming case
Former Nationale Pers MD Dawid de
Villiers: "An overwhelming case seems to
be building up for a fundamental rethink,
with a view possibly to the phasing out of
influx control and the substitution for it of
better balanced policies for coping with the
inevitable processes of urbanisation."

Tongaat-Hulett chairman Chris Saunders:
"Business must not adhere to outdated and
outmoded social and racial practices thereby
impeding reform and slowing down the
momentum of change which has been cre-
ated by the PM and his government."

Johannesburg CBD Association chairman
Nigel Mandy: "Influx control has not
worked. The pass laws do not penalise
blacks only. Like other apartheid measures
they debase the whites and diminish their
economic freedom as well. The policy of
apartheid must be fallacious if it has not
succeeded despite the application of so
much legislation, ingenuity, expense and
intervention."

Concludes Mike Sinclair: "An economic system which historically has denied the
majority of participants a share of the op-
portunities which are assumed to be inher-
ent in the system, cannot hope to survive
unless that system itself is instrumental in
effecting a redistribution of power, oppor-
tunity and wealth."

ANGOLA

Ministers to meet

SA and Angola have agreed to meet soon at
ministerial level to finalise the withdrawal
of the last SA troops from Angola and de-
cide on a more permanent peace-keeping
body to "ensure peace and stability" once the
Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) has
withdrawn to the Angola/Namibia border.

Meanwhile, US Assistant Secretary of
State for Africa Chester Crocker continued
his tour of southern Africa to brief heads of
state on the latest Angolan/Namibian de-
velopments. Crocker embarked on this odys-
sey after receiving SA's reply to Angola's pro-
sals for a Cuban withdrawal. It is ex-
pected that he will formally relay the reply to
the Angolans in the next fortnight.

At a JMC meeting at N'Giva in Angola
this week, SA Army chief Jannie Gelden-
huys and Angolan Chief of Staff Nongo:
Monteiro agreed to advise their govern-
ments that a ministerial meeting was ne-
necessary to take the final decisions on the

SASOL'S COURT WIN

A court case that lasts 96 court days,
involves three silks and four junior
counsel, concerns untold millions of
rands, and in which the defendants are
two major government-controlled oper-
ations and an honorary consul should be
a major cause célebre. Not in SA where
the case of Maurice Sellier, Ezra Nonoo
and Trade and Technology (Holdings)
versus Sasol Operations Pty. the Strate-
gic Fuel Fund and Helge Storm-Nielsen
was decided this week.

Sasol and its co-defendants were be-
ing sued (in camera) for huge but
undisclosed sums of money — so much
money that there was light-hearted
speculation that if Sasol had lost govern-
ment would have had to increase gil.
by a couple of points in order to keep the
corporation solvent.

Not to worry though Judge Melsted
found for the defendants (with costs). He
is expected to give his reasons later —
and to order that the order the record of
the entire case, they should be kept secret.
As yet, there is no evidence of a reduction in money supply growth. The money market shortage still stands at around R1.5 billion, which, in terms of the situation when prime was at its previous low, is extremely high and must be seen as a strong factor in the question of whether interest rates will, or will not, be pushed up yet again.

Also January and February are seasonally tight in the money market, with the shortage generally widening.

SA is still running a substantial deficit on the balance of payments and an inflation rate three times that of its leading trading partners. There has been a deterioration in the external and internal position of the SA economy through forces beyond the government's control.

"We have no choice but to adjust to these circumstances and there seems to be a reluctance on the part of everyone to do so," says Bethlehem.

This he says, has been compounded by a further illusion perpetuated by a declining rand exchange rate which has cushioned many, especially exporters, from the real need to make adjustments.

Also, because insufficient adjustments have been made by the public sector, the private sector has been forced to carry a disproportionate load, which has only deepened the recession.

Another disturbing trend has been a cutback in capital expenditure in the public sector to finance an increase in current expenditure which has damaging implications for the long term. An inadequate infrastructure will either cut short a return to economic growth or rekindle inflation. The policy is short-sighted in the extreme.

Yet Pretoria refuses to face up to the pressing and real economic problems that are eroding the productive capacity of the economy. Instead, it prefers to tilt at minority extremists at the expense of a return to general prosperity. National priorities are being sacrificed to marginal party gains. What hope is there in these circumstances, and with this attitude of mind, for wider and pressing economic and political reforms?

BUSINESS AND POLITICS

A duty to speak out

Assocom is wise to have chosen a high-powered delegation for its meeting with Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange on Wednesday this week. The Minister has already reacted with intemperate anger to business criticism of trade union detentions and has accused organised business of abusing the names of their organisations.

One suspects that the decision to see Assocom, the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) separately (although they issued a joint statement) springs from a policy of divide and rule. If one body can be persuaded to soften its stance, the credibility of all will be weakened.

This must not happen. At the Carlton and Good Hope conferences, government itself invited business to take a wider band in advising it on the administration of the country and on the likely effect of its policies.

Yet when business takes Pretoria at its word in an area where its interests are vitally affected — it is greeted with expressions of "shock and sadness" and suggestions that it acted without the backing of members.

But on this issue business cannot remotely be accused of moving beyond its specific interests. It warned that the detention of trade union leaders put harmonious relations between employers and a large section of the workforce at risk.

The three organisations receive constant feedback from their members; and they are in the correct position to know that the detentions are exacerbating a very delicate labour situation.

Business, of course, has a problem in maintaining relationships with both government and its own workforce. It admitted as much to government when the organisations told Le Grange that their statement was at least partly made to maintain their credibility with certain trade unions.

To that degree, at least, trade union pressure — particularly on the factory floor, where it tends to be more militant than at union head offices — is having some effect on the public stance of organised business.

Yet the split between Le Grange and organised business, confined as it is to a specific issue, does not tell the full story of the growing willingness of businessmen to involve themselves in political and social matters. Having been invited into the arena by government, they have no intention of quitting it quickly.

Indeed, they can argue that there is little
The recent (fairly successful) two-day stayaway by black workers in the Transvaal showed that businessmen are caught between the growing black challenge to apartheid and government resistance to this challenge. According to the SA Institute of Management's executive director, Morris Cowley: "Black spokesmen, encouraged by the success of the stayaway, predict that similar tactics will become a common characteristic of the strategy of black resistance to racial political inequality. The focus of this action is the perceived alliance between government and business and the lack of credibility of 'free enterprise' in facilitating redistribution of power and wealth."

It is that perceived alliance with government that worries many businessmen. So the call has been for a complete rethink on black urbanisation and influx control. This, of course, is connected to economic growth and the stability of the workforce, and is both a rational and moral requirement of a developing country such as SA.

It is important that businessmen are not seen to speak out only on political matters that directly affect production and profitability. Not only is it in their long-term interest to fight for a just society, they are also being closely watched by black South Africans, both within the trade unions and out.

The private sector is in a strong position to act as a catalyst for real social change — and the present government has shown that it is more sensitive to the views of the private sector than its predecessors.

Honesty and integrity

Premier Group chairman Tony Bloom recently told the Wits Business School (Current Affairs November 16): "Let us not always wait for a crisis to evoke our conscience. Let us be prepared to question our policies rationally and without being accused of a lack of patriotism, and disregard the semantics of whether our opinions should be characterised by confrontation or consultation, and let us settle for opinions that are characterised by involvement, by honesty and integrity."

For what is ultimately at stake is not merely the profitability of business or the survival of the system of free enterprise, but possibly the survival of the total SA community."

When Asscom's Michael Weir, Rocky Ridgeway, Bill Yeowart, Howard Russell, Bob Goodwin, Raymond Parsons and Vince Britt sit down with Le Grange this week their agenda will include "stayaways, intimidation and the role of the trade unions."

Possibly, Le Grange will be able to show them evidence justifying the tough action taken by government. It is to be hoped that they will demonstrate to him the newer face of a community that is concerned not merely with short-term profits and good relations with government, but with the long-term future of SA as a bastion of free enterprise.

That, after all, will be the first thing threatened by continued instability which some provocateurs of both the Left and Right would like to see escalate into civil war.
HNP goes to court in poster battle

Pointing out that George was Mr Botha's old constituency and that he was clearly "very concerned" about the outcome of next Thursday's election, Mr Treurnicht said: "What is apparent is that an order was issued by The Honourable State President, Mr P W Botha, to the George officialdom to put, at all costs, a spoke in the wheel of our election campaign."

Opposing the application for the provisional order, Mr Johan van der Berg, for the council, told the court that the council had only received notice of the court action yesterday morning and had not had time to reply to Mr Treurnicht's allegations.

He condemned Mr Treurnicht's attack on the State President.

Mr J S Rossouw, instructed by Conroy, Hertzig and Horak, of Pretoria, appeared for Mr Treurnicht and Mr Van Zyl. Mr Van der Berg was instructed by Ernst Strauss and Haasbroek.
Constitution frustrates black unions

The black political turmoil following the introduction of the new constitution has led to a radical shake-up in traditional strategies within the trade union movement.

Caught most firmly in the vice of the new pressures — black frustration on the one side and white intransigence on the other — is the powerful Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu).

Earlier this month, the Federation took the unusual step of supporting a political work stay-away called by a number of community and other organisations under the umbrella of the Transvaal Regional Stay-Away Committee.

The police raid on Soweto, supported by the SADF, has been referred to as the tangible reason for the Federation's decision to ally itself with these community organisations in this highly-political action.

But fierce pressure from the embattled black membership was the main factor.

In the wake of the polarisation created by the constitution, the union has come under intense pressure to abandon its traditional policy of concentrating on shop-floor issues.

Now it has finally made the change and the crucial question being asked is whether this implies a growing Fosatu role in overt political resistance to the status quo — an ominous development for the state and employers.

Fosatu's basic philosophy was spelt out by the Federation's president, Mr Joe Poster, in 1982.

He argued against the affiliation of unions to community-based political organisations, as practised by the black consciousness-aligned unions.

Instead, he argued for concentration on shop-floor issues so as to build a durable base while at the same time developing 'working class politics'.

Increasing pressure

Since then, however, there has been an explosion of conflict between political organisations — enhanced by successes achieved by the Anti-Apartheid Day Committee of 1981, the Anti-Salt Committee and others.

Rents, services, squatter removals, bus tariff hikes and numerous other issues have served as sore points around which the community-based political organisations have been able to build their strengths.

Fosatu's attempts to remain sympathetic to these struggles, but not directly involved, came under increasing pressure from the rank-and-file membership who could not see how shop-floor issues could be separated from the political situation in which they were forced to live.

The formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983 eroded the Federation's decision to ally itself with these community organisations.

At root was concern that the trade unions — vanguard of the workers' struggle — would become subsumed into a loosely-defined organisation which included middle-class and merchant elements.

Fosatu's refusal to affiliate led to increased tensions within the organisation.

In July this year, one of the most prominent of the Fosatu unions, the Metal and Allied Workers Union, split on this issue.

A breakaway section established its own unions and attempted to hijack East Rand factories.

One of the reasons offered for the breakaway was that the Fosatu leadership was 'not political enough'.

But the events since the implementation of the constitution have resulted in a speeding up of the political dynamics within which the unions work.

Although Fosatu condemned the new constitution and the August tricameral elections, it did not embark on any overt political action.

But the black unrest in the townships, and in particular the deployment of the army in Soweto, appears to have been the final straw precipitating the union into support of a political action.

But whether it will continue taking part in such political demonstrations is not certain.

The union itself maintains that its basic strategies have not changed and that it remains sympathetic to the broader-than-workplace issues.

But the recent detentions of its leaders and the internationalising of the dispute could push it into an even tougher stance.

Professor Roux van der Merwe, head of the Industrial Relations at the University of Port Elizabeth, does not detect a dramatic radicalisation or politicisation of the Federation.

'It is reacting to the very unusual circumstances created by the constitutional reform process,' he said.
Buti calls on leaders to snub Cabinet committee

By GRAHAM WATTS
Political Reporter

THE Reverend Sam Buti, mayor of Alexandra, has delivered a blow to the government's plans for a constitutional formula for urban blacks.

He this week called on black leaders not to participate in talks with the Cabinet committee on the constitutional future of urban blacks chaired by Mr. Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Mr. Buti said in a statement: "The participation by blacks in discussion concerning the constitutional plan for urban blacks will be a definite betrayal of established struggles by those men and women who have been banished, exiled or even imprisoned by the South African racist regime."

The government has made much of the Cabinet committee, frequently assuring its critics that a constitutional solution for blacks was in the pipeline. Talks have been held with the leaders of independent and self-governing homelands but these have been boycotted by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu.

Mr. Buti has the rare status of a black community leader who has participated in the government-created black local authorities structure (upgraded community councils) and still has considerable legitimacy in his community—a sort of small-town Chief Buthelezi.

During the height of unrest in Reef townships recently when black councillors died at the hands of residents, had their homes and businesses burnt down or went into hiding, Mr. Buti's home stood unguarded.

He was just the sort of man Mr. Heunis needed to lend credibility to his efforts for a constitutional formula for blacks.

Instead, Mr. Buti has advised "our black brothers and sisters—those so-called black community leaders—not to pose as if they have been mandated by the black South African people to discuss the future national constitutional matters" with the government.

"Experience has taught us that such committees and discussions bear fruitless results," said Mr. Buti.

"We wish to make an earnest plea to those so-called 'urban black' community leaders and 'homeland' leaders who have been invited to participate in the discussions not to fall into a trap of consciously or unconsciously propagating and promoting the policy of apartheid."

"We reiterate our plea for reconciliation and the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and black political movements," he said.
international contacts as a means to offset the increasing strength of the anti-South African lobby, I share the fears of many of my colleagues that the task may be beyond us.

We have plenty of evidence of efforts being made in this direction. Within the past six months, several prominent South African businessmen have delivered important addresses to American audiences on the question of disinvestment.

Without canvassing opinions, it is easy to imagine their embarrassment at having their well-intentioned and intellectually-based arguments almost immediately negated by widespread television coverage of police action in African townships.

The potential effectiveness of ambassadorial businessmen is further weakened by the reactions of government to the three major private sector organisations when they jointly called on government to rethink its policy of arresting black labour leaders.

We understand that the Government's theory is that evolutionary change can only take place within a situation of social stability, and that stability must be achieved, even by using force.

What concerns many of us is that this attitude of the end justifying means may be a little simplistic.

What is more, the fact that it is being challenged by business as practical, and not political, grounds must surely suggest to the authorities that they should at least listen before reacting so violently.

It seems that the Government is trying to achieve two aims within this context.

One is to attempt to perpet-

Unease in the private sector is growing
THE conscription row threatened the Progressive Federal Party with a Supreme Court action from within its own ranks.

After the row was patched up at a crucial caucus meeting, PFPP sources divulged that the party had been on the verge of an upheaval which could have shattered its unity over the next few months.

Both hawks and doves agree that the situation was saved by the brilliant leadership of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

The reformists who followed Mr Harry Schwarz into an alliance with the Progressive Federal Party in 1975, have been mobilizing forces against what they see as a move by the left wing of the PFPP towards the United Democratic Front.

Reformists who would rather leave the PFPP than move in the UDF direction, made their stand on the conscription issue after PFPP provincial congresses and its Federal Council resolved to press for an end to military conscription.

The PFPP opts for a stronger professional and volunteer army. But the reformists want to retain what they prefer to call "national service" as well.

The reformists used the PFPP's constitution which permits the Federal Council to make policy on matters not yet laid down by party policy, but not to change existing policy.

Only the party's Federal Congress can change existing policy.

They maintained the anti-conscription resolution by the Federal Council was unconstitutional as it changed existing policy. But the left wing maintained this was a new policy and therefore not unconstitutional.

Some reformists were prepared to go so far as to take the party to the Supreme Court to overturn the anti-conscription resolution.

It is understood they also considered walking out of the PFPP unless the anti-conscription resolution was toned down.

Dr Slabbert defused the situation by including a crucial paragraph in his statement of policy.

Paragraph 8 had the magical effect of pleasing both reformists and the party's left, both of whom say it meets their requirements.

The paragraph reads: "As the expansion of the full-time professional Defence Force and the volunteer reserve arm progresses so also progress can be made with the phasing out of conscription as part of our military organisation until it is no longer necessary."

The party left believes this is in keeping with the resolution to "press for an end to compulsory military conscription."

But the reformists, who include Mr Philip Myburgh, the party's defence spokesman, say it meets their requirements as the words "until it is no longer necessary" imply military conscription could remain for an indefinite period.

Report by David Brier, 120 St George's Street, Cape Town.

LISTENERS propose army of volunteers

Langa Skosana and Michael Tissong

MOST of the callers to SABC's Microphone In" radio program on Friday evening called for the establishment of a professional volunteer army and an end to military conscription.

Several callers noted that the army had become politicised by being used during unrest in the black townships. Some callers said the enforced call-up should not be abolished.

They were giving their views on the subject: "Should military conscription be abolished?"

Mr Edwin Harich-Jones of Port Elizabeth said conscription should be abolished and a professional army should be established.

Cape Town caller Mrs Elaine Williams said she had four sons who were proud to serve in the South African Defence Force and that conscription should not be abolished.

One of the panelists in the SABC studio, Sir Richard Luyt, called for a professional volunteer army. He said he opposed military conscription and conscription should be regarded as a "last resort and a desperate resort."

The other panelist, Mr Bill Sutton of the New Republic Party said conscription should continue as "there would be problems getting the number of people necessary for the army."

Mr Sutton said it was necessary to have the army playing the supportive role of maintaining law and order in the townships.

A Johannesburg caller who is facing conscription in mid-1985 said he faced a dilemma because he would not like to serve in an army that was used against the country's own cit-
HNP posters can stay up

Supreme Court Reporter

"OFFENSIVE." HNP posters are to remain displayed in the streets of George until after Thursday's by-election, a Supreme Court judge ordered yesterday.

In terms of the order by Mr Justice Vos, the Town Council of George have been restrained from removing any of the HNP electoral posters and have been ordered to replace any posters that have been removed.

The town council was also ordered to refrain from interfering in any way with the HNP's election and "propaganda" campaign in George.

The order follows last week's urgent application for an interdict by the two HNP candidates - Mr. Arend Simeon Teurnicht and Mr. Hendrik Stefanus van Zyl - after council workers had removed 69 of the party's posters.

The posters - with the legend "Vote White HNP or Vote Mottled (Bont) NP" - had been deemed offensive by the town clerk and harmful to George's "proud record" of race relations.

A second application connected with the matter - by the town council of George and seeking the striking out of certain passages in affidavits by the HNP candidates referring to the State President, Mr. P. W. Botha - was dismissed.

In his judgment, Mr. Justice Vos said the HNP candidates had obtained written permission from the town clerk to display posters, and were in possession of letters to this effect.

However, the town clerk claimed that he had never approved any HNP posters but that members of his department had spoken to HNP officials, who were informed of the municipality's "1981 policy" regarding the erection of posters and election bills in public. In terms of this policy, posters could contain factual information only, no slogans would be permitted and posters must not be offensive to any race or body. There had been no reference to this in the letters granting the HNP permission to erect posters, the judge said.

Rejecting claims that the HNP would not suffer prejudice by the removal of the posters as more than 50 percent of the posters, still erected in George were HNP ones, the judge said it was an important and democratic right that a party be entitled to erect posters.

"They're there to influence potential voters and they would not have been put up otherwise." Mr. Johan van der Berg, for the town council, applied for leave to appeal against the decision, and judgment as to whether this should be granted will be handed down today.

Mr. W.J. Pretorius, instructed by Couryn, Hertzog and Houwak, for Pretoria, appeared for the HNP candidates. Mr. Van der Berg was instructed by Ernst Strauss and Haasbroek.
Blacks may get regional role

By CHRIS FREIMOND

Political Correspondent

IN WHAT could be a major change in Government thinking, the State President, Mr P W Botha, has indicated that black local authorities will be included in proposed Regional Services Councils to co-ordinate the supply of infra-structural services to municipal areas in South Africa.

Mr Botha hinted at this possible new development during a public meeting this week in the Primrose by-election campaign.

The Regional Services Councils Bill, one of a trilogy of local government reforms, was referred to a committee of Parliament earlier this year after strong opposition criticism centred on its exclusion of black local authorities.

In terms of the Bill, white, coloured and Indian local authorities would have been able to form regional services councils to co-ordinate the supply of services such as water, electricity and sewerage to municipalities in particular regions.

The Progressive Federal Party rejected the Bill because it excluded blacks and entrenched aspects of apartheid by excluding black local authorities.

At this week's meeting, Mr Botha referred specifically to co-operation in a joint body between the various groups, including blacks, in the provision of certain services and asked what was wrong with such a principle.

Proposals for revised draft legislation on the Bill from a committee of white, coloured and Indian MPs is expected during next year's parliamentary session.

There seems little doubt now that blacks will be included in any new scheme.
NP set to romp home in five polls

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party is expected to romp home with comfortable but reduced majorities in five Cape by-election contests today, but the outcome in the Primrose constituency in the Transvaal could prove a severe embarrassment to the government.

The dominant force in the House of Representatives, the Labour Party, looks set for a sweeping victory in one Cape seat but faces a possible upset in another.

Seven of the eight seats up for grabs in today's by-elections are in the Cape: Two for the House of Assembly (Parow and George); two for the House of Representatives (Steinkopf and Nuweveld), and three for the Provincial Council (Parow, Piketberg and George).

The clash between the NP and the Conservative Party in the Primrose seat in the Transvaal has been one of the fiercest—and dirtiest—campaign battles in recent memory.

Primrose was once one of the safest Nationalist seats in the Transvaal and for years contributed more to the party coffers than any other seat in the province.

But the CP's feverish campaigning and its willfulness to resort to what Professor Willem Kleynhans of Unisa has called "raw colour politics" has clearly struck a responsive chord among right-wing voters that has had the Nats on the verge of panic in recent weeks.

Some Nationalist organizers were conceding this week that their majority could be slashed from nearly 4000 in the 1981 election to under 1000.

In the Cape, the CP acknowledges that it has no chance of beating the NP but clearly hopes to show that the swing away from the NP in recent Transvaal by-elections is a national phenomenon.

Inroads

The Nationalists are confident of a whopping majority in Parow but the CP organizers hope to make significant inroads by at least doubling the 981 votes garnered by the Herstigte Nationale Party in the 1981 parliamentary elections. The NP candidate was unopposed in the last provincial election.

The three-cornered contest between the NP, the HNP and the Progressive Federal Party in George could see Mr P W Botha's 1981 majority of 5064 being trimmed.

In the sprawling plateland seat of Piketberg, which boasts the highest percentage of signed-up NP members in the country, the Nationalists will sweep to a commanding victory over the CP. However, the CP has thrown everything into its campaign and hopes at least to retain its deposit by drawing more than one-fifth of the votes cast.

Essops

The Labour Party's superior organization and resources should see it through to a comfortable victory over the People's Congress Party in the North-Western Cape constituency of Steinkopf.

But the LP faces a much tougher struggle in the Nuweveld (near Beaufort West) where Mr Anwar Essop, the son of the late Mr Solly Essop, will be standing for the PNP.

The LP, clearly worried by the popularity of the Essop family, has been bussing in reinforcements from the Eastern Cape to bolster the party's organizing machine in recent weeks.
NP’s majority is trimmed to mere 748 in Primrose

By Andrew Beattie

The National Party candidate, Dr Piet Welsgmoed, emerged on top in the hotly-contested Primrose by-election last night — but his slim voting edge was denounced by Conservative Party leaders as a pyrrhic victory.

The polling station at President Primary School in Primrose buzzed with excitement until 10.45 pm when the results were announced and supporters of both parties burst into cheers.

Though the NP won by a majority of 748 votes, this indicated a substantial decline in support since the 1981 election, when Dr Piet Koornhof cruised in with a majority of 4,100 in his Heritage National Party and Progressive Federal Party opponents.

"The fight is over. We won," declared Mr Welsgmoed, beam as he was swept off on the shoulders of supporters.

At the same time, jubilant CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht congratulated his defeated candidate, Mr Schalk Pienaar, and cautioned: "The writing is on the wall for the National Party."

"In four years time the Conservative Party will be governing South Africa," warned Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, its Johannesburg Regional chairman.

He added that voters were dissatisfied with the Government's "integration policies", and for the first time since 1948 voters had "a real alternative to the NP".

"This signals the beginning of the end for the NP," said Mr Pienaar.

Dr Treurnicht kept a high profile at this by-election — held in traditional NP territory — and his party's campaign displayed all the flair and organisational skills of an American election machine.

Mr Pienaar and Dr Treurnicht claimed that the Primrose result indicated that the CP was gaining a support base in urban areas.

The party has always claimed to have widespread support in rural areas.

Asked if the Primrose outcome would spur the CP into calling for a general election in the near future, Dr Treurnicht said: "No, not at the moment. This was a remarkable achievement, and shows the growth in support for the CP."

PFP gave victory to Govt — CP

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party rescued the Government from defeat in the crucial Primrose by-election yesterday, according to Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, Conservative Party regional chairman.

Mr Derby-Lewis, a key figure in the CP campaign to win the Primrose stronghold of Primrose, said after the defeat of Mr Schalk Pienaar at the hands of Dr Piet Welsgmoed that the PFP had rescued the Government.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the PFP factor swayed it. In 1981 the PFP gained 748 votes in this constituency and that is about the margin of the National Party victory," Mr Derby-Lewis added.

There were strong indications that the PFP supporters had voted — and probably against the CP.

The PFP gave no official guidance to its supporters in the Primrose constituency and the New Republic Party requested its members to abstain.

The CP believes NRP supporters did vote — for the NP.

"We took on everybody in this election, the Nats the Progs and the NRP, and still scored something of a victory," Mr Derby-Lewis said.
Williams: no help for non-voters

EAST LONDON — Indians who are not registered voters will not get any help in civic matters from the acting chairman of the Indian Management Committee, Mr Mike Williams.

Mr Williams confirmed his stand yesterday following claims that he had refused to help people with housing matters because they were not on the voters' roll. "As far as I am concerned, if a person shows such disinterest by not registering and participating in matters which affect his civic life, then he has no right to ask me to help him."

He explained that he was not asking anybody to vote and that his stand did not have anything to do with the August elections for the House of Delegates.

"Some people say they will not register and vote for sell-outs but when they have a housing problem, they know where to run to."

"My stand is not victimisation. I just feel that if people want community services, they must be prepared to participate by merely registering as a municipal voter which they are entitled to."

He agreed that less than 10 per cent of the Indians in East London participated in elections and said those who were not registered through ignorance, should be helped to do so.

"They need merely go to the city hall and ask to be registered," Mr Williams said.

The chairman of the Coloured Management Committee, Mr Johannes Temmers, said he did not ask anybody whether they were voters or not if they approached him for help.

"Mr Williams may have a point but I have never questioned whether a person is a voter or not."

Mr Temmers said he helped people of all political persuasions.

— DDR
Mopp to raise housing issue in Parliament

EAST LONDON — The provision of housing for coloureds in Beacon Bay and Gonubie would be raised in Parliament next year, the Border member of the House of Representatives, Mr Peter Mopp, said yesterday.

Mr Mopp said at the weekend that land should be made available for coloured housing in the two independent municipalities.

The town clerk of Gonubie, Mr K. Levey, and the town clerk of Beacon Bay, Mr B. Aucamp, confirmed yesterday that only whites were allowed to live in the two municipalities.

Mr Aucamp and Mr Levey said the areas had been declared white areas under the Group Areas Act.

"How can independent municipalities make no provision for coloured and Indian housing?", Mr Mopp asked yesterday.

Mr Mopp said at the weekend that coloureds had completely run out of space in East London whereas there was plenty of open land in Gonubie and Beacon Bay.

"Gonubie is not fully developed but the land is privately owned," Mr Levey said.

"There is vacant land in Beacon Bay but it is incorporated in approved plans for white housing development," Mr Aucamp said.

"If people other than white people want to live in Beacon Bay, the area will have to be re-zoned under the Group Areas Act" Mr Levey said.

"I will raise the matter in Parliament next year and take it from there," Mr Mopp said. — DDR
Nat majority slashed in Primrose

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party's Dr Piet Welgemeed won the Primrose by-election last night after a nail-biting day which left the result in doubt until the minute it was announced.

The Conservative Party immediately claimed that its candidate, Mr Schalk Pienaar, was the real winner because he slashed a Nationalist majority of 4,389 in the 1981 general election to 748.

But the NP's Transvaal leader, Mr P W de Klerk, said last night the result should be compared to the Germiston District by-election in 1982 where the combined vote for the CP and Herstigte Nasionale Party was more than the NP's.

He said the NP's trouncing of the right-wing grouping by 748 votes yesterday was a constituency similar to Germiston District indicated NP losses since 1982.

Mr De Klerk also said the CP had had "everything going for them". Apart from the major political changes since 1981, the economy was in its worst state since 1910.

The CP had put in one of its biggest efforts in a by-election and was still unable to win, Mr De Klerk said.

Nevertheless, some observers believe the result proved that in the new political climate since the 1982 CP split, dozens of formerly safe NP seats are within easy reach of right-wing parties.

After the polls closed at 8pm, the outcome was in the balance with both parties claiming victory by a few hundred votes.

It was clear that the NP's substantial lead on the nearly 3,000 postal and special votes cast before election day was the key to the party's win.

It is understood that the NP had a majority of 600 over the CP on postal votes which means that yesterday the NP received a majority of only 160 votes at the polls.

The percentage poll of 55.8 percent was lower than the 60 percent predicted before polling but higher than estimates earlier in the evening.

The result was greeted by ecstatic NP supporters in the crowd of about 1,000 who had gathered to await the outcome.

A jubilant Dr Welgemeed was lifted on to the shoulders of his supporters to make a short victory speech in which he pledged to be "the NP for everyone in the constituency".

Mr Pienaar was carried away by cheering CP followers who saw his performance as a significant victory.

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who had earlier predicted a win for his party while waiting outside the counting hall, was nevertheless obviously pleased with the result.

He said Primrose had been transformed from a safe NP seat into a marginal one and indicated massive growth of support for the CP.

One reason for the CP's loss was believed to be particularly low turnouts in two key working-class areas in which the party hoped to do well enough to boost its chance.

Tensions between the workers of opposing parties throughout the day led to a number of heated arguments and reported scuffles.

In Parow, the NP Parliamentary candidate, Mr J J Kriel, won the seat with a 5,113-vote majority. The CP candidate Mrs E Lombard, who stood against him, polled 1,419 votes.

The NP Provincial candidate in Parow, Mr S Pretorius, scored a 5,608-vote majority over the CP candidate Mr R Louw.

Results, page 8
When are they going to deliver the goods?

WHEN the Labour Party opted to become minority shareholders in PW's New Deal Company, they vowed: "We're going in to destroy apartheid."

It was funny really — almost like Tickee the Clown challenging Larry Holmes for the world heavyweight boxing championship of the world.

Well, three months and a bit have passed since the formation of a new, and perfectly legal ANC grouping in South Africa (of Asians, Nationalists and Coloureds). And I could be wrong — but I haven't noticed the pillars of apartheid crumbling all around me.

In fact, these junior partners in the new scheme of things appear to have strengthened the whole apartheid operation.

SA third in world crime stakes

SOUTH Africa has scored a bronze in the international crime stakes.

A Gallup poll conducted in 21 countries recently found the Republic has the third highest incidence of crime in the world, a Randburg market research company announced last week.

Almost one in every five South Africans has been a victim of theft, housebreaking or assault in the past year, says a report by Markinor, which is affiliated to Gallup International.

One thousand South African men and women in urban areas were interviewed by Gallup, which describes the Republic as almost as dangerous as the turbulent South American countries of Columbia and Brazil.

Oh, I know the Rev Chris April will protest. After all he's promised to do something about the plight of pensioners and the shortage of hospitals in coloured areas. And Carter Ebrahim has vowed to knock the teaching profession into shape.

But it's all been a case of working very much within the system — shine dem chains and keep dem happy.

Yes, National Party-style equality is not the same as equality in other parts of the world. In South Africa it means having to be part of grand schemes to move hundreds of illegal blacks out of white group areas.

This is what has happened in Johannesburg. In a Government statement released last week, it was announced that some 1,650 houses were to be built in coloured Newtown and Indian Burgersdorp for people living illegally in white Hillbrow. Coloured and Indian MPs were among the signatories.

EXPLOITED

Labour Party man David Curry explained that his party was still against apartheid but the fact was that these people were living in Hillbrow illegally and were being exploited by landlords.

If this is going to be the shape of things to come, a number of new political developments may well be in the pipeline. For instance:

- When the authorities start enforcing beach apartheid during the Christmas holidays, will they use Labour Party men to explain to over-sustained souls that "we're doing this for your own good"?
- "We can't have friction, you know — it'll wreck the New Deal."
- When they extend the conscription to coloureds and Indians will the junior partners say: "I know we said we're against it, but the total onslaught ...?"
- And when more people are detained will the signature of their Minister of Justice be appended to the detention orders?

In the old days they had a name for people like those in the Labour Party. They called them Uncle Toms. I don't agree — but unfortunately, like those people working the system, I'm in the minority.

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Work camps for rioters — HNP paper

PRETORIA — The Herstigte Nasionale Party mouthpiece, Die Afrikaner, has proposed that black rioters be sent to labour camps as a solution to the current unrest.

Die Afrikaner says its own investigation indicated that many rioters were involved in the unrest because "they had too much free time on hand." Labour camps could end "this boredom of blacks."

The newspaper says the country can no longer afford the loss of property, life and labour caused by unrest and adds that rioters could, with great success, be sent to labour camps "for a number of years."

The newspaper's editor, Mr Z B du Toit, declined to comment when asked for more details on the proposed camps. He also declined to comment on a comparison between the proposed camps and Hitler's labour camps.

The newspaper also called for a paramilitary unit under the Commissioner of Police to deal with unrest. — Sapa.
Reddy calls for opening of CBDs

DURBAN — Dr. J. N. Reddy, the leader of the Solidarity Party, has appealed to the government to “remove the impediments” for all businessmen of colour in order to allow them to participate in the free enterprise system.

The free enterprise system meant that: “We need to encourage the third and underdeveloped world of South Africa to share in the cake of prosperity. Free enterprise must be seen to be developing. It must be open to all, not only free to some,” Dr Reddy said.

There was doubt in the minds of businessmen of colour as to whether any progress had been made besides seminars, documents and talks in this regard.

Referring to the desirability of opening of central business districts to people of all races he said: “The business sector must sound the clarion call to South Africa and the government that they must have the freedom to operate where they wish.

“A political and economic partnership between black and white is the recipe for future survival.

“This does not require a tremendous sacrifice on anyone’s part! Why the delay?”

He called for a single and equal education system, which he said “will go a long way if we want to overcome our imbalances.”

Although the attempt towards reform was late, he felt that it was not beyond the capacity of the people of South Africa to work towards peaceful reform. — DDC.
Ultra-right gaining support

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The National Party emerged victorious in all six by-elections it contested this week but ultra-right parties gained significant momentum by muscling into NP majorities in all seats.

And in House of Representatives contests, the powerful Labour Party swept to a convincing victory in Steinkopf but suffered an upset defeat to the tiny People's Congress Party in Nuweveld.

The Primrose result — where the Conservative Party with the active support of its Herstigte Nationale Party allies shrank the NP majority from 4,398 in 1981 to a mere 198 — suggests that a number of former safe NP seats in the Transvaal are no longer impregnable.

However, certain political analysts yesterday cautioned that the far-right threat should not be overstated since the outcome in Primrose probably represented the "best possible performance" for the CP given the extremely favourable conditions that existed for beating the NP in this by-election.

In the three Cape constituencies, the NP fared a lot better in staving off the ultra-right onslaught but nevertheless had their majorities reduced significantly.

Stayaway

The shrinking majorities country-wide were due in part to a protest stayaway by NP supporters and on the other to increased support for a CP/HNP alliance.

The parlous state of the economy and the widespread unrest that has accompanied the "reformist" initiatives of the government were seen by political observers yesterday as factors that helped fuel the far-right backlash.

The "stayaway vote" was particularly noticeable in the hotly contested Primrose seat, where a percentage vote of only 65.8 was registered in spite of saturation media coverage and months of feverish campaigning.

In Parow, the CP cut the 1981 NP majority of 6,486 down to 5,113 in the parliamentary contest that saw a number of NP supporters boycotting the polls.

Despite months of determined campaigning on both sides, the poll fell from the 1981 level of 66 percent to 47.7 percent.

A similar pattern emerged in George, where the NP saw its majority shrink from 3,064 in 1981 to 4,665 and the percentage poll drop from 72.8 to 57.7.

The George result must come as something of a disappointment to the Progressive Federal Party, particularly with the Newton Park by-election in Port Elizabeth taking place early next year.

Although the PFP provincial candidate improved on his counterpart's 1981 showing, the party's parliamentary candidate, while not losing much ground, ran a disappointing third in the three-cornered race.

Shock defeat

As expected, the Labour Party scored a convincing win in Steinkopf in North-West Cape, but in Nuweveld Mr Anwar Essop of the People's Congress Party dealt the LP candidate, Mr J A Booyisen, a shock defeat.

He was elected to the House of Representatives seat left vacant by the death of his father, Mr Solly Essop, who saw the LP home with a convincing 3,880 majority in the August elections.
Rosholt wants clarity on black participation

By Michael Chester

Big business today urged the Government to issue a "general statement of intent" to clarify its policy on giving the black population a bigger voice in national affairs.

Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of the vast Barlow Rand industrial empire, said a basic problem remained the lack of structures to permit some form of participation by blacks in decision-making at local, regional and national government levels.

One major problem was how to ensure financial viability for the new black local authorities.

"It is unlikely that viability will ever be achieved solely from township revenues and the Government will have no option but to support the local authorities," he writes in an annual review.

The introduction of the new constitution marked a political watershed.

But the process of evolving a system for black participation in decision-making at national level — now under investigation by a senior Cabinet committee — was taking place against a background of distrust.

It was encouraging, however, that the Government appeared to acknowledge the need to consult blacks in the negotiation process across the political spectrum.

"The complexity of our problems will not allow for an immediate overall solution and timetable. But an announcement of a general statement of intent would serve to clarify many of the issues presently causing instability," Mr Rosholt wrote.

Another very serious situation had been revealed by studies showing that the majority of blacks had not yet fully accepted the capitalist or free enterprise system and associated it with discrimination.
The Legal Tool That Perpetuates Discrimination

By Christie Matura

A woman is sitting at a table with a laptop and papers. She is looking at her phone. She is wearing a black shirt and has dark hair. The room is quiet and well-lit. She is focused on her work. She finishes her work and closes her laptop. She stands up and leaves the room. The light from the window reflects off the glass door as she leaves the building. She walks down the street, her mind racing with thoughts of her work. She enters a coffee shop and sits down at a table. She takes a sip of her coffee and smiles. She looks out the window and watches the world go by. She is grateful for her ability to work and live independently. She is thankful for the opportunities that have come her way. She is proud of her accomplishments and the life she has built for herself. She takes a deep breath and straightens her back. She is poised and ready to tackle whatever the day brings. She is a woman of strength and determination. She is a woman who knows what she wants and goes after it with all her heart. She is a woman who embodies the spirit of the legal tool that perpetuates discrimination.
immediate future should be. The conventional fear is that it will slow the pace of reform.

Verligtes in the NP maintain Primrose was not such a bad performance given that the constituency is ideally suited to Conservative Party (CP) exploitation of issues like black domination and the recession.

They also point out that voters use by-elections to voice their frustration with government even if they have not deserted the party. Another argument is that the CP was able to use all its resources in one campaign and, indeed, worked through the constituency four times — something it would not have the resources to do in a general election.

The verligte argument is that slowing the pace of reform, or even reversing some decisions, will not buy back any votes. Most voters expect further steps towards black constitutional participation and the scrapping of certain race laws. And, say the verligtes, voters respect a strong and determined government which knows where it is going, even if they don’t agree with everything it does.

Some verligtes believe the NP could make further significant inroads into Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and New Republic Party (NRP) support if government steps up its reform programme. The final argument is that the next general election need not be called before 1989, which gives the party a lot of time to implement its programme of reform and recover lost support.

But the bulk of the party believes that State President PW Botha will have to proceed cautiously on his “reform” road if massive further gains by the CP are to be forestalled. It is known that the Transvaal NP leader FW de Klerk shares this fear. Understandably, he has the support of many MPs in Transvaal and the Free State whose constituencies are considered to be within CP reach.

Veteran political analyst H de G Laurie drew up a list of 40 constituencies in Transvaal, eight in OFS, two in Natal and one in the Cape that could fall to the CP if the Primrose swing is maintained. He has little doubt that the CP would become the official opposition if a general election were held now.

Other political scientists like Pretoria University’s Mike Hough and RAU’s Henkie Kotze do not believe the CP can attract more than about 30% of the vote. They base their views on the outcome of the referendum last year. They don’t believe the Primrose swing is nationwide. Rather there were specific influences at work, such as black unrest and the recession.

The NP’s chief secretary in the Transvaal, Lucas Nel, believes the CP reached its highest possible point in Primrose. The NP can only do better in times ahead, he says. He believes the only valid comparison that can be made is with the 1982 by-election in neighbouring Germiston District, which has a similar socio-economic structure. There the combined votes of the CP and HNP surpassed that of the NP by some 1000 votes.

Harsh words came from the NP’s most influential ally in Transvaal, the daily Beeld. The paper said in an editorial after the election that it is remarkable that most commentators, Afrikaans and English-speaking, believed it was a good result for the NP under the circumstances.

“We believe that the Transvaal NP will do itself and government a disservice if it takes this kind of comment seriously,” Beeld wrote, and pointed out that 51 constituencies could go to the CP if the Primrose pattern persists.

“One must remember that a voter who has deserted you once, will find it even easier to do so a second time. And it never looked as if the voters boilled over with enthusiasm for the NP during this election campaign.”

POLITICS

Beyond Primrose

The National Party (NP) is divided on what the party’s narrow (746 votes) victory in the Primrose by-election implies. It seems equally at sea on what its strategy for the
THE BROEDERBOND

Secrecy to go?

Pressure is mounting on the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) to shed its cloak of secrecy. Broeder sources now believe the movement's Hoofraad may soon reconsider the secrecy clauses in its constitution.

The latest attack on the AB comes from one of the most senior and respected men in the Dutch Reformed Church, the retiring dean of the Stellenbosch Theological Seminary, Dawid de Villiers. He says that he would prefer that no dominee belong to the AB. The church will have to look at the fact that membership of the AB runs like a dividing line between dominees.

De Villiers says the fact that some dominees who are AB members may not discuss certain matters with their colleagues, church councils or members of their congregations, undermines the mutual trust that Christians must have in each other.

"A man of God may not be asked to be silent on certain matters. How will he seek the truth if he is told not to talk about some things?" An AB dominee "needs a lot of mercy to give all his loyalty first to God. And his colleague who is not a member needs a lot of mercy not to distrust his Broederbond-brother," says De Villiers.

De Villiers is supported by prominent churchmen like Pretoria theology professor Ben Marais and dominee Willem Nicol, son of a former AB chairman and administrator of Transvaal.

The influential Transvaal daily Beeld also recently spoke out against the AB's continued secrecy. Commenting on a Supreme Court case between leading members of the Rutterwag (the junior AB) where its confidentiality was allegedly breached, the paper wrote in an editorial: "Will it not be better if the two organisations start throwing open their doors, cut out suspicion and, by eliminating the tension between them and the community, lay the foundation for a new, positive role?"
Tony Bloom

Reply to Buthelezi

The Premier Group's Tony Bloom has replied to strong criticism levelled against him in the FM (November 30) by KwaZulu Chief Minister, and President of Inkatha, Mangosutho Gatsha Buthelezi. Bloom's open letter to Buthelezi reads:

Dear Chief Minister,

I was surprised to read your strong reaction to the speech made by me at the Wits Business School dinner. Surprised, because you and I share the same hopes for the future of SA:

☐ The emergence of a stable multi-racial state;
☐ An abhorrence of racial discrimination;
☐ A commitment to democracy; and
☐ A rejection of violence as an instrument of political power.

These are ideals I have held for over 20 years and for you to suggest that I have suddenly discovered a "new found excitement" about "the prospect of change," or that the "political penny is beginning to drop," is in total contradiction to my statements over the years which are a matter of public record.

To cite merely one of many examples, you are personally aware of my public opposition to the new Constitution on the grounds that any alleged "step in the right direction" would be more than offset by the anger and frustration which the exclusion from the constitutional process would engender among blacks.

Given the convergence of our views on so many matters of principle, I asked myself why your reaction to my speech was so vehement. I believe that your response stems largely from an incorrect reaction to a paragraph in my speech. At no time did I mean to imply that your presence at a negotiating table on constitutional issues would be at the behest of your desire for homeland recognition. For me to have done so would simply have demonstrated total political naiveté — as the undisputed leader of the Zulu nation every politically aware South African knows your views on the subject of homeland recognition only too well. They have been clearly stated on literally hundreds of occasions. As a leader of millions of black South Africans, there is no doubt that you will be a prominent participant in any negotiations on the inclusion of blacks into the constitutional process in SA.

What I did imply (and still believe) is that the presence of yourself and others at that negotiating table must not be at the behest of the SA government's desire for homeland recognition. This desire has equally been clearly stated on literally hundreds of occasions.

The distinction is fundamental and vital to my whole thesis. I believe my remarks have been misinterpreted and am grateful for the opportunity to set the record straight.

Finally, whether the ANC "is virtually non-existent" inside the country (your view) or whether it has "considerably more support than we believe" (mine), is impossible to determine objectively. The ANC is, of course, a banned organisation and for anyone to profess support for it is a crime — not many people would openly do so under present circumstances. Only the course of history will prove whether your conjectures or mine are correct.

I believe that there is an historical inevitability about white SA taking to the ANC and that it is only a question of when, and not if. I am certainly no ally of the "forces of destruction" and believe that the talks can only commence when the ANC abandons violence as an instrument of policy.

As we agree with each other on the broad end objectives, let us tolerate and respect each other's differing approaches on a rational basis in the hope that our common objectives will become political realities.

Yours respectfully,

Tony Bloom
CAPE TOWN — The People’s Congress Party hopes its meeting with the New Republic Party in Durban today could start laying the groundwork for a new non-racial, multi-party alliance in South Africa.

The leader of the opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, said he hoped the meeting between the PCP’s national executive and the Natal leadership of the NRP would lead to closer co-operation between the two parties in future.

He added: “I hope this meeting and similar talks the PCP plans to hold with other political parties could prepare the ground for the possible amalgamation of different parties once the Political Interference Act has been scrapped.”

Mr De la Cruz emphasised the PCP’s strong opposition to the law enforcing apartheid in politics and said the meeting with the NRP would “display to the nation that politicians of all races can get together and find points of agreement.”

He said the PCP executive, which will also meet the mayors of Durban and Maritzburg while in Natal, were also anxious to hold talks with the leader of KwaZulu and Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The party also hopes to meet Dr J. N. Reddy of Solidarity and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of the Progressive Federal Party to discuss possible inter-party cooperation and the prospects of broad-based political alliances before Parliament convenes in January.

The leader of the NRP in Natal, Mr Derrick Watterson, said it was important that parties in the racially separate houses work together when areas of agreement had been identified.

“We are talking to all political parties to get to know one another better and to see if we can build on points of accord or possibly resolve points of difference that might exist.”

Mr Watterson said it was difficult to say at this stage whether good prospects existed for a multi-party alliance.

“We first have to clarify what we all stand for,” he said. — DDC.
Big business should have a say in government

Henry Ford

The Star Sunday, December 9, 1926
FOURIE: Marxism and misery are not for SA

WASHINGTON — South Africa's Ambassador in Washington, Mr Brand Fourie, told a prime-time audience on nationwide TV yesterday that there was no argument about the need for change in South Africa.

In the programme, screened on SABC last night, Mr Fourie said: "We realise it ourselves. We are changing. We have changed a great deal.

"So what are we arguing about?

"We should rather see how we can bring about change peacefully and without making the position more difficult.

But, Mr Fourie emphasised, the final decision on South Africa's future would be taken by South Africans themselves even though they would listen to friendly advice.

"One man one vote is not the answer in South Africa.

"We have to work out a different system.

The ambassador's appearance on "This Week with David Brinkley," one of America's top-rated current-affairs TV shows, comes at a time of unprecedented public interest in South Africa, highlighted by street demonstrations against apartheid and by President Ronald Reagan's meeting with Bishop Desmond Tutu.

After the show, in segments taped separately, were Bishop Tutu, liberal and conservative congressmen, and Dr Chester Choker, chief architect of America's constructive engagement with South Africa. Mr Fourie said what had happened in the rest of Africa was not as bleak.

First there was independence followed by one free election, or perhaps the last. This was followed by a one-party state and a move towards socialism that eventually became Marxism.

"Then," he added, "you get to a stage where you move into misery. That is not for South Africa.

"The ambassador said South Africa wanted to give everyone a reasonable part in governing their own affairs without taking away the rights of others.

"He rejected sharply any suggestion there was no Press freedom in South Africa.

"Perhaps here in America there is greater freedom. But if you look anywhere in the world, you must put South Africa very, very high up on the list of freedom of the Press.

"Mr Fourie said Bishop Tutu faced a severe test.

"He would have to return to South Africa and, in the spirit of a Nobel Peace Prize winner, would have to persuade his followers, some of them on the radical side, that black versus black confrontation must be stopped.

"Black radicals have got to stop killing moderate black leaders," said Mr Fourie.

"I do not believe that because we are just talking about change towards anything unspecified.

"We do want to see change towards a democratic form of government in South Africa and a just society based on the consent of the governed."

TUTU: A white skin could prove to be a disadvantage

A white skin could be a horrible disadvantage should severe violence erupt in South Africa over racial policies, says Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Speaking on the United States "This Week with David Brinkley" television programme, which was screened by SABC-TV last night, he said: "We have been warned about this sort of thing. This is just the start.

"I am fearful that unless the international community, and especially America, intervenes on the side of the oppressed to exert pressure that is perceptible to everybody to get the South African Government to the conference table, there will be a bloodbath.

"As for Africa's policy of constructive engagement to bring about slow but steady change in South Africa, he said: "I am not persuaded that the quiet diplomacy of President Ronald Reagan's Administration is working.

"It is four years on. From the perspective of blacks, things have got worse.

"There have been more detentions without trial, more forced removals and demonisation of blacks since the constructive engagement policy began, he said.

" Asked what he believed the US should do to encourage change in South Africa, Bishop Tutu said he believed the Reagan Administration should make it clear that it would no longer be protective of South Africa.

"The US should not abstain from voting in United Nations Security Council resolutions against South Africa.

"An answer to the question on whether sanctions by US firms in South Africa would harm blacks, Bishop Tutu said: "It is four years on. From the perspective of blacks, things have got worse.

"There have been more detentions without trial, more forced removals and demonisation of blacks since the constructive engagement policy began, he said.

"The fact that he could be charged in South Africa for encouraging disinvestment was evidence of how crucial foreign investment was to the Government, he said.

"I do not believe that because we are just talking about change towards anything unspecified.

"We do want to see change towards a democratic form of government in South Africa and a just society based on the consent of the governed."

Sopa.
The bishop... Desmond Tutu.

The ambassador... Brand Fourie.
'No US support if violence begins'

WASHINGTON — A spokesman for rightwingers in the American Congress said yesterday that America would not support the South African Government if the absence of change led to bloody violence.

The spokesman, Congresswoman Newt Gringrich of Georgia, said on America's "This Week with David Brinkley" TV programme that South Africa was facing two futures: a difficult transition to change or violence on an unimaginable scale.

Congressman Gringrich, a former history professor, is one of 35 Republican conservatives who last week threatened to support economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa unless there were human rights improvements.

Some analysts here see the move by the 35 as one of the most significant episodes in the surge of anti-apartheid feeling that has spread throughout America in the past fortnight.

Yesterday on the TV programme Congressman Gringrich spelled out the views of the group.

"One of the things that we wanted to communicate," he said, "is that no one in South Africa should see in the current demonstrations that it is only the black caucus and the left in America that are concerned."

"I don't think there is any base in America for any policies which in the long run condone or make easy the maintenance of apartheid."

"There is a strong feeling here for real change."

Mr Gringrich said that in historical terms human freedom might be the great battle cry of the late 20th century.

He was asked how he could realistically expect the dismantling of apartheid when in his own state, Georgia, voting rights for blacks had come from federal pressure as late as 100 years after a four-year civil war against race discrimination.

The reality in South Africa, he replied, was that the people there faced a choice between two futures.

"One was to try systematically to find a way to make a very difficult transition that all agreed was not easy."

"The only other alternative," he added, "is absolute bloody violence on an unimaginable scale in which America in the end is not going to be on the side of the current governing force in South Africa."

Congressman Gringrich said America's President Ronald Reagan had to be a lot more effective in putting friendly pressure on South Africa, to make it clear that America wanted a quid pro quo.

The South African Government had to be explicitly committed to an integrated future.

This commitment should come at some point in the next year, said Congressman Gringrich.

The dynamics of the relationship between America and South Africa would also change significantly if America moved from its position of relative passivity in the United Nations on the question of South Africa.

Appearing with Congressman Gringrich on the show was Congressman John Conyers of Michigan, a member of the Congressional black caucus, who said America was backing the losing side in South Africa.

Mr Conyers called for tougher action at the United Nations and urged relatively forceful and biting sanctions such as a halt to new US investments in South Africa.
closed to blacks

Why the Barrier Stays
Doors are closing on this committee

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

Recently the Rev Sam Buti, a moderate leader with a rare degree of credibility in the Alexandra community he serves as mayor, called on black leaders to snub the Cabinet committee investigating the constitutional future of urban blacks. This could be the kiss of death for any proposals which may emerge.

The committee, chaired by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, has been rejected out of hand by organisations such as the Azanian People’s Organisation and the United Democratic Front. Their plans for black constitutional rights demand a full democratic vote in a unitary state.

Although some “independent” and self-governing homeland leaders held talks with the committee, it was boycotted by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Inkatha.

That left leaders in the black political centre — men such as Mr Buti — to give the committee, and any proposals it might make, some credibility. Now the only people likely to talk to Mr Heunis’s committee are black local authority councillors, whose credibility is at an all-time low.

To make the situation worse about 20 of these councillors have resigned in the past few months.

It all adds up to a Cabinet committee with one to talk to and leaves a vital aspect of the Government’s “reform” plans floundering.

“The participation by blacks in discussion concerning the constitutional plan for urban blacks will be a definite betrayal of established struggles by those men and women who have been banished, exiled or even imprisoned by the South African racist regime,” Mr Buti said in his statement.

He added that history had proved that very little ever came out of such committees and reiterated that the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and various banned Black Consciousness organisations be unbanned.

The Cabinet committee was born of a Government realisation that the non-homeland urban black was here to stay and that somehow, without giving him a full vote, a method had to be found whereby he could have some representation.

The Government has been touting the committee as evidence that it is taking the urban black question seriously as a part of a “reform” package that included the extension of a limited franchise to the coloured and Indian population groups.

The urban blacks are excluded from both the first (Parliament) and second (Regional Councils) tiers of Government. Their only slender link to the decision-making process is the third-tier local authorities, which are in serious trouble.

During unrest in the Vaal Triangle, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, told a Press conference at Vereeniging that the black local authorities were the “voice of the urban black and the Government would listen to them” despite the fact that some were elected on a five percent poll.

The Cabinet committee is likely to find a willing ear only among local authority councils, whose credibility is almost nil.

But, according to Mr de Klerk, they are the voice of the urban black and their suggestions and proposals will be beeded by the Government.

The end result of that will be committee recommendations on the constitutional future of urban blacks that will solve little and be acceptable to very few.
Coloured teacher queries
new promotions criteria

By SHIRLEY PRESSLY
A MAJOR political row appears to be brewing about the basis on which teachers at coloured schools have been appointed to promotional posts hastily created in the wake of the new dispensation.

The first salvoes have been fired by a science teacher in Port Elizabeth, Mr H M Cairncross, of Booyens Park, who feels that he has been overlooked for promotion at his school because of his political affiliations.

Mr Cairncross is a Labour Party supporter and chairman of the Booyens Park branch of the Labour Party.

The Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim, said yesterday that no finality had been reached yet on the way in which teachers would be promoted.

He promised that any complaints from teachers that they had been overlooked for promotion because of their political affiliations would be fully investigated and urged teachers to complain to their local Members of Parliament if they felt they had grievances.

Mr Cairncross said he was the only Labour Party supporter at his school and most of the teachers supported either the United Democratic Front (UDF) or the South African Council on Sport (Sacos).

Mr Cairncross, who has been teaching since 1945, said he was not considered for any of the 10 promotions at his school recently.

The promotions are effective from the new school term next year and it is believed that principals were asked to recommend teachers they considered suitable for promotion because the posts had to be filled by the new year.

In the past, posts were advertised in the Educational Bulletin.

Mr Cairncross telephoned the office of the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives in Cape Town, and was told to put his complaint in writing.

A spokesman for the office confirmed that he had spoken to Mr Cairncross and that the letter would be referred to the Ministry of Education and Culture for comment and investigation.

Mr Ebrahim said he could not comment further until he had more information and had received the letter from Mr Cairncross.

But he said the whole question of promotions would be fully investigated and further information would be made available once it had been resolved.

He said posts were normally advertised and he was in favour of this.
If Govt and ANC talk...

By CHRIS FREIMOND

Political Correspondent

THERE appeared to be considerable common
ground between the African National Congress
(ANC) and the South African Government, but the
prospect of talks between the two seemed remote, a
Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, reported yesterday.

A senior Beeld journalist, Piet Muller, spent five
hours talking to ANC officials in Lusaka recently.

In the first of a series of articles published yesterday, he explored the possibility of dialogue between the ANC and the Government.

The report came in the wake of recent calls by a leading businessman, Mr. Tony Bloom of the Premier Group, and an Africana academic, Professor Willie Esterhuysen, for talks between the ANC and the Government.

In yesterday's article Mr. Muller said:

● There were pro-dialogue members in the ANC.
● If talks ever took place, it was clear there was enough common ground for "fruitful" discussions on a broad front.
● A major point of disagreement appeared to be on economic policy, with the ANC wanting far greater State control of the business.
Beeld calls for govt-ANC talks

Own Correspondent

Johannesburg. — A Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, called yesterday for talks between the government and extra-parliamentary opposition groups such as the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

The call, made in an editorial comment, could signify an important new strategy by Nationalist "verligtes" to press for political reform.

Although hope of talks between the government and the ANC is not new in some Nationalist Party circles, the idea has never before been widely expressed in public.

Yesterday's call came with the publication in Beeld of a second report of a recent five-hour interview with ANC leaders in Lusaka by a senior Beeld journalist, Dr Piet Muller.

Beeld's editorial said the question of talks with extra-parliamentary groups struck a raw nerve in South African politics.

The first reaction of any government worth its salt would be to reject such a suggestion because it would undermine its authority.

But when significant numbers of citizens had no direct political representation, the situation changed somewhat.

In such a case a government had a duty to listen to what might be regarded as unorthodox voices. If it did not, it might not hear important messages in time.

One of the biggest problems was to decide when the time was ripe to talk. Unfortunately people usually realized too late that they let opportunities slip through their fingers. Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was a good example, Beeld said.

It required courage and conviction for a government to talk to extra-parliamentary groups, even if the talks took place in secret.

Even the possibility of such talks could give new hope for the future to millions of people. A future that was acceptable to all could only be planned by everyone together, Beeld said.

A former editor of Beeld, Mr T Veslop, who is now managing director of the newspaper's parent company, Nasionale Pers, once caused a minor storm by writing that discussions between the Nationalist government and the ANC to plan South Africa's future were inevitable.

After his interview, Dr Muller concluded that there was a group within the ANC that was prepared to talk to the government and that there was common ground between the organization and the Nationalists.
SA's problems 'interdependent'  

Education Reporter  
SOUTH Africa's economic problems would be solved only when the government removed certain basic socio-political obstacles that were adversely affecting the national economy as well as the operation of the free enterprise system.  
Mr Mike Rosholt said in Cape Town yesterday.  
Addressing a graduation ceremony of the University of Cape Town, Mr Rosholt, chairman of Barlow Rand and chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, said the country's economic and socio-political problems were totally interdependent and neither could be solved on its own.  
It was a matter for serious concern that the government did not appear to have a national economic plan or strategy, but was taking a series of ad hoc economic decisions, he said.  
Calling for the formulation of such a strategy, Mr Rosholt said all future economic decisions should be related to a plan which included a cutback in the government share of the national economy, a plan and timetable for an attack on inflation, job creation and the elimination of recurrent periods of financial instability.  

Warning  
Mr Rosholt warned that the present cycle of unrest would continue into next year because it was unlikely that crucial factors would change immediately.  
If the economy improved markedly and unexpectedly, the job situation would improve and this would have a significant effect on unrest.  

• Rosholt calls for end to removals, page 13
TO OPENLY support disinvestment is a crime in South Africa. It carries heavy penalties.

This alone is a clear indication of the alarm with which the Government views the growing campaign to withdraw foreign capital from South Africa.

It is a campaign that seems set to grow in the months and years ahead and will undoubtedly continue to cause divisions not only among South Africans, but also in those countries where the battles against investment are being fought.

The argument of those in favour of disinvestment is that the withdrawal of foreign capital will force the Government to speed up political reform.

The additional hardship that the consequent loss of jobs might cause blacks will be short-term and relieve their perceived oppression far quicker than it is happening at present.

Those against disinvestment claim either that the Government is more likely to proceed with political reform in good economic times and when it is not under severe international pressure, or that it is grossly unfair to advocate a strategy that will lead to even greater suffering for blacks.

While there have been no large scale disinvestment acts to date, the pressure on foreign companies — particularly those in the United States — to pull out of South Africa are mounting.

From a relatively innocuous start 10 years ago by anti-apartheid lobbyists, the campaign in the United States today enjoys widespread support.

In a recent position paper for SA Forum, Professor Carl Nolte, director of the Institute for American Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University, wrote that more than 350 American companies had more than $600 million invested in South Africa and more than 6000 other United States companies did business with South Africa.

Other estimates, which included loans and gold shares, placed total United States investment in South Africa as high as $2.5 billion while US bank loans to the private and public sectors in South Africa were estimated at $1 billion.

He wrote that so far five United States legislatures had passed laws restricting investment in South Africa and at least 40 others were expected to deal with more than 100 disinvestment bills next year.

Some large American cities, including New York, Washington DC and Boston, have disinvestment ordinances and the Mayor of Boston, Mr Raymon Firen, has urged the city's 100 largest cities to withdraw investments in companies doing business with South Africa.

Moving to support an investment restrictions to a greater or lesser degree have also been made by 41 United States universities, Prof Nolte said.

At Federal level, the campaign to restrict financial dealings with South Africa has been fought bitterly in Congress and is expected to continue next year.

Although the disinvestment campaign in Britain and South Africa's other major European trading partners is not as strong or well organized as in America, it is being extended in those countries and observers believe it will gain momentum.

PROTEST ... Randall Robinson, head of Transafrika, joins other demonstrators outside South Africa's Embassy in Washington this Wednesday.

The growing disinvestment campaign against companies operating in South Africa has probably become the most serious foreign threat facing the Government. In the United States in recent weeks the campaign reached unprecedented heights, with even some of the country's conservative politicians supporting the call for a trade union boycott of South Africa.

CHRIS FREIMOND, Political Correspondent

A leading South African businessman, Mr Tony Bloom, head of the Premier Group, said in an interview that he was "extremely concerned" by the disinvestment lobby and believed its strength was being underestimated.

He believed it was stronger now than it had ever been and said it might be only a matter of time before the inconvenience factor of pressures on companies with investments in South Africa outweighed their desire to remain in the country.

In South Africa itself disinvestment is an emotional issue. The extent of its support is unclear.

A recent survey by Professor Lawrence Schleimem, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, indicated that 75% of black industrial workers pollc were opposed to disinvestment.

But a number of black leaders and anti-apartheid organisations support investment restrictions of some sort and believe the majority of their followers agree with them. Due to legal restrictions it is not possible to quote many of their views.

However, it is widely accepted that the Bishop-designate of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, favours foreign economic pressure to force political change in South Africa.

Economic pressures are also supported by United Democratic Front leaders and its hundreds of affiliate organisations.

An international policy statement earli-
Political reform is the answer to disinvestment

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Call for ‘reform alliance’ in SA

SOUTH AFRICA’S future was being created by determined South Africans working together, Mr Jan Steyn, the chief executive of the Urban Foundation, said yesterday.

He also called for the creation of a “reform alliance” comprising groups with an interest in both the conserving and changing components of reform.

Mr Steyn, who spoke at a graduation ceremony at the University of KwaZulu, said there were many different people working for reform in South Africa, with different strategies and different ways of translating their beliefs into action.

“Practical responses range from critical academic analyses to sustained protest at injustice, to those who are participating in meaningful action to protect all the identified values in the community or the workplace.”

“Multi-dimensional”

“I would argue that valuable contributions to change can and are being made by a wide spectrum of individuals and groups.

“As a result of my belief that social change is a multi-dimensional process, I would recognize the validity of many of these different approaches to influencing change.”

“Major change is not brought about by a single thrust. It is achieved by the cumulative efforts of many individuals and agencies pursuing their own goals for change,” he said.

Protest should never be viewed as an end in itself. While it was a legitimate strategy, “it is but one such strategy”.

The ‘abuse of protest’ could make it uncounterproductive if over-extended.

“Sterility”

It could create a preoccupation as well as a pre-disposition which could inhibit and even ultimately prevent participation in the desirable processes of real reform.

“Protest can promote sterility rather than progress, retrogression, rather than reform.”

Mr Steyn said it was now opportune to forge a reform alliance because of a number of factors. These included:

- The changing attitudes of white people concerning race relations.
- The changing structure and needs of the economy.
- Greater black involvement at higher levels in the economy, thus increasing labour and purchasing power.
- The visible inability of past policies to cope with the realities of a rapidly-changing South Africa.
- The instability caused by this policy failure in the face of massive social and economic development.

Realistic theory

An important element of the thrust for reform was the forging of pro-change alliances.

“These alliances each need a coherent strategy and a realistic theory of change.”

“In the absence of such alliances, we run the risk of missing critical opportunities.”

“In a situation where the state’s preponderant sway is being challenged by other actors, it is important that there are powerful groupings brought together on an issue-by-issue basis with some access to decision-makers, investigating and where feasible proposing alternative approaches that can be used at the appropriate time and in an appropriate manner.”

The process of coalition obviously involved joint decision-making and the involvement of groups who had been excluded in the past.

“Joint decision-making in turn is not only a desirable process — it is for most South Africans a desirable goal.”

Three categories of “social actor” could be defined in South Africa today — those on the far right, those on the far left, who resorted to violence; those who wished to maintain the status quo; and those who seek real and fundamental change in South Africa.”

Bill of Rights

Those seeking real change had a commitment to certain fundamental values, a pragmatic position concerning the feasibility of the various alternative strategies for change, and some common beliefs concerning the nature of the transition process.

The core of firmly-held principles common to this group included a commitment to:

- Equal social, political and economic opportunity for all citizens.
- The promulgation of a Bill of Rights enforced by an independent judiciary.
- Protection of freedom of speech, including a free press, freedom of association and freedom of movement.
- A belief in the process of democracy structured in such a manner as to ensure participation by all South Africans, or to put it differently, a belief in the need to secure the consent of the governed.
ANC: Shock, Nat Press Move

PORT ELIZABETH, DECEMBER 13, 1984

Price 2/5c + 3c Tax

BY DIkus VATA, Political Correspondent

...
Nation still threatened
— Du Plessis
By Anna de Jager,
East Rand Bureau

Only about 50 people arrived for the Day of the Vow celebrations held in Kempton Park at the weekend in what must be one of the quietest covenant days in the country's history.

"The Day of the Covenant is a responsibility undertaken by a group of Voortrekkers who fought and won the Battle of Blood River on December 16 1838," said Mr Pietie du Plessis, Minister of Manpower, at a remembrance ceremony on Saturday.

"As a group of Voortrekkers were threatened by an enemy at the Battle of Blood River, so this nation is still being threatened in the form of terrorism," said Mr du Plessis.

He said the Day of the Vow was a victory of civilised standards over uncivilised standards, practised by the Zulu King Dingaan, who broke an agreement with the Voortrekkers.

"The Battle of Blood River was a victory of justice," said Mr du Plessis.

He pointed out that recent events revealed pressures exerted by the outside world on South Africa, which was another indication that South Africa was a threatened nation.

"We should act as negotiators and not as conquerors," he said.

Afrikaner volk in jeopardy, warns Marais

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

Afrikaners must not develop a guilt complex about their treatment of blacks or their desire to retain control in South Africa, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais told a Day of the Vow meeting yesterday.

Addressing a hot but enthusiastic crowd of about 500 at the Fir Tomlinson grounds near Pretoria, an angry Mr Marais said there was currently a campaign — supported by the media — to make Afrikaners feel guilty about being South Africa's ruling minority.

"Look, for example, at the positive publicity given to Bishop Tutu, a man who predicts we will have a bloodbath here.

"We are also expected to believe that the senseless destruction of buildings by blacks is justified because they have certain grievances.

"But we do not owe the black man anything. It is he who owes us."

BLOOD RIVER

Mr Marais said the existence of the Afrikaner volk was once again in jeopardy, as it had been at Blood River.

Recent riots in black schools and increasing activity in the field of black labour was part of "a Communist attempt to create total chaos" and the Government had every right to use violence to maintain order.

However, the Government's increasing leniency (toegeeflikheid) towards blacks had raised black expectations, Mr Marais said.

"The crowd applauded loudly when Mr Marais added that the Afrikaners' morals were being eroded by a Publications Appeal Board that was "merely an excuse for allowing pornography".

Mr Marais said true Afrikaners were those who belonged to the fighting minority — an apparent reference to the HNP and other rightwing parties.

Like their ancestors at Blood River they should fight to keep the Afrikaner dominant, he said.
Tricameral Parliament gets ready for first working session

By David Bruin, Political Correspondent

The new tricameral Parliament will convene a month from now for its first working session.

The occasion will be historic, not only because of the long period of indifference but also because of the debate that has taken place on the possible formation of an all-racially-acceptable Parliament. The occasion will be a test of the Parlia-ment's new role as a forum for the discussion of national issues.

In terms of the constitution, which white voters accepted overwhelmingly in the referendum of 1983, the tricameral Parliament will be a reflection of the views of the people. The three Houses will be elected by the people, and will meet to discuss the important issues of the country.

These include, but are not limited to, the budget, foreign affairs, defence, and matters affecting the black communities.

The theory is that representatives of each of the governing and opposition parties in the three Houses of Parliament will take their seats in 16 standing portfolio committees.

The committees will be referred to these committees for the implementation of the policies of the government. The Speaker, Mr. Johan Greeff, will chair these committees, and will be assisted by the Deputy Speaker.

Proposed legislation will be referred to these committees after it has been introduced to Parliament and, in the words of the Speaker, Mr. Johan Greeff, this is where all the issues will be thrashed out.

The committees are expected to meet behind closed doors in an attempt to remove the temptation to posturing before the media.

The Government's resistance that this is a system of consen-
sus has been challenged in several quarters, notably by academics.

There has been criticism that there can be no genuine consen-
sus while the constitutional system allows the majority party in the House of Assembly to impose its will.

It is able to do this despite the fact that it has a majority of the total MPs in the entire Parliament.

In terms of the order of procedure, the standing committees, the white majority party is able to outvote the combined opposition of all the other parties, including the majority parties in the coloured and Indian Houses, even though it will have only about seven of each committee's 23-odd seats.

A typical standing committee, for example, will have 11 seats representative of the (white) House of Assembly, seven seats of the (coloured) House of Representatives, and five seats of the (Indian) House of Delegates.

ARBITRATION

Of the Assembly's 11 seats, seven will be allocated to the National Party, two to the Progressive Federal Party, and one to the Conservative Party and the New Republic Party.

Six of the seats for members of the House of Representatives will be for the Labour Party and one for the People's Congress Party.

Seats for members of the House of Delegates will be three for the National People's Party and two for Solidarity.

In the event of a committee deciding on legislation not acceptable to one or more of the Houses of Parliament, the disputed matter is referred to the President's Council for arbitration.

The President's Council, although made up of representatives of all the parties in Parliament, is one of the most powerful institutions in the country. The President of the Council is the only person with the power to veto legislation.

In his book "South Africa and the Conscientious Opposition," Professor L.J. Boule of the University of Natal, describes these features of the constitution as counter-conse-natorial and the paralysis of the system as a result of the constitutional arrangement.

"The prevalence of counter-conscientious features assumes the continual breakdown of the normative procedures, and the constitution conveniently permits the unilateral regulation of conflict.

"Despite the credibility needs of the system, there will be temptations for the Government to follow the line of lesser resistance in all matters which it identifies as politically or strategically important."

CONTRAVENTION

"To the extent that there is a constitutional rule, it is likely to be a concessional one and not a negotiable outcome, as was the new constitution itself."

The point is made clearly that although the dominant group may control the process of consensus, it can, and probably will, fail back on the counter-conso-natorial institutions to get its own way.

In this process, says Professor Boule, the will of one or two of the legislative houses and a significant proportion of the total electorate could be contravened.

Professor Willem Kleynhanh, of the department of politics at the University of South Africa, says the so-called consensus of the new Parliament is nothing but "boererekening".

He adds that a disturbing effect of the consensus committees will be a drastic step away from democracy in that the political party congresses will no longer be the sovereign policymakers.

Rather than the congresses formulating party policy," says Professor Kleynhanh, "it will now be in the hands of the representatives of the various parties on the committees, who will formulate, adjust and even dismantle policies as they bargain with the others.

"That may result in consensus in the committees, but it will be at the expense of consensus in each of the parties and of the parties' congresses."

He believes the devaluation of the role of the congresses will signal the collapse of broad political movements.

LABYRINTH

He predicts that in their place there will be a flourishing of professional lobbyists, who will work on party committee representatives to protect their own sectional interests.

He also does not believe that the new system will produce genuine consensus, but rather token concessions to disguise the continued domination of the majority white group.

It will be interesting to see to what extent the National Party resists the temptation to use the potential to dominate.

The system, however, also has the potential for the dominant group to create genuine consensus by accommodating the needs and aspirations of the other parties and the wider electorate which they represent.
Local government plan outlined

Business levy tax deductible

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN.

THE LEVIES TO be imposed on businesses to finance the new system of local government will be tax deductible and will not be passed on directly to the consumer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, told a Press conference yesterday.

Mr Heunis also revealed that black local authorities will benefit greatly from the proposed new sources of revenue, and will have representation on the regional services council proposed for metropolitan areas.

Yesterday's Cape Town Press conference followed Monday's meeting of the action committee of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government at which various recommendations of the Crosser working group were accepted.

Mr Heunis announced that autonomous black authorities would be members of regional councils - bodies for "general" affairs in metropolitan areas - just as elected white, coloured and Indian local authorities would be.

In previous proposals black local authorities were excluded from representation in regional services councils.

*The additional sources of revenue will comprise:

- A "regional service levy" based on total salary and wage bills of all employers, including the public sector, and
- A "regional establishment levy" based on the sale of goods subject to GST in the case of traders, and on the basis of floor space occupied by businesses, professions and industries which do not collect GST.

According to the recommendations, taxes payable to the new regional councils will qualify as "a business cost" and will therefore be deductible from taxable profits.

Existing trading licences and all embracing levies (including transport levies) on blacks will be scrapped in the areas affected by the new levies.

According to Mr Heunis, the State will make a "significant" financial contribution to the new system by way of employees' salaries and wages and by forgoing income tax.

The money the new levies bring in will be used for infrastructure, metropolitan transport projects - including the subsidising of transport, bus and commuter services - and the training of personnel.

It will also provide an additional source of income for all local authorities within the area of a regional services council to ease the burden on property tax and house rentals in the case of black local authorities.

A Bill incorporating the proposals will be introduced to Parliament early in the next session.
The world not just the US—hits out at apartheid

HARDLY a week goes by without governments, sporting bodies, commercial organisations and cultural and academic organisations announcing steps to increase the international isolation of South Africa in pursuance of the eradication of apartheid.

Far from halting or reversing this process, the diplomatic breakthrough at long last between the United States and the United Kingdom which has brought about an end to the 30-year-old boycott of South Africa's sporting events, has only served to increase the international isolation of South Africa.

In the United States alone, there are about 40 national and regional organisations, 17 religious and social organisations and more than 60 "campus organisations" working—directly or indirectly—to halt the common goal of eradicating apartheid.

In addition there are seven agencies of the United Nations involved in the struggle against apartheid and South Africa's occupation of Namibia.

In the case of the United States, the most effective lobby organisations, over the past decade have been Mr. Randall Robinson's Washington-based TransAfrica, the New York-based American Committee on Africa and the Washington Office on Africa.

At the international level, the 45-country Commonwealth—through its London-based secretariat, its Southern Africa Committee and the Southern Africa Coordinating Conference (SADCC)—is the World Council of Churches' programme to combat racism. It has a moral role.

Other important international organisations in the anti-apartheid network are:

The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAFSA), which gets substantial financial aid from the Swedish government;

The South Africa-based Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM);

The Committee on Southern African War Resistance (Coswars), which assists refugees from conscription;

The International Labour Organisation (ILO);

The International Congress of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU);

The Geneva-based United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR);

Amnesty International (which monitors and reports on the state of human rights and political prisoners);

Index, a London-based organisation monitoring censorship and repression;

International PEN, the authors' association; and

The Lincoln Trust, a counter-propaganda organisation run by former South African editor, Donald Winnicott.

Another important organisation co-ordinating action against apartheid and liaising with African states in the Commonwealth is the Southern Africa Coordinating Conference (SADCC), an association of rulers and opposition socialist governments in S. Africa, West.

JOHN BATTERSBY

On the regional front, there are groupings such as the European Economic Community, which have working groups on South Africa and issue statements and denounces on aspects of its internal policies.

The EEC also formulated and now monitors the EEC Code of Conduct on businesses operating in South Africa.

In the newly formed 15-member Southern African Development Conference (SADCC), which is likely to become the co-ordinating vehicle for stepping up economic pressure against South Africa and testing areas of internal policy such as the removal of blacks from the International Court of Justice.

These organisations interact and overlap with a plethora of national and local organisations in nearly 100 countries.

The undisputed leader of these national bodies—of which has attained the status of an international organisation in its own right—is the London-based AAM under its president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, one of the oldest and most respected critics of apartheid.

The AAM dotes with a mind-boggling array of British and London-based organisations actively involved in the anti-apartheid struggle.

There are groups to the Left of the AAM—and, ideologically, at odds with it—and, such as the British Communist Party, the Socialist Workers' Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Trotskyite Militant Tendency, which also campaign actively against South Africa but tend to have less impact on British public opinion.

Outside of Britain, the strongest anti-apartheid movements are to be found in Ireland, where they suffered a setback recently through the loss of an association with Sinn Fein, in Australia (through the Campagne Against Racial Exploitation: CARE) and in New Zealand (through the Anti-Apartheid Front (HART), an amalgamation of the New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Movement and Stop the Springbok tour of 1982.

In Western Europe the countries most actively involved in the anti-apartheid fight are Sweden, Norway and Holland, whose governments will contribute directly to the anti-apartheid effort in their countries, and, in the case of Sweden, government contributions directly to the liberation movements.

In Belgium, the Committee against Colonialism and Apartheid and the Flemish Action Committee South Africa (AKSA) lead the anti-apartheid movement.

In West Germany, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has been involved in a five-year court battle with the government.

There are small, anti-apartheid movements in Portugal, France and Italy, although the socialist governments in those countries tend to take a fairly strong anti-apartheid line in rhetoric, if not in action.

In Italy, the Committee for Solidarity with the African Republics and the Palestinian people works to expose substantial quantities of clothing and humanitarian aid for the ANC in Italy.

There is a small, anti-apartheid movement in Switzerland.

Outside the first world, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the 100-nation Non-Aligned Conference lead the Third World fight against South Africa. In 1980 the national level, the Beka-Mawu and the Guyana Local Government Council and the Mayaro Trades Council have particularly active struggles.

The grouping of the Frontline States—Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique—has played an increasingly important role in recent years in initiating moves against South Africa at the United Nations, OAU, Commonwealth, Non-Aligned Conference and other international forums.

In African countries where there is no formal diplomatic relationship, governments tend to take their lead on South Africa largely from the United Nations, Commonwealth and other international organisations which have long since adopted firm and entrenched positions on South Africa.
Local authorities plan into motion

Introduction of new levies will set

Everyone will pay more for privilege of living in a town
Blundering Botha Govt leads the way downhill

It used to be said of South Africa that it advanced by a process of political disaster and economic windfall. Not any longer. Over the past 12 months the Botha Government has dragged the country down with an extraordinary series of political and economic blunders, with no windfalls to save the day.

At mid-year the Government stood triumphant, blustered before it. Mr P W Botha had won the greatest electoral triumph in the country's history at the white referendum. He had persuaded key coloured and Indian party leaders to participate in his new constitution: radical black nationalism looked like being cut off and left to wither on the vine by the triumph of the Nkomati Accord; and the business community was eating out of the Government's hand.

Abroad, an unprecedented array of conservative governments in the most important Western countries offered us the prospect of greater international friendship and understanding than white South Africa had known at any other time since World War II, and Mr Botha had just completed the most successful foreign tour of any Nationalist Prime Minister, with personal visits to Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Germany's Mr Helmut Kohl, and the Pope.

Since then everything has gone downhill.

We now have a constitution that has been stripped of legitimacy by its manifest lack of support in the 75 per cent majority population, and the black townships in turmoil perhaps the most serious racial unrest in our history.

The Government has managed to offend our two most important international friends, the Reagan and Thatcher governments, to give impetus to the disinvestment campaign abroad, to revive black nationalism as an internal force, to politicise the black trade unions by detaining their leaders, to erode unity of support for the Defence Force by using it for repressive police work in the black townships, and to estrange the business community by saddling the country in an economic mess.

While other Western countries have brought inflation down to 5 or 6 percent - Switzerland's is 1 percent - South Africa's rate is still above 12 percent. And it is going to get worse, with the money supply allowed to increase by a disgraceful 23.1 percent over the past year and an anticipated 30 percent rise in the petrol price about to send a tidal wave of increases flooding through the economy.

Apartheid masks the true unemployment picture, but unofficial estimates put the figure at 2 to 3 million and rising daily.

The prime interest rate is a spectacular 24 percent and the rand has dropped to less than half its dollar value in just a couple of years.

The declining rand might have offered the opportunity of an exported recovery, except that, as Mr Mike Rossell pointed out this week, our inflation rate is such that we are in danger of being priced out of our export markets.

Such a record suggests a government that has lost its way. It is difficult to find a starting point in such a spiral of decline, because when things start to go wrong in an administra-

100 Years Ago
From The Eastern Star

The following is an extract from a private letter received from Pretoria under date 15th December: "A number of Boers have been leaving from around here, all armed, for the border, and President Kruger is, they say, frantic, and talks about giving all their names to the Imperial Government, and calling out a Commando to stop them, but I do not believe he could raise a Commando for that purpose if he tried, as the whole country is dissatisfied and grumbling at him; in fact, we are generally in a fearful state."
New local government system to cost billions of rands

Business levies will hit man in street

By Colleen Ryan, Municipal Reporter

The Government's planned levies on businesses will help to finance the new local government system, but it will cost billions of rands to implement — and, indirectly, the money will come from the man in the street.

The most important aspects of the announcement yesterday by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, were:

- All employers and businesses, including the Government, will pay a service levy based on their total salaries and wages bill.
- Traders whose goods are subject to general sales tax will pay a levy based on a percentage of the tax they collect. Professions and industries which do not collect GST will pay a levy based on floor space.
- Autonomous black local authorities will be granted representation on the proposed new regional councils. This is a major breakthrough because the original plan catered only for white, coloured and Indian representation.

Personnel training

"Consumers will not pay directly, but businessmen will have to recover this money somehow," said Mr Nigel Mandy, chairman of the Central Business District Association.

He welcomed the proposal to allow black local authorities representation on regional councils. He also said the two levies were "a vast improvement" on the original tax proposals.

The money will be used to pay for services such as transport, improving the infrastructure in black, coloured and Indian urban areas, and for training personnel.

The announcement by Mr Heunis followed a meeting of the action committee of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Bodies. Legislation is being drafted for presentation to Parliament next year to give effect to the levies.

Sapa reports that the existing commercial licence monies and general levies on black employees, including transport levies, will expire.

It has also been recommended that none of the levies be conveyed to the consumer. However, the taxes payable to regional councils will qualify as a business cost and thus will be deductible for income tax purposes.

The new levies could bring in as much as R1 300 million a year, said Mr Heunis.

The proposals were received favourably by the chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's management committee, Mr Francois Oberholzer.

He said developing black areas had had to rely on rentals as the sole source of income till now, and this was a very unreliable source.

Payroll tax

The general manager of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, Mr Ken Hobson, said the chamber was totally opposed to the new taxes.

He said the payroll tax would aggravate unemployment and the regional establishment levy would increase costs — and therefore prices.

The taxes would be costly to administer, he added.

The deputy president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, Mr Rocky Ridgeway, said it was most important that any new taxation that took money from the consumer should ensure that the money was replaced.

While the devolution of power to the third tier of government was a good thing, care should be taken not to impose a heavy burden on companies struggling to survive the recession.

See Page 7, World section.
Growing fears on economy

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

CONCERN mounted yesterday in opposition and business circles that the Government's latest proposals for financing local authorities could cause further setbacks to South Africa's ailing economy.

Two of the Progressive Federal Party's most senior finance spokesmen slammed some of the moves, and the Associated Chambers of Commerce expressed concern that the overall tax burden would be unfairly increased.

Additional sources of revenue for local authorities were announced by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Cape Town on Tuesday.

They included a levy on salaries and wages, a levy on floor space occupied by professions and industries not collecting GST.

The PFP's Transvaal leader and finance spokesman in the Transvaal Provincial Council, Mr Douglas Gibson, said in a statement yesterday that the proposals indicated that the Nationalists were unable to think rationally about the economic situation in South Africa.

The proposed "payroll tax" could lead to increased unemployment at a time when the country could least afford it, he said.

The party's parliamentary finance spokesman in Cape Town, Mr Harry Schwarz, expressed "serious doubts" about levies based on salaries.

The proposed measures acted as a disincentive in the areas in which it was easiest to create jobs.

"The payment by the public sector of a tax on its own employees merely means the taxpayer must finance this payment, and is really a State subsidy which increases Government expenditure," he said.

The levy on goods subject to GST and a tax on floor space by those not paying GST amounted to an increase in GST at a time when inflation was a major problem.

Mr Gibson said the payroll tax penalized employers and discouraged them from offering employment at a time when unemployment was running high, and the indications were that it would increase in the next year or so.

"In a country like South Africa, the Government should be doing everything possible to assist in the creation of job opportunities. The last thing it should be doing is making it more difficult for employers to keep people in jobs," he said.

Although employers had been told that the payroll tax would be tax-deductible, it was probable that they would pass it on to consumers, which would have the same effect as an increase in GST, he said.

The proposals had not been referred to or debated by Provincial Councils, which had a special interest in local government. This neglect was reflected in the "half-baked" proposals put forward on Tuesday, Mr Gibson said.

The president of Assocom, Mr Michael Weir, said the proposed additional burdens on the private sector were "inopportune and ill-timed."

"Although Assocom fully supports the principle of optimal devolution of power and decision-making authority to the appropriate organs of local and regional government and recognizes that funds are required to finance urgently-needed improvements to infrastructure, local services and urban transportation, the association nevertheless considers the imposition of additional tax burdens on the private sector to be inopportune and ill-timed in the light of the current economic recession," he said.

Both Mr Weir and Mr Schwarz believed the additional tax proposals should have been referred to the Margo Commission on tax structures.

"Assocom is further of the view that any additional forms of taxation should be offset by corresponding reductions in other sources of public sector revenue," he said as to abort the levies against already hard-pressed profit margins," Mr Weir said.

However, Mr Heunis' announcement that blacks would be included on the proposed regional services councils was welcomed by most political spokesmen and observers yesterday.
Union body to step up anti-SA protest action

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN
Labour Correspondent

THE premier union federation in the West is to seek an emergency meeting of Western unions to plan stepped up action to protest against South African police action against unionists and Government labour policies generally.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which brings together national union federations in many Western countries, is also planning to step up its own anti-apartheid action and to seek tougher action by Western governments against apartheid.

This emerges from a resolution adopted by the ICFTU's executive board.

Among the measures it suggests is a toughening and expansion of the European Economic Community's labour code for foreign companies operating here.

It also demands that the Government begin "an immediate and unconditional conference" with black leaders.

The resolution authorises the ICFTU's general secretary to organise "an emergency international free trade union conference" to plan "further action to obtain the release of all detained trade unionists and compliance with internationally recognised standards".

Pupils, parents to...
MP, guests refused service

BLOEMFONTEIN — A member of the House of Representatives and two lunch guests, a coloured and a white reporter, were asked to leave a Bloemfontein restaurant yesterday because it lacked permission to serve people other than whites.

Mr Ben Grobbler (MP for Heidedal) and two Volksblad reporters, Mr Clarence Henney and Mr Thinus Dempsey, were shown to a table by a steak house manager, who asked them to leave shortly afterwards because he did not have the necessary licence. He did not want problems, he explained.

The men were allowed to eat their meal in another restaurant.

Mr Grobbler said there could be no worse insult than to be asked to leave a restaurant on account of one's skin colour.

"Coloureds try to make a positive contribution towards the country's future but are often exposed to such discriminatory practice," he said.

Mr Dempsey, the white reporter, said the incident was very embarrassing and had made him understand how people of colour felt when turned away at public places. — SAPA.
Levy plan opposition mounting

CONCERN mounted yesterday in opposition and business circles that the government's latest proposals for financing local authorities could cause further setbacks to South Africa's ailing economy.

Two of the Progressive Federal Party's most senior finance spokesmen criticized some of the moves, and the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Federated Chamber of Industry expressed concern that the overall tax burden would be unfairly increased.

Additional sources of revenue for local authorities were announced by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr. Chris Heunis, in Cape Town on Tuesday.

Rationally:

They included a levy on salaries and wages, a "levy" on GST collected and a levy on floor space occupied by professions and industries not collecting GST.

The PFP's Transvaal leader and finance spokesman in the Transvaal Provincial Council, Mr. Douglas Gibson, said in a statement yesterday that the proposals indicated that the Nationalists were unable to think rationally about the economic situation in South Africa.

The party's parliamentary finance spokesman and MP for Yeoville, Mr. Harry Schwartz, expressed doubts about levies based on salaries.

"The proposed measures merely on the basis of a disincentive in the areas in which it was easiest to create jobs.

"The payment by the public sector of a tax-on its own employees merely means the taxpayer must finance this payment, and is, at best, a State subsidy which increases government expenditure," he said.

Mr. Gibson said the payroll tax penalized employers and discouraged them from offering employment at a time when unemployment was running high.

"Although employers had been told that the payroll tax would be tax-deductible, it was probable that they would pass it on to consumers, which would have the same effect as an increase in GST," Mr. Gibson said.

Offset:

The president of Assocom, Mr. Michael Weir, said the proposals additional burdening on the private sector were "inopportune and ill-timed in the light of the current economic recession.

"Mr. Weir, Mr. Schwartz and the FCI's president, Mr. John Wilson, believed the additional tax proposals should have been referred to the Margom Commission on tax structures.

"Assocom is further of the view that any additional forms of taxation should be offset by corresponding reductions in other sources of public sector revenue so as to obviate an overall increase in the tax burden on the community.

Mr. Wilson said the FCI acknowledged the need to find a formula to put black community councils especially on a sound financial basis.
In an unprecedented move, Beeld sent its assistant editor and head of its Pretoria office, Piet Muller, to Lusaka for a five-hour meeting with senior leaders of the ANC. The result was two long articles concluding that if a meeting between the ANC and the SA government took place “there will be enough things on which a fruitful discussion over a wide front can be held.”

NP sources tell the FM that direct talks between government and the ANC are “out of the question” for the foreseeable future. According to one source: “Government has nothing concrete to give the ANC. There is no indication that government is about to go further than semi-autonomous black local and regional authorities — or to abandon homeland leaders and its new friendship with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. And then there is the rightwing to think of.”

However, it is not impossible that secret meetings could be held at least between some leaders of the ANC and prominent NP supporters, especially academics, who would then report to the NP leadership. Similar meetings with Inkatha preceded President P W Botha’s recent rapprochement with Buthelezi. However, meaningful dialogue between government and the ANC would probably only be possible if the ANC was unbanned and its leaders released from prison.

Why should government talk to the ANC at all? There are some signs that 1985 could one of the most traumatic years in recent SA history — with a sharp increase in labour unrest and growing external pressures. And that could speed up any movement towards dialogue. A mediatory role by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who is believed to have been involved in Muller’s mission, could also help.

Beeld commented on the issue in an editorial headed “Talk it out.” It said that the question of talks between government and extra-parliamentary groups (like Inkatha, the ANC and the UDF) touch a raw nerve in SA politics. Talking to groups who want to change the country outside existing political channels could undermine the position of the present authorities, it argued.

Not represented

“But when significant numbers of citizens are not represented directly in the political bodies of a country, the picture changes somewhat. Then a sensible government also has a duty to listen to voices that sometimes sound from unorthodox places; otherwise it runs the risk of not receiving important messages from people.”

“One of the biggest problems is to decide when the time is ‘ripe’ for such talks. Unfortunately, people only understand afterwards what opportunities they have missed. History is full of examples of tragedies as a result of missed opportunities…”

“It takes courage and conviction for a government to start talks with extra-parliamentary groups, even if such talks are held in secret. Still, the mere possibility of such talks will give millions of people new hope for the future. A future that is acceptable to all can only be planned by all together.”

In his reports, Muller said SA’s northern neighbours are holding thumbs that such talks will be possible, since peace can only come about if the Afrikaners and the ANC reach agreement. There are leaders in the ANC who want dialogue with government, he found.

Muller also found support for federalism among ANC leaders and for President Botha’s proposed division of the country into eight regions for economic development. Although they reject the homeland policy, Muller believes a “fruitful dialogue” on the issue is not impossible.

He writes that one issue on which harsh words would be exchanged is the economy: “As the NP believed two decades ago, the ANC believes that the State should control the economy and crack down on monopolies. In fact, the ANC’s economic policies show remarkable similarities to those of the HNP and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.”

By calling for talks between government and the ANC, Beeld has added its voice to those of Peter Storey of the Methodist Church, Stellenbosch University philosophy professor Willie Esterhuysen; Premier Milling chairman Tony Bloom; the SA Institute of Race Relations; and the Reformed Association, a Calvinist Afrikaner body.
her 30 ended with employees either being dismissed or returning to work without achieving gains. Last year, nearly three-quarters of strikes achieved at least partial gains.

Both organisations acknowledge their statistics are incomplete as many strikes are never publicised. They have, however, continued using the same sources and methodology so that comparisons between 1984 and previous years are valid.

While their figures differ slightly it is clear from information provided by both organisations that strikes triggered by wage disputes increased markedly. According to ALA, 49% of strikes in the first 11 months of 1984 were due to wage disputes compared to 24.4% in the period 1979-1983. IIR data identify wages as the trigger for 40.6% of strikes in the current period compared to 28.6% in 1983. The proportion of strikes triggered by dismissals and other grievances fell substantially.

The far higher incidence of strikes combined with the greater number of union defeats illustrates increasing polarisation between employers and workers on the shopfloor. This hardline approach by both sides was probably reinforced by the economic recession.

There has been upward pressure on wages from employees who are being hard hit by inflation and retrenchments — which have meant that empowered workers have had to support unemployed family members. At the same time, failing profits in many sectors caused wage offers from employers to fall short of worker expectations.

If there is any silver lining to the strike cloud it is the relative decrease in strikes caused by dismissals and other grievances. Procedures negotiated between employers and unions for dealing with these issues appear to be working.

According to ALA, the sectors most affected by strikes so far in 1984 in terms of man-days lost were retail and commerce, metals, food, mining and the automobile industry. The five most strike-prone unions in 1984 were the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers’ Union; Metal and Allied Workers’ Union; the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM); National Automobile and Allied Workers’ Union; and the SA Allied Workers’ Union.

Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) members account for 27.5% of man-days lost in 1984 (compared to 65.1% in the five years 1979-1983). This decline is probably a function of Fosatu’s greater use of the Industrial Court and other Labour Relations Act channels in resolving disputes.

The Council of Unions of SA (Cusa) contributed 20.8% (17.1%) of the lost days. The increase is almost entirely due to the activities of the NUM. Of the remainder, 41.5% (27.1%) of man-days lost involved non-affiliated unions.

There is no change in the long-term trend whereby nearly half of the strikes (47.5%) which occurred during 1984 were over in less than a day. However, ALA statistics show that if strikes were not resolved on the first day they were likely to last three to five days. Few lasted longer than this. In most cases the longer strikes involved Fosatu unions.

According to the IIR, 48.7% of 1984’s strikes occurred in the PWV area (75.5 in 1983) and 27.7% (41.7%) in Natal. There was a substantial increase in strikes in parts of the Transvaal away from the main centres — 11.4% in 1984 compared to 2.8% in 1983. The Cape and the OFS remain relatively free of industrial action, with about 12% of strikes occurring in these areas in both years.

The FM was unable to obtain statistics from the Department of Manpower.

THE CONSTITUTION

Who does what?

It should be known soon precisely how effective coloured and Indian politicians in the tricameral parliament will be at dismantling apartheid.

None has yet revealed a legislative programme for "own affairs," let alone a strategy to scrap discrimination. At this stage, the remark by coloured House of Representatives’ leader, Allen Hendrickse, seems to apply: "A good general never reveals his strategy."

From a legislative point of view, says Indian House of Delegates leader and Minister without Portfolio, Amichand Rajbansi, "Own affairs makes up about 1% of parliamentary business. So what is there we can do?"

"There is education and housing and so on," he adds, "but these are subject to general (affairs) norms under the white Ministers." In any event, "we don’t know if we’ll be ready" to tackle all "own" affairs issues when Parliament assembles in January.

The reason is that much remains to be done to disentangle specifically Indian and coloured components from control by existing government departments.

Rajbansi rejects criticism of his and Hendrickse’s silence on key issues when, as Cabinet ministers, they have an excellent platform. He says he is engaged in “silent negotiation with government. What do you expect us to do, make confrontational statements to grab newspaper headlines?”

Rajbansi says his undertaking to end apartheid remains. "We will oppose everything that’s discriminatory," he says, adding that he does not feel hampered by his role in the Cabinet. He and Hendrickse have a special dispensation not to take joint responsibility for contentious legislation.

"There is a commitment on the part of the government to change," he emphases. In addition, trail-blazers of the legislation need not necessarily come from him as a Cabinet minister, but may be initiated in joint standing committees.

Asked whether he had been consulted on the release of detainees, specifically the Durban consulate three, Rajbansi had "no comment."

At least the Indian House promises some fireworks — of a strictly ethnic variety. This will centre on the growing acrimony between Rajbansi’s National People’s Party and the opposition Solidarity Party’s most outspoken leader, Pat Poovallingam. Rajbansi plans to give Poovallingam a very rough ride in the House of Delegates.

TRADE UNIONS

Garment unity move

The first steps have been taken towards consolidating SA’s garment workers into a single national trade union. The separate Garment Workers Unions in the western Cape, Transvaal, the eastern Cape, and in Kimberley and Kroonstad have agreed to form a single body which will be based in Cape Town, the centre of the clothing industry.

The deal for the moment are the Johannesburg-based National Union of Clothing Workers, with some 20 000 members, and the 50 000-strong Natal region of the Garment Workers’ Union.
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there should be talks with ANC

Survey shows split on whether

Nearly 62 percent of respondents did not agree that any

Equal political rights for blacks will not end unrest in townships

The result of a survey by the Department of Information, August 20, 1993.
Nearly 42 percent agreed that black unrest would result in whites increasingly refusing to give blacks more rights; 43 percent disagreed.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, said the finding that white public opinion was roughly split down the middle over whether the government should negotiate with the African National Congress was a sign of promise for the New Year.

She added that this finding was not surprising as most whites were probably ahead of the Government in their thinking and realised that to solve South Africa's problems it was necessary to get to the negotiating table.

Violence would get South Africa nowhere.

Slamming the findings, the United Democratic Front stated that the Human Sciences Research Council had mastered the art of using so-called scientific methods to prove their starting point, namely that the actions of the State were in line with public opinion.

"However," the United Democratic Front continued, "the opinion which they rely on is purely white, and probably conservative white opinion.

"The conclusions drawn from the survey clearly show that those interviewed lead lives of absolute isolation and complete ignorance of the views, aspirations and demands of the majority of South Africans."
Black majority rule

45 percent of the recent unrest resulted in violence. Black unrest would...
Will Mandela be freed?

SA-ANC talks on the horizon

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

The prospect of talks between the Government and the African National Congress in the new year to seek a solution to South Africa's political dilemma was strengthened yesterday by three important developments:

● It was reported that a group of Nationalist MPs would travel to Lusaka next month to meet ANC representatives;

● A Human Sciences Research Council survey showed that 43% of whites interviewed favoured a Government contact with the ANC; although 45% were against such a move, and;

● An academic survey showed that the majority of students at home universities supported the ANC and its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela.

In Johannesburg, City Press reported that four Nationalist MPs were planning to have talks with the ANC in Lusaka early in January. The four MPs were not named.

The report was sourced to an unnamed Dutch diplomat who visited South Africa recently.

The State President and leader of the NP, Mr J W Botha, was unavailable for comment yesterday, but a number of other senior Cabinet Ministers denied the report.

However, some observers believed the report was in line with clear indications in recent weeks that there is a growing lobby within the NP which favours talks with the ANC as a solution to the country's problems.

At the same time, there are growing rumours that the Government is seriously considering releasing Nelson Mandela early in the new year.

He was also reliably learnt recently that a significant number of a group of NP youth leaders who met in Pretoria earlier this year favoured direct contacts with the ANC.

Earlier this month a leading Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, published articles about the ANC after a five-hour interview with representatives of the organisation in Lusaka. Beeld also called for talks between the ANC and the Government.

There is a growing feeling in some Nationalist circles that the Government must negotiate with the ANC to solve South Africa's problems.

It is widely suspected that some Nationalist MPs — and possibly Cabinet Ministers — have already had informal secret contacts with representatives of the organisation.

It was speculated yesterday that if the report of the January meeting between Nat MPs and ANC representatives was correct, it would probably involve some of the so-called vigilante backbenchers in the party and certainly not anyone with party rank.

The HSRC report released in Pretoria yesterday was a survey of the attitudes of 815 whites over
Rajbansi speaks against detentions

CAPE TOWN — The sole Indian member of the cabinet, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has spoken out against the government's policy of detention without trial.

The leader of the National People's Party, who is a member of the cabinet by virtue of his chairmanship of the Indian minister's council, said that all remaining detainees in South African prisons should either be charged or released.

Mr Rajbansi was reacting to the government's decision this week to release detainees under section 25 of the Internal Security Act.

The minister welcomed the latest move as "very encouraging", but emphasized that he stood by the policy of his party rather than that of the government when it came to the issue of detention without trial.

"The policy of my party opposes detention without trial and even though I am a member of the cabinet, I cannot deviate from this policy."

In taking this stand, Mr Rajbansi becomes the first person of colour in the cabinet to openly differ with government policy on a significant issue.

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, who is also a cabinet minister, has not been available for comment on the issue. However, as has been the case with most other contentious political issues since joining the cabinet, he has not issued a statement on the subject.

Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi have been subjected to growing criticism in recent months for their "deafening silence" on controversial issues like forced removals and detentions which significantly affect the communities they represent.

Although their parties strongly criticised several of the government's apartheid policies in the run-up to the August elections, both men are now effectively part of the government as well as being leaders of parties professing opposition to National Party ideology.

Both are also bound by the principle of joint cabinet responsibility and are obliged to get the consent of the State President, Mr F. W. Botha, before publicly differing with government policy.

This has routinely produced some awkward silences in the face of controversial government actions that extra-parliamentary political groups have been at pains to highlight. — DDC
Meet ANC Top MPs to hold talks with the African National Congress (ANC) members in January.

Four National Party members of Parliament will travel to Lusaka in January to meet with ANC top MPs to discuss the political situation in South Africa.

ANC and the NPD: The ANC and the National Party (NPD) are set to hold talks in Lusaka.

The ANC has invited NPD leaders to Lusaka to discuss the current political situation in South Africa.

ANC's Zuma: President Jacob Zuma of the ANC has invited NPD leaders to Lusaka to discuss the political situation in South Africa.

From the Press Trust of SA:

NPP's Madosini: The NPP has also invited ANC leaders to Lusaka to discuss the political situation in South Africa.

The ANC and the NPD will meet in Lusaka to discuss the political situation in South Africa.

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tu go u talks with ANC

Own Correspondent

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- It was reported that a group of Nationalist MPs would travel to Lusaka next month to meet ANC representatives.
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NP lobby

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However, some observers believe the report was in line with clear indications in recent weeks that there is a growing lobby within the NP which favours talks with the ANC as a solution to the country’s problems.

At the same time, there are growing rumours that the government is seriously considering releasing the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, early in the new year.

It was also reliably learnt recently that a significant number of a group of NP youth leaders who met in Pretoria earlier this year favoured direct contacts with the ANC.

Interview

Earlier this month a leading Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, published articles about the ANC after a five-hour interview with representatives of the organization in Lusaka. Beeld also called for talks between the ANC and the government.

There is a growing feeling in some Nationalist circles that the government must negotiate with the ANC to solve South Africa’s problems.

Subtle hints

It is widely suspected that some Nationalist MPs — and possibly cabinet ministers — have already had informal secret contacts with representatives of the organization.

The HSRC report released in Pretoria yesterday was a survey of the attitudes of 818 whites over the age of 18.

Some observers believed the relatively favourable attitude towards the ANC was significant, because there has been no conditioning of whites to the acceptance of talks with the ANC other than the Beeld articles and subtle hints by other Nationalist media.

According to the survey, of those in favour of negotiations with the ANC, 54 percent said their reason was to ensure peace. 17 percent that communication with the ANC was important.
Municipal staff get reprieve

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government has granted a temporary reprieve to thousands of municipal staff in country towns threatened with substantial pay and perks cuts.

The cuts — which would reduce the take-home pay of some senior municipal officials by more than one-third in terms of the new Remuneration of Town Clerks Act — set the stage for a major confrontation between government and municipal councils.

Some councils have been so outraged by the Act, which came into force on November 1, that they reportedly refused point-blank to obey a directive on the cuts issued by the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

An advisory committee set up by Mr Chris Heunis to look into the issue met in Cape Town this week and the minister announced that section 12 of the new Act would be postponed to the end of this month to allow new recommendations to be formulated.

The municipal staff in country towns have been particularly badly hit by the provisions of the new legislation because it directly undercut other incentive schemes aimed at attracting qualified staff to country districts.

Apparently the advisory committee which assisted the government in drafting the Act was ignorant of the various extra allowance schemes, and the committee will now be submitting new recommendations to Mr Heunis.

Mr Heunis said he would then be in a position to make a full statement on the issue.

The original departmental directive, which reached many local authorities two weeks after it was meant to take effect, led some employees to consider suing for damages.

Others inundated the department with calls of protest and asked for a postponement of the provisions of the Remuneration of Town Clerks Act until the implications of the contentious legislation had been thoroughly evaluated.

The Act transfers from the provinces to the government the power to set the maximum remuneration, in terms of pay and service, of town clerks. It also effectively gives the government the power to set the salaries of other senior officials who by-and-large cannot be paid more than a set percentage of the remuneration received by the town clerk.
NP, ANC deny contact rumour

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — With both the African National Congress and the National Party this weekend quashing rumours of any planned contact in the new year, a Cape Town academic is pressing on with moves to bring about dialogue with the ANC.

He is Professor Harvey van der Merwe, director of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Inter-group Studies, who arranged the recent trip to Lusaka of a Beeld journalist, Dr Piet Muller.

Professor Van der Merwe — who sees himself as a "peace-maker" — is paving the way for meetings between the ANC and various academics, business leaders and church leaders in the new year.

Professor Van der Merwe has been a central mover behind the recent calls for dialogue with the banned and exiled ANC from within the establishment — which has included Beeld.

These calls have fuelled widespread speculation that the government is preparing to meet with the ANC.

The feeling in some political and academic circles is that the idea of a meeting with the ANC is being "floated" to gauge white public opinion and at the same time prepare whites for future, as yet unplanned, talks with the ANC.

On Friday, the black weekly City Press reported that four NP MPs would travel to Lusaka to meet ANC representatives. The report was sourced to an anonymous Dutch diplomat.

At the weekend, Mr P W Botha, the State President, said no NP MPs would be allowed to hold talks with the ANC, while the ANC said from Lusaka that no such talks were planned.

The ANC categorically denied the City Press story and said the reports were "pure speculation" resulting from hopes built up following Dr Muller's visit.

Mr Botha said no National Party MPs would be allowed to hold talks with organizations engaged in promoting violence in South Africa and "no parliamentarian or the government will be allowed to do so".

Professor Van der Merwe said that while he understood Mr Botha's position, this did not mean discussions could be ruled out, as the government was not a unitarian structure.

"There is a lot of scope for meetings between the ANC and establishment-oriented business leaders, church leaders and academics."

Professor Van der Merwe — who is aiming to act merely as a "mediator" in such meetings — said he had had nothing to do with the rumour of a trip by Nat MPs.
The South African government's stance on the situation in Namibia is complex and evolves continuously. In a dispatch from Windhoek, the South African government expressed its concern over the activities of SWAPO, the Namibian opposition group, and its ties with South Africa. The government indicated a readiness to consider various options, including economic sanctions, if necessary. However, it also emphasized the need for a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

In the wake of the recent negotiations in Vienna, both South Africa and Namibia have underscored their commitment to peace. The South African government highlighted its readiness to engage in dialogue and suggested that a comprehensive approach, involving all stakeholders, would be key to achieving a lasting settlement.

Despite these statements, tensions remain high, with both sides wary of each other's intentions. The South African government has called for a series of meetings between the two countries' leaders, aimed at creating a conducive environment for meaningful discussions. The outcome of these discussions will be crucial in determining the future trajectory of relations between Namibia and South Africa.
Claim against Solidarity Party refused

DURBAN — An application for summary judgment against the Indian political party, Solidarity, by a Pretoria computer company that claims it is owed R17 664 for canvassing cards, was refused in the Durban Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Acting Justice Galgut gave Solidarity leave to defend. Costs were reserved.

Infomann (Pty) claim they are owed the money for canvassing cards they printed at the request of Solidarity in June.

The national secretary of Solidarity, Mr M. Rajab, said in an affidavit the cards were ordered for the various electoral divisions for the House of Delegates.

They were received in due course and distributed to the various branches of Solidarity.

Mr Rajab said that only after they had been distributed was it noticed that the cards were printed with incorrect voters’ numbers.

He said he had telephoned Mr Hugo Meyer of Infomann and told him the cards were useless in that form.

Mr Rajab said it was agreed between them that a fresh batch of cards would be delivered.

He said the cards were received and a cheque for R8 822 was paid to Infomann.

In terms of the initial agreement between them, two sets of cards were to have been delivered in respect of each electoral division. Mr Rajab said.

However, because of the delays and difficulties, it was ultimately agreed that only one set of cards would be delivered at a cost of R8 822, which was paid to Infomann.

Mr Rajab denied his party was indebted to Infomann. — SAPA
'Kei President denies offer

Govt is silent on Mandela

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE Department of Prisons refused to comment yesterday on reports that African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela has refused a renewed offer of release from prison to reside in Transkei.

And President Kaizer Matanzima of Transkei has denied that the offer — reportedly made to Mandela through his wife, Winnie Mandela — was ever made.

President Matanzima told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday that he was visited by Mrs Mandela last week but this, he said, was to discuss family matters. The imprisoned ANC leader is his cousin.

The offer and its refusal were reported in the Afrikaans newspapers Beeld and Die Burger yesterday morning.

It is believed to be the third offer of this kind to be made to Mandela in recent years — except this latest one was extended to two other prisoners serving with him, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu.

Informed sources confirmed the report, but the Mail was unable to establish under what conditions the three men would be released.

The Beeld report said the offer for the three men to each be freed into one of the independent homelands was made by President Matanzima on behalf of the other leaders.

President Matanzima said that if Mandela was to be released he would always have a home in Transkei, where he was born and brought up.

"I have made representations on Nelson's behalf to the South African Government on the past," he said. "Whatever I have to say on the subject is a matter between myself and the State President of South Africa."

Yesterday a Department of Law and Order spokesman declined any comment on the reports and said the matter was the responsibility of the Departments of Justice and Prisons, reports the Mail's Cape Town correspondent.

A Department of Justice spokesman, in turn, referred inquiries to the Department of Prisons.

A Department of Prisons spokesman said a statement would be issued late last night.

Yesterday, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Sisulu's wife, said she was unaware of any release offer to her husband, but her son, Anthony, was in Cape Town this week to visit his father. Anthony Sisulu left Cape Town yesterday and Mrs Sisulu said: "He may may return with some news."

However, in March Mrs Sisulu said: "They will have nothing to do with a release of this kind. They feel everyone, and not just the so-called Xhosas prisoners, should be released."

"They will also not agree to be restricted anywhere because they believe they belong in South Africa as a whole."

● Editorial comment

— Page 6
Hendrickse urges economic changes

KIMBERLEY — The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, last night called for a restructuring of South Africa’s economy to accommodate the aspirations of people who had been denied economic benefits in the past.

Speaking at the LP’s congress here, Mr Hendrickse also reassessed his party’s previous opposition to foreign investment in South Africa.

He said disinvestment was no longer the correct strategy for forcing change.

Mr Hendrickse, who is also a member of the cabinet, said in the light of high unemployment, hardships, hunger and poverty it was now wrong to call for disinvestment as the LP had done in 1971 and again in 1977.

However, the LP could not give “unqualified and indiscriminate” support to a free market economy because many South Africans had been effectively barred from the benefits of such an economy for so long.

“The gap that must be filled, the unreasonable backlog that must be wiped-out, is just too great,” he said.

“Some or other form of affirmative action must be taken, particularly by the private sector.”

He indicated that if this did not happen, legislation or other indirect methods would have to be considered.

While the Labour Party had sympathy for the free market ideology advanced by businessmen and government leaders as a basis for the reordering of socio-economic life, it was convinced that this concept was too narrow to form a basis for the restructuring of South African society which would be necessary in the coming decades.

Such a process has to take into account the demands of social justice for all people; the particular development issues facing South Africa; the need for the efficient organisation of the economy; and the inherent potential and available resources of the country.

The LP wanted a “social market economy” under which government as well as the private sector would respect the principles of a “market economy”, but temper them with a “properly balanced sense of social responsibility.”

The Labour Party’s attitude to economic developments was influenced by the party’s goals and principles and its socio-economic programme which included the non-negotiable right of effective participation in all decision-making processes; the striving for non-discrimination and the eradication of existing discriminatory measures; the overcoming of the socio-economic consequences of past discrimination by selective programmes of affirmative action; the striving for a broad-based strategy of “income redistribution with growth” coupled to the need for a general and specific policy of fiscal discipline.

Mr Hendrickse also reaffirmed his party’s commitments to a free democratic society in a unitary state, but qualified these commitments by listing a number of possible constitutional developments under which, he believed, such a goal could still be attained.

These included examining the question of a federal structure in a non-racial geographic state where there would be a basis of citizenship which would be guaranteed for all.

Earlier Mr Hendrickse criticised some of his extra-parliamentary opponents including the United Democratic Front and the Rev Allen Boesak — PS.

Earlier report."
CAPE TOWN — Discussions between Government politicians and the African National Congress (ANC) were of crucial importance, Professor H W van der Merwe, of the University of Cape Town, said yesterday.

But it was also important that many other sections of the population should be involved in meaningful discussions with the ANC, he said in a statement.

Prof van der Merwe, director of UCT's Centre for Intergroup Studies, has been playing a key role in promoting dialogue with the ANC.

In the statement, he disclosed that he had arranged the recent interview between the assistant editor of Beeld, Mr Piet Muller, and the ANC executive in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, as part of the Centre's Conflict and Peace Studies programme.

However, he did not comment on reports that he had arranged another meeting next month with the ANC, involving four Afrikaans-speaking academics.

Prof van der Merwe did say that the rumour about an imminent meeting of National Party MPs and the ANC had been correctly denied by both parties.

He said the programme was based on "a long and well-established tradition of bridge-building, which was especially manifested in our series of national and international workshops where we brought together parties of contrasting and conflicting backgrounds and views."

The historic meeting of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB), the National Union of South African Students (Nusan) and the SA Students' Organisation (Saso) in 1971 had been the first of these workshops.

The latest, in August this year, had involved representatives of the National Party, the United Democratic Front, the Soweto Civic Association and Inkatha.

---At the August workshop, Mr Wynand Malan, the National Party MP for Randburg, had indicated that while official talks between the Government and the ANC would not be possible at this stage, "private talks might take place."

The promotion of both private and public talks formed part of the ongoing programme of the centre, Prof Van der Merwe said.

Talks were important to promote the idea of consensus politics, which presupposed that groups were able to settle matters through negotiation.

They were especially important in the current political debate "to counter the negative attitudes and despair among many people resulting from the belief that dialogue and a negotiated settlement are impossible due to irreconcilable interests of the conflicting parties which inevitably lead to violence." — Sapa
Political Staff

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They were also important "to promote the idea of consensus politics which presupposes that conflicting political groups do in fact have certain things in common and are able to settle the matter through negotiation rather than violence".

Professor Van der Merwe said "a democratic society requires political participation and activity from a wide spectrum of the population.

"I therefore believe that while discussions between politicians from the government and the ANC are of crucial importance, many other sections of our population should be involved in meaningful discussions," he said.

Leading article, page 10
Lawyers spell out refusal

BY PHILIP VAN NIEKERK

NELSON MANDELA, the jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader, had made it clear in April that he would not accept offers of freedom in the independent homelands, a spokesman for his lawyers said yesterday.

The spokesman was commenting on reports that Mandela had refused an offer by President Kaiser Matanzima that he reside in Transkei as a condition for his release.

President Matanzima has denied the offer and the South African Department of Prison Services have refused to comment.

The spokesman said Mandela's lawyer, Mr. Ilmael Ayob, was overseas but had come to know about the offer before he left. Mr. Ayob had asked to be allowed to see Mandela before he left, but was turned down.

"However, the situation hasn't changed. Nelson made his position clear as early as April this year when he received a similar offer and turned it down," the spokesman said.
By BRIAN STUART
Political Staff

MINISTERS in the Congregational Church serving in the House of Representatives will not resign, as demanded by the church's general assembly, the Rev Allan Hendrickse said today.

Mr Hendrickse, Cabinet Minister and leader of the Labour Party, said he regarded this week's decision by the church's assembly in East London as immoral and not binding on the three ministers involved — himself, the Rev Andrew Julies and the Rev Alwyn Goosen.

"I therefore refer back to the assembly's statement of Thomas Jefferson, that that which is morally wrong can never be politically right. The assembly's decision being an immoral one is therefore politically wrong.

"Prayerful commitment"

"The assembly has made 1984 a 'Year of Commitment' with the slogan: 'It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness.'

"My participation must be seen in this light and as a prayerful commitment in faith to the living hope of non-violent, peaceful change in SA.

"I ask the question: How does the decision to participate in structures in order to bring about change now suddenly alter one's standing, character and personality?"

Mr Hendrickse said other Congregational ministers had served in political positions in the past and were now serving in such positions in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

"I find it strange and principally immoral that a decision has now been made calling for our resignation."

Mr Hendrickse said that he, the Rev Andrew Julies (Minister of Budget in the House of Representatives) and the Rev Sam Ahrens, chairman of the coloured management committee in Port Elizabeth, had all been elected to the high office of chairman of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa in past years.

Judgment

"So the judgment and the question of my integrity is certainly also then a judgment on the church, which elected us."

In his view the general assembly had no jurisdiction over the three Congregational ministers serving in the House of Representatives in that the church was congregational in structure — ministers fell under the sole jurisdiction of their congregations.

At Dale Street Congregational Church in Uitenhage, where Mr Hendrickse is the minister, a new minister is to be called. Mr Hendrickse said the congregation had asked him to retain his ties with the church as minister emeritus.

Congregation

"Clearly my duties as Cabinet Minister and MP will occupy my time and it is necessary to have a full-time minister for the congregation. But I shall continue to minister to my people."

Mr Julies, who is national chairman of the Labour Party, has also described the decision as "morally unacceptable."

The third member of the House of Representatives involved in the decision, Mr Goosen, is a nominated member of the House and lives at Hankey.
Is SSC the real power behind the throne?

Is the Security arm of government — the military, police and national intelligence — consolidating its grip on power as President Botha's new tricameral order gets under way?

And, if so, is the influence of the police under the shrewd General Johan Coetzee and severe Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange superseding — or at least matching — that of the military in the political decision-making process?

These are questions that are being asked here by political analysts and diplomats since the wave of repression unleashed by the coloured and Indian communities.

But, more particularly, they are being asked as a result of the Government's handling of the Durban '61 crisis and the extraordinary decision to renege on a solemn pledge to return four South Africans facing arms-smuggling charges in Britain.

Coup in prospect?

Ever since the goal-oriented Defence Minister — now President Botha — became Prime Minister in 1978, in which he describes himself as a self-identified military coup, political analysts have periodically posed the question: has the national security system of the Botha administration militarised the political decision-making process and brought closer the prospect of a formal military coup?

When the perception of military dominance reached its peak in Western capitals following the series of cross-border raids and regional reprisals dubbed destabilization — towards the end of last year — President Botha acted to refute such perceptions.

Claims by respected analysts that the military had seized control of the political decision-making process, and that it had established itself as a super-Cabinet and real power behind the throne, were baseless.

Ironically, both Coetzee and Botha are co-authors of a research by American political scientist Dr Joao Seiler, who presented a new study which challenges the militarisation theory and tentatively concludes that the national security system is primarily a process of rationalisation rather than one of militarisation.

In a paper delivered last week to the study group on armed forces and society of the International Political Science Association in West Berlin Dr Seiler concluded that the security system was part of a civil government and that most of its participants were directly answerable to political constituencies or indirectly via their obligations to government departments.

Central role

Add to that the loyalty of the SAP, to civilian government and to the traditional Afrikaner distrust of a large permanent force and the prospect of the military...

System would stop it

They look for a rift between vested interests in the internal decision-making process as occurred in the closing years of the Vorster administration when BOSS chief General Hendrik van den Bergh was not only the power behind the throne but sometimes did not even refer to the President.

Dr Seiler insists that not only has this not happened under the SSC system but that the system would prevent it from happening.

But analysts are trying to assess whether the system with security that is seriously damaging South Africa's interests abroad?

It is widely suspected here that the sit-in impasse was merely used as a pretext to prevent four alleged arms-smugglers from disclosing potentially embarrassing details in a British court.

But those details are likely to come out anyway with the expected trial of these four businessmen facing charges and alleged to have had links with the four South Africans.

There are indications...
travagant language used by Foreign Minister Pik Botha about broken windows and throwing stones and the prospect of armed terrorists queuing up for asylum outside British embassies is his language or that of Law and Order Minister Le Grange and the constituency he represents.

**Major breach of trust**

In the early stages of the sit-in Mr Pik Botha expressed 'understanding' for Britain's position and gave no public indication that he was unhappy with it.

The retaliatory step he then announced has been interpreted here as a major breach of trust that will inevitably have an adverse effect on future bilateral relations.

What are the facts?

Britain has offered temporary asylum to political fugitives, with the backing of a Supreme Court judge, who have not been charged with any crime and are fleeing arbitrary detention without trial by from Mr Botha's recent public statements that South Africa is 'happy with its pound of flesh' and is prepared to let the matter rest and allow the six to continue sitting in the Durban consulate indefinitely.

The impression remains, however, that foreign-affairs consider-

It would seem that in the new order repression and concessions go hand in hand and that reform is dependent on security.
A New Busy Building Is Being Opened After Labor Day In Spaack's Store.

The opening of the new building is a significant event in Spaack's history. The store has undergone an extensive renovation, and the new building features modern facilities and an expanded selection of products. The opening will take place after Labor Day, marking the beginning of a new chapter for the store.

The new building is designed to provide a more comfortable shopping experience for customers, with improved layout and increased space for various departments. The store is committed to offering a wide range of items to meet the needs of its customers, and the new building will allow for even greater variety and selection.

The opening ceremony will include speeches from store management and special promotions for customers. The event is expected to attract a large crowd, and local media will be covering the occasion.

Overall, the opening of the new building is a significant milestone for Spaack's, and it marks the store's continued dedication to providing excellent service and a shopping experience that meets the needs of its customers.
Worrell: SA may talk to ANC

"I'm not sure what the South African government is doing to prevent the ANC from coming into power," says Worrell. "I think they're doing everything they can to ensure that the ANC doesn't get into power."

Worrell, a well-known political activist, recently met with ANC leaders in South Africa to discuss the country's political landscape. He expressed concern about the ANC's growing influence and its potential impact on the country's democratic进程.

"The ANC is a powerful force in South Africa," Worrell said. "They have a strong base of support, and I'm worried that if they get into power, they might not respect the country's democratic institutions.

Worrell also discussed the ANC's relationship with the African National Congress (ANC), a political party that has been in power in South Africa since 1994. He said that while the ANC and the ANC share some common goals, there are also significant differences in their approaches to governance.

"The ANC's agenda is more focused on economic development," Worrell said. "The ANC is more concerned with creating jobs and improving the standard of living for the country's citizens."

Worrell also discussed the role of international organizations in South Africa, particularly the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. He said that while these organizations have provided important financial support to the country, they have also imposed austerity measures that have hurt the poor.

"These organizations are more focused on economic stability," Worrell said. "They don't seem to care about the impact their policies have on the country's citizens."

Worrell ended his interview by urging the South African government to be more transparent and accountable in its decision-making process.

"The people of South Africa deserve to know what's going on," Worrell said. "They deserve to have a say in the country's future."

Worrell's comments come at a time when South Africa is facing significant economic challenges, including high unemployment and poverty. The country's political landscape is also increasingly divided, with the ANC facing criticism for its handling of the country's affairs.

"I hope that the South African government will listen to the people," Worrell said. "I hope that they will take the people's concerns seriously and work to create a better future for everyone."
Congress in shock move on SA loans

By SIMON BARBER
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON. — In a dramatic last-minute compromise, Congress yesterday agreed to ban new US bank loans to the South African Government and its parastatals, and to require all American firms in the Republic to report on their employment practices annually.

The agreement came after hours of negotiation between House and Senate conferees on the controversial Export Administration Act stretching late into Monday night.

The Reagan Administration initially opposed the outcome and officials said they would urge the President to veto the legislation.

The compromise represents a considerably watered-down version of the so-called Solarz Amendments contained in Title III of the EAA. Their author, Mr. Stephen Solarz, said he was deeply dissatisfied.

State Department officials called it "an ugly precedent", even though stiffer measures including a ban on all new investment in the Republic and on further Krugerrand imports into the US were dropped.

The details of the agreement were still open to interpretation yesterday but, according to Congressional and State Department sources, the package was as follows:

- US banks and their subsidiaries may provide no further loans to the SA Government or its parastatals (Abscor, Eskom and SA Airways, for example) under threat of legal and civil penalty. Existing contracts may still be honoured.
- Participation in the Sullivan-like Employment Code proposed by Mr. Solarz remains voluntary.
- However, all US firms and their subsidiaries in South Africa with more than 20 employees must prepare annual reports of the employment practices for submission to the Secretary of State.
- While there is no penalty for not reporting, the Secretary of State shall in turn deliver an annual report to Congress in which non-compliers will be named.
- The Secretary of State shall also appoint a 12-man advisory panel made up of Americans and South Africans to consult on US employment practices. The panel will be chaired by the US Ambassador and will include representatives of the US Chamber of Commerce in South Africa, trade unions that operate on a non-discriminatory basis, church groups and the academic community.
- The US Embassy is to monitor US firms on a day-to-day basis.

The deal was struck between Mr. Solarz and Senator John Heinz, the Pennsylvania Republican targeted by anti-apartheid lobbyists as the weak link in the Senate's opposition to Title III.

Reagan Administration officials were angry at Mr. Heinz's concession. Said one: "He knows damned well we didn't approve."

Mr. Solarz and the chairman of the House Africa Sub-committee Mr. Howard Wolfe, described the deal as "crummy" and promised they would "back for more" next year.

There was still doubt yesterday whether the agreement would become law because the House and Senate still remained deadlock on other issues in the Export Administration Act which must be resolved before Congress recesses tomorrow.

US loans to the SA Government represent about 10% of total American lending to the Republic, or between R400 million and R1 000 million.

- US cities urged to boycott SA — Page 6
'War continues' statement rocks ceasefire

MNR shock as Army prepares

BY CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICAN soldiers and support units are expected to start moving into Mozambique in the next few weeks to monitor peace between government forces and rebel guerrillas, and to activate an emergency social and economic redevelopment programme.

However, the leader of the rebel delegation, Mr Evo Fer-
White ‘power monopoly’ formalized

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The government’s “new deal” is more concerned with continuing white/Nationalist domination than with genuine power-sharing or reform, according to Professor Willem van Vuuren, head of the Political Science Department at the University of the Western Cape.

In a paper written for the Conference on Race and Economic Development, which begins at the UWC on Monday, Professor Van Vuuren writes:

“Both the constitutional and ideological reform appear to provide contributing rather than counteracting conditions for the maintenance of existing relations of domination in South Africa.”

Citing the first report of the constitutional committee of the old President’s Council, he notes that it was not disputed officially that the “pre-reform situation” constituted one of white domination.

‘Discard winner-takes-all process’

“Thus the question of domination and reform in present-day South Africa could be put as a question of whether the government’s 1983 package for constitutional reform practically implies a movement away from the state of affairs that has been officially identified as one of white domination.”

Although the government had promised the need for reform in a “plural society” on the necessity to discard the winner-takes-all political process, this had not happened.

In fact, effective monopolization of power had not only been retained but had been formalized by the 4:2:1 ratio in Parliament.

“This formalization of numerical dominance of whites is hardly mitigated by the new opportunities that have been opening for non-white participation at cabinet level and the joint parliamentary committees, since their participation will essentially be on terms of the white ruling party.

‘Participation as subordinates’

“Consequently, power-sharing of this kind will be perfectly compatible with continued white/Nationalist domination, since it involves the participation of Indians and coloured people as subordinates.”

What the government had sought to do was to extend political rights more widely “without jeopardizing its structural dominance” because all decisions would have to be made with the consent of the white majority party.

Professor Van Vuuren notes that subjecting both the House of Delegates and that of Representatives as well as the white parliamentary opposition to the government’s consensus requirements “practically boils down to a white veto in the one case and a Nationalist veto in the other”.

He also sees a shift from both the racist rationale used to support, the ‘old apartheid’ ideology and the militaristic arguments of the total onslaught era, to a greater reliance on technocratic and bureaucratic propaganda to support the government’s “new deal”.

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The Reagan imperatives

An urgent need for meaningful change

The starting point in this administration’s approach to South Africa and southern Africa was to recognize the nature of US influence in a regional context and to identify those constructive steps we can do to advance our goals.

We are one element in a complex regional equation. Our approach is to engage the region constructively, to add our weight in support of American value, to back ideas, institutions and groups that can add to a dynamic for change, to propose alternatives, to open doors and build bridges — not the reverse.

In the South African context much of our influence derives, we believe, from the self-image of the South African leadership and the white minority generally as part of the West as well as of Africa struggling to preserve its identity, to maintain its security and to avoid international isolation.

Siege mentality grew

Such attitudes for much of the post-World War II period were accompanied by an almost hereditarily interrupted by sudden shocks as occurred with the Portuguese revolution in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and the Soweto riots of 1976.

Gradually in the past decade complacency gave way to a siege mentality, heightened by internal outbursts of black anger and alienation, by an increasing cross-border guerrilla violence, by the projection of Soviet-Cuban military power into the region and by increasingly strident Western criticism of the South African system.

Digging in its heels, the Afrikaner establishment... developed an elaborate vision of itself as a regional superpower prepared to go it alone if necessary, to hang on to Namibia, and bring maximum pressure to bear on neighbours which are the host for guerrilla movements. The siege mentality included, at the time President Botha proposed a peace conference, a determination above all to maintain Afrikaner ethnic unity in foreign forces from the area — has been part and parcel of our South African policy.

Our message to the South Africans has been to stress the benefits of both negotiation and negotiation within an agenda we have put forward to all governments in the region.

We have spelled out the costs and risks of failure, in terms of South African interests and our bilateral relationship.

We believe the effort to define and build on areas of common interest and mutual benefit throughout southern Africa is far preferable to simply accepting the drift towards polarisation and violence.

We strongly doubt that serious internal reform in South Africa is like to be a climate of constant fighting with adversaries along its borders.

We know that US regional interests and those of our allies are best served by a regional climate of greater stability, enhanced economic growth, and reduced openings for external intervention.

Today, three years later, this article concludes the summary of the statement made by Dr. Chester Crocker before the U.S. Senate Africa subcommittee on the Reagan Administration's policy towards South Africa. This article has stressed that the new system requires dialogue not only among whites, coloureds and Asians but also with blacks.

The burden now is on the Government to recognize and invite the black interest to the table. This is a process we encourage, even if we have no direct role in it, and do not presume to come with prescriptive formulas.

A second feature of our efforts to back change is our quiet diplomacy on behalf of specific improvements and concrete problems of human rights and civil rights.

By definition, one cannot discuss publicly the content of specific efforts. Nonetheless, while we recognize that the major impetus for change must come from within, we have actively concerned ourselves on several fronts to seek concrete improvements: our interest in such issues as detentions and bannings — until recently, dramatically reduced — urban residency rights for blacks, forced removals of settled black communities, and the issuance of travel documents and visas have been widely recognized in South Africa's human rights community — in sharp contrast to the distasteful critics who may afford the luxury of dismissing such matters as 'mere amelioration' of the current system. We will remain engaged in such endeavours.

A third element of our approach has been to provide concrete, tangible support to those groups, institutions and processes which are essential to change in South Africa.

Through deepened coexistence can take many forms.

What we do support, however, is a regional climate of dialogue that preserves and maintains the peace and a chance for dialogue.
More favourable climate

A central element of US policy for the past three years has been to address both the complacency and the siege mentality I have described, and to encourage the emergence of a more favourable climate for change.

Repeatedly, we have emphasised the imperative of basic change while making clear that we recognise that such change entails a process, not a single decision.

In our dialogue with South Africans, of all races we have made clear our view that meaningful change is an urgent matter. At the same time we have stressed that such change can only flow from consultation and negotiation within South Africa and among all South Africans.

We do not seek to impose an American blueprint. Recognising that the cult of Afrikaner unity was the greatest obstacle to meaningful change, we believe there is clear evidence of progress toward a more favourable climate for that, whatever the intentions of its authors, it is an irreversible step.

Its effect — precisely because of widespread boycotts — will be to accelerate the reappraisal of future options among whites and to further erode complacency.

We remain confident that there is a new dynamic at work in South Africa, driven by socioeconomic and political requirements.

This is by no means contradicted by the unrest and rioting of the past weeks.

We are urging the South African Government to recognise that repression provides no lasting answer to this problem.

We hope it will recognise that it is in its own interest to release those recently detained quickly or, at the very least, to charge those it has decided to put on trial without delay, so that they have a chance to defend themselves in a court of law.

We have taken note that President Botha himself, in his inaugural address,
NATIONAL POLITICS

Who will oppose?

The major issue facing the non-government MPs currently polishing their boots after the first tripartite concil is deceptively simple. Who will provide the real opposition in the crucial years that lie ahead?

It's a truism that one of the cornerstones of the Westminster parliamentary system is opposition — to check the excesses of the rulers and expose in open debate the dangers and shortcomings of the status quo. Now that we no longer have such a system, the National Party quite evidently wants not an opposition but "consensus." So there is considerable pressure on the various parties to either slide into the NP camp, or face an increasingly risky isolation from actual decision-making.

A clear symptom of this is the split in the New Republic Party. The [NP] parliamentary caucus will soon number 128, and that of the [NP] a mere five — and how long can that remnant of the once-pract United Party stay intact?

Even the provincial dominance of the [NP] in Natal will be subject to [NP]-Progressive Federal Party polarisation as constitutional restructuring works its way down the lower tiers of authority. If there is any "middle ground" left in white politics, the NP will rapidly seize it.

Meanwhile, of course, the Labour Party and the two Indian parties — once they find their feet — are expected to assume at least some of the traditional opposition role: that is, speak out for the disenfranchised majority at central levels.

It is evident that some sectors of the press already believe that Labour, with 83 seats, is in a far stronger position to do so than the PFP, with 27 parliamentarians. In fact, however, this is open to serious question.

There is a sense in which only one numerical advantage counts in the tripartite system — that of the NP. Whether the [NP] is bigger than the PFP is irrelevant. As the majority party in the House of Representatives, Labour is essentially an axis of government — its leader is in the Cabinet. While it may influence the direction of legislation, it cannot provide a vocal opposition of the kind which the [NP] believes is still necessary.

Partly, this is a structural reality; but it also has to do with a lack of political experience. There were two issues on which the [NP] sought to establish its bona fides for participation. They were the Improper Political Interference Act, and the western Cape coloured labour preference policy. What actually happened?

The [NP] was allowed to field proxies in the election for the House of Delegates — but they were Indians, ethnically defined. That is as far as government allowed a weakening of the Act, which remains on the books. Until such time as there is a single non-racial House the government's game-plan has not been seriously affected.

As for the preference policy, it is now a dead letter. In the weeks following the elections, Allan Hendrickse, for one, was adamant that he would be pressing government hard on the issue; that repeal was a victory he was both seeking and expecting. But can Labour claim the credit?

In announcing the alteration of western Cape apartheid policy at the [NP] congress in the province, President P W Botha made no reference to the LP. The policy was being abandoned because that was what the white congress had agreed. Not Labour — not anyone but the Nationalists.

This slight was comparable with his comment that when a coloured or Indian MP could be found with the necessary ability, he would be appointed to the Cabinet. Hendrickse and Amnochd Rajhansi are Ministers without portfolios; and neither rose to the occasion by putting in an anti-preference plea which was certain to be met and for which some credit could then be claimed. They were too busy with petty political side-shows.

There are two issues of burning national concern which were scarcely addressed in the short sitting. They are the state of the economy, and the unrest which appears to have become endemic. Perhaps they are really one issue — for grim economic conditions in the black townships are very likely a major contributory factor in the emotional climate that leads to riots.

It was the PFP which spoke out strongly on these matters. The party, of course, is vulnerable to the charge that it has in the past arrogated to itself the paternalistic brief of "speaking for blacks" in Parliament. When it became apparent that coloureds and Indians were to be given representation in central government, it was believed (or hoped) that they would do the tough talking — and the PFP be eclipsed.

It hasn't happened that way. The low polls and the dismal initial performance of the new MPs cast a shadow that will take some time to disperse — if it ever really does. In the meanwhile, the PFP is duty-bound to continue to nul the [NP] on Budget overruns, encroaching secrecy of government, influx control, and the overall position of blacks inside or out of the homelands.

On a national level blacks opposed to the constitution obviously speak for themselves. But that does not mean that a vacuum should be allowed to develop in Parliament; and it is to the PFP's credit that it has given no evidence of wishing to abdicate its (admittedly residual) Westminster function of opposition.

Why Labour — which must be presumed to share at least some of the PFP's concern about the developing crisis — should have spent so much time in petty power games, while sniping at the Progressives, is a mystery. Those voters who supported them in the belief that they would be the new, real and vital opposition must be bitterly disappointed. It must be hoped that Hendrickse and his followers will speak out more strongly — and soon.

What will remain of their credibility otherwise?
The Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILOMME

The most important development in the recent history of South Africa was the unexpected and an- nounced resignation of the President. This announcement was made by the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Chief Justice Fransisa Chandler. He described the situation as "an unprecedented constitutional crisis." The announcement was met with widespread shock and surprise throughout the country.

The Constitutional Court has been convened to hear arguments on the validity of the President's resignation. The Court will determine whether the resignation is constitutional and whether it should proceed with the impeachment process.

In the meantime, the government has declared a state of emergency, and the military has been mobilized to maintain order.

The political situation is fluid, with various factions, including the opposition parties, calling for a new election. The future of the country remains uncertain, and the people are呼吁 for unity and stability.

The economic situation is also dire, with high inflation rates and a weakening currency.

The international community is密切关注 the situation, and tensions with neighboring countries have increased.

This is a challenging time for South Africa, and the people are urged to remain calm and united.

The full text of the announcement can be found in the next issue of the South African News,

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Bomb at MP's home: 2 jailed

By Tyrone Seale

"If they were prepared to be used, they should be prepared to accept the consequences."

This is what a Cape Town Regional Court magistrate told a Ravensmead man and a 17-year-old youth, when he sentenced them to five years and three years in jail respectively, for a petrol bomb attack on the home of Ravensmead MP, Mr John "Oom Hansie" Christians.

The attack took place in the early hours of August 22, the day of the House of Representatives elections, in which Mr Christians was elected as the Labour Party's candidate for Ravensmead.

ARSON

Peter May, 20, of Marion Crescent, Ravensmead, and the youth — who may not be identified — were charged under Section 54(1) of the Internal Security Act, alternatively arson.

Section 54(1) of the Act deals with terrorism.

The main charge was withdrawn when Mr May and the youth pleaded guilty to arson at a hearing on September 18.

In a statement handed in to the court at this hearing, the accused each admitted throwing a petrol bomb at the 'Christians' home in North Way, Ravensmead.

Damage estimated at R2 000 was caused to window panes, walls, the roof, flooring, curtains, documents and a built-in cupboard. Most of these items were part of Mr Christians' office at the front of the house.

Sentence was last Thursday morning, the magistrate, Mr JSC van Graan, said that the two had acted in a cowardly manner, without regard for the occupants of the house.

INFLUENCED

"The court is aware that to a certain degree the two were influenced by other people who used them. However, if they were prepared to be used, they should be prepared to accept the consequences," Mr van Graan said.

(Mr Shrock appeared for the State and Mr P Sonn represented Mr May and the youth.)

"Oom Hansie" Christians said shortly after their conviction that he felt "sorry" for them, despite the fact that he and his family had suffered "great inconvenience and shock" after the attack.

"The attack on my house was the first trouble I've had with people around here since I moved in 60 years ago.

"I tried my best to get them off. I know them and I know their parents. I spoke to the authorities about their trial and sentences, but this is what happened. I believe that they were being used by other people with bad intentions," he said.

One more arrested

Mr Trevor Wentzel, 24, chairman of the Ravensmead Youth and Student Organisation (Rayso), was arrested just before dawn last Thursday in connection with the petrol bomb attack on the home of the Labour Party MP for Ravensmead, Mr John "Oom Hansie" Christians, on August 22.

Mr Wentzel's arrest — at 6 am last Thursday came just a few hours before a Ravensmead man, Peter May, 20, and a 17-year-old youth were sentenced to five years and three years in jail respectively for the attack on Mr Christians' home.

The Rayso chairman and former trade unionist appeared briefly in the Bellville Magistrate's Court last Friday morning in connection with the petrol bomb attack.

CRUMPLED

No charges were put to him and he was not asked to plead.

Mr Wentzel caused a stir in the packed courtroom when he crumpled and threw to the ground a copy of a document from the Attorney-General which dealt with the non-admission of bail in the case.

The document had been passed on to Mr Wentzel after the investigating officer had handed it to Mr Wentzel's defence attorney, Mr R Vassen.

The hearing was postponed to October 5 for plea and trial in the Bellville Regional Court.

Mr R van Rooyen appeared for the State.
Two masters for each local authority

Every local authority will have two masters when the new constitutional arrangements get off the ground.

Their 'own affairs' will be controlled by the Ministers' Councils -- Parliament's three ethnic cabinets -- and their 'general affairs' will be controlled by the provinces.

The division of functions between the provinces and Ministers of 'own affairs' in the Ministers' Councils were spelled out at a meeting in Pretoria this week by Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, who is also the Cabinet Minister responsible for 'general affairs' in local government.

The three 'own affairs' Ministers -- Mr Ami Venter, Mr David Curry and Mr Baldey Dukie -- the four provincial Administrators and the MECs in charge of local government were at the meeting.

It was held primarily to discuss how local government affairs would be handled under the new constitution.

Mr Len Dekker, director of Constitutional Development and Planning, told the Sunday Express.

Local government affairs would remain the responsibility of the four provinces, until certain investigations had been completed, said Mr Dekker.

There would be close consultation between the three Ministers and the investigating committees, he said.

Among other issues discussed was the postponement of local government elections in order to co-ordinate the terms of office of town councillors and management committees.

It was decided in theory to postpone all local government elections until 1985 and to introduce a uniform five-year term of office, said Mr Dekker.
Opinion polls: what the Govt can get away with

By GRAHAM WATTS

POLITICAL opinion polls have the peculiar function of finding out what people feel they can safely say about a subject — not what they are likely to do about it.

Properly understood, therefore, polls tell governments what they can get away with rather than what their electorate would like them to do.

A survey released in South Africa recently is a classic case of just such a poll.

In one sense it reveals that white opinions on domestic and foreign issues are still deeply conservative: a majority of whites don't want blacks to sit with them in the same cinema, three out of four of them don't think blacks have any reason to take up arms and 81% agree that they should be bombed in neighbouring states if they do.

In another sense it indicates — when read with a near-identical poll two years ago — that if the Government swaps its racist dogma for something more sensible, even on some emotive issues, white South Africans will go along with it.

For instance, slightly more than half of white South Africans think the Government should negotiate directly with Swapo, whereas two years ago just over a third thought so.

On the other hand, where the Government has not taken the lead, the survey reveals that opinions have remained static: for instance, a consistent 55% of whites in both 1982 and this year disagreed that cinema should be open to all population groups.

Somewhere cinemas appear about in the spectrum that runs from five-star hotels at the one end to public swimming pools on the other. Varying degrees of opposition to desegregation go with them.

Post Offices are also somewhere there in the middle. The difference is that the Government has been sensible enough to present desegregated Post Offices as necessary and quite normal. Not yet cinemas. But watch this space.

Economics provides the nudge, of course, as it clearly has done in the case of Post Offices and Namibia.

But the point remains that white South Africans now queue behind black ones to buy a stamp and this Government has held face-to-face talks with Sam Nujoma.

And white opinion — as illustrated in the survey — dutifully follows.

The survey — "What Do We Think: Number Two" — was conducted by the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIA). It was done in April this year by Market and Opinion Surveys and was analysed by Professor Deon Geldenhuys, associate professor of political science at Rand Afrikaans University.

Prof Geldenhuys's analysis concludes that "white South African opinion is not static or insensitive to changes in the political environment" but instead reflects the "new dynamics of domestic and regional politics".

While the majority of white South Africans remain deeply conscious of and concerned about perceived threats to the security of the Republic, says Prof Geldenhuys, their opinions have mellowed significantly since the 1982 survey.

On the question of direct talks with Swapo, the survey found that nearly half of respondents who identified themselves as National Party supporters agreed that there should be such talks. Nearly half of the men respondents and nearly 60% of those aged between 18 and 24 years agreed with direct talks with Swapo.

White opinions also appear to follow the Government's thump-and-talk attitude towards regional foreign policy. In both surveys, 81% agreed with the statement that "South Africa should militarily attack terrorist bases in its neighbouring states (like an ANC base near Maputo)."

What South Africa needs at the moment both at home and abroad, however, is more than just military might. It needs policy initiatives that can accommodate the political and economic demands of its domestic majority.

But as long as, at the level of words, it insists on linking those demands with external threats orchestrated from the Kremlin, it is going to be left in an ideological laager the only way out of which will be to shoot.

The survey reveals, for example, that nearly 90% of respondents in both surveys did not think that the "communist threat against South Africa was exaggerated by the Government."

A full 70% of English respondents agreed with the Government's assessment of this "threat."

If the Government doesn't grasp now that most of the leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress, for instance, are what they say — utterly middle class men who would turn white at orders from the Kremlin, then they will have to work doubly hard to persuade their electorate when they eventually have to.

While it is still depressing to note that 63% of whites agreed that "a terrorist war like that in South West Africa will in time also develop in South Africa", there is some cheer to be found in the fact that this is 12.5 percentage points down on the 1982 survey.

The lesson of this survey is that the Government can give that figure a further downward push if it packs in its verbal nonsense and comes up with policies that are likely to make the respondents' gloomy prediction less likely.

It can set the tone: white opinion will follow.
Defence Minister Magnus Malan. Le Grange's attack on the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other 'enemies' of the Republic really got the adrenaline flowing.

Such is the dilemma of dominant parties which seek to shed the image of autocracy without seeming to abdicate power. The establishment of the tri-cameral parliament, which allows a modicum of power-sharing with coloureds and Indians, clearly had to be offset by intimations of stern action against "radicals and activists." The loosely constituted UDF was an ideal target. Other seemingly contradictory acts followed: Beyers Naude, Saths Cooper and others were unbanned while detention orders were served on UDF and NIC leaders; peace was initiated in Mozambique while army units were sent into Soweto to assist the police.

Three senior ministers — Interior Minister F W de Klerk, Co-operation, Development and Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Hennis — talked on the constitutional future of black South Africans as "the biggest constitutional challenge ahead." None of them went much further than to say that government will have to give serious attention to this problem.

Small teaspoons

That prompted Willem de Klerk, brother of F W, prominent Afrikaaner and opinion former and editor of Rapport, to write in his personal column last Sunday: "Beware not to feed whites with too small teaspoons of SA's realities. We, the whites, must also know that a tremendous amount of things still have to change in this country if we want consensus and peace and security.

"Survival asks that we let go of many things: discrimination, untenable laws refusal of joint black participation (medesegenskap) in SA ... and much more. Nationalists must know now already that we will have to move dramatically on the issue of black political rights.

"This aspect must not be weakened or ignored. If some politicians do not want to put it too strongly now, then they must be glad that political commentators are going ahead to make the people ripe for the completion of the reform."

South Africans who thought the pace of reform was about to quicken need to think again after the National Party's Transvaal congress last week.

Party congresses, of course, are notoriously parochial and chauvinistic and seldom provide a reliable indication of government policy moves. If anything, proceedings at the Transvaal congress confirmed that apart from slow, careful moves towards some new deal for urban blacks, very little "reform" can be expected in the future.

A number of ministers did mention change and said the party is committed to the reformist road. But those sentiments were hastily qualified by an assurance that the NP is still faithful to the principles of separate development. In the words of Transvaal leader F W de Klerk, it is "determined to effectively maintain white interests."

Some of the motions adopted were reminiscent of NP congresses in the days when Connie Mulder and Andries Treurnicht were party stalwarts. For instance, the party must ensure "that ethnicity is given its due consideration in the new dispensation and that the interaction between whites and other groups in SA does not disturb or dismantle the maintenance of whites and their interests."

For most of the delegates the highlight of an otherwise dull congress was the double act of bellicose krapadadheid by Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange and
SA turns to a policy of benign dominance

THE key to South Africa's survival is not the might of its army but the might of its economy.

The Ken Owen

South Africa has made Mozambique the centerpiece of a regional strategy which, on a small scale, involves comparison with the Mbeki doctrine to peg a plethora of influences in which South Africa would displace more distant nations as the dominant power.

That Mozambique is already involved in a war of survival, providing South Africa with a strategic buffer against its southern neighbors. This is especially true in the political and economic context of the region.

The text itself is a critique of the National Party government's policies in South Africa and its relationship with Mozambique, highlighting the economic benefits of this approach.

Mr B J Vorster...outward look

President Samora Machel of Mozambique and Mr P W Botha at the signing of the Nkomati Accord, a reflection of South Africa's policy of trying to establish regional stability.

Colonial structures, in an event inappropriate, have collapsed, skilled populations have been eliminated or reduced and capital — which might give such backward countries a starting point — have been confined to the ventures of mining houses and little else.

Welfare agencies, as

Although the political and economic situation in South Africa is precarious, the government continues to pursue a policy of regional dominance. This approach is not without its critics, who argue that it is too focused on short-term gains and does not address the root causes of inequality and poverty in the region.

General M Malan...total onslaught

Thick as tourists in the south of France, indulge in charitable work that changes no fundamentals, and the major powers have managed to shake off the lingering demands of the ex-colonies which they relinquished as soon as the cost became significantly greater than the return.

Nor can South Africa pretend to cure these ills. It can only offer some trade to Mozambique, perhaps enough to provide Maputo with the minimum of foreign currency required to keep a kind of order at key points. It can offer Lebombo an income from the sale of water, provided Lebombo makes up its mind quickly.

But in the end, the best to be done for neighbouring states is to leave them to it. An integrated economic region which will span off a measure of prosperity in all directions according to market forces.

For the black states if it is a reasonably benign prospect but it does have a price: recognising that South Africa's economic dominance is as formidable as it is inseparable from its military strength.

The task is a tall one. Acceptance of South African economic dominance leads to acceptance of a political relationship with a state which the rest of the world is trying to isolate and by sanctions and pressure, ultimately to destroy. But the alternative is worse — to languish indefinitely in the misery that has overtaken Mozambique.

For South Africa, all this underlines the principle that the principal instrument of its security is not its army but its economy and that the proper management of the economy is a minimum requirement of survival.
A PARTHEIHS WISHED

By STANLEY GREENBERG, associate director of Southern African Research at Yale University

A new white volunteer in the Cem of black operation

Some of the most dangerous cities in the world are not where they’re supposed to be. Ordinary citizens walk the streets and parks that are supposed to be full of terrorists; they pass by buildings that are supposed to be unsafe. Yet, at the same time, they’re not just observers of violence. They’re participants in it, too. They’re being targeted, fought over, and even killed. This isn’t just a story of violence in one place. It’s a story of violence everywhere. And this is why it’s so important to understand how violence works, and how it can be stopped. Because if we don’t understand it, we can’t prevent it. We can’t stop it. We can’t even see it.”

November 2, 1999, The Nation's Magazine
THE National Party is working on a master plan to boost the political strength of white city voters over white voters on the platteland. The move will keep the growing rightwing threat at bay.

This has been disclosed by a senior Transvaal Nationalist source who said the party strategy was to change the delimitation system to make greater use of verligte city voters, especially English-speakers.

To exploit fully this new source of potential NP voters, party strategists say the imbalance between rural and urban seats has to be rectified.

Urban seats have traditionally had more voters than those in rural constituencies. This used to work in favour of the NP, which drew overwhelming support from the farming community. In effect, this means a city vote is worth less than a rural vote.

Urban seats may be loaded by up to 15 percent above quota while rural seats may be de-loaded by 15 percent. So rural seats can have 85 voters to every 115 voters in an urban seat.

But now this imbalance is harming the NP which is working on a plan to reduce the loading factor, limiting the difference between city and rural seats and giving full weight to the city vote.

This could also breathe new life into the Progressive Federal Party, which is struggling to keep its voters from the NP. PFP spokesmen want a better distribution of seats.

But Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said there was good reason for rural seats to have fewer voters. He said platteland MPs worked far harder than their city counterparts.

By changing the system the NP might obtain some short-term advantage by winning over PPP voters, he said. "But in the long term it depends on who has the most supporters in the entire country. The CP is gaining votes in both city and platteland."

Another factor in the new NP plan is the grossly unfair imbalance between the number of seats in the Cape, which is the home ground of President Botha, and the Transvaal, where rightwing strength is concentrated.

Transvaal seats are far larger than those in the Cape and a Transvaal vote is therefore worth less than a Cape vote. The average Transvaal seat has 15 500 voters to 12 500 in the Cape.
Police probe claims of bribery in PCP

THE South African Police have received documents they are examining with a view to investigating allegations of bribery in connection with the People's Congress Party's (PCP) nominations for the President's Council.

Mr. Dawood Adams, who was the PCP's regional press liaison officer for the Western Cape, said yesterday that he had handed four sets of minutes of the Cape regional committee's meetings to the police last week.

The minutes were dated September 24 and October 1, 4 and 8.

‘Certain documents’

A police liaison officer, Captain D. T. Potgieter, confirmed last night that police had received “certain documents” which they were examining “with a view to investigations”.

In a statement explaining the action of the Cape regional executive, Mr. Adams said it appeared that “members of the party may have contravened certain laws”.

He added that it had been decided that these questions “can best be answered by the proper law-enforcement authorities.”

Five members of the executive, including Mr. Adams, were expelled from the party by the PCP's leader, Mr. Peter Marais, earlier this month.

“The is not for us to presume the criminal guilt of any of the people involved in what can at best be described as a very unsavoury situation,” Mr. Adams said.

He added that the Cape regional committee had felt it could not tolerate “any actions on the part of any member of our party which if not criminal, borders on being unsavoury.”

The action by the “rebel” Cape regional executive follows allegations that

- A demand for R43,000 was made in return for nominating one would-be candidate to the President’s Council.
- An offer of R2,000 was made by one aspirant candidate if another would withdraw his nomination, and a further R500 a month for as long as he was unemployed was added to this.

In addition, it is understood that one would-be member of the President’s Council stated that he was prepared to spend R300,000 in order to secure nomination.

As the Opposition in the 85-seat House of Representatives, in spite of holding only two seats, the PCP was entitled to nominate three members to the President's Council.

However, in terms of an alleged deal with the Labour Party, it was agreed that the PCP would nominate two of the men and Labour one.

The PCP, it emerges from the minutes, intended to renego on the deal and nominate three of its own members.

It was decided, however, not to nominate one member because of objections raised by the leader of the LP, the Rev. Allan Hendriks.

The minutes of the four meetings provide a clear picture of the events that allegedly preceded the nomination of the three members of the President's Council on September 13.

One man who had been promised a seat on the 60-man council prior to the election became “hysterical” when told he would no longer get a nomination.

‘Pleased’

On nomination day, there were apparently six men still in the running.

According to the minutes of October 4, Mr. Marais said that one aspirant councillor had approached him in the toilet and had “pleaded” for the nomination going down on his knees and grabbing hold of me around the legs.

Mr. Marais said he had been given an envelope containing R2,000 and asked to hand it to another aspirant candidate with the offer of a further R500 per month “for as long as...was unemployed”.

Mr. Marais told the regional committee that he had taken the envelope “only to calm down” the man. He said Mr. Dennis de la Cruz, MP for Ottery, had subsequently undertaken to return the R2,000 to the man.
Black rule or conflict inevitable
Naude

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

White South Africans must accept the inevitability of black majority rule or face an escalation of conflict, Dr Breyers Naude warned yesterday.

In one of his first speeches, since his banning order was lifted last month, he said that while there was still time for "relatively peaceful change", the conflict could not now be resolved without some violence.

Dr Naude spoke frankly after seven years' enforced silence.

"One major impression that has grown within me during my banning is of the growing divide between white and black in our country."

"The vast majority of blacks, coloureds and Indians have totally rejected the very same constitution which has been strongly supported by 66 percent of whites."

"The majority of blacks regard the recent political developments as steps which force them into a low-scale form of civil warfare."

HATRED

This is shown by the growing hatred among black youth for the police and army, and the cynical disregard for laws made by the whites."

Dr Naude said that while most whites believed the dominant white community could uphold the present political system for years to come, many blacks felt cracks had appeared in the apartheid structure which, if exploited properly, could bring about black liberation sooner than expected.

Dr Naude said it should be realised that the more the Government pushed its brand of "reform", the greater would be the resistance from the black, coloured and Indian communities.

Increased Government action against the United Democratic Front on the basis that it was an ANC front, would merely enhance the image of the ANC in the eyes of UDP supporters.

Dr Naude said the Afrikaner should take the lead in bringing about fundamental change.
Caught between stools of reform and repression

ANDRE DU TOIT

black housing was frozen for many years. The Informal Year leasehold system was not extended to the Western Cape. The Informal Year settlements were regularly demolished. All to little avail. At the beginning of 1993 the Government embarked on a bold reformist move. All blacks in the Western Cape would be accommodated in the vast new black townships of Khayelitsha on the False Bay Coast.

However, as far as the black communities were concerned, whatever positive aspects the new scheme held were undone by the threat of resettlement. By June, 1994 it seemed that the Government’s determination to clear up the squatter settlement of Crossroads as a first step in this ambitious plan would result in a major confrontation. Urgent action was needed to defuse the situation.

Since then the Government has indeed taken a number of major steps towards this. The administration board has called a moratorium on further raids and demolitions in Crossroads itself (though not in other areas such as ETC). All the Cape congresses of the National Party, President Botha announced that the Comprehensive Labour Policy for the Western Cape would be scrapped, as well.

Earlier, following his European tour, Mr Botha had acknowledged that the involuntary resettlement of communities was a practice morally and politically unacceptable to our major Western allies and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the new Minister of Co-operation and Development, has indicated that it may be time to substitute a policy of orderly urbanisation for the rigidity of Crossroads.

Tackled together, one might well feel that the Government is more than enough to make its reformist intentions clear.

Surely it is right to meet the looming confrontation over Crossroads might be avoided and the orderly progress of the Khayelitsha scheme ensured?

Yet this is by no means the case. Despite all these concerns, the Government’s plans have been met with extraordinarily by the leaders of the black communities concerned for an essential condition the plan remains the threat of involuntary resettlement.

The Government is as determined as ever that state power and the Government’s ideological will compete for the allegiance of a community forged in a battle for basic survival.

The Government may be aiming at reform, but it cannot accept being merely an object of political or military confrontation.

On the national level much the same principle holds. In a sense it is not just symbolic but real political reform for the Government to co-opt coloured and Indian leaders into black leaders into Government structures but the critical question is whether there is also room for communities to produce their own leadership and to defend and pursue their own priorities on their own terms.

From the Government’s point of view such “extra-parliamentary” organisations may be as disruptive and militant. They may even have considerable success in mobilising (or “infiltrating”) alternative structures and to oppose official policies. It is not a matter of any democratisation of the political system. The point is that the struggle can take a political form, not that of coercive confrontation.

In the short run it may be a relatively easy option for the Government to ban the UDF but what will be the long term consequences and significance be?

The alternative is that the major clampdown on black consciousness organisations in similar circumstances in October, 1977 indeed dealt a severe blow to the militant ideology of the black political parties but it also played a major role in the resurgence of internal support for the ANC in the following years – while the harassment actions in Soweto and elsewhere resulted in a wave of recruits for the external ANC.

The prospects for constitutional and evolutionary reform will be more viable if there is a place for extra-parliamentary forces as well as they are committed to non-violence.

The real danger of repression and banning is that they can only be too successful in stifling genuine political activity and undermining only the soldier and the terrorist are left in the arena.
Anderson was ‘arrogant’ — Hendrickse

Political Staff

THE chairman of the Ministers’ Council for Coloured Affairs, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said today he was opposed to detention without trial but disapproved of British Labour MP Mr Donald Anderson’s actions concerning the three fugitives in the British consulate in Durban.

Mr Hendrickse, a member of the Cabinet, described Mr Anderson’s attitude as “arrogant”.

He was reacting to the controversy about Mr Anderson’s visit and statements about the fugitives and detention without trial.

Mr Hendrickse said he and the Labour Party were opposed to detention without trial.

“From my own experience and that of others in my party we condemn and disagree with detention without trial,” he said.

However, there had been ‘an over-emphasis’ on the position of the men in the consulate, while others with similar problems had been forgotten.

(Turn to Page 2, column 7)

Anderson arrogant — says Hendrickse

(Continued from Page 1)

Mr Hendrickse sharply criticised what he saw as “publicity seeking” by people who were appealing to other countries such as Britain and India about this issue.

Instead of becoming involved in South Africa’s affairs those countries should rather attend to their own problems.

Mr Hendrickse said he had cut short an interview he had with Mr Anderson in Britain in March because he did not like Mr Anderson’s attitude.

Mr Anderson’s actions in South Africa were seen by Mr Hendrickse as proof that Mr Anderson was “not interested in peaceful solutions”.

PEACE PRIZE

Asked to comment on the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, Mr Hendrickse said: “One would congratulate him on the award. He certainly is dedicated to social change in South Africa.”

Mr Hendrickse added, however, that he was not sure whether others, such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi or Mrs Helen Suzman, had not contributed more to peace than Bishop Tutu.

Bishop Tutu, in an address to the Natal Indian Congress in 1982, had threatened the coloured people that the blacks would “deal with them” if they entered the new constitutional dispensation.

“I respect him for what he is, but I’m hesitant on whether his approach is not one which could be seen as counter-productive to real peace,” Mr Hendrickse said.

Probe on death of
Election candidates pull out

By Yassuf Nazee

Two people who were to take part in elections for a Government-created advisory body have withdrawn at the request of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Congress spokesman Mr Ismail Moderator said: "We have persuaded the two candidates, Dr A H Jeena and Mr Cassim Peer, not to participate in the Azaadville management committee election."

Dr Jeena and Mr Peer issued a pre-election circular under the banner of the "Anti-Corruption Committee" in which they pleaded with the Azaadville Indian community in Krugersdorp-Roodepoort to vote for them "to stop the rot."

On Monday the two candidates called a public meeting of 300 people in the Indian township in Krugersdorp to announce they had decided not to stand because they had come to the conclusion that "one cannot fight corruption within a corrupt system."
What I said in my Wits lecture

From JEREMY CRONIN (Rondebosch):
THE Cape Times report on October 4 of the 18th annual Richard Feetham memorial lecture at the University of the Witswatersrand has me saying that South Africa’s current system is "enormously revolutionary".

I am not quite sure what that is meant to mean. Could it be that I am in agreement with Law and Order Minister Louis le-Grange that a "revolutionary climate" is prevailing in SA at present? Now, I do not normally find myself in agreement with that particular minister. Much as I might wish to be able to agree with him on his specific evaluation of the present, I regret to say that what I was actually dealing with at that point of my lecture was something quite different. I was simply arguing that the system of industrial capitalism, beginning with the mines at the end of the 19th century, had radically transformed Southern Africa, joining the diverse peoples of this part of the African continent into the semblance of one nation. It was in that context that I said: "Our current social, economic system has been (please note the past tense) enormously revolutionary."
The security question

Dean Geldenhuys

in my opinion

DEON GELDENHUYYS

is associate professor of political science at the University of Pretoria.

Observers of the SA political scene are repeatedly asking questions about high-level political decision-making. Who, for example, is responsible for decisions on the signing of peace agreements with neighbouring states, or on detaining political dissidents, or on a tit-for-tat exchange with Britain? And what role does the military play in all this?

The questions are plentiful and the speculations often fanciful, but the answers remain elusive. There is still precious little hard information on how crucial political decisions are made in this country.

There is little purpose in trying one's hand at the local political whirligig. Instead, some consideration could be given to the implications of the new constitutional arrangements for political decision-making. But first one has to know the outline of the existing structures.

Most of the writing on SA decision-making focuses on the State Security Council (SSC). Established by law in 1972, the SSC is at the core of the national security management system. The system has four other subordinate components, namely, the working committee of the SSC, the council secretariat, 14 inter-departmental committees, and nine joint management centres. The SSC is one of four permanent cabinet committees, the others being the committees for economic affairs, social affairs and constitutional affairs.

The SSC is undoubtedly the principal Cabinet committee. It is the only one created by law and chaired by the head of government (previously the prime minister). In terms of the Act of 1972, the ministers of defence, foreign affairs, justice, law and order, and the senior Cabinet minister, as well as five top civil servants, are standing members of the council. Because SSC decisions or recommendations bear the head of government's seal of approval, they are bound to carry greater weight than those of the other Cabinet committees (chaired by ministers).

The SSC concerns itself with a far wider and often more crucial range of issues than the other committees. Its statutory responsibility is to advise the government on "national policy and strategy in relation to the security of the Republic" - an assignment broad enough to embrace virtually every area of government activity.

The workings of SA's national security management system will be affected by the new constitutional arrangements in 1976. For one thing, the future role of the SSC has not been spelled out in the white political debate on the new constitution. Nor has P.W. Botha, either in his capacity as PM or as State President, said a word in public on the SSC's future.

The council does not feature in the political debate among coloured and Indian leaders. Coloured political leaders have demanded a better deal for coloured people in the civil service under the new constitution, and have made some radical demands on security issues, but they have not raised the SSC's position in future decision-making. Clearly, the place of the SSC in the new dispensation is not a public issue at all.

Nonetheless, the new constitutional system is likely to have some effect on top-level decision-making.

Team effort

First, the new executive president will in all likelihood chair the SSC. This could mean that the SSC retains its key role in political decision-making. P.W. Botha's style of government calls for a team effort involving senior political office-holders and top bureaucratic experts. Under a successor (as president), the SSC's role might change.

Second, as regards the political office-holders on the SSC, the big question is whether coloured and Indian ministers would become members? Assuming that the legally prescribed composition is retained, no coloured or Indian will from the outset become a standing member of the SSC, neither a coloured nor an Indian has been appointed to any of the four Cabinet portfolios in the Act of 1972 (defence, foreign affairs, justice, and law and order).

This leaves only the possibility of co-opted coloured and Indian members, whether co-opted on an ad hoc basis or on a more permanent basis (as, for example, the Minister of Finance has previously been involved). Permanent co-option seems doubtful.

Third, the involvement of coloured and Indian ministers in the SSC will depend on the crucial question of trust. The serving (white) SSC members will have to be satisfied that potential coloured and Indian members represent no security risk. (It is worth recalling that the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the coloured Labour Party and a newly appointed Cabinet minister, was detained under security legislation in 1976). Political trust will also have to be established between white SSC members and potential coloured and Indian members; the three groups will have to accept one another in good faith.

Fourth, assuming that the SSC will continue to play its leading role in decision-making, it will mean that a centre of power will be located outside the constitutionally designated structures for top-level political decision-making. Assuming also that the SSC will at first retain its all-white character, it can be expected that coloured and Indian politicians will begin insisting on representation on the SSC.

Otherwise, their presence in the Cabinet will widely be regarded as mere tokenism, with real political power still monopolised by whites. The State President may then find it expedient, if not imperative, to appoint an Indian and a coloured minister to the SSC, that is, co-opt them on a standing basis. But that is only likely after the essential relationship of the trust has been re-established.

Fifth, the question of trust has another important implication. SSC decisions or recommendations are as a rule submitted to the full Cabinet for "final approval." Will the two "non-white" Cabinet ministers from the outset be trusted with all SSC submissions? Or will more sensitive submissions for the time being be withheld from the full Cabinet? If so, the SSC could increasingly play the role of an exclusive inner Cabinet, the locus of major political decision-making, thus reducing the Cabinet as a whole to a secondary role. Such a situation could obviously create serious tensions between the partners in the new deal.

Sixth, if coloured and Indian representation on the SSC creates a dilemma, their presence in the council bureaucracy is an even more acute problem.

Finally, the need for a national security management system to exist as long as the ruling elite (or others) perceive a threat to SA's (or their) security. The new constitutional arrangements will certainly not remove such a threat.
ANDREAS VAN WYK

Alchemist of reform

December promises to be a hot month for Andreas van Wyk in more ways than one. For the softly spoken Stellenbosch academic will be moving into the seat of government generally regarded as the cutting edge of reform when he becomes Director General of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

But if this worries the 43 year-old Van Wyk, it doesn’t show. The atmosphere in his small office in Die Ou Hoofgebou at Stellenbosch University is as calm as the soft October breeze stirring the oak leaves outside the window.

From the time of his matriculation with seven distinctions to his appointment as Professor of Law at Stellenbosch University at the age of 29, Van Wyk has always been an achiever. In the years ahead, he’ll need that talent more than ever before.

Van Wyk will be maintaining his family home in Stellenbosch but admits sadness at the thought of leaving his leafy ivory tower. Ivory tower, however, is actually a misnomer. The kind of academia in which Van Wyk has immersed himself.

Law is a practical discipline, and much of his work has found its way into the Statutes. In particular, the recently gazetted Matrimonial Property Act, entrenching the rights of women in marriage, bears his stamp. Parts of it are largely based on his doctoral thesis.

Nevertheless, he is acutely aware that he is swopping a reclusive life on campus for the heat and sweat of the political arena. “It was not an easy decision. It means joining the birds of passage, deserting Stellenbosch. But I don’t see myself as going into politics. It’s a government department that I’m going to run, though that department is very much at the centre of current political debate,” he says.

Youthful technocrat

But he’s not the sort of man who could become a mere implementer of policy, and acknowledges the comment with a quiet smile: “One does indeed implement policy. But at the same time one makes inputs on the policy level.”

What made him decide to become the latest member of the youthful collection of technocrats co-opted by Chris Heunis to plot the way out of the constitutional maze? “It’s a cliché to say it’s a challenge, but at a certain stage, one starts feeling that one can’t sit on the sidelines at a crucial time of reform in our country,” Van Wyk says.

Though a member of the National Party, he has never been particularly politically active. But at the same time he does hold strong views on various subjects and isn’t afraid to express them, as he did recently in a sharply critical chapter on the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act in Klinghorn and De Villiers’ book Op die Wegspoor.

Does he regard the new constitution as the final word on SA’s future development, or does he recognise its flaws? Van Wyk ponders before offering a cautious answer.

“In saying that, you depart from a certain presupposition that a constitution is something immutable and fixed, such as the American constitution. We’ve never had that. It isn’t part of our tradition.

“One has to see this constitution in the proper perspective. I have no doubt it is an advance, it is progress. It may be flawed in certain respects, but a constitution is not...
only the piece of paper is is written on. It is the way it operates, and we still have to see it in action.”

What of the major weakness — that blacks do not feature? “I think the central issue in SA is that there is no consensus in the value system that has to underlie the way in which the country is run. It is very difficult to get that consensus with the disparate composition of our population, and it’s going to be very difficult to bring all population groups into a uniform structure, so perhaps there will have to be several structures.

“But there can be no doubt that we are going to have to accommodate blacks outside the independent homelands. That government has clearly indicated as its next priority.”

Van Wyk’s flexible approach is quickly apparent from the conversation. He isn’t irrevocably committed to any fixed future path though he has certain non-negotiable “bottom lines.”

“I don’t believe in the virtue of never changing one’s mind, so I’m careful about talking about bottom lines. But my own basic values are democratic; that government takes place by consent of the government. At the same time, being an Afrikaner, I attach great value to Afrikaner history though I’m not parish pump in that respect. But certainly the acceptance of the white South African and the Afrikaner in particular as an African tribe is a bottom line.”

Rules, he says, are there with purposes, but are not purposes in themselves. “Our aim in this country is fairly obvious — to create a stable, prosperous society with a place for all to co-exist and to be what they themselves want to be. What I’m saying is that there isn’t only one road to that aim.”

SAREL STEYN

Petrol bomb?

Trek might be SA’s youngest petroleum company but it certainly isn’t the smallest. With Sarel Steyn, ex-manager of the Springbok wrestling team, as new MD, the company is likely to be putting up an even more aggressive fight for increased market share.

Steyn (55) says Trek has a 6% market share. Sales increased more than 10% over the past year. “An artificial demand for cars was created by the increased sales tax increases. The recession is only starting to hurt the industry now, but with an anticipated turnover of R500m this year, Trek’s earnings have increased substantially,” he explains.

“This is because we negotiated a better processing agreement with our refinery, got a small increase in margin and we’re fairly liquid. The exchange rate has obviously affected us dramatically, but government is assisting us.”

Surely the demand for petrol is fairly inelastic? “Yes,” he says, “but the effect of the economic situation and money supply being reduced by high interest rates will result in a situation that means growth will decrease in the coming year. But hopefully with good rains the agricultural sector will slowly improve and this will have a spin-off for us.”

Ironically, the hearty Steyn, who grew up on a Western Transvaal maize farm, originally wanted to become a lineotype operator. He started his working life as a copyholder on Die Transvaler, where he spent 10 years working his way through almost every department and even worked as a sports writer.

However, he took up accountancy in his spare time, did a Unisa B Comm, and then left the newspaper world to become an accountant with a company importing Borgward cars — a move which proved to be a turning point in his life and led him to join Total SA three years later. In 1962, his career again changed direction when he shifted to marketing.

Steyn is fiercely patriotic and in deference to the State President’s wishes, the SA flag is the main decorative feature of his 46th floor Carlton Centre eyrie. So it’s fitting that he says he felt “I had a better future with a local company than a foreign one.”

“I worked my way through Total’s marketing ranks and moved over to Trek just after the company was started,” he says. After 16 years with Trek, Steyn says he was “the company’s chief petrol smous” at the time he was appointed MD.

Plans for the future? “We’re going to be looking seriously at the development of bitumen emulsion which is used for road making and is likely to be very profitable business,” he volunteers. “Selling heavy furnace fuel as bunkering to ships is another option and there’s also the possibility of entering the aviation fuel market. We’ll carry on developing new service stations to

Steyn ... Trek’s ‘chief petrol smous’
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Financial Mail October 19 1984
Separate answers needed

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis is chairman of the Cabinet committee on the constitutional future of urban blacks. He spoke to the FM about the committee’s work and points of departure.

FM: What are the parameters of and main principles guiding the committee?
Heunis: The constitutional development of the black peoples cannot be divorced from their social and economic development. Therefore, further action should be accompanied by constant and continuous consultation and negotiation with the responsible leaders of the people affected.

By leaders, I don’t imply that we have only to consult with the leaders of the national or independent states, but also with identified urban leaders, especially those who seek solutions on a constitutional and peaceful basis.

There are certain points of departure involved. Firstly, one must accept as a point of departure the reality that the multinationals, character of the population also includes the people who live outside national and independent states.

Secondly, there is an absolute desirability for minority protection. Thirdly, the irreversibility of the fact that certain states are independent and certain states are self-governing. The other point of departure is the unacceptability of group domination — any group domination.

The fifth one is the very high priority of socio-economic development of the black nations wherever they live, whether it be self-governing states or urban areas. Here one must understand that it is possible, as we see it, to solve the constitutional problem of all the peoples in this country in a group context.

To sum up, we believe that a democratic dispensation should be established in terms of which the person as an individual and in group context can participate in decision-making that would affect their lives.

Finally, effective government, which implies stability and law and order, must be maintained as a prerequisite for evolutionary development in the constitutional field.

Has the government now accepted that there are black South Africans who have been living outside the traditional areas for generations, who see themselves as South Africans only and/or cannot be classified under any one group?

Let me put it the other way. Constitutionally and legally, black South Africans who are not citizens of independent states are, of course, SA citizens. No body disputes that. What is true, and that is one of our problems that we have to deal with, is although black peoples living outside independent and self-governing states may still be culturally bound by the particular group that they belong to, there is very little political binding or connection with those states.

One of the major reasons for this is the fact that no decision, or very few decisions, that their governments can take can affect their lives here outside those states. The decisions that affect their lives are the decisions taken by the government of the RSA. It is within this context that investigations have been made in the past, and we are now again investigating all relating issues.

Will the committee consider a black constitutional dispensation that is not linked to the homelands?

Having accepted the fact that there are some 5.8 million black people that have, in terms of our own existing laws, the right to permanent residence outside the national states, you will have to establish institutions with them and for them where they could govern themselves with some form of local autonomy.

The first steps have been taken with the promulgation of the Local Government Act of 1962 in terms of which 29 of these authorities have already been established. It has also been suggested that the powers and functions of these institutions can well exceed those, for instance, of city councils like Johannesburg and can deal with many more matters. There is, of course, no blue print.

What are your feelings on federation and confederation as possible solutions for SA, and will the committee consider suggestions on it?

I’ve learnt one thing, and that is to avoid terminology and models, as for the simple reason that many people don’t understand the same thing when they talk about federation or confederation. A confederation is, in fact, no state. It is an association of independent states who work together on a consensus basis on identified and defined fields of interest. We believe that there are many elements of federal systems that can, in fact, be used and applied in an amended form to solve some of the problems that we encounter in this country.

We understand a federal system to mean that the participating states pass on to the federal government some of the powers of those states, in other words, those states are not sovereign. Then we must understand that within those states you only multiply the problems that we have nationally by the number of those states that you are going to have. We are not trying to introduce to SA any particular system. We are looking for elements of systems that can be appropriately applied to attain the objectives that I have mentioned as points of departure.

Is meaningful consultation with black leaders possible without also talking to urban leaders like those of the United Democratic Front (UDF)?

We will talk to all leaders that are prepared to negotiate with us on the basis that change must come about peacefully. We will not talk to people that have opted for revolutionary or forcible changes in this country.

Will it be their decision to approach you for negotiations?

I have extended a general invitation to people that have anything to say, to come and say it to us. Naturally, we are also taking an initiative. We have had discussions with urban leaders and we shall have further discussions. We are also hoping to have discussions on a regional basis.

Will the report of your committee form the new constitutional plan for SA?

There is no single blueprint with which we are going to come forward. We will submit reports from time to time to government, and, if acceptable, these steps will be implemented. But there is no question of coming forward with one constitutional plan. Constitutional processes are cumbersome and time-consuming. As far as SA is concerned, independent states are part of the answer, autonomous, self-governing states are part of the answer, autonomous local authorities are part of the answer, and we are still looking for solutions.

When will the committee bring out a report?

Well, the committee has already, from time to time, made suggestions to government. There is not going to be a single report to government. As we make progress, we will submit progress reports to government.
Is SA military on the road to taking over?

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

The Brief use of troops to contain unrest in Soweto and Grahamstown's black townships provoked protest that the SA Defence Force was being thrust into a political role.

The objections rested on the assumption that the SADF is apolitical, that it has not yet lost its political virility.

The SADF's role, however, in carrying out raids on African National Congress targets in neighboring states is not consistent with its supposed political neutrality.

As Dr Philip Frankel, of the University of the Witwatersrand notes in a new book* on the Defence Force due to be published next month: "The deep sense of illegitimacy attached to the white state carries over to its agents."

The SADF, he adds, is no exception, in spite of its cliche programme to win the "hearts and minds" of blacks and the presence within its ranks of soldiers drawn from the black community.

Dr Frankel offers a different perspective on the use of troops to help police maintain order in the townships.

He says two traditions co-exist in the military: an Afrikaner heritage in which the distinction between military and civil authority is blurred, in contrast to a British one in which the distinction is sharp.

Dr Frankel sees the use of troops in curbing internal disorder as the manifestation of the Afrikaner tradition, which found its clearest expression in Afrikaner history in the unification of the roles of the Commandant-General and President in the person of M W Pretorius in the old Transvaal Republic.

Associated with the Afrikaner tradition of fusion between military and civil power is the fulfilment of SADF functions by the South African Police and of SAP duties by the SADF.

Prime Minister, an event which most commentators saw as the beginning of the rise of the military as distinct from the old Bureau of State Security, now renamed National Intelligence Service) to pre-eminence in South Africa's power hierarchy.

The use of the SADF in a policing role since 1979 reflects in part, as Dr Frankel observes, a shortage of manpower in the police.

But is the greater willingness of the Botha administration to utilize the military another sign of SADF's pre-eminence in the security field, a pointer to its position as first among equals?

There are, in Dr Frankel's view, a number of forces in contemporary South Africa working toward an increasing greater role for the military, the triumph of the Afrikaner over the British tradition.

They include the "promotion" in October 1980 of the Chief of the Defence Force, General Magnus Malan, to the portfolio of Minister of Defence, an appointment which Dr Frankel believes would not have occurred in the British tradition.

But there are more compelling forces pushing South Africa toward a situation where it will be difficult to say where military authority ends and civilian authority begins.

First, there is the continuing Afrikanerisation of the Defence Force. Once dominated by the "English", the top echelons of the SADF are today filled by Afrikanders, most of whom are highly-qualified technocrats.

The differences between the Afrikaner elite in the SADF and the ruling Afrikaner politicians is slight and insignificant.

As Dr Frankel says: "Their views blend perfectly. Their perceptions of South Africa's problems and the solution to them converge.

Second, the combat experience of most of today's military officers is in counter-insurgency rather than conventional war — and in counter-insurgency the boundary between war and politics is indiscernible.

As General Malan and his successor as Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, have repeatedly remarked, the struggle is 80% political and only 20% military.

A take-over by the military is, of course, not inevitable, although some observers contend that South Africa has already moved substantially along that road.

They cite the pivotal position in the hierarchy of power of the State Security Council (SSC) — sometimes described as an "inner Cabinet" and the real source of authority in South Africa — and the paramount role played by the Defence Force in it.

Key military men in the SSC include General Malan, General Viljoen and General A J Van Deventer, a con-fidant of President Botha's who was seconded from the Defence Force to serve as Secretary to the SSC.

The SSC is, of course, chaired by President Botha, who, like the Boer generals of old, has close links with the Defence Force, having served as Minister of Defence from 1959 to 1980 (he held the defence portfolio for two years before he became Prime Minister in September 1978).

In addition, Defence Force men comprise a substantial component of the personnel in the SSC secretariat.

Professor Kenneth Grandy, of Ohio, USA, has estimated that 70% of the secretariat's initial workforce came from the Defence Force, although General van Deventer insisted last year that "military men comprised "less than 15%" of the secretariat.

Whatever the precise influence of the military, one assertion can be made with confidence: the power of military is on the rise but still stops short of direct rule.

Two factors could, however, tip the balance towards more complete, and less disguised, military control: a deteriorating security situation and failure of the new and complex tri-racial constitution (whose legitimacy was called into question by the low polls in the August elections for the coloured and Indian chambers.)

Fatalists may wish to know that General Malan is a graduate of Fort Leavenworth in the Arkansas, USA, and that some of his classmates were South Americans who were later involved in military coups after the failure of constitutional reform.

* Pretoria's Pretoriants by Dr Philip Frankel, to be published in SA next month by Macmillan.
Anglo chief warns on corruption, inefficiency

MARITZBURG. — A warning that the new political dispensation in South Africa could lead to loss of control over corruption has been given by Mr Gavin Reilly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation.

Speaking at the opening of Assocom's annual congress in Maritzburg, Mr Reilly said: "The new political arrangements may well have the effect of obscuring the traditional checks and balances which have fed the old parliamentary system."

"This may be all to the good in our society, but we will have to make sure that the effect is not to bring about a process of ossification in our decision-making bodies and an obscuring of corruption and inefficiency."

"In this context Assocom has an enhanced role to play in providing special inputs. This has been their role in the past. In the future it may be necessary to do more hard research and provide a more effective winnowing process so that representations can carry a still more decisive authority over a wide range of vital commercial and industrial issues."

But it would be silly to think that people could be turned away suddenly from the self-interest which characterised capitalist society without this having an impact on the economy. "All we can suggest is that we should examine our attitudes in the light of broader national interests. As an example, in industrial relations matters we should perhaps place less emphasis on seeking total victory for one side or the other and more on victory for the system. Conciliation can be a sign of strength, not weakness."

"I do not know whether a widespread modification of our attitudes and practices in decision-making will give to the idea of consensus the thrust it will need to function as an effective catalyst in helping peaceful change to take place in our society, but I do know that without such modification our chances are small." — Sapa.
Surprise as Essop turns to the PCP

Political Staff

IN a surprise move today Mr Anwar Essop, one of the leading figures in the Labour Party in Beaufort West, announced a switch of allegiance to fight the Nuweveld by-election for the People’s Congress Party.

He is son of the late Mr Solly Essop, who won the House of Representatives seat for the Labour Party in the August elections. He helped to conduct his father’s campaign when Mr Essop was ill before the election.

Mr Anwar Essop and his supporters were angry when the Labour Party nominated Mr Hans Booyzen, a Beaufort West butcher, as its candidate for the by-election.

Initially Mr Essop said he would stand as an independent. But in the nomination court in Beaufort West today Mr Essop’s nomination was registered on behalf of the PCP. The only other candidate is Mr Booyzen.

Mr Peter Marais, leader of the PCP, was not available for comment.

Mr Essop said: “I had to wait on the decision of the Labour Party. It was only at the weekend that they said they would nominate Mr Booyzen.

“On Monday I was told that any person who intended to stand as an independent had to submit his papers seven days in advance of the sitting of the nomination court.

Discussed

“So on Monday I learnt it was too late to stand as an independent. I had to switch or Mr Booyzen would have won the constituency unopposed.”

Mr Essop said he discussed his candidacy with Mr Marais before today’s nomination court sitting. With him at the court was Mr Anwar Ismail, Western Cape regional organiser of the PCP.

Three-way contests will be fought at George in both the parliamentary and provincial by-elections.

Candidates nominated today are:

Parliamentary: Progressive Federal Party — Mr Jan van Gend, 46, MPC for Constantia; National Party — Mr Henrie Smit, 53, MPC for George; and Herstigte Nasionale Party — Mr A.S. (Allie) Treurnicht, 53, a brother of Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Provincial: PFP — Mr Patrick Murray, 34, a George businessman; NP — Mr George Kellerman, 39, an attorney; HNP — Mr H.S. van Zyl, 50, a George businessman.

Gathered

In Pikelberg two candidates were nominated for the Provincial Council by-election.

They are Mr J.A. Greyling, 50, a Klaver farmer (Conservative Party) and Mr G.J. van Wyk Stone, 50, a Citrusdal attorney (National Party).

Nearly 100 people gathered at the nomination court in Bellville, where candidates were nominated for the by-election in the Parow constituency.

The National Party candidates are Mr Hennus Kriel, Cape MEC for local government, for the parliamentary vacancy, and Mr Sakkie Pretorius for the Provincial Council seat.

The Conservative Party has nominated Mr Ryno Louw for the Provincial Council and Mrs Eleanor Lombard for Parliament.

The small courtroom was packed and many people stood in the passage. The candidates pledged to fight a clean election and to concentrate on political issues and not attack personalities.

Report by C du Plesis, B’Stuart and F Esterhuyse, 122 St George’s Street, Cape Town.
No NP majority in committees

The National Party will not have an absolute majority in the 28 new Parliamentary committees whose membership was announced yesterday by the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff.

This is in sharp contrast to the central general affairs cabinet and the President's Council which have absolute Nationalist majorities.

It means that the seven National Party MPs on the 16 portfolio and nine standing committees, who apart from the chairmen and deputy chairmen will have 23 members, could be outvoted by the other MPs, who represent the different parties in all three houses of Parliament.

The committee system is planned to be the engine room of the new constitutional system where, the Government hopes, consensus will be achieved.

Draft legislation on general affairs will be referred to the committees for consideration and recommendations, before final consideration by the three Houses of Parliament.

All the chairmen of the new committees represent the ruling parties in the three Houses of Parliament, with one from the House of Representatives — Mr Louis Holander, who is to chair the committee on Health and Welfare; and one from the House of Delegates — Mr S V Naidoo, who is to chair the committee on Environment Affairs and Tourism.

In contrast to the committee structure in the old Parliament, three opposition MPs have been appointed deputy chairmen.

The chief opposition spokesman on finance in the House of Assembly, Mr Harry Schwarz (PPP, Yeoville) is to be deputy chairman of the finance committee; the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, is to be deputy chairman of the defence committee; and the leader of Solidarity, Dr J N Reddy, is to be deputy chairman of the industries and commerce committee.

Deputy

Mr Greeff said that three Labour Party MPs would be deputy chairmen — Mr J G van den Heever (Home Affairs and National Education), Mr L T Landers (Communication and Public Works) and Mr D H Matlala (Manpower).

He also said one National People's Party MEP would be a deputy chairman — Mr A Choonara, (Constitutional Development and Planning).

Mr Greeff said the committees could sit anywhere in the country but most of their meetings would take place in Pretoria and Cape Town.

No decision had been taken yet when the committees would start sitting.
Nat MPs control committees

Political Staff

THE minority of Nationalist MPs in the new parliamentary standing select committees cannot be outvoted by the other members.

In terms of the procedure approved earlier this year by the old all-white Parliament, the MPs from the three different Houses of Parliament will vote separately in the 16 standing committees which have been appointed for each of the general affairs portfolios, as three separate select committees.

This means that when the white MPs in a standing committee vote on an issue, the National Party will have a seven to four majority over the combined opposition.

Yesterday, one of the Progressive Federal Party's constitutional experts, Mr. Nic Olivier, MP, said his party was strongly opposed to this provision.

"It is a lack of faith by the government. They don't have enough faith in themselves to convince the coloured and Indian members.

"It prevents any possibility of white members co-operating with coloured and Indian members against the wishes of the National Party," Mr. Olivier said.

Free association

The PFP also believes in free association and that it was far better for people to vote as individuals.

"Under this system, the majority parties can dictate to the standing committees. Where does negotiation and consensus come in?" Mr. Olivier asked.

"It is a policy strategy by the government to prevent cross-house voting. That's what it is," he said.

In terms of the approved procedure, the standing select committees will consist of select committees from each of the three Houses of Parliament and they will vote as separate committees.

If all three of these select committees within a standing committee agreed on a measure, it will be regarded as a consensual matter, but if one of the select committees of one of the Houses disagrees, it will be a non-consensual matter.

Dispute

If the lack of consensus in the standing committees continues into the three houses and they are unable to resolve the conflict, the dispute will be resolved by the President's Council, which has an absolute majority of Nationalist members.

Recently the National Party's Chief Whip, Mr. Alex van Breda, rejected Conservative Party claims that the PFP and SHF could vote with the coloured and Indian members of the standing committees to make the other white MPs a minority, and pointed out that joint voting in the committees would not take place.

So while the National Party will have only seven MPs on the 25-person standing committee, it cannot, in terms of current procedure, be outvoted.
Hermann Giliomee is professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town. He argues that the central feature of government's reform policy is to co-opt those opposed to the system. This article is adapted from a paper he delivered at the recent conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination at the University of the Western Cape.

About a year ago, a dinner party was held in Johannesburg. The scene was familiar: one of those interminable discussions about "change" in current SA policies.

Finally a prominent Afrikaner business leader ventured an opinion: "The Afrikanners," he said, "are trying to find the secret of sharing power without losing control." The business leader was quite serious. And not without reason. Almost unwittingly he had captured in a phrase the essential nature of the reforms that are, and will be, emanating from government.

The central feature of these reforms is to confront the future through the policy of co-optation, to broaden the white power base by co-opting from the coloured, Indian and black communities people who can serve as collaborators. (The word is not used in a pejorative sense but its classical historical sense.)

The main function of these collaborators is to administer their segregated communities and serve as a buffer between middle-class SA and the huge impoverished masses. The co-optation strategy comprises three parts:

- The co-optation of elites in the designated black homelands to administer these territories which can eventually be brought back into a form of political association, usually referred to as a federation of southern (or South) Africa. However, citizens of independent homelands, whether they live there or not, are to lose any claims they have had upon the SA state, and, in any constitutional arrangement, no black state will be entitled to interfere with the sovereignty of the RSA.
- The co-optation of a black urban bourgeoisie (small-scale businessmen, traders, teachers and civil servants) inside the RSA who could be entrusted with the administration of townships, the collection of revenue and, hopefully, even influx control. These black authorities would, however, as far as possible, remain outside the political structures of the RSA; and
- The co-optation, on a segregated basis, of coloured and Indian representatives as junior partners of whites into the political system of the RSA. In a formal sense, they would be able to make the same claims upon the state as whites as far as the expenditure on social services is concerned, and they would be expected to perform the same duties, eg military service. They would also have to accept that the government, over the short to medium term, considers the segregation of schools, residential areas and the political structures as non-negotiable.

There was a stage in the making of SA's new constitution when some academics in SA and abroad saw the process culminating in a form of consociationalism. This would mean a grand coalition of strong leaders representing the white, coloured and Indian communities. Rather than taking the consociational route, SA seems to be heading towards something not quite unlike a Latin American brand of clientelism.

In most Latin American countries, politics is dominated by a powerful president who is supported by an important group (or groups) in society and who makes the final decisions and arbitrates in serious group conflicts.

One factor of this system involves co-optive tactics. Many Latin American presidents avoid excessive conflicts through co-optation of elite members into various sorts of advisory councils, up to and including the cabinet. This strategy is characterised by a proliferation of ad hoc and permanent commissions, new agencies (useful for changing representation without disturbing constitutional arrangements) and independent regulatory bodies. Lastly, conflict is kept manageable by, in exceptional circumstances, weakening certain elites which threaten to destroy the system.

But these are early days to judge a developing strategy. The State realises that it cannot base the new system only on the Labour Party and the National People's Party. It can be fully expected that the State President, using his considerable freedom to work the system, will make every effort to appeal to the middle classes of the various black groups.

There will, secondly, also be a concerted attempt to co-opt elites, despite their rejection of the constitutional arrangements, into State commissions of enquiry, advisory councils and other statutory bodies. Particularly teachers, university staff and higher-level civil servants will find it extremely difficult to resist becoming drawn into the State's structures.

There will, thirdly, be more sophisticated attempts than the crude total-onslaught ideology to develop a consensus transcending the ethnic cleavages. The new ideology will continually stress the development needs of SA and the obligation of every responsible citizen to play his part in the upliftment of the lower classes. As overt colour discrimination in the social and economic field is replaced by civilised or technocratic standards, these standards will be projected as safeguards for all middle-class people. And, of course, the dire consequences of conflicts getting out of hand will be continuously emphasised.

Lastly, the State will be prepared, as a last resort, to weaken those elites that threaten to destabilise the system. Here the main targets are obviously the arching organisations like the United Democratic Front (UDF) or trade unions which show the capacity to mobilise communities. The State has learnt not to have exaggerated fears of the potential political power of trade unions. As recent surveys showed, black people in SA do not see the black union movement as a political vehicle, but rather look to the ANC, Inkatha or the UDF to play that role.

The chances of this strategy working fairly well over the short to medium term should not be underestimated. Apart from students and high school pupils, there does not seem to be a class or stratum that would seriously challenge either the State or overthrow the vertical (ethnic) structures. It is only over the medium term that one expects serious challenges to build up to the ethnic structures, particularly if the State continues to apply the constitution and the group areas legislation rigidly.

There is, of course, no reason why a State President could not anticipate serious crises and persuade the ruling party to adjust the constitution to provide for greater constitutional flexibility. For this to happen, it is necessary to spell out the dangers of the current strategy in the clearest terms. The policy for coloured and Indian self-administration is not yet irreversible.
of the SA military

THE COMBINED military-police crackdown in three East Rand towns has caused more government jitters this week than anything else.

It is not by coincidence that there has been no political reaction to the Singwane-Underwood report or the Morgan Report, in which the racial composition of the National Police at the time of independence was discussed.

Both these reports were presented to the government in 1970 but were never made public.

It is not the first time that public interest has been focused on the matter of the police force's racial composition.

During the 1960s, the government was already aware of the need to ensure that the police force was racially integrated.

This was due to the fact that the police force was seen as a symbol of the whites-only apartheid regime.

The government was under pressure from both inside and outside to ensure that the police force was representative of the population.

The government was also under pressure to ensure that the police force was not seen as a symbol of racial domination.

The government was therefore forced to take steps to ensure that the police force was racially integrated.

This was achieved through a number of measures, including the recruitment of black police officers and the appointment of black police chiefs.

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Protesters fail to halt Lenasia poll

By Yussuf Nazeer

Tomorrow Lenasia will hold another election in the face of strong protests from the United Democratic Front-affiliated Transvaal Indian Congress.

The voting is for the Lenasia Management Committee to which seven members must be elected. There has been no vigorous campaigning and, in six of the seven wards, candidates — including, for the first time, a woman — have been elected unopposed.

One member, the former chairman of the LMC, has resigned. Two others have withdrawn on the eve of the elections leaving only Ward 7 with a poll. The candidates are Mr Y Mia and Mr S M Chetty.

The Transvaal Indian Congress has urged residents not to vote.

Mr Mia said: "I am going through with this election because I believe I owe it to my voters, come what may. Let them reject me or accept me."

Earlier some candidates had called on the Administrator and the Minister of Home Affairs to postpone the elections as the political climate was not right and, last month, the LMC submitted a memorandum to this effect.

DECIDED TO GO AHEAD

An LMC member, Mr Ebrahim Minty, who has withdrawn from the elections, said: "The Administrator and the Minister agreed with us that the elections should not be held. But the city council and election officer have decided to go ahead with it against our wishes. So I have decided to pull out."

Mr Minty claimed that the city council's management committee, which has been pressing for Lenasia to become an autonomous municipality in the face of continuous opposition from the LMC, wanted new, agreeable recruits who would accept autonomy in the LMC.

A House of Delegates member in the LMC, Mr Faiz Khan, who was told the elections would not be held and failed to register his nomination, agreed with Mr Minty. He called the elections a farce.

"For a long time the council's management committee chairman, Mr Francois Oberholzer, has been pressing for an autonomous Lenasia cut off from the city council," said Mr Khan.

"We believe the council has gone for this election to get unopposed persons, inexperienced in civic matters, on to the new committee. They would accept autonomy without opposition," Mr Khan charged.

"Neither Mr Oberholzer nor council spokesmen could be reached for comment."
Private sector seen to be endorsing apartheid

By MIKE JENSEN

PRIVATE sector support is largely responsible for the success of the Government's separate development policies, says a research report.

The Government has created a variety of development-oriented institutions such as homeland governments and the Small Business Development Corporation.

These are run by a large, relatively well-off black bureaucracy. A black middle class dependent on state support and capitalism is emerging, says a research report just released by the University of Witwatersrand Centre for Business Studies.

"The Prime Minister's aim is to defuse the Opposition through the creation of a complex set of alliances between the State and sections of the black population, while at the same time keeping intact the essentials of grand apartheid, the homelands and in-firm control," says the report.

"In sum, a black middle class with vested interests in the continued existence of the homelands is being created. The middle class in turn will provide support for the rulers of these homelands and create a buffer between the poor and the exercise of authority."

However, the duplication of bureaucracies - Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu, KaNgwane and provincial administrations - and the retention of the black population in the rural areas creates a need for rapidly increasing amounts of aid, currently exceeding R2bn.

"The Government does not know the financial implications of SA's constitutional changes - a sort of budgetary wild card. Economic growth and controlling inflation are less of an imperative than implementing apartheid."

"As Verwoerd constantly warned the public, if you want apartheid you will have to pay for it."

The private sector is now cooperating with industrial decentralisation (ID) policy, believe the researchers. "Whereas in 1988 it resisted the ID legislation, now SA's largest corporations have promised officials that decentralised locations will always be considered when new investment opportunities are evaluated."

The more formal involvement of the private sector in the ID process was displayed at the Carlton and Cape of Good Hope conferences.

It is evident from the position of private sector representatives on the boards of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the Small Business Development Corporation, the Planning Advisory Council and their role in the Regional Development Advisory committees.

"Needless to say, this participation has exacted its price. The decentralisation incentives have been described as the best in the world, which translates into the most expensive to the public fiscus. Greater participation in implementing the policy is expanding through, for example, the role of private sector banks.

"In sum, the more rewarding relationship between the Government and capital reflects a shift in constituencies, most obviously away from the Afrikaner right wing. But it also appears to represent private sector involvement in and commitment to the new forms of implementing apartheid."

"More concretely than hitherto, the private sector is no longer supporting a liberal facade, one distant from the policies of apartheid. It is immersed in it."
PARLIAMENT

Spreading the jobs

In line with appointment of Allan Hendricke and Anilchand Rajbansi to the Cabinet (without portfolios) the naming of a coloured MP and an Indian MP as chairmen of standing select committees of Parliament is a tentative step towards consensus.

The names of the chairman and vice-chairmen of the 25 new parliamentary committees, announced by the Speaker last week, contain few surprises and, in many cases, are seen as little more than rewards for loyal government supporters.

At least one opposition party — the Progressive Federal Party — is furious at being snubbed. Party leaders say there was a clear understanding in informal discussions with the NP that opposition members would be appointed chairmen of some of the committees. But the only PPP member who features is Harry Schwarz, as vice-chairman of the finance committee, chaired by one of the NP’s finance spokesmen, Charlie Simphin.

Analysts say Schwarz’s appointment should not be underestimated. Government, and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in particular, have healthy respect for Schwarz’s acumen and have obviously taken seriously his offer to help the authorities tackle SA’s financial crisis. The fact that he is right of centre in FPF terms obviously helped.

As for other PPP members being ignored, there is truth in the observation that consensus in fact means consensus between the three ruling parties in the tricameral parliament, and not necessarily between government and opposition.

The only other opposition figure to be named is NRP leader Vause Raw as vice-chairman of the Defence Committee. Raw is a professed hawk in profound agreement with NP defence policy. His appointment is hardly a concession to progressive reform.

Little is known about Louis Hollander, the House of Representatives MP who is chairman of the select committee on Health and Welfare, and Soobramoney Naicker of the House of Delegates, who is chairman of the committee on Environmental Affairs and Tourism. Their anonymity is a safeguard against controversy, although it might be tempting to persuade Naicker to ask questions about desegregating tourist facilities in the OPS and removing other hurtful barriers to Indians.

Chairmen of the remaining committees are all senior NP members. One appointment that has raised a few eyebrows is that of Tiso Volker as chairman of the important Constitutional Development and Planning Committee. While he was a member of Chris Heunis’s House of Assembly committee on constitutional matters Opposition MPs say he hardly distinguished himself. Moreover, there are said to be nagging doubts about his NP track record and his loyalty to the PW Botha faction of the party. A major surprise is the omission of glowing verligte Wynand Malan (NP Randburg). Insiders suspect he overplayed his hand at loyal verset, a display of maverick defiance in which he attacked sacred cows of Nationalist Afrikanerdom. But his time may come.

The appointment of the rather more cautious verligte Pretoria MP Albert Nothnagel as chairman of the Home Affairs and National Education committee has been welcomed by the liberal English press. This comes as no surprise because Nothnagel, who represents a verkrampete Pretoria constituency, has worked hard for many years to sculpt an image of sweet reasonableness. His was always the acceptable face of the NP. He may not be far from a deputy ministership.

Surprise was also expressed by MPs at the appointment of Hendrik Tempel as chairman of the important committee on Co-operation and Development and Education. Although a senior MP, he has shown no special talents in this area. There are lingering doubts among Cape NP faithful about his unwavering loyalty to the PW Botha faction. This could well be his reward for trying to dispel such doubt.

Reservations have been expressed at the appointment of Klepies Heyns as chairman of the Industry and Commerce committee. On the other hand, the appointment of businessman Dr Jayaram Reddy of the House of Representatives as his vice-chairman has been welcomed on the assumption that this chairman can only benefit from exposure to his deputy.

Financial Mail November 2 1984
Cost of housing new MPs will run to millions

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

The enormous costs of providing office and residential accommodation for members of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates is clear from a statement released last night by the Minister of Communication and Public Works, Dr Lappa Munnik.

Construction of 168 houses for the new members of Parliament, and additional parliamentary session staff, has already started.

The PFP spokesman on the Public Service, Major Ruben Sive, said last night that to provide housing compatible with the status of an MP, houses would cost at least R100 000 each, taking into account today's inflated building costs.

The total cost of the 168 houses then would add up to about R15 500 000.

Dr Munnik said office space had been provided in Marks Building in Parliament Street, Cape Town, for members of the councils.

The Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives will use this accommodation during parliamentary recesses.

In Durban, offices are being prepared for the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates in the Malgate building in Smith Street.

In Cape Town, 65 dwellings are being built at Belhar to house members of the House of Representatives during sessions of Parliament.

Another 100 dwellings are being built in Pelican Park for members of the House of Delegates and parliamentary session personnel.

The chairman and members of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives are now accommodated in flats in Rygerdal, Rendebeach. Permanent dwellings are being planned on a site in Walmer.

Dwellings are being built in Pelican Park for the chairman and members of the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates for occupation during sessions of Parliament.
The African National Congress is "on the downgrade," Mr. Louis. le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, declared in his 14th-floor office in the heart of Pretoria.

"There has been a lot of problems. One of their problems is a question of morale. They've been hit for sixes all the time. They know it very well."

But Mr. le Grange added, apart from the ANC's recent setbacks and its adverse impact on its morale, South Africa's blacks were turning away from the ANC because of contemporary political, social and economic developments.

The blacks appreciate what is happening. They see there is earnestness and seriousness in the Government's efforts to live up to them, to consider the future with them in the interests of all.

Mr. le Grange's statements ring strangely in the ears of South Africans who do not share his political perspective.

"It is difficult to reconcile with continuing attacks by the ANC in the wake of the March 18 Nkomati Accord with Mozambique and, even more, with the ongoing onging which has turned many townships into battlegrounds between police and blacks/youth.

Mr. le Grange, however, did not have the same problems.

"We did not expect a drop in ANC attacks after Nkomati," he told me in a wide-ranging interview.

"We expected an increase and that has happened. But this is because the ANC wanted to emphasise its supposed strength to the world."

"We expected an increase and we will continue to do it. But (the attacks) are levelling off now."

The township unrest was cited by Mr. le Grange as evidence of his view that blacks are appreciative of President P.W. Botha's "reformist" policies.

"I had no doubt that the ANC had a hand in instigating the unrest, largely in a bid to thwart the implementation of the Constitution and sabotage the process of political reform which was threatening to make it redundant.

"The more we succeed in talking about these matters (of reform), the more the ANC will become obsolete on the South African scene," he said.

"Its main purpose in the last three months in South Africa was to try and create a picture of discontented people, so as to give the impression to the rest of the world that the constitutional developments are (totally) unacceptable to the people of South Africa."

That is certainly one of the main reasons behind the present unrest in South Africa.

"Mr. le Grange was sanguine about the NAT itself, which, according to figures culled from newspaper reports by the Institute of Race Relations, has claimed the lives of at least 134 people since the death of a schoolgirl in Atteridgeville in February."

"I am confident that it is calming down progressively," Mr. le Grange said.

"One really can't say, but with the completion of school examinations and the closing of the schools it may calm down completely."

Mr. le Grange, a member of the Cabinet committee investigating ways of politically accommodating blacks living outside their designated "homelands," recognised the need for a political solution in any long-term answer to the unrest.

"We are talking to leaders of these black communities, to leaders in the urban areas, to leaders from the national states, to their own traditional leaders ... and to leaders from the independent states."

"We are not negotiating, but we are talking to them. We are asking their views. We will eventually consider all the views that we listened to."

"We will eventually consider all the information we have at our disposal to try and come to our final recommendations to the Government for final decision."

Some observers believe that the Government has complicated its own task by detaining leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and, to a lesser extent, the National Forum.

They contend that these leaders should be included in any discussions, as they have a genuine following and an equivalent legitimacy.

Mr. le Grange did not agree.

"I don't think they are so important that there is nobody else left to talk with to find solutions to the future. They are not that important. Definitely not.

"I don't say that they are not regarded by some of their people as leaders. I am not saying that. All I am saying is that considerations for the future have definitely not come to a standstill because they have been detained."

Mr. le Grange has accused the UDF with creating a "revolutionary" and promoting the same aims as the ANC.

"I asked why the UDF had not been charged in court with fomenting revolution and promoting the aims of a banned organisation, he replied: "These matters are involved. It takes time to investigate. It may take a few years ... We are monitoring the UDF and some of its affiliates on a very close basis."

He did not exclude the possibility of charges being brought against the UDF in court eventually, and justified the detention of several of its leaders as the course of action demanded by "the information available to us."

On possible action against the UDF in the future, Mr. le Grange said:

"It all depends on the circumstances ... We will have to see what the UDF does, how they go about (their business) and what they intend doing."

Judging from unrest casualty figures given by Mr. le Grange in a speech to the Transvaal National Party congress on October 5, police action has caused more than three-quarters of the deaths.

Of the 80 people killed between August 1 and September 20, 65 were killed by police; Mr. le Grange disclosed in his speech.

Some observers have interpreted these figures as evidence of the inability of the police to control riot situations except by the crudest methods.

Mr. le Grange, however, was adamant in his defence of police methods and his concern to keep casualties to a minimum.

"Our view is that we must operate with the absolute minimum loss of life. I can't emphasise enough that this is the approach of the SAP."

"We must operate with the absolute minimum loss of life, but without losing effective, of course, and without endangering the lives of the police forces."

"We have adopted new methods by using rubber bullets, by using those little stamambos instead of the heavy riot truncheons that were used on kids and young people (in the past)."

"We have our sneeze machines. We have tear-gas."

"All these kinds of methods are used to try and ensure that there will be a minimum loss of life."

"We don't use live ammunition unless we are in situations where the situation is very, very serious."

"And then it is only in the final instance that a senior officer will give an instruction for live ammunition to be used."

"I don't mind if it takes a little longer to get the situation under control. If we can save lives by doing it that way."

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LE GRANGE ... "The more we
Verwoerd's apartheid dream, 25 years later

HERMAN GILIOMEE

Verwoerd and his successors even contemplated meeting Dr Hammerskjold's criteria. There has been little progress towards achieving either a "sufficient and coherent territories" or of embarking on economic development. It was really only with the Good Hope plan of 1976 that the Government started to put muscle behind industrial decentralisation. But that effort is still far from sufficient to address the unemployment and suffering in the homelands.

It is significant that when SA in 1976 came to actually granting independence for the Transkei the consideration of Western opposition to this procedure took the back seat. Professor John Dugard argues that if SA had any hope to gain international recognition for an independent Transkei and the other seven homelands she had to make it look imperative that Xhosa-speaking blacks living in the urban areas of SA could not lose their citizenship. This, as the so-called "racing issue" was also a strategic point.

However, by 1976 perhaps the main aim of the South African Government in granting independence to the homelands was to eliminate as many blacks as possible from citizenship of SA. In this classic exposition of this policy goal one which has not yet been reached by Dr Connie Mulder stated: "If your policy is taken to its logical conclusion it is as far as black people are concerned, there will not be one black man with South African citizenship..." This policy line, more than anything, is responsible for the fact that no country, except the RSA, has recognized the independence of the homelands. As the homelands are granted independence the black population in the RSA is reduced to the "white state."

In spite of such pronouncements there has always been a tendency in National Party thinking not to regard homeland independence as a goal in itself. Dr Verwoerd, Mr Vorster and Mr Botha all mentioned the idea of a "commonwealth", "corporate" or "confederation" in which independent black states would enter into an association with the "white" state. Behind this lay the idea that once ethnic and constitutional considerations of the black population had progressed far enough whites would become sufficiently secure to address the problem of black-white power relations in a federal arrangement.

In this the special category of "qualified" urban blacks could somehow be treated as a separate entity. How does the political balance and what do the homelands' political leaders say today? From the Government's point of view the homelands have hardly been regarded as an unmitigated failure. Through rigid influx controls and capital controls the so-called black programme (occurring at huge human cost) the proportion of blacks living in the homelands has risen from 45% in 1950 to 34% in 1980. If one takes only the de facto as an indication of the independent homelands about a fifth of South African blacks have been 'legalized' and put out of the political game. The economic development programmes (occurring at huge human cost) are a complete waste of money. But this summits the Government's political objective. The colonisation policy of the homelands would have been a positive, a cost, and it should be remembered that in the case of a homeland like the Ciskei about 60% of the current annual budget is "normal" expenditure that it goes into education, health, agriculture and infrastructure.

From the black point of view the picture is complex. The Government's colonisation policy, both tied to the homelands, are among the most noted grievances of urban blacks.

Another major grievance is the state's woeful neglect of urban infrastructure and housing for Africans because of its preoccupation with the homelands.

As far as homelands blacks are concerned there is obviously a difference between the views of those living in political hallucinations like KwaNdebele or the reconstituted homelands of the Bushel Commission which indicated that nearly half of the KwaNdebele population saw some positive value in the homelands. Also, blacks in the homelands provided they could seek work freely in "white" SA.

Whether the homelands are building blocks or stumbling blocks in the search for a political accommodation between whites and blacks is difficult to answer. It is clear that although the homelands have become a fixture in the political landscape of SA that cannot be wished away.
300 at 'lively' CP meeting

Political Correspondent

NOBODY has given the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress more steam than the government's new constitutional dispensation, the chairman of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said last night.

Speaking to a lively audience of about 300 people at a by-election meeting in the Parow Civic Centre, Dr Hartzenberg said the National Party's new deal had created widespread instability in South Africa.

He said the government had promised whites that if they voted "yes" in last November's referendum, they would be rewarded with peace and prosperity.

However, the CP had warned that the new deal was a recipe for division and conflict in South Africa and they had now been proved right.

Dr Hartzenberg reminded the audience that the Rev Allan Hendriks had warned that if he did not get his way within five years, he would opt out of the new deal, leaving it in chaos.

Dr Hartzenberg said that almost one third of coloured people gave unconditional or qualified support to the CP plan for a separate coloured homeland.

The CP's parliamentary candidate for the November 29 by-election, Mrs Eleanor Lombard, said it was an illusion to think that South Africa would gain the approval of the outside world with its new constitution.

"Only one thing will satisfy the outside world and that is one man, one vote," she said to loud cries of "nooit, nooit" from the audience.

The CP's candidate for the provincial council, Mr Reyno Louw, said that the government complained about a lack of a clear blueprint for the coloured homeland idea, but the NP had governed for 36 years and still could not specify the final boundaries for the black homelands.

(Report by A. Johnson. 77 Berg Street, Cape Town.)
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(Report by A Johnson, 77 Berg Street, Cape Town.)
COLOURED civil servants will be given priority in appointments to "own affairs" posts controlled by the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives, in cases where both white and coloured applicants are equal on merit.

This is the effect of a policy decision of the Ministers' Council.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the coloured Ministers' Council, said in an interview that this decision had been submitted by the council to Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Home Affairs.

Principles

"The three principles we have adopted in looking at senior appointments in our departments are:

- An acceptance of merit as the basis for appointment;
- Where the merit is equal in the case of both a white and a coloured person, preference will be given to the coloured person;
- Affirmative action will be taken in giving a coloured person opportunity to gain the experience to place him in a position of being equal in terms of merit."

Mr Hendrickse said "affirmative action" meant placing coloured civil servants in a better position to make themselves available for merit promotions to top posts by giving them the opportunity to gain experience or qualifications.

"Only one"

"We are conscious of the fact that while white officials in departments of State have opportunities for promotion in four directions — white, coloured, Indian and black departments — our own coloured folk have only one, that is, in our own departments," he said.

"We have already appointed a number of white officials. And our policy decision must in no way be seen as depriving them in any way or as a rejection of what they have already achieved. There will be no witch-hunt.

"We do give this assurance to our white officials."

(Report by B Stuart, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)
Hermann Giliomee, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, was not joking when he described the new constitution as an attempt by the National Party to share power without losing control (PM Oct. 26). A study of the standing rules and procedures of the tripartite Parliament reveals just how tight the NP's grip on power remains.

Like the new constitution itself, the rules are convoluted and complex. But what they mean, quite simply, is that the NP cannot be beaten or outvoted under any circumstances, whether it be in the (white) House of Assembly or in committee, the real instrument of consensus.

Even if the House of Representatives (coloured) and the House of Delegates (Indian) take a joint stand on draft legislation in opposition to the white house, their version cannot become law.

White law

The effect of the procedures and the loading of the structure in favour of the NP is that legislation proposed by the white house can become law, even if the coloured and Indian houses pass amended versions of the legislation. The President's Council (PC) is the final arbiter in such a dispute, and must consider the different versions of draft legislation from the different houses.

If instructed by the State President, it can give a binding ruling that one of the versions before it must become law (without amending or revising it in any way). Given the built-in NP majority in the PC, there can be little doubt about the version of any Bill it will select.

Constitutional apologists argue that the same procedure could result in either an Indian or a coloured version of legislation being approved. While that is true in theory, the 4:2:1 ratio on which the constitution is based makes for the continuance of white NP domination.

Nic Olivier, the PFP's constitutional expert, says there is another strategy built into the rules for the various parliamentary committees which further entrenches NP authority.

Although it is in the joint and joint standing committees that the real horse-trading will take place, there is no way that government can be outvoted by a combined majority - say of PFP, NRP, coloured and Indian members.

The rules prohibit individual members of the committees from combining to produce a majority within the committee. Instead, the separate select committees of each of the three houses (whose combined membership makes up a joint committee) will vote separately, effectively preventing opposition groups from combining to outgun the NP.

Government, of course, has a significant majority on all the white committees, thus ensuring that the corporate vote from the white select committees will always reflect the NP line.

Even if both the coloured and Indian houses oppose the white house's decision, the rules lead inevitably to the NP-controlled PC. "It is a fascinating strategy for the continuing domination of power," Olivier says.

Minority reports

The rules make no provision for minority reports from committees. But, says Olivier, opposition parties are not precluded from acting when the reports of the various select committees making up joint committees are tabled in their separate houses.

"Opposition parties can, for example, move that the report be rejected by the house. Obviously it would go through in the end, because the report would reflect the opinion of the majority party in each house. But in this way opposition parties could firstly delay and, more importantly, publicise decisions," says Olivier.

This is an important point. One of the major consequences of the tripartite structure will be the discontinuance of public debate on policy and legislation.

Instead, difficulties will be thrashed out behind the closed doors of the joint committees. Thus, any loophole which allows opposition parties to expose government thinking to the glare of publicity is to be welcomed.
It's So Simple! The Answer to SA Problems?

BY HARVEY TISON

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

...
Black talks with Government hit tricky stage

BY BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent
The Government's cautious progress towards constitutional change for black South Africans is entering its trickiest stage — the debate with black leaders who have rejected Government institutions altogether.

And as part of the initiative to maintain momentum, the Government is prepared to engage prominent black figures in free-ranging and informal talks on constitutional issues outside the confines of the Cabinet committee on urban blacks.

Threaten

This move towards the "informal negotiating sector" has been prompted by the Government's acceptance that prominent and respected members of the black community will not give evidence to the Cabinet sub-committee.

The black leaders have rejected the sub-committee as a forum for the debate, and threaten to thwart Government hopes to attract a wide range of black political opinion — including those from outside the Government-created platforms.

The broad strategy is to encourage individual ministers, or their representatives, to initiate informal talks with community leaders on specific issues. Input from independently-established talk-shops will also be considered.

Conclusions from these talks will then be channelled to the sub-committee, which is already in possession of a mass of evidence from establishment black political leaders and other organisations concerned with constitutional and social change.

The willingness to explore alternative forums for the black political debate indicates the Government's acceptance that for many blacks the instruments used for the debate are at least as important as the content of the debate.

The Cabinet sub-committee has heard evidence from a range of establishment leaders — self-governing homelands, independent homelands and black local authorities.

Last week, for example, it solidified its standing with the leaders of the self-governing homelands by suggesting permanent joint Cabinet committees be established to liaise on common socio-political issues.

Rigid

The committee has also taken evidence from constitutional and political experts, community groups, the Urban Foundation, and other organisations involved with black issues.

But now comes the hardest part — the debate with anti-establishment figures who enjoy support in their communities, and whose contributions are critical to the work of the sub-committee.

At this sensitive stage in the work of the Cabinet sub-committee, there appears a tacit acceptance that much of the work will initially have to be done outside the rigid framework of the committee on a more person-to-person basis.

Problem

The question of the right forum for the black constitutional debate to take place has dogged the work of the Cabinet committee since its formation more than a year ago.

When it was initially formed, prominent members of the committee felt it was urgent for the black community itself to establish their own forums through which they could give evidence to the Cabinet committee.

(News by B Pottinger, 27 Main Street, Johannesburg.)
Election dispute going to court

Political Staff

NOTICE has been given of a Supreme Court action aimed at upsetting the result of the Tafelberg constituency House of Representatives election in August.

Mr M D Arendse, former leader of the Labour Party, was declared elected over Mrs Soheir Hoosein of the People's Congress Party by 118 votes to 115.

Mrs Hoosein alleges that this was designed to influence voters and did so in at least eight specified cases. She will ask the court to deduct those eight from Mr Arendse's votes, leaving him with 110 against her 115 votes. Mr Arendse has filed an opposing document.

Mr Arendse said today: "I will definitely oppose her application."

(Report by B Stuart, 122 St. George's Street, Cape Town.)
LONDON. — If the African National Congress (ANC) was prepared to cease its "violent objectives" there was no reason why its members could not return and participate in the constitutional political process in South Africa, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said in Munich at the weekend.

Speaking at a press conference after his return from a meeting on Saturday with the West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Mr Botha said the South African Government had no objection in principle to the ANC becoming a legitimate organization in South Africa in participating in the constitutional process.

Mr Botha had been asked whether he had not set a precedent for the return of the ANC by mediating between the Frelimo government in Mozambique and the leadership of the armed guerrilla movement, the MNR, to negotiate the safe return of MNR members.

Mr Botha said the difference in Mozambique was that there was a "lack of amnesty" for MNR members.
THE Government is now gobbling up almost one third of South Africa's economy — and about 40% of the money it borrows is used to keep its wheels turning, rather than to create new opportunities for growth.

This view of uncontrolled spending by a swollen bureaucracy emerges in a study recently released by the Mercabank Group on the crushing tax burden under which South Africans are now reeling.

And evidence that even formerly loyal supporters of the Government have lost their patience with a prime factor in the poor economic situation — excessive Government expenditure — was underlined today in a statement from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

Mr Leon Bartel, president of the AHI, warned in Pretoria that the economy was on the verge of permanent damage, and cited excessive Government expenditure as one of the problems.

He appealed for relief from the savage austerity measures introduced by the State on August 2.

In addition, loyal National Party supporters have recently expressed misgivings that the current round of by-elections — and the potentially three-cornered fight in Port Elizabeth's Newton Park early next year — could prove sobering to the Government.

"The issue is one of bread and butter politics, and the Government's record is not good," confided one senior NP spokesman in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

The Mercabank study points to "serious structural deficiencies" which have emerged, recently in the South African economy — "not least in the nature and size of the burden placed upon personal incomes by rising Government expenditure".

Total Government expenditure, it observes, has risen from 20% of the Gross National Product (GNP) in the early 1970s to an estimated 30% this year.

Underlying this total spending pattern is a chilling change in both the method of financing the booming Government bill, and the manner in which its borrowings are employed.

Debt incurred by the country's public authorities amounted to a low figure of R205 million in 1986, but this has since rocketed to an estimated R8 109 million this year.

"And the alarming aspect of the recent rises in the borrowing requirements is the fact that large proportions of the borrowing (75% in 1983 and an estimated 85% in 1984) is required to cover deficits on current account," points out Mercabank.

"Burden the brain of Government's runaway spending (which is yet to take into account financing the new constitution) are families battling to balance their budgets.

"Combining the effect of increased direct taxation and domestic inflation, Mercabank calculates that a householder earning R10 600 a year in 1972 paid an effective ultimate tax (ignoring rebates and abatements) of 14.2%.

By 1984, such a household, or the real equivalent of his 1972 counterpart, was paying 30.4% of his income in tax to the Government.

Survey spending
Committee in T'kei for talks on constitutional position of blacks

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent
THE Special Cabinet Committee looking into the constitutional position of blacks in South Africa and related matters is visiting Umtata today for talks with the Transkeian Cabinet.

Last Friday it held similar talks with the Bophuthatswana Cabinet, and next on the agenda were Oskei (November 24) and Venda (November 25), a senior spokesman for the office of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr. Chris Heunis, said today.

Mr. Heunis chairs the committee.

Other members at today's Umtata talks are the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha; the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis le Grange; the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen; and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Louis Nel.

Eight senior Government officials make up the rest of the 12-member South African delegation.

They are holding talks with the full Transkeian Cabinet and the State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, at the presidential palace today.

When it was instituted last year, the committee was widely billed as being mainly concerned with finding a solution to the vexed question of the constitutional position of blacks outside the homelands - particularly the urban blacks.

The committee has already received representations from urban black leaders, whose identity Mr. Heunis has declined to disclose on the basis of confidentiality and the "safety".

But Mr. Heunis has made it clear in past weeks that the constitutional position of homeland blacks is also included in his committee's brief, and the present talks are a manifestation of this.

Both he and the State President, Mr. P.W. Botha, have stressed that they view the committee's work as "urgent".

Mr. Heunis pointed out in an interview with the Evening Post last month that all options were being considered, although any final decision would be taken by the full Cabinet.

The spokesman at his office further pointed out today that socio-political factors affecting blacks were also being examined, in addition to constitutional questions.

"Attention is being given to the whole question of citizenship, particularly as far as urban blacks are concerned. There have been complaints that blacks lose their citizenships when homelands become independent," he added.
TONY BLOOM

Time to talk to black leaders

Premier Group chairman Tony Bloom received the 1984 Award for Management Excellence from the Wits Business School. This is an extract from his acceptance speech.

On the political front, if I sense views of many of my colleagues in business correctly, there seems to be a feeling that the wheels have begun to fall off. Contrast the post-Nkomati euphoria with the present despondency and prognostications of gloom. I have to say that I am not entirely surprised at the manner that events have turned out, which I believe were in many ways predictable — except for occasional surprises such as our grossly inept handling of the Durban consulate crisis, which not only defies prediction but indeed explanation.

There is no doubt that there was and still is unrestrained admiration for the external achievements of the Executive State President — they clearly represent a major foreign policy victory for SA which should hopefully form the basis for broader regional co-operation in the whole of the southern African region.

And, equally, internally the referendum endorsing the new Constitution gave an overwhelming mandate for change which will also hopefully be used to establish a trend towards a more just society.

But the black population has been excluded from the new constitutional dispensation and urgently needs to be reassured - they need a signal — that the process of reform is soundly based and intended for them as well. The best way to demonstrate this is to begin by dismantling statutory discrimination, perhaps starting with less controversial issues (such as opening up previously reserved “white only” trading areas to all races — surely an anachronism in post-referendum SA), but working inevitably over a reasonable period of time to the removal of discrimination as a feature of legislation in SA in its entirety.

Internal reform

The positive external developments will not be able to achieve their potential benefit unless simultaneously accompanied by internal reform.

Surely the time has come for meaningful discussions with black leaders, discussions which can only take place outside the new constitutional dispensation in its present form, firstly because it does not provide for them and, secondly, because black leaders have expressed unwillingness to participate in a constitution that they feel is discriminatory, divisive and selective.

To be effective, our new dispensation requires credibility in the minds of coloureds, Indians and blacks, and this has so far been abysmally lacking, as is evidenced by the low polls in the Indian, coloured and even black local community council elections.

Such credibility will be difficult to achieve if it is not accompanied by discussion with the legitimate black leadership in SA. In this context, leadership cannot mean those personalities who are promoted to positions of influence and authority by virtue of their tribal or ethnic affiliations — leadership must mean people who reflect the will and support of the majority.

This will need to embrace, at the very least, the Soweto Committee of Ten and, almost certainly, leaders with the black political credibility of people like Nelson...
OPPOSITION POLITICS

Silence at the top

SA's first two Cabinet ministers of colour, Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi, have long stood as opponents of apartheid. But, despite the troubled waters in which SA now finds itself, these two have been remarkably silent of late; so much so that the question is being asked whether their co-option into the establishment has led to their political emasculation.

In fairness, it is early days. They were made members of the Cabinet only some two months ago, and Parliament is in any case not due to reconvene until mid-January. But at the same time, those coloured and Indian political parties which participated in the new deal must not forget the credibility crisis of the disastrously low percentage poll. Their leaders need to maintain high profiles — and profiles critical of the apartheid structure — if they are to win back any significant measure of electoral support.

The FM has already posed the question of who will emerge as the real parliamentary opposition in the new tricameral structure (Leaders October 5). Hendrickse has stated in public that his Labour Party is now the real opposition, with greater parliamentary representation than any other, including the Progressive Federal Party. If this is in fact so, he has been very slow to take the opportunities for comment that have been offered to opposition spokesmen over the last troubled eight weeks.

As far as can be ascertained, Hendrickse has, since his appointment to the Cabinet, attacked PFV leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, threatened the United Democratic Front (UDF) and criticised the SA Council on Sport (Sacos). He also announced that he was not party to government's decision not to return the Coventry four, and that he disagreed with it. He has not spoken out on the unrest or the miserable state of the economy. In all, his performance must be gratifying to his National Party Cabinet colleagues. And that's a great pity.

As for Rajbansi, he has been virtually invisible since he joined the Cabinet, although he, too, said (when sought out by the press) that he was not consulted on Coventry.

Early days or not, Rajbansi and Hendrickse cannot allow themselves to sink into this kind of obscurity. Both have said their participation in the new system stems from their determination to change society from within. To do this, they cannot let the pressure for change falter for a second.

Or has government in fact succeeded in effectively stilling their voices? Will they restrain themselves to commenting only on government's vision of what are "own affairs?" These questions highlight the danger the two faces of bearing swallowed by the system they have sworn to oppose.

At the same time, government is not blameless. The fact that these two, as full Cabinet ministers, were not consulted on a decision as critical as Coventry does not augur well. Indeed, it smacks of the early days of the first President's Council (PC), when government rode roughshod over the PC's recommendations on Pageview and District Six. That council never fully regained its credibility. It will be a tragedy if the valuable input from community leaders like Hendrickse and Rajbansi is blandly ignored.

A comment made recently by Rajbansi himself is pertinent. When he announced he was in favour of giving the new deal a fair trial, he said the emphasis ought not to be placed on who created the platform or what materials were used in its construction; but rather on the quality of the people who would use it — and, more important, the quality of their performances.

The FM agrees. Both Hendrickse and Rajbansi should never forget that the quality of their performances, now and in the future, are under intense scrutiny from all SA.
PCP named official coloured opposition

Political Correspondent

THE People's Congress Party has become the official opposition in the House of Representatives with the decision of an independent to join it.

Mr Y Rhoda, who won the Bokkeveld seat as an independent, will sit with Mr DT de la Crum, who won Ottery for the PCP.

Party leader Mr Pieter Marais, who lost the election in Bishop Lavis, confirmed today he was going to go on to the new President's Council as one of the nominees of his party.

In terms of the new constitution the PCP could claim three seats on the new council.

CHAIRMAN

Meanwhile the Labour Party has chosen three nominated members of the House.

They are Mr J Douw, a journalist from Potchefstroom, the Rev Alwyn Gossen, of Hankey, and Mr Ismail Solomon, an insurance consultant from Port Elizabeth.

Mr P T Sander, MP for Eastern Cape, will be chairman of the House.

The party's chief whip is Mr W Dietrich, MP for Bethelsdorp.
Mr P W Botha to be the new executive state president. Another picture, page 3.

This historic picture shows today’s full sitting of the electoral college of the three Houses of the new Parliament of the unanimous election of…
Historic election for Botha
(Continued from Page 1)

Affairs, Public Works and Defence.

He served as Minister of Defence from 1966 to 1978, when he became Prime Minister.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendricks, said: "I think Mr Botha's election is rewarding. In spite of circumstances and criticisms from his own people he had the courage to launch a new initiative in the interest of the country as a whole."

Mr A Rajbansi, of the majority National People's Party in the House of Delegates, said his party had seriously considered putting up a candidate but had in the end decided not to take part in a "token exercise".

He congratulated Mr Botha and wished him well.

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, said: "The significance of the constitutional change that took place today will only be felt and appreciated by the average South African when the new parliamentary structure starts operating.

"Then we will discover how the new executive president is going to link up with, and be accountable to, parliamentary government."

White, coloured and Indian MPs sat together in the Assembly today at the meeting of the electoral college, which elected the new State President. Among those in the front benches are Mr W J Hefer (NP Standerton), Mr Piet Close (NP Virginia), Mr Sporre van Rensburg (NP Rosettenville), Mr Willem Delport (NP Newton Park), Mr Les Abrahams (Labour Party, Diamant), Mr Abe Williams (LP Mamre) and Mr Peter Jacobs (LP Ali Park). Report Page 1.

Sonn turns down education portfolio

Education Reporter

LEADING coloured educationist Mr Franklin Sonn has turned down the education portfolio in the House of Representatives.

Mr Sonn, president of the 26,000 strong Cape Teachers Professional Association, confirmed today that he had turned down an offer "over the weekend" after consulting his wife and friends.

He said his reasons for turning it down were "personal" and he had not consulted his colleagues on the CTPA because this was not necessary.

Mr Sonn declined to comment further.

The leader of the majority Labour Party in the House of Representatives was not available for comment.

Mr Sonn is also president of the Union of Teachers' Associations — the umbrella body for all coloured teachers' organisations — and is principal of the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville South.

At the annual conference of the CTPA in George in June this year and on other occasions, Mr Sonn has said he has no political ambitions.
Three ordered not to interfere with non-voter

By Fiona Macleod

Three Lenasia men were yesterday ordered by a Rand Supreme Court judge not to interfere with a 19-year-old motor mechanic who refused to participate in last week's elections.

Mr Arashad Kajee, of Brahmaputra Street, Lenasia, brought an urgent interdict against the three men, whom he said were threatening his life.

Mr Kajee said in papers that Mr Hans Saloojee, Mr Georgie Saloojee and Mr Usiki Saloojee, all of Geranium Avenue, had been engaged by a House of Delegates candidate, Mr D Pillay, to assist him on polling day.

"The three men appeared to be helping the police in subjecting certain people to physical control," Mr Kajee said.

When Mr Kajee asked Mr Georgie Saloojee why he was using force Mr Saloojee allegedly became angry and aimed a gun at him, but was restrained by the police.

LARGE GROUP

Mr Kajee said the three men and a large group of people arrived at his cousin's home when he was visiting her the following Sunday.

"They chased after me into the house, where they pointed guns at me and threatened in foul language to do me grave physical harm."

The Saloojees were temporarily interdicted from using violence against or threatening Mr Kajee. They were given until October 16 to reply to the allegations.
Details of new deal structure

Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday made public details of how general and own affairs departments will be divided under the new dispensation.

The adjustments to the structure of various public service departments had originated from the need to implement the principle of self-determination over own affairs for whites, coloureds and Indians.

Whites will have five departments for the administration of their "own affairs" and coloureds and Indians will have four.

The groups will all have the following three "own affairs" departments: Education and Culture, Health Services and Welfare, and Budgetary and Auxiliary Services.

The fourth "own affairs" department for both coloureds and Indians will be Local Government, Housing and Agriculture.

The two additional "own affairs" departments for whites are Local Government, Housing and Works, and Agriculture and Water Supply.

These departments will fall under the ministers' councils of the three Houses of Parliament.

Mr De Klerk's statement indicated that there would be 25 departments of "general affairs" falling under the main or central cabinet.

He emphasized, however, that the number of departments would not necessarily be an indication of the number of ministers to be appointed.

The grouping or combining of departments within the ministries would be the prerogative of the new State President.


Discussion between Mr F W Botha and leaders of the majority parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates on the composition of the Ministers' Councils for their Houses has already begun.

The Rev Allan Hendricks of the Labour Party and Mr Amichand Rajabhai of the National People's Party have also consulted with Mr Botha on the State President's nominations for two additional MPs each in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.
The service of opposition

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, was Leader of the Official Opposition in the outgoing white Parliament and will perform the same function in the white Chamber of the new Parliament. He writes on the role of his party in the new Constitution.

The one thing that must not be done is to predict with too much confidence what is going to happen to parties, Chambers or even the State President and his President's Council in the new Parliament. Obviously, the PFP, as the Official Opposition in the white Chamber, will carry on performing the traditional roles that remain in the new structure. It will move the traditional role of no confidence, in this case, in the Executive President and his government; criticise the Budget; participate in standing committees and scrutinise legislation; and table questions.

As far as the latter is concerned, this is a very valuable service performed by the Official Opposition that goes largely unheralded and unappreciated. A massive amount of statistics is generated annually by these questions. For example, in the 1984 parliamentary session, 2,089 questions were placed on the Question Paper, and 1,690 of these were asked by the PFP alone. Many research departments and universities, both domestically and internationally, depend very much on replies to these questions for factual data concerning the SA situation. And it is definitely our intention to carry on with these questions to the best of our ability.

But it is not this traditional role of the Official Opposition and of the PFP that comes under the spotlight when the new Parliament is discussed and analysed.

Some dire and extraordinary predictions have been made from various quarters about the impact of the new Parliament on the PFP in particular and the Opposition in general. Many of these predictions are based on a gross misunderstanding of the structure of the new Constitution; or, in some cases, an overestimation and wishful thinking as to its potential for consensus and evolutionary reform.

I am not being immodest if I say that I and some of my colleagues have been intimately involved in the unfolding of this new Constitution, and, from the outset, our concern has been to assess the role and contribution of opposition within its structure. We have not distorted the fact that we believe the role to be the more demanding and more difficult in the new Constitution, but it is a challenge that cannot be avoided and that has to be taken up.

During the referendum, the government managed to sell the "sizzle" rather than the "steak" when it came to the new Constitution, whereas we, in the Official Opposition, tried to draw attention to the quality of the meal that was going to be served. Now, the course is on the table and we will have to make do with what we have got. I see the task of the PFP in the new Parliament, in addition to continuing its traditional role, as consisting of the following:

- Exploring and exploiting the contradictions of the new system for the sake of promoting reform and evolutionary change. Let me mention two examples already apparent. Why can't we have joint debates if we have joint sittings? It is ridiculous to sit together and listen to a second reading speech of a Minister and then go and debate that speech in separate Chambers.

- Why can't people in the same Parliament, who believe in the same political philosophy, not belong to the same political party if they wish to?

- Highlighting the inadequacy of the new Parliament to cope with the real and central political issues in the country. In spite of all the time, effort and money that has gone into creating and implementing the new Parliament, its very structure and composition makes it unsuitable to cope with problems of white-black constitutional co-existence and black urbanisation. The creation and terms of reference of the Cabinet committee on black constitutional development is an admission of this failure.

- Seeking alliances and formulating joint strategies with other individuals and/or parties who share the same philosophy and goals as the PFP or simply adopt the same line or attitude to policy initiatives and legislation from government. It is still early days to be more precise about this very important task, and sufficient time should be allowed for members in the other Chambers to settle in and adjust to the new Parliament. But it is obvious that if there are members who have the same attitude on Bills, Private Members' Motions and general political strategy inside the three separate Chambers, they should get together and plan and co-ordinate their political input; and

- Even in spite of the very serious shortcomings of the new Parliament, it should be the task of the PFP to do everything possible to prevent the new Parliament from simply becoming an instrument of black-white polarisation.

Therefore, we will have to continue to seek interaction and co-operation with as many black organisations and movements who are constitutionally excluded from this Parliament in order to undercut black and white radicalisation. This is perhaps going to be the most difficult job to perform, precisely because of the underlying assumptions which went into the construction of the new Parliament.

The extent to which the PFP as the Official white Opposition can be successful in performing these roles, will be one of the most important barometers for the existence and viability of a moderate political centre cutting right across the various racial groups and on which will rest the awesome responsibility of keeping alive the possibility of evolutionary and constitutional reform. I say one of the barometers, not the only one. But to the extent that the PFP or any other similar party does not perform these tasks, we and the rest of the country will have become the victims of radical polarisation.
Boycott movement: Matter of moral or political victory?

WHAT has been achieved by the boycott mounted against recent elections for the "coloured" and "Indian" houses of the new tri-
cameral parliament? And what is the future scope of this strong tradition of non-collaboration?

Most assessments of the results of these elections have focused on the extent of support for the government's new constitutional deal. The main question has been whether polls were seen as a success or disaster.

In the "coloured" house, the UDF managed to get 25 per cent of the vote, with 20 per cent for the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Party (DP), and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The moderate "Indian" house was taken by the United Front (UF) with 38 per cent of the vote, against 33 per cent for the National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and 17 per cent for the Pan African Congress (PAC).

Concerning the recent elections, there can be little doubt the boycott proved a considerable success. This is why the UDF which cannot lay claim to the support of those who did not vote, or who did not even register as voters. Many voted to do so because of their lack of participation or due to political ignorance and irresponsibility. Voting for boycott is a deliberate act of non-collaboration. The boycott is not a protest, it is a clear overall pattern of election results.

Political ignorance and apathy mean that you are likely to have been seri-
ously and, in some cases, criminally in the rural areas. For the next time, more informed, artic-
ated and motivated electorate we must look to the urban constituencies, where one would have expected the highest rate of participation. The boycott may have had a lower voter turnout in the urban areas than in the rural ones, but certainly was not the rural Erf. In the case of the "coloured" house, the highest poll was recorded in all areas, in the Northern Transvaal, in the rural Free State and Eastern Cape constituencies showing voting of 40 per cent or more.

In the Western Cape, the political heartland of the ANC, the average percentage poll was below 36 per cent, while the percentage poll in the "Indian" house was below 10 per cent (which were very high for the rural Cape, even in the DP which has a 1970 to a mere 23.11 in the "Indian" house). In the "Indian" elec-
tions, too, the white urban con-
stituencies recorded ex-
ceptionally low percentage polls. Such polls indicate a lack of ac-
countable and deliberative boycott, by the most articulate and urban voters.

If we are to reach our.

Boycott movement would be voters are quite misleading that they are intended to suggest that in spite of these polls there is a stronger underlying support for the new constitutional deal.

In fact, the poll pattern simply confirms what the general attitude surveys have estab-
lished. A case in point is one by Willem van der Spuy at the head of the de-
partment of political science at the University of the Western Cape (UCW), published in the "South Af-
rican" in the first week of the new Afri-
Kans. Van Vuuren's data show quite simply that the better educated and more politically in-
fomed coloured respon-
dents are the less they are prepared to express support for the new con-
stitutional deal.

It is a superficial political diagnosis which wishes to make the UDF the scapegoat for the ef-
fective boycott. The UDF embodies the broadest organiza-
tion and the real strength of the boycott movement lies in the various community ass-
sociations and sporting or-
ganisations which operate without the UDF or the re-
cognized ANC. Such groups have been much differ-
ent. After all, the tradi-

On the contrary, the boycott movement is in fact a real democratic principle. It is in line with a broad right of self-determination that participation is endorsed. Only in the extent that government now to be based on consent does arise to with-
hold democratic participa-
tion. In a wider per-
spective it may thus be argued that the boycott movement provided a better testimony to the broadening of the demo-
ocratic process in South Africa than the votes gathered by the partic-

This can hardly be counted as a political achievement in any real sense. But then, what could one count as a real success for a political boycott? The core of the boycott strat-

gy is to have the odds, fear and shame, attacked against the UDF. It is not easy to achieve a relative majority of sup-
port, as in ordinary political contests. It must be achieved in a multi-

cultural context. It must be achieved in a way which is susceptible to widespread communal support and in a way which is suscep-

In the end the effec-
tiveness of a political boycott will depend on how badly and urgently the point being with-
held is required by the ruling party. If the present-
case it is clear that the gover-

The boycott movement is still alive in the face of victories, but it comes to prominence already. Its political action is the site of its past.

ANDRÉ DU TOIT

Walter van Vuuren: "How To Dold Afrikaners" (Lexch 1980, H.B.).

especially in the Cape Peninsula, where the defini-
sions of non-collabora-
tions are so deeply rooted that new political strategies will not easily be forged.

The boycott movement has still won its major victories, but it still remains a divisive political movement. It is the face of its own past.

André du Toit is professor of political philosophy at the Uni-

Walter van Vuuren: "How To Dold Afrikaners" (Lexch 1980, H.B.).

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Walter van Vuuren: "How To Dold Afrikaners" (Lexch 1980, H.B.).
New moves to nullify elections

THE Supreme Court is to be asked to declare the elections to the House of Delegates invalid because of alleged massive abuses of special votes.

If successful it could also lead to a bid to set aside the results of the coloured election.

Affidavits collected after last week's Indian elections allege that:
- Dead people exercised special votes.
- Some people voted twice.
- Voters were offered housing and other inducements to vote and
- Voters were bribed, victimised and threatened.

Following accusations from the Government that they had intimidated voters, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses have collected scores of affidavits to support their counter-accusations.

EMBARRASSMENT

If successful the actions would prove a severe embarrassment to the Government who are determined to press on with implementation of the tri-cameral system, despite the dismal flops of the Indian and coloured elections.

Among the irregularities alleged by the TIC are:
- A vote cast in the name of a dead Actonville man, Krishna Morgen.
- A case where a woman and her father cast two votes each.
- An incident in which a father applied for special votes on behalf of his three sons, who had refused to vote.
- Numerous cases of people who did not know they were requesting a special vote and that it was an offence to make a false declaration.

- Some voters were told their pensions would be withdrawn if they did not cast special votes.
- Other voters claimed they were told they would receive houses if they cast special votes.

AFFIDAVITS

The TIC has collected about 70 affidavits from the Benoni constituency of Actonville, where 59.34 percent of the votes cast were special votes.

And according to Yusuf Mohammed, a spokesman for the NIC, his organisation had collected 57 affidavits, mainly from Chatsworth.
LP pact gives Rajbansi victory in Indian House

By NORMAN WEST and BRIAN POTTINGER

A SECRET written pact between the Labour Party (LP) and National People's Party (NPP) lies behind this week's dramatic victory of the NPP in the House of Delegates.

An agreement — the Sunday Times has the full text — was signed between representatives of the two parties only hours before the majority party in the level-pegging House of Delegates had to choose its members for the electoral college.

But this weekend's desperate bargaining and counter-bargaining was still continuing as factions in the two parties attempted to woo away senior figures in the rival camps.

At the centre of the horse-trading lies the scramble for key posts in the new system. And there are already indications that the NPP is considering pushing for more posts in Ministries to satisfy the clamour from party faithful.

High drama

The secret deal struck this week promised the NPP the support of Labour Party independent Mr. Almaz Lamhatbat if it agreed to choose defeated LP candidate Mr. Salam Abram-Mayet as an indirectly elected member.

In a week of high drama between the neck-and-neck competitors, the NPP and solidarity, it was the lone LP independent who emerged the winner and had ensured that the LP was totally dominant in the House of Representatives — now also holds a balance of power in the House of Delegates.

The state of play at the moment is that with the two constitutions at stake, the LP is seeking to form a government under a new constitution. We await his reaction.

Mr. BAREND DU PLESSIS
The ball is in his court. We believe the situation now is too serious to be scaring debating points.

We need a real effort by private and public sectors, Government and Opposition, to get this economy right and to set us on the correct road for the future.

This is a sincere offer to a new Minister in a new government under a new constitution. We await his reaction.
By NORMAN WEST and BRIAN POTTINGER

IN an audacious move, the Labour Party is plotting the establishment of a "dummy" official Opposition in Parliament. The House of Representatives.

It is a bold attempt to neutralise the two-man People's Congress Party Opposition and to seize all the privileged positions in the House and the President's Council.

The strategy — a sensational development in a week of political wheeling-dealing — is unprecedented in South African politics.

With "official Opposition" states in the House of Representatives, the Labour opposition would be able to seize the three main portfolios: the President's Council, dominate debate in the chamber, dramatically alter the workings of the joint standing committees and claim the higher salary of Leader of the Opposition.

Constitutional experts this week said that the creation of a false opposition to neutralise a genuine opposition would be unconstitutional, could amount to fraud and is open to a challenge in court.

Breakaway

The plan hatched out by Labour strategists entails the breakaway of a handful of faithful Labourites and the creation of a ploy opposition that would eclipse the PNP.

The "dummy" would claim their rebellion was grounded in opposition to the implementation of Labour Party policy but would leave themselves the option of returning to the Labour fold later.

After a few months in "opposition" — and having clinched the President's Council nominations at the end of this month — they would declare their rebellion at an end and rejoin the Labour Party.

With the tiny PNP representation in Parliament, it would need no more than six "dummy" Labour Party men to establish a sufficiently large official Opposition to allow them to qualify for the appointment of all three President's Council nominees allocated in terms of the constitution to the opposition in the House of Representatives.

The move would also deny PNP Leader Mr Peter Marais access to public office. Mr Marais was defeated in the Bishop Lavis constituency in the August elections and has made no secret of his intention of continuing his political life from within the President's Council.

The logistics the Labour Party strategists are prepared to go to neutralise the tiny PNP opposition are seen as an indication of the bitter antagonism between the LP and PNP.

Confronted

Top Labour Party sources — confirmed to the Sunday Times — confirmed the plan but refused to talk further.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said it was difficult for him to comment on the matter until he got back to Cape Town. As far as he was concerned all forms of opposition are welcome as long as they have the same goals as the Labour Party although strategies might differ.

"But as far as the PNP is concerned, we believe they are too weak an opposition."

It is understood, meanwhile, that one of the Labour Party council leaked the plan to a member of the Government who has strongly warned against going ahead with the scheme — not only because it would be unconstitutional but also "immoral".

Mr Marais, whose political future hinges on his nomination to the PNP, has already thrown down the gauntlet if the LP chooses to go ahead with the scheme.

"In my opinion it would be immoral and unethical and I would be inexcusable if the Government could allow this scheme to occur.

Betrayed

"If the Government does not stop the LP in its tracks, I would feel betrayed by the Government.

"As a politician I faced the reality of losing to a LP man, but I believe I deserve to become at least a member of the PNP."

"If I am now robbed of this chance of serving South Africa in the PNP because the Government did not stop the LP to cunningly exploit a loophole in its constitutional structure, I am afraid I would feel totally betrayed by the Government."

I cannot guarantee the reaction of my followers. We'll be the laughing stock of anti-apartheid forces like the United Democratic Front (UDF) — as if we did not have to come through enough deviations from those quarters," said Mr Marais.
The upsurge in inter- and intra-party squabbling and "trading" comes only days before Mr P W Botha, as executive State President, allocates power positions in the new government.

Major features of the stormy political scene include:

● Strong rumours of a Labour Party split, with claims that it is a ploy to enable the LP to become both the majority party and the official Opposition in the House of Representatives.

● A possibility that the tiny People's Congress Party, the only other party with seats in the coloured House, might continue the fight for its political life by forging alliances with extra-parliamentary forces.

● Continued squabbling between the LP and the white Progressive Federal Party, an opposition that might seriously jeopardise hopes for a multi-party alliance against apartheid.

● Reported differences between rival factions in the PFP caucus, over the role of the party under the new deal.

● Behind-the-scenes bargaining by factions within the two major Indian parties in a bid to spark last-minute defections to opposing camps.

'Breakaway' party

If 10 LP members break away and form a Reform Labour Party, this would prevent the PCP, with only two members, from becoming the official Opposition in the coloured House. It would also give the rebels, instead of the PCP, the chance to nominate members to the President's Council.

This would depose the PCP leader, Mr Peter Marais, a seat on the President's Council he failed to gain election to the House of Representatives.

The rebel Labour group is said to be led by Mr Peter Mopp of East London. However, political opponents claim it is a plan to set up a fake opposition aimed at giving the LP, virtually all the power and patronage accruing to parties in the House of Representatives.

Seven of the 10 Labour members named as the rebel group are from the Western Cape. They include Mr Fred Peters, who has been national secretary of the LP for 18 years and Mr Richard Leakey, a personal friend of the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

One source expected the group to return to the Labour Party some time after nominating the three opposition members to the President's Council.

Mr Marais yesterday described this as a plan to set up an "dummy opposition".

He said that if "this fraud" was allowed to take place it would be the "death knell of any respectability the tripartite system might have had".

Mr Hendrickse was unwilling to discuss the breakaway party or its implications till he had met party leaders. Squabbling between the LP and another potential ally in the "battle against apartheid", the PFP, continues.

The verbal war was sparked by a suggestion by the PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, that the PFP would consider alliances with other parties under the new dispensation — including the LP, who might share similar values. Mr Hendrickse interpreted this statement as a patronizing attempt by the PPF to prescribe to the LP what course it should follow.

Principles

Dr Slabbert said yesterday that he had made a statement of principle that his party was open to co-operation with parties that shared principles in common with the PFP.

"If Mr Hendrickse has considerations greater than shared principles when considering possible alliances, then there is nothing the PFP can do about this."

● Wiley tipped for cabinet post, page 2
Dissent group to meet Labour leadership on move to leave party

Walkout threat

By TOBY WENZEL, Political Correspondent

A DISSIDENT group of Labour Party members of the House of Representatives will meet the party leadership tonight to discuss their threat to leave the party and form the official opposition.

The leader of the group, Mr Peter Mopp, MP for Border, confirmed this today. He dismissed suggestions that the move was only a ploy by Labour Party supporters to keep the People's Congress Party, which has only two members in the House, from becoming the official opposition.

Mr Mopp said a group of 'more than 10' Labour MPs had already started leaving the party.

'We already have one foot outside the door. Tonight's meeting will decide whether we return to the party.'

Party ranks

He said dissatisfaction had been simmering in party ranks for some time. It was not so much a question of differences about basic policy but about the way in which policy was being implemented.

Although Mr Mopp would not give further details, it is understood that part of the dissatisfaction is the party's nomination procedures and the choices of some of the nominated members to the House of Representatives.

There is also dissatisfaction about the way in which the top leadership seems to be concentrated in the Eastern Cape, where the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickx, comes from.

A spokesman for the leadership confirmed that the meeting would take place.

'Nonentity'

Mr Mopp said the PCP was a 'political nonentity' and his group was not concerned about the party.

Scepticism has been expressed in political circles about the reasons for the move and it has been suggested that it is to keep the PCP from becoming the official opposition and thereby claiming the right to elect three members to the new President's Council.

Many Labour Party members, some who have been named as members of the dissident group, said they knew nothing about the moves.

One was Mr Fred Peters, national secretary of the party.

Mr Richard Lackay, MP for Grassy Park, another whose name has been mentioned, said he had not been approached.

'Too well-timed'

He did not exclude the possibility of a breakaway and said there was dissatisfaction in party ranks on some issues.

A lot would depend on the planned meeting of the group with the leadership.

Mr Peter Marais, leader of the PCP, who has announced that he will be seeking a seat on the President's Council, said the issues being given as the reason for dissatisfaction in the Labour Party were not sufficient for those supporters to leave the party.

The move was too well-timed to be genuine.

He had no doubt it was planned to keep the PCP from becoming the official opposition and to keep him from getting a seat on the President's Council.

The Labour Party wants to end his political career, he said.
Dilemma facing Rajbansi is not over yet

Mercury Reporter

NATIONAL Peoples Party leader Amichand Rajbansi's battle to keep his party intact and hold on to his slender majority in the House of Delegates is by no means over.

This is the view of party members who say the acid test of his leadership will come later this week when he furnishes the State President with two names for possible appointment to the House of Delegates — and also gets around to appointing his first Council of Ministers.

According to party sources, more of his MPs are aspiring to become ministers than there are ministries — and this may well push Mr Rajbansi into a tight corner.

The only certainties so far are that he will have overall control over the four Indian ministerial departments in his capacity as Minister without Portfolio, and Mr Baldeo Bokoo, MP for Red Hill, will become Minister of Housing.

There could be a tussle for the Minister of Education post between Dr M S Padyachoo, MP for North Western Cape, an academic with a doctorate in education, and Mr Kassie Ramduth, MP for Clare Estate, a retired headmaster and BA graduate of the University of South Africa.

Mr Ramduth won his seat as an independent and crossed to the NPP. He had said earlier he would join whichever of the parties that would offer him the post.

Solidarity, it was understood yesterday, had offered to meet his precondition if it had majority control.

Mr Rajbansi's biggest headache is finding someone for the health and social welfare portfolio.

There is no doctor on the NPP benches, and he is said to be eyeing the only one in the House, Dr S D Cader, Solidarity MP for Montford (Chatsworth).

Dr Cader, who defeated an NPP candidate in the recent elections, is certain to get the post if he is willing to cross to the NPP. He was not available for comment yesterday.

An 'outsider'. Dr R Soobiah of Tongaat, a close friend of an independent Mr R Mohangi, who switched from the NPP to Solidarity, was believed to have come close to a nominated seat — and the minister's post — but fell out of the race after Mr Rajbansi became disenchanted with him.

A Durban lawyer and historian, Mr Ranji Nowbath, and the NPP's national secretary, Mr Muthusamy 'George' Thaver, have been strongly tipped for the two vacant nominated posts in the House to be filled by the State President.

Party sources said seven other NPP members also had an eye on these two nominated seats — adding to Mr Rajbansi's dilemma.
Opposition is still possibility

Political Staff

There is still a possibility of an opposition group being formed within the majority Labour Party in the coloured House of Representatives in spite of strong pressure for the plan to be abandoned.

Several sources, some within the Labour Party itself, have claimed that the move is designed to form an "artificial opposition" and oust the two-man People's Congress Party as the Official Opposition.

This would prevent the PCP leader, Mr. Peter Marais, from being nominated to the President's Council as one of the three Opposition selections.

A source inside the party said last night that there was a distinct possibility that the nine breakaway members under the MP for Border, Mr. Peter Mopp, would form the Reformed Labour Party and thus constitute the Official Opposition.

It is understood, however, that the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr. Chris Heunis, has met the leadership of the Labour Party in an attempt to persuade them to prevent a Labour opposition party being formed.

Conference

With less than a week to go before the first sitting of South Africa's new tricameral Parliament, there are problems in both the House of Representatives and the Indian House of Delegates.

At a press conference yesterday, the leader of the National People's Party in the House of Delegates, Mr. Amiechand Rajbansi, announced that attempts to form a coalition with the opposition Solidarity party had failed. This was later confirmed by Solidarity leader Dr. J. N. Reddy.

It is understood that Mr. Heunis has specifically requested that the two parties form a coalition because of the small majority which the NNP had managed to achieve in the House.

NPP call for united front

Political Correspondent

The leader of the National People's Party (NPP), Mr. Amiechand Rajbansi, yesterday called on MPs in all three Houses, as well as extra-parliamentary groups, to strive for a broad united front to fight apartheid.

Speaking at a press conference, Mr. Rajbansi said he was concerned that the 4:2:1 system of representation in the new Parliament would simply give the National Party the power of veto was one-sided.

"The government cannot ignore a united stand by two-and-one-eighths chambers for ever," he said in a reference to an alliance among all coloured and Indian parties and the Progressive Federal Party.

"If 157 MPs can be on the same wavelength, this group could significantly influence changes."

Two powerful forces

Turning to possible co-operation with groups opposed to the recent elections, Mr. Rajbansi said the efforts of forces inside and outside Parliament should complement each other to effect changes.

He said the elections for the House of Delegates had seen the emergence of two powerful forces, the Congress movement on the one hand and the NNP and Solidarity on the other.

"Both sides must accept each other as relevant forces for change in South Africa," he said.

He said the NNP would make "diplomatic efforts to open the lines of communication" with extra-parliamentary groups opposed to apartheid.
Police fire rubber bullets at UWC students

Education Reporter

RIOT police moved on to the University of the Western Cape campus today and fired rubber bullets and teargas at students who had earlier closed Modderdam Road to traffic and stoned passing vehicles.

About 200 students decided at a meeting to block Modderdam Road in protest at the inauguration of Mr. P.W. Botha as executive State President and resolved that students would not throw stones.

Carrying placards, the students gathered in the middle of Modderdam Road and prevented traffic from passing. Stones and bottles were thrown at traffic which broke through the road block.

Within 10 minutes traffic police had closed the road further away from the campus and turned vehicles away.

Students then set fire to tyres and garbage in the middle of the road outside the entrance to the university.

About five riot police vans arrived at the campus at about 12.45 pm, half an hour after the students had blocked the road.

Pursued by police, the students ran back on to the campus. No warning was given before police opened fire with rubber bullets. A warning came after the first shots.

Teargas was also used to disperse students who had gathered between the buildings closest to Modderdam Road.

A visibly concerned Professor Jan Durand, vice rector of the university, who had earlier appealed to students to return to the campus, declined to comment to the Press until he had spoken to the police.
Chief Reporter and Political Staff

Role for Botha

NEW ERA, NEW ERA
Edward Johnson holds up a flag between two soldiers on the Grand Parade during yesterday's inauguration of South Africa's first executive State President.

A flypast of 14 Impala jets leaves a smoke-trail of orange, white and blue in the sky above the presidential dais on the Grand Parade yesterday.

Mr P W Botha, South Africa's first executive State President, inspects the State President's Guard with General Constand Viljoen, Chief of the Defence Force (background, left), and General Johann Coetzee, Commissioner of Police, (right).
Botha calls for nation’s support

By Michael Acott

Mr P W Botha started his rule as executive President yesterday with an appeal to the nation to support his efforts for peaceful and orderly change.

In his inaugural speech on the Parade, Mr Botha said there was "simply no alternative" to seeking cooperation between all South Africa's communities and race groups.

He saw the new constitution as the means to achieve this, but noted that the constitution would succeed only if the people as a whole believed in it.

"No constitution can succeed unless the people whom it serves wish it to succeed."

'Mosaic'

The constitution was intended to create structures enabling South Africa's unique "mosaic of national and community" to live in peace, harmony, free from want or the fear of hunger, disease and poverty.

Stating that the final test of the constitution would be the attitudes towards its framework, Mr Botha said mutual respect should be the guidelines for all.

"It is no great art to destroy... This can only lead to inexcusable despair and misery."

"To build... and to build together each in his own right... is the challenge that faces us now."

Mr Botha committed the government to the search for peace, both within South Africa and in Southern Africa as a whole. He warned that "peace and freedom are expensive" and said the security forces were important symbols of South African nationhood.

Stability and security depended on a sound economy, and the government aimed at economic strength, prosperity and improved material welfare for all.

"We do not stand for a division of wealth, but for the creation of conditions for the proper distribution of wealth."

He referred to the principles in the preamble to the constitution, including the commitment to equality of all.

'Mosaic' under the law, the protection of human dignity, liberty and property of all and the vow to uphold and defend Christian values and civilized norms.

"This morning I took an oath in your presence and in the name of God to uphold these principles enshrined in our constitution. I appeal to all South Africans to support me in this endeavour."

Mr Botha said change was inevitable in any country, but it had to be peaceful and orderly. Without stability there could be no progress. "Never in the history of mankind was there a land or a people which could resist change in the belief or hope that the world around them would remain unchanged," he said.

"Life itself is a process of growth and renewal. But hate, and the wounds caused by hate, can only damage the course of growth and renewal."

'Challenges'

"In this historical development we are now experiencing, tremendous challenges and opportunities are presented. If we can grasp them in good time and with prudence, they may open the way to greater future growth."

The government believed that stability, peace and co-operation were prerequisites to meaningful social and economic advancement for all in South Africa.

"The ways of co-operation are not established overnight. Working together is a goal that should be pursued with patience, determination and insight.

"This can at times be painful and frustrating, but for South Africa much more than for countries with homogeneous populations, there simply is no alternative," Mr Botha said.

"An immense opportunity, but also one of the most severe tests which South Africa has yet faced, now lies ahead of us."

"We shall have to show that we can listen to one another, that we can respect each other's interests, and that we can rule to the best interest of all. It is here that our future will be destroyed or be safeguarded by ourselves."

Mr Botha said South Africa's future could not be confined to "a couple of metropolitan areas" but included the full use of underdeveloped areas. He promised a meaningful devolution of power to black communities, including urban black people.

'Citizenship'

Promising co-operation with independent and non-independent black homelands, he said the government was "aware of the necessity of finding a solution to the vital issue of citizenship and nationality."

The position of black people outside the homelands was under urgent study by a special cabinet committee. The objective was to find "suitable political mechanisms" which would be both acceptable to these communities and in their interests.

Mr Botha extended "a band of friendship" to other countries in Southern Africa, saying his quest was for peace in the region — a peace built on recognition of sovereignty, freedom and common interests.

He also promised to listen to comment and advice from other countries about the solution of South Africa's problems, provided there was no attempt to interfere in the country's internal affairs.
CONFUSION reigned at the weekend as factions in the Indian House of Delegates switched and reswitched allegiances in the frantic countdown to tomorrow's formal swearing in of the new MPs.

Yesterday, only hours before the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced his Cabinet, the Solidarity Party made a desperate bid to seize power in the House of Delegates after three late-night defections from the National People's Party changed the power balance.

The defections appeared to give Solidarity a majority — enough to oust the NPP from power. But, even as they were counting heads, another move was under way to create a bloc of Independents, which would hold the balance of power.

In any event, Solidarity's apparently short-lived majority came too late for the State President to change his Cabinet plan.

President Botha had already appointed the previously designated NPP members to the Ministers' Council — although they have ostensibly lost the mandate from their chamber.

It is understood that the President had no knowledge of the first major action of the infant House of Delegates when it committed itself to a show of confidence in its NPP leadership.

The rapid turnaround in the House apparently stems from squabbles in NPP ranks over the way top men were appointed to plum jobs in the Ministers' Council by the party leadership.

The remarkable events which have played themselves out in Cape Town over the past few days have raised questions about the survival of the party. Delegates have been appointed to plum jobs in the Ministers' Council by the party leadership.

Yesterday, all three submitted handwritten letters to the Solidarity leadership confirming their decision to join the party.

They also referred to a secret meeting at 10pm in the Cape Town hotel last Sunday, when a plot was allegedly hatched to topple him. NPP spokesmen have strongly denied there was any pressure on NPP people to join them.

By BRIAN POTTINGER and NORMAN WEST

Confusion as Indian members switch loyalties

Dr J N Reddy

Christie Heunis, Minister of Planning and Constitutional Development, and an emergency mid-morning meeting was set up with President Botha in the H F Verwoerd Building.

The Solidarity delegation was headed by Dr Reddy and included Mr Put Poovalingam, Mr Yunus Moolla and Mr Husaan Durandar.

NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi, accompanied by his wife, Mrs Anoer, arrived for a separate meeting soon afterwards.

It is understood that Mr Botha made it clear to the Solidarity delegation that in terms of the constitution he could not change the present appointments of the Ministers' Council — settled when the NPP held the majority.

Mr Rajbansi, I was going to leave the package with the blunt of his own government the ministerial installation — later told the Sunday Times that by January the NPP would again hold the majority.

Dr Reddy contacted Mr

'Volcano' threat to Labour Party

INTERNAL strife within the Labour Party (LP) over charges of "jobs for pals" in the Ministers' Council appointments threatens to rock the party and precipitate a "genuine" split.

In anonymous documents circulating within party ranks and believed to emanate from top party echelons, there is talk of a "smouldering volcano" spreading after the LP was censured by the NPP for its "capture by the right wing of the party".

Threats

But, even as the top-level talks were going on, Mr Choonara had embarked on a move to persuade a number of Transvaal MPs to quit their parties and become Independents.

We will then be able to hold a balance of power between the factions and bring about the much-sought-after unity in the House of Delegates," he said.

He claimed he already had the backing of seven MPs. Mr Rajbansi claimed to have evidence of strong-arm tactics in his party and the calling of an independent alignment.

The Rev Andrew Julies to the Ministers' Council. Mr Julies, from Hercules, is a minister in the United Congregational Church — of which Mr Heunis is also a minister.

In a major upset at the LP congress in Port Elizabeth in January, Mr Julies replaced the former LF strongman, Mr David Curry as national chairman.
A busy week of homespun shuttle diplomacy for Heunis....

By NORMAN WEST and BRIAN POTTINGER

MR CHRIST HEUNIS, Minister of Constitutional Development, had a busy week of intense brokering in an attempt to bring order to the faction-riven wrangling in the new coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament.

In his desperate efforts to end the turmoil in Parliament, Mr Heunis's initiatives this week included:

- A suggestion that Mr Peter Marais's People's Congress Party should not strictly be entitled to three President's Council posts. If the PCP accepted only one PC post, it was possible a Labour Party "split" — known to be false — could be avoided.

- Attempts to broker a coalition between the National Party and Solidarity by means of a division of the President's Council and Ministers' Council seats in the House of Delegates. The bid failed when Solidarity turned down the offer of a position on the Cabinet in exchange for agreement on coalition.

Negotiations over the names of the top Representatives and Delegates who eventually figured in the Cabinet and Ministers' Council.

The deep involvement of Mr Heunis in the party political affairs of the other chambers — despite protestations of aloofness — indicated the Government's concern at the damage the in-fighting was doing to the image of the new system.

One of the most dramatic meetings of the week was on Monday between Mr Heunis and Mr Marais.

**Last-ditch**

During the meeting, Mr Marais apparently made it clear that he would hold the Government responsible if the Labour Party formed a false opposition to deprive his two-man Parliamentary representation of their right to nominate three President's Councillors.

Mr Heunis apparently suggested Mr Marais meet the Labour Party for talks and that the PCP should content itself with one seat on the PC.

After consulting his legal adviser, Mr Marais rejected the suggestion out of hand.

A private meeting was later arranged by Mr Heunis between Mr Marais and the Rev Allan Hendrickse to "iron out" their differences.

Mr Hendrickse gave the PCP men an assurance he would speak to the breakaway faction after Mr Marais had made it clear he would only be satisfied with all three of the PC nominations or nothing.

On the same day Mr Heunis attempted to forge a consensus among the NNP and Solidarity in the House of Delegates.

Both parties apparently agreed on a declaration of intent to form a coalition but the talks rapidly broke down on specifics.

In a last-ditch move the next day Mr Heunis apparently offered Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy a post in the Cabinet if he would accept a post on the Ministers' Council — thereby implying a coalition with the NNP.

The offer had apparently been sanctioned by the NNP. But Solidarity also turned this down — preferring to remain "in opposition".
And now the elderly are left all alone...

The plight of the black aged in white areas has been investigated by the Human Sciences Research Council, which reports "social problems more extensive and frequently more intensive than those experienced in the West."

By WINNIE GRAHAM

The Department of Community Development, the South African National Council for the Aged and other service organisations both in policy-making and in the planning and provision of services.

The survey found that elderly black men, having lost their patriarchal status through urbanisation and industrialisation, were no longer regarded as the repositories of wisdom.

Rootless

Exposure to the media, including television, radio and books, had created wider horizons, leaving the old rootless and unwanted.

Once the black aged played an important role in society. Before the breakdown of traditional customs, land was controlled by the elders. Only when a parent became unfit to care for the needs of the family would a son take the land over in trust — but with it he assumed the obligation to support those who actually possessed it as well as the presumptive heirs who still had to take their portion.

The HSRC report quoted Mr C E Fuller's work 'Aging Among Southern African Bantu' which says: "To disregard this responsibility one would have to violate the very principles of land tenure and use which undergird bantu culture — offending the ancestors, disrupting the customary economy and challenging the social structure."

Traditionally, said the report, aged blacks occupied key positions in the community. They were expected to make an important contribution.

In today's black communities the traditional rights to land, long-centred on seniority and ever adjustable to the needs of the people, were being modified.

The sudden eclipse of the traditional pattern of life had created social problems often more extensive and frequently more intensive than those experienced in the West.

The disappearance of the elders, no longer in full control of the agrarian economy, had undermined the authority of the aged.

Forced to abdicate their traditional role, and with nobody available to work the land and care for them, large numbers of old squatters were gravitating to the urban areas where they hoped to find an improved existence.

The survey found that old age pensions were the main source of income of elderly blacks in urban areas. The amount received was calculated at R30.30 monthly or R60.60 bi-monthly.

Few received cash contributions from their children or other relatives.

There was dissatisfaction, the survey found, with the payment of pensions on a bi-monthly basis. The elderly preferred monthly payments.

Humane

The report said: "Earnest consideration must be given to increasing pensions to aged blacks so that they can enjoy a humane existence. Children, too, should be encouraged to assume greater responsibility for the care of their aged parents."

Population projections by the Institute for Sociological and Demographical Research, the report said, revealed there were about 600,000 elderly blacks in South Africa. This figure was expected to grow to more than 1.1 million by the year 2000.

The report said: "It is reported that the number of pensioners in South Africa will grow to more than 2.5 million in the next 20 years. However, a problem causing grave concern is the growth in the number of blacks who will qualify for pensions...

It is estimated that by the year 2,000 urbanised elderly blacks will draw between R50-million and R150-million in pensions.

Most of the people interviewed were living in rented houses which were either in their names or in the names of their marriage partners. More than three-quarters were satisfied with their accommodation and were not in favour of old age homes — a concept foreign to their traditions.
With society's values changing, the elderly are being pushed out into the cold.

Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA

Fort to move aged blacks on a large scale from white urban areas to, for instance, the homelands would be resisted by them.

Many had spent years in white urban areas where a wide variety of services, such as transport and medical facilities, were available. They were not prepared to migrate to the “national states” where often there were neither family nor formal support services to assist them.

It was commendable therefore, the report said, that various efforts were being made to accommodate elderly blacks in white urban areas and to provide certain services for them on a permanent basis.

Greater efforts, however, would have to be made to provide even more facilities and accommodation for blacks in the urban areas.

The report suggested that opportunities be created to encourage the elderly to form “garden clubs” where they could be taught to grow their own vegetables, either for their own use or to supplement their income.

Consideration should also be given to organising elderly blacks as childminders in areas where creches were scarce.
THE TUNHISIANS in President's men in

Tunis, the seat of South Africa's Presidential power

... now South Africa has...
Here are SA's new leaders

By BRIAN POTTINGER: Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha drastically reshuffled his Cabinet yesterday — and re-arranged many departmental functions to reflect South Africa's first mixed government.

These are South Africa's rulers — old and new — with their new responsibilities.

Cabinet for general affairs:
State President: Mr P W Botha. The position includes office of State President, NTS and the Commission for Administration.
Transport Services: Mr H Schoeman.
Constitutional Development and Planning: Mr J C Hennessy, who also acquires the Group Areas Board from the Department of Community Development.
Foreign Affairs: Mr R F Botha.
Home Affairs and National Education: Mr P W de Klerk. His portfolio excludes certain functions which have been transferred to "own affairs".
Law and Order: Mr L le Grange.
Communication and Public Works: Dr LAPA Mulikin.
Foreign Affairs: Mr D J Nel.
Home Affairs and National Education: Mr P Croucher.
Land Affairs: Mr B H Wilks.
Health and Welfare: Dr D W Villiers Morrison.
Co-operation and Education: Mr J J de Beer.
Defence: Mr A J Vlok.
Agriculture and Commerce: Mr R K Durr.
Agriculture, Economics and Water Affairs: Dr G J G Nienaber.
Health and Welfare: Dr C V van der Merwe. Again, some functions have been transferred to Health and Welfare portfolios of "own affairs".
Co-operation and Development: Dr G Viljoen.
Defence: General M Malan.
Manpower: Mr P T du Plessis.
Industries and Commerce: Dr D J de Villiers.
Justice: Mr H J Costes.
Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Mr J J G Wentzel. This portfolio has lost some of its functions to "own affairs".
Minerals and Energy Affairs: Mr D W Steyn.
Finance: Mr R J du Plessis.
Environmental and Tourism: Mr J W E Wiley.
The following Deputy Ministers have been appointed:
Constitutional Development: Mr P J Dedenhorst.

Here are SA's new leaders

Sunday Times MAGAZINE
THE Loo with a VIEW
Botha picks a mixed cabinet team

President P W Botha yesterday introduced South Africa’s new-style government with a multiracial and dramatically reshuffled Cabinet.

For the first time people of colour — Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse and NNP leader Amichand Rabbanis — have been appointed to the Cabinet.

They are both Ministers without Portfolio. The President also insisted that he would have a major hand in all ministries relating to South Africa’s blacks.

He would devote particular attention to the furthering of the interests of the black communities — particularly in their participation in decision-making concerning their own interests.

Other Ministers handling issues which affected blacks would be obliged to act in close consultation with him, as would the existing Cabinet committee on urban blacks, he said.

There has also been a drastic realignment of government functions relating to blacks.

Key changes in this precedent-setting new Cabinet include:

- The appointment of Dr. Gerrit Viljoen to head a revamped Ministry of Co-operation and Development and Education and Training.
- The appointment of English-speaking Mr. John Wilby to a “Super Cabinet” portfolio as Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism.
- The dropping of Mr. Sarel Hayward, former Minister of the Environment, to the white Ministers’ Council to become Minister of Amel.

High drama

Yesterday’s Cabinet announcements by the newly inaugurated State President came amid a day of high drama which included a reversal of fortunes for the National People’s Party in the House of Delegates.

The appointment of Ministers’ Councils for the Houses of Representatives and Delegates have meanwhile already unleashed seething tensions in both the Labour and NNP.

Ministers’ Council portfolios in the House of Assembly are:

- Agriculture and Water Supplies: Mr. Sarel Hayward.
High drama

Yesterday’s Cabinet announcement by the newly inaugurated State President aimed at a day of high drama which included a reversal of fortunes for the National Party in the House of Delegates.

The appointment of Ministers’ Councils for the Houses of Representatives and Delegates have meanwhile already unleashed seething tensions in both the Labour and NPP.

Ministers’ Council portfolios in the House of Assembly are:
- Agriculture and Water Supplies, Mr Sarel Hayward.
- Minister of Local Government, Housing and Works, Mr Arnie Venier.
- Minister of the Budget, Mr Ebrahim.
- Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Soffie Botha.
- Mr. K. J. M. Botha, former Administrator of Natal, as acting chairman of the Ministers’ Council of the House of Assembly.
- Mr. K. J. M. Botha, acting chairman of the Ministers’ Council of the House of Assembly.
- Mr. K. J. M. Botha, acting chairman of the Ministers’ Council of the House of Assembly.
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- Mr. K. J. M. Botha, acting chairman of the Ministers’ Council of the House of Assembly.

Charles and Diana shortly after the birth of Prince

Tough code of conduct for SA’s new Minister

By NORMAN WEST

PRESIDENT Botha spells out a tough code of conduct for Ministers yesterday in South Africa’s first multiracial Cabinet.

In a move that is clearly designed to give formal substance to his pledge of clean government, Ministers will now be required to observe strict rules. Among them are:
- Every Minister will be expected to perform his official duties and arrange his private affairs in such a manner as not to encourage the impression that the integrity of the Government is above question.
- The actions of Ministers must serve the public interest and must not give the impression that office is being used for personal gain.
- Ministers must provide their dependants with protection.
- Gifts may be accepted only if they are not given under unusual circumstances.
- Ministers must receive gifts in the name of another person.
- Ministers must make their statements.

Assets
- Ministers must disclose assets in the name of others.
- Ministers must disclose assets.
- Ministers must disclose assets.

Congo fever hits 3 nurses

By LINDA VERNANI

THREE nurses were confirmed yesterday to have the deadly Congo fever.

They contracted the disease while caring for Mr Frans Theart, who died last week in Cape Town’s Tygerberg Hospital.

Their names were kept secret by the authorities yesterday. They have been in isolation since Monday.

But their symptoms are reported to be much milder than those of Mr Theart.

Thev are feeling comfortable, The virus tests have come through and all three have Congo fever.

He said the nurses were being treated symptomatically and had all been given anti-convulsants.

Dr Truter said the nurses’ symptoms included headaches, sore throats, fever and skin eruptions. No cases were suspected.

The three nurses cared for Mr Theart before he was put into strict isolation.

It was not until Sunday that Theart was examined at the National Institute of Virology (NIV) in Johannesburg that a positive diagnosis was made.

The doctor in charge of the isolation unit at Tygerberg said the nurses were among about 35 people who had contact with Mr Theart and thought to be at risk.

All the contacts had been watched out for the symptoms of the disease, which are said to last not to pass or have relations and not to live alone with children.

The doctor said that the isolation of the disease was a week.

Yesterday was the turning point, Theart was not expected to survive.

It is thought that Mr Theart was taken by a taxi to the hospital. The taxi was later seen being driven by a taxi driver.

The taxi driver said that he had been bitten by a tick.
PW hands out political power

CAPE TOWN — This week marks the handing out of political power under the new system.

The new Ministers in the Cabinet and various Ministers' Committees were sworn in at the Castle in Cape Town early today.

The Speaker of the House of Assembly, Mr Johan Greeff, was due to be elected as the Speaker for the whole of the new Parliament this afternoon.

Parliament opens officially tomorrow at 11 after each House gathers separately to elect its chairman. The President will open Parliament at the first joint sitting of all three chambers.

These are the President's men

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's first multi-racial Cabinet broke sharply with the tradition of collective Cabinet responsibility.

President P W Botha announced at a Press conference on Saturday that, from now on, Ministers would no longer be obliged to fall in with Cabinet decisions.

"Under the new dispensation, the basic characteristic of the General Affairs Cabinet will have joint responsibility (for any decision) unless he clears it up with the chairman of the meeting and jointly states the position he finds himself in.

"Because there might be differences on principles as to certain matters, I think we must provide for that position under the new dispensation."

Under the Westminster system, Ministers who did not support Cabinet decisions had only one option — to resign.

The new system clearly allows for public dissenion by a minority of Ministers, and is a device to allow such Ministers to dissociate themselves from policies which they do not support.

President Botha warned that he would not tolerate Ministers who side with the opposition of the Cabinet, or attacked the Cabinet without first informing their colleagues and clearing it with the President.

"There are many other countries where there is coalition government," he added.

The general guidelines for Ministers include:

- A Minister must ensure that the public trust in the Government is not impaired or that he, his wife or dependents do not procure unjust gain from his position.
- Gifts may be accepted by Ministers on official occasions in public. They may also be received from private persons, but Ministers must satisfy themselves and the President that they are not given to influence them in any improper manner.
- Liaison with judicial or quasi-judicial bodies must be avoided.

Most of the Ministers in the old Cabinet have been retained, with some changes in names and functions of certain departments.

The controversial Department of Co-operation and Development has been dismantled to some extent, losing functions to the Department of Justice and the new Department of Home Affairs.

This department and the Department of Education and Training, which deals with black education, have been combined under Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The old Department of National Education has been combined with Home Affairs under Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr Sarel Hayward, the only Minister dropped from the old Cabinet — after the earlier retirements of Dr P G J Koornhof and Mr S P Kotze — becomes Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply in the white Ministers' Council.

President Botha also named the MPs he would nominate to the three Houses.

For the House of Assembly they are Mr Stoffel Botha and Mr B H Venter of the Transvaal.

The House of Representatives members are Mr C J April and Mr D Lockey.

The House of Deputies members are Mr M Thaver and Mr R S Nowibath.
New-deal power struggle

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE swearing in of South Africa's first multiracial cabinet and Ministers' Councils will take place today against the backdrop of growing uncertainty and raging power struggles among parties in the coloured and Indian Houses.

The National People's Party (NPP) managed to stave off an eleventh-hour bid by Solidarity at the week-end to seize control of the the House of Delegates, but with the political horse-trading proceeding apace, there is no certainty that NPP will still hold the reins of power when Parliament sits in January.

Last-minute defections from the ranks of the NPP apparently gave Solidarity a slender temporary edge in balance of power, but another move to create a bloc of independents added to the confusion.

Meanwhile, another skirmish over political patronage was brewing at the week-end in the strife-torn Labour Party which threatened to precipitate a genuine split in party ranks.

Resentment among senior party members over recent controversial appointments is threatening to spill into the open and raises the prospect of the LP having to face three opposition parties.

The leaders of the LP, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and the NPP, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, have been included in the first multiracial cabinet announced by the new State President, Mr PW Botha. However, neither leader has been given a specific portfolio.

Mr Botha emphasized that members of the "general affairs" cabinet and the "own affairs" Ministers' Councils would enjoy equal status, but members of the "super cabinet" - to deal with affairs affecting all population groups - will clearly wield greater political influence and power.

'Qualifications' yardstick

The decision not to give people of colour any portfolios in the main cabinet was based on merit and experience and not on colour, Mr Botha said.

He gave an assurance that he would use qualifications rather than race as the yardstick for allocation of separate portfolios in the general cabinet.

None of the nine deputy ministers announced at the weekend are from the coloured or Indian Houses.

Apart from Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi, there was only one new minister in the 19-member "look-alike" cabinet announced by Mr Botha. The MP for Simonstown, Mr John Wiley, has been promoted from Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Fisheries to Minister of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

Three NP frontbenchers were elevated to deputy ministers - the English-speaking Mr Kent Durr of Matliland to Deputy Minister of Industries and Commerce; the veritable Mr Sam de Beer to Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development; and Mr Adriaan Vlok to the new post of Deputy Minister of Defence.

The only significant demotion was that of Mr Sarel Hayward from Minister of the Environment to Minister of Agriculture and Water Affairs in the white Ministerial Council.

- More reports on the new Cabinet, page 2
- Reports on FPP conference, page 2
- Leading article, page 12
Botha names new Cabinet line-up

THE STATE President announced a major reshuffle of his cabinet on Saturday, with several important realignments in the various departments.

The full cabinet is:

**Central cabinet for General Affairs:**
- State President: Mr P W Botha
- The office of the State President will now incorporate the National Intelligence Service (NIS), which includes the Secretariat of the State Security Council.

**Transport Services:** Mr Hendrik Schoeman.

**Constitutional Development and Planning:** Mr J C Heunis. This will now also include the Statistical Advisory Council and the Group Areas Council.

**Foreign Affairs:** Mr R F (Pik) Botha.

**Home Affairs and National Education:** Mr F W de Klerk. This will exclude functions now designated "own" affairs — including Population Registration with regard to Africans and the Commission for Administration.

**Law and Order:** Mr Louis le Grange.

**Communication and Public Works:** Dr L A P A Mannik. This incorporates Posts and Telecommunications and the remainder of the present Department of Community Development.

**Health and Welfare:** Dr C V van der Merwe.

**Co-operation, Development and Education:** Dr G van N Wiljoen. This incorporates both Co-operation and Development and Education.

**Defence:** General M A De M Malan.

**Manpower:** Mr P T C du Plessis.

**Industries and Commerce:** Dr D de Villiers.

**Justice:** Mr H J Coetzee. Certain legal functions with regard to Africans have been transferred from Co-operation and Development to this portfolio.

**Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs:** Mr J J G Wentzel.

**Mineral and Energy Affairs:** Mr Danie Steyn.

**Finance:** Mr Barend du Plessis.

**Environment Affairs and Tourism:** Mr J W E Wiley.

As chairman of the three ministers' councils, Dr C V van der Merwe, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

**Deputy Ministers:**
- Constitutional Development: Mr P J Badenhorst.
- Foreign Affairs: Mr Louis Nel.
- Home Affairs and National Education: Mr P Cronje.
- Land Affairs: Mr B H Wilkens.
- Health and Welfare: Dr G de V Morrison.
- Co-operation and Education: Mr S J de Beer.
- Development: Mr B H Wilkens.
- Defence: Mr A J Vlok.
- Industries and Commerce: Mr Kent Durr.
- Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Mr G J Kotze.
- Ministers' Councils:
  - House of Assembly: Chairman: Mr C V van der Merwe.
  - Agriculture and Water supplies: Mr S A S Hayward.
  - Local Government, Housing, and Works: Dr R A Venter.
  - Budget: Mr E van der M Louw.
  - Education and Culture: Mr J C G (Stoffel) Botha.
  - Local Government, Housing, Agriculture: Mr D M Curry.
  - Budget: Mr A A Julies.
  - Health Services and Welfare: Mr C J April.
  - Education and Culture: Mr Carter Ebrahim.
  - House of Delegates: Chairman: Mr F Rajbansi. Education and Culture: Mr K Ramduth.
  - Health Services and Welfare: Dr M S Padayachy.
  - Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: Mr B Dookie.

Botha releases 'code of conduct'

IN WHAT has been seen as a sign of his irritation at the bargaining for support, now going on in the Indian and coloured chambers, the President, Mr P W Botha, has released the terms of a strong "code of conduct" for ministers in his government.

The President disclosed the code at the weekend along with his new cabinet amid rumours of unprecedented "offers" of cash and other incentives to members of various Indian parties to change their allegiance.

There have also been rumours of possible reprisals through business connections if members do not change their allegiance.

At stake are ministerial positions — which carry salaries of nearly R20,000 a year, along with official residences and cars — and other senior positions. Ordinary MPs are believed to earn about R45,000 a year.

Many observers believe that what they describe as the unedifying scramble for position is not doing the dignity of Parliament or the credibility of politicians as a whole any good.

Mr Botha said every minister would be expected to perform his functions and arrange his personal affairs in such a way that the integrity of the government would be above question.
PFP urges end to newspaper war

THE circulation war between South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) and the Argus group would endanger the future of a free press in this country, Mr. Jan van Eck. MPC for Grootekloof, said at the weekend congress of the Progressive Federal Party.

A resolution adopted unanimously called on both groups to settle their differences in the interests of democracy, in view of developments which could undermine the ability and limit the extent of the free press to report and inform fully.

Mr. Van Eck said failure to end the SAAN-Argus battle would weaken the opposition press in this country and open the way for the pro-government press.

He said the English-language press had a reputation for political independence, whereas the Afrikaans-language press produced government propaganda sheets.

The PFP was concerned because the circulation war might result in both English-language groups being forced economically to play down their political stances, since politics did not sell newspapers.

‘Furious’ Jac Rabie to defect?

THE Transvaal leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Jac Rabie, is likely to cross the floor with five other Transvaal MPs during the course of this week.

Mr. Rabie, who is understood to be furious at not being assigned a portfolio in the Ministers’ Council of the House of Representatives, is unlikely to be able to attract more than five other Transvaal MPs to join him.

A document believed to have been circulated by Mr. Rabie, accused the LP leader, the Rev. Allan Hendrickse, of:

- Favouring members of the United Congregational Church.
- Giving preference to LP members from the Eastern Cape.
- Overlooking the claims of other top party leaders.

In particular, the document singled out the nomination of Mr. Hendrickse’s son Peter as the candidate for Addo, and the appointment of the MP for Bethelsdorp, Mr. Willie Diedrichs, as the Party’s Chief Whip.

Mr. Hendrickse declined to comment last night on why Mr. Rabie had not been appointed to the Ministers’ Council.

A government source said last night, however, that there were reasons which he was unwillingly to disclose why Mr. Rabie could not be appointed to the Ministers’ Council at this stage.

President backs Le Grange

THE State President, Mr. P.W. Botha, has come out in full support of the controversial Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis le Grange.

Addressing a press conference on Saturday at which he announced his new cabinet, Mr. Botha said:

- Ministers who did their work were always under fire.
- There was still a total onslaught against South Africa.

The United Democratic Front was an organization which was not prepared to take part in democratically-prescribed procedures.

Replying to a question on Mr. Le Grange’s handling of such matters as the “Durban siege”, Mr. Botha said that the fact that he was reappointing him to the cabinet meant “I want law and order in South Africa.”

The country is an orderly country and it will stay that way.

The fact people were dying and that terrorism still took place on South Africa’s borders meant that there was still a “total onslaught” on the Republic.

“I believe the onslaught is being organized by Moscow and certain sections of the United Nations.” As long as these elements continued to do behave in this way “we will withstand it.”
Ndămase applauds leasehold appeal

UMTATA — Although Transkei was opposed to the new South African constitution and tri-cameral parliament, the government appreciated calls by the coloured Labour Party to grant 99 year leasehold rights to blacks in the Western Cape.

This was stated here yesterday by Transkei’s Minister of the Interior, Chief D. D. P. Ndámase, in reaction to a statement by the leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Herbrick, calling on South Africa to scrap the coloured labour preference policy and to accept blacks in the Western Cape and grant them 99-year leasehold rights.

Chief Ndámase said Transkei was against the new dispensation and the tri-cameral parliament because it excluded blacks from participating in decision-making in South Africa.

“History has it that Xhosas have always looked upon the Western Cape as an area where they have a right to sell their labour,” Chief Ndámase said.

“It is worth noting that the majority of Transkeians said to be ‘squating’ at Crossroads in the Western Cape are employed but have accommodation problems.

“It is therefore incumbent upon the South African Government to accept Mr Hendrickse’s suggestion.” — DDR.
75 held at Nyanga Bush

Staff Reporter

POLICE today arrested 75 squatters putting up shelters between Nyanga Bush and Nyanga Extension.

The nine women and 66 men are expected to be charged in Langa Commissioner's Court tomorrow with trespassing. They will remain in custody overnight.

Colonel M G Mans, district commandant of Athlone, denied the police had raided the area. He emphasised that no pregnant women and no women with children were arrested.

"It was very peaceful. There were no assaults from either side."

The arrests had taken place on private property belonging to Anglo Alpha after a complaint.

Mr Abel Pofilo, a member of the Nyanga Extension committee, said no structures had been pulled down by the police.

The community had not been told the reasons for the arrests or where those arrested were being taken.
TIC drops action against candidates

Political Reporter

THE Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) has dropped its plan to take legal action against candidates in last month's election for allegedly abusing the special vote system.

In a statement yesterday, the TIC said it had taken the decision mainly because of the danger that people, who signed false declarations in their applications for special votes, would be prosecuted.

The TIC had collected at least 70 affidavits from people who had cast special votes alleging serious abuses of the system.

They included one case where a vote had been cast in the name of a dead man and at least two people who appeared to have voted twice.

The TIC had threatened to take the matter to the Supreme Court on the eve of the elections for the House of Delegates.

However, the matter was postponed and yesterday the TIC announced it would not be pursued at all.
PCP gives up one PC seat to Labour

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party has decided not to create an opposition from its own ranks in the House of Representatives in order to keep out the two-member People's Congress Party and to claim three opposition President's Council seats.

In terms of an agreement with the PCP, which will be the Official Opposition in the House, the PCP will nominate only two of the three members it will be entitled to on the President's Council while the third will be a Labour supporter.

Confirming this today, the PCP Leader, Mr Peter Mansi, said he would take up one seat. The other PCP member will be Mr Joe Pinetown, a Kimberley school principal and the Free State and Northern Cape leader of the party.

He said he and Mr D T de la Cruz, MP for Ottery who will be Leader of the Opposition, had had several rounds of talks with the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party.

Mr de la Cruz said a "gentleman's agreement" had been reached.

Mr Peter Mopp, MP for Border, who was said to be the leader of a dissident group of 10 MPs in the Labour Party, said differences had been thrashed out in talks with the party leadership.
ic' threatens children of iron toddlers

PCP agreement with LP now off

THE one-man Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz (PCP Ottery), said today he would not carry out a "gentleman's agreement" with the Labour Party on nominations for the President's Council.

He confirmed that the People's Congress Party leadership had made the decision after an admission last night that the threatened Labour Party split was party strategy to persuade the PCP to agree on nominations.

Mr de la Cruz said the man identified as leader of the would-be split, Mr Peter Mopp (Border) admitted yesterday the strategy had been used to gain an additional President's Council seat for the Labour Party.

In return the Labour Party had undertaken to recognise the PCP's single member in the House as the official Opposition.

"But now they have admitted it was a ploy, which is unconstitutional," Mr de la Cruz said today.

"We are now going to elect our three members according to our constitutional rights, and we accept that we are going to be put under pressure.

"This is a David and Goliath situation and I am prepared to put my position as Leader of the Opposition on the line." — Sapa.

Elderly woman robbed

PORT ELIZABETH: An elderly Durban woman was found dead at their daughter's home.

An intruder there and his wife, Anne, arrived home.

The man slashed her husband in the throat.

They were treated at the Provincial Hospital.

Police said a suspect was arrested and was expected to be charged.

Price of cigarettes

The price of cigarettes has increased by five percent.

The price of a packet of five has increased by a further 10 cents and a packet of 20 by 20 cents.

Some supermarket prices of popular brands have been increased by 10 percent.

The last increase

A man was acquitted...
No deal with Labour Party

By BRIAN STUART, Political Staff

THE opposition People's Congress Party (PCP) has torn up its "gentlemen's agreement" with the Labour Party on nominations to the President's Council — and is faced with an immediate split in its own ranks.

Mr Abdul-Wahab Tiry of Uitenhage, Eastern Cape leader of the PCP, said last night he would resign from the PCP and ask his supporters for a mandate on whether to join the majority Labour Party.

"We'd welcome him and his supporters with open arms," said Mr Peter Mopp of Labour.

THREE MEMBERS ON COUNCIL

Mr Tiry was speaking within minutes of being nominated by the PCP, official opposition in the House of Representatives, as one of its three members on the President's Council.

The row began when two opposition members of the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz and Mr Y Rhoda, met formally as the opposition electoral college for the House.

Feelings in the PCP were high because of a reported statement by Mr Mopp that the supposed split in the Labour Party had been a "strategy" to convince the PCP to give the Labour Party one of its three opposition seats on the President's Council.

ONE OPPOSITION SEAT

Mr de la Cruz conceded yesterday that in return for recognition as the official opposition, there had been a gentlemen's agreement with the Labour Party to give it an opposition seat in the council.

"The ploy was conceived and engineered in the Labour Party with the express object of pressurising the tiny opposition party into conceding to a demand — which is unethical and unconstitutional. We cannot now go along with it."

Mr Peter Marais, PCP leader, said that even in the white House of Assembly, the National Party was strong enough to form a pretend opposition "to deprive the true opposition of its rights."

ENDORSE PARTY RIGHTS

He felt President Botha should clearly endorse the rights of opposition parties.

Mr Peter Marais, PCP leader, said: "Our (PCP) decision to appoint all three members to the President's Council in terms of our constitutional right is an effort to ensure our own integrity and to uphold the integrity of the new constitution. We cannot allow the new constitution to be raped or amended at will by the Labour Party."

Then came the closed nomination proceedings, followed by another discussion on what had taken place. During this Mr Tiry, one of the PCP nominees, said he had been "stabbed in the back."

He added: "I'm going to resign from the PCP and ask my people what to do."

Mr Tiry said he was "having close discussions" with two senior Eastern Cape Labour men in Mr Mopp and Mr F.J. Erasmus of Gelvandale.

He would take his place in the President's Council on September 25 but he would not represent the PCP which nominated him.
Top PCP man defects to Labour

This week the Cape Times caught a PCP leader in a statement that appeared to contradict his party's opposition to a proposed new Constitution.

In a statement earlier this week, the PCP's national spokesperson, Mr. P. F. M. de Villiers, said: "We agree with the government's proposals for a new Constitution." This statement was made in response to a proposal by the government to replace the current Constitution with a new one.

However, in an interview with the Cape Times, a PCP leader, who refused to be named, said: "We do not agree with the government's proposals for a new Constitution." This contradiction has caused confusion among the PCP's members and supporters.

The PCP has been a vocal opponent of the government's plans for a new Constitution, and this latest statement has caused some members to question the party's stance.

The PCP's national executive is scheduled to meet next week to discuss the matter. It is expected that the party will clarify its position on the issue at the meeting.
THE CABINET

Concessions and discipline

Two issues are particularly relevant in the announcement by President F W Botha of his new Cabinet. The first, obviously, is the inclusion of a coloured and Indian politician as full members of the central authority. The second is Botha’s statement that he will in future play a personal role in furthering the interests of SA’s black communities.

Both developments are long overdue and most welcome. But, like the new constitution itself, both must be seen as only the first step on a long and rocky road.

As far as the appointment of Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi is concerned, it remains to be seen exactly how the “consensus Cabinet” will function with the inclusion of the first non-Nationalists. The criticism has already been made that their appointment in fact constitutes an entrenchment of apartheid.

Both men are there as representatives of their racially separate chambers of Parliament. Neither have portfolios, which means that, while they are members of the central executive body, they do not have authority over “general affairs.” Nevertheless, their presence in the Cabinet is a significant move, and certainly a major concession in Nationalist terms.

Botha’s new commitment to black affairs is also welcome. He went further at the opening of Parliament on Tuesday by admitting government was aware that the new constitution “does not provide fully for the diversity which marks the SA population.” It is to be hoped his personal intervention will result in meaningful reform for the black majority of South Africans — but only time will tell. Botha made it clear he sees no possibility of a fourth chamber for blacks being added to Parliament.

The current level of social unrest among blacks is a dramatic warning of the extent of the problem. And the state of the economy sharply underlines the fact that we can no longer afford to squander the nation’s human and natural wealth on expensive ideological experiments.

SA now needs a strong lead from government — deeds and not words, both in the social and the economic spheres. We have witnessed a lifetime’s worth of rhetoric and political squabbling during the formation of the new system. The new Parliament — largely through the Cabinet — must now move to give consensus meaning in the debating chambers and more importantly within the very fabric of society itself.

Hendrickse and Rajbansi are now leading players in the scenario, and their’s is an unenviably difficult task. Starting from a platform of questionable credibility, they find themselves inextricably a part of the very system they have sworn to dismantle.

Apart from that pressure, they will face massive demands from their communities for heavy State expenditure to correct decades of social imbalance. It will not be easy for them to heed Tuesday’s call from Botha for all communities and individuals to exercise financial self-control. But discipline remains the only long-term solution for SA, politically and particularly economically.
By MICHAEL MORRIS
Municipal Reporter
THOUSANDS of staff would have to be hired for the Government’s new deal for local authorities, according to Dr Stan Evans, Cape Town’s Town Clerk.

And already municipalities were being forced to cut spending drastically and were having trouble finding employees.

Dr Evans said the new dispensation meant increased spending on recruitment and training for new local authorities, just when councils were cutting back.

Concern over cost
He reported on a meeting of the South African Institute of Town Clerks at which there was concern at the cost of implementing the new dispensation.

Dr Evans said it was estimated that between 9 000 and 12 000 additional personnel would be needed for new local authorities.

He said: “Emphasis fell repeatedly on the anticipated additional cost in both money and manpower which many speakers felt would inevitably flow from implementation of the proposals.

Speakers believed extra costs would be incurred through the “inevitable duplication of administration, staff, councillors, and meetings”, and through training and paying for the increase in staff.

“This caused concern because local authorities are already cutting back on staff quotas because of financial limits on expenditure.

“Many speakers said there would not be sufficient persons of the right calibre to meet the needs of new local authorities.”

Regional services
Speakers also expressed concern over the new regional services councils.

“It was feared they would inevitably acquire greater powers and become an additional level of government superior to existing local authorities and thus further reduce their power and status,” Dr Evans said.

Other fears expressed were that the degree of control over local authorities would increase because of the need for subsidisation, and economically unviable local authorities would be created.
THE CONSTITUTION

Will three into one go?

The immensely complex tricameral parliamentary system is now actually in operation, with the first sitting in Cape Town this week of the three houses. Of the 308 MPs in those houses, not one knows how the new constitutional dispensation works in practice.

The fact is that the system is untested. Millions of words exist on paper on the system and how it works, but only time will be its judge. Many criticisms have already been levelled at it, the major being the fact that the black majority in SA is excluded. But another important objection stems from the fact that the bases are loaded. Whites, in effect meaning the National Party, dominate every meaningful institution, from the office of the State President to the President's Council to the Cabinet and the Electoral College.

There is no doubt that the new constitution formally divides the population groups in SA. It racially separates whites, coloureds and Indians into their own, mutually exclusive, houses of Parliament. It legally separates legislation into "general" affairs and "own" affairs.

Also, there is no doubt that the style of parliamentary politics in SA has radically changed. No longer will the parliamentary chambers be the scene of intense debate on legislation and policy. Consensus is the name of the game, and indications are that the most important instrument of consensus will be the joint standing committees, which will meet behind closed doors. It is in this forum that difficulties will be thrashed out.

This study of how the system functions is broken into two parts. First, we briefly review the actual structure of the tricameral system, then we follow the path of legislation — both general and own — through the houses.

Structure of the system

At the head is the State President. An immensely powerful figure, he is elected not by popular choice but by an electoral college consisting of members of the three houses, although he is not a member of any. He presides over the Cabinet, which is the body dealing with general affairs — in other words, those affecting the country as a whole. Operating alongside the Cabinet are the Ministers' Councils — one for each of the three houses. These bodies deal with the "own" affairs of their particular racial group.

The President elects both Cabinet Ministers and the members of the Ministers' Council. He may also appoint "Ministers without Portfolio" to perform any function he determines, and selects the chairman of the various Ministers' Councils.

Parliament consists of three houses:

☑ The House of Assembly (whites), consisting of 178 members. Of these, 166 are directly elected by white voters, eight are indirectly elected and four nominated;

☑ The House of Representatives (coloureds), consisting of 85 members. Coloured voters elect 69 directly, three are indirectly elected and two are nominated; and

☑ The House of Delegates (Indians), consisting of 46 members, of whom 40 are directly elected by Indian voters, three indirectly elected and two nominated.

The three houses are therefore based on the racial ratio 42:1.

An important figure in Parliament will be the Speaker, who may preside over any house when he deems it necessary or desirable. Each house will elect a chairman to act in the absence of the Speaker.

Each house will establish various committees. Most important will be the joint standing committees which will consist of members of all three houses sitting togeth-

THE NEW MPS

SA now has 308 Members of Parliament. Of the 178 members of the (white) House of Assembly, the National Party (NP) has 125, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) 27, the Conservative Party (CP) 18 and the New Republic Party (NRP) eight. Of the 85 members of the (coloured) House of Representatives, the Labour Party (LP) has 83 and there are two independents. Of the 45 members of the (Indian) House of Delegates, the National People's Party has 24 and Solidarity 21. A "split" in the LP has apparently been averted.

More than half the country's MPs — 157 — have publicly committed themselves to scrapping apartheid: the 27 PFP members and all the members of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives. Only 151 MPs — those of the NP, CP and NRP in the House of Assembly — still support separation in one form or another.

There are 33 Ministers, excluding the State President: 18 in the Cabinet for General Affairs and 15 in the three Ministers' Councils. The three chairmen of houses double as Cabinet Ministers. There are also nine Deputy Ministers for General Affairs. The President's Council consists of 60 members. The Legislature of SA thus consists of 368 people compared with 178 before September 3 — and their annual wage bill will be in the region of R20m. The cost of meeting demands is incalculable.
State President Botha ... a labyrinth of rules.

bates, again separately in each house, at which each must take a final stand on the Bill. A dissection arises only after the three houses have all taken their final positions on a Bill and when:

- One or two houses pass the Bill, with or without amendments, while the other house or houses reject it; or

- The houses pass different amended versions of the Bill.

It is at this point that the President faces his three options — to allow the Bill to lapse, to ask the PC for advice, or to call for a PC ruling. Thus, in effect, the PC provides a mechanism whereby a Bill can become law even though only one house may have approved it. The PC itself cannot introduce amendments.

Finally, as is the case at present, the courts will not be entitled to test the validity or merits of legislation, but only whether correct procedures were followed in its introduction.

Schedule of own affairs

The following are defined as own affairs, and, yet again, the decision in the case of a dispute rests with the President:

- All welfare matters, excluding social pensions, with exceptions such as norms and standards for the provision of welfare services, control of fund-raising for charity and control over the social-work profession. These are regarded as general affairs because they affect more than one group;

- All education matters related to a specific population group, but, significantly, excluding sport within the official school context and the training of cadets. Issues such as standards, financing, salaries of teachers and syllabuses are regarded as general affairs;

- All art, cultural, sport and recreational matters, excluding competitive sport;

- Health matters relating to a particular group, and including hospitals, clinics, etc. Health matters affecting more than one group are regarded as general;

- Aspects of community development relating to a particular group, such as housing, rent control, etc. — but not the defining of group areas and other exceptions;

- Local government within a group area;

- Certain aspects of agriculture;

- Certain aspects of water supply, such as irrigation schemes, drilling for water, etc., unless they affect more than one group;

- The appointment of marriage officers for a particular group;

- Organisation of elections for a particular group;

- Control over financing of own affairs — but not the authority to levy taxes or arrange loans. Financing will, in fact, come mainly from the central joint State Revenue Fund by means of general legislation;

- Administration of staff matters for the performance of own functions for a specific group; and

- Auxiliary services necessary for the exercise of own functions by a specific group, such as the acquisition of land, buildings and supplies that may be needed.

Can it all work? Apart from the inter- and widely publicised fault of black exclusion, the system is cumbersome and we probably have to be amended as procedures evolve. But, for the moment, it's there is. And parliamentarians will have their hands full understanding it.

SA's NEW RULERS

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Cabinet for General Affairs:

Executive State President: P W Botha
Transport Services: Hendrik Schoeman
Constitutional Development and Planning: Chris Hani
Foreign Affairs: Pik Botha
Home Affairs and National Education: P W de Klerk
Law and Order: Louis le Grange
Communication and Public Works: Lapa Munnik
Health and Welfare: Alk van der Merwe
Co-operation, Development and Education: Gerrie Viljoen
Defence: Magnus Malan
Manpower: Pietie du Plessis
Industries and Commerce: Dawie de Villiers
Justice: Kobie Coetzee
Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Greyling Wenzel
Mineral and Energy Affairs: Danie Steyn
Finance: Barend du Plessis
Environment Affairs and Tourism: John Wiley

Chairmen of the three Ministers' Councils: Nakan van der Merwe, Allan Hendrickse, and Amichand Rajbansi

Deputy Ministers:

Constitutional Development: Piet Badenhorst
Foreign Affairs: Louis Nel
Home Affairs and National Education: Pierre Cronje
Land Affairs and Development: Ben Wilkens
Health and Welfare: George Morrison
Co-operation and Education: Sam de Beer
Defence: Adriam Vlok
Industries and Commerce: Kent Durr
Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Gert Kotze

Ministers' Council, House of Assembly:

Chairman and Health: Nakan van der Merwe

Agriculture and Water Supplies: Sarel Hayward
Local Government, Housing and Works: Abraham Venster
Budget: Eit Louw
Education and Culture: Stoffel Botha

Ministers' Council, House of Representatives:

Chairman: Allan Hendrickse
Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: David Curry
Health Services and Welfare: Chris April
Education and Culture: Carter Ebrahim

Ministers' Council, House of Delegates:

Chairman: Amichand Rajbansi
Education and Culture: Kasie Ramduth
Health Services and Welfare: Murgansamy Padyachi
Budget: Boetie Abramjee
Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: Baldeo Dookie

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Foreign Affairs: Pik Botha
Home Affairs and National Education: PW de Klerk
Law and Order: Louis le Grange
Communication and Public Works: Lapa Munik
Health and Welfare: Nak van der Merwe
Co-operation, Development and Education: Gerrit Viljoen
Defence: Magnus Malan
Manpower: Pietie du Plessis
Industries and Commerce: Dawie de Villiers
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Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: Baldeo Dookie

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15 named as PC members

Political Correspondent

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday announced the names of the 15 President's Coun-
cil members to be appointed by him in terms of the new constitution.

Included on the list are two former cabinet min-
isters who recently resigned — Dr Piet Koorn-
hof, former Minister of Co-operation and Devel-
opment, and Mr Pen Kotze, former Minister of Community Development. Dr Koornhof has been widely tipped as the first chairman of the new PC.

A notable omission from the list was veteran policeman Mr Japie Bas-
son, who had been a member of the old PC.

Cape members

Other Cape members chosen by Mr Botha are:
Mr J L Horak, a former member of the old PC; Dr
F P Jacobz, a former member of the old PC and
unsuccessful National Party candidate for Green Point in the 1981 general elec-
tion; Mr J A Pickard, a member of the old PC and Western Province rugby chief; and Mr D P
de K van Gend, a local attorney and Peninsula chairman of the NF.

Seven of the members chosen from the Transvaal, besides Dr
Koornhof, those appoint-
ed were: Professor A J G Oosthuizen, Professor F
J Potgieter, Mr J J Pin-
shaw, Mrs A Routier, Mr
D J Hough and Mr J Wil-
kins.

The two members ap-
pointed from the Free State are Professor H J Strauss and Mr D M
Grewar.

The sole member from
Natal was Mr M van der
Westhuizen.

Party choices

The majority parties and official opposition in each of the three cham-
bers nominated their choices of members for the PC earlier this week.

From the House of Assembly, the 20 NP nomi-
ations confirmed by Mr
Botha are: Mr G D Born-
man, Mr P W Coetzee, Mr
J M Henning, Mr H
Kruger, Mr B Lategan, Dr
B J Piek, Commandant L
F Poorter, Dr J M Van As-
wegen, Mr O A W van Zyl
(all Transvaal); Mr T N J
Hickman, Mr A Jooste,
Mrs A J Kock, Mr P S
Marais, Mr P D Palm, Mr
L A Pienaar, Mr N Treurn-
icht (all Cape); Mr D J
Smit and Mr P A van der
Merwe (Free State); and
Mr H B Klopper and Mr M
J van Lingen (Natal).

The six white Opposi-
tion party nominations confirmed by Mr Botha are:
Mr R P Carlisle, Mr J G
Rennie and Dr P
Schoeman (all FF); Mr
P Herman and Dr C P
Mulder of the Conserva-
tive Party; and Mr W M
Sutton of the New Re-
public Party.

LP nominations

From the House of Delega-
tes, the 10 Labour Party nominations confirmed by Mr Botha are:
Mr D Adams, Mr F G
Backman, Mr C M Collis,
Mr B P Cupido, Mr O C
Godden, Dr W H Hoods,
Mr P J C Klink, Mr C J
Pierce, Dr F J L Quint
and Mr F E E Swartz.

The People's Congress Party nominations confirmed are Mr P Marais,
Mr A Ismail and Mr A W
Tiry. Mr Tiry, however,
has apparently defected to the LP.

From the House of Delega-
tes, the majority National People's Party nominations confirmed by Mr Botha are:
Mr P P M Chetty, Mr T L Goun-
den, Mr I F H Mayet, Mr R
Mollah and Mr P Paru-
man.

The Solidarity member
is Mr I Omar.

Deadlock

Mr Botha will appoint the acting chairman of the President's Council on September 29 and the council will have its first meeting the following day.

Parliament will next sit on January 18.

Parliamentary by-
elections will be held on
November 29 in the follow-
ing constituencies: George, Parow, Primrose and Nuweveld. The results in the recent House of Representative elections in Tafelberg and Bosmont are being contested in court, and these two constituencies could also hold elections on this date.
Financing new constitution will be difficult

By MIKE JENSEN

Hit by high levels of inflation and rapidly increasing Government expenditure, the South African economy will have great difficulty in financing the new constitution.

Speaking at the Institute of Directors' conference on "Challenges to Business Leadership" in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Bill Yeowart, the president of Amsec, warned that constitutional reform could only develop within the context of a strong and growing economy.

"An economy that has its resources missallocated, that pays too little attention to nurturing and developing the productive elements in the economy, will founder. If the economy cannot provide constitutional development is itself in jeopardy," he said.

"At the heart of the problem is the fact that we are well into the 11th year of double-digit inflation, with little prospect of its diminution. The consequences of an average inflation of 12.6% for more than a decade are frightening.

"One of the immediate factors contributing to concern is, of course, an increased level and tempo of Government expenditure which has just taken place. The constitutional dispensation has been a boost to levels of expenditure."

"The gross domestic product, at 1975 prices, had not increased as fast as this decade. One can deduce from this that the cake from which everybody is hoping for a larger slice is, in fact, not getting any larger.

"Taking the Government to task for not having yet provided definite financial proposals, Mr Yeowart said the new constitution was "a dispensation in search of finance".

"We were promised tax reform but the impression gained over the past few years is that as the demands on the focus have grown, the tax system has been jiggled to try and squeeze out the last out of the system."  

SOUTH Africa's economy was far too dependent on foreign markets and had to move away from the production of raw materials, the managing director of BMW SA, Mr Walter Hasselkus, told the conference.

Imports and exports accounted for 58% of the country's expenditure on gross domestic product and this percentage was exceptionally high when compared with the world's advanced industrial powers.

"In America, for instance, imports and exports comprise no more than 15% of that country's GDP expenditure. This is why the Americans are not concerned about the strength of the dollar," said Mr Hasselkus.

"Our exports, moreover, concentrate largely on raw materials. At the same time we are importing the bulk of our sophisticated, technologically-advanced equipment from abroad.

"Today, the need in our economy is to take a great leap forward and to advance into a purposeful exploitation of the secondary sector."

"The development of semi-processed and highly processed products - iron instead of iron ore, or stainless steel instead of unprocessed chrome and iron - must be the objective," said Mr Hasselkus.

In particular, the development of high-technology products would cut down on the import bill and it could in itself become a significant generator of exports.

"Historical divisions would have to be bridged and energies focused on a common goal if the country was to have a stable future," said Mr Andre Spier, the executive director of NPC.

"One of the strengths of the Japanese economy is the homogeneity of its leadership. Leaders in business and government share the same culture, study at the same universities and pursue the same goals in a highly competitive society," said Mr Spier.

"By contrast, South African leadership is fragmented in every conceivable direction - language, culture, race."

"In the decades ahead the conflict between what we 'ought' to do in terms of economic and demographic investments, and what we will actually be able to do, will widen unless we overcome the divisions, modernise our economy and work not just much harder but also much smarter," said Mr Spier.

"Nkornati has demonstrated that dividing ideologies can be overcome by focus on the realities of the future. There can be no shadow of doubt that similar handshakes must be exchanged within South Africa."
They have been sworn in with pomp and ceremony as the first members of the House of Representatives. Now the new coloured MPs face the daunting task of delivering the goods. Weekend Argus Reporter PETER FABRICIUS asked them about their plans.

Mr Allan Hendrickse...we'll deliver the goods

Bonteheuwel is one of the worst areas.

"I would like to talk to the Minister of Police about forming a gang-busting police unit. Three years ago we had one, but it petered out. This time I would like to see it operating for longer periods in one place. I think the people of the area and I should meet the station commander to exchange information on the campaign every fourth night or so.

"Now that I am in Parliament I hope to influence the Minister of Police.

He wants to tackle crime by streamlining ticket sales. A lot of our money is wasted. He hopes to solve through a self-help scheme on a large open piece of ground.

Mr Lackey, MP for Manenberg and also a Marco man, is less optimistic, perhaps because he is older and wiser, perhaps because he lives in Grassy Park and not in his constituency. Maybe the problems aren't as immediate.

Good contacts

"I've got hopes and that's about all," he says candidly. Though "if anything is possible, I should be able to do it. I've got good contacts within the party."

He recently became acquainted with Manenberg and was shocked that "people could live like that".

Bonteheuwel is one of the worst areas.

Mr Lackey, who is also a Marco man, is less optimistic about the prospects for change.

His impression of Manenberg is of endless rows of barrack-like apartment towers with pools of water between.

"Manenberg is a transit camp. People move in here for a year or two and then move on as soon as they can afford it. There is terrible overcrowding. I know of one family of 20 in a two-bedroom flat and there are seldom less than 10 in flats of that size."

"I would like to see some of those flats demolished and townhouses built. But he is a little vague about the plan. "I doubt that most people would be able to afford them," he admits.

Mr Lackey, a retired electrical contractor who still holds directorships in hotels, intends to finance a soup kitchen with his own money.

Mr Nick Isaacs, MP for Bishop Lavis, is also slightly daunted by the task in his area and unsure of the power he will be given to tackle it.

"There are so many problems here, I don't know where to start. Bishop Lavis is one of the poorest areas and has many problems." Like most of the others, he first names overcrowding, with electricity a close second.

Real power

"There is no ground here. We have 17 people living in a four-room, one-bedroom house. Bishop Lavis was built after the war for 17,000 people. It has hardly grown at all since, but now there are 54,000 people." He is unsure how much real power the "own affairs" coloured ministers would be given to deal with these problems.

"I have found in the past that the real power is often delegated to the officials. We still have to see whether we have real power or whether we're just window-dressing. It's no use making wild promises when you don't yet know your limitations."

As chairman of the Ratepayers' Association he presently argues with the Department of Community Development about the price of homes to be sold to tenants. He is trying to knock them down to the range of R5 200 - R6 500 from the R7 500 - R10 000 they are asking.

"Now I'll be able to negotiate from a stronger position. I was just a little bird then, a minor, now I'm much stronger," he says.

When the individual problems of areas are added up, the result is a forbidding total for the party to deal with.

As Mr Nick Isaacs says: "Of course, everyone is going to shout just as loud about housing."

The real problems will come, they all acknowledge, when they have to sort out the priorities and then to get the money. That will be when the new Parliament reconvenes in January to cut up the budget cake.

That, as Mr Hendrickse has hinted, will be the real test of the new system's viability.
Golden Years

Pickard's Laddie

a man for all seasons

Eastem new coach.
Well, certainly not by knocking shacks down

By WILLIE ESTERHUYSE

Professor of Philosophy at Stellenbosch University

It is also extremely likely that levels of trust will fundamentally influence by Government action against bogeymen, demonstrators, strikers and squatters. And here the resettlement question must be included.

In the Western Cape, where the voting percentages were exceptionally low, the policy on squatters and established black residential areas will have an important influence on consensus politics.

It is inconceivable that the majority parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates will accept joint responsibility for the policy in its present form. All the more so because black issues will be dealt with as a "common affair".

I have little doubt that forced removals from established black residential areas, or even attempts to achieve this more subtly through, for example, the freezing of developments in established black townships, will be a dagger in the side of development of a more stable climate of trust.

Effective consensus politics on the basis of a relative measure of trust is simply not possible when it is accompanied by forced removals and the construction in winter of squatter shanties.

The new style of politics must be accompanied by a different style of action in conflict situations and towards problems which have been inherited from the old dispensation.

To handle these problems power derives from his expertise and knowledge, in access to important information, and position as the President fills in the hierarchy.

Cabinet Ministers will be externally very well placed with regard to these. In the Consensus in the Cabinet will in most cases also means consensus in the majority parties.

The position of the Executive President with regard to this question is interesting for he must also have a power base when he stands at the helm of consensus decision-making.

This is to which the President is chosen links him inevitably to the majority party in the White House. This is of his own power base he must have certain connections with this major party. The nature of those connections will have an effect on the application of consensus decisions.

Power bases must necessarily take an institutionaized form. It is therefore understandable that the President can remain as national leader of the majority party in the White House.

Leadership

The guarantee that consensus decisions will filter through to the legislative chambers via the representatives of the majority parties in the Cabinet is of crucial importance.

This filtering need not be disadvantageous if the correct institutional and educational strategy is adopted. More than in the old, Cabinet members will be exceptionally well placed to influence decision-making below them.

Political leaders usually have additional power bases. In the new dispensation connection power, reward power, expert power, information power and positional power will play an important role in the caucuses and the chambers.

Connection power rest on a leader's connections with other influential people. Reward power rests on the ability to acquire privileges for his supporters. Expert power derives from his expertise and knowledge, in access to important information, and position as the President fills in the hierarchy.

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Mechanisms

In the final instance he must be able to rely on the support of this party. And it is not clear if too far fetched to expect that the President could also be chosen to remain as provincial leader. An effective power base for the President could create certain problems.

A second mechanism which can advance consensus politics is the President's Cabinet. Much will depend on the sort of people who will make this institution. If it is true that institutions give people status, in this case it will be the opposite.

President's Committee will determine the effectiveness of the President's Council.

A third mechanism great importance in the management committee. One of the big advantages of this machinery is that it institutionalized link between majority in different chambers.

It also promotes specialisation and the possibility to make an optimal headway without the necessity always looking over one shoulder at the public gallery.

Black rights

A major lack among instruments is the fact that there are no effective mechanisms for consensus politics on black rights. A cabinet for consensus politics is not. Those whose health is affected should also be full participants in the bargaining process.

Consultation is not enough. While the Cabinet committee represents a group, this approach is not comprehensive. It is also understandable that the President can remain as national leader of the majority party in the White House.

One thing is certain — the Nats can't afford failure
Bribe offered in look for a position on PC

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

A DESPERATE aspirant President's Councillor this week allegedly offered R2 000 down and R400 a month to another PC hopeful if he withdrew his nomination.

The offer — made in a toilet — was only one incident in a week of intrigue and conspiracy as 200 hopefuls queued and voted for the plum R1 000 a year PC post.

In the scramble for seats inter-party deals were abandoned, old associates deserted and party loyalties dumped.

The "bribe" offer was allegedly made to Mr Joe Pinetown, a People's Congress Party candidate for the President's Council.

Mr Pinetown rejected the offer but later withdrew the nomination when his application was ruled out of order.

The "bribe" offer has been reported by PCP leaders to Mr Chris Reins, Minister for Constitutional Development and an official at the State President's Office.

Mr Pinetown, whose name is known to the Sunday Times — has denied knowledge of the offer.

Legal contract

The alleged offer required Mr Pinetown, an ex-school principal, to withdraw from the PC stakes in favour of the other hopeful.

It he agreed, a legally binding contract to pay him R3 000 in cash and a further cheque for R1 000 would be drawn up.

He would also undertake to pay Mr Pinetown R500 a month while unemployed.

"I rejected the deal out of hand. The money was laying on the table and I refused to handle it," Mr Pinetown said.

All told, Mr Peter Marais (PCP leader) and Mr Dennis de La Cruz were not prepared to even handle the envelope that contained the "blood" money. Mr Pinetown later received the "deal" suggested by the man shortly before the only two members of the People's Congress Party (PCP), Mr Dennis de La Cruz and Mr Yussuf Rhoda, were to submit five names of nominees for the three Opposition party seats in the House of Representatives, as provided in the constitution.

Mr Marais and Mr de La Cruz confirmed the incident, the amount of money involved and that the money, R2 000 in cash, had been handed to Mr Pinetown in a toilet by a man who insisted on being given the money in an adjacent room.

"I was angry but decided to put the money on the table to expose the man's unethical methods," Mr Marais said.

Minister sounds off over apartheid laws

A SENIOR member of the Ministers' Council has demanded the immediate scrapping of the controversial Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act.

The call — by Mr David Curry, Minister of Housing, Local Government and Agriculture, in the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives — comes hard on the heels of a government refusal to recommend the immediate repeal of the laws.

Instead, the laws have been referred to a joint standing committee in the new bicameral Parliament where it is likely to become the first real focus of party political bargaining when the new system gets underway.

Conditional

Mr Curry this week sounded off against all forms of apartheid legislation and reiterated that his participation in the new constitutional dispensation remained conditional on the dismantling of all forms of apartheid.

"The Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Group Areas Act and all related Acts, must go. I am committed to that goal," said Mr Curry.

"The Government must show in concrete terms that it is serious about moving away from apartheid," he warned.

Meanwhile, it is believed that the controversial Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act came within an ace of being struck off the statute book this year — but a burst of government nervousness quashed the move at the last moment.

It is understood that Mr P W Botha had all but agreed to the repeal of the law — one of the most offensive in the apartheid armoury — before the end of the last long session.

The initiative for the repeal was given an added boost by an appeal from the National Party dominated parliamentary committee investigating the laws that their terms of reference be broadened to allow the dumping of the measure.

But in a Third Report published this week the committee shied away from a direct repeal of the measures and instead suggested that they be referred to a joint standing committee of Parliament.

It is understood government hesitation to back an outright repeal of the bill as early as May stems from concern over a controversial HSRC report which indicated overwhelming opposition from Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to the bill's scrapping.

Argue

In its Third Report published this week, most of the committee members now argue further investigations are required into the related legislation which might be affected by the dumping of the provision — Separate Amenities, Group Areas and Population Registration.

Now there are fears that the investigation — which has already continued for months and scanned scores of documents — may drag on for many more months.
Real rebels in LP are still to emerge

THE Labour Party - which this week aborted plans to create a fake opposition to the House of Representatives - is still sharply divided with "real" rebels waiting in the wings to seize power.

This week 30 caucus members urged the chopping of the party's chief whip, Mr. Willie Dieterich.

And indications are that party leader the Rev. Allan Hendrickse will be grilled over several controversial appointments at the party's National Executive Committee meeting in Beaufort West in the first week of November.

Mr. Dieterich is one of Mr. Hendrickse's confidants. But his appointment to the influential chief whip's position has annoyed party loyalists and they claimed, this week, his lack of experience in parliamentary procedure was causing tension among those who sought his guidance.

This week the Labour Party did a "patch-up" job between themselves and a "rebels group", led by the Mr. Peter Nopp (MP for Border), whose breakaway was really aimed at ousting the People's Congress Party from the President's Council.

Disgruntled

The day after the patch-up, the "rebels" leader accompanied Mr. Hendrickse to lunch with the US Ambassador.

But now the real rebels in the party are poised to wrest power from the hands of Mr. Hendrickse's appointees.

These disgruntled LP members maintain Mr. Hendrickse has hand-picked his own men - in some cases men with unremarkable political track records - simply because he could depend on their loyalty.

The disgruntled faction apparently has the tacit support of the Transvaal MPs, none of whom has any significant post in the House of Representatives.

Other controversial moves by the party leader include:

- The omission of Mr. Jac Hable from the Ministers Council of the House of Representatives - something still causing dissension and threatening to widen the loyalty gap within the party.
- The appointment of the Rev. Andrew Julies to the portfolio of Minister of the Budget (finance). Mr. Julies, an Eastern Cape man, was the centre of a storm when he was appointed national chairman of the party earlier this year.
- The slotting of the Rev. Chris April into the Ministry of Health and Welfare. Mr. April is a former member of the old President's Council - boycotted by the Labour Party at the time of its formation. He did not contest a seat in the August 23 election.

Mr. Hendrickse will be grilled on the issue at the National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting, scheduled for the first weekend in November at Beaufort West.

The matter will be taken further at the LP's first post-election annual congress to be held in Kimberley, late in December.

"He will have lots to explain," said a senior LP man.

The two factions emerged dramatically this week when a motion was proposed in the House of Representatives to ask Mr. Dieterich as chief whip and replace him with Mr. J.C. Oosthuizen from Swartland.

A compromise amendment was proposed by another senior LP member to the effect that Mr. Dieterich's position should be reviewed by the party leadership before the House of Representatives met again on January 18.

When the motion was put to the vote, 30 caucus members wanted Mr. Dieterich removed immediately, while 43 voted for the amendment - an indication of a house with divided loyalties.
Natal coloureds to 'raise hell over snub'

Mercury Reporter

THE 'glaring' omission of the Labour Party's Natal leader, Mr Abie Stowman, from the President's Council has upset many coloureds in the province.

An angry party member, Mr Gilbert Prinsloo, said yesterday Mr Stowman's omission was seen as a snub for the party in Natal by the Cape-based national leadership group.

'We'll raise hell at our meeting in Durban later next month,' he said.

Most of Natal's five Labour MPs spoken to yesterday said they intended giving vent to their feelings at the party's regional meeting next month and at the party's national executive meeting in Beaufort West early in November.

'We are most disappointed,' said Mr Maurice Lewis, MP for Natal Midlands.

Mr Prinsloo said Mr Stowman had been the 'livewire' in the recent elections in which the Labour Party had captured all five seats, and his name had been synonymous with the party in Natal.

Kicked

Instead of being rewarded with at least a PC seat, he had been kicked in the seat of his pants, he said.

The Natal MPs had been asked by the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendriks, to furnish names for two PC posts for Natal, and Mr Stowman was believed to be on the top of the list followed by Mr Clive Pierce, provincial treasurer.

Later, the Natal MPs had been told Mr Pierce and Mr Oliver Gordon, of Kolestad, had been chosen by the party leadership group.

Mr Stowman said he was 'terribly disappointed', but he declined further comment yesterday.
Policemen guard Indian MPs' homes

Mercury Reporter

INDIAN MPs, back in Durban after their first fortnight in Parliament, have been given 24-hour armed police guards at their homes.

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Col Leon Mellel, said the service was in line with enlarged security arrangements.

An MP, who did not want to be identified, said he had asked for the policeman stationed outside his home to be withdrawn because he found it embarrassing.

A Natal coloured MP said yesterday he had not heard of the arrangements and as far as he knew none of the province's five coloured MPs had a police guard.

Meeting

Meanwhile, NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi has confirmed he will hold his first House of Delegates Cabinet meeting in Durban today with all four ministers — Mr Baldeo Dookie, Housing, Agriculture and Auxiliary Services, Mr Kasiie Ramuth, Education and Culture, Mr Boetie Abrahmee, Finance, and Dr M S Padayachee, Health and Social Welfare.

Mr Rajbansi will preside at the meeting in a temporary Cabinet room in the Stanger Street Government buildings.

He said the meeting's purpose was to enable his ministers to get to grips with their portfolios.

Asked to comment on opposition Solidarity's stated determination to wrest control of the House of Delegates, Mr Rajbansi said his party had caught the 'tiger by its tail' and was not going to let it go.
Thatcher's Office; Foreign Office says that she may retaliate by not seen
solved.

Baroness Young, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, has already told the South African Ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall, that the South African refusal to ensure four of its nationals stand trial on arms smuggling charges here next month is “totally unacceptable”.

This is strong language by diplomatic standards and most observers here believe it will almost certainly be followed by action of some kind.

“Show displeasure”

Mr Donald Anderson, the Labour Party MP for Swansea East and the party’s spokesman on Southern African affairs, has already called on the Thatcher Government to show its displeasure by refusing to send Mr Patrick Moberley to Pretoria.

In a statement today, Mr Anderson said: “This is a matter of such gravity in international relations that the British Government should now consider not sending its new ambassador to Pretoria until the South African Government has complied with its undertaking (that the four men would stand trial).”

Earlier Mr Mike Terry, executive secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, called for the expulsion of Dr Denis Worrall, the South African Ambassador in London.

“Effective response”

“For the South African Government to take this decision over people who have been charged in connection with arms offences means an effective response must be made forthwith by the Foreign Office”.

However, Mr David Willers, London director of the South African Foundation, said today he did not believe the developments would lead to any “material” change in the British/South African relationship.

Mr Willers said the relationship was firmly based on long-standing factors like trade and he saw the issue in the context of the “banana skins” which cropped up from time to time in international relationships.

Early today a Foreign Office spokesman said Britain “deplored” the South African decision.

The refusal to ensure that the four men stood trial violated a “clear undertaking” given by Pretoria to a British court.

“Shocked, alarmed”

The spokesman said there was no link between the case involving the four men (due to be heard in a Coventry court next month) and the presence of six fugitives from the SA Police at the British consulate in Durban.

There was no comment on the suggestion that Mr Moberley should not leave Britain early next month to take up his new appointment.

Further reaction is expected from the British Government soon.

It was reported here today that both Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, and Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Minister, were “shocked and alarmed” by the South African decision to break a “solemn undertaking” to a British court.

The Evening Standard reported that many Government and Opposition MPs were “furious” with the South African Administration.

Massive campaign

The newspaper also reported that Dr Worrall had been summoned to appear at the Foreign Office later today to be told of the British Government’s anger at Pretoria’s action.

However, a spokesman for the Foreign Office said he was unaware of any such appointment.

While the Thatcher Government works out its next move, anti-apartheid forces are preparing for a massive campaign to put pressure on the Government to review its entire approach to South Africa.
24-hour police guard for VIPs

OWN AFFAIRS ministers in the (coloured) House of Representatives have been provided with a 24-hour armed police guard at their homes, it was confirmed yesterday.

The security arrangements have been provided only for those designated as ministers. However, it was confirmed at the weekend that all MPs of the (Indian) House of Delegates in Durban have been provided with this service.

Mr. Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education (Own Affairs), confirmed yesterday that a 24-hour armed police guard had been posted at his home.

Miss Belinda Curry, daughter of Mr. David Curry, Minister of Housing, Agriculture and Works (Own Affairs), who is away from his home in Stellenbosch, also confirmed that a security service had been provided at their home.

"We must get used to the idea, since it attracts a lot of attention," she said. "People make a fuss out of it."

A similar service was also provided to Mr. Willie Dietrich, MP for Bethelsdorp, and the Labour Party's Chief Whip, the LP secretary, Mr. Fred Peters, said yesterday.

Meanwhile a spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said he was unable to comment on whether all members of the House of Representatives were to be provided with 24-hour police protection.
Koornhof elected chairman of PC Youth

THE former Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, was yesterday elected chairman of the President’s Council.

His deputy is the former Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotse.

Dr Koornhof’s nomination was seconded by Dr Jack Quint of the Labour Party.

In his acceptance speech, Dr Koornhof said the role of the council was that of arbitrator and it was not a legislative body in the normal sense of the word.

“The extent to which the council will be involved in the legislative function will, in my opinion, therefore only be supportive to Parliament,” Dr Koornhof said.

Current affairs

“It is my viewpoint, therefore, that the offering of advice to Parliament in regard to current affairs should still remain the council’s primary function.”

Dr Koornhof said only bills or legislation on general affairs on which the Houses disagreed and which the State President referred to the council for a ruling were subject to the decision-making powers of the council. — Sapa.
TRIAL, SA Told
Send 4 Back For
Angry Britain refuses to budge on sit-in 6
ensure that the four men facing arms smuggling charges would return to Britain for a court appearance next month.

The message was conveyed to SA Ambassador Dr Denis Worrall by Foreign Office Minister Baroness Young last night as the rift in Anglo-South African relations over the Durban sit-in and subsequent?type for-tat retaliation deepened.

Baroness Young told Dr Worrall at the meeting — his fourth appearance at the Foreign Office in four days — that the British Government "deplored" the decision to link the Durban sit-in with the four South Africans facing charges on arms smuggling offences.

"The latter is purely a matter for the British courts," Baroness Young said.

The British Government is stepping up diplomatic pressure on Pretoria to enter into direct negotiations with the six members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) who have taken refuge in the British Consulate in Durban.

"We continue to believe that the best way to resolve this difficult problem is through negotiations between the six and the SA Government so that conditions can be created whereby the six can leave the consulate voluntarily," Baroness Young said.

And in a day of high drama and intense behind-the-scenes diplomatic activity:

- The British Government broke its silence on the Coventry arms trial and for the first time spelled out who it believes was behind the alleged arms smuggling. The connection of the four defendants on bail of R440 000 had previously been the subject of speculation.

- The British Government expressed its intense anger at the South African retaliation in careful diplomatic language "deploring" the SA Government's decision and describing it as "going back on a clear undertaking given to a British court".

- The Foreign Office statement rejected any link between the arms case and the Durban sit-in and said there was "no justification" for the action.

- The British Government sources said they could recall no precedent for the SA Government reneging on a solemn and high-level undertaking.

- There was consensus in diplomatic and political circles that by reneging on a
Pelser back in SA

Matters on track

Sweden upset with Moscow

Heated debate likely over toll road contracts

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN. — Heated debate is expected in Pretoria on Tuesday at a meeting called by the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, to discuss the controversial contracts awarded to Kirkpatrick, Marais & Associates to build the new toll roads.

An angry Mr Schoeman said in Cape Town yesterday he had summoned the chairman of the National Transport Commission, Dr A E Stein, and former Nationalist MP, Dr Jan Marais, to explain to him how he was being misled.

Mr Schoeman said he had been defrauded by his own officials.

TO CORRECT specific errors of fact, write to the Editor at 900 900 900. The Editor's secretary at 900 900 900 between 9am and 5pm on weekdays.

TO IMPROVE the handling of complaints about the non-arrival of home mail delivered by the South African Post Office, the circulation complaints telephone service is monitored for service quality from Monday to Friday, and from 8am to 11am on Saturdays and Sundays.

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Arrived from Page 1

Pelser back in SA

South Africa's most senior representative, could be called on to fulfill the undertaking.

Pelser subsequently gave an assurance to the CHS State President that four would be back in Britain for the October 22 hearing and that, if they failed to do so voluntarily, the necessary steps would be taken to ensure that they did.

An SA Embassy spokesman said yesterday that Mr Pelser was in South Africa at present and did not know when he would be returning.

The source said in the event of Pelser not returning to Britain or being unable to fulfill his undertaking, Dr Worrall, as South African High Commissioner, would be substituted.

Mr Pelser's assurance came in response to the Department of International Affairs' demand that the SA Government ensure the Free State businessman's presence.

Relations are deteriorating between Britain and the Soviet Union, and the latter's intentions towards South Africa are worrying to the British Government.

Mr Pelser has been in Britain since August 26, attending a conference on international law and practice, at the University of Cambridge.

Sweden upset with Moscow

STOCKHOLM. — Sweden is likely to make further protests to the Soviet Union after Moscow's rejection of two notes alleging that a Soviet fighter had fired on a Swedish plane over the Baltic. The Foreign Minister, Mr Mats Wallinder, said on Monday night that Moscow's insistence on the resumption of talks was unnecessary.

A Swedish car, truck theft

Mr Martin said in a statement to the court he was the owner of Protea Motors in SWA and Mr Julius was his partner who assisted him financially.

Mr Martin said he had no knowledge of the theft.

He sold the car for R10 600 which he gave to the man who was supposed to receive him. R2 000 commission, but had failed to.

He said he and Mr Julius flew to Johannesburg to buy the three-fifths

venue in Newclair, Mr Jnees Ritz, 31, of Krugersdorp, and Mr Aman Farid, 41, of Newclare plieded to tell the court Mr Martin and him to drive the truck he had been arrested on the

ers charged with car, truck theft

been charged with car, truck theft

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Disservice to say blacks are out — Heunis

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — People who created a psychosis that blacks were excluded from constitutional development in South Africa had done the country “a great disservice”.

This was said yesterday by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

Closing the Cape National Party congress he said South Africa’s problems were big enough without “malicious people” influencing the state of events.

The Government’s aim regarding blacks was the same as that for whites, coloureds and Indians — to let them govern themselves as regards those things which concerned their own interests, and to “acknowledge them” as regards the affairs which concerned everyone.

The Government’s point of departure on the constitutional position of blacks was:

- The reality that “we are a multinational country”.
- The desirability of the protection of minorities, defined in terms of pride and the right to survival.
- The removal of “hurtful, unnecessary discrimination”.
- The implementation of consultation and negotiation.
- The development of the “national states”.
- The acceptance of the irreversibility of the national and self-governing states as political entities.

Mr Heunis said the idea of citizenship and nationality within a broad geographic territory would also have to be looked at.

“The fact that blacks are not included in the same way as coloureds and Asians does not mean that they are excluded — it is for their own protection”.

Mr Heunis said “no one” wanted a situation in South Africa like in the rest of Africa”, with its military dictatorships and one-party states.

The costs of South Africa’s new constitution should not be evaluated against the “present constitution” because there was no political party in the country which had asked that things remain static.

The costs of the new constitution also had to be seen against the background of the proposals of the other political parties.

The official Opposition’s was a model “which has failed in every country in Africa”, while that from the right-wing had to be measured against its “total unacceptability”.

Mr Heunis said there was no country in the world which had financially survived “a refusal to adapt”.

The National Party had been responsible for all constitutional change in South Africa “which had been meaningful for the country”.

He added: “People argue that the constitution is imperfect: It is not so; the society it has to serve is imperfect.”

He drew applause when he said South Africa was “totally over-governed — the sooner we get rid of control measures which are ineffective, the better.”
"Total onslaught" toned down

From JOHN BATTERSBY
LONDON. — A United States political scientist has claimed that the South African Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, issued a secret memo within the SADF in August last year calling on all military personnel to minimize references to the "total onslaught".

The claim is made by Dr John Seiler, who last year conducted interviews with government and military officials, including Lieutenant-General A.J. van Deventer, head of the secretariat of the State Security Council.

Dr Seiler, who is a visiting professor at the John F Kennedy Special Warfare Centre in North Carolina, said in a study on South Africa's evolving state security system that "almost every man" he interviewed in 1983 said the "total onslaught" phrase generated an "exaggerated and fearful" assessment of the challenges facing South Africa and SWA/Namibia.

Dr Seiler was addressing a meeting in West Berlin last week of the Study Group on Armed Forces and Society of the International Political Science Association.

Dr Seiler said few government officials he interviewed had subscribed to the "total onslaught" theory before President Botha became prime minister in 1978.

He speculated that scepticism had been put aside only because both Mr Botha, then prime minister, and General Malan, Minister of Defence, "had made so much" of the total-onslaught rubric.

"By 1983, the concept was entrenched in the structure of the advanced inter-departmental joint course at the SADF's defence college, in which high-ranking officials from the SADF, the SAP and a wide range of government departments considered its implications for joint planning and programme management, both in theory and through case studies.

"But nowhere else in the SADF training system was the concept given more than cursory rhetorical attention," Dr Seiler said.

"The opposition English-language press had been criticizing its scare implications, but this was undoubtedly less important to Malan than privately offered advice from the small cadre of strategic-studies scholars who had access to the SADF and the SSC," he said.
THE NEW CABINET

Botha's junior partners

ALLAN HENDRICKSE

This week, exactly eight years ago, Helenard Joe (Allan) Hendrickse became Prisoner M919/76 and spent two months in detention without trial. As a prominent propagator of the Black Consciousness movement and leader of the "boycotters" in coloured politics, he was branded an "agitator" by the authorities.

Today, he is MP for Swartkops and the first coloured member of SA's supreme decision-making body, the Cabinet. Hendrickse is an influential man without whom the National Party could never have got the tricameral Parliament on the road.

Many people despise him for that, but many more — including some of his opponents — see Hendrickse as the man who could bring the NP to accept real change in SA. Government itself does nothing to dispel the fantasy that equates him with a kind of Trojan horse within the walls of white power.

His powerful new position in politics is not only due to his leadership of the Labour Party (LP), which won all but two of the seats in the House of Representatives. As his political adversaries — white, black and coloured — know, he's regarded as a "shrewd operator."

Since his first active political involvement in 1969 he has proved that behind his double-breasted, goatee beard and pomaded hair, is a cunning politician who is equally at home in a township political street-fight as in tough negotiations with stubborn Afrikaner politicians.

Hendrickse (56) was born in Uitenhage, the fifth of seven children. The main branches of his family tree are Dutch and Hottentot, but even the famous Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, Lord De Villiers, figures somewhere. Both his parents were teachers, but his father, still fondly remembered as "Reverend WC," also became minister of the Dale Street Congregational Church — a post held by Hendrickse junior today.

The twin main influences in Hendrickse's life, politics and Christianity, stem from childhood. His father, the Dale Street minister for 40 years, was a fiercely committed Christian and community worker. As an active member of the Teacher's League he also actively protested against Jan Smuts' segregation laws. The Hendrickse family had several unpleasant experiences with the Group Areas Act.

His eldest brother, Arthur, was an ardent Leninist and leading member of the Oppressed People's Alliance. (He even named a tennis club he helped form after Lenin and Trotsky: Leniro.) Today, Arthur is a minister of religion and registrar of a Durban hospital. Hendrickse and his wife have four children and his eldest son Peter, now MP for Addo, is following in his father's political footsteps.

Hendrickse attended high school in Cape Town and in 1946 enrolled at the "SA Native College," or Fort Hare, as it is known today. He switched from a science course to a BA, majoring in Afrikaans-Nederlands and Ecclesiastical History. This was followed by a diploma in theology.

Though a member of the Unity Movement, Hendrickse wasn't actively involved in student politics. With him at Fort Hare were people like Robert Sobukwe, Gatsha Buthelezi, Dennis Brutus, Seretse Khama (later Sir Seretse) and Robert Mugabe, now PM of Zimbabwe.

Participation strategy

Hendrickse remained a friend of Sobukwe's until his death and often visited him after his release from Robben Island. Hendrickse says hesitantly that though the legendary black leader is no longer alive to verify the claim, "he was appreciative of our strategy of participation."

A high school teacher until he became a LP representative in the CRC in 1969, Hendrickse has also been minister of the Dale Street Congregational Church since 1967. In 1970 he was elected chairman of the LP executive and leader in 1973. In 1972, he was elected chairman of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa.

Hendrickse became a thorn in the side of government when the LP used boycott tactics to destroy the CRC and entered into the Black Alliance with Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha. With his party colleagues, he had at least two stormy meetings with the then PM, P W Botha. However, his relationship with Botha reached an even lower level when the latter said on TV in 1981 that he (Hendrickse) only worked three days a week, but made R1 000 a month as a member of the CRC executive.

Then came the split in the NP with Andries Treurnicht breaking away, and later the historic Eshowe decision at the LP national conference in January 1983 to take part in the new deal. Both events helped to repair the damage between Hendrickse and Botha who now seem to have a happy working relationship.

Of the Eshowe decision Hendrickse says: "In the six months prior to that, I was on my knees every night praying for guidance. The night before the decision was taken, I still didn't know what it would be and prayed for guidance."

He likes to quote Oliver Wendall Holmes to defend the decision to go into the new deal: "The great thing in this world is not so much where we stand, but the direction in which we are moving."

Whether Hendrickse is in the new dispensation for power and money — as his enemies charge — or because he sincerely believes this is the best way to work for change — as his friends maintain — he will have to walk a political tightrope like very
few politicians before in SA's history. His chances of becoming a national villain are as good as his chances of becoming a national hero — or even better.

**AMICHAND RAJBANSI**

“You can tell them Rajbansi is here to stay and will grow from strength to strength,” said Amichand Rajbansi prophetically in 1976.

Since his deat victory over Solidarity, when he emerged as leader of the Indian House of Delegates, people have already started calling him “The Raj,” or king of SA Indian affairs. But, to his many detractors, the name Rajbansi stands for “sellout” and “stooge.”

For Rajbansi, the first Indian Minister (without portfolio) in the SA Cabinet, has always stayed the statutory course. He became executive chairman of the SA Indian Council (SAIC) in 1981 after the majority Reformed Party in the council decided that the SAIC had run into the political sands.

Rajbansi, who owns a couple of butcheries in Chatsworth, dismissed the 16% turnout in the 1981 SAIC election as the work of intimidators. In the tricameral election last month, however, he got even fewer votes (13%) in a smaller poll (14%) in his Chatsworth constituency than he did even in 1981.

As long ago as 1976, he was described as “the stormy petrel of Indian politics in SA.” He told veteran Durban columnist G R Naidoo that year: “Everything in my life is planned. My entry into politics was no accident. This is what I wanted to do and, by God, I am here to stay and be heard for a long, long time.”

In the lounge-study of his Chatsworth home, beneath a large photograph of him with former PM John Vorster, Rajbansi revealed that he believes in strength. Indeed, the names of his son and four daughters all begin with the Hindi word “Vim” — meaning strength.

Raj, as he is known to colleagues, has always been his own man. The determination of this sturdy built man is perhaps reflected in the cast of his jaw and forehead. He does not hesitate to cock a snook at Indian Congress-led opposition to “participation in apartheid institutions.”

Nor does he get embroiled in debates with Congress. His approach is pragmatic. In the mid-1970s, his line was to show up the SAIC’s unworkability. Later, he justified serving in order to take care of “the day-to-day needs of the Indian community.”

Opponents, of course, reject what he calls his “zig-zag approach” — a strategy to change apartheid from within. The choice facing SA, he explained during the August election campaign, is between the “ballot or the bullet.” To support taking part in the new constitution, he quotes Lenin’s injunction to the Bolsheviks to take over the Duma (Russian parliament): “Get into the accursed pigsty if you can,” he says caustically.

Yet, participants in the system can also be very critical of the man whom friend and foe alike describe as an accomplished political manipulator. After Raj recently failed to interest J N Reddy’s 18-seat Solidarity party in aligning with his 20-seat National People’s Party, Solidarity chairman Pat Poovalingam said: “We will have no truck with the NPP, as its leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, is completely unacceptable to us.”

Rajbansi would have to give “a full account of his handling of several matters, including education ... while he was head of the SAIC” before Solidarity would consider any coalition with the NPP, said Poovalingam.

But there is a gentler side to the man whose father was a master builder and whose grandfather was a fisherman. In 1959, the 18-year-old Amichand won an arts degree bursary as first prize in a national art competition for Indians. His painting, based on Hindu mythology, depicted victory over evil.

However, Raj completed only one year of his fine arts degree at the University College for Indians at Durban’s Salisbury Island. In his second year, he was part of a group of students who clashed with the college authorities over the formation of an SRC.

Raj walked out and enrolled with Unisa. He lost interest after finishing his second year and became a high-school teacher in 1984. But he grew “restless” and, in 1988, quit teaching.

After six months in a chemical laboratory, he joined a public relations firm. He has also been a professional football referee, president of the Southern Natal Indian Football Association and secretary of the Chatsworth Sports Board and, as a result, became involved in local affairs.

“But,” he said, “as long as Local Affairs committees (LACs) were nominated, I had nothing to do with them. I'm not a stooge and will never be one.” He contested a ward in Chatsworth when LACs became partially elected bodies in the early 1970s, and is proud to have beaten more established community figures for the job.

He is now also a member of the National Liaison Committee and the Co-ordinating Council for Local Government Affairs, chaired by Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis.

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**MINISTERS’ COUNCIL**

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

The four members of the Ministers’ Council of the coloured House of Representatives are all former teachers — at least two were surprise appointments and the omission of Transvaal Labour leader Joie Rabbie also raised eyebrows. Some of the new ministers are better known than others and some are busier than others. As a result, the FM was unable to speak directly to all of them.

**DAVID CURRY**

Local government, agriculture and housing is the portfolio which fell to David Curry last week. An ex-chairman of the LP executive, Curry has made local government his political base.

Some observers believe that ever since the tricameral parliament was mooted, within LP ranks it was Curry who had the clearest strategic grasp of what was happening and what could be negotiated for, and that in seniority, experience and shrewdness he rivals present party leader Hendriks.
MINISTERS' COUNCIL

for direct representation in municipal councils — for ourselves, blacks and Indians — before we even began talking to government about this constitutional formula," he says.

This, he believes, can be attained in the foreseeable future. "Economic logic is on our side. Local government is the most expensive and sophisticated government level. The cost of separate structures can't be carried indefinitely. In fact, I believe it's cost factors that has made them place us in the old Senate chamber, a concession to economic realities over the heads of objectors."

On housing, he says: "We must get more money spent on housing itself, developing alternative housing methods such as changing regulations so a resident can take ownership and residence of a core unit and complete it himself."

"Relaxing Group Areas so housing supply can be increased without the massive subsidies needed to develop infrastructure in newly proclaimed areas. Group Areas must ultimately be wound away, not least because of its high cost structure. But that will take more time."

Curry has said many times that a constitution that doesn't include blacks is like "a wedding without the bride." Does that still hold? It does: "I'm opposed to this dispensation, like certain homeland leaders we're using government's structures to challenge it. A calculated risk."

Curry was a teacher for 15 years — something you can pick up from his expository manner. Married with five children, he's forceful and shrewd. He's likely to have strong pull within the Minister's Council.

CARTER EBRAIMH

As Minister of Education and Culture, Carter Ebrahim (60) is possibly in the hottest and most contentious Cabinet seat. And with increasing unrest in coloured schools around the country, he's likely to have a few more grey hairs before the year is out.

"I feel quite capable of handling this portfolio, though I'm aware of the seriousness of the problems I face," he says stoically.

His immediate challenge is dealing with the widespread dissatisfaction of the student body. "Equality is my goal," he says. "But right now, I'm putting together all the information I can lay my hands on."

"My background in education has given me an insight into the problems, but basically I have a political view of education. I also think that there must be a shift from academic education to career-oriented education. Already, industry is complaining that the products of this education system aren't cost-effective."

Ebrahim's opinions are apparently widely respected. He has variously been described as the LP's intellectual and ideologue, a good strategist and a clear thinker. "He has a rather stern appearance and can be quite sarcastic at times, but short men are like that," says one party stalwart.

Ironically, Ebrahim's involvement in party politics began with his membership of the Coventry branch of the British Labour Party. "While I was teaching in Coventry for two years, I worked at Coventry's Belgrade Theatre. The local Labour Party was so effective in bringing about political and social change in the town that I joined up." During this time, he was involved in stage management, acting and the production of several plays.

For Ebrahim, and for many of his generation, 1948 was a watershed year. It was a year in which many people were forced to take strong political positions, he explains. "In his younger days, when he was involved with the Unity movement, Ebrahim was regarded as a radical," says one observer. "But he's grown more conservative and mellowed with the years."

As Ebrahim counters: "There's something wrong with a guy who starts off conservative at 20. Some of his detractors in the UDP have said that in view of his past, Ebrahim "should know better" than to participate in what the UDP regards as a flawed constitution.

As a former member of the CRC, Ebrahim was elected LP representative for the southern Cape in a seat he won again in this year's election for the House of Representatives in a 30% poll. He's regarded as "something of a constitutional expert" in party ranks, having served on the Du Toit committee investigating alternative constitutional proposals and on the Butterworth Commission.

His stated priorities are to raise standards of education and, in the longer run, to campaign for the establishment of a unitary education system. "Students are attending schools with tremendous deficiencies — backlogs of buildings, equipment, facilities and fully qualified staff. Improving teachers' skills is a priority."

Having taught intermittently for the past 25 years, he brings experience to his position. One of his priorities will be the elimination of prefabricated school buildings. 'I've taught in them," he says with feeling. "In winter, they're ice-boxes, and, in summer, they're ovena.'"

And the current unrest: "We must recognise the fact that there are genuine grievances which aren't impossible to rectify. But while the protests start as domestic grievances, they usually get distorted by political defiance."

"The next five years will be a tremendous challenge for me. They're years in which we're sure to see fundamental changes in SA's education system. Hopefully, they'll also be years in which the aspirations of the teaching world, students and the general student body will be met."

ANDREW JULIES

As national chairman of the LP, Andrew Julies' appointment to the Minister's Council was perhaps predictable. Since he's considered to have "done a good job so far" as party leader, it was rather his award of the portfolio of the Budget (MOB) that shocked some.

Julies (61), a member of the LP for 11 years, was elected to the House of Representatives for the Kalahari constituency. "A very capable person with an Alex Boraine type of personality, a man with a quiet strength that people confide in," is the way LP Deputy leader Miley Richards describes him.

Another party luminary describes him as a "helluva fine person." He adds: "He's the sort of person you could open

From left: Pedaayachy, Julies, Ebrahim, Curry, April, Abramjee, Dookie and Ramduth
your heart to and who would always be willing to assist.

Trained as a teacher at Dower College, Uitenhage, Julies spent 20 years teaching in Humansdorp before being ordained to the ministry of the United Congregational Church in SA — Hendrickse's denomination.

Those who know Julies say he's totally committed to the church of which he was appointed SA chairman in 1981.

His Keimoes flock is believed to be one of the largest and poorest congregations in the Northern Cape. He has a reputation within the church as an excellent organizer and is said to have devoted "huge amounts of energy to building up his congregation from scratch."

Testimony to Julies' considerable energy is the fact that he organized a fund-raising drive for the construction of a church and hall which yielded around R1m.

Julies has also been described as "an unbending type of person," but this is probably one of the qualities that has propelled him to his present position.

CHRIS APRIL

Chris April's appointment as Health and Welfare Minister by House of Representatives and LF leader Hendrickse, was almost as surprising as the exclusion from high office of the LF's Transvaal leader, Jac Rabie.

April, a former domeine of the NG Sendingkerk, was forced to resign from the LF when he accepted nomination to the President's Council (PC) in 1981. The party opposed participation on the PC, where April served on the community relations committee, visiting over 100 coloured townships in his quest for the "upliftment" of his people.

Nor did April, who rejoined Labour in May (having first joined in 1976) stand for election to the coloured chamber on August 22. "The whole appointment came as a big surprise to me," says April, strongly denying that it caused any ill-feeling outside the LF inner sanctum.

Born in Be-kaap in 1939 and married with three children, April was a practising minister of religion for 10 years from 1970, when he moved to George — President PW Botha's former constituency.

April first met Botha, then defence minister, in 1976 after he had done "the spadework" to improve George's very poor coloured areas, Lavalia, Rosemore, Urbanville, Convile, Borchards and Parkdene. He contacted Botha, April explains, "for assistance." And Botha "always took a keen interest in the development of the people." On April's request, he says, Botha was "instrumental" in seeing to "a change in attitudes of the local white officials and businessmen" towards the coloured community.

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April believes the socio-economic upliftment of his people should precede, and thus hasten, the bigger aim of dismantling apartheid. "We can only break down apartheid by developing ourselves," he says.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

The Indian Ministers' Council is dominated by its chairman and minister without portfolio of the SA cabinet, Amichand Rajbansi. As leader of the majority National People's Party (NPP) in the House of Delegates, Rajbansi is a well-liked one of the veteran leaders of the (former) SA Indian Council of Members, of which he was also chairman, as minister. Two of the appointments are relatively unknown. Three are Hindi speakers, one a Tamilian and one a Muslim.

PADDY-PADAYACHY

Minister of Health Services, Welfare and Pensions, Murugassan Sammy Padayachy is, at 65, the oldest member of the Indian Ministers' Council.

Padayachy won the north-western Cape seat for Indians by a 44-vote majority in a five-way contest which saw a smaller than 20% poll. With only 2,5% registered voters, Padayachy's constituency is the smallest Indian seat. It lies outside the main Indian centres in Natal and the Transvaal and, as a result, he's not well-known in the community.

An educationist, Padayachy has taught at primary, secondary and tertiary levels for 35 years. He is a retired deputy rector of the coloured teacher-training college, Perseverance, in Kimberley where he was born and raised. He took a BSc degree at Fort Hare and has a BA from a university in India. In addition, he has a doctorate in psychology which should help him in administering his new portfolio. He's also an associate member of the London Institute of Education.

The subject of his doctoral thesis, which coloured education minister Carter Ebrahim might be interested in, was "Some aspects of the education of teachers in England — a survey related to the education of coloured primary school teachers in the Cape province."

Padayachy, known to colleagues as "Paddy," says he serves on eight bodies dealing with education, cultural and local government matters. He was an executive member of the Association of Management Committees (Assomac) and vice-chairman of the Kimberley management committee for Indians.

He believes that "a terrific task lies ahead" for the Indian House. Aside from the "tremendous backlog" in Indian health, welfare and pensions that he intends remedying, "we must try our damnedest to get blacks in (to the new constitution) and then gradually dismantle all discriminatory legislation."

However, it is "unethical to make unrealistic demands," Padayachy says. The main thing is to establish that "the principle of equality can be attained," he explains.

Padayachy says he was originally asked to stand as an independent but he wanted to join a political party. After initial approaches, Solidarity appears to have dropped him. He was then asked to join Rajbansi's National People's Party by the NPP's Cape leader and Speaker of the Indian chamber, Raman Bhana and the party's Baldeo Dookie, who is now Padayachy's fellow minister on the Indian Council of Ministers.

BOETIE ABRAMJEE

Ebrahim "Boetie" Abramjee, Minister of the Budget in the Indian House, is easily the most controversial figure in his home town, Ladism.

Since 1979, he has been chairman of the local management committee, which is at the centre of a storm over alleged nepotism and corruption in the
allocation of plots for housing. Legal action has begun, and Abramjee could be appearing in court to defend the allocations.

He won his seat with a 722-vote majority in a three-cornered contest which saw one of the highest polls (32.3%) in the Indian election last month. However, no fewer than 72% of the votes were cast as special votes. This raised many eyebrows, but testifies to Abramjee’s determination to succeed. In the run-up to polling day, teams of his campaign staff were seen ferreting people to cast these votes.

In 1980, the “totally bilingual” Abramjee was nominated, and later elected, to the SA Indian Council (SAIC). Like others in the SAIC, he joined Amichand Rambans’s NPP — but only weeks before the election and after he had kept both Solidarity and the LP guessing.

Labour’s Transvaal leader, Jac Rabie, vehemently denies Abramjee’s claim that he has been a LP member. At any rate, he was offered, and he accepted, the post of NPP Transvaal leader.

Abramjee, who is a member of the National Liaison Committee of the Ministry of Constitutional Development and Planning, maintains that in 1982 he had tea with US President Ronald Reagan and Mrs Reagan at the White House. Yet, US embassy officials in Pretoria say they “doubt” such a meeting occurred.

Last year, a Sunday newspaper had to apologise to Abramjee for reporting that he is a director of a Pretoria pickle factory, Abramjee’s Achar, which is in liquidation. The fact is that he was a director, but resigned a few months before the insolvency.

Abramjee has defamation suits pending against an executive member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and also against the editor of a local newspaper. He successfully challenged the nomination, on a technicality, of the original LP candidate in Landum, who was assaulted before the election.

Born in the Nylstroom district 53 years ago, Abramjee matriculated at Pretoria Indian Boys’ High in 1959. He is the father of four sons and a daughter from his marriage to Mariam Akoojee in 1954.

Abramjee describes himself as a director of companies. But he will certainly need his Unisa courses in law and economics while running the Indian budget.

In addition to being “main cell leader 28 – Pretoria civil defence,” he’s a Justice of the Peace and vice-president of the Transvaal Association of Management Committees. He serves on the local transportation and Unemployment Insurance Fund boards and on local educational and Muslim religious bodies.

KASSIE RAMDUTH

Indian Education and Culture Minister, Kassipershad Ramduth (63), known to his colleagues as Kassie, is an unknown quantity. Not many outside the Durban-based Hindu religious body, the Sanathan Dharma Sabha of SA, of which he is chairman, have heard of him.

The former principal of the Protea Secondary School in Chatsworth – were Minister’s Council chief Amichand Rajbansi lives — has taught in the Department of Indian Education for 59 years. Length of service plus a BA degree would seem experience enough to oversee Indian “own” education — within the parameters set by the (white) Minister of National Education.

Ramduth stood as an independent in the August election for Durban’s Clare Estate — and his NPP candidate’s NPP flag. His majority, in a five-way contest, was 75. In a 20% poll, Ramduth got 783 votes to the NPP candidate’s 708.

He has been chairman of the Northern Durban Local Affairs Committee. And his position as vice-chairman of the Clare Estate ratepayers association no doubt helped him clinch his seat.

Ramduth says he switched to the NRP “when I found that the party had achieved a majority.” In fact, Ramduth’s switch helped Rajbansi and the NPP become the Indian House majority party when it was touch-and-go between the NPP and JN Reddy’s Solidarity.

Married with four married children, Ramduth is the author of a book of Indian Folk Tales. He takes over the important portfolio of Indian education, which has been an area of heated controversy under the control of Rajbansi as head of the SAIC.

Maintaining that there was “general consensus” about his appointment, even though he was not an NPP man until two weeks ago, Ramduth says he is going to base all educational appointments and promotions — a sensitive subject in the community — on “merit and ability.” He also intends creating “the right image for the educational fraternity and ensuring that everything is above board.”

BALDEO DOOKIE

For his portfolio of Indian Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, Baldeo Dookie has a list of service which even opponents of the new deal acknowledge.

Dookie’s involvement in community housing, welfare and local government since 1959 has been remarkable. He was therefore a sure bet last month to win the Red Hill, Durban, seat in which he lives.

Though only 21.6% of Red Hill’s 13 000 registered voters voted, Dookie’s 2 272 majority was, not surprisingly, comparatively large. He is also a close ally of Amichand Rajbansi.

A tall and pleasant man, Dookie (48) is married with two sons and a daughter. He was educated at Congress High and at Sathiri College in Durban. For the past 38 years, Dookie has been employed by a large food manufacturing company where he is a manager.

His tireless welfare career began when he joined the Friends of the Sick Association (Fesa) and the Durban Child Welfare Society, both of which he chaired and ran singlehanded, working among the poorest sections of the Indian community in Avoca, Red Hill and elsewhere.

From being chairman of the Red Hill Ratepayers’ Association, Dookie was elected to the Northern Durban Local Affairs Committee in 1973 and became chairman a year later. The local affairs electoral college for the province sent him to the SA Indian Council (SAIC) in 1974, where he served as housing committee chairman for the controversial life of the council.

In 1977 the bespectacled Dookie who is also a member of the local Deaf School management board, delivered a paper critically assessing Indian housing at a University of Durban-Westville seminar organised by the Town and Regional Planning Commission.

Dookie has also held various chairmen’s posts in the SAIC, including transport, town and regional planning and welfare. In 1981, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Award by Umgeni Jaycees of Durban.

He continued to serve on the SAIC even after the derisory 10% poll recorded at its 1981 elections, taking charge of police matters, posts and telecommunications and manpower as well as housing. Two years ago, the then Minister of Community Development appointed Dookie to the State committee investigating the overall planning of Durban.

The list of Dookie’s involvements in welfare and planning seems endless. This year, he was called on by the private sector to represent the Indian community on the joint housing committee in Pretoria, and was chosen as SAIC representative on the health service liaison committee for greater Durban-KwaZulu.
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Ebrahim “Boetie” Abramjee, Minister of the Budget in the Indian House, is easily the most controversial figure in his home town, Laudium.

Since 1979, he has been chairman of the local management committee, which is at the centre of a storm over alleged nepotism and corruption in the
He wants to serve

MANY years ago, an aspiring coloured politician called JC Samuels met the then South African Prime Minister, Jan Smuts, and vowed: “I want to be like him.”

So he grew a little bokbaard. The meeting took place at Roodepoort Memorial, and Mr Samuels recalled last week: “We had to the mountain together and he was a thorough gentleman that I promised him I'd grow a beard like his and never shave it off.

Well, Jan Smuts is dead and JC Samuels has gone on to become one of the greatest failures in the history of South African politics.

Mr Samuels, whose run of disaster in ethnic elections, most surely qualify him for an honorable mention in the Guinness Book of Records - he has polled a total of 88 votes in his last two campaigns - does not believe he has been rejected by the people he so much wants to serve. He vowed this week to continue “to serve the coloured people”.

The Reformed Freedom Party died hard quickly explained away the fact that only 18 people thought he'd be good enough to represent Manenberg in the soon-to-be-installed coloured Parliament.

“The Labour Party had all the money needed to run a successful campaign,” he says. (Labour victory Richard Lackay polled 294 votes). The Reformed Freedom Party had nothing.

The Labour Party also made great use of their name to woo potential voters. Both here and in the rural areas, their workers went around to people saying: “You're a labourer? Then you must vote for the Labour Party.”

“Who are these people to argue against something like this?”

The problem with coloured politics, Mr Samuels believes, is that the voters are too unsophisticated.

“In Manenberg, for instance, none of the people who voted really know what they were voting for. Our people are not politically right.”

No, he says, he did not make any blunders in his campaign. “I made about 400 visits to the areas but most of the people told me they supported the UDF. I see the main task of our Party as getting these people to move in the right direction.

“Certainly we all lost our deposits, but I must give credibility to my leader, Mr Charles Julies. Although he never came over to assist us, he was an inspiration in all ways.”

Mr Samuels is 52.

Julies’s party never made it

THE Reformed Freedom Party last week donated R5 500 towards making the “New Deal” work.

But there was no official handing over ceremony and cocktails. What happened was that all of the 11 RFP candidates in the House of Representatives elections lost their deposits in making way for the Labour Party’s landslide victory.

The party leader, Mr Charles Julies, also parted with R500 when he received only 533 votes against the 4,388 of Labour Party’s Peter Hendrickske in the Addo (Port Elizabeth) constituency.

DIRTY

Mr Julies’s pride must have been dented even further because Peter Hendrickske is the son of the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickske. The 35-year-old insurance broker claimed that the young Hendrickske, who is also the LP national youth leader, played dirty to get to the top.

“They defaced my posters, they upset my transport arrangements and did several other things to beat me.”

But the Labour Party could not be blamed for all the upset, he said.

“The UDF, Sacoos and the go-vote people intimidated the voters. People didn’t know what to expect at the polling stations after all the threats and intimidation. "All I can say about the future is that my party will be working hard. I am standing by all the things I have said in the past. I will soon be meeting with my men and we will come up with concrete decisions.”

Peter Marais’s not inside and he’s not on top

“WHAT is there that they can do from outside, that I cannot do more effectively from inside?”

This was the catchphrase that the People’s Congress Party leader, Peter Marais, threw around every time he tried to win the support of the electorate at public meetings or during his SABC-TV appearances when the question of an election boycott was raised.

Shortly after 10 pm in Bishop Lavis last Wednesday evening, and in full view of the TV-watching nation, Mr Marais joined the ranks of those who are not inside and therefore certainly not on top.

The Labour Party’s ex-traffic cop candidate, Mr Nick Isaacs, beat the PCP leader by 735 votes and dealt Mr Marais an early and severe blow on his way into the 4.2.1.0 dispensation.

PROCESS

Hours later, Mr Marais went on the air to say that he was in the process of deciding whether to go back into his insurance brokerage job or whether he was going to try to get into the President’s Council.

And last week he told the greatest consolation was the fact that the PCP was still the official opposition despite having clinched only one of the 80 contested seats.

“For many years, the PPF had only one MP in parliament, but that didn’t make them any less effective,” he said.

Poor (as in defeated) Mr Marais had so many reasons for the fact that he did not get in.

“The UDF made their point, and they got their message across quite effectively. But they will die. What are they going to do the people at their next public meeting. Are they going to tell the people not to vote?”

PERFORM

Turning to the men who made it, Mr Marais said: “I wonder how Labour Party men like Vernon Sass, Oom Hansie Christians and Richard Lackay will perform against people like Chris Heunis, Greyling Wentzel and Louis le Grange.”

“Not very well, I’m certain. They will just sit there, and vote when David Curry tells them to vote.”

How did he feel about losing out on that fantastic salary?

“You can check with the company that I work for. I earn R4 000 to R5 000 a month, and that’s when I’m lazy. So the money is no problem. I earn that kind of money when I work only two to three hours a day.”

Only 18 people cast their vote for JC Samuels but still...
'Another poll flop coming'

By Gary van Dyk

BUOYED by the success of the boycott campaign in the coloured elections, Sunday predicted a fiasco at the polls this week.

More than 1,000 people attended the meeting, organised by the Thornhill Residents' Association.

• Well-known attorney Dallal Omar hampered the new constitution and highlighted the low percentage poll of the August 22 coloured elections.

• "The stayaway was a victory for the oppressed," he said.

• And Mr John Erzen, secretary of the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, outlined the role of the worker in the economy and the need for worker unity to achieve a new South Africa.

One of the main speakers at the meeting, Dr Allan Boesak, received a standing ovation when he was introduced to the crowd, who burst into spontaneous song as he greeted them.

DEAD

His first reference was to the number of dead people on the voters' roll. "I can understand this," he said.

"The Government cannot get the support of the living so it has to make do with the support of the dead." Dr Boesak continued his speech rejecting the so-called "New Deal" and condemning the system of apartheid on which it was based.

"We must not allow ourselves to become part of a system that has been rejected since it's beginning," he said.

He also made reference to the recent letter competition held by SABC-TV, saying he was sorry that they had cancelled the competition for the Indian election: "It was such a nice programme," he said.

"But they should not have cancelled the competition, they should have cancelled the election," he continued, to applause from the audience.

• Imam Hassan Solomons called on all Muslims to reject the new system, and making reference to the Koran, he said: "No matter how much you cook or spice..."
THE focus of opposition to the New Deal switched from the coloured to the Indian elections, over the weekend. These boycott campaigners offered some advice to waiverers in Rylands on Saturday.
Special fraud: Claimed votes
Flashback to this week's violence at Lenessa outside Johannesburg during the elections for the Ikben

Year 1 clash for a volatile

Ingredient
SA's Indian leaders as different as chalk and cheese

which few could quibble — among these the return of Cato Manor to the Indian community and the dropping of barriers restricting the movement of Indians in parts of Natal, the Cape and Transvaal.

His one major weakness is an inability to deal effectively with criticism from the left. Time and time again during the election executive members of Solidarity had to step in and protect him on public platforms when he was attacked by members of the Natal Indian Congress and United Democratic Front.

Avoided confrontation

Significantly, dealing with the left is probably one of the strongest points of his chief opponent, NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

At one time, an extremely vocal and controversial politician, he was able throughout the campaign to avoid a head-on confrontation with the NIC and UDP.

Having learnt from the traumatic SAIC elections in 1981 that the NIC were formidable opponents, he rarely attacked them directly. Instead, he consistently argued the merits of participation and skillfully re-directed the ire of the anti-election movement onto Solidarity by depicting the party as: conservative and pro-Government.

Of the two leaders, Mr Rajbansi, 22, is probably the best equipped to handle the cut-throat negotiations necessary to maintain control of the House of Delegates.

He has political cunning which is almost without equal, having risen remarkably quickly, from LAC member to Reform Party executive member, and then leader of his own party.

Wields great clout

The NIC has dubbed him "the master of the politics of patronage and a supreme wheeler-dealer". This is perhaps cruel, but it is nevertheless true that for someone who does not have enormous financial resources like Mr Reddy, Mr Rajbansi wields considerable clout.

It is this influence which allowed him to seize control of the NPP from Mr E Y Malomed after the SAIC elections, and eventually persuade enough independents to join the party to enable it to get a majority.

However, not surprisingly, in his ascent to power Mr Rajbansi, with his unyielding political style, has made enemies.

Solidarity is now trying to exploit this. Whether it will succeed or not is debatable. What is certain is that at least in its first year the House of Delegates will be an extremely volatile chamber.
Low coloured poll poses co-optation dilemma

THE time has come to review the coloured and Indian elections within a broad political and social context.

To maintain its goal of firm control over a stable and efficient state, the government has pursued two distinct, yet related, strategies.

Politically it has embarked on the co-optation of selected ethnic groups as junior partners rather than as individuals or through the formula of universal or qualified franchise. Instead of opening the political arena to everyone, the government wants to move one step at a time, starting with the coloured people and Indians later moving on to the urban blacks.

The key in this strategy is to limit each political incorporation to a limited and thus manageable number of people.

The second strategy has aimed at keeping the number of browns and blacks in the cities down to a minimum. By restricting brown and black urbanization in various ways (limiting housing stock, razing squatter camps, pass controls and encouraging industrialists to switch from labourers to machines) the government hopes to create a stable core of urban insiders.

Crucial test

This must be small enough not to constitute a threat but sufficient to develop an interest in policies aimed at keeping out rural outsiders who may undercut their wages. Put differently, they must be willing tools in the government's plan to keep Africa out of the cities.

The new constitutional dispensation is a crucial test for both these strategies. It is generally recognized that the poll for the coloured and Indian chambers was a vital indication as to whether the junior partners would be willing to play their role.

What has less generally realized was the bearing of the polls on the second strategy as well. A sufficiently high poll, particularly in the cities, would mean that the coloured and Indian urban insiders were prepared to accept both pieces of political incorporation and to use the new representative institutions to protect urban middle class interests which, in the case of whites, means keeping out rural outsiders.

Overall poll

If this double context is borne in mind the significance of the election results becomes clearer. The poll of just over 20 percent for the coloured house and 20.2 percent for the Indian one is high enough to give the two new chambers a certain measure of respectability and legitimacy. However, a closer analysis of the make-up of the coloured poll reveals that not only must the overall percentage be seen as disappointingly low but that it also rests on a "wrong" social and regional base.

Refusal

In regard to the overall poll, Professor M. Nie Oli- vier, head of the Progress- ve Federal Party's re- search division, points out that Mr F W de Klerk and Mr F. J. de Klerk this year indicated that there were about 1.5 million potential coloured voters and about 900,000 registered.

Of the latter figure fewer than 300,000 actually voted—10 other words less than 20 percent of potential voters. The Labour Party actually does not command the support of more than 15 percent of potential voters.

Even more telling are the figures for Cape Town, the urbanized heartland of the coloured community. Only five percent of the eligible voters in Cape Town went to the polls. This is significantly lower than the figures for the old CRC. Whereas in the 1975 CRC election some 44,270 coloured people in Cape Town voted only 25,110 did so on August 22 in spite of the growth of the coloured population in the city.

The middle class stayed away almost en masse. Thus, while higher polls were registered elsewhere, the Cape Town coloured community has unambiguously signalled its refusal to take part in a political dispensation that excludes and divides people on the basis of race. The main support for the new constitution al deal came from the working class and the rural areas, but it is not clear that these are the groups the government is seeking to co-opt, particularly if we bear in mind the second strategy— that of stemming urbanization.

Insiders

In this connection it is of particular importance to consider the impact of the new government's action against squatters in the Cape Town metropolitan region.

The coloured urban insiders clearly have not seen their government action on their behalf. After all, a mere seven years ago it was coloured squatters who were being razed in Cape Town.

Technically, the low poll has put the Labour Party in a stronger position that it would otherwise have been. The poll communicates that the coloured community as a whole, and the middle class of Cape Town, do not consider the new dispensation to be satisfactory.

Little progress

This means the government will have to do something to provide the Labour Party with a broader, particularly urban, base. As a very first step the coloured urban middle class demands that the Areas Act and the racial laws be removed. There are indications that Mr P. Botha has decided that the Mixed Marriages Act and Immoral- ity Act should go. This will be a dramatic, symbolic move that will con- definitely the tenous position of the Labour Party through continuing with the hard line on influx control.
New constitutional era dawns in violence and hope

SOUTH AFRICA enters the new constitutional era in somewhat unpromising circumstances, with police sjamboks flailing down on the country's newly franchised citizens and signs of a new wave of urban black unrest in the offing.

It is clear that the internal order, in which the white population of the country is now living, has plunged the country since Sharpeville in 1960 and will continue and that the black youth will intensify their demand for rights as South African citizens.

But the outlook is not uniformly depressing. The significance of the low polls in both the coloured and Indian elections has not been wholly lost on the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, judging by his comments. In spite of the official propaganda about intimidation, the Botha administration is neither totally blind nor deaf, politically speak

Mr Botha is aware that the main reason for the overwhelming victory of the White Party was not intimidation but wholesale scepticism of the coloured and Indian communities and rejection of an apartheid-based system which, in their view, can do them no good.

Boost

The negative and equally sceptical reaction abroad is likewise a spur to Mr Botha to move heaven and earth, we may hope, to demonstrate that the new deal is not a fraud, as many suspect, but is actually a first step in a genuine programme of reform.

Ironically enough, the low poll gave a possible boost to the new chambers' chances of getting something done. Mr Botha cannot afford to let his collaborators down. He must begin to salvage something from the wreck by well-timed actions and legislation which will enhance the credibility of the new system and overcome the scepticism.

If the Labour Party leadership in the House of Representatives, and their counterparts in the House of Delegates, have the political skills and strength of character to make the most of the opportunity, the new parliament could become a useful bargaining forum in a transitional phase of constitutional development, we may likewise hope, leading to full incorporation of blacks as citizens.

Civil war

It all depends on how badly Mr Botha wants the new system to command some measure of credibility and, ultimately, legitimacy at home and abroad. If such considerations are secondary, Mr Botha will no doubt congratulate the Minister of Law and Order on his aggressive policy during the election and will urge him to go even further in detaining the leaders of protest groups and whipping the masses into line.

If Mr Botha is only concerned to entrench Nationalist power by co-opting the English financial establishment and a coloured and Indian elite as allies against the black and brown masses, as some have suggested, and if the Labour Party plays along with this strategy, the new constitution will be a prelude to civil war.

The signs are, however, that, as Mr Botha has said, Labour Party leaders such as the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr David Curry, for example, are sufficiently far-sighted to realize that there is no future for themselves or anyone else as collaborators with a white-Indian-coloured lager, gang up against the blacks.

Black rights

Mr Hendrickse has shown wisdom and realism in his statement calling for the scrapping of the coloured labour preference area in the Western Cape and the extension of the right to vote to Africans in this region.

The Prime Minister himself has likewise wasted no time in addressing himself to the question of black rights, which will no doubt create a storm, but which is by no means clear what he has in mind.

In the West generally, and particularly in Mr Reagan's rightist conserva

Washington, the whole edifice of the Botha reform stands or falls on the question of black rights. There is great sensitivity in Washington about population removals in South Africa.
Southern Africa has entered a period of constructive diplomacy that promises well for the future of the region, the Prime Minister, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, said in Johannesburg last night.

"Old, stereotyped patterns of relationships are being replaced and relationships, based on a new recognition of realities are emerging," he said.

The Prime Minister, addressing the gold jubilee dinner of the South African Institute of International Affairs in its third International Outlook Conference begins on Monday, said 1984 would go down in history as a watershed year in the affairs of South and Southern Africa.

FRUSTRATION

"Not only have important deals come to fruition, but a beginning has also been made with the implementation of concepts and structures on which we can pin our hopes for a better and more prosperous future for this country, and for the region as a whole.

"The year has seen the further emerging of South Africa as a regional power willing to play a positive role in the normalisation of relations and the settlement of disputes.

"What we have achieved so far in the internal dispensation in the country has been done in a peaceful and orderly way, despite diversity and difference of opinion."

Mr. Botha said South Africa was deeply concerned about the bleak economic picture emerging from much of Africa.

"It gives me no joy. The pity of it all is that this economic decay is taking place in spite of Africa's rich potential."

The responsibility for African development rested on Africa itself, and the time had come for Africa to get its priorities in order.

"There are signs in 1984 that this is beginning to happen. South Africa saw nothing wrong in the desire of other states to achieve greater economic independence and prosperity, Mr. Botha said.

"Such a development would benefit all of Southern Africa. However, to work on the assumption that this goal cannot be achieved without South Africa's active participation is to ignore reality."

Mr. Botha said the Nkomati Accord and the security agreement with Swaziland had opened the door to a new era of cooperation and development in Southern Africa.

"I sincerely hope that those states in the region who still refuse to normalise their relations with South Africa will soon realise that they are choosing an impossible path."

PM: 1984 a watershed year for South Africa.
Boesak: A UDF leader with no political aspirations

By LEON MARSHALL
Political Editor

WHEN Dr Allan Boesak made his call a year ago for the formation of some grouping to oppose the new constitution, he had no idea what would come from it.

He made the call to people of all races knowing that he was a young man — only 37 then, who had no conception of the struggle waged by black resistance movements over decades in this country.

He knew he was addressing himself to a racially and religiously divided community and he was conscious of the fact that he was a Christian, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church — and a “coloured”. Why, he thought, would people respond to him?

Election boycott

His call resulted in the formation of the United Democratic Front which led the election boycott and which has been cast into the role of extra-Parliamentary opposition at a time when South Africa has embarked on constitutional transition.

And Dr Boesak, though only one of several patrons of the movement, is recognised by opponents and supporters as by far its most potent leadership figure.

Over the past few months he has been travelling from platform to platform throughout the country, spilling out his objections to the new constitution and voicing deep-felt resentment of apartheid. Last Sunday alone he made five speeches, including his sermon as minister of Nod Gereef Sendingker.

The response he got has left him perplexed — slightly scared even — and he believes he now needs time to think things over.

The past few months has been the climax to eight years of involvement in church and political affairs which have caught him like a whirlwind and cast him into the vortex of this country's stormy public life.

It started in 1976 with his return to Cape Town from studying overseas which coincided with the eruption of student riots throughout the country.

From the pulpit, from academic platforms and political stages, locally and internationally, his voice became increasingly heard against apartheid. And two years ago he emerged into international prominence when he was elected President of the World Council of Churches.

Over the past few months he has heard a growing chorus at political meetings shouting the name “Boesak”. Wherever he has gone the response has been overwhelming.

Where does that leave him?

Perplexed

He is perplexed, though grateful, that he has been so widely accepted. But it scares him, too.

“It places responsibilities on me which I don’t know whether I can cope with.

“There are expectations which frighten me.

“I am not sure how I can make it clear that I have no political aspirations whatsoever.

“My involvement in politics is a product of my Christian faith, whether the UDF existed or not, would have resisted this constitution, the Government and apartheid in the same way.

“You ask me where I go from here? I don’t know. All I know is that it doesn’t end here.

“The Government will be pushing ahead with its constitution. The UDF will continue to exist. It is a broad national movement which has generated enormous enthusiasm. It has helped people to begin to believe in themselves again.

“I can’t just walk away from it. I still won’t take office in the UDF (apart from being one of its patrons).

“I’ll remain a minister. My foremost responsibility is to the church. But it seems my role as it crystallised over the past year will have to continue, but I am not sure in what way.”

Pressure

He says he has never been under so much pressure as during the past few months. He values the opportunities he had to speak to multiracial audiences and people of different walks of life and faiths. He was amazed by the intensity of their response. But he realised, too, they all the time expected him to say new things.

He believes he has learned more about South Africa this year than ever before. He knew from the outset the majority of black people would not accept the new constitution, but he didn’t realise they felt so deeply about it.

It has convinced him that apartheid was artificial because people could not have responded in such a way if apartheid was an inherent part of their nature.

He doesn’t know what the future holds for the UDF. He believes, however, it cannot sit back and allow the momentum to go out of its campaign. But he says he doesn’t know what the organisation has in mind.

He acknowledges that the greatest danger to the UDF would be if the Government “delivered the goods”, as Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendriekse has suggested.

If the Government become more tolerant, stopped threatening the UDF, started “delivering the goods”, and if it generally started doing the things the UDF presently believes it will not do, then there is only one thing, “We’ll have to change too.”

But he strongly doubts whether the Government will do these things, even if insisted upon by the coloured and Indian participants in the new Parliament. To deliver the goods, the Government would face the difficulties of first having to find the money.

Tough-handed

What he expects to happen is that Mr Hendriekse and his fellow MPs will merely be drawn into the climate of tough-handed Government action in which they will have to co-operate. This already has become evident from the Labour Party’s threats against Sacsos and teachers, he says. These were not much different from the threats used by the Government.

What he fears most is that the Government has no idea of the depth of feeling among the people opposed to the system.

And even if the Government found the money, it wouldn’t help simply to “deliver the goods”, as suggested. The Government would also have to change its political perceptions.

He believes the UDF could keep going by concentrating on its grassroots organisation. But mostly, Dr Boesak believes, the organisation will survive on the issues put on its agenda by the Government.
Intimidation not to blame for low poll

By Ted Doman

NO word was more overworked during last week's election than the word intimidation.

Before the election there was talk of intimidation on the part of the anti-election brigade. On election day many of the candidates threw the word around to explain the lack of election bustle at the polls.

In the election television programmes the panel suggested intimidation as reason for the poor turn-out of voters in the Cape Peninsula. Minister F W de Klerk laid the blame for the poor percentage poll at the doors of intimidation.

It would be idle to pretend that there was no intimidation. Of course there was. There was undoubtedly intimidation from the other side as well, but this is not an issue here.

FALSE

The claims of intimidation as a major reason for the poor election are palpably false and are being used as a red herring.

Dr Frank Quint, during the election night television programme, suggested that another reason for the poor turnout was that some churches made congregations believe it was "unChristian" to vote. This is true of many Muslim communities, too.

But it doesn't explain why the urban voter stayed away and the country voter went to the polls.

The reasons offered for the poor poll are:

- I believe that the poor poll is due to the fact that the majority of eligible voters - or even registered voters - do not approve of the new constitution and that, in the absence of any other means of expressing their point of view, they opted to stay away.
- IGNORANCE

This is not due to irresponsibility, as suggested by Prime Minister PW Botha. Or ignorance.

Indeed, and with respect, it is probably ignorance which led to the people in the country areas notching up high percentage polls. I can't believe that the generally better educated city slicker knows less about political rights than a person who is in the unfortunate position of having to live far away from schools. For example, how many the electorate in, say, Liewek, be regarded as less responsible than that of Wupperthal? In Liewek the percentage poll was 5.2%, in Wupperthal 3.4.

Liewek is an area which covers Hazendal, the major part of "old" Athlone, on both sides of the Cape Town railway line. Crawford, Lansdowne and a huge area of Rondebosch, Mouwray and Claremont.

PROFESSIONAL

In the main, the 5968 registered voters live in privately-owned homes, would all have at least two years of high school, would be a qualified artichoke as their opposite number to be able to discuss political rights intelligently.

And has a thought been given to the fact that people in the Cape Peninsula know very well how politics work, and have worked it for many years? Has it been forgotten that, not only did they have the parliamentary vote (even if it did have a reduced value), but they elected people in their own area - to the Provincial Council, and to the Cape Town City Council?

Of course, these rights were later removed. And there are the rub.

They had rights, which they used - responsibly. But when these rights were removed (irresponsibly?) and there was no way of getting them back, they rebelled in the only way they knew - by refusing to participate in any one of the relatively powerless substitutes for real power.

Why, in the first Coloured Persons Representative Council election in 1969 the percentage poll in Liewek was 12.9, in Strandfontein the percentage was 19.2, in Tafelberg 26.3 and in Heideveld 8.4.

In the second CRC election in 1975, Liewek recorded 12 percent, Strandfontein 16 percent, Tafelberg 26 percent and Heideveld 20 percent.

There was no United Front, no "white" election, and who could hold their own in any debating company, it is regrettably true that there are a large number of successful candidates who wouldn't stand the proportional snowball's chance in hell against the likes of the majority of the anti-election brigade.

CONTRIBUTION

Without running through the entire list of new Members of Parliament, one shudders to think what contribution Peter Harris of Strandfontein could make. Or Richard Lackay of Manenberg, Or Ken Latgen of Hanover Park, Or Harold Ross of Rieutort or MD Arends of Tafelberg.

And, if they, as successful candidates, can be looked at quizically, what then of a large number of unsuccessful men and women, both party representatives and independents?

Some appear to be thick-skinned. JC Samuels, standing as a Republican in 1975, managed to get 70 people to make their crosses for him in Liewek. This time he could score only 18 in Manenberg.

Solly Fester, who had no previous visible political exposure, polled 31 in Rieutort. In Natal Mid-East, M Hoskins polled six votes. And there are many others who barely made it into double figures.

Of course, for this election, the State temporarily removed the requirement that Independents would have to find 300 signatories to back their candidacy.

It certainly seems that not only Independents would have had trouble for, had that been a requirement for party representatives, successful candidates like MD Arends in Tafelberg polled only 118. Arthur Stanley in Liebenberg 271, and Richard Lackay in Manenberg 294.

(Reprinted by the News, 122 George's Street, Cape Town)
*the negative attitude of the Press;*
*that there was a pre-conceived conclusion;*
*that there wasn't enough competition;*
*people were waiting to see what developed;*
*the credibility of the system had to be proved;*
*a fair number of coloured people still showed no interest in exercising their political rights.*

Democratic Front. There was no concerted anti-election action. But the people were protesting. And on Wednesday they protested again.

Butcher, baker, teacher, plumber, clerk, factory worker, accountant - I've asked them all about the election. They haven't been to any UDF gatherings. Nor to any political party meetings. But they did not vote. They didn't even register.

ahead of anybody who would dare to stand against him.

SUCCESSFUL

This is true of a number of other successful candidates as well. One thinks of Solly Essop in Beaufort West (Nruwele constituency). JD Swigelaar in Duysseldorp, Lawrence Erasmus in Geyndale, Willie Dietrich in Bethlehem, Louis Hellender in Bredoux, Les Abraham in Diamant (Kimberley) and Jac Ruddle in Reiger Park.

But, whereas there are among them people who would win a seat even in the most difficult circumstances.

Election gems

*HEARD during the election, and on radio and television programmes about the election:

- "There doesn't seem to be much opposition for Labour."
- "Votes are being counted in there as never before." - Peter Swart of SABC TV.
- "The losing Independents. They haven't carved a niche for themselves." - Prof. Lawrence Schlemmer.
- "It shows that the voters are not altogether raw (row)." - Dr Frank Quint commenting on the relatively low number of spoilt papers.
- "My party will be the official opposition in the House of Representatives." - FCP leader Peter Marais, whose party has one seat.
PW voted top of coloured and Indian pops

BY FLEUR DE VILLIERS

MR P W Botha is the top political leader among coloured and Indian South Africans, shows a nationwide Human Sciences Research Council survey released last night.

The Prime Minister, who this week will become South Africa's first executive State President, enjoys far more support in the coloured and Indian communities than the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrikse, or any Indian leader.

The opinion survey casts a new and surprising light on the recent coloured and Indian elections.

Based on personal interviews with representative samples of 1,625 coloureds and 1,608 Indians conducted in March this year, its release was delayed because the Electoral Act forbids the publication of opinion polls during an election.

Approval

Both groups were asked by means of an open question to name their choice for political leader.

The survey shows that Mr Botha was chosen as political leader by 37.3 percent of the coloureds. He was followed by Dr F van Zyl Slabbert (25 percent) and Mr P. Botha (15.7 percent).

Dr Hendrikse, who led the Labour Party to a landslide victory in the recent election, polled only 2.9 percent and Dr Botha, 2.5 percent.

Among the Indians polled, 41.5 percent chose Mr Botha, followed by Dr van Zyl Slabbert (25 percent) and Mr P. Botha (16 percent).

No Indian leader was chosen by more than 15.5 percent of the sample.

Nude show girls soaked in SAP search

BY CAS ST LEGER

POLICE stopped a bus carrying Miss Body Beautiful contestants — and searched through their bikinis and feather boas for bombs.

It happened this week in the middle of the Free State between a wild rainy ra.

"We had nothing to hide," said sexy blondes, Lovell Krynauw, 18 of Cape Town.

"But we were very frightened. They were in camouflage and they pointed guns at us.

"We had to stand away from our coach and rain for about half an hour. We were scared the police dogs would bite us," said contest winner petite brunet Monica Marsh, 22.

The girls, both models, had flown to Bloemfontein from Cape Town on Thursday with their agent Charlotte Field.

A minibus from the hotel in Maseru, Lesotho, had arrived to fetch them, ready for the bare-all contest this weekend.

Deserted

Driving the bus were the hotel staff manager, Stuart Anderson, and hotel accountant, Patrick Matoza.

The group took a short cut to Maseru, driving on a deserted stretch of gravel road.

About 8am from the Lesotho border post they were stopped.

"It was about 7.15am and raining heavily. I didn't notice the South African Police car at the side of the road and drove past," which I think was why they were furious with us," Mr Matoza said.

The bus was ordered to pull over and the occupants were forced to stand well away from it on the dark muddy road in the pouring rain.

"My hair was ruined," wailed Lovell.

"I was the only one personally searched," said Mr Matoza.

After the dog had sniffed we had anything to declare — and then they found a gun in his own car. I don't know if they were just testing their dog.

Then one of the policemen discovered it was his own gun he had put down. I don't know if they were just testing their dog.

Unsettled by the incident the girls decided not to allow it to mar their weekend and not to disappoint the audience of over 5000 who paid up to R50 each for seats.

Parties

All of the 14 Miss Body Beautiful contestants said they had entered just for fun — and not for the R2 000 prize.

Samantha Gous, 21, of Johannesburg, said: "I don't think my parents would mind at all."

Gleider doe-eyed Zsa Zsa Coetzee, 23, a cabaret dancer, said: "No nude pictures, my

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AN adventure in Africa brings a tiny, bubbly blonde to the notice of South Africa's youth. The man is an American teenager named Karina Brouma. Yesterday her distraught friends told how they had heard her cry helplessly as K. 17, was eaten alive by a lioness.

A whispering cry in the early morning darkness made the girl know that the great cat savaged her. The young cat, from Botswana, was later dragged across a river in Okavango Swamps as her friends watched in horror.

She had been unable to scream and had an orthodontic brace fastened to her

The brace, to straighten her slightly bent teeth, was strapped round her head before she went to sleep.

"There was nothing we could do," the friends said.

"We could see she had already been and no amount of shouting, shouting lights would drive the lions — Karina, 17, and 27 friends — all the way. We were travelling through the eastern Botswana.

Due to fly home

They were part of a Lutheran Church ship tour, meeting different groups across the country.

She and 14 other German youths had been in Botswana only three weeks ago. Keel-first trip to Africa, was due to fly home on the commercial plane.

"We decided to break our journey at the wildlife in the Moremi Game Reserve," said Mr Rohland, who left Botswana after working there for four years. They spent the day spotting game, seeing any lion. Late in the evening arrived at a public camping site. After working there for four years.

"We had already tired. We pitched and decidided who would be in the front. The night, the Botswana, who were scared of the animals, although they chose the friendly ones.

"Tea of us got into the tent and lay down.

The tent, a military bell type, flew a distinct. The other five were flown into the ground under piles of earth.

"During the night, at about 5.30am, I heard crying — a sort of whimpering noise," said Mr Rohland.

"I thought someone was having a nightmare. I struggled for about two minutes before deciding to find a torch.

Agonising

Once I was and men from the party had woken up, they saw the lions standing about 150 metres away. In the darkness, the lions, filled with noise and lights, dragged Karina across the river to an island.

"We climbed some trees and, as soon as we could see the lion -
PW the top choice of Indians and coloureds

From Page 1

Indian Congress received only 3.1 percent support.

The HSRC poll casts a fresh light on the dismally low polls during the recent Indian and coloured elections and tends to rebut UDF claims that the stay-away vote could be interpreted as a victory for the boycott strategy and proof of wholesale rejection of the new constitution.

At the time of the survey 46 percent of the coloured and 57.1 percent of the Indian communities accepted the constitution at least in part. Only 15.9 percent of the coloureds and 14.9 percent of the Indians rejected it completely — in startling contrast to the UDF claim that the low-poll elections proved that 80 percent of South Africa's coloured community had rejected the new deal.

Uncertain

Some 16.4 percent of the coloureds and 16.7 percent of the Indians surveyed were completely in favour of the new constitution, while 29.8 percent of the coloureds and 45.4 percent of the Indians accepted it in part.

On the effect of the new constitution on Indian-coloured-white relations, 32 percent of the coloureds and 45.3 percent of the Indians believed it would be beneficial, while 7.8 percent and 12.1 percent respectively believed that relations would deteriorate. The remainder were either uncertain or believed that relations would remain unchanged.

The majority in both communities (49.9 percent of the coloureds and 65.5 percent of the Indians) believed that blacks should participate in the same government with whites, coloureds and Indians.

Some 34.1 percent of the coloureds and 30.1 percent of the Indian respondents believed they should not.

The survey also reveals little large-scale support for any Indian or coloured political party, although the Labour Party received the greatest support among coloureds (25.2 percent).

Threats

Commenting on the survey, the HSRC says the fact that between 35 and 40 percent of the Indian and coloured respondents generally accepted the legitimacy of the new constitution was no guarantee that they would have participated in the elections.

Nor could the inference be made that everyone who did not participate totally rejected the new constitution.

"Voting behaviour is a complex social-psychological phenomenon and a great variety of factors can combine to influence people not to vote."

Among these it cited "apathy, ignorance, lack of motivation, the absence of an election tradition, organisational and logistical shortcomings, intimidation and numerous other problems faced by developing communities the world over."

But you can't KIraM them off into rural and urban

CONSTITUTIONAL BRIDGE
WE CAN'T PAY

WHAT TO DO WITH THE

NOW FOR THE BLACKS

SUNDAY TIMES, SEPTEMBER 2, 1991.
Now we are the Opposition, says Hendrickse

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

The Rev Allan Hendrickse says his party is “the only real opposition to the National Party”. As such, he said, the Labour Party would in future “call the shots” in national politics, and not Dr Van Zyl Slabbert’s Progressive Federated Party.

Mr Hendrickse was reacting yesterday to a view expressed this week by the PFfP leader that the PFP may decide to form an alliance with other parties, including the Labour Party, “depending on the actions and attitudes of the Labour Party once the tripartite parliament comes into operation.”

Mr Hendrickse said in terms of percentage support, the LP had 66 per cent of the support of coloured voters who went to the polls, judged on the basis of the 76 of 80 seats the LP had won on August 22.

He believed the LP had now clearly established itself as the party with the clearest majority, compared to any of the other “third parties” in the three houses of the tripartite parliament.

Contrast

In contrast to the LP victory, the photo-finish election results of the House of Delegates, split the two main contesting parties, Solidarity Party (SP) of Dr J N Reddy and the National Party (NFP) of Mr Ameeland Rajabalai, almost down the middle. 18 seats won by the NFP and 17 by the SP.

Four seats went to Independents and one to the Progressive Independent Party of Mr Faiz Khan.

Dr Slabbert said it would be “impossible” to prescribe to the Labour Party how it should behave under the new system, but said there is no reason why the PFfP should not co-operate with others.

Mr Hendrickse said yesterday he “took exception” to remarks by Dr Slabbert in which he questioned whether the LP could claim a mandate from the coloured voters because of the low 20 per cent turn-out at the polls.

“Dr Slabbert and his ilk are in no position to sit in moral judgment over the LP, because the PFfP’s track record in terms of support from its own constituency, is not all that rosy.”

Alliance

“in spite of its call for a ‘No’ vote in the referendum of November 2, last year, 66 percent of the whites voted ‘Yes’.”

“In elections for the House of Representatives, we won 95 percent of the contested seats.

“We will, therefore, decide, whether we would like to form an alliance with a minority party like the PFfP, and not the other way around,” said Mr Hendrickse.

Key men jockey for power

By TICKS GHETTY, BOOTESIAN and NORMAN WEST

Mr Mohangi said he would consult with the Committee of 46, which helped him in his election campaign, before coming to a decision.

Mr Ramuth, a retired headmaster who won the Clare Estate seat, said he had been offered the Education Portfolio by Solidarity.

He denied earlier newspaper reports that he had demanded to be put in charge of education in the House of Delegates and that he would accept for his support for either party.

Key men

“I am still considering my position,” Mr Ramuth said.

Education is termed an “own affair” under the new constitution.

If Mr Jumuna and Mr Mohangi decide to join Solidarity, the party would have 19 MPs and the NFP 18.

But the man with the key to ending the impasse may be Mr A E Lambat.

There is speculation that Mr Lambat could be persuaded by the Labour Party to join Solidarity — for a flavour in return.

It is said that part of the deal would be for Solidarity, if it then commands the majority, to nominate Mr Salim Abram-Mayet, an Indian member of the Labour Party’s Transvaal executive, to the House of Delegates or put his name forward for nomination to the new President’s Council.

Final decision

Meanwhile, Mr Nareeta Jumuna, who won the North Coast constituency as an NFP candidate, said yesterday that he was considering moving to Solidarity.
A F UNNY thing happened on the way to the Forum.

As could be expected, there were those who, anyone ignored the call to vote, who were simply apathetic or otherwise too busy or too lazy to get away to the urns.

But this time there was also a further that decided to shun the Forum and some of those who preferred people off voting, telling them they might get roughed up if they did.

And now they have the cheek to trump up all who didn’t vote and pressurise them, saying that they did attend the For- rum, casting their piddles in the urns against the candidates as well as the system.

The surly proponents of Roman democracy would, of course, not have given a hoot for such a special. And now even the usual catac- waulers to go jump into the Tiber.

So, too, should all sensi- ble South African South Africans joff off the hard clay against the coloured and Indian elec- tions not being “legit- mate” or “creditable” in the light of the low polling percentages.

Democracy is, after all, for the will to participate. Cast- ling one’s piddles and accept- ing the result manually is of the essence.

A fairer democracy, demo- cracy is not for boycotters, abandoners of the democratic charade or ideological axe-grinders.

Doesn’t really want to wreck it.

Democracy is the prac- tice of casting one’s vote, and it dare not buckle be- fore the many who would deny its practice to themselves — and, in a way, to an empty exercise of demag揣ute politics.

However, democracy is a matter of legitimately established political institutions and their practi- cal workings.

These institutions have to be adapted over time; they have to be, because of this or that theory.

Curiously, it is when the “theorists” hijack democracy, seeking off endlessly about “nothing peo- ple”, that democracy really doesn’t work.

E ven more curiously, it was one of those Hillsiders who regularly boasted the largest polls, simply by selecting the dictators organized vast numbers of them.

In fact, in these times when so much is made of democracy, one should be very wary of high-per- centage polls as indicators of its actual working.

Just take a low-one party state on this continent and look at some of their recent polling figures: Algeria, 96 percent (1994); Gujarat, 96 percent (1983); Dibouti, 91 percent (1992); Malawi, 92 percent (1992); Burundi, 88 percent (1984); and Guinea takes the cake among the pretended democracies with no less than a 150 percent vote for guess who? (1952).

When one looks at poll- ing percentages in coun- tries generally recognized as working democracies, one discerns patterns that

is a game for those who want to play

By LOUIS NEL

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

more truly reflect voter behaviour in free and open circumstances.

Perhaps the “great democracy on earth” is the painted example here.
The United States does in- deed have a history of low polls.

In 1976, a mere 27.7 per- cent of America’s regis- tered voters propelled Jimmy Carter into the White House. Or put it an- other way, 72.8 percent of the people who could vote either voted against him or didn’t vote for him.

Ronald Reagan, who achieved a “landslide” in 1980, did not do much better — he was backed by 27 percent of the vot- ing, while 73 percent voted against him or did not vote for him.

Our Labour party also gained a landslide, taking nearly all the seats in the new House of Representatives, gaining through commun- ism for overwhelping support in a 30.7 percent poll — in effect, not much increase for Reagan or Carter gath- ered behind them, percent- uage-wise.

Allan Hendrickse can, therefore, at least talk to the President of the Unit- ed States.

The greatest democrac- y gives other evidence of the freedom not to vote.

For instance, in 1980 only 63 percent of Americans entitled to registered as voters.

Not much more than half of them (54.4 percent and 53.3 percent) cared to vote in the past two presiden- tial elections, just un- der half voted for the Democratic President in 1980.

F urthermore, blacks and Hispanics in the US tend to vote on a lesser scale than whites: ten to 16 percent less than their com- panions.

And nobody would deny there exist a free and open democracy, there is a tend- ency among less-educat- ed and less well-off cit- izens to him to the polls.

Now Hendrickse can talk to the President of the United States on even terms . . .

QUOTE

Now Hendrickse can talk to the President of the United States on even terms . . .

RONALD REAGAN

Allan Hendrickse

for the Indian vote be- tween Solidarity and the National Peo- ple’s Front, but their middle-class apathy (found as well among the so-called middle-class in the Cape Peninsula) and the Zulu threat, as assailed by Chief Minister Gatabha Buthelezi, seem to have been more powerful fac- tors in keeping the poll low.

Yes, besides the UDF’s boycott movement, there was, also, intimidation — something that developed with the, ways of democracy, tend to ignore as a force among lesser-developed forces.

Intimidation manifest- ed itself increasingly as the political scene drew nearer, and when it came to voting the threats were clear.

The police had to act preemptively, but now, with a typical twist, it is they who are accused of “overreacting”.

One should have no illu- sions as to how certain media have been warned away by the campaign to cast doubt on these elections, in any possible way.

So that as it may, the imperative is that South Africa’s democratic institu- tions be maintained.

I mperfect as some would claim they are — and no lid is placed upon them. But these institu- tions are the legitimate instruments of our democracy. They have long been so, and are backed by a democratic tradition which is as im- portant as the procedures of democracy.

And they will remain so.

What the Government has had to face was not so much a nature to dis- credit the pertinent proce- dures for counting and participation as an accepted by an existing electorate by a move- ment to weaken the very foundations of our democracy.

Because, as so many in- stances have shown, the story and the way of the “will of the people” is mighty dubious in this case in allowed to over- ride existing democratic institutions, the way to do it is to tattle-tale lies open.

Two new Chambers of our Parliament have been elected, properly and with all validity their work- ings must proceed; those to be able to be joined and the right to not be denied their right of representation.

For the Government to bow to pressures from those who are enemies abroad to nullify certain elections is a move mean taking a knock itself, but would also under- mine Minority Government working democracy.

Now Hendrickse can talk to the President of the United States on even terms . . .

RUDOLPH WASSMUTH
DID campaigning by emerging unions for a boycott of coloured and Indian elections for the new three-Chamber parliament affect the poll?

The six union groups involved in unity moves last week hailed the low poll, but stopped short of claiming direct credit for it.

One reason is that their coloured and Indian membership, while significant, is not big enough to make much impact on national poll figures.

But one area may have provided a test: the East Cape. There Fosatu unions conducted a house-to-house campaign urging a stay — $9.
And many coloured workers there belong to a Fosatu union.

On one level, this campaign seems to have failed; coloured election polls in the area were higher than in several other areas — between 30% and 48%.

But the area is a stronghold of the Labour Party's leader, Rev Allen Hendrickse, and many Fosatu union members have been Labour members or even office-bearers.

And only about 58% of coloured people were registered voters, so only one in four potential voters probably went to the polls in one of Labour's key areas.

So the union campaign may have had some impact.
HSRC releases survey results

Coloureds, Indians prefer PW Botha as leader of SA

More coloured and Indian people would prefer Prime Minister Mr P W Botha as a political leader for South Africa, according to a recent HSRC survey.

Against candidates from all race groups, Mr Botha received more support than all the others together.

Less than 15 percent of the respondents in the survey totally rejected the new constitution, but a majority of both groups felt blacks should be included in the new dispensation.

RE Lease

The results of the survey, conducted in March by the Human Sciences Research Council’s Institute for Sociological and Demographic Research, were released in Pretoria at the weekend.

The release of the report was postponed until after the coloured and Indian elections due to a clause in the Electoral Act concerning the publication of survey findings which may influence an election, according to the project leader, Dr Nic Rhoodie.

Mr Botha was chosen as political leader by 37 percent of the coloured people, followed by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition (20 percent), Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs (20 percent), the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the coloured Labour Party (3.9 percent), and Dr Allan Boesak (2.9 percent).

STRIKING

Just under 30 percent of the coloured respondents had no preference.

“It is particularly striking that respectively 55.5 percent and 39 percent of the coloureds chose either a white person as leader or were uncertain, while only 10 percent named a leader from their own ranks,” Dr Rhoodie said.

In the Indian sample, 41.3 percent named the Prime Minister as their choice of political leader, followed by Dr Slabbert and Mr Pik Botha with 51.7 and 5 percent respectively.

No Indian person was chosen as leader by more than 0.8 percent.

When asked to choose a leader from their own population groups, the coloured people chose Mr Hendrickse (25 percent) and the Indians Mr Amchand Rajbansi (14 percent) and, once again, a large proportion said they were uncertain.

With regard to the new constitution, just over 16 percent of both coloured and Indian respondents accepted it completely, 40 and 49 percent respectively accepted only certain parts, while just under 15 and 10 percent respectively rejected it.

“It thus appears that, at the time of the survey, 46 percent of the coloured and 57 percent of the Indian respondents accepted the new constitution at least in part,” Dr Rhoodie said.

Twenty-four percent of the coloured and 30 percent of the Indian respondents agreed that black people should not participate in the same government with white, coloured and Indian people.

OPPOSED

Fifty percent and 56.5 percent respectively of the two samples were opposed to this view.

Twenty-six percent of the coloured people and 13.5 percent of Indians were uncertain or did not know.

With regard to a group name, 56.2 percent of the coloured and almost two-thirds (64.6 percent) of the Indian people indicated they preferred to be known as “South Africans.” — Sapa.
PRETORIA—Less than 16 percent of coloured and Indian respondents in a recent HSRC survey totally rejected the new constitution, but a majority of both groups felt blacks should be included in the new dispensation.

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Just over 15 percent of both coloured and Indian respondents accepted the new constitution completely.

Thirty percent and 40 percent, respectively, accepted only certain parts. Just under 16 percent and 15 percent, respectively, rejected the constitution completely.

Thirty-eight percent of the coloured respondents and 26 percent of the Indians had indicated they were uncertain or ignorant about the matter.

"It thus appears that, at the time of the survey, 46 percent of the coloured and 57 percent of the Indian respondents accepted the new constitution at least in part," Dr Rhodie said.

Regarding blacks, 24 percent of the coloured and 30 percent of the Indian respondents agreed that blacks should not participate in the same government with whites, coloureds and Indians.

Fifty percent of the coloured respondents and 65.5 percent of the Indian respondents were opposed to this view.

Twenty-six percent of the coloureds and 13.5 percent of the Indians were either uncertain or did not know on this issue.

On the choice of a political leader from any group for South Africa, the Prime Minister received more support in both the coloured and Indian samples than all the other candidates together.

Mr Botha was chosen as the political leader by 37 percent of the coloureds, followed by Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition (5.6 percent), Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs (4.8 percent); the Rev Allan Hendriks, leader of the coloureds (0.6 percent), and Dr Alan Boesak (0.3 percent).

(Sapa)
Rajbansi clashes with airport policeman

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.—The leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, is to lodge a formal complaint with the head of the Railway Police in Natal after a policeman at Louis Botha Airport asked non-passengers to leave the departure area.

Witnesses, however, claimed Mr Rajbansi was rude and shouted at the police.

According to Mr Rajbansi, the trouble yesterday began when about 300 NPP supporters arrived to say farewell to the newly elected MP, who was leaving for Cape Town.

"GO TO HELL"

"I was standing in the departure lounge when a railway policeman shouted at our supporters to get out. I went up to him and told him he should not shout at the people and that the place was not overcrowded," the policeman then asked me to get the people to leave. I told him he could go to hell and if the people were forced to leave, the NPP delegates would not take up their seats in Parliament," said Mr Rajbansi.

He said the policeman was rude to those present.

Supporters were reported to have raised clenched fists in the air and chanted repeatedly: "NPP, NPP.

Brigadier C JH Pelser, commanding officer of the Railway Police in Natal, said the matter was under investigation.
Detainees' position under consideration

Political Staff

The position of the 36 detainees held under the preventive detention clause of the Internal Security Act in the week of the elections for the House of Representatives is "under consideration," according to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

In an interview Mr le Grange said he was not prepared to say more at this stage.

Those detained were leaders of anti-election groups and included leaders of the United Democratic Front, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on law and order, said today that the new tricameral system would open under a cloud of hostility and mistrust because of the unprecedented wave of detentions.

"Mr le Grange must now speedily begin dealing with all those he locked up during the coloured and Indian elections.

"Preventive detention is meant for subversive activities and not for people legitimately protesting against unpopular measures.

"Either people must be charged for having caused violence during the elections or they should be released."

Mrs Suzman also called for a thorough investigation of the violence used by the police during the elections."
Exclusion of blacks from housing

IDENTIFICATION

CONCLUSION

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Elections and the exclusion

For some, a problem or

Housing

Survey Report

World socialist leaders pull out of Tanzania conference

The major socialist parties from around the world, including those from China, Russia, Cuba, and Vietnam, have pulled out of a conference in Tanzania that was to be attended by over 120 parties. The move is seen as a response to the government's decision to exclude black people from housing.

The conference was scheduled to take place in Tanzania in September, and was expected to be attended by representatives from over 120 socialist parties from around the world. However, in a statement released on Friday, the leaders of the major socialist parties said that they would not be attending the conference due to the government's decision to exclude black people from housing.

The leaders said that they would not participate in an event that discriminates against black people, and that they would use their platform to raise awareness about the issue and call for action to address it.

The exclusion of blacks from housing is a long-standing issue in Tanzania, and has been a source of dispute between the government and the opposition parties. The government has defended its policies, saying that they are aimed at protecting the rights of everyone, while the opposition has accused the government of racism.

The leaders of the major socialist parties said that they would continue to fight for the rights of black people, and that they would work with other international organizations to address the issue.

They urged the Tanzania government to take steps to address the issue and to ensure that all people, regardless of their race, have access to housing.

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They urged the Tanzania government to take steps to address the issue and to ensure that all people, regardless of their race, have access to housing.
More than 275 people including babies and toddlers were left homeless when fire gutted about 55 shanty homes, resulting in about R50 000 damage, at Imanga, near Durban, last night.

The fire started at about 10.30 pm after an explosion in one shack. It is thought this was caused by an iron being left to heat up on a pressure stove.

Mr Nicholas Ndawonde, one of the shanty dwellers, said: "I heard a terrible bang. I went out to investigate and saw the shack was a ball of fire."

He said the fire jumped to other shacks, which "just shrivelled like plastic". Roofs collapsed, and the area became chaotic.

"There were cries for help all over the place. Children were crying and shouting for their mothers. Men struggled to save those still trapped in their houses. The scene looked like hell," he said.
The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, signs the oath of office after being sworn in as the member for the new House of Representatives yesterday. Waiting his turn in the former Senate chamber, is Mr Ismail Richards, the Toekomsrus.

Rajbansi rules Indian House

Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT.—The National Party yesterday won the battle for control of the 45-member Indian House of Delegates, taking a four-member lead over the rival Solidarity party.

Neither Mr Amichand Rajbansi's NNP nor Solidarity, led by Mr J N Reddy, had an overall lead of the 45 elected seats. Both vied for support of the four independent members and the sole Progressive Independent Party member, Mr Faiz Khan.

Majority

Yesterday three independents supported the NNP, giving it a majority which in turn gave it two of the three indirectly elected seats yesterday and a total of 33 seats to Solidarity's 19.

The NNP stands to increase its lead when the new State President nominates an additional two members to the House of Delegates later this month. It also claims the firm support of the fourth independent, Mr A E Lambat, who is in Mecca. Mr Khan appears determined to keep his options open.

In the 45-member House of Representatives, the Labour Party consolidated its massive majority by securing all three of the indirectly elected members yesterday. Labour stands to gain a further two members through presidential nominations.

Earlier yesterday, members of all three Houses were sworn in separately by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice P J Rabie.

The Houses then chose their members for the electoral college which will select a new State President today.

The National Party has a clear majority in the electoral college, made up of 30 white, 25 coloured and 13 Indian MPs. It is therefore a foregone conclusion that the NP candidate, Mr PW Botha, will be the first executive president.

'Skande'

However, as the constitution does not make provision for an acting state president, Mr Botha will lose his salary for 10 days before he is inaugurated on September 14.

There were cries of 'skande' in the white House of Assembly when the Progressive Federal Party tried unsuccessfully to have eight of its MPs elected to the electoral college.

The NP voted down the PFP proposal in the first division of the new Parliament, ensuring that all 50 white electoral college members are Nationalists.

It is believed that Mr Lambat, who stood on a Labour Party ticket during the Indian election, has backed the NNP-in-return-for-the-choice-of Mr Abrahams-Mayes, an unsuccessful LP-backed independent candidate, as one of the three indirectly-elected MPs in the House of Delegates.

The other NPP-backed indirectly-elected MP is Mr Yusaf Ismail Sedat, and the third Mr Sutedi, backed by Solidarity, if Mr Q Munsinook.

In the House of Representatives, the three Labour-supported indirectly-elected members were Mr J Dow, Mr A Goosen and Mr J Solomon.