

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS - 1985

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Process of change far from complete, says PW

# President's Council may include blacks

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

## Scepticism, rejection follow PE speech

Political Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Political reaction to President Botha's latest reform moves ranges from scepticism to outright rejection.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said today that some of the terms Mr Botha used in his speech here last night sounded like a fundamental reversal of apartheid.

However, closer examination showed that concepts such as a united South Africa, universal franchise and common citizenship sounded like "new separate development".

"Nevertheless we should not lose hope and the Government may be able to get negotiations off the ground," he said.

Conservative Party general secretary Dr Frans van Staden rejected the speech saying it would lead to blacks in the Government.

"We reject totally the incorporation of blacks in the President's Council as a first step in extending decision-making at Government level. The next step will be to put blacks in Parliament," he said.

The editor of the *Sowetan*, Mr Joe Latakomo, said there was nothing new in the speech and predicted the Government would have trouble finding black leaders prepared to serve on the council.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) dismissed the State President's speech in Port Elizabeth last night as "meaningless promises".

Azapo's publicity officer, Mr Imrann Moosa, said "mouthing of principles such as universal franchise and common citizenship" did not fool anybody.

"When Mr Botha speaks of 'universal franchise' he is speaking of the vote in one's 'own homeland' or 'ethnic chamber'. When he speaks of 'common citizenship' he is speaking of citizenship in the bantustans.

"Azapo will not rest until power is in the hands of the owners of this land, the black people."

### Azapo: Promises are meaningless

### Port Elizabeth

President Botha last night announced that he was willing to appoint black leaders to the President's Council so that all communities could participate in making proposals to the Government.

He also "finally confirmed" that he and the National Party were committed to the principle of a United South Africa, one citizenship, and universal franchise.

But, he said, to meet the realities of the multicultural nature of the population and to ensure the protection of minority groups, the various national units would have to be recognised on a geographical and group basis.

### Pulse of reform

Mr Botha was opening the Cape congress of the National Party — the last of the NP provincial policy-making conferences this year.

In his clearest commitment to change to date, Mr Botha told an audience of about 1300 that he had been encouraged by the congresses because they were characterised to a great extent by the pulse of reform.

He said he was the first to concede that the process of adjustment and change was still far from completion.

The Government was willing to hold discussions with all South Africans interested in peaceful solutions and on the basis of certain points, he said.

The Government's clear agenda of what it was prepared to negotiate in the constitutional field could

accommodate the rightful political aspirations of all.

And it was evident that further socio-economic reform, based on rejection of discrimination on the basis of race, ethnic character and origin, was also on the agenda.

To this end the Government was studying in depth the recommendations of the President's Council on an urbanisation strategy which included the abolition of influx control.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had been instructed to submit proposals to the Cabinet soon.

In order to further the process of reform, the role played by the President's Council should be considered.

### Minorities

"If the need exists among the leaders of black communities to participate within the President's Council in inquiries and the submission of proposals... I am willing to reconsider the structuring and functions of the President's Council to make provision for their participation."

Earlier in his speech Mr Botha rejected what he termed three extreme views on the constitution-

al accommodation of the country's minorities.

The first was one man, one vote in a unitary state; the second involved total geographical separation.

"A third extreme view involves white domination over other minority groups," he said.

"Seen from any angle, it means disaster for all and continuous confrontation."



304A B. Day 1/10/85  
Botha speaks out on reform at NP Cape Congress

# Citizenship for all is government aim

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, last night announced a major restructuring of government policy.

Opening the Congress of the Cape National Party in Port Elizabeth, he said he wished to finally confirm that he and the National Party were committed to the principle of a geographically united South Africa, a common citizenship and a universal franchise.

## Restructure

He also announced that he was willing to restructure the President's Council to include blacks.

Mr Botha restated the major policy shifts announced since the start of his reform initiative and last night went further in clarifying those reforms hinted at in his major policy speech at the Natal NP Congress in Durban earlier this year.

He said the government had stated clearly on numerous occasions that all groups and communities within the Republic would have to obtain representation in the highest level of government.

## Autonomy

He could therefore not understand why it was necessary for him to state time and again that government was prepared to share its power of decision-making with all other communities.

Mr Botha made it clear that black urban communities which, for constitutional purposes, were recognised as political entities, would in future have autonomy on matters affecting them and that they would have a meaningful role at central government level on matters of mutual concern with other groups.

He restated government's willingness to negotiate with leaders

of all communities.

For the first time, Mr Botha stated clearly that he would include not only traditional leaders but also "chosen leaders, political leaders, church leaders as well as leaders of specific interest groups, such as business leaders."

Another significant departure was that he did not re-state the condition that he would not negotiate with anyone who had not renounced violence as a means to political ends.

## Lip service

This time he said only that leaders who wished to negotiate on the future of the country would be expected to make a choice.

They could not pay lip service to the principles of negotiation while at the same time attempting to cover their backs against radical elements who did not wish to negotiate.

REFORM in order to permanently oblige foreign countries was too high a price for South Africa to pay, Mr P W Botha, said last night.

Winding up his party congress season, he warned the public that foreign countries would have to accept the results — no matter what — when reasonable South Africans had found each other.

"I am encouraged by this series of congresses because they were characterised to a great extent by the pulse of reform," he said.

What particularly encouraged him was that the reform process in the National Party had become the centre of political thought, not only within the ranks of the NP, but also as the main subject of general conversation in SA.

"My government and I made a choice and thereby I must stand or fall — it is a choice for constitutional, social and economic reform.

"I have not made this choice to oblige foreign countries, besides, the price to permanently oblige foreign countries is too high to pay," Mr Botha said.

"I cannot subject my country to the demands and instructions from abroad because we, and not them, have to experience the consequences thereof."

Mr Botha said he was also not advocating reform because oppressors were blackmailing him.

"Because we remain committed to peace, SA will not be surrendered to fire-raising, stone-throwing mobs.

"Freedom is not to be found along this road," he said. SA would thus not allow oppressors to block the process of reform and of liberation.

"This must be clearly understood by all," he warned. Action by government to maintain law and order and to ensure the safety of all members of society had to be judged in terms of government's commitment to reform.

Security action did not oppose reform nor did it occur to oppress or maintain the status quo.

"We recognise the right to protest, but that right may not lead to violation of the law."

There was an intense debate raging here and abroad about what was labelled "apartheid" and more specifically the "abol-

# Choice is not for foreigners' benefit, Botha tells world

ishment of apartheid," Mr Botha said.

Misrepresentation from within SA and unwise actions by government itself had contributed to turning the Afrikaans word into a swear word in the international community and had played into the hands of SA's enemies.

It was striking that the concepts of "Morality" and "Just society" were hurled at white SA who did not, when they settled here, "exterminate non-whites to a minority in numbers as in the USA and Australia.

"We did not solve our problem to a degree of manageableness by means of the gun," Mr Botha said.

To most of the country's critics apartheid meant the alleged suppression of blacks by whites. Apartheid was emotionally synonymous with "Imperialism" and "Colonialism".

The country's major constitutional question was one of minority groups, a problem not created by government.

"South Africa's dilemma was and still is situated in one major question. This is the way in which the non-minority groups can be included in the constitutional system which developed for Whites through the centuries."

Mr Botha sketched the history of attempts to deal with this vexing issue and referred to Lord Milner's Native Affairs Commission which recommended geographic separation in its 1905 report and the subsequent refusal of Generals Botha, Smuts and Hertzog to avoid the issue of black political rights as it could thwart the unification sought by the national convention.

"As far back as 1910 the segregation of blacks has already been laid down in principal and in practice," he said.

It was further entrenched with the 1913 legislation setting aside territories for black population "Touss."

"Apartheid" in the sense of regional segregation and the differences in approach to black rights was established even before the founding of the NP in 1914.

"Constitutional rights for blacks in the central government has thus been a point of dispute in SA right from the start," President Botha said.

The present office-bearers, members and supporters of the National Party were people with sound reasoning who realised new times demanded new approaches.

Dr Malan had warned in 1948 that apartheid was not the caricature so often made of it and that was why the party was struggling to bring home to everyone the realities of the National Party of 1985.

"This is why the opponents to the left of the government, here and abroad, can continually demand 'Abolish apartheid'."

"The facts are that we are busy ... outgrowing apartheid in the discriminatory and negative sense ..."

Mr Botha said co-operative co-existence was a living process which still demanded reform and adjustments.

"But it is also a process of consultation in an evolutionary way with recognition of each other's rights."

"This is an approach that accepts the human dignity of all South Africans. It is an approach which pursues Christian justice, but is not a policy for suicide," Mr Botha said.

He repeated that he rejected apartheid if it meant political domination of one group over another, exclusion from political decision-making, injustice and inequality in opportunities made available, and the encroachment on human dignity.

"Government shares in the rejection of such a concept," he said.

# Blacks may sit on PC

THE State President said last night he was willing to reconsider the structuring and functions of the President's Council to make provision for the participation of blacks.

Announcing this at the congress, Mr Botha said he had announced on January 25 this year that black leaders would have to be involved in discussions on their position in the constitutional dispensation.

For this reason it was necessary to reconsider the important role played by the President's Council in this regard.

"Therefore, if the need exists among the leaders of black communities to participate within the President's Council in inquiries

and the submission of proposals to me as head of state and the government on matters that concern those communities, I am willing to reconsider the structuring and functions of the President's Council to make provision for their participation.

"There are many institutions which did not form part of the reform ideal of the National Party, but which now want to hijack the plans.

"The reform action of the National Party was born in spite of this and is being continued from the conviction of the merits of reform and not the urgency thereof.

"When I assumed office as Prime Minister (before becoming State President), I stated clearly



## Peace is still top priority

ACTION by the security forces should not be seen as opposition to reform, Mr Botha said last night.

He advocated reform because his government was committed to peace and not because government was being blackmailed.

"We remain committed to peace. South Africa will not be surrendered to control by fire-razing, stone-throwing mobs. Freedom is not to be found along this road," Mr Botha said.

Action by the government to maintain law and order and to ensure the safety of all members of society had therefore to be judged in terms of government's "Irrevocable commitment to reform."

# Aussie strategy on SA

The Star's Foreign News Service

STAR

The Australian Government is developing a sanctions package against South Africa which it hopes will be supported by all Commonwealth leaders at their conference in the Bahamas later this month.

The package will include proposals for several international initiatives against South Africa but will stop short of endorsing trade sanctions unless they are mandatory and supported by the entire international community.

The Australian proposal could lead to conflict with other Commonwealth leaders, especially black African leaders like President Nyerere who has indicated that he wants the Commonwealth to lead the way in imposing trade sanctions on South Africa.

Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke is expected to put a plan to the Commonwealth heads of government meeting for the establishment of two international authorities to plan and co-ordinate effective action against South Africa.

One would be charged with working out proposals for peaceful transition in South Africa to a multiracial society with universal suffrage.

The other would be charged with working out the best and most effective way of suspending new investment in South Africa.

The proposals reflect two important Australian concerns about the South African situation.

The first, which is strongly felt by Mr Hawke, is that international action against South Africa should aim at ensuring peaceful change to a multiracial South Africa and a smooth transition to a stable, strong, anti-communist nation. Mr Hawke has a deep personal concern about the prospects of South Africa collapsing into the same chaos of much of the rest of Africa.

The second, which is most strongly argued by Australia's Foreign Minister Mr Bill Hayden, is that any international action taken against South Africa must involve the international community acting together and using measures that are effective.

Australia supported the Gleneagles Agreement opposing sporting contact with South Africa because it considers this to have been a most effective sanction.

It has also taken a range of measures itself which it sees as exerting Australian influence on the South African Government.

The Australian Government has placed a ban on all new contractual dealings with majority owned South African companies for contracts worth more than 20 000 Australian dollars and it has decided to avoid government procurement of supplies from South African sources and to restrict government sales of goods and services to South Africa.

It has prohibited the import of Krugerrands and all arms, ammunition and military vehicles.

It has introduced a code of conduct for Australian companies with

investments in South Africa. All Australian financial institutions have been asked to suspend new loans to borrowers in South Africa and the Australian Trade Commissioner is being withdrawn, and various forms of official assistance for Australians trading in South Africa have also been withdrawn.

Australia has also banned exports to South Africa of petroleum products, computer hardware and products known to be of use to South Africa's security forces.

It has not suspended the SA Airways service to Australia but has warned that this could happen if there are no positive signs of progress to reform in South Africa.

"What South Africa is afraid of" says Mr Hayden, "is the pressure applied or threatened to the one area where it is immediately vulnerable the economy."

"This is the real pressure point for South Africa unmoved when schoolchildren bleed in Soweto and Uitenhage, it will jump when the rand bleeds in London and New York."

The Australian view is that, because of the structure of foreign investment in South Africa, it is especially vulnerable to international pressure.

With five nations — Britain, the US, West Germany, France and Switzerland — providing roughly 90 per cent of the foreign investment, Australia believes effective international sanctions are possible. But that the support of these nations is essential.



# 'SA's future lies with commerce and industry'

South Africa's future does not lie with politicians or educationists but with commerce and industry which provide the means to solve the country's problems, said Mr John Garnett CBE, director of the Industrial Society of London, at a meeting of the Institute of Race Relations last night.

"It is in commerce and industry that people get together to create a common sense of purpose and to create the wealth necessary to solve problems such as housing and education.

"There people work together and it's all about doing things together," Mr Garnett said.

Trade unions had a vital role to play in how jobs were to be done better and it was no good resisting change in South Africa because if this was done, there would ultimately be no jobs for anybody, he said.

One of the roles the unions had to play was in developing minority groups — blacks in management positions in



Mr John Garnett... trade unions have a vital role to play.

South Africa and women in Britain, said Mr Garnett.

"In Britain we have real difficulty in promoting women and we totally fail to use their gifts, as is the case with blacks in South Africa.

"The policy in both cases should be reverse discrimination to achieve the first breakthrough. We need to get the thin edge of the wedge in and if South Africa has not achieved this by 1990, it will

be playing with fire," he warned.

South Africa's long-term future depended on mobilising the gifts of all race groups for a common purpose bigger than that which divided the country — the creation of worth, Mr Garnett said.

"The creation of worth is the manufacturing of goods, the creation of jobs, the provider of income the exports and the taxes which provide the education and housing," he said.

Mr Garnett went on to say employment would not come from the large organisations but from the small organisations, the "minnows".

This would mean that the deregulation of commerce and industry would be crucial and that South Africa was worse off than Britain in this respect.

"Both Britain and South Africa are pluralistic societies with blacks, whites, Roman Catholics and Protestants, and differences can either bind or destroy," he said.

STAR

1/10/85

304A

# Maputo will not cancel the Nkomati Accord yet

STAR By Gerald L'Ange, 3044  
The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Mozambique has indicated that despite startling allegations of complicity between the MNR rebels and South African military authorities, it has no intention yet of cancelling the Nkomati accord which was hailed at its signing in March 1984 as a major diplomatic breakthrough for South Africa.

The Frelimo Government's stand was spelled out in Maputo yesterday when it released translations of what it said were captured documents detailing accord violations.

The documents, released at a news conference, contain dramatic allegations including details of alleged arms supplies from South Africa to the MNR after the signing of the Accord.

The documents are said to have been among "many dozens of kilos" of papers seized when joint Mozambican-Zimbabwean forces overran the MNR headquarters at Gorongosa on August 28.

They include several references indicating conflicts between South African military and political leaders over Mozambique policy.

According to the translations, strong support for the MNR rebels was expressed by the then South African armed forces chief, General Constand Viljoen, and other officers.

## 'CLEARLY IDENTIFIED CIRCLES'

In a lengthy analysis of the documents at the news conference, the Minister of Security, Colonel Sergio Vieira, spoke of "circles that are clearly identified"

These circles, said Colonel Vieira, had:

- Reorganised the MNR insurgents.
- Rearmed them and given them supplies.
- Trained guerillas, including parachutists, and infiltrated them in massive numbers.
- Organised "clandestine liaison" between the rebels and South Africa, and circles overseas.

Colonel Vieira referred not to "violations" of the Accord, but to "non-observance" of it, and said he hoped the pressure of international opinion would force strict compliance by South Africa of the agreement in future.

Asked whether he thought the non-observance of the accord had the approval of the highest levels of the South African Government, the Minister said only the South African Government could answer the question. The Government was responsible for the actions of its own armed forces, he said.

Whether or not it knew about these actions was for the Government to say.

Asked what the Mozambique Government now expected of South Africa, the Minister said. "The only thing I can hope is that it will fulfill its commitments."

● See Page 13.

# 'CP is not the threat it's made out to be'

By Andrew Beattie

The Conservative Party was portrayed as a major threat to the National Party in the Government-aligned media despite recent surveys indicating that threat was overrated, the Progressive Federal Party's Springs parliamentary candidate, Mr John Simpson, said last night.

Mr Simpson told about 40 people at the Springs Civic Centre that the "loaded rural vote" should be abolished.

The NP had "gerrymandered" constituencies by transferring the voting power to the rural areas to keep itself in power in the past, and that would now exaggerate the support enjoyed by the CP.

A business consultant, Mr Simpson, will contest elections for the seat with President's councillor Mr Piet Coetzer (NP), and Mr Gert Parsons (CP), a former mayor of Springs, on October 30.

Criticising the Government's "lack of direction", Mr Simpson said: "The only things we know about the Government's reform proposals are what they regard as non-negotiable. If the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, were to be run over by a bus, nobody would know where South Africa was going."

## CONVENTION

He said that at the end of the Anglo-Boer War there was greater division in South Africa than now, but that those divisions had been crossed by the calling of a national convention.

The African National Congress — and other genuine black leaders — would have to be brought to the negotiating table.

If the ANC's aims were to nationalise major industries, that had a historical precedent: "The NP once campaigned on the basis that it would nationalise banks, insurance corporations and the mines in order to

redistribute wealth. That says something about how political demands can be moderated when one is faced with realities."

Mr Pieter Schoeman, a PFP member of the President's Council, said that "co-operative co-existence" had become the latest term for apartheid, and was "a jaw-breaker that NP politicians have difficulty pronouncing after a glass of wine".

What had to be avoided was "reforming for conflict", and an urgent necessity was the restoration of freedom of association — a need outlined by the recent Human Sciences Research Council report on inter-group studies, which "vindicated PFP policy".

"Disguised white supremacy" held out as reform was potentially even more dangerous than the policies of the CP, Mr Schoeman said.

(Report by A Beattie, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



# Police seize passports of Matie nine

By RIAAN SMIT

THE proposed visit to Lusaka by nine students from Stellenbosch University for talks with the ANC Youth Wing took a dramatic turn yesterday when their passports were seized by security police.

The leader of the group, Mr Hennie Bester, confirmed last night that the group's passports had been seized. They are to meet the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, on Friday.

"We are astonished," Mr Bester said last night.

The group will hold a press conference on campus at 5pm today.

The students planned to leave for Lusaka on Saturday.

In a further development, a petition circulating on campus which is critical of the proposed visit, calls for a mass meeting of students and the resignation of SRC chairman Mr Phillip Verster. Over 1000 signatures have been collected on the petition. The SRC is compelled to hold a mass meeting if more than 750 signatures are collected.

As the row continued yesterday, the students issued a statement saying they did not represent any power or interest groups, but believed the trip could break important ground for discussion at a higher level.

## Expectations

They said they had taken the initiative to react to an ANC invitation.

"We do not pretend that the ANC is the only interest group in future discussions. All members of the group have already had discussions with a variety of groups in South Africa. We therefore do not negate the importance of internal discussions.

As young Afrikaners we have certain expectations and make certain demands of the future. We believe that this must be communicated to the ANC Youth League.

## Understanding

"We do not expect to solve South Africa's problems in a single session of talks. The visit is only a modest attempt to create mutual understanding.

"We confirm our loyalty towards South Africa and all its people. The visit is not motivated by hard-headedness or irresponsibility. After thorough consideration we feel it is our responsibility to continue with the planned talks."

Earlier, President Botha said he hoped the students were aware that the academic freedom they enjoyed would be "one of the first victims of the form of government the ANC propagates".

The university's rector, Professor Mike de Vries, earlier told the students he condemned the trip "in the strongest possible terms".

The group is made up of the SRC chairman, Mr Phillip Verster, Mr Johan Olivier, Ms Annami Oosthuysen, Mr Hendrik du Toit, Mr Hans Muller, chairman of the campus Church Youth Action, Mr Hennie Bester, chairman of the university's debating society, Mr Eric le Grange, editor of the campus newspaper Die Matie, former Matie editor Mr Anton Steenkamp and an Ned Geref Kerk clergyman, the Rev Carl Anthonissen.

A tenth member of the group, SRC vice-chairman Ms Mardia van der Walt, has withdrawn for personal reasons.



FAST FOR A JUST PEACE

Agus 1/10/83 (304A)

# The doctor in the



Picture PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN, The A.

Dr Ivan Toms . . . living off water alone for a just peace.



AKA 11/10/85 304A

# cathedral

**For two weeks Christian conscientious objector Dr Ivan Toms has been living off water alone.**  
Staff Writer SYDNEY DUVAL reports

A LONG silent walk through a darkened St George's Cathedral takes you down to the crypt where a young man is fasting for a special cause.

You will meet a new kind of monk. The habit and sandals have been replaced by denims, jogging shoes and a fisherman's jersey.

For two weeks now Christian conscientious objector Dr Ivan Toms, who runs the Sacla clinic at Crossroads, has been living off water alone.

He has lost 6kg — 5kg in the first week — and though his weight has been stable the past few days he expects it drop again in the final week of his three-week fast.

From his cell-like room, where nearly 900 supporters have called on him since he began fasting for a just peace in South Africa and the removal of troops from the townships, Dr Toms talks modestly of his existence on water alone.

"It's very nice to know there's only one week to go," he says in a voice hoarse from talking to 70 visitors a day.

"The big thing is I'm now weak and feeling it. It's hard to get up in the morning. Where I shower is two flights up. By the time I get to the top of the stairs my muscles ache and I'm very tired. I have to rest.

## 'No stamina'

"This lethargy is creeping over me. I've no stamina. You could say I'm feeling like many old people feel. At night my mind does not switch off as it used to. I lie there quite a time before I fall asleep."

He thinks about food but with a new perspective. He realises how important it is as a part of life.

"Food should not be thrown together and eaten without

feeling," he says. "I see food as one of the joyous rituals of life, something to be appreciated and shared."

All his time is spent in the cathedral where he fasts, sleeps and talks. Time is set aside for him to pray and meditate alone.

He believes that his fast, and the fast of those in sympathy, has prompted other churchgoers to realise that they must do something about the crisis South Africa is in, even if to fast for a day. In his view whites are also part of the struggle for a just country.

## 'Sharing'

"We are fasting as a way of sharing in the suffering of the townships," he explains. "We hope that a little act of commitment will lead people into a deeper commitment to changing things. The support so far and the broad appeal of our End Conscription Campaign have been very encouraging.

"The fast ends on Monday, October 7, the anniversary of troops entering townships for the first time. We call on people to fast in solidarity from 8pm on Sunday until Monday evening when they are urged to join us in a rally for peace at the City Hall."

Dr Toms is a committed lay churchman of the Church of the Province. He grew up in Durban where he went to school. He became aware of Gandhi and his Phoenix settlement north of Durban much later.

With his blue eyes, fair hair and solid frame Dr Toms and Gandhi are worlds apart in physique and colour — but in spirit there are affinities.

"Our fast is a creative, non-violent, passive way of highlighting things for people here," he says.

Weak as he is, water alone is enough to put iron in the soul of Dr Ivan Toms.



# P W says blacks can sit on President's Council

ARGUS 6/10/81 30c A  
TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Government is willing to appoint blacks to a restructured President's Council to take part in consultations on reform.

President P W Botha indicated this last night when he opened the Cape National Party's 70th annual congress.

He reaffirmed that the Government believed that leaders of black communities had to be involved in inquiries concerning their communities.

Confirming recent predictions in The Argus, Mr Botha said that, in this regard, the role played and to be played by the President's Council should also be considered.

## CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

Therefore, if leaders of the black communities needed to take part within the President's Council in inquiries and the submission of proposals to him as head of State and the Government on matters concerning them, he was willing to reconsider the structuring and functions of the President's Council.

Such a step would provide for black participation in the council.

(Although he did not deal with this last night, the Government is said to be considering the creation of a constitutional court to take over some of the council's present functions.)

In his speech Mr Botha also held out the possibility of a federal or confederal form of government.

He said the Government was convinced that any constitutional dispensation would have to take in to consideration the many cultures in the country.

Any dispensation would have to ensure that one group was not placed in a position where it could dominate other groups.

Population units would have to be recognised on a geographic and group basis. These included the black urban communities who, for constitutional purposes, were recognised as political entities.

Each unit should have autonomy on matters that affected only that unit, while units on the central level should

jointly manage affairs of common concern.

Mr Botha emphasised the need for consultation with the leaders of all communities. He said he included traditional leaders, chosen leaders, church leaders, as well as leaders of specific interest groups such as business people.

On the other hand, he wanted to state clearly to leaders who indicated that they wanted to help negotiate the future of the country that they would be expected to make a choice.

Leaders could not pay lip service to the principle of negotiation while at the same time trying to keep in with radical elements that did not want to negotiate.

He said he wanted to confirm that he and the National Party were committed to the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise, but not within structures prescribed from abroad or that were perhaps successful elsewhere.

The principle of a united South Africa included "the reality and the desirability of territorial and border divisions" in the country.

Mr Botha said the Government was submitting a clear agenda for negotiation in the constitutional field. The rightful aspirations of everyone in South Africa could be accommodated.

Besides the constitutional aspects, socio-economic reform, based on the principle that discrimination on the basis of race, ethnic character and origin was rejected, was also being put on the agenda by the Government.

Mr Botha rejected what he described as extreme views — one man, one vote in a unitary state, the "absolutisation of groups" with the emphasis on total geographic separation and white domination over all the other minority groups.

He also referred to the President's Council's recent report on an urbanisation strategy which recommended the scrapping of influx control and the pass system. The Government was studying the report and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, had been instructed to submit proposals to the Cabinet within the next few months.

# Scepticism, rejection greet speech

APR 11/1985  
Political Staff JCA

PORT ELIZABETH — Political reaction to President P.W. Botha's latest reform pronouncements ranges from scepticism to outright rejection.

The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said today that some of the terms used by Mr. Botha in his speech here last night sounded like a fundamental reversal of apartheid.

However, when examined within context of separate structures that Mr. Botha had emphasised, matters such as universal franchise and common citizenship sounded like "new separate development".

## "RATHER LATE"

Dr. Slabbert said, however, that the speech did amount to a more positive statement of reform, although unfortunately it came rather late.

"Nevertheless we should not lose hope and depending on what is meant by these key concepts, the Government may be able to get negotiations off the ground," he said.

The general secretary of the Conservative Party, Dr. Frans van Staden, said the speech would lead to black representation in government.

"We reject totally the incorporation of blacks in the President's Council as a first step in extending decision-making at government level to blacks. The next step will be to put blacks in Parliament."

Mr. Joe Latakomo, editor of the Sowetan, said in a radio interview: "There was a need from the beginning for blacks on the President's Council. The fact that they were not included now makes it that much more difficult to find people to participate."

Cape Times 11/10/85

3044

# Botha's reform talk greeted with caution

From CLARE HARPER  
JOHANNESBURG. —

The reformist intent of the speech by President P W Botha to the National Party Cape congress was greeted with caution by opposition parties last night.

The Progressive Federal Party spokeswoman on Law and Order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said that the participation of blacks in the President's Council was "no substi-

tute for inclusion in the central government".

The restoration of citizenship rights for blacks, and the sharing of decision-making power with communities were "good sentiments", but it remained to be seen how this would be translated into practice.

Mrs Suzman said the exclusion of blacks from the central Parliament was "highly unsatisfactory" and "participation

in the President's Council was no compensation for being in the body that governs lives".

● Bishop Desmond Tutu, said: "Ultimately the whole exercise was vitiated by the fact that the State President is making a unilateral decision. He and his people are deciding what is good for the people."

Bishop Tutu said the speech was better than the disastrous Rubicon speech that rendered the rand "virtually useless".

Mr Botha had not referred to a "united South Africa" in previous speeches, and this was a concession by the government that South Africa should not be Balkanized.

He said that the participation of blacks in the President's Council was "participation in a toothless bulldog".

Bishop Tutu said Mr Botha was still "moving within the confines of apartheid and talk of urban blacks as somehow different to rural blacks" was unacceptable.

He expressed surprise that Mr Botha had referred to "universal franchise", but said that he "had learnt to be wary".

"The use of language means one thing in a democratic society, another thing in South African society."

## 'Important'

● Sapa reports that Mr Pat Poovalingam, chairman of Solidarity, official opposition in the House of Delegates, welcomed the State President's willingness to bring blacks into the President's Council as an "important and hopeful move".

However, it was "four years too late".

Mr Botha's proposals to bring blacks into the President's Council might appear as if the government was opening a political door to blacks grudgingly and under sustained pressure. This might make it difficult for blacks to accept his offer.



# Botha aims for 'universal franchise'

CANT TRIPS

1/10/85

306A

From BARRY STREEK

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — The government was committed to the principle of a united South Africa, with one citizenship and "a universal franchise", President P W Botha said last night.

But he emphasized that these commitments had to be applied "within the structures chosen by South Africans, not within structures prescribed from abroad".

President Botha, who was opening the Cape Congress of the National Party, also said he was willing to consider restructuring the President's Council to provide for the participation of black people.

But he made no announcement on the call of the President's Council for the scrapping of the pass laws, saying that the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had been instructed to submit proposals on the recommen-

dations to the cabinet "within the next few months".

President Botha also defended actions of the security forces in the townships, without referring to any specific allegations against the police or the army.

Speaking before a crowd of about 1500 people, he said security action did not occur for the purpose of oppression but to ensure the stability necessary for reform.

Throughout his speech, President Botha defended the government's reform programme and welcomed the National Party's support for this reform process as encouraging.

He said he wanted to

"finally confirm that my party and I are committed to the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise, but within the structures chosen by South Africans, not within structures prescribed from abroad or that are perhaps successful elsewhere in the world."

"Naturally the principle of a united South Africa includes the reality and desirability of territorial and border division within South Africa, such as for example provincial boundaries for purposes of provincial government, an own territory for each of the self-governing states and jurisdiction areas for systems of local and regional authority."

Earlier in his speech, he said it was evident that "units will have to be recognized on a geographic and group basis."

"This obviously also includes the black urban communities who, for constitutional purposes, are recognized as political entities."

Each such unit should have autonomy on matters that affect only that unit, while the units on the central level should jointly manage matters of mutual concern, he said.

President Botha, apart from saying he would consider the reform of the President's Council, did not spell out how black people would participate in decisions on "general affairs".

The implication of the guidelines he gave was that "own affairs" would remain racially segregated as far as possible.

The manner in which black people would participate in general affairs remains unclear although President Botha's commitment to a united South Africa with one citizenship and a universal franchise seems to imply, in principle, an equal say over these matters by black and white people.

President Botha also said that leaders who were prepared to negotiate could not pay lip service to the principle of negotiation "while at the same time attempting to cover their rears against radical elements which do not want to negotiate".

● More reports on the congress, page 4

# US reacts cautiously to PW's PE speech

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

STAR  
2/10/85

WASHINGTON — The United States Government has reacted cautiously to President P W Botha's Port Elizabeth speech, welcoming its reform promises but wondering how they can be pursued while many black leaders are in jail.

The speech got prominent treatment in major US newspapers.

A spokesman for Republican Senator Richard Lugar, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said more significance was attached to reform pressure from South Africa's business leaders than to the speech.

## TOO EARLY

A spokesman for the Free South Africa Movement, which is behind most of the anti-apartheid activity in the US, said, "What concerns us is that there is no mention of one-man, one-vote in a unitary system."

Mr Charles Redman, a spokesman for the US State Department, said it was too early to assess the significance of the speech.

He said the US welcomed Mr Botha's recommitment to reform, to the goals of common citizenship, universal franchise and a united South Africa, and to his willingness to negotiate with black leaders.

"We welcome these aspects of his statement because they touch on central issues of political reform — although it remains unclear how they are to be negotiated and implemented.

"We must note however that the political dialogue the President seeks will be difficult as long as leading blacks are in jail and as long as perceptions of the Government's sincerity in pursuing reform remain clouded," Mr Redman said.

## ENCOURAGED

Mr Mark Helmke, spokesman for Senator Lugar, who steered the economic sanctions package through the US Senate this year and who was instrumental in getting President Reagan to order compromise sanctions, said the senator was very encouraged by the full-page advertisement placed in South African newspapers at the weekend by business leaders.

He said Senator Lugar believed business investment was the key to responsible, peaceful and democratic reform in South Africa and that US policy should be aimed at using its influence with businessmen rather than at disinvestment.

"This is the group to bring about reform," Mr Helmke said.

He said the limited economic sanctions ordered by President Reagan could be quickly overshadowed by the economic situation in South Africa. The business community realised this and that was why its leaders were demanding reform.



# U S says Botha not clear on implementing reforms

2/10/85 304A 237 Mercury

## Mercury Correspondent

WASHINGTON—The Reagan administration yesterday extended a highly cautious welcome to President Botha's latest reform proposals, noting that they would be 'difficult' to implement 'so long as many leading blacks are in jail and perceptions of the Government's sincerity remain clouded'.

'The State President has reiterated his Government's commitment to reform,' State Department spokesman Charles

Redman said.

'He has spoken about the goals of common citizenship and universal franchise. He has expressed his willingness to negotiate with a broad range of black leaders.'

'We welcome these aspects of his statement because they touch on the central issues of political reform. However, it remains unclear how they will be negotiated and implemented.'

Mr Redman could not confirm reported S A air-strikes into Angola, but

acknowledged that 'the fighting in Angola appears to have escalated'.

The escalation 'clearly demonstrates that there is no military solution to the conflict. We continue to believe that a negotiated agreement on the independence of Namibia and Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola is the only way to produce peace.'

Our London Bureau reports that President Botha's speech was hailed as a significant development by the British

media.

The address was given prominent coverage on television bulletins and three quality newspapers carried the report on their front pages.

The headlines were: 'Botha hints at formula to recognise all groups' (Financial Times), 'One nation pledge by Botha' (Daily Telegraph) and 'Botha commits S A to power-sharing' (Guardian).

The Times of London reported the speech under the headline: 'Botha

unveils his vision of universal franchise'. Reports of the speech were also carried in most popular newspapers.

The Daily Telegraph report said Mr Botha repeated his Government's intention to 'drop apartheid' and adopt the principle of a geographically united South Africa, a common citizenship and a universal franchise.

The Foreign Office would not comment on the speech and said they were still studying its contents.

# PW in hardline stance on Act

304A

304A

E. Post

02/10/85

By DIRK VAN ZYL  
Political Correspondent  
THE State President, Mr P W Botha, today strongly supported a resolution at the Cape National Party Congress that the Group Areas Act remain unchanged.

In the process he slapped down two verligte delegates — including Mr Jannie Momberg of Stellenbosch who is a mentor and friend of SA-born British athlete Zola Budd — who had asked for a firm Government declaration on scrapping apartheid and for a repeal of the Group Areas Act.

President Botha was given standing applause by a majority of delegates after he had replied.

His hardline stance caught a number of observers by surprise.

The motion, proposed by four NP branches, supported the repeal this year of the coalition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, but requested:

- Their implementation should not change "the continued social, educational and constitutional structuring of own com-

munities"

- The House of Assembly, white residential areas and schools remain white

- The Group Areas Act remain unchanged

Mr Momberg, head of the Western Province Athletic Union, said he had for weeks wrestled with his conscience as to whether he should today say what he intended.

He said he had often been overseas and found an image of a "bad racist Afrikaner" there.

Mr Momberg said he wished to plead for a signal to be sent to the world about the South African Government's "determination to break down apartheid" and about its willingness to work out a system of co-operation with blacks "with the retention of minority rights".

Another delegate, Mr J Carstens of Durbanville, said group areas should be scrapped as they were "inconsistent with present Government policy".

He proposed an amendment to this effect or alternatively stating that



Mr P W BOTHA  
... digging in heels

the resolution should be held back in the light of President Botha's willingness to talk to leaders of other population groups.

A conservative delegate from Oudshoorn, Mr Koos Terblanche, expressed the fear that the scrapping of group areas would have a snowball effect leading to other moves including open schools.

In reply to the debate, President Botha said he respected the views of the two verligte delegates

who had spoken, but people who thought South Africa could do justice to the other population groups and at the same time please the world were "bus with day dreams".

Mr Botha said all population groups had the right to human dignity and it was not discriminatory to give protection to Indian, coloured and black groups in their own areas.

"I reject the accusation that the principle of group areas is discriminatory," Mr Botha said.

The Government was prepared to submit the Group Areas Act to an impartial body for its consideration and had referred it to the President's Council for investigation "without giving up the principle of own residential areas".

Mr Botha added "I associate myself wholeheartedly with this resolution."

He concluded "If you expect the impossible of me then I will not meet your needs in a way that is possible today."

• See Page 4 091



# Nat policy will lead to majority rule, says CP member

STAR  
30/4/85  
2/10/85

Mr Gert Parsons, Conservative Party parliamentary candidate for Springs, last night told voters he believed that "radical black groups" intended to put forward schoolchildren as candidates for the proposed regional services councils.

Mr Parsons, who served a term of office as mayor of Springs while he was a member of the National Party, said he resigned from the NP because he believed that party's policy would lead to majority rule.

## 'RADICAL ELEMENTS'

"Can you imagine what would happen if these radical elements in black communities were allowed to elect representatives on the proposed regional services councils?" he asked, adding that he had information which led him to believe that schoolchildren would be put forward as candidates.

"I am not prepared to waste money on something which cannot work and risk my future on a leap in the dark," he said.

He appealed to voters to reject the NP because of plans to build "a second Soweto on the edge of Springs".

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, a CP MP, told the meeting of about 350 people that President Botha was trying to take South Africa back to 1910, when there was a unitary state with one Parliament for all race groups.

When Mr Botha made his political "U-turn" in 1982, there were 11 states in South Africa, four of which were sovereign black nations and six which were self-governing.

"South Africa's political history will not be complete until there are 13 states so that every nation can have its own government," he said.

Dr Hartzenberg said he feared that the President's Council would be changed from an "innocent advisory body" to something which was superior to Parliament.

The inclusion of blacks in this institution would eventually lead to full political integration.

"South Africa will become a squatter camp in which we will pay the taxes and the blacks will have majority rule," he claimed.

(Report by A Beattie, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

# NRP celebrates 75 'good years' of running Natal

Freedom to negotiate essential, says chief

Mercury Reporter

THE New Republic Party, under increasing criticism that it is in its death throes, celebrated

75 years of good government in Natal at the NRP's Natal congress in Westville on Saturday.

In his report as Natal leader, Mr Derrick Watterson admitted the damage to party confidence and morale caused by the defection of three prominent party members last year, had not yet been restored.

However, the fact that the party was 'pretty

sound' financially proved that the loyalty of the majority of the party's members and supporters had been retained, he said.

'The situation in our country is the worst in living memory. Our traditional friends are deserting us right, left and centre. Riots and civil commotion are almost endemic and a state of emergency prevails over substantial areas of this once peaceful and peace-loving country.'

Although the attitude of the international community may be rife with hypocrisy and double

standards, said Mr Watterson, it was the Nationalist Government that provided this community with the whips and the motivation with which they beat us.

'Natal, administered by the NRP and its predecessors for the past 75 years, has a duty to show the rest of S.A. the Government and the world that South Africans of different races can live together in peace and harmony, without domination and unfair discrimination, and that genuine power-sharing can work.'

Mr Watterson said that he would mourn the dissolution of the provincial councils as the sad end of a great era.

'History will recall that throughout the period of Nationalist rule, the one province that retained at least some residual freedom, that spearheaded change, and that maintained the best-possible intergroup relations, was Natal. Our province — administered by our party.'

Party policy was outlined by Mr Vause Raw in the first session of the congress.

The search for the mechanism to realise the dream of 'political rights for all' was fundamental to the policy of the NRP and its predecessors, said Mr Raw.

A new system that would realise these aspirations could only be achieved through negotiation between all groups in South Africa said Mr Raw, and until this was done, South Africa would not know peace.

Introduced by Mr Andrew Pyper, a debate on the threat of marxism/communism in southern Africa drew some lively discussion.

The UDF came under fire from Mr Pyper who said that Dr Alan Boesak, Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Beyers Naude, prominent members of the organisation, were no different from leaders of the Russian Revolution in 1917.

Speaking on the party's attitude on human rights and liberties, Mr Brian Page MP said it was clear that arrogance at the top of any organisation must inevitably filter down to the lowest echelon and that this was obvious in the case of the South African Police Force.

He suggested further that it was time that the Minister of Law and Order sought new pastures and enabled the S.A.P. to 'once more become the boys in blue, respected and liked by all'.

Mr Frank Martin, MEC, said that after 75 years of service to Natal, the party could be proud of its record in the province: 'No-one will be able to wipe out the achievements of this party and its predecessors, we leave behind a first-class legacy to the people of Natal.'

In his closing address, NRP leader Bill Sutton said the policy of the NRP was streets ahead of the other parties in S.A.

Mercury Reporter

THERE would be no worthwhile solutions in South Africa unless they were negotiated ones in which blacks as negotiating partners were given the freedom to say 'yes' or 'no', Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a message to the NRP's Natal congress.

Negotiations undertaken thus far by President Botha had unfortunately taken place within the four corners of National Party thinking, said the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president.

Inkatha had declared its willingness to seek compromise solutions with whites and the good will behind this offer should not be trampled upon, he said.

## Combined voice

KwaZulu/Natal had all the ingredients for successful negotiation. The interdependence between whites and blacks in the region had long resisted Verwoerdian blueprints that had dominated the rest of the country.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed a combined voice from blacks and whites in Natal/KwaZulu calling for compromise

## Japanese tidal

## wave of fashion

## subsides in West

PARIS—The Japanese tidal wave that threatened to swamp Western fashion designers has subsided, but designer Issy Miyake has shown no let-up in fabric artistry and *avant-garde* dressing.





# celebrates 75 'good ' of running Natal

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AMERICA AND SA

306A

ARGUS 2/10/85

# Botha speech: US cautious

American leaders wonder how reform can be pursued in South Africa while black leaders are in jail. NEIL LURSEN of The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington

THE United States Government has reacted cautiously to President P W Botha's Port Elizabeth speech, welcoming its reform promises but wondering how they can be pursued while many black leaders are in jail.

The speech received prominent treatment in major United States newspapers but stirred little interest in the Congress.

A spokesman for Republican Senator Richard Lugar, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said that more significance was attached to reform pressure from South African business leaders than to the speech.

Black leaders here dismissed Mr Botha's proposals as adding nothing meaningful to the apartheid debate.

A spokesman for the Free South Africa Movement, which is behind most of the anti-apartheid activism in the United States, said: "What concerns us is that there is no mention of one-man, one-vote in a unitary system."

"In no way does participation in the President's Council really grant the political participation we want to see in South Africa."

Mr Charles Redman, a spokesman for the United States State Department, said it was too early to assess the significance of the speech or to draw sweeping conclusions from it.

He said the United States welcomed State President Botha's recommitment to reform, to the goals of common citizenship, universal franchise and a united South Africa, and to his willingness to negotiate with black leaders.

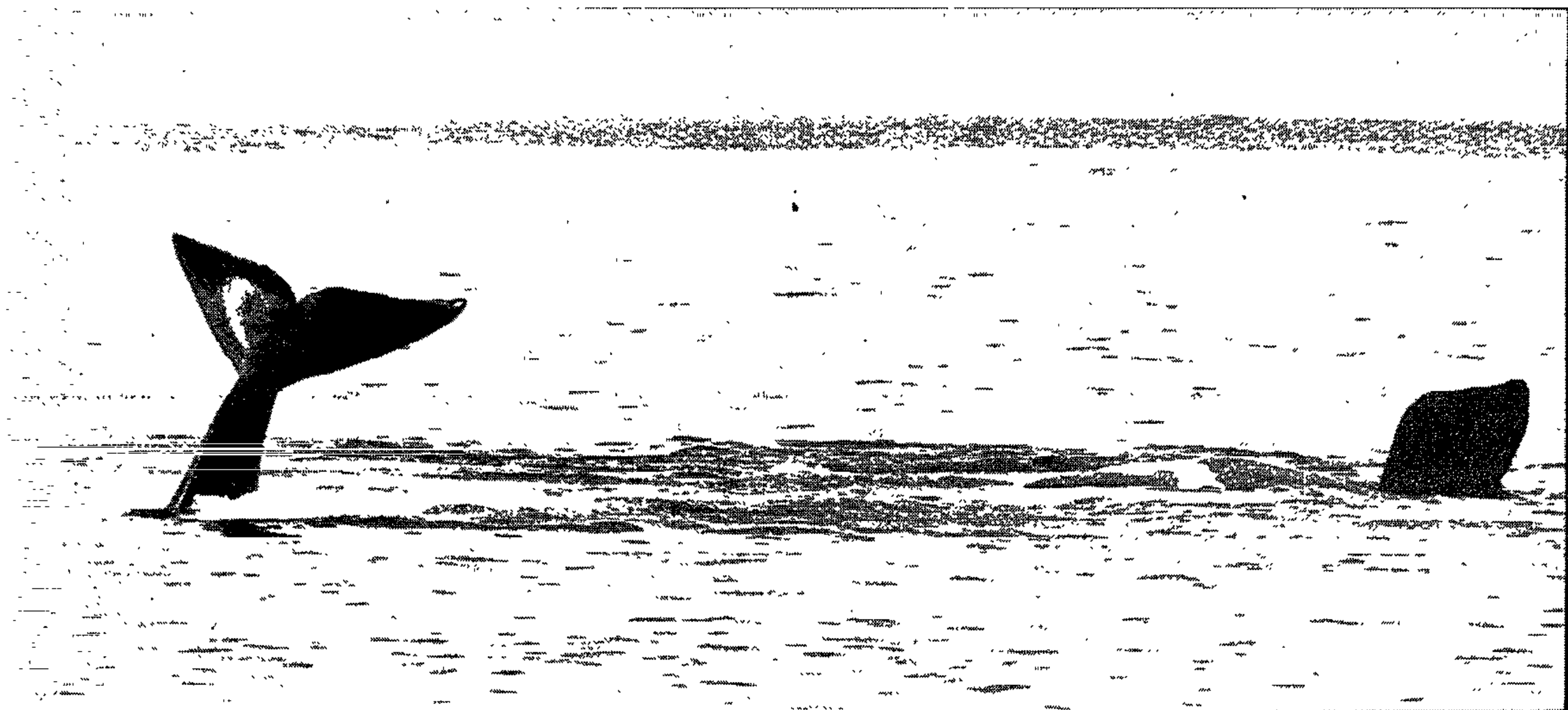
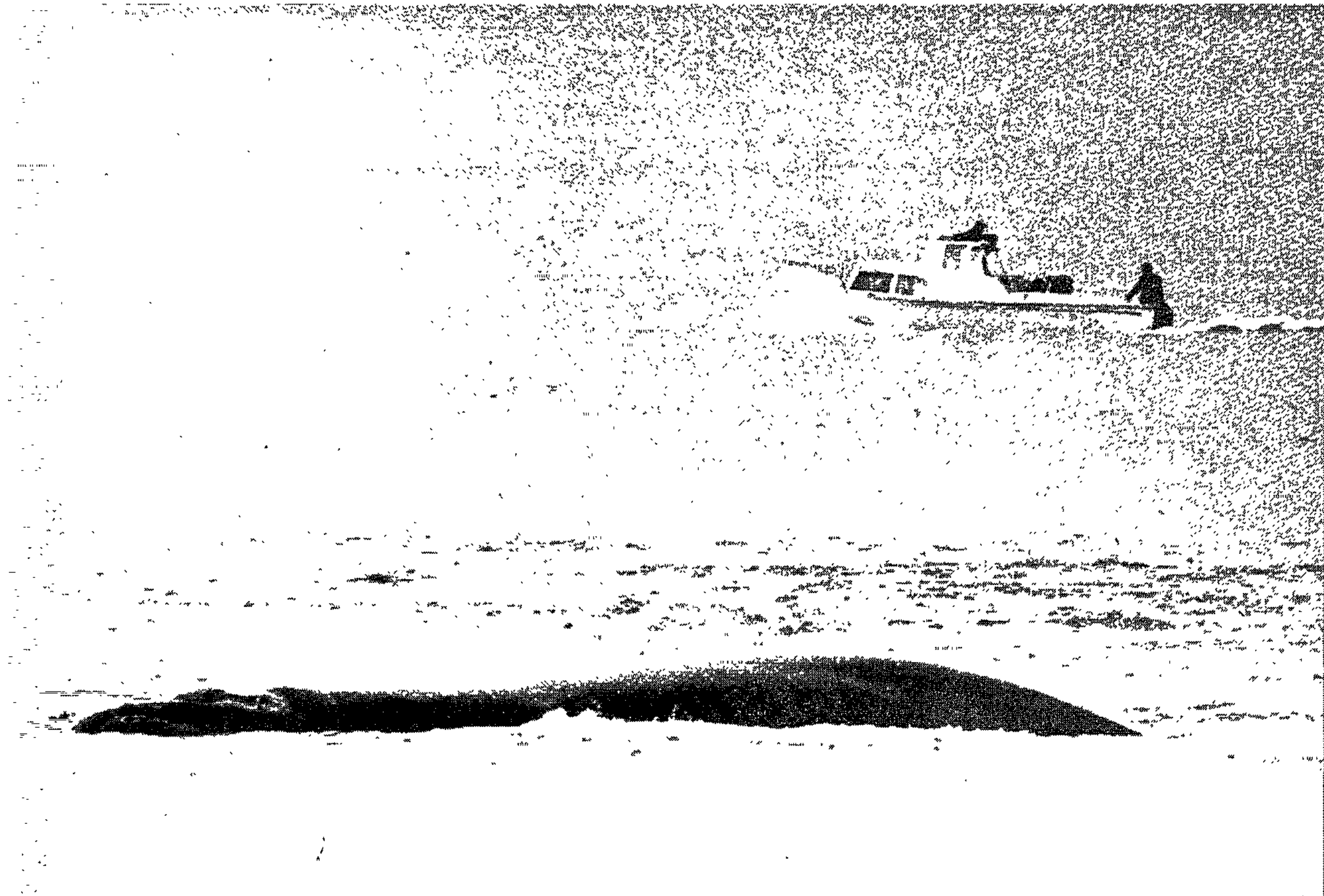
## Sanctions

"We welcome these aspects of his statement because they touch on central issues of political reform — although it remains unclear how they are to be negotiated and implemented."

"We must note, however, that the political dialogue the State President seeks will be difficult as long as leading blacks are in jail and as long as perceptions of the government's sincerity in pursuing reform remain clouded," Mr Redman said.

Mr Mark Helmke, spokesman for Senator Lugar, who steered the economic sanctions package through the United States Senate this year and who was instrumental in getting President Reagan to order compromise sanctions into effect, said today that the senator was "very encouraged" by the full-page advertisement placed in South African newspapers at the weekend by business leaders.

He said Senator Lugar believed business investment was the key to "responsible, peaceful and democratic" reform in South Africa and that United States policy should be aimed at using its influence with businessmen rather than at disinvestment.



Pictures: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus,

WHALE watchers at St James were rewarded yesterday with the sight of these southern right whales sporting close to the shore. Groups of up to eight of the highly endangered whales have been seen in False Bay during the past week, but reports of over-eager spectators interfering with them have upset conservationists.



## Community affairs administrators' conference

# Govt-ANC deadlock 'a tough one'

African Affairs  
Correspondent

**SAN LAMEER**—The African National Congress cannot be singled out for special treatment in negotiation about the constitutional position of blacks in South Africa, says the head of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Prof Michael Hough.

But for the Government to enter into formal talks with the ANC while that movement, or dominating factions in the movement, chose to continue the use of violence, was unacceptable to the authorities.

At the conference of the Institute of Administrators of Community Affairs here, Prof Hough said it would obviously be

deadlock would be broken easily, especially if the ANC tried to intensify its military actions. There were indications that this

necessary to include the broadest spectrum of the black population in such negotiations.

If ANC violence could be pre-empted by negotiations, a case for negotiation could be argued, even if the organisation was unwilling to renounce violence prior to the negotiations.

It is, however, also true that in such circumstances, negotiating with the ANC may be viewed as giving "legitimacy" to its acts of violence.

Similarly, negotiating with the ANC could be viewed as supplying it

with leverage during negotiations to threaten intensification of violent activities if ANC political demands are not met, or used as propaganda by the ANC to "prove" that the whites are divided and "frightened" and are therefore talking to the organisation.

### Immediate

He said the precondition that apartheid should be 'dismantled' before the ANC would participate in any constitutional discussions implied that the organisation was not willing to take part in any talks relating to partial or gradual black political participation.

It was intent on negotiations only if they led to an immediate transfer of power by the Government.

That the Government and the ANC would probably negotiate with each other voluntarily only from a position of strength, and then only on certain issues and under certain conditions.

### Boycott moves

Since the 1970s, the ANC aim of a national convention had already become subordinated to the aim of a 'seizure of power'.

Prof Hough said political solutions were obviously preferable to military ones. But the problem was

CAPE TOWN—Pupils and students at a rally at the University of the Western Cape yesterday decided to return to school today, but not to attend classes. Instead discussions will be held on whether to continue the class boycott or not. — (Sapa)

## Privatisation is the route to follow,

## congress told

African Affairs  
Correspondent

**SOUTH AFRICA** should follow the route of privatisation and deregulation like it needed blood, the director of Economic Affairs of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr Arthur Hammond-Tooke, said yesterday.

the retention of influx control, minor political accommodation and a breakdown of law and order.

Mr Hammond-Tooke said the only path for South Africa lay in the reconstruction of the economy, making sure that the country became a little more efficient.

# NOW SOUTH AFRICA



(304A)

CAPE TOWN 2/10/85

# Mixed reaction to Botha speech

THE heads of industry and commerce yesterday welcomed the "broad thrust" of the State President's "reform" speech at the National Party congress, while PFP reaction was more critical and most black leaders rejected it.

Mr Raymond Parsons, chief executive of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, said new dimensions had been added to the constitutional debate.

"The statement by Mr Botha that political units will have to be recognized on a geographic and group basis is broadly in line with recent Assocom submissions to a cabinet committee," he said.

Future constitutional structures would have to be negotiated within the State President's principles of a united South Africa, common citizenship and universal franchise, he added.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said universal suffrage couched in "new separate develop-

ment rhetoric" was a non-starter for the majority of blacks.

It appeared however, that the concepts of citizenship, franchise and a united South Africa could be "negotiated only in terms of racial units predetermined by the government."

He said the concepts should be negotiated "on their own merits" in terms of real compromises between the government and genuine black leaders.

## 'Welcome'

● Mr Chris Newton, president of the Cape Chamber of Industries, said: "I am sure business leaders and all moderates greatly welcome the commitment to a united South Africa with one citizenship and universal franchise."

● Chief Gatsha Buthezi said Mr Botha's stated intention to include blacks in the President's Council was not a step towards power sharing.

He said blacks had rejected the President's Council in its entirety.

But, he nevertheless believed black South Africans would still accept statesmanship from Mr Botha in certain circumstances.

"We will rally behind any real reform, we will strengthen his arm if he moves towards power-sharing, we will stand up and be counted when it really matters."

● A spokesman for the South African Council of Churches, Mr Dan Vaughan, said: "In the light of the fact that the majority of blacks want full participation in the government, the offer of involvement in the President's Council is not much."

● The United Democratic Front yesterday said Mr Botha, showed "total contempt" for the feelings and aspirations of black people.

UDF spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe, said it indicated the government "has not learned the elementary principle of democracy, that is, not to prescribe solutions for us without our consent or involvement."

● The Azanian People's Organization publicity officer, Mr Imrann Moosa, said: "Mouthings of principles such as universal franchise and common citizenship do not fool anybody. Azapo will not rest until power is in the hands of the owners of this land, the black people."

● President Lennox Sebe said the Ciskei package deal for independence provided the formula for the political restructuring of a new South Africa, and if applied on a universal basis to all sections of the population, would ensure a peaceful and prosperous new South Africa.

Ciskei could not continue with a system under which people continued to die "under the umbrella of negotiation... I am sick and tired of negotiation," he said.

● The Azanian Students Organization said the speech was merely "a sugar-coating for apartheid." — Staff Reporter, Sapa and Own Correspondents

## 'Significant development'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Port Elizabeth speech by President P W Botha was hailed as a significant development in the British media yesterday.

Yesterday three quality newspapers carried frontpage reports on Mr Botha's address to the Cape congress of the National Party.

The headlines were: "Botha hints at formula to recognize all groups", (Financial Times), "One nation pledge by Botha" (Daily Telegraph) and "Botha commits SA to power-sharing" (Guardian).

The Times of London reported the speech under the headline: "Botha unveils his vision of universal franchise".

The Daily Telegraph report said Mr Botha repeated his government's intention to "drop apart-

ciple of a geographically united South Africa, a common citizenship and a universal franchise.

The report pointed out that President Botha said, "for the first time", he would include "chosen leaders, political leaders, church leaders as well as leaders of specific interest groups, such as business leaders".

The Financial Times said President Botha "painted a vision of a South Africa which was 'outgrowing' the discriminatory aspects of apartheid and groping towards a kind of federal formula which recognised cultural diversity and guaranteed the rights of minorities".

The report said the speech demonstrated that President Botha would not bow to foreign pressure for swift reform.



# Botha a 'semantic trickster' — NY

NEW YORK — The New York Times yesterday accused Mr P W Botha of being a "semantic trickster" and labelled his latest reform package "parchetic", while the Guardian in London said there would be no progress towards meaningful reform in South Africa until the brutal treatment of blacks in the country stopped.

A Times editorial said Mr Botha implicitly acknowledged that his predecessors had failed in attempts to turn 23 million blacks into citizens of 10 barren, "independent" homelands, in the service of which scheme millions have been uprooted or abused as aliens in their own land.

"Without abandoning this geographical apartheid, Mr Botha would

let the much-needed urban blacks remain in segregated townships that would invent new 'group' boundaries to circumscribe their political rights," the Times said.

"The 'homelands', four of which have been declared independent, could each become one or more units in Mr Botha's reunited South Africa.

"So would the walled-off black townships. Blacks would then participate in political 'structures' on a unit basis, managing 'their own' affairs, like segregated education and housing, and having a 'say at higher levels'."

Even at higher levels, the Times continued, there could be no black chamber of Parliament alongside the new Asian and coloured chambers.

The editorial said the latest scheme was no less devious than the apartheid of "homelands", but was even more explicit in its racism.

"And it is even more plainly designed to let whites divide and dominate blacks, without yielding power or privilege. All this in the same week that South Africa's white business leaders publicly urged negotiations with acknowledged black leaders about 'power sharing', 'full citizenship to all our peoples' and restoration of the rule of law."

"Anton Rupert says 'apartheid is dead, but a corpse stinks and it must be buried, not embalmed';" the newspaper says.

"President Botha remains sly and

stubborn, the embalmer."

Meanwhile the liberal Guardian expressed disappointment at Mr Botha's speech to the Cape congress of the National Party.

Commenting on the plans for reform mooted in President Botha's four National Party congress speeches, the newspaper, under the heading "Mr Botha's Rubicon", wrote: "(But) there is a thundering lack of logic in building constitutional castles in the air while blacks are being humiliated, gaoled, tortured and shot to the ground — and most white liberals in South Africa are as guilty of this failing as the government."

Mr Botha could stop this brutality

without paying to rejig the constitution or even changing the law.

Describing the four speeches as a "dismal picture of what 'the Afrikaners will not do than of what they will perhaps do one day if they ever get around to it'."

The newspaper said it seemed that the government was back on the path towards a loose federation in which the various groups would run their own affairs in their own statelets, while a central government in which no race would dominate looked after matters of common concern.

Meanwhile, the acknowledgment on

Tuesday by Mr Botha that South Africa was helping Unita was prominently reported in the British media.

Almost half of one of the Guardian's foreign news pages was devoted to the President's statement that South Africa could "hardly sit still" when Soviet tanks and aircraft, as well as Cuban troops, were trying to destroy Unita.

A report headlined "S African troops help Unita beat off attack" was the main news item on the foreign news pages of the Daily Telegraph.

The communist Morning Star reported on its front page: "South Africa renews attack on Angola". — Sapa-Reuters and Own Correspondent

# Botha defends Group Areas

From BARRY STREEK  
PORT ELIZABETH — A  
verligte Nationalist  
challenge to the Group  
Areas Act was firmly  
snuffed out yesterday by  
President P W Botha  
who strongly defended  
the controversial race  
law and argued that it  
was not discriminatory.  
President Botha told  
the Cape congress of the  
National Party, who gave  
him a standing ovation  
that each racial group  
was entitled to its own  
area and that white chil-  
dren were entitled to  
education in their cul-  
tural milieu.  
"I reject the charge  
that the principle of own  
residential areas is dis-  
criminatory," he said.  
He intervened after  
two speakers — Mr Jan-  
nie Momberg of Stellen-  
bosch, one of Zola  
Budd's sponsors, and Mr  
Jackie Carstens of Dur-  
banville — called for the  
scrapping of the Group  
Areas Act.  
His firm stand in sup-  
port of the Group Areas  
has destroyed specula-  
tion that the law will be

scrapped soon or signifi-  
cantly changed, includ-  
ing the speculation that  
the government would  
permit racially mixed,  
so-called "grey", re-  
sidential areas.

President Botha said  
he fully supported a res-  
olution which backed  
the repeal of the Mixed  
Marriages Act and Sec-  
tion 16 of the Immorality  
Act, but stated that  
"their implementation  
should not change the  
continued social, educa-  
tional and constitutional  
structuring of own com-  
munities".

The resolution also  
said the "House of As-  
sembly, white residen-  
tial areas and schools re-  
main white" and that  
"the Group Areas Act re-  
main unchanged".

President Botha said:  
"It is not discriminatory  
to protect coloureds and  
Indians and the black  
communities in their  
own areas."

"It is not discrimina-  
tory to give them prop-  
erty rights which before  
the Group Areas Act  
they never had

"Middle classes in the  
coloured and Indian  
population have come  
into existence and are  
busy doing so in the  
black communities and  
this would not have nar-  
rowed if the principle of  
own residential areas  
was not created for  
them," he said.

"It is not a disgrace to  
have a law which says I  
protect the right of black  
people of brown people  
and of Indians to live in  
their own communities."

The recent unrest in  
Durban had not oc-  
curred in Indian re-  
sidential areas but in  
mixed areas.

Charges about certain  
administrative aspects  
of the law had been  
made and these had  
been referred to the  
President's Council for a  
thorough investigation.

The culture of white  
people and the educa-  
tion of their children de-  
pended on the principle  
of own residential areas.

## 'Sacrifices'

"Although I stand for  
equal education for  
coloureds, Indians and  
black people, I say that  
the white child is enti-  
tled to be educated in  
the milieu of his own  
white culture," Presi-  
dent Botha said to ap-  
plause.

"I have gone far in  
South Africa. I have  
made many sacrifices in  
my life on behalf of  
other people in this  
country."

"But if you expect the  
impossible from me, I  
will stand fast and I  
stand fast today," Presi-  
dent Botha said.

Earlier Mr Momberg,  
an executive member of  
the South African Ama-  
teur Athletics Union,  
said he could not sup-  
port the resolution.

Mr Momberg said  
apartheid had to be to-  
tally scrapped and he re-  
garded the Act as an  
apartheid measure.

## Political rights

Mr Carstens argued  
that the Group Areas Act  
was not a cornerstone of  
Nationalist policy but  
group identity was a cor-  
nerstone.

He said political rights  
would not be affected by  
the scrapping of the law.

Later, the Deputy Min-  
ister of Constitutional  
Development, Mr Prief  
Badenhorst, denied that  
there were any delays in  
the implementation of  
open trading areas.

In terms of the law, the  
Group Areas Board had  
to investigate applica-  
tions by local authorities  
for open trading areas  
and these applications  
were being processed as  
quickly as possible.



# Indian MP <sup>304A</sup> <sup>STAR</sup> calls for <sup>3/10/45</sup> unity

Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — The rest of the world cannot, and will never, solve the problems of South Africa — it is up to South Africans to come up with the correct and workable answers, says Mr Ahmed Arbee, Barberton's Indian member of Parliament and representative of the House of Delegates.

Mr Arbee told the monthly meeting of Nelspruit's Afrikaanse Sakekamer that priority number one in this connection was to get the country back to the days before apartheid caused bitterness and disunity.

Mr Arbee said that, from as far back as 1865, a particularly good relationship had existed between the Afrikaans and Indian communities.

"Those were the days when the father of a sick child would wake the local Indian storekeeper in the early hours of a bitterly cold winter morning for a bottle of medicine.

"And, without exception, the sympathetic old trader would not only sell the item at cost but, later, would go to find out how the child was feeling.

"My greatest wish is to get that true South African spirit back so that, as an undivided nation, we can build this country into one of the greatest in the Western world," he said.

Outside pressure should not be the catalyst for change in South Africa. It is up to the politicians, the various leaders and you, the businessmen, to get around the conference table to hammer out our problems and come up with solutions that will not only be acceptable but which will be carried out to the satisfaction of all," he added.

In a trading sense ethnicity had failed sadly, Mr Arbee said, and he appealed to all municipalities to open their trading areas as soon as possible.

"The consumer, being cost and quality orientated, is more interested in getting his goods at the right price than from whom he buys them."

Mr Arbee said he was convinced that the Afrikaner, with his pioneer characteristics and reputation of "live and let live" would play an important role as peace-maker and mediator in the road ahead.



By David Braun, Political Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The National Party congress season which ended in Port Elizabeth yesterday has brought into focus just how far the Government is prepared to go with its reform programme.

Over the four conferences — at Durban, Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Port Elizabeth — President Botha and his Ministers have unveiled what they have called their manifesto and agenda for change.

Several major reforms have been announced. Mr Botha says he has been encouraged by the congresses because they have been characterised to a great extent by the pulse of reform.

"I was particularly encouraged by the fact that the reform processes in the National Party have become the centre of political thought, not only within the ranks of our own party, but also as the main subject of general conversation in South Africa."

Despite criticism from many sides, no one could dispute that which South Africa had already attained on the road of reform under his government.

None the less, he was the first to concede that the process of change and adjustment was still far from completion. Indeed, nowhere in the world could such a process ever be considered "complete".

He said this week that no other Nationalist leader had done as much as he had to satisfy the rights of other population groups. This had frequently been done at considerable risk and cost to his leadership.

He opened this year's congress season with his controversial "Rubicon" speech in Durban. He used that occasion to make an important statement which, he said, had to be read with his parliamentary speeches of earlier this year to form his "manifesto".

He said he had crossed the Rubicon, and the Government was committed to negotiations with all leaders on a give-and-take basis.

The Government would not prescribe any political solutions for blacks, because this had to be hammered out with the approval of the majority of each community concerned.

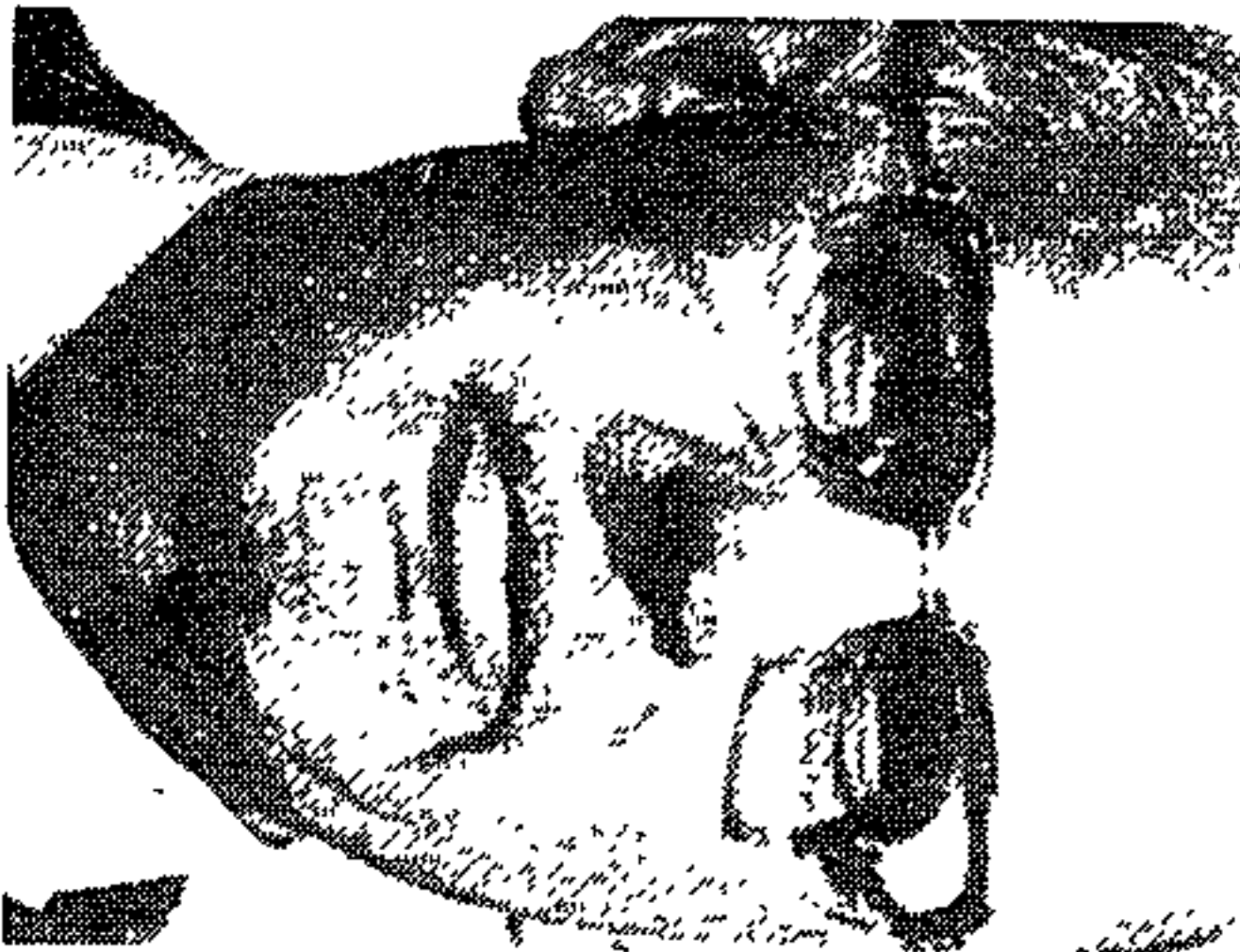
## FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The clear intention of the speech was to enhance the negotiation process by improving the climate for reform. There was a reaffirmation of the Government's intention that all groups should be involved in joint decision-making and co-responsibility.

At the Natal congress the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, also gave the first clear indication that the Government was not prepared to change the fundamental principles of the Group Areas Act. There could be no question of "grey" or mixed residential areas.

But Mr Heunis did say that the process of constitu-

# PW's now given clear picture of the pattern for reform



Mr P W Botha . . . "process of change far from complete".



Mr Chris Heunis . . . no mixed residential areas.



Mr F W de Klerk . . . appeal to moderate leaders.

tional development would not be complete until all population groups enjoyed, and supported, a framework in which each had full and equal political rights.

There could be no lasting solution to the country's political problems until each group had its just rights, and that included rights and protection for the white group.

At the Free State congress a few weeks later, Mr Botha announced the formal reversal of one of apartheid's most fundamental goals. In place of the illusion that some day there would be no black South African citizen (they were supposed to all be citizens of one or other homeland), Mr Botha accepted that blacks permanently in urban areas were South Africans, while those in the independent homelands could regain their citizenship on the basis of dual nationality.

Subsequent Government explanations revealed that independent homeland citizens would not acquire South African political rights with their dual nationality, but that black South Africans permanently resident outside those territories would have full citizenship, political and property rights.

The Free State congress also recommended overwhelmingly that the antiquated law which banned Indians and certain other racial categories of people from working and living in the province be scrapped.

An immediate Catch-22 was that the Group Areas Act would apply, and that as there were no Indian group areas in the Free State, Indians would presumably still not be able to work and reside there.

Delegates at this congress were more overtly reform-minded than those at the Natal event. Mr Heunis was moved to thank the congress for its realisation of the need to change.

He said South Africa's people, particularly blacks, were over-regulated and controlled, and that he had given instructions to see where unnecessary measures could be scrapped.

The Transvaal congress was especially notable for the reformist sentiments of the delegates. In marked contrast to one of a few years ago when Mr Botha had to chide delegates for their racist views and their reluctance to change, this year's was decidedly more verlig.

## PRIVATESE PUBLICSERVICE

The Transvaal leader of the party, Mr F W de Klerk, made a thought-provoking opening speech in which he appealed to moderate leaders of all communities to come forward and take part in constitutional negotiations with the Government.

Mr Botha announced that the Government was ready to privatise the public service and parastatals where possible.

Then, in his clearest statement on reform to date, the President told the Port Elizabeth congress that he and the Government had made a choice for constitutional, social and economic reform — "and thereby I must stand or fall".

ted to the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise, but within the structures chosen by South Africans, not within the structures prescribed from abroad or that are perhaps successful elsewhere in the world," he said.

The principle of a united South Africa included the reality and the desirability of territorial and border divisions within South Africa. For this reason the Government was involved in the mutual pursuance of both equal rights for individuals and security for each group.

The ways in which fundamental rights of individuals and groups, such as life and property, could be protected were therefore an essential element of the Government's agenda for constitutional reform.

In order to further the process of reform, President Botha also announced that the Government would be willing to consider appointing black leaders to a restructured President's Council to take part in investigations and proposals to the Government on matters which affected them.

The Cape congress also featured reform-minded delegates, including several who pleaded with the Government to send a signal of intent to the world by scrapping the Group Areas Act.

That was going too far for President Botha, who intervened in the debate to say that there was nothing shameful about ensuring the right of the various communities to live in their own residential areas.

The Group Areas Act was in South Africa to stay, he said, and each population group would have the right to its own residential area and education for its children.

In total, taking into account Mr Botha's speeches in Parliament this year and his pronouncements at all the congresses, this is the NP's new philosophy:

- It rejects the exclusion of any community from the political decision-making process; injustice and inequality in the opportunities available to any community; and racial discrimination and encroachment upon human dignity.

- South Africa remains one state, and independence will not be forced on any group. Those entities that are, or who may become, independent will be respected as such, although the Government is prepared to co-operate with them as equal states within an overall framework (a confederacy?).

- All South Africans are entitled to a common citizenship, which implies the same full property and political rights. Residents of independent entities within the overall framework, if they opt for independence, will be entitled only to a collective South African citizenship which will not carry political rights (but may have travel and other advantages).

- Each group unit — for example, independent homelands, self-governing homelands, white provincial administrations, Indian and coloured administrations, black urban communities and possibly certain other regional and local authorities — is to share power on an equitable basis at the highest level of decision-making, in such a way that no one unit can dominate another. This means all units are to be involved in all executive bodies, including the Cabinet.

- Each unit is to have the maximum possible autonomy over its own affairs. For that reason the principles of the Group Areas Act are inviolable. Each population unit is to have the right to its own residential areas and education institutions.

## MUTUAL CONCERN ISSUES

- The form and powers of the overall legislative and co-ordinating structures in which the units will jointly administer affairs of mutual concern — for example, defence, foreign affairs, finance, law and order — are to be negotiated so that they may have the support of the majority of each unit.

The Government is not prepared to negotiate with any group's leaders who do not reject violence as a means of change and who are not prepared to talk on the basis of maximum minority protection.

But the sky is the limit as far as the nature of the various structures is concerned.

Taken in sum, and regardless of what they mean to non-Nationalists, the changes do represent a fundamental restructuring of Government policy.



# 130 mixed couples wed since law change

03/10/85  
E. Post

JOHANNESBURG — More than 130 mixed marriages have taken place since the Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 was repealed by the State President on June 19, according to the Directorate of Home Affairs in Pretoria.

It said there had been 64 mixed marriages in July out of a total of nearly 6 000 marriages.

In August there were 51 out of a total of nearly 5 000.

Statistics for the first 10 days of September indicate a smaller ratio with only 10 mixed marriages.

A survey conducted by The Citizen newspaper disclosed that the repeal of Section 16 of the Immorality Act four months ago has resulted in more relaxed behaviour by mixed couples visiting Johannesburg hotels.

"They're open and less furtive," said the manager of one hotel.

Another said the number of mixed couples visiting his hotel had jumped by about 25% in the past few months.

# Credibility: it's up to SA envoy Nickel

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

It was time for bold Government leadership to convince the blacks of South Africa that it was earnest about reform, according to the American Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel.

In an interview with *The Star* in his Pretoria office, Mr Nickel said the American Administration was obviously very concerned about the present vicious cycle of violence and repression which, in the perception of many people in and outside South Africa, placed a question mark over the reform process.

It would be in everyone's interest to break out of that cycle, he said.

"Our view is that in situations like that it is incumbent on governments to take the lead. It is in our view a time for bold leadership to convince the blacks of this country that the Government is earnest about reform.

"We have recognised that this is a reform government, but what is really important is that it is perceived as such by blacks," Mr Nickel said.

To a very large extent, world opinion on South Africa would take its cue from the willingness of authentic black spokesmen to accept that the Government was in earnest about fundamental reform, which of course meant black political participation.

The Ambassador said that America's appeal to South Africans to sit at a negotiating table was not one-sided, aimed exclusively at the Government.

The US would, however, like to see a situation in which confidence could be created, which was why it was very much concerned about the state of emergency.

"If the interface between blacks in the townships and the Government is in fact the police, the credi-

bility of the Government as a government of reform is going to suffer."

Mr Nickel said South Africa may have reached the point where the parties might have to be brought together carefully through mediators who enjoyed the confidence of all sides and who could identify the areas in which progress could be made.

It was not realistic to convene a meeting or convention at this stage without preparation of this kind because there was a lack of mutual confidence.

Asked about a possible US role, he said America would be willing to facilitate dialogue if invited to do so.

But in order to play such a role, one could not appoint oneself, as one had to enjoy the confidence of all the parties, he said.

Mediating structures need not necessarily be official, as there were many private institutions who would be only too pleased to play a role.

On the subject of sanctions, the ambassador said that by far the most serious ones were being imposed on South Africa by the market place — specifically the recent action by the international banks.

"We take absolutely no pleasure with regard to the difficulties that South Africa is having in this regard, because we have always said that the odds for peaceful change in this country are directly related to the growth prospects of this economy," said Mr Nickel.

It was obvious that the current crisis was based very much on the political perceptions of practical-minded bankers in the US and elsewhere.

That underlined the Administration's own sense of urgency in making visible progress not only in dismantling apartheid, but also with the negotiating process that would have to produce a system in which



blacks could participate equally in political decision-making.

Mr Nickel said that the sanctions embodied in President Reagan's recent executive order were largely a codification of what was already in practice.

The sanctions package had managed to avoid the kind of indiscriminate economic measures that would harm the growth prospects of the South African economy, while at the same time enabling the Administration to pinpoint some of the instruments of the apartheid system.

The advantage of the executive order was that the President had retained the executive branch's initiative and prerogative in formulating foreign policy. Further, Mr Reagan could alter or repeal any part of it to adapt to changing circumstances.

From South Africa's point of view, Mr Nickel said he could not see how the codifying of measures which were already being taken could have any measurable impact on unemployment. Even the ban on Krugerrands, if it could be worked out in harmony with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, was not going to affect the production of bullion which was what mining employment was all about.

Mr Nickel said that the Administration had not recently altered its policy of constructive engagement except that it was now allocating more resources for expenditure on black education, human rights and

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the Government as a govern-  
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suffer ..."

the upgrading of teachers.

Constructive engagement had  
generally yielded positive results,  
he said.

There had been significant  
progress on the regional front,  
which hopefully had not been des-  
troyed by charges of violations of  
the Nkomati Accord.

"I think we have cleared an awful  
lot of the underbrush from the way  
of a Namibian solution according to  
Resolution 435. We hope very much  
that with the help of the South Afri-  
can Government and the Angolan  
Government we can move forward  
with some practical ideas for the  
removal of Cuban forces from An-  
gola in the context of the implemen-  
tation of 435.

"As far as internal developments  
are concerned, I have always plead-  
ed for a greater realism about the  
nature of American influence. We  
recognise that the major impetus  
for change has to come from within  
South Africa itself. But the addition  
of our influence can, I think, quite  
often be helpful for the process of  
change.

"To the extent that our influence  
is a factor, the fact that the rate of  
change in South Africa over the last  
four years has been much greater  
than in any previous time speaks in  
favour of our approach.

"What is disturbing to all of us is  
that the cycle of unrest and repres-  
sion threatens the dialogue that is  
needed to solve the central question  
of black political participation."



# The middle men

## THE PROGS AND INKATHA STAKE OUT THE CENTRE

THE plush Sandton Sun may at first glance seem an incongruous place to lay the ground for a future South Africa. In the quiet luxury of Johannesburg's newest hotel, one felt one was a long way from the rough and tumble of South African politics.

But in fact it was an appropriate place for the gathering of 150 people who took the first step towards forming a new Convention Alliance last Saturday.

On one level, the purpose of the meeting was to draw together South Africa's "moderates", those who still shared a vision of real but non-violent change towards a non-racial democracy.

The logic went like this: moderate, peace-loving South Africans were caught between escalating violence and counter-violence. They were increasingly under pressure to choose between the government and armed struggle; they could not sit on the fence.

Thus it was necessary to show there is a clear alternative to these choices; that there were still sufficient people who believed in a middle path to make it a viable vision of the future.

The purpose of the Convention Alliance, in the words of the invitation to participants, is to "bring about, by non-violent means, and in the shortest time possible, the complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation through a national convention of one constitution based on one citizenship in one country".

In short, the central purpose of the meeting was to re-establish the middle ground; to show that between repression on the one side and rebellion on the other, there lay a path of true reform; that there were still enough moderates to make a substantial joint call for a national convention; that if PW Botha couldn't find meaningful black leaders to talk to, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert could.

One could only do this in an atmosphere far from the torrid townships. One could only do it in Sandton.

Not far away, geographically

A year ago, the most vocal calls for a national convention came from the UDF. Today, with the UDF leaders either in detention or in hiding, the PFP and Inkatha have taken the initiative and staked their claim to the idea of dialogue

ANTON HARBUR reports from the Convention Alliance meeting



Just good friends ... Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in Sandton

They have taken an initiative that will have to be dealt with by the government, if it is to proceed with its intentions to negotiate, and with the leftwing, once it reemerges.

They have put themselves solidly in the middle and presented an initiative that both sides will have to account for.

They have not laid out any of the details of the structure, role and financing of the Alliance.

Slabbert has said the Alliance is not in itself a convention, nor is it a political party. It did not prescribe a single policy or strategy to its members.

He envisaged the Alliance setting up a secretariat to coordinate its activities and communication between members, organising rallies and petitions and providing the country with "systematic, well-thought out agendas on how apartheid can be dismantled".

He even suggested that a Convention Hall could be set up in Cape Town to sit alongside parliament and discuss the same agenda.

The details, however, were left to a steering committee to sort out.

Ironically, this is likely to mean they are criticised for the very things for which they criticised the UDF: a vagueness, looseness and imprecision in the nature of the alliance.

Slabbert and Buthelezi have reclaimed the support of powerful English business interests and have drawn to their ranks a number of interesting personalities.

Some of those present at the launching were only there to see what happened and will not stay in the Alliance. Some will find Slabbert and Buthelezi strange bedfellows, since recent events in Durban have cast doubt on Buthelezi's moderate image.

Others are at the moment finding it, easier and more apt to talk to the ANC, rather than Buthelezi.

Still others who were at the meeting will struggle to win mandates from the organisations they belong to.

Whether or not this takes us any closer to the holding of a national



and counter-violence. They were increasingly under pressure to choose between the government and armed struggle; they could not sit on the fence.

Thus it was necessary to show there is a clear alternative to these choices; that there were still sufficient people who believed in a middle path to make it a viable vision of the future.

The purpose of the Convention Alliance, in the words of the invitation to participants, is to "bring about, by non-violent means, and in the shortest time possible, the complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation through a national convention of one constitution based on one citizenship in one country".

In short, the central purpose of the meeting was to re-establish the middle ground; to show that between repression on the one side and rebellion on the other, there lay a path of true reform; that there were still enough moderates to make a substantial joint call for a national convention; that if PW Botha couldn't find meaningful black leaders to talk to, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert could.

One could only do this, in an atmosphere far from the torrid townships. One could only do it in Sandton.

Not far away, geographically speaking, in Soweto, youths and police were clashing yet again at the funeral of an unrest victim.

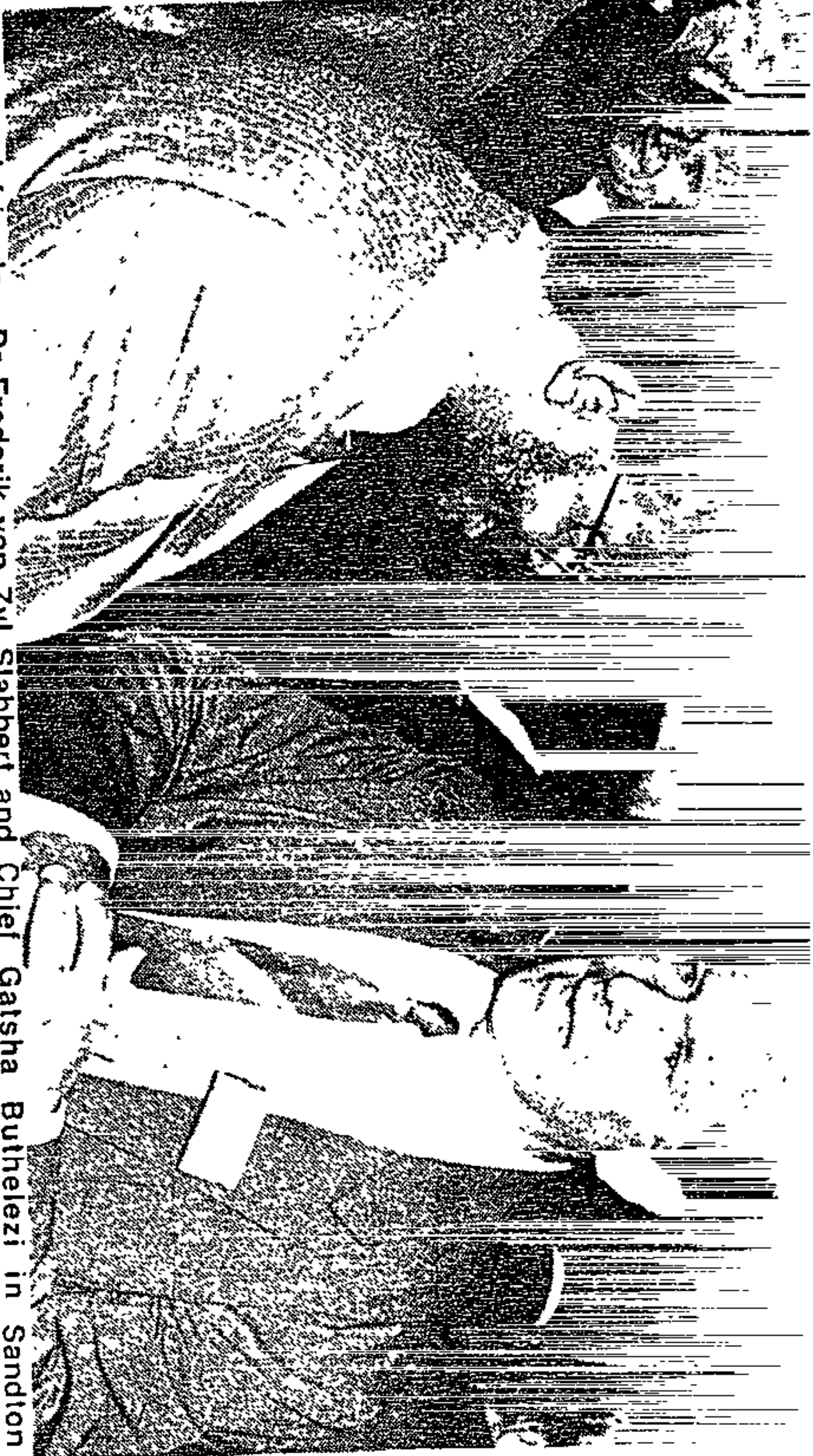
Further away, in Durban, there was ongoing violence involving groups of "impis" who were effectively clearing out radical elements from the townships. In these areas, there is unprecedented tension between Inkatha and its rivals in black politics.

All of this was a long way from Sandton, where Inkatha cemented a new and crucial link with the PFP.

Perhaps this isolation proved that it was still possible to hold reasonable dialogue, despite the conflict in the country; that there was still hope.

On the other hand, perhaps it proved that what was taking place was an exercise in idealism.

It is difficult, however, to associate idealism with the two hardened politicians who convened this



Just good friends... Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in Sandton



...while, in Lusaka, the previous week, Oliver Tambo of the ANC and Gavin Relly of Anglo American tried their own set of talks. Pictures by Wendy Schwegmann, Reuters, and Peter Auf de Heyde, Afrapix.

referendum. It had lost the support of many businessmen and many reformists to the National Party and was trying to reassert itself as the primary party of real reform.

Since then, a State of Emergency has been declared and the United Democratic Front is in disarray. Its leaders and activists are in detention, on trial or in hiding. Ongoing unrest and international

generally, he has been looking to expand his constituency and show he is the one man with enough credibility with both the left and rightwing to act as a middle-man.

Recently, at its national congress, the PFP took a tentative step towards entering the coloured and Indian houses of parliament. This was done to strong protests from the leftwing, both inside and outside the party.

weakened by the expulsion of the Labour Party three years ago. Now these two forces have come together to claim jointly the middle ground.

If one looks at it positively, it was an act of superb timing, coming at a time when the leftwing was in disarray and the rightwing was directionless.

Everyone was looking for a lead, and Slabbert and Buthelezi stepped

with "systematic, well-thought out agendas on how apartheid can be dismantled".

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Still others who were at the meeting will struggle to win mandates from the organisations they belong to.

Whether or not this takes us any closer to the holding of a national convention is another question entirely. Both leaders were hesitant about their chances of bringing it about in the short or even the medium term.

The middle ground is not firm.

For those to the left and right of Slabbert and Buthelezi, it is probably going to be treated as a declaration of war.

The UDF has already issued strong words about recent PFP decisions, saying the PFP will be rejected "with the same venom" as the Labour Party, the NPP and Solidarity if they participate in the coloured and Indian houses of parliament.

The only genuine road to non-racialism, the UDF said, was through active democratic struggle with the majority.

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It is difficult, however, to associate idealism with the two hardened politicians who convened this meeting, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Gatscha Buthelezi.

That is why one has to see another dimension to the Convention Alliance. At this level, it was not just the creation of a middle ground. It was Slabbert and Buthelezi staking out the area for themselves.

A year ago, the most vocal call for a national convention came from the United Democratic Front.

The Progressive Federal Party was still trying to recover from its poor showing in the constitutional



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referendum. It had lost the support of many businessmen and many reformists to the National Party and was trying to reassert itself as the primary party of real reform.

Since then, a State of Emergency has been declared and the United Democratic Front is in disarray. Its leaders and activists are in detention, on trial or in hiding.

Ongoing unrest and international pressure have thrown the rightwing into uncertainty and its reform initiatives have largely collapsed. It is struggling to re-establish a sense of direction.

The PFP made a decision at a Federal Council meeting earlier this year to position itself, broadly speaking, as the party that holds the middle ground between the left and rightwing.

At the time, Slabbert made a public offer to act as a mediator between the government and the ANC. More

generally, he has been looking to expand his constituency and show he is the one man with enough credibility with both the left and rightwing to act as a middle-man.

Recently, at its national congress, the PFP took a tentative step towards entering the coloured and Indian houses of parliament. This was done to strong protests from the leftwing, both inside and outside the party.

The PFP decision was a signal that its future lay in the middle ground, not in treating with the UDF or in extra-parliamentary activity.

Inkatha has in recent months ruled out talking to PW Botha, until he meets certain preconditions. It has done battle with the UDF and lost whatever chance there ever was of treating with the UDF or ANC in the foreseeable future.

A previous Inkatha attempt to stake out the moderate centre, in the form of the SA Black Alliance, was severely

weakened by the expulsion of the Labour Party three years ago.

Now these two forces have come together to claim jointly the middle ground.

If one looks at it positively, it was an act of superb timing, coming at a time when the leftwing was in disarray and the rightwing was directionless. Everyone was looking for a lead, and Slabbert and Buthelezi stepped forward and provided it.

If one looks at it cynically, then it was an act of political opportunism: Slabbert and Buthelezi were taking advantage of the suppression of the UDF to stake out the ground for themselves.

Whichever way one looks at it, it was an extremely important and skillful act on their part. Both Slabbert and Buthelezi have extended their constituencies and have reclaimed the centre.

## NO NATIONAL CONVENTION WITHOUT EQUALITY, SAYS ANC

A NATIONAL convention is very far from the minds of the members of the African National Congress at the moment.

They, like others, have been reminded of it by the campaign for a convention being led by the PFP, Inkatha and some business leaders. And, having been reminded of it, ANC members clearly have an understanding of the timing, role and content of a national convention which is wholly different from that currently being peddled.

Interviews with a number of ranking ANC sources this week revealed that the ANC rejects the

By Howard Barrell  
Harare

notion that a national convention is the means by which to dismantle apartheid.

Instead, the ANC considers that apartheid must have been either totally destroyed or dismantled, and a situation of democracy must exist, before any national convention can be held.

"You can't have a national convention between oppressed and oppressor. A national convention can be held only when we have a situation

of democracy, free political activity and equality," one source said this week.

"We have a situation now where the battle lines have been drawn, not by our own choosing, but by the State.

"How can you hold a national convention, or even hold out the prospect of one, at a time when there is a state of emergency, when people are on trial for treason for their opposition to apartheid, when people are being shot in the streets?"

"Clearly, you cannot," the ANC source said.

Responding to the PFP-Inkatha national convention moves, a third

ANC source said the outlawed movement rejected attempts by "self-appointed bigwigs like the Buthelezis and Hendrickses, elitists, or American and British manipulations: to cobble together settlements of the fate of the country over the heads of the people."

"As far as the people are concerned, the PFP's flirtation with Buthelezi is the kiss of death. They should rather keep their options open for the future, which is going to be settled by truly democratic forces.

"Slabbert should be able to understand that anything Buthelezi touches is discredited in the eyes of the people," the source said.

about their chances of bringing it about in the short or even the medium term.

The middle ground is not firm. For those to the left and right of Slabbert and Buthelezi, it is probably going to be treated as a declaration of war.

The UDF has already issued strong words about recent PFP decisions, saying the PFP will be rejected "with the same venom" as the Labour Party, the NPP and Solidarity if they participate in the coloured and Indian houses of parliament.

The only genuine road to non-racialism, the UDF said, was through active democratic struggle with the majority.

A strongly-worded statement from the ANC Information Department attacked Buthelezi and Slabbert and said that it was idle to hope for a national convention in the present climate.

"In view of the fact that the Botha regime has clearly and unequivocally said it is against a system of one person one vote in a united South Africa, it is idle to hold out the perspective of a convention with this regime.

"There is only one way forward. We must and will crush the apartheid regime between the hammer of armed action and the anvil of mass struggle. There is no middle road," the ANC said.

The real chances, therefore, of the PFP and Inkatha bringing together the poles of South Africa politics are minimal.

The Alliance has not brought us any closer to a national convention, nor is it likely to do so in the foreseeable future. What it has done is solidified the middle ground and put it firmly in the hands of Slabbert and Buthelezi.

However, they are likely to find that, outside of Sandton, the only middle ground that still exists is the no-man's-land between police armed with shotguns and youths armed with stones.

And, if they want to hold on to the middle ground they claim, they will need to take the Alliance out of Sandton and into the townships.



# I am at the Nat congress. If I shut my eyes, I could be listening to Albert Luthuli

ONLY, I CAN'T BELIEVE THEM

By BENJAMIN POGRUND



Drawings: ANNE POGRUND

THE words came high-pitched through the loudspeakers at the Pretoria City Hall last Thursday night: We need a totally new South Africa. Without negotiation, accord between us is impossible, and without accord we cannot agree on the future. Only if we talk can peace come and will everyone have freedom in this land...

Shutting my eyes and switching my senses it could have been Chief Albert Luthuli speaking 25 years ago, pleading for racial change. It was the same vision of a South Africa built on human dignity.

Of course it wasn't Chief Luthuli. It was F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Transvaal leader of the National Party, opening his party's provincial congress.

De Klerk is a powerful man and a powerful orator. He speaks passionately and with conviction. His call for reason and for interracial justice carry even greater weight in light of his image as a hardliner inside the National Party. If De Klerk speaks like this, then where do the real *verligtes* stand?

The reaction of the hundreds of party delegates who listened to him is also of interest. They did not give him a tumultuous reception, but neither were they cold. There was warm applause for him, at fairly regular intervals, even though many sat still. At the end of the evening they left the hall seemingly happy and content (so much so that the next day they unanimously re-elected De Klerk as provincial leader).

Listening to De Klerk there were times I experienced the sort of feelings I guess a would-be born-again Christian must have at a revivalist meeting: you want to jump up and shout Hallelujah and follow your leader. It springs from a desperate desire to want to believe.

De Klerk offers the way to a Paradise which South Africa can be. All one must do is to believe in his National Party and to follow it.

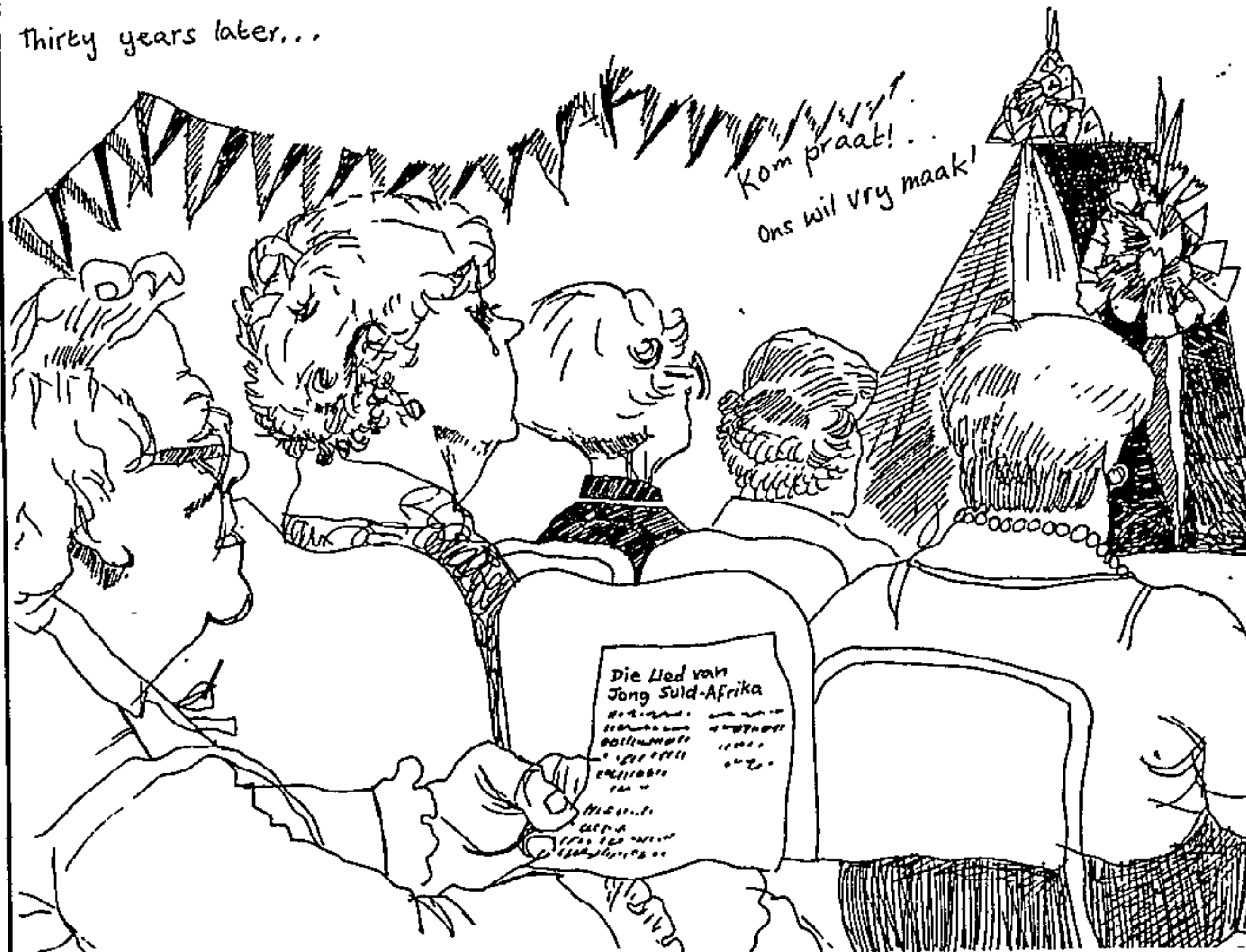
Therein is the flaw. For a metre from De Klerk on the platform was Foreign Minister Pik Botha, and only that day I had been reading his public confession that we have, after all, been violating the Nkomati Accord and helping the MNR in Mozambique. Also on the platform was Defence Minister Magnus Malan, who shared in the disclosure about Mozambique, and whose soldiers were at that moment engaged in some strange purpose in Angola.

Looking at them I thought about the deceit which characterises this government's relations with our neighbours. And looking at the crowded stage, at the several rows of members of the Cabinet, I wondered about the ability of these people to take South Africa along the road of hope and promise held out by De Klerk.

My mind drifted to the old newspaper clipping I had recently found inside a book: the Cape Argus of Saturday, March 1, 1958 recorded the concern of Cape Town funeral contractors "about the Local Road Transportation Board ruling that separate cars must be set aside for Europeans and non-European mourners at funerals".

It quoted an undertaker: "We have been told that we will have to decide before applying for permission to run the cars, whether we wish to convey European or non-European passengers.... There is also some talk about having to have coloured drivers for coloured funerals."

Thirty years later...



Thirty years later .. the Transvaal National Party Congress this week

That was a tiny episode of racial abuse in the past 37 years of applied apartheid. It is the sort of thing which is overlooked in the swirl of argument about great issues of policy. But it is these tiny episodes which, taken together, make up our lives, and it is the experience of them which determines people's attitudes.

How many trillions of these episodes have there been, I wondered, and what price is South Africa now paying for them?

I thought about those tests used by government officials in the days when the Population Register was being compiled and everyone was being assigned to a specified racial grouping: for what were known as "borderline" cases, pushing a pencil through a person's hair to check how crinkly it was; examining fingernails because cuticles were supposed to reveal something or other about one's ethnic origins.

I thought about the dilemma presented to black parents at one time: not much money was allocated by the government to the education of blacks and what there was was pegged. Parents were told they had to decide: spend money on schoolfeeding or on classrooms.

I thought about the early years of "Bantu Authorities", those local government institutions which were the beginning of the present "homelands", and I remembered the stories which filtered through from remote rural areas: tribespeople were told that either they accepted a Bantu authority or their children would lose their schooling.

I remembered my own newspaper, the Rand Daily Mail, being reviled and threatened and harassed because of our reports over the years about the parlous condition of so many black people. I remembered, for example, my own carefully researched reports about starvation among black children. And I remembered that Cabinet Ministers had (from the safety of Parliament) called me a liar, and had refused to tackle the causes of the kwashiorkor deaths.

I remembered that the National Party's then official organ in Johannesburg, Die Transvaler, had persistently and for some time sneeringly referred to us as "*die hongersnood koerant*" (the malnutrition newspaper).

I remembered the many friends who had been insulted and attacked by the government because they dared to say that what the Nationalists were doing was wrong. Peter Brown, who was banned. Barney Zackon and Peter Hjul who were banned and later went into exile when people started shooting at their homes. Ruth Heyman who was banned and went into exile, and died there, a long way from home.

Each one of these, and others besides, could not have been finer liberals dedicated to individualism and thoroughly opposed to totalitarianism in any form. Yet each was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

I thought of the government's title for the bureaucracy which has had the specific task of dismembering long-established communities and bulldozing their homes: the Department of

Community Development. Of other instances of distorted wording in the Extension of University Education Act, which enforced university apartheid, and the Abolition of the Coordination of Documents Act which ended the pass system among blacks.

I remembered a report in the 1956/57 survey of the SA Institute of Race Relations (have checked the details) that 70 Chinese families were given quit notices when Sophiatown cleared of its black residents and any other who were not white. The Chinese were told to leave by January 1, 1957, although no group of them was available in Johannesburg. The deadline was extended to March 31 after the Chinese made general representations.

"It was, indeed, difficult for these families to know what to do," the survey noted with understatement. "Their menfolk were exclusively traders, and they could not get permits to trade elsewhere within the area. Some of them crowded in together with relatives or friends living in other parts of the area — presumably losing their means of livelihood."

There was one act of defiance: a man who was imminently expecting a baby refused to leave because the temporary home offered him a front door, it had broken windows and grimy walls and would have had to be shared with another large family.

"It was, apparently, only as a result of representations by city councillors and others that the home of this family was not demolished: their heads: they were finally allowed to stay the wife was fit to be moved."

I thought of Cape Town's District Six, which had come to know while doing social work student ... of the green light given for destruction by the present State President, Botha, when he was minister in charge of the areas, and of his rejection of anguished pleas to halt the removals years later when he was Minister.

I thought of the countless times I interviewed poor wretches entangled in the laws, desperate for the chance to earn a living to be with their families.

I thought of my conversations down the years with government officials when I had begged some compassion and for the law to be bent, fraction to make it possible for a person to get a proper rubber stamp in his pass so that he could remain in Johannesburg. And the blank refusal had got time and again with the refrain: "That is the law."

I remembered that, only a few days before, I happened to read again an article I had written in February, 1978 about the last months of R. M. Mangaliso Sobukwe. I had read and reread and remind myself, how the cancer in his lungs had been able to spread because proper medical treatment had been delayed: he was banned from permission for him to come to Johannesburg, not easy to obtain.

I had read how Bob, in deep pain after removal of a lung, had been brutally ordered

“They want us to fall on our backs and accept their bona fides while ugly racist”



JEAN TEMKIN

# All is not lost on the stock market

THERE'S not much to cheer South African investors right now and those who made a few cents on the Southern Life share lottery, politely referred to as an "issue", are angrily calling the Minister of Finance a "spoilsport". This is because the authorities with the law on their side intend finding out who took up shares and taxing the capital gains they made.

It doesn't mean all is lost on the stock market. According to stockbrokers, there are still opportunities for capital gain in the gold share market — if you are quick enough. But on industrials they are more wary.

"We are in for a good gold share market, but with the exception of a few special situations, the industrial market is best left alone," says stockbroker, Clarice Braun, Kaplan & Stewart's newest partner.

Amongst the bullish factors for golds, Braun particularly emphasises the high rand price that gold mines have been receiving in the last few months, allowing them to pay good dividends. Overseas investors are looking at the excellent returns available from gold shares, buying them with financial rands and receiving dividends in commercial rands.

It is surprising how a financial rand discount — the percentage at which the financial rand trades below the commercial rand — wavering around seven percent quells the finer feelings of some foreign investors who oppose the South African regime.

"For those who can afford them, I particularly like Dries, Southvaal and Randfontein — but anyone looking for a quality mine which is now at an affordable price since its share split, you can't do better than Kloof," recommends Braun.

While industrial demand for platinum continues at its present pace, she also recommends Rusplats.

However, apart from a handful of shares, her views of the industrial market are bleak.

"The March off-take in the market was caused by falling interest rates, and the feeling by many investors that the worst was behind them. However, events of the past few months, the State of Emergency and the freezing of overseas payments has squashed the short-term hope of recovery. What will happen in December?" she asks.

Braun feels that consumer-orientated companies are bound to do badly, especially those who have the high cost of imports to contend with — results are bound to be bad. However, import costs might give a boost to local producers supplying goods to markets previously flooded from abroad.

"Apart from special situations which are bound to crop up, my choice of industrial shares is Unisec, the Rembrandt Group, Safren, Kersaf and the Altech Group. As for long term prospects for the market as a whole, I'm not prepared to stick my neck out — I don't know," concludes Braun.

A broker who wishes to remain anonymous is a little more positive for the medium and long term, expecting the market to continue moving



Finance Minister Barend du Plessis ... 'spoilsport'

upwards. But in the short-term, he expects a reaction in industrials which might take them 10 percent lower.

"We may well see distortions in the market as it comes to grips with new influences brought about by the reintroduction of the financial rand," says stockbroker Harold Shapiro of Max Pollak and Freemantle.

He quite expects both the commercial and the financial rand to move better as confidence is restored.

"While a strengthening rand pushes down the rand gold price at, say, a rand value of \$0,45c with a gold price of \$330, the rand gold price is still an attractive R733. This means good profits for gold mines, better profits than they were making a year ago, and for the local investor, attractive dividend income."

Shapiro remains bullish on export earners, coal and minerals as well as gold.

Lower rates of interest on short-dated gilts will be good for industrials as institutions switch into equities. Falling rates will also ease interest burdens. However he advises investors to concentrate on better quality industrial shares — like Rembro, Sasol, Stanbic, Barclays, Liberty, AECI and some of the more highly geared property shares, advises Shapiro.

Frankel, Kruger investment analyst Paul Gray finds today's share market more exciting than Sun City. "Volatility makes for excitement, doesn't it?"

On a more serious note, Gray concentrates for the short term on companies involved in exports and import substitution or those that can readily switch production to import substitution. Two he mentions in this area are Sinclair and Scope. He also likes Kersaf for its overseas exposure but for the rest of the industrial board, before committing himself, he would rather wait until he sees an improvement in the economy — until recovery prospects brighten.

On golds, Gray is more positive. "At the rand's present low level, many gold shares hold good value."

Preferring heavyweights, like Randontein, Kloof and Southvaal, Gray feels there is still value left in a few of the marginals. Mining financials and mining houses also offer value; and mentions in particular GFSA, JCI and Anglo American.



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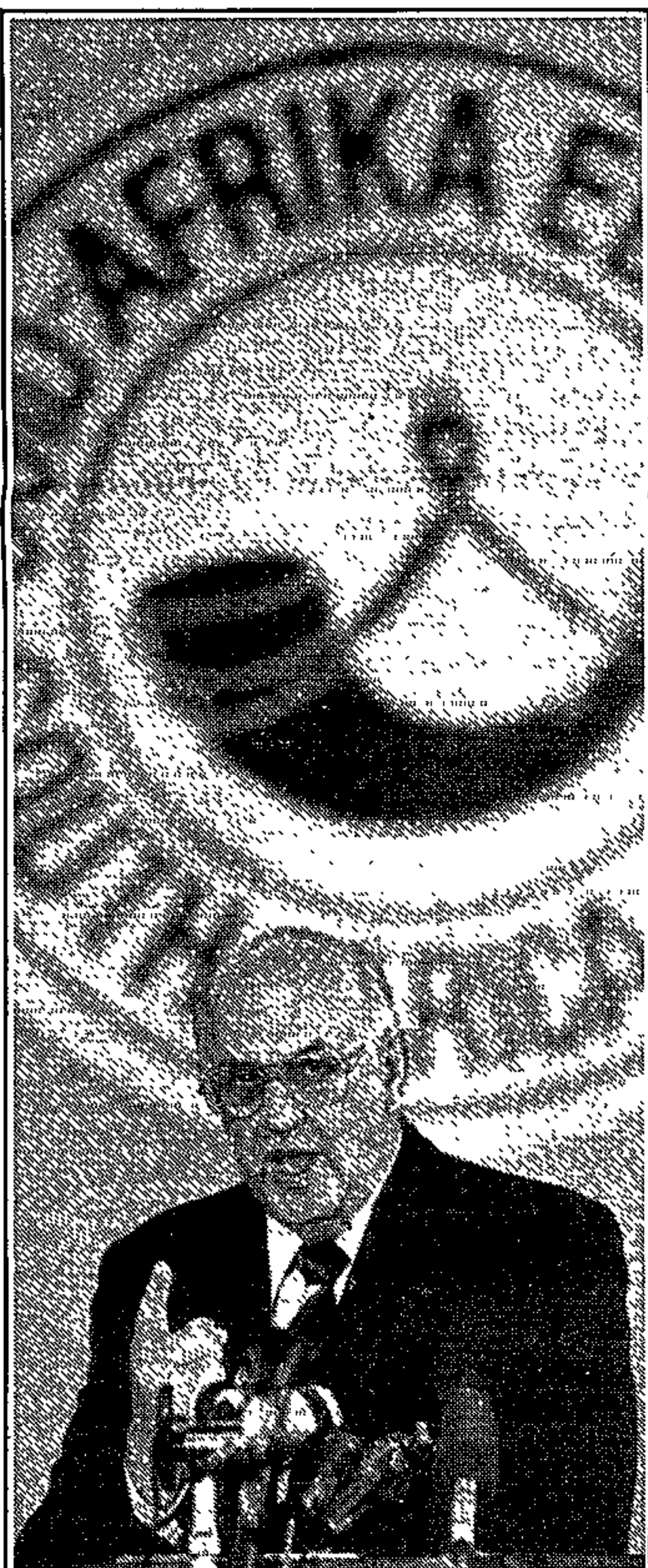
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That wagging finger again, this time as the State President addressed the Transvaal congress in Pretoria last week.

Picture: ORDE ELIASON, AFP

the Security Police out of the house in Cape Town where an Anglican bishop had given him shelter. Of how he had slowly shuffled in and out of police stations, to obey the instruction to report his presence whenever he travelled from Kimberley to Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town for treatment.

I remembered also what Pik Botha had been saying lately: "We have never favoured apartheid in the sense in which it was portrayed abroad. But I admit in years gone by we went too far with legislative measures and concentrated too much on fragmentation and compartmentalisation of our communities."

My mind ran along those words and I asked

myself: Is that all it has been? Is an airy explanation that they went a bit too far to be sufficient? Doesn't he have any comprehension of what his government has done to instil hatred and rage in so many South Africans?

Am I expected to put my trust in those people on the platform who have connived — to put it at its lowest — in the lack of mercy showed to people of colour, whether it be Bob Sobukwe or an anonymous, everyday victim of the pass laws?

So I did a lot of thinking while De Klerk was speaking. And listening to him, and looking at his colleagues flanking him, I concluded:

*No, I don't believe them. I don't trust them. They have poisoned us with their racism. They have created divisions where these did not exist before. They have done terrible things to heaven knows how many people.*

*They are only talking like this because they are frightened of the pressures building up against them, among people at home and from abroad. Now that they find it all endangered, and even they can see that their apartheid has failed, they want us to fall on our backs and accept their bona fides — even while ugly racist things are still being done at every moment.*

Reality dictates that Afrikaner Nationalists cannot be brushed aside as of no account. They are part of the South African community and their fears must be taken into consideration. They also do still command power and must be reckoned with in the reaching for a new South Africa.

I am heartened by the Pietersburg delegate at the Transvaal congress who is reported to have said: "We, as whites, must say we are sorry. We are sorry for what our policies have done to other peoples over the past 40 years."

But I want to hear a lot more *mea culpas*, and especially from the leaders, before I start beginning to have the slightest faith in them. I want to see many concrete actions to tear down their apartheid monsters before I start believing that they are trying to do more than pull another confidence trick.

I want them to stop their self-congratulations and behaving as though they have discovered the wheel when they say they are going to restore South African citizenship to black South Africans who have been stripped of it. Instead I want them to clarify exactly what they intend doing, so that I can know that this is not yet another shabby instance of playing with words.

I've had enough of their evasions in saying that they are consulting with black leaders, when we all know that the blacks they meet cannot speak for the mass of people in our country. Instead I want them to speak to the people whom everyone knows are real leaders.

I want to have them stop trying to fool me that group areas are an integral part of existence which have always been there and will always be there. I want to see them heading for the end of Group Areas, and for the rooting out of apartheid in schools, hospitals, jobs and everywhere else in South Africa.

And if they tell me they cannot do it because their supporters won't allow it, then my answer is that they got themselves into office and have kept themselves there by cynically playing to racial emotions, and now it's their job to get their people to go in another direction.

things are still happening



THE economy is not just in a short-term recession. It is trapped in a long-term crisis, and the usual methods for pulling an economy out of a recession may not be sufficient.

To come to grips with the root cause of the crisis one first needs to clarify the nature of SA's current growth strategy. This strategy is export-oriented: that is, growth is not so much based on development of the local market as it is on expanding overseas exports. The importance of this is that the issue of our international competitiveness becomes of paramount importance.

Although our mining and agricultural products are sold abroad, for a variety of reasons South African industry is in general not competitive with overseas industries. Consequently, our manufactured goods are unable to make major inroads into overseas markets, nor can they even hold their own against imports on the local market.

In order to compete more effectively, industry is forced to import foreign technologies. But since these are massively expensive, every growth phase or boom rapidly produces a soaring import bill which pushes the Balance of Payments into deficit.

In the recent past the state has sought to extend the booms by increasing our foreign borrowing, but this has in turn increased our foreign debt, which today stands at a massive \$24,000-million — or about R55,000-million.

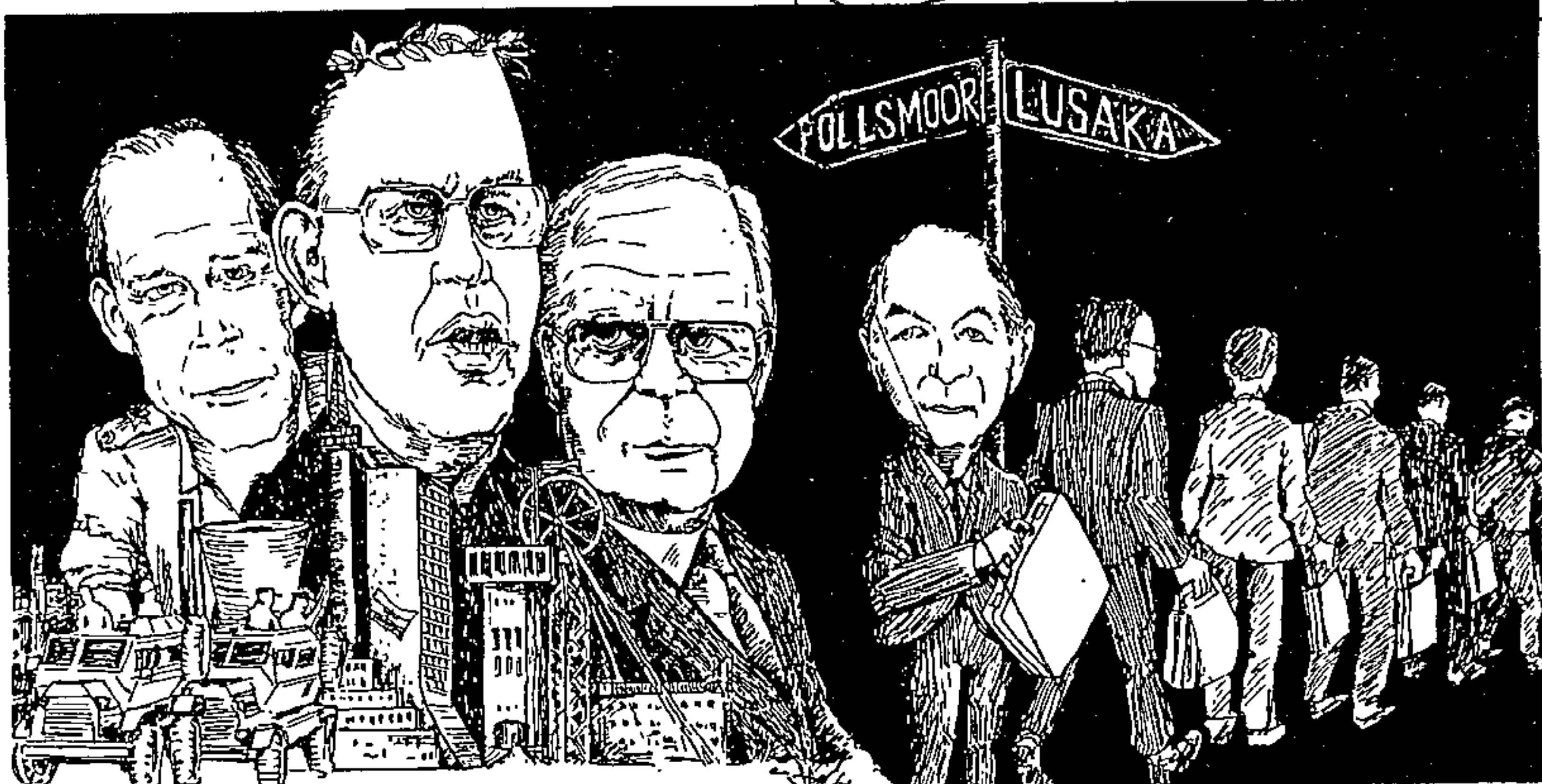
Given the state's commitment to export-oriented growth, the only long-term way out of the crisis is to improve labour productivity so as to enhance our competitiveness. (Other "solutions" such as imposing import controls are only effective over the short-term.)

There are in fact a number of ways productivity can be raised, but all of them involve confronting the labour movement in one way or another.

Management can mechanise their factories — but the cost is rising levels of unemployment. Management can retrench a portion of the workers while retaining output levels and existing wage rates — but the cost is both more unemployment and resentment among those who remain in the factories and must now work harder. Management can offer higher pay for harder work — but this is costly.

Thus the issue of raising productivity inevitably leads to a confrontation of one sort or another with the labour movement.

Furthermore, the issue of productivity is not simply economic; it has an important political dimension too.



Turning their backs on the Government ... businessmen like Gavin Relly, centre, make their own plans now. At left, Magnus Malan, PW Botha and Gerhard de Kock

## Perils of the productivity recipe for ending the crisis

First, any escalation of conflict between workers and management is likely to lead to state involvement.

Second, because the state directs the course of economic growth, it is able to use this power for political ends. Though one can argue that this recession was forced on the state, the severity of the recession is largely state-induced. For example, the decision last year to let the Rand plummet, as well as the decision to raise interest rates to record levels, were taken by the Reserve Bank in consultation with the Minister of Finance and, through him, the Cabinet.

One of the major effects of this severe recession has been massive retrenchments. The state's management of the recession can thus be seen as an attack on the labour movement — especially on the organised section, who are forced onto the defensive. By weakening the organised labour movement, the state hopes to pave the way for management to introduce productivity improvements.

Thirdly, the economy exists within a political environment and cannot escape the conditions of that environment. It thus becomes extremely difficult to organise productivity advances in a context of political turmoil. So long as the country experiences widespread political and industrial strikes, so long as transport is disrupted, so long as the

If this country is ever to pull out of the recession, the very basis of our economic strategy will have to be re-examined. By DUNCAN INNES, senior lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand

townships are in uproar and education and training disrupted, major productivity improvements are just not possible.

The importance of these political factors has been rammed home forcefully to us over the past few months. Overseas media coverage of state repression, coupled with numerous diplomatic blunders by government leaders, caused overseas bankers to take fright. Fearing that their investments here were in danger, they called in the bulk of their loans — and SA could not pay.

Consequently, the Minister of

Finance was forced, first, to unilaterally suspend our foreign debt repayments for a period of four months and then, in order to discourage foreign-owned capital from leaving the country, to reintroduce the financial rand.

Of course, these measures have in no way alleviated the crisis; on the contrary, they have worsened it. Having unilaterally suspended our debt repayments the state has severely damaged our international credibility. Consequently, we will encounter great problems in trying to raise new finance, which is so necessary to our growth, from overseas sources.

Thus for a wide variety of reasons — both political and economic — the prospects for the economy producing a sustained upswing in the near future are very bleak indeed.

However, that does not mean that business leaders see no opportunities for a possible way out of the crisis. In

fact, one can see already the beginning of a strategy emerging.

For one thing, all sectors are not equally affected by the crisis. The export-oriented mining industry, for example, is currently experiencing a boom while many financial institutions have benefitted from high interest rates. What, then, will happen to the profits that are being accumulated in these sectors?

It is possible, given the shortage of capital in industry, that much of it will be diverted into this latter sector. This is likely to produce yet another wave of take-overs as ever more industrial, retail and commercial companies become absorbed by the giant mining houses and financial institutions. (The Kirsch group's recent takeover by Sanlam was but the first of these.)

But, of course, such domination offers one of the most promising routes for business to resolve the productivity issue at an economic level. For it is the giant conglomerates which are best capable of rationalising methods of production and of mechanising and automating production. Not only are they the only companies with the financial resources to carry this through, but many of them have the overseas contacts to secure the necessary technologies.

But if this route is adopted then we can expect on the one hand even greater centralised control over the economy and, on the other, even greater unemployment.

As far as the political aspects of the crisis are concerned, representatives of some of these large conglomerates and their supporters have already served notice on the state that they are no longer prepared to sit back and watch Rome burn. They are becoming directly involved in the process of political restructuring.

But the question here is are these business leaders willing to demand the kind of political reforms which are necessary to bring the political unrest to an end? In particular, are they willing to put the issue of a universal franchise within a single SA state on the political agenda — because, ultimately, that is what black political opposition is all about.

## Local groups willing to risk Sun City blackout

JO'BURG rock band Ella Mental are pushing ahead with their Sun City concert despite cancellation by billtopping British group Bucks Fizz.

Sun City entertainment chief Hazel Feldman claimed on Tuesday that Bucks Fizz cancelled after receiving death threats. But the band denied these claims. They said they cancelled after being informed that Boputhatswana's "independence" was recognised only by South Africa.

As Sun City becomes virtually out of bounds to overseas artists, it seems probable that there will be local groups prepared to risk blacklisting, and rush into the vacuum created by the boycott campaign. Top selling black localist Steve Kekana had already agreed to play with Ella Mental at Sun City on October 10 and 12, a move which will anger large sectors of the black community.

But the local band's decision to play the venue may prove unwise. International attention turned on Sun City this week when American rock megastar Bruce Springsteen decided to join the group of artists working on "Sun City" records. Produced by Springsteen's former guitarist Steve

By STEVE GORDON

van Zandt, the record derides South Africa's homeland policies and advocates an artists' boycott of the Sun City complex.

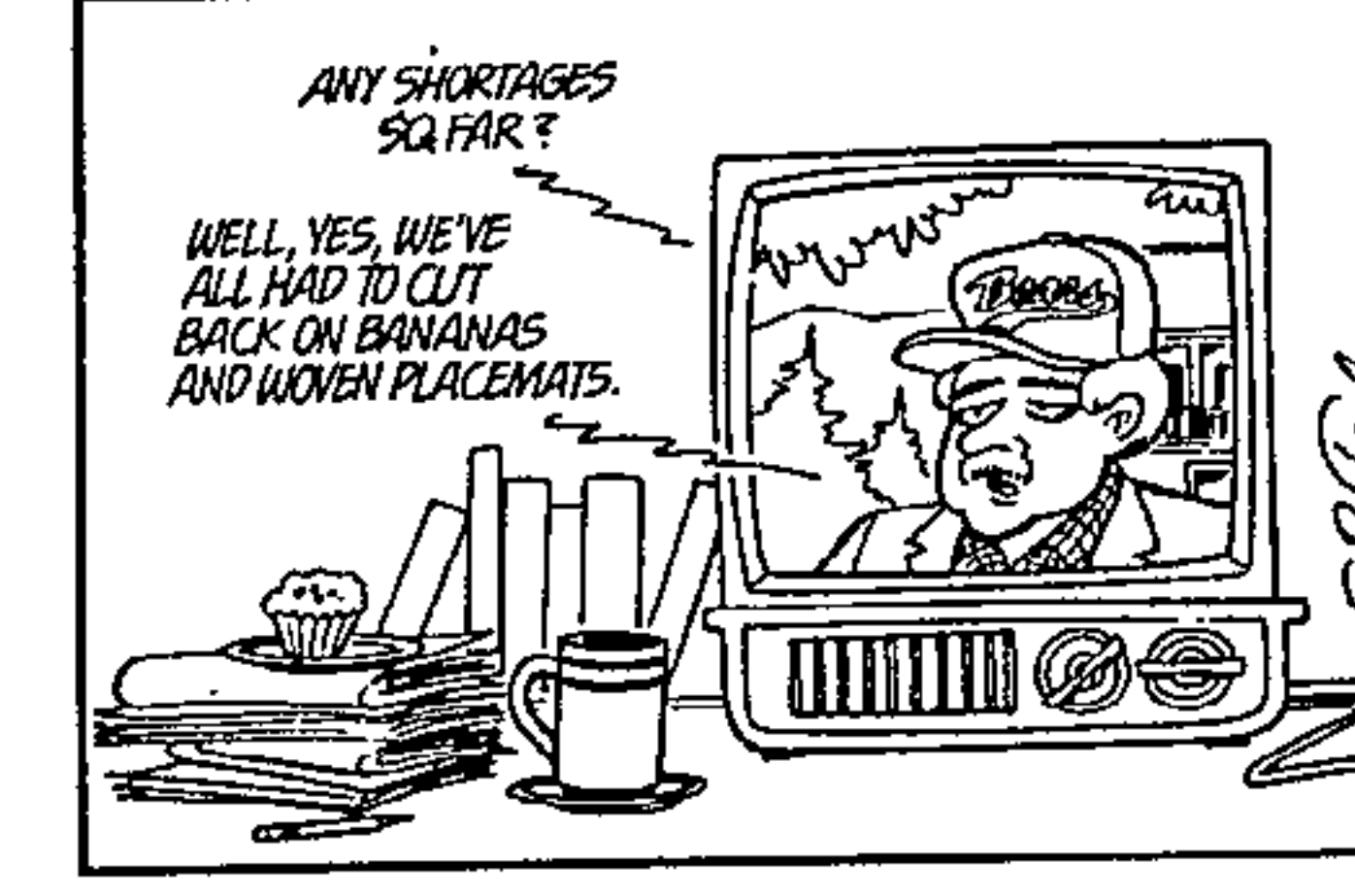
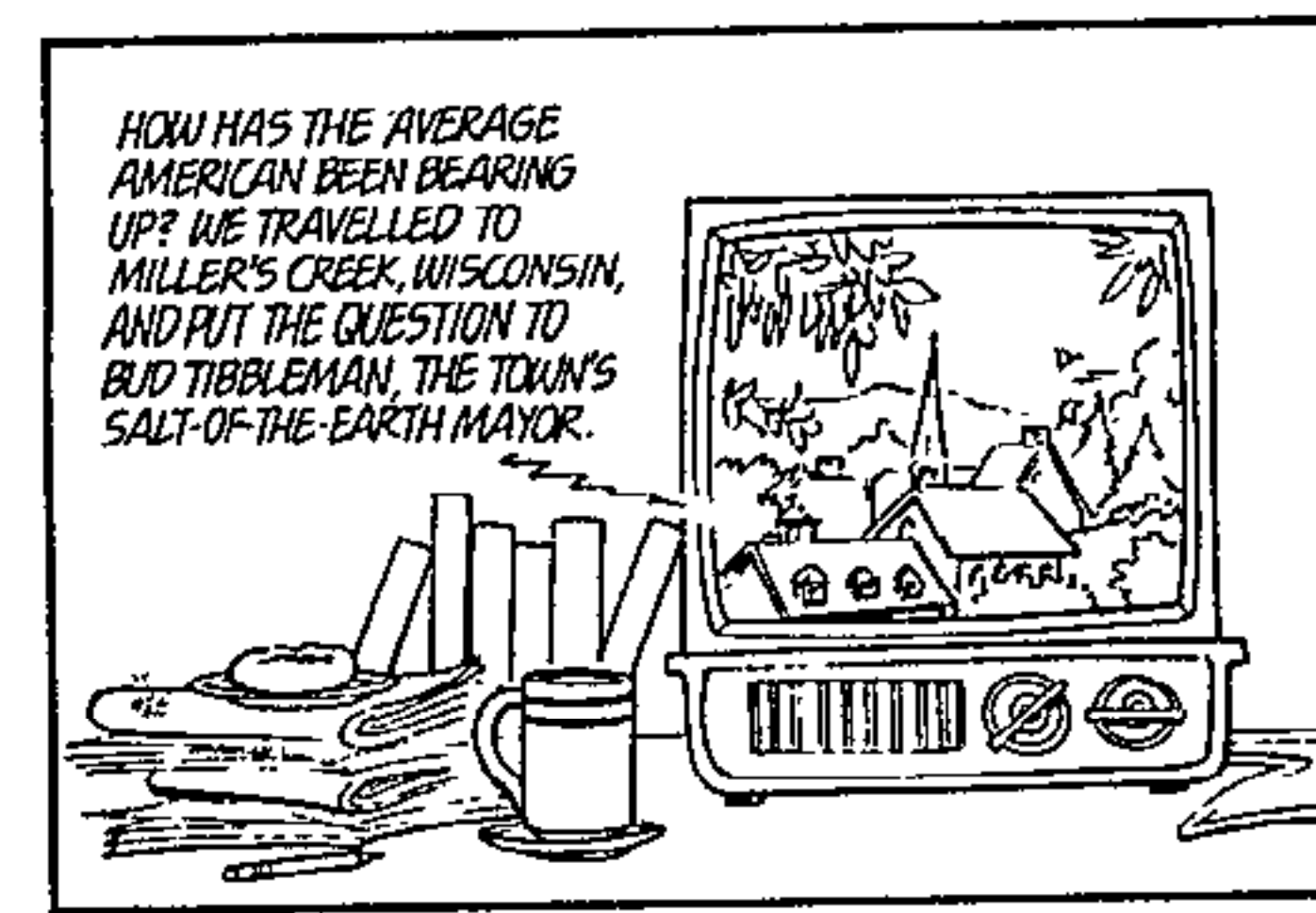
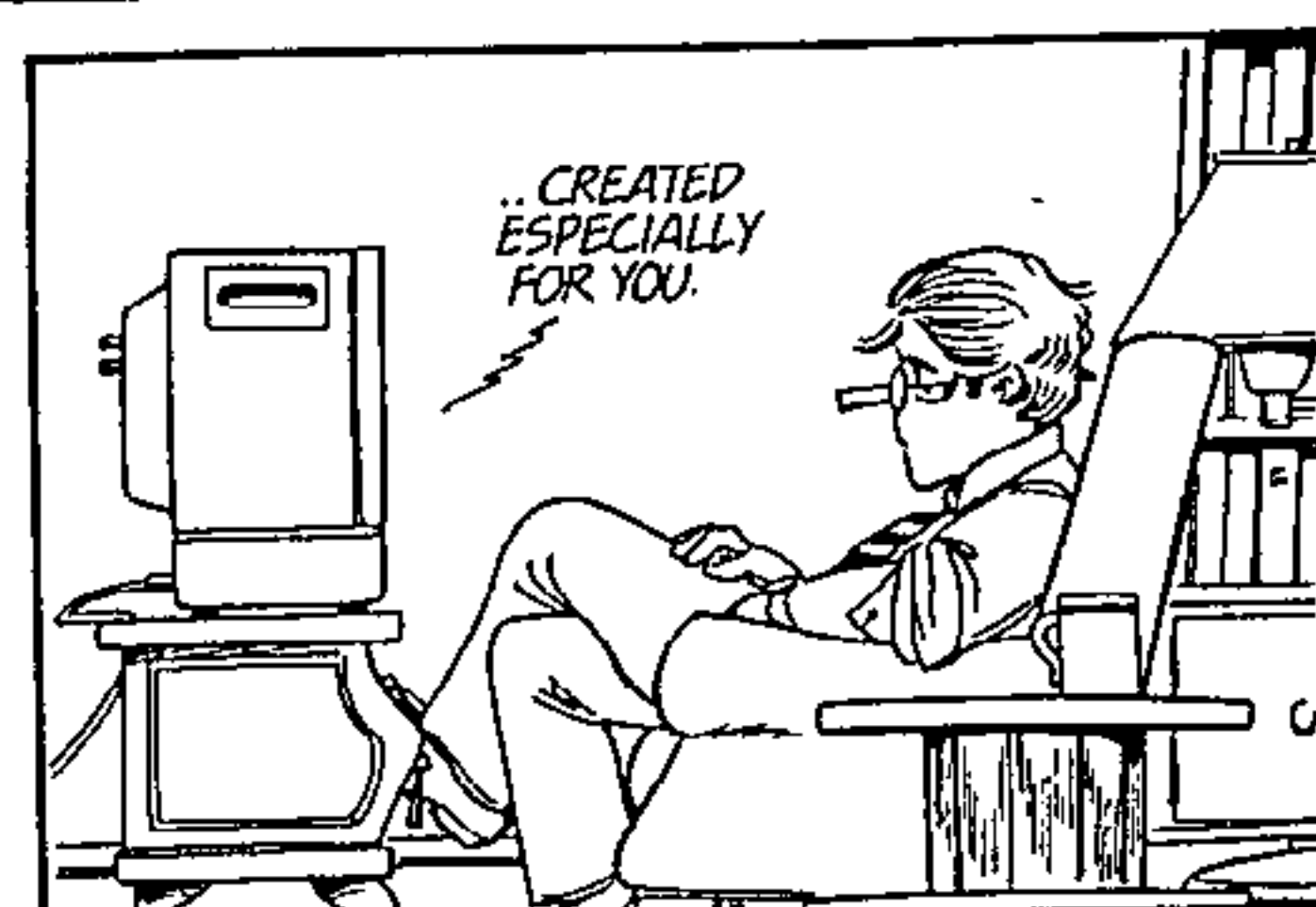
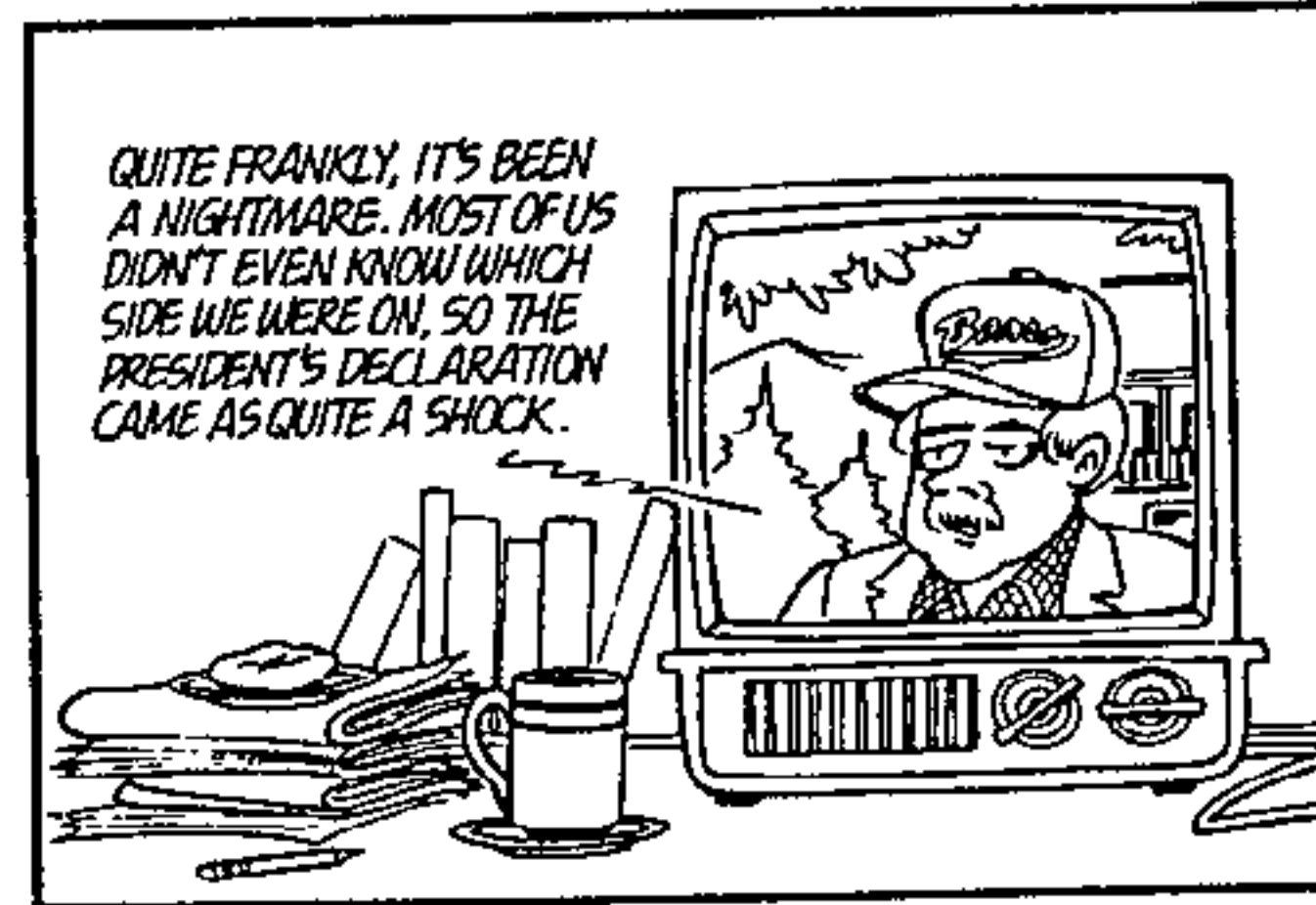
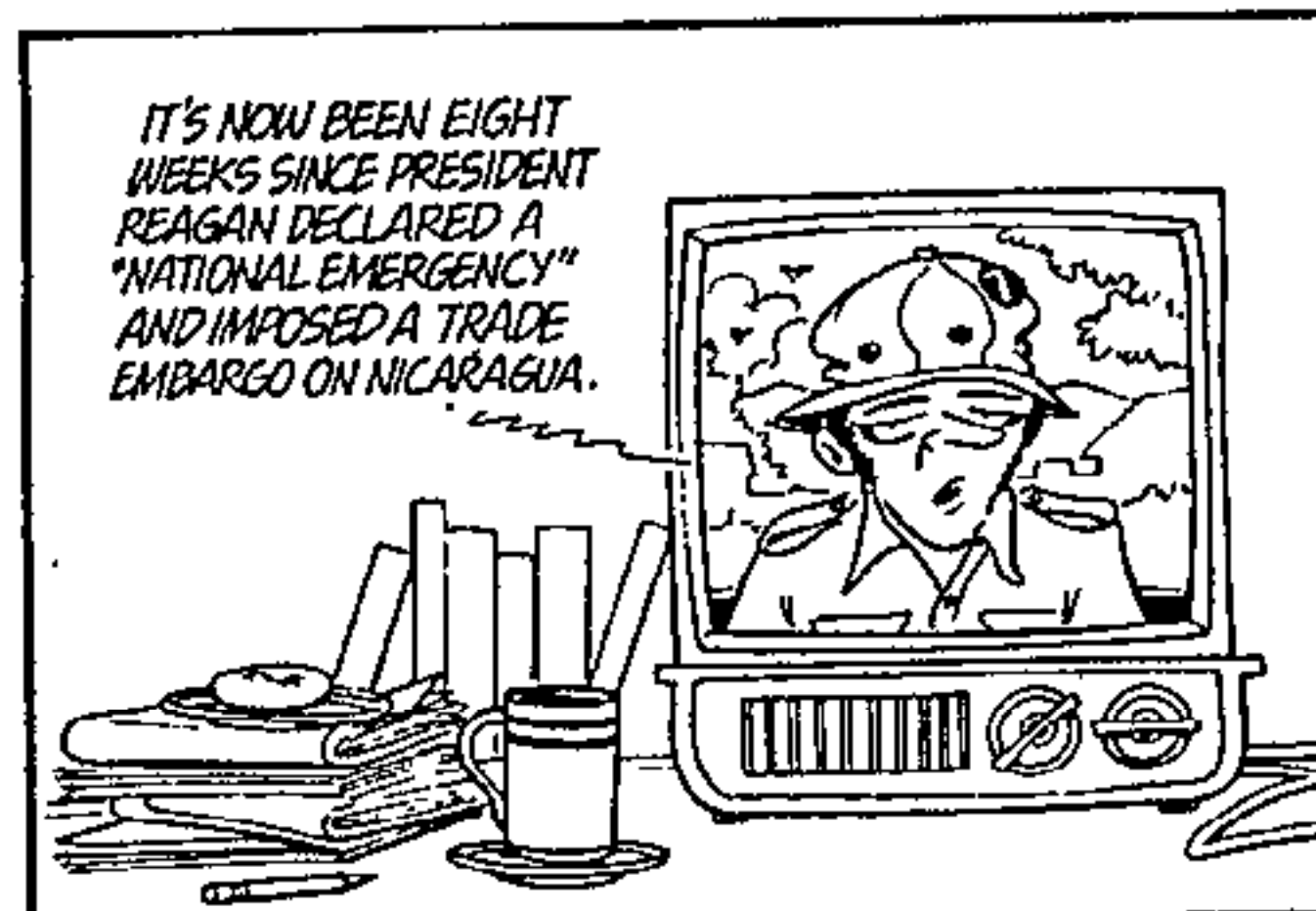
"I use Sun City as a kind of symbol for the oppression that's going on in South Africa", Van Zandt told the New Musical Express. "It's like an oasis of gambling and decadence right in the middle of all this starvation".

Van Zandt is likely to be somewhat embarrassed by Ella Mental's decision to proceed with their Sun City gig. He personally produced the group's most recent album while visiting South Africa and will be hard-pressed to explain the band's action to his fellow anti-apartheid campaigners.

On the homefront, Ella Mental vocalist Heather Mac said while she supported the anti-apartheid sentiments of the Sun City songs she would still play at Sun City. "I don't believe that Steve is actually directing it at Sun City", she said. "The people and political heads that he saw while he was out here were purely within the boundaries of our South African state."

## Doonesbury

G. B. TRUDEAU





## JUST JO'BURG

### Force-marched along a pizza-scarred frontline

I WAS fortunate enough recently to be among a group of journalists flown out to meet Dr Jonah Marimba at the secret bush headquarters of the Popular Liberation Army of Yeoville (PLAY).

PLAY, as you know, is the military wing of ARMY (Action Resistance Movement of Yeoville), fighting to free the Democratic Republic of Yeoville (DRY) from the steel grip of the "Marxist-Leninist pro-Moscow puppets" of the ruling Front for the Liberation of Yeoville (FLY) party.

Neither ARMY nor FLY are to be confused with the Front for the Total Liberation of Yeoville (FTLY) universally despised because its acronym doesn't make a word, or the Front for Resistance in Yeoville (FRY), or the Movement for Active Resistance in Yeoville (MARY), or the Yeoville Action Movement (YAM).

A select group of about 500 journalists were ferried over rough, dense terrain to the guerrilla leader's base, "Mamma's", in Yeoville's oil-rich enclave of Bellevue, where Dr Marimba provided a show of military strength which has already been widely reported on.

Also, on show were foreign workers captured by PLAY and force-marched the length of Rockey Street to Mamma's to avoid enemy patrols.

However, I alone was lucky enough to get hold of Dr Marimba, and obtain this exclusive (no-one else really wanted to speak to him) interview:

Me: Hello.

Marimba: I'm sorry, comrade, but the duty to the people calls me away ... What? Ah, money ... well, in that case ...

Dr Marimba, can you elucidate your political philosophy?

No.

I mean, can you give me some idea of your political programme?

Yes, of course. Basically, I er, we want to wrest power from the totally unrepresentative, undemocratic, oppressive pro-Moscow communist-backed economically ruinous regime.

And restore it to the people?

Naturally. Or me. Whichever comes first, I'm not fussy. (Don't write that down, will you?)

How powerful are the forces of the DRY, backed as they are by Cuban troops and Russian weapons?

Well, as you know, the DRY's poorly-motivated army — not my ARMY, ha ha — is aided by the Russians, the Cubans, the Devil incarnate, and contingents of reinforcements now and then from the People's Republic of Crown Mines. We, on the other hand, rely solely on the support of the people. Nevertheless we have scored many impressive victories lately. Why, only the other week PLAY guerrillas engaged an enemy armoured column, killing at least 30-million of the enemy's troops, and destroying 400 tanks, 3 000 troop carriers, 600 trucks, and capturing an enemy aircraft carrier. And all for the loss of only three of our own men!

Aren't those figures somewhat ... large?

Oh, it's difficult to be accurate in estimating enemy casualties in the field, but I think we're more or less on safe ground.

But the head count is more than the population of the entire country!

Oh, all right, I was lying. (Don't write that down, okay). This is Yeoville, after all, but don't tell anyone, especially the Sunday papers. Hold on a second. Yours was the Four Seasons pizza, right?

Yes. Dr Marimba, just what is your political programme?

Well, I want to break the hegemony of the present government in the creation of acronyms, for a start.

You seemed to be doing OK already, on that score. What else?

Well, basically we want free designer drugs for all Yeoville residents, except the aged, for whom we want free euthanasia, we want free enterprise, which means vast bribes for myself and my ministers, and we want to put back the trendiness into Rockey Street.

Wow. Quite a programme! But what are you actually going to do to achieve this?

Nothing. (But don't write that down)

Nothing?

Nothing, this is Yeoville. We're going to hold a whole series of unnecessary meetings, and set up an endless string of committees to infinitely debate trivial matters in as intellectual and obscurantist a manner as possible.

Are you serious?

Yes, why should the Left have a monopoly on these things?

Oh.

Yes, and we'll have lots of divisiveness and petty politicking, as well...

Dr Marimba, to move on to other matters, some have suggested that you are a creation of the Western media, not to mention a power-crazed megalomaniac and useful tool of foreign powers in sowing discord, destabilising the territory etc. How do you react to this?

What is your last wish before the firing squad arrives? Ha ha, I'm only joking. (Don't write that down). Look, these ridiculous lies and smears are put about by the agents of the regime and their supporters. They even say I plunder the natural riches of the territory to obtain money for my struggle.

Do you?

No! Absolutely not. You wouldn't like to buy an elephant tusk, would you? Ha ha. But seriously, I get a lot of "humanitarian aid" from the SA Defence Force and other interested parties.

What form does the humanitarian aid take?

Oh, the usual guns, bullets, bazookas, armoured cars, tanks, and brigade or two of troops, ha ha. (Don't write that down).

Well, thank you Dr Marimba for the insight into your plans and problems.

Not at all, by the way, you owe me for the pizza. (Hey, you haven't written any of this down, have you?)

Reg Rumney

# Self-laceration time is near for Labour

The Tories are in trouble. But Labour is unable to move onto the offensive, torn as it is between those in the party who wish they'd never heard the word 'socialism', and those who want a lot more of it. GRAHAM WATTS reports from London

WITH Margaret Thatcher's Tory government more unpopular in the polls than at any time since it came to power in 1979, one would expect the Labour Party to be full of optimism at its annual conference in Bournemouth next week.

Not so: in the self-lacerating tradition of the left in Britain, Labour Party members will simply maul each other in public for a few days instead of in private.

Little wonder the party's deputy leader, Roy Hattersley, commenting on its chances of being elected next time, could muster only: "I now genuinely believe we well may be."

Well may the Social Democratic/Liberal alliance, too, or a coalition government between them and the Conservatives. Even Thatcher well may be.

Indeed, it is precisely the question of how to turn this opportunity, probably less than two years away, into a Labour success story, rather than another abysmal performance, that has become both the cause and the effect of new divisions in the Labour movement in Britain.

For some, particularly on the right of the party, that means finding a solid middle ground that won't offend what they see as a conservative electorate. Most of them not only think the party shouldn't even use the word socialism because it has certain negative associations, but also frequently hope in that way to get socialism off the policy agenda altogether.

At the other extreme are the ultra-leftists, mostly Trotskyist, who adopt purist positions and often yell "traitor of the working class" at people whose ideas they don't like. They think Labour shouldn't win an election anyway unless it has their brand of socialism to offer the country, so they noisily oppose everyone else, especially other leftists.

One such traitor of the working class is Ken Livingstone, leader of the soon-to-be-abolished Greater London Council (GLC).

Livingstone recalls the student revolutionaries he met in California in the sixties who told him then that they would vote for Ronald Reagan as governor because that would precipitate a revolutionary situation: "I've always wanted to meet them since," he says.

Livingstone is equally dismissive of the right who want to revitalise welfare state capitalism, not tampering with the market but redistributing its product. He reiterates the view of leading leftwing MP and former Labour cabinet Minister Tony Benn that "the crisis of capitalism ought to be seen as an argument for a move to socialism, not a reason for postponing it".

Yet Livingstone is a leading figure in the emergence of a new New Left that some have called Benn without



The man Fleet Street loves to hate: Ken Livingstone as portrayed in the British press.

Bennism, because they are carrying forward Benn's radical socialist views without challenging the leadership itself.

Livingstone is joined by several other respected and popular figures, including Sheffield's council leader, David Blunkett, and a man well known in rugby circles around the world, especially in South Africa, Peter Hain.

There are probably two myths about these men that would be well disposed of before anything is said of their goals: firstly that they are loud, red firebrands who wave their arms around when they make demagogic speeches intimidating non-leftists in the party; and secondly, that they are in the minority.

It is reckoned that after the next election, barring some serious unforeseen setback, there will be 120 new Labour MPs. A majority, which is likely then to include Livingstone, Blunkett and Hain, will be on the left of the party. Blunkett is already on the National Executive Committee as are a number of like-thinkers.

Secondly, all three are quiet and deliberately humble men in a way that old-style politicians would have considered a handicap but which, given their supporters, is an advantage. Blunkett is blind and is accompanied everywhere by his guide dog.

Being a nice guy is seldom an advantage in politics, as Michael Foot will testify, so what is it about this left, which Livingstone calls the participatory left, that makes it distinctive and attractive in the party and which its adherents believe will win an election?

At the heart of it all is the bitterest imaginable leftwing equivalent of the argument over Darwin's "Origin of Species".

Those in the know call it dethroning the working class — the recognition (or revisionist obfuscation, depending on whose side you're on) that the traditional notion of the skilled manual worker as the historically-appointed agent of socialism is today without foundation.

It's the London taxi-driver syndrome: let him start talking in that delightful working class accent and you won't hear delightful working class solidarity. There's no end of difficulty trying to win the vote for socialism of a man who owns his

home, hates Argies and thinks the Paddies should be lined up and shot along with the bleeding Pope, gives his wife a smack when she steps out of line and thinks Arthur Scargill and the Russkies are planning to take over decent British trade unions which should be doing no more than representing their members in wage negotiations.

On the other hand, all manner of people who willingly vote for socialism are not exclusively male skilled manual workers — CND members, feminists, gay people, Asian shopkeepers, black lawyers, young punks, many of whom fall into more than one of these categories.

But wait, says the more orthodox left. Once engaged in struggle, the traditionally defined working class sheds its loony right attitudes and adopts truly socialist principles when it makes the connection between capitalism, its own oppression and that of minorities and others. Stick with the workers.

This is certainly borne out of many of the experiences of the miners' strike last year: it was not uncommon for striking miners to travel across the country to address gay rights groups or for miners' wives to join anti-racist marches of Asian immigrants. It was all probably the most radicalising educational extravaganza seen in modern Britain.

That's where the participatory left comes in: radical politics, they say, involves putting all that together during a campaign and, above all, while in government.

They call it campaigning government, modelled on the campaigning GLC of Ken Livingstone, which not only helped establish gay advice centres, as the world was dutifully informed by an outraged Fleet Street, but saved and created thousands of jobs more efficiently and seven times more economically than the central government's regional job creation programme.

The strategy is to concentrate on political mobilisation rather than industrial action as a vehicle for change, not least because strikes can be long and destructive to entire communities.

When the party tears itself apart in Bournemouth next week over the miners' strike, it will ultimately be doing so over these things.

## MOTHER GOOSE AND GRIMM





3/12/48  
AWB offers to 'help'

From RIAAN SMIT  
STELLENBOSCH —  
The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is available to help maintain law and order in Cape Town, its leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche told 1200 people at a rowdy meeting in the Town Hall here last night.

He praised police and army action on the Cape Flats. "They are combating the worst imaginable destruction, murder and rape," he said.

Amid catcalls and jeering, Mr Terre-Blanche called for an own "Boer republic" where the "Boer nation" could govern itself. He

said the nation was God's chosen people who had a mission in black Africa.

He added that the "Boer nation" would never give blacks a share in the governing of the Transvaal and the Free State.

"English people are clowns because they do not form a coherent nation. They can only be part of the 'Boer nation' if they identify with the history and purpose of this nation," he said.

After being shouted down repeatedly he said the intolerance of "international liberals" was evident from "this crowd."



# Botha slammed over Group Act

304A

E. Post

03/10/85

By DIRK VAN ZYL  
Political Correspondent

THE strong support expressed yesterday by the State President, Mr P W Botha, for the retention of the Group Areas Act was today slammed by the official Opposition.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, PFP MP for Green Point and a senior member of the party's Constitutional Development and Planning study group, today labelled Mr Botha's action at the Cape congress of the National Party as "ridiculous".

He said the Group Areas Act had been identified by many commentators and by a Human Sciences Research Council investigation as "the

most hurtful discriminatory Act on the South African statute book".

Supporting a resolution yesterday that the Group Areas Act "remain unchanged", Mr Botha said all population groups had the right to human dignity, and it was not discriminatory to give protection to Indian, coloured and black groups "in their own areas".

Mr Botha in effect slapped down two verligte delegates who had spoken in favour of the scrapping of the Act and associated himself "wholeheartedly" with the resolution in favour of its retention.

Mr Van der Merwe said today that any reform

process in South Africa that did not include the scrapping of Group Areas would be "virtually meaningless in the current political climate".

Mr Botha had to choose between "the racial bigots in his own party on the one hand and a peaceful future based on racial justice. In this instance he has obviously chosen the former."

Mr Van der Merwe said Mr Botha's contention that the Group Areas Act was not discriminatory was ridiculous. "It's an Act put on the statute books for the benefit of whites and whites only, and has been administered as such".

Mr Van der Merwe

quoted figures to prove his point.

From the inception of the original Group Areas Act in 1950 up to 1982, 81 948 coloured families had been forced to move from their homes, 39 485 Indian families and only 2 285 white families.

● The chairman of the House of Representatives Ministers' Council and leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, was not available for comment today as he was attending a Cabinet meeting in Pretoria.

The LP is strongly opposed to the Group Areas Act.

● Editorial comment  
— Page 12



# A look at the human side of P W Botha

STAFF

President Botha has a number of interesting anniversaries coming up. He has just been elected leader of the Cape National Party for the 20th time.

In just over three months from now he turns 70. And next year he will have completed 50 years of political life.

Many people might use a confluence of such numbers to take the opportunity to retire, secure in the knowledge that few could have achieved such heights in public life. But there is no indication that Mr Botha has even thought of retiring.

At close on 70 he looks fit and relaxed, and he has made it known that while it would be nice to see out his days in the company of his children and grandchildren, he badly wants to see his plans and reforms bear fruit.

He has done more than any other Nationalist leader to secure the rights of other population groups, he told the Cape National Party congress party this week. That is true. South Africa has come a very long way since Pieter Willem Botha took over the reins of government as Prime Minister just over seven years ago.

But then he has also had to contend with more serious crises than any of his modern predecessors. Throughout them all, publicly at least, and to the chagrin of so many of his opponents at home and abroad, Mr Botha has never been flustered or hurried — but nor has he been stoppable.

The many decades of political experience and powerful leadership have shaped a tough character who, in the words of one close to him, does things in his own way and in his own time.

Nearing his 70th birthday, President P W Botha will next year have completed 50 years of political life. He has no thoughts of retiring. He wants to see his reforms bear fruit. At the Cape congress of the National Party this week, he gave some rare glimpses of the human side of his personality. *The Star's* Political Correspondent, DAVID BRAUN, reports.

Thus in this year of enormous pressure and change for South Africa, P W Botha has adhered to his reform timetable regardless of what anyone else threatens or says.

He set out certain guidelines and principles when he opened Parliament on January 25, then he consolidated those and others he made in subsequent parliamentary speeches when he opened this year's National Party Natal congress.

As the congress season ground on, he made further announcements and then, finally, at this week's Cape congress, he committed the Government to the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise.

Throughout this year, when the Conservative Party and others on the political Right made blatant overtures to the electoral power base of the National Party by portraying every reform step as a sell-out of the white man, Mr Botha has reiterated that the party must adapt to changing circumstances and lead the way to white security.

And when those to the Left, including the most powerful countries in the world, threatened and cajoled

for faster and more reform, he said no one would prescribe how and what should be done.

This week saw Mr Botha back at his power-base, the provincial party in which he worked his way up over the last half century — from a young organiser.

His 20th term as leader was greeted with an enthusiastic standing ovation.

"We don't just talk of loyalty to our leader here," said Mr Chris Heunis, the NP Cape chairman. "We talk of our love."

Mr Botha was present throughout the three-day congress, mingling with delegates or, in the words of one journalist, surveying his brood like a self-satisfied mother hen.

Journalists know the President to be cantankerous in his personal dealings with the media.

His pointed smirk in the direction of the media table when an English-speaking woman delegate told the Cape congress that English-speaking South Africans were questioning the political acumen of English newspapers, was not lost on the newsmen.

But when it came to dealing with his people, the President was charming and even humble.

One elderly delegate greeted him as "old P W", and the leader stopped to chat about the weather. He went on a "walk-about" in the congress hall and drank tea with the rank-and-file.

The man who holds sway over the lives of so many millions, who preoccupies major governments and the United Nations and invokes so much emotional rhetoric at home, seemed such an ordinary, pleasant fellow.



**LP to**  
**discuss**  
E. POST  
**Group**  
04/10/85  
**Areas?**

Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party is to hold a regional conference in Uitenhage tomorrow at which all four of its 'House of Representatives' Ministers are to speak.

The party's Leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Allan Hendrickse, is to address a public rally at 2.30pm on Sunday.

He is expected to deal strongly with the support expressed this week by the State President, Mr P W Botha, for the retention of the Group Areas Act, to which the LP is intractably opposed.

Both the conference and the rally will take place in the Allanridge Centre, Uitenhage.



The politics of half-a-loaf is better than no bread have become a thing of the past

There could be many whites who do not understand why blacks are rejecting an offer by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to be included in the President's Council.

Questions, such as: "Didn't they ask to have a say in the decision-making machinery of this country?", could be asked in conversations of those who think Mr Botha's offer is the best deal that blacks could have expected.

Some could be thinking that blacks are fastidious and others, that they do not know what they want. Both are wrong.

The rejection of the President's Council when it was incepted had nothing to do with whether or not blacks were included in it.

It was rejected, because it made it clear that any Government-created institution, from community councils, bantustan governments, management committees and the lot, were unacceptable to blacks.

Various types of campaigns have been launched in which voters and candidates were called upon to boycott the institutions and allow them to collapse.

Those who were already serving in them, were asked to resign. Some did and others refused. Some of those who refused, have paid heavily for their refusal. They have been stoned to death. And set alight.

The survivors are living in fear for their lives. Their houses are stoned. And sometimes petrol-bombed.

### Willing

Mr Botha said: "I am willing to consider the structuring and functions of the President's Council to make provisions for their participation."

The UDF saw Mr Botha's stance as highly patronising. They said Mr Botha's cause blacks did not think it was going to answer their political problems — a toothless

bulldog, as Bishop Desmond Tutu described it.

Azapo and the UDF Botha showed a total contempt for the feelings and aspirations of blacks.

They asked "How can he prescribe solu-

By SAM MABE

tions for us without our consent or our involvement?"

PFP leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, rightly said that any constitutional dispensation that is proposed unilaterally, will stand no chance of acceptance among blacks.

### Proposals

The President's Council will only allow blacks to make proposals to the Government. The ultimate power will still reside in the white Government.

Mr Botha said any constitution would have to take into account the multicultural nature of the population and that minorities would have to be protected.

It cannot be denied that there are many cultural and ethnic differences among the people of South Africa. These differences, though no cause of friction, have been exploited and in most cases, exaggerated in an attempt to split the

# Why PW's offer is rejected

## FOCUS

black nation.

The differences were used to create the bantustans which have now deprived blacks of their South African citizenship. Because of such an experience, blacks will not tolerate a constitution that will draw any ethnic, racial or cultural differences.

Blacks believe that in a democratic South Africa, everybody who owes his loyalty to Africa, will be accepted as an African and treated as such.

### Problems

Mr Botha has spoken of units which will be recognised on a group basis and that each group will have autonomy on matters that affect only that unit.

By units the Government means ethnic groups. Bantustans will still be operative and blacks will exercise their political rights there. This does not take blacks any further than they have always been

But even if it were not for the shortfalls that are inherent in Mr Botha's constitutional dispensation, he would still face serious problems in trying to sell his deal to blacks.

Nowadays, blacks are no longer questioning what the Government does, they are questioning the Government's right to do it.

And whether rightly or wrongly, they do not consider themselves to be at the mercy of the Government to allow them to determine their future role in the politics of South Africa.

What they believe to be their right to self-determination, is what they are committed to defending, even at the cost of their own lives.

The politics of half-a-loaf is better than no bread have become a thing of the past.

Judging from what has been happening in South Africa since 1976, it would seem that the National Party Govern-

ment will never satisfy the political aspirations of blacks. Not even the PFF or any other white government.

There seems to be only one mandate that Mr Botha is sure to get from Azapo, UDF, ANC and the PAC — that is to call elections at which even South African will be eligible to vote and to stand as a candidate.



PW BOTHA



# Apartheid protests are sweeping the US

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Marches, vigils, religious services and solemn processions are to be held across the United States this weekend in the biggest nationwide anti-apartheid protest yet held.

Billed as a "national day of mourning", the observances mark the latest wave of criticism of South Africa which is now sweeping the US.

The protests were called by New York's Mayor, Mr Ed Koch, and Mr Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

In New York, a march down Fifth Avenue to St Patrick's Cathedral will be led by the mayor and Mr Hooks, accompanied by comedian Robin Williams.

"We're trying to send a message throughout the country and the world to let the South African Government know that apartheid must stop," said Mr Jim Harding, special adviser to Mr Koch.

Among other observances  
● An early Sunday evening march in Los Angeles.

● Services are planned in St Louis Cathedral, New Orleans.  
● A rally at the John F Kennedy memorial, Dallas.

● In one of many similar events planned in scores of small towns, the citizens of Hannibal, Missouri, will march from the town's courthouse with arms linked.

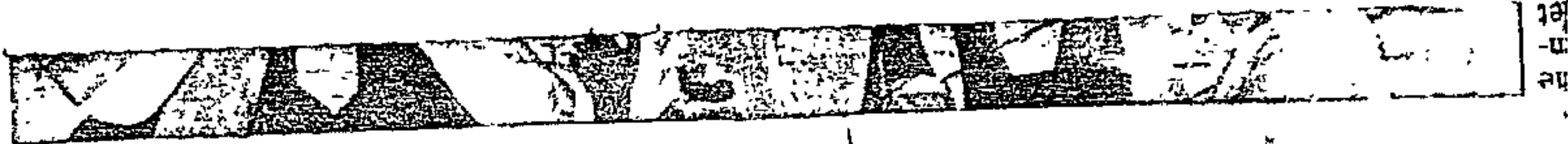
## Aircraft inspection ordered

WASHINGTON — Federal regulators yesterday ordered American airline companies to inspect their older Boeing 727 aircraft for possible cracks in a rear bulkhead.

The Federal Aviation Administration, which regulates the commercial aviation industry, said it ordered the special in-

spections after finding cracks in the rear bulkhead of two airplanes.

Cracks or possibly a faulty repair in a similar bulkhead are among the suspected causes of the August 12 crash of a Japan Air Lines Boeing 747 which killed all but four of the 524 people on board. — Sapa-Reuter.





# Send out a signal, SA is urged

by  
Ramsay Milne,  
The Star Bureau

304A

STAR

NEW YORK — The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, has urged the South African Government to "send out a signal" of its willingness to engage in the search for a political compromise with blacks.

In the strongest call yet made for South Africa to negotiate with its black leaders, he called on the Government to free Nelson Mandela and to agree to open negotiations with him and the outlawed African National Congress.

Mr Shultz said that by such action South

Africa would be sending a signal of its willingness to engage in the search for a political compromise.

"That would be a huge event for the South African Government to do," he said. "It would be traumatic for them."

The Government has repeatedly stated it will not negotiate with any group that believes in violence as a means of achieving political change.

"Apartheid is through," Mr Shultz said in an interview with senior editorial members of the influential *New York Times*, including its publisher, Mr Ochs Sulzberger.

"It is not only wrong in our view but, at least in my judgment, it is over. It can't last," Mr Shultz said.



# Group Areas Act must go, says LP

Weekend Post Reporter  
THE deputy leader of the Labour Party M. Miley Richards, MP for Toekomrust, today described the Group Areas Act as a luxury that must go.

He was delivering the opening address at the LP's Eastern Cape Regional Congress in the Allanridge Community Centre in Uitenhage.

More than 100 delegates

from about 45 LP branches attended the event, including LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and House of Representatives Ministers and MPs.

Mr Richards said he had no doubt in his mind that State President P W Botha was serious when he talked about reform.

"We cannot afford the luxury of Group Areas anymore," he said.

"All apartheid legislation must go if we want to justify our participation in the new dispensation."

He referred to the "snarles that are around us" and said they must go, as they are a monument to oppression.

Mr Richards referred to certain clergymen and imams — Muslim priests — whom he said should be exposed.

"The Boesaks have no further role in politics," he said.

Some imams, he said, had said oppression was violent and therefore should be violently destroyed.

Mr Richards said a violent action in a "no win situation" was a sin.

Such clergymen and imams could not be allowed to lead "our people" to self-destruction.

"We have a role to play to expose these people," he said.

Mr Richards referred to leaders who were "in love with violence" and said their children were comfortably in white schools while telling "our children" to boycott.

"Education is going to be the key to the success of the future of South Africa," he said.



# Rhetoric has pulled NP across the Rubicon

304A  
K. Post  
05/10/85

THE National Party has committed itself to the sloganeering of reform and to its rhetoric to such an extent that there can be no turning back for the party.

In this sense it has indeed crossed its Rubicon.

This much has been underscored conclusively by the NP's 1985 congress season which ended with the Cape National Party congress in Port Elizabeth this week.

But it is equally clear the party has yet to come to grips with the dismantling of real apartheid as it affects its victims — the man in the street with a skin other than white.

The scrapping this year of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act were symbolically important, and this was duly acknowledged, with a slap on the back, by delegates at the NP's four provincial congresses this year.

And on constitutional matters the State President and NP leader, Mr P W Botha, signalled a vital philosophical break from old-style Verwoerdian apartheid with his enunciation, started at the Free State congress and completed at the Cape one this week with these words:

"I thus finally confirm that my party and I are committed to the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise, but within structures chosen by South Africans, not within structures prescribed from abroad or that are perhaps successful elsewhere in the world."

Mr Botha, although therefore conclusively signalling his rejection of the



Mr P W BOTHA at the Cape NP congress.

South African Verwoerdian dream (that there would be no black South Africans), largely remains, as appeared also from other parts of his speech on Monday, committed to the Nationalist concept of racially-based constitutional structuring, and ordering of matters in general.

This will remain a stumbling block to getting credible black leaders to the negotiating table and somewhat undercuts the Nationalist leadership's other oft-used current slogan that the agenda for negotiation is "open," with the only pre-condition for

potential participants being that they renounce violence as a political strategy for change.

The "open agenda" idea was also somewhat devastatingly undercut on Wednesday with a reply — surprising to a number of observers for its timing and the forcefulness with which it was done — of President Botha to a debate on the merits of the Group Areas Act.

While many would have expected Mr Botha to at least obfuscate the issue, specially after his hope-engendering reformist speech on Monday night, on the

lines that "let's not take a firm stance on this issue as it is under investigation", he in fact, in an almost petulant, impulsive way, dug in his heels on the matter.

"I associate myself wholeheartedly with this resolution," said Mr Botha, undoing much of the good he may have done with the strong reformist signal he sent to the world with his Monday speech.

The resolution, proposed by four NP branches, supported the repeal this year of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, but requested that:

- The implementation of their scrapping should not change "the continued social, educational and constitutional structuring of own communities".

- The House of Assembly, white residential areas and schools remain white.

- The Group Areas Act remain unchanged.

In the prelude to his "wholehearted support" for this resolution, Mr Botha pointed out that the Act had been referred to the President's Council, but with the pre-condition that separate "own" residential group areas remained non-negotiable.

By DIRK VAN ZYL  
Political Correspondent

A number of observers pointed out that the Group Areas Act was one of the most hurtful on the statute book to people of colour, making Mr Botha's performance the more astonishing in the much-vaunted "reformist" political climate of today.

One explanation offered by a long-standing delegate to the NP congress was that President Botha had received signals from his troops in the field for the Vryburg, Sasolburg, Bethlehem, Port Natal and Springs October 30 parliamentary by-elections they needed some powerful ammunition to ward off the right-wing threat.

The Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties are doing their level best to capitalise on an argument that the NP is "selling out the white man on apartheid".

But this would amount to a display of petty party politics by Mr Botha, and not the statesmanship one would expect from a Head of State, specially in these troubled times.

Other observers point out that Mr Botha has never, in fact, indicated that he favours the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, or for that matter, the cornerstone Population Registration Act, without which the whole apartheid edifice would collapse.

If you don't racially classify people in the first place, you can't apply any

racially-based laws, can you?

Be that as it may, the unquestioned dominance with which President Botha bestrode the four NP congresses underlined the power of the executive presidency, and, politically, of Mr Botha in his own overriding power base, the NP.

His congress speeches were covered by a big representation of the international and local political Press corps, and he set the tone of the gatherings.

Once President Botha had spoken, one felt, that was largely it, as far as any further important constitutional announcements at these occasions were concerned.

There was not much new his underlings would — or could — say for the moment on top constitutional matters.

A comparison of the two biggest NP congresses — those in the Transvaal and the Cape — yielded the interesting, and somewhat surprising, observation that the former was decidedly more verlig as far as agenda resolutions and the more important delegate inputs in debates was concerned.

While at the Transvaal congress, for instance, one got the impression at times that the leadership was a step or two behind some of the more voluble delegates as regards the detail and pace of reform, the opposite applied at the Cape congress.

Here the leadership was either to a large extent in tune with conservative motions (such as President Botha on Group Areas) or had to in fact, like Law and Order Minister Mr Louis Le Grange, put the finger on the dyke of a dam of verkrampste motions.

Mr Le Grange defended the Government's appointment of the Kammeyer Commission of Inquiry into the March 21 Langa shootings against a number of resolutions asking that inquiries into such incidents should be held departmentally, and in camera, so as not to "show up the police in a poor light".

An explanation, supported by a number of delegates and observers spoke to, for the Transvaal NP appearing more verlig at the Cape formation is that the Transvaal has been more effectively and definitively "purged" of the "CP element".

The Cape is still very much "PW country", with NP members hesitant to leave the party.

With the main political parties' 1985 congresses now complete (the Labour Party is scheduled to hold its national one in Cape Town early in January next year) the focus of political attention will for the rest of the year largely turn to executive Government actions from Pretoria, and extra-parliamentary activities locally and internationally.

And the October 30 by-elections will provide a significant pointer to the state of play in white party politics.



# Labour aims to tackle racial Acts

By DIRK VAN ZYL  
Political Reporter

THE Labour Party has earmarked the Separate Amenities Act as the next major target in its anti-apartheid campaign.

And a speedy repeal of influx control laws will also receive the party's concerted attention during the next Parliamentary session, due to start in January.

This was said to the Weekend Post by a top party source in an interview yesterday afternoon.

He indicated that the party's strategy would remain to tackle racial laws one by one on a realistic basis. **304A**

It would, for instance, he pointed out, be unrealistic of the LP at this stage to go for "such a core pillar" of apartheid as the Population Registration Act (which racially classifies South Africans). **W. Post**

During the past Parliamentary session the LP claimed much of the credit for the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act. **05/10/85**

Although the repeal of these laws did not have as major an effect on the man in the street, who is a victim of apartheid, as would for instance the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, the steps were seen as symbolically very important in the fight against apartheid.

The LP leader, Mr Allan Hendrikse, is expected to give a strong reply at a public rally in Uitenhage tomorrow afternoon to the support expressed this week by President P W Botha for the Group Areas Act.

The LP has always been intractably opposed to the Act, which has hurt the coloured community over the past 35 years more than any other.

● During the past Parliamentary session, the MP for Addo, Mr Peter Hendrikse, said in a debate that he intended defying the Separate Amenities Act this summer by swimming at one of the major PE "whites-only" beaches.



# Major change in Nat thinking

3044

by David Braun,  
Political Correspondent 5/10/85

STAR

Two significant developments on the reform front this week were the announcement of the possible appointment of blacks to the President's Council and a clear hint that the Government was leaning towards a confederal model of power-sharing.

President Botha told the Cape National Party congress in Port Elizabeth that if the need existed among black leaders to take part in the President's Council — in investigations and the submission of proposals — he would be willing to consider the structuring and the functions of the council to provide for their participation.

Between the carefully worded lines Mr Botha, for the first time, was offering blacks a political say at central government level.

Black and opposition reaction was that it was "too little too late" and that the Government would have great difficulty in finding any credible black leaders to serve on what would obviously be a watered-down President's Council.

But the step does represent a major change in Government policy and it is an attempt to give the negotiation process a boost.

Various government leaders have despaired of late because too few black moderate leaders have been prepared to come forward for talks on change.

Proof that the decision to include blacks on the President's Council is significant can probably be found in the Conservative Party's claim that the Government has opened the way to put blacks in Parliament.

The National Party is, of course, not contemplating allowing blacks in Parliament and, if it does appoint blacks to the President's Council, that body will be "restructured" so that it will no longer have the function of arbitrating on deadlocked legislation. The Government is planning to move that function to a form of constitutional court which will be composed of the various parliamentary parties.

The new President's Council will then be solely an advisory body with the authority to investigate and make recommendations on matters referred to it by the President or matters which, in its own opinion, it should look into.

The President's Council may become a kind of permanent commission of inquiry, probing and ana-



President Botha... although his offer to include blacks in the President's Council could be "too little too late" it is a fundamental change in NP policy.

lysing a broad range of issues on an ad hoc basis.

The move on the President's Council represents a fundamental shift in Nationalist thinking. It will show blacks something of the process of decision-making affecting all population groups.

The logical extension of this, according to Nationalist thinking, is that blacks will eventually be appointed to the Cabinet and all other executive bodies and committees which make decisions on matters of mutual concern.

The irony is that the Government makes this offer now and did not do so a few years ago when blacks demanded seats on the first advisory President's Council.

It may well be a case of "too little too late" and it will probably be interpreted as meaningless without legislative power.

The resolution of that particular problem is, of course, at the centre of the reform debate.

It is one thing for the Government to create a few

positions for blacks on the President's Council and in the Cabinet but it is quite another to accommodate blacks on a fair and equitable basis in the real instrument of power, the legislature.

This is what the Government wants to work out at the negotiating table. It has accepted that there can be no solution unless it is fair and acceptable to the majority of each population group.

The Government has rejected the "three extreme views" as to how the political aspirations of all groups should be accommodated. These, in its eyes, are: one man, one vote in a unitary state; absolute geographical partition of the various population groups; and continued white domination of everyone else.

Somewhere, somehow there has to be another formula and the solution is not to be found in existing clichéd models, the Government says.

Mr Botha said this week that it was evident that population units would have to be recognised on a geographical and group basis, with each unit having autonomy on matters that affect only that unit, while all the units should jointly manage matters of mutual concern at central level.

This points to a form of race confederation, with the independent national states, the self-governing homelands, the white provincial administrations, the coloured and Indian own affairs administrations and the urban black communities each running their own affairs with maximum autonomy and the whole lot jointly managing the general affairs of state in what could be an immensely complicated system of legislative forums.

There is talk in some Government corridors of rotating the presidency and key Ministries, especially Defence, Law and Order and Foreign Affairs.

Each Ministry could be controlled effectively by a joint council, similar to a parliamentary committee, on which all population groups would be represented.

Such a system sounds unwieldy and would probably be hugely expensive. But a lot of this could be offset by privatising the greater portion of the public service, as the Government plans to do.

But, some argue, whatever the price in terms of money and clumsiness, such a system is worthwhile in terms of checks and balances and the guarantees it holds for each group.

It might also have the advantage of being the most open administration in the world.



'Concept proposed in 1980 and did not work'

# Hendrickse slams alliance bid and PFP

7/10/85 STAR 304A



Mr Allan Hendrickse

UITENHAGE — The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday attacked the Progressive Federal Party and described the proposed Convention Alliance sponsored by the PFP and Inkatha as being "still-born".

Addressing a rally in Uitenhage, Mr Hendrickse said the concept of a Convention Alliance had been proposed at the Labour Party congress in December 1980.

The congress, he said, had been attended by representatives of the Labour Party, the PFP, Black Sash, Inkatha, Transvaal Indian Con-

gress and the Black Consciousness Movement.

"It did not last a year because of the differences in strategy," he said.

In 1968, when the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was passed, the then Progressive

Party had thrown out coloured and Indian members, he said.

He said Labour Party MPs who had been members of the Progressive Party were told when the Act was passed. "Sorry, but you'll have to go."

The PFP, he said, had

criticised the Labour Party decision to participate in the tricameral Parliament.

Now, the PFP had decided to participate.

Mr Hendrickse also attacked churchmen for calling for a stayaway from work on Wednesday

He said the church had to play a role in finding solutions to the country's problems — "but solutions do not lie in making differences".

Mr Hendrickse also stressed the Labour Party wanted to say loudly and emphatically: "To hell with the Group Areas Act."

His statement comes in the wake of a declaration by the State President, Mr P W Botha, that the principle of group areas was a non-negotiable.

Dismissing what he described as the "narrow channeling of people", Mr Hendrickse said: "Either we must learn to live together as people or perish as fools." — Sapa.

## Vow to restore order in schools

PORT ELIZABETH — The Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim, told the Eastern Cape congress of the Labour Party yesterday he would continue to take a hard line in order to re-establish law and order in schools.

And the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, came out in support of Mr Ebrahim, saying the decision to close schools in the Peninsula had not been a "unilateral one"

but had been taken after consultation with leaders of the United Teachers' Association of South Africa.

"Can we sit back when the majority of children who want to go to school are being intimidated? Can we allow our children to be injured?" he asked.

Refuting allegations that he had acted in a "draconian manner", Mr Ebrahim said he would continue to speak out until absolute discipline had been restored. — Sapa.



# Big business spells out its huge concern for SA

pass laws, developing the urban informal sector, rural development...

The overall aim of the above action programme of social, economic and political reforms is to restore confidence in South Africa as a country and to permit it to regain its place among the great democracies of the world.

In the view of South African business the most effective role for foreign interests to play in our country is to latch on to and support constructively the internal processes and developments which are moving irreversibly and under their own power in the direction of real reform.

The business community is committed and has stated so publicly to promote and accelerate the underlying dynamics of change along positive and peaceful lines.

country as expressed through citizenship for all South Africans.

● Ending the forced removal of people.

● Further development of a free and independent trade union movement.

● Full participation of all South Africans in a private enterprise economy and in the political dispensation of the country.

It is clear the South African business community has chosen for itself a role as a positive agent of change in the country. Business is deeply concerned that increasingly violent internal conflict between black and white may become institutionalised in South Africa. Because of the strength and numbers on both sides violence cannot resolve this confrontation at all...

The traditional "business way of life" — the private enterprise system itself — is fundamentally at stake... If South Africa's people lose control over the process of change, either white or black dominated authoritarianism will result... It is now simply a fact that the South African economy has become much too large to be managed by whites alone. In their own self-interest business must get involved with black advancement

... In dynamic terms an unstoppable process of transformation is occurring in South Africa which is mainly driven by black aspirations

The object of this statement, made on behalf of leading employer organisations in South Africa, representing the great majority of black and white enterprise in commerce and industry, is to outline the positive and effective role being played by organised business to promote and accelerate the process of change in the country, so as to realise the legitimate aspirations of all black South Africans and to effect the removal of discrimination based on race, colour, creed or sex. — From a joint statement by Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Association of Chambers of Commerce, National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce, Federated Chamber of Industries and the Urban Foundation. The article below contains more edited extracts of the statement that recently was submitted to the United Nations hearings on transitional corporations in South Africa.

There is a need for international business to continue their positive contribution to South Africa's development efforts and particularly in the area of black advancement where they have played a significant and leading role.

The leading employer organisations in South Africa have on various occasions during the past year committed themselves publicly to an on-going process of economic and political reform, a number of critical issues being explicitly identified, including:

● A common loyalty to the



# LP leader hits out at Group Areas Act

07/10/85 E. POST 304A

Post Reporter

PEOPLE had a right to live where they chose, the Leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, told a large crowd yesterday

Mr Hendrickse who is chairman of the Ministers Council and a member of the Cabinet, was speaking at a Labour Party rally in the Allanridge Community Centre, Uitenhage.

Mr Hendrickse said the Group Areas Act, a narrow channelling of people, "must go to hell".

More than 80 000 coloured families had been uprooted because of the Act

If there was one group of the South African population that should be bitter about the whole question of uprooting, he said, it should be this section

Mr Hendrickse said while the party did not want to spend its time lamenting about the disposessions of the past "we want to say that while we can forgive we cannot forget".

Mr Hendricks referred to the removal of coloured families from

South End, Port Elizabeth, and District Six in Cape Town

"We either learn to live together or we perish as fools," he said

Mr Hendrickse urged the people not to heed the call to stay away from work on Wednesday

The stayaway, he said, had been called by people who would not be personally affected

He also criticised the Progressive Federal Party.

"The PFP can do nothing for you," he said

"The Labour Party has had members of all South Africans since its inception."

Mr Hendrickse said the future lay in "one man one vote".

The Labour Party, he said, was dedicated to the whole question of non-violent change in South Africa

Some people would accuse those in the Labour Party of being "sell-outs". But the Labour Party would remain steadfast in the struggle for freedom for all South Africans he said



# CP leads in Port Natal election postal votes

Ormande Pollok  
Political Correspondent

THE first round in the Port Natal by-election appears to be going to the Conservative Party's candidate, Mr Pat Mohr.

With the first issue of postal vote ballots tomorrow, the CP has lodged close to 700 applications.

Bringing up the rear is the New Republic Party's Dr Rouen Smit with six.

Surprisingly, late yesterday the Progressive Federal Party, represented by Mr Warren Burne, had lodged the second-largest number of applications, close to 500 and about 50 more than the National Party's provincial leader and Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Independent candidate Mr Dave McNaught is well ahead of the NRP, for which he once stood in the seat. It appears that promises by NRP

supporters to vote for him in the by-election are holding good.

The CP has been highly active in the constituency for some time and is believed to be concentrating on dissatisfied rail workers.

The PFP appears to be doing better than expected, never having fought the seat in the past.

The NRP predicted that the PFP would come last in the election.

While there is still a long time before postal votes close, the first applications are an interesting barometer of the support and organisations of the various candidates.

Mr Mohr has reacted to the storm which has been provoked by a CP election pamphlet advertising church services by Right-wing leader Prof Carel Boshoff by saying he was amazed at the rumpus. He believed get-

ting more people to go to church was a 'cause for happiness, not dissension'.

Yesterday the number of applications lodged were: CP 666, PFP 497, NP 447, Indep 60, NRP 6.

(Report by O Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)



# about Party to challenge Government on Group Areas Act

# Cabinet

W/C AGC 45  
5/11/84  
30 KA

## Bedevilled human relations

In the House of Representatives earlier this year a Labour Party motion calling for the repeal of this Act and related legislation was vigorously supported by all the party's MPs who spoke in the debate.

One of the main arguments was that the Act was discriminatory, that it had incited race hatred and had bedevilled human relations in South Africa.

Mr Jacobus Oosthuizen, MP for Swartland, who introduced the motion, said: "This Act is a symbol of rejection of people. No other law has caused more heartbreak, misery and suffering... land, houses, businesses, schools and even churches have been taken away from us."

Other comments from Labour Party MPs in the House included:

Mr Samuel Louw (Rust Ter Vaal): "This Act left us filled with mistrust, with grief and sorrow our people had to move out of areas without having anywhere to go. The Group Areas Act has led to a high crime rate. There has been unrest in many areas because of this Act."

Mr Martin Swartz (Upington): "This is the hurtful Act which has uprooted our people and has broken and ruined them, both spiritually and materially. It led to riots, arson and revolutionary elements attempting to reject law and order in our country and fan the fires of violence and revolutionary change. Interfere with a man's home, his wife and children, and he becomes rebellious."

## Fruits of reform

In an outspoken attack on the Group Areas Act recently, Mr Hendrickse warned that his party might have to rethink its participation in the tricameral Parliament if more tangible fruits of reform were not forthcoming.

He called on the Minister of Constitutional Development

## FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

A SERIOUS clash of opinion in the Cabinet is expected to emerge tomorrow when Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, a Cabinet member, spells out at a public meeting his party's condemnation of the Group Areas Act — one of the pillars of apartheid which President Botha says he will not repeal.

Mr Hendrickse is expected to indicate just how deep his dissent is and how far he is prepared to go in challenging the Government and other members of the Cabinet on this issue.

This will be Mr Hendrickse's first reaction to President Botha's defence of one of the most hated apartheid laws at this week's Cape National Party congress and the President's announcement that it will stay on South Africa's statute books.

Mr Hendrickse will speak at a party rally in Plettenberg tomorrow afternoon.

The rally, which will be part of the Labour Party's Eastern Cape regional congress, is expected to be attended by all five coloured Ministers of the House of Representatives and by other MPs and top party officials.

In an interview on the eve of the congress, which begins today, Mr Hendrickse declined to comment on President Botha's state-



The Rev Allan Hendrickse



# Challenge Government on Group Areas Act net clash

W/G ARGU  
S/19/85  
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## Bedevelled human relations

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## Fruits of reform

In an outspoken attack on the Group Areas Act recently, Mr Hendrickse warned that his party might have to rethink its participation in the tricameral Parliament if more tangible fruits of reform were not forthcoming.

He called on the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, to use his influence to stop all evictions under the Group Areas Act and to leave in peace those mixed couples living in white areas.

Mr Hendrickse was quoted as saying the Government was making a "mockery" of its declared reformist policies by continuing to apply Section 12 of the Group Areas Act.

This section makes it illegal for any mixed couple to live in a white area.

When President Botha defended the Group Areas Act at the National Party's Cape congress this week he denied emphatically that it was a discriminatory law. He argued that each racial group was entitled to its own area.

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In an interview on the eve of the congress, which begins today, Mr Hendrickse declined to comment on President Botha's statement but confirmed that he would deal with it in his address tomorrow.

All Mr Hendrickse was prepared to say in the interview was that he still stood by what he had said previously about the Group Areas Act.

The Labour Party has consistently condemned the Group Areas Act and its members have repeatedly called for its repeal along with that of other apartheid laws and practices.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse



# Convention Alliance undaunted by criticism

By Hannes de Wet

STAR  
The steering committee chairman of the National Convention Alliance is undaunted by criticism and forecasts that the alliance is doomed to failure.

"The alliance is not 'still-born' by any means. We are actually getting tremendous reaction from all over the country," Mr Jules Browde said yesterday.

He was reacting to an attack by Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse on the proposed alliance.

8/10/85  
Addressing a rally in Witenhage on Sunday, Mr Hendrickse described the alliance as "still-born" and said his party had proposed a similar concept in 1980. It had not lasted a year because of differences in strategy, he said.

304A  
Yesterday the alliance also came under fire from the Soweto Civic Association (SCA).

## REJECTED

Spokesman Mr Isaac Mogase said the SCA had rejected an invitation to take part in discussions on forming the alliance.

"We cannot support a national convention while our children are daily victims of an occupying army under the state of emergency conditions," he said.

Mr Browde said the alliance would use the next few weeks to approach selected people from all sectors of the community, including churches, trade unions, commerce and industry and political organisations, in order to broaden the base of the steering committee.

"The alliance will only be launched after we have consulted everybody we consider to be important to assure the viability of the alliance," he said.

"The indications are that we will have a very heartening response."



# Govt 'gives with one hand, takes with other'

STAR  
8/10/85

Political Correspondent

304A

pay for a system which only served the interests of the white minority.

The Progressive Federal Party today accused the Government of spending money to relieve the unemployed on one hand while generating the numbers of jobless on the other.

Reacting to the announcement that railway and bus tariffs are soon to rise by a further 10 percent, Mr John Malcomess, the PFP's chief spokesman on transport, said that while the private sector was being forced to cut prices because business was so bad, the SA Transport Services had taken the opportunity to put them up because they were basically a monopoly.

"The result will be higher inflation and the economy will suffer yet again.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

"Food and other prices will rise and further unemployment will result. So while the Government gives money to relieve unemployment with the one hand, it takes it away with the other.

"I very much fear our economy will never come right while we have this Government in power," he said.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday warned that the increase in rail and road transport fares could lead to more social unrest, such as that which occurred in the Vaal Triangle and Eastern Cape townships recently.

Azapo's president, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said South Africa's capitalist system was making black workers

The higher fares would increase the financial burden of the unemployed, said Mr Mkhabela.

"The white bosses and the rulers should be warned of the serious consequences of their greed and wasteful financial policies. The explosions in the Vaal Triangle, Port Elizabeth and other places will be repeated with the consequent cost," he said.

The Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, announced yesterday that rail and road transport fares would be increased by between 10 and 15 percent from November 17.

Mr Schoeman said he was compelled to adjust fares because of circumstances beyond his control.

He blamed the 10 to 15 percent increase in road transport fares on the recent fuel price increase, the weak rand/dollar rate and the cost of tyres.

A 10 percent increase in rail passenger fares, he said, was necessary in view of the rand/dollar exchange rate, the downswing in traffic, the fuel price increase and increases in electricity costs.

Mr Schoeman said electricity and fuel comprised 15 percent of the South African Transport Services' operating expenditure and it was anticipated that it would rise from R980 million to nearly R1 250 million in 1985/86.

SATS, he added, was heading for a financial estimated loss of about R450 million this year.



ARGUS 8/8/85 (304A)

## 4 000 at rally to mark end of 'fast for peace'

Staff Reporter

ABOUT 4 000 people jammed the City Hall last night to attend a peace rally organised by the End Conscription Campaign.

The rally marked the end of a three-week fast by Crossroads doctor and conscientious objector Dr Ivan Toms to protest against the deployment of troops in black townships.

Looking fit and well after 21 days of drinking only water, Dr Toms thanked the hundreds of supporters who visited him during his vigil at St George's Cathedral and those who joined him in his fast.

Among speakers were Mrs Molly Blackburn, PFP MPC for Walmer, Mr Christmas Tinto, UDF regional vice-president, Ms Noma India Mfeketo of the United Women's Organi-

sation and Mr Mike Evans, Western Cape chairman of the ECC. The meeting was chaired by Archbishop Philip Russell.

Dr Toms said that during his fast he realised that "we are called to action".

"Those who are well-off and comfortable must identify with those who are suffering for their beliefs and commitment."

Blowing out a symbolic "fast candle", he said: "As I extinguish this light I hope that in each and everyone a stronger light will grow."

### 300 injured

Dr Toms said he hoped this would inspire a movement for a "free and democratic" South Africa.

While working at the Empilisweni Sacla clinic in Crossroads he and his colleagues had treated more than 300 people injured in police and army action. If he went into the army

he might have to act against the people he had treated.

He said he would never again wear SADF uniform.

Mr Evans, recently released from detention, said security police had told him they were "very concerned" about the ECC's effect on school children and conscriptees, and potential dissent in the armed forces.

"It is not the ECC that is causing dissent but the Defence Force itself and the role it is playing in the townships," Mr Evans said.

Ms Mfeketo said township residents wanted an army that had the interests of all at heart.

Mrs Blackburn detailed a number of atrocities allegedly committed by security forces in the Eastern Cape and demanded to know "at what level they are sanctioned".



# Peace rally speakers applauded by 4 000

By TONY WEAVER  
SPEAKERS calling for the establishment of a society in South Africa based on justice, peace and democracy were given standing ovations by an audience of over 4 000 which packed the City Hall last night.

The huge non-racial crowd at the End Conscription Campaign's Peace Rally overflowed into corridors and hallways and gave conscientious objector Dr Ivan Toms a standing ovation as he ended his 21-day fast for a "just peace".

Tears streamed down his face as he said: "My real thanks to all of you

for being here for support during the fast. We really appreciate ... and then broke down, unable to continue.

Speaking later Dr Toms said that "a three-week fast is as nothing compared to a child dying to the teargas, the beatings".

"As a Christian I am obliged to say no, to say never again will I put on that SADF uniform. To put on that uniform again will be to identify with the apartheid system."

Mr Mike Evans, the ECC chairman who was recently released from security police detention, said it was no longer

a question of reforming the SADF, but of its total abolition in a just society.

## 'No place'

"There is no place for the SADF as presently exists in the peace process. The Defence Force is one of the major obstacles to peace in South Africa."

"The situation that exists in South Africa at the moment is one of civil war. The government has defined the enemy as being the people of South Africa."

The UDF senior vice-president, Mr Christmas Tinto, was given an ovation when he said "the day has gone, night has arrived. They can arrest and detain us under section 29 (of the Internal Security Act) up to 1 000 sections, they can shoot our comrades, the blood of those killed by the army and the police will water the tree of freedom."

## 'Civil war'

A United Women's Organization spokesperson, Ms Noma India Mbeketo, said: "We will only be peaceful when we achieve our goal, a just South Africa."

Mrs Molly Blackburn PFP MPC for Walmer said: "If you are black and living in the Eastern Cape you can honestly say you are living in a state of civil war."

The president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Father Trevor Huddleston, sent a tape-recorded message from London.



Can Times 8/10/85 (306A)

From JOHN  
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — A follow-up meeting between leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) and a "wider group" of South African businessmen is being planned to take place "within a few weeks".

This is disclosed in the latest issue of an influential newsletter by the British authorjournalist Anthony Sampson.

In the same issue the former head of the World Bank, Mr Robert MacNamara, described Anglo-American chief Gavin Relly's initiative in

## New meeting with ANC in a 'few weeks'

meeting ANC leaders in Zambia last month as "superb".

But Mr MacNamara warned that although movement towards fundamental change in South Africa was now irreversible the "level of disorder" was likely to get worse because of the failure by the government to move towards "black participation in

the national political affairs".

"More and more investors are likely to conclude that they would be unwise to put additional foreign exchange at risk in South Africa unless there is a prospective cash flow from the investment which would permit its recovery in a short period of time," Mr MacNamara said.

"If that be the case, then the argument in the United States over disinvestment, or even sanctions, is almost irrelevant," he said.

Praising the Anglo-American initiative to hold talks with the ANC, he urged London and New York bankers to express their concern about the situation in South Africa.

"Should they not say 'Today we are very reluctant to put new funds at risk in that country, but we would take a quite different attitude were the government to move towards a more stable situation by beginning to negotiate with the blacks for their participation in the political process'?"

Mr Sampson reported that international banks remain wary of Pretoria.

While Swiss and German banks were prepared to continue lending to South Africa, American and British banks were now "increasingly worried about the political taint".



# Boraine: PFP 'on shaky ground'

## Political Staff

GROUPS to the left of the Progressive Federal Party would become more and more suspicious of the PFP as it sought to secure the middle ground in South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands, said yesterday.

"The more the PFP seeks to secure the middle ground, rejecting repression on one hand and revolution on the other, the greater will be the onslaught from both left and right," he said in a speech delivered in Bonn, West Germany.

"In particular, those groups on the left who have tradi-

tionally enjoyed good relationships with the PFP will become more and more suspicious and will even become vociferous in their denunciation of the PFP and their course of action.

"In other words, polarization is acute with the government insisting on the narrow choice between 'the armed struggle' on the one hand or support for the government on the other, and those on the extreme left demanding utter and total allegiance from all groups otherwise they are written off as being in bed with the government.

"We stand, therefore, on

very shaky ground but are totally convinced that unless the middle ground is retained, polarization and confrontation will be complete.

"The PFP in the last quarter of a century has demonstrated that it has the talent, the ability, the credibility and the will in the politics of negotiation to play a significant and key role in the power structure leading towards a post-apartheid South Africa." The Convention Alliance had demonstrated that the middle ground of South African politics could play a vital role in dismantling apartheid and

promoting a non-racial democracy.

"In particular, we are going to have to try and influence the Afrikaner establishment on the one hand and left-wing elements such as the UDF on the other.

"Neither is easy to move and it will require enormous courage, wisdom and resource," he said.

"The PFP seeks to be a bridge-builder both within South Africa where the lines of communication have been destroyed by nearly 40 years of Nationalist Government racist rule, and between

South Africa and the international community which understandably grows ever more impatient with the intransigence of the South African Government.

"Whether it be at Crossroads in Cape Town or at the townships of Durban or the dreadful events at Uitenhage, or once again the Cape Flats and black townships in the Cape Peninsula, there is a growing awareness amongst blacks that the PFP is not committed to words and plans and policies but is prepared to live that out in its identity with people under repression."



Dr Alex Boraine



Report alleges torture and executions

9/10/85 STAIR  
304A

# SA human rights concern Amnesty

The Star Bureau  
LONDON — Human rights violations — including imprisonment without trial, torture and executions — in South Africa and Namibia have been reported by Amnesty International.

The human rights organisation's annual report for 1984 expressed concern over reports of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, deaths in detention "under suspicious circumstances", and the death penalty.

Amnesty also received reports of "extra-judicial executions" in Namibia and referred to the activities of Koevoet, the special police counter-insurgency unit.

The organisation reported its concern over human rights violations in other Southern African countries including:

- Angola where Unita was holding civilians not involved in the

conflict, where there were reports of suspected government

opponents, including Unita supporters, being held without trial for periods ranging from six months to nine years, where 30 Unita supporters had been sentenced to death by the government, and where the trials of government opponents were not fair.

- Mozambique where some suspected government opponents had been detained for as long as 10 years, where there were allegations of flogging and torture of political detainees and prisoners suspected of committing economic offences, and where the Mozambican Resistance Movement was reported to be torturing, mutilating and killing prisoners.

- Zimbabwe where there were reports of detentions without trial, torture, and extra-judicial

executions of civilians by government security forces.

- Swaziland where there were reports of arrests of South African refugees and political exiles. Most of the South Africans, some of whom were allegedly tortured or ill-treated, were deported to other countries of asylum but there were reports that several were forcibly returned to South Africa despite fears they might be imprisoned or tortured there.

Amnesty expressed concern over reported human rights violations in Northern Ireland and during the miners' strike in England, over the imprisonment of conscientious objectors to military service in France and Germany, and the marked increase in the number of executions in the United States — 32 since 1977. Amnesty reported that 114 people were executed at Pretoria Central prison in 1984.



# Rajbansi

## challenged 3048 to halt land 3 General takeover

Mercury Reporter

INDIAN farmers who stand to lose more than 4 000 ha of prime land at Inanda, Tongaat and Port Shepstone have challenged Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, to stop the incorporation of their land into KwaZulu.

Following a weekend meeting of affected farmers at Inanda, the Natal Indian Canegrowers' Association also called on Mr Rajbansi to show his teeth and prevent the takeover.

Mr Rajbansi said he could not comment on the challenge, but added that he was prepared to meet affected farmers and the association to discuss their plight.

### Real test 9/10/85

Association vice-president, Mr Yellan Chinsamy, said it would be a real test to see how powerful the House of Delegates was in protecting Indian-owned land.

'Mr Rajbansi must not confuse lower Inanda with the land proposed for incorporation into KwaZulu,' said Mr Chinsamy, adding that Indians had agreed to hand over their land in lower Inanda, but were against moving out of upper Inanda, near Verulam.

Mr Chinsamy said farmers near Hambanathi in Tongaat were also opposed to handing over their land for incorporation into KwaZulu.



# Louw: Provco and City 'at crossroads'

CHP T-14 9/10/81 (30X9)

## Municipal Reporter

THE Administrator, Mr Gene Louw, has warned that the relationship between his administration and the City Council is "now at the crossroads" as a result of the council's handling of the removal of the State President's portrait.

In a statement released yesterday, Mr Louw also attacked city councillor Mr Arthur J Wienburg for his reply to Mr Louw's initial statement on the matter last week.

Mr Louw said in his latest statement that according to newspaper reports Mr Wienburg "dictated to the Mayor the exact time and date for the removal of the State President's picture".

### 'Insulting'

Mr Louw said Mr Wienburg's conduct created the impression that the purpose of his presence on the council was "leftist political gain".

"The council must now once and for all decide whether or not Councillor Wienburg is to be their spokesman.

"The council must also realize that it cannot dissociate itself from insulting statements issued by councillors in their official capacity.

### 'Leaked'

"After six years of relatively pleasant co-operation with the City Council, often in very difficult circumstances, during which time mutual relations have to my mind greatly improved, my Executive

Committee and the City Council are now at the crossroads.

"The future will be a different matter. Only the City Council will be able to restore their harmed image."

Mr Louw also sent a letter to the Mayor, Mr Leon Markovitz, in which he said Mr Wienburg had "insulted the State President as a result of the 'portrait motion' and the way in which the matter was debated, dealt with and leaked out to the press".

As a result of this, his position and that of his Executive Committee in their "good mutual relations" with the council had become "untenable".

● Mr Markovitz said yesterday that he had received the letter and the statement and would be consulting with the Executive Committee of Council.

### Apology

● Mr Wienburg last night described Mr Louw's attack as "in general hysterical, in parts inaccurate and typical of a bully".

"It is untrue and an insult to the Mayor to suggest that he allowed himself to be dictated to by any councillor, including myself.

"Mr Louw owes our Mayor an apology. If he sees the removal of a photograph as a leftist political gain he is childish and outdated.

"Neither council nor I have ever claimed that I am a spokesman on its behalf. Neither that Councillor Chris Joubert spoke on behalf of council when he spoke of black citizens as 'klonkies'.

"Council neither associates nor dissociates itself from statements made by councillors — Mr Louw clearly does not understand the workings of a democratic institution."



# For SA it looks like 'too much haste less speed'

The Star's London Bureau

South Africans must turn their minds to thinking about how to create a new, coherent society that offers reasonable equity to all.

If we leave aside the right-wing fringe, which basks irritably in the 19th century and doesn't want to see any change at all, there seem to be two fundamental approaches.

The first is to continue to modify the present system — a process which, in the absence of direction, leaves the many South Africans who are certainly supporters of reform, in some doubt.

The approach appears to take into account, nevertheless, the necessity of a form of power-sharing which at least would recognise various real power centres in the country, some of which may be tribal, such as the powerful Zulus, some of which may be the independent homelands (which can by no means be disregarded), some of which may be urban and multiracial, and some of which may even be white.

In our highly complex society I would by no means reject this line of thinking as impractical, and provided it were able to establish a balance of power in a free society shared by everyone, I would not regard it as morally offensive.

Nor would it exclude everyone's having the vote, though not necessarily in a single, directly elected assembly.

The other approach stems from the view that any modification of the present structure would be simply serving the same pie in a different dish. It bluntly declares that nothing short of immediate universal suffrage with protection for minorities or safeguards for institutions is acceptable.

This attitude is supported by the African National Congress.

I myself have no hesitation in believing that an implementation of such a policy would have a devastating effect on the country and the sub-continent.

It was with some of these considerations in mind that a group of business and newspaper men accepted an invitation from President Kaunda of Zambia to meet members of the ANC last month under his auspices.

Predictably, there remained great



"I have no hesitation in believing that an implementation of such a policy (immediate universal suffrage) would have a devastating effect on the country . . ."

gaps between us: businessmen do not embrace the prospect of nationalisation, either in practical or philosophical terms. They know as a matter of fact that economic thinking which derives from the shadowy incompetent world of worn-out Marxism does not create wealth.

On the other hand, who can deny that there are inequalities in the generation and distribution of South Africa's wealth?

A new society, reformed or revolutionary, would have to apply itself more diligently to the alleviation of deprivation in education, health and feeding.

How would this be paid for? Which economic system would best create growth and wealth? Which political system would best secure the stability required inter alia to encourage investment both foreign and local?

People of liberal disposition need to be reminded that the creation of wealth is the African continent's greatest need — indeed, that without it democracy itself can have no real meaning.

In moving into the future one of the most important questions to be asked, therefore, is whether the economic motor of South Africa can be kept going at a sufficient pace to generate some per-capita improvement in living standards for its growing population and be able to contribute also in skill,

money and know-how to the development needs of the sub-continent.

Growth will depend on a great number of factors, among them the preservation of investment confidence and the availability of capital, the untrammelling of the people so that they can participate in a free-enterprise society and the creation of political structures that have the moral underpinnings to generate acceptability and confidence within and beyond the borders of South Africa.

We have to recognise that formal economic sanctions will have an extremely serious capillary effect in the long term and introduce an increasing number of obstacles to growth by cutting the economy off inter alia from contemporary technology.

It should also be obvious that unless the world's bankers become more judicious in their professional attitudes toward South Africa, the financing problems that face the country and that have nothing to do with its intrinsic viability will turn South Africa into a capital-exporting country with predictably damaging results for the whole sub-continent in terms of diminished economic activity.

Though few politicians yet seem to perceive it, that prospect is already sufficiently close as to render irrelevant and academic the motions calling for sanctions in so many legislatures around the world.

More by accident, it seems, than by design, the international banking community may itself be in the process of bringing about the economic wasteland in South Africa that well-meaning, but mistaken folk argue is the "caring way" to political change.

The international community presumably is hoping for some dramatic gesture from South Africa, but very much doubt whether it will see an immediate handing over of power on a basis of one man, one vote.

It would like to see Mr Nelson Mandela released and so would most South Africans. It would also like to

see the beginning of negotiations. President P W Botha has offered an open agenda with anyone who abhors violence, and most South Africans would like that, too.

Many would agree with President Botha, however, that opening negotiations with people who advocate and instigate violence as a means of obtaining the change they want is rather difficult without some give-and-take.

One has to search for common ground even if at this stage the gap between the reformists and the revolutionists in regard to the type of society they envisage is a chasm.

At least we have some important things in common — and nothing I heard in Zambia significantly qualifies my list.

First, we are all South Africans, a fact recently acknowledged by President Botha in announcing the restoration of South African citizenship to all blacks.

Second, we all wish to have a vital and productive society supported and endorsed by a majority of the population.

Third, a society that would have as one of its major objectives a significant improvement in the health, welfare and education of those who are deprived.

Fourth, that there is a sub-continental community of interest which calls for consolidation of resources to our mutual benefit rather than their diminishment by quarrels and fighting.

Fifth, that whether the politics are of reform or revolution, political stability will not be bought by votes if the population as a whole enjoys no prospect of improvement in its material condition.

That is why I myself would hope, if we were wise at all, that our society should have sufficient coherence to enable us at least to alleviate unbridled population growth in the recognition that in South Africa, as elsewhere on the continent, this is an absolute inhibitor of any real improvement in the condition of man.

304A STAR 9/10/1  
Yesterday *The Star's* Political Reporter, Gary van S took a look at Anglo American's Gavin Relly, the man where he stands politically following his leading of the businessmen's delegation for talks with the ANC in Zambia. Today Mr Relly, in an article taken from *The Guardian* talks of his Zambian trip, the problems that currently our country and some possible solutions. It is a thought provoking article of special significance for all concerned Africans.



# President's Council: PW has changed his mind

"If you put the black man in the President's Council, you accept the germ of black majority government." FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the Political Staff reports

ONLY a year ago President P W Botha was determined to keep black people out of the President's Council as he believed their inclusion would lead to black majority rule in South Africa, according to a book on his life and political career.

President Botha's offer to consider black participation in the President's Council has made little impact — even though it meant a reversal of his previous stand on this issue.

His announcement to the Cape National Party last week drew responses ranging from lukewarm to highly critical among black and white political leaders.

One of the main criticisms was that the offer came too late and missed the point of black political aspirations.

The authors of the biographical study, PW, published last year, quoted Mr Botha as saying: "Black people will not get representation in the President's Council, my successor can do this one day if he wants to."

Questioned at that time about this viewpoint, Mr Botha explained: "If you put the black man in the President's Council, you accept the germ of black majority government. Then it is only a matter of time. I am not in favour of black majority rule."

The authors, Dirk and Johanna de Villiers, wrote that

Mr Botha stood by his viewpoint that there would be no fourth chamber — for blacks — in the new Parliament.

His argument was that this, too, would not be practical because black people did not comprise a united group. They were divided into about 10 different "peoples" (volke) with almost as many languages.

Last week, however, Mr Botha's announcement showed clearly that he had changed his mind on the President's Council issue.

He told the NP congress that the Government was prepared to consider "favourably" black participation in the President's Council.

The Government would do this if the need existed among leaders of the black communi-

ties. He would then be prepared to reconsider the composition and functions of the President's Council to make provision for their participation.

One of the first black leaders to react to President Botha's announcement was Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu who described Mr Botha's address as "bitterly disappointing".

Chief Buthelezi said the President's Council was an integral part of the tricameral Parliament, which blacks had rejected.

Black involvement in the PC was not a step towards power-sharing — "this is what the name of the game is; it is power-sharing or revolution."

The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said the idea of allowing blacks on to a revamped PC would certainly have stirred the imagination a year ago. "Now it is a bit of 'too little, too late'."

Dr Slabbert said that when the PFP refused to serve on the PC because of black omission four years ago "we were called boycotters."

However, this idea could still be salvaged if the Government was prepared to make the President's Council a genuine forum for negotiation, release leaders now detained, and negotiate with credible and accepted black leaders on how to re-structure the President's Council.



President Botha "offer has come too late"



SA Times 9/10/83  
1300 (20)

# Expert warns on black govt

Financial Reporter

EVEN if a black government were in power, overseas countries would not necessarily be more willing to invest in South Africa than they are now, the head of the Nedbank group economic unit, Mr Rudolf Gouws, said yesterday.

He said bankers were reluctant to lend to countries with black majority rule. Zimbabwe was struggling to obtain financial help.

"We all know things have to change here. We all know black people must have more political power."

"But the process by which we make these accommodations is crucial."

Mr Gouws was speaking at a seminar organized by the Menswear Group of South Africa at a City hotel.

He said international political influences made it hard for economists to forecast what would happen in the coming year.

It was important not to under-estimate "how broadly-based the antagonism to South Africa is".

Forecasting depended on whether one expected a total boycott of South African exports with major trading partners joining in, or only a few exports boycotted by a few countries.

## Unemployment to continue rising

It would also be disastrous if direct communications and transport links with South Africa were cut.

Even with a fairly optimistic forecast, he expected unemployment to continue rising until the middle of next year with no meaningful turnaround until the end of 1986.

He expected the inflation rate to average 15.5 percent. People would be lucky if their New Year rise was more than two-thirds of the inflation rate.

He thought there would be a cut in personal income tax next March and interest rates would continue to come down partly because of weak demand and partly because the Reserve Bank was worried about unemployment.



4th time 10/1/98

# 'Credibility' key to new SA

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

304A

NO CONSTITUTIONAL system in South Africa would work unless it was negotiated with the credible leaders of black people, including the ANC and UDF, the Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, said yesterday.

A federal system of government might work as a compromise if it was the product of true negotiation, he said in an interview.

But any proposal, based on existing structures such as homelands and local councils, would fail because black people were never consulted about their creation.

Mr Mabuza, who was an observer at this week's Assocom congress where support for a federal system was given, said he did not think federation could work if it was based on the homelands because they were structured without consultation with black people and foisted on them.

"Until the black people become part of the decision-making process to formulate a structure, only then can a constitutional system work.

"If a government-created structure is absorbed into a new political system in the hope that it will provide some power-sharing opportunity and resolve the political impasse we are in, it won't work."

## Negotiation process

He said federal-type proposals were being seen as another white-imposed solution. It would work if credible black leaders agreed it was a sufficient compromise.

"But to prescribe now and say it is the best solution in order to give political rights to blacks, and absorb into it systems which have been rejected by the black people, will not work — if they are based on the homelands and the local authorities as they are," Mr Mabuza said.

The credible leaders were those with constituencies and this included extra-parliamentary organizations, such as the ANC, he said.



# The Nat bull balks at the Group Areas gate

STAR 10/10/85 (82) 304A

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

President Botha's evident inflexibility over the principles of the Group Areas Act has brought this controversial piece of legislation to the fore of the great reform debate.

He told the Cape National Party congress last week in Port Elizabeth that it was not a disgrace to protect the different race groups by giving them the right to their own residential areas. As far as he was concerned the Group Areas Act, which, among other things, reserved certain areas for the exclusive use of only one particular population group, was not based on discriminatory principles.

In saying this, the President stifled further congress calls for the repeal of the Act and it instead endorsed a resolution which called for its retention.

Outside the hall there were angry and bitter words.

Some members of the President's Council were reportedly furious that the President had pre-empted the findings of the council's current investigation into the Group Areas Act.

The council had been commissioned by Mr Botha himself to examine the provisions of the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

The more general reaction was that Mr Botha had poured cold water on his reform programme, and, in the minds of many critics, had undone whatever good there had been in his earlier pronouncements at the same congress that he was willing to include blacks in the President's Council.

Government leaders had talked of an open agenda for negotiations in one breath and in the next had declared the principles of group areas, a cornerstone of apartheid, were non-negotiable, it was said.

Days after the President's announcement, the coloured Labour Party, without which the Government's tricameral Parliament would collapse, declared that it rejected group areas "loudly and clearly".

The party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said that people must have the right to associate and live wherever they wanted to. "Either we must learn to live together as people or perish as fools," he said.



PW the unbendable

Suddenly, unexpectedly President Botha pulled up short at the final National Party congress in Port Elizabeth. He made it clear that any form of repeal of the Group Areas Act was out of the question. On this he would not bend. It was an announcement that clearly caught even some of his staunchest supporters off balance.

The timing of Mr Botha's emphatic stand on the matter was puzzling.

It looked as if the Government was faltering almost at the end of its long road of reform.

Seen from the President's point of view, it was a clear statement of what the Government was not prepared to concede in its reform process: equal opportunities and full political rights for all race groups are one thing, the guarantee that minority groups (especially whites) may live in their own areas run their own affairs and (most important to whites) reserve their own schools, is quite another.

The President had no doubt been stung by right-wing claims that the Government was going soft on white rights, and that white children would soon no longer be entitled to their own schools.

But there were also many National Party members present at all the congresses who were in favour of at least a substantial compromise on the Group Areas Act.

Several Cape delegates expressed their unhappiness that the President had effectively blocked any reform of the law, while at one at least of the provincial congresses senior office-bearers argued behind closed doors that some mixed or "grey" residential areas should be allowed.

This was in spite of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, telling the Natal National Party that such grey areas were "out of the question".

Pressure to at least modify the Group Areas Act will come from all quarters now.

Moderate black leaders will use its continued existence as possibly the biggest stumbling block to negotiation.

International critics will hold up the law as the best example that the National Party is not sincere about change.

The great majority of members of Parliament (all the coloured, Indian and PFP members) are in favour of its repeal.

National Party liberals, including perhaps some Ministers, are anxious to consolidate the Government's reform programme and are pragmatic enough to realise that the Group Areas Act has to be negotiable.

The likely compromise acceptable to the Government, say within a year or two so as to get some distance away from Mr Botha's inflexible stand, is to allow local communities to make the ultimate choice.

There are in fact already mixed residential areas in all the major South African cities, and trying to impose segregation on these will be about as feasible as unscrambling an omelette.

Instead, the Government is likely to continue to turn a blind eye on these areas, then eventually accept that local communities have the right to have integrated zones.

Could the National Party then find that, as in the case of the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the white community "no longer needs a law to protect itself"?



# 'Political problems cannot be solved by the Govt alone'

By Hannes de Wet

There has been a marked increase in informal attempts by South Africans to create platforms for contact between people from all racial and political groups.

The common goal of these initiatives is to prepare the way for reform talks between black and white leaders who seek peaceful solutions to the country's problems.

Political scientists ascribe this phenomenon to a growing feeling that these problems cannot be solved by the Government alone.

"People are realising that the channels of communication which have become clogged because of the policy of separate development have to be opened up," says Professor Chris Maritz, director of the Institute for Political and African Studies at Potchefstroom University.

Professor Maritz told *The Star* that he was amazed to see on how many levels informal discussions were being held.

In the past few weeks, business leaders have been particularly active in this regard.

On September 13, the chairman of Anglo American, Mr Gavin Relly, and a seven-member delegation talked for six hours with African National

## Private reform contacts made

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Congress (ANC) leaders at the Luangwa Game Park in Zambia.

The delegation consisted of leading businessman and two newspaper editors.

They went to Zambia despite a statement by President Botha that talking to the ANC was "disloyal".

After the meeting Mr Relly said that "more talks might lead to some fruitful conclusions".

Another recent initiative was a decision by commerce and industry to send a delegation to New York to submit views to the United Nations hearing on trans-national corporations in South Africa.

Representatives from Asso-com, the Federated Chamber of Industries and the Afrikaans Handelsinstituut talked at the hearing about the "vital importance of negotiation with all accepted black leaders".

And on September 29, a full-page advertisement was pub-

lished in *The Sunday Star* in which 91 South African businessmen expressed their "deep concern about the current situation".

In the advertisement, which was headed "There is a better way", the business leaders said they believed the reform process should be accelerated by, among other things, negotiations with acknowledged black leaders about power sharing.

An initiative started by a broader spectrum of South Africans was the launching in principle of the National Convention Alliance.

Although the idea originated from the Progressive Federal Party, the official launching of the alliance is now in the hands of a steering committee consisting of theologians, politicians, members of Inkatha, businessmen and academics.

The stated objective of the alliance is to mobilise millions of South Africans to commit them-

selves to the concept of bringing about fundamental changes by negotiation.

In August this year, a group of Capetonians launched a campaign which called for all South Africans "to unite and identify publicly with each other in support of a common manifesto or declaration of intent".

The manifesto says: "To find a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems, every proposed solution and every would-be leader must be openly and publicly presented and examined for all South Africans to make up their minds."

The campaign's spokesman, Mr Jimmy Baigrie, said that the movement had rapidly gained momentum and was spreading throughout the country. Interest was such that 10 000 copies of campaign material were being printed each week.

Discussions on a smaller scale are also being held. Professor Maritz gave an example:

"This week 50 of our students at Potchefstroom University arranged a meeting with 50 coloured people. They did it by breaking up into small groups of 10 to exchange views and try to achieve a better understanding of each other."

The professor said all these initiatives could have only positive results.



# P W accused of twisting war history

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Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—A Kruger Day speech by President Botha has been condemned as a 'deliberate distortion of history'.

Mr Botha, who was speaking to about 2 000 people at Delareyville at the unveiling of a South African War monument, said: 'if anybody was to blame for the delay in black constitutional development, it was the former colonial powers and not the South African Government.'

'It was only after half a century that an Afrikaner government started doing something about black rights.'

Attacking the speech as 'deliberate distortion', Progressive Federal Party MP Helen Suzman said the National Party 'aided and abetted the removal of the common role for blacks by removing representatives of blacks from participation in the Senate in the 1960s'.

'The National Party abolished the Native Representatives Council and took the coloureds off the common role in the Cape.'

'In the 60s, when it looked as though the Progressives would win those coloured seats, they abolished those too,' she said.

Mr Botha also said nearly 28 000 Boers, women and children, had died in the British concentration camps and that this crime against humanity was in principle identical to that committed by Hitler.

A little-known fact, however, was that thousands of black people had also been put in concentration camps because they had worked with the Boers. According to available records, at least 13 300 black men, women and children had died in these camps.

Mr Botha appealed to all in South Africa to learn from the lessons of the past. The struggle for freedom and justice could be achieved only through unity, he said.

## 'Disgusting'

Mr Ray Swart, leader of the Progressive Federal Party in Natal, said last night: 'President Botha once again shows that he is a yesterday man. Much of what he says is irrelevant to the present situation in South Africa.'

'His analogy in regard to the tedious allegations of what happened in the so-called concentration camps in the South African War and what happened in Nazi Germany is atrocious and disgusting and he should know better.'

'I believe South Africans are sick and tired of these divisive speeches made on so-called national public holidays.'



# 'Ceasefire' first — and then peace talks

Enthusiastic proponents of political peace talks have been frustrated by the refusal of leaders of most popular — and predominantly black — organisations to take up seats at the conference table.

No one can doubt that those behind initiatives, such as supporters of the Convention Alliance, are serious about drawing as wide a range of opinion as possible into their drive for political negotiation.

But, equally, no one can claim that they have so far gained meaningful participation from popular black organisations or figures.

Initiatives of the Convention Alliance and exhortations by British parliamentarians fail to take into account the distinct and binding pecking order which exists in non-parliamentary politics, and the shifting agenda of popular organisations.

Years of white rule seem to have blunted sensitivities to the clear pyramid of authority which exists in non-parliamentary politics. No doubt South Africa's extensive security laws have contributed to this — for, as surveys and pronouncements by prominent personalities reveal, the African National Congress though outlawed, stands at the head of this hierarchy of recognition.

A roundup of political surveys shows that the ANC, despite its illegal status, consistently commands more support in the townships than any other organisation. South African business leaders, in contrast to their parliamentary counterparts, seem to have taken account of this.

The Star in three polls aimed at pinpointing which black political body has the strongest support and which leader is the most popular, found that the ANC and Nelson Mandela were way ahead. In the political organisation polls the ANC cornered 40 percent of the votes in 1981 and 34 percent in 1983. The support for Mandela was similarly impressive. In 1981, 76 percent of the people polled voted him the most popular leader, 82 percent in 1983 and 73 percent in 1985.

Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi polled 39 percent in 1981, 22 percent in 1983 and five percent in 1985.

Next in popularity after Mandela were: 1981 — Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association; 1983 — Dr Motlana and Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front; and 1985 — Nobel Laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu.

A recent poll by the Institute for Black Research and the Community Agency for Social Inquiry confirms the ANC and Mandela rankings, with 31

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The catch-phrase "national convention" and the concept of "peace talks" — so easily mouthed in the past — have soured on the lips as a section of the political community has begun a concerted drive to turn them into an immediate reality. JO-ANNE COLLINGE suggests why they have become such divisive issues.

percent support for Mandela and the ANC. Bishop Tutu gained 16 percent of the vote while 14 percent went to the UDF and other "radical" organisations. The Nationalist Government and Inkatha/Chief Buthelezi polled eight percent apiece.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer's 1984 survey shows an inverted pattern in Natal where Inkatha led with 54 percent support.

But the law ensures that no mass based, openly functioning political organisation can afford to promote the ends of the ANC. So political organisations and popular leaders have tended to tread a political tightrope — staying carefully away from actions that might be interpreted as promoting the ANC itself.

Bishop Tutu, who has specifically distanced himself from the armed struggle of the ANC, nevertheless told a crowd of more than 9 000 in Soweto early this year he regarded Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the exiled Oliver Tambo as legitimate leaders of South Africa.

Leading UDF figures presently stand accused, among other things, of furthering the aims of the ANC. It remains for the Supreme Courts of Natal and the Transvaal to decide whether there is substance to these charges. But it is a matter of record that UDF spokesmen have denied links with the ANC although Mandela, Sisulu and other jailed figures in the former Congress Alliance serve as patrons of the front.

The UDF has not adopted the Freedom Charter, which became the political programme of the ANC some months after its adoption at the Congress of the People in 1955. But the front's more political goal of democracy in a non-racial, unitary South Africa certainly does not contradict the Charter in any way.

The pecking order exists in non-parliamentary politics as surely as it does in parliamentary politics — despite the fact that there are no elections to establish the status of parties.

Yet white mainstream politicians and Western visitors generally do not take note of this informally established hierarchy. Often the first allies they seek out in the black community are those who flout the pecking order by declaring themselves outright opponents of the ANC — the clearest example being Chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement.

The introduction of homeland leaders into the peace talks movement while the ANC remains banned and its leaders exiled and jailed; while half the UDF leadership has been immobilised by government action, shows up the peace initiatives as lacking in true representation of the country's people as a whole.

A second factor confounding the peace talks campaign is the fact that the extra-parliamentary political agenda has changed dramatically in the last year. With violent conflict sweeping the townships the quest for talks has taken second place to demands for what in effect is a ceasefire. When Operation Palmiet was launched a year ago, with a military force of 7 000 occupying Sebokeng and arresting hundreds mostly for pass law offences, the UDF, the South African Council of Churches and the Azanian People's Organisation said civil war had been declared and civilians had been placed in a state of siege.

Lutheran Dean Tshenuwani Simon Farisani explained recently on behalf of more than 150 theologians and churchmen that the concept of a "ceasefire" implied not only the formal cessation of aggression between the ANC and Pretoria.

It also meant an end to troops and riot police in the townships; an end to detention of political leaders; an end to jailing for political offences; and an end to the ban on opposition political organisations.

In the eyes of spokesmen for the disenfranchised the imperative is to end violence — and that, they make very clear, comes a long way before talking peace.



# Black rights PW lays blame

DELAKEYVILLE — If anybody was to blame for the delay in black constitutional development, it was the former colonial powers and not the South African Government, President Botha said yesterday.

Unveiling a monument in memory of local Boers who died in the Anglo-Boer War, he said: "Lord Milner had, in the forced Peace of Vereeniging, ensured there was to be no franchise for black people after the introduction of self-government — which was never intended."

"It was only after half a century that an Afrikaner government started doing something about black rights."

Mr Botha said that, if blame was to be apportioned for the delay in black constitutional development, this should not be laid at the Government's doorstep but at that of the colonial powers which had delayed progress and had not started work on solving South Africa's problems.

Mr Botha said nearly 28 000 Boer women and children died in the British concentration camps. This crime against humanity was, in principle, identical to that committed by Hitler.

## LESSONS OF THE PAST

A little-known fact was that thousands of blacks had also been put in concentration camps because they worked with the Boers. According to records, at least 13 300 died in the camps.

Mr Botha appealed to all in South Africa to learn from the lessons of the past.

The Boer governments had been unable to escape the dilemma of having to choose between war and giving in to pressure. "We must not fall into the same dilemma ... we must make a plan and stand together." The struggle for freedom and justice could be achieved only through unity.

"I appeal to you ... not to despair and give up."

The President urged people not to allow differences to lead to conflicts, warning that the "Godless communists and their supporters are on our borders and they will not distinguish among us".

The Afrikaner people themselves should also stand united, otherwise they would die as a people.

"We mustn't work with perceptions and impressions, we must work with realities," he said. — Sapa.



# 'Political reform will be severely limited if economy is harmed'

BONN — The South African Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said yesterday that chances for further political reforms would be severely limited if the country's economy were hit by a withdrawal of foreign investment.

He told a news conference the continued presence in South Africa of foreign-owned firms helped contribute to the well-being of blacks and others and made easier further reform of the country's apartheid system of racial segregation.

"But if the South African economy should be seriously harmed or forced to the point of collapse, then chances for reform will be severely limited," he said.

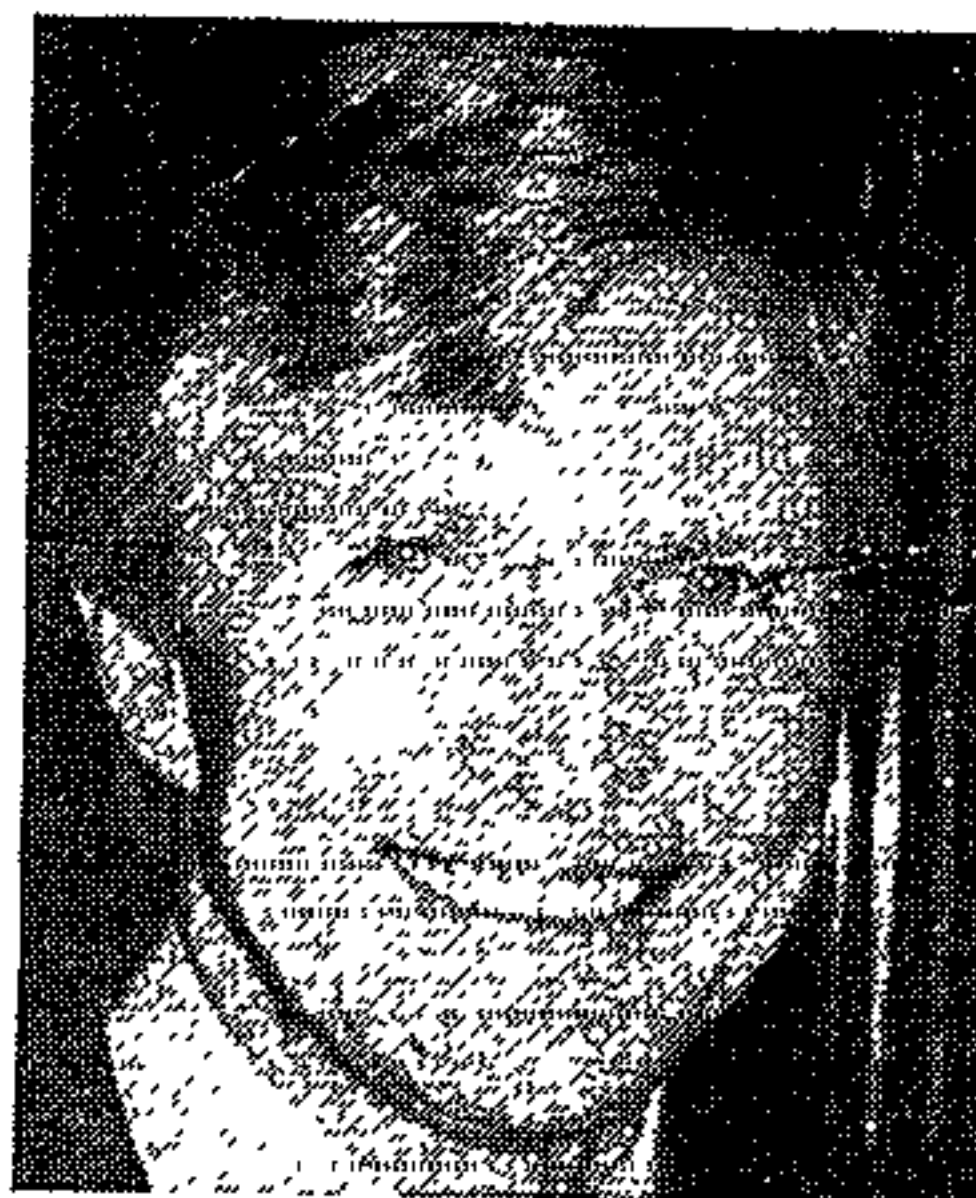
Anti-apartheid groups in many countries have urged multinational companies to pull out of South Africa to pressure the Pretoria government into speeding up racial reforms started by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Most Western countries argue that doing so would hit South Africa's black community hardest. So far France has been the only major nation to put a ban on new investment.

## NO PULL OUT

Dr de Villiers, ending a week-long round of meetings with businessmen and trade representatives in Britain, Switzerland and West Germany, said he had received no indication that firms in those countries intended to pull out.

Dr de Villiers said his trip, aimed at promoting South African exports, had produced a generally positive response.



Dr Dawie de Villiers

In September, Pretoria suspended foreign loan repayments until the end of the year after US banks withdrew short-term credit lines, sparking a financial crisis.

## TIME NEEDED

Dr de Villiers said South Africa needed time to repay the loans but would meet its commitments under a rescheduling agreement with creditor banks due to be mediated in the coming weeks by Mr Fritz Leutwiler, a former president of the Basle-based Bank for International Settlements.

Pretoria could carry on without new foreign loans if necessary, he said, but economic growth would be one or two per cent lower without them, limiting the government's ability to meet many of its goals in the social field.

Dr de Villiers forecast the economy would start recovering gradually from its present deep recession early next year.—Sapa-Reuter.



# Reforms 'need to have Mercury participation of blacks'

Richard Walker

NEW YORK—Cinema desegregation and other such reforms fail in impact because of the dictatorial way in which they are handed down, a Reagan Administration official said yesterday.

There was no black participation in that (cinema) decision, complained Mr F Allen Harris. 'Reforms handed down by a form of noblesse oblige will not suf-

fice in the South Africa of today' 11/16/85

Mr Harris was deputising for constructive engagement architect Dr Chester Crocker in the second of four discussions on South Africa being staged this month by Trinity Church, whose diocese is the Wall Street business community.

Describing the situation in South Africa as 'stalemated' and U S rela-

tions with South Africa as 'cold and empty', he characterised Washington's role as limited to trying to bring together white and black leadership and in backing black education and self-development programmes.

He said that Secretary of State George Shultz's call on the Government to meet the African National Congress had been made 'in the context of meeting the represen-

tatives of major groups in order to get negotiations moving' and he gave a firm 'no' when pressed to say whether President Reagan would therefore be prepared to meet with ANC president Oliver Tambo.

He called Shultz-Tambo talks hypothetically possible, but added 'We'll cross that bridge when we get to it.'

He maintained that President Reagan's economic measures would 'not significantly hurt' South Africa, though 'a few guys working in plants that mint Krugers are going to be looking for another job'.

South African Consul General Abe Hoppenstein appeared on the panel with Mr Harris.



# Disinvestment would block further reform, says minister

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BONN—The South African Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said yesterday that chances for further political reform would be severely limited if the country's economy were hit by a withdrawal of foreign investment.

He told a news conference the continued presence of foreign-owned firms in South Africa helped contribute to the wellbeing of blacks and others and made easier further reform of the country's apartheid system of racial segregation.

'But if the South African economy should be seriously harmed or forced to the point of collapse, then chances for reform will be severely limited,' he said.

Anti-apartheid groups in many countries have urged multinational companies to pull

out of South Africa to pressure the Pretoria Government into speeding up racial reform started by President Botha.

Most Western countries argue that doing so would hit South Africa's black community hardest. So far, France has been the only major nation to put a ban on new investment.

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Dr de Villiers forecast that the economy would start recovering gradually from its deep recession early next year. — (Sapa-Reuter)



financial fervour that partly accounts for SA's difficulties with these institutions. There are of course other factors.

The extreme unction of the Third World at the "immorality" of the flow of assets in recent years from poor to rich nations doesn't wash in Washington or, for that matter, in London or Bonn any longer, if it ever did.

American impatience — maybe even anxiety — has moved the US at this year's IMF meeting to put forward a Third World debt policy that is only partly conciliatory. Consequently, it has found favour neither with other Group of Five members nor with the Third World.

The essence of the plan is covertly to beef up the World Bank and its aid agencies to take over as much of the financing of the indigent economies as reasonably possible. For the rest, it wants greater surveillance, will offer some help in attracting private fixed investment by guaranteeing certain risks, and will encourage the private banks to finance more of the adjustment programmes.

In return, US Treasury Secretary Jim Baker wants commitments from debtor nations to sensible economic policies, private banks to commit another US\$20 billion for the next three years, and the World Bank and its agencies to increase loans to the Third World by 50% from current levels of about \$5.9 billion.

He would not pledge the US to any overt

commitment to increase the capital of the World Bank — although that is on the cards — because it would reduce the incentive for private banks to invest.

Far from winning much Third World support, Baker's plan has led to accusations of sinister similarities to German reparations after World War I which laid the foundation for future conflict.

It is a view entirely rejected by IMF chairman Jacques de Larosiere. He has emphasised repeatedly here in Seoul that a prerequisite for economic growth in any country is fiscal discipline and stable prices, leading to rising savings and investment.

"To avoid crowding out, (investors) have to look at domestic strategy. If you want to attract foreign capital, these preconditions provide the right signals and inducements. They are not contrary to growth, they are a condition of growth," says De Larosiere.

The Third World austerity programmes are working, he says. "There are about 20 programmes in existence and there are a number of cases of growth stemming from the adjustment process."

What these countries were seeking, he explains, is not a reversal of these policies and a return to aid, but assurances that the flow of funds necessary for their continuance will be there.

In 1984 output in non-oil Third World countries grew by 5.25%, the best perform-

ance in a decade. The combined current account deficit of these countries fell to US\$38 billion which is about 6% of exports of goods and services and is the lowest ratio in two decades.

But De Larosiere makes the telling point that it is essentially to a continuation of growth in the Group of Five nations that the Third World must look for the spin-off growth necessary to earn sufficient from exports to repay their debts. Growth in the Group of Five nations of only 3% pumps up Third World growth to 5%, he estimates.

Those are the rates of growth likely to be achieved this year. It is their maintenance in the years ahead that presents the Group of Five nations at this year's IMF meeting with their policy problem.

De Larosiere's solution sounds deceptively straightforward. It requires: the will among Group of Five nations to revamp their tax structures that discourage work, savings and investment; the loosening of rigid labour practices that inhibit market-determined wages and geographic mobility; and cuts in subsidies to obsolete industries.

Coming on top of trade liberalisation, that is a tall and radical order even for such determined leaders as Reagan and Thatcher. A great deal hangs upon their not only accepting the general direction, but embarking vigorously on what has become known as growth-orientated adjustments. ■

## GOVERNMENT THINKING

# Edging towards federalism

Where is Pretoria taking us? On its own, State President P W Botha's recent declaration of government's commitment to "the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise," is the strongest indication yet of the demise of territorial Grand Apartheid. Yet it raises the question: what then of the 10 homelands, the backbone of that policy?

Well, in his speech to the Cape National Party (NP) congress last week, Botha added that the principle of a united SA "includes the reality and desirability of territorial and

Government does have a few ideas about how to lead SA out of its predicament. It remains remarkably coy, however, about its long-term plans — and perhaps doesn't really have any.

border divisions within South Africa." He gave as examples "provincial borders for the purposes of provincial government, an own territory for each of the self-governing

states, and jurisdiction areas for systems of local and regional authorities."

The independent homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, it seems, are *faits accomplis*. However, the non-independent ones will not be forced to take "independence." Government has, instead, begun emphasising regional "multilateral co-operation" between the homelands and Pretoria.

Yet, again, while this seems on the face of it to be a retreat from the old policy, compulsion (to take independence) is a relative



Ciskei's  
Sebe



Venda's  
Mphahlele



Transkei's  
Matanzima



Bophuthatswana's  
Mangope



Kwa Ndebele's  
Skosana



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term. Bophuthatswana, for example, was not "forced" into independence; and it is still entirely possible that the economic bait dangled before some homeland leaders could indeed push their vested interests in that direction to Pretoria's delight.

What of land consolidation? Although proposals for Lebowa, Gazankulu and KwaNdebele (see map) were announced recently, homeland consolidation now seems to have been scaled down substantially, compared with the 1975 plans. Then, according to former Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Hennie van der Walt, it was estimated that it would cost R6 billion over 10 years to add some 3m hectares to the "national states." Now it appears that only bits and pieces are involved — essentially with the aim of "ethnic consolidation," which, of course, remains a government guiding principle. But one gets the impression that there is no longer the same commitment to the whole zany exercise.

These days, government is thinking in terms of *regionalism*. The homelands are seen as part of regional entities and are, in the medium term at any rate, here to stay. But they are no longer the political entities envisaged by Verwoerdian ideology, explains a well-placed observer. Government's approach is, rather, more *laissez-faire* — allow each region to work out its own *modus vivendi*, KwaZulu/Natal being the foremost example. But this is to be done within the framework of three broad "non-negotiable" principles. These are "group realities," the universal right to "participation" at the highest level over matters affecting the individual's and group's life, and "no domination" of any one group over others.

This view of a new regional thrust is supported when one considers the incongruity of the 10 homeland territories and the original eight — now nine — *development regions* into which geographic SA has been divided. These would seem to be the "build-

ing blocks of an undivided South Africa — albeit on a decentralised basis," according to an NP insider. Once installed as going concerns, so to speak, with the homelands — independent or self-governing — very much part of the process, the regions would be difficult to untangle. Naturally, regions under primarily white control would be components of an emerging new "regionalist" constitution.

Certainly, looking at SA's long-term political future, which must take into account the inexorable rise of full black participation, this sounds feasible as a strategy to retain white influence — and, some must hope, dominance.

For one thing, what will have been built up in terms of regional authorities will remain useful to any future government. Each region could have its own "demonstration effect." So, for example, KwaZulu/Natal is likely to forge an arrangement peculiar to that region's make-up. And the development of strong (multiracial) regional institutions

would make the climate less propitious for revolution.

Perhaps only the African National Congress (ANC), if it ever came to power, would want to completely unravel these structures-in-the-making. Most other political parties, like the Progressive Federal Party and the Labour Party, would like to retain some aspects of regionalism. Just how important the nine development regions will become remains to be seen; but it seems they are intended to inexorably supplant the old provincial system.

Regionalisation could lead ultimately to *federalism* — even though it is unlikely government will use the term, simply because it has become part of the opposition's political lexicon.

At this stage, of course, the final shape of the new constitution that will, inevitably, include blacks, is shrouded in darkness. Its structures, Botha said, must be chosen by South Africans and would not be those "prescribed from abroad or that are perhaps



Leaders Botha, Vorster and Verwoerd (inset) ... times do change



KwaZulu's  
Buthelezi



Lebowa's  
Phatudi



Gazankulu's  
Ntsantwisi



KaNgwane's  
Mabuza



QwaQwa's  
Mopeli



successful elsewhere in the world." That remark could well have been meant to spike recent speculation that we are in fact embarked on a course leading to some kind of federal constitution.

Over the past year, significant new foundations for third- and second-tier government on a "multilateral" basis have been laid. A notable facet of this restructuring

process is the Regional Services Council (RSC) network. Under the control of Chris Heunis's ubiquitous Department of Constitutional Development and Planning (DCDP), lines of control have spread across the equally ubiquitous — but now less sacrosanct — homeland boundaries. As far back as 1983, the Buthelezi Commission stated: "Through its new approach to regional de-

velopment, the government is taking the economic route to power-sharing rather than the political one which is unacceptable to its constituency." The question of the ultimate destiny of the homelands will remain as the new, "undivided" SA emerges.

To date, government has, of course, reiterated that the homelands' existence and sovereignty are beyond doubt, and that they will

## HOW TO TRIGGER TRIBAL TRAVAILS

Pretoria's obsession with grouping people ethnically has left neighbours in the northern Transvaal at daggers drawn.

Whatever failures the homeland policy has suffered, it has been extraordinarily successful as a divide-and-rule tactic. The announcement that thousands of people in Lebowa and Gazankulu are being reprieved from resettlement will not alter the damage done by the years of setting them apart.

Historically, Sotho and Shangaan people lived next to each other in the northern Transvaal. In the Forties, these two language groups shared an administration office. Today the map of the two homelands is a complicated one. Borders which weave in and out of small villages create multiple friction points.

Over the past year, violence erupted in both the Acornhoek and Tzaneen areas. At the time, these fights were dismissed as traditional faction fights. But a look at a couple of the incidents that led to the battles shows that homeland consolidation plans were at the root of some of the differences.

The separation of the women at the marketplace in Acornhoek is one incident. Acornhoek is in the Mapulaneng district of Lebowa. It borders on Cottondale, an area in the Mhala district of Gazankulu. The boundary between these two areas is a railway line. For many years, Shangaan and Sotho women sold fruit and vegetables at a marketplace near the Acornhoek taxi rank.

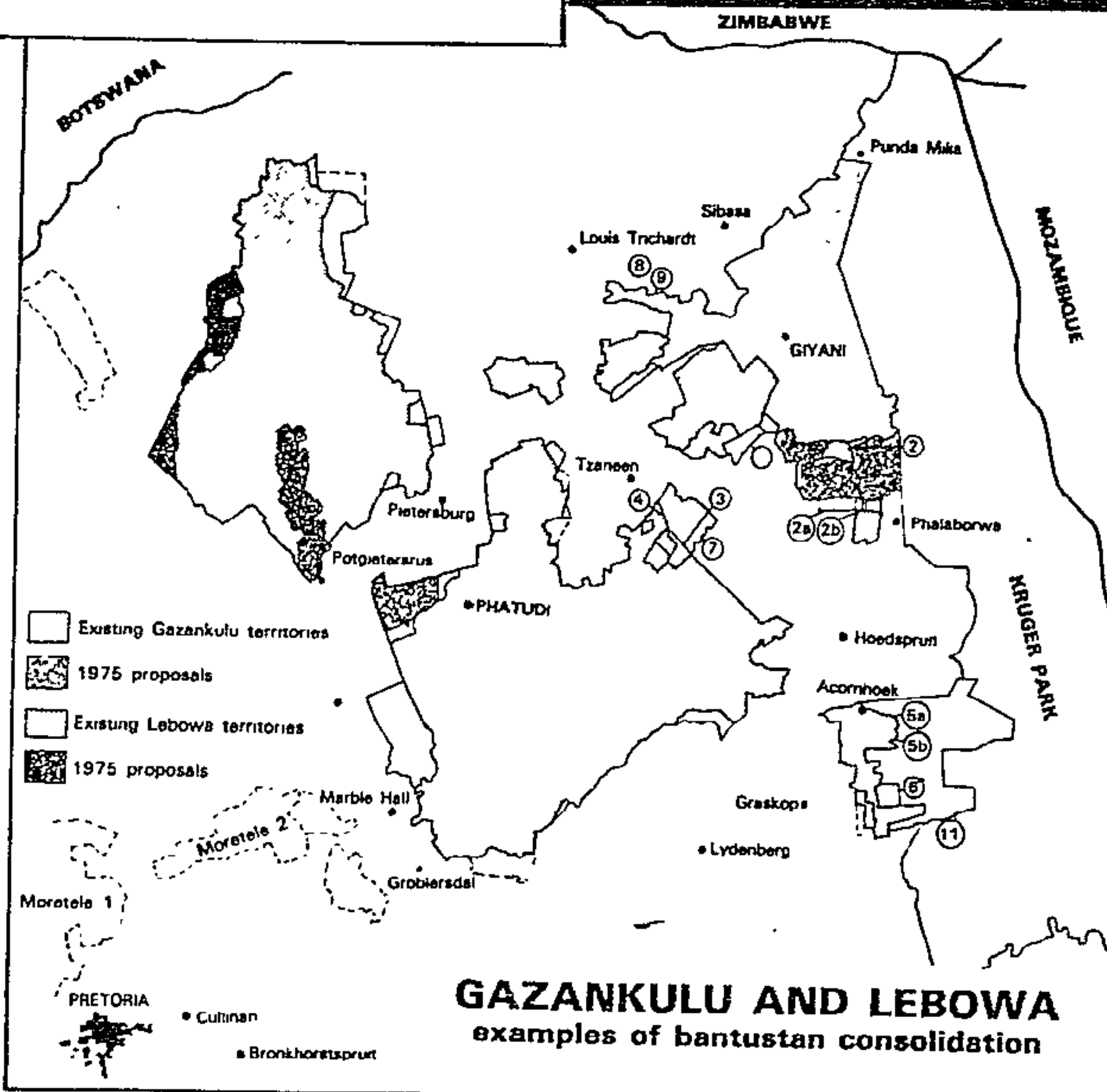
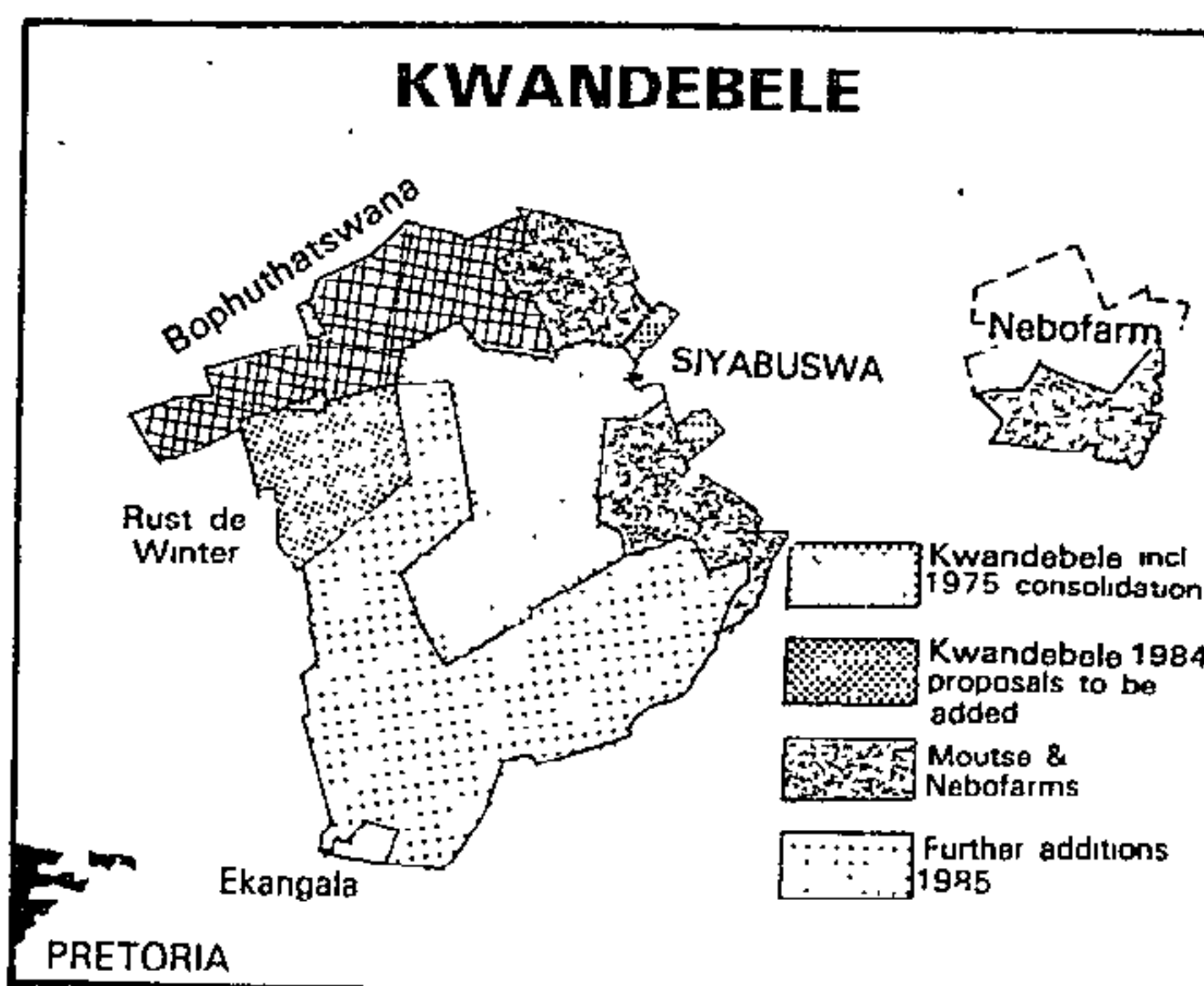
During 1984, the Lebowa government began to build brick market stalls at the roadsides all over Lebowa. One was built at Acornhoek and, when it was completed, only women who had proof of Lebowa citizenship were allowed to sell there. The Shangaan women were forced to move into Gazankulu on the other side of the railway line. As less people travel that

way, it was a much less profitable site and previously friendly neighbours have been left at loggerheads.

Another incident that fuelled the fight-

ing was discrimination against Shangaan taxi drivers. Previously they had always travelled along a tar road between Acornhoek and Cottondale to drop off passengers at the Acornhoek shopping centre, as well as at the nearby hospital. Then the Lebowa authorities began to restrict this access. Shangaan taxi drivers using the main road were stopped and fined. The reason given was that they had to have a licence from Lebowa to be able to travel that route. Again, gratuitous ideology was made to interfere with the normal business of people's lives.

Each petty incident compounds the tribal friction and often results in retaliation. Today Sotho children living in a Shangaan area are scared to go to their local school and vice versa. Shangaans who used to hire tractors for ploughing from their Sotho neighbours no longer do





form part of any future constitution. But doubts have arisen precisely because of fundamental departures from orthodox apartheid policy — including the prospect of black South African citizenship and its corollary, provision for black political expression at the centre.

Perhaps the boldest view of SA's new reform strategy has been put forward by a

so. People's cattle are impounded if they cross a border fence and heavy fines are levied.

The absurdity of it all is demonstrated by the bus service in the Tzaneen area: all the buses are owned by one company, but the buses for Gazankulu people are painted blue, while those for Lebowa residents are painted orange.

While the rest of Africa laments tribal friction, we seem to be have been busy recreating it.

#### PROPOSED CONSOLIDATION OF GAZANKULU 1985

- Total area of additional land for Gazankulu is about 16 720 hectares
- About 2 000 ha which would have been excised according to the 1973-1975 proposals remain part of Gazankulu
- About 5 000 people who would have been resettled will no longer be moved
- The erection of Boundary Fences will now be embarked upon
- Parliament has yet to take the final decision

#### KEY:

- 1 Constantia area, district Letaba
- 2 Silwanes township, district Namagale 2 (retained as part of Lebowa)
- 2a The farms Landraad, Brook, Breakfast, Ziek and Ben (added to Gazankulu to compensate for Silwanes)
- 2b The farm Celhard (Droëbult) is added to Lebowa to serve as extension of Namagale area already part of Lebowa
- 3 Silwane Hospital (on the farm Sedan), districts Ritavi 2 and Naphuno 1
- 4 Mhlabas township (west of Tzaneen-Strydom Tunnel road remains part of Gazankulu)
- 5a Boundary line between Lebowa and Gazankulu on the farm Buffelshoek follows the new railway line
- 5b Boundary line over farms Dingleyvale, Orinoko, New Forest altered so that the northern bank of the canal forms the boundary between Lebowa and Gazankulu
- 6 The farms Lothian and Excelsior are equally divided between Lebowa and Gazankulu (as proposed by the Uys commission)
- 7 Dusseldorp farm, district Letaba, added to Gazankulu
- 8 Klipfontein (Valdezia), district Soutpansberg will not be resettled, is retained as part of Gazankulu
- 9 Ongedacht farm, Soutpansberg district is retained as part of Gazankulu
- 11 Lisbon farm, Pilgrim's Rest district property of SA Development Trust is added to Gazankulu

group of Wits University academics (Cobbett, Glaser, Hindson, and Swilling). In a finely argued study, they say government's new approach to regional development is "to provide the basis for the future political and economic map of South Africa whether defined in federal or confederal terms."

Observing that government itself probably has no final blueprint (a point KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently made strongly when he doubted whether Botha knew "where he is going") the researchers acknowledge that not all facets of the plan are clear. But implicit in their analysis is the view that the homelands are eventually, for all practical purposes, to be unscrambled.

Identifying the "major contours" of government's emerging reform strategy since 1984, they maintain that it goes beyond the packages associated with Riekert (which has been abandoned as an influx-control strategy); the unlamented Koornhof Bills; the "new" constitution; the mooted confederation of ethnic states; and the "Total Strategy" of the Seventies. In contrast, the academics reckon, the new track "is based on abandonment of the political and territorial premises of apartheid — though not necessarily of race and ethnicity." The new reform strategy "envisages the eventual incorporation of the bantustans into a single national South African state," they aver.

There is evidence for this shift. It includes common citizenship; a moratorium on resettlement; black freehold rights; a rational urbanisation policy; a new focus on industrial development points not located deep in the homelands but catering for their labour catchment areas near (white) growth points; and the acceptance of the permanence of new black settlements like Khayelitsha in "white" SA. In tandem with the new approach to labour mobility and regional development are the reforms of local and second-tier government which correspond to the new constitution.

The academics write: "Central to the new reform strategy is the conception that the present provinces and bantustans will be superseded by metropolitan and regionally based administrative structures through a process of merging, absorption and cross-cutting of present geographical boundaries." Whereas government's planning proposals in 1975 divided SA into 44 "functional" regions, with homelands very much in mind, by 1981 Botha had unveiled a plan that divides the country into eight (now nine) development regions which ignore homeland borders. The establishment of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, Regional Develop-

ment Advisory Committees and similar forums underpins this thrust.

The major snag in the black third-tier level — composed of local authorities dealing with "own affairs" — is that the black local authority system has virtually died on the vine in the past year's township rebel-

lions. Will there be greater success at the second tier?

In May this year, the announced scrapping of provincial councils cleared the way for a system of new second-tier authorities, based on the nine regions, to replace them. The Wits academics suggest that the second-tier authorities, which fall under Heunis's aegis, could in the long run be transferred to multiracial regional authorities. In the short term, however, they are likely to be purely bu-



Chris Heunis

reaucratic institutions.

Such bodies would thus include black participation, demonstrate what government likes to call "co-operative co-existence," and could well be the forerunner of a federal system in SA. The transfer of the most important functions of the old Department of Co-operation and Development — Development Boards, consolidation, homeland liaison — to Heunis's DCDP again suggests the declining importance of the homelands.

Because the institutional pillars of apartheid, the homelands, could not succeed economically or politically, the academics contend, "their re-integration into a common economic and political framework was increasingly seen as inevitable, despite the independence of some homelands."

Further, the acceptance of black urbanisation and citizenship implies that sections of the black population must somehow be accommodated in central State institutions.

So, despite government's affirmation of homelands' continued existence, the view that, in the longer term, they could be re-integrated into SA gains credence. Especially if one makes allowance for government's reform-by-stealth approach, and repeated back-tracking from previously "inviolable" policies. The lesson from this is not to dismiss the federal idea too quickly.

The furthest government has gone in acknowledging that a wholly new dispensation is on the way is to explain, as Heunis has frequently done, that no one system (such as federalism) is the answer. Government stiffly maintains that to identify a particular model would be "prescribing" to those to be negotiated with.

It remains questionable whether Pretoria itself has a final constitutional blueprint — even though it has tenaciously been laying the foundations of what seems to be one, and a federal one at that.



# SA turmoil: US Congress urged to plan to ensure mineral supply

11/10/85-  
WASHINGTON — The United States does not face mineral shortages in the near future because the political turmoil in South Africa does not threaten exports of the products, US officials told Congress yesterday.

But several officials said the US would be wise to make long-range plans.

"The danger in the region is not so dramatic as to threaten in the short run our capacities to import minerals," Deputy Secretary of State Mr Frank Wisner told a House of Representatives subcommittee.

The US, however, did not control the situation in South Africa, so it should be certain it "has the abilities to assure the smooth functioning of our economy", he said.

1304A  
The question of US dependence on South Africa's minerals had not been adequately discussed in the American debate over Pretoria's racial policies, according to Mr Robert Wilson, director of the Commerce Department's office of strategic resources.

Mr Wilson said the US obtained the following amounts of

its imports from South Africa: chromium, 55 percent; platinum, 49 percent; vanadium, 44 percent; and manganese, 39 percent. Also, 61 percent of the US cobalt consumption flowed through South African ports.

These minerals were considered "strategic and critical" for industry as well as defence. He noted that the Soviet Union was

much less dependent on imports than the United States.

Mr Wilson said there was no indication that South Africa would retaliate against US sanctions by withholding minerals as they played a large role in South Africa's economy.

Mr Robert Horton, director of the Interior's Bureau of Mines, said South Africa was a "highly reliable" trading partner and he believed "a revolution would be very difficult because of the strength of the army".

To protect against mineral shortages in a national emergency or military conflict, the US had a minerals stockpile.

— Sapa-Associated Press



# PFP, ANC to hold talks in Zambia today

LUSAKA — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the leader the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), is due to meet officials of the African National Congress (ANC) today in Lusaka for talks on ways of ending apartheid in South Africa.

Mr Slabbert arrived in the Zambian capital yesterday and held an informal meeting with an official of the ANC, the exiled nationalist movement fighting white rule, in what he said was an attempt to work out an agenda for the meeting. 304A

He told the *Financial Times* that the PFP delegation to the talks would include Durban MP Peter Gastrow, PFP Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Colin Eglin, and MP Alex Boraine.

The fact that the ANC delegation would not include ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo (currently out of the country) appeared to be a deliberate snub to Mr Slabbert, whom the organisation has sharply criticised as too moderate.

It was not known which ANC officials would meet the PFP group. Asked what he hoped to achieve through the talks, believed to be the first between the PFP leader and the ANC, Dr Slabbert told the *Financial Times*: "We're here to talk. That's already an achievement."

STAR SOLICITED 12/10/85  
Dr Slabbert has in the past publicly offered to act as a mediator between President Botha and the ANC. President Botha has repeatedly ruled out talks with the organisation unless it renounced violence.

The PFP leader's participation in the talks, which it is understood were solicited by him, appears to be an attempt to expand his constituency and show that he is the one white leader in South Africa with enough credibility to talk to both moderate blacks like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the more radical ANC. It is believed that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda will not be involved in the ANC-PFP discussions.

It was understood in Lusaka, the ANC headquarters, that the main focus of the talks was likely to be an exchange of views on the issue of holding a national convention of all parties to map out the future of a multiracial South Africa, an idea strongly supported by Mr Slabbert and Chief Buthelezi. — *Financial Times*.



# Blacks will never rule — white poll

STAR 12/10/85 304A

Nearly two out of three whites in urban areas believe that there will never be a black majority government in South Africa.

A poll, conducted in August among 1 000 white urban adults by the Markinor Research Group, found that 64 percent of those polled believed South Africa would never be ruled by a black majority, while 34 percent disagreed.

The survey also revealed that Afrikaans-speakers — who comprised 72 percent of those interviewed — were more adamant than English-speakers that blacks would never take control of the country.

A breakdown of the survey showed residents of Pretoria (68 percent); the Reef (68 percent); and Durban (67 percent) were convinced they would never live under a black government.

But those polled in Cape Town (58 percent) and in Johannesburg (55 percent) were not so sure.

In the lower income group, those whose monthly earnings averaged R1 250 a month were convinced the present set-up would continue. But those whose average household income was more than R3 500 did not agree.

More women than men rejected the possibility of black majority rule. Overall, 49 percent of those interviewed anticipated black rule within the next 10 years.

● Professor Alf Stadler, head of the political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said that whites who believed there would never be black majority rule were "living in a fools' paradise".

Commenting on the Markinor poll, Professor Stadler said it was clear people were confusing their desires with reality.

"Those who say there will never be black majority rule are confirming their belief in the continuity of the status quo and in a government that can rule for ever," he said.

But it was interesting that a third of those interviewed seemed to have accepted that, one day, there would be a black majority government.

"I don't know whether that would have been the case 10 or 20 years ago," he said.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, head of political studies at Unisa, said the results of the poll did not surprise him.

"Whites will never support any government which is in favour of blacks having a meaningful share of government — and 'meaningful' cannot be less than 50 percent."

Professor Kleynhans said white perceptions of the future fell far short of what blacks expected. Blacks would accept only a reasonable role in government and that obviously meant majority rule. But only a bloody confrontation would make whites accept that.

"I cannot see that compromise is possible."

The few concessions the Government had made recently did not come from the heart but were forced upon them, the professor said.

"And, in the forthcoming by-elections, we are likely to see a right-wing backlash in reaction to proposed reforms." — Sapa-Staff Reporter.



The Star's Africa  
News Service

# Pik in Maputo for talks on Nkomati breaches

304H  
STAR  
12/10/85

MAPUTO — South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha flew to Maputo yesterday for talks believed to be about the Mozambican Government's complaints of South African violations of the Nkomati Accord.

He was accompanied by his newly appointed deputy, Mr Ron Miller.

The Mozambique news agency, AIM, said the meeting was requested by Mr Botha. It came four days after the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, claimed that documents on which the Mozambican allegations were based had been falsified for propaganda purposes.

General Viljoen's claim followed a news conference held in Maputo a week before, at which the Mozambique Security Minister, Colonel Sergio Vieira, released the documents — the so-called Vaz diary and two notebooks allegedly captured when government troops overran MNR headquarters at Gorongosa.

## DISTINCTION

The Mozambique team that met Mr Botha and Mr Miller consisted of the Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs, Major General Jacinto Veloso, Colonel Viera and the second Deputy Minister of the Interior, Mr Teodato Hunguana.

The statements at Colonel Vieira's news conference and subsequent reports by AIM have given a strong impression that the Frelimo Government draws a distinction between the role of the SADF and that of the politicians in the South African Government in the alleged Nkomati violations.

Maputo has indicated it sees the SADF as being responsible for the violations. It has strongly asserted it has no plans to cancel the Nkomati Accord despite the breaches.

At his news conference General Viljoen accused Maputo of trying to create the impression of conflict between the SADF and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

But AIM criticised him for inviting only South African journalists to his news conference.

AIM contrasted this with the fact that several South African journalists, including SABC representatives, had been allowed to attend the news conference in Maputo at which the Mozambican allegations were detailed.



# PFP will meet ANC

W/E ARGUS 12/10/85 (304A)

## Kaunda gives blessing

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, and three top PFP officials are to meet the African National Congress in Lusaka later today in a move which is expected to set off a clash with the South African Government.

The group, who prepared their meeting secretly — many senior members of the party did not know about it — arrived in the Zambian capital yesterday.

They held an informal meeting with an official of the ANC in what Dr Slabbert said was an attempt to work out an agenda for the meeting.

The ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, will not be at the talks. He is out of Zambia, and it could not be established last night which ANC officials would be at the meeting.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who was present at talks last month between the ANC and leading South African businessmen, is not expected to be present at today's talks, although they are known to have his blessing.

Dr Slabbert said yesterday the meeting was "exploratory", but declined to disclose details.

He is accompanied by Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the federal executive of the PFP, who has been on a brief European trip with Dr Slabbert; Mr Colin Eglin, PFP chairman; and the MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow.

President P W Botha, who expressed opposition to the talks between the ANC and businessmen, referred to his previous statement in his initial reaction last night.

In that statement Mr Botha interpreted the businessmen's meeting with the ANC as a stab in the back for young soldiers fighting the ANC on the borders.

### Criticism

Today's talks follow strong criticism by the ANC of Dr Slabbert's initiative to launch a national convention alliance as well as the PFP's close relationship with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha.

Dr Slabbert said he would "have to find out what the ANC meant" by its criticism.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

He has repeatedly said that he would prefer to have the ANC at a national convention and the organisation would have to be convinced that negotiation was a viable alternative, which would lead to it dropping the use of violence.

Asked what he hoped to achieve through the talks, the first between the PFP leader and the ANC, Dr Slabbert said: "We're here to talk. That's already an achievement."

Dr Slabbert's talks have been interpreted in Western capitals as an attempt to expand his constituency and show that he is the one white leader in South Africa with enough credibility to talk to both moderate blacks and the more radical ANC.

The ANC has not minced words in the past in criticising the Slabbert-Buthelezi convention alliance — BRUCE CAMERON, Weekend Argus Political Staff and PATTI WALDMEIR, Financial Times, Lusaka.



PFP's Mrs Di Bishop allowed to attend service for unrest victim

# Police chief Coetzee overruled funeral ban

12/10/85

STH

Own Correspondent

Cape Town

Commissioner of Police General Johan Coetzee overruled a decision by the acting District Commandant for Worcester forbidding Mrs Di Bishop from attending the funeral of an unrest victim at Zweletemba township yesterday.

Mrs Bishop — the Progressive Federal Party MPC for Gardens — had been invited to the funeral of Mr Thomas Kolo (18), who died after being shot by police on October 1.

Mrs Bishop was initially refused permission to attend the funeral.

He ruled that "no person other than black" would be allowed into Zweletemba township.

**'No reconsideration'**

She contacted Colonel Swart yesterday and was told he was not prepared to reconsider his decision.

She then telephoned General Coetzee, who overruled the Col-

onel on "humanitarian grounds".

General Coetzee apparently told her he hoped she would be a "moderating influence".

The Chief Magistrate for Worcester, Mr C P van Wyk, ordered restrictions on the funeral on Wednesday because he had "reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered by the gathering".

But, according to people who attended the funeral there were no incidents despite a "provocative" police presence.

The funeral was attended by about 1 000 people. Police parked nearby and photographed mourners.

## Restrictions

The restrictions included that only the service minister, Mr Kolo's grandparents, parents, brothers or sisters, should be allowed to address the gathering.

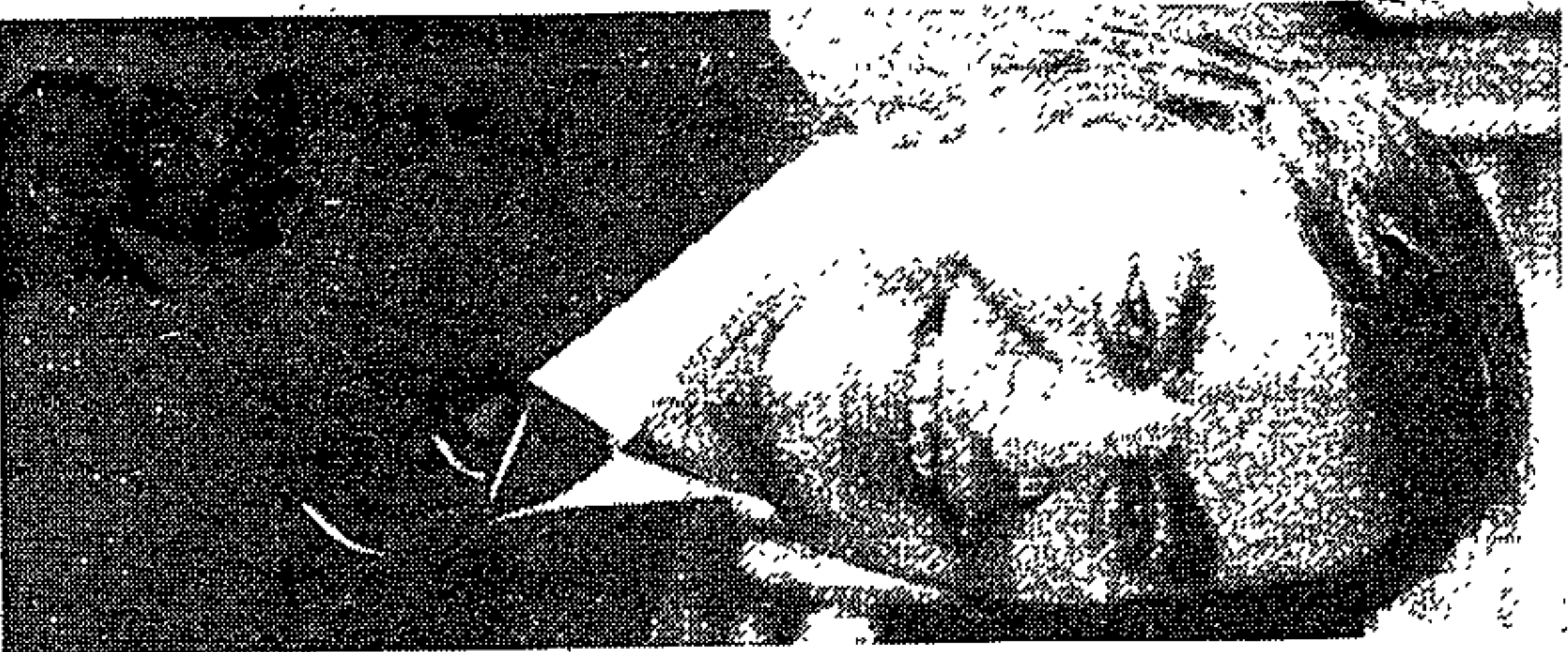
A message from the Civil Rights League, which was to be read at the funeral yesterday, said the "suffering of the people of Worcester was known around the world".

"You have the support and admiration of people in every country who respect civilised standards of law enforcement and government."





# Reforms: Why the Government



DR. ANTON RUPERT

A striking paradox is building up on the South African political scene. On the constitutional front, the Government has great problems in finding any common ground between it and the mass of the black population.

The formulae and structures the Government is contemplating for black participation in government are so inadequate that blacks hardly find them worth discussing. It is with good reason that Dr Anton Rupert recently exhorted the Government in Zwingli's memorable words: "For God's sake, do something brave."

In contrast, the Government appears to be much more realistic in trying to cure or eradicate some of the major distortions apartheid helped to produce. Handled correctly, the President's Council recommendation to abolish influx control could be a breakthrough in alleviating some of the acute poverty and unemployment in the country.

Influx control is without a doubt the single policy which has caused the greatest distortion of our system. It is due to influx control that South Africa is under-urbanised by about 10 percent (or 2 million to 3 mil-

lion people), and that more than half of the black population of close to 30 million live in the homelands covering only 13 percent of South Africa's land mass.

Influx control has limited the consumer market, and it has curbed the mobility of labour, thereby causing serious bottlenecks in production. It has had a cancerous effect on an economy increasingly dependent on manufacturing.

There have been also other costs. There is the bitter toll of more than 17 million arrests of Africans for pass laws offences over the past seven decades.

This year, the Cabinet decided that influx control should be modified substantially. Word was sent to the Nationalist members of the President's Council which, in its report of August 25, recommended the abolition of the reference-book system as a means of applying influx control. It also recommended that measures for orderly urbanisation should not discriminate on the basis of race or colour.

However, acceptance of these recommendations clearly does not mean that the Government

## THE PA... HI

is now at one with like the Black Sash of influx control.

It is up to Mr C. Development of C. Department to have policy of orderly urbanisation such a way that it come a new instrument venting Africans to the cities.

At present, there controls regulating flux.

The first is the scribing the present in cities.

At present only A Section 10 "rights" a with a contract are the city.

The only way in can be policed is th arrests of Africans' ence books are not dications are that terminated. The c ports the President slightly paradoxica dation that in furu



Championship in 1977.

In the following year he moved up to Formula 3 racing, scoring limited success by the end of the season. In 1979, he was back on top with six wins to take the European Formula 3 title.

At Monaco he caught the eyes of the Formula 1 team managers and, at the end of the 1979 season, he was offered a test drive with the Marlboro-McLaren team.

Despite the switch from the 97.5kw of the Formula 3 to the 375 kw of a Grand Prix car, Prost put up an impressive showing and was immediately signed to race for Marlboro McLaren in 1980.

He scored a point in his first race for the team in Argentina but it was a difficult season for Marlboro-McLaren and little success came. Prost's way. In 1981, he decided to accept an offer from the Renault team. In his first of three sea-

with two more wins to take fifth place in the world championship points.

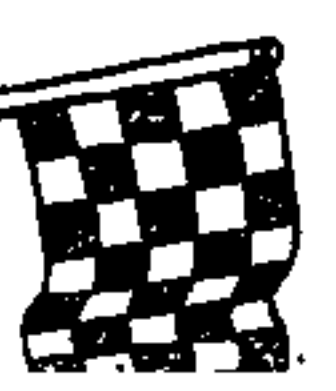
In 1982, five pole positions and two more wins established him as a regular front-runner but a series of non-finishes caused by engine problems left him fourth in the points at the end of the season.

Four early victories in 1983 made Prost a strong favourite for the championship but, when BMW improved their engine in Nelson Piquet's Brabham, Renault was unable to respond.

Prost saw his championship chances slip away in the final race of the season and he lost the title to Piquet by two points.

Relationships became strained and, at the end of the season, Prost made a surprise break with Renault. Later that year, it was announced that he would join a completely restructured Marlboro-McLaren team for 1984.

"The team was completely different to the one I left and I immediately felt very comfortable back with McLaren. I was also delighted to



He was well in Estoril, Portugal; strong finish points, but fell in the terrible caused by heavy spun out of the way.

A brake problem resulted in an caused his retirement but, other finished in the every other year.

The three points his fourth up. Brands Hatch finished him off world champion two races before of the season. Prost now won 1985 with two the Marlboro-McLaren team to equal record of seven season and to total number of 23 — just two Niki Lauda's car of 25 wins.



Agas 14/10/85  
38 (Cont from Page 1) 30487

# 'Immoral to sit on hands'

place in a guest house in Lusaka and went on for about eight hours.

Before the recent talks between the ANC and a group of prominent South African businessmen Mr Botha indicated he thought such action bordered on the unpatriotic. He has repeatedly emphasised that he is not willing to talk to the ANC unless it renounces violence as a means of political change.

Referring to the reasons for the meeting, Dr Slabbert said he had made it clear earlier this year that he believed the PFP needed to explore all possibilities to promote the politics of negotiation.

He had made it clear the party was prepared to talk to anybody or any organisation with a view to decreasing violent confrontation and promoting the politics of negotiation.

"It would be totally immoral to sit on our hands when South

Africa is sliding into an escalating crisis."

As talks from the Government side were not possible at this stage, the same attitude seemed to exist from the ANC side.

If certain preconditions — the release of political prisoners and the dismantling of apartheid — were met, negotiations could take place.

The relevance of the armed struggle would then decrease and violence would cease.

There was a definite willingness on the part of the ANC to respond to moves that would make negotiations possible.

Dr Slabbert said the real issue was "how far the Government is prepared to go to get rid of apartheid and to seek a peaceful resolution of our problems."

"This would determine how many lives are lost in the final analysis. This is where one's first loyalty must lie — to all the young people of South Africa."



# Bitter row on SA sanctions expected

30419 STAR 14/10/85

The Star Bureau

London

Bitter controversy on the issue of sanctions against South Africa is expected at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, which begins in Nassau in the Bahamas tomorrow.

There were certain to be bitter exchanges between British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher and her colleagues, said UK Labour spokesman Mr Donald Anderson, appearing yesterday on the BBC television programme "Sunday".

Mr Anderson predicted that Britain would stand alone against the Commonwealth.

Frontline African states at the meeting would call for sanctions against South Africa but would be relieved if Britain refused them, said Mr Malcolm Rifkind, Britain's South Africa expert, appearing on the same programme.

Also giving his views was Dr Denis Worrall, the South African Ambassador in London.

## 'Humbug'

He said South Africa would regard as "humbug" any Commonwealth decision in favour of sanctions because "South Africa's human rights record is far better than most of the African members of the Commonwealth".

Mr Rifkind listed measures Britain had already taken and said "There is no difference in principle between Britain and the Commonwealth. We've come a long way on sanctions but we are not prepared to implement trade and economic boycotts.

"The facts of geography are that any successful embargo would devastate South Africa's neighbours. In their public statements they will show solidarity with the Commonwealth. Privately they'll be very relieved when we say no," Mr Rifkind said.

Dr Worrall launched a scathing attack on Australia, saying it was in its own interest to lead the campaign against South Africa.

"We are competitors," Dr Worrall said, adding: "When politicians talk of morality it is time to run for cover."

## 'Principles the same'

Mr Rifkind and Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Sonny Ramphal agreed there was no difference of principle between Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth.

Heads of government at the meeting would argue with Britain over the mechanisms for forcing change, they said.

"I think Britain may be able to agree to the package of measures and preserve her economic self-interest," Sir Sonny said. "No one is talking of trade sanctions or disinvestment."

"South Africa is beginning to respond even to talk of sanctions. We may not have to go very far down that road if we are united."

Dr Worrall said the Commonwealth as a moral force was regarded with the utmost contempt in South Africa.

The Commonwealth complained about South Africa but not about the 200 000 dead in Uganda. If it opted for sanctions it would have very little political effect, he said, but a very great effect on South Africa's neighbours.

Any action without Britain was doomed to failure.



# ANC, PFP may talk again

TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party is to continue contact with the African National Congress and more meetings would be held "if and where necessary", the leader of the party, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said today.

## 'Apartheid lies at the heart of SA crisis'

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party and the African National Congress issued a joint statement after wide-ranging discussions in Lusaka on Saturday.

The statement read: "Apartheid lies at the heart of the present crisis in South Africa. Both sides share the urgent need to dismantle apartheid and to establish a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa."

"Both are deeply concerned to conserve the human and natural resources of our country and to remove one of the most potent factors affecting the whole of the Southern African region."

"Areas of difference were discussed in a frank and cordial atmosphere. In particular there were differences on the role and the centrality of the armed struggle in bringing about fundamental change."

"On the question of a national convention for a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa, the PFP explained its position that such a convention could only take place when certain conditions were met."

"The ANC stated that it does not consider that there has come into being at the present moment a climate under which it can begin a negotiated resolution to the crisis."

"At the same time the ANC does not rule out for all time either a convention as a means of devising a constitution or negotiations as a means of resolving the crisis."

"Both believe that one of the urgent issues is to secure the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees."

"Both sides agreed that the meeting was extremely useful and if necessary would happen again."

The party will communicate with the Government about the weekend meeting in Lusaka.

Dr Slabbert indicated that he would be willing to brief President P W Botha on the meeting if the President was interested.

A spokesman for the President's Office said today Mr Botha's attitude had not changed from what he had said in the past and that he had nothing to add to this.

## In good spirit

Dr Slabbert said today the discussions had taken place in a good spirit.

In Lusaka the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, hailed the talks as a step "that broadens the anti-apartheid base".

While the ANC was not willing to commit itself to the PFP's idea of a national convention, Mr Nzo said he would not rule out negotiations "for all time" and it is understood that the ANC executive will discuss the matter further.

While the ANC maintained that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's participation in the PFP-backed convention alliance was a major barrier to its participation, the PFP group said it was essential to have him involved in such initiatives.

## Urgent need

A joint statement by the two groups said the two sides agreed that there was an urgent need to dismantle apartheid and to establish a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said today the talks had encouraged him to believe South Africa could still negotiate itself out of its problems. The most important conclusion reached at the talks was that apartheid lay at the root of South Africa's problems.

He had been given the clear understanding the ANC would reconsider its position regarding negotiations and the cessation of an armed struggle once the structure of apartheid was removed and its leaders freed.

The talks between a four-man ANC delegation under the leadership of Mr Nzo, and Dr Slabbert and three PFP MPs, Dr Alex Boraine, Mr Colin Eglin and Mr Peter Gastrow, took

(Turn to Page 3, col 5)



# PFP, ANC link in call for Mandela's release

Mercury 14/10/85  
204A 304A

**Mercury Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG—**  
The banned African National Congress and South Africa's Official Opposition yesterday issued a joint statement in Lusaka calling for the release of Nelson Mandela.

On his return here last night, leader of the PFP, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert said the ANC had not dismissed the possibility of negotiations with white South Africans in future.

Speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after returning from a Lusaka meeting with ANC members, he said he had attempted to bring together all parties involved in the South African political situation who were opposed to violence.

'The meeting created a useful platform for possible future talks,' he said.

'The ANC said they would reconsider their

situation in the light of information given to them and they made it clear there was a wide range of possibilities to be discussed for a democratic South Africa,' said Dr Slabbert.

'A conducive climate has to be established for negotiations and this means dismantling apartheid.'

Dr Slabbert said that the meeting had lasted for more than six hours and had been frank and

cordial.

It had been extremely useful and might happen again although no date for future talks had been set.

The ANC had said violence had been resorted to only after all democratic alternatives had proved useless.

Dr Slabbert said he had not met ANC leader Oliver Tambo because he had been out of the country.

The PFP had no intention of 'playing referee' between Inkatha and the ANC. 'We feel Buthelezi cannot be left out and should be included in all efforts of negotiation.'

A joint statement issued in Lusaka said the

PFP and the ANC agreed on the urgent need to dismantle apartheid and establish a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

They disagreed on how this might be achieved.

They also differed on the possibility of holding a national convention to resolve the apartheid crisis.



# 'New deal must include blacks'

Pietermaritzburg  
Bureau

THE accommodation of blacks in the new provincial dispensation, together with whites, coloureds and Indians, had to be seriously considered, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said here on Saturday.

This was because the Government had accepted the principle of power sharing with blacks, he said in Pietermaritzburg at a function to mark the 75th anniversary of Natal's Provincial Council.

The structure and circumstances created by the new constitution's introduction in 1983 de-

manded dramatic changes on a provincial level.

The Government announced in Parliament earlier this year that provincial councils as they are known today would be abolished between April and June next year, although the four administrators would remain.

'Where provincial authorities presently deal with own as well as general affairs, it is necessary to make the same distinction between these affairs on this level as on the other governmental levels,' Mr Heunis said in a prepared speech.

'In this way a possible disturbed functional relationship between the different levels of government will be prevented

and the constitutional guidelines of the government can also be implemented by means of new provincial structures.'

## Answerable

The new second tier system would only deal with general affairs. There would be a strengthened executive authority to deal with these affairs at second level in the form of an administrator and executive committee with extensive statutory subordinate legislative and executive powers.

This body would be directly answerable to Parliament for its handling of second tier political, financial and administrative matters via a special

standing committee for the province concerned, Mr Heunis said.

He added that proposals for the new structure of second tier government might be adapted later if necessary to conform to needs which might develop.

'The Government has accepted the principle of power sharing with blacks.

'Therefore the accommodation of blacks in the new provincial system, together with whites, coloureds and Indians must be seriously considered,' he said.

It was important that people in the provinces took the initiative themselves to work out solutions that could be put before government.

'In this regard, the province of Natal and KwaZulu can play a leading role ... it may result in a new relationship between black and white in the region,' the minister said.



# Slabbert: Negotiation still possible

Cape Times  
14/10/85  
304A

Joggi  
Matie  
woma  
stabbed

Staff Reporter

A UNIVERSITY of  
lenbosch student  
stabbed in the  
knife-wielding man  
attacked her while  
was jogging in  
sportsfield in the  
on Saturday after.

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spokesman, Lieut  
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self. He then fled.

Miss Auret was i  
at a local hospital  
being discharged.

Police are con  
their investigation  
arrests have been

**THE** leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, last night said his talks with the African National Congress executive in Lusaka had encouraged him to believe that South Africa could still negotiate itself out of its problems.

Dr Slabbert was speaking on his return to Cape Town from Lusaka where he and three other PFP members held talks for eight hours with senior ANC members on Saturday.

Dr Slabbert said the most important conclusion reached during the talks, the first between the ANC and PFP, was that apartheid lay at the root of the conflict in South Africa.

"By apartheid is meant the absence of freedom of association in our political, social and economic life," he said.

He had been given the clear understanding that the ANC would reconsider its position on negotiations and the cessation of the armed struggle once the structure of apartheid had been removed and its leaders set free.

"Although we differed on the question of the armed struggle and the role of violence, I have come away encouraged that, despite the very strong differences between the political actors in the South African drama, a negotiated way out of our problems is still possible," Dr Slabbert said.

Earlier, at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport, Dr Slabbert said the ANC did not dismiss all forms of negotiation in the future.

"It says 'Well, under certain circumstances we would consider such negotiations'."

Before leaving Lusaka, the ANC and the PFP delegations issued a joint statement calling for the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

## 'Share need to dismantle apartheid'

The statement said the release of Mr Mandela and the others was necessary in order to resolve the issue of apartheid, which has plunged South Africa into 20 months of unrest.

According to an ANC spokesman, the joint statement said: "Both groups share the urgent need to dismantle apartheid and establish a non-racial and democratic South Africa."

However, the two groups said they differed on the strengthening of the armed struggle as a means of bringing a quick end to apartheid.

The two groups also differed on the possibility of holding a national convention.

"The ANC does not consider that there has come into being a conducive climate to reach a negotiated resolution of the crisis," the statement said.

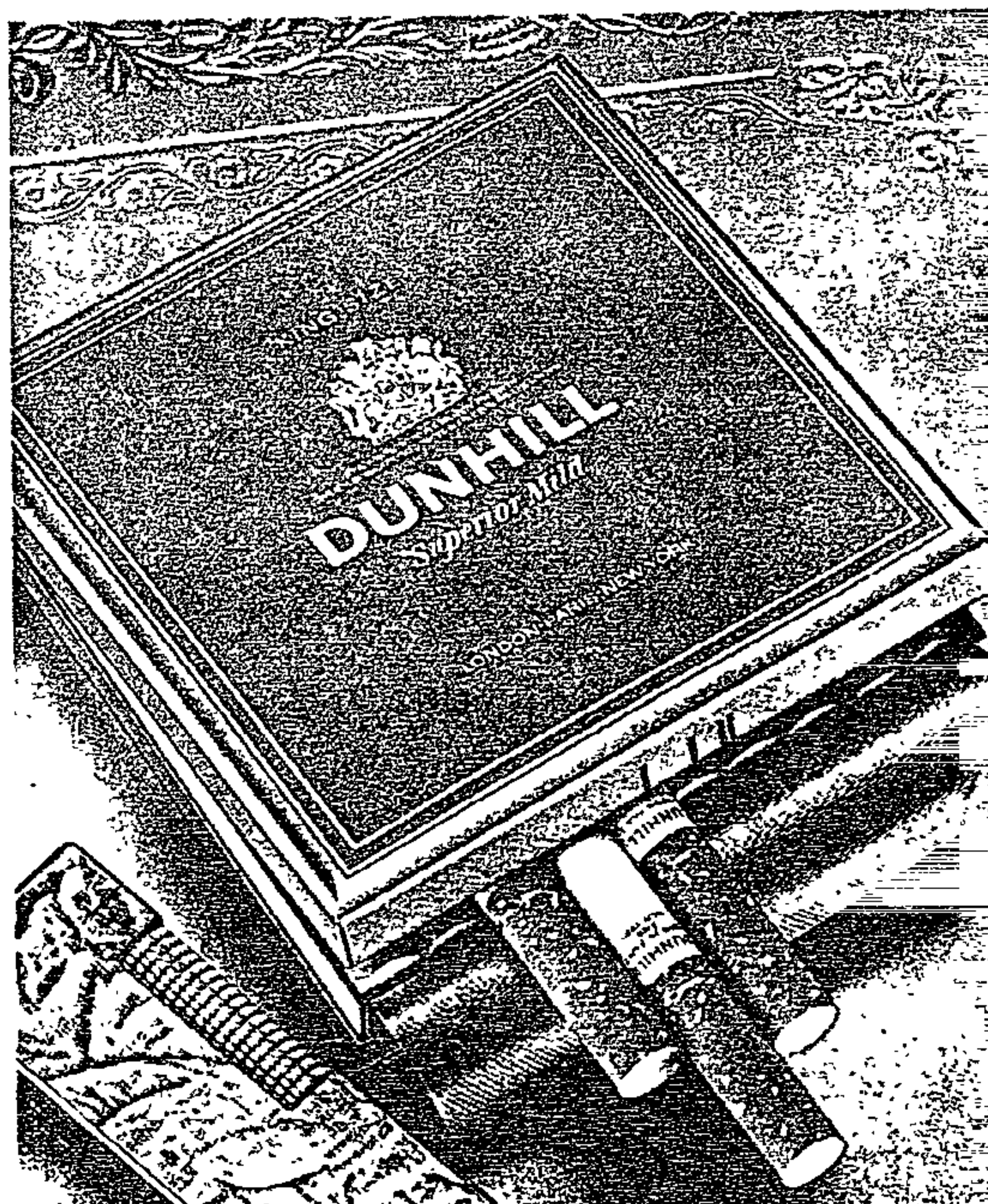
The ANC has also been critical of Dr Slabbert's association with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, whose supporters have allegedly been responsible for attacks on members of the United Democratic Front.

Answering a question later about an alliance with Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement at a joint press conference with the ANC secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, Dr Slabbert said: "We feel Buthelezi cannot be left out and should be included in all efforts of negotia-



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

Mr Alfred Nzo





# SUM POSSIBLE

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Dr Slabbert also said the ANC could not be excluded in any negotiation to bring about a settlement as it was an important factor in a peaceful South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said that on his return to South Africa he would make attempts to meet President P W Botha to brief him on the outcome of the meeting.

As opposed to the South African Government propaganda that the ANC is an organization which is under foreign control, we found ANC people to be genuinely committed South Africans who are deeply involved in the problem of apartheid and have the fullest desire to be back home, if possible tomorrow."

Dr Slabbert said his delegation met the Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, on Saturday night to brief him on the talks.

Dr Slabbert said the only reason he had not met Mr Oliver Tambo was because the ANC leader was out of the country. Mr Tambo had sent his apologies so there had been no implied snub as was reported in a Sunday newspaper.

Mr Nzo is the second-highest-ranking member of the ANC after Mr Tambo. — Sapa-Reuter-AP, UPI



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert



Mr Alfred Nzo

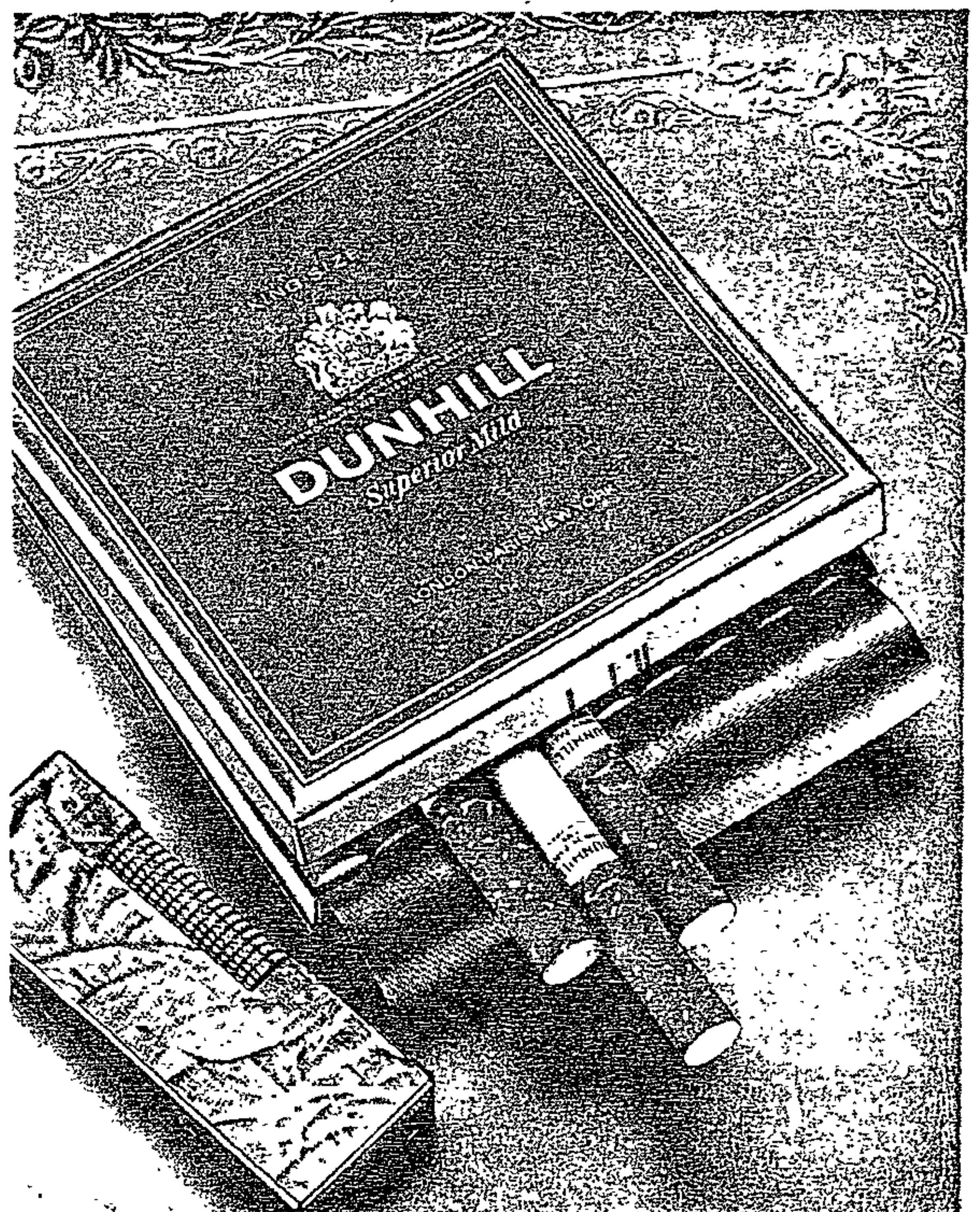
spokesman, Lieutenant E A van Eeden, said yesterday that 21-year-old Miss Edie Auret, of the Heemstede residence, was jogging near the Vergenoeg grounds when the man, who was riding a bicycle and estimated to be about 32, spotted her.

He followed her, at first on his bicycle and then on foot, as she jogged, Lieutenant Van Eeden said.

When the man caught up with her, he attacked her with a knife, causing a 2cm slash to the palm of Miss Auret's hand as she tried to defend herself. He then fled.

Miss Auret was treated at a local hospital before being discharged.

Police are continuing their investigations. No arrests have been made.



**DUNHILL**  
**SUPERIOR MILD**  
**King Size**

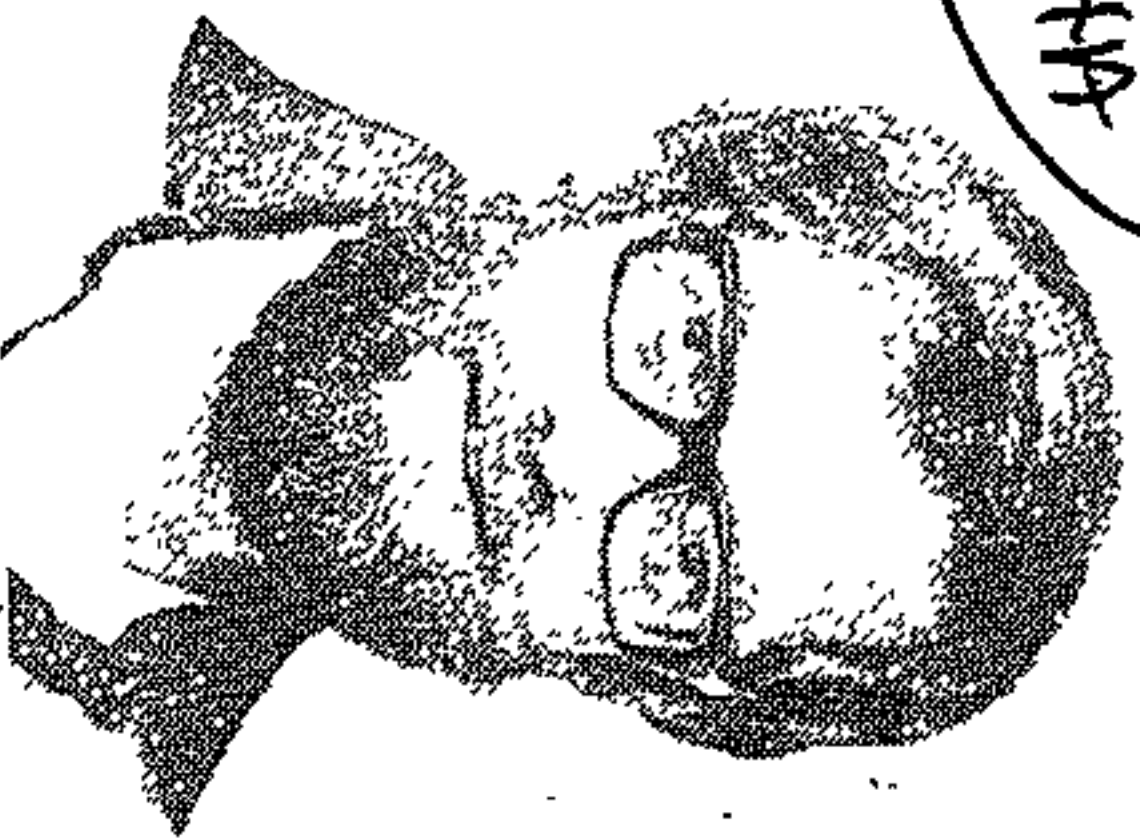
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finest Superior Mild cigarette in the world



# A blueprint for freedom

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

2044



Professor Marinus Wiechers

South Africa's political salvation lies in a phased-in "true consociational democracy" with a comprehensive legal system to protect group and individual rights, according to a Human Sciences Research Council report released today.

The report by the HSRC's Constitutional and Political Committee, under the chairmanship of Professor Marinus Wiechers, was one of 11 submitted by various committees to make up the council's overall findings on intergroup relations which were published in July.

## THE ROOT

The overall report criticised the apartheid system for fueling racial friction and violence and called for drastic changes in the political, social and economic order.

The 98-page report says the system of statutory racial categorisation, as determined by the Population Registration Act of 1950, is the cornerstone of South African intergroup regulation and, probably, the root of the

foundations already present, so as to ensure wider legitimacy and eventually sounder intergroup relations.

Such foundations include the maintenance of Western democratic traditions and institutions, coupled with a rejection of authoritarian governments and authority; respect for public order and the system of law; promotion of free enterprise and private ownership; recognition of individual rights as well as public freedoms such as that of the Press and opposition groups and the right to free association.

Professor Marinus Wiechers current ill-feeling between the groups.

The report's essential finding is that the legitimacy of the current political system and its structures are so questioned and contested by the greater part of the total population that there can be no healthy and lasting intergroup relations until they are reviewed and reformed.

This does not imply a total abolition of existing structures and political procedures which would amount to a revolutionary change in the system. It does imply evolutionary reform and progressive construction on those democratic

that the claim of each group to maintain its own identity is justified and proper.

The committee recommends that, in the first instance, there should be the creation of a fundamental legal system for the protection of group interests.

The correct balance between individual, group and State rights has to be found and the boundaries between them defined and cordoned off.

The second recommendation is the creation of a truly participatory or consociational government.

This is not an absolute form of government which would be permanent or rigid. As the government of co-operation progresses and political unity grows it becomes less important to use protections and restrictions such as vetoes and constitutional blocking mechanisms.

All subordinate government institutions must be based on the same legal system and imbued with the same consociational characteristics.

The independent homelands must be treated as full partners in the Southern African community, while the self-governing national states should become

autonomous regional governments in a decentralised system.

The public service should be integrated as the executive arm and vehicle of a participatory democracy with a true consociational or co-operation government.

The committee says in the report that such a broad and detailed reform programme cannot take place overnight so it should be brought about in phases.

The first phase would involve the signing of a declaration of intent by all the group leaders — creating the legal order to protect individual and group rights as well as the proposed consociational democracy.

In the second phase there should be satisfactory resolution of the citizenship issue, the establishment of regional governments as well as co-operative structures over national boundaries, and the setting up of consociational administrations at local level.

In the third phase a consociational government in which all groups would take part would be formed by consensus at central government level.



# SA Govt, ANC could hold talks, says Slabbert

It was possible the South African Government and the African National Congress would hold talks provided certain conditions were met, Progressive Federal Party leader Dr van Zyl Slabbert said today.

Dr Slabbert and a PFP delegation returned to South Africa yesterday after talks with the ANC in Lusaka on Saturday.

He said he was prepared to brief Pretoria on the talks and hoped the two sides could get together if certain conditions such as the release of political prisoners and the dismantling of apartheid were met.

In Lusaka, the PFP talks were hailed by the ANC as a step that "broadens the anti-apartheid base".

However, it was clear the two sides found little common ground on the central issue of how

apartheid should go. Dr Slabbert and the ANC stressed the "extreme usefulness" of the talks, contrasting sharply with the tone of past attacks on the PFP leader for being too moderate.

Dr Slabbert was thought to have solicited ANC views on its willingness to take in a "national convention" to work out a constitution for a "united, non-radical and democratic South Africa".

The ANC said it had no intention of taking part in the convention now, but would not rule out negotiations.

The two sides said they had differed on the use of violence and sanctions to bring about fundamental change in South Africa but left the door open for more talks. — Political Correspondent, *The Financial Times*

● See Page 5.



# PFP complaints offices on police action open to silence

Nobody came forward on Saturday to lay complaints at the Progressive Federal Party offices about police or army actions in Reef townships.

The special offices in Edenvale and Johannesburg opened on Saturday.

Mr Brian Goodall, MP for Edenvale, said the short notice given of the establishment of the complaint offices could have caused the dearth of action.

He said that on Saturdays, between 10 am and noon, members of the PFP and a team of legal

representatives would take affidavits from East Rand residents of Tembisa, Benoni, and Brakpan and Springs at the party's regional office at 1 Protea Place corner Van Riebeeck Avenue and Fourth Street, Edenvale.

He said people could phone 609-8503 in the mornings.

Appointments in Johannesburg, which will cater for West Rand townships, could be made at 29-0211. People could hand in their affidavits at the Johannesburg PFP office, 14th Floor Arma-

dale Place, 261 Bree Street, he said.

Earlier the South African Defence Force appealed to residents in townships to come forward with any complaints about members of the security forces.

Colonel Basil Ginsberg, senior Citizen Force manpower liaison officer on the Witwatersand, said people who were afraid to lodge complaints directly to the Citizen Force or the nearest police station could do so through their employers.

"We have started a seven-day circle at Mokoleng (Randfontein) Soweto, Katlehong (Germiston), Daveyton (Benoni), kwaThema (Springs), Sebokeng (Vaal) and people can lay complaints between 5 pm and 7 pm on weekdays and 2 pm to 5 pm on weekends.

"The public should realise that we are not above the law. If men in the brown uniform did anything wrong, they will answer for it. We are not in the townships to make enemies but to make friends," he said.



# 50 cities declare war

NEW YORK — Fifty American cities have pledged themselves to apply stronger sanctions against South Africa.

Representatives and mayors of the 50 cities took this decision when they assembled in New York at the weekend to discuss possible future actions against apartheid.

Jennifer Davis, executive director of the American Committee on Africa, one of the or-

## on apartheid

304th

South Africa

15/10/85

SOVIETAN Correspondent

organisations in the forefront of the US divestment campaign told a Press conference:

- More needs to be done quickly and the conference was called to plan such action.

The conference was

co-ordinated by the American Committee on Africa and co-sponsored by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid.

The Rev Jesse Jackson, chairman of the National Rainbow Coal-

out of the reason for its existence," he said.

"Every moral and ethical imperative that drove us to stop trading with Germany in 1945 must stop us from trading with South Africa in 1985," he said.

"We are fighting for citizenship for South Africa," he said.

Among the legislators assembled were 15 mayors of the largest cities in the US and officials from 36 cities which



REV JACKSON ... battle for equality.

have already approved divestment legislation, involving of billions of dollars of public funds.



RR645 15/10/85

# Maties to meet ANC's Youth League

GAYE DAVIS, Staff Reporter

EIGHT Stellenbosch University student leaders and a student chaplain are to travel to Lusaka this month to hold talks with the Youth League of the banned African National Congress in the face of official condemnation from the rector, Professor Mike de Vries.

The meeting will probably be the first contact with the exiled ANC initiated by white South African university students.

Professor de Vries has officially dissociated himself and the university from the group's plan to meet Youth League members on October 26 and one member — student representative council vice-chairman Miss Mardina van der Walt — has withdrawn

Professor de Vries said today he had appealed to the group not to go ahead but they had told them they would.

A member of the group said today they had taken a collective decision not to comment on the issue "at this stage" but still hoped to go.

## CAMPUS NEWSPAPER

Professor de Vries said that although the group had arranged the visit in their personal capacities and not as an official delegation from Stellenbosch University, he had "made it clear" to them that he condemned the trip "in the strongest possible terms" and dissociated himself and the university from it.

But, he said, no steps would be taken against members of the group —

which includes SRC chairman Mr Phillip Verster and Mr Eric le Grange, editor of the campus newspaper, Die Matie — if they went ahead.

Others in the group are former Die Matie editor Mr Anton Steenkamp, a member of the Nusas branch recently formed on campus, SRC member Mr Johan Olivier, former SRC members Ms Annami Oosthuysen and Mr Hendrik du Toit, Mr Hennie Bester, chairman of the university's debating society, and Mr Hans Muller, chairman of the campus Church-Youth Action.

The ninth member is Ned Geref Kerk clergyman the Rev Carel Anthonissen.

"In my opinion, dialogue at this stage would have no meaning," Professor de Vries said.



and organiser of the Lusaka meeting

# PFP leader of the future?

ARCUS

15/10/85

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Mr Peter Gastrow

Mrs Gastrow, who has three children, is also interested in politics and this week publishes a Who's Who to South African politics in 1985 which contains the biographies of 112 parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political leaders.

Mr Gastrow is firmly committed to getting rid of the apartheid system by peaceful means and it was for this reason that he arranged the meeting with the ANC at the weekend

A YOUNG man who voted for the National Party in 1966 turned his back on the government five years later when he watched a settled mission community being forcibly removed.

The young man was Mr Peter Gastrow, the PFP member of Parliament for Durban Central who was the organiser of the weekend meeting between the Progressive Federal party and the African National Congress in Lusaka.

The son of German immigrants who arrived in South Africa in 1935, Mr Gastrow was born in 1947 and grew up on the Lutheran Mission Station at Middleburg in the Transvaal.

It was this Mission that was forcibly cleared with the homes of his friends bulldozed and burnt that set Mr Gastrow firmly on a political career.

In a remarkable rise through Party ranks, Mr Gastrow, after only four years in parliament is already vice-chairman of the federal executive of the PFP. He is also spoken of as a potential future leader of the PFP and could possibly follow on the heels of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

After completing his matric at the German High School at Hermansburg in Natal, Mr Gastrow did his training in the air force. After this he went to the University of Natal where he graduated with a B Com LLB degree.

He served briefly at the Bar leaving a good impression on his colleagues.

Legal men have said that if Mr Gastrow had stuck to law he would have reached the top of the profession.

However, Mr Gastrow has been lost to law as with his election in 1981 he decided to withdraw from the Bar and devote himself full time to politics.

"If I do something I want to do it properly. If I am in politics I must be in politics. Only in that way can I play my role effectively".

In his first year at university, Mr Gastrow joined the Conservative Students Association which at the time was chaired by the now provincial secretary of the National Party, Mr Renier Schoeman. It was the heyday of Mr Owen Horwood as principal of the university.

However, Mr Gastrow resigned from the organisation because he was concerned about its direct government links. It was still however, some time until he turned his back on the National Party. The clearance of the mission came during a university vacation.

"That event turned me irrevocably against the government. I still boil when I think about it. Overnight genuinely moderate and honest people were embittered and made totally pessimistic. They had no future."

And since arriving in politics, Mr Gastrow has proved an able critic of the government's policies, needling them time and again.

Mr Gastrow is not given to extravagant or rash statements.

His legal background shows through with his logical and well-researched arguments.

He has concentrated mainly on the law and order portfolio and played a major role in the Progressive Federal Party exposures of the shootings at Langa near Uitenhage.

He also represented the PFP in a legal capacity at the commission of inquiry into the shooting of 19 people by the police at a funeral procession.

In recent months he, with another up and coming PFP MP, Mr Roger Burrows, has played an active role in attempting to resolve violence in the townships around Durban.

THE historic weekend talks between the African National Congress and the Progressive Federal Party were set up by PFP Member of Parliament for Durban Central Mr Peter Gastrow.

Mr Gastrow set arrangements in motion earlier this year when he met ANC officials in Harare while visiting his parents-in-law who farm in Zimbabwe.

The possibility of the talks taking place were kept highly confidential — even from most members of the PFP caucus — to prevent a leak to the Press.

Mr Gastrow said it was felt that if they were public knowledge positions would have been taken on the talks that could have affected the outcome.

There was no intention of keeping the talks secret once they had taken place.

Mr Gastrow has rejected criticisms by President P W Botha of talks with the ANC, saying he felt he had done the right thing.

"President Botha's remarks ignore the fact that the ANC must necessarily be one of the parties involved in restructuring our country.

"It is short-sighted and dangerous not to acknowledge this."

BRUCE CAMERON of The Argus Political Staff looks at the career of Mr Gastrow, who is being seen as a future leader of the PFP.

And in his own constituency he applies himself equally enthusiastically. Soon after being elected, he opened an advice centre which handles about 1 000 inquiries a year with the number increasing annually. The problems range from pensions to military matters to race classification.

The effectiveness of the advice centre is showing in an unusual way. By far the majority of the queries he deals with now come from outside his constituency.

While at university he met his wife Shelagh, a Zimbabwean.



307A  
ANC calls PFP  
a force in SA  
ANC 7-76 12/10/85

From MICHAEL  
HARTNACK

HARARE. — The African National Congress does not believe negotiations on the future of South Africa should involve only itself and President PW Botha's government, ANC information secretary Mr Tom Sabina said yesterday.

In a telephone interview from the organization's Lusaka headquarters, Mr Sabina said the weekend meeting in Zambia with leaders of the Progressive Federal Party could not be regarded as merely a "getting to know you" exchange of views with an internally-based group of South Africans who held no executive power.

"The ANC recognizes that the PFP represents a very important and significant constituency in society," he said. With 25 percent of white voters behind it, the PFP was a

force in the same way that the business leaders who visited Zambia in September represented major socio-economic interests in South Africa, in the view of the ANC.

Though the organization felt the time was inappropriate for a national convention as envisaged by the PFP, it believed "everybody, every organization, must be participants in the democratic process which will bring apartheid to an end."

His organization differed with the PFP, however, over the participation of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, whom it regarded as a representative of the South African Government.

"His screaming and raving against the ANC has put him effectively on the side of Botha. He has become part of the problem," said Mr Sabina.



# HSRC's plan to axe statutory apartheid

IF GOVERNMENT accepts the major recommendations of the report by the HSRC's constitutional and political committee it would imply major changes to the remaining pillars of statutory apartheid — the Population Registration Act and Group Areas Act, government officials said yesterday.

"The government has committed itself to the scrapping of all discriminatory measures, and if it agrees with the committee that certain measures are discriminatory then it will probably act to have them removed," one senior official said.

But he was quick to add: "I doubt, though, that the principle of the Group Areas Act will be scrapped, because the government has made it clear it does not consider that to be discriminatory."

Constitutional experts say the committee's constitutional proposals are in line with structures found in Belgium or Switzerland.

Government is unlikely to accept this, however, as policymakers such as Chris Heunis have made it clear they are not interested in standard constitutional models.

The 98-page report was released yesterday — nine months after its formulation. It was one of 13 committee submissions to the HSRC's main report on inter-group relations, which concluded in July that apartheid heightened the potential for conflict in SA and that the NP government was largely to blame.

State President P W Botha rejected the accusation but welcomed much of the July report, saying the findings of the individual committees would be submitted to the responsible authori-

## PETER HONEY

ties for action "where necessary".

Government planners said yesterday they would be giving it serious attention, although they were unwilling to discuss their likely attitude towards the proposals. It was noteworthy, though, that committee chairman Professor Marinus Wiechers, of Unisa, had serious reservations about the recommendations.

The report identifies race classification, in terms of the Population Registration Act of 1950, as the probable root cause of inter-racial strife and calls for its scrapping.

It also outlines proposals for a coalition government involving all race groups with minority veto rights.

The 15-member committee recommends:

- A declaration of intent by government to create a fundamental rule of law which should be developed to ensure protection of group as well as individual rights.

- Development of a "fully participant democracy" in the form of a true consociational central government, with all subordinate forms of government being based on the same principles.

- Development of the four "independent national states" as full partners in the Southern African community of states, and the national governments as autonomous regional governments in a decentralised system.

- The public service be fully integrated as a vehicle for implementing the participant democracy.

Constitutional experts say a "consociational" system would involve a coalition government based on proportional representation, minority vetoes and "segmental autonomy" — a form of government which could embrace federalism as practised in Belgium and Switzerland.

But Wiechers describes the report as unrealistic, saying he doubts it will contribute significantly towards solving the problems of group relations in SA.

In an addendum, Wiechers says he agrees with much of the report but is sceptical of the consociational model. SA needs a unique structure to deal with the particular problems of the country, he says. He also disagrees that the Registration Act should be scrapped while the popular view of ethnicity remains negative.

The committee identifies several "extremely negative" aspects of the

population registration system in SA. It has effectively become race classification, the committee says, with people's skin colour and origin the almost exclusive criteria.

Blacks are suspicious of the population registration system because it is coupled to "homeland" citizenship, to the extent that some have become statutory aliens in their own fatherland.

The system has given rise to a number of racial laws — all with a greater or lesser degree of negative influence on group relations.

A white racial group is defined on the basis of origin and physical appearance — but not ethnicity — with this group holding supreme constitutional power.

The link between population registration and white supremacy "is surely the deepest reason why ethnicity and official protection of group identity in SA is treated so suspiciously," the report states.

It is also why "the new constitution — which is based on the population registration system — has aroused so much resistance among other population groups".

There is no possibility, in the long-term, of sound inter-group relations unless the complete system is reformed as quickly as possible, the committee concludes.



APARTHEID  
CARE TIMES 15/10/85  
'root cause  
of conflict'

Staff Reporter

APARTHEID could not be reformed, it could only be destroyed, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, told a fund-raising rally in the City Hall last night.

Speaking to an enthusiastic audience of about 1000 people during the first of three fund-raising rallies aimed at raising R10-million for the party over the next three years, he said the apartheid system, in its various political, social and economic manifestations, was the root cause of the conflict in South Africa.

"By its very nature (apartheid) has to use force to keep it going. This heightens the potential for conflict and they (the people affected by apartheid) resort to violence to counteract it."

It was also contradictory for the State President to speak of reform but insist that the Group Areas Act was non-negotiable; to scrap the Immorality Act, Mixed Marriages Act and Political Interferences Act but to keep the Population Registration Act; and to say he wished to negotiate with democratically-elected leaders but then to ban organizations, prohibit meetings and detain and jail political

leaders without trial.

He said that the "potential for escalating violence, the violence of repression and revolt, grows by the day."

Dr Slabbert also criticized President Botha's comment that to talk to the ANC was "unwise and disloyal" on the grounds that this movement was violent and contained communists, since the government, when it chose to, supported the violence of Renamo and Unita and had agreed to the Nkomati Accord with a communist government.

"I believe it is time the government stopped this double-talk. If it does not want interference from outside South Africa it must not interfere internally with neighbouring countries. If it can release Toivo Ja Toivo unconditionally, why can it not do so to Nelson Mandela?"

In order to demonstrate that the PFP was working towards a non-violent solution, it had to play a role in Parliament, outside Parliament with those organizing non-violently against this system and outside the country with foreign governments.

"I will talk to any organization or group that can play a role in bringing about peace," he said.



# NP takes lead in postal votes

304A Pretoria Correspondent

15/10/85  
STAR

The National Party has a narrow lead in the postal and special vote battle in the Vryburg parliamentary by-election. It has submitted 538 applications for postal votes, compared to 402 for the Conservative Party and 132 for the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The NP also claims 55 of the 148 applications for special votes submitted so far. The CP claims 98.

President Botha will close the NP's election campaign with a speech in the Vryburg Theatre on October 28.

Other members of the Cabinet scheduled to address rallies in the following weeks are:

Minister of Agriculture and Water Affairs Mr Sarel Hayward, in the Bray Boersaal on October 15; Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel, in the Louwna Church Hall on October 16; Deputy Minister of Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs Mr Gert Kotze, at the Tosca Boersaal on October 17; Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, at the Mafekeng Secondary School on October 18; Deputy Minister of Defence and Police Mr Adriaan Vlok, in the Reivilo Church Hall on October 21; Minister of National Health Dr Willie van Niekerk, at the Stella Boersaal on October 22; Minister of Manpower Mr Pietie du Plessis, in the Pomfret Mynsaal on October 24.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg will address a meeting in the Stella Sport Hall on October 18. Barberton MP Mr Cas Uys will address meetings in the Mareetsane Boersaal (October 21), the Bray Boersaal (October 26), and at Broederspruit (October 23).

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will address a meeting in Vryburg on October 26, and Dr Hartzenberg in the Tosca Boersaal on October 28.

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais will address a meeting in Vryburg on October 25.



# Assocom gets to grips with reform moves

Financial Staff  
3044  
STAR  
A frank expression of views on political and economic factors affecting the business community in South Africa is expected at this week's Assocom annual congress in Cape Town.

The congress will be opened today by Sir James Cieminson, president of the Confederation of British Industry, who is ex-

pected to bring a strong message from British business to South Africa

The economic debate on Wednesday will include a paper by Mr Arnold Peacey, South African representative to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, who will be attending the congress on his way back from the IMF meeting in Seoul

15/10/85  
On the political front two motions dealing with the reform process in South Africa will be debated on Thursday.

Chambers of commerce are expected to provide a widely based business perception of how change is being handled in South Africa and of the role which businessmen must play in helping to create a new political dispensation in the country.



1964 11/15/1964 (3064)

# Suzman rejects DPSC charge

JOHANNESBURG — The Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on Law and Order, Mrs Helen Suzman, yesterday rejected suggestions by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee on Sunday that her report on the treatment of detainees at the Johannesburg Prison was inaccurate and "naive".

Mrs Suzman, replying to objections by the DPSC to the report by herself and fellow MP Mr Peter Soal on their visit to detainees, said:

"I wish to point out that our comments referred only to interrogations that were carried out after people were detained at the prison and not to anything that might have happened prior to that at Protea Police Station or anywhere else.

"We have no reason to disbelieve the detainees who told us they had no complaints on that score.

"The presence of prison officials during our contact visits did not deter the detainees from complaining about the conditions under which they were being held, for

example, being detained without charge, the food, no reading material except the Bible or Koran, and in some cases about not having received any visitors and about bad ventilation in the cells.

"I have conveyed these complaints to the Minister of Law and Order, with some positive results.

"During my many years of prison visiting, I have always reported my impressions accurately.

"While the DPSC is entitled to criticise my judgement I should, after more than 20 years' experience, be in a position to ascertain whether prisoners are too intimidated to make complaints. I strongly resent the DPSC's questioning my bona fides.

"I was the only MP to oppose the introduction of the pernicious system of detention without trial when it was first introduced in 1963.

"I have taken up the cause of its unfortunate victims ever since."

In a statement at its conference in Athlone the DPSC said they believed the detainees' case had been set back by the report. — Sapa



# UK being pressurised to act again



Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney (left) and Australian Prime Minister Mr Robert Hawke, who are in the Bahamas for the Commonwealth talks.

NASSAU — Britain came under increasing pressure yesterday from many of its former colonies to agree to some form of joint action to punish South Africa for apartheid.

The issue of South Africa dominated private meetings and lobby conversations as delegates began arriving in the Bahamas for the biennial meeting of the 49-member Commonwealth Heads of Government conference. It will be opened by Queen Elizabeth today.

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has refused to take any action against South Africa beyond expressing repugnance for the system of racial separation and white superiority.

In particular, Mrs Thatcher has rejected mandatory economic sanctions, arguing that

## Britain, India still at odds on sanctions

LONDON — Britain and India remain deeply at odds over sanctions on South Africa after talks between Mrs Thatcher and Indian Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

And, in Canada, divisions within the Canadian Government have complicated the key mediating position which Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney hopes to take in forging a Commonwealth consensus on South Africa at the summit in Nassau, starting today.

Some of Mr Mulroney's colleagues have urged a tough line, while the official Canadian position falls short of supporting mandatory economic sanctions. However, Mr Mulroney said before leaving for

they do not work.

But nearly all the delegates here agree that some action must be taken to increase pressure for change, with many advocating some form of economic boycott.

Sir Shridath Serendranath, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, told reporters that while he remains optimistic about forging an

agreement that Britain and the others can support when the conference ends on October 22, he believes the Commonwealth will act anyway — with or without Mrs Thatcher's endorsement.

Such a split, the Guyana-born lawyer said, would cause a loss of faith in Britain and seriously affect London's influence over the

policies of the Commonwealth and individual members.

There are several movements under way to find some common ground. Canada, particularly, has been looking for a way to take concerted action against South Africa while staying away from mandatory sanctions, at least for the immediate future.

Nassau that if Britain were to be "deeply unfortunate for the C

After talks with Mr Gandhi Mrs Thatcher remained a deterrent economic or transport sanctions

Mr Gandhi told her the Council not accept a do-nothing strategy; veto at the UN should the sanction to the Security Council.

Organisations representing Britain have endorsed a declaration on South Africa.

The declaration and the endorsement taken to the Bahamas by Mr Aary secretary of the Anti-Apartheid submission to the Commonwealth

The Canadians say that Britain, with its great financial investment in South Africa, can be pushed only so far.

One possible compromise being discussed by Canada and Australia would set a schedule of deadlines for reforms and, if these are not met, Commonwealth members would impose corresponding penalties.

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Nassau that if Britain were to "flounder" it would be "deeply unfortunate for the Commonwealth".

After talks with Mr Gandhi in Britain, though, Mrs Thatcher remained a determined opponent of economic or transport sanctions on South Africa.

Mr Gandhi told her the Commonwealth would not accept a do-nothing strategy nor risk a British veto at the UN should the sanctions plan be taken to the Security Council.

Organisations representing more than 18 million Britons have endorsed a declaration calling for sanctions on South Africa.

The declaration and the endorsements have been taken to the Bahamas by Mr Abdul Minty, honorary secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, for submission to the Commonwealth heads today.

The Canadians say that Britain, with its great financial investment in South Africa, can be pushed only so far.

One possible compromise being discussed by Canada and Australia would set a schedule of deadlines for reforms and, if these are not met, Commonwealth members would impose corresponding penalties.

Another potential compromise would involve a set of Commonwealth proposals to be sent to the United Nations for implementation.

Although South Africa is the dominant issue at the conference, there are several other matters which will be discussed. One will be the problems which many poor

nations continue to have in paying off their foreign debts and obtaining new credits for development.

Nothing much is expected to result from the discussions other than promises of small increases in development aid by Britain, Canada and the other rich Commonwealth nations.

More divisive will be the effort by the British and Canadian governments to work out some joint statement calling for trade reforms that would reduce the import restrictions on the importing of such services as banking and communications.

India, particularly, has opposed such reforms, arguing that currently world tariff and trade agreements involve only products. Washington Post News Service.



30CA

# Change in SA essential — top economist

**DEREK TOMMEY**  
Finance Editor

SOUTH Africa must develop a political system which is accepted overseas, one of South Africa's top economists, Professor J A Lombard of the University of Pretoria, told the annual congress of the Association of Chambers of Commerce in Cape Town today.

He said there was insufficient recognition in South Africa that a national economy which is so open to the international economy could not be governed by a system which is not considered legitimate internationally.

"This is not a question of political value judgments or ideology. It is not a view one can oppose or support. It simply seems to be a rule one has to live with"

South Africa's progress towards a new political identity was a matter of concern not only for South Africans but for those with which it had important relationships

South Africa had the economic growth potential for rapid social transformation, he said

## Devastating

If the economy were allowed to grow at an average annual rate of 4.5 percent for the last two decades of the century, the gaps between white and non-white standards could be narrowed to a surprising extent.

But the economy would require a growth strategy based on the social emancipation of the black people.

South Africa had been forced into a dilemma by her international trade and financial partners

"By stultifying South Africa's productive participation in international trade and finance, the rate of economic growth is being forced down to levels which make political reform much more difficult"

If South Africa's link with the international banking system were seriously disrupted, the effect on the economics and politics of South Africa would be devastating.

Professor Lombard said South Africa had the economic strength and domestic savings potential to reduce her foreign debts. But this would be at the cost of domestic economic growth and reform.

"The irony of the situation is that the withdrawal of capital from this country is often justified on the grounds that the process of reform is not proceeding fast enough"

● See Page 7.



apt. 16/10/85

304A

# Business seeks 'middle way'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

BUSINESS had to find a "middle way" between violence and the status quo, the president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), Mr Michael Weir, said last night.

"The road of communication, dialogue and negotiation is really the only one left open to us in South Africa," Mr Weir said in his presidential address to Assocom's annual conference in Cape Town.

He urged delegates to work for partnership, trust and friendship and to seize every opening to approve positive solutions to the challenges facing South Africa.

## 'Innumerable restrictions'

"Business has recognized and understood that black people have experienced innumerable restrictions on their economic freedom, and more recently, on the need for political rights

"We must help them to understand that the past or present 'rules of the games' are the absolute antithesis of a free, private enterprise economy.

"Business has been doing all it can to get these barriers removed . .

"Also, there is no desire whatever in business to see political talks arranged on some sort of 'from the top down' basis; we want fully participatory talks and reform to proceed.

## 'Pre-negotiation phase'

"Business is not interested in party politics, but in political stability.

"Serious direct negotiation between black leaders and the government needs to be preceded by an important pre-negotiation phase during which the emphasis should fall on confidence-building through mediation and conciliation.

"Rushing through this pre-negotiation phase could seriously jeopardise the effectiveness of subsequent round-table bargaining.

"This is where organized business could play a crucial role in informal mediation aimed essentially at promoting greater understanding in order to bring the various parties

closer together," Mr Weir said.

Business had demonstrated its goodwill and it had to appeal to the statesmanship of leaders of both sides to talk.

It was doubtful whether an Assocom congress had ever before taken place amid such momentous events or at so crucial a juncture in the history of South Africa.

## 'Actively engaged'

Although political factors dominated the present situation in South Africa, "past economic policies had also made their contribution to current woes.

During the last 12 months Assocom had taken vigorous action in many directions in the general effort to encourage South Africans of all races — particularly the business community, trade unions and the government — to talk positively, constructively and openly to one another.

## 'Better understanding'

"I am proud of the many chambers of commerce who have been actively engaged in communication and negotiation with leaders in the black community in efforts to lift consumer boycotts and discuss grievances.

"This communication has led to better understanding of one another's problems and outlooks," Mr Weir said.

Since the declaration of the state of emergency Assocom together with other business organizations had met the State President and five ministers, convened a "summit" meeting on the emergency and consumer boycotts, appeared before the Cabinet committee on the political future of urban blacks, met the Ministers of Finance and Trade and Industries as a result of the standstill in certain foreign exchange transactions and the effect of consumer boycotts, and had issued a joint statement expressing deep concern about the worsening state of the economy and calling for positive action.



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# Botha hits at Matie students

From CLARE HARPER JOHANNESBURG. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, who is chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch, yesterday expressed strong disapproval over the plans of student leaders there to hold talks with the African National Congress Youth League later this month.

The rector of the University, Professor Mike de Vries, has distanced himself and the university from the talks.

In a statement Mr Botha said that although freedom of expression was a tradition at Stellenbosch "students had limited experience of the hard truths outside the campus".

"Hopefully they will realize the academic freedoms they are used to will be one of the first victims in the situation that the people they want to talk to are aiming at," he said.

"If they go ahead with their plans they owe an answer at least to the members of our security forces on the border and inside the country.

The students yesterday declined to comment.

The students include SRC chairman, Mr Philip Verster, and Mr Eric le Grange, editor of the campus newspaper, Die Matie.

Others in the group are former Die Matie editor, Mr Anton Steenkamp, a member of the Nusas branch recently formed on campus, SRC member Mr Johan Olivier, former SRC members Miss Annami Oosthuyzen and Mr Hendrik du Toit, Mr Hennie Bester, chairman of the university's debating society, Mr Hans Muller, chairman of the campus Church-Youth Action and a Ned Geref Kerk clergyman, the Rev Carel Anthonissen.

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## Funds roll

Staff Reporter

FINAL preparations were g their work  
the Central Fire Station in  
Street last night for the job and our



# Bloomberg's idea for SA causes flurry in London

*Cape Times  
16/10/85*  
*304A*

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The idea that the South Africa Foundation should play a key role in preparing South Africa for a national convention has created a flurry of interest here.

The idea came from businessman Mr David Bloomberg, a former mayor of Cape Town, writing in the latest issue of *Leadership SA*.

Informed sources said that the role of South African businessmen in resolving the impasse had won acceptance at the "highest levels of the British government".

Mr Bloomberg said that the SA Foundation, a non-political group of businessmen promoting South Africa abroad, was well placed to "play a dynamic and far-reaching role in the future of South Africa".

"Were a national convention to be called by a non-political organization, it is distinctly possible that blacks would participate and, further, that the intransigence of the African National Congress would be overcome," he said.

The London director of the SA Foundation, Mr David Willers, said: "People at the highest levels of the British government have indicated to us in recent weeks that the contribution of the business sector in South Africa towards resolving the political impasse has now become vital and critical."

□ In a letter to the *Guardian* at the weekend Mr Willers suggested that British businessmen should follow the example of South African businessmen in channelling private-sector funds into the improvement of depressed black areas.

He was responding to a letter by Mr Paul Stephenson, chairman of the West Indian Parents and Friends Association.



'Wise Men' may draw up blueprint

# Summit plans new strategy on SA

304A  
STAR  
16/10/85

Nassau  
The Commonwealth summit, dominated by the South African issue and Mrs Thatcher's opposition to economic sanctions, may propose the establishment of a small group of "Wise Men" to draw up new proposals for achieving a multiracial democracy in South Africa.

Already the names of former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, who is about to retire, have been mooted, according to a report in *The Guardian*. Former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Mr Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore have also been mentioned.

The initiative originates with Australian Premier Bob Hawke and has been discussed informally in the run-up to the Commonwealth summit.

It has the support of the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, and is seen as a possible way of finding a compromise which Mrs Thatcher could be persuaded to accept.

There are major problems, however, over the terms of reference for such a group and over the times in available before the Commonwealth acts on its proposals.

In addition, it is felt that such a group alone is not enough and that the Commonwealth summit must also insist on immediate action against South Africa.

In any case Mrs Thatcher had in mind little more than a liaison group of Commonwealth leaders acceptable to the South African Government.

## Dialogue

She appears to see this as a design to continue the policy of constructive dialogue which the rest of the Commonwealth has already regarded as useless.

The Australians see the proposal for a committee of "Wise Men" as part of a more ambitious strategy of devising effective pressure on the South African Government.

The group would advance proposals for peaceful transition in South Africa to a multiracial society based on universal suffrage.

If it takes off, the Commonwealth would want far more specific terms of reference and the group would certainly be expected to report within weeks.

● See Page 19.

# Race classification 'unavoidable'

IT is unavoidable that the Population Registration Act will be retained for the present, says Professor Marinus Weichers, who disagreed with the main recommendations of the committee for the Human Sciences Research Council which condemned the law in a report this week. He was chairman of the committee.

In a separate comment issued with the report, Prof Weichers said that while he agreed with many of the committee's views and findings, he disagreed with, particularly, the core ideas contained in the recommendations.

He feared that if the Act were summarily scrapped there would be a "ganging up" against whites.

Prof Weichers said he doubted if the committee's report made a realistic contribution to solving the problem of group relations in South Africa.

In his opinion there was

too much theorising and too little "political engineering," which ran the risk of increasing confusion together with increased tension among the various groups.

The committee's prime recommendation was that a fundamental rule of law be created and further developed to ensure the protection of group as well as individual rights.

The first step should be accompanied by a declaration of intent by the Government binding itself to the creation of such a rule of law, as well as the announcement of a legislative programme for the elimination of existing laws and statutory prescriptions which currently threatened the creation of the envisaged fundamental rule of law.

The second recommendation was that a "fully participant democracy" in the form of a real consociational central government should be created.

The committee said it was logical that all subordinate forms of government should be established with the same principles in mind.

In his minority report, Prof Weichers referred to the "change of thinking" by the Government, as shown so far by the extension of voting rights and political participation to "people of colour," and the recognition of the constitutional needs of blacks who lived permanently outside the independent and self-governing national states.

These were all positive steps on the road to "positive ethnicity" or a neutral handling of the phenomena of group differentiation.

Prof Weichers felt the retention of the Population Registration Act — in spite of his agreement with criticism of it — was, for the present, unavoidable.

The current perception of "numerous" South Afri-

cans of ethnicity was a negative one, and if the Act were to be scrapped before the majority approached and experienced ethnicity positively, a large scale "ganging up" would take place against the whites.

The situation would become politically untenable and unacceptable, and order and stability would be threatened.

He was sceptical of the proposed consociational model, saying there were no existing models that could be applied to the South African situation, and that the issue was in fact the creation of a unique structure to comply equally with the reasonable demands from both whites for security and "black expectations".

— Sapa



## Post Focus

# Major stumbling block to reform

By KIN BENTLEY

RACE CLASSIFICATION, according to leading academics, has emerged as the major stumbling block on the road to real reform in South Africa.

During the recent National Party congress season, the State President, Mr P W Botha, accepted that blacks were South African citizens but said that the Group Areas Act was a non-negotiable, thus highlighting the anomaly of trying to reform apartheid.

Many whites are saying: surely the Government is serious about reform, what with the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act, the acceptance of one citizenship and apparent major changes to influx control.

However, academics and opposition politicians point out, the National Party has failed to cross the real Rubicon of committing itself to scrapping apartheid and sharing power with other race groups.

Indeed, they say, the anomaly of trying to bring about reform within the confines of apartheid and the Population Registration Act, specifically, are placing tremendous strains on South African society.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Applied Studies at Natal University, said recently that race classification as contained in the Population Registration Act "is the basic contradiction which explains why the reforms which the Government has launched in the past few

years have been so seriously destabilising".

This view was borne out in a report by a Human Sciences Research Council working committee released this week which found that the Act was "probably the root cause of ill-feeling between South Africa's different groups".

It found the system of statutory population legislation had had four negative effects on group relations. These were:

- Population registration had effectively become race classification, with colour and origin as the almost exclusive criteria.
- Blacks were suspicious of it when for them it was coupled to citizenship of the so-called homelands to the extent that some had become aliens in their own fatherlands.
- It had given rise to a number of racial laws.

- It had determined the white group as holders of supreme power.

Prof Schlemmer explained why the Government's "reforms" were failing to win black support:

"From the perspective of the Government, and a majority of moderate whites, the reforms, although certainly strategic, are sincerely intended."

Whites, he said, saw them as a "step in the right direction".

"For politicised blacks, however, it is impossible to ameliorate apartheid. Every

reform has taken place within a context of race classification.

"The tricameral Parliament rests on the structure of race differentiation, increased expenditure on education has occurred within separate systems and the new Regional Services Councils are based on the fundamental principle of racially separate municipal authorities.

"In this context a perfectly obvious conclusion is drawn. Every single reform so far, with the exception of the recently announced common citizenship, has been a painful reminder of the reality of apartheid — race classification.

"Within the framework of the Population Registration Act, therefore, reform away from apartheid becomes impossible."

But why should blacks be opposed to race classification?

President Botha recently reaffirmed the Government's belief that "differentiation" as contained in the simple act of classifying people according to race was not discriminatory.

Prof Schlemmer said the Government regarded negative aspects of apartheid as discrimination and inequality between the racial categories which it had formally defined.

Politicised blacks, on the other hand, appeared to define apartheid in a much more fundamental way. "Apartheid is any form of official differentiation between people based purely on race or the colour of their skins."





Mr Harry Schwarz

# PFP puts Alliance case at 18 Reef meetings

304A STAIR 10/10/85-



Mrs Irene Menell

## Staff Reporters

The series of meetings which the Progressive Federal Party held on the Reef yesterday was no "Nat-bashing exercise" but an attempt to present an alternative for rescuing South Africa, Mr Rick Valente, PFP town councillor in Sandton, said yesterday.

"We are no longer talking merely as an opposition party. Things have gone beyond that. The country is facing a crisis which is unparalleled in history," he said.

Mr Valente addressed one of 18 meetings on the Reef yesterday arranged by the PFP as a matter of urgency.

Mr David Woolf, the party's publicity chairman and a member of the Southern Transvaal regional executive, said all the meetings were well attended.

"It is significant that searching questions were asked by members of the public. It is

quite obvious there is a strong feeling among voters that there should be reform, that the Government should take steps to quell the unrest in the townships and consult black leaders, and that change is inevitable for South Africa," said Mr Woolf.

Mr Valente told a Sandown meeting that the present state of affairs in South Africa was criticism enough of the Government's policies.

"Black areas are literally aflame, the economy is shattered and the Government's external and internal credibility are in pieces."

The only solution was the Convention Alliance, he said.

"If the alliance succeeds, South Africa might have a future. If not, there will not be much hope left."

"A convention must be held to draw up a new constitution which provides for full, equal citizenship, the sharing of power by all South Africa's citizens

and equal economic opportunities," Mr Valente said.

Mr Harry Schwarz MP, PFP finance spokesman, told a meeting in Yeoville that the Progressive Federal Party's alternatives were to establish a forum for discussion among all moderates who rejected violence, and to promote economic growth and employment.

"The forces against us in South Africa who do not want reform will not cease to act. Their fight is no longer for the removal of discrimination, it is now for political power," Mr Schwarz told members of his Yeoville constituency.

Mr Schwarz said radicals were thriving on the increasing cycle of violence and that, if this were allowed to continue, a new society might emerge which was worse than apartheid.

"Moderate forces must therefore stand together," he said. In Lyndhurst the PFP-MPC, for Houghton, Mrs Irene Menell,

called for an end to the state of emergency and said political change was being "disastrously" handed by the Government.

The Government had to create the climate for structures to establish a legitimate leadership in the country and whites would have to "bite the bullet" and accept majority rule.

She also called for the release of political detainees and the unbanning of the African National Congress, saying this would force that organisation to sell itself in the political marketplace instead of doing exactly what it wanted without being held accountable to its own community.

At the Bedfordview Civic Centre, the chairman of the Edenvale branch of the PFP, Mr Graham Gersbach, said that, in the event of a national convention being called, the PFP would oppose the participation of political groups which advocated the use of violence or sub-

version.

Mr Gersbach said his party was firmly opposed to violence as a means for change.

Mr Douglas Gibson MPC, leader of the PFP in the Transvaal, told a meeting in the city centre that the National Party Government had led South Africa into a cul-de-sac. It was time the reform process was accelerated and a government truly representative of all the people in South Africa elected.

At a meeting in Parkview, Mr Sam Moss MPC, leader of the PFP in the Johannesburg municipal caucus, addressed the issue of reform.

He pointed out that there was repression on the one hand and revolution on the other, and that the PFP's plans for a Convention Alliance would enable racial people to sit at the conference table and work out a solution.

Mr John Simpson said in Springs that the Convention Alli-

ance movement had been established due to the "obvious inability of the Government to come to grips with the realities of the South African political scene."

"The Government's obsession with apartheid is the primary cause of the current unrest."

"The efforts by the police and the army will in the main just further polarise the rift in our society."

"What is needed is to involve all people in this country to formulate a new constitution in which all will have equal citizenship in one country."

Mr Peter Soal, PFP MP for Johannesburg North, said at a meeting in Rosebank that South Africa was in the biggest mess the National Party had ever got the country into.

"Many of South Africa's towns have become mini-Beirut. The whites live out an idyllic existence, while blacks live in conditions of poverty and squalor in a state of near siege," he said.



# Lesson for SA in Australian approach Urgent plea for speed-up of black political rights

304A STARC 16/10/85-

There is a valuable lesson for white South Africans in their relations with the black population of their own country and that of their neighbours, in Australia's new perception of the once feared or in some cases complacently ignored neighbouring nations of South East Asia.

At a recent conference I attended of the Association of Heads of Independent Schools of Australia, Prof Wang Gung Wu of the Australian National University presented a paper on "Asia in Australian Education".

Underlying all that he said was a sense of the energy that is being released by this new perception Australians have of South East Asia.

Where previously Australians had looked predominantly to Europe, they now look increasingly to the United States and the Asian countries.

The work of Australian educationalists in Asia and the contributions made by Asians in Australian schools and universities has given Australian education a confidence which is matched in commerce and industry. Dynamic and positive changes are occurring throughout the nations of the Pacific rim, making the area one of growing power in the geo-political world — a key factor of which, of course, is the explosion of the Japanese economy.

But in stark contrast to the growth of the Pacific rim countries is the decline of Africa. This was brought home sharply during my visit to Australia by an editorial in *The Australian*, headed "The African Tragedy", which applied lessons from Nigeria's latest coup to the continent as a whole.

"Nigeria began its independent nationhood in 1960 in what seemed to be the most enviable of circumstances. The handing over by the British was voluntary and amicable. They left behind a democratic constitution, a solid administration and educational infrastructure and a prosperous economy.

"Nigeria had a well conducted agriculture, was rich in minerals, ranks 10th in the world producers of petroleum, and has vast resources of natural gas. Despite all these

**St Stithians College headmaster MARK HENNING has recently returned from a trip to Australia, where he attended an education conference. There is much for South Africans to learn, he feels, in the manner of Australians' dealings with their South East Asian neighbours.**

blessings, its post-independence history has been a wretched chronicle of human suffering. Its economy has withered ... Economic decay has been accompanied by political chaos ... Nigeria has endured a succession of governments of dubious credentials, almost all of which have owed their possession of office to armed force and in turn have been evicted by armed force.

"Nigeria is divided ethnically ... It is divided religiously into Muslims, Christians and animists, and the Muslims are internally divided by sectarian violence.

"Nigeria embodies and typifies the experience of most of black Africa since it was freed from colonialism. The latest coup is further depressing evidence that tribal, religious and cultural differences can destroy the foundations of democracy and of a national economy. Nigeria's tragedy is only part of the much greater African tragedy which is demoralizing an entire continent."

There are important analogies for Southern Africa — and they are of special relevance to the dealings between whites and blacks and the way we in South Africa and our black neighbouring countries perceive each other.

Political and educational thought in South Africa is dominated by fear on the part of the whites and by poverty and oppression on the side of the blacks.

An Australian parliamentarian, Ian Macphee, visited South Africa recently. He spoke to a wide range of black leaders both within and without South Africa and returned confident that "if blacks were brought into the political process

now they would apply themselves energetically and creatively to the forging of a new constitution embracing the principles espoused in Magna Carta, the US Declaration of Independence, and the UN Declaration of Human Rights."

This is the considered opinion of a experienced conservative observer who has had the benefit, denied to South Africans, of exposure to the views of black leaders. Can any South African with aspirations for himself and his children not devoutly pray for such a salvation?

Mr Macphee sees the steps necessary to begin this process as including ending the state of emergency, repealing the Internal Security Act, releasing all political detainees, granting amnesties to those in exile, abandoning the treason trials, freeing Mandela and entering into genuine talks of power-sharing.

To the Government these might seem impossible concessions; to others they seem steps that are right and just and infinitely preferable to a long drawn-out and bloody war.

The blacks who for the first time really sense the power of their position need also to bring to the negotiating table an urgent sense of the need to retain essential skills if the South Africa of the future is not to subside into yet another decaying and chaotic nation without hope.

It is bitter-sweet indeed to hear how well ex-patriate South Africans are doing in their new countries. It is reassuring to know that our standards and work ethic compare so favourably, but how sad to think that those skills are lost to our continent. For even if political change occurs, they will not return unless the quality of life they perceive for themselves and for their children matches that of the lands in which they have settled.

Hope of economic growth in South Africa lies in its ability to add value to commodities in the area. This will only occur if there is a sound educational base. Without it, the competitive industrial nations will continue to buy our resources at minimum costs and to return them at profit to themselves.

# Assocom urges accelerated political reform

7/6/85 17/10/85 (20/10/85)

Staff Reporter

A RESOLUTION urging speedier political reform was approved by the Associations of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) at their annual congress in Cape Town today.

The resolution called for reform to be accelerated to the maximum for a formula to be found enabling all black leaders to participate in discussions and negotiations, and for the private sector to play a constructive role in the process.

The resolution was proposed by Mr Denis Creighton of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce. He said that there was already much common ground in the political debate. This included

- The acceptance of common citizenship for all;
- The need to include blacks in the political process at all levels;
- The need to include all people in the negotiating process;
- The opening of business areas to all, and
- The need to develop a positive approach to urbanisation.

However, there were two main stumbling-blocks to further reform. One was the Government's contention that reform must take place within the system of separateness, the second was the insistence on pre-conditions by various groups.

Mr Andrew Peile of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce seconded the resolution, saying that if South Africa was to be a great nation, every person's access to good education, adequate housing and the rewards of success must be determined by market forces.



A STRIKING paradox is building up on the South African political scene. On the constitutional front the Government has great problems in finding any common ground between it and the mass of the black population.

The formulas and structures the Government is contemplating for African participation in government are so inadequate and devoid of political realities that they are hardly worth discussion. It is with good reason that Dr Anton Rupert recently exhorted the Government in Zwingli's memorable words: 'For God's sake, do something brave!'

In contrast, the Government appears to be much more realistic in trying to cure or eradicate some of the major distortions apartheid helped to produce.

## Poverty

Handled correctly, the President's Council's recommendation to abolish influx control could be a major breakthrough in alleviating some of the acute poverty and unemployment in the country.

Influx control is without any doubt the single policy that has caused the greatest distortion of our system. It is because of influx control that South Africa is under-urbanised by about 10 percent (2.3 million people), and that more than half of the black population of close to 30 million live in the homelands covering only 13 percent of South Africa's land mass.

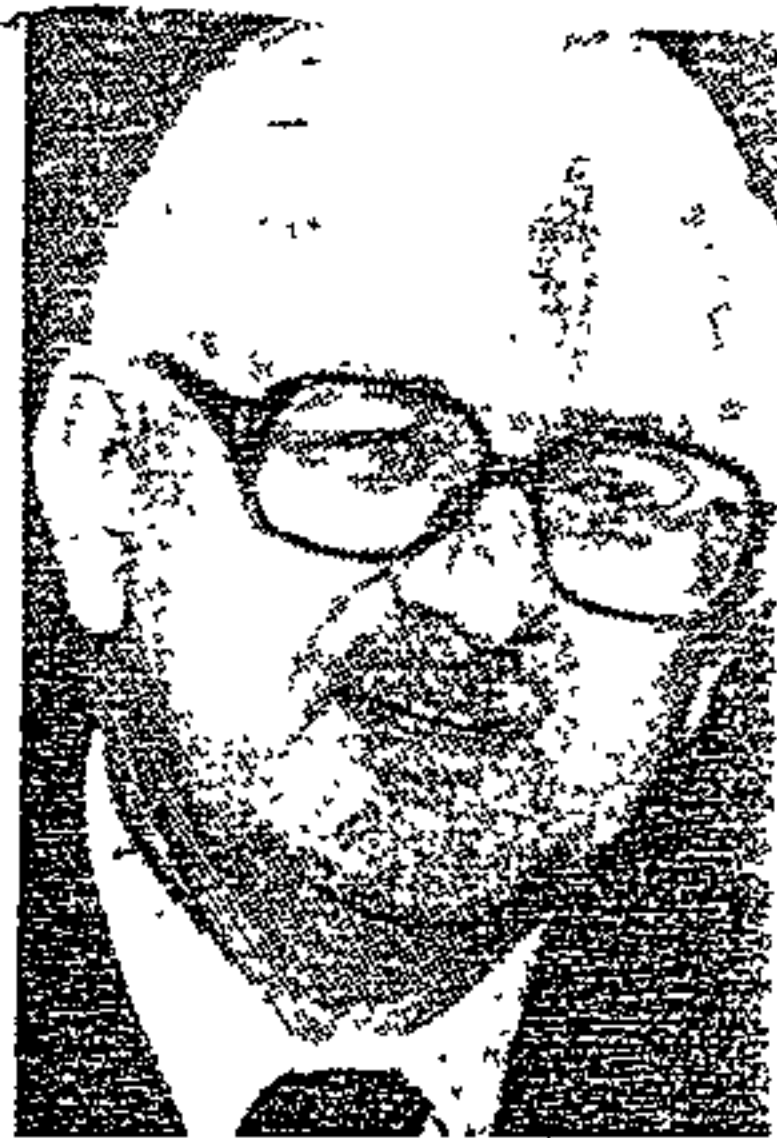
Influx control has limited the consumer market, and it has curbed the mobility of labour, thereby causing serious bottle-

necks in production. It has had a cancerous effect on an economy increasingly dependent on manufacturing.

There have been also other costs. There is the bitter toll of more than 17 million arrests of Africans for pass-law offences over the past seven decades. Together with the lack of political rights the pass laws have been most responsible for mak-

# State must act promptly on influx control

17/10/85



Viljoen

ing Africans feel like pariahs in their own land.

In June or July this year the Cabinet decided that influx control should substantially be modified. Word was sent to the Nationalist members of the President's Council which in its path-breaking report of August 25 recommended the abolition of the reference-book system as a means of applying influx control. It also recommended

(304A) that measures designed to order urbanisation should not discriminate on the basis of race or colour.

Acceptance of these recommendations clearly does not mean that the Government is now at one with liberal bodies like the Black Sash on the issue of influx control. There are important voices in the Cabinet and the bureaucracy who want to retain a considerable degree of control over the urbanisation of Africans. It is up to the reformist section in the Cabinet — above all Mr Heunis and Dr Viljoen — to handle the new policy of 'orderly urbanisation' in such a way that it does not become a new instrument for preventing Africans from moving to the cities.

At present there are three controls regulating African influx. The first is the law circumscribing the presence of Africans in cities. At present only

Africans with section-10 'rights' and migrants with a contract are allowed in the city. The only way in which this can be policed is through mass arrests of Africans whose reference book is not in order. Indications are that this will be terminated.

## Paradoxical

The Cabinet supports the President's Council's slightly paradoxical recommendation that in future all people will have to carry an identity document (uniform for all South Africans) on them, but that they cannot be arrested when they do not have it on them.

So far so good. But what about the second control, the law that prohibits employers from taking on anyone who has not gone through the proper labour bureaus and imposes a fine of R5 000 for a second offence? This law nowadays applies especially to migrants who have moved to the city directly in search of work. Curiously the President's Council does not suggest any amendments to the laws regulating migrants (particularly section 10) and the labour bureaus.

Yet so high are the expectations about the possible abolition of influx control that the Government would be foolhardy to impose on employers the task of keeping 'illegal' migrants away from a job.

## Hopeful sign

Already there are people in the business world advocating open civil disobedience if business is compelled to be agents of influx control. It is a hopeful sign that in some cities the prosecutions of employers have been stopped pending the Government's response to the President's Council's report.

That leaves the third control: over housing. In the past the administration boards and black local authorities have applied influx control through providing houses only to those Africans who have a right to be in the city. As Prof Willie

*Mercury*  
Esterhuysen of the University of Stellenbosch has rightly remarked in his testimony to the President's Council, that has had a seriously destabilising effect on the acceptability of these authorities.

The explosive nature of most of the current controls has prompted government to seek some generally acceptable



Heunis

form of control to clamp down on 'too-rapid urbanisation', of which some officials mutter dire warnings. The PC report suggests a formula the application of which could have major implications for our future.

The report recommends a substantial shift away from the present policy in which the State provides formal brick housing to one in which the State will mostly provide rudimentary services and structures, leaving it to Africans and their employers to upgrade the structures.

However, the report recommends that such informal settlement be allowed only on approved sites — that is, sites specifically set aside by the authorities for such purposes.

## The crunch

This brings us to the crunch of the matter: If the Government wants two or three years before it makes sites available, and then make only limited sites available all the suspicions will surface that we simply have influx control in a new guise. And State action against 'illegal squatting' will destroy all hope of a genuine new deal in African urbanisation.

For a government wanting to establish a proper climate for negotiation there can only be one road: promptly making sufficient land and proper infrastructure available, and allowing Africans to seek their own housing solutions. As citizens that is their political right.

# Party claims it has 10 pc of estimated poll

(304A)  
Mercury 17/10/85

Mercury Reporter

AMID National Party allegations of Conservative Party misuse of the postal vote system in the Port Natal Parliamentary by-election, the CP declared in a pamphlet released yesterday that it had already submitted more than 1 000 postal vote applications — or 10 percent of an estimated 50 percent poll.

The CP claimed in the leaflet that contrary to predictions in a Johannesburg-based Afrikaans newspaper that the party would get no more than 7 percent of the votes in Port Natal, the CP had on postal votes alone exceeded that prediction by 3 percent.

Announcing that the CP had already held three public meetings 'which have been well-attended by Port Natal voters', the pamphlet said the National Party had been holding 'closed meetings to which only selected voters have been invited'.

Accusing the National Party of 'double-talk' and 'new PFP-type policies', the pamphlet asked:

'Is the NP afraid to be challenged publicly on its new policies?'

(Report by A Carnie, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)



# Negotiating with ANC futile, says prof

304A  
Mercury  
17/10/85

## Crime Reporter

A DURBAN academic yesterday slammed attempts by various South African organisations to have talks with the African National Congress.

Prof Roland Grazer, Head of Criminology at the University of Durban-Westville, was speaking at the South African Security Association conference being held at the Royal Hotel in Durban.

'The ANC has made it clear that it aims at destroying the capitalist system and implementing a socialist order,' said Prof Grazer.

'In view of this I wonder

what those persons who wish to negotiate with the ANC hope to achieve. What is it that is to negotiate in the two opposing ideologies?

'In my view it is naive to believe that the ANC can be persuaded to give up their long-term revolutionary ideology, and to agree to co-exist peacefully in a capitalist society,' he said.

'We may try to dissuade members — even leaders — of the ANC from their violent course, but the ANC as a revolutionary organisation is not likely to change its proverbial spots.

'At any rate, it is inconceivable that Russia will

allow this to happen,' Prof Grazer said.

The chairman of the National Key Points Committee, Maj-Gen J P B van Loggerenberg, called on all South Africans to demand a well-planned and dedicated effort by the Government to stamp out terrorism.

He told the conference: 'We need to enlist public support for all measures necessary to counter terrorism. The public should actively support anti-terrorist actions by the Government as well as local authorities,' he said.

'Terrorism can only be terrorism, nothing else, and we must ensure that

it never gains a semblance of respectability simply because it is directed against South Africa.

'There is a strange reluctance from the public's side to allow intelligence gathering to be carried out by the authorities.

'Terrorists and their sympathisers have become past masters in the art of creating the impression that each and every police investigation results in an infringement of civil liberties, or is accompanied by the mishandling or even torture of terrorists or suspected terrorists,' Gen van Loggerenberg said.



# SA wine, jokes and

Political Correspondent TOS WENTZEL speaks to members of the Progressive Federal Party delegation who held talks in Lusaka with the ANC at the weekend

... but

SOUTH African wines in a land without bread, the nostalgia of expatriates for what they still regard as their fatherland and their fascination about talking to white fellow South Africans are some of the impressions of the group of Progressive Federal Party MPs who met an African National Congress delegation in Lusaka at the weekend.

Informality marked the meeting between the four MPs and four ANC members in the guest house of a company which supplies equipment to other mining companies on the outskirts of Lusaka.

The dress was casual and in all the the group conferred for eight hours on Saturday.

After intensive discussions they took breaks and walked outside in the garden or had coffee.

They shared several meals — fruit cocktail, steak, chicken and vegetables, but no bread. Zambia has a wheat shortage. Instead some sweet biscuits were sometimes served and at the hotel there were rolls.

The atmosphere was relaxed and there were often spontaneous jokes.

"The most fascinating couple of days I have spent in the past 10 years," is how Mr Colin Eglin, MP, chairman of the PFP, describes the meeting.

The ANC group, he says, were well-informed and good-natured, still passionate South Africans, angry but not bitter.

"The personal qualities of this group, given the stereotypes from a distance, were very different from what we expected.

"They continually talked about 'our beautiful land' (South Africa). There was nostalgia and commitment and

they were remarkably non-racial".

Informality was a feature of the talks right from the start. No surnames were used.

The fact that South Africans were talking to South Africans created a relationship, regardless of political points of view.

Quite often there were anecdotes to break the tension of often tough talks. Some of the ANC men who were imprisoned on Robben Island recalled humorous incidents even under such circumstances. They told of efforts to keep up morale and to upstage the warders.

Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands and chairman of the PFP's federal executive, recalls that when South African wine was served, one of the ANC people joked that while there was a lot wrong with South Africa there was nothing wrong with its wine.

Mr Peter Gastrow, MP, recalls how one of the delegates expressed appreciation at the fact that his delegation could hear "from the horses" what was happening in South Africa by talking to the South African politicians.

The term was used several times and it was explained that it reminded him of the days when he was in a South African jail.

Occasionally the political prisoners in the jail could get together during exercise periods and received information from one of their fellow-prisoners who had remarkable contacts with the outside world.

He used to tell them it was "from the horse's mouth" and eventually his nickname was "Horse".

Dr Boraine said that what the PFP group found fascinating was that however big the political differences, these were two groups of South Afri-



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert ... leader of the PFP delegation to the meeting.



Mr Colin Eglin ... "most fascinating couple of days in the past 10 years."

cans meeting. It was not a question of the PFP group trying to get a group of foreigners to understand South Africa's problems.

Suddenly the ANC had a human face. Here was a discussion with people, although some had been out of the country for many years, who had a consuming passion and were totally committed to their concept of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The ANC arranged visas for the PFP group and transport to the hotel.

The talks were marked by cordiality but there were also "deep waters flowing" as Dr Boraine puts it, with tough talks about the armed struggle and international pressure.

In the end the delegations

differed on a number of crucial issues such as sanctions and the alliance convention idea, especially because the ANC does not want Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to be part of such a concept.

The possibility of some form of negotiation was not totally excluded.

The ANC group emphasised that for 50 years the movement had sought black political rights by peaceful means and that the option of violence had only been accepted after all the other ways that had been tried had failed.

Dr Boraine said that in the end his impression was that it was a tragedy that one group could return to South Africa to continue with the fight to dismantle apartheid while the other group was not able to do so.

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"The personal qualities of this group (the ANC) were very different from what we expected."

"It was a tragedy that only one group could return to South Africa to continue the fight."

"What was fascinating was ... these were two groups of South Africans meeting."



ARGUS 17/10/85

# jokes and nostalgia ... but no bread



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert ... leader of the PFP delegation to the meeting.

Mr Colin Eglin ... "most fascinating couple of days in the past 10 years."

Dr Alex Boraine ... cordiality but there were "deep waters flowing."

Mr Peter Gastrow ... the ANC group were pleased to see South Africans.

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Moves to arrange the meeting had stretched over a long time. London, Amsterdam or New York had previously been considered as venues. Two weeks ago, just as Dr Boraine and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert were preparing to leave for Spain and West Germany, word came that a meeting could be held in Lusaka.

The PFP group also met President Kenneth Kaunda, again very informally, on Saturday night. He said he was extremely encouraged by the fact that the two groups could meet.

Apart from the tough bargaining it was the poignant moments that struck Dr Boraine.

This was when the ANC men expressed nostalgia and a deep longing to be back in South Af-

rica. They asked about their home towns and about friends and relatives the PFP men may have known.

Although they appeared to be extremely well-informed about political developments in the country they were clearly yearning for some more personal details and impressions.

Mr Gastrow was also struck by the fact that the ANC group was so pleased to see other South Africans.

Some were very guarded in their remarks at the start of the talks, but soon the atmosphere became more relaxed and there were many spontaneous jokes and anecdotes from both sides.

Future contact should be much easier.

"It was a tragedy that only one group could return to South Africa to continue the fight."

"What was fascinating was ... these were two groups of South Africans meeting."

After intensive discussions they took breaks and walked outside in the garden or had coffee.

"... while there is a lot wrong with South Africa there is nothing wrong with its wine."



By-election win vital — Moss

# 'PFP council would aid SA'

304A STAR 17/10/85

Municipal Reporter

A Progressive Federal Party victory in the forthcoming Johannesburg City Council by-election could help counter foreign sanctions against South Africa, Mr Sam Moss, PFP leader in the council, believes.

Mr Moss said a victory by Mr Paul von Zeuner in Ward 47 on October 30 would effectively give the PFP control of the council and indicate to the world that white South Africans were willing to accept change.

He said this would be particularly important because Johannesburg would have a high international profile next year because of its centenary.

The PFP currently has 23 seats on the council as

opposed to 23 held by the National Party/Independent Ratepayers' Action group coalition. With Mr Koos Sadie, the Ward 47 Southern Johannesburg Ratepayers' (SJRF) councillor who died last month, the coalition had a 24-23 majority.

Mr Moss said if the PFP took control of the council through Mr von Zeuner's election, it would be a fantastic preview to the 1988 general council elections.

He indicated that if the PFP lost the by-election he would not agree to an IRA/NP/PFP management committee as proposed by Mr Sadie after the 1982 council elections.

Mr Japie de Villiers, the SJRF candidate in the by-election, has said that if elected he would propose a tripartite man-

agement committee.

Referring to Mr Sadie's proposal, Mr Moss said: "The PFP is the largest group in the council and we were being offered minority status in the management committee. We would have been saddled with policies we would just have to go along with".

He said the by-election would also have significant implications for the local multiracial Regional Services Council (RSC).

"Whoever controls the city council will be electing the Johannesburg representatives to the RSC and they will have a majority say in the RSC," Mr Moss said.

Other candidates in the by-election are Mr Theuns Oosthuizen of the NP and Mr Fred Rundle of the CP.



CME Times 17/10/85 206A

# SA reforms 'herald new era' — Nel

PRETORIA. — Reforms over the past 10 years heralded a new era for South Africa, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, told the International Club in Washington last night.

Mr Nel urged his audience of invited guests to compare the South Africa of 10 years ago to that of 1985, listing reforms since then which "individually represent a major change in basic areas of South Africa's life".

In a prepared speech released in Pretoria, he said in 1975 Parliament had been for whites only.

In that same year, whites had been entitled to a monopoly of all skilled jobs in industry under job reservation legislation, and multiracial trade unions were illegal while the labour laws did not recognize black trade unions.

## 'Contrast'

Also, urban blacks were considered "temporary" migrants with the policy being to reverse the flow into cities back to the homelands.

South African citizenship was denied to those coming to the cities and was being taken away

from those who were there. Blacks could not own homes outright or in the form of leasehold.

"In contrast, today in 1985 the government has broken the colour line in Parliament, where elected representatives of the coloured and Indian communities sit.

"The entire job reservation law has been abolished ... multiracial black trade unions are by law on the same footing as white unions, and they are large and powerful," Mr Nel said.

"Today, the urban black population is explicitly recognized as permanent — one collective citizenship for everybody, white, black and brown alike, is the policy.

"Those who lost their South African citizenship will have it restored, and the whole system of influx control is being reconsidered.

"Today, blacks can hold 99-year leaseholds on their homes, and freehold rights are imminent.

"The ban on mixed marriages has been repealed, and the resettlement of black communities has been discontinued, thereby ending the 'black spot' policy." — Sapa

# 'Put in a bit of a difficult spot'

Cape Times 17/10/85 304A

PRETORIA. — The chairman of a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) intergroup relations working committee, Professor Marinus Wiechers, agrees with certain aspects of its report in which a democratic system was proposed for South Africa.

This was said yesterday by the director of the HSRC, Dr H C "Bok" Marais.

The report on "Political co-operation within a fundamental legal system" was completed in February and submitted to the HSRC's main committee investigating intergroup relations in South Africa. This in turn brought out the council's official report and recommendations in July.

Dr Marais said that a section at the end of the working committee's report had expressed disagreement with certain aspects of the report. However, it had inadvertently not been specifically stated that these were the views of one of the members and not those of Professor Wiechers, in whose name, as chairman, the report was issued.

## 'Understandable error by reporters'

Professor Wiechers, who was on record as a proponent of a consociational form of government for South Africa, had been placed "in a bit of a difficult spot" due to the understandable error made by reporters as a result of the omission which had remained undetected through three proof readings.

Dr Marais also said that the only findings the HSRC identified itself with were those in the consensus report issued by the main committee in July and which had, inter alia, been based on the working committee reports.

● It is understood that the dissenting section mistakenly attributed to Professor Wiechers was in fact the opinion of Professor Willie Breytenbach of Stellenbosch University. The HSRC would not, however, confirm this. — Sapa



# Commonwealth: being one-eyed about SA?

STAR 17/10/85 25 304A

The Queen, as head of the Commonwealth, yesterday opened the biennial gathering of "our imperial children, to each of whom we gave the gift of democratic parliamentary constitution..."

How many have kept that gift, or even a semblance of it? Only India and a very few others, almost all outside Africa

The majority are one-party or one-man dictatorships, most, but not all, benevolent. Yet the central purpose of this year's conference is to isolate and vilify the mother country for her refusal to impose economic sanctions on a former member of the family, South Africa.

Let us consider the charges that will be levelled at South Africa and the record of the prosecuting countries, and thus their moral right to prosecute and not to be prosecuted.

The first charge is the crime of apartheid. In fact the concept of separate development and racial discrimination was introduced in South Africa when the country was under British rule before the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. This fact is conveniently passed over by the moralists of the Foreign Office, headed by Sir Geoffrey Howe, who will be at the conference mewing condemnation of apartheid. If I were to be asked the greatest single act of apartheid ever launched I would say it was the partition of India.

Politically inspired division, though not necessarily on a racial basis, is world-wide. Germany is condemned to separate development on political lines. You can leave South Africa if some other country will accept you, but you cannot leave East Germany alive. Korea, China, Zimbabwe and Cyprus are divided on political, racial or tribal lines, Ireland and Lebanon on religious lines.

The second charge is the denial to the blacks in South Africa of one man, one vote. But where else in Commonwealth Africa is there a one man, one vote system with the ability to change the government by the exercise of that vote? In Kenya, perhaps, but not in Malawi, where you vote for Dr Banda or no one

## It should take a good look at itself

Not in Zimbabwe, where the Shonas outvote the Ndebele and ensure the Shona dictatorship of Dr Mugabe. Not in Uganda, where armed revolutions is the only way to change power. Not in Tanzania, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana or any of the rest.

The fact is that in all these countries the majority of blacks, of whatever tribe, are ruled by a political caucus. If ever there was minority rule and tyranny, it is the dictatorship of the one-party state or, in fact, the one-party party, be it behind the Iron Curtain or south of the Sahara, where the rulers are a race apart with their hands ever in the national till.

Charge three: The ANC is outlawed. But no political party but the ruling party is permitted in the majority of Commonwealth countries whereas in South Africa there are many political parties. In any event, what government, however democratic, would not ban a political party determined to overthrow the state by force?

Charge four: There are in South Africa people detained without trial. What black Commonwealth country can refute such charges against itself? In Nigeria, two Scots were recently sentenced to 14 years imprisonment after a mock trial in revenge for Dr Diko's sojourn in this country, and as a lever to persuade us to return him for instant extermination.

In Zimbabwe, a Scots dentist of senior years and in frail health is serving a 10-year prison sentence on the false evidence of Mugabe's agents in Matabeleland, where thousands have been slaughtered. In Uganda hundreds of thousands have been done to death by Obote and Amin who were regularly welcomed and applauded at Commonwealth conferences. Only last week a whole village of women and children were exterminated.

Commonwealth nations meeting in Nassau — the "summit" started yesterday — hope to cajole rather than bludgeon Mrs Thatcher into abandoning her opposition to economic sanctions against South Africa. Here one of her Conservative Party MPs, NICHOLAS FAIRBAIRN, in an article published in *The Times*, accuses South Africa's accusers of double standards.

With such Augean stables in the Commonwealth yard, how can the leaders of these countries stand on the moral dais and accuse South Africa of crimes of which they are so viciously and infinitely more guilty themselves? How can they accuse a nation which provides for all its black people a prosperity far greater than anything they can provide now that they have rejected European control?

Mozambique has borders with five countries. Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania and South Africa. All are open except that with South Africa which is mined and wired by Machel's Marxist regime, like the border between East and West Germany. Yet every day families risk death by crossing into South Africa to find work. None chooses to cross the open borders to the four black dictatorships to the north and west.

It is time the Commonwealth shed its hypocrisy and stopped seeing moles in the eye of South Africa through the substantial and multiple beams in their own. If the Commonwealth is to survive, we must recognise that it is not a Commonwealth of democracy or of non-racist societies. It is a Commonwealth mainly of tyrannies, of prejudices and privileges, and there are very few member countries where power can change hands other than by force.

We should shed our pretence of moral principle and accept the reality. Even on a purely material level, South Africa, of all the states of Africa, is the only one where prosperity reigns.



CAPE Times 17/10/85 304A

# Assocom backs SA 'federation'

By BARRY STREEK

A PLAN for a non-racial federal system of government has been backed by Assocom, the largest employer organization in South Africa.

The move for a federation is one of a number backed by organized business to promote reform in South Africa.

Another step, which is expected to be finalized by the end of the year, is the drafting of a South African Business Charter to simplify and codify the business stand on political change.

These initiatives into the political arena have been taken because businessmen feel they have to make a success of reform, though they

are careful to stress that this does not mean involvement in party politics.

## Study

The decision to support the federal concept was taken after Assocom commissioned a study by Professor Jan Lombard and Professor J A du Pisanie of the University of Pretoria into the removal of racial discrimination.

On the completion of the study, the federal council of Assocom endorsed the view that economic freedom and the private enterprise ethic would be "best entrenched in a future political system embodying principles of federalism".

The council also said any future political system would have to provide "the necessary checks and balances, safeguard basic human rights and the protection of minority groups against domination".

Although the government has not yet taken a formal position on federalism, President P W Botha's speech at the Cape National Party congress was widely interpreted to mean a move in a federal direction, particularly in view of his emphasis on "units" and the devolution of power.

## Constitution

Yesterday Professor Lombard, a prominent Afrikaans-speaking academic who was recently appointed Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank, told the annual Assocom conference in Cape Town that "for most thinking people, it has become clear that an appropriate legitimate constitution for a Republic of South Africa in which democracy extends to all its citizens irrespective of colour, would be a regional federation".

He said he was assuming that various federal options were still available for South Africa, but warned that worthwhile options "tend to dissolve if they are not exercised".

In August this year the government approved in principle the original Lombard plan for joint government of Natal and KwaZulu in spite of the controversy evoked when it was first proposed.

Yesterday Professor Lombard stressed the federal principle that "the government must be strong, but limited and for the most part dispersed".

## Devolution

A federal dispensation would "constitute a very great deal of devolution of political power away from the central government".

"At the same time, it would involve a great deal of integration of political power among people of all races on the regional level."

This would allow the people of each region to design structures best suited to their particular circumstances.

The Buthelesi Commission proposals on KwaZulu/Natal, which followed the original Lombard plan, was more or less in line with this approach, as was the Quail Commission in the Eastern Cape.

## Charter

He envisaged a three-tiered system of a single central government, a number of regional governments — "say nine or ten" — and between 1000 and 1500 "meaningful local governments".

No details of the proposed Business Charter have been disclosed but the concept was when five business organizations — Assocom, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc), the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) and the Urban Foundation — gave evidence last month to the United Nations hearings on transnational corporations.

In their statement, they said the charter would be drafted in accordance with the "objectives and principles for power-sharing and black advancement to which the business community is committed in its own action programme".

Assocom's support for political reform in South Africa will be taken a step further today when a resolution supporting the need for political change, and another dealing with the future of the free enterprise system, are discussed.



# Passport row: Maties seek

vote  
on PW

ARK 645  
17/10/85  
(30/10/85) (1/11/85)

## Staff Reporters

TWO members of Stellenbosch University's student representative council will ask the Student Parliament tonight to vote for no confidence in the chancellor, President Mr P W Botha, because the Government has barred a student delegation from meeting the ANC.

SRC member Mr Johan Theron said today he would propose the motion because it was clear that President Botha linked his National Party ideology with his chancellorship.

Withdrawal of the passports of the student group who intended talking to the ANC in Lusaka was proof of this, he said.

The motion will be seconded by Mr Robbie Roberts, another SRC member, and the Student Parliament is expected to vote on it tonight.

The Government faced a barrage of criticism today for preventing the delegation from holding talks with the youth wing of the ANC next week.

Sources close to ANC headquarters in the Zambian capital said the organisation was "deeply disappointed" by the Government's action, but its invitation was open.

At the annual meeting of Assocom in Cape Town today Mr Sydney Matus of Johannesburg attacked the Government for interfering in the rights of young people who wanted to work for a better future for South Africa.

He called on Assocom to ask the Government for an explanation for its action.

## "Very depressing"

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said that "of all the idiotic acts of Government this year" he found the passport decision "the most staggeringly stupid and very depressing indeed."

"No initiative of any consequence has come from Government over the last couple of months towards any form of reconciliation."

"Surely a few Maties talking to the ANC youth are not going to threaten the Government or increase polarisation."

"I condemn this Government action unreservedly," Dr Slabbert said.

University academics have signed a petition supporting an individual's right to freedom of association and were to hand it to rector Professor Mike de Vries today.

## Supporters

Professor Gerhard Erasmus of the university's law faculty said the statement, which had been circulating since Tuesday, had been signed by "almost everyone" in the faculties of law and arts and the departments of sociology, political science and engineering.

The statement reads: "We the undersigned members of Stellenbosch University staff are supporters of the right to freedom of association of every person. This implies the right to talk with any person."

"In the present climate in South Africa this is especially important."

"Those attached to a university, and therefore to some extent in a privileged position have a special responsibility to try, through discussions, to work towards a solution of our problems."

Two officials of the Department of Internal Affairs visited the university campus yesterday to tell members of the delegation who had passports that they were being with-

(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

"The withdrawal of their passports unfortunately makes this very difficult," he said.

Mr Anton Steenkamp, former editor of Die Matie and one of the students to have visited Lusaka, said he was "very disappointed". "I did not foresee such drastic measures," he said.

The group planned to hold a Press conference at 5pm in Stellenbosch.

At residence house meetings last night at least eight residences condemned the planned dialogue.

The Government's action showed its "immense fear of negotiations at any level", acting president of UCT's SRC, Ms Carla Sutherland said.

"We should reiterate that these are the people we are meant to be talking to because there can be no solution in South Africa which does not involve the ANC," she said.

The president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk condemned the planned talks.

However, he also criticised the Government for not allowing the students to go ahead with the talks.

(Cont from Page 1)

drawn immediately and that the others' applications for passports would be refused.

They also interrupted a church meeting in the town to seize the passports of Ned Geref Kerk clergyman the Rev Carel Anthonissen and Mr Hans Muller, chairman of the campus Church-Youth Action organisation.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said it was the declared policy of the ANC to bring about change through violence.

"In these times and under these circumstances the proposed talks will serve no purpose whatsoever and I deemed it in the public interest not to grant travelling facilities."

Stellenbosch rector Professor Mike de Vries — who opposed the contact plan — said withdrawing passports was not the best way to get students to change their minds.

## VERY DIFFICULT

He said he had not been consulted on the decision and had hoped that reaction to their plans would have caused the students to re-think.



ceased altogether since schools re-opened for the last term on October 2.

In Soweto, Holy Cross, a prestige Roman Catholic institution which provides education from pre-school level right up to matric, and Pace College, a commercial post-primary school, have closed down "until next year."

Pace, the only school of its kind in Soweto, if not in the country, was established a few years ago by the American Chamber of Commerce with support from local commerce and industry.

Thousands of pupils from the two schools are to lose a year of their education as they

will have to repeat this year — if schooling is resumed next year. Many parents fear that many thousands more pupils countrywide will once again not write the crucial end-of-year examinations.

When the end-1984 examinations were held, 5 900 of the 83 000 pupils who had registered for Standard 10 exam did not write. Of the 5 900, 5 000 said at the time they would write in May 1985 while the other 900 boycotted the exam entirely.

But the school situation became worse. Even pupils who were prepared to write found it difficult to do so because of disruptions by those children who were opposed to

the exams being held.

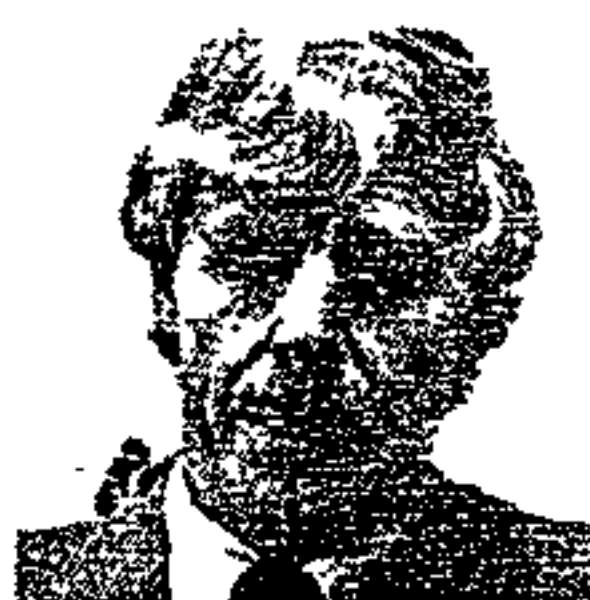
This year 91 331 full-time candidates have registered to write Standard 10 examinations — which are scheduled to begin on October 25, ending on November 25. In addition, there are 58 525 private candidates scheduled to write the examination.

The unrest has so hampered teaching in black schools this year that the usual high failure rate is likely to rise even higher among those children who may be lucky enough to write.

Although only 174 schools, involving at least 140 000 pupils, out of a total of 7 000 schools countrywide had no attendance

ALEX BORAINÉ

## The ANC — A human face?



Alex Boraine is the chairman of the Federal Council of the Progressive Federal Party and member of the PFP delegation that met with the African National Congress in Lusaka last week.

Last Thursday evening, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and I were on a Zambian Airways flight from Frankfurt to Lusaka. We had already begun our descent and the yellow embarkation cards had been handed out.

The usual question: Purpose of visit? Business — very serious business. We were going to Lusaka to meet with the top leadership of the African National Congress. Below us stretched the unending, dry African terrain. Within us, feelings of anxiety, a measure of trepidation and even doubt about the wisdom of the step we were about to take.

After all, the ANC is a banned organisation and the conventional wisdom is that they are a band of terrorists, armed to the teeth and Moscow-controlled. Jumbled thoughts and mixed emotions were brought to a head as we were met on the tarmac by Thabo Mbeki, director of publicity; Simon Makana, administrative secretary; and Mac Maharaj, a member of the central executive.

The immediate impression was that those men were fellow South Africans who had been deeply involved for decades in the agony of SA. As we exchanged greetings, and began to talk of events, names and places, it was easy for poignancy to lapse into sentimentality, but this was swiftly dispelled by a growing awareness that these men and those whom we met later were tough, experienced and determined people who were totally committed to the struggle for a non-racial democracy in SA.

Nevertheless, an abiding memory of the weekend in Lusaka was that, in strong contrast to the discussions we had just had at an international conference in Madrid and

seminars and debates in Bonn, we had now met with South Africans — and the ANC has a human face.

Early on Saturday morning, the real purpose of our visit began in earnest. Those who had met us at the airport were joined by Alfred Nzo, secretary-general; Thomas Nkobi, treasurer-general; and Gertrude Shope, head of the women's section. We, in turn, had been joined by Colin Eglin and Peter Gastrow.

In the initial discussions, it became clear that there was a large measure of common ground. We all agreed that apartheid lies at the heart of the present crisis, and shared an urgent commitment to dismantle apartheid and to establish a united, non-racial, democratic SA.

Secondly, it was equally clear that all of us shared a concern to conserve the human and natural resources of our country. Therefore, this concern would inform the strategies which we adopted. But we were soon past the stage of "apartheid is not for sale inside or outside of SA" kind of discussion and began to talk about how apartheid could be dismantled and what strategies should be adopted.

Areas of difference soon surfaced, and were met head-on. No attempt was made to gloss over any of them and inevitably, the question of "the armed struggle" was debated fully and extensively. We made it quite clear that we were opposed to violence, whether from the State or against the State, even if the objective was to bring about change.

In affirming their commitment to the armed struggle, the ANC stressed that this strategy was forced on the movement. They reminded us that ever since 1912, the ANC had for almost 50 years adopted peaceful, moderate measures to enable blacks to share in their own country, but when every constitutional channel was denied them, and when they were on the receiving end of institutionalised violence, they reluctantly opted for revolutionary violence.

Even today, however, they do not absolu-

tise violence. They were not prepared to glorify violence, but stated clearly that they could not sit still and be dominated forever — and had decided to fight back. It was a sobering experience to listen to men and women who had been at the brunt of apartheid and who, as Thabo Mbeki put it, "lived on the other side of the street" and had all their lives experienced the ugliness and the hurt of apartheid.

It is our view that it is futile to expect the ANC to abandon the armed struggle if the conditions which led to the armed struggle persist. For them the continuation of apartheid and the armed struggle are inextricably linked. Therein lies the tragedy and potential violence of the future.

There was a long discussion on the question of the desirability of a national convention. We emphasised that we saw no alternative to negotiations which would lead to a new constitution for a non-racial, democratic SA. We made it clear that certain pre-conditions had to take place before such a convention could happen.

While the ANC expressed the view that the present climate in SA was not conducive for it to even consider a negotiated resolution of the crisis, it did not rule out for all time either a convention as a means of devising a constitution, or negotiations as a means of resolving the crisis.

The real challenge therefore, lies not with the ANC but with those of us within SA who state that non-violent change is possible in SA. We have to demonstrate clearly and effectively that apartheid must go so that negotiation politics would be a genuine viable option. We have no doubt that our journey was worthwhile, and we would have no hesitation in meeting the ANC again.

We came away even more determined that if the spiral of violence is to be contained, and peaceful change is to happen, all the major actors in the South African drama will have to participate in a negotiated settlement and this includes the African National Congress.

IN MY  
OPINION



# Banks warn SA to expect worst

Cap 7038 18/10/85

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — South Africa will be frozen out of world money markets until it accedes to a drastically quickened pace of change.

That was the message given Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Louis Nel on Wall Street this week.

Appearing on a panel with the minister, Morgan Guaranty vice president Mr Edmund Rogers said his own bank's lending to the Republic had "ground to a standstill".

Morgan, one of the Big Six with deposits of well over 30 000 million dollars, has not joined Chase and Citibank in officially terminating private lending, but he suggested that in the present climate it made little difference.

Pretoria was being warned to expect the worst at Wednesday's London meeting with major bankers: "Financial markets are likely to remain closed, or very restrictive, until significant change is achieved in the social and political status of blacks."

It was not, however, Mr Nel's night.

Invited as keynote speaker on a panel discussion on disinvestment, he heard a church expert estimate that the trustees of 2 000-million dollars worth of investment funds were addressing the South African issue, with half of them now committed to some level of action against Pretoria.

Mr Nel promised South Africa would change into "a very different country from what it is today".

Disinvestment and sanctions, he said, were immoral and would only lead to suffering throughout Southern Africa — "even the cats and dogs will suffer", he said, only to draw titters and laughter.

The laughter grew greater when he cited an opinion that the sanctions campaign was the most wicked enterprise "since the days of Hitler and Stalin".

The minister's concern "has made disinvestment seem like a good idea", commented Dr Donald Shriver, president of the Union Theological Seminary, while Congressman Howard Wolpe called his presentation "extraordinary".

The session, held in the offices of Wall Street's historic Trinity Church, ended with a prayer dedicated to Bishop Tutu. Mr Nel prayed too.

CAPE TIMES  
18/10/85

# Pastors deplore State action

Staff Reporter

THE State's "diabolical demonstration of power" stemmed from the repression of South Africans' legitimate grievances and demands for a free country.

This is the opinion of delegates at the Pastors Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, Cape Orange Diocese, expressed in a statement released last night.

"As Christians we pray to God and call on the State to end its unjust rule which culminates in the present violence and dehumanisation, and contradicts the will of God. We recognize this in the words of the prophets and of Christ Himself.

"As we are bound to the word of God, we will continue to denounce the unjust rule of our country, warn all those who exercise and partake in this evil system, and continue to encourage our people to actively resist it."

● Also released last night was the contents of a telegram sent by the conference to President P W Botha, appealing for clemency for convicted murderer Benjamin Moloise.

"We appeal on your Christian conscience to reconsider your decision on the life of a fellow South African," said the telegram.

"We Lutheran pastors have identified ourselves with the objective of the day of fast and prayer on October 9, which was the full commitment for reconciliation in our land. Hence this appeal to the State not to escalate violence through this execution, but to show its commitment to reconciliation."



# Bishop Tutu: I care about white

## liberation

"We must remember that we have been given a wonderful cause", Bishop Tutu said last night. Staff Reporter ROBERT HOUWING writes.

WHITES who opposed the system in South Africa deserved praise for "turning their backs on such substantial privileges," Bishop Desmond Tutu told a packed meeting last night.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner was speaking at a meeting organised by the Cape Western branch of the South African Institute of Race Relations in the Woodstock town hall.

Bishop Tutu said opposition to apartheid "came naturally" to black people, but "went against the grain" for whites. White South Africans, he said, were "not all demons."

"Most are scared human beings, and I ask the audience whether they wouldn't also be scared if they were outnumbered five to one."

"When I speak about black liberation it is because I also care about white liberation," Bishop Tutu said.

The police, he said, had an unenviable task in having to carry out "the immoral laws of an evil, totally un-Christian system."

"As a black person I do not regard them as my friends, defending as they do something utterly indefensible, and they are going to have their work cut out redesigning themselves."

He slammed this week's police shooting of a young man.

marked vehicle in Thornton Road, Athlone, as "outrageous."

Bishop Tutu condemned people who resorted to burning others they regarded as collaborators. "Methods like that do a great dis honour to those languishing on Robben Island or at Pollsmoor, to those in exile, or those whose blood has already been spilt."

"We must remember that we have been given a wonderful, righteous cause, one of freedom and justice, and we must be able to walk with heads held high."

"Stability in this land will not come from the barrel of a gun, because peace without justice is not possible."

The root cause of the current unrest, Bishop Tutu said, was apartheid. "No reform or plastic surgery will make it more beautiful — it is a monster that needs to be destroyed."

He described the new constitution as a "culmination of the politics of exclusion," which "entrenched white minority rule for ever."

After the meeting, a group of youths stoned the windows of at least two businesses in the Main Road, a supermarket and a factory curtain shop. Police patrolled the area after the incidents, but no action was apparent.





By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

The overall result of the looming parliamentary mini-election is expected to be an important, psychological victory for the Government, encouragement for the Conservatives, frustration for the Progressive Federal Party and the sounding of the death knell for the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the New Republic Party.

The National Party is likely to retain all five of the parliamentary seats being contested in the by-elections on October 30.

They are in Port Natal, Springs, Vryburg, Bethlehem and Sasolburg, and follow the death, retirement or promotion of the incumbent MPs.

Analysts agree that the worst possible scenario for the Gov-

ernment in the polls would be for the Conservative Party to win two of the seats — in Bethlehem and Vryburg where the fighting is at its closest.

A round-up of the party campaign headquarters in each of the constituencies this week indicated that the CP may certainly expect to increase its overall support in the four seats it is contesting (it is not fighting Sasolburg because of a pact with the HNP) but will probably fall short of winning any.

The PFP is expected to be the victim of electorate jitters

about the possible success of the CP and will not come anywhere near winning either of the two seats it is fighting (Springs and Port Natal) while the New Republic Party is expected to be all but wiped out in the only constituency it is contesting (Port Natal).

#### INDICATION

The Herstigte Nasionale Party is expected to take a hammering in its two contests (Vryburg and Sasolburg).

In this latest round of elections, not just the parliamentary margins of the various par-

ties are at stake. The outcome of the polls will be scratched over domestically and internationally for indications of where the country is going with its reform programme.

That is why the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, has described the five elections as among the most important in modern history.

Indeed, the leaders of all five parties, including the State President, Mr P W Botha, have been heavily involved in the campaigning, addressing some times as many as four public

# in mini-election

at least, to establish itself as the official opposition in Natal and the Transvaal by coming a comfortable second in Springs and Port Natal.

If the party fails to wrest either Bethlehem or Vryburg from the Nationalists there will be bitter disappointment among its members.

The Conservative organisations in both marginal constituencies are cautious about their chances. They claim they have encountered a strong swing of support away from the

Government but admit that the NP is putting up a tough fight.

"Our instincts tell us that it is a 50/50 situation here," a CP organiser in Bethlehem said.

Political analysts agree. The results in Bethlehem and Vryburg will be very close, probably within a hundred or so votes.

#### NECK AND NECK

In Sasolburg, where the campaign has centred on a recent inter-racial marriage in the town (living proof of the Government's shameful and disastrous reformist policies, it is

claimed, the HNP says that it is running neck-and-neck with the National Party.

If the party fails to win or do very well there and its entry in the Vryburg poll prevents the CP from winning, it will be finished.

There will be irresistible pressure on the HNP to accept the CP's repeated offer to merge in a solid right-wing front which would be dominated by the numerically stronger Conservatives.

Similarly, a poor showing by the NRP in Port Natal would signal the irrelevance of this party in even its home province.

The PFP's only chance of gaining a seat is in Springs and it is a slim chance as the seat has been in the Government camp for 15 years. (News by David Braun, 24 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

The Star Friday October 18 1985

3044  
Reformat Stake



Nats have lost control of the country, says Springs PFP candidate

# Reforms forced on Govt

By Andrew Beattie

All three parties fighting the October 30 by-election in Springs are intensifying their efforts, and last night about 200 people turned up at the Civic Centre at a meeting addressed by PFP candidate Mr John Simpson and his party leader, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert.

Mr Simpson, a 29-year-old businessman, said in summing up South Africa's political situation: "People are burning while Rome fiddles."

"Law and Order Deputy Minister Adrian Vlok's recent visit to Soweto, where he was guarded by 13 armoured personnel carriers, two helicopters and a spotter plane, indicates that law and order has broken down utterly."

The National Party was now making concessions on apartheid in response to violence and international pressure — "these reforms were not planned", he said.

In principle, the Conservative Party was the same as the old pre-reformist NP.

## PROBLEMS

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert spoke about the wide-ranging talks he has had with divergent groups this year, from the CP to Inkatha and the United Democratic Front internally, to overseas governments and the African National Congress in Lusaka.

"I didn't do it because I was curious. I did it to try and find out what is the root of this country's problems, and how they can be solved," he said.

Attacking the State President's "arrogant attitude about violence", Dr

Slabbert said that "Mr Botha did not consult the people of this country, or me, about supporting Renamo or Unita — both organisations that use violence."

"Mr Botha says don't speak to those who advocate violence, yet he supports those who do. When I spoke to the ANC last week that was the first time I have had talks with people who advocate violence — he is an old hand at it."

## NKOMATI

"Mr Botha says don't speak to communists. I went to speak to a group that has a few communists in it, yet he makes accords with Machel, who professes to be a Marxist," said Dr Slabbert, adding that he supported the Nkomati Accord in theory as a realistic attempt to bring peace to the region.

Turning to the State President's withdrawal of the passports of Stellenbosch students who had planned talks with the ANC's youth wing, Dr Slabbert asked: "Does he really think those Maties want to join the armed struggle?"

Asked what he would do if he was State President "tomorrow", Dr Slabbert jokingly replied: "I'm shocked, this has all happened so soon..."

Addressing the question, he said that assumption would mean that the political climate in South Africa would have changed entirely.

"If I was in P W Botha's shoes, I would make it unequivocally clear that apartheid... and all forms of statutory discrimination would go. I would lift the state of emergency, and remove all security forces from the townships." (News by A Beattie, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Some applauded, while others came to heckle. An audience of about 200 people turned out at the Springs Civic Centre last night at a meeting addressed by the Progressive Federal Party candidate for the October 30 by-election, Mr John Simpson, and the PFP leader, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert.



# POLICIES

## The NP quietly scraps its 1948 'principles'

18/10/81

304A

DAVID BRAUN of the Political Staff reports on what is seen as a watershed review of the NP's 37-year-old programme of principles

THE National Party has quietly purged the maxim of white supremacy over other races from its "inviolable" programme of principles and has brought the rest of this crucial document in line with its new policies of power sharing.

The new eight-article version of the party's vaunted programme of principles was endorsed behind closed doors at all four of the NP's recent provincial congresses, with almost no dissent or discussion.

It has also been ratified by the NP's Federal Council and now replaces the 26-article version of the programme of principles originally drawn up under The leadership of Prime Minister D F Malan in 1948.

Senior party sources have described the changed principles as "very significant, worthy of broad support".

They also interpret the changes as committing the party irrevocably to power sharing by, in the words of one senior NP office bearer, "putting our money where our mouth is".

The revision of the NP's programme of principles is highly significant in view of consistent arguments by Government leaders, particularly in face of right-wing criticism, that the party may have adjusted its policies to circumstances but never its principles.

Article 13 of the previous programme of principles read: "As a basic principle of the (National Party's) attitude towards the Bantu, coloureds and Indians, the party recognises that they are permanent parts of country's population, under the Christian trusteeship of the white races."

In the new document the reference to Christian trusteeship has been dropped, but the permanence of the non-white groups has been retained with due recognition of the heterogeneous nature of the population and the existence of minorities.

It is also clear from the revamped principles that nowhere is it even implied that party membership is restricted to whites, although officials point out that it remains NP



Dr Van der Merwe

policy that the party remains all white and in favour of segregated voters rolls.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, senior information spokesman for the Transvaal National Party, says that the new document approved by the congresses was the distillation of the party's purest principles,

from which certain policy positions had been extricated.

The only unalterable principles under the sun were the Ten Commandments, he said. Anything else was less than absolute because they had to be connected to time and place.

"Many views that were valid in the 1930s were reflected in previous statements and principles of the party. In the 1930s, not only in South Africa but in many other parts of the world, non-whites were not regarded as fit to share political power."

"That perception changed worldwide only subsequently, and has now changed also in South Africa and within the National Party."

"The State President and Mr Chris Heunis (Minister of Constitutional Development) talk now of sharing power. We have adapted our principles and perceptions to the views of today."

"If we did not adapt our statement of principles to the times it would become a dead letter, because there are some things (in the old programme) that we can no longer live with," he said.





Voting at the Stellenbosch University student parliament last night.

# Business backing for Matie talks with ANC

GAYE DAVIS, Staff Reporter  
STELLENBOSCH students, whose planned talks with the African National Congress were aborted by the Government, have been offered backing by businessmen to stage the meeting in South Africa or overseas.

Reaffirming their conviction that "young Afrikaners have to talk to the ANC youth" they appealed for the talks to be allowed to go ahead "for the sake of South Africa".

A Press conference at Stellenbosch University late yesterday erupted into a standing ovation by about 200 students for group leader Mr Hennie Bester when he asked the Government to reconsider and "not let this step become a piece of unaccomplished history".

Referring to events in the Western Cape, he said. "Within kilometres of where we sit there is violence — that is why dialogue is necessary."

Two students whose motion of no confidence in the chancellor, President P W Botha, was abandoned without debate by the student parliament last night are to launch a petition instead.

The motion was scrapped by 38 votes to 16 after the

rector, Professor Mike de Vries, addressed the parliament behind closed doors — hours after he summoned Mr Johannes Roberts, proposer of the motion, to his office and asked him to withdraw it.

But Mr Roberts and his seconder, Mr Johan Theron, felt the matter could not be left there, student parliament chairman Mr Phillip Verster said later.

## MAJORITY

A motion of support for the eight Maties, whose talks with the youth wing of the ANC collapsed when the State withdrew their passports, was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

Mr Bester told the Press conference earlier yesterday that a meeting arranged for today between him, fellow delegate Mr Phillip Verster, chairman of the Matie SRC, and President P W Botha had been cancelled.

Eight students and a Ned Geref Kerk clergyman had planned to fly to Lusaka on Saturday and stay in Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's guest lodge.

Mr Bester said the group would still like to "press ahead with the initiative" but preferably "after this row has settled".

He said: "Some businessmen — I will not name names — have offered to back a meeting in South Africa, if possible, or on neutral ground, possibly overseas."

In a statement read out by Mr Bester, the group said it had received a "standing and unconditional" invitation from the ANC which it was their "moral duty" to accept.

A solution to South Africa's problems lay in dialogue with "all fellow South Africans".

The ANC enjoyed support within and without South Africa and it was "no good arguing" that it should not lay claim to an interest in the country.

● Young people in the United Democratic Front have hailed the attempt to meet the ANC.

Mr Dan Montsisi, UDF coordinator for the International Youth Year Committee, said. "The Government's actions show it is afraid of the common ground that young people might find if they come together."

He said the UDF had hoped "that the white youth would come back with the cobwebs and myths of bloodthirsty terrorists and such propaganda washed from their minds".



Cape Times - 18/10/85

# Maties: 'We must speak to ANC youth'

304A

From RIAAN SMIT

STELLENBOSCH. — The eight Stellenbosch students whose passports were withdrawn to prevent talks with the ANC Youth League in Lusaka, said at a press conference last night they are still convinced young Afrikaners must talk to ANC youth.

They called the withdrawal of their passports "incomprehensible" and asked the government to reconsider.

They said they are backed by "certain businessmen" and indicated that a meeting could still take place at a venue other than Lusaka.

The meeting they were to have had with President P W Botha tonight has been cancelled.

The eight said in a prepared statement that the talks would not have betrayed victims of violence.

"We as a group would have strongly renounced the use of violence."

A petition signed by 140 lecturers at the university backs the Matie students, and the 60-member student parliament approved a motion backing the talks by a two-thirds majority.

There was widespread reaction yesterday to the withdrawal of the passports.

The leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday said. "Of all the idiotic acts of government this year, I find this the most staggeringly stupid."

Professor H W van der Merwe of the University of Cape Town said he was "sorry" about the government's decision. Professor Van der Merwe helped establish links between the two groups.

In Lusaka the ANC deplored the action against the students.

The decision was also deplored by the Azanian Students Organization, the National Council of Women and the Black Sash.

The regional representative of the Department of Home Affairs, Mr H O Nothnagel, said the passports had been seized by immigration officials from his department, not security police as reported. His department was acting on instructions from the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

A statement by Mr Botha said it was the declared policy of the ANC to bring about change in the South Africa through violence.

"We are engaged in a serious struggle with this organization and in these circumstances I find it unacceptable that a group of university students, with a clergyman, intends having discussions with the youth wing of that organization."

"I deemed it in the public interest not to grant travel facilities to them."

The government's action was yesterday approved by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The petition was presented to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.



WORE UP IN WORK

CARE TAKES 18/10/85

# 'I am glad' says Tutu

Staff Reporter

BISHOP Desmond Tutu told a meeting of more than 1 500 people at the Woodstock Town Hall last night he was pleased the government had withdrawn the passports of Stellenbosch students who intended to visit the ANC in Zambia.

The Nobel Peace Prize-winning Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg said: "At least some white people ... will now know what many blacks have suffered. 'These students said, 'we will go'. Now the government says, 'we will take away your passports'. I am glad this happened."

The meeting was crammed. Crowds danced in Main Road, stopping traffic briefly after the meeting.

## Banned

Earlier, the installation of loudspeakers outside the hall was banned, as was the displaying of the banners of banned organizations. The volume of the sound system in the hall was ordered not to be such that the speeches could be heard outside.

Bishop Tutu cautioned the gathering that "we are preparing for a society which is going to be able to discriminate between good and bad.

"And we must not allow ourselves to become as the system we oppose. We cannot afford to use methods of which we will be ashamed when we look back.

"Why must we discredit our cause by using methods which, if they were used against, we would oppose?

"We are doing a great dishonour to those who are languishing on Robben Island, to those in Pollsmoor, to those in exile. We are doing a great dishonour to those whose blood has been spilt.

"We must use methods which can withstand the harsh scrutiny of history," he said.

## Clemency

He told the meeting he had sent a telegram to the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, yesterday asking for clemency for the students.



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"We must use methods which can withstand the harsh scrutiny of history," he said.

#### Clemency

He told the meeting he had sent a telegram to the State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday asking for clemency for the convicted ANC murderer Benjamin Moloise.

He had asked Mr Botha to "please at this late hour exercise your prerogative to commute the death sentence of this young man and help to reduce tension in this land".

Bishop Tutu said stability and peace would not come from the barrel



# Businessmen speak out

## 'Hasten reform and hold talks'

*W/le Affairs 19/9/85*

DEREK TOMMEY, Finance Editor

SOUTH Africa's businessmen, battered and bruised by the worst recession since the war, are strongly in favour of political reform. This was the clear message conveyed by the delegates attending Assocom's annual congress in Cape Town this week.

With not one dissenting vote, the 400 delegates — the largest attendance at an Assocom congress for many years — who represent 23 000 employers gave their full support to a motion calling for political change.

The motion called for the acceleration of reform, a formula enabling all black leaders — whether acceptable to the Government or not — to share in constitutional discussions, and a more constructive role for the private sector.

The delegates were unhappy about Government policies and there were flashes of anger, as when Mr Andrew Peile of Cape Town accused the Government of using Trojan horse tactics in Athlone and delegates deplored the cancelling of the passports of the Stellenbosch students who had planned to visit the ANC Youth League in Lusaka.

### Vague

Mr Denis Creighton of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce opened the debate by calling for the systematic abolition of laws which made common citizenship impossible. He listed the Group Areas Act, influx control and all racial discrimination.

"Reform must not be aimed at improving discriminatory laws — it must remove them," he said.

But while the delegates knew where they wanted to go they were rather vague on how to get there.

Delegates' concern with the mechanics of political reform may have decreased after Professor Jan Lombard, head of the Department of Economics at the University of Pretoria, discussed how financial re-



Mr Andrew Peile

sources would be allocated in a new federal political system.

Professor Lombard's speech was a conference highlight and helped to offset the notable absence of Cabinet Ministers.

His views on the country's political evolution may not be Government policy at this stage but it is obvious from his speech that a considerable amount of thought already has been given in quasi-official circles in Pretoria to the development in this country of a federal political system.

In Professor Lombard's system, South Africa would be divided into nine or so regions which, together with the central government, would each have parallel or equal-ranking sovereign powers.

Powers would move from central government to the regional governments and would be separated not on racial lines but on regional lines.

Although Professor Lombard did not mention it in his speech, this would help resolve opposition by whites to a one-man one-vote system.

Devolution of power to the regions would lead also to "fiscal equivalence" where those people who decide what funds the government should spend, those who benefit from it and those who pay are the same group of people, he said.

**Reddy**

**says he**

**opposes**

**sanctions**

**Mercury Reporter**

THE official Opposition in the House of Delegates, Solidarity, was opposed to sanctions, Mr J N Reddy, national leader of Solidarity, said yesterday.

Addressing a conference at the University of Stellenbosh, he said, however, that the Government would have to take into consideration the tremendous international demands from the West to move fast to end apartheid.

The future of the free-enterprise system in South Africa was dependent on the unrestricted participation by all sectors of the population and constraints and impediments which restricted development must be dismantled.

'While it may be difficult to accept, it is nevertheless an indisputable fact that the political set-up in the country has operated to the disadvantage of the majority of South Africa's people and has in fact benefitted the white entrepreneur.

#### **'Old order'**

'Many of us are very well aware of trade practices which closed the door on entrepreneurs of colour and a variety of measures were applied by white businessmen to achieve just this.

'We have moved away from the old order, but attitudes of personnel and management in white business must increasingly reflect in action the new thinking in our country.

'The existence of black, coloured and Indian entrepreneurs offering a variety of services and products in the market place should be recognised on merit,' he said.

#### **'Determined'**

It appeared that most whites in South Africa accepted the necessity for some form or other of ending segregation and apartheid.

'We can no longer think of the struggle for the end of apartheid as being between black and white. It is now between those whites and blacks who are determined to end apartheid and those especially among certain sections of the whites who are determined to maintain apartheid in one form or another.

'But even among whites, the anti-apartheid forces are growing so rapidly that they will overwhelm completely those who wish to maintain some form of apartheid,' he added.



# 'ANC is squarely to blame for unrest'

● From Page 1

The government's position on the intended consultations with the ANC's Youth League had been set out clearly by him on Monday. "The warning was sounded that South Africans must take care their actions do not lend credibility and status to self-confessed perpetrators of violence."

He pointed out it was established international practice that authorities might make the issue of passports to their nationals conditional upon certain given circumstances.

"Furthermore, several members of the Government have repeatedly stated the Government's position as regards consultations with persons and organisations which favour violence," Mr Botha said.

This position had been supported by leaders of various political parties in Parliament.

An example Mr Botha quoted was Dr Slabbert in the House of Assembly on April 19 this year, when the opposition leader said he deplored "in the strongest possible terms any organisation, group of individual that promotes or uses violence to bring about any kind of change in South Africa".

Dr Slabbert had said no society or state could tolerate a situation in the cities where "we are reduced to arbitrary mob rule". He had added that "there are ANC members who are hardline communists, who are committed to violence. I agree there is no point in negotiating with those people".

Mr Botha also referred to the US Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, which had in 1982 conducted an investigation into the role of the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba in fomenting terrorism in Southern Africa.

Among other conclusions, the subcommittee had concluded evidence suggested strongly that the original purposes of the ANC had been subverted and that the Soviet Union and its allies had achieved effective control over it.

On the recent South Africans' talks with the ANC, he said it was quite clear from these, and recent statements by the organisation, "that the ANC remains unyielding as regards its continued use of force, its Marxist leanings and its ties with the South African Communist Party."

The SACP in reality controlled and directed the ANC, and its rejection of negotiations, with the exception of negotiations concerning the final transfer of all State authority to the organisation.

"As a result of the conduct of the ANC and its front organisations within the Republic, the government, to provide for safety and order, particularly in certain black areas, issued emergency measures in a small number of areas."

# Thatcher approves 'wise men' plan for SA

NASSAU (Bahamas) — The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, under fire at a Commonwealth summit over her opposition to sanctions against South Africa, has consented to the creation of a committee of elder statesmen to promote talks between black nationalists and the Pretoria Government.

But Mrs Thatcher once again rejected out of hand the use of economic sanctions — or even the threat of punitive measures — as a means of forcing Pretoria to dismantle apartheid.

Mrs Thatcher said the 49 Commonwealth nations could not expect Pretoria to negotiate in good faith for an end to apartheid if they were "putting a gun to South Africa's head".

Reiterating her position that economic sanctions would have devastating consequences for South African blacks, Mrs Thatcher said it would be wrong for them to have "gained dignity and political rights only to inherit a wasteland".

After a series of private talks with other Commonwealth leaders, Mrs Thatcher was finally persuaded to accept the idea of a high-level committee that would travel to South Africa and try to start up negotiations between the Government and black nationalist groups.

Mrs Thatcher asserted yesterday that negotiations were the most important step toward the abolition of apartheid, but said black leaders would have to agree to end violence once talks had begun. — Sapa-Reuter.



# P W is strongly critical of the Commonwealth

LONDON — President Botha has made a defiant stand against Commonwealth leaders, insisting that he would set the pace of reform in South Africa irrespective of external pressure to end apartheid.

As Commonwealth leaders meeting in the Bahamas discussed the issue of imposing economic sanctions against South Africa, Mr Botha told *The Daily Telegraph* that his government would allow black representation on the President's Council next year.

But he defied the Commonwealth to try to force reform upon him and was vehement in his criticism of the organisation.

STAR 19/10/85  
DISSATISFIED

Mr Botha told the *Telegraph* that he was dissatisfied with the present constitutional system which excluded the urban black population.

"The urban communities must be attended to and we are at present starting with local government, regional government, second-tier government, and eventually first-tier government."

Asked whether this meant national government, Mr Botha replied that it did but "not necessarily in the form the Western world looks upon it".

He said he felt that black people of different tribes would not be willing to sit together in a fourth, black chamber of Parliament and added that, even if they were, he and most other South Africans did see it as a solution. — Sapa-Reuter.

# ANC 'squarely to blame' for our troubles — PW

The exiled African National Congress and its internal surrogates were "squarely to blame" for the "appalling and distressing state of affairs" in which 761 people had died in unrest incidents in South Africa since September last year, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night.

In a statement in Pretoria he again strongly reiterated his rejection of any dialogue with the ANC, saying it was "quite clear" from the organisation's recent statements and its talks

with opposition politicians and South African businessmen that it remained unyielding on its use of violence and its communist ties.

Also, "the Government, which with all means at its disposal has all the security information concerning South Africa available, must be trusted by all patriotic South Africans", he said.

In recent weeks talks with the ANC in Lusaka by a group of leading South African businessmen and Dr Van Zyl

Shabert, leader of the official opposition, were sharply criticised by Mr Botha.

Plans for a proposed visit to Lusaka by eight University of Stellenbosch student leaders and a Dutch Reformed Church clergyman next week for discussions with the ANC's Youth League were stamped out by the government this week.

Mr Botha condemned the talks and their passports were withdrawn by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr

Stoffel Botha. The students have since said they still want to go, despite the Government's opposition.

Mr Botha said in his statement last night he wanted to make it clear from the outset that the decision on the students' passports "was taken with my knowledge and approval, and that of Ministers of the Cabinet who are members of the State Security Council."



# Students b



Student Charl du Plessis puts his signature to a petition in favour of dialogue between ANC Youth League members and Matie students.

FOUR petitions were circulating the Matie campus by the end of the week — two calling students to sign in favour of the proposed ANC talks, one in opposition and one calling students to express a show of no confidence in State President Mr P W Botha as chancellor of the university.

The Student's Council offices at the top of the Langehoven Centre measured the pace of political comings and goings.

"Never before has this campus been so pulled in different directions," said Andrew Day, member of Student Parliament and history masters student writing a thesis on the history of the PFP.

Student council member Frans Volschenk broke in with a bit of baiting. "Andrew's our campus ANC activist ..." and there was banter about that for a while before Frans voiced his serious reservations about the ANC talks. He was concerned

about alienating the Ink section of which a number seem extremely proud.

"But I'm a student decide to support I will posed ANC talks were Parliament on Thursday ity and a standing ova tie/ANC dialogue.)

Andrew warned that on the Matie campus was working groups of individ

"The student apathy is this was borne out down student canteen, where, chips and chatter were sin new Dire Straits hit, E out of the campus radio = relaxing heads.

A number of voices f

## SPECIAL REPORT

**B**ZZZZT ... the doorbell. A student flat in Stellenbosch. "Department of Internal Affairs. Your passports please." There's a flurry and eight students, seven young men and a woman, search bags and pockets.

The officials wait: One wears dark mirrored sunglasses to catch the glare off his white shirt, white trousers and white shoes. A toasted cigarette dangles from his fingers.

His colleague wears a bright purple shirt, and they dish out official papers.

"It's not every day one gets a personal letter from the Director of Internal Affairs," says Hennie Bester, leader of the Matie student group whose bid to talk to the ANC Youth League was crushed this week, students believe, directly or indirectly, by the Stellenbosch University chancellor, State President Mr P W Botha.

The students hand over their personal documents politely. They bear no malice towards purple shirt and mirror shades — they even say "totsiens" and "dankie" when the gentlemen leave.

But the disappointment is evident too. How do they feel, days of pressure having culminated in this strong-arm move?

### Committed

Their voices sound all at once, but the common gist is: "We are still totally committed to dialogue with the ANC. More

# CAMPUS



DALE LAUTENBACH  
Weekend  
Argus  
Reporter

## The students who caused it all...



### QUOTE

We wanted to show them that the Afrikaner can and does think ...



# BUZZ over ANC Affair

the Youth Brigade, a con- of Stellenbosch students

representative and what they accept," he said. (The pro- supported in the Student night with a clear major- for the would-be Ma-

much of the political action confined to small hard- individuals.

is appalling," he said and stairs in the Neelsie, the e, earlier this week, slap still the main focus and the others In Arms, boomed station and way over the

ugh located a subtle shift

when, later in the week, the reality of how one's personal freedom might be affected was made crystal clear to them by the passport confiscation saga.

All of a sudden students were more directly involved, it seemed, roused to talk.

Canvassing opinion is usually a matter of stopping people and asking them for a view — and often they drift off remaining non-committal.

I was doing just that on Thursday (passport cancelling day) when I was approached, opinion offered ...

"It's the most laughable thing that's ever happened. And yes, quote me on that. The name's Jan de Waal."

Jan left, passionately.

There were other quotables too and they all hit out unquestioningly at "P W" as the man responsi-

ble for Passport Day. There was language, too, not often seen in print.

Some of the quotables:

● It's the sort of dictatorship move that proves we're living in a police state. As chancellor, he's imposing his political vision on this university and classifying it as a Nationalist institution. (Johan Theron, SC member.)

● We don't want him as chancellor. I'm disgusted. (Robbie Roberts, SC member.)

● It was a bona fide effort by students to create dialogue and we've already shown we're all for open dialogue by a vote taken in Student Parliament earlier this year. (Hein Brand, vice-chairman Student Parliament.)

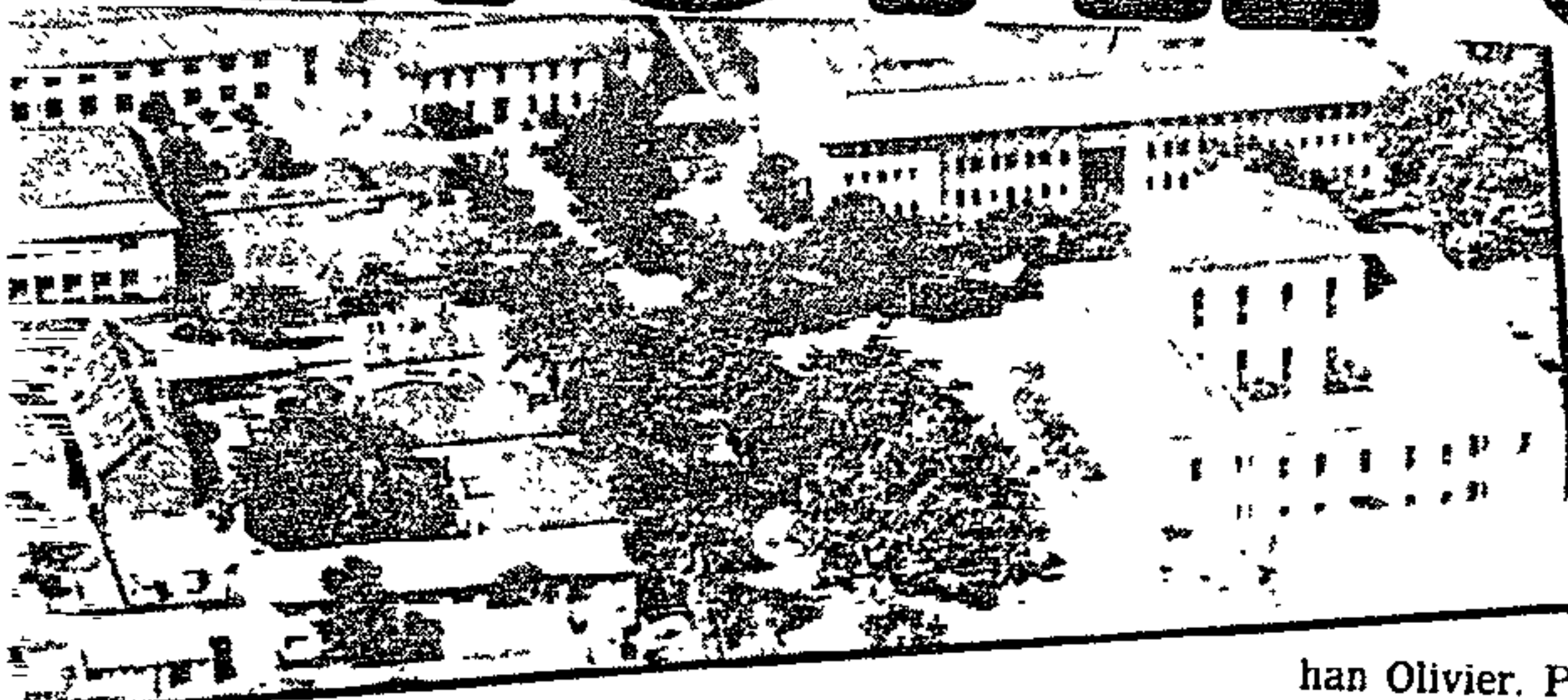
● An utterly ruthless move — but to be expected. The talks were important because the initiative showed an establishment Afrikaner group breaking out of the system. (Charl du Plessis, Nusas.)

● The Government is like an ostrich with its head in the sand. But I also think the ANC has let down blacks by agreeing to talk to Stellenbosch students. The campus is not even open to all races. How can there be talks with the ANC if there are no talks at grassroots level? (Helet Herholdt, ex-president Current Affairs Society.)

● That the invitation came from the ANC gives the lie to P W's assertion that the ANC is not interested in dialogue. It's important that a holy cow like Stellenbosch has been seen to make this move. (Craig Watt-Pringle, ex-president Current Affairs Society.)

● If we had any doubts that we were living in a police state, today has erased those. (Andrew Breitenbach, student.)

## RUMPUS



### The doorbell rang: 'Your passports, please' a man said

the Rev Carel Anthonissen motivated by his belief that the church should be represented talks with the ANC.

Anton Steenkamp, 23-year-old law student, is a previous editor of Die Matie and he and fellow law student Eric le Grange, 22, present editor, look a fraction more like the

student stereotype than their colleagues, Anton in his hand-made sandals and Springbok boy Eric wearing a decidedly contemporary suit.

This initial group expanded to become the Matie 8 with Annami, present student council president Phillip Verster, and his SC member colleague, Jo-

han Olivier. Phillip, 22, is a final-year electrical engineering student and son of a Worcester dentist. Johan is 23, another law student, and from Bellville.

Each group member stresses that they came together with different political convictions and persuasions (a member of the Student Parliament described them as a gathering of right-ish and left-ish students, the "ish" emphasised).

### Concerned

"The thinking that unites us though is that we're all deeply concerned about the future and all committed to peaceful change for which dialogue is the only non-violent way," says Eric.

"And we have had tremendous support — from unknown

people too," says Annami.

"From students known to be National Party supporters ..." says Anton.

So what is it like for them now to walk through the Neelsie (the student canteen in the Langenhoven building).

A chorus: "Wonderful!" Any negative reaction has been more than counter-balanced which was borne out in the Student Parliament on Thursday night.

### Support

Parliament member and history masters' student Andrew Day said most of the audience came just for the ANC talks motion. Support for the talks was carried resoundingly with 38 votes to 16 and three abstentions.

"And as hands shot up the students stood up to applaud the group," he said. "That done, they left parliament to carry on its business."

Back in the student flat, obviously a neat and orderly abode under normal circumstances, but cluttered now with bodies and papers and talk and lunch and more talk, the Matie 8 knock about ideas but stand





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men wolf down mouthfuls between policy-making, ideas, and debate on events of the day. Annami takes notes at a table.

"Typical." She laughs. "One woman, and who gets to be secretary?"

The dialogue initiative was really started by two junior students who took note of the standing invitation from the ANC, says Hennie.



**ANC still  
want to  
talk . . .**

Willie Nel, chief spokesman for black students on the Stellenbosch campus: "It's 25 years since the ANC was banned and they still want to talk . . ."

8: the group who took the initiative and created a group by proposing dialogue with the ANC Youth Council, from left: Anton Steenkamp, Eric le Grange and Hennie Bester. Back row, from left: Hans Muller, Phillip Verster, Hendrik du Toit and Annami Oosthuysen.

smiles easily and is confident, chairman of the Stellenbosch Debating Society and Christian Fellowship, says he quips.)

there are a number of people who mistrust us, and accused us of ego-

tripping," says Annami. "The whole thing is out of our hands. We can't take positive action. We've made our statement."

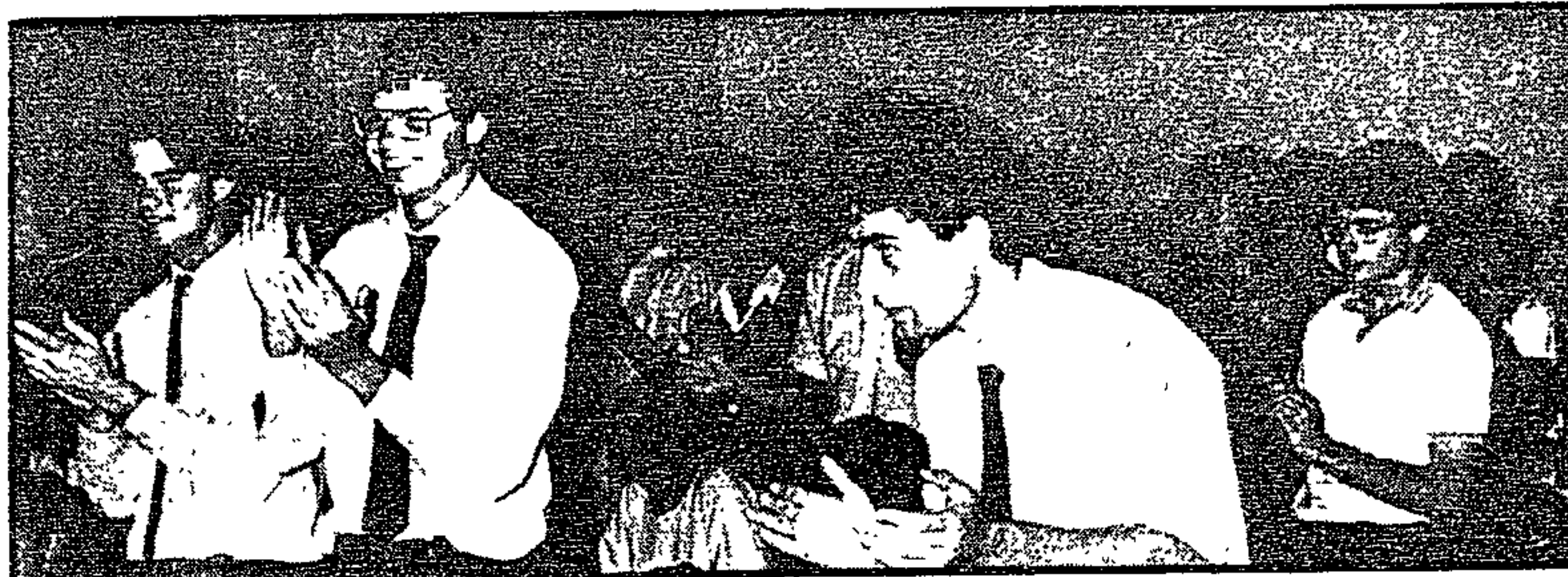
The group's attention is split by telephone calls, the doorbell again. Someone has made them lunch — a cottage pie and a chicken dish — and the young

**The idea**  
"They approached Hendrick, Hans, Anton, Eric and myself and we worked on making the idea concrete. Once the ANC had been contacted we received confirmation from them immediately."

Hendrik du Toit is an ex-student council member. He's 23, from Cape Town and studying economics honours. Hans Muller is a forcibly Christian presence in the group. From Sabie, at 23, he is the chairman of the Church Youth Action Committee and, with Ned Geref clergy-

## WHAT THEY SAY

Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN, The Argus



At the Student Parliament on Thursday night, students rose to their feet to applaud the success of a motion in favour of dialogue with the ANC.

**HENDRIK:** I'm an economics student and I've looked at disinvestment and its potential catastrophic impact on South Africa. If foreign investors have to justify their interests here we have to give them reasons to use in that justification, proof that something is being done in a practical way. Our dialogue with the ANC would be one small, humble step towards this; a step which might open the way.

**HENNIE:** This was not a self-righteous act and not ill-considered. We all want to be part of Stellenbosch University. It means so much to us. All of us have had contact with black youth and every time I've made some contact it's been so meaningful. Black youth expect, I think, to meet arrogant children of the ruling class and they have gone away encouraged in the past. And we have been encouraged.

**ANTON:** We've all been fed second-hand preconceptions.

**HENDRIK:** I accept that a certain degree of idealism is inherent in this. But without idealism and mutual trust in the citizens of South Africa this effort is not worth it.

**ANNAMI:** We would have illustrated to the ANC that we're thinking about our future. We acknowledge the fact that they claim a certain interest in the future but so do we. That is our common ground.

**ANTON:** The ANC has great influence, even if it is symbolic. And we have to take account of that.

**PHILLIP:** I have my ideals and my personal view of the future and I'm worried about things like the State of Emergency. For me that was motivation enough for anyone to seriously consider any opportunity that might have a role to play in improving our situation.

**HENDRIK:** We wanted to show them that the Afrikaner can and does think . . .



But the disappointment is evident too. How do they feel, days of pressure having culminated in this strong-arm move?

### Committed

Their voices sound all at once, but the common gist is: "We are still totally committed to dialogue with the ANC. More so than ever now, in fact."

One voice summarises: "You don't know how we can get hold of some passports do you?"

The eight students who have been at the centre of a Matieland storm this week are not radical fringers. They are, broadly, a politically moderate group — by their own description and that of observers.

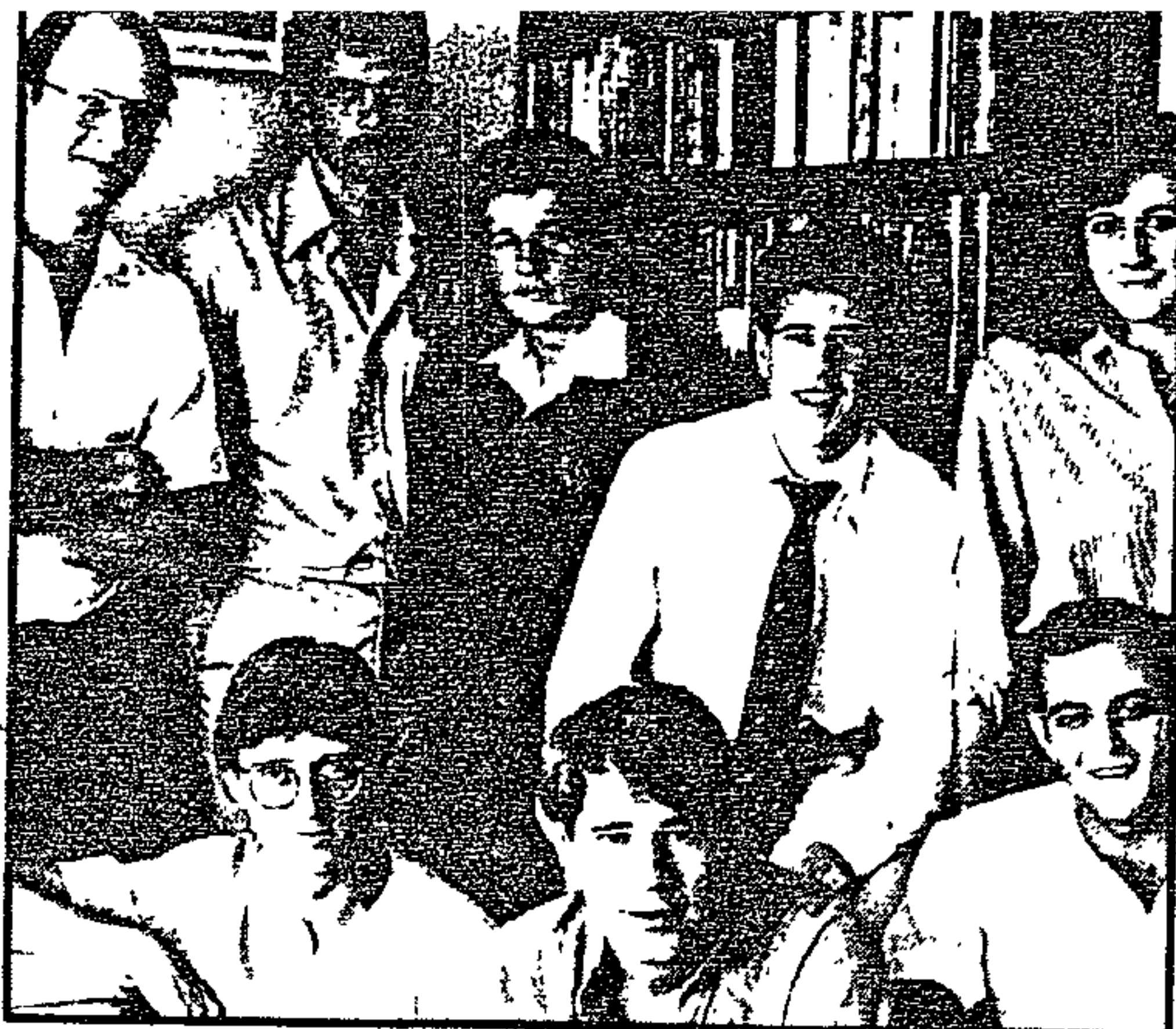
### Serious

They seem older than their average 22 to 23 years; a serious bunch with serious convictions about the statement that has outgrown them.

Annami Oosthuysen is a 23-year-old law student. She is from Port Elizabeth and was vice-president of the Matie Students' Council for '84/'85.

"We didn't actively seek publicity," she says.

"We wanted to keep it all as quiet as possible, although we decided we would notify the Government and the university authorities," says Hennie, who



The Matie 8: the group who took the initiative and created a campus rumpus by proposing dialogue with the ANC Youth League. Front, from left: Anton Steenkamp, Eric le Grange and the group's leader Hennie Bester. Back row, from left: Johan Olivier, Hans Muller, Phillip Verster, Hendrik du Toit and Annami Oosthuysen.

is 22, who smiles easily and is also a law student, chairman of the Stellenbosch Debating Society and the Christian Fellowship. ("From Wellington, a ware boereuseun," he quips.)

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## WHAT THEY SAY

Picture: PIERRE

**CRITICISM** on campus for Matie 8 actions has focused on the university's already established links with Inkatha, concluding that ANC dialogue would alienate what is considered the more valuable Inkatha connection . . .

**PHILLIP:** I received a call this morning from the Inkatha Youth Brigade. Full support. Total support for us from Ntwe Mafole.

● **THE** group has been accused of disloyalty to fellow young men fighting on the country's borders.

**HENDRIK:** Anton was an officer in the navy, Johan a corporal in the army and I was an officer in the army. Johan and I have both done more than six months operational duty.

● **THERE** have been reports in the local Afrikaans Press quoting vociferous opposition to the proposed talks.

**PHILLIP:** A number of small groups have jumped on the bandwagon to get publicity without proof of how much student support they really have.

**HENDRIK:** The student's council is now supporting us unanimously.

**ANNAMI:** When the storm started to brew we received a lot of support and criticism. Isn't that a reflection of the turbulent society we live in now?

● **HOW** did they feel about relinquishing their passports, even though they did it so politely?

**ANTON:** We expected pressure but we didn't expect such a drastic move. They realised it was the only way they could prevent us going.

**ERIC:** I want to know what their motivation was for stopping us. They've shown no grounds, given no reasons . . . that upsets me.

● **FINALLY**, how do they think and feel, these young people? What drove them to make a move which, in Matieland, must have guaranteed a certain controversy?



At the Student Parliament on Thursday night, students rose to their feet to support a motion in favour of dialogue with the ANC.

**HENDRIK:** I'm an economics student and I've looked at disinvestment and its potential catastrophic impact on South Africa. If foreign investors have to justify their interests here we have to give them reasons to use in that justification, proof that something is being done in a practical way. Our dialogue with the ANC would be one small, humble step towards this; a step which might open the way.

**HENNIE:** This was not a self-righteous act and not ill-considered. We all want to be part of Stellenbosch University. It means so much to us. All of us have had contact with black youth and every time I've made some contact it's been so meaningful. Black youth expect, I think, to meet arrogant children of the ruling class and they have gone away encouraged in the past. And we have been encouraged.

**ANTON:** We've all been fed second-hand preconceptions.

**HENDRIK:** I accept that a certain cynicism is inherent in this. But mutual trust in the citizens of the future is not worth it.

**ANNAMI:** We would have liked to see that we're thinking about our future but so do we. The ground.

**ANTON:** The ANC has great symbolic value. And we have to take it seriously.

**PHILLIP:** I have my ideals and I'm worried about the future and I'm worried about the State of Emergency. For me it's not enough for anyone to seriously consider the possibility that might have a role to play in our situation.

**HENDRIK:** We wanted to show the Afrikaner can and does think . . .



1985

# Botha blames ANC for deaths

PRETORIA — The exiled African National Congress and its internal surrogates were "squarely to blame" for the "appalling and distressing state of affairs" in which 761 people had died in unrest incidents in South Africa since September last year, President P W Botha said last night.

In a statement, he strongly reiterated his rejection of any dialogue with the ANC, saying it was "quite clear" from the organization's recent statements and its talks with Opposition politicians and South African businessmen that it remained unyielding on its use of violence and its communist ties.

"The government, which with all means at its disposal has all the security information concerning South Africa available, must be trusted by all patriotic South Africans," he said.

Referring to the withdrawal of passports from a group of University of

Stellenbosch students who planned talks with the ANC, Mr Botha said he wanted to make it clear the decision on the students' passports "was taken with my knowledge and approval, and that of Ministers of the Cabinet who are members of the State Security Council."

He said it was established international practice that authorities might make the issue of passports conditional upon certain given circumstances.

Mr Botha said the US Senate Sub-committee on Security and Terrorism, which had in 1982 conducted an investigation into the role of the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba in fomenting terrorism in southern Africa, had evidence that strongly suggested the original purposes of the ANC had been subverted and that the Soviet Union and its allies had achieved effective control over it.

On the recent South Africans' talks with the ANC, he said it was quite clear from these, and recent statements by the organization, "that the ANC remains unyielding as regards its continued use of force, its Marxist leanings and its ties with the South African Communist Party."

"As a result of the conduct of the ANC and its front organizations within the Republic, the government, to provide for safety and order, particularly in certain black areas, issued emergency measures in a small number of areas earlier this year.

"As a result of actions to ensure such safety and order, it has been necessary to detain 5 277 people, of whom 3 995 have been released, since the emergency measures were issued." Since the beginning of September last year, the following number of people had died in unrest-related circumstances:

- 504 during actions where security forces had to protect property and peaceful communities.
- 232 black people who were killed by other black people: 14 members of the SAP and one member of the SADF, and 10 people as a result of action by members of the development boards.

— Sapa

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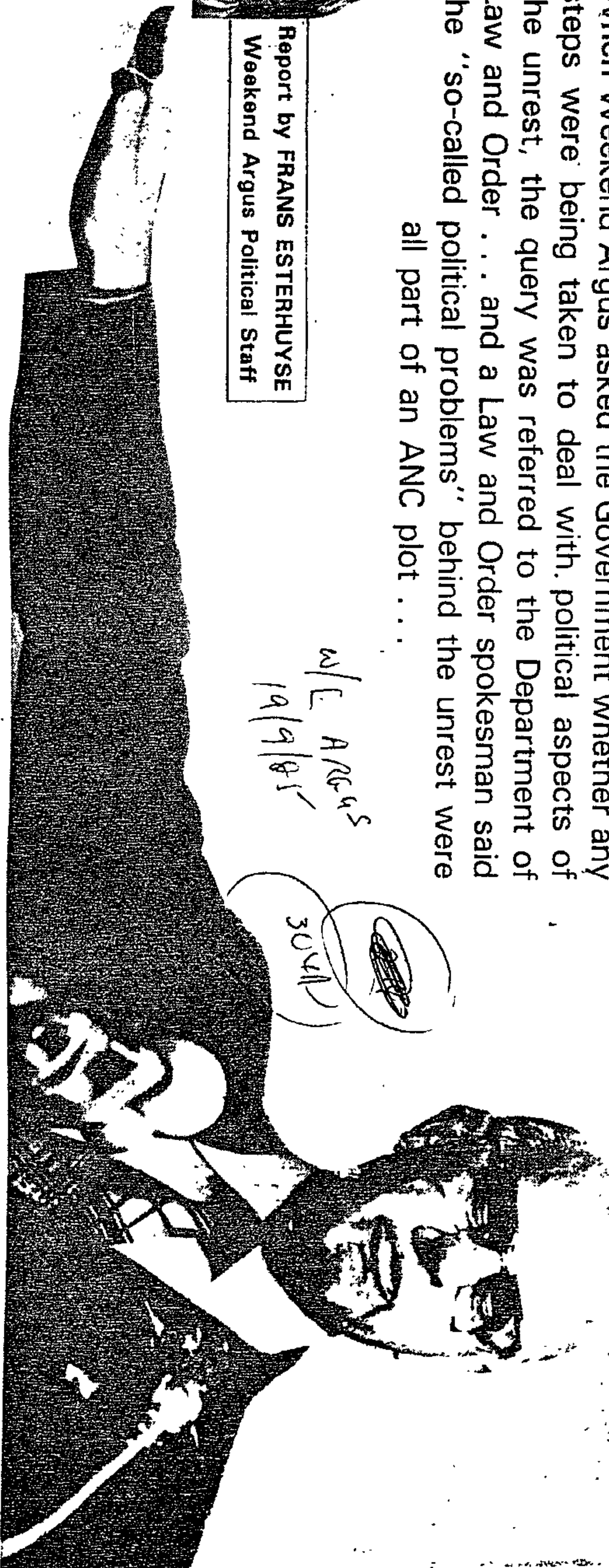


## CAPE VIOLENCE — SPECIAL REPORT

When Weekend Argus asked the Government whether any steps were being taken to deal with political aspects of the unrest, the query was referred to the Department of Law and Order . . . and a Law and Order spokesman said the "so-called political problems" behind the unrest were all part of an ANC plot . . .



Report by FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Weekend Argus Political Staff



# HARD-LINE STAND

POSITION MPs have challenged President P. W. Botha and members of his Cabinet to produce an urgently needed political solution to end the escalating violence in South Africa.

But it is difficult to find any Government spokesman willing to take responsibility. Some dismissed the idea of a political solution altogether, saying the unrest was purely a "police

that a system which was supposed to have solved the political deadlock in South Africa only put the spotlight more directly on blackclusion.

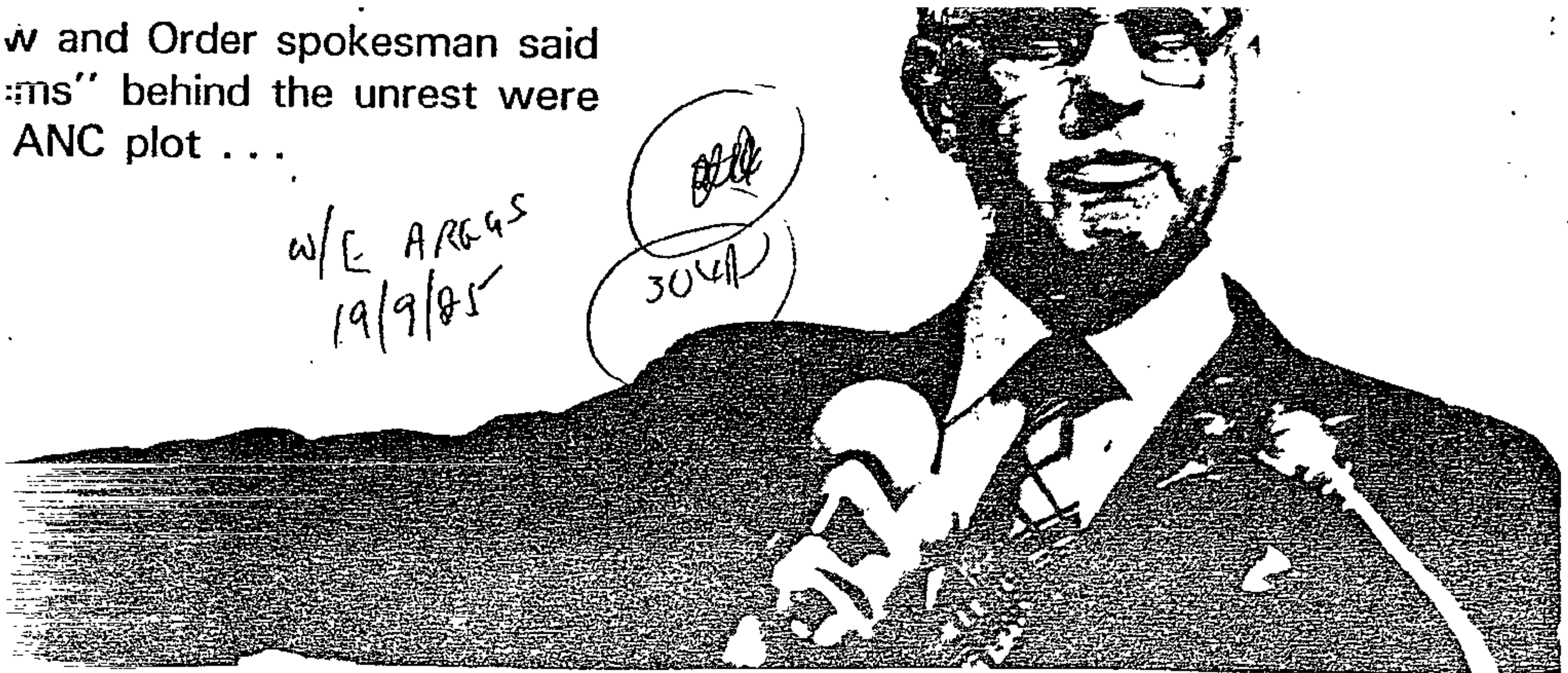
"The time is long overdue for the Government to admit its failure and to announce in clear terms with a definite timetable its intention to negotiate with legitimate black leaders so that a new constitution can come into being without delay."



W and Order spokesman said  
 "ms" behind the unrest were  
 ANC plot . . .

W/E ARGUS  
 19/9/85

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# LINE STAND



**SLACK** to suburban unrest earlier this week.

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 ...the new constitution —

Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the PFP's federal executive, said: "The responsibility for the break-down in law and order must be laid squarely at the door of the Government whose policies concerning black political rights are totally bankrupt."

"At the heart of the conflict are deep-seated grievances and ever-increasing anger. The fact that certain elements are taking advantage of the situation is no excuse for political inaction."

"If the Government is responsible for the break-down, then it must accept responsibility for bringing to an end the death and destruction which is a daily feature of life in our townships."

It was tragic that the Government had ignored warnings about the new constitution. It was clear

that a system which was supposed to have resolved the political deadlock in South Africa had only put the spotlight more directly on black exclusion.

"The time is long overdue for the Government to admit its failure and to announce in clear terms with a definite timetable its intention to negotiate with legitimate black leaders so that a new constitution can come into being without delay."

"It is useless dealing with symptoms. The Government has got to go to the root causes of the unrest," Dr Boraine said.

was not available for comment. He was said to be at his home in Uitenhage, but was unavailable when telephoned there.

Cape Peninsula members of the Labour Party met in Cape Town this week to discuss the situation.

The party's national secretary, Mr Fred Peters, said in a statement afterwards: "We express our concern . . . we are aware of the root problems such as Group Areas, detentions and numerous discriminatory laws. We feel that the students and pupils have made their point, but should be careful not to boycott themselves out of existence and into the cheap labour market."

Mr Peters's statement also said: "The children have been used far enough for selfish ideology, and the teachers should not sit back because they are unable to contain the situation."

"Enough innocent blood has been spilt through the ill-interpretation of 'Liberation before Education'. We believe it is not necessary to swim through rivers of blood to achieve freedom while we can still speak to one another."

"We call on concerned parents to confront their children and explain to them what the consequences will be if they are not properly equipped for the future."

The statement also called on the Government and protesters "to bring calm to the situation before more lives are lost" and added: "The MPs firmly believe that the Group Areas Act must be repealed as soon as possible and that all detainees should be charged or released forthwith, but we also believe in the just rule of law."

The national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, called on President Botha this week to intervene personally and to ensure direct communication between the Government and community leaders.

Mr Eglin said in an interview that the unrest was a politically-based problem for which politically-based solutions had to be found.



Law and Order . . . and a Law and Order spokesman said the "so-called political problems" behind the unrest were all part of an ANC plot . . .



Report by FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

W/E ARGUS  
19/9/85

# HARD-LINE

OPPOSITION MPs have challenged President P W Botha and members of his Cabinet to produce an urgently needed political solution to end the escalating violence in South Africa.

But it is difficult to find any Government spokesman willing to take responsibility. Some dismissed the idea of a political solution altogether, saying the unrest was purely a "police matter".

"You cannot talk politics to murderers, arsonists and criminals," an official of the Department of Law and Order said.

But majority Labour Party members of the House of Representatives — the Government's "partners" — have designated Group Areas, detentions and numerous discriminatory laws the "the root problems".

The apparent deadlock in the deteriorating unrest situation was accompanied by uncertainty this week as to whom in the Government was responsible for restoring peace.

Inquiries by Weekend Argus to the Government to establish whether any steps were being taken to deal with political aspects of the unrest were referred to the Department of Law and Order.

## No question of talks

A spokesman in the office of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said the Minister's viewpoint was that there could be no question of talks before calm was restored. It was at present a matter for the Department of Law and Order.

The Law and Order spokesman said the "so-called political problems" behind the unrest were all part of the African National Congress (ANC) plan to make the country ungovernable.

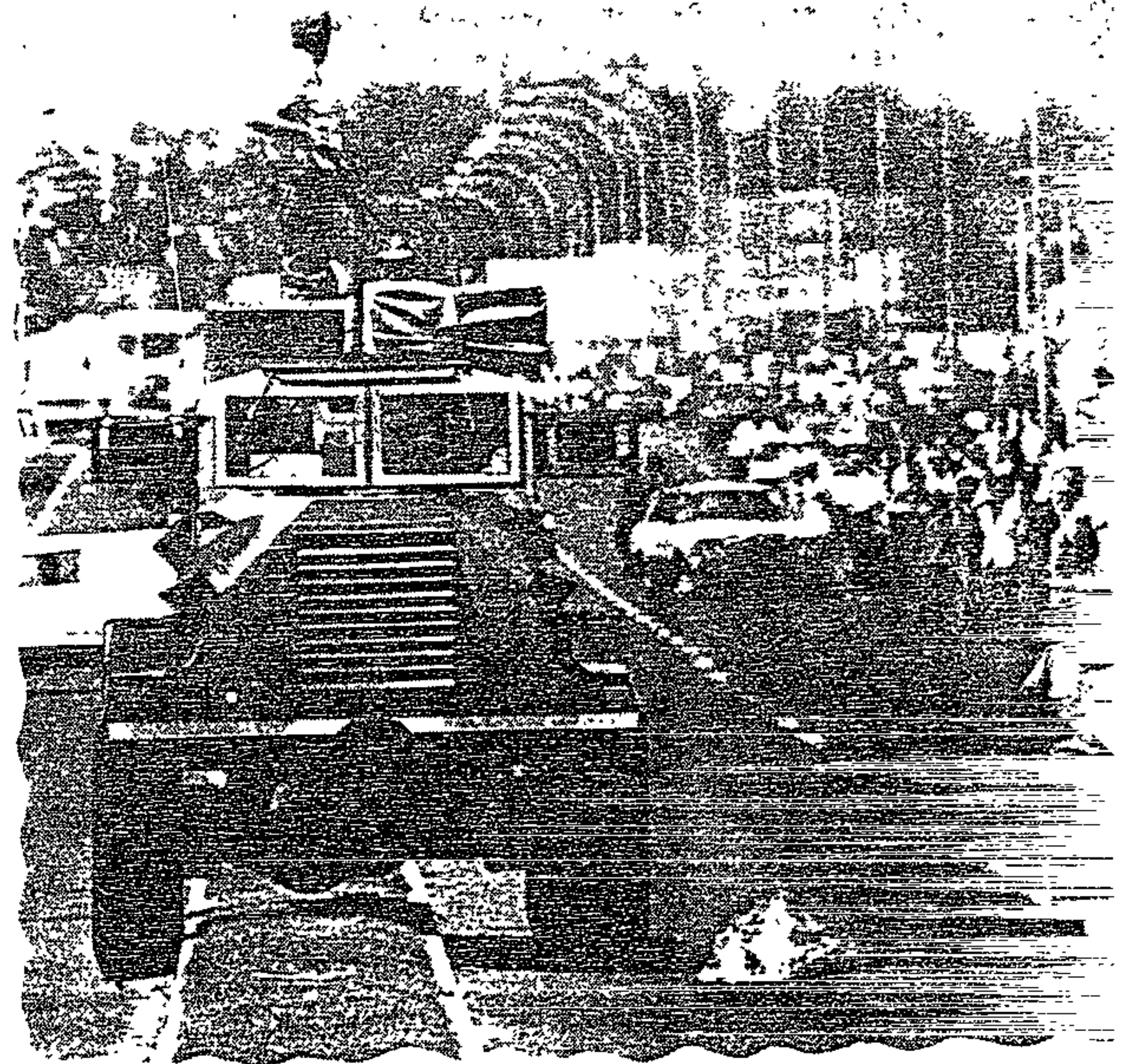
Political grievances were being popularised with a view to destructive protest action resulting in the burning of houses, buildings and vehicles, and in violence and murder.

There could be no talks with such people.

"It would be like trying to reason with a hysterical mob throwing bottles about," the spokesman said.

The political aspect of the situation was that the ANC wanted to enforce a marxist system of government — a matter which had been spelt out repeatedly by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, the spokesman said.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and a member of Mr P W Botha's Cabinet,



## FLASHBACK to suburban unrest earlier this week

First responsibility for this lay with President Botha and with Mr Chris Heunis who, as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, should try to get negotiations going.

The unrest was not fundamentally a law and order problem.

Nor should it be dealt with as a coloured "own affair". The situation would simply be aggravated if Minister Hendrickse were to be given the task of handling the problems in coloured areas.

Much of the problem flowed from the rejection of apartheid by communities and from their rejection of "own affairs" in the new constitution — and the constitution itself.

Dr Alex Boraine, chairman executive, said: "The responsibility for the unrest must be laid down in law and order must be the door of the Government concerning black political rights.

"At the heart of the grievances and ever-increasing that certain elements are taking advantage of the situation is no excuse for the situation.

"If the Government is responsible for the situation, then it must accept responsibility for ending the death and daily feature of life in our country.

It was tragic that the Government's warnings about the new constitution were not heeded.



## BUSINESSMAN OF THE WEEK

# Assocom finds itself in the business of politics

STEPHEN ROBINSON

AT last year's annual Assocom congress in Pietermaritzburg incoming president Michael Weir was asked what would be the two key issues during his presidential term.

Without hesitation, he replied — inflation, and Government spending.

Only four weeks later, security police seized a group of prominent trade unionists, and Assocom (with the FCI and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut) was prompted to rushed out a joint statement condemning the action.

Assocom found itself irretrievably drawn into the political arena, ground it has continued to occupy — sometimes reluctantly — ever since.

Having stepped down this week after a tumultuous year as head of the country's largest employer organisation, he confesses he had no idea one year ago that politics would come to dominate the mind's of the South African businessmen.

The two highlights of his presidential year were the publication of the Lombard and Du Pisanie document on the federal option for South Africa, and the emerging unanimity between the other two main employers' organisations, the FCI and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

"The Lombard document represented a highly significant step forward for Assocom. There we entered the political field in a bold and positive way, and not in terms of narrow party political considerations."

"We were also especially pleased to be able to release a string of joint Assocom-FCI-AHI statements on important issues. The statement on the detention of the trade unionists in November set the tone which we pursued for the rest of the year."

To charges that business should get on with creating jobs and allow the Government to run the country, Mr

Weir responds simply that the business sector has an entirely legitimate role in ensuring the stability of the society in which it seeks to operate.

"We are interested in politics only in that if there is political crisis and social upheaval, we cannot operate in the way we wish to."

This week's Assocom congress unanimously passed a motion calling for negotiations with all black leaders, after the phrasing "all accepted black leaders" was considered too patronising.

Yet Assocom has so far remained aloof on the ticklish is-

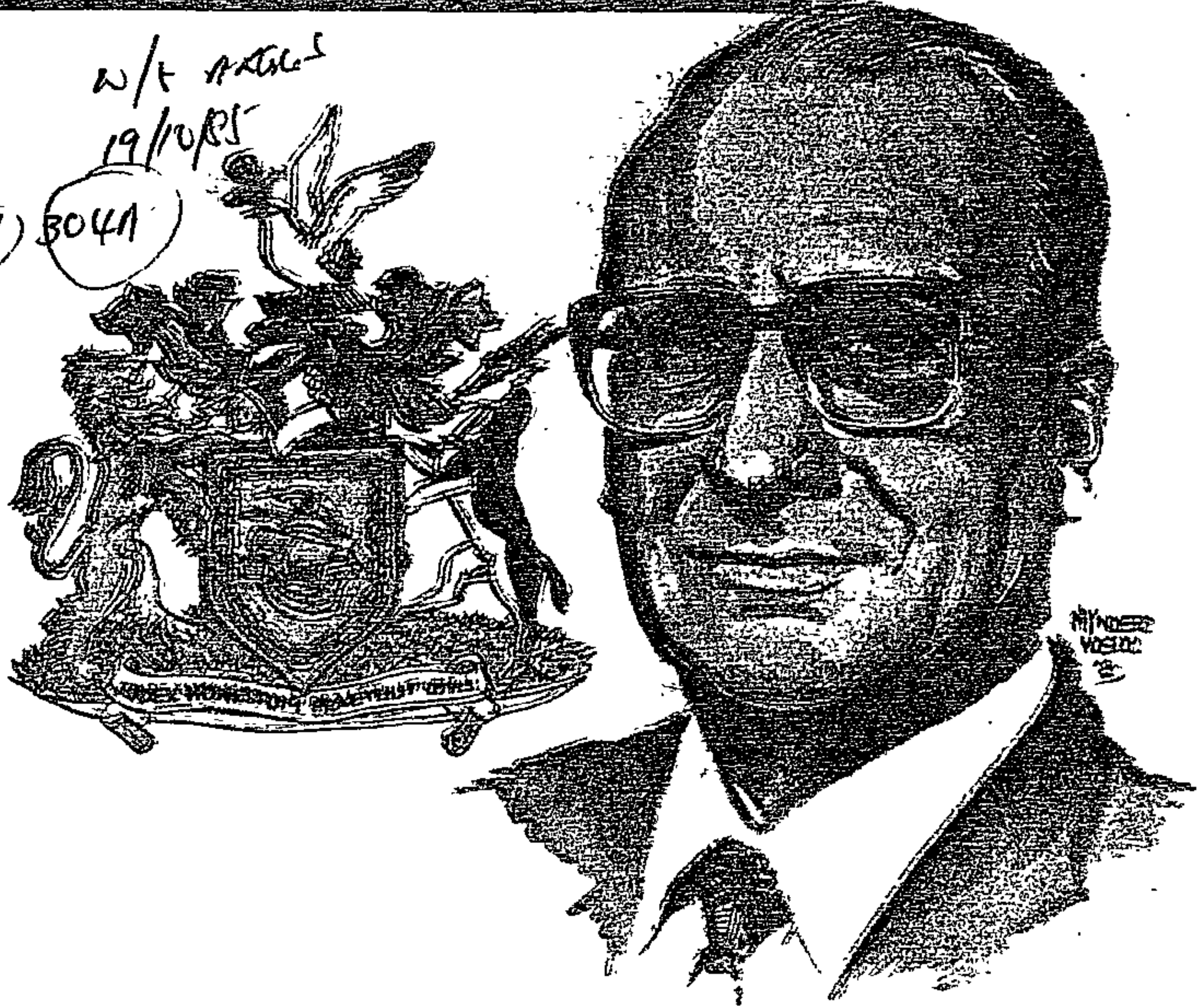
sue of negotiations with the ANC.

Mr Weir says what may be appropriate for individuals to do is not necessarily the correct course for an established employers' organisation.

"I can confirm that Assocom is not negotiating with the ANC, and at this stage has no intention of doing so."

"I believe more can be done on the local level, and I have been very encouraged to see individual chambers talking to community leaders as a way of finding common ground in the face of consumer boycotts."

"This seems to me to be the best way for organised commerce to tackle such issues"



Mr Michael Weir... tumultuous year.



DATE 7/11/85  
21/11/85  
**Power  
'out of  
hands  
of govt'**  
Staff Reporter

THE determination of "so-called moderates" to speak to the African National Congress was an admission by them that real power in South Africa was out of the hands of the government, a United Democratic Front rally was told on Saturday evening.

Addressing a crowd of about 2,500 which packed the Hanover Park Civic Centre, the Western Cape Regional Secretary of the UDF, Mr Trevor Manuel, said President P W Botha had "lost confidence and direction". He was being "publicly embarrassed" by people openly going off to speak to the banned organization.

"While Botha tries to brand the ANC a bunch of bloodthirsty terrorists, the Progressive Federal Party and businessmen are finding that the members of this organization are well-equipped to run our country," he said to loud applause.

#### Barricades

"By going off to meet the ANC, these so-called moderates, together with the Stellenbosch university students, are saying to Botha: 'Real power does not belong to you. It lies elsewhere'."

He said the burning of barricades and searching people's parcels for goods bought from white shops was not enough if it did not "take the struggle forward".

"Our struggle for people's power demands that we organize ourselves wherever we can — on the shop floor, in our communities and in our schools," Mr Manuel said.

"We must work politically to persuade people to join the boycott."

● Because of a restriction on the meeting which prohibited people from gathering outside, a second rally, attended by roughly the same number of people, was held in the St Dominic's church hall in Hanover Park to accommodate those unable to fit into the civic centre.



Commonwealth states ban imports of Krugerrands

# SA gets six-month apartheid deadline

STAR 21/10/85  
21/10/85 304A

Nassau

Commonwealth leaders have given South Africa six months to start dismantling apartheid — or face a programme of sanctions.

The compromise accord released last night was a partial victory for British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who throughout the first five days of the Commonwealth summit in the Bahamas had firmly resisted pressures for economic sanctions.

The accord also called for an end to the current state of emergency in South Africa and the immediate and unconditional release of African Nationalist Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Further, the heads of state agreed to establish a committee of eminent Commonwealth figures to promote a dialogue between Pretoria and black nationalist leaders.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and the prime ministers of Australia, Bahamas, Canada, India, Britain and Zimbabwe will be

asked to develop the mechanisms by which a political dialogue could begin.

Despite Mrs Thatcher's opposition to economic sanctions, she nevertheless agreed that, as part of an immediate package of measures against Pretoria, each member of the 49-nation group should be ready to take what unilateral action was possible to preclude the import of Krugerrands.

Similar action on Krugerrands has already been taken by other countries, including the United States.

The accord said that if there was no progress towards dismantling apartheid within six months, some Commonwealth states would consider a number of measures, including a ban on air links, a ban on new investment and the import of agricultural products, a ban on government contracts with South African companies, and an end to the promotion of tourism there.

Mrs Thatcher told a news conference after the accord: "The most important thing now is to get a dialogue going between the Government of South Africa and representatives of the black population."

## Violence

She put particular emphasis on a section of the accord which called on South Africa to initiate — in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides — "a process of dialogue across lines of colour, politics and religion, with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government".

Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney said the document amounted to "a signal to Pretoria of what is waiting round the corner in the absence of serious movement to accommodate the legitimate objectives that we see".

Mrs Thatcher made clear that Britain still opposed economic sanctions and would not be among those who would adopt economic measures if Pretoria failed to take action on apartheid within the six-month deadline.

The accord then listed a programme of common action already adopted by a number of countries.

## Technology

The list included measures such as a ban on government-to-government loans and the sale of computer equipment to South African security forces.

Other measures were an end to government funding for South African-related trade fairs, a ban on new sales of nuclear goods and technology, a ban on the sale and export of oil, an embargo on arms purchases from South Africa, an embargo on military co-operation and the discouragement of cultural and scientific exchanges, except where they contributed towards the ending of apartheid.

Commonwealth secretary general Mr Sridath Rampho said "I think we have made a very significant move forward".

"It is another good moment for the Commonwealth. It has lived up to its potential. The agreement represents a measure of reconciling the overwhelming sentiments of the Commonwealth with the hesitations of the United Kingdom."

The accord appeared to contain the strong signal to South Africa which Commonwealth leaders had been seeking for five days — Sapa-Reuter

● See Page 2



CAPE TIMES 21/10/85

# Botha 'signing Cape Town's death warrant'

By BARRY STREEK

THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday questioned the ability of President P W Botha to lead South Africa and also accused him of "signing Cape Town's death warrant".

Mr Colin Eglin, national chairman of the PFP, said last night "Mr Botha's superficial response to the crisis in the Cape Peninsula opens up the whole question of his ability to lead South Africa at this time of crisis".

He was reacting to President Botha's refusal to come to Cape Town to help stop the increasing violence in the Peninsula.

A member of the PFP unrest monitoring committee, Mr Jan van Eck, said yesterday: "Mr Botha's refusal to visit Cape Town is shocking beyond belief. With the spiral of violence between the people and the security forces increasing by the day, it is evident that only a political initiative can defuse the situation and restore peace to the region."

"By refusing to intervene, the State President is delivering Cape

Town and its inhabitants into the hands of the perpetrators of violence. His decision boils down to signing Cape Town's death warrant."

Mr Eglin sent an urgent telex message to President Botha last week in which he called for "dramatic intervention of a political nature" in the situation in Cape Town.

But Mr Botha rejected the appeal and told Mr Eglin, "You and your colleagues must ask yourselves whether and to what extent your irresponsible speeches and visits to terrorist organizations are contributing to inspire certain unlawful elements to act against peaceful communities."

Mr Eglin said last night that Mr Botha's response raised questions about his ability to lead South Africa.

"It appears Mr Botha is unwilling and unable to produce the visionary leadership South Africa so desperately needs."

"Instead of leading he is opting out of responsibility."

"Instead of taking bold political initiatives, he is abdicating power to the police."

## Blame

"What is more, he has wrecked the rand, destroyed South Africa's credibility and plunged the country into an economic and political crisis," Mr Eglin said.

Mr Botha's tactic was to blame everybody else.

"A classic example of this is the way he is trying to bully and browbeat the Stellenbosch students into submission."

South Africa simply could not afford this leadership.

"Unless Mr Botha is able to provide real leadership, it would be better if he gets out and lets someone else do the job," Mr Eglin said.



Cape Times  
21/10/81  
(SOL) (223) Cape

## Blast guts

### Watson's PE home

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Two men were seriously injured and the luxury home of anti-apartheid activist Mr Dan "Cheeky" Watson and his family was completely destroyed in an explosion which rocked Park Drive shortly before midnight on Saturday.

The two men, Mr Jeffrey Makanda and Mr Archie Mkele, both employees of Mr Watson, were rushed to Livingstone Hospital after sustaining multiple burns from the inferno which swept through the house immediately after the explosion.

The cause of the blast and subsequent blaze, which reduced the state-ly Port Elizabeth home to a charred shell within minutes, is not yet known.

Mr Watson, his wife Bobby, two of their sons, Ronnie and Valence, and Valence's family, who all live in the house, were away at the time of the explosion.

The blast scattered debris and huge shards of glass up to .45 metres from the house and shook several buildings in the area. Witnesses reported that flames four storeys high leapt up from the inferno.

A police spokesman said an arson docket has been opened.



# Commission on KwaZulu rapped by PFP

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, says the continued operation of the Commission of Co-operation and Development investigating the consolidation of KwaZulu in the present time of unrest and uncertainty merely contributes to unsettled conditions.

Commenting yesterday on an announcement by Mr Hendrik Tempel, chairman of the commission, that the body intended to press ahead with its proposals for the consolidation of the region in spite of overwhelming opposition, Mr Swart said the final report of the commission had yet to be approved by the Cabinet.

It was to be hoped that saner counsels would prevail in the hope of peaceful co-existence in Natal and KwaZulu.

'The views of the overwhelming majority of the people in this province are clearly that KwaZulu/Natal be treated as one unit,' he said.

'The PFP will continue to press for that situation to be recognised'.

Mr Tempel said in an interview, however, that there would be changes to his proposals.

Meanwhile, Mr Valentino Volker, MP for Klip River and chairman of the Eastern Consolidation Committee which previously investigated the consolidation of KwaZulu, has submitted a memorandum to the commission differing from certain of its recommendations.



October 21, 1985

MARRIAGE, say people who have experience about such things, is better the second time around. Well, the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha must be hoping it will be better the second time around as they spearhead the move for the National Convention Alliance.

The first time around, it was a bit of shambles. That was in 1980.

At the time, the President's Council had come into existence, and the Government was still planning the tricameral Parliament.

The PFP and the Labour Party had refused to participate in the PC. Africans were excluded, as they still are.

Late in 1980 a leading Black Sash member started a hush-hush round of meetings to launch a "convention movement" advocating a national convention to formulate a new constitution for the country.

Among those who attended preliminary meetings were Bishop Desmond Tutu, PFP leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, Inkatha's Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Mr Gibson Thula, Mr Clarence September and Mr Miley Richards of the Labour Party, Mrs Joyce Harris of the Black Sash, Dr Essop Jassat and Mr Cassim Saloojee (then unaffiliated) and Dr Rashid Saloojee of the People's Candidates in Lenasia.

### Meetings

The Azanian People's Organisation and the Natal Indian Congress were invited, but didn't attend. Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association was also said to have attended a meeting, but he strongly denied it.

According to a working paper presented at a preliminary meeting in Johannesburg in November, 1980, the goal of the convention movement would be to demonstrate, on as wide a basis as possible, grassroots support for the idea of a national convention at which a new and acceptable constitution could be negotiated.

The idea was that it had

## FOCUS

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA

to be a public demonstration of the ability of various organisations which might differ — and even be antagonistic towards one another — to rally together and mobilise grassroots support for a convention movement.

No pre-conditions were to be set for the convention, for example on the question of first releasing politicians from jail. "The overriding issue of the convention should be consensus."

One suggestion in the working paper was that a countrywide registration campaign be launched. A person wishing to join would sign a pledge: "I am a citizen of this land. I want peace with justice. Although we may differ, I believe in negotiations."

This, it was hoped, would demonstrate that citizenship was non-negotiable in a new constitution, that no constitution could be unilaterally imposed, and show the willingness of people to talk if genuine negotiations could come about at a convention.

Unfortunately for the organisers, Azapo wanted no truck with the PFP, Labour and Inkatha, or with any white-initiated movement. And one disgruntled senior Labour member, who was angry about statements attributed to Inkatha

about the coloured and Indian educational boycotts that year, wanted the whole thing exposed.

On December 30, 1980, the Rand Daily Mail published an article about the movement. Azapo immediately rejected such a movement as "a bankrupt idea" and a "gimmick".

Others who were against participation in government-created political institutions said they had strong reservations about working with the PFP, Labour and Inkatha.

### Strategy

Dr Slabbert said: "The less the likelihood of starting such a movement is exposed in public, the greater the likelihood that it will succeed."

It didn't. The Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister, the Rev Allen Hendrickse, said last week: "It did not last a year because of the differences in strategy."

The differences in strategy didn't of course deter Labour from being a member of the South African Black Alliance led by Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi. Nor has it deterred Mr Hendrickse from joining the National-dominated Cabinet.

Now Labour and the Black Alliance have parted company because of Labour's participation in the tricameral parliament and Inkatha's opposition to it. All the same, there is not that much

# The second time around



PROG: Van Zyl Slabbert.



INKATHA: Chief Buthelezi.

strategic difference between Inkatha, Labour and the PFP, nor much difference about their calls for a national convention.

Mr Hendrickse has described the proposed National Convention Movement as "still-born".

Yet, in 1980, he had this to say about the convention movement: "The fact that our conference has taken a decision calling for a convention movement is indicative of the seriousness with which the Labour Party regards the situation."

At its annual conference in Johannesburg last year, Labour adopted this resolution: "Conference gives its blessing to the proposed initiatives of the (party) leadership to unify all opposition groups to discriminatory government. This will serve as complementary to the convention movement."

The major difference today is that Labour is now part of "discriminatory government".

The 1980 version of the movement has been weakened by the fact that Labour has withdrawn from it; the PFP, by its own admission, lost much white support for calling for a "no" vote in the 1983 white referendum; the

movement has been strengthened by Inkatha's increased membership; and in Labour's place come some representatives of Big Business.

But ranged against the 1985 version are Azapo, the United Democratic Front (which came into existence in 1983), the growing trade union movement, and significantly, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The ANC, which originally called for a national convention, now is in favour of a convention only if it is called to hand over power. This means the ANC, PAC and Azapo are now much closer in their thinking on the issue.

### Clout

The inclusion of Big Business in the proposed movement is important in the sense that it carries clout with the Government, yet it is doubtful if it can win the support of its black workers through the trade unions.

If the convention movement of 1980 couldn't succeed, in the present climate and with greater politicisation of black people since then, its chances of success look even slimmer.



**THE National Party filed 37 more affidavits to the Supreme Court, Durban, yesterday, alleging misuse of the postal-vote system by the Conservative Party in the coming Port Natal by-election.**

The NP and the CP appeared in court yesterday after an application by the CP on Friday to have the return date of an NP application brought forward.

Anticipating that proceedings would take place yesterday, the NP filed 37 more affidavits alleging misuse of the postal-vote system, and one from its secretary, Mr Reiner Schoeman.

Mr Schoeman said in papers that the National Party of Natal found it amazing that the CP was arguing on technical points, and that if it were not guilty of the allegations it would have agreed to an investigation which his party had asked for.

After lengthy discussions between counsel for the two parties, it was decided that a mutual agreement should be reached.

But by late last night, no finality had been reached and the parties will return to court today.

On Wednesday last week, Mr Justice Brian Law granted a temporary interdict against the CP, Mr Jacobus Hercules van der Merwe and Mr Pat Mohr, restraining them

from unlawfully persuading voters in the area to apply for postal votes.

He issued a rule nisi calling on the CP, Mr van der Merwe and Mr Mohr to show cause by tomorrow why an order should not be made interdicting them from making any misrepresentations to voters in the electoral district in connection with postal-vote applications or from making any false declarations on the application form or being a party to any false declaration.

Mr T N Kruger, the retuning officer and first respondent in the application, was also ordered to investigate in consultation with the NP, the PFP, the NRP and Mr Dave Mc Naught, the independent candidate in the election, or their agents, applications for postal votes which had or would be received, regarding their authenticity.

### Support

The affidavits from voters and from Mr Schoeman were handed in as further support to allegations by the NP that the CP was misusing the postal-vote system.

A majority of the voters who signed the affidavits which were filed yesterday said they did not qualify for postal votes.

Two voters, Mr John Francis Vincent and Mrs Loraine Vincent, of 423 Pengelly, Peacehaven Place, said they did not remember signing any application form for postal votes.

They said they clearly remembered signing petitions for keeping the swimming pool and beach reserved for whites only. They said they did not require postal votes.

Miss Belinda Gerber, of Fynnlands, said in papers that she had come home and found her boyfriend, Mr Gary Rowles, talking to a young man.

### Queues

He had said he had arranged for a postal vote and had asked her to do the same.

When she had asked why, he had replied that the young man had told him there would be about 20 000 people and long queues at the polling station and that they would probably end up not being able to vote.

She said she had asked him whether, if she obtained a postal vote, she would be able to vote for whomever she wanted. The man had assured her she could vote for any candidate and not only the CP, whom he was representing.

He had produced a

form which he had asked her to sign, she said. She added that she had not required a postal vote.

Mr Rowles said that after he had signed a form, the man had said he was from the CP and had told him of the party's aims.

The man had mentioned pensions and salaries of various Cabinet ministers and State Presidents and had said the party thought the Government was wasting money.

### Visits

Mrs Doris May Heap, of Peacehaven Place, said Mr Mohr had visited her on three or four occasions.

During one or more visits he had asked her if she would need transport to the polling station and she had said she would.

She said she had never indicated that she supported him in the election, nor did she need a postal vote.

Since she planned to cast her vote at the polling station, she had indicated to Mr Mohr that she would require transport. No mention of a postal vote had been made during the visits, she said.

Mrs Heap said she had been told by her daughter later that a postal vote had been granted to her.

She said that during one visit, Mr Mohr had asked her to sign something, but she could not remember what it was.

In a replying affidavit, Mr Jacobus Hercules van der Merwe, a CP MP and the third respondent, denied the NP allegations.

### By accident

In reply to a claim in papers by Mr Jan Adrian Venter — the electoral officer for Mr Stoffel Botha, the NP candidate in the pending election — that he had discovered an application for a postal vote had been made in his name by Mr van der Merwe, he said there had been a J A Venter living at the Durban Caravan Park at the time.

Mr Venter had said he had come across the application by accident while checking applications received.

He had found his name on the application form together with his identity number, his voting number as it appeared on the voter's roll and his address, which was given as the Durban Caravan Park.

The form was signed by a Mr J A Venter and Mr van der Merwe had signed as a witness.

(Report by D Moodley, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

# Nats make 37 more claims of misuse by CP

Parties go to court again over postal votes

22/10/85 Mercury Reporter Mercury

304#



# Govt committed to 'ongoing' reform process, says Heunis

Mercury (304A) 22/10/85

## Mercury Reporter

THE Government is committed to an ongoing process of constitutional and institutional reform and adjustment at all levels, according to Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis.

Addressing the annual congress of the South African Institute of Town and Regional Planners in Durban yesterday, Mr Heunis said: 'If there is

one constant, one thing of which we can be certain, it is change.'

The method and direction of change was a central concern of the Government.

'One must continually reassess how services can be improved, streamlined and adjusted to help the smooth running of local affairs,' Mr Heunis said.

He said the existence of two 'different worlds' within the boundaries of

South Africa put pressure on traditional institutional mechanisms and managerial skills.

Cities could not be separated from their rural hinterlands and many urban problems had their origins in the rural areas.

He said the considerable influx of rural-urban migrants would have to be planned for, as well as the population growth normally experienced in urban areas.

The informal sector, with its lack of basic services and infrastructure, was an example of the inability of present institutions to cope.

Urbanisation needed to be planned to ensure stability because there was no doubt that this process would 'continue apace', said Mr Heunis.

He admitted there were no simple, easy solutions to these and other problems but the cheaper and better facilities that Re-

gional Services Councils would provide, were a step in the right direction.

The country was overgoverned at this time and RSCs would play an important role in the particularly rapid process of urbanisation he said.

Speaking of the future, Mr Heunis said it was important to realise that constitutional and political issues would still influence the structural nature of S A's cities.

He pointed out that responsibility for the initiation and approval of plans for the nine development regions should be vested in the central Government.

Although more emphasis was to be placed at the local level of government, the Government would still be responsible for broad guidelines within which planning would take place, he said.

● See also Page 9



CASE 7mif (208) (308A)  
22/10/85

## 'South Africans must decide'

Political Staff

BETHLEHEM — President P W Botha shot back at the Commonwealth last night and said he would not be bound by a six-month deadline for reform.

Addressing an enthusiastic crowd of more than 1 000 at a by-election meeting in Bethlehem, Mr Botha made it clear he would not be intimidated by threats of stronger boycott action by the Commonwealth if it was not satisfied with the rate of reform.

In a clear response to yesterday's Commonwealth threat to impose stronger sanctions on South Africa if it was not satisfied with changes, he said amid loud applause. "I am not going to be bound by a deadline to be finished in six months. South Africans must decide."

Earlier he told the Commonwealth and the United States that "the hole you are trying to dig for South Africa will be to your own detriment."

Undeterred by reports of a white backlash and massive Conservative Party support in the constituency, Mr Botha spoke strongly on the need for reform.

The world was progressing and South Africa had to plan to modernize and progress with it.

"We know we must reform," he said, adding that the process would have to be properly led and be led by South Africans.

"Reform is not a one-step process. The reforms must be consistent with civilized norms, not the norms of terrorism," he said.

"We can avoid confrontation by negotiation." He was prepared to reshape the President's Council and to have discussions with responsible leaders "on the basis that no one minority group will be able to dominate another".



304 A  
6 Cape Times, Tuesday, October 22, 1985

# SA business rejects 'external pressure'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Organized commerce has warned that undue external pressure on South Africa would be counter-productive and could harden attitudes in this country.

Reacting to the ultimatum by Commonwealth leaders to South Africa — to dismantle apartheid or face a programme of sanctions — the chief executive of Assocom, Mr Raymond Parsons, said organized commerce believed internal pressures for reform would be more effective than foreign pressure.

He said: "Assocom welcomes the fact that the British stand against mandatory economic sanctions has prevailed, and that the emphasis in dealing with South Africa should fall on dialogue rather than on confrontation.

"Economic sanctions would harm the reform process in South Africa, which requires a sound

economy to underpin it." Assocom believed that, if monitoring the progress in South Africa was necessary, it should be done from within the country and not externally.

"Organized commerce sees internal pressures for reform as more effective and suitable," he said. "The South African business community is already playing a constructive role."

## Revolution

Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly, who is visiting Australia, said tough economic sanctions against South Africa would guarantee a revolution.

Mr Relly said that if South Africa's economy was damaged seriously by sanctions it would not be able to afford reforms for better living conditions, education and health services.

Because of the growing violence, it was feared that right-

wingers would win the five forthcoming by-elections in the national parliament.

The world should be helping to find a just and equitable system to replace apartheid rather than putting heavy pressure on sweeping it away in one big hit, said Mr Relly.

"The very large majority of South Africans want to get rid of apartheid," he said. "The international community has assumed a grave responsibility by calling for economic sanctions."

He said that if a revolution of the Marxist-inspired type should occur, the Western world would not want to own up to having brought it about.

A smashed economy would in no way help to bring about a successful change in South Africa or allow a positive move towards all people being represented in a federal government.



**'South Africa must decide for itself'**

# P W rejects time limit on reform

304A STAR 22/10/85

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

**BETHLEHEM** — President P W Botha last night rejected any international timetable of six months or one year to finish his reform programme, saying that South Africa would decide on its own pace.

He told about 1 000 people

here at a National Party meeting in support of Mr Paul Farrell, the party's candidate in one of next week's parliamentary by-elections, that he would have a more detailed reaction to the sanctions and threats of the Commonwealth once he had studied all the particulars.

Mr Botha also reiterated his government's view that it would

not talk to terrorists, saying that neither President Ronald Reagan nor Mrs Margaret Thatcher was prepared to talk to people of violence.

And in a strongly reform-oriented speech, he warned that the Government could not just refuse to move until, like a donkey, it got a kick under its tail.

He said South Africa was being squeezed in the power play between the West and the East because of its strategic position and its mineral wealth.

South Africa had to keep its economy strong if it wanted to end unemployment, accommodate its growing population and look after the well-being of its neighbours.

## APPEAL

Mr Botha appealed for greater national unity, saying he could not understand why a country had to have so many different political parties when so many of its people shared the same principles and national goals.

He was also highly critical of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's recent talks with the African National Congress. He quoted Mr Oliver Tambo as saying that the Progressive Federal Party could do nothing for the African National Congress and that South Africa must, in its present form, be totally destroyed and that revolution must change the country completely.

This was contemptuous of the PFP and the group of businessmen who recently visited the ANC, Mr Botha said.

(Report by D Braun, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



# Non-racialism 'a serious mistake'

By Stuart Flitton, Municipal Reporter

30/4/79

Blacks do not consider themselves to be South Africans, Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party, said in Meredale, Johannesburg, last night.

He was speaking at a meeting in support of Mr Fred Rundle, the CP candidate in the Ward 47 Johannesburg City Council by-election.

Dr Treurnicht said blacks might deny belonging to certain tribes, but did not deny speaking certain language or belonging to peculiar groups.

"They (people wanting to create a non-racial South Africa) want Afrikaners and English-speakers to disappear and be submerged into a non-racial society. That is a very serious mistake and ignores facts in South Africa," he said.

## SUPPORT POLICIES

STAR

He said if Mr Rundle won the by-election, which would give him control of the balance of power in the Johannesburg City Council, he would support policies on merit, no matter which party in the council proposed them.

A few hecklers, including PFP and NP supporters, interjected during Mr Rundle's speech. Some of the hecklers walked out of the meeting, to the cheers of the audience of about 150 people.

On Thursday the candidates will hold a debate at 7.30 pm at the Meredale Primary School.

(Report by S Flitton, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

22/10/85



Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, speaking in Meredale last night in support of Mr Fred Rundle, the CP candidate in the forthcoming Johannesburg City Council by-election. ● Picture by Rebecca Hearfield.



THE history of black resistance to white domination is as long as the rule of the National Party, and this year, President P W Botha is left holding the bawling baby as he is required to unravel a 30-year-long crisis.

The State President, in reassuring the white electorate more than anybody else, has since July said the things whites want to hear.

He has had to explain to the world, also, why the country is plagued by civil unrest; why despite the state of emergency the violence in the country is unabating and why everyone is calling for the end to apartheid.

One of the statements he made was when he reacted to a report of the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) report on intergroup relations. The HSRC blamed apartheid for the unrest and general discontent.

Addressing a group of the Afrikaanse Studente Bond in Stellenbosch Mr Botha, quoted from authority and said the British colonial government first enacted the colour bar in Natal in 1865.

## Policies

The National Party, therefore, was not the first to come with divide and rule policies.

Last Friday Mr Botha went on record as saying the African National Congress (ANC) "and its internal surrogates" were to blame for the "appalling and distressing state of affairs in which 761 people died since September last year".

In the background there is history; the black resistance to apartheid which intensified in the 1950's.

# Nats did not create apartheid, says Botha

## FOCUS

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

The Defiance Campaign was crushed by the Nationalists and this type of resistance, seen as a peaceful demonstration of discontent, gave rise to a stronger militant stance.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the ANC were dealt blows by the same Nationalist government in 1961 when they were banned and forced into exile.

A war had begun — from within and without — and the Government was prepared to fight.

The Black Consciousness Movement became one of the rallying strategies which the NP had to contend with. Soweto 1976 had also caught the State off guard and this culminated in the heavy-handedness displayed when black organisations were decreed illegal in 1977.

The birth of the United Democratic Front (UDF) saw the Nationalists faced with terrible options: to repress even more and to whitewash apartheid. The Government chose the latter while holding on to the former stance.

1985 became the climax of this history which many white children will never be allowed to learn in their schools.

President Botha, surrounded by a well-oiled public relations outfit, declared the state of emergency and told the world this country was ungovernable.

He blamed agitators, the ANC, a few irresponsible instigators, British colonialists, the church, the business sector except the Nationalist's ignorance of history.

The State President has to answer more questions, now and in the future. He has been

22/10/85



THE South African State President, P W Botha.

given options, one which is to pave the way for negotiations.

The Government knows, perhaps, that the blacks of South Africa want an end to apartheid, the world awaits that too, but Mr Botha has the electorate to consider. With the fear of losing in the coming by-elections he has to find scapegoats and say what the voters want to hear.

The white voters want to hear the Government say it had not failed and that things are under

control. They want to know whether it is worthwhile to continue waiting in their protective cocoons for an end to this unrest; that it is safe to go out in the street to find there are no black rioters.

Mr Botha, it seems, is intent on saying to the white voters that the apartheid policies are not wrong. In fact, no one understands the necessity of having a racially diverse country.

He will tell the world that the Nationalists did not create apartheid.



# PW warns ministers not to meet ANC

By Hannes de Wet

## List Atttdt

13.75 16.50 21.00 25.00

24.50 19.75 14.88 14.97

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Chan

## Driver <450kg

18.00 14.75 11.00 35.00

31.51 29.64 20.97 20.96

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Chan

## Driver >450kg

21.61 29.70 25.00 40.00

39.17 34.37 23.68 23.95

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Chan

## Night Watchman

13.00 18.15 26.00 30.00

23.55 21.74 17.59 17.96

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Chan

## Offsales Atttdt

40.00 55.00 60.00 67.00

72.46 65.87 40.60 40.12

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Chan

## Off Cler Asst

30.00 41.25 49.00 56.00

54.35 49.40 33.15 33.53

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Chan

## Page

13.20 15.40 20.00 22.00

23.91 18.44 13.53 13.17

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Chan

## Porter

17.00 23.65 29.00 33.00

30.80 28.32 19.62 19.76

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Chan

## Night Porter

19.00 26.40 34.00 39.00

34.42 31.62 23.00 23.35

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Chan

## Receptionist

26.00 35.75 49.00 56.00

47.10 42.81 33.15 33.53

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Chan

## Restaurant Mngr

42.00 57.75 70.00 79.00

76.09 69.16 47.36 47.31

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Change

## Waiter

18.60 26.40 33.00 37.00

33.70 31.62 22.33 22.16

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Change

## Waitress

14.50 20.35 33.00 37.00

26.27 24.37 22.33 22.16

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Change

## Check out

0.00 0.00 49.00 56.00

0.00 0.00 33.15 33.53

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Change

## Liquor Atttdt

0.00 0.00 65.00 73.00

0.00 0.00 43.98 43.71

Current Hours: 55 Hourly Change

A clash is looming between the State President, Mr PW Botha, and a group of ministers from the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) and some of its sister churches who are planning a meeting with the African National Congress.

A statement from Mr Botha's office today warned the ministers that a decision to go ahead with the meeting would amount to a challenge of the State's authority.

A spokesman for the State President's office told *The Star* that the Government had clearly stated its viewpoint regarding talks with the ANC.

"Any further attempts by South Africans to talk to the ANC can only lead to serious embarrassment for the Government."

### 'CHALLENGE AUTHORITY'

"A continuation of these naive talks, despite all the pleas of the head of State President and all his Cabinet Ministers, would amount to a challenge of the State's authority," he said.

The leader of the group of ministers, Dr Nico Smith, told *The Star* earlier today that he knew that the Government would try to stop the meeting. "But we are not going to pull out now," he said.

Dr Smith, minister of the NGK in Africa in Mamelodi, said a date has not yet been set for the Lusaka meeting.

He said it would be a great pity if the Government decided to withdraw their passports.

"The church's task in the present situation is to be an agent for reconciliation. The only way to play a role of conciliation is to talk to all the parties."

Dr Smith said the group of ministers came from the NGK, the NGK in Africa, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk and the Indian Reformed Church in Africa. He declined to name them.

Dr Smith said the decision by the group of ministers to meet the ANC was taken before the recent discussions between business leaders and the ANC.

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 14.25

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 15.94

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 20.76

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 17.00

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 38.16

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 31.91

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 12.54

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 18.80

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 22.22

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 31.91

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 45.01

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 21.08

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 21.08

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 31.91

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 41.60



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# Pressure on ANC, SA for dialogue

Cable Times  
22/10/85

3044

From JOHN BATTERSBY

**NASSAU, The Bahamas. — The African National Congress is under pressure from the Commonwealth to embark on a course of dialogue with Pretoria.**

A key paragraph in the Commonwealth declaration on Southern Africa adopted here on Sunday night calls on Pretoria to initiate a process of dialogue "in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides".

It is understood that the phrase was inserted largely on the initiative of the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who described the paragraph as "the heart of the accord", adding that it was worthwhile making some minor concessions to sanctions to secure a statement on renouncing violence.

At a press conference on Sunday night, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, recalled that the liberation groups in former Rhodesia — Zanu and Zapu — had been a "little uneasy" about the Commonwealth declaration in Lusaka in 1979 which led to Lancaster House.

"But today they would all admit that what was done in Lusaka was the beginning of a process which led to the fulfilment of their expectations. I believe it will be the same with the ANC," he said.

## Group of eminent persons

Sir Sonny said it would be the task of a group of "eminent Commonwealth persons" — still to be appointed — "to work through all of this".

"But nobody is talking about renouncing violence. That would probably have to start with Pretoria itself. What the declaration talks about is the suspension of violence on all sides. One would expect something of the nature of a truce while negotiations were under way," he said.

But an ANC spokesman said at a press conference that the ANC rejected the concept of a group of "eminent persons" because it was a repetition of the Western contact group on Namibia which has so far failed to bring independence to the territory.

The ANC was not prepared to consider negotiations and the calling of a truce until its demands were met for the unbanning of the ANC, the release of Nelson Mandela and political prisoners, an amnesty for exiles, the dismantling of apartheid legislation

and the lifting of the emergency.

The Commonwealth calls for a declaration containing a commitment to dismantle apartheid and "meaningful action taken in fulfilment of that intent".

The Commonwealth accord will simultaneously launch a top-level bid to encourage black-white dialogue, implement a package of economic and political sanctions and set a timetable for the implementation of specific demands.

The sanctions to be applied immediately embrace the EEC sanctions package adopted by Britain last month, plus several new measures.

These are:

- A ban on all new government loans to the SA Government and its agencies.

- A readiness to take unilaterally what action may be possible to preclude the import of Kruger rands.

- An end to government funding for trade missions to South Africa or for participation in exhibitions and trade fairs in South Africa.

- A ban on the sale and export of computer equipment capable of use by South African military, police or security forces.

A list of demands — which will be monitored and progress reviewed after six months — include:

- A declaration by President Botha renouncing apartheid.

- The termination of the state of emergency.

- The immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

- The lifting of the ban on the ANC.

- The initiation of a process of dialogue — in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides — leading to the establishment of a non-racial government.

In Pretoria, a government spokesman said the full text of the Commonwealth sanctions package against the Republic would have to be studied before any comment could be made.

- Thatcher: Far cry from ban, page 4
- 'South Africans must decide', page 6

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# More join war against racism

FIVE white organisations have joined forces to express concern about the current crisis in the country. 304A

The organisations, grouping under the banner of Concerned Citizens, have launched a political campaign aimed at gaining more white support to the call for the dismantling of apartheid. 23/10/85

A series of meetings will be held during the next two months, and the first takes place in Parktown today. The theme of these meetings will be "The road to peace through dismantling apartheid."

Among other things, the Concerned Citizens are calling for the lifting of the state of emergency; release of all political prisoners and detainees; the SADF troops to be withdrawn from the townships; unbanning of all banned organisations; the scrapping of all discriminatory laws.

The Concerned Citizens said in a statement this week: "We wish to make known to the Government and our fellow citizens our concern about the present crisis and our views on how to achieve peace, justice and democracy."

**SO WETAN System**

"Apartheid, a system which deprives the majority of — among other things — political representation, only results in social conflict. The only way to achieve lasting peace is for all the people to decide their own future through one-person-one-vote in a united South Africa."

Among bodies represented in Concerned Citizens are the Black Sash, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and National Union of South African Students.



# ANC will consider 6-month truce

CHICAGO TIMES  
23/10/85  
304A

From JOHN BATTERSBY

**NASSAU.** — The African National Congress will consider calling a six-month truce in its armed struggle if the South African Government meets Commonwealth demands within six months, the heads of state meeting here was told.

Commonwealth delegates say the ANC truce proposal was made during extensive talks with its representatives at the historic Bahamas summit.

The Commonwealth Secretary General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, was told the truce also depended on the South African Government suspending violence.

The vital "suspension of violence" by Pretoria, say senior Commonwealth spokesmen, includes the so-called structural violence of the Internal Security Act, the bantustan system and the influx control laws.

## More intransigence?

Leading anti-apartheid sources said the ANC truce proposal was serious but they feared Pretoria's response would be "more intransigence".

It was felt President P W Botha's rejection of the Commonwealth's six-month timetable could have made the ANC truce call academic.

The Commonwealth Secretariat says a truce proposal is based on the fifth of five Commonwealth demands, which calls on the South African Government to initiate a dialogue "in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides".

## Commonwealth demands

The ANC truce proposal is welcomed as a significant sign of the organization's willingness to respond to the calls of the heads of government.

Other Commonwealth demands which have to be met by South Africa before the ANC laid down its arms are:

- The renunciation of apartheid.
- The release of imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.
- The lifting of the ban on the ANC.
- The lifting of the state of emergency.

The ANC is understood to be upset

that the Nassau demands have not placed enough pressure on South Africa.

It lends weight to the opinion in Nassau that the ANC truce offer was made in sure knowledge that it will be dismissed out of hand by Pretoria but would place still further pressure on South Africa as the intransigent party.

The real significance of the Commonwealth summit is the unwritten deal between Britain and the Frontline States under Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda.

In simple terms the deal is: Britain has agreed to deliver the white minority government and the Frontline States have agreed to deliver the ANC.

Britain has given its full backing to the concept of a ceasefire before the talks begin.

## Vaguely structured

The Nassau declaration has accorded the Commonwealth a central role in the search for a political accommodation between black and white South Africans — but it will be largely on Britain's terms and under British control. There are no deadlines other than Mrs Thatcher's remaining term of office — two years.

The Commonwealth's six-month timetable for progress or further sanctions is sufficiently vaguely structured to allow some flexibility.

There has been consultation between Mrs Thatcher, President Ronald Reagan and President P W Botha on the broad outlines of the plan.

Mrs Thatcher's plan has President Reagan's full backing and is seen as the only way to secure Western interests in a multiracial South Africa and curb the influence of the Soviet bloc, which has been creeping southwards.

● A spokesman for the office of the State President said last night that he had no comment on the offer.

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# Dispute settled but Nats stand by allegations

Mercury Reporter

THE National Party stands by its allegations that irregularities and malpractices have taken place in respect of the large number of applications for postal votes in the Port Natal by-election submitted or handled by the Conservative Party.

A statement, issued by the provincial secretary of the party in Natal, Mr Renier Schoeman, followed yesterday's settlement of the dispute between the NP and the CP over allegations of postal vote misuse.

The matter was settled in the Supreme Court, Durban, after the parties agreed on a system which would allow disputed votes to be checked after the election.

The question of costs was reserved, but in terms of the agreement any party was entitled to set the matter down for argument.

In terms of the settlement the returning officer will keep a separate sealed container for each party in the election and each sealed voter's envelope he receives from a party will be placed in the sealed container for that party.

## Regulations

He will also keep a separate sealed container for voters who deliver their voter's envelopes to him personally and all those envelopes will be placed in that container.

On voting day, the officer will open each of the sealed containers referred to, count the votes therein, and retain them in a separate packet. After counting all the votes he will place the various packets in the sealed envelope and act in accordance with the regulations of the Electoral Act.

The National Party said in its statement the fact that a further 37 affidavits by dissatisfied applicants for postal votes were submitted on Monday supported its allegation

that irregularities had occurred.

Reference was made in these affidavits to the Conservative Party and/or its representatives and/or its candidate, Mr Pat Mohr, the NP statement said.

The Conservative Party issued a statement in response which read: 'The crucial question is, if the Nationalists really have proof of alleged CP irregularities, why then did they withdraw their case?'

## 'Any doubts'

Mr Schoeman said that because of the lack of time to bring the hearing to finality the party had agreed to a mutual settlement without prejudice.

'The NP calls on all persons who have already signed a postal vote application and who have any doubt as to the merits of their applications or the manner in which their votes will be handled, to approach the returning officer and request that the application be withdrawn,' he said.

He added that a voter could complete a form VE 4/14 in which the voter asks that another presiding officer be appointed regarding his vote. The presiding officer shall be a department official.

He said that a voter could request that he be allowed to cast a special vote at a magistrate's court, police station or in the presence of the returning officer.

'A voter can also request that a declaration vote be issued on polling day,' Mr Schoeman said.

(Report by P Leeman and D Moodley both of 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)



# Reagan behind UK's 'last-chance' S A plan

304A

MERCURY

24/10/85

THE BRITISH Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, has paved the way for a direct British role in helping South Africa set up a constitutional conference. And Britain has given its full backing to the concept of a ceasefire before the talks begin.

The tentative offer of a six-month truce by the African National Congress once Commonwealth demands are met is the first signal that Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has played his 'front-line' card.

## Time to talk

The offer was made by Mr John Makatini, head of the ANC's international department, who has been in the Bahamas as the guest of the Bahamas Government.

President Kaunda, who is chairman of the front-line states, said at a Press conference before his departure: 'In every liberation war — big or small — there comes a time for talking.'

The Nassau declaration on South Africa has accorded the Commonwealth a central role in the search for a political accommodation between black and white — but it will be largely

Mercury man JOHN BATTERSBY reports from Nassau, in the Bahamas

on Britain's terms and under British control.

There are no deadlines other than Mrs Thatcher's remaining term of office — two years.

The Commonwealth's six-month timetable for progress or further sanctions is sufficiently vaguely structured to allow some flexibility.

There has been consultation between Mrs Thatcher, President Ronald Reagan and President P W Botha on the broad outlines of the plan.

Mrs Thatcher's plan has President Reagan's full backing and is seen as the only way to secure Western interests in a multiracial South Africa and curb the influence of the Soviet bloc, which has been creeping southwards in the region.

The recent Soviet offensive against UNITA and indications that President Mikhail Gorbachev has further plans to capitalise on South Africa's internal and international vulnerability is the key motivation for the plan.

## Again in the leading role

It means that Britain will once again assume the leading role on South Africa after the failure of five years of US foreign-policy initiatives in the region.

President Reagan now accepts that the chance of a diplomatic settlement to the Namibia/Angola/Cuban-troop conundrum is remote and is prepared to let Mrs Thatcher use her influence with South Africa.

However, the Nkomati Accord, in spite of the recent violations, is still on course and has succeeded in drawing President Samora Machel into the Western orbit.

Reagan advisers see

running out.

The real significance of the Commonwealth summit is the unwritten deal between Britain and the front-line states under Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda.

In simple terms the deal is: Britain has agreed to deliver the white-minority government and the front-line states have agreed to deliver the African National Congress which has its headquarters in Lusaka.

Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, who fought a bush war for seven years, is not entirely comfortable with Mrs Thatcher's dialogue initiative just as he had reservations about the Lancaster House terms for Rhodesia.

'It is an idea we couldn't reject but I personally would not look for much to happen in the way of change as a result of that dialogue,' he said at a Press conference after the deal had been struck. 'It is the armed struggle which is the principal form of strug-

gle in South Africa.'

Nigeria's military rulers are even more uncomfortable with the compromise but were slapped down by Mrs Thatcher when they threatened to impose economic sanctions on Britain.

'I don't listen to threats,' Mrs Thatcher said curtly.

Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, chief of staff of the federal military government, said that Nigeria would continue to apply and campaign for mandatory economic sanctions and place squarely on Britain's shoulders the responsibility for whatever happened in South Africa.

But it is a compromise

But if Britain had been excluded from the consensus because of its opposition to sanctions its diplomatic influence as an international broker on South Africa would have been drastically reduced.

By reaching a compromise with this unique association of its former 48 colonies Britain has also consolidated the Commonwealth itself and enabled it to survive one of its major challenges.

The importance of the accord on South Africa cannot be overestimated. It does not lie in the limited economic sanctions Britain has now adopted but in the historic decision by Mrs Thatcher to play a direct role in assisting the process of dialogue between the white-minority government and the black majority.

The vehicle will be the Commonwealth emissaries, who have yet to be announced, working in consultation with a seven-nation committee led by Britain.

The first clue to the new British approach came in an article by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in

the (London) Sunday Times before the Commonwealth conference began.

In that article Sir Geoffrey said for the first time that Britain would use its 'personal' links to press for fundamental change in South Africa and he delivered a very specific message to Pretoria.

'What we would like the South African Government to do now is to take effective action to create the climate of confidence needed to begin internal dialogue.'

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However, the Nkomati Accord, in spite of the recent violations, is still on course and has succeeded in drawing President Samora Machel into the Western orbit.

Reagan advisers see President Botha as the last chance for a negotiated settlement in South Africa and the region.

### Danger period

Their assessment is that President Botha is in danger of losing his grasp on political power and that could mean a dangerous period of drift and a ferocious power-struggle leaving the military no option but to take charge.

The US administration had a senior envoy monitoring the conference to see the front-line states did not squeeze too much in the way of economic sanctions out of Mrs Thatcher and that what was adopted dovetailed with the measures already adopted by President Reagan.

Mrs Thatcher's concession to a package of limited economic sanctions is the clearest indication that time is

not entirely comfortable with Mrs Thatcher's dialogue initiative just as he had reservations about the Lancaster House terms for Rhodesia.

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But it is a compromise that has boosted the chances of dialogue and reduced the prospect of eternal conflict in southern Africa. It is about the biggest boost reform could get; it means the whole issue of South Africa is thrust from the realm of diplomatic rhetoric into political action.

Mrs Thatcher laid great emphasis on the paragraph of the declaration which calls on Pretoria to initiate dialogue 'in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides'.

### Compromise

Ironically, Mrs Thatcher, who has obdurately resisted economic sanctions, has emerged from Nassau with a sanctions package tougher than either the United States or her EEC partners but a lot milder than what the majority of the Commonwealth leaders wanted.

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'What we would like the South African Government to do now is to take effective action to create the climate of confidence needed to begin internal dialogue.'

'Britain, for its part, remains determined to use the unique opportunities provided by our many diplomatic, economic and personal links with South Africa to press for fundamental change.'

The plan has been nearly a year in the packaging. Quite clearly Mrs Thatcher would not have done this without consulting President Botha, which is what their ongoing series of letter-writing since their Chequers summit last year has been all about.



# Solidarity holds first congress

24/10/85 Mercury  
3 Gen Mercury Reporter 304A

THE proposed consolidation of Indian farmlands into KwaZulu and the current state of unrest in some parts of the country will be among many issues topping the agenda of Solidarity at its first national congress in Durban this weekend.

The two-day conference at Durban's Athlone Hotel will be opened by the party's leader, Mr J N Reddy, at 3 p.m. on Saturday and will continue at the same venue on Sunday.

Mr Mammoo Rajab, national secretary, said yesterday that at the 'working session' on Sunday delegates would identify the direction which the party would follow at the coming session of Parliament.

'We hope that by way of resolutions the various issues affecting the political and economic differences in which we find ourselves will be ventilated and canvassed,' he said.

The Springfield constituency, in a motion submitted to the congress, blamed apartheid for the country's present economic and political crisis and called for full political rights to be extended to all peoples of South Africa.

It said the new constitution was inadequate and urged the congress to call on the Government to release all political detainees to enable them to engage in 'serious dialogue' with the Government to work out a new dispensation.

## Convention

The branch also supported the establishment of the convention alliance as the 'most political non-violent movement to bring together all of South Africa's diverse communities to formulate an entirely new constitution.'

A motion, submitted by its Reservoir Hills branch, demanded the immediate scrapping of all racially discriminatory laws, influx control, and the abolishment of racial demarcation of farm and agricultural land.

Another resolution called for the lifting of the state of emergency while another described the Government's plans to fragment health services under own affairs administrations as 'impractical and unaffordable.'

It called on Solidarity to urge the Government to allow the status quo to remain in the system of health services. Health services should be retained under one administration, the resolution said.

Asked whether Solidarity was considering holding talks with the ANC, Mr Rajab said: 'It's something for the party to decide. This may well emerge at the congress.'



# Negotiate now or else, Mercury says Swart

Mercury Reporter

THE Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, says if the South African authorities reject the option of peaceful negotiation now, they will almost inevitably commit the country to a terrifying era of confrontation, damaging to both blacks and whites for generations to come.

Mr Swart was speaking at the annual meeting of the Natal inland division of the PFP in Pietermaritzburg last night.

He said armed conflict could not produce quick solutions for either group.

That was why any attempt to talk or negotiate at any level in South Africa at this stage, however difficult the circumstances and no matter how remote the prospect of peaceful accord, had to be pursued and encouraged.

Mr Swart said the PFP had long been committed to negotiation politics.

Mr Swart said in an interview yesterday that the Government seemed completely unable or unwilling to come to grips with the 'grim catalogue of ongoing unrest'.

While the unrest continued, it was 'nonsense' for President Botha to say the economy would be restored as soon as overseas investors perceived that there was political stability.

'Unless Mr Botha comes to grips with the situation, our future is very bleak indeed.'

(Report by P Leeman, 12, Devonshire Place, Durban)



# Crisis after crisis for SA

by David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

304H

Political and business leaders have expressed their disillusion at the Government's inability to resolve the problems which have wrecked the rand, seen urban unrest spread, the negotiation process dissipate, and the international community crackdown with increasingly tougher sanctions.

The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday that the South African Government must surely be one of the political miracles of the 20th century.

In recent months, and particularly since President Botha's "rand-busting" Rubicon speech on August 15, South Africa has been battered by:

- A disastrous fall in the dollar price of the rand to below 40 cents;
- The embarrassment of a moratorium on the country's \$24 000 million foreign debts while the Government tries to negotiate rescheduled repayments;
- A further fall in the rand;
- A surge in black township unrest and draconian police action, particularly in the Western Cape to which some observers believe the Government may be obliged to extend the state of emergency;
- A lack of tangible progress in the Government's negotiations with black leaders, with no moderate leaders being available to talk;
- The Government's "dog in the manger" attitude to talks with the ANC, to the point of seizing the passports of Afrikaans students who tried to meet with the ANC's youth league;
- A crippling black consumer boycott in several parts of the country which threatens to send many white businesses to the wall;
- The publishing of the "Vaz" diary which shattered the Nkomati Accord; and
- The Government's inability to deflect sanctions and other punitive measures from abroad.

"To have sustained such gross incompetence over such a long period while still maintaining the extraordinary illusion among its supporters is no mean feat.

"What worries me is that when the penny finally drops for all South Africans we may not have the resources to pick up the pieces," said Dr Slabbert.

Mrs Helen Suzman, South Africa's longest serving Member of Parliament, said that it was if the Government had a death wish because of its long series of blunders.

"I have warned for seven years about sanctions. The world is now thoroughly incensed with South Africa.

"Apart from the infamy of its particular actions, the Government's unbelievably infallible sense of mistiming really gets one.

"It hasn't even had the political nous to call a special session of Parliament. Any normal government faced with such unrest, the destruction of its currency and a world reaction like this would have convened Parliament.

"Instead our country is just left floundering."

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said that while it was disturbing that the unrest situation could not be brought fully under control and that the rand crisis could not be resolved, the Government, and particularly President Botha, was creating dissension among whites.



Bethlehem the key indicator seat for government in next week's five by-elections

# Narrow Nat Party win forecast

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

Of the five parliamentary by-elections to be held next Wednesday, Bethlehem in the Free State looks set to be the closest for the National Party.

If the Government manages to hold on to this seat, it should have no problem retaining the other four — Sasolburg, Vryburg, Springs and Port Natal.

Political pundits predict the Nats, will, citing to Bethlehem, probably, with a majority of fewer than 500 votes, if not as few as 100.

The loss of Bethlehem would be interpreted as a disaster for the Government, proving its reform programme has little support either to the left or the right.

And a Conservative Party



Mr Cehille Pienaar

failure could cause its supporters to think that after all their efforts any further struggle would be futile.

Bethlehem, according to analysts, is a constituency similar in profile to Southpansberg and Carletonville, both conservative seats. According to the electoral

trends of recent years, support for the National Party in such a seat has dwindled considerably while that for the CP has grown. Bethlehem was the seat of the late Dr Nak van der Merwe, the former leader of the National Party in the Free State and the Minister of Health and Welfare.

It comprises two Free State provincial constituencies — Harrismith and Witteberg.

## NARROW WIN

Harrismith, the more conservative of the two, was the scene of a provincial by-election earlier this year in which the National Party just managed to scrape home with a substantially reduced majority.

The parliamentary constituency has 17 000 registered voters, of whom fewer than 10 percent have moved since the

last election.

The seat has a large contingent of blue-collar workers, especially in the towns of Bethlehem and Harrismith, and in nearby Gwaqwa.

There are a great many railway workers, while about 20 percent of the voters live on farms.

The National Party candidate in this election is Mr Paul Farrell (55), a farmer and sitting MPC and MEC for roads and traffic control.

Mr Cehille Pienaar (42), for the CP, is the Free State chairman of the Conservative Party and a lawyer who has also for the last few years farmed merino sheep in the Harrismith district.

Both candidates are regarded as capable and popular. The major issues in the elec-

tion are the Government's reform programme and the state of the economy, with the National Party on the defensive on both.

The National Party is fighting a bold reformist campaign, trying to reason that without fundamental change there can be no secure future for the whites.

## 'NO SELLOUT'

President Botha's message in this regard at a public meeting at the Bethlehem town hall last Monday was enthusiastically received by a crowd of about 1 200 people.

"It is not true that I have sold out the white man," he said. "I believe in orderly change within civilised norms."

Mr Pienaar claims Mr Botha did not deal with the Government's reforms at that meeting.

and that a large portion of the crowd was bused in from all over the Free State.

"The people in Bethlehem are worried. They don't know where the Government is taking us. The big issue here is the inclusion of blacks in the political system," he says.

Both sides are cautiously optimistic of victory. The CP says it will depend on who has the slickest organisation on polling day, the Nats say their biggest danger is a low percentage poll, which is why they must work to get people to the polls.

The actual result is expected to be a narrow win for the Government in a relatively high poll (about 70 percent) — and a stalemate in the war for the political control of Afrikanerdom.

(Report by David Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)



# Prog-ANC indaba arranged before Relly meeting

24/10/85 304A  
By ANTON HARBER

THE Progressive Federal Party emerged from last week's meeting with the African National Congress "a bit more optimistic about the future".

This description of the PFP's reaction came from Peter Gastrow, the MP for Durban Central, who played a key role in setting up the meeting.

In an interview this week, Gastrow told how he travelled secretly to Harare to organise talks; what was discussed with the ANC; and the impact the meeting had on the PFP leaders.

The meeting was planned and set up long before last month's discussions between the ANC and business leaders.

"In July I made contact with an acquaintance who I knew had direct access to the ANC in Lusaka. I asked him to establish what their attitude would be to a meeting. I asked him to test the water.

"The response was positive, and in August it was arranged that I would meet two ANC representatives in Harare.

"I met them in September to discuss

the particulars of a meeting. We arranged the time and the place for last weekend's discussions," Gastrow said.

Nobody outside of the party leadership — including the government — was told of the meeting.

Asked why the PFP chose this particular time to meet the ANC, he said: "That's a good question. It's a sign of the times. It's clear that even in the PFP it required a crisis to motivate us to make contact with other groups."

Gastrow said the contact in recent months between PFP leaders and black community leaders had made it clear it was necessary to speak to the ANC.

"My personal hope (for the meeting) was that our perceptions of each other would be either confirmed or corrected. We hoped to get a clearer idea as to where we differ and where we agree and how wide the differences are.

"It was also important to get to

know the people in the ANC leadership; what makes them tick; do they have the same perceptions about the situation as we do; are they informed about what is happening; do they have insight into white politics?"

Gastrow said the PFP and the ANC leaders had arranged in advance not to have a formal agenda for the meeting.

The first half of the meeting dealt broadly with different perceptions of what was happening in the country. Slabbert described his views, the ANC leaders described theirs and Slabbert gave his interpretation of the way the

government saw the situation.

The second half of the lengthy meeting was devoted to an exchange of views on specific issues, such as armed struggle, sanctions, the Convention Alliance, the PFP participation in parliament and its involvement or non-involvement in extra-parliamentary activities.

"They put their view (on armed struggle), we put ours, they asked questions, we asked questions and that is how the discussion went.

"They made it clear that they had only opted for armed struggle when

all internal means of legal protest had been shut down and they had no option but to resort to arms," he said.

"It was surprising how, once our bona fides were accepted, we could discuss things that in other circumstances would have become very heated issues.

"Views were strongly stated, but at no time did anyone become irritated, or was discussion sharp or personal."

Gastrow was impressed by the humour and wit of some of the ANC leaders.

For example, ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki was able to joke about the fact that they were drinking South African wines during the meeting, despite the international boycott.

Gastrow said he was most impressed by how strongly the ANC delegates saw themselves as South Africans, and how much they longed to return home.

"They are very well informed. The talk that one sometimes hears, that they can't possibly be in tune with what is happening because they have been outside for 20 years, is not correct."

Gastrow said he emerged from the meeting a bit more optimistic about the future of South Africa. "These chaps genuinely want a non-racial, democratic and peaceful South Africa and, unless I am a naive optimist, I still think one can achieve that without revolution or civil war," he said.

"This meeting satisfied me that it is still a possibility."



PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert describes the PFP delegation's wide-ranging talks with the ANC on his return from Lusaka. With him on the trip — and at an airport press conference — is fellow MP Alex Boraine. Picture by Wendy Schwegmann (Reuters)

## No deals struck, no peace arranged

By HOWARD BARRELL

IF there is one recurring image in the ANC's current political offensive within the white bloc it is ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki's pipe.

It invites all manner of gauche journalism about "pipes of peace" and deals being "cooked up" and the observation that "there's no smoke without fire".

At Saturday's talks between the ANC and PFP in Lusaka, Mbeki again had a fellow pipe smoker. This time it was PFP MP Peter Gastrow, the man who apparently arranged the get-together.

Again, the ice was broken at an important point in proceedings by pipe-smoking. One of Mbeki's comrades warned Gastrow not to leave his tobacco pouch unattended on a cabinet.

Mbeki, Gastrow was warned, would probably nick it.

ANC sources say the meeting was very friendly. But, again, no deals were made, no peace was agreed — political/armed struggle continues and will be escalated.

"We are not being killed by kindness," remarked an ANC source.

All that the smoke indicates is the further development of what is turning out to be a skilled ANC political offensive within the white bloc.

Among the ANC's current intentions are the maximum political isolation of the Botha government and to show it is a serious-minded,

responsibly led national liberation movement which, according to one source, is at war only until the conditions have been created for a credible peace. That means the death and burial of apartheid, and the establishment of a united, democratic and nonracial South Africa.

The ANC believes it got that message across to Van Zyl Slabbert, who at one state was jokingly called "Comrade President", Colin Eglin, Alex Boraine and Gastrow.

"They definitely came away with a better idea of the ANC's stand," an ANC spokesman remarked.

"The atmosphere was warm. Here were two groups of South Africans meeting to talk to each other. You could say there was a spirit of friendship."

In response to PFP queries, the ANC is understood to have made clear its alliance with the South African Communist Party was based on certain shared interests in ending apartheid. The ANC would never indulge in anti-communist phobias.

The ANC team led by secretary general Alfred Nzo, and comprising also treasurer General Thomas Nkobi, Mbeki, administrative secretary Simon Makana, women's section head Gertrude Shope and senior political official Mac Maharaj — criticised the PFP's links with Gatsha Buthelezi as shortsighted.

Tambo sent a message of apology for not being there — he was in Ethiopia at the invitation of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, according to an ANC source. There was no snub.



# How we can put matters right with the US

24/10/85

304A

The extremely strained state of US-South African relations should not lead us to exaggerate the leverage which the United States can exercise against us. The United States has, in fact, only limited leverage and cannot hold us to ransom.

The United States still has illusions about its powers of coercion. Americans forget only too readily their inability to deal with an island only 90 miles off their shore with a population of only a few million — an island which nevertheless has the capacity extensively to undermine American policy not only in the United States' own backyard of Central America but also as far away as Ethiopia and Angola.

If there is very little the Americans can do about Cuba there is not a great deal they can do about South Africa, if South Africa keeps its cool.

On the other hand, the United States is the only potential friend we have among the major powers of the Western world. Although the United Kingdom is firmly committed to opposing economic sanctions because this is very much a matter of self-interest, the British Government has neither forgotten nor forgiven the Coventry Four affair which did so much injury to United Kingdom-South African relations.

Thus (as regards US-SA relations and their improvement) the time remaining for action is limited. Even should he recover his full health and strength, from mid-1986 onwards President Reagan will be a lame duck.

Thus less than 12 months are available to South Africa in which to lay a foundation of US-SA understanding strong enough to be able to survive the traumas of a possible Democratic administration in 1988.

Even though it involves major risk, I believe we should go for a breakthrough on the Namibian-Angolan question. South Africa should itself take the initiative by:

- Effective withdrawal to south of the Kunene;
- Putting forward *our own* proposals for progressive reduction

of South African forces in Namibia in line with a comparable reduction of Cuban forces in Angola (such reductions to be monitored by an enlarged and strengthened Joint Monitoring Commission);

- Seeking the re-opening of the South African office in Luanda with functions comparable to the South African office in Maputo;

- Working actively for a summit meeting between State President Botha and President dos Santos of Angola, the target date being as early as possible in the new year;

- Seeking to open direct negotiations with SWAPO at

## QUOTE

"Bishop Tutu as Nobel Peace Prize winner has been acclaimed in the United States to a degree unparalleled by any other black South African. The influence and authority ascribed to him are quite remarkable, with the result that he is accorded status as a national leader in American eyes quite out of proportion to the standing he enjoys in South Africa."



The author, Donald Sole

ministerial level, not at Administrator-General level...

Having been outside the governmental hierarchy for the past three years and having therefore had no first-hand insight into the multitude of complex factors which influence the conduct and formulation of foreign policy, one cannot possibly be dogmatic in offering suggestions. Nevertheless, in all diffidence, I venture to throw out a few ideas, mainly on the strength of the discussions I have recently had in the United States.

**OUR FIRST TASK** in the field of foreign affairs is to restore credibility in our foreign policy. It is most unfortunate, but I am afraid that it is true, that our word is not believed. How then should we attempt to reverse this lack of credibility?

As regards South West Africa/Namibia, we should:

- Encourage the interim government in SWA to become a more credible government by: allowing it to abolish all remaining

Writing in the Rand Afrikaans University's *American Review*, a journal the university publishes three times annually, DONALD SOLE, a former SA Ambassador to the United States, speaks with great frankness of this country's presently strained relations with the US. The accompanying article is made up of excerpts of Mr Sole's in-depth look at the situation in which he makes several suggestions how matters could best be put right between ourselves and the US.

discriminatory legislation and practices in SWA; permitting it to become fully autonomous in its administration except in terms of defence and foreign policy.

**OUR SECOND TASK** in the international field is to provide a more effective counter to the disinvestment campaign.

- We should provide better incentives — tax-wise and in other respects — to foreign investors.

For the most part they are using the current surge of feeling and emotion for their own ends — for instance attacking and criticising the Reagan administration; providing a rallying cry for deeply divided Democrats.

We should be emphasising how disinvestment will affect and possibly hurt Americans and American interests. Self-interest is a mightier factor than moral rectitude.

An important element in the current situation is the extent to which anti-South Africanism has become a fashionable trend or fad. Americans are very susceptible to changes in fads or moods...

Now the trend has caught on there is no knowing how short or how long it will last — whether it will continue as long as the jeans fashion has been in vogue or will disappear relatively rapidly like the hula hoop. At the present time, however, the extent to which anti-South Africanism has become embedded in American consciousness is illustrated by the fact that it is even featured in the comic strips...

In American eyes the four cardinal sins of apartheid, apart from the inherent insult to human dignity undoubtedly are:

- Deprivation of citizenship.
- Police shooting of demonstrators.
- Detentions without trial.
- Forced removals.

President Botha has of course announced proposals for a new citizenship deal for all, but in terms of domestic policy priorities in the context of restoring US-SA relationships, it is my belief that in the next 12 months the South African Government should and can provide visible evidence that these evils — as they are seen to be by the US — are being eradicated and that a real dialogue has been opened between the "establishment" leaders and the "non-establishment" readers in South Africa.

- We should reshape the whole anti-disinvestment campaign. Visits to the United States by persons who are financed from South African Government funds are almost totally lacking in credibility. The most effective spokesmen are Americans themselves; American lobbyists financed by the South African private sector; articulate South Africans in no way connected with the Government (Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for example).

At the same time we should seek to change completely the emphasis of the campaign against us. At the moment all the emphasis is on showing that disinvestment will hit hardest the blacks whom the campaign is allegedly designed to help.

But most of the people who are orchestrating the campaign are not a bit interested in helping South African blacks.

They do not care one iota that South African blacks may be harmed.



# SA no longer has choice on change — Naude

The Star Bureau

24/10/85  
NEW YORK — South Africa had entered a phase where there was no longer a choice between peaceful or violent change, the South African Council of Churches' general secretary, Dr Beyers Naude, said here yesterday.

He told a seminar on South Africa that peaceful change was no longer an option because not enough had been done to bring about peace. The choice now was whether there would be lesser or greater violence.

STAR  
He said he had looked in vain for a growing movement of protest and opposition from Afrikaners — from Afrikaner academics and Afrikaner churches.

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Real statesmanship and vision were needed to avoid con-

flict, escalating violence and bloodshed in South Africa.

A declaration of intent to bring about power sharing and democracy in a set time from the government was needed.

Dr Naude said the major issue, power sharing, had been left untouched and until that question was addressed all other reforms would remain marginal.

304A  
POWER  
Never before in the history of South Africa had any one president or prime minister had so much power as President P W Botha now had at his disposal.

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"If there had been a deep commitment and vision of statesmanship to lead a country in crisis towards a new future of peace, Mr Botha would

not have turned away the plea of a man like Bishop Desmond Tutu to talk, nor arrested Dr Alan Boesak," Dr Naude said.

"If he had been able to grasp the nettle and move in courage he would not have refused a group of Stellenbosch students the right to visit the African National Congress in Lusaka.

"The moment that the Afrikaner hierarchy was threatened with young, questioning Afrikaans minds from the top Afrikaans university the clampdown had to come."

If Mr Botha was a statesman and not a party politician he also would have commuted the death sentence of Benjamin Moloise.

Dr Naude said the hotly debated subject in Afrikaans circles was: "Is P W Botha still in control of the country?"

He said for all practical purposes the police and army had taken over.

The Lesotho United Nations representative, Mr Thabo Mankaka, said his country had been subjected to sanctions by South Africa because it refused to support that country's government.

Borders were periodically closed and people prevented from re-entering or leaving Lesotho by South African officials. Recently he had been unable to re-enter his country from Pretoria because he was told Lesotho supported sanctions.

He said Lesotho did not go along with the argument that sanctions should be opposed because his country would suffer.

His country had already suffered as a result of the South African Government's actions.

# PW calls for re-think on Matie-ANC talks

Staff Reporter

PRESIDENT P W Botha, chancellor of Stellenbosch University, has asked student leaders and a clergyman to reconsider "soberly" their planned talks in Lusaka with the Youth League of the banned African National Congress

They may have to answer to the families of innocent victims of ANC acts of terror, he said in a telex to rector Professor Mike de Vries who is also strongly opposed to the planned contact.

In a statement last night the student group said they believed their meeting could "break valuable ground for negotiations on a higher level".

The group — which includes members of the student representative council and the editor of the campus newspaper, Die Matie — said last night that after "thorough consideration" they had decided to go ahead with the talks on October 26.

In a joint statement they explained their reasons for accepting an invitation to talk to the exiled ANC.

Their visit was not motivated by "rebelliousness or irresponsibility" but was a "modest attempt

to promote mutual understanding", the statement said.

"As young Afrikaners we have certain expectations and make certain demands for the future. We believe this must be conveyed to the ANC Youth League.

"We do not represent any major power or interest group in the country but we do believe that this visit can break valuable ground for discussions on a higher level"

## TELEX

"With this we confirm our loyalty towards South Africa and all its people."

According to the Argus Political Correspondent Mr Botha expressed his strong opposition to the proposed meeting in a telex to Professor de Vries.

He said it was traditionally accepted that original and uninhibited thinking was a feature of academic institutions but when students with limited experience of the hard realities outside the protected milieu of the campus tried to have a dialogue with advocates of violence "they must then be called to sober reconsideration".



# 'Botha losing support'

Get Tmk  
24/10/85  
304A

From MIKE CADMAN

JOHANNESBURG — South Africans — both black and white — are rapidly losing confidence in President P W Botha and the future of South Africa.

These are the findings of a survey carried out in July by the Markinor research group, using a sample of 800 white and 800 black South Africans in urban and rural areas.

Optimism amongst whites about the future of South Africa dropped from 74 percent in 1977 to 47 percent. The figure for blacks dropped from 61 percent in 1979 to 24 percent.

The steady erosion of confidence in the future of South Africa is mirrored by the change in attitude towards Mr Botha.

While 86 percent of whites felt he was leading the country well or fairly well in 1979 this has dropped to 76 percent. Black support has dropped more sharply — from 57 percent in 1979 to 24 percent.

## 'Hardship causing pessimism'

Financial hardship is cited as one of the main reasons for the wide pessimism — 46 percent of whites and 73 percent of blacks say they are financially worse off now than in the past.

No more than 24 percent of whites and 6 percent of blacks expect to be better off in a year.

Race relations are another problem area. Only 28 percent of whites and 11 percent of blacks believe the various groups get on well and most believe the relationship is deteriorating.

Blacks cite the following reasons for deteriorating relations between themselves and whites:

- Low wages which do not keep pace with increases in the cost of living.
- The shortage of jobs and houses
- Discriminatory legislation
- Unrest and the closure of schools
- The vastly higher standard of living enjoyed by whites.
- Negative white attitudes towards blacks.

## 'Negative black reaction'

The reaction of blacks towards the government has become more and more negative, and this year fell to the low levels reached during the 1976 unrest.

The reasons include.

- The deteriorating economic situation which is blamed on the white government.
- Government promises for a fairer deal have not materialized in the view of many blacks
- A general increase in political awareness.
- Increased world pressure to terminate apartheid policies.
- The new political dispensation for coloured and Indians introduced in 1983

Sapa reports wide-scale support for the State President's decision to declare a partial state of emergency, according to a nationwide Omnipoll conducted by Market Research Africa.

Of urban white adults, 98 percent were found to be aware that a partial state of emergency is in force, with 69 per cent "strongly" agreeing with its introduction, 26 percent partly agreeing and five percent disagreeing.

Afrikaans speakers came out as the strongest supporters (82 percent) compared to 54 percent of English speakers.

Those in the higher income group, where household incomes exceeded R3 000 a month, were less supportive — although 57 percent strongly agreed with the decision, and six percent disagreed.

#### ANC TALKS

In London, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, who unexpectedly returned from New York to take part in a special debate on South Africa, has reiterated that Britain is not committed to imposing further sanctions in six months.

"There is no question of us giving South Africa an ultimatum." 24/10/85

Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock interrupted Sir Geoffrey to challenge him to meet the ANC.

Sir Geoffrey replied: "We do not engage in meetings with organisations of this kind. They are indulging in violence. For this reason I urge them to reject violence."

The Shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Dennis Healey, the Labour Party's main speaker, said "the only hope" of peaceful solution in South Africa was for Mr P W Botha to meet the ANC.

Sir Geoffrey and Mrs Thatcher were the "only apologists South Africa could count on" and Britain had to share responsibility for the "anarchy and bloodshed".

He added: "People say sanctions will drive Botha into the laager. Haven't you noticed he's already there, firing from behind the wagons?" —

The Star's Foreign News Service. The Star Bureau

• See Pages 2, 11.

## Aussie, UK split on how to speed reforms

Australia and Britain are deeply divided on how to speed the pace of reform in South Africa.

Australia seems determined to accelerate the process by not waiting even for the 'six months' "probation" agreed on in the Bahamas, while Britain is stubbornly hunting that even after the period has elapsed it won't put pressure on Pretoria.

Australian Premier Mr Bob Hawke, on his way back from the Bahamas, has sent word ahead that he wants a Cabinet meeting on Monday to consider moving quickly to bar SAA flights into Australia.

The meeting would also consider banning the promotion in Australia of tourism in South Africa and new restrictions on private investment.

Government officials in Canberra said today that it would be possible for Australia to begin moving immediately on what were described in the Commonwealth leaders' communique as "second stage sanctions".



CAPE TIMES 25/10/83  
3000

# Botha alleges 'ANC trap'

From COLIN HOWELL

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha last night attacked recent initiatives by the Progressive Federal Party and prominent businessmen to meet the ANC for talks.

Addressing about 1 000 people at a by-election meeting in Springs, Mr Botha said the ANC would "smile, shake hands and drink South African wines, while secretly plotting to destroy those sitting before them".

"I am still being criticized for preventing well-meaning young people from being led into this trap," he said, referring to the seven Stellen-

bosch students who were barred from visiting Lusaka.

He said the PFP delegation, led by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and the group of prominent South African businessmen had made "divergent reports on what allegedly emanated from the discussions". Initially the ANC had not offered much reaction.

Mr Botha then quoted the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, as having said that the role of the businessmen was a "weak" one and one which, "if it serves its purpose of weakening the ability of the regime to resist — if it helps to destroy the system — then we welcome it".

ARGUS 25/10/83

# White pupil body meets UDF and ECC campaigners

Staff Reporter

WHITE school pupils of the newly formed Pupil Awareness and Action Group have met representatives of the United Democratic Front and the End Conscription Campaign.

The pupils heard Mr Andrew Boraine of the UDF and Crossroads doctor and conscientious objector Dr Ivan Toms of the ECC outline the aims and ideas of their organisations at a meeting at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Boraine told the group that, because the UDF was a political organisation without political power, it had to use alternative methods of struggle.

## ALTERNATIVES

Their aim was mass mobilisation in a defiance campaign using the international community, mass meetings, stickers, posters and negotiation.

Dr Toms, who recently completed a 21-day fast for a "just peace", told the group about alternatives to national service and about the ECC.

He said conscription began in schools with cadet programmes and pointed out that the pupils might one day have to go into townships and shoot their friends.



# Did SA and Maputo get their Nkomati wires crossed?

STAR 25/10/85

3044

That the Nkomati Accord is still alive, if not well, was demonstrated by the meeting at Nkomati this week between high-level delegations from South Africa and Mozambique.

Like the similar meeting on October 11 in Maputo, the Nkomati talks are believed to have been aimed largely at repairing the damage done to the accord by the allegations in the Gorongosa documents.

The damage to South Africa's international image, however, remains unrepaired, despite some evidence that it was unjustified. There are growing indications, in fact, that the future may have blown up largely because the two governments were talking at cross purposes.

Maputo made a major issue of the documents captured at the MNR's Gorongosa headquarters that purportedly prove South Africa secretly supported the MNR rebels after the accord was signed. This came after Foreign Minister P. L. Botha's admission of "technical"

violations of the accord while trying to bring the MNR and the Frelimo government together in peace talks.

The SADF chief, General Constand Viljoen, subsequently insisted the SADF's post-Nkomati operations in Mozambique were aimed only at meeting a Maputo government request for help in getting MNR leaders in the bush to a conference table.

South Africa, he said, had acted only as an "honest broker" in the whole affair.

Maputo has rejected the general's account. But the deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Louis Nel, has confirmed that his secret flights on South African military aircraft into Mozambique to meet MNR leaders followed a request by the Maputo government for South Africa's help in making contact with the MNR leaders inside Mozambique, as distinct from those in exile in Europe.

Other knowledgeable sources have supported this, saying that after the

collapse of the talks in Pretoria in October 1984 between Frelimo and the MNR (including the European exiles) a desire was expressed at high level in Maputo for Pretoria to arrange more talks with the bush leaders.

According to these sources a rational explanation for the conflict between the Maputo and Pretoria versions is that the desire in Maputo for more talks was not shared by all Mozambique government leaders or even known among all of them.

This could account not only for the fundamental difference in the two sides' stories but also for particular discrepancies. For instance, General Viljoen's claim that the Maputo authorities had given an assurance that South African aircraft would not be fired on and Maputo's denial of this.

The clash between the Pretoria and Maputo accounts could also be explained by what appears to have been a different conception in each

Did South Africa really violate the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique or did the two sides just get their wires crossed? GERALD L'ANGE of The Star's Africa News Service takes a searching look at the question and comes up with some intriguing answers.

capital of the purpose in bringing the rebels and the government together for talks.

The Maputo government insists it was never interested in a political reconciliation with the MNR, only in offering amnesty to the rebels if they abandoned their insurgency. Pretoria, on the other hand, appears to have been under the impression that Maputo wanted to discuss a rapprochement with the MNR.



Forget black majority rule, says President

# Constitution can improve — PW

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

South Africa's constitution could be improved but it certainly would not be torn up, President P W Botha said in Springs last night.

Winding up the National Party campaign for next week's parliamentary by-election in this constituency, Mr Botha said that he had taken an oath to protect the constitution and

would not yield to demands to have it scrapped.

Answering a question on the future of the Group Areas Act, Mr Botha said that while he was the head of government the principle of separate residential areas would not be interfered with.

The Group Areas Act as such could, however, be combined with the Slums Act and other similar legal measures and any

unnecessary aspects could be dropped if this was recommended by the President's Council.

He scoffed at a question as to when black majority government could be expected.

"People have been predicting black majority government within five to 10 years for the past 300 years," he said.

It was wrong to talk of black majority government, though, as the country was made up of various black as well as other minorities.

"If we know that then we can forget about black majority government and find the solution in the maintenance of minorities which reach consensus on matters of common concern."

Mr Botha quoted the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, extensively. Mr Tambo may not ordinarily be quoted in South Africa except with permission of the Minister of Law and Order.

In answer to a question why the Government had aided the MNR and Unita when it was not prepared even to talk to the ANC on the basis that it was violent, Mr Botha said that it had always been policy to give limited assistance to anti-communist groups.

(Report by D Braun, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

# sunrise news

## Tambo on ANC violence in SA 11A

LONDON — The leader of the banned African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, told an international news conference yesterday what the ANC proposed to do about violence in South Africa. Reuter reports from London.

In terms of the law his significant statement, affecting human life in South Africa, may not be published without permission from the Minister of Law and Order. (Permission is usually

denied but, in any case, *The Star's* normal policy is not to apply because of the danger of manipulation of the news by authority.) 26/10/85

Mr Tambo spoke not only about violence but also made an equivocal and mainly negative statement on the ANC's attitude to negotiations with Pretoria.

At the same news conference he launched bitter attacks on British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Pres-

ident Reagan.

The British Government has refused to speak to Mr Tambo until the ANC renounces violence. But he has been invited to address a parliamentary foreign affairs committee next week.



Report restricted

In terms of the Internal Security Act, Mr Tambo may not be quoted. Therefore, this news report has had to be heavily censored. STAR

## A question of 'morality, not law'

# Only State can quote the ANC

STAR 26/10/85  
304A

by  
**David Braun,**  
Political Correspondent

Legal experts have confirmed that the State President is "above the law" when it comes to quoting banned persons, but they have questioned the morality of his doing so.

President Botha quoted the leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Oliver Tambo, extensively this week to support his view that the organisation was committed to violence and that it would serve no purpose to talk to the outlawed organisation.

Newspapers and others must, by law, get permission from the Minister of Law and Order before quoting a banned person.

Government legal advisers said yesterday that the State was not subject to the provisions of the Internal Security Act with regard to restrictions on the quoting of banned people, and did not have to apply for permission.

Top legal experts and academics agree, but say that this is not a satisfactory state of affairs.

Professor Johan van der Vyfer, of the University of the Witwatersrand, said it seemed that the argument that

the State President did not require permission to quote Mr Tambo appeared to have some merit.

"But at the same time it is unfortunate that the State President should indulge in activities which are denied to members of the public," he said.

"It is morally deplorable that Mr Botha should do something that others can't," he added.

Professor John Dugard, also of the University of the Witwatersrand, agreed with the view that the State President could quote a banned person, but said it was not a satisfactory state of affairs that a banned person could be quoted on a selective basis.

### Blanket ban

*The Star's* lawyers confirm this view, saying that had the Internal Security Act provided for a blanket ban on quoting a banned person, the President would not have been able to quote Mr Tambo.

However, the fact that there was provision for the Minister of Law and Order to grant permission to enable such quotation, and that the State President was the supreme authority in the country, meant that Mr Botha did not have to comply with the law.

(Report by D Braun, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

Young Persons  
(12) and Sub  
"Araia". The



Credibility and future prospects at stake

# Mini-poll crucial to all five parties

STAR 304A 26/10/85

—by—  
**David Braun,**  
Political Correspondent

Election fever is rising for next week's critical series of parliamentary polls, in which the Government's credibility and reform programme are on the line as never before.

The five by-elections — in Springs, Port Natal, Bethlehem, Vryburg and Sasolburg — are the result of the death, retirement or promotion of sitting Nationalist MPs.

Each major white political parties has an important stake in the overall result.

The Government has braced itself for a substantial loss of support, but it hopes to be able to hold on to all five seats to prove that it is still the vehicle of white political aspirations.

The Conservative Party hopes to win at least one seat, if not two, and to gain sufficient support in the other two it is fighting to reinforce its claim that it is the "true" official opposition.

The Progressive Federal Party has no real prospects of winning either of the two constituencies it is contesting, but a good showing in either will help dispel the perception that its support is limited to only a few urban strongholds.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party is fighting two seats and is desperate to win at least one, its first

since breaking away from the NP in 1969.

The New Republic Party, reduced to only a handful of representatives in Parliament, would like to show that it is still a force to be reckoned with in its home province. It must therefore do well in Port Natal, the only seat it is contesting.

In Bethlehem, OFS, where the fighting is said to be at its closest, the National Party is facing a solid Right-wing front — a CP candidate supported by the HNP. Experts predict the Government will squeak in with less than 500 votes.

In the other Free State seat up for grabs, Sasolburg, the HNP (with CP backing) is facing the NP.

An ugly feature of this poll has been the issue of a mixed marriage in the town, which the HNP holds up as evidence of the Government's sell-out.

Some observers believe that the result of this poll is going to be the closest of the five by-elections, with the HNP, for once, standing a good chance. But if the HNP fails to win or at least come close it will be finished.

Many of its remaining supporters could be expected to cross to the CP.

Ironically, if it gains this seat it could be a mixed blessing for the National Party. Such an unlikely outcome would revive the HNP and put it in a strong position to bargain with the CP in any merger between the two parties, making an eventual get-together less likely.

(Report by D Braun, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

CAPE Times

28/10/85

304A

# Slabbert dissects P W Botha

By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT P W Botha was essentially a "crisis manager" and with his mixture of sentimentality and intolerance was "a political enigma", the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said in a new book which is being released today.

The semi-biographical book, "The Last White Parliament", makes a number of new disclosures, including Dr Slabbert's behind-the-scenes role in the release from jail of Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach.

Since Mr Botha had become Prime Minister and then President, his "softer side" had prevailed but "the ferocity of his vindictiveness and

irrationality, when angered, never failed to amaze me".

"He is disarmingly frank about his lack of analytical ability on complicated constitutional and economic affairs, but through years of practical experience in government has developed the capacity to identify a crisis with unerring accuracy. And he is not afraid to deal with it.

"He is essentially a crisis manager. His political philosophy is remarkably uncomplicated: If things go wrong, there must be an enemy responsible, and if they go right it is because of 'good government'."

The book also dis-

closes that the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, thought at one stage that the PFP would back the government's constitutional reforms, after he had secretly consulted Dr Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert also reveals that he nearly quit active politics shortly before he was elected leader of the PFP.

However, it was made clear that if he had left politics some "key figures in the party" would have done the same.

Dr Slabbert said the former PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, was "one of the most underrated politicians" in Parliament. "He is tough, principled and a brilliant negotiator."

For the first time, an explanation has been given of why the government moved the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison.

Dr Slabbert quotes the former Director-General of Prisons, General Otto, as saying: "He was getting too bossy and influential on the island."

General Otto also told Dr Slabbert that the new leader on Robben Island was "what's-his-name, that coolie, Kathrada".

Dr Slabbert also discloses that earlier this year he met members of the UDF and the ANC in Port Elizabeth at a meeting which had been set

up by Mrs Molly Blackburn, MPC for Walmer.

He also said the death of the Rand Daily Mail was "directly attributable to corporate indifference and atrocious management". "Those who wanted to save it, could not, and those who could, did not care."

Dr Slabbert reveals that he approached President Botha directly about the possible early release of Breytenbach and that he "appeared genuinely shocked" when he was told that the poet had not been allowed a "contact visit" with his wife. His release was effected after Dr Slabbert dealt with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.



# Solidarity 'no' to PFP alliance

## Mercury Reporter

PLANS for an alliance with the PFP, the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly, were scuttled when the rank and file of the Solidarity Party voted against any pact with other political groups at its national congress which ended in Durban yesterday.

The party's chairman-elect, Mr Ismail Omar, emphasised that in spite of the scrapping of the Improper Political Interference Act, Solidarity would remain committed to retaining its identity.

This was a heavy blow to efforts by the ousted national chairman, Mr Pat Poovalingam, who was in favour of the party having partial involvement with the PFP.

Mr Omar said the party would co-operate with all political parties and people striving for a truly

non-racial society in South Africa.

Mr Poovalingam told the congress his partiality for closer involvement with the PFP, which was unacceptable to a number of influential members in the party, had contributed to his defeat.

He said he had indicated to the party caucus that he would not seek re-election after being persuaded by Rev EJ Manikun, the MP for Cape Town.

Mr Poovalingam, who assured the congress he would remain with the party for the time being, said decisions which had been taken by the party were far-reaching.

'One decision means that Solidarity cannot morally take into its own ranks defectors from other political parties, and if it is to remain honest, it

must also remain as the Official Opposition,' he said.

Mr Poovalingam said he had considered resigning from the party in September last year because of the manoeuvring that had gone on in Cape Town by Solidarity members to gain power over the National Peoples' Party. It was unacceptable, he said.

He told the congress that if the party remained Indian or predominantly Indian with a token non-racial membership, it would be functioning within the confines of apartheid and would therefore be following National Party policy.

'Solidarity must become a fully multiracial party and it either has to work with PFP or function in competition with it,' he said.

Indian cultural interests must be respected initially, but politically, Indians must be completely non-racial in their approach and regard themselves completely as South Africans.

Mr Jayaram Reddy, the leader of the party who was re-elected together with Mr Mamoo Rajab as the secretary, said a merger with any party could take place only after it had been discussed by all the party's branches.

## Call for multiracial society

### Mercury Reporter

MORE than 300 Solidarity delegates from throughout South Africa attended the party's national congress in Durban and voted for a multiracial society and demanded that a national conference of all political parties be held in the country to map out a new South Africa to satisfy all

racess.

Party leader Mr Jayaram Reddy said the conference must be called immediately because of the support for such an *indaba* from overseas prime ministers and leaders, including Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and US President Ronald Reagan.

However, he said a mediator was badly needed to get the political parties together at a conference.

The two-day conference approved 25 resolutions, including a call for a national conference and others on the present unrest in the country and the scrapping of all forms of apartheid.

# US bosses back SA initiative

Staff Reporter

THE US Corporate Council on South Africa (USCCSA) has given its support to 91 South African business leaders who joined forces to support the "politics of negotiation" and reject violence as a way to effect change.

The USCCSA says it supports the ideas and initiatives of the group of "responsible businessmen" and will play an active role in peacefully achieving the goals announced by the business leaders on September 29 this year.

The USCCSA placed a full-page advertisement in yesterday's Sunday Times pledging its support to the businessmen.

The advertisement carried the signatures of the two co-chairmen of the US Corporate Council on South Africa, Mr W Michael Blumenthal, chairman of Burroughs Corporation, and Mr Roger B Smith, chairman of General Motors Corporation.

Members of the steering committee and the council are all top executives of international companies, such as IBM Corporation, Caltex Petroleum Corporation, Mobil Corporation, Xerox, McGraw-Hill, Deere & Company, Colgate Palmolive Co, Coca-Cola and the Chase Manhattan Corporation.



The motion was first submitted by the Indian Management Committee to the city council's action committee last week, and rejected.

However, a motion calling for the opening of only business areas to all race groups was reaffirmed at a city council meeting last night.

After some consideration and discussion the council went on to vote on the motion for opening residential areas.

The motion was rejected by 10 votes to six.

Those who voted in favour were: the mayor, Mr J. A. Yazbek, Mr A. E. Spring, Mr I. S. Zulman, Mr F. W. Botha, Mr B. T. Snell and Mr D. J. Card.

Those against were: Mr J. H. Bezuidenhout, Mr R. L. de Lange (snr), Mr W. J. Morris, Mrs M. E. Kemp, Mr E. R. Whitaker, Mr R. L. de Lange (jr), Mr P. Kay, Mr L. Cooper, Mr P. M. Rohtbart and Mr N. W. E. Randall.

Mr Spring, who re-submitted the motion for consideration, said an editorial in the Daily Dispatch of October 24, in which the councillors were said to have a politically racist attitude and were insensitive to people's needs after re-



MR SPRING... opening of residential areas inevitable.



MRS KEMP... wait for President's Council report.

jecting the motion last week, was unfairly being cast upon the whole council.

Mr Spring said merit, and not the colour of a person's skin, should decide where East London's people lived and worked.

He said the opening of the residential areas was inevitable, and urged the council to "be bold" in calling for its opening to all races.

Mr Card, who seconded Mr Spring's motion, said the longer it took to make a decision the more ill-feeling and problems would be bred.

He said that in the present situation of separate development there were five white families to one hectare of land, 10 Indian families to one hectare, 14 coloured families to one hectare and between 126 and 190 black families to one hectare.

He said it was no longer a political issue, but an issue in dealing with each person living in East London.

Mr Whitaker, argued that the council had no right to make decisions which influenced the lives of Indians, coloureds and blacks without consultation with each group.

He also believed that opening all residential areas to all races would cause certain sections of the community to "be inundated by the majority group and life would become intolerable for a section of East London's population."

It would be irresponsible to open the residential areas, amenities and beaches, Mrs Kemp said, when the council knew it would be against government policy.

She added that "everyone knows there will be some changes in future, but the council should wait for the President's Council report next year."

The report would be an in-depth survey into the Group Areas Act.

Mr De Lange (snr) said: "We are here to be fair to all people, and we should await the official report from the President's Council next year."

Mr Zulman said time was of the essence, and by voting in favour of the motion, the council's policy would be made known to the government.

Mr Kay said he believed all men were equal, but added that he could not force this belief on to a neighbour who did not feel the same way. "We should meet with the people and ask them what they want."

Mr Spring said he wanted the request to be conveyed to the government "in principle", that the council would accept the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

Mr Yazbek said in doing so the council would be exercising its "right to speak".

He said it was a moral duty of the council to convey its feelings on the issue.

More reports page 3

**EAST LONDON — A request for the city council to approach the administrator on opening residential areas here to all races was rejected a second time last night.**

Dispatch Reporter

# Council says no to mixed suburbs

DISPATCH  
22/10/68

304A

ARGUS 29/10/85 (304A)

## Convention movement ready to set about task

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The steering committee of the Convention Alliance, which was appointed at a meeting of concerned organisations recently, has completed its work, chairman Mr Jules Browde announced today.

The provisional committee has been dissolved and the project will operate under the name National Convention Movement (NCM). The administrative organisation required to run the project is being set up.

Mr Browde said the NCM's primary objective would be the calling of a national convention by the Government at which representatives of all the people of South Africa would thrash out a constitution.

### INKATHA, PFP MEMBERS WITHDRAW

It would be directed by a management committee, consisting of most members of the original steering committee except Dr Oscar Dhlomo of Inkatha and Dr Alex Boraine and Mr Colin Eglin of the Progressive Federal Party, who have voluntarily withdrawn because of confusion caused in the eyes of the public by the involvement of Inkatha and the PFP in the movement.

The NCM's manifesto describes it as a "vehicle through which all people and organisations can express their determination to try to arrive at a solution to all our country's problems by negotiation. It is not a political party and indications of support in no way compromise political beliefs and attitudes."

Its priority will be to establish a climate of trust favourable to negotiation.



# Convention group is ready to start working on the next phase

304A STAR

The steering committee of the Convention Alliance, which was appointed at a meeting of concerned organisations recently, has completed its task.

This was announced today by the chairman, Mr Jules Browde.

The provisional committee has now been dissolved and the project will operate under the name "National Convention Movement" (NCM).

The administrative organisation required to run the project is being set up.

Mr Browde said the NCM's primary objective would be the calling of a national convention by the Government, at which representatives of all the people of South Africa would thrash out an agreed constitution.

It would be directed by a management com-

mittee, consisting of most members of the original steering committee except Dr Oscar Dhlomo of Inkatha and Dr Alex Boraine and Mr Colin Eglin of the Progressive Federal Party, who have voluntarily withdrawn because of confusion caused in the public's eye by the involvement of Inkatha and the PFP in the movement.

Its priority will be to establish a climate of trust favourable to negotiation.

It will prevail upon the Government as a matter of extreme urgency to:

- Repeal all discriminatory legislation, thus abolishing apartheid.
- Unban all banned organisations, and set free unconditionally all political prisoners and all people detained because of their political beliefs.
- Allow free political association.

Negotiations 'will begin this year'

# PW speaks of new plan for all

304A STAR 29/10/85

By Gary Van Staden,  
Political Reporter

VRYBURG — New plans for a political structure to accommodate all the peoples of South Africa will be put in motion this year, the State President, Mr P W Botha said here last night.

Addressing a large audience in the Vryburg Civic Centre, Mr Botha hinted that the all-embracing structure, which would have to accommodate all the racial groups in South Africa, was the only solution to the country's problems.

"Our problem is a problem of minorities," Mr Botha said. He added that the country did not consist merely of black, white and brown people, but of many minorities of which the whites were only one.

According to Mr Botha, the largest of the minorities — the

Zulus — comprised only 23 per cent of the total population.

"We are only going to solve our problems if everyone in South Africa recognises the fact of the minorities.

"We have to find structures to accommodate all and so bring peace to South Africa.

"One man one vote in a single structure in South Africa will not work. And I say the majority of responsible black people agree with me."

## HOSTILE WORLD

The State President gave no other detail on the proposed structure other than to say negotiations would begin this year.

Mr Botha was speaking here in support of the National Party candidate in tomorrow's by-election, Mr Johan Scheepers.

During his speech he attacked a "hostile" outside world for failing to understand South Afri-

ca's problems and at the same time made overtures to black Africa with offers of help.

Southern Africa must begin to discuss common interests. "We need joint regional development plans, which would benefit everyone," Mr Botha said.

He attacked the Commonwealth conference, which he said was made up of states some of which were dictatorships and one-party states.

He also criticised the outside world for implementing economic sanctions, which he described as "stupid".

He ended his speech with a plea to voters to support the National Party in tomorrow's by-election.

"We are a reform party, we are a reform nation — the first sign that something is dying is when it fails to adapt," he said.

(Report by Gary Van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



# 'Apartheid like Holocaust'

Staff Reporter

APARTHEID should be bracketed with the Holocaust and similar events as 20th century examples of excessive, oppressive and unmerited suffering.

This was the opinion of Professor John de Gruchy, professor of theology at the University of Cape Town who delivered the CB Powell memorial lecture at the Tygerberg Technikon last night.

"The excessive hardship which has been experienced by black people in South Africa is serious and all white theologians should ask themselves whether they can make any contribution to the subject," he said.

"For many of us the privilege of class and race have en-

abled us to escape the excess of senseless and unmerited pain

"We may be exposed to and moved by the horrors of starvation as we watch news bulletins on Ethiopia flash across our television screens, but we personally know little about hunger," he said.

"We may be angered and pained by events in our own country which have dehumanised people and destroyed communities, yet few of us know what it is to be uprooted from our homes and dumped elsewhere



Professor John de Gruchy

"Whether we who are white South Africans like it or not, whether we regard it as fair or not, in the annals of history, apartheid will be bracketed with the Holocaust and similar events as 20th Century examples of excessive, unmerited and oppressive suffering," he said.

"We would learn more if we listened to black colleagues who have suffered greatly through the inhumanity of apartheid, or if we opened our ears to the cries of agony which arise from the townships.

"What possible contributions can a white, middle-class theologian make to our understanding of suffering if he has no direct experience of its awful reality?" he asked.

"As South Africans there is

something radically wrong with us if we are not in solidarity with those who suffer more directly at first hand," he said.

He quoted Bishop Dumeni of Owambo in SWA/Namibia:

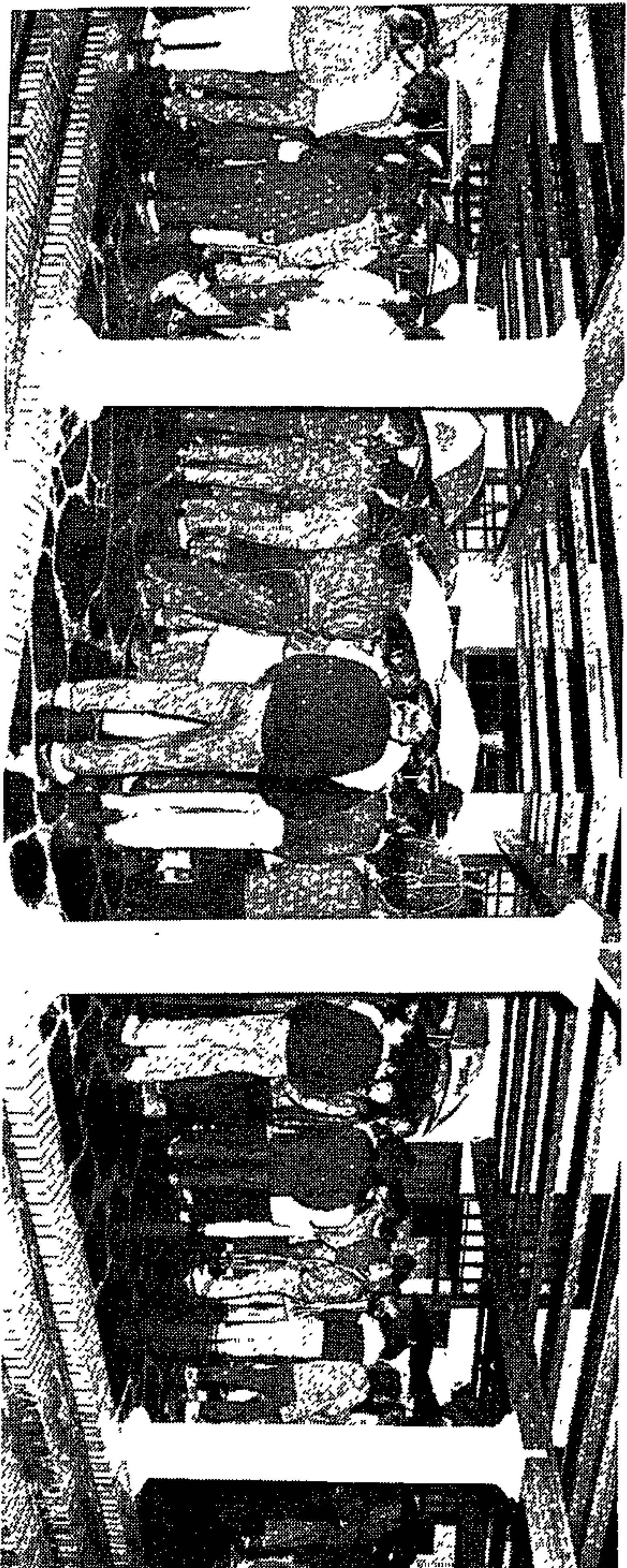
"The whites are more interested in their economic wellbeing than in human suffering."

Professor de Gruchy ended his lecture with a quote from an elderly Mfengu woman, Mrs Maria Zotwana, who was dumped in the Ciskei.

"We had no choice. The guns were behind us, then they bring us to this sad place.

"Here there is not enough food. I am hungry now, as I am sitting here. Everybody had died. My man has gone and died, as have my daughters. They took my land away. The Lord has also gone. Yes, I suppose he has also gone..."





Pictures: HANNES THIAI The Argus.

Part of the enthusiastic crowd which turned up to listen to Dr F van Zyl Slabbert at the Claremont Civic Centre last night. Those who could not find seats in the centre braved the inclement weather outside.



Dr Slabbert ... given a standing ovation at the end of his speech.

# Standing-room only as Slabbert pleads on violence

McGals  
30/10/85  
304A



**IOS WENZEL**  
**Political Correspondent**

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, last night appealed to South Africans to resolve that violence from or against the State could not resolve the conflict in the country and to search for other alternatives.

He was addressing an enthusiastic crowd of more than 1 000 people at the Claremont Civic Centre. About 800 people packed the hall while several hundred listened outside.

Dr Slabbert was applauded throughout his speech and there was a prolonged standing ovation at the end.

The loudest cheer of the evening came when he said that "we are being governed by an incompetent bunch of mediocrities — and we allow them to get away with it".

Dr Slabbert referred to "the macabre and vicious cycle of repression and revolt that is pulling us all into its vortex".

**Can't get together**

He was also highly critical of the way in which opposition elements have been unable to get together.

History, he said, would show that more energy and time had been consumed between opponents of apartheid fighting one another than fighting apartheid itself.

"After more than three decades of this objectionable system most of its opposition movements remain committed to their own strategy, defining each other into irrelevance. In the process the apartheid Government has laughed all the way to the political bank.

"Once again it has waited for the

appropriate moment to pick off its opponents.

"Until we are prepared to accept each other's bona fides in wanting to get rid of apartheid... and until we are prepared to tolerate a wide range of strategies... we will remain in our respective corners posturing, declaiming and issuing threats and promises that cannot be fulfilled or sustained.

"Apartheid must go. But it is not going to disappear simply because of a change of heart by the Government. It is going to go because the people of this country, in different categories, organisations, movements and communities can consolidate their opposition and show that it has to go."

Dr Slabbert said that in a sense some spokesmen in the United Democratic Front were no different from President P W Botha — "they also insist on choosing who they want to negotiate with and on their own terms".

In order to give the convention alliance idea a better chance the PFP and Inkatha had decided to withdraw from the steering committee planning the launching of the alliance.

Dr Slabbert said he was afraid that the state of emergency would compound unrest rather than resolve it.

It was not clear whether the Government itself knew where it wanted to go with South Africa.

Prolonged oppression and violence from the Government preserved nothing and destroyed everything of worth for all.

"Let us, however, also say to those who believe liberation is round the corner: there is no precedent in history of a successful violent revolution without a disintegration or defection of the security structure of the State.

"Even where such revolutions have been successful it is questionable

whether the consequences have been worth the quality of life achieved.

"Let us continually remind both sides that each has the capacity to destroy the human and natural resources of this land and this fact alone should compel us all to search for alternatives," Dr Slabbert said.

● Mr Roger Hulley MP, chairman of the party's unrest monitoring commission, told the meeting that extensive investigations had convinced him that the heavy-handed actions of the riot police had contributed much to the vicious cycle of violence which had led to the state of emergency.

He said he was not referring to the ordinary police going about their work of criminal investigation.

● Mrs Di Bishop, MPC, said some communities in the Boland and in the rural Eastern Cape were at the mercy of security police actions. She expressed concern about the fate of detainees following recent torture allegations.

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## Role of commerce under attack by two black leaders

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Soweto civic leader Dr Nthatho Motlana has delivered a stinging attack on the business sector for failing to speak out and act timeously on behalf of the country's blacks.

Addressing the annual executive council meeting of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Dr Motlana also suggested that big business start up and support new businesses owned by blacks to make the economic pie bigger.

And last night Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that fundamental reforms were required immediately or blacks and whites would become involved in "scorched-earth policies" that would destroy the economy and tear society apart.

Dr Motlana told the delegates: "You should be aware of how blacks perceive big business.

### SOME STARVING

"You retrench people and there are many, many thousands of people who are idle in the townships. Yet in some cases the managing director somehow manages to get himself a new Mercedes. Or we see directors going off to company game farms or on overseas trips.

"Some companies embark on crazy sponsoring and spending when some people are starving."

Dr Motlana asked the businessmen to secure orders from black manufacturers.

"What we are suggesting is that we try and build bridges together. Let us optimise our resources."

Chief Buthelezi, speaking at the chamber's annual banquet last night, said that business would have to play a far greater role in bringing about fundamental change.

"Business will ever increasingly be caught up in a maelstrom of events which are going to propel our country into an entirely new political dispensation."

### OPPOSING VIEWS

There were two fundamentally opposed views among blacks about the future role of business in South Africa, he said. One was the view he held and the other was that of the ANC which would nationalise businesses.

"We in South Africa should by now know that Western industrial democracies are totally dependent on stable parliamentary systems of government."

He pointed out that in the past 75 years progressively greater powers have been used to maintain white domination and the point was being rapidly reached where only "scorched earth policies" on the part of the Government could prolong white minority rule.

"The ANC and those committed to bringing about the downfall of the Government through violence have already adopted a scorched-earth policy."



# By-elections to judge response to reform

304A  
DISPATCH  
21/1/85

Dispatch Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH** — Voters go to the polls in five constituencies today in a "mini-election" which could have a significant effect not only on the pace of reform within South Africa but also on the attitude of western nations to the question of sanctions and disinvestment.

And, quite obviously, any major swing to the right could result in a slowdown of the reform process and its accompanying increasingly hardline attitude from abroad.

Two of the by-elections — Sasolburg and Bethlehem — are in the Free State and the others are in Springs in the Transvaal, the Northern Cape seat of Vryburg and Port Natal in Durban.

All five were held by the National Party which will be repre-

sented in each constituency. The Conservative Party will be fighting four — the exception being Sasolburg, while the PFP is contesting Springs and Port Natal and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Sasolburg and Vryburg.

The New Republic Party and an independent candidate are also in the field for the Port Natal seat.

Essentially today's by-elections are a straight duel between the NP and its right-wing opponents.

The PFP has acknowledged it is hoping to retain the support it had in the 1981 general election in Springs and to finish second to the NP both in this seat and in Port Natal, which it will be contesting for the first time.

For the New Republic Party, today is likely to spell the end of the road.

It came within 685 votes of taking the seat in 1981, but since then has become a pale shadow and seems destined to finish fourth in the five-candidate race with only Mr Dave McNaught, an independent, further adrift.

Despite this, however, the NP should take the seat — whether they will manage an overall majority is another matter — as well as Springs which they took with a comfortable 2 000 majority ahead of the PFP in 1981.

It is in the other three constituencies where the National Party is likely to face its sternest test.

International "eyes" will be on the by-elections, waiting for a clear signal from the mini-election that South Africa is ready for more reforms.

Observers believe significant right-wing gains will hustle the government into putting the brakes on change which could lead to more unrest and will almost certainly result in a crescendo of demands for tougher international action against the country.

Editorial opinion P12

# Inkatha, PFP step down for UDF

Cape Times

30/10/85

304A

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By TONY WEAVER

**THE two major political organizations involved in the controversial Convention Alliance, the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha, have withdrawn from the steering committee.**

The leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, announced this last night during a "state of the nation" address in the Claremont Civic Hall that was so packed people were turned away.

There were more than 2 000 people inside the hall and Dr Slabbert was given a standing ovation. Outside hundreds gathered.

In Johannesburg, the chairman of the National Convention Movement, Mr Jules Browde, said yesterday the alliance was doomed to failure without the support of both the United Democratic Front and the ANC.

## Plea for unity

He said the withdrawal of the two parties was in part an attempt to encourage the UDF to join the alliance.

Last night, Dr Slabbert made a strong plea for unity among the various groups ranged against apartheid.

"After more than three decades of this objectionable system, most of its opposition movements remain committed to their own strategy, defining each other into irrelevance."

"In the process, the apartheid government has laughed all the way to the political bank."

"Until we are prepared to accept each other's bona fides in wanting to get rid of apartheid and to work for a genuine non-racial democracy in South Africa, and until we are prepared to tolerate a wide range of strategies to pursue these objectives, we will remain in our respective corners, posturing, declaiming and issuing threats and promises that cannot be fulfilled or sustained."

It had to be made clear that "no one group, organization, movement or party, whether responsible for apartheid or against it, is going to determine on its own what a non-racial, democratic South Africa is going to look like."

He attacked the "ideological imperialism" of certain anti-apartheid groups, saying there were some members of the UDF who were "no different from Mr P W Botha".

"They also insist on choosing who they want to negotiate with and on

their own terms."

If violence continued in South Africa, there would be no winners, only permanent losers. "Violence from or against the State cannot resolve our conflict."

"But let us not forget where it all started. Apartheid is the root cause of the crises in which we find ourselves. It cannot survive without force and oppression. Apartheid needs banings, detention without trial, censorship, states of emergency."

Negotiation was out of the question as long as people had no freedom. "Who is there to negotiate with if the government denies people this freedom? What is there to negotiate about if freedom of choice is not the basis of such negotiation?"

Referring to the Convention Alliance, Dr Slabbert said attempts to involve as wide a spectrum of parties as possible had failed.

"Either Inkatha or the PFP or both have been used to object to participation. Motives or hidden agendas have been conjured up as excuses and it was felt that a too-high-profile PFP or Inkatha presence was an obstacle to the concept getting off the ground."

As a result the two groups had withdrawn from the steering committee to give the alliance a chance of progressing.

Near the end of the meeting, Dr Slabbert drew thunderous applause when he said: "We are being governed at the moment by a bunch of incompetent mediocres."

## Confusion among public

● Mike Cadman reports from Johannesburg that Mr Browde said yesterday that PFP members Mr Colin Eglin and Dr Alex Boraine, and Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo had voluntarily withdrawn from the steering committee because their membership had caused confusion among the public.

Mr Browde said the Inkatha and PFP members did not want the NCM to be seen as an Inkatha/PFP alliance.

He said it was hoped their withdrawal would encourage the UDF to support the initiative.



## SWA radioman slain Two Swapo killers jailed

WINDHOEK. — Two Swapo insurgents, Veiko Nghitewa, 24, and Sam Mundjinji, 29, were sentenced today to an effective 24 years each after being convicted by the Windhoek Supreme Court on charges of murder, abduction and theft.

The trial, which lasted nearly a year, arose from the death of an Owambo-speaking SWABC Radio announcer, Mr Martin Shaayenange, on June 12, 1983.

According to evidence the men were members of a three-man group who had received orders from Swapo's military

command to kidnap Mr Shaayenange and take him to Angola.

When they neared the border with Angola they detected much activity by the security forces in the area and decided they would not be able to cross into Angola with Mr Shaayenange.

The third member of the group, who was not identified, told the court that in terms of standing instructions by Swapo's military wing they would have to kill him.

They then buried the body and took Mr Shaayenange's vehicle. — Sapa.

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa and Angola have signalled their willingness to re-kindle the stalled peace efforts in Namibia and Angola, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said here yesterday.

Dr Crocker said both countries had recently said they wanted American help in settling the disputes.

"In recent weeks, and in part as a result of diplomatic

## SA, Angola want to renew peace talks

pressure and the recent round of violence, the South Africa Government has signalled renewed interest in advancing a negotiated settlement," he said.

"The Angolans have, probably for the same reasons, also let us know that they wish to renew negotiations. We hope these will be productive."

All sides seemed well aware that, until a peaceful solution could be found to regional problems, the outlook was for con-

tinuing stalemate at higher levels of violence.

Dr Crocker said the US had put forward a series of ideas aimed at settlement to both parties in March. America was still awaiting satisfactory responses from them.

Regional events, including South African raids on Cabinda and Gaborone and the installation of an interim government in Windhoek, had "worsened the atmosphere for talks and led us

to call our ambassador in Pretoria back for consultations."

At the same time, the Angolan leadership had not pursued the negotiating track with seriousness either, suspending negotiations while it launched a major military counter-offensive against Unita.

Dr Crocker said the recent moves had followed a "long period of delay and dithering" by Luanda and Pretoria. As well, any settlement would have

to have in-built assurances and devices to verify it.

The repeal earlier this year of the Clark Amendment (banning US covert aid to Unita) had left the need for a signal of some sort to all parties concerned in Southern Africa.

He said there was widespread feeling in the US about Soviet expansionism in the Third World. The US had to indicate it was not intending to watch An-

golans bleed because of Soviet expansionism.

At the same time, the US was looking for decisions from South Africa.

Dr Crocker said a congressional move to give Unita R827 million in non-lethal or humanitarian aid was perhaps not the best way of sending that signal.

"There is also a question of timing and a question of impact on various parties along the way," he said adding he agreed with the view of the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, that such aid would be "ill-timed".



# 'Catalyst' role of big business defended

## Political Staff

A MAJOR business organisation has outlined a comprehensive "catalyst" strategy to bring all the country's leaders together for negotiations.

At the same time it has defended business initiatives in this regard as demonstrations that the business community does not accept that capitalism and apartheid can be locked together in a grand alliance.

Mr John Wilson, president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, told the chamber's annual banquet in Durban last night that business was fundamentally apolitical but it operated within the political environment.

He said: "The business of business is business and not politics. Yet the business community now realises that there is an enormous threat to its very existence which can only be removed if fundamental reforms are made in the structure of South Africa.

## Rip van Winkle

"Our economy is on its knees, the rand has lost its real value internationally and violence has become a part of everyday life.

"The economic, social and political issues are of such dire consequences that they have become the concern of the whole community and not only the politicians.

"The social conscience of this nation, like Rip van Winkle, has at last awoken. The decades of

social stagnation and repression are not just pricking but jabbing that conscience into activity.

"The life-blood of a nation is its economic activity. Our lifeblood is draining away and this fact has jabbed the business community into activity. As a corporate citizen it therefore wishes to play a supportive as well as a leadership role in an attempt to manage our economic, social and political problems."

The role that the business community would play, he said, was essentially catalytic. Business was not one of the parties which would take its place at the negotiating table. Its role was to help identify and to get together the various negotiators.

● See Page 23.



# Commonwealth declaration on S Africa

From John Battersby LONDON BUREAU

**THE COMMONWEALTH DECLARATION, signed by all 49 members, is an important document which will form the basis of a new British initiative to find a negotiated settlement in South Africa. It will also form the basis of a review within six months of a Commonwealth sanctions package matched against progress towards five basic objectives.**

The Natal Mercury publishes the full text of the document below:

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### The Commonwealth Accord:

We consider that South Africa's continuing refusal to dismantle apartheid, its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its aggression against its neighbours constitute a serious challenge to the values and principles of the Commonwealth, a challenge which Commonwealth countries cannot ignore. At New Delhi we expressed the view that 'only the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation prevailing in southern Africa'. We are united in the belief that reliance on the range of pressures adopted so far has not resulted in the fundamental changes we have sought over many years. The growing crisis and intensified repression in South Africa mean that apartheid must be dismantled now if a greater tragedy is to be averted and that concerted pressure must be brought to bear to achieve that end. We consider that the situation calls for urgent practical steps.

2 We, therefore, call on the authorities in Pretoria for the following steps to be taken in a genuine manner and as a matter of urgency:

a) Declare that the system of apartheid will be dismantled and specific and meaningful action taken in fulfilment of that intent;

b) Terminate the existing state of emergency;

c) Release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all others imprisoned and detained for their opposition to apartheid;

d) Establish political freedom and specifically lift the existing ban on the African National Congress and other political parties;

e) Initiate, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, a process of dialogue across the lines of colour, politics and religion with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government.

3 We have agreed on a number of measures which have as their rationale impressing on the authorities in Pretoria the compelling urgency of dismantling apartheid and erecting the structures of democracy in South Africa. The latter, in particular, demands a process of dialogue involving the true representatives of the majority black population of South Africa. We believe that we must do all we can to assist that process, while recognising that the forms of political settlement in South Africa are for the people of that country — all the people — to determine.

4 To this end, we have decided to establish a small group of eminent Commonwealth persons to encourage through all practicable ways the evolution of that necessary process of political dialogue. We are not unmindful of the difficulties such an effort will encounter, including the possibility of initial rejection by the South African authorities, but we believe it to be our duty to leave nothing undone that might contribute to peaceful change in South Africa and avoid the dreadful prospect of violent conflict that looms over South Africa, threatening people of all races in the country, and the peace and stability of the entire southern Africa region.

5 We are asking the President of Zambia and the Prime Ministers of Australia, Bahamas, Canada, India, the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe to develop with the Secretary-General the modalities of this effort to assist the process of political dialogue in South Africa. We would look to the group of eminent persons to seek to facilitate the processes of dialogue referred to in paragraph 2 (c) above and by all practicable means to advance the fulfilment of the objectives of this accord.

6 For our part, we have as an earnest of our opposition to apartheid reached accord on a programme of

common action as follows:

i) We declare the Commonwealth's support for the strictest enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, in accordance with U N Security Council Resolutions 418 and 558 and commit ourselves to prosecute violators to the fullest extent of the law.

ii) We reaffirm the Gleneagles Declaration of 1977, which called upon Commonwealth members to take every practical step to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa.

iii) We agree upon, and commend to other Governments, the adoption of the following further economic measures against South Africa, which have already been adopted by a number of member countries:

(a) A ban on all new government loans to the Government of South Africa and its agencies;

(b) A readiness to take unilaterally what action may be possible to preclude the import of Krugers;

(c) No government funding for trade missions to South Africa or for participation in exhibitions and trade fairs in South Africa;

(d) A ban on the sale and export of computer equipment capable of use by South African military forces, police or security forces;

(e) A ban on new contracts for the sale and export of nuclear goods, materials and technology to South Africa;

(f) A ban on the sale and export of oil to South Africa;

(g) A strict and rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and paramilitary equipment from South Africa;

(h) An embargo on all military co-operation with South Africa; and

(i) Discouragement of all cultural and scientific events except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in promoting it.

7 It is our hope that the process and measures we have agreed upon will help to bring about concrete progress towards the objectives stated above in six months. The Heads of Government mentioned in paragraph 5 above, or their representatives, will then meet to review the situation. If in their opinion adequate progress has not been made within this period we agree to consider the adoption of further measures. Some of us would, in that event, consider the following steps among others:

a) A ban on air links with South Africa;

b) A ban on new investment or re-investment of profits earned in South Africa;

c) A ban on the import of agricultural products from South Africa;

d) The termination of double-taxation agreements with South Africa;

e) The termination of all government assistance to investment in, and trade with, South Africa;

f) A ban on all government procurement in South Africa;

g) A ban on government contracts with majority-owned South African companies;

h) A ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa.

8 Finally, we agree that should all of the above measures fail to produce the desired results within a reasonable period further effective measures will have to be considered. Many of us have either taken or are prepared to take measures which go beyond those listed above, and each of us will pursue the objectives of this accord in all the ways and through all appropriate forums open to us. We believe, however, that in pursuing this programme jointly we enlarge the prospects of an orderly transition to social, economic and political justice in South Africa and peace and stability in the southern Africa region as a whole.

Adopted at Lyford Cay, The Bahamas  
20 October, 1985



CAPE TOWN 31/10/84  
304P

# 'Desperate' SA must 'switch on'

Staff Reporter

THE sudden rush of businessmen and leaders to talks with the ANC was a sign of how desperate South Africans had become, the organizer of the Let South Africa Speak Campaign said yesterday.

Local businessman Mr Jimmy Baigrie, co-founder of the awareness campaign, said the preoccupation with talks with the ANC could become counter-productive if not accompanied by communication between South Africans at all levels.

"Negotiations should begin at home, not in Lusaka or overseas," Mr Baigrie said.

The Let South Africa Speak campaign calls for people to "literally switch on" by driving with their car lights on, Mondays and Fridays, and by displaying LSAS

stickers.

31/10/84  
"If we are not willing publicly to be part of the solution, then we become part of the problem," Mr Baigrie said.

Although the campaign has been running for several months, the official national launch date is tomorrow.

The campaign has already caught on in the Peninsula. Dozens of cars bearing LSAS stickers have been seen with headlights blazing on main highways leading to Cape Town.

Distribution points for campaign material — produced in English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu — have been set up in Johannesburg, Durban, East London, Bloemfontein and Cape Town.

The telephone number of the LSAS campaign headquarters is (021) 654274.

S. A. GOVT & POLITICS

1985

SEPTEMBER MONTH



THE astonishing decline in most aspects of the quality of our lives in recent years acts as a summary of the effects of almost four decades of apartheid ideology.

The economy is in tatters; inflation, interest rates, personal taxation and unemployment have all soared; our international isolation is complete in many respects; life in the townships, endemic violence, suspension of the rule of law, have all meant that existence for the black man is sheer life-sapping drudgery. And through it all, there are many who seem almost inured to this litany of woe and misery.

No wonder then, that the black man has decided to exert pressure (violence aside) through the two economic mechanisms that are available to him: the sale of his labour and the exercise of his power as a consumer.

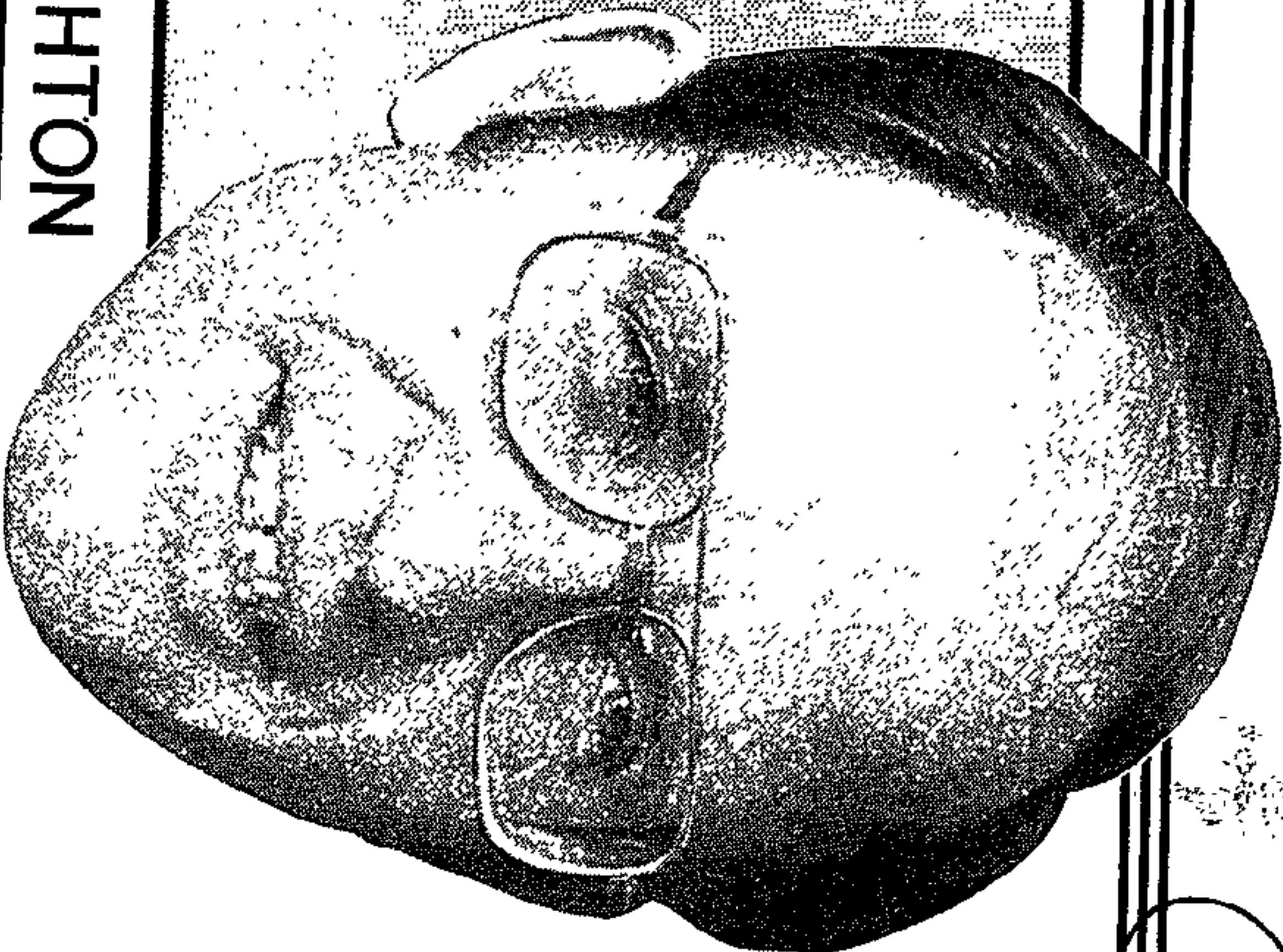
Message

The message to white capital from black labour and the black consumer is now being presented most forcibly. White capital needs to join its lot with black political aspirations. No longer is the disenfranchised majority prepared to let employer and supplier to take a neutral stance.

At the very least, it will not accept silence.

The leaders of commerce and industry have been extraordinarily

Big business must stand up and be counted — to break the endless spiral of too little and too late



By PETER WRIGHTON

Chairman of Premier Food Industries

slow in articulating their opposition to a system that, in the end, must inevitably spell disaster for the preservation of white wealth. It is true that we can point to isolated examples where business leadership has criticised and condemned Government policy and it is equally true that there has been an increasing groundswell of opposition from the private sector.

But we should not forget that it was only with the emergence of the Urban Foundation less than 10

years ago that big business started taking a political and social stance. Of course, it must be accepted that business is a conservative force and it is not the responsibility of businessmen to engineer social change.

Nevertheless, in an era when there has been a lack of visionary leadership, the many competent men who run South Africa's largest corporations should perhaps have spoken out sooner and with less equivocation.

The responses are still inadequate. They stop short of conveying to black labour a widespread and meaningful concern.

Such concern must spell out explicitly white capital's requirements and its vision for a more

secure South Africa. We need, for example, to hold hands across competitive boundaries, different vested interest camps and breach loyalties bred from separate languages and cultures to call for:

● A specific, phased programme

for the abolition of influx control.

● A mechanism for meeting housing and settlement programmes over a reasonable period of time.

● Commitment to a unitary system of education and a defined programme for achieving equality in education.

There is much, much more.

Black people need a sign from white capital that it is prepared to countenance the removal of mechanisms that are used to entrench white privilege. The mechanisms are short-sighted and useless. Times have changed and change is urgent.

Costly strikes and boycotts will become an ever-present part of regular commercial life until meaningful negotiation takes place.

Rather than condemn strikes and boycotts out of hand, we should recognise them as a measure of political protest that is preferable to violence and that, given goodwill on both sides, is capable of negotiation.

Mistakes

It is all very well pointing to the ultimate harm to employment and job opportunities that is created by strikes and boycotts; it is another thing entirely to come face to face with the reasons, to acknowledge our mistakes and to show a willingness to negotiate for an improvement in the quality of life within the constraints of reason and sound commercial practice.

Certainly, the private sector has done neither itself nor the State President a favour by the co-operative stance it has taken in endorsing one vague and ambiguous statement after another.

Surely it would have been easier for Government itself to concede

to the legitimate and responsible demands of a private sector that is essentially conservative rather than to face a stand-off situation on the demands presented by an angry and frustrated black youth (or a fossilised right wing).

Opportunity

Ideas acquire some of their legitimacy from their proponents. A unified single voice from big business demanding far-reaching reform would certainly have carried far more weight with the electorate than the screams that now emanate from angry blacks and frustrated Western allies.

The corporate sector needs to stand up and be counted for the first because it has to break the endless spiral of too little and too late.

At the very least, enlightened self-interest demands it.

Business needs to do so because it has to be seen that collusion and co-operation with ambiguity and dull, unimaginative response damages the fabric of our society.

It needs to come out of the closet not because it wants to get black employees and consumers off its back, but because it wants those constituencies to appreciate that there is "an acceptable face of capitalism", and that the creation of wealth and private ownership is a system that can prevail in South Africa and provides the greatest opportunity for us all.



# It's lowering of standards for whites or else

A TOP development financier, Dr Simon Brand, chairman of the Southern African Development Bank, has conceded that substantial inroads will have to be made on white economic privilege.

This process was already under way in the lowering of standards required of public sector activity and the shifting of payment for services above a basic level to the shoulders of the individual.

The broad thrust of Government policy has been raised by Dr Brand in response to an article by socialist historian Martin Legassick. Both contributions appear in the latest edition of Die Suid Afrikaan.

Mr Legassick argued that the South African capitalist economy would not be able to support the cost of expanding democracy to all sectors of the society — and the only alternative was socialism.

Dr Brand conceded that huge amounts of money would have to be spent on

By BRIAN POTTINGER

housing and education to introduce equality of services among all race groups — up to 40 percent of State expenditure would have to go to education.

He warned that unless the projected demands for the equalisation of services were kept under control the whole market-orientated system would be paralysed.

Methods of tempering these demands had already been spelt out in the De Lange Report on Education — reduction of standards which previously affected whites, and the shifting of the burden of costs above minimum standards to those who could afford to pay more.



304A

# Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

## Only bold leadership can restore confidence

**CONFIDENCE** in this country will be restored only when South Africans themselves have recovered their self-confidence and when we have reasons to believe that there are real prospects for the peaceful solution of our problems.

And that reassurance can come from only one quarter: the country's political leadership, white and black.

Trouble is, that leadership gives an impression of being immobilised, especially in Pretoria. Streets are filled with violence and a pall of anxiety has settled over the land. The way ahead is opaque.

More, we also have to adjust to the disagreeable reality that the "South African problem" has been permanently internationalised. Our currency has been imperilled not because our economy is fundamentally unsound, but because bankers take a pessimistic view of our political prospects.

Pity the Governor of our Reserve Bank who visited financial capitals this week. The top bankers he talked to by day returned to their homes at night to see ugly scenes of violence in the Cape depicted on

their TV screens. It is Dr de Kock's unenviable task to reassure them that their money is safe in South Africa.

All the while, we are left stranded in the middle of a Rubicon half crossed. The wholly unsatisfactory presidential speech of a fortnight ago left us dangling and, economically, the hard-won gains of a year's stringent monetary policy are at risk of being thrown to the wind by political inaction.

With no sign of forward movement, business leaders, churchmen and opposition politicians are quite properly calling for clear direction. As Dr Van Zyl Slabbert expressed it this week, we must come together to find the middle ground between repression and revolution.

President Botha has worked hard and risked much to get the wagon of reform halfway through the river. He dare not leave it stranded there, getting it to the

other bank will require great courage and vision.

What the President fails to realise is that while the country has not changed its government, the Government has permanently changed its constituency. He must, therefore, heed the sensible voices calling for bold signals of change and disregard the troglodytes who cannot see beyond the next by-election. He does not have anywhere else to go.

First, the time is long past when he can delay that much talked-about, but as yet unuttered, statement of intent. If he really does believe in one citizenship in an undivided South Africa, shared power and genuine freedom of movement, he must say so — in terms that can be clearly understood.

Next, his commitment to negotiate with blacks must be translated into visible action. And it is no use clinging to a belief that whites can somehow choose the blacks' leaders for them. Difficult as it may be for Pretoria to accept, many of those who live by slogans and are sometimes mistakenly identified with extrem-

ism, actually represent significant constituencies that cannot be ignored if there is to be a durable settlement.

Such people shout loudest when they are spurned and left outside the political process. If some were invited to open-ended negotiations, we may yet be surprised by their pragmatism; people tend to behave responsibly when they are given responsibility.

In any event, there is no other practical means of identifying the true builders from the hard-core revolutionaries. Such matters only become clear around a conference table.

One thing is certain: the current leadership vacuum cannot be permitted to continue. Police chasing rioters in the streets are no substitute for government; nightly exposure of this on the world's TV screens will plunge us into total, calamitous isolation.

A consensus for the final phase of fundamental change in South Africa exists and is expanding every day. The key question on this troubled Sunday is: are there enough men and women of courage to mobilise it?



# Slabbert beats I

## Heunis welcomes call by business sector

**Sunday Times Reporter**  
THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has welcomed the joint declaration on reform by Asso-com, the FCI, Nafcoc and the Urban Foundation.

In a hard-hitting statement this week, the four organisations called on Government to negotiate with accepted black leaders, including those in jail, to abolish apartheid and to create a common citizenship for all South Africans. Last night Mr Heunis broke the Government's silence on the declaration.

In a statement issued in Pretoria he said "The joint declaration is an attempt by

the private sector to contribute to the finding of solutions to the vexing problems with which South Africa is currently struggling."

The Government, he said, noted with interest the support of these organisations for a programme of action on reform and their willingness to promote a process of mediation.

"The Government subscribes to the view that effective negotiations are seriously being hampered by the current climate of unrest. The Government is eager to lift the state of emergency as soon as possible, but this can only be done when the situation returns to normal."

"The Government has already made it clear on various occasions that its agenda for negotiations to accommodate the legitimate aspirations of the black community, which has already been recognised by the Government, is open."

Mr Heunis said the Government obviously had its own principles of policy, but, because it had committed itself to negotiations, it would naturally take different viewpoints into account.

"In this regard, for example, mention can be made of the Government's and other parties' and groups' rejection of a one-man-one-vote system within a unitary state."

304A BY BRIAN POTTINGER  
A CRUCIAL congress of the Progressive Federal Party voted down attempts by leftwing elements to boycott coloured and Indian chambers and to demand conscription.

The middle line — set by party leader Dr Frederik Slabbert — result in defections from the Left.

But an overwhelming majority of the first non-racial congress of the PFP bridged the two divisive issues and endorsed the party's bid to launch an all-group convention alliance scheduled for September 21.

The tense, and at times emotional, biennial congress adopted a compromise motion on conscription drawn up by Dr Slabbert which committed the party to ending conscription "the sooner, the better".

An amendment, argued of ten emotionally by seven youth members, many of them members of the End Conscription Campaign, called for the PFP to demand that "no further" conscription take place — a restatement of the hardline approach increasing numbers of PFP Youth are taking since the commitment of troops to the townships.

Dr Slabbert reassured the PFP Youth that the party was already committed to the phasing out of conscription but accepted the difficulties of immediate implementation. He also warned against blanket condemnations of the SADF when the real target should be the political abuse of the SADF by the Government.

Amid some sharp clashes between former defence spokesman Philip Myburgh and one of the PFP Youth —

## But there could be defections

Mr Myburgh charged that the Youth delegate had lied — the congress supported Dr Slabbert's compromise motion.

On a second highly divisive issue, PFP participation in the Indian and coloured houses of Parliament, a massive moderate majority in the party again defeated attempts by leftwing elements to hinder PFP competition in elections.

## Lobbying

The attempted "revolt" came on Friday during some intensive lobbying by a pressure group that believes the party should not jeopardise its credibility among extra-constitutional forces by participating in discredited and rejected bodies like the minor houses of Parliament.

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OFS: Partly cloudy and warm with isolated showers.

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	High/Low	High/Low
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Mossel Bay	0437/1033	1555/2254
Krystna	0459/1049	1718/2310
Port		
Elizabeth	0442/1039	1659/2259
East London	0431/1035	1650/2254
Durban	0443/1048	1700/2306
Walvis Bay	0429/1019	1640/2240

## PFP decision introduces 3-D politics

THE Progressive Federal Party decision at its federal congress in Durban this week to field coloured and Indian candidates in future elections, introduces a new dimension to South African politics.

The party is now officially geared to challenge the Labour Party for seats in the House of Representatives and the National People's Party (NPP) in the House of Delegates.

There are no by-elections pending in either House to test the strength and quality of PFP opposition to the Labour Party which has more than 80 members in the 85-member House of Representatives.

It poses an even greater threat to the Mr Amichand Rajbansi's NPP, which rules the House of Delegates with a majority of seven. It has 24 members against the 17 of

the Solidarity Party and five Independents.

Solidarity has indicated it would consider forming a loose alliance with the PFP — a decision on this to be taken at the October congress of the party, one of the senior members, Mr Ismail Kathrada, said yesterday.

If the PFP and Solidarity join forces at future elections they could easily usurp the NPP power-base.

Mr George Blouws, a strong UDF supporter — he was one of the main speakers at the launching of the UDF in Cape Town two years ago — attended the PFP congress with a delegation from

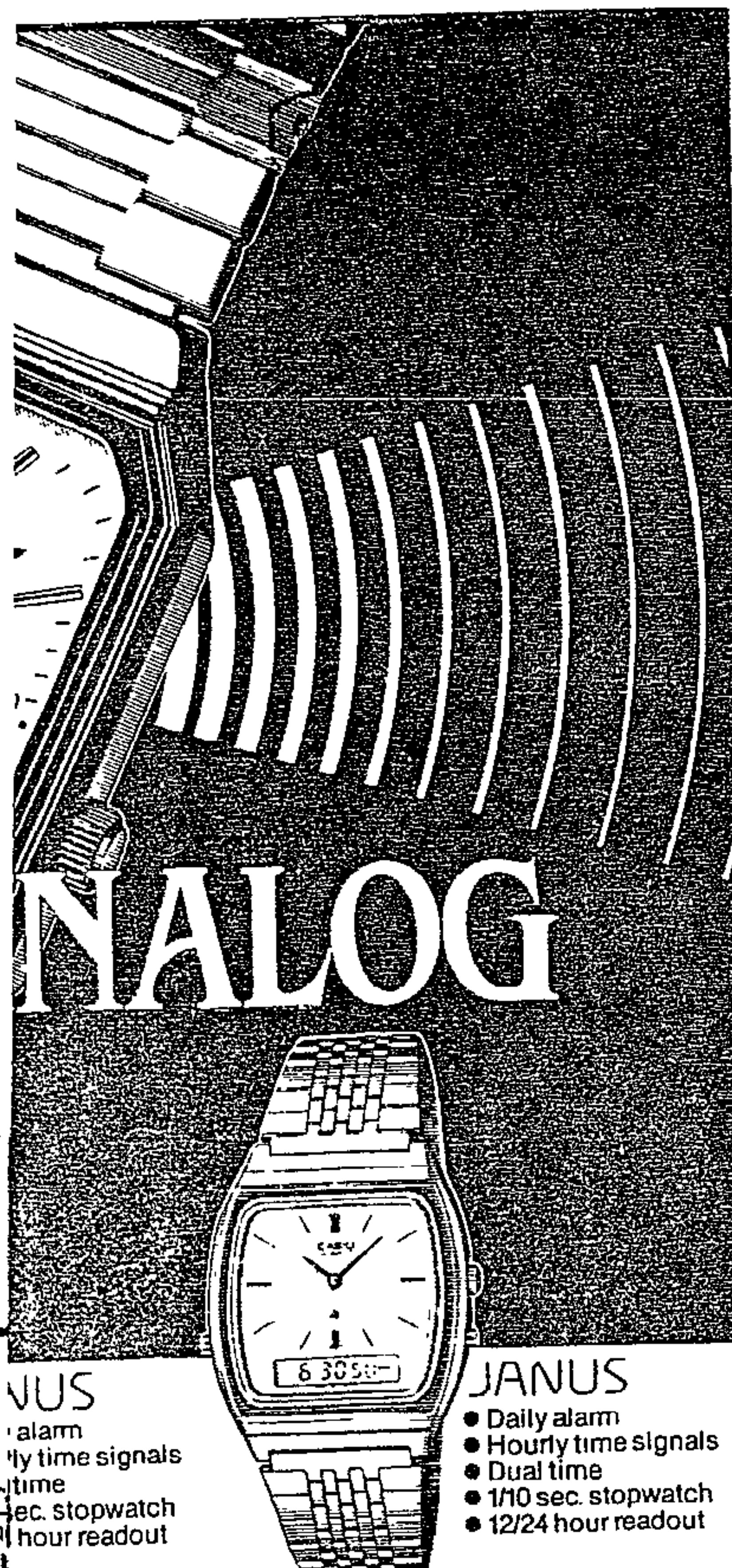
the PFP's Western Cape branches.

He was elected chairman of the first PFP branch in a coloured area five weeks ago — the Vasco-Ravensmead branch near Cape Town.

Mr Blouws — former Peninsula Region chairman of the Labour Party — took a strong stand at the congress against participation by the PFP in the tricameral parliament.

But yesterday he said that although he initially disagreed with the PFP on participation, he now abided by the congress decision.

He said as a committed member of the PFP, he would now work towards strengthening the party's base among coloureds.



**JANUS ANALOG**

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- Hourly time signals
- Dual time
- 1/10 sec. stopwatch
- 12/24 hour readout

alarm  
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time  
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## Moves in the rand crisis



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A CRUCIAL congress of the Progressive Federal Party this week solidly voted down attempts by leftwing elements to boycott participation in the coloured and Indian chambers and to demand an immediate end to conscription.

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## Lobbying

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Originally the party's 16-member federal executive had drafted a resolution in which the party reaffirmed its commitment to using Parliament as a base despite its shortcomings but warned the

leadership to be sensitive

Thursday's federal council further polished the wording to meet some leftwing objections.

In his Friday morning address, Dr Slabbert made it clear that he had no problem with the principle of participation in the tricameral Parliament but the practical problems confronting the PFP "could not be treated lightly".

By Friday lunchtime, however, a major upset was on the cards. Mr Jannie van Gend, a PFP Cape MPC, proposed an amendment that the party would not consider contesting seats unless the party was satisfied that there was "substantial" support from the community concerned for participation.

The amendment was strongly supported by a small band of PFP delegates — mostly from the Western Cape and including three other Cape MPCs — who interpreted it to mean the party was not committing itself in principle to participating in elections for the other two houses.

## Defections

The motion collapsed when Dr Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the federal executive, withdrew their support when they saw the interpretation the leftwing was giving to the amendment.

PFP Youth spokesmen confirmed yesterday that the decisions on conscription and participation could lead to defections among some of the youth formations — particularly in the Eastern Cape.

Dr Slabbert, meanwhile, said at the conclusion of the defence debate that he was proud of his party's ability to stand united in such difficult times and over such emotional issues.

He said if members wanted to leave because of the party's stand on participation, he could not stop them, but it was a pity they did not understand the PFP strategy of using all available means to oppose the Government.

Meanwhile, the party's informal steering committee for the recently announced convention alliance met yesterday to plan its major September 21 launch.

## Hopeful

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By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

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## JANUS

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- Hourly time signals
- Dual time
- 1/10 sec. stopwatch
- 12/24 hour readout

Motion in the road crisis



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## Hopeful

Various party members have been delegated to approach key people in the churches, business, political organisations and community organisations. On Friday Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary general of Inkatha, again pledged Inkatha to the initiative and made it clear they would be prepared to sit with anybody — including the UDF.

Although the initiative has been rejected by the ANC, UDF and Bishop Tutu, PFP sources were hopeful of some major breakthroughs.

● The PFP congress called on the Government yesterday to immediately lift the state of emergency and to convene a national convention of all South Africans with a view to extending political rights to all.

It also called on the Government to appoint an independent commission to investigate alleged mysterious deaths and disappearances related to the current unrest in black townships.

## Meeting ban

THE police have prohibited a gathering organised by the "Solidarity of Saint Anne Catholic Diocese of Johannesburg." The meeting was to have taken place in Soweto tomorrow.

Hall.

"I could see people trying to lift banners with political slogans," he said. "Some of the students started singing, and this probably led to the shooting."

## SA whites give apartheid 10 years

Sunday Times Reporter

THE majority of white South Africans expect apartheid to end within 10 years, according to a poll published in the London Sunday Times today.

The poll found that 63 percent of whites expected apartheid to end in a decade, while only 36 percent of whites were happy with apartheid.

The poll, conducted by Markinor among 500 whites in South Africa, was based on interviews taken after President Botha's speech in Durban last month.

English-speaking whites were more pessimistic about apartheid's future than their Afrikaans counterparts, with 71 percent doubting apartheid's ability to last 10 years.

Although lower, a majority of Afrikaans-speaking respondents (56 percent) also doubted that apartheid would survive a decade.

## Firm choice

While 59 percent of the white population expected a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems, a significant 30 percent felt the situation would end in civil war.

President Botha is the firm choice of whites to lead the country. He polled 66 percent to Dr Andries Treurnicht's five percent and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's four percent.

Mrs Helen Suzman polled two percent, 11 percent had no opinion and 12 percent chose "someone else".

Significantly, Nelson Mandela and Bishop Tutu failed to get any votes.

## introduces politics

WEST  
reporter

Party and five

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## rand crisis

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which shocked it suggest-

ed bankruptcy, was caused by a politically inspired run on the rand and had little to do with the country's ability to service and repay debt.

Economists pointed out there were few countries in the world which would have been able to repay all their short-term foreign debt on demand.

The recent run on the rand started in earnest when Chase Manhattan Bank, which has decided to run down its South African operations, started refusing requests for debt extensions and asked clients to repay.

Other American banks, fearing there would be a rush of demands to pay and that this might drive clients to the wall, made similar demands.

South African bankers said American banks might be relieved if South Africa did declare "force majeure" and reschedule debt repayment.

They could then rest assured that interest and capital would be repaid in an orderly manner. At the same time, political critics could not accuse them of supporting South Africa.

## BALD OR LOSING HAIR?

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# Botha prepared to have blacks on PC

Dispatch Reporter

**PORT ELIZABETH —** The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, announced last night he was prepared to consider restructuring the President's Council to include blacks — if black leaders wanted it.

Speaking at the Cape National Party congress here, he also committed the government to an agenda for constitutional reform and outlined the basis on which the government was prepared to hold talks with other leaders in the country.

The Daily Dispatch's man at the congress, Roy Dowling, reported that Mr Botha outlined a possible future constitutional model based on the recognition of "units" — on a geographical and group basis — which would take into account the multi-cultural nature of South Africa's population.

Black urban communities, who for constitutional purposes were recognised as political entities, would also be included.

"Each such unit should have autonomy on matters that only affect that unit, while the units on the central level should jointly manage matters of mutual concern," Mr Botha said.

The State President, delivering the opening address at the congress, emphasised that a satisfactory constitutional dispensation would have to be brought about by negotiation with the leaders of all units.

That included tradi-

tional leaders, chosen leaders, political leaders and church leaders, as well as the leaders of such specific interest groups as the business community.

He called on leaders who had indicated they wished to take part in talks on the future of the country to take a stand on the process of negotiation.

"Leaders cannot pay lip service to the principle of negotiation while at the same time attempting to cover themselves against radical elements which do not want to negotiate."

History had shown that constitutional structures were no guarantees of success. "Success depends on the will of all the participants to make the model succeed."

Solutions were not to be found in clichéd models, although South Africa's solution could include elements of known models.

Summarising the reform agenda, he confirmed the government was committed to the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise, but within the structures chosen by South Africa "and not within structures prescribed from abroad or that are perhaps

successful elsewhere in the world."

"The principle of a united South Africa includes the reality and the desirability of territorial and border divisions within the country, such as, for example, provincial borders for purposes of provincial government, an own territory for each of the self-governing states, and jurisdiction areas for systems of local and regional authorities.

"For this reason we are involved in the mutual pursuance of both equal rights for individuals and security for each group. The way in which the fundamental rights of individuals and groups, such as life and property, can be protected are therefore an essential element of the government agenda for constitutional reform.

"This constitutes a clear agenda of what the government is prepared to negotiate in the constitutional field. I believe the rightful political aspiration of everyone in South Africa can be accommodated within these guidelines."

Another significant point to emerge from Mr Botha's speech was that proposals would be submitted to the cabinet within the next few months on an urbanisation strategy for South Africans.

See also page 9.

DISPATCH

01/08

BOHA



**G**ALVENDALE, a coloured suburb of Port Elizabeth, is a long way from the plushness of Durban's Royal Hotel where delegates to the Progressive Federal Party's biennial federal congress met late last week.

But an incident at a Galvendale canvassing table on Saturday quietly illustrated the implications of the PFP's decision-in-principle to participate in the other houses of the tricameral Parliament.

In the wake of the scrapping of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, that was the hot potato. Debate had raged through Friday on whether to field candidates for the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

The party's left preferred that the party go in only when it was sure it had substantial support in the coloured and Indian communities.

To risk percentage polls at the level seen in the first elections to these houses would be political suicide, it was argued. To participate at all in structures, the creation of which had created enormous anger in the black communities, would destroy what credibility the party had with them.

Leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert had opened the congress on the theme of options for change: repression (by government), revolution (by violence), or reform (through peaceful negotiation).

He said the PFP was in Parliament already, it had rejected the tricameral constitution in 1983 but opted to work within it; it remained committed to constitutional reform. Participation in the other two houses was a means, not an end, and the PFP would be mindful of the strong political cross-currents in the black communities.

Slabbert's charisma and crushing logic arouse a bright-eyed fervour among most of his supporters. As he speaks, they watch him avidly. They clap hard, rapidly and loudly. He addresses controversy not by defending his view or attacking those of others. Rather, he dissects an issue, goes back to first principles, and occasionally displays a flash of vulnerability.

There was perhaps one minute when the issue might have been in doubt. But, after a timeous intervention by Slabbert, congress followed him by an overwhelming majority.

The following day, in Galvendale,

# Slabbert wins the day with help from SAP

*Handwritten notes: 304A, B. Day, 2/9/85*

*Political Correspondent PAUL BELL reports on last week's biennial congress of the PFP in Durban.*



● SLABBERT

two PFP canvassers working in the political backyard of Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister Allan Hendrickse, were busy signing up coloured members when, according to reports received at the Royal, they were arrested and questioned by police.

**T**hey were released after about half an hour and when they returned to their table, they found a crowd of up to 1 000 people. Early reports to the Royal indicated that 150 signed up.

Time was when the arrests would have aroused genuine anger among party members. Now, they are quietly satisfied; "political" arrest means credibility in black communities.

And that's just what the PFP needs as it makes its first tentative probes into the coloured and Indian communities — many of which are UDF strongholds — to test support for electoral bids in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

As Slabbert — for whom the decision taken by Congress was a great, personal victory — said: "We have political work to do in these communities."

This year Slabbert has led the party, which was struggling to re-establish itself after the the Nationalists' 2:1 referendum victory, back to the centre of opposition initiatives for peaceful change.

His razor-like judgment has not led

him astray so far; he will not allow the party to blunder into the coloured and Indian communities.

Inkatha supports the decision. Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi was meeting the European troika in Pretoria so he could not make it to the Royal. Instead, he was represented by a nine-man delegation led by secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, but it is understood that he had already backed Slabbert's strategy.

The key, however, is the UDF, which has already warned the PFP to stay away from coloureds and Indians.

The PFP has a two-pronged strategy in its drive for support of the politics of negotiation. One prong is in Parliament; the other is outside it, and Slabbert's instrument here will be the Convention Alliance he announced late last month. It may also provide him with an opening to better relations with the UDF.

It is understood that the party has held high-level talks with UDF leaders on the Alliance. Their initial reaction, while non-committal, is not unfavourable.

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# Slabbert wins the day with help from SAP

*Slabbert* *Atte* *304A*  
*S. Day*  
*2/9/85*

*Political Correspondent PAUL BELL reports on last week's biennial congress of the PFP in Durban.*



● SLABBERT

two PFP canvassers working in the political backyard of Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister Allan Hendrickse, were busy signing up coloured members when, according to reports received at the Royal, they were arrested and questioned by police.

**T**hey were released after about half an hour and when they returned to their table, they found a crowd of up to 1 000 people. Early reports to the Royal indicated that 150 signed up.

Time was when the arrests would have aroused genuine anger among party members. Now, they are quietly satisfied; "political" arrest means credibility in black communities.

And that's just what the PFP needs as it makes its first tentative probes into the coloured and Indian communities — many of which are UDF strongholds — to test support for electoral bids in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

As Slabbert — for whom the decision taken by Congress was a great, personal victory — said: "We have political work to do in these communities."

This year Slabbert has led the party, which was struggling to re-establish itself after the the Nationalists' 2:1 referendum victory, back to the centre of opposition initiatives for peaceful change.

His razor-like judgment has not led

him astray so far, he will not allow the party to blunder into the coloured and Indian communities.

Inkatha supports the decision. Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi was meeting the European troika in Pretoria so he could not make it to the Royal. Instead, he was represented by a nine-man delegation led by secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, but it is understood that he had already backed Slabbert's strategy.

The key, however, is the UDF, which has already warned the PFP to stay away from coloureds and Indians.

The PFP has a two-pronged strategy in its drive for support of the politics of negotiation. One prong is in Parliament; the other is outside it, and Slabbert's instrument here will be the Convention Alliance he announced late last month. It may also provide him with an opening to better relations with the UDF.

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**T**alks with a wide range of political, religious and business leaders are continuing, and supporters of the initiative could be made known before it is officially launched on September 21.

The conscription issue was the oth-

er major focus of conflict at congress. PFP youth members were determined to persuade congress to endorse a call that conscription be ended immediately. The SADF, which had "invaded" 20 townships in 11 months, was a military extension of Nationalist oppression, it was causing polarisation and hatred in black townships, and many servicemen faced a terrifying moral dilemma.

Delegates were misty-eyed as an Eastern Cape youth member described a letter from a cousin in the army, a boy who could not live with what he was being ordered to do.

Slabbert said he would continue to press for an end to conscription as a matter of urgency, and he wanted an expanded voluntary army. He recognised the emotions, but had to propose an alternative to the SADF.

More than that, he told congress, the SADF may finally be prepared to pay proper attention to what he has been saying for several years on this subject.

Slabbert's opposition to conscription is defined by the role he sees for the SADF in a society undergoing change. An army is necessary, but compulsory racial conscription poses the danger of militarily pitting one community against another, thereby endangering constitutional reform.

The youth objection to conscription, Slabbert told congress, was based on "stopping the wrong army getting the guns and the soldiers" and thereby contributing to revolutionary change. His objection was based on promoting constitutional reform.

He pulled it off again. With a substantial majority, again. The PFP may leak some of its youth members, but a flood is most unlikely.

One other issue flared briefly. Finance spokesman Harry Schwarz made a strong plea for congress to endorse a minimum wage. Schwarz, militarily hawkish but economically decidedly dove-ish and an avowed social democrat, found his resolution running into flak from the business lobby.

Delegates condemned minimum wages for pricing labour beyond the marketability of those with the lowest earning potential, thereby keeping them out of the economy.

Showing superb political timing, Slabbert proposed the resolution go to the PFP Economic Commission. It was accepted unanimously, thus saving Schwarz a possible defeat.

# Political issues to be opened to all races in SA

GOVERNMENT yesterday detailed its intended reform package, including providing for the political participation of all communities at all levels in matters of national or common concern.

The government statement followed talks with the EEC delegation. The full text reads:

"Views conveyed by the South African government to the Foreign Ministers of Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands and the European Commissioner for External Relations on 30 and 31 August, 1985:

"If by 'apartheid' is meant,

"1, Political domination by any one community of any other;

"2, The exclusion of any community from the political decision-making process;

"3, Injustice or inequality in the opportunities available for any community;

"4, Racial discrimination and impairment of human dignity; the South African Government shares in the rejection of that concept;

"The South African Government confirmed that it is proceeding actively with its reform programme. This programme provides:

"1, For political participation of all communities at all levels in matters of national or common concern. This

means co-responsibility for decisions on matters of national or common concern coupled with the protection of minority rights;

"2, For the creation of structures to give effect to the foregoing principle through negotiations between the leaders of all the communities;

"3, That the Government will not prescribe and will not demand. Give and take will be the guiding principle;

"4, That government will not prescribe who may represent the black communities. The only condition is that those who participate in the discussions and negotiations should fore-swear violence as a means of achieving political objectives;

"5, For a review of influx control. An amount of R1bn will be set aside to improve undeveloped towns and cities over the next five years.

"The South African government also confirmed that:

"1, The partial state of emergency will be lifted as soon as violence abates;

"2, The situation of detainees or prisoners will be reviewed as violence recedes and normality returns; and

"3, It is positively committed to and actively involved in contributing to the peace, stability and development of the southern African region." — Sapa.



# Confident Slabbert takes the middle course

Mercury  
304A 2/9/85

**ORMANDE POLLOK**  
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party is firmly set on a moderate 'middle course' away from confrontation after strong leadership by Dr van Zyl Slabbert at its national congress in Durban.

Dr Slabbert stamped his personal seal on the congress on two crucial issues — participation in three chambers of Parliament, which could have sweeping implications for an all-White National Party, and conscription — in both of which his intervention was decisive.

Both were potentially explosive and divisive but at the end of two lengthy and at times highly emotional debates, Dr Slabbert's shrewd leadership left the overwhelming majority of delegates satisfied.

It is understood however that there could be a sprinkling of resignations, particularly from the party's youth movement, over the conscription issue.

## Entry

More liberal elements had attempted to drive the party into a position where it would not participate in all three chambers of Parliament 'without substantial support' and later also demanded an immediate end to military conscription.

But, for the National Party and extra-parliamentary opponents to the 'tainted' tricameral system, such as the UDF, the most important development is the PFP's entry to

all three parliamentary chambers and probably some of the lower tier bodies as well.

With its recruitment campaign for new members not yet even fully under way, there are suggestions that the PFP has more support in certain constituencies than the Labour Party and National People's Party.

Participation was one of the fundamental issues decided at the congress and nearly 50 delegates spoke, sometimes strongly against it.

However there was no division on the principle of campaigning for Indian and coloured members and supporters.

## No doubt

The real issue was the tricameral system and the strong opposition to it.

Dr Slabbert stepped in, leaving no doubt as to where the party stood.

The prospect of two of the three chambers being controlled by the PFP will probably be scoffed at by the NP but if the initial response to the PFP is an indicator, the prospect must be considered a very real possibility.

While the majority party in the white chamber would still be in power, in reality it would have a tough time making the system work with any credibility at all without the support of the majority parties in the other two chambers.

It could operate entirely on its own but this would make a total mockery of the declared con-

cept of consensus politics and power-sharing.

The PFP has made it clear that while it is seeking new members, it is not interested in mergers with other bodies or parties.

There have been suggestions that MPs from other parties who want to join the PFP in future may be called on to resign their seats and face a party nomination contest.

## Existing

The UDF and others such as Nusas would be hard pressed to convince anyone that the PFP, with its well-known history of opposing apartheid and repression, had become a racist party because it was participating in the ethnically based tricameral system.

It is clear, and the party is aware of it, that a massive information campaign lies ahead to inform other groups of its real reason for going further into the system.

If successful the culmination will be a national convention through the Convention Alliance announced recently by Dr Slabbert and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and which has already been backed by important church leaders and organisations such as the Black Sash.

But, as Dr Slabbert pointed out at the congress, a convention would have to be called by the Government of the day which was why the PFP needed to get to power through the existing system.

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**Progressive Federal Party congress**

# Peaceful change 'getting difficult'

*Mercury 304A 2/9/85*

**Political Reporter**  
**PEACEFUL** constitutional change was becoming more difficult by the day in South Africa, PFP leader Dr F van Zyl Slabbert warned at the weekend.

In his closing address to the PFP's federal congress in Durban on Saturday, Dr Slabbert said the party had decided constitutional change was still

possible and desirable, although there were enormous problems.

The very structures the party had to use were 'contaminated and inadequate'.

'We cannot sell the structures to people but ourselves as a party, and we will have to show them what we can do in those structures.'

He warned that if the country waited for the

Government to bring about effective reform then it would wait in vain.

'It is not going to happen. Something new is necessary.'

The newly-launched Convention Alliance would 'unleash a constitutional debate about the future of the country that must make sense not only to the Government but to the whole world, to show

that there is an alternative to repression and violence.'

Dr Slabbert said the debate on conscription at the congress had sounded a clear warning to the Government and the country that the Defence Force was also increasingly 'contaminated by the political abuse of those who govern'.

'It is precisely because

of that difficulty that we have to press for an end to compulsory military conscription, to be substituted by a professional, volunteer army.'

Dr Slabbert said the PFP's opposition to conscription would not only take place 'in the abstract', and he committed the party to actively campaigning for an end to the system.



## Call for urgent end to conscription

2/9/85  
Mercury Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party has called for the end of military conscription 'as a matter of urgency'.

In a resolution approved at its congress in Durban at the weekend, it said it believed that 'a full-time enlarged professional defence force,

backed by voluntary reserves recruited and promoted on a non-racial, non-discriminatory basis,' would serve the interests of all South Africans better.

It also warned that if conscription was extended to other population groups 'it would be disastrous for South

Africa'.

The resolution reflected a growing concern in all sections of the party about the increasing political role of the Army.

During the debate, Dr Slabbert emphasised that people could be opposed to conscription although they accepted the need for an army.

LONDON—The confidence of white South Africans in apartheid appears to be crumbling, according to an opinion poll commissioned by Britain's Sunday Times newspaper.

The poll, based on interviews with 500 whites, showed that only 36 percent of those questioned were content with apartheid while 63 percent said they expected apartheid would end within 10 years.

Three out of 10 whites thought civil war was probable.

The poll was carried out by Market Opinion Research International after President Botha's reform speech on August 15 but before last week's decision to close South Africa's financial markets following a run on the rand.

### Sanctions

The newspaper said the poll raised questions about the South African Government's assertion that it risked a Right-wing backlash if it tried to push through reforms quickly.

While 45 percent thought Mr Botha's reform proposals were

'about right', a third said he should have gone further.

A poll of South Africa's blacks in last week's Sunday Times showed 69 percent expected a civil war and 77 percent were in favour of international economic sanctions against the country.

Our London Bureau reports that Britain is going to hold out firmly against sanctions in spite of pressure from the Commonwealth to change its stance.

This was spelt out clearly yesterday when Mr Malcolm Rifkind, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, reiterated Britain's rejection of sanctions against South Africa.

Dealing with South Africa's financial crisis, Mr Rifkind added: 'Irrespective of the debate about economic sanctions, we all know that the South African economy is in a mess.'

'The degree of internal instability and civil strife within South Africa has obviously contributed towards a lack of confidence in the economic future of that country.'

The best thing the South African Government could do to restore confidence in their economic future would be to start a process of political reform.

That was essentially what the business community themselves had overwhelmingly called for from within South Africa.

Blacks and whites needed each other, he said. — (Sapa-Reuter)

# Whites' hopes in apartheid crumbling

21/9/85  
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# Demand for suspension of P E policemen

Mercury Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party denounced the actions of four Port Elizabeth policemen members said had interfered over the weekend with party workers signing up new members in the coloured residential area of Gelvandale.

The congress demanded that the policemen involved be suspended from duty while their actions were investigated.

Mr John Malcomess, MP for Port Elizabeth Central, told the congress that two PFP members had been detained briefly on Saturday morning after they had signed up 155 new members.

They had been taken to the local police station where they had been questioned about the recently banned Cosas.

When they were taken back to the bus terminal where they had been originally detained, more than 1 000 people were waiting for them and they had again set up their tables, Mr Malcomess said.

He claimed they had been approached later by two white security policemen who examined all their literature.

'I take the strongest exception to the actions of the police against normal political activities,' Mr Malcomess said.

He moved a resolution which called for the suspension of the policemen involved and an official apology, as well as an instruction to the police not to interfere with 'legal democratic opposition politics'.

The party's Gelvandale chairman, Mr B Malick, said the police action would put the party in a

difficult position because people would feel victimised.

But Mr Bobby Stephenson, the PFP's regional director in Port Elizabeth, said the party would not be intimidated and would continue to recruit new members, and Mr George Blauws, of Cape Town, said: 'The police have played right into our hands.'

# Partially lifted train apartheid now in effect

Dispatch Correspondent  
CAPE TOWN — The partial lifting of apartheid restrictions on all trains became effective yesterday. 02/09/85

This was confirmed by Mr Bertie Heckoordt, regional manager for Sats.

Mr Heckoordt said that coaches up to now reserved for "non-whites" only would no longer appear as well as certain facilities on stations, such as toilets, waiting rooms and restaurants which had previously been exclusively reserved for whites.

Commuters who preferred to use racially unreserved facilities could now do so freely, he said. These would be identifiable as the unmarked coaches.

However, coaches and facilities reserved for

DISPATCH  
"whites only" would still remain, he said.

The same applied to second-class facilities on main line services.

Third class travel facilities would also be open to all races.

There had been strong reservations over the partial lifting of apartheid restrictions on trains when the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, announced the move in June this year.

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the Labour Party (LP) at that time both welcome the move and called for the complete abolition of apartheid restrictions on trains, while the UDF dismissed it as a "grandiose" move designed "to play to the gallery of puppets in the tricameral Parliament".



## Statement 304A on visit STAR of trio 2/9/85

The following is the full text of the statement issued by the South African Government after talks with the European Economic Community delegation:

"Views conveyed by the South African Government to the Foreign Ministers of Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands and the European Commissioner for External Relations on August 30 and 31 1985:

"If by 'apartheid' is meant political domination by any one community of any other; the exclusion of any community from the political decision-making process; injustice or inequality in the opportunities available for any community; or racial discrimination and impairment of human dignity, then the South African Government shares in the rejection of that concept.

"The South African Government confirms that it is proceeding actively with its reform programme. This programme provides:

- "For political participation of all communities at all levels in matters of national or common concern. This means co-responsibility for decisions on matters of national or common concern, coupled with the protection of minority rights.

- "For the creation of structures to give effect to the foregoing principle through negotiations between the leaders of all the communities.

- "That the Government will not prescribe and will not demand. Give and take will be the guiding principle.

- "That the Government will not prescribe who may represent the black communities. The only condition is that those who participate in the discussions and negotiations should forswear violence as a means of achieving political objectives.

- "For a review of influx control. An amount of R1000 million will be set aside to improve undeveloped towns and cities over the next five years.

"The South African Government also confirms that:

- The partial state of emergency will be lifted as soon as violence abates.

- The situation of detainees or prisoners will be reviewed as violence recedes and normality returns.

- It is positively committed to, and actively involved in, contributing to the peace, stability and development of the Southern African region." — Sapa.

# Campaign to 'let SA speak'

Staff Reporter  
2/9/85

SOUTH AFRICANS of all races need to greet each other and give all leaders a fair hearing, according to a group of concerned professional men who have started a campaign.

"Let South Africa Speak" is the name of the new movement. It urges South Africans of all races to identify themselves to each other by wearing a bright yellow band or sticker on bags and briefcases and driving with lights on on campaign days — Mondays and Fridays.

Mr James Baigrie said yesterday that the small, informal group had decided to start the campaign and to let it gain momentum as individuals passed on the manifesto. Mr Baigrie is spokesman for the group but the co-ordinators do not want the campaign to be associated with personalities or political parties.

## 'Peaceful'

Part of the manifesto reads: "We want to be able to greet each other in the street, not be dragged down into the gutter by further oppression, violence, arson and murder. We want a fair hearing for all who claim to be leaders so that we can prove that there is still hope for a peaceful solution to our

country's problems.

"We wish to see our leaders listening to each other in public and on TV and giving each other a fair hearing, never telling us to take up arms against each other and always committed to finding together a path which all of us can follow."

"Let South Africa Speak" had had an "overwhelming response" in the ten days since the manifesto was first sent out, Mr Baigrie said. The original print order of about 6 000 stickers and manifestos fast ran out and a new order of 30 000 had been made.

The colours chosen for the campaign are yellow and brown and the stickers are in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa.



# Americans see SA 'Rubicon' as something else

The images of Africa, as they have flashed across our television screens night after night, have imbedded themselves in the hearts and minds of the American people as never before. The scenes of the suffering of innocent victims of drought and famine have produced an outpouring of active help and sympathy that has always been one of the finest features of our national character.

Our response to the wounding drama of South Africa confronts us with far more vexing difficulties. The wave of unrest and repression that has now swept across South Africa for almost a year has touched some of the most sensitive nerves in our body politic. The practice of racism, through apartheid, the denial of the inalienable rights of citizenship, the disregard for due process of law, are affronts to our national conscience.

The very intensity and emotional content of the debate on South Africa reflects the frustration and impatience of many Americans in getting a grip on this problem. Our relations with South Africa have inevitably reflected this strain.

In South Africa itself, the Government has cracked down hard by proclaiming a state of emergency and resorting to mass arrests. Yet, at the same time, we have seen some tentative signs of a reappraisal of policy. President Botha's policy speech in Durban on August 15 contained the stated hope of drawing black political leaders into negotiation about the sharing of political power.

Apartheid for this administration is abhorrent. A primary goal of our policy is to get rid of apartheid. Any status quo that excludes 73 percent of the population from the central processes of government on the basis of race and imposes on them a legal framework of dehumanising restrictions on where they live and work affronts our fundamental values.

As to the current wave of violence ... we know what has happened in the name of armed struggle or violent liberation in Indo-China and Iran. In the South African context, where black, brown and white will have to continue to live side by side, the human economic and political costs of such scenarios would simply be horrendous.

South Africa and its neighbours have a long way to go before they achieve stability and justice. They also have a lot to lose if peaceful change fails.

For us, carelessly to throw matches into an already explosive and volatile situation would be a travesty of such men of peace as Bishop Desmond Tutu and Chief Gatsha Buthefezi, who are working

for negotiated solutions.

We cannot insulate our approach to South Africa from our concerns for stability and security in all countries of the region. We have important regional goals in Southern Africa: independence for Namibia; a reduction in cross-border violence in the region; removal of foreign forces from Angola; and expanded economic development there.

There is also no way of insulating our approach to Southern Africa or any other important region from the realities of our competitive relationship with our global adversary. The Soviet interest is advanced by regional insecurity and instability. Our interest is in peacemaking and pushing change in South Africa.

We Americans are builders, not destroyers. Clearly, our goal must be a more hopeful, just and prosperous South Africa, with expanded opportunity for all its people. This is less likely to happen if the economic pie is shrinking.

Irrespective of how South Africa will be run, and by whom, damaging its economy now will only stunt economic growth and, ultimately, stunt the lives of this and coming generations of young South

**But the process of change away from apartheid has begun. That odious system, rooted in racism and fear, is eroding.**

Africans. Disinvestment would be doubly sad, we should rather stay engaged. That is what we are doing. But this does not mean we are being seduced by a status quo that is overwhelmingly repellant to Americans.

But the process of change away from apartheid has begun. That odious system, rooted in racism and fear, is eroding. It is being challenged. It is being dismantled.

The limited changes that have been made, however, are not enough. They have not yet touched the core political issues. They do not have black support and have, in some respects, fuelled black anger.

But knowledgeable observers are widely agreed that significant change has started, in the economic and urban rights of blacks, in the granting of certain political rights to coloured and Asians, and in the official recognition that power must be more broadly shared, and that

On August 16 the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker (right), spoke to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on "Is constructive engagement bringing constructive change?" This is an edited version of his address. In a second article, tomorrow, we will run Dr Crocker's answers to questions put to him by the president of the Commonwealth Club.



such fundamental change must be negotiated with blacks.

The spiral of unrest and repression has added to the urgency of such negotiation and basic change.

The explicit exclusion of blacks from recent constitutional moves and a severe economic downturn have had explosive consequences. With almost no legitimate outlets, discredited systems of rural and urban self-government and a 50 percent unemployment rate among urban black youth, a volatile situation has developed.

It is the demands of a modernising economy for a stable and skilled workforce and the demands of apartheid's victims for full political and economic opportunity that constitute major pressures on the system. South Africa's economy and its social fabric cannot be maintained at gunpoint. These facts speak for themselves about the urgent necessity of further change.

There is tinder in the townships. Emotions are easily polarised at a time of violence that has taken more than 600 lives, mainly black, in the past 12 months.

Yet compromise and reconciliation in this strife-torn area remain within reach. In practice a form of preliminary bargaining is going on, but both the government and the governed continue to indulge in the search for position. Whatever may be said, we are still at the stage of argument over ground rules, the shape of the table, who will sit there and what is on the agenda.

The task before South Africans is to end injustice and racial domination. That means building a genuinely democratic system. The state of emergency cannot address the root causes of unrest. But constructive change also has nothing to do with random destructive acts in which angry people take the law into their own hands. Nor does it have anything to do with police shootings of unarmed

mourners or demonstrators protesting against the system.

Let me here offer some comments on the (August 15) Botha speech. The speech — which he has called "the crossing of the Rubicon from which there can be no turning back" — does include a recognition that key features of apartheid such as influx control are on the agenda for change; a renewed commitment to reform, including certain ideas on citizenship for black South Africans; acceptance of the principle of participation and joint responsibility by all South Africans in an undefined constitution; and an explicit call for negotiations on these issues.

We consider the speech to be an important statement in that it

**South Africa and its neighbours have a long way to go before they achieve stability and justice. They also have a lot to lose if peaceful change fails.**

discusses some issues that are at the core of the problem of apartheid. At the same time it raises many questions. We will look for clarifications.

President Botha's invitation to negotiate on the basis of broad, abstract principles can be reinforced by practical steps such as the abolition of influx control. Blacks will raise the issue of the release of Nelson Mandela and of the detained leaders — and we support these goals.

What we define as a "Rubicon" is when negotiation is no longer about whether apartheid is to be dismantled, but about how and when.

We should develop, rather than withdraw our influence. We should recall that our strongest tools are moral and political. That being the case, it won't be effective to walk away and sever our contact. We don't intend to do so.



Cape Times 21/7/80

# Imam rejects convention

304A

Political Reporter

IMAM Hassan Solomon, executive member of the Muslim Judicial Council and a senior United Democratic Front activist who claims to have been eluding the police since last week, yesterday urged about 2 000 people to continue the fight against apartheid.

Imam Solomon made a surprise appearance at a packed meeting of the Thornhill Residents' Association at the Cine 400 cinema in Rylands yesterday, and told the audience there was "no more time for peace-makers" or attempts to "cool it".

## 'Unity'

A total of 31 people in the Peninsula had died and "the oppressed cannot take it lying down", he said.

"National conventions and conciliation talks are things of the past

"There is no way that those who believe in truth, justice and the ideals of freedom in this country can sit down with those who do not believe in them

"If you kill one of the oppressed then it is as if

you have killed all of the oppressed."

He urged those at the meeting to rally in thousands at the funerals of those killed in a display of the "unity of the oppressed".

"I'm not telling you freedom is tomorrow. Freedom has a hard and tough way ahead. But as long as I have blood in my veins and breath in my lungs I will oppose this unjust system," he said to applause.

Imam Solomon left the meeting immediately after his address.

## NUM

A spokesman for the National Union of Mineworkers also addressed the meeting.

He said police and troops had surrounded the miners in the Transvaal following their decision to strike today.

The NUM was prepared to fight "tooth and nail" in support of their demand for higher wages, the spokesman said.

Veteran extra-parliamentary activist Mrs Helen Joseph also addressed the meeting, but is a listed person and cannot be quoted.



GOV  
rejects  
concept of  
apartheid

Shortly after the EEC delegates left yesterday, the South African Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, said he thought the delegation's visit had been "worthwhile".  
— Sapa

IN a statement yesterday from the State President's Westbrooke residence, the government outlined the views it had conveyed to the three-man EEC delegation.

The government confirmed to the delegation that the state of emergency would be lifted as soon as violence in the country abated, and "the situation of detainees and prisoners will be reviewed as violence recedes and normality returns".

The government confirmed that it was continuing actively with its reform programme, which provided for "political participation for all people at all levels in matters of national or common concern."

#### 'Minority rights'

"This means co-responsibility for decisions on matters of national or common concern coupled with the protection of minority rights."

According to the statement, structures would be created through which negotiations could be held with the leaders of all communities and "the government will not prescribe and will not demand".

The government would also not prescribe who could represent the black communities.

#### Condition

"The only condition is that those who participate in the discussions and negotiations should forswear violence as a means of achieving political objectives," the statement said.

"Give and take will be the guiding principle."

The statement also confirmed that there would be a review of the influx control system.

The government said it had expressed the view that it rejected the concept of "apartheid", if apartheid meant the political domination of one group over another, the exclusion of any community from political decision making, injustice or inequality, racial discrimination or "the impairment of human dignity".

CAG. Tim H 2/9/85

By PAUL DOLD  
Finance Editor

THE government last night froze foreign debt repayments for four months, reintroduced the financial rand and announced that from today the Reserve Bank would fix the rate for the commercial rand. Interest payments will still be made to foreign banks.

The decision to declare a moratorium on debt repayments and reintroduce the financial rand will be widely welcomed as the measure will remove the strong speculative element which has disrupted the foreign exchange market in recent weeks.

The commercial rand — the currency traded on foreign exchange markets — is expected to open substantially higher, well above the 50c mark, and the currency's value will now be determined by the Reserve Bank until conditions in the foreign exchange market revert to normal.

The new two-tier currency system means that there will be two rand exchange rates — one for importers and exporters who will use the commercial rand rate — and a second for foreign investors who, when they sell their South African shares, have to repatriate the funds at the financial rand rate.

The financial rand rate will be below the commercial rand rate and will clearly discourage investors from taking their funds out of the country.

#### Hectic dealing

The firm government action will squeeze banks and exporters who have speculated in the foreign exchange market and sold their rands short and will now have to buy in this currency. This may cause the rand to soar in hectic dealing.

Gold shares are expected to ease today when the stock exchange reopens, while industrials could move sharply higher.

Kruger rand prices are likely to fall sharply with the decline in the rand gold price.

Last night economist Professor Brian Kantor welcomed the decision to declare a moratorium on debt repayments.

"The whole capital account outflow is now naturalized completely with the Reserve Bank in full control. There will be a huge flood of dollars towards the Reserve Bank.

"The leads and lags will reverse themselves and the rand will open much higher — as high as the Reserve Bank wants it to."

Professor Kantor said that South Africa had held the high cards — the foreign banks' capital was tied up in the country.

"We've had to play them reluctantly... and too late in the day. Certain foreign banks were not going to do business with us and presumably the Reserve Bank will pick and choose who to pay first and which



Mr Malcolm Rifkind

banks will be welcomed back and which banks won't."

Professor Kantor forecast that interest rates would decline and the Reserve Bank might even decide to hold the exchange rate down artificially to encourage exporters and trade surpluses.

Southern Life's chief executive, Mr T N Chapman, said the government's priority was to reflate the economy and to provide evidence of its willingness to respond to internal and external calls to hasten the rate of reform.

"There is now considerable urgency to turn the economy around and bring jobs back on stream. Retrenchment is still going ahead at an alarming rate and this has to be a major function of insecurity. I hope the downward movement in interest rates is the start of further mea-

sures to restore confidence back to the marketplace."

Not all comment, however, was favourable. The Progressive Federal Party Finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, told Sapa that it was "a black day in our financial history" when the government wrecked a formerly unblemished credit record.

World financial circles would never forget this statutory moratorium on repayment, and it would be difficult to re-establish confidence and obtain new loans.

Mr Schwarz said all South Africans would pay a heavy price for the government's economic mismanagement and its failure to realize the relationship between politics and economics.

#### 'A mess'

In London, the British Minister of State at the Foreign Office, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, said Britain was going to hold out firmly against sanctions in spite of pressure from the Commonwealth to change its stance.

Dealing with South Africa's financial crisis in a BBC radio programme, Mr Rifkind said: "Irrespective of the debate about economic sanctions, we all know that the South African economy is in a mess."

"The degree of internal instability and civil strife within South Africa has obviously contributed towards a lack of confidence in the economic future of that country."

#### Reluctance

● Sapa-Reuter reports from Washington that the United States Treasury yesterday declined to comment on South Africa's decision to suspend repayments of foreign loan principal for four months.

A State Department official also withheld comment on the move, but an administration official said the absence of reaction reflected Washington's reluctance to become involved in South Africa's financial crisis.

"We want to stay out of this as much as we can," the official said.

Decision will squeeze speculators  
Loan repayments frozen



# PW was 'told of business plans' to meet ANC

*Business Day* PAUL BELL  
Political Correspondent

304A

3/9/85

THE group of businessmen, believed to number at least six so far, which intends to hold talks with the African National Congress in Lusaka soon, are said to have kept President P W Botha informed of their plans.

*Business Day* was told yesterday that about two months ago the group's leaders met a prominent non-South African political figure outside the country. This person suggested they should meet the ANC directly and offered to act as a go-between.

It is said that when the group leaders returned to SA, they informed Botha of this opportunity and that he agreed. This could be neither confirmed nor denied by his office yesterday. It is also clear that whoever is behind the initiative is organising under conditions of the utmost secrecy.

Hints have been given to individual members of the group about who the other members may be, but all are being contacted through intermediaries within the business community.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said yesterday that both sides had agreed to make thorough preparations for the meeting, which was getting close.

ANC president Oliver Tambo will lead his delegation at the talks.

Sebina would not confirm the names, which have been given to *Business Day*, of members of the group, nor would he name the intermediary. He would say only that the businessmen represented commerce and the biggest mining and industrial groups.

Barclays yesterday issued a carefully-worded denial that it was behind the initiative.

The ANC said Botha's Rubicon speech would be high on any agenda for talks, as well as the present situation in South Africa and the organisation's views on the state of emergency.

Sebina said: "Up until the speech, we had recognised a slight chance of a national convention, which would entail talking to the South African Government. Botha closed that door."

"Now, it would take both sides to open that door and the first move would have to come from Botha," Sebina said.

with the area and to meet constituents.

## Chamber statement rejected

Dispatch Reporter 204A

QUEENSTOWN — The Queenstown municipality angrily rejected a statement yesterday by the Mdantsane Chamber of Commerce (Mdacoc) president, Mr L. F. Siyo, saying black shoppers were chased out of Queenstown over Christmas last year.

The Mdacoc statement at the weekend said: "May we remind whites that during the 1984 Christmas shopping time blacks at Pietersburg were pushed out of town by police to go and shop in townships as whites felt crowded in town and the same was done in Queenstown."

The town clerk of Queenstown, Mr P. M. Gerber, said: "We are very upset by Mr Siyo's irresponsible statement and we reject the statement which we believe does nothing to encourage peace and stability, but in fact is a deliberate attempt to discredit the harmonious situation which has always prevailed in Queenstown notwithstanding the present boycott."

# TION

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# The act that keeps apartheid

03/10/85

304A

DISPATCH

After all these years, the question does seem absurd: what is apartheid?

What indeed? The entire world is demanding the abolition of apartheid but, as Mr Louis Nel complains rather plaintively, every step on the path of reform is ignored by the international community, or dismissed as "cosmetic", or acknowledged without sympathy in phrases like "about time, too".

President Botha, too, complains that he cannot understand why the government is repeatedly urged to share power when it has already agreed to share power.

Nor does progressive reform seem to help. Opponents of apartheid keep shifting ground as the process unfolds.

Job reservation used to be close to the top of any list of the injustices of apartheid, the Mixed Marriages Act and sec-

tion 16 of the Immorality Act were cited as evidence of an unscientific primitivism; the denial of freehold title to property, even in designated group areas, was a blatant example of oppressive discrimination.

Yet the removal of these grievances has not mitigated criticism. To the contrary, criticism has been sharpened by each amelioration.

People who objected to mass population removals are not mollified when bantustans are consolidated in such a manner as to reduce or eliminate removals.

Some of the people who demanded the democratic right to form trades unions are now coming into the open by saying the problem, after all, is not simply apartheid but capitalism.

Indeed, on the left there is less talk these days of racism than of

monopolies, bourgeois values, class interests and the like.

So where does it end? When has apartheid finally been abolished?

Foreign governments simply refuse to answer the question. "That," they say coyly, "is for South Africans to work out among themselves."

The list of apartheid measures on the statute book remains daunting despite many modifications. The land acts which reserve to whites the right to acquire most of the land in the country, and the Group Areas Act are probably the main instruments of segregation.

But there are many others. Reform has not eliminated apartheid, it has simply made segregation illogical. Parks have been opened to all races, swimming pools have not, theatres are open, cinemas are not; some hotels are open,

others not.

So far as anybody can remember, most taxis, buses, some trains, libraries, museums, clubs, and beaches are segregated, but uncertainty about the law is causing the system to crumble by the day.

The education system still discriminates savagely against black people, but the disparity in expenditures on

nisation. Blacks can acquire 99-year leasehold to urban property and have been promised freehold title.

now gone well beyond anything that was expected of him or his party only a few years ago. The restoration of South African citizenship to all blacks except, apparently, those who live permanently in the four "independent" homelands clearly destroys the more bizarre aspects of the theory of grand apartheid.

Similarly, the recognition of the permanence of black communities, the acceptance of the unity of the Republic (excluding the four homelands?), and the promise to share power without domination are major reversals of past policies.

Black people may scorn the local franchise, but when the State President talks of universal franchise, he is legitimising the very system for which all black people and many whites have been striving. Once the principle has been

By KEN OWEN

The symbolic effect of whites and blacks is being reduced, and the establishment of a single education department promises more uniformity in the future.

Labour reform, of course, has been fundamental and effective, encompassing both trade union rights and the removal of job reservation, but it remains incomplete so long as the white miners stand in the path of amendment of the Mines and Works Act.

This brings the issue to political rights, where President Botha has by

acknowledged, the question of implementing it should prove much easier to solve.

Yet, after all this, there is still the demand to jettison apartheid.

Why?

The answer is that apartheid, whatever the Nationalists may say, is seen here and abroad as a system that defines political rights according to race.

The law that assigns to South Africans rights and duties according to race is the Population Registration Act. It precludes voluntary association, and erases real cultural divisions.

It fixes political rights arbitrarily, not according to culture but according to the unscientific and discredited concept of race. It confines all other basic human rights, and distorts all personal and political relationships.

The repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was the first step towards undoing the consequences of the Population Registration Act, and it led directly towards the formation of the National Convention Alliance by the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha, which in turn have contributed to the breach between Inkatha and the ANC.

In this sequence of events it is possible to perceive the development of cross-cutting cleavages within South African society, and the emergence of common interests between common people of different races, both of which will mitigate the effects of the racial cleavages.

But for the process to work properly, the Population Registration Act must go.

When that happens, apartheid will be truly dead.



# manifesto?

## An alternative to PW's Durban

### SATURDAY LETTER

To the Editor  
The speech of President Botha in Durban was a big disappointment for a lot of people. What would the reaction have been if his "manifesto for reform" sounded something like the following?

"We acknowledge that the policy of the National Party has failed and that many aspects of this policy can be seen today as morally wrong and unjust."

"We acknowledge that the policy of apartheid favoured whites in an unfair way and caused a lot of pain and suffering to the other people of our country."

"We acknowledge that we have been blinded by excessive nationalistic sentiments. This led us to overemphasise our own interests and to concentrate excessively on our self-preservation. The injustices from these attitudes and actions we now regard as mistakes of the past that must be rectified. In order to realise this goal we will take the following steps:

"All South Africans will be granted equal political rights. These rights will be defined in a Bill of Rights that will become part of a new constitution. Besides the immediate revision of all the laws of the country that are in conflict with such a Bill of Rights, a law will be made against any form of racial discrimination. These changes will be made in the forthcoming session of Parliament. It is hoped that these steps will create a favour-

able climate for negotiation on the future constitution of our country. The nature of the political system that will accommodate each citizen's political rights will be determined by a group of negotiators drawn from all interest groups in South Africa. Anyone regarding himself as capable to take part in this process of negotiation must report at the office of the State President within one month. Negotiation will start immediately thereafter.

"Meanwhile, a process will be started immediately to rectify the mistakes of the past and to compensate for past injustices. This will include the following:

- Influx control will be scrapped and an infrastructure will be created for controlled squatting and self-help housing programmes.
- Educational facilities and services will be opened to members of all races, subject to the relevant entrance requirements.
- State expenditure on white education will be limited to the maintenance of present facilities and standards, while State expenditure on black education will be increased sharply until equal education opportunities are available to all.

● The Group Areas Act will be scrapped and residential areas will be provided to blacks nearer to the places where they work. The efficiency of transport systems will be investigated so that the time spent on travelling by blacks to and from work could be reduced.

● Black residential areas will be provided with a basic infrastructure over a period of five years. This implies tarred roads, electrical lighting in the streets, business areas, parks, etc, while each house will be provided with water, toilet facilities and electricity.

● Employers will be encouraged to give their employees similar employment benefits so that everyone can share in things such as annual leave, pension fund, medical aid, etc.

● Measures and regulations that unnecessarily restrict anyone to take part freely in economic activities will be scrapped.

● Attempts to make the security forces representative of all citizens will be speeded up. As it progresses, the period of compulsory national service for whites will be shortened.

● All extraordinary security measures and laws (including detention without trial, etc) will be scrapped as soon as the internal situation in the country returns to normal.

● Medical facilities and services will be open to anyone in need thereof. No new facilities will be

provided in white areas until there are sufficient facilities and services easily accessible to blacks.

- The freedom of the Press will be guaranteed so that readers, listeners and viewers will be able to get full information on current affairs.
- The homelands will stay part of South Africa and the independent homelands will have the option to become part of a unified South Africa.
- There will be no more forced removals.

"The steps as spelt out above can be seen as an attempt to ensure justice for all in our country. Further action might follow from the negotiations on the future political system of our country."

"As representative of the older generation, I am deeply aware of our guilt because of the pain, frustration and suffering caused by our policies to a lot of people. I ask them and the younger generation whites to forgive us — we forced both groups into a situation where most of them would have preferred not to be. We are determined to rectify our mistakes and hope that reconciliation is still possible between the estranged people of this country."

"I call on all the people of this country — everyone who will have equal rights and duties of citizenship — to co-operate in creating a new South Africa for which all of us would be prepared to live and die."

Dept of Philosophy  
RAU  
Hennie Lötter



# HNP pledge on killing 3049 of Verwoerd

Political Correspondent

STAR 7/9/85

The Herstigte Nasionale Party last night vowed to investigate the "real reason" why the Prime Minister, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, was assassinated 19 years ago.

Mr Jaap Marais, the HNP leader, addressing a public meeting in the Pretoria City Hall at the opening of his party's annual congress, promised that the day would come when the assassination would be properly investigated.

"I only hope that enough people who can give evidence will be alive," he told the audience of about 800.

The meeting was preceded by a half-hour audio-visual presentation on the life and sayings of Dr Verwoerd. Yesterday marked the 19th anniversary of the slaying of the South African premier.

The HNP has always held that Dr Verwoerd was "removed" by the Afrikaners' enemies.

businessmen mean business

# ANC talks are a pointer to reform

304A (H.A.) B. Day  
6/9/85



● P W Botha

PAUL BELL  
Political Correspondent

THERE is a message for Pretoria in the business-ANC talks: government has lost the initiative for reform it had so clearly gained through the referendum, and it may have lost business leaders forever.

Only six weeks ago, business was prepared to accept the state of emergency: it was necessary to restore order, but it was equally necessary to talk to black leaders and produce a programme for wide-ranging reform.

Three weeks ago, as President P W Botha crossed the Rubicon, he finally drowned business confidence in government's ability to negotiate a peaceful political future. Carlton, Good Hope and the referendum vote may just as well have been in a past life.

Five years ago it would have been unthinkable for a major figure in Afrikaner business to go to Botha — as happened some months ago — and tell him: "We are going to talk political turkey with the ANC."

But business takes the long view because it understands the concept of a bottom line, unlike government.

The process did not, however, begin with the emergency or the Rubicon. It has been under way for nearly two years and has its antecedents in the economic penetration by SA industrial giants of the Frontline states.

It makes sense, therefore, that a business leader of the stature of Gavin Relly should now be at the forefront of the ANC initiative. And this, *Business Day* has been told, is simply a by-product of a broader initiative in making contacts with the Frontline states — sponsored by Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda.

Kaunda's role conforms with his long-time commitment to dialogue between South Africa and its northern neighbours. He is said to feel a strong sense of mission in promoting extensive informal contacts between SA business and the Frontline states.

Relly, *Leadership SA* publisher Hugh Murray and other South African members of established SA-Frontline discussion groups had apparently been sounding Kaunda out on ANC attitudes. Kaunda suggested that SA's business leaders speak directly to the ANC and he offered to act as an intermediary.

Earlier this week, the ANC indicated that two months ago Kaunda had approached it about possible talks.

There is still no clear indication of when the talks are to take place, although Lusaka sources say it could be within the next fortnight. There are apparently considerable logistical problems in getting the group and the ANC leadership into one place at one time.

But the resolve to hold this first meeting is so great that if it does not take place within a fortnight, it will certainly be held later this year.

So far, nine business leaders — including Relly — have been named by various sources in connection with the group to meet the ANC. It is believed that this and future discussions with the ANC will be confined to smaller contingents.

Four of the businessmen, including Relly, have already been named elsewhere, the other three being Barlow's Mike Rosholt, Premier's Tony Bloom, and Barclays' Chris Ball.

*Business Day* is able to name more. These include Nedbank chief executive Rob Abrahamsen, who is believed to have played a prominent part in previous Lusaka missions.

Afrox chief executive Peter Joubert and IBM chairman Ken Geeling are two more. Another businessman mentioned in connection with the Lusaka talks is Sanlam chairman Fred du Plessis. A group of newspaper men, led by Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh, has also been briefed by Kaunda.



ERNIE WENTZEL

# Living in Noddyland



Ernie Wentzel, a prominent liberal, reacts to Martin Legassick's article in the *FM* last week on a workers' democracy.

Martin Legassick is a South African exile; an historian by trade but a Marxist evangelist by inclination. In Legassick's writings his gospel is proclaimed in all its verkrampste glory and with the fervour and passion which only a former bourgeois sinner turned prophet can display.

Legassick's argument goes something like this:

- The sole source of unrest in SA is the system of monopoly capitalism under which the capitalists have used whites to defend and maintain the cheap labour system;
- Capitalism has failed even the privileged whites with its inflation and high interest rates, impoverishing the white middle class and with declining earnings for the white working class;
- Capitalism cannot be reformed and is failing even in advanced industrial countries;
- The only political answer is one-person-one-vote in a unitary SA; any form of federalism or any constitutional concern for minorities will drive whites together into a reactionary camp leading to civil war;
- Coupled with the political solution must be an economic system in which the working class takes the commanding heights of production into the ownership of the State. By the end of the article (as the enthusiasm of the pen takes him) this becomes "ownership of the means of production in the hands of the people as a whole";
- Such a society will ensure the economic well-being of South Africans; and
- There is a progressive movement of black workers and youths which is calling upon whites to join with it in the creation of this society.

That SA is in a crisis politically and economically is self-evident. That the Botha government has not given the slightest hint of comprehending the situation, let alone solving it, is equally self-evident. That apartheid is both wicked and foolish is also beyond serious debate.

What licence this all gives to the hard left; at last a society so appalling that one can promote a Marxist solution without embarrassment.

The great power of the argument is its beguiling simplicity and the power it has to make of all who adopt it instant intellectuals, untrammelled in their fervour by any complications, be they economic, social or political.

cal.

According to Legassick's argument, the ruling class is big business and its National Party Government. The increasing panic in the business community and its repeated appeals to the Botha government to face the situation as it really is and to negotiate a political solution with all South Africans, including those in prison, makes it hard to maintain this fiction. Indeed, the progress of the SA economy for the past decade prior to the present recession has been brought to an end by government's obdurate refusal to appreciate that a political solution has got to be found in which all South Africans participate in decision-making, and that nothing less will do. Is it seriously in doubt that if such a political accommodation had been found in SA the economic progress of the country would have continued and that major factor foreign capital would have been introduced into the economy? Even to ask such questions, of course, is heresy to a Marxist.

It is a salutary contrast to compare the writings of Legassick with those, for example, of Norman Bromberger at Natal University or Charles Simpkins at UCT. Both

The only way out lies in the working class organising to take the commanding heights of production into the ownership of the State, under their own democratic control and management, and with a democratic plan for producing on the basis of need, not of profit — and at the same time joining together with workers in a struggle against capitalism internationally. — Martin Legassick (*FM* August 30)

are keenly concerned to establish the facts of the performance of the economy. Both of them explore the limits of the possible and neither of them is hidebound by an assumed solution. Neither is a mere technician of the economy and its mysteries; each of them is a highly moral man, with a sense of outrage at poverty and a determination to propose ways of eliminating it as a priority by the establishment of a SA where that would be possible and would be done.

Quite what in practical terms the "commanding heights of production" is as opposed to "the means of production" it is hard to be precisely sure. There are those (like Raymond Suttner) who believe in a Noddyland where anything more complicated than a barber shop is in the hands of the State. More sceptical observers believe that the State might manage to run a barber shop, but nothing more complicated than that should be entrusted to it in the field of commerce.

To get the means of production or even its commanding heights into the hands of the

State could only be done without compensation. That this would be the end of Western investment would not deter Legassick. What Legassick is promoting is a society which will attract no foreign capital from Western countries at all. It will have to generate its capital internally or alternatively receive it by way of hand-outs from the Communist bloc — a poor prospect.

Legassick, in fact, envisages a complete break with Western influence and a South African workers' state which will join together with workers elsewhere in a struggle against capitalism internationally.

There are many young people who believe that a Marxist economic system will wave its magic wand and there will be jobs for all. What is more probable is the creation of a society under the control of a party bureaucracy in which there will be an equality of poverty and miserable living (save perhaps for the party faithful).

Are there examples of other societies which would inspire some confidence in Legassick's ideas? Even if we assume for the moment that some argument can be made that the advanced industrial countries are in some way failing — and it is difficult to believe that if you travel in Japan, Europe or North America — what of the so-called socialist countries? After nearly 60 years of following the paths of righteousness, the Soviet Union remains a backward country technologically with a failed agricultural system and a repressive regime.

If the people of Eastern Europe had a choice in democratic elections would they continue their present system?

One of the most important give-aways in these arguments is the rigid insistence on one-person-one-vote in a unitary SA. This is coupled with the statement that this is true democracy. Certainly not parliamentary democracy because the running of the kind of society that Legassick promotes in a parliamentary democracy is a contradiction in terms. No, indeed, the call for centralisation arises from the need for authoritarian power in the hands of a new Pretoria.

What a dismal prospect. Far from there being any chance of whites joining in this struggle one is pleased that Legassick has promoted his views so candidly both to blacks and whites. A reflection on a future society run by the Legassicks of this world is enough, one would hope, to cause a joining together of all sane people black and white and to oppose it with every vigour that they can muster.

There must be a new SA. Let it be a democracy in reality as in name, with concern to deal fairly with the fruits of its enterprise and a determination to make sure that there is enterprise so that there will be fruits.

IN MY  
OPINION

# Universal franchise is way to 'chaos, anarchy'

A MORE equitable South Africa would not be created through the system of one-man one-vote, nor through racial domination, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

In an address to the SA Forum in Johannesburg, Malan said a universal franchise election, where the winners formed a new government, was "the surest way to chaos and anarchy".

Gen Malan said government was "phasing out" discriminatory legislation and the country was "on the way to a more equitable system".

"I can, however, tell you it won't be a one-man one-vote system in a unitary state, nor will it be black or white domination. In both these approaches there is no room for equity." Referring to the role of the SA Defence Force in the townships, Malan

said although there were allegations of misconduct, "in general there is a happy relationship between Defence Force members and black inhabitants".

Malan said people abroad often called for the lifting of the emergency, claiming that the unrest was caused by apartheid.

"We are not dealing with a black-

white confrontation. Far from it. But in Western eyes the source of the problem lies with the whites and their so-called apartheid. Revolutionaries do everything in their power to strengthen this perception.

"Those who advocate the immediate termination of the limited state of emergency play into the hands of the revolutionaries," Malan said. — Sapa.



● MALAN.



# 'Natspeak' has confused Convention call issue

6/9/85

304A

STAR

Reaction to the call by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert for a National Convention Alliance convey the impression that the Government has succeeded so well with its "Natspeak" that communication has broken down completely. It has so abused and misused language with its semantic games played over the years that words have lost their original meanings and become loaded with political and/or emotional bias, words such as humanism, liberalism, communism.

One of the latest words to have its meaning altered is "negotiation", which the Government uses interchangeably with "consultation", although they have entirely different implications.

Consultation implies talking together between parties not necessarily of equal standing, instigated usually by the more powerful party, and with no obligation whatsoever on it to do more than listen. It is not in any way committed to act upon the results of the consultation. Consultation, Government style, has brought little joy. It is entirely different from negotiation, not a substitute for it, though the Government has succeeded in fudging the difference.

Negotiation implies discussion between parties all of which have some clout, all bringing to the conference table their particular views, opinions and aspirations and all prepared to bargain with each other in order to reach some kind of acceptable consensus which is then acted upon. The readiness to negotiate implies a commitment to put into practice the fruits of negotiation, and is therefore a commitment to listen, to influence and be influenced, and to arrive at conclusions which will resolve the problems under discussion.

The less non-negotiables brought to the conference table the more successful negotiation is likely to be, for non-negotiables could scuttle the process before it is even begun. Negotiation provides an arena for the hardest possible verbal bargaining and, provided all the participants are motivated to reach solutions acceptable to all even though they are unlikely to fulfil every need, it should be possible to hammer out a modus vivendi for South Africa.

What exactly did Dr Van Zyl Slabbert mean by his call for a national Convention to thrash out the country's problems? It should not be confused with what the Government calls "negotiation", writes JOYCE HARRIS (right), national vice-president of the Black Sash, who in the accompanying article takes a look at the full implications of Dr Slabbert's call.



A National Convention is about negotiation and not consultation. Those who call for a national convention are presumably committing themselves to a process of negotiation with ALL concerned and interested parties in order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of our country's manifold problems.

The constituent assembly must represent ALL peoples and constituencies within the country through their chosen and recognised leaders, which in turn implies that all such leaders must be released from detention if that is where they are. If such a convention were intentionally to exclude certain constituencies that, too, could scuttle it before it is begun. There should be no non-negotiables and no exclusions.

It would seem that when the call to join a Convention Alliance is rejected because the Government has ruled out some of the conditions some of the potential participants would like to see met, or because at the present time a leader has not been released, then the meaning of the call has been misunderstood.

In his call Dr Slabbert made it

clear that his party is committed to one country, one citizenship and one constitution, despite the fact that "the Government has shown its true colours", which are certainly not the same as his. Presumably he wants to provide a vehicle through which all those who would rather negotiate than fight can come together, irrespective of their political and ideological differences, in order hopefully to exert sufficient pressure on the Government to force it to call a national convention and participate in it itself, with the same commitment to negotiate and compromise and find solutions.

He is offering potential impetus to the Convention movement, the arguing and hard bargaining to take place once a Convention has been achieved.

A National Convention Alliance is a beginning, a means to an end, not an end in itself. The end is the calling of a truly representative National Convention which will be the place where differences can be argued out and hopefully settled. What other alternative is there to violent confrontation?

# PFP urges official restraint and release of all detainees



● SLABBERT

GOVERNMENT should release all detainees in an attempt to restore stability to the townships, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

He warned that the actions of the security forces became "totally counter-productive if innocent and guilty, the peace-lover and the provocateur, are treated in the same harsh and indiscriminate manner".

Slabbert also said the reported call by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to "unleash" the security forces was "chilling and highly irresponsible under the present circumstances".

In a statement last night, Dr Slabbert said: "I wish to emphasise as strongly as I can that indiscriminate and precipitate action in the townships is creating a climate of hate and anger which is going to make the restoration of calm and conditions for negotiation incredibly difficult."

Difficult as the task of the security forces was under these circumstances to restore stability and cope with mob violence — "and I certainly do not underestimate this" — it was totally counter-productive if everyone were treated in the same harsh manner.

At the recent PFP congress he had said that if repression and counter-violence became the norm "we will create brutalised cohorts of young

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

whites and blacks whose only language towards one other will be the language of violence.

"I urge restraint by the authorities," Dr Slabbert said.

Treurnicht should be one of the first to realise that, as a politician, he was not responsible for carrying out what he had asked for. Nor did he have to face the consequences.

"We have to look for different ways of coping with the unrest.

"The state of emergency is not assisting in this.

"I believe government should declare itself willing to negotiate with community leaders, particularly those who have been arrested and locked up — and bring together those who are responsible for maintaining stability with such leaders.

"Therefore, as a start, release those who are detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

"This particular law is more and more becoming the major stumbling block," Slabbert said.

He also reacted to criticisms by the UDF that he and other leaders were moving into "a gap left by Le Grange's Casspirs and Inkatha's impis" by calling for a convention.

Slabbert said he wished to remove any confusion that had resulted from

his call for a convention alliance.

"I fully realise that under conditions of a state of emergency or even with the maintenance of apartheid measures, as we do have, it would be pointless to call a national convention.

"In calling for a convention alliance, I do not have in mind such a national convention.

"I am simply saying that those who are in favour of it should come together and demonstrate their commitment to getting rid of apartheid completely and substituting it with one constitution with one citizenship in one undivided country.

"I am not excluding anyone from that alliance and definitely not those who have been detained under section 29 or anyone else who is prevented from being there who would like to be there.

"We would want to have a new constitution free from racism or discrimination.

"We should stop posturing and dissipating our energies by attacking one another.

"I do not claim to represent anyone other than those who have supported me, and I see myself as a leader among many organisations who wish to end the repression and violence — and negotiate a new constitution without racism and discrimination," Slabbert said.



# Behind-doors launch for 'convention'

STAR by David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

304A

7/9/85

On September 21 the leaders of the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha will meet with a wide range of other groups behind closed doors to talk about talks.

Since the leader of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and the leader of the PFP, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, called for a "national convention alliance" a fortnight ago, both men have been working behind the scenes to get a wide cross-section of interest groups and organisations committed to the concept.

Much of their success depends on secrecy, but it is known that business leaders, churchmen, newspaper editors (as observers) and certain political groupings will be involved.

There has also been a suggestion that one or two prominent figures in popular extra-parliamentary organisations may identify with the movement.

The formation of the alliance will not mean any one party subscribes to the principles or policies of another. It is rather meant to be a mass movement of organisations and leaders, no matter how much they differ ideologically, committed to negotiating a mutually acceptable future for the country.

The national convention alliance will not start those negotiations, but will work to get everyone involved in the principle that the future should be jointly planned and discussed.

That is why the September 21 meeting is to talk about talks.

It is not expected to be easy to bring so many different groups who claim to have power bases to the same talks.

The Government, for example, is working on its own format for negotiations, in the Special Cabinet Committee (SCC) investigating the constitutional future of non-homeland blacks.

Although the SCC includes the leaders of the other parliamentary parties, the Government controls its activities and regulates its pace.

The Government is also talking informally to a range of leaders of all communities. There are furthermore some formal meetings with certain groups, such as the recent get-togethers between the State President, homeland leaders, organised commerce and various church delegations.

The Government, therefore, is not likely to be keen to join any national convention alliance (quite apart from the fact it has consistently rejected the PFP's policy of a national convention).

There may also be problems persuading certain black organisations to join the alliance. Some of these are at odds with each other over the method of the struggle against apartheid, and over what post-apartheid society should look like, while most appear to be against Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha.

There could also be difficulties if any of the homeland leaders join the alliance, as some black leaders "outside the system" may refuse to have anything to do with "sell-outs".

Perhaps church leaders, particularly Bishop Desmond Tutu, might be able to play a unifying role in this regard.

Dr Slabbert, opening his party's federal congress in Durban last weekend, called on all groups, including businessmen, churchmen and academics, blacks and whites, even the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress, to come together to hold the middle ground against the encroaching forces of repression and revolution.

The ANC has reportedly already rejected the notion of a national convention, while the UDF has so far remained silent. The detention of much of its leadership might not be conducive to it continuing a negotiating role.

Ironically, a decision taken by the PFP at its congress may also be an impediment to a broad alliance.

The resolution to contest the coloured and Indian houses of Parliament was feared by many delegates to mean the party would lose credibility in those communities and would damage relations with leaders and organisations who were opposed to using the tricameral Parliament.

The PFP has opted to use the system from within in whichever way it can, in order to change it constitutionally and peacefully. At the same time it has embarked on the campaign for a national convention alliance in order to bring maximum extra-parliamentary pressure on the Government to start meaningful negotiations.

## 'Botha must act fast'

6/9/85 Mercury Correspondent Mercury

JOHANNESBURG—Although President Botha is the first Afrikaner leader to try to bring black and white people together he must remember that speed is of the greatest importance, the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, said yesterday.

Dr Phatudi and Mr Botha had held talks at Seshego, near Pietersburg, earlier in the day.

Speaking at a luncheon held at Veeplaas, Dr Phatudi told Mr Botha that people realised he has tried to introduce reform in the face of stiff opposition.

'You have only one problem, that of speed,' Dr Phatudi said. 'We have to hasten — otherwise the avalanche will overtake us'



# Conservative fear of Indian rule for Natal

Mercury Reporter

THE chairman of the Conservative Party in Natal — and the party's candidate in the Port Natal by-election — Mr Pat Mohr, says he is opposed to the present discussions between the Executive Committee of Natal and the KwaZulu Cabinet because the result of these talks will mean that Natal will be run by Indians.

Mr Mohr was commenting on the second round of high-level talks held this week on the creation of a joint administrative body for the region.

The CP could not go along with the proposal because of the end result of Indian majority rule in Natal.

'Nobody is telling the people what we've just said,' Mr Mohr added.

Mr Frank Martin, senior MEC in the province, said he was not prepared to comment unless Mr Mohr could tell him where he had obtained his information.

'Maybe he knows something we don't know,' he said.

The Natal Provincial Council, at its session in

May, passed a unanimous resolution calling for the establishment of a statutory body to govern Natal/KwaZulu in matters of common concern.

The national congress of the Progressive Federal Party agreed last weekend that Natal and KwaZulu should be administered as one unit, along the lines of the Buthelezi Commission.

## Structures

This week spokesmen for the KwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal Provincial Executive Committee said it was hoped to present plans for a joint administrative structure for the region to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, before the end of the year.

Details were not disclosed, the spokesmen said, because the structures still had to be approved by the Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as by Mr Heunis.

(Report by P Leeman, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

# 'Profit-grabbers allowed to evade tax'

# Treurnicht

# slams Govt,

# big business

5/9/85  
304A STAR



Dr Andries Treurnicht ...  
"middle class being bled dry."

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht accused the Government yesterday of allowing big business interests in South Africa to make billions of rands in profits — and then evade paying tax.

This he said, placed a massive burden on individual taxpayers.

"Traditionally, South Africa's individual taxpayer had paid 20 percent and business 35 percent of total taxation. Since the advent of Mr P W Botha, the ratio has changed dramatically. The individual now pays 66 percent and the business sector 25 percent.

"No wonder big business backs the Government," Dr Treurnicht added.

The Conservative Party boss continued his attack on business and the Government by accusing the building societies of "bleeding the middle class dry".

## INTEREST-RATE CONTROLS

He said that as a result of the Government's relaxation of the controls over interest rates, the "supposedly" non-profit-making building societies were making massive profits.

"The SA Perm building society, for example, almost doubled its net profit from R20 million in 1984 to R37 million in 1985," Dr Treurnicht added.

Returning to the issue of tax evasion, Dr Treurnicht said that the six biggest banking institutions on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange paid less than 1 percent on their profits for 1983/84.

"Four of these banks, with profits totalling R91 million, paid only R786 000 in tax."

He added that the farmers of South Africa, like the home-owners, had been tricked into borrowing at low rates of interest only to be caught by a sudden escalation in those rates.

"Since 1972, more than 20 000 farmers had been forced off the land. Yet the total debt of the

remaining farmers has increased from R1 400 million to over R8 billion," he said.

"A Government that betrays its farming community is guilty of treason."

Dr Treurnicht said that confirmation of the "insanity" now prevailing in Government financial circles was illustrated by the State President's "Rubicon" speech.

"Three weeks ago Mr Botha told the world, and I quote:

*'It is common knowledge by now that the official economic strategy applied in South Africa during the past 12 months has produced excellent results. The money supply is under control. The balance of payments on current account is showing a surplus of about R5 billion per year — much larger than anticipated. The banking sector and private companies have for months now been repaying substantial amounts of foreign debt.'*

"If these allegations are true, why can't we raise overseas loans? Why can't we now repay our debts if we have been repaying them all along?"

Dr Treurnicht said that the main beneficiaries of the drop in the value of the rand were the gold-mining companies who were now enjoying record profits in rand terms.

"They are steadily buying up South Africa. The Anglo American company at present controls 72 percent of the total listed companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

"This is the most blatant example of a monopoly in the Western world."

He asked whether it was significant that South African businessmen were reportedly negotiating with the African National Congress.

"Who is running South Africa, the Government or big business?"

Dr Treurnicht said that the reason why economic reaction to the current crisis in South Africa was worse than after the earlier Sharpeville and Soweto uprisings was that the international community had lost confidence in the security of the South African State.



# CP call to 'unleash forces'

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, yesterday called on the government to "unleash" the security forces and end township unrest, instead of allowing them to use only birdshot and rubber bullets.

Addressing a press conference at the CP's Johannesburg regional headquarters, he blamed the government's "lack of courage" in dealing with the unrest as a major contributing factor to the "disastrous" economic situation in the country.



Dr A P Treurnicht

He said he understood the government was in fear of international reaction should large numbers of rioters be killed in a single incident.

"That fear cannot be ignored, but it has to be considered in perspective. Keeping our security forces on a leash and allowing them to use only birdshot and rubber bullets has had serious consequences."

He listed the consequences as failure to protect moderate blacks, failure to maintain law

and order and failure to prevent this spilling over into the white community.

The riots in the black townships had continued for a year, Dr Treurnicht said, adding that this was a consequence of failing to use sufficient force.

On the economic situation, he said that for the first time in the history of South Africa the country was unable to meet financial commitments.

"The government's default on South Africa's foreign loans, putting our international reputation on the level of countries such as Peru, is a direct result of government incompetence."

## 'Admission of defeat'

"If there were no riots in the black areas, if Mr Pik Botha had not misinformed friendly governments (on the president's speech), if the President with his sneering and smirking kept his face away from TV — we would not have a rand crisis," he said.

Dr Treurnicht described the declaration of a state of emergency as a clumsy admission of defeat, displaying "their ignorance and panic". — Sapa

## Boy 'pistol-whipped'

Staff Reporter

A 16-YEAR-OLD Red Cross voluntary worker was allegedly pistol-whipped and beaten by police patrolling in Military Road, Steenberg, on Tuesday.

Witnesses claimed Andre Cozett, a Heathfield High School pupil, had been standing near a crowd of people at the corner of Military and Shell roads when a police van pulled up about 5.30pm.

They alleged that police pistol-whipped An-

dre to the ground, stood on him and whipped him before loading him into the van and driving off.

Andre's mother, Mrs Yvonne Cozett, said she had laid charges at the Steenberg police station.

She said Andre spent most of his holidays working at the Kommetjie Red Cross depot and spent weekends "helping out" at the Pinelands ambulance depot.

A police liaison officer, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, confirmed that charges had been laid against police.

# Afrikaner culture threatened by integrated society — Treurnicht

Political Reporter

304A

STAR

4/9/85

It took a lot more than an ability to speak Afrikaans to be an Afrikaner, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, told a lunchtime meeting at the Rand Afrikaans University yesterday.

"Being an Afrikaner involves a culture, a language, a certain upbringing and certain beliefs," Dr Treurnicht told a packed lecture hall at the university.

He said that it was this culture and these beliefs that were threatened by an integrated society in South Africa.

"I recognise the right of the black and the brown and the Indian people of South Africa to a future and a place in this country. But I will not accept being ruled by anyone but my own people," he added.

Dr Treurnicht said that the future survival of the white man in South Africa was threatened by Government moves to force integration on the country.



Dr Andries Treurnicht . . . "I will not be ruled by other races".

He told the meeting that the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) was attempting to sell the policies of Inkatha to the country and said that this was not the action of an organisation committed to preserving the identity of the people it represented.

An ASB spokesman at the meeting challenged the statement and said that the ASB

believed that it was in the interests of South Africa to hold discussions with black organisations such as Inkatha.

"We are talking to them, not selling their policies," the spokesman added.

Turning to current events Dr Treurnicht said that it was "absurd" to believe in the concept of consensus in the South African context.

"You tell me how people like (Nelson) Mandela and the Eugene TerreBlanche (leader of the AWB) are ever going to be able to sit around a table together and reach consensus. It is impossible."

The Conservative Party leader entered into a lively debate with some students after his address and it was clear that not all the people in the room supported his point of view.

Pressed by an English-speaking student, Dr Treurnicht assured the meeting that he was fighting for the rights of all white South Africans, not just the Afrikaners.



CAPE Times 4/9/85 3022

# Mayor warns on 'political forum'

Chief Reporter

THE new Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Leon Markovitz, sounded a warning yesterday that with the advent of regional services councils (RSCs) and the disbanding of the Provincial Council, party politicians might try to turn the City Council into a political forum.

In his inaugural address at a colourful installation ceremony in the old City Hall, he said: "It is my sincere belief that the council of this great City should never allow itself to become a trading station for ratepayers' rights. I believe the majority of

my colleagues share this view."

In keeping with tradition Mr Markovitz, after his installation as Cape Town's 69th mayor, was conducted to the Chair of Van Riebeeck by his sponsors, Mrs Eulalie Stott and Mr Dick Friedlander.

## Mutual concern

The Town Clerk, Dr Stan Evans, then handed him the keys of the Common Seal of the City Council, which had earlier been surrendered by the outgoing mayor, Mr Sol Kreiner.

Mr Markovitz said he believed the spirit of

mutual concern was "alive and well and already living in Cape Town", and said his parlour door would always be open to anyone wanting to discuss involvement in the solution of community problems.

He praised his predecessor for his initiative in starting a movement to restore the link between the City and its waterfront, and pledged himself to continue working for this.

Mr Markovitz also said one of his fondest dreams was to see the return of people to live in central Cape Town.

"Imagine for a moment a block of 1 000 airy, spacious garden apartments, all with views of either the mountain or the sea, perched on top of a complex to be built on a site stretching from Hans Strijdom Avenue to Coen Steytler Avenue.

"And I'm not talking about homes for the wealthy. I envisage these apartments as being for middle-income people."

Mr Kreiner, in his final speech as mayor, expressed concern over the current unrest, particularly in the Cape Town municipal area, and said he wished to make an earnest appeal to all citizens "to do all in their power to seek reconciliation, so that a lasting peace may return to our City".

"Let us equip ourselves with the motto: 'Things don't just happen; you've got to make them happen'.

## Youngest-ever

"We cannot afford to sit back and leave the damage for someone else to clear away."

Mr Peter Muller, 38, became Cape Town's youngest-ever Deputy Mayor when he was formally elected to this office at yesterday's ceremony. He was proposed by Mr David Bloomberg and seconded by Mrs Bronnie Harding.

Among the VIPs who attended the ceremony were the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Johan Greeff, the Judge-President of the Cape, Mr Justice Munnik, members of the diplomatic corps, parliamentarians and members of the Provincial Council, and military heads in the Western Cape.



# every remains hostage tical misfortune

3/9/85



● VAN DER MERWE



● MOTLANA



● SLABBERT

## AUL BELL's series on the economy in '86

Investment and disinvestment take place through those who have the money, and do so either because they have confidence in the economy or they don't.

We have reached the stage where the people with the money are saying we have no confidence in the country or its economy. It is less to do with moral considerations. Capital follows profit. If there's no profit to be made, the capital will go.

The number one reason for the lack of confidence in political and economic life in the SA is confidence in the SA economy. And when I say confidence in the economy, I'm also talking about the manner in which the economy is managed — by government.

Government will first have to show that its reform programme can restore confidence in the country. This means demonstrating that what the government has in mind gets the co-operation of the sectors of the black population.

Government can't do that, continue with unrest and instability, which will further undermine confidence itself.

He put it similarly. He said the government's economic mismanagement

ment, saying the recession had been experienced by blacks as a severe depression.

Disinvestment was no longer merely a threat, he said, it was happening already.

"Government needs to take the economy by the scruff of its neck. That means making painful political decisions, regardless of those whites who believe their safety, their security and their prosperity are dependent on black oppression."

"The State President's speech was a real disappointment. He did not permit a defusion of the present explosive situation. In fact, it has retarded what prospects we have for economic recovery."

Stoffel van der Merwe acknowledged this. "The happenings around the Durban speech — expectations and the speech itself — undoubtedly had a depressing short-term effect," he said. But this would be filtered out in the medium-term as the speech's "positive aspects" became plainer.

Instability, he said, was an unfortunate by-product of the process of reform, because society could not be sure the process would work or where it would ultimately lead.

Asked how government could restore confidence in the face of a strengthening perception that reform was not being tackled the right way, Van der Merwe said

this would be a difficult task because the "misperception of what government is doing is so widespread".

There were, he said, two other alternatives to the Nationalist reform strategy: the Conservative Party's fervent desire to put the brakes on — and even reverse — the process, and the national convention option, which would be only somewhat less disastrous. He believed both would cause an even greater decline in business confidence.

While Nationalists might not be completely happy about their own approach, because it was creating uncertainty among party supporters, it was the only one the party believed could work.

Slabbert and Motlana called on government to unshackle the economy from regulation. Slabbert said: "Get rid of laws that inhibit individual economic mobility and get out of those sectors of the economy which can best be run by the private sector."

Motlana said: "If you release the efforts of all South Africans, the cake will be so much bigger." He was emphatic about the need to develop small black business.

Van der Merwe said government was already proceeding along these lines.

Slabbert and Motlana were severely critical of economic policies based on Nationalist ideological goals which, they said, were costing the country millions in unproductive projects.

Slabbert attacked government spending on the multiplication of bureaucracies required by apartheid: e.g., the homelands and the tricameral parliament.

Motlana expressed the same view, in tougher terms: "We are

spending millions on non-productive projects, on propping up the Sebes, the Matanzimas and Mangopes of this world. These things don't earn us foreign exchange. We don't export Sebe and his armies."

On defence spending, Slabbert questioned why SA troops were still in Namibia when it cost SA R1m a day.

Motlana suggested national service be cut from two years to six months. "The Russians," he said, "are not about to attack us. At present it's all for Namibia — and they don't even want it."

But Van der Merwe did not believe that "at this point in our history" the country could afford to reduce security spending.

If there was to be a trade-off in government expenditure, it would more likely be through cutting the cost of regulating economy processes and channeling freed funds into education, housing and job creation for blacks.

Van der Merwe believed these latter areas would be the main thrust of government spending next year.

Education was a priority for Slabbert and Motlana. They also broadly agreed — although there are degrees of difference — that greater security should be extended to the victims of recession.

Slabbert referred to simple State-funded job creation through housing and basic infrastructure-building programmes. Van der Merwe did not support Motlana's view that SA could afford a major extension of social security benefits: he would rather see that money go towards job creation.

Slabbert and Van der Merwe agreed that government would have to continue to exercise financial discipline next year.

In the end, sharply different political objectives limit the scope for agreement between Slabbert and Motlana on one side, and Van der Merwe on the other. Evaluating similarities is complicated when both sides use the same words but mean different things.

Blacks, business and opposition politicians will get what they want from government only when the language of change develops a common meaning for all. In the meantime, recovery in 1986 remains a hostage to political misfortune.



**A** SERIES of high-voltage political shocks in the past six weeks has threatened to neutralise the fundamentals which were laying the base for a sound economic recovery in 1986. It has also radically undermined business confidence.

That, say PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Soweto civic leader Dr Nthatho Motlana, is the key economic issue that government will have to address in the coming months. Its solution, they believe, lies squarely in the arena of political reform.

Helderkruijn's Nationalist MP Dr Stoffel van der Merwe agrees that confidence is a major problem, but he views a degree of politico-economic instability as the price of reform, and is convinced that — of all the options for reform — the government's programme has the best chance of success.

This Wednesday, 12 hours after the Minister of Finance closed the JSE in the wake of the rand disaster, a political observer remarked that SA had descended into probably its worst politico-economic crisis since the Anglo-Boer War.

Hyperbole or not, political volatility and its concomitant impact on financial markets make it difficult to say with any accuracy how deep a shadow this kind of perception casts on the prospects for recovery.

**A**nother observer, whose views on the economy are highly respected by all shades of business and political opinion, said in no uncertain terms that commerce and industry were now so gripped by uncertainty that a "crisis of confidence" had emerged.

Not only had government failed — until now, perhaps — to understand this, but the crisis had also permeated all levels of business.

Nor could there be any doubt, this observer said, that any signs of confidence that had been evident a month ago were simply not there today.

Six weeks ago economists felt able to predict with safety to *Business Day* that the recession was about to bottom out and that recovery was in sight.

While continued monetary and fiscal restraint was necessary, market forces — as well as certain political adjustments —

# Recovery remains to political mis



● VAN DER MERWE



● MOTLANA

Concluding PAUL BELL's series on the economy

would see the economy restored to health. Fundamentals like the terms of trade and the relative stability of the rand were already paving the way for a solidly-based upturn.

Three weeks ago — and two weeks into the emergency — a majority of business leaders interviewed on the same subject accepted that prospects for a sound recovery was based equally on political reform, and that the recovery was already set for a delay of about a quarter as a result of the emergency.

A week later, in the build-up to President P W Botha's Durban speech, the rand began to decline as government leaks squashed hopes that he would announce a new and bolder reformist initiative. The rand was right.

Last Friday, *Business Day* began a series of interviews with Slabbert, Van der Merwe and Motlana on the subject of economic recovery. It was already clear that the political crisis was deepening and dragging prospects for recovery — sound fundamentals or not — down with it.

Now, the raging issue was sagging business confidence.

Slabbert said: "I have distinguished sharply between a disinvestment campaign by special interest lobbies and actual disinvestment itself."

"But a campaign itself cannot invest or disinvest, because its proponents do not control corpor-

ate finance. Investment and disinvestment take place through people who have the money, and they do so either because they have confidence in the economy or they don't.

"We have reached the stage where the people with the money are saying we have no confidence in this country or its economy. It has less and less to do with moral considerations. Capital follows profit. If there's no profit to be made, the capital will go.

"And the number one reason for that is confidence in political stability and confidence in the SA economy. And when I say confidence in the economy, I'm also talking about the manner in which the economy is managed — or mismanaged — by government.

**G**overnment will first have to show that its reform programme can restore confidence in political stability. This means it must demonstrate that whatever reform it has in mind gets the voluntary co-operation of significant sectors of the black population.

"If government can't do that, we will continue with unrest and instability, which will further impact on confidence itself."

Motlana put it similarly. He, too, called the government to task for economic mismanage-

ment, saying the recession had been experienced by black people as a severe depression.

Disinvestment was merely a threat, he said, not something happening already.

"Government needs to restore confidence in the economy by the scruff of the neck. That means making political decisions, regarding those whites who believe in safety, their security and prosperity are dependent on black oppression.

"The State President's visit was a real disappointment. It did not permit a defusing of the present explosive situation. In fact, it has retarded what we have for economic recovery."

Stoffel van der Merwe acknowledged this. "The expectations around the Durban speech — undoubtedly had a short-term effect," he said, "but this would be filtered out in the medium-term as the 'positive aspects' become plainer.

Instability, he said, was a fortunate by-product of the process of reform, because government could not be sure the reforms would work or where it ultimately lead.

Asked how government could restore confidence in the economy, he said: "By strengthening perception that the reform was not being taken the right way, Van der Merwe

## 'Scrapping apartheid wouldn't impress US'

The complete abolition of apartheid would not now impress the US because Americans believe Pretoria is making reforms only because it has to. 304A

This is the view of a Washington lawyer and a former member of the Reagan Administration, Mr Don de Kieffer. He was speaking at the Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr de Kieffer is visiting South Africa on behalf of a group of American corporations. South Africa, he says, is losing the battle against the disinvestment campaign in the US. STAR 3/9/85

One of the reasons is that the Democratic Party is using South Africa deliberately to restore unity in the party. "You have been set up and you have not fought back," he said.

South Africa's main mistake was to try to use rational arguments to fight the campaign.

"The current debate on South Africa in America is an emotional one. By trying to combat the campaign with facts, you are not scoring any points.

"The people in America perceive you as reforming only because you have to reform. This perception is so strong that even a complete abolition of apartheid would not impress them any longer."

Mr de Kieffer said South Africa has embarrassed President Ronald Reagan in the past few months.

"South Africa is in many ways very sophisticated in techniques of marketing and selling. Why not use those skills also in politics?"



# PW: Group Areas stay

DISPATCH 304A

03/10/85

By ROY DOWLING

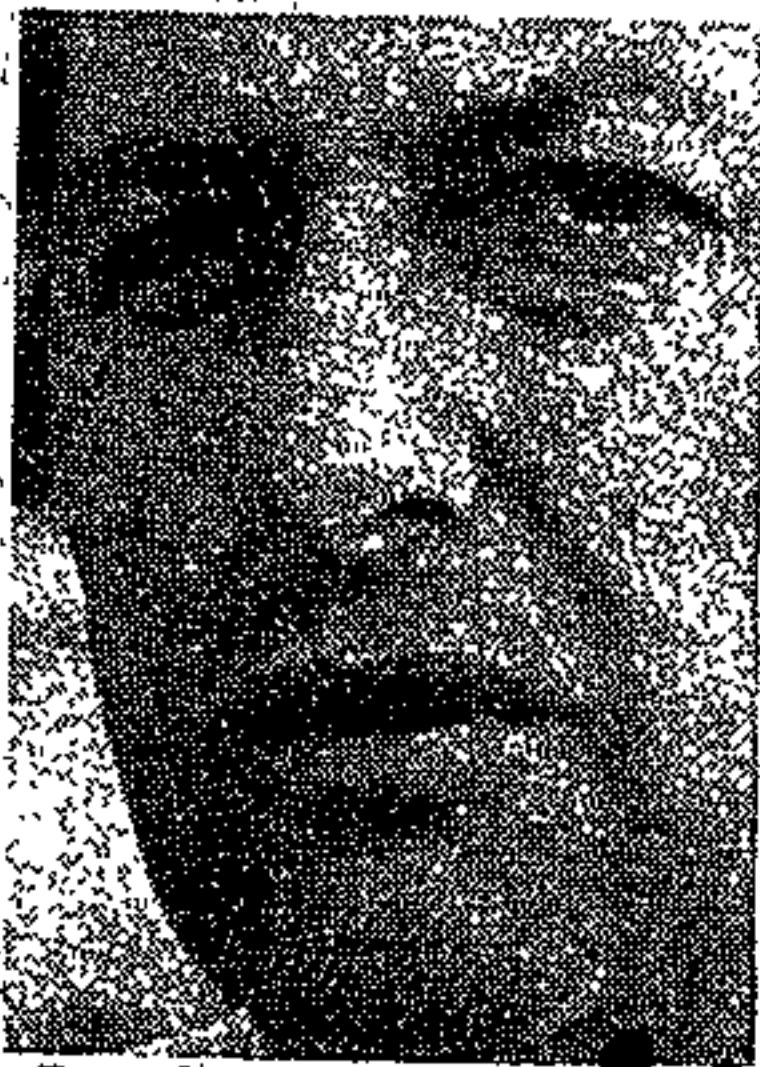
**PORT ELIZABETH** — The Group Areas Act would be reviewed and possibly amended, but it would not be scrapped, the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, said here yesterday.

Speaking at the Cape Congress of the National Party, he denied the act was discriminatory. "It is not shameful to have laws which protect the rights of coloureds, Indians and blacks in their own areas."

Rejecting two draft resolutions calling for the scrapping of the act, Mr Botha said a middle class had developed in the coloured and Indian communities and that could not have come about without the protection of property rights under the provision of the act. A black middle class was also growing in areas reserved for blacks.

While the negative aspects of the act would be reviewed, and referred to the President's Council for investigation, "own residential rights would remain."

Mr Botha said schools would also continue to be reserved for the various race groups. "White children have the right to be educated in their own cultural milieu." He said he stood for separate but equal facilities for all the groups.



Jannie Momberg . . . racist image.

Turning to outside pressure on the government, he said the West wanted whites to abdicate and bring about a state with no protective structures for minority groups.

One of the motions calling for an end to the act was proposed by Mr Jannie Momberg of Stellenbosch, who has close links with the South African born British athlete, Zola Budd.

He said while overseas he had encountered the image of a "bad racist Afrikaner". He wanted a signal to be sent to the world that the government was determined to break down apartheid.



# Clashes as PFP faces its problems

Does the Progressive Federal Party still have a role to play in the rapidly polarising political spectrum of the country?

This was the ever-present question hanging over the biennial federal congress of the party which ended in Durban at the weekend.

This was a question closely associated with one posed by the party leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who asked at the outset of the proceedings whether peaceful constitutional reform was still possible in a society increasingly caught between the forces of repression and revolution.

In appealing for all the moderate forces in the country to come together — from businessmen to church leaders and academics — Dr Slabbert said he did believe this was still possible, but time was running out.

The various lobbies and cliques which make up the party are clearly agreed on the desperate need to get rid of apartheid, and the refreshingly frank and public soul-searching among members shows how sincere and determined this party is about resolving the horrendous problems facing the country.

There is, however, some confusion as to how this should be done.

The proof of this was in the compromises that the congress had to make on the fundamental issues of participation in the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament and on compulsory military conscription.

What infuriated some party leaders about the often bitter in-fighting on these questions was that the country and the party in fact no longer have time to dither on

tactics and strategies.

They believe the party has only a few months left to halt the polarising process in the country's politics if the middle ground of moderate forces for peaceful and negotiated change is not to disappear completely.

*The PFP stance on defence seems badly confused. Officially, though, it has been spelt out thus: The party will press for an end to military conscription as a matter of urgency. The party believes that a fulltime professional defence force, backed by voluntary reserves recruited on a non-racial basis, would be in the best interests of the country as whole.*

That was why so much hope was pinned on Dr Slabbert's call to form a national convention alliance, and why the PFP leadership argued that there was no time to wait for "substantial support" of coloured communities before deciding whether to take part in the junior Houses of Parliament.

The party had already opted to work within a system which it did not support and which it wanted to destroy, Dr Slabbert said. The PFP had to use every constitutional structure at its disposal to bring about the reforms it wanted, and the people would just have to be told what it was trying to do, he said.

The compromise on the question of conscription enabled one section of the congress to claim that in fact the PFP still stood for national service, call-ups for camps and civil defence, while another faction believed that the party had rejected the use of troops in quelling internal unrest.

On paper, the defence policy of the

PFP now reads that the party is to press for the end of military conscription as a matter of urgency. The PFP believes that a fulltime enlarged professional defence force, backed by voluntary reserves recruited and promoted on a non-racial, non-discriminatory basis

they believed they had voted for the end of political abuse of the SADF.

At least one senior member believed that in fact the PFP had not decided anything. It retained its commitment and support for an army to prevent any violent overthrow of the State (in keeping with the PFP commitment to peaceful change), but it camouflaged this in order to appease the element which was outraged at the use of troops to suppress insurrection.

It was the type of compromise which characterised the decisions of the United Party before its demise, this member said.

PFP delegates opposed to each other were often surprisingly honest about their dislike for one another, to the point of making public accusations of intellectual dishonesty and emotional trickery. Their seemingly irreconcilable differences make Dr Slabbert's job that much more challenging.

The main goal and function of the PFP now is to bring together the moderate forces in the country by uniting as many interests and

pressure groups as possible in its alliance for a national convention.

The potential for major differences of opinion in such an alliance will, of course, make the substantial divisions in the PFP seem pallid by comparison.

But the party believes it will have to make the alliance work if it is to rescue the rapidly diminishing middle ground from the fast encroaching forces of repression and revolution.



The Star's Political Correspondent DAVID BRAUN (above) attended the often fiery, soul-searching PFP federal congress in Durban at the weekend. In summing up events, he notes the urgency gripping the party's leaders in their anxiety to find answers for the country's most pressing problems.



# Some answers to SA problem

**BONNEY:** The Separatist Party in South Africa advocates separate nations and citizenship for blacks and whites. Is this a possible and reasonable solution to the apartheid problem?

**CROCKER:** I'm not sure I know the reference to the Separatist Party in South Africa. But, clearly, the intention of separate nations, of denationalising South Africa's black majority and seeking to solve the problem by exporting people, is a doctrine which is at the root of classical apartheid theory. It is a doctrine that has failed. It is not recognised by any external government. And it has been rejected by black leaders. So, we don't see separatism as the solution.

**Q:** Can your policy of constructive engagement and its superficial accomplishments be regarded as anything more than a loose Band-aid on a terminal cancer?

**A:** A year ago my answers would have been somewhat different. One could point to a reduction of violence, significant agreements reached and a start in terms of change. Change is continuing, but we're presently living in a period of setbacks. We do not shrink from saying so.

**Q:** Please give us your scenario for the dismantling of apartheid and a realistic timeline for the process. Doesn't this scenario directly counter Botha's declaration that there will never be a one man, one vote system?

**A:** We don't have a timeline nor a specific scenario. Blueprints and deadlines would very likely be counter-productive. But it is our hope that we can see concrete steps that will bring about negotiation, so that people begin to have a restoration of confidence in each other's essential dignity and humanity, something which has been badly damaged by recent events there.

As regards one man, one vote — the phrase usually goes beyond that to "... one man, one vote in a unitary state". In South African white parlance that tends to mean a majoritarian winner-take-all system, such as that in Great Britain. I don't think we can conclude from any given statement that there can never be a franchise given to the black majority in South Africa.

**Q:** President Botha recently described President Reagan as "South Africa's most dependable ally", and that's in quotations. Do you agree?

**A:** I'm not going to get into the business of trying to explain to you what was in his heart or in his mind when he said that phrase. I think, though, that there are many people in the world, and perhaps President Botha is one of them, who recognise that President Reagan is somebody who has convictions and stands by them.

**Q:** About the Sullivan Principles, established as a guideline to US businesses in South Africa ... What good will adhering to the Sullivan Principles accomplish when any economic gains by blacks can be taken away since they have no voice in government?

**A:** None of us is saying that economic gains or socio-economic progress or reforms are enough. But what the Sullivan Principles have achieved is to set an example, to shame — if you will — others, foreign and South African, into a higher standard of corporate citizenship in South Africa.

They have had an impact far beyond the limited number of employees of US firms there. They have directly produced a series of labour law reforms which have transformed industrial relations in South Africa from where they were, say, five or six years ago.

**Q:** Is it possible that discussion of apartheid and other South African problems will be on the agenda for the coming meeting between President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev?

**A:** I really can't comment on that. I have no basis either to say yes or no.

**Q:** What is the Soviet stance regarding South Africa's apartheid?

**A:** Well, Soviet diplomats sing from the script provided by a long litany of sanctimonious international resolutions, UN resolutions and others which state the obvious points that we all agree on and then expect those resolutions to be self-implementing.

But the only action that the Soviet Union brings to bear in the area is to export overwhelmingly the majority of arms that go into Southern Africa, to support some of the liberation movements in the area and to



Dr Chester Crocker ... "I get my high salary for being a diplomat ..."

keep the pot boiling in terms of various kinds of internal civil conflicts such as the one in Angola. Their chief policy is one that seeks to undermine Western positions.

**Q:** What kind of African regimes can you point to as models for South Africans as they contemplate majority rule?

**A:** You know, I get my high salary for being a diplomat, and that's the kind of question that I'm not sure I really want to answer.

I don't think one would get very far with discussions with white South Africans by pointing to examples in black Africa. There are some democratic, decent, just and fair systems in Africa, but there are few. I'm not going to go any further than that.

**Q:** What is the current status of Namibian independence negotiations?

**A:** We have established a framework for a negotiated settlement in Namibia. It includes the implementation of the UN plan, Resolution 435, in conjunction with a commitment from the Angolan Government on the issue of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

In terms of principles, that framework has been established, it has been accepted. We've had some progress, but we also sense that as both the South Africans and the Angolans look at the goal line, they become jittery. In addition, intervening events — not least the current wave of unrest in South Africa — have encouraged them perhaps to pull back.

**Q:** In view of the recent incursions by the South African Defence Force into Botswana and Angola, is the Nkomati Accord, practically speaking, a dead letter?

**A:** As you know, we have deplored and condemned the action by the South African armed forces in Botswana and the raid that could have led to the destruction of oil facilities in Cabinda, in northern Angola.

In fact, it was a series of such events which led us to inform our ambassador to South Africa that he

On August 16 the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, spoke to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco. This is the concluding article in a two-part series on the views he expressed there. In it Dr Crocker answers questions put to him by the president of the Commonwealth Club, Mr Dennis Bonney.

should come home for consultations so that we could focus on the implications of these regional actions by the South African Government. But the Nkomati Accord directly affects relations between South Africa and Mozambique, and I note that not long ago, the South African foreign minister visited Maputo for discussions on recent developments.

**Q:** US friendship to South Africa undermines relations with all other African countries and of the Third World as a whole. Can the United States afford hostility towards US companies in the Third World?

**A:** Constructive engagement should not be confused with friendship to South Africa. Secondly, the countries in Africa, particularly those who have to live with South Africa as their neighbour, do not want to see the US put on its hat and coat and go home. They want our influence to be used constructively.

That is, they may differ with our tactics. But the last thing they want to see is for us to sever our relations with South Africa, drive it into isolation so that nobody has influence or access there.

**Q:** Is the US willing to risk its access to the South African minerals and gold supplies, should its anti-apartheid pressure force the Botha Government to retaliate against international political pressure?

**A:** Well, we hope it doesn't come to that, it is in the interests of both our country and other Western countries as well as South Africa to maintain open access to markets.

It is true that South Africa is a storehouse of worldwide importance for non-fuel strategic minerals. But it doesn't seem to us that it would accomplish very much even from the standpoint of the South Africans to try to sever American access.

**Q:** Will the drive to free South Africa lead to another Iran or Uganda?

**A:** The most eloquent answer I guess I could give is — not if we can help it.



WASHINGTON — If the South African Government proceeds on its present course, internal disorder will continue and violence may become so great as to lead ultimately to a confrontation with forces supported by the Soviet Union. Even in the face of such a prospect, the United States should state unequivocally that it will not find it morally or politically acceptable to support the whites against the blacks.

Let me explain how I come to these conclusions.

South Africa's policy of apartheid — separation of the races — consists of two parts. One is petty apartheid and the other grand apartheid.

Petty apartheid is the practice of segregation in the routine of daily life — in lavatories, restaurants, railway cars, buses, swimming pools and other public facilities. It is true that there has been some relaxation of this type of segregation in recent years. But "separate and unequal" treatment remains legally accepted and widely practised.

## Unique

In contrast to petty apartheid, grand apartheid is the wholly unique system of racially biased laws that limit the personal freedom of all South African blacks and prohibit them from any significant political voice in their government — a government that controls nearly every facet of their existence.

No other country in the world practises such a thorough degree of discrimination based solely on race, and none has sought to establish racial discrimination on such a comprehensive system of law.

Grand apartheid rests on the following legal foundations:

- The Population Registration

# Final battle lines not yet been drawn

Act of 1950 requires that every person be classified as a white, coloured, Asian or black African. A person's political, civil, economic and social rights are determined by this classification.

- The 10 "homelands" including the four designated as independent, make up 13 percent of South Africa's territory. The land in these areas is poor and the economy stagnant. And yet all black Africans — who represent 70 percent of the population of the country — are assigned to these areas as citizens, no matter where they may actually live. Thus, out of a total of 23 million black Africans, 11 million are residents of the homelands, and 10 million, including perhaps two million men who are separated from their families, are "temporary residents" in "white areas".
- The Land Laws prohibit black Africans, except in rare instances, from living outside the homelands unless they are employed by whites.
- The Influx Control Laws regulate the movement of blacks throughout South Africa by requiring that every black over the age of 16 be fingerprinted and carry a "passbook" containing the individual's identity card and employment record. A policeman may ask a black to produce his "pass" at any time, and

failure to do so is a criminal offence.

The grand apartheid laws are enforced by powers granted under the Internal Security Act of 1982, which consolidates the provisions of earlier legislation. The act — through restraints on the Press, civil liberties and political activity — enables the Government, without recourse to the courts, to silence anyone who poses a challenge to the regime.

The security laws were strengthened during the 1960s and 1970s by a series of tough measures allowing for pretrial and preventive detention. These laws place both whites and blacks in jeopardy of losing their personal freedom if they speak out against injustice.

It is this structure of restrictive laws and arbitrary enforcement powers that supports grand apartheid. None of these laws has been changed in recent years in any fundamental way, and they continue to deny blacks any semblance of political rights. That is what the demonstrators are demonstrating against.

## Reform

The Government speaks of undertaking reform, but the weakness of its programme is twofold. The pace at which it ad-

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dresses the pressing social and economic needs of the blacks is far too slow, and it fails to confront the issue of political participation. Nowhere does it begin to advance towards what Edward Heath, the former British Prime Minister, has called the only ultimate solution: "The granting of full political rights to the non-white population of South Africa — a universal franchise at the national level."

Three years ago, speaking at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, I said: "Because the South African Government continues to refuse to make any fundamental change in its racial policies, a violent explosion appears to be inevitable. What is in doubt is precisely when the mounting racial frustration in South Africa will finally explode." I added that it would probably occur within five to 10 years and certainly within our lifetimes.

Having just returned from a visit to South Africa, during which I talked to scores of blacks and whites, radicals and conservatives, I am now convinced I was wrong. The process of fundamental change has already started. It is irreversible, and it will not end until the blacks share political power with the whites.

The only questions now at issue are: How long a time will

be required to reach that end? What level of violence will accompany the changes? And what degree of protection, if any, will be accorded the rights of the white minority?

## Negotiation

The South African Government has given no indication that it is prepared to negotiate with the blacks even the first steps towards political participation in national decision-making. But such action is inevitable. The longer it is delayed, the greater the violence and the greater the likelihood that, when black participation is eventually achieved, it will provide little protection to the whites.

The power of the moderate black leaders — men such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu tribe, and the Nobel Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu — is eroding with every passing day. Their successors will be radicals. And the targets of the violence, which until now have been largely blacks who are thought to be informers or collaborators, will shift to whites.

Opinion polls, both personal and professional, indicate that the great majority of blacks — some say as high as 80 percent — support a banned and illegal organisation, the African Na-

tional Congress, which the Government claims is communist-directed and communist-supported.

It is not unlikely that the Soviet Union and its proxies will begin to fish in these troubled waters if the violence continues and intensifies.

What should be our policy in these circumstances?

Economic sanctions are no likely to exert sufficient economic pressure to lead to a fundamental change in South African policy. But, if properly framed and if supported by both the legislative and executive branches of our Government economic sanctions can be used to convey forceful American criticism of South Africa's failure to address the foundations of racial discrimination. That is the most constructive action we can take.

We must make clear to the South African Government that both its separate and unequal treatment of blacks and its denial of political participation or the basis of race are totally unacceptable.

The final battle lines have not yet been drawn in South Africa. Fundamental political change without prolonged large-scale violence, is still possible.

But time is running short, and the options are running out.

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The author of this article is Robert S McNamara (pictured below). He was writing for the *New York Times*. Mr McNamara was the United States Secretary of Defence from 1961 until 1968 and president of the World Bank from 1968 to 1981.



# Push for rapid change, Pik urges

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## Political Reporter

VRYHEID—South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, last night appealed to South Africans not to stand in the way of reform but to push for rapid change.

Addressing about 500 people in Vryheid's Centenary Hall, Mr Botha warned that even with rapid reform, international pressures against South Africa were likely to get worse before they eased off.

And if the United States enacted punitive legislation against South Africa next week, as was almost certain, similar actions would spread to Europe and Japan, Mr

Botha said

'Agreement must be reached between whites and other communities in South Africa, and it must come fast.

## Power

'Either we prosper together and accept responsibility together for running the country, or we fight each other and destroy the country.

'At the end of it we will have to sit and talk to each other anyway, after destroying what belongs to all of us.'

Mr Botha said the real fight in South Africa was between those who wanted to share power and those who wanted to seize power and monopolise it.

He said the 'Illusion' of grand apartheid had been proved unworkable.

'Now you must help people to understand that the time for playing white politics is past.'

The doors were open to all who renounced violence — and there were also whites who had to renounce violence — to negotiate a future for the country.

He said he had warned years ago that international pressure was mounting against South Africa but he had been called an alarmist.

'But I was proved right. The world is closing in on us.'

But it was not too late

for the different political parties, and the white, Indian, coloured and black communities, to get together as South Africans to shape a stable constitutional future for the country.

'Few people are prepared to adapt and change until they feel a real need to change.

'That time has come,' he said.

South Africa had already made significant changes.

South Africans could change if only 'the Treurnichts on the Right and the radicals on the Left' could be persuaded to stop trying to declare war on each other all the time.

Roosevelt in 1933 placed a ban on the export of... to students



# 'Emergency' is P.W. Botha's Jameson

The Pattern of Politics  
By Hermann Giliomee

The State of Emergency could well be the greatest political blunder since the Jameson Raid which set South Africa irreversibly on the road to the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. Only courageous political action can prevent our society again being engulfed by war.

To make sense of the current political drama being played out before our eyes, a close look at the similarities of the Jameson Raid and the 1985 State of Emergency will provide instructive insights.

In 1895 Cecil John Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, had realised all his ambitions except the supreme goal. This was a confederation of all South African states and colonies which would bring growing unity and prosperity and make South Africa a respected member of the world community. The only price was that everyone, including Afrikaner republicans, accept British paramountcy and leadership.

Nearly 90 years later Mr P W Botha embarked on a similarly grand project. He dreamed of drawing all states and "semi-states" (the Republic and the independent and non-independent homelands) into a confederation driven by a booming economy which would improve the material conditions of everyone. The one condition set was that every group accept Afrikaner leadership and the core of apartheid — four state-defined racial communities which live in separate group areas and exert their political influence through separate racial structures.

The Rhodes project became unstuck when President Kruger and the Transvaal Afrikaners refused to

be incorporated. The Jameson Raid was Rhodes's quick fix to topple the Transvaal republicans. The result was disaster: the bitter Anglo-Boer War and the end of British supremacy was the very opposite of what men like Rhodes, Jameson and Milner had worked for.

The Botha project started to go wrong when the state started to use force against the black, coloured and Indian opponents to the three-chamber parliament and the system of separate black local authorities. The final blunder was the State of Emergency and the massive police action we have seen in recent weeks.

Several commentators, including myself, have argued that there was no need for a State of Emergency. The state had all the power it needed to act against dissidents. Had the government been sufficiently resolute in its reformist intentions it could have embarked on bold actions (starting to negotiate with Chief Buthelezi, for instance) to undercut the radicals in the black communities. President Botha, however, yearned for the quick fix.

Undoubtedly having the successful 1960 State of Emergency in mind, Mr Botha on July 13 declared his own State of Emergency. Reasoning from historical analogy has often produced horrendous mistakes, and

certainly looks as if we have one on our hands.

When the State of Emergency in 1960 was declared there was no serious black unemployment, the overwhelming majority of blacks were illiterate or in the lowest school standards and there was in fact only one important political organisation, the African National Congress, which had a lot of schemers and thinkers in the main cities but no effective grassroots organisation across the country.

Consider the quite different 1985 situation. The number of under- or unemployed blacks can be as high as 2,5 million. Instead of 200 blacks passing Std X as was the case in 1961, between 30 000 and 40 000 blacks get matriculation certificates every year — but with very little hope of soon getting the kind of job a matric used to ensure. In contrast to a centralised ANC and an easily identifiable leadership, the United Democratic Front and Azapo have numerous affiliates across the country. In terms of desperation, education, politicisation and leadership proliferation, the security forces are confronted with adversaries at least 10 times more formidable than in 1960.

The State of Emergency looks like a blunder because it is having a similar effect on the black community: the Jameson Road had on Afrikaners. After the raid not even the loyal Cape Dutch led by Onze Jan Hofmeyr were prepared to be co-opted into a British-led confederation. The State of Emergency and the police attempt to reassert control has galvanised all blacks into a common resistance against the

apartheid structures and President Botha's confederation.

On Monday night last week the nation's four top financial technocrats told President Botha at his home that it had become necessary to close the Stock Exchange and suspend repayment of loans. It is reliably reported that only then did the deeply shocked State President realise how serious the economic crisis was and only then did it dawn on him that his Durban speech was what the late Schalk Pienaar called a *lygte mistake*.

The four months debt moratorium unilaterally announced by South Africa has given the country precious little time to come up with a reform agenda that would impress foreign bankers enough to grant new loans. President Botha has lost his initiative and is likely to retire within a year. The Cabinet is deeply divided and at a loss about what political direction it should take.

The only way out of the political morass is for black, brown and white community leaders on a regional level to come together and work out a local option for their particular areas. Such an initiative would, however, get nowhere unless whites are prepared for revenue sharing in a common metropolitan area and the lifting of group areas.

The time for hand-wringing and praying for a national convention is over. Will the community leaders of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Johannesburg and other centres please stand up and announce their intentions. South Africa is waiting. . . . And burning.

# P W denies backing talks

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday flatly denied that he has given his blessing to discussions between top South African businessmen and the African National Congress (ANC).

This follows reports that top businessmen, including Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Dr Fred du Plessis, of Sanlam and Dr Anton Rupert, of Rembrandt, have initiated planned discussions with the ANC in Zambia this month.

Several of the businessmen said to be involved have denied the reports.

In his statement yesterday, Mr Botha refers to a report published in yesterday's issue of the

Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*.

Mr Botha says: "A report appears in the Sunday newspaper *Rapport* where the names of certain South African businessmen are mentioned who are apparently prepared to negotiate with the ANC. "The report claims further that I have already been notified about their plans. From this uninformed people could conclude that I support such a plan.

"The facts are that a few weeks ago a leading South African consulted me over such a plan and that I strongly advised against it. His name does not appear among the published names.

"As long as the ANC is under communist leadership and supports violence in South Africa, there can be no question of me approving discussions with them." — Sapa.



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Q We have a declared state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts and endemic unrest in townships inside and outside those districts.

geoned with rumours, counter-rumours, postures and declamations as police run around townships shooting and biting in an attempt to get at those who burn, loot and throw stones.

## Credible

What is the point of calling a convention if the Government persists with aspects of influx control, denies voluntary association by means of the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, ignores the fundamentals of rudimentary civil liberties through deception without trials, beatings, etc?

# Why we need industrial allies

**By FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT**  
**Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly**

Such an alliance by its very existence will make the point right throughout this ravaged time we move through, that either we negotiate an acceptable constitution for a new South Africa, or we all suffice through repression and counter-violence in the old one.

By doing so we can give tangible evidence that we do not believe a new constitution can be created outside the present structure of South Africa.

An alliance of this kind is also not a gangling up against the Government. It is not a protest group of single-issue confrontation.

It shows the Government an option which it itself has to be part of in order to succeed. It says to Government: "You must create the climate and circumstances for a convention to be possible."

## Support

It could set up a secret ordinate its activities coordination between its menation-wide basis. In this understandings can be clear collective attitudes can lished on current and future.

It could structure co debate and allow its memsations to discuss the that exist between them. It could organise a arrange nation-wide p



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# Why we need an indaba alliance

By FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT  
Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly

ers they are prepared to allow to forward and talk to. If all these reasons, it would be useless to call a national convention immediately. But it certainly is pointless to form a Convention now.

rich an alliance could be a visible contribution to the Government of the world that there are significant organisations, movements, parties or individuals who, although they differ strategically or even in the of policies and principles for a -apart from South Africa, are united to the same central aim. One Constitution based on citizenship, in the Country

which must be negotiated at a convention.

Such an alliance by its very existence will make the point right throughout this ravaged time we move through, that either we negotiate an acceptable constitution for a new South Africa, or we all suffer through repression and counter-violence in the old one.

Of course there are people detained and in jail who should be part of such an alliance. But that should not prevent those of us who are free to form one.

By doing so we can give tangible evidence that we do not believe a new constitution can be created on the present structure of South Africa. An alliance of this kind is also not a gangling up against the Government. It is not a protest group of single issue confrontation.

It can be a demonstration to the Government that there is another way out of the cycle of repression and violence in which we are trapped.

It shows the Government an option which it itself has to be part of in order to succeed. It says to Government: "You must create the climate and circumstances for a convention to be possible."

Such an alliance certainly does not compromise any party, organisation, or individual on its role or function outside of the alliance.

**Support**

We do not even have to like one another in order to belong to it, although it would obviously help. The presence of a convention is pre-

cisely that those who differ strongly negotiate about their differences.

An alliance can demonstrate the support in our land for such negotiations despite our cleavages, hostilities and differences.

What can a Convention Alliance do once it is formed? How will it work?

It would be totally presumptuous of me to speak on behalf of such an alliance as those who form it will have to decide on its agenda and programme of action.

However, I do have some idea of the actions that such an alliance could be involved in. For example: It could set up a secretariat to coordinate its activities country-wide. It immediately facilitates communication between its members on a nation-wide basis. In this way misunderstandings can be cleared up and collective attitudes can be established on current and future events.

It could structure constitutional debate and allow its member organisations to discuss the differences that exist between them.

It could organise rallies and arrange nation-wide petitions to

either encourage or discourage Government on a particular course of action

It could regionalise alliance activities. The problems in KwaZulu and Natal are of a different order in some respects than those of Eastern and Western Cape

Keeping all this in mind the theme of the Alliance of One Constitution, One Citizenship, One Country, these regional differences can be brought under sharper focus.

There can even be a Convention Hall in Cape Town sitting when Parliament does discussing the same agenda as Parliament and showing the Government what the members of the alliance think of the affairs of state.

It could provide the country and the outside world with a systematic well thought out agenda on how apartheid can be dismantled as quickly as possible.

Of course these are just suggestions and they can obviously be improved upon.

Let me make it quite clear to members of the UDF, ANC and

others who have rejected this Convention Alliance out of hand. I suggest it not to create some artificial alliance between Inkatha itself and the Government.

On the very day they accused me of this, Government-supporting newspapers accused me of seeking extra-parliamentary action.

I did not suggest it because I have delusions of grandeur about "taking over leadership" or "filling a gap left by others".

I suggest it because our country is polarising at a rate of knots between two simplistic and vicious options: brutal repression on the one side and brutal revolt on the other.

Both depend on and use violence to either maintain or change the status quo and they feed on each other.

In a country such as ours neither can be controlled by any single group or individual to achieve its aims.

**Savagery**

It is pure fantasy and dangerous romanticism to think that brutal violence can be an orderly instrument to restore law and order or to work through revolutionary hidden agendas.

The only visible consequence will be savagery and killing on a scale that will brutalise the future for all of us.

That is why a Convention Alliance could demonstrate that rationally can still be mobilised to be of some political consequence in our fractured land.

If churches, universities, business, unions and parties cannot be mobilised to do so, then history will show that those who could were either wringing their hands or sitting on them while the profiteers of violence held the day.



# Slabbert's hopes of talk with Mandela dashed

Political Staff

The Government is not willing to have Dr F van Zyl Slabbert talk to jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party said today this had emerged from informal talks with members of the Government. He wrote to President P W Botha on August 21 asking for such a meeting — provided Mr Mandela was willing to see him.

Prospects for broad peace talks appear to be fading after Mr Botha's condemnation of business efforts to hold discussions with the ANC and the rebuff of Dr Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert said today he had been informally told it would be "inopportune" for him to see Mandela.

## NO QUESTION

The man said to be behind the attempt to hold informal talks with the ANC, Mr Gavin Relly of Anglo American, said in a statement yesterday: "There is no question of any group with which I am associated being involved in any form of negotiation with the ANC and I do not think it is a role the business community would assume on its own."

Dr Slabbert said today that to engage in talks with people did not mean that one condoned or supported their position.

## ALTERNATIVE

Mrs Helen Suzman, law and order spokesman for the PFP, said the Government appeared to think that guns and quirts would bring peace to the country.

The obvious alternative to this was to talk and seek solutions, something any sensible government would do, she said.

Mr Botha said in a statement yesterday "As long as the ANC is under communistic leadership and causes violence in South Africa there can be no question that I will approve of talks with them".

## Family can see Mandela

PRETORIA — Permission has been granted for Nelson Mandela's wife and two of his daughters to pay a "special additional visit" to the elderly prisoner who is receiving "preventative urological treatment," a spokesman for the Prisons Service confirmed in Pretoria today.

A request for Mr Mandela to be examined by a doctor selected by the family would be considered after the visit had taken place and if Mr Mandela himself requested such an examination, he said in response to media enquiries. — Sapa.

# Solidarity 'has no intention to disband'

304A

Mercury 9/9/85

## Mercury Reporter

SOLIDARITY, the opposition party in the House of Delegates, has no intention of disbanding and will decide on the question of a merger with the Progressive Federal Party at its national congress in Durban next month.

This was said by the party's chairman, Mr Pat Poovalingam, at a meeting called by the party and attended by white, coloured and black leaders yesterday.

At this stage there was no intention of joining the PFP, Mr Poovalingam said.

'If we plan to merge with the PFP, a decision will be taken by congress in October.'

## Options

He said the party had not held any formal talks with the PFP and it had four options.

'We can form an alliance with the PFP, compete with them as a multiracial party, join them or remain an ethnic party.'

Yesterday's meeting, in Durban, was called to explain the Local Government Affairs Bill and the Regional Services Councils Bill and to outline reasons why the party opposed them.

Mr Yunus Moolla, the party's spokesman on local-government affairs, described the two Bills as 'nice strawberries set amongst a lot of thorns'.

He said the Bills, against the background of what was happening in the country, further entrenched apartheid.

Mr Mamoo Rajab, MP for Springfield, said the Bills would not promote political stability in the townships while the cry was for rights at national level.

In Solidarity's opinion, the Bills did not reflect a true evolution of power because the regional services councils would be administrative and not representative, and could be subjected to Government control.

Mr Rajab said there were factors which militated against their legitimacy because of the ethnic definition of the new local authorities.

Coloured and Indian participation would be constructed around existing management committees whose legitimacy was by no means assured, and representation on the Regional Service Council would be weighted toward wealthier and therefore white areas, he said.

Party leader Jayaram Reddy said the new taxes imposed by the Bills would not represent sound financing of local government, particularly in a time of recession.



# Labour calls for scrapping of influx control

E. Post

09/09/85

304A

Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party's national executive committee has called for the scrapping of influx control and for Indians to be allowed to live in the Free State.

This was contained in one of a number of resolutions passed by the committee — the party's top policy-making body when its national congress is not in session — at a two-day meeting in Oudtshoorn at the weekend.

The meeting was a regular one to review the LP's stance on major issues.

The committee further called for the repeal of all racially discriminatory laws in anticipation of the

"formation of a new South African society".

Other resolutions passed include:

- That clarity be must now be given to constitutional development that will accommodate all.

- Support, with regret, for the closure of coloured schools and educational institutions in certain areas "as the normal educational programme could not be proceeded with in an uninterrupted manner".

- Welcoming the announcement of the repeal of racial restrictions in the Aliens Act.

- Welcoming the decision by the LP leadership to open to all races educational institutions over which it has control.

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4/9/85 B. Day

# Botha slams ANC talks

Business Day Reporters and Sapa

STATE President P W Botha has come out strongly against the planned talks between top South African businessmen and the African National Congress.

Botha yesterday issued a statement distancing himself from the proposed meeting, saying he had "strongly advised against it" when "a leading South African" informed him of the plan.

"As long as the ANC is under communist leadership and supports violence in South Africa, there can be no question of me approving discussions with them.

"I want to warn South Africans against communist tactics of this kind and I regard such attempts as unwise and even disloyal to the young men who are sacrificing their lives in defending South Africa's safety," Botha said.

Yesterday both ANC and Zambian sources were not prepared to say whether Botha's hard line had endangered the meeting.



Mandela meeting, approach to ANC discouraged

# P W's stance casts pall over hopes of peace talks

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

Prospects for broad peace talks appear to be fading after President P W Botha's condemnation of business efforts to hold discussions with the ANC and because of the Government's refusal to allow Opposition leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert to meet with Nelson Mandela.

Dr Slabbert said today that he had been informally told that it would be "inopportune" for him to see Mandela.

He had wanted to see the jailed former ANC leader following reports that Mandela had rejected a national convention to work out a future for the country.

President P W Botha's condemnation of business attempts to hold talks with the ANC has meanwhile thrown the cat among the pigeons and any such talks may now be off.

Such attempts were misguided and even disloyal to South Africans who sacrificed their lives in the defence of the country, he said.

## DISCUSSIONS

The man said to be behind the talks, Mr Gavin Relly of Anglo American, said yesterday that "there is no question of any group with which I am associated being involved in any negotiations with the ANC".

He added however that, in discussions with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, it was felt that an informal meeting with the ANC might be a useful addition to the programme.

Dr Slabbert said today that to engage in talks with people did not mean that one condoned or supported their position.

"One talks to find out if there is an alternative to violence," he said.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP law and order spokesman, said the Government appeared to think that guns and quirts would bring peace, but these were destroying whatever good relationships might still exist between blacks and the authorities.

The obvious alternative to this was to talk and seek solutions.

Monday September 9 1985

# Chance for PFP to win control of Jo'burg

304A

STAR

Municipal Reporter

The death of a Johannesburg city councillor has given the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) an early chance of gaining control of the council.

Last week the independent councillor for the South West ward, Mr Koos Sadie (71), died. Mr Sadie, who stood for the Southern Johannesburg Ratepayers' Federation, was one of three independents who consistently denied the PFP a majority in the council.

After the last municipal election in 1982 the PFP tried unsuccessfully to win the support of the three independents, but they continually spoke and voted against the PFP.

With the independents, the National Party/Independent Ratepayers' Association coalition had a majority of 24-23 over the PFP.

The PFP may gain power in Johannesburg sooner than expected because the mayor, Mr Ernie Fabel (NP), is on an official visit overseas until the end of this month.

Unless he cuts short his visit, and provided all PFP councillors are present, the PFP will have a majority at the next council meeting on September 23.

The next municipal polls are expected in 1988.

In the 1982 elections Mr Sadie polled more votes than his opposition combined.

He gained 855 votes to the NP's 351 and the PFP's 244.

Ward to visit



**THE** decision by the Progressive Federal Party, the official opposition in the white chamber of South Africa's tricameral parliament, to contest seats in the coloured and Indian chambers has rekindled a long and bitter controversy.

The new tricameral constitution — which was formally inaugurated less than a year ago — is itself the subject of fierce debate because of the exclusion of blacks, who account for three-quarters of South Africa's total population. But participation in the coloured and Indian chambers is even more contentious.

Where whites at least overwhelmingly approved the constitution in a referendum in November 1983, coloured and Indians were denied the opportunity of doing so, mainly because, sceptics averred, the authorities knew they would reject it.

Coloured and Indian voters expressed their disapproval of the new constitution by boycotting the elections for 80 coloured and 40 Indian MPs. Less than 20 percent of eligible coloured voters went to the polls. For Indians the equivalent figure was less than 18 percent.

South Africa's major extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid movements, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum, condemned those who opted to participate in the tripartite constitution as "collaborators".

The new constitution's segregated, unracial chambers and its in-built white majority made it an apartheid institution, they charged. They dubbed it a "tri-apartheid" device, designed to ensure white minority rule by incorporating coloured and Indians as junior partners in the apartheid regime.

The PFP opposed the new constitution in the referendum, but its leader, Dr. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, justified the decision to contest seats in the coloured and Indian chambers as an opportunity to destroy it from within.

### Battle

To the PFP leadership, seeking to win seats in the coloured and Indian opportunities is a logical corollary to the repeal in June of the law prohibiting multiracial parties and forbidding a party deemed to belong to one race from "interfering" in the political affairs of another.

The acrimonious debate over whether or not to participate in apartheid institutions has since escalated into open warfare.

Militant radicals have physically attacked those holding positions in segregated political institutions approved by the Government. The fiercest battle has been in the black townships, where councillors serving in black local authorities have come under attack by assailants armed with grenades, petrol bombs, stones and sticks. At least 12 councillors have been killed. At least 240 have resigned.

The controversy over whether to participate in or to boycott racially segregated political institutions is, of course, not new. It dates back at least to 1936 when a special Natives Representative Council (NRC) was created for blacks. But, as it became increasingly clear that the NRC was impotent, that its counsel was ignored by the white Government, the lobby in favour of participation gradually lost out to the advocates of boycott.

The majority black view was summed up by a disillusioned Paul Mo-

saka in 1946, who said of his experience as a councillor: "You sat down there, you came with resolutions, you talked until your mouth was dry and that was the last you heard of it."

### Detention

Years later another black leader, Steve Biko, the founder of South Africa's Black Consciousness movement who died in detention in 1977, rejected the argument that apartheid institutions could be captured from within and used as platforms in the fight against apartheid.

"We believe the first step of any black leader is to destroy such a platform," he said. "Des-

troys it without giving it any form of respectability. Once you step into it, once you participate in it, you are giving sanctity to it."

Noting that these institutions were designed for the "oppression of the black man" not his liberation, Biko compared those who believed apartheid institutions can be used to destroy apartheid to the man who accepted an unloaded pistol from his opponent in a duel and still persisted in the illusion that he could win.

The PFP, which is essentially a white middle-class party, is about to discover that the dispute is more than an academic debate. — London Observer Service.



SLABBERT: Opposed the new constitution. BIKO: Founder of Black Consciousness.

# WHITE OPPOSITION TESTS THE WATER

FOCUS 304A

By PATRICK LAURENCE



Rift over

powerful into winners.

# ANC talks

CAPL Times

9/9/85

Staff Reporter

**OPEN** conflict broke out yesterday between the government and top South African business leaders — including Anglo-American chairman Mr Gavin Relly — over plans to hold "informal talks" with the banned African National Congress.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, declared his opposition to the plans and condemned them as "unwise and even disloyal to the young men who are sacrificing their lives in defending South Africa's safety".

In a later statement, Mr Relly acknowledged for the first time that he was the unofficial leader of a group of businessmen engaged in "low-key discussions" in Africa on Southern African affairs. He also acknowledged plans for a meeting with the ANC. He stressed, however, that the talks would be "informal" and that there was no question of the group being involved in negotiations with the banned organization.

## Tambo

In another development, an ANC spokesman in London confirmed yesterday that the meeting was imminent and would be attended by the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mr Botha's condemnation of the talks came in a statement issued in response to a report on the talks in the Sunday newspaper Rapport.

The report named Mr Relly and Mr Hugh Murray, editor of the business magazine Leadership, as the main organizers of the talks. Other possible participants were Mr Tony Bloom of Premier Milling, Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow-Rand and Mr Chris Ball of Barclays.

It added that the State President had been "informed of their plans".



Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo-American.

Mr Botha said uninformed people could conclude from this that he supported plans to negotiate with the ANC.

"The facts are that a few weeks ago a leading South African consulted me over such a plan and that I strongly advised against it. His name does not appear among the published names." "As long as the ANC was under communist leadership and supported violence in South Africa, there could be no question of his approving discussions with them."

"I want to warn South Africans against communist tactics of this kind and I regard such attempts as unwise and even disloyal to the young men who are sacrificing their lives in defending South Africa's safety," Mr Botha said.

Mr Relly said later: "There is no question of any group of businessmen with which I am associated being involved in negotiations with the ANC, and I do not think this is a role businessmen would assume on their own."

"A number of discussions have been held with President Kaunda of Zambia in recent months and it was felt that an informal meeting with the ANC might be a useful addition to the programme."

"I, and those in the group, travel in other parts of Africa in the usual course of business,

exchanging views with people of very different opinions. There is nothing very remarkable about continuing low-key discussions on Southern African affairs.

"The opinion of the group is that only the free-enterprise approach can create work and wealth in Southern Africa and this has been a constant theme of previous discussions."

Dr Fred du Plessis of Sanlam and Dr Anton Rupert of Rembrandt both denied their reported involvement in the proposed talks yesterday.

## Cautious nod

At a press conference in London yesterday, the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard De Kock, gave a cautious nod to the business initiative but stopped short of welcoming it.

"I fully understand what the businessmen are concerned about and what they are trying to do," he said.

An ANC spokesman said there was no agenda for the meeting and the ANC was not aware of the precise make-up of the business delegation.

It emerged yesterday that the planned Lusaka meeting follows several contacts between the South Africa Foundation (SAF) and ANC representatives in London over the past 12 months.

This was confirmed yesterday by the London director of the SAF, Mr David Willers, who said he had met ANC representatives informally.

## Aims

It is understood that the aims of the business delegation include:

- Sounding out the ANC about its economic objectives and policies.

- Exploring ANC readiness to discuss a federal solution with a universal franchise.

- Sounding out the external mission of the ANC on its attitude to a national convention.

- Laying the foundation for an ongoing dialogue.

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# Free State Nats vote to repeal ban on Indians

By David Braun  
Political Correspondent

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — One of the oldest discriminatory measures in South Africa, the law banning Indians from living and working in the Free State, received the death sentence at the National Party congress in Bloemfontein today.

After a session behind closed doors, the congress voted overwhelmingly in favour of repealing the old Free State Republic statute which banned Indians from owning property and trading in the province.

At a Press conference afterwards, the party's Free State leader, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the congress had decided to recommend to the Government that the law be repealed so as to bring the province in line with the rest of the country.

A wide spectrum of provincial leaders and in-

terest groups, including the local executive of the Coloured Labour Party, was apparently consulted about the move.

Earlier today, in his opening address, Mr Coetsee sharply rebuked "prominent white leaders" who alleged that Afrikaners were guilty of mistakes which required atonement by way of capitulation.

Mr Coetsee said this was a syndrome without foundation and was intended to break down self-confidence.

If it were true, it was also true that the tremendous economic, health and other developments in South Africa were mistakes.

Mr Coetsee, who was unanimously re-elected the party's provincial leader, said that self-condemnation and doubt drained the energy to withstand the onslaught against South Africa.

# Chissano slams Pretoria

LUANDA — Mozambique's Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano has accused South Africa of not implementing the Nkomati Accord, the Mozambican news agency, AIM reports.

Mr Chissano said

South Africa continues to supply the armed bandits of the MNR. He was speaking at the eighth ministerial conference of the non-aligned movement being held in the Angolan capital. 304A  
"The South African

Government's non-implementation of the Nkomati Accord unmasks the aggressive nature of the apartheid regime before those who had any doubts, and bring forth its strategy of destabilisation," said Mr Chissano.

This is the most hard hitting accusation by a Mozambican leader against Pretoria, 18 months after the agreement was signed on the banks of the Nkomati River in the no man's land between the two countries.

The Foreign Minister said Mozambique "has fully implemented the agreement in letter and spirit". He added it is now clear for the whole world that South Africa

has not kept to its word. "South Africa has tried its best to avoid being caught in its criminal action of continuing to supply the bandits, thereby trying to make the world believe the bandits can act autonomously," the Foreign Minister said. 10/9/85

Mr Chissano likened apartheid to Nazism. Apartheid, he said, "does not confine itself to South Africa's borders, apartheid is not just internal oppression and discrimination" because, the Minister stressed, it exports its internal conflicts.



## Botswana revokes citizenship

GABORONE — A former South African, Mr Gabriel Setlhoke, has had his Botswana citizenship revoked.

The notice in the Botswana Government Gazette said the Minister of Home Affairs had decided Mr Setlhoke "has shown himself to be disloyal and disaffected towards Botswana".

This is believed to be the first time the Botswana Government has revoked a grant of citizenship.

Mr Setlhoke was not known to be involved in any political activity. — SOWETAN Foreign Service.



CAPT Tm H 10/ 9/85 (304A)

# No purpose in talking to ANC — Le Grange

From COLIN HOWELL  
JOHANNESBURG. — More than 660 people had died in unrest in the past year, about 2 400 others injured and damage to property amounted to at least R93-million, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said last night.

Speaking at the annual banquet of the Institute of Estate Agents here, he also hit out at a planned initiative by a group of South African businessmen to hold talks with the African National Congress (ANC).

"People talk so easily about having discussions with the ANC in Lusaka and in some circles it seems to have be-

come a status symbol.

"But they forget that the declared policy of the ANC is violence with no alternative, while it does not distinguish between hard and soft targets," said Mr Le Grange.

"Discussion with an organization involved in armed conflict with our country cannot serve any useful purpose and should be discouraged," he said.

Releasing statistics related to the 12-month period of unrest in South Africa, Mr Le Grange said about a third of the 660 people who had died were killed by "citizens" who, similarly, had been responsible for injuries received by about a

third of the 2 400 people wounded in the unrest.

"The security forces lost 11 members while 357 were hurt or wounded," he said.

Damage to property — chiefly in black areas — amounted to about R93-million, he added.

But, only 15 percent of all community councils and 7 percent of black local managements were "out of order" and no more than 8 percent of black pupils were boycotting schools, he said.

Discussing the security situation in South Africa, Mr Le Grange said there had been 83 incidents of "terror or sabotage" in the country so far this year.

"We arrested 11 terrorists and killed nine others," he said. "Since 1976, we have succeeded in arresting a total of 196 terrorists while 73 others were killed in clashes with police."

## Caches

He said a number of arms caches had been discovered recently in South Africa.

"In one cache, we found a silencer and ammunition and in another we found remote-control mechanisms for controlling motor bombs similar to the one that exploded in Church Street, Pretoria, in 1983."

The government was also aware of "an alarming increase in terrorist arms and explosives in some Southern African countries".

Undercover bases of "the revolutionary alliance against South Africa" had been set up in Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

"Terrorists are being trained on a short-term basis in some of these countries and recently we arrested some men who operated from Lesotho into the Transkei and Eastern Cape," said Mr Le Grange.

# 'Alliance to show another way out'

By RIAAN SMIT

STELLENBOSCH. — Right-wing violence is as much a threat as left-wing violence, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, told a meeting of 300 students here last night.

Dr Slabbert spoke on the need for a convention alliance "to show the government that there is another way out of the cycle of repression and violence in which we are trapped".

He said it was simplistic to present South Africa to the outside world as a large black township surrounded by white security forces. The real danger emerged when violence in black townships spilled over into white suburbs because whites would then be radicalised.

"You will have to decide if you are going to grab stones and at whom you are going to direct it," Dr Slabbert added.

He said reform must stop this threat, but he did not see this kind of reform coming from the government.

A further result of the government's inability to enact basic reform — such as freedom of association — is increasing polarisation around a brutally enforced status quo and those seeking to destroy the status quo through violent means.

The formation of a



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

convention alliance can prevent such polarisation by crystallising a middle ground in the South African political spectrum.

Dr Slabbert stressed that "calling for a convention alliance to be formed is not calling for a national convention". He added that not only was the climate for a national convention wrong, but also the structure of society.

"The wrong climate and structure can be blamed for the situation where ordinary people do not have the opportunity to freely demonstrate who the leaders are that they respect to go to a convention to represent their interests," he said.

In response to a question, Dr Slabbert dismissed allegations that he was trying to fill the leadership void created by government repression.

## Police explain funeral deaths

Staff Reporter

BOTH MEN whom security forces shot and killed after the burial of Guguletu unrest victims on Saturday had been involved in the petrol bombing of patrolling Casspirs, police said yesterday.

The two men, aged 19 and 28, were shot in separate incidents in Guguletu when violence erupted after thousands of mourners returned from the cemetery.

Their identities had

not been released by late yesterday.

On Saturday the township was sealed off to all except blacks before the funeral and police initially kept a low profile.

However, violence erupted shortly after 6pm when police investigated a pall of smoke in the Lansdowne Road area.

Several Casspirs were petrol-bombed and police had responded by firing shotguns, a spokesman said.



**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — Millions of blacks are to have their South African citizenship restored in a major departure from National Party policy.

The move, which was announced by President P W Botha at the National Party Free State congress today, is two-pronged.

Dual citizenship is to be given to citizens of Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei, and full citizenship is to be restored to the urban blacks who lost their citizenship rights with the independence of the homelands.

President Botha's announcement marks the end of the NP policy of an "all-white South Africa".

The question of citizenship has been given as a major reason for the current unrest in South Africa and has been at the centre of international criticism of South Africa's apartheid policy.

### Dismantling apartheid

The move is the first step to dismantle so-called "grand apartheid" which if it had been carried to its conclusion would have resulted in no black South African citizens.

The Government decision will have to lead to a snowball effect on the rest of apartheid policy, including influx control, the other major issue of contention.

President Botha told the congress that the South African Government had and would continue to negotiate with these four countries' governments about restoring the South African citizenship of members of black communities residing within the borders of Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei who lost that citizenship as a result of independence.

"We propose that this be done on the basis of dual citizenship which implies that these people may have the option of accepting South African citizenship as a second citizenship in addition to their current citizenship."

He said this would not affect the independence of the four countries.

### Uniform identity documents

In an oblique reference to the controversial pass books, President Botha said that the new uniform identity documents issued to all population groups would express the status as South Africans "not only their ethnic relationship".

This was the result of requests from leaders of black communities both urban and from the self-governing territories.

Mr Botha said that these changes were the result of "the drive and understanding of many black leaders in various spheres".

"This is the manner in which we will build a common future and not by throwing stones and carrying red flags.

"South African leaders of all groups will come to terms and find solutions amongst themselves, not only on the issue of citizenship, but also on our other political, social and economic problems."

Earlier Mr Botha said that black people living in self-governing territories, such as Kwazulu, "always were and still are South African citizens".

### New citizenship measures

He acknowledged that the loss of South African citizenship had led to frustration, particularly among those people who live permanently within the Republic.

"These strong feelings were due to a sense of rejection and the perception that they were being cut off from South Africa's financial and economic resources."

The attitudes had been made clear to the Government in numerous discussions with black leaders. Steps to introduce the new citizenship measures would be taken as soon as possible with details being worked out in consultation with the independent countries.

● 'Police action alone can't quell unrest' — Page 5.

### Referendum promised on black rights

PRESIDENT P W Botha today promised to call a referendum if there was a need to bring about "drastic fundamental change" to accommodate black political rights in a new constitutional structure.

Mr Botha made his promise at the end of a statement regarding black citizenship.

He said he would repeat the undertaking he had made when considering constitutional changes for the accommodation of coloureds and Indians in 1982.

"Just as with the coloured and Indian inclusion in the constitution, if there is fundamental drastic change necessary (to accommodate blacks) then we will go to the nation for a final decision," he said.

PW to restore SA citizenship to blacks

AKS 11/9/85 3044



# Nickel returns to SA with clear message

The United States Ambassador to South Africa flew into Jan Smuts Airport last night carrying an important message from President Reagan to President Botha — and gave a warning that his country would no longer be satisfied with “mere statements” of reform.

Mr Herman Nickel's return to South Africa after a three-month “recall” comes in the wake of the US President's announcement of limited sanctions against South Africa, and coincides with the approval of the European Economic Community of a package of tough measures against this country.

Hannes de Wet writes that Mr Nickel, speaking at a brief Press conference, left little doubt about what the US was expecting from the South African Government.

“The key systems of apartheid would have to be seen to be abolished,” he said. “The injustices in the name of the system have gone on too long. The suffering has gone on too long. It's time to move from confrontation to consultation.”

Mr Nickel said South Africa was facing “momentous choices” and the outcome would “inevitably have an impact on relations between our two countries”.

Visible reform in key areas was the only way to restore international confidence in South Africa and world reaction would depend on the response of the real black leaders in South Africa.

## REACTION

“They will take their cue very heavily from the reaction of genuine black leaders.”

Mr Nickel said it was important that the US made its dissociation from apartheid plain, and that was the purpose of President Reagan's executive sanctions.

The Star's Foreign News Service reports from Luxembourg that Britain has split the EEC by refusing to endorse sanctions which would have forced her to end all military co-operation with South Africa.

After tense debate yesterday, the other nine members approved tough measures:

- A rigorously-controlled embargo on exports and imports of arms and paramilitary equipment to and from South Africa.
- Refusal of co-operation in the military sphere.

## REFUSAL

● Recall of their military attaches to South Africa and refusal to grant accreditation to military attaches from South Africa.

● An end to oil exports.

The EEC also proposed “positive measures” — supported by Britain — and warned that it would consider economic sanctions if apartheid was not changed.

The measures include:

● Adaptation, reinforcement and publicity of the EEC Code of Conduct for firms doing business in South Africa.

● Assistance to non-violent anti-apartheid organisations, particularly the churches.

● Educational assistance for “the non-white community”, including grants for study at universities in the participating countries.

Sapa reports that President Botha said in

● To Page 4, Col 5

Nickel's  
STAR  
message:  
11/9/85  
‘Let's see  
changes’

● From Page 1

Bloemfontein today that Mr Nickel was “fighting phantoms” on the issue of a declaration of intent on political change.

He said in a preamble to an announcement on black citizenship to the Free State National Party congress that he had never declared himself willing to make a statement of intent on political change.

Russia and political parties in the US had particular goals in South Africa, but the country rejected prescriptions from them.

“I appeal to all well-meaning, reasonable and honest South Africans ... to take the road of renewal, reform and freedom — as South Africans determine it, and not as Russia or America wish to determine it.”

## FORMULAS

Mr Botha said he would co-operate with black leaders in South Africa, but recipes and formulas could not be imported by the US Ambassador, or any other ambassador.

“I see the US Ambassador has arrived here with a letter for me, which I have not yet had the opportunity to read.

“I see, however, that he says that a statement of intent is no longer enough.

“But I have never said that I am in favour of such a statement of intent. I rejected it.

Mr Botha said that in order to find solutions he would talk to all black leaders inside and outside the homelands who rejected violence.

“But as long as I am leader of the country, we will not talk with perpetrators of violence.”

● See Page 17.

# Beukes likely to present his credentials soon

304A

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa's Ambassador-designate to the United States, Mr Herbert Beukes, is expected to be invited to the White House soon to present his credentials to President Reagan.

This will raise his status to that of a recognised ambassador.

Mr Beukes took over as Pretoria's representative in Washington when the Ambassador, Mr Brand Fourie, retired earlier this year to become chairman of the Board of the SA Broadcasting Corporation.

But he has operated only as an ambassador-designate since the presentation of his credentials became trapped in the deterioration of US relations with South Africa, marked by the recall to Washington for consultations of the American Ambassador, Mr Her-

man Nickel.

STAR 11/9/85  
The Reagan Administration waited for a suitable opportunity to send Mr Nickel back to South Africa and President Reagan's announcement of sanctions on Monday was taken as that occasion.

Now that Mr Nickel is back at his post, informed sources here believe that the way has been cleared for Mr Beukes to present his credentials and that his meeting with President Reagan will take place soon.

Mr Beukes has not allowed his temporary status to restrict his activity as the representative of the SA Government. He has appeared frequently on radio and television programmes and given many newspaper and magazine interviews.

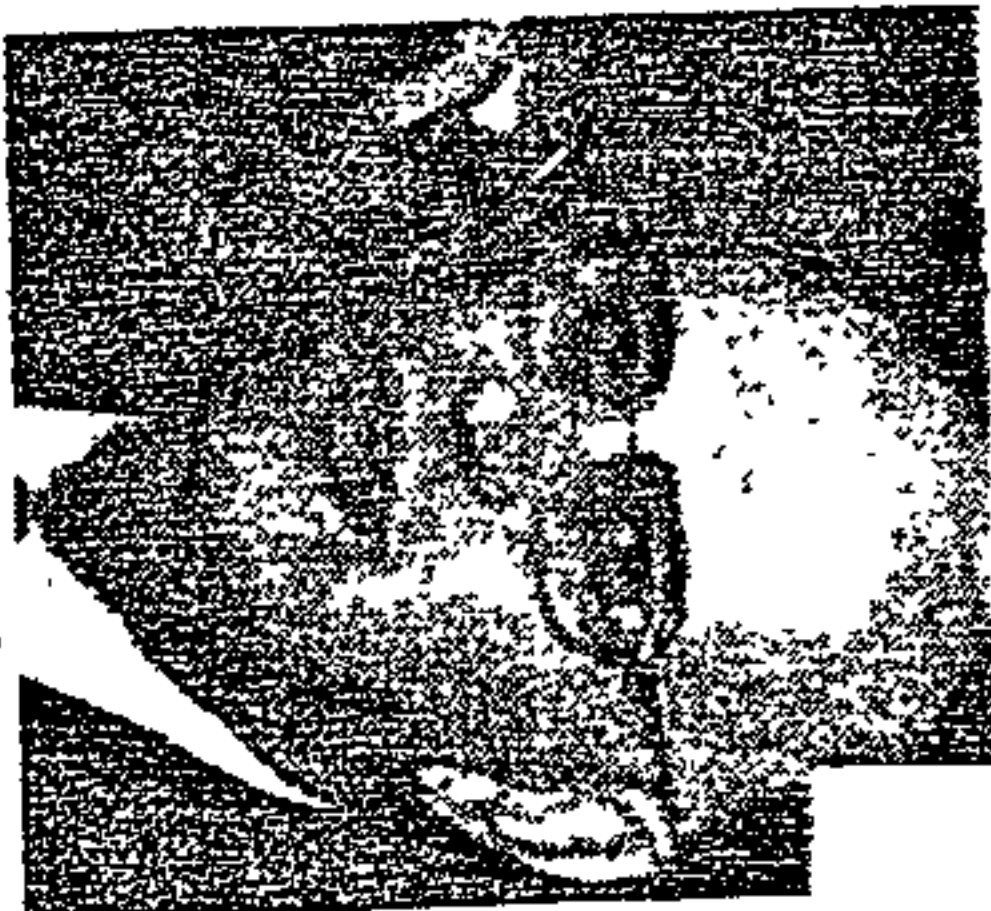
In terms of public exposure, he is probably the best-known ambassador in Washington — even without his credentials being presented.



# Major concession by Gov

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

## Blacks in the national states may get back SA citizenship



Mr P W Botha ... Govt prepared to negotiate



Mr Chris Heunis ... lives of blacks are over-regulated

## 'Laws for blacks to be reviewed'

Political Correspondent

and regulations.

BLOEMFONTEIN — All laws affecting blacks are to be critically reviewed with a view to eliminating restrictions wherever possible, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, told the National Party Free State congress here today.

"The lives of especially blacks are totally over-regulated in this country. We cannot go on with these proclamations and regulations."

"I have given my department instructions to see what is necessary and what is not and to consolidate the rest," he said.

Mr Piet Badenhorst, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, told the congress that regulations and procedures for renewing labour contracts of migrant workers from the homelands were also being rationalised.

The Ministers were responding to a

11/9/85  
From Page 1

Mr Botha promised to call a referendum if there was a need to bring about "drastic fundamental change" to accommodate black political rights in a new constitutional structure, reports Sapa.

Mrs Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash said: "If what the State President has said has been correctly reported it would be the first real step that the National Party Government has taken to start dismantling apartheid."

"Until legislation is actually published it is impossible to understand what the State President means when he talks about dual citizenship."

The vice-president for the Cape region of the

Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) Mr Pam-bili Ntloko, said the organisation was not impressed with the State President's statement.

"Nothing less than the handover of land to the rightful owners and power to the black people will satisfy us," he said.

Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said it was meaningless to talk of dual citizenship without specifying the rights and protection this would entail.

Professor Dugard said he feared that what the Government had in mind would entitle dual citizens to little more than a South African passport.

series of resolutions and speeches by delegates who had expressed their anxiety that solutions to the issues of influx control and other regulations, which affected blacks should be given urgent attention.

Mr Heunis said few people understood the intensity and depth of the frustration of the black community.

"We have to do everything possible to foster trust, hope and expectations in the black communities ..."

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Government is prepared to return South African citizenship to millions of blacks who live in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei who lost their citizenship as a result of independence, President P W Botha said today.

Addressing the Free State Congress of the National Party, Mr Botha said he wished to state emphatically that the sovereignty of these states was not in any dispute whatsoever.

Political observers regard his announcement as a major concession which addresses a fundamental grievance of millions of blacks and as the *coup de grace* for the Nationalist policy which originally envisaged that no blacks would be South African citizens.

"It is, however, undeniable that they form part of the Southern African community in the broader sense. Historically we are inextricably linked to one another and we are largely interdependent in many fields," Mr Botha said.

The method of identification as a South African citizen was closely linked to the issue of citizenship as such.

### Requests

Leaders of black communities both urban and from the self-governing territories, had requested at various times that the status of black persons as South African citizens and not only their ethnic relationship be expressly stated in their identity documents.

"The Government gladly accedes to this request and an announcement in this regard will be made soon," he said.

Mr Botha said the Government was prepared to negotiate with the four countries for the return of South African citizenship to members of the communities on the basis of dual citizenship.

Citizens of the four states who were living in South Africa would also qualify.

This was in accordance with his announcement earlier this year that independence should not automatically mean the loss of South African citizenship. It was additional proof of the Government's willingness to react to the agendas of those on the other side of the negotiating table, he said.

At the end of his statement,

● To Page 3, Col 9



# Mixed feelings over repeal of Indian ban law

The scrapping of one of the oldest discriminatory laws, the banning of Indians from living and working in the Orange Free State, was received with mixed feelings by Indian leaders last night.

Whereas the decision to scrap the laws, was viewed as "a step in the right direction" by some leaders, others saw it as a desperate move by the Government to give credibility to the tricameral Parliament.

The decision to recommend the repeal of the laws, was announced at the National Party's Free State congress by the Free State leader, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday.

After a session behind closed doors, the congress voted overwhelmingly in favour of repealing the old Free State Republic

statute which banned Indians from owning property and trading in the province.

At a Press conference afterwards, Mr Coetsee said the congress had decided to recommend that the law be repealed.

A wide spectrum of provincial leaders and interest groups, including the local executive of the Coloured Labour Party, was apparently consulted about the move.

The acting chairman of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr Thumba Pillay, said he was not euphoric about the decision.

"What one must bare in mind is that the same segregationist laws that prevail in the rest of South Africa, will still prevail in the Orange Free State."

The National Forum's convener, Mr

Saths Cooper, said this type of "cosmetic measure" would not satisfy the rightful aspirations of the vast majority of citizens in their demand for a unitary country free of all racist and exploitative measures.

The Minister of the Budget in House of Delegates and Transvaal leader of the National People's Party, Mr Boetie Abramjee, said any move towards reform was to be welcomed.

Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates Mr Amichand Rajbansi said the legislation had affected the dignity of the Indian community.

He said the move would not open up "a floodgate" for Indians as homes would have to be developed first.



# SA has no idea of the future — Poos

LUXEMBOURG — The South African Government has "no idea" of the future, Luxembourg Foreign Minister Dr Jacques Poos, who last week headed the EEC mission to the country, said yesterday.

"The measures they have taken are too scattered. There is no package," he said in an interview.

"When you ask what they intend, they use words like reform and power-sharing.

"But when you ask them for specifics they refuse, saying they don't want to put their cards on the table. They have no idea of the future of the country."

Dr Poos confirmed that the EEC had met an ANC delegation. "They gave us their view of the situation in South Africa. It coincides with the view of the troika. And they asked us to impose sanctions."

He confirmed that the EEC had received a letter from US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz informing them of President Reagan's sanctions.

"We wanted to take an independent European stance — not simply follow the Americans," said Dr Poos.

He emphasised that EEC foreign ministers met regularly and would review their stance if no change occurred in South Africa.

**Quiet diplomacy paved the way, says Rajbansi**

# Free State to scrap law banning Indians

304A 11/9/85 Mercury

**Mercury Reporter**

**RACE barriers in the Free State will soon come down following a recommendation to the Government by the National Party in the province to scrap the law banning Indians and Chinese from living and trading there.**

The move was welcomed by Indians and the Chief Minister in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said it was the quiet diplomacy of the House of Delegates which paved the way.

He said: 'I am sure that during the 1986 parliamentary session the laws prohibiting Indians from the Orange Free State and northern Natal will be repealed.'

The new leader of the Free State NP, Mr Kobie Coetsee, made the an-

nouncement after a two-hour debate in committee.

## **Six against**

The recommendation to scrap one of the country's oldest discriminatory race laws was carried with only six votes against in a congress of 458 delegates.

The old statute put an absolute ban on trade, farming and property rights for 'Arabs, Chinese, coolies or any other Asians'.

The House of Delegates

Opposition Solidarity Party leader, Mr J.N. Reddy, said the decision was a step in the right direction.

## **Consciences**

'The ban on Indians from the Free State and northern Natal showed that they were being treated as outcasts in South Africa,' said Mr Reddy.

Mr Ismail Kathrada, Solidarity MP for Verulam, said it was amazing to find Indians working in northern Natal and yet not allowed to live there.

'Whites in northern Natal were prepared to use Indian labour but their Christian consciences did not allow them to give Indians the right to live in the area,' he said.

He said Indians were in Parliament and therefore should be free to live anywhere in South Africa.



# Judge President calls for Bill of Rights

A BILL OF RIGHTS should be at the forefront of the minds of those who are considering any future constitutional dispensation for the country, says Mr Justice Milne.

The complexity and danger of the national plight should not deter people from unflinchingly supporting whatever seems to contribute to a smooth and orderly future.

'No settlement, no course of political, social or economic action will be wholly fair to the interests of all. We must simply strive to distribute the justice and the injustice more or less equally,' the judge said.

To rest on absolutes and insist on winning every front was to risk, in fact almost to ensure, that everyone in the region would end up losing.

'It is more important to sort out a few things we value most, a few priorities, and look for ways to preserve them.'

Mr Justice Milne said there was a need for 'honest brokers' in the bargaining for a settlement between hostile parties with head-on conflicting interests in South Africa.

He said a Bill of Rights in which individual and group rights were protected was one of the key proposals in the Buthe-lezi Commission's plan for a united Natal-KwaZulu.

A Bill of Rights could be described as a statement in broad principle

**THE JUDGE PRESIDENT of Natal, Mr Justice Milne, last week called for the introduction of a Bill of Rights in South Africa. He explained some of the advantages of a Bill of Rights, and answered some of the more common criticisms of the concept, at a meeting in Durban of the Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators. STOVIN HAYTER reports.**

of the fundamental rights of the citizens of a country with which all laws had to comply, he said.

'When it is coupled with a power of judicial review the courts have the power to strike down legislation which is in conflict with those principles.'

A great many of the major reforms of American society since the early 19th century, including the removal of racially discriminatory legislation, had come through the courts and not through the legislature, he said.

The use of the Court for this sort of constitutional purpose had several advantages.

One was that it was not elected.

'Because it is not elected it has no partisan constituents, no fashionable but ephemeral political sectional doctrine to answer to.'

Once society in the shape of the legislature had formulated the basic norms upon which it meant to fashion itself, namely a Bill of Rights, and these had received the endorsement of the electorate no aberration by a temporary political

majority could legally infringe them.

'This means that, as happened in America, reform which it would have been politically damaging to some elected members of the legislature to support was effected by the courts.'

'Had it come through the legislative body it might have come only after the most damaging of political struggles, or even been held up until civil disturbance was a severe threat.'

Another advantage was that every court was a product of its time and could not operate too far behind or too far in front of the perceptions of its time.

It could not initiate legislation, but depended on an aggrieved party contending that certain legislation conflicted with fundamental rights.

## Trained

Only then could it abolish such legislation, ensuring that it addressed legitimate grievances.

'Though men of their time, judges are trained to apply legal principles as objectively as possible to the particular cases before them,' Mr Justice Milne said.

A Bill of Rights was also 'peculiarly appropriate' to South Africa, where, in the words of the State President, 'we are all minorities'.

'We have a wide variety of minority groups distinguished from one another by racial origin, tribe, language, culture, religion and economic status. Each may need protection in the future against other groups overwhelming it.'

Mr Justice Milne also rejected the argument that while a Bill of Rights protected individual rights it was somehow inadequate for the protection of so-called group rights.

## Basic liberties

'What, essentially, is a 'group right' except the right of individual members of that group to a series of basic liberties?'

'Of course, what such a Bill would remove would be any favouring of the members of one group above others.'

Anybody who thought historically inherited and legally protected privilege would endure much longer was 'living in cloud-cuckoo land'.

'What is needed now is to see that privilege for one group is not merely superseded by privilege for another.'

Dealing with criticisms often levelled at the concept of a Bill of Rights, Mr Justice Milne said it was sometimes true that a Bill of Rights was not worth the paper it was written on.

But a Bill of Rights, the provisions of which were relatively simply stated and which were known and supported by the

public-minded and politically conscious in the nation and backed by the power of an independent court, was 'undoubtedly effective'.

'In this country, if we want such respect for a Bill of Rights which could be our protection in future we must initiate one now and use it to extend and protect basic rights for all the population.'

'It is no use calling for one when and because we have lost those rights ourselves,' he warned.

Other common criticisms were that a Bill of Rights politicised the courts and that it was 'better to build rights into laws themselves'.

But this meant that human rights were better left in the hands of politicians responding to the pressures of their constituencies rather than to judges acting in accordance with fundamental principles endorsed by 'the nation at large'.

## Impartial

He said that while judges were not necessarily better people than politicians they were in a better position to be just and impartial.

And while those who appointed judges might be tempted to appoint them with reference to their political views, judges were appointed for life, making it very difficult to get them to toe any particular party line after appointment.

'Furthermore, it would be difficult to anticipate both the kind of issues which would arise, and the particular form they would take in the particular case before the Court, and to foresee the judge's reaction to them.'

There was no reason why the independence of the judiciary should not work as effectively on a Bill of Rights as it did on other judicial decisions, Mr Justice Milne said.

# Court upholds Umzinto election result

The

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

A DISPUTE over the results of last year's General Election to the House of Delegates in the Umzinto constituency was settled in chambers in the Supreme Court here yesterday, and a Full Bench of judges declared that the

elector candidate, Mr. M. K. Govender, was correctly voted in.

3044

This follows a recount of the votes which took place in the Supreme Court on Monday.

According to a report by the Registrar following

the recount, the list of special votes received indicated that two ballot papers could not be accounted for and that due to a clerical error 11 applications were listed although no applications had been received, and 20 applications had been rejected.

The total of ordinary votes cast was compared with, and found to correspond with, the total number of people who cast votes as reflected by the ballot paper count.

The Registrar said the parties had informed him that although in the case

of a small number of ballot papers there was a dispute as to whether the papers ought to have been rejected, they agreed this would not affect the result of the election and should be ignored.

When the votes were recounted Mr. Govender, of the National People's Party, had 1 453.

It was found to have a total of 1 574 votes and Mr. R. Sewsunker of the Solidarity Party, who brought the action, had 1 453.

In papers before the Court, supporting his application, Mr. Sewsunker had said he believed there had been irregularities in the counting of the votes.

The presiding judges were Mr. Justice van Heerden, Mr. Justice Dicoet and Mr. Justice Friedman.

after the election on August 28 last year.

He said that when the votes were counted he believed he had won the election by nine votes.



# Hindsight's penetrating look at that 'yes' vote

11/9/85  
In this September of 1985, many white South Africans must be asking what they let themselves in for when they said "yes" to the 1983 referendum.

The country is spattered with unrest, bullets, detentions, unemployment, inflation, economic depression, the rand in intensive care, curfews, emergency areas. There is no clear vision of the future.

Two years have passed since some of us worked on the referendum campaign. As the then leader of the only opposition party in the Transvaal that was prepared to say "yes" to "some reform now, or no reform at all", I believe we have reason to reflect if we were right in supporting this flawed constitution.

Saying "yes" in 1983 was seen by many to be an act of faith in the future, and of reconciliation. It was a significant decision to give P W Botha and his National Party the chance of building a new vision for the people of South Africa.

Botha had certainly shown he was prepared to divide Afrikanerdom in proceeding with the start of what was hoped to be a "real change".

The National Party, however, was still continuing to proclaim at that time that "separate development" (apartheid) was its policy. Unfortunately this continues to be the case even today in Transvaal.

Although working with the Nats in 1983 was not an easy decision, reform-minded individuals were justified in believing that leprous apartheid would disappear.

It has always been my view that the Constitution and political structure of South Africa must, of necessity, make clear provision for the political aspirations of our fellow black South Africans.

This was long debated in my dealings with F W de Klerk and other members of the Cabinet.

It was finally resolved that in return for making a non-issue during the campaign of the exclusion of the blacks from the Constitution, the Nats (F W de Klerk) would guarantee that blacks would be satisfactorily accommodated on an urgent basis once the new constitution was in place. It was one for trust and patience.

An opposition party must show responsible courage and fortitude in

opposing the government of the day. After the referendum, the NRP failed to do this. I thus resigned as leader of the New Republic Party in the Transvaal as it appeared that the National Party had done a "mess of pottage" exercise with both the national leader and Natal leader of the party.

A medal for one and a deputy ministership for the other. A medal (Decoration for Meritorious Service) was presented to Mr Vause Raw for the political hand grenade he threw into the Rosettenville provincial by-election campaign last year. (Mr Raw publicly repudiated a hard-hitting election pamphlet put out by his own party, in spite of the fact that he had previously been consulted on it)

A deputy ministership was offered to Mr Ron Miller for his calculated connivings for Nat support in the NRP caucus. Such double-dealing cannot purchase English-speaking voters' support.

Ongoing reform remained my deep concern after leaving active politics. I therefore kept in touch with certain members of the Cabinet and others in politics. Predictably, I was invited by F W de Klerk to join the National Party.

It is hard to accept such an invitation unless one is satisfied as to the direction, policy and principles of the party one is being asked to support.

Merely to be asked to accept the concept of "co-operative co-existence" is really an insult to one's intelligence and political principles.

During this time of consideration, persistent and enthusiastic efforts were made on my part to determine what the National Party currently stands for. These met with no result, not even when I tried to get clarity from Mr P W Botha himself.

Does co-operative co-existence mean a continued commitment to maintain white hegemonic government? Does this mean the continued rejection and suspicion of the role of the English speaker? Does this mean the continued myopic commitment on the part of the Nationalist Government to the Broederbond and sustained dominance of the National-oriented Afrikaner?

One is so tired of these "Broeder appointments" in the SABC, State



The New Republic Party supported a "yes" vote in the 1983 constitutional referendum. The NRP's Transvaal leader at the time, Mr Alex Anderson (left), looks again at that decision. He resigned from the party in September last year after finding himself increasingly at odds with the NRP's parliamentary caucus.

and quasi-State organisations. F W de Klerk and P W Botha do not appear to agree on these issues. Recent events show that F W has the upper hand.

Our preparedness to give the National Party a chance, and they have had two years, gives rise to feelings that "we have been taken in", much as one is taken in by the powder, perfume and petulance of Evita Bezuidenhout.

It is only major surgery that can make Pieter-Dirk Uys the female he purports to be. It is only major surgery that can make the National Party a party truly committed to reform.

Yes, aspects of apartheid have been removed from the statute book. Credit must be given for these long-overdue decisions.

But seen against the background of the performance of the National Party's congress in Durban, they can only be acts of tokenism and must now be viewed as being part of the National Party's political drag act.

Underneath, all is the same. P W Botha is no political surgeon when it comes to the body of the National Party.

We cannot forget that the party continues to be ruled by leaders who have been elected on the basis of their commitment to apartheid. The "yes" voter does not now know what the policy of the Nationalist Government is. People who voted "yes" in the referendum thus have no sense of horizon and vision in contemplating the political alternatives that face them today.

The CP offers no real alternative in spite of its preoccupation with "white survival". The frightening thing is that the more gullible among us may start to believe the Conservatives. The PFP is now doing a remarkable political somersault by being seen to give support to the new Constitution through various manoeuvres and

collaborations following the removal of the Improper Interference Act.

This is a tragedy, since one could not but respect the competent way in which the Progs so vociferously and eloquently opposed the implementation of the new Constitution during the referendum campaign.

Yes, we were in essence right in saying "yes" to the new Constitution. However, we were wrong in thinking that the Nats had the imagination, wisdom and patriotism to build a united South Africa.

Its present lack of policy, other than one of concession by crisis, is eloquent proof of this fact. The National Party, as one prominent businessman said to me recently, is a party in nemesis. It has destroyed the trust that was placed in it by failing to deal urgently and effectively with black political aspirations.

Instead of negotiating and reconciling differences, the Government is now firing shotguns, rubber bullets and teargas at black South Africans. The means of communication and negotiation are now almost non-existent. Mr Chris Heunis and his Cabinet committee on urban black affairs are nothing short of a joke. What has it produced?

Hopefully the Nats have created their last great blunder. Alas, it may prove to be terminal. The future of South Africa can now only be ensured by the formation of a government of national unity.

The church, organised commerce and other institutions must be used to hammer out a new political initiative. Our urgent aim should be to ensure that the new government has sympathies that lie with capitalism and free enterprise, and not Marxist socialism.

Failing this, our Western heritage and way of life stands in dire peril.



# Nats say old law must go VRYSTAAT FOR INDIANS

304A  
11/9/85  
Sowetan

THE National Party of the Free State has agreed to recommend to the Government that its antiquated laws banning Indians and Chinese from the province be scrapped.

The new leader of the Free State NP, Mr Kobie Coetsee, made the announcement after a two-hour debate in committee.

The recommendation of a special committee to investigate that Chapter 33 of the Old Orange Free State statute be scrapped was carried with only six votes against in a congress of 458 delegates.

The old statute put an absolute prohibition on trade, farming and property rights for "Arabs, Chinese, coolies or any other Asians".

Mr Coetsee called a brief Press conference after the debate and said that an important factor had been the vagueness and confusion contained in "extinct terminology".

This had also left some doubt about the legality of Chapter 33 of the statute.

The continuance of the Orange Free State statute would mean, and had in fact in the past meant, that the central government had to administer two laws, the statute and the Group Areas Act.

"Another important consideration was the fact that Dr Verwoerd had given Indians permanence in 1962 and that they now fully shared in the constitution and our Parliament.

"It is clearly unacceptable that a separate and different law should apply to a community which shares the same parliamentary structure," Mr Coetsee said.

He said the statute had been created during the days of the old Free State Republic, when unemployment, for instance, had not been an issue.

In recent times, 10 Chinese businessmen had invested in the Free State, creating many new job opportunities.

He believed the Group Areas Act could be amended and approved but the principle could not be changed without altering the constitutional foundation of separate "own" residential areas and schools.

The commission investigating the statute had been appointed under his chairmanship by the former Orange Free State leader, the late Dr Nak van der Merwe.



THE legal strike by black miner workers last week harshly illustrated the contradictions of labour reform in an apartheid society.

Accompanied by a wave of unofficial industrial action, action against strikers left several miners injured, hundreds repatriated and the National Union of Mineworkers threatening to take the case of dismissed workers to the Industrial Court.

Yet the strike has been seen as a major step by the mining industry into the country's new era of labour relations opened up by reforms which have brought black workers into the country's official bargaining system.

The decision by NUM to suspend their strike action against three mining houses has been followed by complex legal wranglings which could lead to a resumption of the strike at the end of the month, according to union sources.

The union was granted an injunction against the management of the Marieval Mine of the Gencor Group which led to the reinstatement of 53 miners in the hostel from which they had

# The harsh realities of apartheid

## WORKERS' DIARY — BY JOSHUA RABOROKO

been evicted, pending the finalisation of the case brought against them by the union.

Meanwhile the Industrial Court is expected to make a ruling on September 30 on a test case brought by the union which is seeking legal guarantees against the eviction and dismissal of strikers involved in legal strike.

• Another mine union, the African Miners and Allied Workers' Union (Amauwu) is to go to the Industrial Court on September 20 following a dispute with Carlton Crest Construction Company over the dismissal of several workers.

The union contends that the company "un-

fairly retrenched" workers after claiming that it was hard hit by recession.

The union has since claimed that the reasons for the retrenchment were not valid.

• The Social Democratic group of the European community has undertaken to raise in the European Parliament this week the disputes between the FOSATU-affiliate Metal and Allied Workers' Union and BTR Samcol and Transvaal Alloys.

In a statement the union has accused BTR, a British subsid-

could be effective only at the CDA manufacturing plant on the west bank.

• The tranquil Eastern Transvaal village of Sabie was rudely awakened last week when 600 workers at the Mondri saw mill went on strike and burnt part of their living quarters.

The Jock-of-the-Bushveld retreat has seen little industrial action in the past and workers are not rep-resented by a union.

### Disputes

The strike involved production bonuses and conditions of service.

• Fosatu members throughout the country last week gathered at their workplaces to remember 30 Sasol miners who died in a methane gas explosion at Secunda collieries three weeks ago.

The Chemical Workers' Industrial Union had asked its members to commemorate the deaths and to discuss plans to "fight for health and safety to be put before profits".

• The Trade Union Council of South Africa has called on the Government to introduce legislation to limit the right of employers to discharge their employees when engaged in a legal

strike called in terms of the Labour Relations Act.

This move, if implemented by the Government, will bring relief to several black emerging unions whose members have fallen victims of dismissal after and during strikes.

The federation has reiterated its abhorrence of the laws which permit the banning and banishment of people, and called upon Ministers responsible to immediately lift all banning and banishment orders.

• It is only a matter of weeks before the metal industry is hit by a national strike by the Mawu following the declaration of disputes with the employers. The union is seeking

Mr DU PLESSIS . . . still to appoint conciliation board.

### Boycotts

to negotiate wages and conditions of employment at plant level. It declared disputes with 100 Transvaal companies.

• The Minister of Manpower, Mr P T C du Plessis, has not yet appointed a conciliation board to settle the dispute between the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union (Bamcwu) and the South African Mangane Corporation (Samanacor).

The union has declared a dispute over wages. This disputes, if not resolved within 30 days, may open doors towards a legal strike by black mine workers in the north-eastern Transvaal.





# Citizenship a major NP policy switch

Political Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The government's decision to restore South African citizenship to all blacks as announced yesterday by the State President, Mr P W Botha, is a major policy switch for the National Party.

It amounts to another nail in the coffin of Verwoerdian apartheid philosophy because, as Mr Botha said, the government now accepts that blacks outside of the homelands will have to have the opportunity of exercising their political aspirations in South Africa at the highest level. He did not go into detail as to how this would be achieved.

Mr Botha made it clear, however, that the prospect of dual citizenship for blacks living in the independent homelands in no way affected the independence or sovereignty of the homelands.



Mr P W Botha

Experience had shown that blacks outside of the homelands did not exercise their political rights in the homelands.

"Because of these realities it has become necessary to reconsider and revise this policy."

The citizenship issue had been discussed with many black leaders and had been investigated by the Special Cabinet Committee which had enabled him to announce in Parliament that independence for a homeland would no longer necessarily mean the loss of South African citizenship.

He recalled that in January he had announced the government's acceptance of the permanency in South Africa of many blacks outside of the independent and self-governing territories.

"I furthermore stated unequivocally that the legitimate political aspirations of these communities will be accommodated by structures within South Africa, both for their own and general affairs," he said.

"The government is prepared to negotiate with the four governments about restoring the South African citizenship of members of the black communities residing within the borders of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, who lost that citizenship as a result of independence.

"We propose that this be done on the basis of dual citizenship."



## NATIONAL PARTY OFS CONGRESS

# Nickel's views not worth a dime — PW



P W BOTHA

THE American Ambassador to South Africa, Herman Nickel, was fighting phantoms on the issue of a declaration of intent on political change, President P W Botha said yesterday.

In a preamble to an announcement on black citizenship to the Free State National Party congress in Bloemfontein, Botha said he had not declared himself willing to make a statement of intent.

He said the Soviet Union and political parties in the US had particular goals which South Africa rejected.

"I appeal to the whole country outside the National Party (NP), to all well-meaning, reasonable and honest South Africans, to sweep in front of our own door and take the road of renewal, reform and freedom as South Africans determine it — and not as Russia and America wish to determine it."

Botha said he would co-operate with black leaders but recipes and formulas could not be imported by Nickel or any other ambassador.

"I see the US ambassador has arrived here with a letter for me, which I have not yet had the opportunity to read.

"I see, however, that he says that a statement of intent is no longer enough, but I have never said that I am in favour of such a statement of intent. In fact, I rejected it," Botha said.

Nickel was tilting at windmills, he said.

Botha said he would talk to all black leaders inside and outside the homelands who rejected violence in order to find solutions.

"But as long as I am leader of the country we will not talk with perpetrators of violence."

Just as the NP had in the past taken the lead in freeing South Africa from the colonial yoke, government was in the process of removing the remnants of colonialism from South Africa.

"But one thing has become clear, we are fighting against the organised lie in the international arena."

His announcement in Parliament of an offer to consider the release of Nelson Mandela had been welcomed locally and abroad as an initiative to break the cycle of violence.

"Then suddenly the devil broke loose, the international lie had been waiting to submerge the country in chaos," he said.

In spite of this, the government had continued with its peace initiative.

"This government does not have the make-up that will allow South Africa to be converted to confusion (warboel)."

He believed a quote from Paul Kruger was appropriate: "They do not want the vote, they want our country."

There should be no doubt about Soviet goals or the goals of political parties in the US who wanted to use South Africa for their own purposes in their elections.

America could profitably sweep in front of its own door, "and they can begin with the Red Indians who are living in squalor in their own reserves and within their ghettos", Botha said.

US parties were all involved in opportunistic stunts to gain power.

"But we have our self-respect and pride and we will stand up for it," he said. — Sapa.

(News by Pierre Claassen, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand St, Cape Town).

## Nel hints at move against foreign Press

THE time had come for government to reconsider the hospitality extended to journalists who participated in organised lying against South Africa, Deputy Minister of Information Louis Nel said yesterday.

He was addressing the Orange Free State National Party congress in Bloemfontein on a resolution concerning South Africa's weak international image.

This image had been created not only through ignorance, but also by false information, he said.

"One is often shocked at what you read in the papers abroad... there are people in South Africa who have work permits and who often send out untruths, half truths, selective reporting, and create a false and twisted perception of South Africa."

"... it is time government reconsiders whether its hospitality should still be extended to people who share in the organised lying". Nel said the matter was receiving attention. — Sapa.

## Citizenship reform a major departure

OBSERVERS have heralded as a major concession yesterday's announcement by President P W Botha that homeland blacks will retain SA citizenship.

Botha told the OFS National Party congress in Bloemfontein that citizens of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei would have their SA citizenship restored, whether they lived within or outside those territories.

The move is seen by political observers as a major deviation from previous policy.

Botha said dual citizenship would be conferred on those who had lost SA citizenship rights when their homelands accepted independence.

He said during the past four decades government had adopted various policy stances on the rights of blacks. These had been based on the practical situations and demands of the times.

Experience had shown that many people had not exercised their political rights.

Because of realities prevailing to-

## Much depends on role of blacks, says Heunis

THE political future of whites, coloureds and Asians would not be finalised until the political future and participation of black communities in South Africa had been resolved, Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis said in Bloemfontein yesterday.

He said at the Free State National Party Congress that, if there had ever been a time for one group in South Africa to unilaterally formulate solutions, that time was now over.

"It is no longer a question as to whether blacks can be accommodated in the political system, but how it can be done while safeguarding self-determination and civilised values."

Heunis believed it was possible to succeed in this, as there was a growing appreciation among black leaders that it was in their peoples' interest that the position of the whites be safeguarded.

"... Our responsibility is to create a perception within the black com-

munities that negotiation delivers greater success than violence," he said.

"We will have to do everything to gain the trust, hope and expectations of the black communities."

Heunis said the political future of whites "is not finalised, nor is the political future of coloureds or Asians, until the political future and participation of black communities ... is finalised."

He warned there was a psychosis over the credibility of black leaders with whom government was negotiating. It was said they were only those who worked within the system or agreed with the government. This was an "infamous lie".

The government negotiated on a wide spectrum with political, business and religious leaders, but talks could not take place in public. Only the results were announced in public.

— Sapa.  
(News by Pierre Claassen, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand St, Cape Town).



# Du Plessis hints at less restrictive 1986 budget

FINANCE Minister Barend du Plessis, said yesterday he expected to introduce a less restrictive budget next year than he had done in March 1985.

He was giving the Free State National Party Congress a preview of economic expectations for next year.

"I do not foresee we will have an expansionist budget, but I certainly do not see that we will need such a restrictive budget as I introduced in March this year," he said.

This was because of the positive results monetary and fiscal measures introduced by the government.



"Of course I would love the opportunity to introduce a fresh budget right now to deal with the new economic circumstances," Du Plessis said. Private companies could do this and it was a pity that governments had only a single opportunity to budget annually.

He said one feature he would like to incorporate in next year's budget was tax relief for the higher income group as he had catered for the lower income group in the 85/86 budget.

"We have to see to it that we do not knock these people out; they are the locomotive of our economy."

Reviewing the economy, he said cir-

cumstances had proved him to have been over-optimistic about the possible reduction of inflation, which had suffered as a result of the knocks the rand had taken.

The government had been correct in its prediction that interest rates would come down and there was no reason to believe they would not fall further. The tempo and level of reduction was, however, coupled to inflation.

The government had also been correct that the dollar price of gold would remain low, but had been completely off the mark about the exchange rate as suffered.

However, the problem of the exchange rate was not the fault of the State, which had properly scheduled its repayments. The fault lay mostly with the private sector, whose short-term loans had created the repayment problems and the abnormal demand for dollars.

The minister warned that the government was not prepared to give a day-by-day account of its repayment negotiations during the declared 120-day moratorium.

"We will deal with the matter responsibly and not give a cricket score account of whom and when we are going to repay next," he said. — Sapa.

(News by Pierre Claassen, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town.)

## Black laws being probed

THE plethora of government regulations dealing with the lives and movement of black people was undergoing a thorough investigation, Constitutional Planning and Development Minister Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Speaking in Bloemfontein at the congress of the Free State National Party, he said there was no doubt that life in SA was over-regulated.

All ordinances that had any effect on

the life and movement of black people were being thoroughly investigated to determine which were necessary, which could be scrapped and how those remaining could be consolidated.

Earlier, Heunis' deputy, Piet Badenhorst, said an investigation into the granting of work permits to blacks had been completed and the system would soon be simplified. — Sapa.

(Report by Andrew Braid, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)



# New SA citizenship deal - Botha

THE South African Government is prepared to negotiate on the restoration of citizenship to people living within the borders of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei who lost their citizenship as a result of independence.

This was announced by the State President, Mr P W Botha, at the congress of the Free State National Party in Bloemfontein.

He said he wished to state emphatically that the sovereignty of the independent homelands was not in dispute.

"It is, however, undeniable that they form part of the southern African community in the broader sense."

Mr Botha said that, during the past four decades, National Party governments had at various stages adopted certain policy stances with regard to the political



PRESIDENT P W Botha.

rights of black communities in South Africa.

Those policies had been based on the "practical situations and demands" at the time.

"Thus it was accepted at a certain stage that

the independence of countries which had previously formed part of South Africa necessarily entails that all the members of the national groups of the country in question must exchange their South African citizenship for that of the newly independent country.

"This principle was also applied to those persons who did not physically inhabit such a country."

Subsequent experience had shown that all the members of the communities concerned did not exercise their political rights through the constitutional structures of those states. Various investigations into the matter had confirmed this fact.

"Because of these realities it has become necessary to reconsider and revise this policy," Mr Botha said.

Sowetan

12/9/85

Sowetan

304A

# Apartheid dream has ended — Slabbert

THE announcement by President P W Botha on black citizenship signalled the end of the apartheid dream, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said last night.

Mr Botha announced that all black people, even those from the "independent" homelands, could be South African citizens.

Dr Slabbert said this shift was "of fundamental significance".

"It signals the end of the apartheid dream but now poses the challenge of doing away with the apartheid reality that the dream has brought about," Dr Slabbert said.

In terms of the existing controversial policy, more than eight million black South Africans have been deprived of their citizenship since Transkei became "independent" in 1976.

Speaking to the Free

State congress of his National Party, Mr Botha admitted yesterday that the loss of South African citizenship "led to frustrations among those concerned, particularly those people who permanently live within the Republic and those who in many cases were born here".

## 'Sovereignty'

"These strong feelings were due to a sense of rejection and the perception that they were being cut off from South Africa's financial and economic resources."

He said the "sovereignty" of these homelands was "not in dispute whatsoever" but added, significantly, that "it is, however, undeniable that they form part of the South African community in a broader sense".

Dr Slabbert said he found it a "constitution-

al contradiction to argue that a sovereign independent country has no sovereign independent citizens".

"When is the government going to stop this gobbledy-gook nonsense? Once a person living in Transkei is a full-fledged citizen of South Africa then Transkei cannot be a sovereign country governing over such citizens.

"It is simply devious to insist that this is so."

While it was "encouraging" that President Botha was prepared to hold a referendum on the constitutional future of black people, he also warned that the government should not repeat the "folly" of holding a whites-only referendum on the constitutional future of black people.

● Mrs Sheena Duncan, president of the Black Sash, said one of the ma-

ior improvements of the citizenship move would be for children born in South Africa to citizens of the independent homelands. Under the present laws these children lose their Section 10 rights, and may remain in the cities only by permit.

## 'Lame offers'

● The Azanian People's Organization said nothing short of a complete handover of South Africa to its rightful owners would appease the demands of the people for national self-determination.

"As black people, we have been denied citizenship of this country for far too long to be enticed by lame offers of dual citizenship made by Mr Botha."

● The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut welcomed the announcement, saying it was a step that would "cool conflict and improve black worker mobility".

● President Patrick Mphahlele of Venda said his government supported Mr Botha's announcement on dual citizenship for people in the national states as well as "the probability of a broader South African citizenship".

## 'Opens way'

● Organized commerce welcomed the announcement as an important step in the right direction of creating a positive environment for political progress in South Africa, an Assocom statement said.

● The Federated Chamber of Industries said Mr Botha's statement of intent "opened the way to removing a major stumbling block in the political transformation of South Africa".

● House of Delegates MP and secretary of its majority National Peoples Party, Mr George Thaver, said any government move to accommodate black political rights in a new constitutional structure would be "heartily welcomed".

— Political Staff and Sapa

● Citizenship major NP policy switch, page 9



# PFP meets Minister, police chief

12/9/85  
Pretoria Bureau  
A Progressive Federal  
Party delegation has discussed the "deteriorating relations between the police and black township residents" with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Chief of Police, General Johan Coetzee. STAR

At the meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday were PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, MPs Mr Colin Eglin and Mr Alex Boraine, and law and order spokesman Mrs Helen Suzman.

## ALLEGATIONS

"We pointed out that the situation on the Cape Flats was particularly bad," Mrs Suzman said.

"We all mentioned various allegations of abuse by the police."

The Minister and the general said they believed the state of emergency had calmed the situation in several areas.

"They made it clear they would not tolerate abuse of emergency powers by the police," said Mrs Suzman.

# Apartheid cause of SA conflict, Govt agrees

Pretoria Bureau

The Government today reacted favourably to a major race relations report by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) which blamed apartheid for the high level of conflict in South African society.

A statement issued by the State President, Mr P W Botha, said the report as a whole confirmed the need for the Government's "comprehensive, balanced and sustained process of reform".

## DEEP SUSPICION

However, the Government appears to have glossed over some of the report's more controversial findings, such as criticism of population registration and that the legal system is held in deep suspicion by many blacks.

While the Government did not intend to respond in detail to the report, the various HSRC committee reports would be referred to the "responsible authorities for their attention".

The HSRC report on intergroup relations, which was made public on July 2, blamed the apartheid system for fuelling racial friction and called for drastic changes in the political, social and economic order.

Mr Botha was critical of the report for blaming the National Party for creating segregation in 1948 and he repeated his claim that apartheid had its origins in the colonial era — which was streamlined by Lord Milner in 1905.

The Government refrained from commenting on some of the most important recommendations in the report and disagreed with some others, but it gave general support to the following findings:

● It agreed that the group basis must not be emphasised at the expense of the individual or applied at the expense of groups. It was prepared to accept the free association of individuals and groups in certain respects. However, it was convinced that in South Africa rights and interests were best protected on the basis of equality within a group context.

● It supported the finding that "inter-group communication is defective and that both the Government and the individual should take positive steps to bridge the gap".

● The Government agreed that access to key economic resources should not be determined by prescribed group membership. The reduction of inequalities and the elimination of absolute poverty by supplying basic human need were priorities.

● The HSRC guidelines on labour relations had already largely been implemented along the lines of the Wiehahn Commission's Report.

● The State accepted the principle of providing equal education for all. It noted the report's suggestion that a single education department should be created.

## BALANCED HISTORY

The Government subscribed to the 1983 White Paper on Education which makes provision for a single Education Ministry.

● Referring to the report's recommendation of the need for a balanced history which presented the role of all groups, Mr Botha said history written on the basis of prejudice and presenting groups as stereotypes was harmful to intergroup relations.

Mr Botha did not comment directly on a statement by a committee which questioned the legality of racial and ethnic categories. The report said that "race can never be a legally relevant ground for justified differentiation".

He also did not comment on the recommendation that a third official language on a regional basis should be considered.

He did not comment directly on black suspicions of the legal system.

● See Page 10.

## Shop boycott extended

PORT ELIZABETH — The black consumer boycott of white-owned business here has been extended by another eight weeks from Sunday.

It will now go on to November 15 and could spell the end for several small traders in the city.

A traders' spokesman has criticised the Government for not negotiating with the legitimate leaders of the black community — a reason given by the boycott committee for extending the boycott.

A boycott committee spokesman said the extension had been decided after an assessment of the situation and because black demands had not been met. — Own Correspondent.



# Report by HSRC 'shows up Govt'

304A By Colleen Ryan, Pretoria Bureau

12/9/88  
The rejection of apartheid by the Human Sciences Research Council in its recent report on intergroup relations illustrated the "intellectual bankruptcy" of the Government's policies.

This was the view given by Professor Heribert Adam, a prominent Canadian sociologist, at the HSRC's international conference on intergroup relations in Pretoria yesterday.

He said the rejection of institutionalised racism by the HSRC was remarkable, since in the past it had shown sympathy with "Afrikaner group control".

"It reflects the collapse of the apartheid paradigm and the intellectual bankruptcy of those in control."

In place of apartheid, the HSRC researchers placed emphasis on the concept of self-association.

## UNREST WILL CONTINUE

Professor Adam said it was an illusion to believe that the present unrest would abate as it had done in the 1960s and in 1976.

"Not only is the unrest much more widespread, but unemployment is higher and the State has less capacity to protect the black middle class which is coming under attack from the black proletariat," he said.

He said he was optimistic about South Africa's chances of resolving its conflict. There were three hopeful characteristics in South African society:

- There was a common commitment to Christianity which drew people closer together and created potential for a shared value system.
- Because of imposed ethnicity, most blacks were in favour of a future common, non-racial order.
- Blacks generally aspired to sharing in the capitalist system and there was economic interdependence.

13. Day 12/9/85  
**Faint praise**

Dear Sir, ~~23~~ (304A) ~~23~~  
THE REPORT on the PFP Congress (*Business Day*, September 2) not only contains a complete mis-statement but also mis-interpretation of the actual events. For the record, the following is what actually transpired:

A motion was placed on the paper in respect of minimum wages, which followed verbatim the existing policy of the PFP as adopted by a Federal Congress. I spoke to that motion, as did others, and some of the speakers indicated that they had views which differed from the resolution which affirmed the existing party policy.

In view of the shortage of time at the congress and other important issues which still had to be debated, I handed a note to the chairman in which I suggested that the PFP Economic Commission, of which I am the chairman, should prepare a "Position Paper" on the issue and that members of the party who had views on minimum wages would be given the opportunity of making representations to the commission.

The chairman, Colin Eglin, read out this suggestion and said to the audience that it had been made by me and that this would be a way of shortening the debate on the issue. I accordingly proposed a resolution to that effect, which was unanimously accepted. Your statement — reading as follows: "Showing superb political timing, Slabbert proposed the resolution to go to the PFP Economic Commission. It was accepted unanimously, thus saving Schwarz a possible defeat" — contains clear, patent inaccuracies.

● Slabbert did not propose the resolution to go to the PFP Economic Commission. On the contrary, he never said one word in the debate on this issue;

● Your remark that I was saved from a possible defeat comes a little strangely when the proposal was made by me;

● You fail to state that in fact the resolution proposed by me was merely an affirmation in the exact words of existing PFP policy;

● The writer of the article, if he was present, obviously did not appreciate the mood of the Congress in regard to this issue.

I welcome your praising Slabbert, but it would help if you would praise him on the correct issues and where he actually participated in the debate. It would be interesting to know the origin of the writer's information, as I assume he could not have been present when the events occurred, as I am sure that he would not deliberately write inaccurately.

HARRY SCHWARZ, MP

● A sub-editing error incorrectly identified Schwarz as Slabbert. *Business Day* regrets the error.



# We're all South Africans says P

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## ORMANDE POLLOK Political Correspondent

**BLOEMFONTEIN—President Botha's announcement of the decision to restore South African citizenship to all blacks is a major policy switch which appears to have had no impact in Washington.**

Although it amounted to another nail in the coffin of Verwoerdian philosophy, White House spokesman Larry Speakes gave the impression, when he spoke to reporters, that he did not believe Mr Botha had embraced all blacks in his announcement.

Asked by reporters if he thought Mr Botha had gone far enough, Mr Speakes said: 'No. We would like to see all blacks given citizenship.'

Mr Botha said the Government now accepted that blacks outside the homelands would have the opportunity of exercising their political aspirations at the highest level.

He did not go into detail as to how this would be achieved but said South Africa's future would be decided here and not in Russia or America.

He did make it clear that the prospect of dual citizenship for blacks living in the independent states in no way affected the independence or sovereignty of those states.

Experience has shown that blacks outside the homelands did not raise their political rights in the homelands.

'Various investigations into the matter confirmed this fact. Because of these realities it has become necessary to reconsider and revise this policy,' said Mr Botha.

All people linked to independent homelands lost their South African citizenship on independence.

### Breaking shackles

'The loss led to frustration, particularly for those people who live permanently within the Republic and those who in many cases were born here,' he said.

The citizenship issue had been discussed with black leaders and had been investigated by the Special Cabinet Committee which had enabled the President to announce in Parliament that independence for a homeland would no longer necessarily mean the loss of South African citizenship.

'There are some self-governing territories considering independence and this will apply to them,' said Mr Botha.

He recalled that in January he had announced the Government's acceptance of the permanency in South Africa of many blacks outside independent and self-governing territories.

'I furthermore stated unequivocally that the legitimate political aspirations of these communities will be accommodated by structures within South Africa, both for their own and general affairs,' he said.

'We are busy with the expansion of democracy and breaking the shackles of colonialism.

'As you know, this is presently first on our political agenda.

'We must consequently accept the South African citizenship of those black persons who lost their citizenship because of the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, but who reside permanently in South Africa.'

The four governments had been informed of this and the matter would be further discussed and legislation would be introduced as soon as possible.

'It is clear that most blacks and coloureds place a high importance on their South African citizenship,' said Mr Botha.

'The Government is prepared to negotiate with these four governments about restoring the South African citizenship of members of the black

★ TURN TO PAGE 2

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13/9/81

# Political rights: No change

SASOLBURG. — South African citizenship rights for residents of the national states did not mean blacks would get political rights in the country, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development, said this week.

Mr Heunis was referring to the announcement by President P W Botha that blacks living in the homelands would be entitled to dual South African-homeland citizenship.

"This does not, however, mean they will exercise political rights in South Africa..." Mr Heunis said.

## 'Intertwinement of interests'

"It does mean that in the South African context such an intertwining of interests exists — particularly in the economic and international fields — that we decided to restore black citizenship rights

"But this decision does not affect the political rights of those living in the homelands," he said.

Mr Botha said in Bloemfontein on Wednesday that the South African Government was prepared to negotiate the restoration of South African citizenship to people who lost it because of the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

He stated that the sovereignty of the independent homelands was not in dispute, but that they formed part of the Southern African community in the broader sense.

Mr Botha said that, during the past four decades, National Party policies had been based on the "practical situations and demands" at the time. Homeland independence had entailed the loss of South African citizenship for all citizens of that homeland, including those living in South Africa.

In April, he had been in a position to announce the government's acceptance of the principle that the loss of South



Mr Chris Heunis

African citizenship would no longer be regarded as a necessary result of any other self-governing territory's decision to take independence.

After further investigations and numerous discussions, he was now in a position to announce further proposals accepted by the cabinet.

## 'Aspirations accommodated'

He had said in his policy speech on January 25 that the government accepted the permanent settlement of a large number of black people within the Republic.

"I furthermore stated unequivocally that the legitimate political aspirations of these communities will be accommodated by structures within South Africa, both for their own and general affairs.

"We must consequently accept the South African citizenship of those black people who lost their citizenship because of the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, but who permanently reside in South Africa," he said.

## Dual citizenship

The government proposed a basis of dual citizenship, which implied that people would have the option of accepting South African citizenship as a second citizenship.

"The method of identification as a South African citizen is closely linked to the issue of citizenship as such.

"It is already known that uniform identity documents will be issued to all population groups in the future," the president said.

## 'Govt gladly accedes'

"Leaders of black communities, both urban and from the self-governing territories, in the past requested at various times that the status of black persons as South African citizens and not only the ethnic relationship, be expressly stated in their identity documents.

"The government gladly accedes to this request and announcements in this regard will be made soon. These important decisions to which I have just referred are the result of, inter alia, the drive and understanding of many black leaders in various spheres." — Sapa



# Influx control, pass laws to go?

304A

DISPATCH

13/09/85

**CAPE TOWN —** The abolition of influx control and the replacement of the reference book system with a common identity document for all South Africans are two of the main recommendations of the President's Council report of the Committee for Constitutional Affairs on an Urbanisation Strategy.

Chaired by Dr A. J. G. Oosthuizen, the committee found:

- That the "degrading of human dignity inherent" in the implementation of influx control could "not be justified" and noted with great concern "the present large number of arrests (between 200 000 and 300 000 per year) for offences under influx control provisions and related technical offences;
- The large-scale circumvention of the law produced contempt for the relevant act and the authorities;
- That influx control measures as applied at present were discriminatory and in conflict with basic human rights.

It was "particularly concerned about the human suffering and the severe damage to relations between the population groups, particularly those of blacks with whites, caused by influx control.

"The urbanisation strategy rests on migration to urban centres being based on the free movement of all citizens of the RSA. It is accordingly recommended that:

- Influx control, as applied at present in terms of Act 25 of 1945, be abolished;
- A strategy for orderly urbanisation in the RSA be applied;
- The abolition of influx control take place in an orderly manner;
- Uniform identity documents be issued to all citizens of the RSA and priority be given to the replacement of the present reference books for blacks.

The committee also recommended the formation of an Urbanisation Board which could formulate and regulate plans for urbanisation strategy implementation covering housing, local government, transport, finance and urban planning.

The present long hours spent on transport to and from work by blacks were "unacceptable." It recommended the "spatial ordering" of future urbanisation.

"Blacks should themselves be involved in the development of the proposed urbanisation strategy."

On black local government, the committee found that:

- Existing financial resources were inadequate and could not meet present or future needs;
- An extensive strategy to make the institutions more effective was essential.

The report heralded the end of traditional apartheid, a Progressive Federal Party member of the President's Council, Mr Pieter Schoeman, said.

However, during debate on the report, he questioned how the recommendations could be accommodated in the present constitutional framework and expressed the fear that black entities would be used to help build the concept of "co-operative coexistence."

Only Dr Connie Mulder, the Conservative Party representative on the 18-man committee, did not sign the report.

The recommendation to scrap the pass laws was described as a vital breakthrough by the Urban Foundation yesterday. — Sapa

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"The best news I have heard since 1948. Maybe there is a beginning of a glimmer of sanity in South Africa," South African-born actress Janet Suzman said in London.

More reaction P13

Dispatch Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN —** There has been an overwhelmingly positive reaction both nationally and internationally to the recommendation by the President's Council that South Africa's hated pass and influx control laws be scrapped

Legislation to scrap the controversial laws, which result in the arrest of between 200 000 and 300 000 black people a year, may be introduced as early as the next session of Parliament in 1986, it was announced yesterday.

In Washington the Reagan administration cautiously welcomed the recommendations, but at the same time said it was "displeased" by Pretoria's decision to expel Newsweek journalist Ray Wilkinson.

State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb emphasised the Council's report had yet to be formally presented to the State President, but added: "We find it encouraging that the South African Government is apparently reviewing its policies in this area."

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said if the recommendations were adopted it would be an important step for South Africa.

The British Foreign Office cautiously welcomed the recommendations, but said senior Foreign Office officials were still studying the proposals.

Also in London, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Mrs Sheena Duncan, chairman of the Black Sash, both welcomed the latest moves in interviews with the BBC.

Mrs Duncan said the move was "the first really significant changes" in dismantling apartheid.

The director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr. John Kane-Berman, said the recommendations were "yet another nail in the coffin of the pass laws" and therefore were welcomed.

Assocom said: "Taken with the State President's announcement on black citizenship earlier this week, these developments amount to an important breakthrough on the question of handling black urbanisation."

Move welcomed in SA, abroad

to xx

# Evening Post

Friday, September 13, 1985

## COMMENT

### Hated laws to go at last

THE pass laws are the most hated and damaging feature of South Africa's apartheid society and it will be a momentous day when they are scrapped — as they seem certain to be now that the constitutional committee of the President's Council has recommended they be abolished.

The committee's report, released yesterday, has rightly been hailed for its balanced and realistic approach to an issue which is central to any meaningful reform programme. The State President, in his Durban speech, described the influx control system as outdated and too costly to retain, and the announcement yesterday of common citizenship virtually ensured the pass laws' demise.

The committee has recommended the formation of a board to formulate an urbanisation strategy, which will be vitally important when the laws are scrapped. We hope the Government takes the advice of the Federated Chamber of Industries and appoints a widely representative group to serve on this essential body.

It would be logical now for the Government to come out firmly on freehold rights for blacks. Freehold is essential to any urbanisation strategy intended to establish contented communities, and its symbolic significance should not be underestimated.

Coupled with the announcement on citizenship, this initial step towards the scrapping of influx control is bound to have a positive effect overseas. Again it must be asked: why did the State President not speak more emphatically about these things in his Durban speech? Had he done so the ruinous financial debacle and collapse of confidence of the past month would almost certainly have been avoided.

30/9/85  
E. Post



# Apartheid calendar

WITH THE EROSION of Verwoerdian policy wrought by the Government's moves for reform it is of interest to recall important dates in South Africa's calendar of apartheid:

1948 — National Party government takes power committed to introducing race segregation: the apartheid policy

1949 — Marriage between whites and other races barred under the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act.

1950 — Group Areas Act racially zones the country.

— Population Registration Act defines white, coloured, Indian and black people.

— Immorality Amendment Act extends to all blacks a 1927 bar on sex between whites and Africans.

— Suppression of Communism Act passed and South African Communist Party declared illegal.

1952 — Blacks required to carry passes, reference documents that are considered discriminatory and lead to years of revolt. The new Act codified various previous requirements for passes.

1953 — Separate Amenities Act allows for racial segregation of all public facilities including transport, post offices, benches, restaurants and toilets.

1955 — Government plans to remove all blacks from western Cape which is to become coloured-labour preference area.

1956/61 — Treason trial of 156 anti-apartheid campaigners: all acquitted

1959 — Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act sets scene for tribal homelands for blacks.

1960 — Police kill 69 blacks protesting against pass laws in what becomes known as Massacre of Sharpeville, a black township south of Johannesburg.

— State of emergency, political leaders silenced under unique South African punishment known as banning, which bars people from speaking publicly or being quoted.

— African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress banned: They go underground and begin guerilla struggle that continues today.

1964 — South Africa barred from Olympics over apartheid.

13/9/85  
Black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela jailed.

1968 — Bar on mixed-race political parties under Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

— Coloured representation in Parliament, which was by white MPs, ended.

— South Africa bars England cricket-team member Basil d'Oliveira, a former South African coloured. Tour cancelled.

1976 — Soweto black township near Johannesburg erupts in riots: 575 die nation-wide as unrest spreads.

1977 — Black-consciousness movement banned and its leader, Steve Biko, dies in police detention. United Nations imposes arms embargo that is in place today.

1979 — Blacks allowed to form trade unions on same basis as whites.

1984 — Rioting begins in Atteridgeville township over school-related apartheid grievances. It gains momentum with the inauguration of a new central-government system giving a junior role in the white-controlled Parliament to Indians and coloureds but formally excluding blacks.

— Black Bishop Desmond Tutu, a leading anti-apartheid campaigner, wins Nobel Peace Prize.

1985 — Government scraps coloured preference area in western Cape: promises freehold rights for blacks who at present have 99-year leaseholds; accepts in principle that urban blacks are permanent feature of South Africa.

— Ban on mixed-marriages and sex across colour line lifted.

— Riots death roll reaches 600.

— Government sets state of emergency in unrest areas and rounds up hundreds.

— Foreign banks cut credit lines to South Africa amid fears about country's stability.

— Government freezes debt repayments for four months and curbs capital flight. — (Sapa-Reuter)

By DIRK VAN ZYL  
Political Correspondent

THE President's Council's plenary session is today formally expected to adopt by an overwhelming majority the recommendations of its Constitutional Committee that influx control laws and the pass system be scrapped.

The Government is then expected speedily to signal its acceptance and, according to top sources, enabling legislation could be introduced in next year's parliamentary session, starting late in January.

The committee has recommended that the abolition of influx control take place in an "orderly manner" and that a strategy of orderly urbanisation be applied.

It also recommended uniform identity documents for all South African citizens and that priority be given to the replacement of the present reference books for Africans.

The 60-member President's Council started debating the report yester-

day and a senior spokesman said today it was expected the debate would end late this afternoon with the report's formal adoption.

Only the Conservative Party — with two President's Councillors — is expected to reject it.

The move is seen by observers as a further crucial step away from old-style Verwoerdian apartheid and is in line with calls by opposition political parties, community organisations and church leaders of all races over the years.

The pass laws have been particularly hated by blacks as a humiliating slight to their human dignity,

while influx control, with the accompanying migratory labour system, has been condemned even by major Afrikaans churches as a "cancer" and disruptive of healthy family life.

● Reacting to the report of the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council, Mr Raymond Parsons, chief executive of the Associated Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) welcomed the move.

"The report clearly recognises the inevitability of urbanisation, as well as the need for a balanced urbanisation policy aimed at improving the quality of life of people already living in

urban areas and designed to accommodate future population growth," Mr Parsons said.

"These developments amount to an important breakthrough."

Dr J C van Zyl, chief executive of the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) said the recommendations were fully endorsed by the FCI.

"The issues addressed and the recommendations made in this important document, reflect a balanced approach to the complex realities involved and augur well for the future," Dr Van Zyl said.

"The report is substantially in line with propos-

als which the private sector has been making to the Government for some time."

● In Washington, the Reagan Administration called on the South African Government yesterday to accept the report.

The Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, said on television it could be a "very important step for the riot-torn country" if the report were accepted.

Dr Crocker said: "If this really is a liberalisation, opening up, freedom for people to sell their labour where they can get the best price, this would represent a major move."

# Only CP likely to vote 'No'

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E. Post 13/09/85



# Political <sup>STAR</sup> reform likely to gain <sup>304A</sup> momentum

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

13/9/85

Political reform should gain momentum in the next few weeks if the Government accepts the recommendations of the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the President's Council to abolish pass laws and influx control.

The success of the reform programme is, however, likely to be increasingly dependent on the ability of the Government to stabilise the unrest situation and release detained leaders with a view to negotiations.

There is every indication that the influx control proposals will be accepted, which means the repeal of the relevant legislation may be expected during next year's session of Parliament.

The authorities accepted the principle that the system must go as early as last November, when Dr Gerrit Viljoen, as incoming Minister of Co-operation and Develop-

ment, said the urbanisation of blacks was not only recognised, but was regarded as necessary.

Early this year, Dr Viljoen said the Government was considering replacing influx control with a more positive system.

The Government's acceptance that blacks entitled to South African citizenship are also entitled to full property rights and the right to take part in political decision-making at the highest level, makes the decision this week to restore citizenship highly significant.

The Government clearly hopes that a satisfactory resolution of these issues will encourage representative black leaders to negotiate for political rights.

● If the Government accepted the proposals to abolish influx control it would be taking its most significant step in dismantling apartheid, Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party said today.

● See Page 11.

Meeting

ANC

Cape Times

14/9/85  
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'useful'

# — Relly

**LUANGWA GAME PARK, Zambia. — Top South African businessmen held talks with exiled African National Congress leaders here yesterday in an unprecedented meeting described by the business delegation as "useful".**

Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American which controls 70 percent of the companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, said he emerged from the talks "with a good sense that more talks might lead to some fruitful conclusion".

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, last night refused to allow the Cape Times to print the views expressed by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who led the ANC delegation.

However, an ANC spokesman in Lusaka said before the meeting that the talks provided a new channel of communication between the ANC and whites in South Africa.

## Release Mandela

The delegations met for six hours at the private Mfuwe lodge of Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in the dry bush of eastern Zambia about 400km east of Lusaka.

Mr Relly, describing South African big business as reformist, called for the unconditional release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, 67, who has been imprisoned for life since a 1964 conviction for planning sabotage.

Mr Relly noted that the ANC still refused to lay down arms or even accept a pause in the violence, which is the condition laid down by the State President, Mr P W Botha, for freeing Mr Mandela.

However, he said: "I believe today in the context of the changes that have been taking place, particularly in relation to citizenship and a number of discriminatory laws, and the prospect of the rest of the trappings of apartheid disappearing, the positions are not as greatly antagonistic as some might think."

Mr Tambo and Mr Relly spoke to reporters separately at the Mfuwe air strip about 50km north of Dr Kaunda's lodge.

Mr Relly and his delegation, including two South African newspaper editors, immediately flew back to Johannesburg in a white-and-royal-blue Gulfstream private jet.

On their return to Johannesburg last night, the group released a statement describing the informal talks as "a useful conversation lasting some hours".

"The two parties exchanged views on a variety of questions affecting South Africa and a fuller understanding of each other's attitudes was achieved," the statement said.

"There was no question of any negotiations, agreement or decision but it was felt that ground existed for further valuable discussions."

Mr Tambo, accompanied by five members of the ANC national executive committee, including Mr Thabo Mbeki, director of the ANC's information department, and Mr Mac Maharaj, left for Lusaka in a Zambian Air Force Buffalo transport aircraft.

Those reported to be part of the business delegation were Vaderland editor Mr Harald Pakendorf, Sunday Times editor Mr Tertius Myburgh, Anglo American chief executive Mr Zac de Beer, Premier Milling chief Mr Tony Bloom, Leadership magazine editor Mr Hugh Murray, South Africa Foundation head Mr Peter Sorour, Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand and Mr Chris Ball of Barclays Bank.

Meanwhile, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Association of Chambers of Commerce and the Federated Chamber of Industries yesterday issued a joint statement saying they had not been approached or consulted about the meeting and denied any involvement in the talks.

"There has been conjecture in the media about the involvement of the above organizations in the current visit of certain leading South African businessmen to Lusaka to meet with the ANC," the statement said.

## Intense interest

"We wish to make it clear that we were not approached or consulted about this particular venture, which stems entirely from the personal initiative of the business leaders involved."

John Battersby reports that there was intense interest in the talks among diplomatic and business circles in London.

A British Foreign Office spokesman said the British Government had no comment to make on the meeting, but officials conceded privately that the talks were being watched with great interest and were clearly a "potentially exciting" development. — Sapa-AP and UPI

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# Danger factors in SA spell uprising

By Sheryl Raine

South Africa must neutralise key factors in the fabric of its society if it is to escape the risk of mass revolution and evolve peacefully. These are the words of Dr Nic Rhoodie, one of the country's leading sociologists.

Dr Rhoodie, of the Human Sciences Research Council, was speaking at a seminar in Johannesburg yesterday arranged by the National Institute for Personnel Research.

He said the successful tapping of human resources could take place only against a background of social stability.

He highlighted underlying factors which sociologists had identified as key factors contributing to mass revolution in Third World countries. All the factors applied to South Africa and, if they were allowed to exist in combination, the risk of a mass revolution became considerable.

The factors include:

- Establishment of institutions of higher learning capable of producing large numbers of potentially frustrated intellectuals.
- Introduction of compulsory mass education.
- Insufficient opportunities to attain positions of power.

## EMOTIVE SYMBOLS

- Mass education that is not accompanied by corresponding economic power.
- A pattern of boom followed by economic recession.
- Contact — through urbanisation, for example — between unequally stratified groups.
- An ideology that focuses on change and projects emotive symbols of revolution.
- Charismatic leaders.

Dr Rhoodie described these factors as the "dry grass of revolution" which needed only a spark to set them alight. It was imperative that ways be found to neutralise the effects of these factors, to prevent them occurring in combination. He added other factors pertinent to the South African situation:

- A widespread feeling of deprivation among the challengers (of power) relative to the living standards and power of the dominant groups.
- A general feeling among the challengers that the dominant group was the source of their deprivation.
- Mobilisation and politicisation of mainstream protest movements.

## SUPPORT EVIDENCE

Asked by a delegate if there was any empirical evidence to back up the findings on these revolutionary factors, Dr Rhoodie said: "I wish I could say there was none, but there is overwhelming evidence to support this model for revolutionary behaviour."

He added that there was a growing perception among whites that the unrest in black areas was the beginning of mass revolution.

"Right or wrong, this is the perception of the people, and whites are becoming increasingly pessimistic."

HSRC surveys had shown that in June more than 70 percent of whites believed terrorism would increase.

Dr Rhoodie said there were also positive elements in the South African equation. These included a growing acceptance by whites of multiracial government.

Surveys had shown that 48 percent of whites favoured a multiracial government made up of whites, coloureds and Indians similar to the present system, and 46 percent of whites favoured a multiracial government including blacks.

What was still totally unacceptable to whites was black majority rule, he said.

LUSAKA — The top secret talks between South African businessmen and the leaders of the African National Congress were switched from Lusaka to a remote game reserve in eastern Zambia this morning.

International newsmen who gathered at Lusaka airport to meet the business delegation from Johannesburg learnt after several hours that the Anglo American plane had filed a flight plan for Mfuwe in the Luangwa Valley.

President Kaunda is known to have a holiday lodge there.

Zambian Government and ANC sources remained tight-lipped about the highly sensitive talks, but according to some reports the South African delegation was much smaller than originally expected.

It was said to comprise two Anglo American officials, Mr Gavin Relly and Dr Zac de Beer and Mr Tony Bloom of Premier Milling.

Others in the party were to include Mr Harold Pakendorf,

## Business leaders' talks with ANC switched to secret Zambian venue

(304A)  
STAR 13/9/85

Capitalism as opposed to socialism will almost certainly be discussed when South African businessmen meet leaders of the ANC in Lusaka today, says Mr Gavin Relly.

Mr Relly, chairman of Anglo American and leader of the delegation to Lusaka, told *The Guardian* in London: "I don't like the word 'capitalism'. I do like the phrase 'free enterprise'. I think there is a considerable distinction between the two. In the South African context, when you talk about free enterprise, it implies important freedoms of movement and freedoms of choice which have not applied under the apartheid system."

Mr Relly denied that the purpose of the talks was to persuade ANC leaders of the superiority of capitalism. But he conceded that, if the talks focused on the Freedom Charter, the issue of capitalism versus socialism would almost certainly be discussed.

editor of an Afrikaans newspaper and Mr Hugh Murray of the magazine, *Leadership SA*.

The ANC delegation will be led by its president Mr Oliver Tambo.

Staff reporters and Sapa-Reuters reported earlier that

sources in Lusaka and South Africa had said that Mr Relly would lead a group of five businessmen.

Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand and Mr Chris Ball of Barclays Bank were mentioned as being in the group.

Mr Rosholt's office he was away until Monday.

Today's meeting is believed to have been arranged by Mr Murray.

Lusaka sources said Mr Murray had been in and out of the Zambian capital for consultations with the Zambian leadership and the ANC.

The meeting will take place in defiance of the South African Government, which has publicly said it opposes any contact with organisations committed to its violent overthrow.

ANC officials in Lusaka said that their participation reflected the organisation's policy of talking to all who favoured the abolition of apartheid.

Today's talks are intended to open the way for further contacts, which both sides hope could lead ultimately to negotiations between Pretoria, the ANC and other black leaders.

The meeting will be followed at the weekend by a gathering in Maputo of leaders of the six Frontline states — Botswana, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — to review events in South Africa.



**T**HE offer of South African citizenship to blacks by the State President, Mr P W Botha, will be meaningless unless blacks are given the same civil and political rights as whites.

Opposition party leader, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, seems to have been too hasty in labelling the move as an end of the apartheid dream.

Some observers might want to argue that Rome was not built in one day and that this is the beginning of greater things to come. This might be true, but only up to a certain extent.

There are two categories of blacks that are going to be affected by Mr Botha's deal. Those in the so-called white South Africa will remain South African citizens, and those in independent bantustans will have dual citizenship.

### Categories

The statement made by the Transkeian president, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, put the position of the two categories of blacks in proper perspective.

He said blacks were never citizens in South Africa as they had no voting rights and that when the bantustans took independence, they did not relinquish any citizenship as they were never citizens — in the first place.

The Government is taking blacks to the ante-status quo position. That is, they will be citizens in the same sense that they were before the Homeland Citizenship Act was passed.

That citizenship was meaningless, except that recently it has come to indicate the permanence of blacks in the so-called

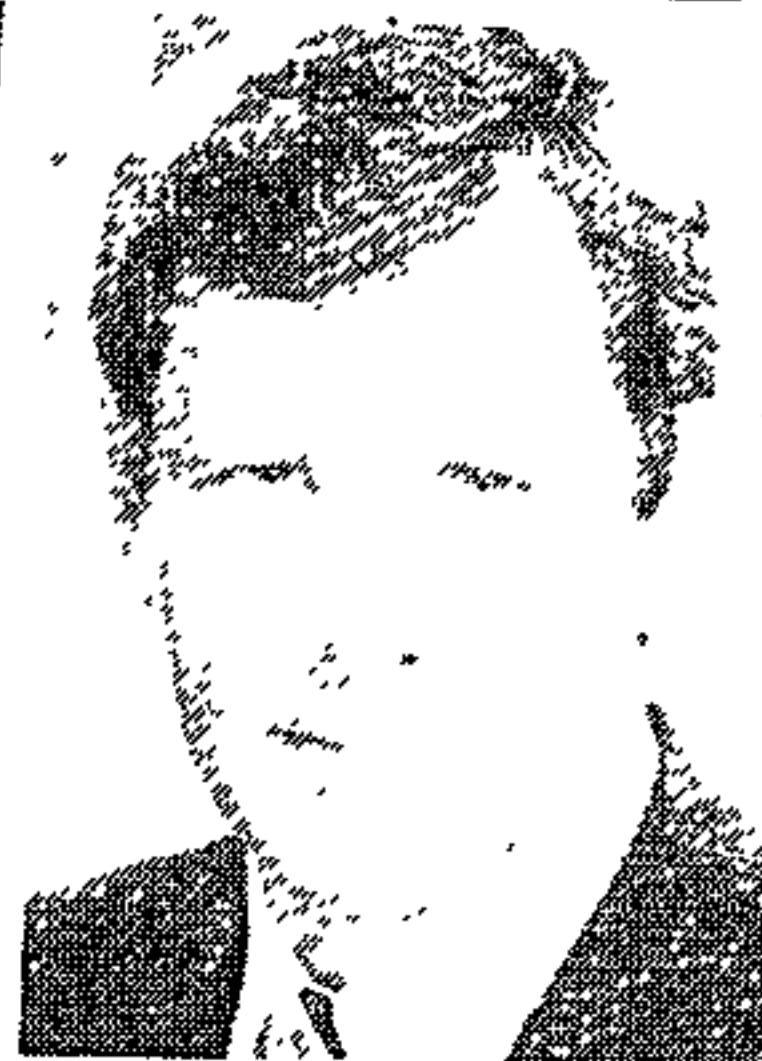
# What is this thing called RIGHTS?



PROFESSOR John Dugard.



PRESIDENT Kaiser Matanzima.



Dr FREDERICK Van Zyl Slabbert.

## FOCUS

white South Africa.

According to a law professor at the University of Witwatersrand, Prof John Dugard, citizenship means being able to exercise full political and civil rights in one's country.

### Citizen

"As a white citizen of South Africa I can travel on a South African passport, reside permanently in South Africa, travel freely within

South Africa and I have the right to own property and to vote," Prof Dugard said.

"I am not optimistic that those rights are inherent in the new deal proposed by the Government. If blacks were to be given even the promise of full citizenship rights, this would in effect mean the Government had decided to share power with blacks."

By  
**SAM MABE**

"And at this stage of our political development one cannot expect the Government to be so generous, not until one has seen the type of legislation that will be passed relating to this issue," said Prof Dugard.

There are many pieces of legislation whose removal from the statute books could signal a serious intention

on the part of the Government to introduce meaningful change.

The amount of damage caused to blacks by the apartheid system and the growing urgency for change demands much more than a dubious offer of citizenship.

In the same way as the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act made no sense when it was not accompanied by the repeal of the Group Areas Act, granting South African citizenship to blacks while the Population Registration Act remains in the statute books will not have any significant implications.

The continued categorisation of people according to their race groups points away from blacks enjoying the same citizenship rights as whites.

### Anger

By creating expectations he might not be able to live up to, Mr Botha could cause more anger among blacks.

The whole question of black citizenship will now be brought under the microscope and scrutinised more than it was before this week.

Organisations like Azapo, tired of the meaningless piecemeal reform that the Government has been dishing out, said it would accept nothing short of a complete handover of South Africa to its rightful owners.

The Azapo statement said blacks were deprived of their rightful citizenship — a non-negotiable right.

Blacks have never exercised this right under white rule, so it is not too unreasonable of them to feel that what South Africa needs now is to go to the polls under a one-man-one-vote system.



# New moves 'totally reverse' apartheid

by

Jo Anne Collinge

The win moves of restoring South African citizenship to residents of independent homelands and abolishing influx control are

"a total reversal of the apartheid policy — not a mere modification or reform of the system," says Black Sash national president Mrs Sheena Duncan.

But she asserts they will not be sufficient to stem black political demands and cautions: "This is only the beginning of the end (of apartheid), not the end itself."

Mrs Duncan believes that the

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scrappling of influx control — if implemented as proposed by the President's Council committee — may provide the mechanism for homelands to exercise their promised dual citizenship rights in a meaningful way.

"Perhaps we can assume that if you can get out of, say, the Transkei, your South African citizenship would predominate," says Mrs Duncan. This would immediately ease the lot of hundreds of thousands with regard to residence rights, property rights and work status.

5714  
Two groups of people particularly disadvantaged by the independence of the homelands were those who had resided in the homelands at the time of independence and children born since independence to couples who were deemed to be homeland citizens, whether they lived there or not.

Those resident in the homelands at the time of independence have been quite unable to get permanent residence rights in South Africa's cities. They are treated on a par with Lesotho

14/9/85  
citizens, says Mrs Duncan, and may remain in "white" South Africa only if they have a permit. "This is never a permanent residence permit, and cannot lead to naturalisation."

The question of property rights was particularly relevant to children born of couples who were resident in the townships of South Africa's "white" cities but who had become homeland citizens at the stroke of a pen. These children were considered foreigners by Pretoria. "If their parents have bought

houses on 99-year leasehold the law is that they can bequeath their property to children born after independence. The children's ownership of the house is quite legal but they may occupy it by permit only."

In the area of work status, the law is that all foreigners "if they are given permission to work at all are granted such rights under the 'two-year rule' which requires that they must spend at least six continuous weeks in their country of origin every two years", says Mrs Dun-

urban residents speaking the official language of the or other independent homeland.

But, she warns, the changes in influx control and citizenship rights needed to be made immediately at an administrative level. "They simply cannot be held up until the next session of Parliament."

"They must order the police that pass raids in streets and homes must stop immediately. It must no longer happen that people looking for work are told to go away and get the right stamp in their passes. The State President has the power to issue these kinds of orders and he must do so now."

can.

She adds that this provision had not yet been enforced in respect of Transkei, Bophuthatwana, Venda and Ciskei but is convinced that its extension to these areas would have been only a matter of time — especially with the decreased labour demands of recent times.

The new citizenship rule has the potential to wipe out these disadvantages, say Mrs Duncan, as well as doing away with the resented system of homeland identity documents for young



# Genscher sees PW's move as <sup>4/9/85</sup> <sup>STAR</sup> 'encouraging'

 The Star's Foreign  
News Service

304A

BONN — Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has described President Botha's statement on citizenship as "important and positive", adding in a statement to Parliament "an announcement of the end of the homelands policy would be a further encouraging step."

Mr Genscher spoke during a one-hour emergency debate forced by the Green opposition party.

But the Foreign Minister said the current unrest in South Africa "is not the result of external agitation, but is grounded in the continuing policy of apartheid."

He added: "there is no good and bad apartheid, but the whole system must be eliminated." He reiterated the demands raised earlier in the week by the European Community Foreign Ministers meeting in Luxembourg, that the South African Government end the state of emergency and release all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, unconditionally.

The Minister said the Cabinet decided on Wednesday to suspend the cultural agreement with South Africa, and inform Pretoria it wishes to negotiate a new cultural agreement which would legally guarantee cultural and sports relations with all South Africans.

Guenther Verheugen of the Social Democratic Party attacked the Government's "half-hearted, indecisive policy" toward South Africa.

"This is because of disunity within the Government's own ranks," Mr Verheugen said. He suggested many of the Government's supporters still doubted blacks were actually capable of exercising their democratic rights.

Reuter-Associated Press reports that Karl-Heinz Hornhues, another member of the conservative bloc, said an economic boycott and sanctions against South Africa "would only lead children and women in front of police bullets."

The Social Democrats joined the coalition parties in criticizing the Greens for their 48-hour protest "occupation" of the West Germany embassy in Pretoria by eight prominent members of the Leftist party.

# Tangible reform at last

by **STAR** David Braun, Political Correspondent

The South African Government, after months of agonising debate, with internal unrest and world pressure at a peak, this week finally started delivering tangible reform.

The announcement that millions of blacks will be allowed to regain their South African citizenship signalled that the National Party had moved from promising to producing change.

The recommendation by the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the President's Council that the pass laws and influx control be abolished, almost certainly to be accepted by the Government, created considerable excitement. Even the most ardent critics of apart-

heid rejoiced that here, at last, was the first real step in the process of dismantling institutionalised discrimination.

History may well show that the real watershed in Government policy was this week, and not President Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament this year, or his "Rubicon" address at the National Party Natal Congress last month.

With the major concession on citizenship comes a whole package of implied political and property rights. If the detested "dompas" system goes, the very foundation of the discrimination which has affected millions of people will be eliminated.

The fundamental issues that remain to be resolved would be the quality of black education; the restoration of peace in the townships

● To Page 2, Col 2

# Signs of Govt moving towards real reform

From Page 1 304A

and the release from jail, security detention or emergency incarceration of much of the country's black leadership, and, ultimately, the negotiation of a mutually acceptable constitutional system which would satisfactorily accommodate all the country's groups.

This week's announcements, however, do not answer all questions about citizenship and influx control.

It is true, the Government has accepted the principle of one citizenship for all the country's people, including those in the independent homelands. But it is not clear if such citizenship will automatically qualify everyone for the same privileges and rights.

President P W Botha said this week: "We must accept the South African citizenship of those black persons who lost their citizenship because of the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, but who permanently reside in South Africa."

He said the Government was prepared to negotiate the return of South African citizenship to those people who lived within the boundaries of those countries, on the basis of dual citizenship.

In clarifying the Government's position, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis said such citizenship (for those within the independent homelands) would not imply political rights.

Mr Botha stressed this week that the decision on citizenship did not mean that the sovereignty of the independent states was in dispute "whatsoever".

The President said in his Durban speech that the homelands remained a substantial part of the solution to the problem of black political participation.

It would seem then that the system of homelands, whether independent or self-governing (with maximum self autonomy), firmly remains part of Government policy. The citizens of the independent national states may therefore be granted South African citizenship for purely travel purposes.

Citizenship which grants political rights, that is to those blacks who reside outside the independent homelands, is also not as simple as it might seem.

The Government has made it quite clear that its departure point in negotiating the political accommodation for all the country's people is that each group must be in a position to have maximum autonomy over its own affairs, while no group must be in a position to dominate the others.

Structures must therefore be developed for black communities through which they can decide on their own affairs and in which

they can contribute to decisions on general affairs at the highest level. This does not mean every group will be represented in Parliament, but that different structures, equal in status to Parliament, will have to be developed. It does mean that all race groups, including blacks, will eventually be represented on the highest executive bodies, including the Cabinet.

No one knows exactly how the different groups are to be accommodated in a mutually acceptable legislative system, in which each group feels fairly represented but in which there are checks and balances to prevent domination.

On the subject of influx control, it should also be remembered that the Government is still committed to a policy of decentralisation and it is against squatting and slums.

The pass laws may be scrapped, but it is already known that all South African (including whites) will have to carry an identity document.

Positive and orderly urbanisation may still involve restrictions on blacks in the cities.

Observers have warned that if the new system is policed in the same way that the pass laws were, the essence of the objection to the "dompas" will not have been eliminated.





DALE LAUTENBACH  
Weekend Argus Reporter

A NUMBER of psychologists asked to comment on the prevailing atmosphere and the feelings of the man in the street, agreed that social disintegration and a clear vision of a catastrophic future had taken root in South African society.

On an everyday level people were deeply alienated and going listlessly through the motions of living.

"Different sectors of the community are obviously reacting differently but to generalise for the white English-speaking group, I think they're devastated and more helpless now than at any time in our history," said Dr Don Foster, senior lecturer in the University of Cape Town psychology department.

"I think the Rubicon speech was critical. Then there was the letdown and the realisation that nothing was going to change.

"Then Cape Town erupted.

"And the feeling now is one of bluntness, hopelessness. From my conversations with people, even normally pleasurable things seem senseless."

He believed there was a numbness, too, about the new level of violence.

Dr Foster saw outrage growing in the townships. New bodies and groups were being formed in angry reaction, he said.

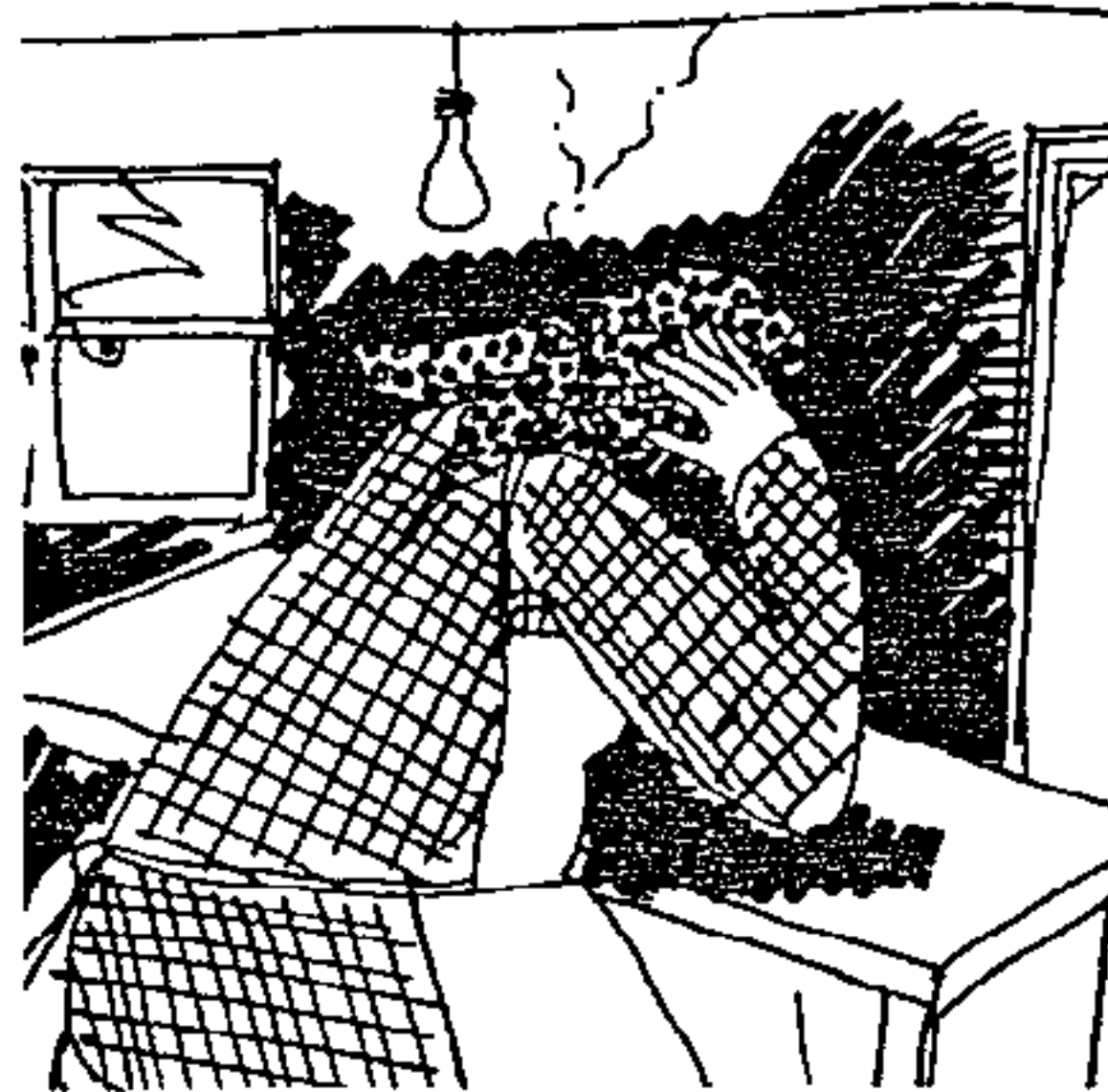
"But white English-speakers generally have been politically alienated for a long time. They have lived private lives, bred to tranquillity in the tradition of colonialism and not closely connected to political forums.

# Unrest stress

City psychologists are finding "extremely high" levels of anxiety and confusion in society as a direct result of events in South Africa.

W/E 17605 14/9/85 (304A)

**"There is a wide range of reaction among different groups but levels of anxiety are extremely high. There are more psychological and psycho-somatic problems than before, more relationships breaking up."**



"Now, with the level of daily public violence and disastrous economic decisions, they find themselves without political clout.

"I think their view is one of a country going down the drain."

A clinical psychologist in private practice said about 90 percent of her patients were showing symptoms of anxiety related specifically to events as they perceived them now.

These symptoms included reactions like headaches and upset stomachs, she said.

"They don't know how to plan their futures and their dreams are permeated with images of physical violence and attack."

"If it weren't for the news censorship operating now I suspect the country would be in a state of high panic," said Ann Levett, psychology lecturer at UCT.

"There is a wide range of reaction among different groups but levels of anxiety are extremely high. There are more psychological and psycho-somatic problems than before, more relationships breaking up."

One reaction, she believes, is a defensive tendency: people were believing the situation had nothing to do with them.

The normal channels through which society operates have also broken down.

"There is social disintegration in the absence of normal safety valves. There is little recourse, for example, to the police. They cannot now be seen as a body to resort to for the normal functions of protest, complaint and justice.

"The masses who are not radicalised feel helpless and confused and with the media clampdown there are no reliable guides."

# Call for unrestricted trading in North End

DISPATCH 14/09/65

**Dispatch Reporter**  
EAST LONDON — The North End Traders' Association has called for blacks to be allowed to trade freely in the area.

A memorandum released yesterday by the association's chairman, Mr Dennis Meyer, said the North End was in a unique position in that, being a "Section 19 area" in terms of the Group Areas Act, all race groups except blacks were allowed to trade there. However the majority of consumers were black.

The memorandum, which the association handed to the MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, said the boycott by black consumers of businesses in the central business district highlighted the need for urgent action to speed up reform. It called for recognition of the black community's social and political grievances and said racial discrimination could no longer be tolerated.

"All South Africans are inter-dependent. The boycott proves that," the association said, adding that it believed that South Africans as individuals were coming to terms with the realities of the problems facing the country and accepted that answers lay in peaceful negotiation.

"It is time for these issues to be faced honestly and the citizens of East London must stand up and be counted on these matters."

"To recreate the atmosphere of trust between business and the consumer established after many years of catering to consumers of all race groups, we are prepared to become involved in working towards the upliftment and development of the community and the establishment of a so-

ciety where there is equal opportunity and equal freedom to work and trade anywhere," the traders said.

The association said that for years the North End trading area had been hampered because the government had frozen any activity in the "Section 19" area. It

called for the area to be opened to traders of all races and for control of the area to be handed over to the East London municipality for development.

The association also welcomed government statements about the lifting of influx control and the restoration of

black citizenship rights and urged that these reforms be implemented as soon as possible. It supported a call by Asso-com and other business leaders for a speedy end to discrimination and also welcomed the decision to upgrade Duncan Village and end forced removals from there, Mr Meyer said.



# Low-key OFS congress hit the real high notes

by  
David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

This week's Free State congress, attended by only a handful of media representatives, turned out to be far more epoch-making than its celebrated Natal counterpart of last month.

Only one or two foreign Pressmen and a few South African journalists were at the Bloemfontein City Hall to hear the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, deliver the coup de grace to the Nationalist illusion that some day there would be no black citizens left in South Africa.

They also heard Mr Botha's voice quaver emotionally when he promised that if the political accommodation of blacks required "drastic reform" he would go again to the country.

Much of South Africa was surprised that Mr Botha did not use his Rubicon speech to announce that the Government would be prepared to return South African citizenship to those who lost it in the process of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei becoming independent.

There is still some speculation that the President, enraged by the huge publicity build-up and pressure to make a major statement, cut this significant concession from his Durban speech.

Sources closer to the President say, however, that Mr Botha did not have time to consult all the relevant leaders of the national states before the Durban speech and that Bloemfontein was his first opportunity to make the decision public.

There are indications that the President will make clear his specific reforms on a piecemeal basis, at his own pace.

The Free State congress was also important for other developments.

## TAKEN BY SURPRISE

Firstly, the willingness of delegates to accept the urgent need to redress the fundamental grievances of blacks appeared to take some party leaders by surprise.

Certainly the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, was moved to say how much he valued the understanding shown of the need for urgent reform.

Several delegates called on the Government to find solutions to the political dilemma. One man, who said he worked closely with blacks, called for the scrapping of influx control because he understood how frustrated and bitter it had made people.

14/9/85  
306A STAR  
Mr Heunis said that in his view South Africa's people, particularly blacks, were over-regulated. He had asked his department, which took over the administration of black affairs from Co-operation and Development at the beginning of this month, to review all regulations which affected blacks with a view to scrapping measures wherever possible.

Ironically, some of the regulations that so intimately regulate people's lives, those provided for by the Group Areas Act, were used by party leaders to ram through congress a long-awaited reform. This was the decision to scrap the old Free State Republic statute which banned Indians and certain other people from living or working in the province.

## RECOMMENDATION

Delegates were asked to vote for the recommendation that the statute be repealed to bring the Free State in line with the rest of the country. However, they were hastily assured that as the Group Areas Act would still apply there would be no real change in the status of the province.

Catch 22 is that an Indian may live only in an Indian group area, and there is no Indian group area in the Free State.

This means that Indians who want to live in the Free State (many have said they could force themselves to resist the urge) will in effect still not be able to do so.

But just when delegates might have been assured that the regulations would come to their assistance, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Piet Badenhorst, told the congress the next day that the advantage of the Group Areas Act was that, for every restriction it embodied, a permit of exemption could be issued so that no person need be unnecessarily inconvenienced.

The congress was also notable for the opening speech given by the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk.

He set out the Government's guidelines for negotiations and made an earnest appeal for leaders to come forward. It was not only the content of reform which was important, he said, but the approach of those who wanted to take part in it.

"Reform will not succeed if the silent majority of all population groups remain silent... The accord between all groups, which this country is so badly in need of, will only materialise if a sufficient number of leaders have the courage to negotiate even if it has to be on the face of it."

# Rand Mayor's CT. 14/9/85 view on Mandela

Own Correspondent:

JOHANNESBURG — The full text of the Mayor of Johannesburg's controversial statement to an Israeli reporter was broadcast on Bophuthatswana's independent radio station, Music Radio 702, yesterday morning.

The mayor, Mr Ernie Fabel, caused a rumpus on an official visit to Israel this week when he said imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela "should have been killed".

A Radio 702 spokesman, Mr Chris Gibbons, yesterday rejected allegations by Mr Fabel that he was quoted out of context and ran the uncut interview at 7am and 8am yesterday.

Earlier this week, the chairman of the management committee, Mr Francois Oberholzer, said he had contacted Mr Fabel in Jerusalem. Mr Fabel told him he had been "quoted out of context".

The interview runs as follows:

Correspondent:

"There have been several calls throughout the world to release Nelson Mandela. What is the reason behind the government's refusal to release him?"

The mayor: "Why does the world want him freed?"

Correspondent: "He is considered a leader of the black people."

The mayor: "He is a terrorist. He should have been killed in the first instance. He is a terrorist. But we try. We try to talk. We try to cope with a situation. In any other country, in most other countries, Mandela would not have been alive. But we thought that we could... and you know that Mr Botha made him an offer which he would not accept."

Mr Fabel is on a visit to Denmark and could not be reached for comment.



# Nats slam 'racist' Tutu over call for stayaway

Pietermaritzburg  
Bureau

THE National Party in Pietermaritzburg has strongly condemned the call by Bishop Desmond Tutu at a Christian conference here this week for a national work stayaway.

In a strongly worded statement, the NP said it was high time the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg was told publicly that 'it is not the place of a servant of God and a leader of the Church to publicly threaten the Government with acts of open confrontation which must lead to further acts of public violence'.

The statement continued: 'By no stretch of the imagination could such

action as threatened by the bishop be construed as a "non-violent strategy". The words of the bishop are not saturated with the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. Rather, they are but the echo of the demands of the ANC operating from beyond our borders.

'The message and attitude of the bishop are to be condemned outright'.

## Confrontation

The statement said Bishop Tutu had finally blown his guise of being at heart a Christian bishop and had revealed himself to be nothing more than a 'fiery political personality'.

'By threatening to organise a week-long stayaway from work for

blacks, the bishop has further revealed himself to be the worst kind of racist bent not on "peaceful change" (as he claims so loudly) but on organising open public confrontation and fomenting open racial conflict in South Africa on a scale too ghastly to contemplate.

'Should Bishop Tutu feel it in his being to propagate a political doctrine rather than preach the inviolate Gospel of the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, he would be advised to lay down his spiritual office and divest himself of his clerical robes. This would appear to be the only open and honest course of action for the bishop now.'



2 SUNDAY TIMES, September 15 1985 ★

BRIAN POTTINGER EXAMINES THE RECONCILING OF THE IRRECONCILABLE

304A

BEHIND the Government's grudging extension of a common citizenship to all South Africans this week lies a painful and tortuous crawl towards the obvious and the inevitable.

For the past four years the Government has been battling to reconcile the irreconcilable — theoretical political "independence" for huge numbers of South Africans living uncontroversially in a common homeland.

The quixotic pursuit spawned a generation of legalistic contortionists and contributed dictionaries of doublepeak.

On one hand lay desperate attempts by black South Africans to withstand arbitrary denationalisation. And on the other stood an implacable political ideology that demanded the stripping of South African citizenship from blacks as an essential part of denying the right to share power.

## Rollled on

This week the Government capitulated to the inevitable. President Botha announced dual citizenship — and claimed the country could be grateful that blacks placed such a high importance on their South African citizenship.

A recent history of this painful birth. Section 6 of the Independence Statute was the lynchpin. These clauses, repeated with legalistic precision in each of the four independence statutes, simply observed that anybody associated with that homeland lost his South African citizenship at independence. Transkeian, Bophutha-

# It's been a long and winding road to one CITIZENSHIP

Tswana and Venda independence rolled on without too much of a problem. But with Ciskeian independence in 1981 Pretoria faced its first major opposition — the homeland's reluctance to take independence. If it meant losing South African citizenship.

A high-powered Government working group considered options and eventually presented four scenarios: associated citizenship, South African confederal nationality, retention of South African nationality or convention.

Associated citizenship was ruled out because it was "arbitrary and inferior to full citizenship". A confederal nationality was also rejected — there is no such thing in international-law terms. And retention of South African nationality bit the dust — it would of necessity

imply that all nationals of black states would have South African nationality, and this was irreconcilable with the concept of a sovereign independent state.

The only thing left was independence by convention. The Government drew up a bilateral convention which offered the advantages of South African citizenship — residential rights, job opportunities and movement — to Ciskeians.

The convention was dressed up in fancy words and the Ciskeian birth presented by a gullible or willful Leunox Sebe as the first part of a new confederation. In reality the convention did not offer Ciskeians any more protection than the existing statutes gave other homeland citizens. And the confederation, of course, has

remained an illusion.

During the Ciskeian independence debate four years ago, the Government furiously rejected opposition suggestions that Ciskeians be given the option of citizenship — it would, argued the Government, devalue the sovereignty of Ciskeian independence.

## Illusion over

Dr Piet Koornhof, the then Minister of Co-operation and Development, insisted: "We are dealing here with a very positive aspect and a positive development. We are not dealing with the removal of rights of people."

His deputy, Mr Henne van der Walt, was even more forthcoming: "The fact remains — and the National Party will stand or fall by this — that the black peoples must be led to independence."

The illusion is now effectively over. Increasingly, Pretoria was forced to accept that the loss of South African citizenship was at the top of every agenda with black South Africans. It was a bitterly resented denial of rights.

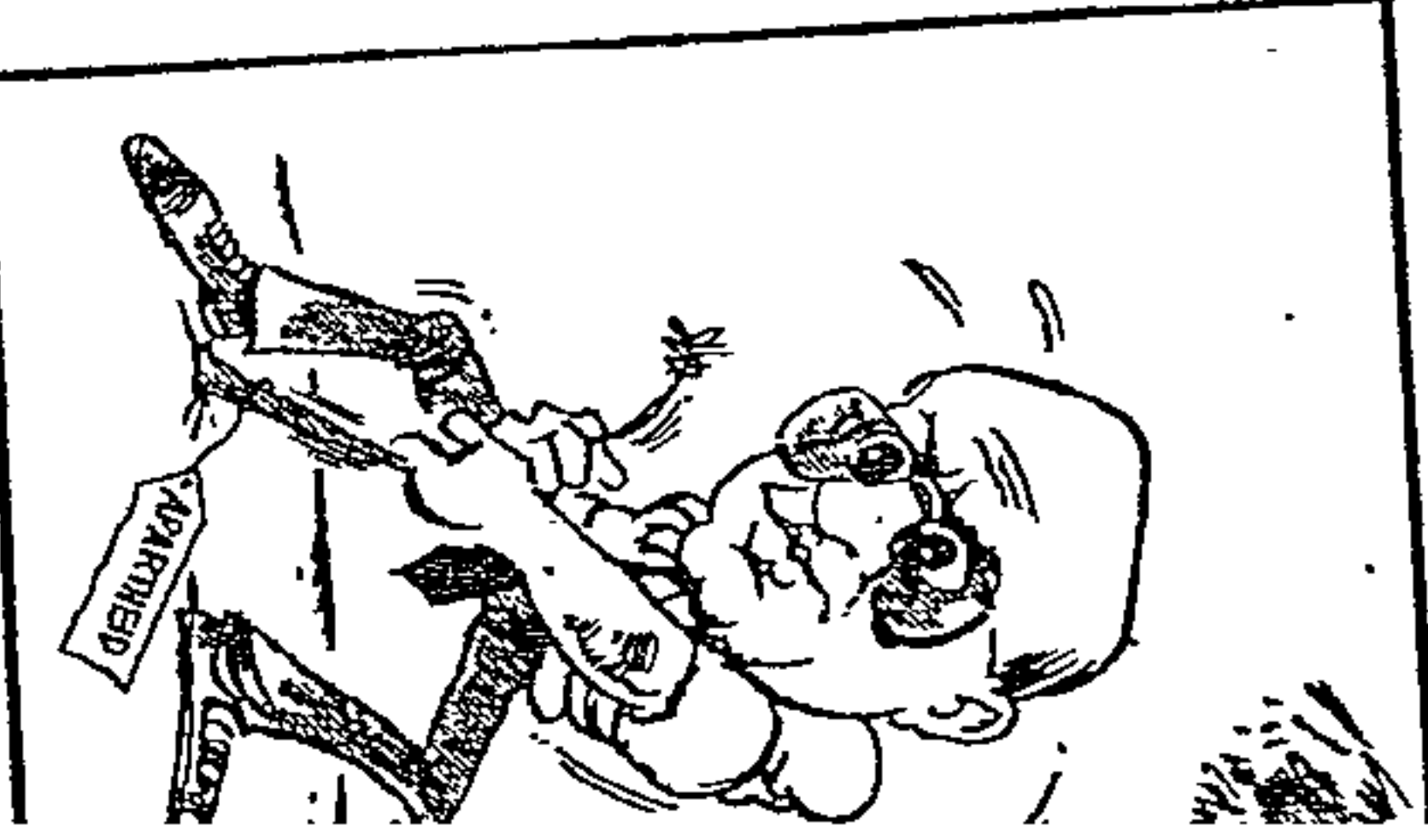
The change was a long time coming. As late as April 1982 Mr Botha was still insisting that the critical citizenship issue could be dealt with by extending reciprocal rights by treaty à la Ciskei.

By the middle of last year, however, National Party think-tanks and the technocrats at Constitutional Development were well advanced in compromise schemes. The idea of splitting citizenship and nationality hovered large in discussions but was quietly shelved. It had to wait until the beginning of 1985 before the Government was prepared to

address the issue. What followed became a lesson in Pecking wall-poster reading — with the wall about to burn down.

In his famous January 25 speech, President Botha made it clear that black communists outside the homelands would be given access to decision-making in South Africa.

To the more perceptive commentators that immediately spelt common South African citizenship for all within common South Africa. President Botha, however, restricted himself to a statement that his special Cabinet Committee had been asked to report on problems of terminology and content surrounding citizenship. Pressed to make an unanimous statement on citizenship — on pain of breaking a budding rapport with pre-



eminent black South African, moderate Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi — he declined.

The exasperated chief subsequently made his own declaration of intent, which included a call for common citizenship.

The country had to wait an April 19 statement: "The Government does not regard the loss of South African citizenship to be the inevitable result of a national state becoming independent."

## Primed

Translated, that meant that future homeland independence would not require loss of South African citizenship. But what about the citizens of the TBVC countries in South Africa? And those inside the TBVC area itself? June saw a further component: the Government was



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INGER EXAMINES THE RECONCILING OF THE IRRECONCILABLE

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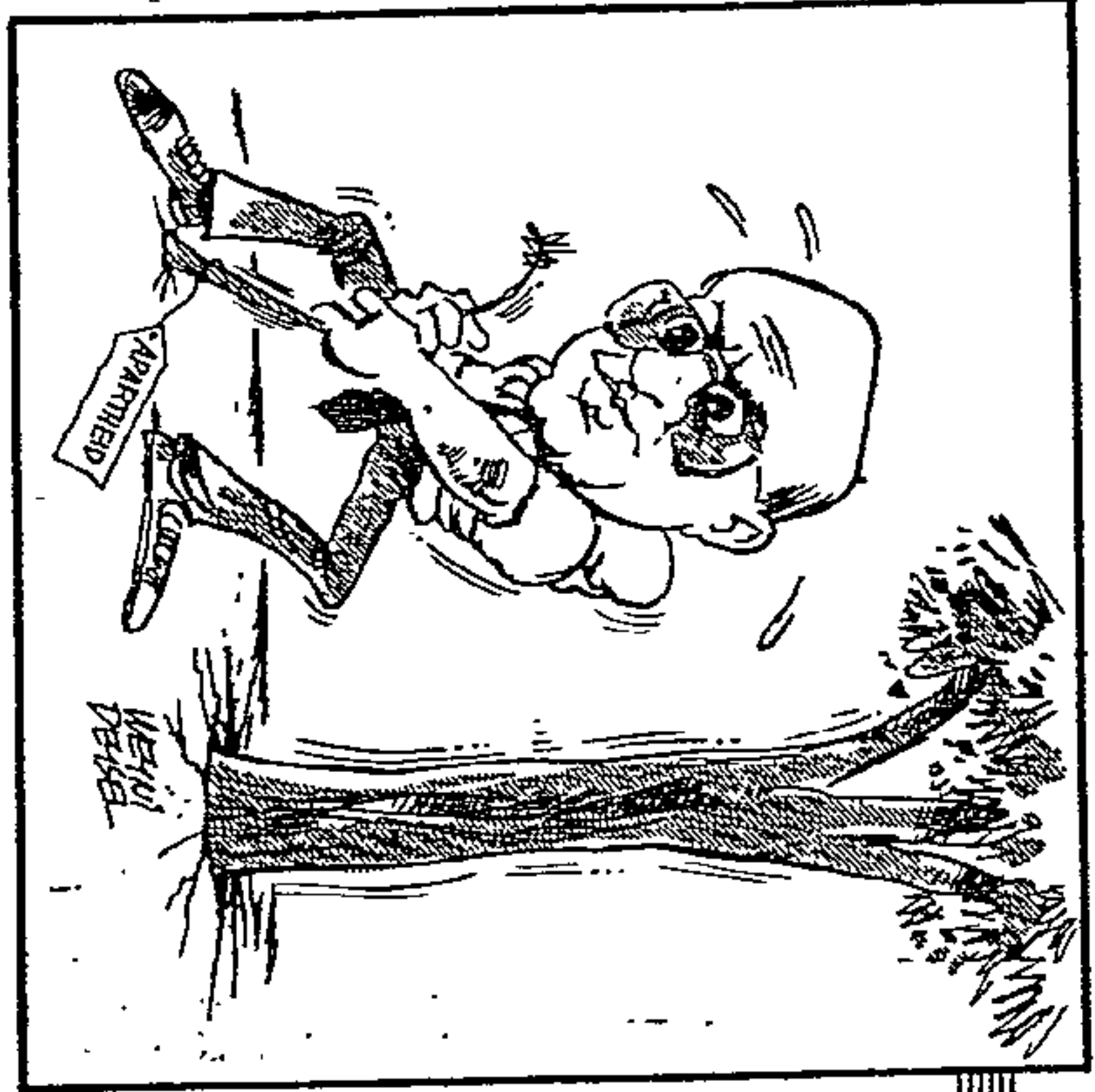
**Primed**

Translated, that meant that future homeland independence would not require loss of South African citizenship. But what about the citizens of the TBVC countries in South Africa? And those inside the TBVC area itself? June saw a further component: the Government was

not prepared to prescribe the sort of franchise enjoyed by various communities. "It may be universal adult franchise or a qualified one or a mixture of both."

August 15 — much blood and street fire later — it looked as if the President was again going to address the central issues in his ill-famed Durban speech. Foreign diplomats and homeland leaders had been carefully primed that a major statement on citizenship was due.

To a disappointed South Africa, bewildered world and outraged homeland leadership he came with this: "Should any of the black national states therefore prefer not to accept independence, such states or communities will remain a part of the South African nation, are the South African citizens and



should be accommodated within political institutions within the boundaries of South Africa."

No change on the April speech. And what, wailed even veteran poster readers, about the citizens of the TBVC countries?

It fell to Foreign Minister Pk Botha to announce, almost by default, on SATV the most important political statement since the advent of the homelands policy.

The independent homelands, he insisted, could trade in their independence if they wanted and reclaim South African citizenship.

## Came clean

Grand apartheid could be cashed in. The impact — displaced some furious poster placarding by colleague Chris Heunis on SATV the next night — was enormous.

This week President Botha — after apparently "last minute" negotiations with TBVC country leaders — came clean. Black South Africans, he had discovered, objected to losing their citizenship.

His plan was that all TBVC residents in common South Africa could have their South African citizenship back. And those inside the TBVC could have dual citizenship.

Government source claimed at week's end the they were disappointed by the lack of foreign coverage of the announcement.





## South Africa: One citizenship

# All South Africans to get SA citizenship

19/9/85 C. Press

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## 'Citizenship? with no vote?'

THE White House said yesterday President P W Botha had not gone far enough in announcing the restoration of citizenship to millions of black people living in tribal homelands.

"What is citizenship if you can't vote, if you can't go where you want to go, if you can't live where you want to live, if you can't eat where you want to eat?" asked White House spokesman Larry Speakes.

The announcement showed the SA Government was "taking a step to meet the pressures but shows they are not doing what needs to be done to end the pressures," said Mr Speakes.

ALL South Africans, including residents of the "independent" homelands, will in future be granted SA citizenship, President P W Botha announced at the Free State National Party congress this week.

The Government will negotiate the restoration of SA citizenship to residents of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei who lost SA citizenship at "independence".

Mr Botha said he wanted to emphasize the "sovereignty" of the independent homelands was not in dispute. "It is, however,

undeniable that they form part of the Southern African community in the broader sense."

Mr Botha said all population groups would be issued with the same identity document, showing their status as SA citizens, and not only their "ethnic grouping".

He said legislation to reinstate the SA citizenship of people who have lost it will be introduced as soon as possible.

Mr Botha said he was prepared to call a referendum if there is a need to introduce drastic changes to give black people political rights within a new constitutional structure.

In the past four decades NP governments had at various stages adopted "certain policy stances" regarding the political rights of black communities in

SA. Those policies had been based on "practical situations and demands" at the time.

"Thus it was accepted at a certain stage that the independence of countries which had previously formed part of SA necessarily entailed that all the members of the national groups in question must exchange their SA citizenship for that of the newly-independent country.

Subsequent experience had shown all the members of the communities concerned did not exercise their political rights through the constitutional structures of those states

"Because of these realities it has become necessary to reconsider and revise this policy," Mr Botha said.

## South Africa: Four nations?

# 'Tear up cut-up'

**By MONO BADELA**  
POLITICAL LEADERS and analysts have flatly rejected what they call a "totally crazy ideological fantasy" which could split South Africa into four regions.

They warned that any attempt to further cut up South Africa without a proper mandate would be condemned - and meet with strong resistance.

For this reason, they said, the plan should be scrapped - and the sooner, the better.

They were responding to City Press' expose of a secret plan being researched by political scientists to divide

South Africa into four areas - three mainly black and one predominantly white, coloured and Indian.

The plan - which, if introduced, will put Natal, the Eastern Cape and large parts of the Northern Transvaal under partial black rule - could drastically change the face of South Africa.

The plan was leaked to City Press last month. Nationalist political scientists confirmed its existence, and said it could be introduced within 18 months.

Among the response to the plan was:

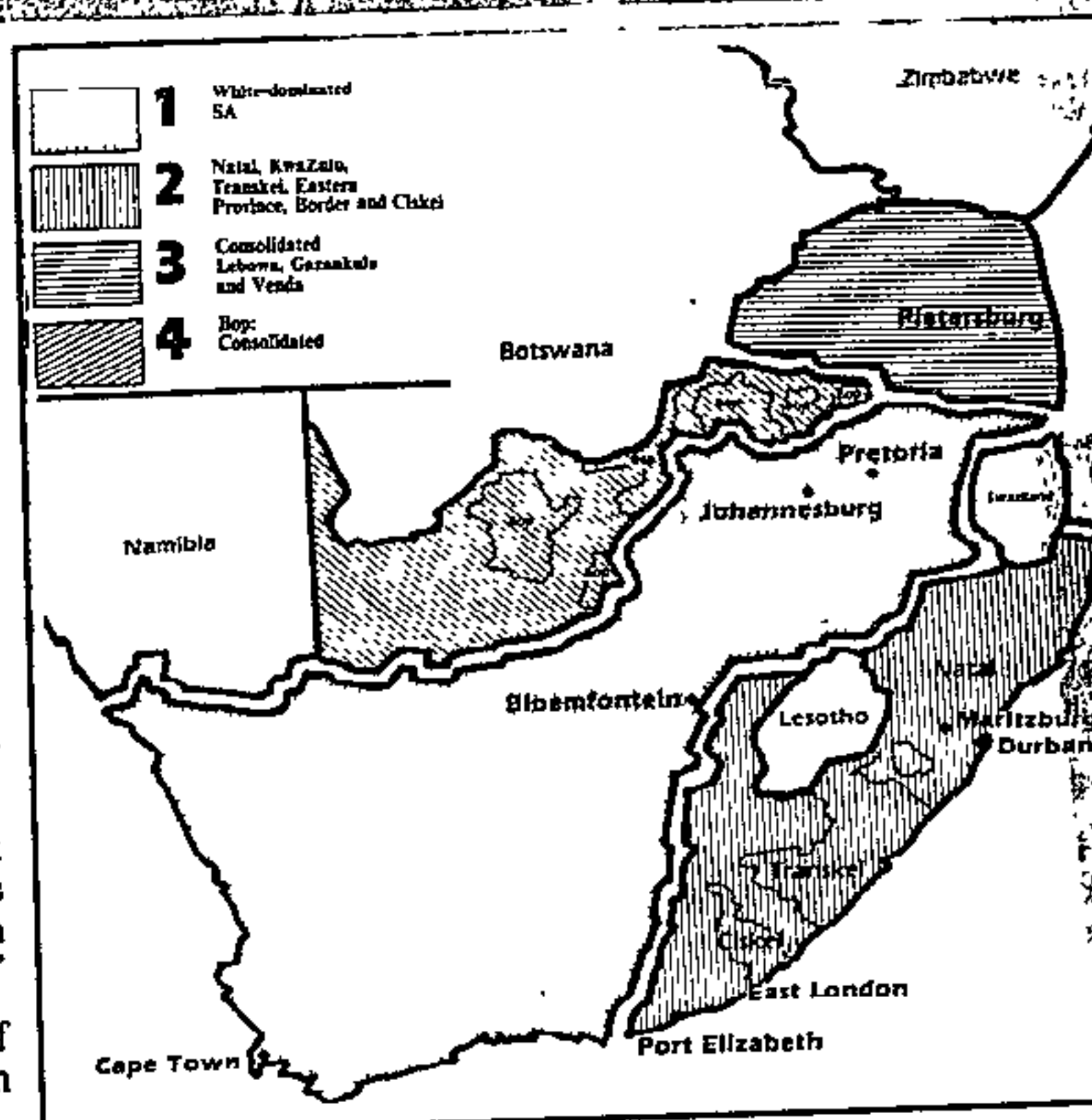
★ UDF patron Father

Smangalis Mkhathshwa said: "PW Botha must remember that any rearrangement affecting the geography and wealth of this country must be done in consultation with all its people."

★ Politician Molly Blackburn said South Africa couldn't afford "further manipulation and contortion".

"If this Government thinks it can persist with its ideological fantasy, it is even more stupid than I thought."

★ Rhodes University's Prof Terence Beard said the plan "is absolutely crazy"





Is the real struggle now capitalism vs socialism?

# New role for big business in the SA political scene

304A STAR 16/9/85

By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

Last week several leading South African businessmen flew from Johannesburg to Lusaka to enter into direct negotiations with the African National Congress (ANC).

In recent months the often artificial dividing lines between business and politics in South Africa have become almost non-existent as the struggle for control of the country becomes more one of socialism versus capitalism than black against white.

The South African Government under President Botha has been willing to see big business as a partner in finding solutions to the problems which beset the country — but it hasn't always been that way.

In his opening address to an Assocom conference in 1977 the then Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, bluntly warned big business to "stop meddling in politics".

But all that changed under Mr Botha's Government and organisations such as Assocom found themselves firmly in the front line of forcing political change.

Business leaders such as Mr Raymond Parsons, chief executive of Assocom, have now become high-profile figures in politics as well as business.

Mr Parsons believes that economic performance and political stability in South Africa are interdependent.

"This does not mean involvement in party politics. But it does mean that the economic implications of political factors have to be addressed by businessmen," Mr Parsons said.

Assocom, an association of chambers of commerce, must be regarded as a powerful voice for business interests. Assocom sees its role in an ever-changing South African society as primarily to assist in the formation of economic policies in the widest possible sense.

"We seek to create conditions in which every business firm has the maximum opportunity to turn its own ideas and resources to the best account in its own and the national interest," Mr Parsons said.

## NO APOLOGY

In a recent address to the Kimberley Chamber of Commerce Mr Bill Yeowart, the immediate past president of Assocom, made no apologies for business "meddling" in politics.

He said that business had continued to make political contributions because it had been affected by the impact of political ineptitude and crassness.

"Today we are in a situation today in which the economy is gravely jeopardised at every level and business life is greatly imperilled because of politics," Mr Yeowart added.

Mr Yeowart said that, in South Africa today, it was impossible for any businessman

or business representative, or business leader to talk about business without involving himself in a political discussion.

There is little doubt that the primary motivation for last week's talks between business leaders and the ANC was economic and that business believed it was possible to reconcile basic ideological differences and find middle ground.

It was not by chance that big business "selected" the ANC for negotiations from among the major liberation forces operating in South Africa.

Contrary to a popular misconception among white South Africans the ANC is not a hardline socialist organisation.

This fact has not escaped the attention of South African big business which sees the ANC as the best bet to maintain some degree of free enterprise.

The other major liberation force, the National Forum (the Azapo parent body), has made it clear that it would replace the present economic system with one based on socialism. As far as Azapo is concerned, a socialist economy is not negotiable.

Assocom believes that ideological differences can be reconciled.

"It may be possible to find common ground, at least among those who are committed to evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, change," Mr Parsons commented.

He said that while many black South Africans saw socialism as the harbinger of eco-

nomics security, freedom and prosperity, this view was based on antagonism towards the country's present economic system.

"Among the black population there is widespread suspicion of, and opposition to, the prevailing economic system," Mr Parsons said.

That antagonism was lending itself to vaguely articulated, but strongly held, support for socialism.

## MAJOR BLAME

The major blame for this state of affairs was to be found in the list of restrictions on the economic freedom of black people Mr Parsons said.

"It is vitally important to clarify the political climate on this level — to remove the grave misunderstanding among many blacks about what the opposing ideologies of the market economy versus socialism embody — and to make it clear that neither supports statutorily enforced separate development," Mr Parsons added.

"Only then will it be possible to address the real issue — the preferability of the decentralised market economy over centrally planned socialism."

Mr Parsons said that, in his view, business opinion was indispensable to modern government.

"But it is not the task of business to govern the country — although it can make a major contribution towards making the country governable," Mr Parsons added.

# 'High time' that Group Areas Act was eased

## Mercury Reporter

IT WAS 'high time' the Government reviewed the policy of rigid residential separation among different races, Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the PFP, said yesterday.

He was commenting on reports in a Sunday newspaper that the Government would launch major changes to the group areas legislation, giving greater flexibility in allowing people of one race to live in the group area of another race.

'My reaction is that it should happen, but I think it is pure speculation that they (the Government) would.'

'They have been tardy about opening up busi-

ness areas and I do think that it is high time they give attention to considering these matters.'

## 'Two pillars'

The Chief Minister in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said while he did not believe there had been a noticeable shift in Government thinking in this area, 'nobody in his right mind can oppose any mixing.'

He said the State President recently indicated in Parliament that there were 'two pillars he is not prepared to deviate from — mixing in residential areas and mixing in schools'.

'We stand for the total repeal of the Group

Areas Act and are going to push very hard for grey areas — we must create multiracial zones as pilot projects.'

He said the Act had created 'real havoc' for the Indian community.

'Why should we have been chased out of Cato Manor, for instance?'

'I believe that the Group Areas Act is an atomic bomb because its effects will be felt for a very long time.'

## 'Welcome'

The leader of Solidarity, Mr J N Reddy, said: 'I think that any move in this direction is most welcome.'

'The Group Areas Act has been a measure which has created a tremendous amount of

harm to the Indian community. In spite of all that's been done to provide housing, the trauma of having to leave their houses and move into areas which were not of their own choosing was tremendous.'

'The time has come for people to have a choice in where they live,' he said, adding that movements into 'open' areas would to some extent depend on people's decisions to 'purchase and pay'.

Mr Reddy said regulations applying to business and residential areas were changing and he hoped 'this thinking on residential areas' would bring about change in the business field as well.



Common

# ground

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# for ANC and Relly

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The real common ground between big business and the African National Congress was concern for the next generation, Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly said at the weekend.

Defending his decision to lead informal talks with the ANC in Zambia on Friday, Mr Relly said: "As South Africans we are all interested to create a more cohesive society and a more equitable one."

Although the positions of the two groups were "very far apart", the real common ground was that "we are all concerned that the next generation should inherit a viable economic and political system".

Responding to criticism from government spokesmen who condemned the talks on the basis that the businessmen were being "disloyal" to soldiers fighting on the SWA/Namibian border, Mr Relly said: "All one can really say is that if there's any point in talking at all, it is with the object that in future people will not have to fight on the border."

## 'A good impression'

He said the State President, Mr P W Botha, had given an undertaking that he himself would negotiate with an open agenda on the future.

"We've taken the view that our talks with the ANC were not outside the basis of that undertaking."

"We have told the Foreign Affairs people about the talks we've had with President Kenneth Kaunda, and we will undoubtedly tell them about our talks with the ANC," Mr Relly said.

Mr Relly said his group found the ANC attitude "not nearly so grossly antagonistic as might be thought", while Mr Tom Sebina, ANC spokesman in Lusaka, said the South African group had created a good impression.

## 'Signs of weakness'

However, noting that there was "little community of interest between us", Mr Relly told SATV that as a "free enterprise person" he could not look with favour on ANC plans for nationalization and the reform of the monetary system under a socialist government.

A spokesman for the State President's Office in Pretoria said at the weekend that Mr Botha had "no comment" on the outcome of the talks. Mr Botha stood by his earlier statement that he could not see what the talks

could achieve other than to show signs of weakness to enemies.

However, the Mozambique News Agency AIM, quoting "a well-placed Lusaka source", said yesterday that the ANC learnt from the businessmen that Mr Botha had already accepted in principle the need to enter a process of negotiation which included the ANC. His problem, the businessmen are reported to have said, was how to bring this about.

This was denied by a spokesman for the State President's Office, who said Mr Botha had consistently denounced such talks as long as the ANC supported violence.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Foreign Affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday said the businessmen were to be congratulated on taking the initiative.

"Obviously there are risks involved, but somewhere along the line people have to come together and start talking rather than standing at arm's length and throwing bombs at each other," he said.

Mr Sebina last night said: "The most important thing is that we got to know each other's views. We hope they went home with a picture of having met decent human beings interested in finding a solution to common problems."

## Subjects discussed

According to AIM, subjects discussed at Friday's meeting included:

- The question of civilian deaths, with the ANC saying there was no specific intention to hit civilians, but that in a situation of growing confrontation more civilians would die.

- ANC nationalization plans.

- The businessmen were told the ANC would not renounce violence as a strategy because violence had been started by the apartheid system.

- A constitution based on an entrenched bill of rights. The ANC said it would accept this, provided that it meant individual rights.

- The need to release ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other jailed leaders — Own Correspondents, Sapa-Reuter and UPI

- Leading article, page 8

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# Nickel spells out policy on SA FOCUS



MR HERMAN Nickel... American Ambassador to South Africa.

tically thought this through.

Q: Can we go back to what the President has agreed to? On computers, for instance, this has been policy; it is not new.

A: I think basically you are right: this codifies what has been a practice before.

Q: The same goes for the human rights funds. I'm sure you have been trying to help as far as human rights are concerned.

A: We now have more funds that will be available to us. So it is an increase in the amount, but not a totally new departure.

Q: So what is in fact new in the President's decision?

A: What is new is that what has been a practice in government has now been formalised in the form of an Executive Order. Also what is new is that this Administration will now consult with the other members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) about the feasibility of banning Krugerrand sales, on the basis that the Krugerrand has become something of a symbol that we want to dissociate ourselves from.

We don't think that the impact on the economy of the ban of Krugerrands — if an agreement can be found within the GATT — is of the kind that would cause any unemployment among South Africans.

It is simply that instead the President will pursue the possibility of coining an American gold coin for collectors who would like to have these coins.

**TOMORROW: Mr Nickel says the impetus for change has to come from within South Africa itself.**

fund; we already had a policy under which computers were not sold to government agencies that were involved in the enforcement of apartheid. So these things the President had no qualms at all ordering in the form of a formal Executive Order.

I think what the President did not accept in the Bill was the trigger mechanism that would eventually lead to a broader policy of sanctions which would be aimed at the South African economy in general because it does seem implausible to us that economic suffering on the part of South African people, most of whom are of course black, will necessarily lead to the goal we all want to see, namely, a more just society.

There are people who have said, "We are prepared to suffer", but the implication is always that the suffering will produce their political liberation. I don't think that the people who take this decision, who are very sincere, have realis-

Executive Order, as that we want to dissociate ourselves as clearly as we possibly can from any association with the machinery of apartheid.

But at the same time we continue to be opposed to sanctions which indiscriminately punish people who have to live in this country and the future prospects for economic growth of this entire region.

Q: The interpretation that is being put on the President's decision is that he was trying to water down the sanctions that were being proposed. The sanctions Bill is now being blocked. Would this be the intention?

A: There are many features of the Bill which this Administration said at the outset it was not opposed to.

Certainly we are very much in favour of funding for bursaries for the students disadvantaged by the apartheid system; we welcome the increase in the human rights

**THE role of the United States in the mounting international campaign against apartheid is pivotal. And for this reason The SOWETAN's features editor JOE THOLOLO, spoke to the American Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel, on his return to Pretoria after he had been recalled to Washington in June.**

**Today we publish the first half of the interview...**

Obviously we would like to have this change come as peacefully as possible and the question of whether one is quiet or loud in pursuing this objective is one entirely of tactics.

Q: There seems to be a change now in the type of pressures that are being applied against South Africa.

A: The important thing to remember about the President's decision, the

Q: EVERYBODY in South Africa is wondering about constructive engagement. Is it dead?

A: No. Certainly not. We certainly are not going to switch to a policy of destructive engagement, nor are we going to disengage from this country.

There is no way in which we can wash our hands off the situation because Americans feel strongly on moral grounds and also have a very real interest in the stability of this region.

And it is clear to us that the stability of this region depends very largely on developing a form of government which involves the participation of everybody and thereby reflects the consent of the governed.

Q: When we talk of constructive engagement we are thinking about the quiet diplomacy that the Americans believe in...

A: Constructive engagement is not a policy of quiet diplomacy. You do not describe the content of a policy by whether it is loud or quiet.

There have been many occasions when this Administration has spoken out...

## Understand

It is very important that our objectives are clearly understood. This is important in terms of our own body politic and of course it is also important to us that the people of South Africa understand what we are about.

The policy of constructive engagement was never conceived as nor has it ever been a policy of winking at apartheid. We start off from the assumption that apartheid is evil and that it must be abolished as soon as possible.



# City Council on the horns of a dilemma

NOT since the removal of coloured voters from the municipal roll have city councillors had to deal with the sort of dilemma they now face about whether to participate in the government's new racially constituted system of local government.

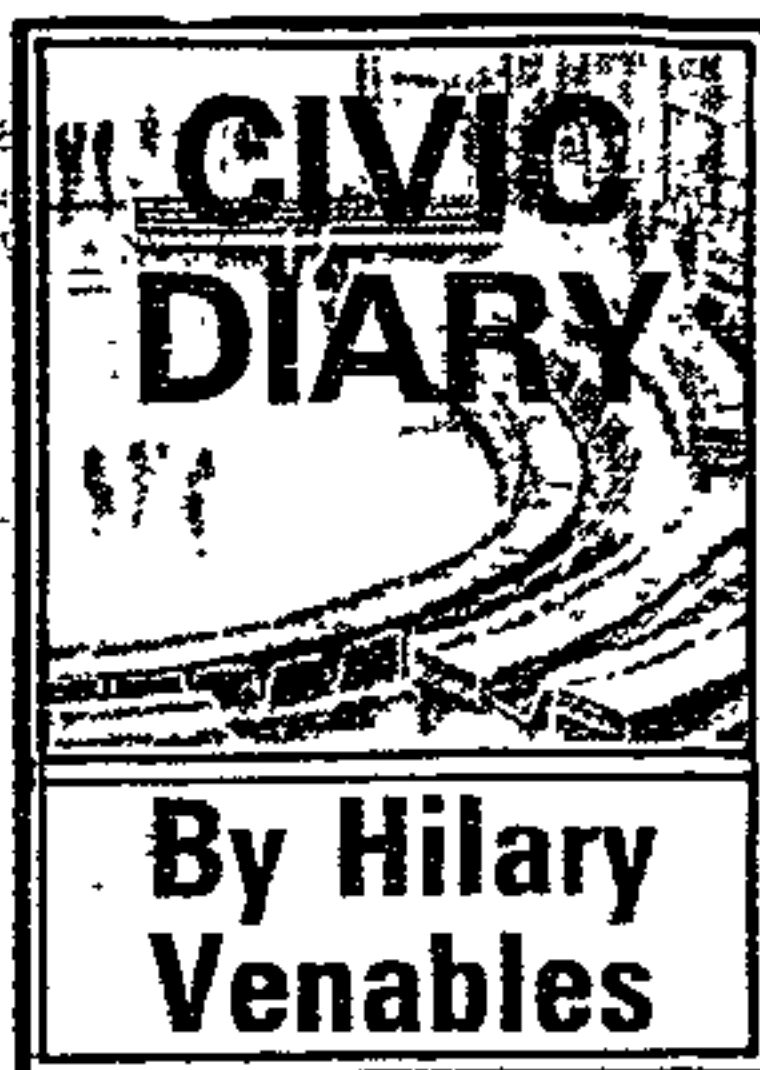
Not that the present system of local government is non-racial, but at least under the current dispensation the council has some autonomy and has been able, on numerous occasions, to resist and defy apartheid legislation in the interests of the City as a whole.

However, once Cape Town has been absorbed into whatever Regional Services Council the Nationalist government's demarcation board sees fit to establish in the Western Cape, it will have to abide by the decisions taken by a two-thirds majority of a body which includes members of more conservative neighbouring white local authorities as well as the despised and discredited coloured and Indian management committees and black community councils.

With an anticipated voting strength of between 15 and 20 percent, the council will have little chance of influencing regional policy.

As a white local authority, the council has come in for a fair amount of flak from progressive organizations who feel it is more concerned about the opinions of its white electorate than about the welfare of the majority of the people whose lives it controls.

Nevertheless, its courage in fighting for better housing for low-income groups, its policy on "open" amenities, its battle against the Group



Areas Act and its rejection of the mancom system have earned it a certain grudging respect from many of Cape Town's voteless citizens.

It now faces one of the greatest challenges to its credibility.

In the same way as the Progressive Federal Party had to question its participation in the tricameral Parliament, Cape Town City Council has to assess its role within the new system of local government.

At a special meeting on Friday, a number of councillors indicated that they would have to reconsider their position if faced with the prospect of serving on a Regional Services Council.

Mr Tom Walters voted against a council memorandum suggesting improvements and amendments to the current legislation, on the grounds that this was a tacit acceptance of the new system.

Other councillors feared they would be viewed in the same light as black community councillors and said the new system would exacerbate the existing political tensions, increase racial polarization and make local government another target for the anger of anti-apartheid

groups.

Mr Eric Merrington called on the government to restore Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu to the City Council.

"Give us our citizens back and let us get on with the running of the City," he said, warning that by participating in an RSC, the council would be "assisting in setting up a flashpoint and contributing to the unrest".

Mr Clive Keegan also called for a local option for the Peninsula, saying the council should continue to plead for the opportunity to work out its own constitutional future in collaboration with all its citizens.

Even he admitted, however, that, failing this, the council had no choice but to participate in the new "ethnically constituted" system.

It seems that if the council decides to defy the government and refuses to participate, it could lose assets worth hundreds of millions of rand, its staff could be siphoned off into the new system and it could be rendered virtually powerless.

Mr Keegan said the council could at least use the new regional government structure to promote the better planning and distribution of services in the Western Cape.

One can only hope so.

But as Mr Keegan and most other councillors have argued, the *raison d'être* for the establishment of RSCs is to entrench apartheid at the third tier of government, and individual councillors, no matter how good their intentions or how reluctantly they enter the new structure, are more in danger than ever of being branded government collaborators.

# SA Govt has decided to <sup>STAR</sup> 'dismantle' <sup>304A</sup> apartheid'

16/1/85 The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The South African Government had decided to dismantle apartheid, South Africa's ambassador-designate here, Mr Herbert Beukes, told a nationwide TV audience yesterday.

He was responding to a question on the NBC programme, "Meet the Press", on whether it was the policy of the Government to end apartheid.

Mr Beukes said: "The decision has been made to move away from apartheid, to dismantle apartheid."

Asked what the first actions in that direction would be, Mr Beukes said: "It will be a question of Parliament taking up some of those proposals the Government has now made on citizenship, and negotiations for further political reforms."

He said the citizenship issue was of major importance as it had been a contentious one for many years.

## POLITICAL RIGHTS

Asked to spell out what was meant by citizenship, Mr Beukes said: "Well, everything that citizenship implies. The Government has already said that if people are part of the South African nation, they have to be accommodated politically. Political rights have to be extended to them."

Did that mean equal political rights for blacks and whites?

"That is indeed the decision," Mr Beukes said. "To extend political rights, meaning to remove political inequalities."

Later, he said: "Political equality means, obviously, that everybody should have the right to participate in the process. Yes, every person should have the right to vote."

Mr Beukes was asked whether that meant there could be black majority rule in the next 10 years.

He replied: "It depends on the system you are going to evolve, the government model, the constitutional model. And that is to be negotiated between white and black leaders."

Mr Beukes said the Government had always been open to extending rights and democracy to people. The question was how it should be done, and in what form.

It was an open-ended process that could only evolve over time. There was a lot of legislation on the books and people would have to get involved on all sides and would have to negotiate and legislate.

The ambassador refused to be drawn on remarks by South African Cabinet Ministers that implied that blacks would not get full citizenship rights. He said he would have to be guided by what the government had decided and what his President said.



Government's 'major reforms' brushed aside

# Frontline Six call for more pressure

280 304A 16/9/85 STAR

By Gerald L'Ange,  
The Star's Foreign News Service

The major reforms brought in and promised by the Government have been ignored by the six Frontline states. At their summit in Maputo they have called for sanctions and other international pressures to be stepped up.

The Frontline leaders apparently brushed aside changes, such as the extension of citizenship to all blacks and the promise to lift influx control, that have been regarded in white

political circles in South Africa as of major significance.

They took this stance as the relatively moderate President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia assumed leadership of the six-nation group. He took over from the more radical Julius Nyerere, who is retiring from the Tanzanian presidency and giving up the group chairmanship.

In the communique issued at the end of their weekend meeting in Maputo, the Frontline leaders said the constitutional reforms brought in under President P W Botha "have failed".

They were referring specifically to the new constitutional dispensation but their communique pointedly makes no reference to reforms such as the extension of citizenship rights, the promised abolition of the pass laws, the ending of apartheid on trains, the scrapping of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages acts, the virtual elimination of job reservation and the extension of trade union rights to blacks, the elimination of apartheid in sport and of petty apartheid in general, and the implication of eventual power sharing.

## Deep concern

These measures, which have been given some recognition in the United States, Britain and Europe as indications of progress towards an internationally acceptable society in South Africa, were not mentioned.

Instead, the leaders of Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania, Angola and Zambia expressed deep concern over what they saw as increased repression in South Africa and the "violence perpetrated by the Pretoria regime against the defenceless population".

The meeting condemned the imposition of the state of emergency in parts of South Africa and called for the lifting of the ban on the ANC and for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

## Conditions

Freeing Mr Mandela, they said, "could bring about conditions for the beginning of talks aimed at the elimination of the apartheid system".

The communique "hailed the growing condemnation of apartheid by Western countries" through economic sanctions and other forms of pressure. The Frontline leaders called on Western and other nations to broaden and intensify these pressures.

# Courageous action needed

Govt, rioters must put  
back from the brink

MORE THAN a year after the bloody September 3 in Sebokeng, and with the state of emergency well into its second month, the vicious cycle of township unrest and repressive action by the security forces continues.

Increasingly, public figures are warning about the dangers of 'civil war', or of being on the road to 'another Lebanon' — these are emotive and potent words but they offer little insight and guidance concerning the specifics of our situation.

It is a misleading simplification to view the issues in terms of a generalised choice between the politics of violence as against that of negotiation and reform.

We increasingly find ourselves in circumstances where stone-throwing, petrol-bombs and even hand-grenades on the part of demonstrators and insurgents are countered (and/or provoked) by the tear-gas, baton charges, quirts and rubber bullets of the riot police, in some cases backed up by the army. The crucial questions do not concern the use of violence as such, but rather the pattern and the limits of its use.

## Implications

For there are still definite limits to the current uses of violence. In 1976

## Political perspective

André du Toit

ed and unpremeditated incidents.

Even the recent case of those white men killed by a funeral crowd in East London is now reported to have been the consequence of their car travelling at high speed into the crowd causing many serious injuries (Weekly Mail, September 6).

There has been an equally significant limitation in the way that the State has responded to the challenges of black unrest and protest.

This may not be the dominant impression of those who have observed or experienced police actions in the townships in recent weeks and months. Too often they have come away with first-hand reports of policemen savagely beating passive protesters with batons and quirts, violently pursuing demonstrators into private homes and classrooms, and indiscrimi-

clamped-downs will then be released in the white community.

It is also quite true that the full power of the State has not even begun to be used to curtail the present unrest. But we must be clear about the implications of this reassuring phrase.

Using 'the full power of the State' in the context means the use of live ammunition, of automatic weapons and, beyond that, of napalm, bombardment and all the horrors made possible by modern military resources. It means that the victims will not be counted in daily twos and threes but in hundreds and thousands.

These are not merely theoretical dangers but the real possibilities inherent in our situation. Some implicit recognition of the fateful consequences probably underlie the continued observance of these limitations



'I think our man in London has cracked — he's giving us the Top Twenty!'

find ways of defusing the imminent escalation of violent conflict into new dimensions.

It will take a bold government and security council to reconsider the emergency measures, to withdraw the security forces from the townships or to release the detained leaders under present circumstances.

But that is the precon-



stances where stone-throwing, petrol-bombs and even hand-grenades on the part of demonstrators and insurgents are countered (and/or provoked) by the tear-gas, baton charges, quirts and rubber bullets of the riot police, in some cases backed up by the army. The crucial questions do not concern the use of violence as such, but rather the pattern and the limits of its use.

## Implications

For there are still definite limits to the current uses of violence. In spite of the spread of unrest to all the major urban centres and to an astonishing list of rural towns and villages, and in spite of the rising toll of dead and injured, even apart from heavy damage to property, certain definite and crucial limits are still being observed.

To understand the nature of our present crisis it is essential to be clear about the current limits to violence, and to face up to the full implications should these thresholds be crossed.

The first limitation concerns the geographical locus of the unrest. To a quite extraordinary degree the political unrest over the past year has been confined to the black townships. Unlike the pattern of 1976 there have been no direct threats to white residential areas.

Political violence and intimidation have been aimed mainly against other blacks, especially community councillors and policemen. The number of white victims of the unrest among the many hundreds of the past year can be counted on the fingers of one hand, and they were the result of isolat-

There has been an equally significant limitation in the way that the State has responded to the challenges of black unrest and protest.

This may not be the dominant impression of those who have observed or experienced police actions in the townships in recent weeks and months. Too often they have come away with first-hand reports of policemen savagely beating passive protesters with batons and quirts, violently pursuing demonstrators into private homes and classrooms, and indiscriminately using tear-gas and rubber bullets.

Nevertheless, the security forces have also observed a crucial limitation: with the single exception of the shootings at Uitenhage they have not resorted to any substantial use of live ammunition or automatic weapons.

## Fragile

We should be under no illusions about the fragility of these mutually observed constraints in the present conflict. These thresholds can be crossed only too easily. The result would be not just more violence, but violent conflict of a quite different order.

Until now no white schools have been attacked or burnt down, virtually no homes in white residential areas have been petrol-bombed, Casspirs have not had to patrol and disperse demonstrating crowds in the central business districts, and very few whites have fallen victim to the endemic unrest. But these things can come about. It takes little imagination or foresight to see what powerful forces for vigilante action and security

means the use of live ammunition, of automatic weapons and, beyond that, of napalm, bombardment and all the horrors made possible by modern military resources. It means that the victims will not be counted in daily twos and threes but in hundreds and thousands.

These are not merely theoretical dangers but the real possibilities inherent in our situation. Some implicit recognition of the fateful consequences probably underlie the continued observance of these limitations by the security forces and the insurgents alike.

The result is a precarious and in many ways dangerously misleading balance of power in the midst of the apparent spread of anarchy and confusion.

White South Africans have been able to go about their ordinary business within their own group areas in almost unruffled calm.

And in the townships the intensely politicised and radicalised youths and students can fervently believe that they have the State at bay and that revolutionary victory is just around the corner, when the State has not even begun to use the coercive powers at its disposal.

## Danger

The danger is that both sides will remain committed to strategies that allow few alternatives to the logic of further escalation.

What can and must the Government do when its (limited) repressive measures, intended to restore law and order, prove ineffective for this purpose?

Rather than lifting the state of emergency or withdrawing the security forces from the townships it will naturally seek to extend these repressive powers.

And what further options are there for those whose boycotts and protest actions have emptied their own schools and have turned the townships into so many running battles with the police, but who fail to threaten the State in any serious sense? Inevitably they will consider strategies to extend the protests outside the townships as well.

What is urgently needed in the situation is rather to draw back from these vital thresholds, to

## 'I think our man in London

find ways of defusing the imminent escalation of violent conflict into new dimensions.

It will take a bold government and security council to reconsider the emergency measures, to withdraw the security forces from the townships or to release the detained leaders under present circumstances.

But that is the precondition for the political initiatives and negotiation that alone can bring some more lasting resolution of the conflict. And it will take an even wiser and more courageous leadership in the black communities, who are prepared to rethink the costs and prospects of the boycott strategies, or to bring home to the radicalised youth some sense of the realities of power and the appalling costs of direct confrontation.

## The key

Perhaps the key to breaking out of the spiral of violence is that each party should realise its own inherent strength as well as recognise the ability of the other to wreak havoc and destruction.

National security does not require that protesting youths should continually be hounded from the streets of the townships, and the State is strong enough to allow the release of political leaders so that open political processes in the black communities can resume.

And the leadership of the student, community and trade-union organisations in the townships may come to realise that the real strengths of the masses politicised by boycotts and police action lie not in taking on the firing-power of the State but in harnessing them to political action within democratic structures.

For each side that might amount to something less than total victory. But there is no prospect of total victory — only of violent conflict on a scale that is beyond anything we have seen until now.

● Professor du Toit is a lecturer in political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch.

# Prof calls on West to mount S A rescue bid

304A 17/9/85 Mercury

A LEADING British academic has called on the West to mount a long-term rescue operation for South Africa along the lines of the postwar Marshall Plan for Europe.

Prof William Gutteridge, Professor Emeritus in international studies at the University of Aston in Birmingham, says that an 'active, direct and practical commitment' would have many advantages over large-scale financial assistance.

'The international community should clearly be prepared to pay a price for a stable, just and prosperous South Africa.'

'This is obviously preferable to violence, chaos and a lasting hostility,' he said.

In a paper published by the authoritative Institute for the Study of Conflict, Prof Gutteridge said any such plan could only be carried out if it had the support of the South African Government.

'The best analogy for such a scheme might be that of the postwar Marshall Plan for Europe.'

It could not stand on its own as an alternative to sanctions which would continue to be deployed at least until the negotiating process began.

'The starting point might be a convincing declaration of intent by leading governments promising a beginning as soon as clear results were seen,' he said.

'Such a plan would need the same measure of international political will as a sanctions policy, but would have the overwhelming advantage of being positive rather than negative,' he said.



# Machel, Pik hold talks on Nkomati 'violations'

17/9/85  
304A  
STAR

MAPUTO — President Samora Machel met the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday to protest about "serious and repeated violations" of the Nkomati peace accord signed last year, the official Mozambican news agency AIM reported today.

It said the current offensive by Zimbabwean and Mozambican troops against rebels had "given vital proof of the continued involvement of South Africa in the destabilisation of Mozambique".

A South African Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed that Mr Botha had held talks in Mozambique with President Machel on issues relating to the peace accord but refused to elaborate.

Mr Botha also met Mozambican Ministers and returned to South Africa last night, he said.

In Washington the United States Government is rolling out the red carpet for President Machel who who starts a five-day visit to the city today.

It is an official "working visit" rather than a State visit, which means there will be no gala dinner at the White House.

However, the US is doing everything else to impress its guest.

## TALKS WITH REAGAN

His aircraft arrives at Andrews Air Base this afternoon. He will then be whisked by helicopter to the Washington Monument grounds where Secretary of State Mr George Shultz will greet him.

The big day will be Thursday, when he will have talks and lunch with President Ronald Reagan at the White House after laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington Cemetery.

The visit is the culmination of a steady improvement in relations between the US and Mozambique since 1982 when relations were severed after a South African raid on ANC bases in Maputo.

Since then Washington has wooed Mozambique in an attempt to wean it away from the Soviet bloc — a policy which has upset the US right wing, which regards President Machel as another Marxist-Leninist dictator who is really anti-West.

Despite this, the Reagan Administration is taking pains to make President Machel feel welcome.

President Machel will also have talks with Vice-President George Bush, Secretary of Agriculture Mr John Block, the administrator of the Agency for International Development, Mr Peter McPherson, and Secretary of Defence Mr Caspar Weinberger, among others. — Reuter, The Star Bureau.

# NRP leader in call for joint government

304A 17/9/85 *Natal Mercury*

## Political Reporter

THE Natal leader of the New Republic Party, Derrick Watterson, yesterday called for the establishment of a joint government of Natal and KwaZulu with legislative powers greater than those of the provincial councils.

Mr Watterson made a plea for politicians to transcend party differences, stop 'playing politics' and 'look after the interests of the country'.

He said the current talks between Natal's Executive Committee and the KwaZulu Government about a joint administration of the region could

only be an 'interim measure'.

'A body that is purely administrative is inadequate. There should be some sort of overriding governing body to accommodate the needs of the region'.

Mr Watterson called for a 'genuine multiracial government for Natal and KwaZulu'. Such a body would have to have greater legislative powers than the provincial councils currently had.

'Its powers should be more like those of the KwaZulu Government than the provincial councils,' he said.

And it should include

all groups, coloured and Indian as well as white and black.

'The genuine fears of the various groups and the differences between them must be taken into account. Group identity

cannot be ignored.'

If whites, Indians and coloureds were to have a future in South Africa they would have to establish a 'proper working relationship with responsible black leaders', he

said.

He said that while he could not commit the NRP, he would be willing to support the 'convention alliance' called for by PFP leader Dr F van Zyl Slabbert.

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# Speed up reform. Tvl Nats will urge at congress

3044

STAR 17/9/85

Pretoria Correspondent

A call for the Government to speed up its programme of race reform is coming from ... the ruling National Party.

The plea is contained in draft resolutions to be discussed — and almost certainly approved — by the party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria at the end of the week.

Race reform will be a highlight at the congress.

President Botha is expected to pronounce on the recent proposals to scrap influx control and the pass laws.

One motion he will deal with says: "Congress, deeply conscious of the uncertainty that accompanies reform, requests the Government to expedite and implement its reform programme so that the practical implications are known and understood before the next general election."

Another motion says: "Congress requests that the Government, irrespective of the possibility of greater resistance from both extremities (sic) of the political spectrum, continues incessantly, firmly and speedily on the chosen path, especially in respect of the constitutional accommodation of the black peoples."

There will be a call for the Minister of Constitutional Development and

Planning. Mr Chris Heunis, to "express an opinion" on the idea of black city-states and on the territorial expansion of homeland powers.

Reform or no reform the Nationalists will not be soft on security. Delegates are to make a plea for stronger action against "agitators and inciters". They will also thank the Defence Force for "the effective counter-action taken against the ANC in neighbouring states".

The congress begins on Thursday night with a public address by Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk.

As if to quell speculation that he has been lukewarm about Mr Botha's reform ideas, delegates will thank Mr de Klerk not only for his "enthusiastic, purposeful and balanced" leadership in the Transvaal but also for his "undivided loyalty and allegiance to the State President".

The concerns of Transvaal Nationalists extend beyond reform and security: they are worried about their pockets, as shown by motions on lower fuel prices, economic deregulation, and privatisation.

One motion requests an in-depth probe of "the large-scale dissatisfaction and complaints among railway officials."

Sharon Weiner (left), Sharron Weiner  
"Utsava" dance festival.



CARE TIMES 17/9/85 (304A)

# Suzman: 'Whites will want guarantees'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The whites in South Africa would never surrender power without any guarantees for their own security, Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, said in a major Fleet Street interview yesterday.

Talking to the right-of-centre Daily Telegraph, Mrs Suzman said that liberal whites — such as those who voted for the Progressive Federal Party — were not given sufficient credit overseas for the work they were doing.

People overlooked "a very large section of truly outraged white opinion which is against the apartheid system".

"It is easy to sit 6 000 or 9 000 miles away and just talk about handing power over to the majority. I don't think people sit down and work out what that is going to mean in practice."

"That is why our policy is for multi-racial government and not simply for a transfer of power from a rotten white minority government to a rotten black majority government," Mrs Suzman said.

Asked whether she felt optimistic about the



Mrs Helen Suzman

future, she said: "We may be going through a pretty bad immediate period and I think that immediate period is going to be a little more extended than people believe."

"It is possible that we are going to have the unrest spilling over from the townships into the so-called white areas, that we are going to have more sabotage and terrorism. I think that's probably inevitable."

"There is a large number of concerned and dedicated people in this country, black and white, who are prepared

to work for a peaceful solution."

"This country is too great, really, to be thrown to the wolves," Mrs Suzman said.

Asked what advice she would give to President P W Botha if he sought it, Mrs Suzman brushed aside "all this talk about consultative forums".

"It doesn't wash any more with the blacks."

"The first thing we would say is: Change the constitution. Bring blacks into the political structures of this country immediately."

On President Botha, Mrs Suzman said: "I think he has lost his way. He is in a state of confusion and honestly does not know what to do. His natural instincts are to put all the unrest down by force, if necessary, and use very tough measures. Indeed that is what he is trying to do — not very successfully."

In an editorial accompanying the interview, the Daily Telegraph urged the advocates of sanctions to heed this "voice from the front-line" and her opposition to economic sanctions because it would adversely affect blacks and the neighbouring states.

TIMES 17/9/85



Bringing you news from around t

# 'ZIGZAG' PW SLATED

NEW YORK — The New York Times yesterday launched a stinging attack on the State President Mr P W Botha and accused him of clouding his latest calls for South African reform by "zigzag manoeuvres that may mask some hidden purpose".

The report said the call by the Committee for Constitutional Affairs to urge repeal of the controversial pass laws has been a welcome judgment, immediately tempered by Mr Botha's failure to join in it, and his unwillingness to even meet with leading blacks to discuss reform.

"Similarly, Mr Botha buries in fudge his promise to grant blacks their birthright of citizenship," it said.

The Times said that Pretoria, eager to ward off the threat of stronger worldwide economic sanctions, kept hinting at fundamental change, but then Mr Botha denied any major turning point as if to prove he was not being pushed around.

It noted that the perceptions of Pretoria might well lag behind those of business and community leaders, who were not only pressing their Government for change, but had also reached out to blacks with proposals to end all segregation and to begin recognising their political rights. — Sapa.

PFP to avoid spotlight on Saturday

# 150 likely to launch Convention Alliance



● SLABBERT

THE Progressive Federal Party is expected to keep a low profile at the launch of the Convention Alliance in Sandton on Saturday.

It is understood that about 150 people, including a broad spectrum of churchmen, business and black community leaders, individual organisations and others, will attend the first meeting.

The movement has deliberately narrowed its purpose to a single objective — support for the idea of a national convention to negotiate the country's constitutional future.

Although the Alliance was conceived by PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the PFP delegation is expected to number only about four senior members of the party.

The PFP leadership is apparently

PAUL BELL  
Political Correspondent

keen to avoid giving the impression that the Alliance is a "Prog front". This is illustrated by the fact that Slabbert will not be in the chair.

"This is not a merger, or the formation of a new political party," a senior party source told *Business Day*. "Everybody will be maintaining their own political identity and that's the way we would want it."

Inkatha President and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosutho Gatsha Buthelezi is expected to lead his organisation's delegations.

But leftwing black organisations like Azapo and the UDF will not be attending.

It is understood that UDF patron Allan Boesak, sounded out prior to his

detention nearly three weeks ago, had been willing to attend the launch.

And it is said that UDF President Archie Gumede, on trial for treason in Maritzburg, would also come but his bail conditions preclude him from leaving the district.

PFP sources were, however, not without hope that the UDF might consider supporting the Alliance at a later stage. "We're not pushing them to come," one said. "We don't want to make them feel they have to say no. They obviously have difficulties with the Alliance at this stage."

Soweto Civic Association leader Nthatho Motlana, who spoke on a PFP platform last month, has also been mentioned in connection with the Alliance but apparently will not be in the country this weekend.

Primary  
through  
Embassy

T.I.V. Panel Van

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## Nkomati 'violations' STAR probed

18/9/85  
Allegations by Mozambique that South Africa had "seriously and repeatedly" violated the Nkomati Accord were being investigated by the Government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said in Pretoria last night.

304A  
Confirming that he had met the Mozambican President, Mr. Samora Machel, and members of his Cabinet in Maputo on Monday, Mr. Botha said he had requested a follow-up meeting to discuss the matter further.

### DESTABILISATION

According to the official Mozambique News Agency AIM, the current offensive by Zimbabwean and Mozambican troops against rebel MNR cadres had given "vital proof of the continued involvement of South Africa in the destabilisation of Mozambique".

In terms of the Nkomati non-aggression peace pact signed by South Africa and Mozambique in March last year, neither country must permit forces hostile to the other to operate from its territory. — Sapa.



# The 'yes' vote deal —

## NRP must blame itself

18/9/85

304A

STAR

### Hindsight's penetrating look at that 'yes' vote

In this September of 1985, many white South Africans were opposing the government of the day for the referendum, the NRP led to do this. I then resigned as leader of the New Republic Party in Natal as it appeared that the Party had done a "yes" vote with both the national leader



The New Republic Party supported a "yes" vote in the 1983 constitutional referendum. The NRP's Transvaal leader at the time, Mr. Alex Anderson (left), looks at that decision. He resigned from the party last year after the

Just a week ago former NRP Transvaal leader, Alex Anderson, revealed his reasons for quitting the party. Today, the Progressive Federal Party's ALF WIDMAN, MP for Hillbrow, questions Mr Alexander's statement that the PFP has done a somersault on its previous stand against the constitution.

Having witnessed the pathetic performance of the NRP Members of Parliament over the last few years, I can understand Mr Alex Anderson's disappointment and disillusionment with members of that party.

His frank and candid assessment of the antics of the NRP's erstwhile leaders, both national and in Natal, come as no surprise.

Why in fact did Vause Raw stand down as national leader?

The sooner the five remaining members of the NRP in Parliament choose their new political homes, the better — they will be unable to put off this decision, when the provincial councils are abolished next year, and when the last base of NRP is eroded.

Is Mr Anderson revealing that the NRP through certain of its leaders were persuaded to vote YES because of a deal? If so, the members of the party certainly got the short end of the stick, they were taken for a ride and sucked in by promises to individuals in their leadership capacity, for at least they could have bargained for retention of the provincial councils in return for their YES vote.

As for Mr Anderson's dealings with Minister de Klerk and others in the National Party, he is quite right to decline membership on the strength of "co-operative co-existence", particularly when the term co-operative co-existence is a euphemistic substitute for the word apartheid — since both terms are equally founded on influx control, separate amenities, group areas, population registration, a tricameral system of Parliament, non-

integrated elected local authority, and no meaningful participation by blacks.

Mr de Klerk commands a powerful position as Transvaal leader. I would like him to state publicly whether he used his clout to support P W Botha's pre-Rubicon speech that was torpedoed.

The question now is whether the State President has the backing of his Cabinet and caucus so as timeously to take the step he knows he must take if further political unrest and economic instability are to be avoided?

A further question arises as to whether P W Botha is adequately informed by his Cabinet colleagues if one considers the present financial crisis in the light of his fateful Durban speech. I quote:

"But it is common knowledge by now that the official economic strategy applied in South Africa during the past 12 months has produced excellent results."

Further points:

"The balance of payments on current account is showing a surplus of about R5 billion a year — much larger than anticipated."

"The banking section and private companies have for months now been repaying substantial foreign debts."

"With exports rising strongly and interest rates falling, the domestic economy should move into a new upswing in 1986."

Mr Anderson expresses grave misgiving at the decision of the NRP to vote YES during the referendum, and, in fact Mr Anderson goes further and generously praises the PFP for its decision when he says:

"One could not but respect the

competent way in which the Progs vociferously and eloquently opposed the implementation of a new constitution during the referendum campaign."

Our objections to the constitution at the time of the referendum were:

- (1) It excluded the blacks.
- (2) It entrenched the vertical walls of apartheid.
- (3) It would polarise the nation.
- (4) It would result in confrontation.

And what do we find now?

- (1) The blacks are angry and frustrated at their exclusion.
- (2) A tricameral Parliament wherein no discussion or questions can be put at a joint sitting.
- (3) Polarisation.
- (4) Confrontation.

Mr Anderson says the PFP is doing a remarkable political somersault "by being seen to give support to the new constitution through various manoeuvres and collaborations following the removal of the Improper Interference Act". He calls this a tragedy.

It is clear the PFP has never given support to the new constitution, but Mr Anderson now accuses us of collaboration following the removal of the prohibition of Political Interference Act. If by this he refers to the Congress's decision to broaden our base and admit all South Africans to membership to decide whether to have representatives in the other two Houses — what of it, isn't this what politics is all about? The PFP leader Dr van Zyl Slabbert has made it clear the tricameral Parliament must go. It must be replaced by one constitution based on one citizenship in one country.



# PFP establishes bureau to advise victims of violence

304A (Zelaya)  
18/9/85 Mercury

African Affairs  
Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party in Durban has established an advice bureau to take sworn statements from black victims of the violence and counter-violence in townships around the city.

Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the PFP, said the advice bureau would begin functioning today. He urged those affected to telephone Durban 288128 between 9 a.m. and 4 p.m. to make appointments to see an advice officer.

The PFP spokesman said public representatives of the party were being inundated day and

night with requests for help from victims of the violence.

'We are aware of the unfortunate divisions which appear to exist among the black communities in these townships at present and we view this fact with particular concern, bearing in mind that all blacks suffer from common disabilities in the present South African society,' Mr Swart said.

## Protection

'As a party, we are committed to working for the removal of these disabilities in the interests of all sections of society so that peace, security and stability can become a reality for all.'

'But violence and threats to people and property cannot bring about this reality.'

He said it was probable that the resources of the police were stretched to the limit. This could have serious consequences for individuals in the black communities.

Mr Swart said members of the legal profession in Durban would be approached to help. Machinery would be set up to take evidence on oath and, where applicable, representations would be made to the authorities to take action against those concerned and to give protection to those threatened.

# New constitution essential — US expert

The Star's Foreign News Service

If South Africa is to find a home-grown constitution that will satisfy everyone, it must have the help of the international constitutional expert argues in the *Washington Times*.

The people of South Africa do not need terrorism and riots. They do not need disinvestment," Professor Albert Blaustein of Rutgers University Law School argued this week.

South Africa should become, as soon as possible, a land of constitutional ferment, he said. "The constitution-making process must involve everyone. This is the time for surveys, studies, seminars, conferences... by government, universities, foundations, businesses people."

He said there was agreement that the survival of the South African nation depended on the writing of a new constitution that would codify power-sharing with the black majority. But there was no agreement on the specifics and how to achieve them.

One of the "immutable truths" of the constitutions was that they had to be homegrown — custom-made to meet the needs and wants of the people.

Some prefabricated henhouse from standardised excerpts taken from portions of the other 162 constitutions of the world," Professor Blaustein said.

"The government does not create the constitution; the constitution creates the government," he argued. "Just as it cannot be dictated from abroad, so it cannot be dictated from any one population group."

Professor Blaustein said that all the successful constitutions of the past had resulted from shared participation in their making.

This was the defect and failure of the current South African constitution — it had been initiated unilaterally by the government.

"The South African constitution must be discussed, analysed, written and promulgated by South Africans unique/peculiar circumstances of South Africa."

Professor Blaustein listed several essential factors in the drafting of a South African plan. Among them:

- It could not be imposed from outside — either by American and European liberals or by "the Marxist ideologies of refugee liberation groups".
- It must be the product of all South Africans — not only P W Botha, Gatscha Buthelezi or Desmond Tutu.
- South Africa's entire legal community should be encouraged to participate. — Neil Lurssen in Washington.



Cape Times 18/9/85

# City leaders bid for peace

Staff Reporter

TWENTY-THREE leading Cape Town citizens including the principal of UCT, Dr Stuart Saunders, prominent theologians, academics and civil rights leaders have signed a statement promising to work for a "Just Peace" in South Africa.

In the statement they said:

"Over the past year we have witnessed the escalation of violence throughout South Africa and a continuing failure on the part of government to make significant moves to bring about a just and lasting peace.

"We believe that the presence of troops and the use of force will only inhibit the establishment of a climate in which a negotiated settlement of South Africa's future is possible.

"On this International Day of Peace we rededicate ourselves to working for a just peace in our country. To this end we call on government to:

- "Create the conditions whereby all South Africans can freely participate in the peace process.
- "Eliminate all forms

of apartheid and racial discrimination.

- "Create a non-racial South Africa based on the concept of common citizenship for all.

"The choice South Africa faces is a clear one: To continue to move towards a state of civil war or to dismantle apartheid and use the resources of our country to build a South Africa based on principles of justice and democracy."

The signatories were:

Dr S J Saunders, Sir Richard Luyt, Monsignor Henry, Roman Catholic Bishop of Oudtshoorn, Mr Michael Evans, Mr Gerald Gordon QC, Mrs José Olivier, Prof Nic Olivier, Mr H Bernadt, Mr John Whitehead, Mrs Frances Whitehead, Mrs R N Robb, Prof Francis Amies, Mr D Janes Baigrie, Prof John de Gruchy, Dr Charles Villa-Vicencio, Prof J Leatt, Prof Francis Wilson, Mrs Moira Henderson, Prof Michael Savage, Mrs D Cleminshaw, Mrs Di Bishop, Mrs Mary Burton and Mr Brian Bishop.

## BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) ....	\$317,50
Rand ....	\$0,4090/\$0,4110
JSE .....	1 055,10
Dow Jones .....	1 298,16



PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert who warned yesterday that the anger, frustration and militancy in the townships should not be underestimated.

## 'Continuing violence could make ANC seem moderate'

By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

18/9/85  
Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert warned yesterday that, if the current trend towards revolutionary militancy in the black townships continued at its current pace, even organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC) would be left behind.

"I want to make a prediction today. It is that, if the current trends continue in the townships for the next three or four years, even the ANC will find itself considered a middle-of-the-road sell-out," Dr Slabbert told about 200 Rand Afrikaans University students at a lunchtime

meeting yesterday.

The PFP leader warned that the anger, frustration and militancy of black and coloured youth in the townships should not be underestimated.

### MILITANCY

"There are young people in those townships who believe that they are on the point of victory, that all they have to do is carry on a little longer and they will succeed."

He said that they were prepared to die for their revolution.

Dr Slabbert added that he believed the vast majority of South Africans, of all colours, believed in a middle road between revolutionary violence and right-wing repression.

"I appeal to all of you to join the growing band of South Africans — black and white — who reject violence from any side," he said.

"The talk of reform is taking second place in the townships to a belief that repression is increasing," Dr Slabbert said.

He also attacked the Government over what he called its lack of clarity.

"There is no clarity whatsoever on vital issues such as power-sharing and citizenship."

He added that no reform process could hope to succeed unless it allowed freedom of association at the same time.



# IMC upset over beach report

E. Post  
18/09/85  
Post Reporter

MEMBERS of the Port Elizabeth Indian Management Committee (IMC) reacted strongly at their monthly meeting in Korsten yesterday when it was disclosed that their views on beach apartheid had not been included in a memorandum to the Administrator, Mr Gene Louw.

The desegregation of PE's beaches once again appeared on the agenda and the committee was informed that the matter was now in the hands of Mr Louw.

The chairman of the IMC and MP for Malabar, Mr Raman Bhana, said he noticed that his views on the matter, as well as those of the other members, had not been forwarded to Mr Louw.

The views of the Northern Area Management Committee had, however, been included.

Mr Bhana said: "I would like to know why the IMC's viewpoints are not included. The Administrator should be informed with immediate effect."

Mr Jay Kathan, the committee's deputy chairman, said: "The IMC started the ball rolling as far as the desegregation of the city's beaches is concerned.

"There has been a lapse of four months since it was decided to take the matter to the Administrator and yet it has still not been resolved.

"The sooner they expedite the matter the better it would be for the community as a whole," he said.

# All-group alliance to meet this weekend

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — About 150 representatives of a broad range of interest groups are expected in Sandton this weekend to launch a national convention alliance.

They will be meeting behind closed doors at a hotel on Saturday afternoon.

This follows the call by the leader of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, several weeks ago to all South Africans interested in a national convention to form an alliance.

Newspaper editors will be attending the proceedings as observers.

The meeting organisers have been reluctant to publicise details of who will be present for fear that this might cause some to stay away.

It is understood that among 150 representatives will be members of most of the country's major

churches, English and Afrikaans academics from the universities of Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom and RAU, and individual businessmen.

Trade union representatives will not be represented, although it is hoped that the country's major unions will eventually join the alliance.

## Prediction

Organisers have confirmed that the patron of the UDF, the Rev Allan Boesak, had originally agreed to attend this weekend's meeting. Because of his detention he will now obviously not be in a position to do so, and it is not clear as to whether the UDF will now be represented by someone else.

Meanwhile, Dr Slabbert warned yesterday that if the current trend towards revolutionary militancy in the black townships continued at its current pace then even organisations such as the African National Congress would be left behind.

"I want to make a prediction today. If the current trends con-

tinue in the townships for the next three or four years then even the ANC is going to find itself considered middle of the road 'sell-outs' by the youth," Dr Slabbert told about 200 Rand Afrikaans University students.

He warned that the anger, frustration and militancy of black and coloured youth in South African townships should not be underestimated.

"There are young people in those townships who believe that they are on the point of victory, that all they have to do is carry on a little longer and they will succeed."

He said that they were prepared to die for their revolution.

Dr Slabbert said most South Africans, of all colours, believed in a path between revolutionary violence and right-wing repression.

"I appeal to all of you to join the growing band of South Africans — black and white — who reject violence from any side," he said.

PAIRS FOR

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# Diary describes 17 months of clandestine SA aid to MNR rebels

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

South Africa is meeting urgently with Mozambique at the border between the two countries today following the public exposure that the SA Defence Force had dropped supplies to the Mozambican National Resistance Movement since the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and senior officials of the South African Government were to meet their Mozambican counterparts to convey the findings of an official South African investigation which largely confirmed that the rebels had been materially assisted over the past 17 months.

Regular SA Air Force flights to the MNR bush headquarters at Gorongosa, an SA Navy submarine mission to pick up a rebel leader from the Mozambique coast, and secret visits by the former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, to the guerilla's main base, were confirmed by Mr Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, last night.

However, they rejected Mozambique's charges that these were violations of the Nkomati Accord.

South Africa and the SADF had at all times upheld the Accord, they said. They would be explaining to Mozambique today that humanitarian aid, the SAAF flights, the submarine mission and Mr Nel's visits had all been undertaken in the cause of bringing the two sides in the Mozambique civil war together.

South Africa had been obliged to render certain assistance to the MNR in exchange for the release of Russian prisoners and in an attempt to isolate the



General Malan ... regular flights were necessary.



Mr Pik Botha ... invited to listen to extracts of diary.

## of the Nkomati Accord

of meetings between the MNR and South African officials.

The diary also made mention of certain SADF officers who were apparently not in agreement with the Nkomati Accord and who had made disparaging remarks about the role that Mr Botha and other members of the Government were playing. (The officers named have categorically denied this).

Mr Botha was invited to come to Maputo on Monday to listen to extracts of the diary and to hear President Samora Machel's concerns that there had been "more than a breach" of the Nkomati Accord.

should suspend its work. Mr Botha relayed the evidence to the State President, Mr P W Botha, and General Malan in Pretoria on Monday.

An investigation appointed immediately by the President reported yesterday that the allegations were broadly true. However, some excerpts from the diary were not correct and, with one exception, it was not true that weapons and munitions had been given to the MNR.

A limited quantity of weapons was flown to Gorongosa, on August 21 1984, for the protection of South Africans who were building an air-

war), the investigation found.

The humanitarian assistance which had been given to the rebels, included financial assistance, medicine, seed, soap and petrol.

### RADIOS SUPPLIED

General Malan explained, last night that regular flights in and out of Mozambique had been necessary to bring rebels to South Africa for a ceasefire negotiations. Radios had been supplied for the same purpose.

Mr Botha said that Mozambique had asked South Africa to try to bring about a ceasefire and that

Mr Nel had visited Gorongosa for this very purpose, and Maputo had been told of one of these visits.

When the United States asked South Africa to get the MNR to release two Russian prisoners, Mr Botha said he told Mr Nel to offer the rebels up to R100 000 as an inducement.

The revelations that South Africa had been assisting the MNR after it signed the peace accord with Mozambique come hard on the heels of the latest SADF operations in Angola.

The two developments are almost certain to further

# Urgent talks on 'breach'

19/9/85

304H



South Africa and the SADF had at all times upheld the Accord, they said. They would be explaining to Mozambique today that humanitarian aid, the SAAF flights, the submarine mission and Mr Nel's visits had all been undertaken in the cause of bringing the two sides in the Mozambique civil war together.

South Africa had been obliged to render certain assistance to the MNR in exchange for the release of Russian prisoners and in an attempt to isolate the movement's field commanders from their recalcitrant political mas-

ters. After Zimbabwe recently overran the rebels' Gorongosa headquarters, among documents captured was a South African-printed diary kept by a Mr J. Vaz which appeared to have been the rebels' journal. In it, in neatly written Portuguese, were entered details and dates of equipment supplies made by the SADF, including weapons and ammunition, blankets, radios and compasses.

Records were kept of supply drops, movements of SAAF Dakota and C-130 aircraft at Gorongosa airfield, and made, apparently not in agreement with the Nkomati Accord, and who had made disparaging remarks about the role that Mr Botha and other members of the Government were playing. (The officers named have categorically denied this).

Mr Botha was invited to come to Maputo on Monday to listen to extracts of the diary and to hear President Samora Machel's concerns that there had been "more than a breach" of the Nkomati Accord. He told Mr Botha that in his view the Joint Security Commission set up to police the Accord pointed immediately by the President reported yesterday that the allegations were broadly true. However, some excerpts from the diary were not correct and, with one exception, it was not true that weapons and munitions had been given to the MNR.

A limited quantity of weapons was flown to Gorongosa, on August 21 1984, for the protection of South Africans who were building an airstrip at Gorongosa (for the purposes of implementing a ceasefire in the Mozambican civil

# Captured document spells out the links

## Political Correspondent

The diary which exposed South Africa's clandestine aid to the Mozambican National Resistance Movement (MNR) was found among documents captured when a combined force of the Mozambique and Zimbabwe defence forces recently overran the rebel field headquarters.

The South African Government has not been allowed to take the diary for inspection or for reading in its entirety, but excerpts read to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in Maputo on Monday have been largely confirmed by South Africa's own investigations.

Mr Botha says that the extracts pertaining to meetings and conversations between him and MNR leaders (during the course of the series of publicised ceasefire talks last year) are accurate.

The investigation ordered by President P W Botha into the diary's claims found some entries were not correct. There were, for

example, with one exception no supplies of weapons or ammunition.

The diary mentions particulars of supplies dropped by the SADF before the signing of the Nkomati Accord on March 16 1984.

The South African Government has not confirmed or denied this, but the Mozambique Government told the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, on Monday that Pretoria had undertaken in the run-up to the Accord that the rebels would not be assisted.

## RESTRAINT

Mr Botha said last night that South Africa had clearly said in the run-up to the Accord that both sides ought to act with restraint. By this was meant that people should not cross the border to attack any targets, he said.

Mr Botha said that South Africa had already publicly admitted that it had helped the MNR before the signing of the Accord.

The following were among the excerpts from the diary read to Mr

c. at et... tance, medicine, soap and petrol. States a... to get the MNR to release two Russian prisoners, Mr Botha said, he told Mr Nel to offer the rebels up to R100 000 as an inducement.

## RADIOS SUPPLIED

General Malan explained last night that regular flights in and out of Mozambique had been necessary to bring rebels to South Africa for a ceasefire negotiation. Radios had been supplied for the same purpose.

Mr Botha said that Mozambique had asked South Africa to try to bring about a ceasefire and that Maputo had at times been informed of the necessity for flights and communications in this regard.

Botha on Monday: ● July 20 1984: A message from Pretoria to Gorongosa headquarters — the secretary general of the MNR, Mr Avo Fernandes, said two men would be arriving at the rebel base with a 26-ton supply drop in August. The group would return with an aircraft carrying more supplies.

● The diarist, J Vaz, is to board a South African ship on August 9 and he is to be met at Durban on August 11 by an SADF officer.

● August 16 1984: Vaz has a meeting in Pretoria where AK-47s and ammunition are available for the MNR. However, there is a transport problem as neither the SA Air Force nor the Navy may be used as this would be in violation of the Nkomati Accord. Consideration should be given to the use of civil aircraft.

● August 21 1984: A list of material to be taken back to Gorongosa includes AK-47s, ammunition, bazookas, blankets, radios and compasses.

● September 1 1984: Vaz is at a meeting at which it is decided that a

certain General Enrico would be evaluated from Mozambique by submarine.

● September 6 1984: Certain humanitarian aid to be supplied by SAAF. ● June 6 1985: Message from Pretoria to say that the power problem has been solved and that four broadcast systems had been arranged.

● June 14 1985: Mr Louis Nel visits Gorongosa.

## AIRCRAFT

● July 7 1985: Fernandes and another are flown in on an aircraft that will return Mr Nel and his party (presumably on a second visit).

The diary apparently also mentioned certain SADF officers who said they were not in agreement with the Nkomati Accord and the role of Mr Botha and other members of the Government. The officer's concerned have categorically denied any knowledge of any such message sent to the MNR. Mr Botha said last night.



# Natspeak made easy What was that, PW?

THE trouble with major policy speeches by National Party luminaries is that only too often they are so clouded with Nat double-speak that it is very hard, even for experienced Nat-watchers, to evaluate (a) what exactly they are saying and (b) if there is anything new in it.

The State President's speech at the NP's Bloemfontein Congress this week is a case in point. Everyone has become so accustomed to the ponderous Nat style of hinting obliquely at what they plan to do that there was a distinct sense of *deja vu* in the speech, a scurrying to the files to check what exactly he said in his opening address to parliament in January and comparing it with what Gerrit Viljoen, Chris Heunis *et al* have said since then.

By now most people have decided that the speech did indeed signal fundamental change: We know that a cabinet committee has been discussing black citizenship for months. Now the government has decided that citizens of the TBVC countries who live inside South Africa will get back the SA citizenship they lost when they became independent.

This will enable them to "exercise their political rights in South Africa at the highest level."

Since we have also been assured that there will not be a fourth chamber for blacks in Parliament, this presumably means that another step has been taken towards some sort of federal or confederal structure in which blacks will be directly represented. Characteristically, the nuts and bolts were not spelt out, although everyone knows that whizzkids in Chris Heunis's department have been playing with models for months. One pointer: Just up the road from where I write, a chamber which will seat 1 000 people is being incorporated into the new parliamentary buildings facing Stal Plein, and last week the government bought almost a whole block of adjoining buildings to accommodate more parliamentary offices. (Perhaps the contractors know more than we do.)

The SP acknowledged that "blacks

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By JEAN LE MAY  
Cape Town

constitutional contradiction — when is the government going to stop this gobbeldy-gook..."

Nothing was said, once again characteristically, of the future status of the homeland parliaments; but if TBVC citizens will vote for some super body in South Africa, the TBVC parliaments will be reduced to the level of provincial councils. Once again, the federal system raises its head; but what will whites have in the place of the old provincial councils?

The SP went on to say that all South African blacks would in future have the same kind of identity documents as other race groups. Since what really matters is not the physical form of the document, but the administration of the law under which it is issued, everyone is waiting with interest to hear what the President's Council has recommended about the pass laws. But since the announcement is to be made by PC President Piet Koornhof, one of the greatest masters of double-speak of all time, the situation may be no clearer than before.

The SP also said he would go to the country in a referendum to find out if there was a need for "drastic fundamental change to accommodate black political rights in a new constitutional structure." The key question here is: Will blacks vote in the referendum? In my view, that depends on how the government assesses its chances of winning the referendum. If they are still sold on the idea that "the majority of blacks" will support it, they'll include blacks. And they'll have a better chance numerically if the blacks in the homelands vote, since polls in homeland districts (unlike those in urban areas) are usually high. This could cancel out the CP, the lunatic right, and disenchanted businessmen who may not go along with the SP as they did in 1983. But it could be a risk in the urban areas. If the UDF can count on 75 per cent support for a stayaway in Cape Town (although it has not claimed responsibility for organising it), it can do the same or better in a referendum.

On the face of it, then, what the SP said in Bloemfontein did indeed signal major change: Van Zyl Slabbert commented that if he had gone so far in Durban, it may have helped to stave off the venom of the sanctions votes in the US and Europe.



# Americans become SA experts

STAR 19/9/85 30kH

## at their peril

Since the advent of the "global village" — with the electronic news media's ability to project South Africa's township unrest and Ethiopian famine into the parlours and suites of Washington and New York — foreign issues have been brought home to the American voting public as saleable commodities.

Since the declaration of the state of emergency and its effect of making South Africa's "internal politics" more newsworthy than the latest drugs or AIDS scandal in Hollywood, being *au fait* with apartheid and its ramifications has become requisite curriculum vitae material for any aspiring American politician.

But the pilgrimage to South Africa is rarely without its penance, and for some the experience could be likened to a voyage into Joseph Conrad's "Heart of Darkness".

The Reverend Jerry Falwell had to eat humble pie after calling to Bishop Tutu a "phony" for presuming to speak for all South Africa's blacks. After speaking to President P W Botha, and black leaders like Dr J N Reddy and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary general of Inkatha, the arch-apostle of conservatism in the US returned home saying that he had not spoken to a single black person who had been in favour of disinvestment. Clearly his objective had been to avoid any who might.

But he was forced to back down on his "phony" statement after being harshly criticised by the black lobby in the US, and after being labelled "arrogant and insolent" by

churchmen in South Africa.

Senator Edward Kennedy's visit was an experience he would probably like to forget. His eight-day visit ended in a fiasco when demonstrators prevented him delivering his keynote speech in Soweto.

Sections of the more partisan South African Press made every effort to drag up unsavoury tidbits about the senator's past — the

**South Africans generally believe that Americans on political visits bring their misconceptions with them and return home with them reaffirmed.**

Chappaquiddick accident where his secretary, Mary Jo Kopechne died in his car, and his failure to report the incident until 12 hours later; his wife's drinking problems as a result of his extra-marital affairs etc...

The senator was also snubbed when he spoke at a rally at Athlone in the Western Cape, organised by his hosts, the United Democratic Front. There he denounced those who "foolishly" treated the Soviet Union and its satellite states as a model. The crowd, many of whom bore placards denouncing "US imperialism", responded by singing a song expressing solidarity with the Soviet and Cuban people.

Congressman Stephen Solarz fared slightly better, although he, too, was not met with open arms. "Pretoria basher" Solarz's conciliatory tone towards the South African Government amazed everyone when he emerged from a lunch with Mr P W Botha, shortly

Americans from opposite ends of the political spectrum have in recent times found themselves rejected and reviled after "fact-finding" missions to this country. ANDREW BEATTIE reports on this growing phenomenon — the rejection of these self-appointed emissaries of "Old Glory".

before President P W Botha's "Rubicon" speech. The Government's scheduled reforms would "constitute a step forward", and it was "flatly untrue" that nothing would satisfy the Americans, he told reporters.

However, the Congressman showed that he is apparently a sucker for sweet talk after a good meal, when the "step forward" failed to materialise.

To add even further confusion to

his visit there was the talk with President Botha which he recalled as "making a cold shower seem warm by comparison".

A perusal of letters columns in local newspapers around the time of the visits of Congressman Solarz and Senator Kennedy indicates that many South Africans appreciate "nosey" foreign guests as much as they tolerate neighbours interfering in family quarrels.

Not that "right-winger" Falwell proved any different to "liberals" Solarz and Kennedy. Shuffie the sources and the sentiments, and it becomes clear that South Africans generally believe that Americans on political visits bring their political misconceptions with them and return home with them reaffirmed. "Veritas" — whose views are regularly published in *The Star's* letters pages — recently used the Solarz visit as an occasion for saying that if he could spend a week

in the US, he was sure he could make valuable suggestions 'about how they should run their "internal" affairs. "Veritas" would not, however, expect his views to be given prime network coverage, nor would he look forward to an audience at the White House.

Despite the flow of fact-finding delegations, arriving and departing ambassadors, preachers and political opportunists, South Africa's leaders in Pretoria and in Polls remain diametrically opposed. Despite all the American visitors, relations between the US and South Africa have steadily worsened.

The local Press concluded after the Kennedy visit: "He came, he saw, he was criticised". Or as *Va-derland* editor Harald Pakendorf put it: "Kennedy is gone. May his absence be long-standing... But we cannot wish our problems away with him."

Neither black radicals nor white reactionaries are happy to accept what they both perceive as foreign interventionism motivated by self-interest. Open anti-Americanism has manifested itself both in the statements of the far-right (Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) and the leftist Azanian Peoples' Organisation — both of whom see US "imperialism" propping up the South African regime.

The recent burning of the US flag — "Old Glory" — by black students on the campus of the University of Durban-Westville is indicative of the growing antagonism towards this perceived capitalist self-inter-est.





**Dr Louis Luyt . . . gone is the brashness and the more serious side has come to the fore. Dismantling of apartheid is a deep concern of the former blue-eyed boy of business.**



# SA must come to its senses, says a more laid-back Luyt

By Peter Farley

"I've got plenty of time to talk. Remember, I am retired now."

Not the sort of comment you might expect from one of the country's top businessmen, who turned only 53 this year.

But then Dr Louis Luyt has never been just an ordinary businessman. His unpredictable, but fiercely patriotic, approach has landed him in hot water on more than the odd occasion.

Perhaps the best remembered will be his fronting of the Government's purchase of *The Citizen*. However, until that point, he was the blue-eyed boy of the business world who could do no wrong.

Starting with nothing, Dr Luyt first built up a formidable empire in the fertiliser business and then, equally successfully, took on the might of the country's beer monopoly with his own brewery.

## Deep concern

In fact, his achievements have often read like chapters out of a *Boy's Own* annual. The transformation from a barefoot schoolkid in the Karoo to a multi-millionaire, with time in between to play provincial rugby and gain a doctorate in international law, is the sort of thing dreams are normally made of.

However, today it is the more serious side of Dr Luyt that comes to the fore, and the main focus of his discussions show a deep concern for the country he loves so much.

Gone are the brash, often ill-considered, comments of the past. Dr Luyt now wants to see the country come to its senses.

"We must do away with a system that has been wrong for 40 years. If the political situation changes, I can see a tremendous future for this country."

As in the past, Dr Luyt proves that he is not one for sitting on the fence. He believes that for too long businessmen have not said what they have felt because they have feared reprisals from Government.

Now he is prepared to stand up and be counted. "The black vote must come," he says.

"I agree, however, with the comments made recently by Mrs Helen Suzman that we are not going to give this country away. There is no point in exchanging a bad white government for a bad black government."

However, he firmly believes that power must be shared among all people of South Africa.

He says the Government should institute a referendum of all the black people in the country to find out exactly who they want to lead them. Although he would not be drawn into a discussion of Nelson Mandela, he accepts that "if the results of that referendum mean certain people be released from jail — so be it".

## Discrimination

He points out, though, that while this is being put in motion the Government should move ahead immediately with dismantling apartheid. He adds: "Non-discriminatory legislation should be introduced to show people outside that we mean business."

"There should be fines and other penalties introduced to prosecute any people who are found discriminating on the basis of race."

He feels sad that the Government missed the opportunity to put those wheels in motion when the eyes of the world were focused on the State President's "Rubicon speech" in Durban last month.

He says that while he is opposed to any timetable for reform, a declaration of intent, spelt out in detail, would at least have been a start.

Somewhat surprisingly, Dr Luyt does not believe that a referendum of the white population on sweeping reforms would be in the Government's interest. "If a small majority came out

saying they would rather die than change, his hands would be tied."

Nevertheless, he is adamant that the State President still has the opportunity to go down as one of the country's greatest politicians. But, he warns, Mr Botha is losing the confidence of the electorate rapidly and he must move quickly if he is to halt that erosion of credibility.

The wealth of this country is being eroded daily, says Dr Luyt, which is a direct result of the country living beyond its means for many years.

With the economy in a mess right now, he suggests that Mr Harry Schwarz should be given the Minister of Finance's portfolio. He stresses that he has a long-standing and high regard for Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis and that he is a valuable contributor at Cabinet level. "But his strengths are not in finance or economics."

He also feels strongly that more representatives of the private sector should be invited by the Government to contribute to the public sector's decision making process.

"Despite the appointment of the President's Economic Advisory Council, the bureaucracy still makes the final decision."

"But", he adds, "the private sector cannot just walk in and take over. The invitation must come from the Government."

He is, however, also critical of the role the private sector has played in the reform process in recent years. "Whether business likes it or not, it has benefited from apartheid. It is only now that apartheid has turned against them that they are seeking its removal. For years big business did not want the situation changed."

Dr Luyt adds that, "for far too long the private sector has paid lip service to real change. The big companies could have done much more to influence change".

But, for Dr Luyt, it appears as if big business is a thing of the past. Not that he intends putting his feet up and sitting by the fire.

A long-standing passion for the law led him to write his doctoral thesis on a critical analysis of international arbitration procedures. Now he wants to get more involved in corporate law.

## Stiff competition

"I would like to do some more studying and possibly take my LLb with a view to eventually practising as an advocate."

He would certainly meet with some stiff competition at the Bar, not least from his daughter Corlia who has been an advocate for three years.

Without doubt, all the legal experiences he has had over the years would make his knowledge invaluable at that sort of level.

Dr Luyt is visibly more relaxed these days. He has given up smoking and drinking — though not for the first time and it is unlikely to be for the last time — and is looking to spend more time on the wine farm he has been building up in the Cape.

He is still retaining a driving interest in the fortunes of Transvaal rugby and is exceptionally proud of the fact that the union was back in the black to the tune of R500 000 at the end of this season. "And that was after 60 percent of our gross income went to the SARB, Volkskas and the City Council."

But, behind the gregarious exterior, one still has a sneaking impression that he may not quite have finished with his involvement in business. His excited references to the heady days of the beer battles with SA Breweries and his fights with Fokor over the supply of the vital raw material necessary to make his fertiliser dreams a reality are just too close to home.

It is almost impossible to quantify how much Dr Luyt is worth, but a figure of somewhere between R100 million and R200 million would not be far from the truth.

Dr Luyt says rather wryly, however: "I am not a wealthy man, but I do control a lot." Virtually all the money he has made and now invested — including the 25 percent stake he has retained in Triomf — is in his children's names.



# Business sets out its reform role

1) THE object of this statement, made on behalf of leading employer organisations in South Africa, representing the majority of black and white enterprise in commerce and industry, is to outline the positive and effective role being played by organised business to promote and accelerate the progress of change in the country in order to realise the legitimate aspirations of all black South Africans and to effect the removal of discrimination based on race, colour, creed or sex.

The organisations take pride in attesting to the good work and valuable contribution by the trans-national corporations (TNCs) for the furtherance of these objectives individually or collectively.

The TNCs should be included in the term "leading employer organisations" by virtue of their membership and participation in the work of these organisations.

There is a need for international businesses to continue their positive contribution to SA's development efforts and particularly in the area of black advancement where they have played a significant role.

The employer organisations believe they are a powerful force for change and have the motivation, sincerity of purpose and credibility to achieve the universally-approved outlined objectives.

The leading SA employer organisations have on various occasions during the past year committed themselves publicly to an on-going process of economic and political reform.

For example, in a joint Press statement issued on January 7, 1985 a number of critical issues were explicitly identified:

1) Full participation by all South Africans in a private enterprise economy and in the political dispensation of the country.

2) A common loyalty to the country as expressed through citizenship for all.

3) Ending forced removals.

4) The administration of justice to be safeguarded by the courts.

5) Further development of a free and independent trade union movement.

6) Since then the co-operative and public effort of organised business has gone further in a number of directions.

The organisations are now in a position to influence significantly the political and economic course of events in SA.

It is clear the SA business community has deliberately chosen for itself a positive role as an agent of change. By international standards this is an unusual position for business to take. The issue of motivation needs to be addressed.

(a) Business is deeply concerned that increasingly-violent internal conflict between black and white may become institutionalised in SA.

*SOUTH Africa's major employer bodies, black and white, English and Afrikaans, this week joined forces to deliver a comprehensive statement to the United Nations hearings on trans-national corporations in SA. Signatories to the statement were Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI), the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), the National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc), the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) and the Urban Foundation.*

*The statement, printed here in full, outlines the role of business in the reform process in SA.*

(b) The traditional "business way of life" — the private enterprise system itself — is fundamentally at stake. It is the perception of business that if SA's people lose control over the process of change either white- or black-dominated authoritarianism will result in which there will be little room for a substantially market-orientated economic system.

(c) If effective channels of political expression for blacks up to the highest level are not developed, they will be increasingly forced to employ industrial relations mechanisms to voice grievances.

Such a development is unsound and would put the business community in an invidious position.

(d) It is now simply a fact of life that the SA economy has become much too large to be managed by whites alone. In their own self-interest business must get involved with black advancement in the broad sense and particularly in the area of promoting the rapid development of black managerial talent.

It is essentially both self-interest and social responsibility which are driving the business community towards active promotion of reform.

5) The pressure of economic forces, whether diffused through the marketplace or articulated through business groups, has promoted the progress of black advancement, the rapid growth of black spending power, the emergence of black unions and the development of a black business class.

It has laid the economic foundation for the current debate about black political participation.

6) In dynamic terms an unstoppable process of transformation is currently occurring in SA which is mainly driven by black aspirations and discontent generating in its wake powerful internal pressures for reform.

This demand for change is being supported by the SA business community both in its own enlightened self-interest and for reasons of broader social responsibility.

Collectively these internal pressures are now sufficiently powerful to sustain the process whether or not overseas interests engage or disengage from SA. Thus the real issue is whether this process will be violent or relatively peaceful.

7) Since the declaration of the partial state of emergency, organised business has played and even stronger role:

(a) Accepting the need to restore law and order in parts of SA, business

made it clear publicly that security action alone will not resolve the serious conflict in black townships.

Such action must also be backed by a package of substantial reforms to recognise black aspirations and to redress legitimate grievances.

Real negotiations in the political and industrial relations spheres are the key to a return to an orderly SA and to stability in our townships.

(b) A number of meetings were held with senior Cabinet members and the State President to exchange views and to discuss alternative courses of action.

(c) In an official reaction to the financial crisis of confidence which led to the closing of the forex markets and the stock exchange, organised commerce and industry reaffirmed their strong support for a process of peaceful accommodation of the political, social and economic aspirations of all South Africans regardless of race, colour or creed.

They again stressed the vital importance of negotiation with all accepted black leaders "even if some of these are currently in detention" and offered to government their negotiating experience and expertise gained in the formative years since 1980, during which the new labour dispensation (to accommodate legalised black trade unions) had to be established.

They also indicated their willingness to mediate between and among various leaders and groups in the country, both black and white, in order to get a serious negotiation process going which will involve a new constitutional dispensation for all.

8) Against this background, organised business in SA is engaged in orchestrating an even more active strategy for the private sector to contain a number of inter-related elements.

(a) There is a need for establishing an "SA business charter" outlining, against the backdrop of a number of public statements in this regard, the full set of objectives and principles for power-sharing and black advancement to which the business community is committed in pursuing its own action programme.

(b) Serious direct negotiation between black leaders and government needs to be preceded by an important pre-negotiation phase during which the emphasis should fall on confidence building through mediation and conciliation.

Rushing through this pre-negotiation phase could seriously jeopardise

the effectiveness of subsequent round-table bargaining.

This is where organised business could play a crucial role in behind-the-scenes mediation aimed essentially at promoting greater realisation in order to bring the various parties closer together.

Agenda-setting needs to be done and basic assurances and/or conditions established which may well be necessary before serious negotiation can begin.

(c) An effective economic development strategy aimed at maximum employment and wealth creation in the short and medium term is an urgent necessity.

This will involve a change in emphasis towards a policy of positively promoting orderly urbanisation involving action across a wide range of issues such as privatisation deregulation, the removal of influx control and the pass laws, developing the urban informal sector, rural development and a more cost-effective decentralisation policy.

Such a policy should be integrated with a broad supply-side approach to economic reconstruction to promote economic growth without eroding the competitiveness of industry or unduly stimulating inflation.

(d) Further important elements that need to be co-ordinated are a regionally-orientated programme to upgrade the quality of life in black towns, and a non-discriminatory and vocation-orientated education policy which will open opportunities for black advancement and remove the constraints on productivity and competitiveness.

The overall aim of this action programme is to restore confidence in SA as a country and to permit it to regain its place among the great democracies of the world.

9) In the view of business, the most effective role for foreign interests to play in our country is to latch on to and support constructively the internal processes and developments which are moving irreversibly, and under their own power, in the direction of real reform.

Effective disassociation from abroad will make our contribution to the reform process more problematic, mainly because of the increasing domestic polarisation which will result from international isolation.

Disassociation will not stop the organisations from pursuing their constructive role, since what is at stake in SA is too important.

But there is no doubt such actions would make it more difficult for business to achieve the universal objectives outlined in this statement.

While these indigenous processes continue, overseas interests should indeed actively support selective but aggressive engagement rather than total disengagement from the country, on condition that at least a majority of blacks are satisfied real progress is being made.



*Cape Times 20/9/85 3064A*

## OFS legislation on Chinese, Arabs to go

PRETORIA. — Legislation keeping "Chinese, Arabs, coolies and other Asians" out of the Free State would be repealed in response to the Province's National Party congress to this effect last week, the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced in Pretoria yesterday.

"The Cabinet has decided to repeal Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Statute Book which regulates the movement and settlement of various categories of people," he said.

This had been decided in view of the fact that "the principles of own communities, own townships, own schools and

own cultural life, and an own identity are already enjoying full protection, inter alia, in terms of the provisions of the Constitution and the Group Areas Act".

Another reason was that "uniform legal provisions for all provinces will be conducive to constructive planning for the welfare of the Republic".

Mr Botha said the Cabinet had also noted the fact that the National Party leadership in Natal was presently launching an action with regard to the corresponding situation in northern Natal, which is a remnant of the old Vryheid Republic. — Sapa



# PW considers ANC talks a flop

Political Correspondent

President Botha today slammed the recent talks between leading businessmen and the African National Congress, branding the talks a failure which served no purpose.

The businessmen involved may have believed it was their right as individual citizens, but, he said, he wished to make the statement that the discus-

sion was not to the advantage of anyone.

"The discussion was a failure because no common interest could be found and the ANC only repeated previous extremist ideological economic views which are general knowledge," Mr Botha told the congress.

"If business people or other South Africans wish to be informed about the

● To Page 3, Col 7

South Africa admits that 'technical' violations have occurred

# Pik Botha, Malan forced to backtrack on Nkomati

By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Pik Botha flew to Komatipoort yesterday to admit that 'technical' violations of the Nkomati Accord had occurred — despite countless denials by Pretoria.

But Mr. Botha is not the only Cabinet Minister forced to correct previous statements on the issue of South African assistance to the MNR.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan told Parliament this year that South Africa was no longer assisting the rebels in Mozambique.

He said his Government had supported the MNR until the accord was signed but that aid had ceased afterwards.

Then this week General Malan admitted the South African Defence Force had been assisting the MNR after the accord but that aid had been "humanitarian".

Some of the comments South African Government spokesmen have made during the last year on the issue of

## Accord: Reagan is 'distressed'

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan told Mozambican President Samora Machel yesterday that he was distressed by reported South African violations of the Nkomati Accord, a senior US official said yesterday.

The official who asked not to be identified, said there was "deep concern" but no sign that the accord was in danger of being scrapped.

## Machel calls for US support

The Star Bureau  
WASHINGTON — President Samora Machel called for support for Mozambique by the United States and its private sector during his meeting with President Ronald Reagan yesterday.

He had sought their participation in putting Mozambique's natural resources "at the service of our eco-

The Reagan Administration helped bring the two sides together and has hailed the accord as an achievement of its "constructive engagement" policy.

The official said Mr. Reagan had expressed distress during his meeting with the Mozambican President.

"The president indicated it was worth seeking to shield and work with the accord to satisfy both sides" — Sapa-Associated Press

conomic and social development," Mr. Machel said after the meeting.

A senior Administration official said the Mozambicans clearly wanted maximum support from America and other western countries.

"I am convinced the meeting has established a solid basis for long-term co-operation in all fields between Mozambique and the United States," said Mr. Machel.

Nkomati violations include

● August '84. After holding discussions with the Mozambique Government in Maputo on the issue of peace talks with the MNR, Mr. Botha said "The most the South African Government can or will do is to discuss the implementa-

tion of the accord with the MNR.

"However, our discussions would in no way contravene the letter and spirit of the accord.

"We will do nothing that has not been cleared with the Mozambique Government first."

Asked if South Africa

would be willing to play the role as "middlemen" between Maputo and the MNR, Mr. Botha said "We will not interfere in the internal affairs of another country."

● December '84 Mr. Botha gave a "complete assurance" that South Africa was observing

the letter and spirit of the accord.

● February '85 Mr. Botha told Parliament the Government had not been able to verify allegations by Maputo that South African aid to the MNR rebels was continuing.

● March '85 Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Louis Nel said in London "Our priority now is to help get rid of the MNR and to work with the international community to block their supplies."

● March '85 Mr. Botha delivered a message to President Samora Machel of Mozambique detailing measures he said had been taken to prevent support reaching the MNR rebels.

Mr. Botha said this week "The (Mozambican) allegations, in broad terms are correct and the accord was violated."

He emphasised however, that the South African Government, specifically, had not as such contravened the peace pact with Mozambique although it appeared so "on the face of it".

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20/9/85



# Convention alliance — the first meeting

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A convention alliance, leading to a national convention, will be discussed at a meeting in Johannesburg tomorrow. TOS WENTZEL, The Argus Political Correspondent, reports.

MOVES to have a national convention to consult on solutions for South Africa's serious problems are being given new impetus by a meeting to be held in Johannesburg tomorrow.

Here the idea of a convention alliance to get the move toward a national convention going will be canvassed.

The main partners in this so far are the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha but representatives of other political bodies, businessmen, black community leaders, church figures and sporting personalities are expected at the meeting.

The idea of a national convention is not a new one.

The PFP has pleaded for one for years and it has from time to time enjoyed support also in groups other than white, such as the Labour Party when it was still in the Black Alliance.

Attitudes have, however, hardened through the years and the United Democratic Front and Azapo are now largely against the idea and they are not expected to attend tomorrow's meeting.

On the other hand one of the patrons of the UDF, Dr Allan Boesak, is said to have been sympathetic to at least the idea of an exploratory meeting such as the one coming up now, but he is being detained.

African National Congress supporters are also opposed to it as the movement's attitude is that the time for talking is over.

Officially the National Party is strongly opposed to the idea and has in the past ridiculed it, pointing out that such a convention could sit for years and that it is not likely to come to any agreement because there will be so many irreconcilable elements.

The serious unrest in the country has nonetheless given



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert ... main partner with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the move for a convention alliance.

new urgency to the idea of a convention and the initiative is now being taken by Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of Inkatha.

Addressing an Inkatha Youth conference in Ulundi last month Dr Slabbert proposed that the launching of a convention alliance or movement should be explored.

This will be the main purpose of tomorrow's meeting.

Dr Slabbert said at Ulundi that it was necessary to demonstrate to the Government and the world that an alliance for a national convention could be formed, based on a common citizenship in one undivided South Africa.

Speaking at the PFP's recent federal congress Dr Slabbert said an initiative was needed to show that there was an alternative to the options of increasing repression or increasing violence.

This was what he had in mind with the convention alliance.

It had to be an alliance that would demonstrate to the Government that there were people and organisations of consequence in the country who were willing to negotiate a new South Africa, free of discrimination and domination.

It also had to demonstrate to those who had decided that an armed struggle was the only way that people could still negotiate in such a manner as to dismantle apartheid completely and to create a just society.

Dr Slabbert said his appeal did not exclude anybody.

He directed it to the UDF, the churches, universities, political parties, even to those in the ANC who still believed that there was an alternative to armed violence.

He has also explained that, by calling for a convention alliance, he was not calling for a national convention tomorrow.

The idea is also not that the alliance should be just a protest group but that it should demonstrate to the Government an option which it itself had to be part of in order for it to succeed.

He has in the past explained that the government of the day must stay in power while a convention is in progress.

If some broad agreement is reached at tomorrow's meeting a secretariat will be started to continue the work.

Apart from bringing like-minded people and groups together one of its tasks will be to get the Government itself interested in the idea.

**Broad range of groups included**

# National convention supporters to meet

By David Braun  
Political Correspondent

STAR

20/9/85  
"For those who do not make it, we do not want them to take public positions against the concept which they might find impossible to change at a later date," one organiser said today.

About 150 representatives of a broad range of interest groups are expected in Sandton this weekend to launch a national convention alliance.

They will be meeting behind closed doors at a top hotel on Saturday afternoon.

This follows the call by the leader of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, several weeks ago to all South Africans interested in a national convention to form an alliance.

Newspaper editors will be attending the proceedings as observers.

The meeting organisers have been reluctant to publicise details of who will be present for fear that this might cause some to stay away.

It is understood that among 150 representatives will be members of most of the country's major churches, English and Afrikaans academics, including some from the universities of Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom and RAU, and individual businessmen.

Trade union representatives will not be represented, although it is hoped that the country's major unions will eventually join the alliance.

Organisers have confirmed that the patron of the UDF, the Reverend Allan Boesak, had originally agreed to attend this weekend's meeting. Because of his detention he will now obviously not be in a position to do so, and it is not clear as to whether the UDF will be represented by someone else.



PFP CONVENTION ALLIANCE

# Catalyst for a settlement

PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's first "Convention Alliance" meeting on Saturday initiates probably the boldest domestic attempt at negotiation politics for some time.

The politics of negotiation has, so far as radical black organisations are concerned, been gravely undermined. For this reason and because the organisers do not want to compromise or prematurely prescribe, the PFP is not divulging the names of most of the individuals or parties attending the talks. There could, however, be some surprises.

About 150 people, among them leaders from commerce and industry, the churches, prominent sportsmen, representatives from bodies like the Black Sash, Nafcoc and the

to want nothing to do with it, at least for the time being. At least three layers of the UDF's leadership are in prison, either under the Emergency regulations or as treason trialists. The UDF would never take part while its leaders are in jail. (The PFP has joined the call for their release). So it has been difficult for the convention organisers, who understand the problem, to make any headway on that front. But, as the PFP's Alex Boraine observes, the party cannot sit on its hands and do nothing. The convention excludes nobody, he points out.

Azapo and the black consciousness-socialist body, the National Forum, reject the convention idea out of hand. It would be the "ultimate compromise," they say, deaf to PFP assurances that the convention alliance is not yet a "national convention" representing all South Africans.

Meanwhile, the ANC, SA's premier black nationalist organisation, remains banned and could therefore not participate even if it wanted to. But the PFP may well have put out feelers in that direction. And although the ANC has, through its imprisoned leader Nelson Mandela, rejected the idea of a national convention, the ANC *did* meet with South African business leaders recently. This would suggest

the organisation is not as intractable as its posturing might suggest, for it cannot seriously believe that only the "terms of transfer of power to the people" is up for discussion. The same may hold true for government which, while publicly denouncing the businessmen's meeting with the ANC, was all along aware of it and, privately, at least, must be keen to see if anything can come out of it.

The small and tentative beginnings of the convention alliance may indeed prove to be the catalyst that eventually leads to a full-blown national convention.

Observes UCT political scientist and Slabbert supporter, David Welsh: "A convention is not a coming together of people who already agree because, by definition, one would not then be necessary... A convention has to agree upon, not the details of policy, but ways and means of regulating conflict. It must aim to establish a basic set of principles within which they can peaceably disagree."

Any initiative that encourages negotiation and dialogue between the contending elements of SA is to be welcomed. As Welsh points out: "The contending forces will at the very least have to understand each other. A

convention or similar forum may reveal to those involved that they have more in common than they otherwise might have thought. If it shows that it can fly, the chances of more becoming attracted to the idea will grow."

BUSINESS AND THE ANC

## Narrowing the gap

Last week's indaba between South African businessmen and leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) in Zambia was the first step in what both sides hope will become meaningful dialogue leading to a narrowing of the gap between government and the ANC, and eventual negotiation over power-sharing.

The two groups agreed to have further meetings, but from now on it will be secret. Anglo's Gavin Relly and Zach de Beer, Premier's Tony Bloom and the SA Foundation's Peter Sorour attended the exploratory meeting, but future talks could include Barlows' Mike Rosholt, Barclays' Chris Ball and possibly a number of leading Afrikaner businessmen.

State President P W Botha and Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange condemned the talks in strong terms last week, but the *FM* understands that, at least in Botha's case, this was done for the benefit of the local constituency. Unofficially, the business leaders were given the government's approval for the talks — officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs even briefed the businessmen before they left for Zambia.

Apparently government feels that such talks should take place in secret, otherwise it might give the ANC "more legitimacy than it deserves." Certain government leaders quietly seem to hope that the business leaders could prepare the ground for their own secret talks with the liberation movement.

Substantial support for the initiative by prominent Afrikaner businessmen — reportedly Sanlam's Fred Du Plessis and Remgro's Anton Rupert — as well as academics and newspaper editors (see *In My Opinion* page 67) make it more difficult for government to discourage it. Rumour has it that it was Du Plessis who initially told President Botha about the plans.

Just about the most significant aspect of last week's talks is the ANC's cautious indication that, although they cannot afford to renounce the armed struggle now, later they may be willing to talk about a kind of ceasefire to facilitate real negotiation.



Slabbert



Boraine

press, will be there to hear Slabbert explain the motivation of the Alliance. Slabbert explains that the meeting will be "exploratory, to assess the extent to which there is a need for the Alliance and to work out an agenda for it."

Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement has all along indicated its support of the convention alliance and is a strong component of it. Slabbert obviously welcomes this support but is anxious that the alliance not be misconstrued as simply a cosy PFP-Inkatha arrangement, with perhaps the Solidarity Party of the Indian House of Delegates thrown in.

Labour Party leader, Allan Hendrickse, is not involved at all. Nor is his Indian counterpart, Amichand Rajbansi. This may not be a shortcoming as those parties might, some feel, tend to deter more people than they would encourage to participate.

A major positive factor is that the talks will be unconstrained by any ideological framework in the way that government's plans always are by National Party dogma.

However, a major snag is, of course, that important political forces such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) — not to mention government, which holds the power — seem



# Business criticism of apartheid mounts

By Peter Farley

"Do not embalm the corpse of apartheid, bury it."

This simple sentiment brought Rembrandt's Dr Anton Rupert a standing ovation at last night's Institute of Marketing and Management awards dinner and summed up a growing swell of outspoken criticism of the government among the country's top businessmen.

And Mr Raymond Ackerman, in a speech to a marketing conference earlier in the day, indicated that this vociferous groundswell could shortly be co-ordinated into a potent lobbying force.

In response to a question asking why business does not back up its criticism with action, Mr Ackerman said he did not want to steal any thunder but that an announcement in this regard could be expected in the next week.

But Mr Ackerman also emphasised that it was critical for businessmen to speak out and show the outside world that the business community is completely separate from government.

"Overseas business wants ammunition to fight both its own shareholders and politicians bent on using South African for their own personal gain," the chairman of Pick 'n Pay added, "we have to get government to say those three words — apartheid is dead."

## Change our mission

Solaglas chairman Mr Ronnie Lubner, named last night as SA's Marketing Man of the Year, said in his acceptance speech, "we have the opportunity of becoming the leader of the most exciting, stimulating and challenging continent in the world."

"Let us agree to change our



Solaglas chairman Mr Ronnie Lubner (left) was last night named South African Marketing Man of the Year by the Institute of Marketing and Management.

The honour, which eluded him as a finalist in 1983, was for the establishment of Solaglas internationally and the growth of the company in SA after the merger with Pilkington SA.

In recent years Solaglas has established itself as market leaders in the UK, Australia and the west coast of the US. Through the Pilkington merger it now has more than 90 percent of the SA glass market.

mission. Let us concentrate on putting our house in order."

Mr Lubner admitted that SA business missed a golden opportunity to start cementing relations with all race groups when it failed to join the rest of the world in giving recognition to Bishop Desmond Tutu after he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

"Had he have been recognised as a man of peace then, would it not have been easier to sit around the table now. We are culpable — to my knowledge commerce and industry were silent," added Mr Lubner.

Mr Ackerman, speaking about what business can do to counter the disinvestment lobby internationally, said that SA corporations should start forgetting about Mr Botha and Mr Reagan and begin by putting their own houses in order.

He told the IMM conference, "bring on your non-white staff and talk about it. Bring out in the open the work your companies are doing in the black, coloured and Indian communities."

"Talk about your social respon-

sibility and housing programmes.

"That sort of thing has more impact on international investment decisions here than all the political discussions."

Nevertheless, the frustrations of business were again brought to the fore with the usual string of governmental platitudes from Mr Brand Fourie.

Now chairman of the SABC and a former SA ambassador to the UN, Mr Fourie told last night's banquet that apartheid had been dead for years and that SA's current problems were merely due to changing international perceptions of SA.

The speech certainly jarred with the comments by the assembled group, representing some of the country's major corporations.

But, despite the continuing dragging of feet by government, there was still a mood of optimism among all those who in recent days have stood up to be counted as opposed to apartheid.

These sentiments were again summed up by Dr Rupert, who said "let us show the world that the miracle can be a reality."



## South Africa must be shared, says Koornhof

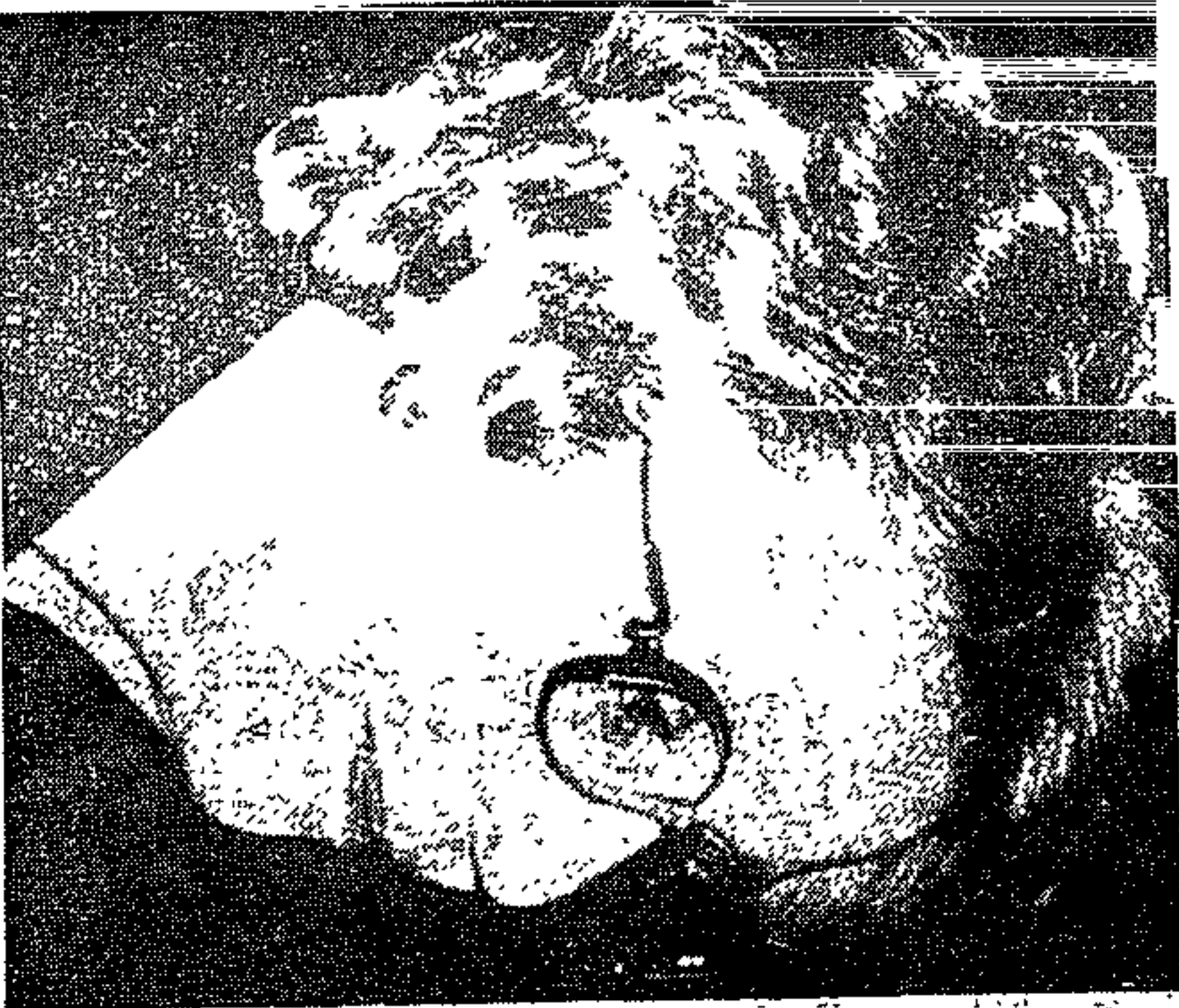
South Africans must be willing to share their country on an equitable basis, says Dr Piet Koornhof, the chairman of the President's Council.

Dr Koornhof yesterday addressed a seminar held by the Long Range Planning Society of Southern Africa.

"We must build a new South Africa fast. We must bring about a meaningful renaissance and give hope to all our people. We must shake hands across barriers. South Africa is ours to share," he said.

Two things now generally acknowledged as vital for the future of South Africa were the release of (political) prisoners and negotiations with black leaders, Dr Koornhof said. He believed such negotiations should take place without any conditions attached.

"If you set conditions, you can forget about getting people around a table," said Dr Koornhof.



Mrs Helen Suzman

# Let's have world's 'model' blueprint

by **David Braun,**  
Political Correspondent

3044

STAR 21/9/85

It is obvious that the satisfactory reform of South Africa is going to hinge on negotiations between the various population and political groups.

Yet such talks seem always elusive.

The Government keeps saying it is ready to negotiate with anyone who renounces violence, but there is seldom more than a whisper that such a process is under way.

Instead, one hears frequently that too few black leaders of substance are prepared to be seen talking publicly.

The charge that leaders do not come forward because they are in jail or detention and therefore cannot be countered by government charges that such leaders have publicly rejected talks anyway.

Perhaps part of the solution to this stalemate lies with the rest of the world.

The world community has assumed the role of telling the South African Government what it may or may not do. Perhaps it should go the whole hog and draw up a realistic blueprint for exactly the type of society it wants to see here and then help all parties to work towards that goal.

It could base the blueprint on the resolution passed last month by the United Nations Security Council — "The members of the council believe that a just and lasting solution in South Africa must be based on the total eradication of the system of apartheid and the establishment of a free, united and democratic society in South Africa".

Never mind the fact that "a free, united and democratic society" does not apply to most of the countries who are members of the United Nations. At least South Africa would know once and for all just what the world wanted of it.

It would mean that the South African Government would have to revise several ideas, but at least it would know what was required of it. It would also mean the African National Congress would have to change a few things, as would many of the other groups that would take part in negotiations.

Perhaps then, real negotiations can start.

Mrs Helen Suzman told a British newspaper this week that it was easy to sit 6 000 or 9 000 miles away and talk about handing over to the majority.

"I don't think people sit down and work out what that is going to mean in practice," she said.

"That is why our (Progressive Federal Party) policy is for multiracial government and not simply for a transfer of power from a rotten white minority government to a rotten black majority government," she said.

Pretoria has frequently expressed its perplexity and bitterness that the world has become more strict, if not vindictive, as genuine attempts are made to dismantle apartheid.

The demands made on the country have escalated beyond the point of mere statements of intent or drawing blacks into the decision-making process. A United Nations dominated by countries which will not be the most dismal record on human rights will not be happy with anything short of one man, one vote in a unitary state.

Even if South Africa did manage a system in which the various groups' rights and autonomy were protected, with a black executive head of state, the world would brand that as cosmetic or tokenism.

What is needed perhaps is for the UN to look at its own parameters, which call for a free, united and democratic society.

## STUDY FAILURES FIRST

It should study the failures of "African democracy" (particularly where economies on the continent have collapsed because of corruption and nationalisation, and where millions are now starving). Then it should draw up a blueprint of a "model" society.

Surely in a free, united and democratic society one could expect the right of ownership as well as the right to escape from the poverty trap. Such a society would have freedom of association, expression and movement. Minority rights would be guaranteed.

Now if the world set all that out, in a statement of intent, as it were, it could put pressure on all the parties claiming the right to direct South Africa's future to work towards the same universally acceptable goals.





Mr Gavin Relly

## Anglo's Relly sees the shape of things to come

— by —  
Michael Chester

STAR 21/9/85

The head of the vast Anglo American Corporation has taken a peep at the likely shape of South African society in 2001 — and sees black families living next to white families in shared suburbs and formal apartheid dead and buried.

But the crystal ball saw new social problems emerging.

Chairman Mr Gavin Relly, in a traditional annual address to senior staff members after the 1985 annual general meeting of shareholders, predicted a "very different" society at the turn of the century.

But, he added: "What bothers me is not the formal laws of apartheid — they are obviously being driven out — but the problems of normal human prejudice and the practical development of a socio-industrial society in which we have a credible number — and maybe a majority — of black people."

He forecast that, by 2001, black and white families will be living in houses of equal standard — and in the same areas.

Black husbands will "have educated wives, who may be graduates, who have children they wish to send to decent schools, and families they want to take on holidays to reasonable places of their choice".

But he posed the question: "What things are necessary now to achieve this credible matrix of black people within our group in 2001?"

Mr Relly said it was necessary for all to think about the future, accepting that change of extraordinary proportions was coming, and to think about what needed to be done in a fundamental way to make the changes real.

It could not be achieved simply by following a gradual course of normal development on the assumption that the future would be the same as the past.

He went on: "With training, we must get down to the nitty-gritty because you can only train effectively at a higher level if you have started well at a lower level."

"South Africa's problem today is that a whole generation of youngsters is coming forward who have either abjured education — or, if they have had it at all, it has been of an inferior nature".

One of the keys to improving the next generation was to place greater emphasis on the development of the present "generation that has lost its way".

This was the aim of the Anglo American "Chairman's Fund" which had spent R65 million on black secondary and tertiary education since 1980 and another R83 million on other charitable and social activities.

He regarded the rise of the trade union movement as inevitable.

"We have taken the view that, in the absence of parallel political institutions, trade unionism is an extremely important grass-roots participatory activity."

"It leads to great misery, great trauma, great dissatisfaction. But it would be wrong if we were to turn aside from our belief in the importance of developing a stable trade unionism simply because it is difficult."

"It must remain one of the bulwarks of a stable society."

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# Bid to launch alliance today

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

304A

THE proposed convention alliance, to be discussed at a meeting in Johannesburg today, could restore rationality and provide hope for something better in South Africa, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

"I have no doubt that if an alliance of this nature can come off the ground it can be the best way in which reasonable people can pool their resources to plan for a better future," he said in an interview.

A number of Afrikaans-speaking academics, including Professor Dawid Bosch and Professor Marinus Wiechers, are expected to attend the meeting in a Sandton hotel, as is a group of students from Afrikaans universities.

Professor Richard van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, and Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, are also expected at the meeting.

## Businessmen who met ANC

Among the businessmen are Mr Mike Rosholt, head of the Barlows group; Mr Raymond Ackerman, head of Pick 'n Pay; Mr Tony Bloom, head of Premier Milling and one of the businessmen who met the ANC in Zambia last week; Dr Zac de Beer, a director of Anglo American who also met the ANC; and Mr Hugh Boonzaier, the immediate past president of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, will head a delegation from Inkatha.

However, no representatives of the United Democratic Front (UDF), which is particularly critical of Inkatha's involvement, nor the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) will attend.

## Allan Boesak precluded

It is also unlikely people like Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, will be present, but Dr Slabbert said he had personally informed them about the intention of forming an alliance.

This was also the case with Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who was released on R20 000 bail yesterday and whose bail conditions would have precluded him from attending anyway.

"I want to make it quite clear that the concept of the alliance which is to be formed should not exclude anyone who subscribes to the idea of one constitution, based on one citizenship in one country, to be negotiated in a national convention," Dr Slabbert said.

It is likely that a steering committee, with a broader base than the political groups present, will be formed today with a mandate to examine the best way to launch the alliance and to obtain the broadest spectrum of support.

CAPE TIMES 21/9/85



## Mandela: Mayor says sorry

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Progressive Federal Party in Johannesburg City Council has accepted the apology of the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr Ernie Fabel, who created an international rumpus in Israel recently when he said Mr Nelson Mandela "should have been killed".

Mr Fabel this week issued an apology to the council and to "all who

took exception to the remark".

After a PFP caucus meeting on Thursday night the leader of the PFP in the city council, Mr Sam Moss, said yesterday morning that the PFP "could visualize what the mayor had gone through after shooting himself in the foot".

"The PFP accepts the apology of Mr Fabel, and considers the matter closed," Mr Moss said.

# 'Clarify path to reform, or risk an explosion'

304A STAR 21/9/85  
Professor Lawrence Schlemmer yesterday warned of the dangers of the present ambiguity and uncertainty about the speed and scope of reform.

In his presidential address to the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg, he said that "the whole of South Africa lives in the expectation of reform".

But, he said, there were a number of reasons why the climate of expectation was dangerous. He said that once expectations were raised critical anger and frustration would erupt if the Government's performance did not match these expectations.

Prof Schlemmer also warned that because expectations become pitched at ultimate concessions "nothing which is offered in the interim has much impact" and tends to be anti-climactic.

"In this sort of situation one may expect, sooner or later, an explosion of rage and frustration from black communities even more severe than the present protests as the cold truth of the Government's real intentions becomes evident."

## BLACK MAJORITY RULE

He called on all concerned South Africans to insist that the Government "without further delay" formulate a comprehensive statement of intent in regard to its reform programme.

Prof Schlemmer traced a number of possible outcomes for the future of South Africa — ranging from effective reform and a negotiated settlement, to collapse and reconstruction under black majority rule.

But both these options were unlikely to occur because of the numerous weaknesses and problems involved.

Prof Schlemmer also warned of the potential for "polarisation and mutual estrangement between major and inevitable participants in a future settlement. This is our greatest political problem at the present time."

Prof Schlemmer said an equally serious potential crisis concerned the nature of constitutional reforms "when they eventually are debated in the negotiating process." — Sapa



Govt wants to speed up and intensify important changes

# P W VOW on more reform

by  
Tos Wentzel  
Political Staff

304A

21/9/85

He said the Government realised that and the President would take initiatives to broaden and intensify the process.

It is understood that one of the Government's plans is to include blacks on the President's Council.

It would then play an active role in negotiations on constitutional reforms and black political rights.

In the process, the council would lose its role as adjudicator on disputes on legislation among the three houses of Parliament.

To take over that role a constitutional court will be created.

Mr Botha fared well at the congress which had a distinctive verligte approach.

One resolution urged the Government to expedite and implement its reform programme so that the practical implications would be known before the next general election.

Mr Botha again pledged that whites would be consulted in some way if fundamental changes were envisaged as a result of negotiations between the Government and other population groups.

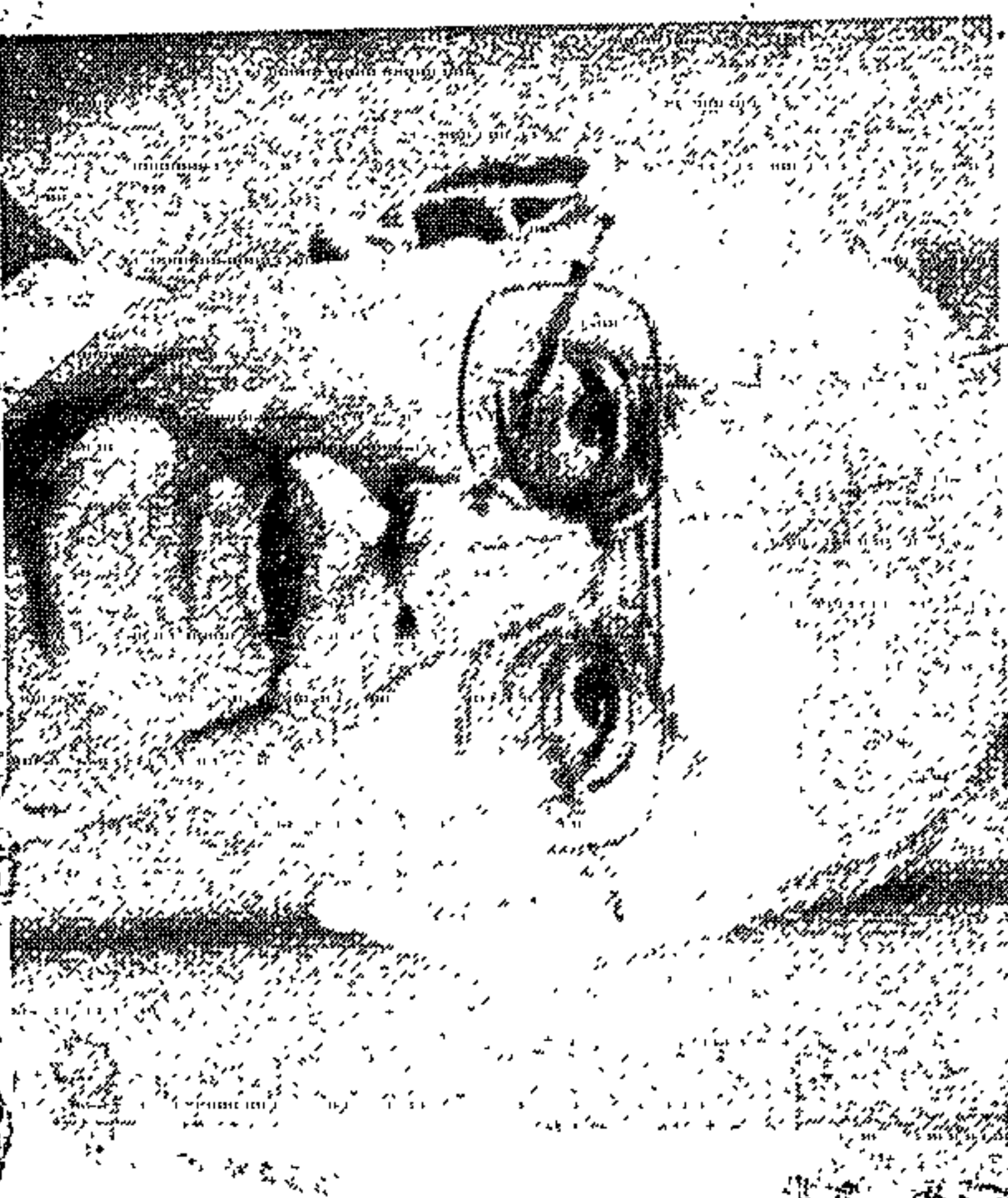
PRETORIA — More reform steps, including the abolition of influx control and the pass system, will be announced by President P W Botha at the end of the month.

He told the National Party's Transvaal Congress last night that he would deal with more reform steps at the NP's Cape Congress in Port Elizabeth on September 30.

He did not elaborate but in political circles it is expected a major point will be the acceptance of President's Council recommendations that influx control and the pass system be abolished.

He will also accept suggestions for a stepped-up urbanisation strategy. And Mr Botha is also expected to come up with other initiatives.

Provincial leader Mr F W de Klerk gave an indication of that at the congress saying the negotiation process was crucially important.



Mr P W Botha ... more reforms to be announced at the Cape congress.

# All-race suburb planned

PORT ELIZABETH — A Ciskeian-based company is negotiating the rezoning of prime undeveloped land near Plettenberg Bay, pending its development as South Africa's first multiracial residential area.

If the rezoning application is successful, 150 hectares along the beach and lagoon near the Keurbooms River mouth will be offered for sale to developers of the country's first "controlled area".

According to a brochure issued by the Ciskeian-based company, Amcor Property Trust Company, details of the rezoning are being resolved with the government.

## DISPATCH

Amcor says the project is of "profound political significance" because it will have full international status. According to the company, groundwork and a market survey have been completed. — DDC.

5/10/85



Picture by Clive Boya.

# 'Talk to credible black leaders' Ackerman urges Govt: now's the time to take action

304A  
STAR  
21/9/85

— by —  
Jenni Tennant

The voice of Big Business is being heard in an increasing volume calling for immediate action by the Government for negotiated change.

Although these calls were not concerted, they did express a common feeling within the business sector about what should be done, Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay, said.

Two issues have been under the spotlight in the past few months — the abolition of apartheid and the need for meetings between the Government and black leaders.

Mr Ackerman, who gave his personal views during an interview in Johannesburg, said the State President's "Rubicon" speech crystallised the fact that the business community had to make itself heard.

## DISILLUSIONED

"After the announcement of the state of emergency and the devastating 'Rubicon' speech people became increasingly disillusioned."

He believed the business community had crossed its own Rubicon. The state of emergency and the riots, compounded by the President's speech in Durban, created the need to take action.

"All agree apartheid must go and the Government should sit down and talk to credible community leaders."

Such leaders were those people chosen by

"A statement from the President would give all hope."

Asked for his opinion on the Lusaka meeting of a group of South African businessmen with leaders of the African National Congress, Mr Ackerman said: "The businessmen went to the Lusaka meeting in search of peace. Talking is more important than fighting."

He did not know why the Government had been critical of the action. Business could play an important part as a link between black leaders inside and outside South Africa and the Government, Mr Ackerman said.

Asked whether business leaders were simply reacting to the disastrous economic situation, Mr Ackerman said the economy obviously had some effect, "call it enlight-

ened self-interest".

But he believed actions taken by business leaders were not just for economic reasons.

"Although our company has been involved in social issues, such as housing and education, it had in the past participated on the fringe."

Business had been galvanised into tackling issues such as influx control, Group Areas and citizenship.

Although there had been no joint effort between various business groups, he felt what had happened since the President's speech in Durban was encouraging.

"When people speak, they are all saying the same thing

"They are showing clearly this is where business wants the Government to move."

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# URGENT now's the time 21/9/85 to take action

— by —  
Jenni Tennant

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"All agree apartheid must go and the Government should sit down and talk to credible community leaders."

Such leaders were those people chosen by their own communities — "either free or detained," he said.

He said the President should clarify where the country was going in dismantling apartheid.

He should deal with the questions of citizenship; the type of powersharing; dismantling of Group Areas; and a unified education.

"A statement from the President would give all hope."

Asked for his opinion on the Lusaka meeting of a group of South African businessmen with leaders of the African National Congress, Mr Ackerman said: "The businessmen went to the Lusaka meeting in search of peace. Talking is more important than fighting."

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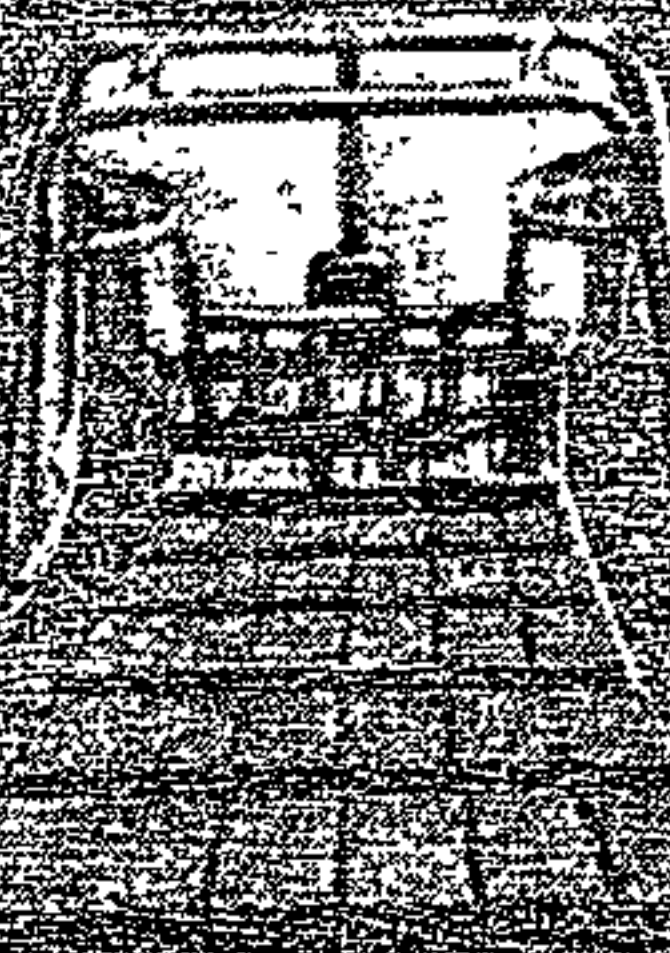
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# SA aiding Unita, admits Minister

Pretoria Correspondent

STAR  
30 KA  
South Africa has admitted for the first time it is supporting the rebel Unita movement in Angola.

Revealing what he described as this "open secret", Defence Minister Mr Magnus Malan said in Pretoria last night that South Africa would break these links

with Dr Jonas Savimbi's movement "on condition that foreign forces be withdrawn from Angola."

21/9/85  
Otherwise, he said, South Africa would continue to "help Unita to help itself" by providing material, humanitarian and moral aid.

Mr Malan's admission follows Angolan accusations that South

African units — comprising armoured personnel carriers, troop transports, field artillery and aircraft — have been operating against MPLA forces in support of the rebels in south-east Angola.

These operations were not linked to the South African strike into Angola against Swapo units. Defence Force

chief General Constand Viljoen has said South African forces involved in the action against Swapo would be pulled out this weekend.

Mr Malan reacted to accusations in political and media circles that he had been lying about South Africa's relations with Angola.

● To Page 2, Col 2

## Minister admits SA aiding Unita

STAR  
● From Page 1

He said he was not ashamed of South Africa's connections with Dr Savimbi, who was a "God-fearing and determined man" and "a great leader in international terms."

By supporting him and his movement, Mr Malan said, "we serve South Africa and Southern Africa and the West's interests."

Moscow was exercising its "new muscled aggressiveness" in Angola and pouring in its most sophisticated weapons to crush Unita, and the West was yielding to the Kremlin's "refined strategy of pretty words."

"Supporting Unita in Angola concerns stopping foreign intervention by Cubans and other communist soldiers," Mr Malan said.

21/9/85  
"It concerns stopping Marxist infiltration and expansionism. That is why the MPLA is so important to Moscow. That is why Unita and its connections are an obstacle to Moscow."

Unita was also the movement controlling southern Angola, thereby closing this area to Swapo insurgents.

"Now it is on record that South Africa support Unita. We will do it again if it is necessary and on condition that it is in our own interests," said Mr Malan.

## Malan says Mozambique was notified in advance

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has defended those South Africans involved in what he termed "so-called technical violations" of the Nkomati Accord.

Speaking to reporters last night, General Malan said President Samora Machel had been informed beforehand about the alleged violations which had all been designed to bring the warring Mozambique parties to the negotiating table.

But President Machel had not asked for details of what he called the "technicalities".

Mr Malan suggested these details together with Mozambique Government mistrust had given rise to the latest outburst from Maputo about violations of the security accord.

The incidents now under the spotlight took place in May and June this year. South African officials, using what Mr Malan called "great initiative", explored the possibility of resuming the peace talks between the Frelimo Government and the rebel Mozambique Resistance Movement which had broken down last October.

The then Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Louis Nel, exercised his "freedom of movement as chairman of the Joint Security Commission" by visiting the rebels inside Mozambique three times.

He did not need to ask for approval to do this, Mr Malan said. "I fully agree with everything he did in this regard."

Mr Nel's visits required preparatory trips into the territory and arranging transport when he was there. This entailed "about nine flights" into Mozambique by SAAF aircraft.

Defence Force personnel involved in this had carried AK47 rifles for their own protection. The Russian weapons had been selected because ammunition for them was more easily available in Mozambique than for South African weapons.

"Each of these so-called breaches of the accord was caused only to get the two sides together," said Mr Malan.

He said it was a scandal that "suggestive remarks" were levelled against the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, who had worked so hard for the success of the Nkomati Accord.

Fact 'violations' defended

2044

STAR

21/9/85



Nomination courts sat in five constituencies today for the by-elections on October 30 in Vryburg, Port Natal, Salisbury, Bethlehem and Springs.

Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the National Party, will address a meeting at Selection Park Primary School in Springs tonight. The NP candidate is Mr Piet Coetzer. He will be opposing the Progressive Federal Party's Mr John Simpson and the Conservative Party's Mr Gert Parsons.

Yesterday the leader of the Her-

# Candidates named for five October 30 by-elections

STAFF REPORTER

stigie Nasionale Party (HNP), Mr Jaap Marais, said he had high hopes that its Mr Louis Stoffberg would win the Salisbury seat with the active backing of the CP. The NP's candidate is Mr Willem Odendaal. In the 1981 elections, the NP (5 329) beat the HNP (2 710).

In Bethlehem, the HNP supporters have thrown their support behind the CP's Mr Cehill Pienaar, though there is

no formal election pact. The NP candidate is Mr Paul Farrell.

In Vryburg, the CP's Mr Andries Weyers will contest the seat against Mr Johan Scheepers of the NP.

Five candidates were nominated for Port Natal: Mr Stoffel Botha (NP), Mr Warren Burne (PFP), Dr Rowan Smit (New Republican Party), Mr D McNaught (Independent), and Mr Pat

Mohr (CP).

This seat was closely contested by the NP (4 885 votes) and NRP (4 200) in 1981. Mr McNaught, who stood for the NRP then, is now an independent.

Professor Willem Kleyhans, head of Unisa's department of political science, said the by-elections would be a major confrontation — in the absence of a general election — for all parties.

He said the Government would study the results closely as "they are looking for grounds on which to stage a General Election".

The constituencies involved are highly relevant because they involve a cross-section of whites — English and Afrikaans-speakers, urban and rural — and would represent the widest possi-

## The Star Monday September

ble spectrum on which to base conclusions."

He said it was also important to note the increase in the number of voters since 1981, because many now felt South Africa was in a hopeless situation. It would be interesting to see if there was a stayaway of voters.

Professor Kleyhans said the PFP would need to obtain more than 4 000 votes in Springs to indicate that it was holding its position. In the last election the PFP won 3 209 votes compared to the NP's 5 690.

PAUL BELL  
Political Correspondent

SIX years ago, P W Botha was defending his decision to desegregate post offices at a Transvaal congress of the National Party. This year, delegates were pleading with him to speed up his plans to share power with blacks.

It was chalk and cheese. Chris Heunis, who wrapped up the two-day congress at Pretoria's showgrounds on Saturday, waxed lyrical on the changing nature of NP debate.

There were several highlights to a relatively low-key conference. Provincial leader F W de Klerk started the ball rolling on Thursday night with a strong appeal to black leaders to shrug off intimidation and come to the negotiating table. "There is no hidden trap," he said. On Friday morning, State President P W Botha reiterated government determination to

## New clothes for old Transvaal Nats

stick to its path of reform and said he would announce further steps to strengthen structures for negotiation with black leaders.

He could not, however, resist flashes of *kragdadigheid* on the question of negotiations with the ANC. He derided business leaders' efforts in this regard and made a "friendly warning" to them to desist.

That did not stop a delegate from suggesting government try and find non-violent elements of the ANC and UDF to hold talks with. He was not without support among the delegates. In fact, for the first time, it seemed, the mood of the congress was more reformist than the leadership.

Delegates spoke of "saying sorry" for what had been done to blacks under apartheid, how

it hurt to hear the racist remarks of "boere" in desegregated bank queues, how each delegate must take the good news of reform — not only in political development, but in the hearts and minds of individuals — back to their constituencies, each one "an ambassador for reform".

There was some tension over Randburg MP Wynand Malan's motivation for a proposal that security policy be examined within the context of the overall reform strategy.

Malan carefully picked his way through a minefield of potentially sharp differences between himself and Cabinet in an ostensibly neutral presentation of the argument that negotiations with black leaders were made much more difficult when the leaders were locked up and/or their organisations banned.

He said distinction would also have to be made between the right to protest and the right to resist.

Botha suggested that delegates should not confuse the difference between protest and breaking the law. Malan, about whom rumours persist that he is seriously out of step with the party, later assured the Press he would be a member of the NP while he was in politics.

The congress could prove a watershed for the NP. It could bolster government courage at a time when every delay in implementing reform is portrayed as lack of will. If government can regain its will, it may regain the psychological initiative it has recently lost to business, the PFP, the UDF, even the ANC.



Monday September 23 1985

Split over list of demands

# Two weeks to launch alliance

3044  
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By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

The steering committee of the National Convention Alliance set up at the weekend hopes to be able to launch the movement formally within a fortnight.

Main priorities will be to broaden the alliance and work out to what extent it should identify with certain causes such as the plight of people in black townships and the release of all political prisoners and detainees.

The gathering appointed a steering committee to investigate and report back on how this could be done.

About 130 people, either in their personal capacities or representing business, academic, church, sport, legal, women's and political groups, agreed in principle at a meeting in Sandton on Saturday to form the alliance.

Also present were a number of observers, including newspaper editors and representatives of the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

Conspicuous by their absence were representatives of the United Democratic Front, Azapo, the National Party, the Conservative Party and leading church figures Bishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Beyers Naude.

The latter however sent good wishes. Saturday's debate behind closed doors was marked by division over

whether the alliance should make a stand on fundamental issues.

One school of thought was that the alliance should not set "unreasonable although laudable demands", such as the release of all prisoners, as this would make it easy for the Government to spurn the movement.

The other argument was that a national convention had to include all leaders, including those in jail, which would oblige the alliance to demand their release.

"We are not here to be polite to one another," said one person. "We must make the Government pay attention to us by stamping firmly and hard on its toes."

● Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg North, has written to 20 000 voters in his constituency urging them to support a call by Dr van Zyl Slabbert and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for a Convention Alliance.

PFP policy was backed by a recent report by the Human Sciences Research Council, he said.

The HSRC report found that unless constructive steps were taken to effect change, further conflict could be expected, and that the critical state of inter-group relations in South Africa was the result of apartheid.

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Alliance wants

Cape Times

23/9/85

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# negotiate SA future

## Political Staff

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The first move towards a broad alliance to work for a new, negotiated South African constitution was made at the weekend.

The aim is the establishment of a Convention Alliance to generate, and demonstrate, popular support for a national convention at which a new political deal for the country would be negotiated.

The meeting — a joint venture by the Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — was aimed at finding the middle ground, according to Dr Slabbert.

### Cycle

He said reform was being eclipsed by a "cycle of repression and revolt" which had to be broken.

The pilot meeting at Sandton on Saturday supported in principle the formation of the alliance. A provisional steering committee, empowered to co-opt other members, has been appointed and hopes to deliver a blueprint within a fortnight so the alliance can be launched by the end of next month.

### Delayed

Saturday's meeting was attended by about 150 representatives of political, business and church organizations and leading academics. The alliance launch was delayed to enable representatives to report back to their organizations and secure formal backing, and to canvass support from organizations such as the United Democratic Front which did not attend.

The chairman of the steering committee is Mr Jules Browde, chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights.

"We want to bring about the complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation through a national convention of one constitution based on one citizenship in one country,"



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

he told a press conference after the meeting.

Dr Slabbert described the meeting as "very successful".

Accepting that there were no representatives of either the Afrikaner establishment or opposition movements as Azapo or the UDF, Dr Slabbert said the alliance was not exclusive. A great deal would depend on the ability of those involved to persuade others that the alliance could succeed.

Another steering committee member, the chairman of Pick 'n Pay, Mr Raymond Ackerman, said he regarded it as "an alliance of hope — people doing something at a very critical time in South Africa's history".

### Tutu

Business, he added, was "getting its views together" and it was the role of businessmen "to give the input of people who are aware of the problems".

Messages of support were received from Bishop Desmond Tutu, the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, and the former Liberal Party leader, Mr Alan Paton.

Besides Chief Buthelezi, the other non-inde-

pendent homeland leader to attend was Gazankulu's Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi. Apologies were received from Dr Cedric Pathudi of Lebowa and Mr Enos Mabusa, Chief Minister of KaNgwane.

Among the business representatives were Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand, Mr Chris Ball of Barclays, Dr Zac de Beer of Anglo American, Mr Tony Bloom of Premier Milling and Mr Chris Saunders of Tongaat.

Three former Springbok rugby captains, Tommy Bedford, Morne du Plessis and Wynand Claassen, have thrown their weight behind the concept as has former Springbok cricketer Vincent van der Byl.

Newspaper editors and organizations such as the Afrikaanse Studentebond attended as observers.

The PFP leader stressed that politically the movement would have a "low profile" and that no movement or organization would be excluded which subscribed to convention alliance principles.

### Pressure

"It is important that we demonstrate that a national convention is viable."

The meeting accepted that a national convention could be called only by the government. Dr Slabbert said the aim of the alliance would be to bring pressure on President P W Botha to do so.

The other steering committee members are Professor Dawid Bosch, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Mr Tony Ardington, Mrs Joyce Harris, Dr Alex Boraine, Mr Colin Eglin, Professor Denys Schreiner, the Rev Stanley Mogoba and Mr I Zawa.

● Leading article, page 8



# Convention Alliance launch feels sting of UDF stayaway

PAUL BELL  
Political Correspondent

THE Convention Alliance, launched in principle on Saturday, should start taking shape within a fortnight, says convenor Jules Browde.

But the alliance, while it has attracted English-speaking clergy, lawyers, liberals, some top businessmen, academics and a sprinkling of black leaders, has a long way to go to broaden its base.

Browde, chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights, says the steering committee nominated by the more than 150 delegates to the launch, will meet next week to "clarify a clear plan of action and advise on the formal launching of an alliance".

"The assembly did this because it is persuaded that it is absolutely vital at this time in our country's history to bring about by non-violent means, and in the shortest time possible, the complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation through a national convention of one constitution based on one citizenship in one country."

While the alliance is undoubtedly an important political development, it may, how-



● BUTHELEZI



● SLABBERT

ever, be the victim of high expectations at this stage.

Browde's announcement of the results of the meeting seems to leave observers feeling somewhat flat about what has been achieved, despite the fact that little could realistically have been expected of the embryonic alliance.

A large part of this muted disappointment obviously rests on the stayaway by the UDF.

The alliance will direct much of its effort to persuading the UDF to join. But until this happens, the movement will lack any substantial base of support in the black community — and must ultimately stand or fall on that factor.

The movement's co-sponsors — PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — have chosen to remain slightly distanced from the leadership in order to bypass the problem of projecting their own parties' political stances too vigorously on the alliance.

But this, too, presents a problem in that the idea, meritorious as it may be, lacks dynamism in its presentation. The idea is fine, but will need to be conveyed by natural leaders if it is to achieve its full potential in the political marketplace.

There were interesting side-bars to the alliance in terms of who attended.

Kingwilliamstown MP Pat Rogers of the New Republic Party was there, leading to speculation that the party, which has had its support steadily whittled away by the National Party and the PFP over the years, may at last be on the verge of dissolution.

Members of the Afrikaanse Studentebond and delegates from the University of Stellenbosch SRC were present, but they will have to report back to their organisations before any decision is taken on a formal association with the alliance.

# Labour would tax overseas investment

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa will be one of the countries affected if Labour comes into power in Britain.

The Labour Party announced a plan at the weekend to return to Britain about R66 billion of the money invested abroad during the last six years by British institutions like pension funds, life insurance, unit trusts and charities.

It would do so by withdrawing tax concessions from companies and individuals with more than a given percentage of their capital — probably five percent — overseas.

STAR PLAY 23/9/85

The money would go into a National Investment Bank, which would direct investment in Britain and play the central role in Labour's proposals to "regenerate" industry.

City of London institutions have reacted with concern to the Labour proposal, which they see as a threat to their freedom to manage investments to the benefit of investors.

There is also widespread scepticism about the need for a National Investment Bank.

However, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has welcomed the proposal.

AAM secretary Mr Mike Terry said his group had been saying for a long time that investors in big business had opted to invest in apartheid to get bigger profits, rather than in the development of Britain's own economy.

"Any measure which contributes to stopping investment in South Africa we would welcome. I think this measure will have a positive effect and hurt South Africa," he said.



# Jews urged to take a positive role in politics

704 By Shirley Woodgate

The duty of Jews when confronted with injustice is to protest, said advocate Mr Jack Unterhalter SC during a Club 44 panel debate last night on the topic "Is there a Jewish approach to politics?" 23/9/85

He was the last of four speakers who urged involvement in politics at this crucial stage of South African confrontation.

Two ideologies — "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" and "Justice, justice for all" — which he referred to as the golden rules of Judaism, formed the basis of Mr Unterhalter's plea in view of the disastrous effects of discriminatory laws in this country.

He singled out for particular condemnation the Population Registration Act — "rooted in discrimination. What about the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, the Black Local Authorities Act and the Land Act?"

Rabbi Norman Mendel said the argument that religion and politics did not mix was rubbish. "They do mix; both concern the ethical procedures of mankind and cannot be divorced. To not be involved in life is, for a Jew, to deny existence. If he does less, he abdicates his function in society."

"The Bible suggests that we are all part and parcel of the same humanity, that all mankind comes from the same source, where no one is loftier than another and, therefore, everyone is responsible for each other," Mr Mendel said.

He urged Jews to stand up and be counted. "Involvement and a progressive stance will lead to enlightenment in South Africa."

Advocate Mockie Friedman SC contended: "Because you have been oppressed, you shall not oppress others."

"The essence of the Jewish approach to politics is a just, free ual society with allegiance to God, law and justice, not law and order."

The fourth speaker was Dr Shlomo Peer, who contended: "We won't solve our problems with alliances, but with commitments."

He saw the Jews in South Africa as a specific "volk" in their own right, with attitudes influenced by history. Therefore Jews should be involved in politics.

AKKUS 23/9/80 (304A)

# PFP making rapid headway in the coloured areas, says Blouws

Mr George Blouws is spearheading the PFP drive for mixed membership. FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party is making rapid headway in coloured areas in the face of opposition from other political parties and groups, says Mr George Blouws, a pioneer of the party's drive for mixed membership in the Cape Peninsula.

He said in an interview he had received inquiries from far and wide about the PFP's move — some from people in country areas as far afield as Namaqualand.

Mr Blouws, a former United Democratic Front (UDF) founder member and also a former member of the Labour Party, is chairman of the PFP's Ravensmead branch. It is the first branch of the party formed outside a white area in the Peninsula.

Mr Blouws said that since his branch was established with 40 members in June, membership had risen to nearly 300.

This figure was reached after he handed in 74 new completed membership cards this week at a meeting of the par-

ty's Western Cape regional council.

At least nine other PFP branches were now in the process of being formed in other parts of the Peninsula and surrounding areas, including Atlantis, Mitchell's Plain, Eerste Rivier, Elsies River and Stellenbosch.

Mr Blouws said the rapid growth of his branch was a result of popular response to the PFP's initiative. There was no paid organiser or active recruitment.

"In fact, our activities have been hampered to some extent by the presence of police and the army during the unrest. This makes it difficult for us to operate as a party."

In spite of the fact that Ravensmead was a Labour Party stronghold, he had received many inquiries from his former Labour Party colleagues. "They seem to be having second thoughts."

Of the Labour Party, Mr Blouws said: "It has no future. It has lost all its credibility among our people who regard the Labour Party as turncoats and collaborators who have al-

lowed themselves to be co-opted by the Government against our black brothers."

He said he resigned from the Labour Party in 1973 after serving as chairman of its Cape region.

Of the UDF he said: "They are a historical necessity at this point in time. Every type of pressure is necessary to abolish apartheid."

He resigned from the UDF as a result of differences about strategy before last year's elections for the House of Representatives and stood as an independent candidate for Ravensmead.

Mr Blouws, aged 52, has had a colourful political career. He was an official speaker at the launching of the UDF in Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain, and some years earlier, in the 1950s, he was a supporter of the African National Congress and was a delegate to the Congress Alliance meeting where the Freedom Charter was drawn up.

A father of seven, he has been campaigning for political rights since 1950. He has been



Mr George Blouws ... PFP pioneer.

chairman of the Ravensmead Residents' Action Committee since 1970.

Of PFP leader Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert he said: "At this critical point in South Africa's history I see him as the

man who can meet the challenge of the time."

Dr Slabbert's convention alliance offered hope that all people of goodwill could get together to work out a peaceful future for the country.



By KEITH ROSS

EAST LONDON — An appeal for a change of heart in South Africa and a move away from violence was made in East London today by the chairman of the Ministers Council of the House of Representatives, the Rev. Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Hendrickse was speaking at the annual congress of the Association of Management Committees.

"The road to reconciliation demands personal sacrifices," he said.

"The way of revolution ensures front-page reports and the recognition of foreigners.

"To work for a change of heart in people does not bring personal fame — but rather a future for our children."

Mr Hendrickse said the coloured people could act as a buffer between forces leading to revolution.

"On the one side people are trying to protect vested interests — to maintain a privileged position at the expense of others," he said.

# Hendrickse calls for end to violence

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"On the other side the democratic reform and change caused demands for greater change.

"The first can bring the process of reform to an end and the second normally leads to violence such as we are experiencing at the moment.

"The danger exists that the combination of the two would eventually lead to revolution."

Mr Hendrickse said the participation of coloured people in the system acted as a catalyst for reform.

This participation also helped to bring the perspective of black people to the core of political decision making.

He said the participation of coloured people had strengthened democracy and helped to improve living standards.

But participation did not mean condoning the system or becoming a puppet of the Government.

The Labour Party, said Mr Hendrickse, used its own discretion when taking part in the political

structures created by the Government.

"We will approach the new regional services councils in the same spirit," he said.

"We will use them to strive towards our aim of a just South African society and political system."

Meanwhile, the Labour Party rejected violent confrontation which left no hope for reconciliation.

"We refuse to accept that reconciliation is impossible — that people cannot change," he said.

SA envoy's credentials finally accepted

# The wait is over, but the 'troubles' remain

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — After waiting more than five months, the United States Government yesterday accepted the South African Ambassador's credentials, noting that Washington-Pretoria relations remained "troubled".

Hours before Ambassador-designate Mr Herbert Beukes was granted full status, two senior South African Foreign Affairs officials arrived from Pretoria for talks with the State Department on Namibia and Angola.

Their visit to Washington to discuss the Namibia impasse was "upgraded", official sources confirmed, to include the present Angolan crisis.

Mr Beukes presented his credentials to Deputy Secretary of State Mr John Whitehead yesterday. He arrived in Washington on April 3. He will meet President Reagan at a traditional credentials ceremony at a later date.

A State Department spokesman said the decision to accept Mr

Beukes's credentials reflected US views that the gravity of the situation in Southern Africa demanded that the US use "all possible channels of communication" to convey to Pretoria the need for immediate domestic reform and progress towards regional peace.

"Our relations with South Africa remain troubled," he added. "Events in South Africa, increased violence in the region — including South Africa's military involvement in Angola and violations of Nkomati — are issues of deep concern, and are at the centre of our diplomacy with South Africa."

## DISPLEASURE

The delay in accepting a new South African ambassador in Washington signalled US displeasure at South African actions earlier this year.

Acceptance of his credentials was held back until US Ambassador Mr Herman Nickel, who had been "recalled for consultations", returned to Pretoria.

Foreign Affairs representatives

Mr David Steward and Mr Les Manley are scheduled to meet State Department officials today.

*Washington Post* reports indicate that the South African team will acknowledge formally that its aid (to Unita) extends beyond the officially admitted "material and humanitarian" aid.

The report says Western diplomats are convinced that South Africa's 32 Battalion is already in Angola and was involved in heavy fighting between Fapla forces and Unita at Mavinga.

It says a statement by Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan is being seen as part of a campaign to prepare the South African public for a possible admission that South African soldiers are fighting alongside Unita.

A second *Washington Post* report says analysts believe that Mr Steward and Mr Manley will either seek US diplomatic intervention with Russia to forestall the risk of military confrontation, or US support — arms and supplies — for Unita.



# UDF slams PFP for abandoning 'apartheid stand'

While the PFP has hopes of drawing the United Democratic Front into the Convention Alliance, the UDF has made it clear that it distrusts the PFP's move to become a non-racial party.

In a letter sent to members of its affiliates, the UDF says the PFP seems to have forsaken its steadfast opposition to apartheid and taken a second, less critical look, at the Nationalists' reform deal.

"One of the Government's aims, we believe, in repealing the Political Interference Act was to help win legitimacy for the tricameral Parliament. Last year over 80 percent of potential Indian and coloured voters boycotted the elections because they did not believe that real change could be brought about from within a Parliament designed to entrench apartheid," the letter reads.

It suggests that the Government hopes that the PFP can be used to win "some popular legitimacy"

for the new deal by recruiting black members and participating in future elections for all three houses.

"The Nationalists would obviously prefer to do this themselves but presumably they realise that the PFP may be better equipped.

"Sections of the PFP have found this very tempting. They hope that, by winning power in the Indian and coloured houses and by winning the 'balance of power' in the white house, they can chart the course of change.

"However, they seem to have forgotten what they themselves said about real power lying with the white house, the State President and the State Security Council."

The PFP may be able to recruit members from all communities, but its candidates will sit in separate houses and African party members will be relegated to the role of observers, the UDF says. It also accuses the PFP of not speaking out against the onslaught against the UDF.

Signal from Machel awaited

# Nkomati hanging in the balance

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The Star's Africa News Service

Pretoria is watching President Samora Machel carefully for signals which could end the historic Nkomati Accord.

The impression in diplomatic circles is that Mozambique will probably want to continue the Accord, despite its anger over South African violations.

President Machel is due back in Maputo this week, after visiting the United States and Britain, and there may be further revelations from the captured Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) diaries which led to Pretoria's admission last week that there had been "technical" violations of the Accord.

On Wednesday the Mozambican President is due to address the United Nations General Assembly and the general impression in Pretoria is that this will be the

make-or-break speech for the Nkomati Accord. Thus far President Machel has said nothing which South Africa has interpreted as signalling the end of the Accord.

One of the apparent reasons for this is the extensive matrix of ties that has been established between Mozambique and South Africa over the past two years in the transport, agricultural, medical, commercial and technical fields. Hardly a week now passes without some or other South African delegation visiting Maputo.

However, the Mozambicans told the South Africans last week that they had not revealed everything contained in the captured diaries, implying that Mozambique wanted to see how South Africa reacted to the initial allegations.

The Star's Political Correspondent writes that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, met Mozambique officials at Komatipoort last Thursday to confirm that the SA Defence Force had technically violated the Nkomati Accord by flying supplies to the MNR's bush headquarters.

Mr Botha said at a Press briefing last Wednesday that Mozambique could well furnish further extracts from the diary in which the first claims of a breach of the Accord were made, or other evidence from it alleging South African violations.

● It is reported in London that the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, will meet President Machel on Friday.



SA contacts Maputo  
over SADF Awol trio

PRETORIA — The South African Department of Foreign Affairs has been in contact with Mozambican authorities about the three SA Defence Force soldiers who went absent without leave 11 days ago and are being held in Mozambique.

Confirming this, a department spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday that details were not yet available, but that it was assumed the three had been held by Mozambican authorities.

In an earlier statement yesterday, Defence Headquarters said the three were "in Mozambican hands".

"The assumption that they could have crossed the border into Mozambique remained (throughout the search)," he added.

Three SADF men — Corporal P Kolenda, Rifleman L R van Zydum and Rifleman S L Toth — went Awol from their unit on the Mozambican border, where they were involved in the control of illegal immigrants, on September 12.

When last seen, they were in civilian clothes and unarmed. It was thought they may have wandered into Mozambique and a ground and air search was launched, with Mozambican authorities being informed through the Nkomati Operation Centre at the Ressano Garcia border post.

The men's next of kin had been informed. — Sapa

## Heunis 'would welcome' chief's views

PRETORIA—The Government would welcome discussions with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the consolidation proposals for KwaZulu, announced yesterday, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said. *30/4*

The Commission for Co-operation and Development earlier announced its full proposals, which included the transfer to KwaZulu of 381 000 ha of land and the resettlement of an estimated 42 000 people. *Morany*

Mr Heunis said in a statement that, unlike the consolidation suggestions for other homelands, the Government had not taken a standpoint on KwaZulu. *30/4*

### Revision

'The Government instructed the commission to announce its proposals as proposals of the commission and not of the Government, for investigation, hearing of evidence, representation and consideration,' Mr Heunis said. *24/9/85*

A Government review of the proposals would be started, 'with a view to possible revision'.

Chief Buthelezi said he and his administration would have nothing to do with the proposals, which he dismissed as 'a prescription for disaster'.

Mr Heunis said he would welcome discussions with Chief Buthelezi on any representations he would like to make about the proposed consolidation and was thankful the Chief Minister had reacted. — (Sapa)

● See also Pages 8, 9 and Editorial Opinion



Tuesday, September 25, 1985

For decades now there has been a demand for the holding of a national convention to draw up a new constitution for South Africa. Major resistance has largely been from the Government.

But increasingly, people to the left of the Government have rejected even this call, demanding an immediate handing over of power to the black majority.

Last weekend saw the emergence of a new initiative to work for the holding of such a convention when 150 top South Africans met in Johannesburg to discuss the idea.

The conference decided that a Convention Alliance would be launched within the next few weeks to make arrangements for the possible holding of the convention in the near future.

But the parties that are perceived by many as the main actors in South Africa's political show — the Government, the ANC and PAC — have rejected the idea for different reasons.

The Government, which has every reason to feel threatened by the Alliance, is probably worried about what it might be required to surrender by a National Convention.

The concern of the ANC and the PAC, on the other hand, is what they believe they will not achieve through a convention. Besides, the two organisations are committed to violent revolution as the only way of bringing about meaningful change in South Africa.

Recent talks between South Africa's top businessmen and the ANC in Lusaka condemned by the Government because the ANC has refused to denounce violence as an instrument for political change.

Until the State President, Mr P W Botha's Durban speech on August 15, the ANC was still open to participation in a National Convention. It was after the speech that Nelson Mandela released a statement from prison saying there was no longer room for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

He has also refused to denounce violence as a condition for his release from prison.



OLIVER TAMBO.



PRESIDENT BOTHA.

# The main actors shun alliance

Some of the people at Saturday's conference included: Mr Chris Ball of Barclays Bank, Mr Raymond Ackerman of Pick 'n Pay, Mr Tony Bloom of Premier Milling, Dr Zac de Beer of Anglo American, Dr Oscar Dlamini of Inkatha, Professor John Dugard of Wits University, Prof Willem Kleynhans of Unisa, Mrs Joyce Harris of Black Sash, Archbishop Denis Hurley, Advocate Sydney Kentridge, Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Mr Musa Myeni of the Urban Foundation, the Rev Peter Storey and the Rev Stanley Mokgoba of the Methodist Church.

By  
**SAM  
MABE**

What the ANC would now like to see happening first is that it be unbanned, that all political prisoners and detainees be released, that political trials be stopped and one-man-one-vote elections in a unitary state be held.

## Critical

The ANC's chief Press officer, Mr Tom Sebina, said a convention that would impose reformist solutions while apartheid remained intact could not be accepted.

The PAC, on the other hand, has always rejected the idea of talking to the South African Government except where the handing over

of power to the African majority would be taking place.

It believes that apartheid cannot be reformed — which is what they believe a National Convention will try to do. One-man-one-vote elections in a unitary state is what they see as a solution.

That system of voting has been rejected by the Government, which expressed fears that there could be a domination of so-called minority groups by the black majority.

Azapo and the UDF — who were conspicuous by their absence from Saturday's conference — are also not interested in a national convention.

Even if they were, the four groups would most certainly not want to be at a conference table

with bantustan leaders.

The ANC is suspicious and has been critical of the relationship developing between PFP leader, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, and Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who are the principal founders of the Convention Alliance.

Although the leaders have emphasised that they participated in the alliance in their personal capacities, it will not be easy for the man in the street to divorce the alliance from Inkatha or the PFP.

## Giants

Saturday's conference was attended by a very wide cross-section of people, most of whom are giants in intellectual, academical, legal, commercial, industrial, political and sporting fields.

Most of them have not been politically active. The alliance will create a national forum which will bring them together to start a de-

bate on the country's racial problems.

Because of the money that big business will pump into it and the wealth of the expertise of the people involved, the alliance could become a strong and highly articulate group.

And while trying to sell the idea of a national convention to the people and trying to bring concerned parties to the conference table, the alliance will most probably draw up a list of reforms for which it will drum up mass support from moderate people.

The sentiments that seem to fire the alliance appear to be the same as those behind the formation of the Black Sash some years ago. The women of the Black Sash were a pressure group opposed to the constitution as it was then. They still are.

There is a wider representation in the alliance, but will it be any more effective than the Black Sash has been?

FOCUS

25/9/85

304A

some ten

# Schlemmer lauds convention move

304 A  
The newly announced Convention Alliance was praised by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer when he delivered his presidential address at a meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg recently. STAR

Professor Schlemmer, who ended his term as president at the weekend, also called for middle-ground politics to be strengthened to bridge polarisation between the ANC and the Government.

"Even the more radical groupings must be affected by the climate of reform talks," he said.

"By no means do all the members of more militant groupings envisage no alternative to a bitter struggle to achieve a sweeping concession, which they say is the minimum demand." 25/9/85

However, Professor Schlemmer also warned that the climate of reform created dangerous expectations.

"It is self-evident that, once these expectations are raised, critical anger and frustration will erupt if the reform performance of the Government does not match up to it," he said.

He labelled the concession on citizenship for blacks as a good example of such expectations.

"Even though this represents a complete abandonment of the old Verwoerdian apartheid ideology, the announcement generally favoured more attention on the eventual issue of black voting rights."

He called on all responsible South Africans to demand a statement from the Government in which its intentions regarding reform were laid out.



Big SA  
business  
in call  
to West

From JOHN  
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — A high-powered delegation of organized business in South Africa yesterday urged Western business interests to join them in a reformist alliance to pave the way for black/white talks.

The call was made at a press conference here attended by Assocom's chief executive, Mr Raymond Parsons; Mr Bill Yeowart, immediate past president of Assocom; Mr Johan van Zyl, chief executive of the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI); Professor Nick Wiehahn, representing the Afrikaner Handelsinstituut (AHI), and Mr Arthur Hammond-Tooke of FCI.

The conference was hosted by Mr David Willers, London director of the South Africa Foundation (SAF).

In a clear bid to move ahead of international business opinion, the delegation invited Western-based multi-nationals with business interests in South Africa to join them in preparing the climate for a national convention.

The businessmen warned that economic sanctions would be counter-productive in achieving their aims, but conceded that the capital boycott by United States banks had made talk of sanctions "academic".

Mr Parsons said the South African business community was now directly involved in seeking political structures which would "broaden democracy" in South Africa and create the climate of confidence necessary for a process of negotiation with black leaders to begin.

"Business is not governing the country. It wants to make the country governable," he said.

The delegation, which has been in New York to take part in the United Nations hearing on sanctions, yesterday met the British Foreign Office Minister, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, and leaders of the Confederation of British Industries (CBI).

Cap Times 25/9/85 (304A)  
**Soweto civic no to  
national convention**

JOHANNESBURG. — The Soweto Civic Association (SCA) said yesterday there could be no national convention while "authentic" leaders were jailed, organizations banned and the townships occupied by the police and army.

Reacting in a statement to an invitation to join the meeting launching the Convention Alliance last weekend, the SCA said: "This move by the PFP (Progressive Federal Party) seeks to grab the opportunity of misrepresenting the general masses, especially now after the great clampdown on the United Democratic Front and its leadership, thus isolating the UDF and other progressive organizations within South Africa."

It said the SCA interpreted "these manoeuvres as opportunistic strategies aimed at the isolation of certain organizations and political positions in and outside South Africa".

"We are aware that the liberal strategy of the PFP is also to wrench away from us some of our credible leadership," the statement said.

The statement said the reason why the SCA could not accept the invitation was that, as an organization, it was "an integral part of the harassed, detained, sjamboked, oppressed and exploited masses of this country".

"The SCA shall not abandon these people and sacrifice them for the short-term glimmers of political strategies to seek to obfuscate our liberation goals." — Sana



# Curry call to use diversities in SA as plus

By KEITH ROSS

EAST LONDON — The diversities of South Africa had to be seen not as a threat but as a creative force, the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, Mr David Curry, said here today.

Mr Curry told the annual congress of the Association of Management Committees that South Africans of all races belonged together.

The Government's statement on common citizenship for all was an admission of this.

"Because we have taken the decision that we belong together, it immediately becomes possible to accommodate diversity."

He added: "In the old days diversity was a mutual threat. Now we can see it as a creative diversity by which all will make a unique contribu-

tion to the whole." Mr Curry said regional services councils would bring coloured people in at the grassroots level of government.

"I don't believe for one minute that any of us need justify to anyone else our decision years ago to involve ourselves in the management committee system. I reject that stance and I refuse to be placed on the defensive."

"But what I say now is that the decision years ago is bearing fruit."

Mr Curry called on the private sector to get involved in solving the coloured housing problem.

"We have vast unemployment in South Africa at present. We have an enormous housing backlog. Ironically, building products such as bricks and cement are in plentiful supply."

"This sounds to me like a great opportunity."

# UDF denies alliance invite

By BARRY STREEK

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) was not invited to last weekend's discussions in Johannesburg about the formation of a convention alliance, Mr Trevor Manuel, a UDF executive member who is in hiding, said yesterday.

He also said that talk of a settlement through a national convention in the absence of the most basic civil rights, such as the unbanning of individuals and organizations and the release of political prisoners, seemed to be creating "another cul-de-sac".

But, he said in an interview, "the kind of bloodshed we have seen in our streets surely cannot continue."

"At some point we will have to sit down and honestly try to determine by the greatest participation of the individuals concerned the future of South Africa."

"So, some form of talk, with basic preconditions, is the kind of option that we see at a given point of time."

## Inkatha

Mr Manuel said the alliance "seems to be an attempt to move middle ground elements into the gaps created by the State repression of UDF elements".

The composition of the alliance was so wide that he did not know how long these elements were going to find common ground "especially in the situation of Natal where the kinds of atrocities by Inkatha are increasing on a daily basis. Sooner or later that dam wall is going to break".

The UDF had a number of difficulties with the alliance, including the absence of basic civil rights and that the people at the meeting were not accountable to any base as they had attended as individuals.

What existed now was not very different from President P. W. Botha's call for reforms.

"It's all from the top. For as long as people try to impose solutions on the masses of our people, so long will our country be taken on a collision course," said Mr Manuel.

● Soweto civic 'no' to convention, page 2



# PFPP urges conference on economy

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

The private sector has been urged to convene a conference to discuss how economic stability could be restored to South Africa.

Mr Harry Schwarz MP, the Progressive Federal Party's chief spokesman on finance, made the call in reaction to the package the Government announced last week to temporarily boost economic growth and job creation.

He said the nature of the package announced by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, showed that the Government had reversed its economic policy and had accepted the importance of job creation.

"The Government's package is too little too late and it deals with the problem that it created itself, that is the destruction of jobs which resulted from its recent economic policies," said Mr Schwarz.

He added that there had to be a massive job creation effort to get people off the streets and back on to the factory floor.

## MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR

Unemployment was a major contributor to unrest and instability.

The creation of jobs would greatly improve the situation which, in turn, would lead to the restoration of local and foreign confidence and investment in the economy.

Mr Schwarz called on the Government to consider tax incentives for those firms which created jobs.

There was little point in giving tax relief to the high income earners if the country remained unstable because of unemployment.

Any surplus revenue earned by the State should be channelled first into restoring stability.

The private sector could also play a major role in this regard and could begin by holding a conference to see what it could do to create jobs, restore economic stability and bring about a climate of confidence, he said.

# Local bodies to get more power

EAST LONDON — Management committees were to get wider powers and any power, function or duty of a local authority could be transferred to them, the director of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Len Dekker, said yesterday.

Management committees had been invested with corporate personalities to make it possible to invest them with rights and obligations.

"This means a management committee can raise a loan as a juristic body," Mr Dekker said.

Mr Dekker outlined five Acts which formed the basis of the new local government dispensation: 25/09/85

The Co-ordination of Local Government Act which essentially brought blacks into the decision-making process;

The Local Government Training Act which will train people for roles in local government;

The Constitutional Affairs Amendment Act which basically postponed all elections until 1988 to establish uniformity throughout the country;

The Local Affairs Amendment Act which provided for Demarcation Boards and to give additional powers to management committees; and

The Regional Services Councils Act to provide joint services.

Mr Dekker said that, at the last Assomac conference, it had been said that some management committees had come of age but still could not take decisions.

"Mr Curry raised the point that some management committees could not even decide where a stop sign should be erected. It was then decided that management committees had to have the final say."



Police

PFP

to meet

DISPATCH  
25/09/81

CAPE TOWN — The PFP committee monitoring police action in the townships will bring allegations about Guguletu residents before the police this week.

The regional director of the PFP, Mr Paul Vorwerk, said a meeting yesterday between the delegation and Col Nick Acker, who is investigating complaints about police conduct, had been postponed.

Other matters the PFP will raise are alleged assaults by Zulu policemen on Valhalla Park and Elsies River residents. — Sapa



Chatting at yesterday's Assomac meeting were the leader of the Labour Party and cabinet minister, the Rev Allan Hendrickse (left), and the vice-president of Assomac, Mr F. L. Erasmus.

## Integrity of boycotters is questioned

DISPATCH

25/09/85

EAST LONDON — Extraparliamentary forces — especially the United Democratic Front — came in for some side swipes at the Assomac conference here yesterday.

Dealing with non-racialism in schools, the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said there was a ridiculous situation where not a single school had applied for the facility made available for a vernacular language to be included in the curriculum.

"There is a ridiculous situation of people who want to be seen and heard as revolutionaries. Not a single application has been made. These are the people who advocate boycotts and marches. We question their integrity."

He said the House of Representatives was deciding its own affairs and was taking affirmative action at upliftment.

"We are considering centralisation of farm schools to eliminate the situation where the farmer builds the school and collects rent while his wife is given the post of principal because he did not build a house for the principal."

They would take affirmative action by getting "our own people" to build schools instead of the Department of Works.

"These things are attained through participation and not boycotts," he said.

The Minister of Local government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, Mr David Curry, castigated those who played "bang-broek" politics.

"They want change and they don't want to negotiate. The reform has been achieved through us 'stooges'," he said.

Mr Curry also referred to hypocrisy in things such as the consumer boycott and referred to the "long queues at a white supermarket in Ravensmead because bread rolls were 63c a dozen".

The director of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Len Dekker, referred to the "United Demolition Front" and said all the changes in the local government bills had been achieved through participation.

"It is your ministers and MPs who brought about the changes," he said.



# 'Alliance' has long and tricky road to march

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

25/9/85

304A

STAR

The National Convention Alliance which was launched in principle last weekend will have to tread warily on South Africa's political minefield if it is to succeed in becoming a mass movement.

For the moment it has claimed a foothold on the truly middle ground of the country's political landscape and it will have to work hard to broaden its position.

If it is to succeed in bridging the deepening divide between what Dr van Zyl Slabbert has called repression and revolution, it will have to draw in more groups to both the Left and the Right.

To this end a dilemma for the alliance is the extent to which it should voice opinions on such controversial issues as the release of political prisoners and the plight of people in black townships.

If the alliance is to succeed then it will have to try to avoid major confrontations between its members. It will have to encourage more people who detest each other politically to join. The more it broadens itself over the middle ground, bridging the gap between the two extremes, the more difficult this is going to be.

Opening Saturday's meeting, Dr Slabbert set out for the 150 or so people present what a convention



Dr van Zyl Slabbert



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

tion, movement or individual who wished to subscribe to the above commitment.

● It was not a ganging up or protest movement against the Government, but it demonstrated a positive alternative to violence and confrontation.

Dr Slabbert said that the alliance could achieve its objectives by facilitating communication between its members on a nation-wide basis. In this way misunderstandings could be cleared up and collective attitudes and joint strategies on current issues and future events could be es-

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who with Dr Slabbert made the original call for the convention alliance, said that a convention would fail if people such as Nelson Mandela, P W Botha and Andries Treurnicht were excluded from it.

A national convention would not be a national convention unless it was a convention of national reconciliation, he said.

While accepting Dr Slabbert's minimal points of agreement (the commitment to one constitution, based on one citizenship in one country), Chief Buthelezi said that if the alliance was to get off the ground politically, and if it was going to be more than just something that the National Party joked about, then the basis of the agree-

The ensuing debate was behind closed doors to allow people to speak freely. It soon became apparent, however, that a substantial percentage of those present were hesitant to be part of an alliance until they knew where it would stand politically.

As a compromise, the meeting eventually opted to form the alliance in principle and it appointed a steering committee to investigate and report back on this as soon as possible.

Some made the point that the Government should be the primary instrument in calling for a national convention.

For that reason the alliance had to be careful not to insist on those things that would be interpreted as totally unrealistic by the Government. The release of all political prisoners, for example, would antagonise the Government and would therefore be asking for too much.

The opposing view was that a national convention could be viable only if everyone was in a position to take part. The alliance therefore had to do all it could to persuade the Government to release all political prisoners and to unban political organisations.

Another viewpoint was that if the Government was not going to take notice of the alliance, because the alliance had not stamped hard and firmly on its toes, then there was no point in having an alliance.

Said another delegate: "The best thing we can do is support the principle of getting off the ground. Then we must persuade people that this is

**Its objectives are to bring about in the shortest time possible the complete dismantling of apartheid. — Dr van Zyl Slabbert.**

alliance was not and what it did not do.

● It was not a national convention.

● It was not a political party.

● It did not prescribe any single political policy; set of constitutional principles or any one particular strategy.

● It did not compromise any organisation, movement or individual in terms of their respective goals, functions or leaders, except insofar as they were committed to the objectives of the alliance.

These objectives were to bring about by non-violent means and in the shortest time possible the complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation through a national convention of one constitution based on one citizenship in one country.

● It did not exclude any organisa-

tablished.

It could also structure constitutional debate and allow its member organisations to discuss the differences that existed between them in order to establish common ground.

Other actions of the alliance, Dr Slabbert envisaged, were:

● The organisation of rallies and nationwide petitions either to encourage or discourage Government on a particular course of action.

● The splitting into regions of its activities.

● The setting up of a "Convention Hall" in Cape Town that would sit when Parliament did, and discuss the same agenda as Parliament.

● Providing the country and the outside world with systematic, well thought-out agendas on how apartheid could be dismantled as quickly as possible.

In his opening remarks, Chief

**A national convention which excludes the likes of Nelson Mandela, P W Botha and Andries Treurnicht, will fail — Chief Buthelezi.**

ment in its ranks needed to be broadened.

To this end, he tabled Inkatha's Statement of Belief and Declaration of Intent, principles which he said were not prescriptive but which he believed could make a contribution to reconciliation.

In his prepared speech, Chief Buthelezi said he did not see the alliance as a committee of leaders.

"I see this alliance as possibly heralding a movement of constituencies towards each other, and I see it as a forum in which we can demonstrate to supporters of the National Party just how possible it is to work for deepening agreement through negotiation," he said.

a middle-ground opportunity worthy of support. We must get something tangible going so that we can hold a rally at Ellis Park and aim at drawing some 17 000 people together to call for a national convention," he said.

He added that the alliance was no hijacking operation, nor was it just another front. It was the active middle ground trying to give the real alternative to the Government, reflecting the concern and the need to do something felt these days by the vast majority of South Africans.

*Allister Sparks' regular monthly column, "My View", will appear tomorrow.*



# PW pressed to respond to businessmen

By Michael Chester

The State President, Mr P W Botha, was urged today to show a "positive and constructive" response to the growing involvement of big business in pressing for faster reform.

The plea came from Dr Zac de Beer, an executive director of Anglo American Corporation. He is also a prime mover behind the proposed National Convention Alliance, which is intended to broaden the platform of debate.

Dr de Beer was among a number of top business leaders who voiced enthusiasm over the arrival in Britain of a powerful delegation from the private sector trying to persuade overseas countries against punitive sanctions, and instead show more support for negotiation.

"The increasing activity of the private sector in pushing for reforms is an excellent sign," he said.

## NO PROPER CONTROL

"What becomes crucial now is the response from the Government when it sees that big business is in earnest.

"One can only hope that the State President will be positive and constructive about it all and not be querulous or petulant, which he tends to be on occasion.

"With few exceptions, everybody in business is thoroughly fed up with the way the Government has bungled everything so far — running in circles and with no proper control.

"It's vital that the Government sits down now with black and brown leaders to talk about the future.

"The Convention Alliance has created a steering committee to decide which way to go. The direction it chooses will be crucially important."

● See Page 13.



# Full-scale war looms for SA Warning

WASHINGTON — Southern Africa is on the brink of a full-scale war, the United States has been warned.

South African forces are fighting both Soviet and Cuban forces.

Two special envoys, David Stewart and Leslie Manley, flew urgently to Washington from Pretoria with the warning.

They told senior State

## Special Correspondent

Department officials that the arrival of massive new supplies of Soviet military equipment for the Marxist government of neighbouring Angola was forcing South Africa to prepare to defend itself with a major military campaign.

The envoys said that the balance of power in

southern Africa had been tipped by the arrival of 23 Modern MIG 23 fighter planes, 17 MIG 21s, 10 MIG 17, SU22 bombers and 25 helicopter gunships.

Diplomats fear the heavy arms build-up is a deliberate attempt by Moscow to intervene in the growing crisis that now divides South Africa from the West.

It poses an acute dilemma for President

Reagan. In principle he is certain to share Pretoria's alarm at the possibility of a major new Soviet incursion in southern Africa.

## Tanks

But any active intervention at a time when pressures from Congress have forced him to take limited sanctions against President Botha's government is unthinkable.

Meanwhile Moscow

looks poised to destroy the only pro-Western Guerilla movement in Africa.

On Tuesday night it looked as though Dr Jonas Savimbi's UNITA forces were under heavy attack by Soviet supplied tanks and armoured cars.

Savimbi claims his logistical base at Liguana in south-east Angola has come under air attack and that the Angolans

were using Napalm against his forces.

This new Soviet build-up has tipped the scales against Savimbi's forces who until six months ago held the upperhand in Angola.

## Bomb

Pretoria has declared plans to destroy as many of these weapons as possible which would mean

air clashes between South Africa and Russia and Cuba.

The South African Air Force is also preparing to bomb the airbase at Lubango, defended by Russian missiles.

A White House aide said on Tuesday night: "The situation in the whole of southern Africa is under-box." — SOWETAN Correspondent.

# The only valid deal is with real black leaders

304A STAR 26/9/85

*For a year the townships burned, died, but the sound and fury of it failed to penetrate the tranquility of white suburbia.*

We have learnt a few home truths about our country over the past month.

The argument we have been using for years that sanctions would be ineffective against South Africa, because our economy was so strong we would not feel them, has been blown away by a whiff of bankers' ire.

A simple decision by a few American banks not to renew this country's short-term loans triggered a financial crisis that has changed the whole political outlook. Now we know that in fact South Africa's economy is extremely vulnerable to sanctions.

The other argument we have used against sanctions, that they would hit the blacks hardest while hardly hurting the whites at all, has likewise been revealed as fallacious.

One didn't hear many cries of distress coming from Soweto or the other day when the rand crashed to 34 US cents and the Government froze foreign debt repayments and reimposed exchange controls. But the reaction from the other side of the apartheid track suggests that for all its vaunted resilience, white South Africa, spoiled by years of affluence and privilege, has a very low threshold of tolerance of economic pain.

Blacks knew this all along, which is why so few of them used the argument. They may not know as much as their white bosses about economics, but they have known with the instinct of every underdog that when you are at the bottom of the heap you don't have as far to fall as the guys at the top.

The discovery of these truths may be uncomfortable, but they have awakened white South Africa to a new awareness of reality. For a year the townships burned, died, but the sound and fury of it failed to

penetrate to the tranquility of white suburbia.

Aided by our truncated television coverage, the people who hold exclusive political power in this country had no sense of proximity to a crisis that was traumatising the lives of millions of their black countrymen. Their awareness of it was remote, like something happening in another country, and so they failed to respond as people holding power must if the country is to deal with its crisis.

I caught the spirit of this white insularity standing in a queue at Kennedy airport the other day. A South African was taking his leave of some American friends who were expressing their concern about what he would find when he got home. "Come and see for yourselves," the traveller reassured them. "If you see any violence, I'll refund you your money."

Of course they won't see any violence. The violence is out of sight in New Brighton, Zwile, Kwasekele, Kwanobohle, Umlazi, Lamontville, Mdantsane, Soweto, Guguletu, Daveyton, Tsakane, Duduza, Atteridgeville and Mamelodi. And because it is out of sight it is also out of mind to the man in that airport queue.

The insularity has operated at more serious levels, too. Six weeks ago the editor of the *Sunday Times* wrote a scornful article suggesting that foreign correspondents were sending out exaggerated reports, creating a mistaken perception abroad of a country in crisis.

"Do foreign newspapers and TV stations, and one's friends who are informed by them, know something about your country that you don't," he asked.

The answer was, yes. But since then the economic crisis seems to have concentrated the perceptions

## MY VIEW



Allister Sparks

of this particular editor, as it has of other white South Africans, sending him off the other day to talk to the ANC.

Now that a more direct sense of the crisis has got through to the whites, one must hope they will begin to respond with clarity and vigour.

The Convention Alliance launched by Dr van Zyl Slabbert last weekend was an encouraging start. A civil war has begun, and although there may be lulls in the action it will not end until a peace settlement is negotiated between the accepted leaders of the major race groups.

But let us not fool ourselves, as the Rhodesians did with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, that we can do a deal with some chosen "moderates".

We may like what such people say, but they don't have influence over the angry blacks who are the driving force behind the township rebellion. Therefore they cannot end it, just as Muzorewa couldn't end Rhodesia's guerilla war.

Like it or not, the organisation which has that influence is the ANC. It may not have much of an internal organisation, and I suspect it has little control over what actually happens in the townships, but there can be no doubt it has the hearts and minds of the politically awakened masses there. There can be no viable deal that excludes it.



# 'Ruthless oppression is SA's only initiative'

NEW YORK — President Samora Machel of Mozambique yesterday assailed South Africa as "a land of massacre, a society of terror" and accused it of breaking the accord not to back dissidents fighting his government.

The Mozambican leader, who signed the pact with South Africa's State President, Mr P W Botha, in March 1984, told the UN General Assembly that ruthless oppression was now the sole initiative of the Pretoria Government.

Despite the accord, there was irrefutable evidence of grave and systematic violations by South Africa and of its continued involvement in recruiting, training, organising, financing and providing leadership and logistic support to the "armed bandits".

"It has thus become more clear that South Africa is not fulfilling the accord," Mr Machel said.

Concerning South Africa, he called for "a process of negotiations between the government and the legitimate representatives of the South African people, taking as a starting point the release of



President Machel ... "SA is not fulfilling the accord".

Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, with a view to abolishing apartheid and restoring political rights to the entire South African peoples, regardless of race."

Mandela, leader of the banned African National Congress, has been jailed for 23 years. In poor health, he has been the object of repeated appeals for his release.

Mr Machel said any attempt at dialogue with individuals who did not represent their people would prolong what he termed South

Africa's present agony. He appealed to the West, with which the SA authorities identified their government and culture, to use its influence and bring pressure on the South African Government "to accept without any delay and equivocation this process of negotiation".

Turning to Namibia, he said the demand that Cuban troops in Angola be withdrawn as a condition for Namibian independence from South Africa was "as absurd as it is irrelevant".

Mr Machel said the General Assembly must "categorically reject and condemn the dilatory manoeuvres aimed at perpetuating South Africa's illegal occupation and domination of Namibia".

He said apartheid, like Nazism, tried to export its conflicts abroad through destabilisation and aggression, and every country in southern Africa suffered from Pretoria's belligerency.

"The Pretoria regime wages constant war against the examples of free and just societies that we represent," Mr Machel said. — Sapa-Reuter.

# 'Political signals' suggested

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

26/9/85 304A  
BONN — The best contribution Europe could make towards overcoming apartheid was through "political signals", a delegation of South African businessmen told a Press conference here. **STAR**

The delegation, representing the Association of Chambers of Commerce and the Afrikaans Handelsinstituut, made it clear that it opposed economic sanctions.

It met members of the West German Federation of Industry and Trade yesterday, and also saw trade union and church leaders.

Mr Billy Yeowart of Nedbank said the group was telling Europeans that the business community in South Africa was "trying to help in the process of creating a negotiating area".

"We also told them that to put more heat on the economy will be unhelpful to the process of political reform, which needs an underpinning."

The group will have talks in Paris on Friday, in The Hague on Monday and will be in Brussels on Tuesday and Wednesday.

● See Page 13.



# Dr Boraine 'encouraged' by UDF view

By BARRY STREEK

THE United Democratic Front viewpoint that the bloodshed had to stop and that somehow people had to talk to each other, was greatly encouraging, the chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's federal council, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

Because so many UDF leaders were in jail or in hiding it had been "very

difficult" to make contact with every UDF formation to discuss the possible establishment of a convention alliance, he said.

Dr Boraine reacted in a statement to a story in yesterday's Cape Times in which Mr Trevor Manuel, a member of the UDF executive, said the UDF had not been invited to the meeting in Johannesburg last weekend in which the formation of a convention alliance had been discussed.

He said: "I am greatly encouraged by the statement by Mr Manuel.

"The reason for my encouragement is his acknowledgement that the bloodshed must stop, and that somehow and in some way people with conflicting views have got to talk to each other.

"This is one of the major objectives of the convention alliance.

"We are well aware that you cannot exclude anyone and in particular, those who have demonstrated grassroots support, such as the UDF.

## In hiding

"Mr Manuel has made his statement 'in hiding' and that is one of the reasons why it was so very difficult for us to make contact with every formation of the UDF.

"But, I want to stress that discussions were held with Mr Archie Gumede, president of the UDF, and with the Rev Allan Boesak, a patron of the UDF, simply because we could not make contact with so much of the leadership which was either in jail, or banned, or in hiding.

"Finally, we are in complete agreement that it is impossible to hold a genuine national convention without fundamental civil rights being restored, political prisoners being released and banned organizations given the opportunity to participate.

"I hope that normality will return as soon as possible so that people like Mr Manuel and myself and others can meet face to face without fear and with the one objective to resolve the terrifying conflict in South Africa," Dr Boraine said.

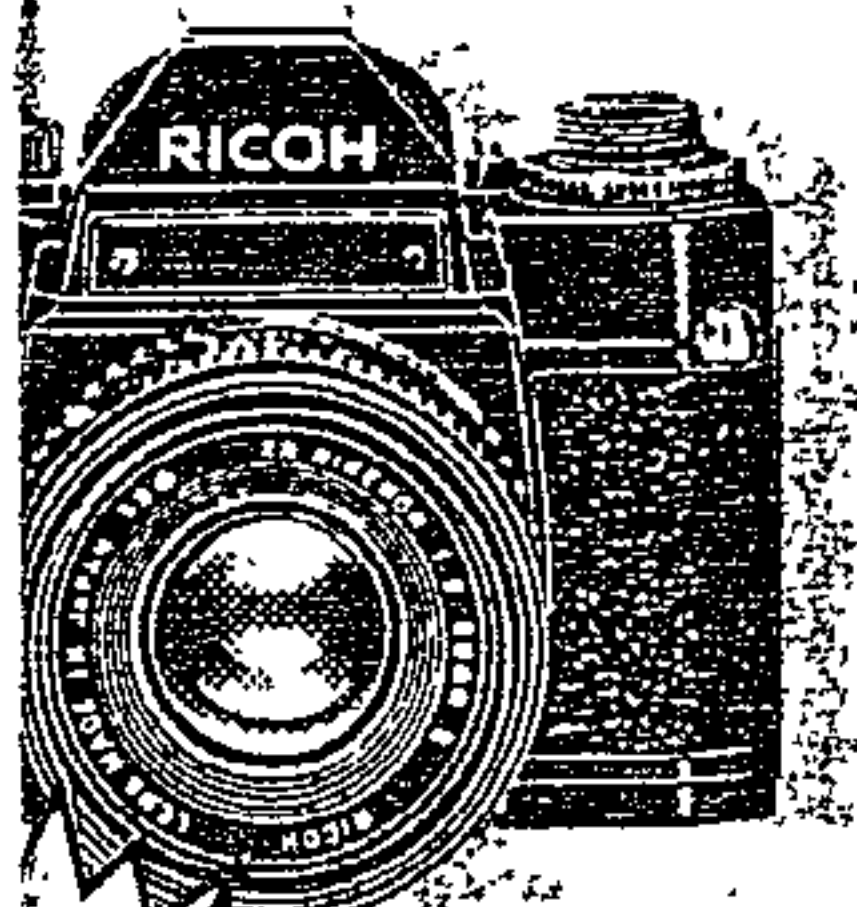


## RICOH AF-5



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**19**

# Call to <sup>STAR</sup> Govt for all-race <sup>30/4/85</sup> forum <sup>DB</sup>

Pretoria Bureau

The Government has been called upon to establish a national all-race forum — with an open agenda — as a solution to the country's problems by the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa's General Assembly.

The assembly also called on the Government to take the initiative in halting the "spiral of violence" by ending the state of emergency and withdrawing extra police and army from the townships.

It said the unrest was politically motivated in that it expressed the "legitimate anger and frustration of an oppressed people" and the politicians should not delay in finding a "just political solution".

26/9/85

## PROTESTED

The assembly also protested "most strongly" against "the uncontrolled and often provocative actions of the police in the townships" and objected to the use of national servicemen in quelling the unrest.

It deplored the Government's attitude to opponents such as the South African Council of Churches and the United Democratic Front, saying a leadership vacuum was being created because potential leaders were being "either destroyed, discredited or distrusted".

The assembly endorsed the recent call that October 9 be set aside as a national day of repentance, mourning and prayer.

It also approved a model "statement of intent" committing the church to fighting apartheid in all forms, working towards human rights and aiding the oppressed.



Cape Times 26/9/85 3084

## Businessmen call for Mandela's release

BONN. — A group of South African businessmen yesterday called on the government to negotiate with black leaders and free-jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela. But the group opposed sanctions against Pretoria.

The delegation, representing many leading companies in the Republic, is touring Europe after giving evidence last week at a United Nations hearing in New York on multinational corporations in South Africa.

A delegation member, Professor Nic Wiehahn, an expert on labour affairs, told a news conference the consensus in business circles was that Mr Mandela should be freed.

Mr Johan van Zyl, chief executive of the Federated Chamber of Industries, said the chamber's members represented by the delega-

tion favoured universal suffrage in South Africa within a federalist system to protect minorities.

Professor Wiehahn said they were against a future unitary system of government as that could lead to what he called "a new form of apartheid". — Sapa-Reuter



## To which extent should it voice opinions on controversial issues?

THE National Convention Alliance which was launched in principle last weekend will have to tread warily on South Africa's political minefield if it is to succeed in becoming a mass movement.

For the moment it has claimed a foothold on the truly middle ground of the country's political landscape and it will have to work hard to broaden its position.

If it is to succeed in bridging the deepening divide between what Dr van Zyl Slabbert has called repression and revolution, it will have to draw in more groups to both the left and the right.

To this end a dilemma for the alliance is the extent to which it should voice opinions on such controversial issues as the release of political prisoners and the plight of people in black townships.

### Meeting

If the alliance is to succeed then it will have to try to avoid major confrontations between its members. It will have to encourage more people who detest each other politically to join. The more it broadens itself over the middle ground, bridging the gap between the two extremes, the more difficult this is going to be.

Opening Saturday's meeting, Dr Slabbert set out for the 150 or so people present what a convention alliance was not and what it did not do.

- It was not a national convention.
- It was not a political party.
- It did not prescribe any single political policy, set of constitutional principles or any one particular strategy.
- It did not compromise any organisation, movement or individual in terms of their respective goals, functions or leaders, except insofar as they were committed to the objectives of the alliance.

These objectives were to bring about by non-violent means and in the shortest time possible the complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation through

# Alliance must tread warily on political minefield to win support



CHIEF BUTHELEZI... KwaZulu leader.

a national convention of one constitution based on one citizenship in one country.

- It did not exclude any organisation, movement or individual who wished to subscribe to the above commitment.
- It was not a ganging up or protest movement against the government, but it demonstrated a positive alternative to violence and confrontation.

### Objectives

Dr Slabbert said that the alliance could achieve its objectives by facilitating communication between its members on a nation-wide basis. In this way misunderstandings could be cleared up and collective attitudes and joint strategies on current issues and future events could be established.

It could also structure constitutional debate and allow its member organisations to discuss the differences that existed between them in order to establish common ground.

Other actions of the alliance, Dr Slabbert envisaged, were:

national reconciliation, he said.

While accepting Dr Slabbert's minimal points of agreement (the commitment to one constitution, based on one citizenship in one country), Chief Buthelezi said that if the alliance was to get off the ground politically, and if it was going to be more than just something that the National Party joked about, then the basis of the agreement in its ranks needed to be broadened.

To this end, he tabled Inkatha's statement of belief and declaration of intent, principles which he said were not prescriptive but which he believed could make a contribution to reconciliation.

In his prepared speech, Chief Buthelezi said he did not see the alliance as a committee of leaders.

"I see this alliance as possibly heralding a movement of constituencies towards each other, and I see it as a forum in which we can demonstrate to supporters of the National Party just how possible it is to work for deepening agreement through negotiation," he said.

### Debate

The ensuing debate was behind closed doors to allow people to speak freely. It soon became apparent, however, that a substantial percentage of those present were hesitant to be part of an alliance until they knew where it would stand politically.

As a compromise, the meeting eventually opted to form the alliance in principle and it appointed a steering committee to investigate and report back on this as soon as possible.

On the one side of the debate were those who felt that if the alliance



SLABBERT: "Nothing new in Botha's proposals".

made "unreasonable although laudable" demands such as the release of all political prisoners the National Party would easily be able to reject them and the movement.

The intention of the convention alliance was surely to put pressure on the government, said one person. The government should therefore also be involved in such an effort. In fact the government should be the primary instrument in calling for a national convention.

For that reason the alliance had to be careful not to insist on those things that would be interpreted as totally unrealistic by the government. The release of all political prisoners, for example, would antagonise the government and would therefore be asking for too much.

The opposing view was that a national convention could be viable only if everyone was in a position to take part. The alliance therefore had to do all it could to persuade the government to release all political prisoners and to unban political organisations.

tions.

An academic said that the alliance could not expect to do more than occupy the middle ground. A national convention was a legal means of change, part of a process of constitutional change and not just a get-together of like-minded people.

The urgency of the South African situation meant that the alliance had to press for a national convention. It could not allow itself to become mixed up with concepts, he said.

### Upset

Another person said that if the government was not going to take notice of the alliance, because the alliance had not stamped hard and firmly on its toes, then there was no point in having an alliance.

One person was upset that nothing had been said about what was happening in the townships. If the alliance was not going to say anything about that then he did not want part of it, he said.

The view was expressed that there had to be an aggressive com-

mitment to the ideals of the alliance, in order to attract people to its cause.

One leader said that most of the people present had always spoken out about violence and the situation in the townships. The problem with the political centre, he said, was that whenever it tried to get together it ran into trouble.

There was a definition and redefinition of position and the problem was trying to agree on how to get there.

"The best thing we can do is support the principle of getting off the ground. Then we must persuade people that this is a middle-ground opportunity worthy of support. We must get something tangible going so that we hold a rally at Ellis Park where we could have 17 000 people coming together to call for a national convention," he said.

He added that the alliance was no hijacking operation, nor was it just another front. It was the active middle ground trying to give the real alternative to the government, reflecting the concern and the need to do something by the vast majority of South Africans.

### Ukwelashwa kwazilo okulula!

Manje sekuyinto elula ukugeda izilo esiswini ngaphandle kokuzila ukudla kumbhe uphuze noma imuphi umuthi. I'RID' umuthi owusubha wezilo onambuthetha okuzithela udayazisa izilo luthi uzi- khophe ziphele nya esiswini. I'RID' itholakala ekhemisi elise- duze nawa, ngentengo eyongayo. I'RID' iphelele ngisho nasezing- aneni ezisencane kakhulu uma! iphuzwanjengoba kyhaliwe. Ref. No. H878 (Act/Wet 101/19) (65)

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## 'We could call a National Convention'



304 A B. Day  
26/9/85

# Homelands here to stay — Heunis

PETER HONEY

THE homelands policy will continue to form part of government's constitutional plans, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis insisted yesterday.

"Whatever the constitutional future of SA, the existence of the self-governing states will be part of the solution," Heunis said at the unveiling in Pretoria of government's final consolidation blueprints for Lebowa, KwaNdebele and Gazankulu.

Government would not force independence on any community or territory, but the governments and people within those "states" had a right to self-determination, he said.

Development and Land Affairs Deputy Minister Ben Wilkens said no resettlements of people were planned for Lebowa and Gazankulu. But a transfer of farms between Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele, which would involve moving "a few dozen families", would have to be negotiated.

The consolidation plans, which

incorporate an extra 256 000ha in the boundaries of the three Transvaal homelands and excise 112 000ha, still have to be approved by Parliament next year.

Heunis said 125 000 people, who would have been resettled in terms of the 1975 plan, would no longer have to move. These involved 110 000 families in Lebowa, 5 000 in Gazankulu and 3 811 in KwaNdebele.

A total of 105 000ha is added to KwaNdebele, almost doubling the size of the homeland, which lies about 100 km north-east of Pretoria. A large portion of the rich farming land of Rust der Winter, excluding the dam, make up part of the area to be added.

The plans transfer to Lebowa a total of 134 308ha, including the Zebediela Estates, leaving the homeland fragmented into two large sections and nine smaller pieces with a corridor around Pietersburg and Potgietersrus.

Gazankulu, whose two main sections lie along the Kruger National Park, acquired an extra 16 720ha, according to the statement.



● HEUNIS



people — exceedingly difficult under the circumstances.

So if the political dynamics don't once and for all confirm the irrelevancy of consolidation, the process is likely to be frustrated indefinitely by the resistance of the communities faced with removal themselves.

Whether government has any hope of seeing the boundaries of the national states firmly in place by its set date of March 1987 is a moot point. Tempel won't be drawn. He merely says: "We've got a job to do. What the future will bring is open to speculation. I don't want to commit myself to that."

## METAL INDUSTRY

### Mawu showdown

The Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) is heading for a major confrontation with metal industry employers over the issue of plant-level bargaining. The move comes after the vast majority of the 100 metal companies who had been sent letters asking them to spell out their attitude towards plant-level bargaining rejected Mawu's demand for such negotiations.

For years now the merits of bargaining at plant level as against industry-wide bargaining at industrial councils has been a hotly

GEC, are only prepared to negotiate at plant level if Mawu agrees to joint negotiations with other unions which have members in their plants. Others, like Barlow Rand subsidiaries, want Mawu to sign a procedural agreement before they will agree to negotiating at plant level.

Mawu's Transvaal branch secretary, Moses Mayekiso, says the union has declared disputes with companies that fall into the first two categories. He also says the union has informed the industrial council about the disputes. If the council does not manage to resolve the disputes within 30 days, workers at those plants will be entitled to strike legally. Says Mayekiso: "We want unconditional plant-level bargaining, accompanied by preparedness to negotiate fairly."

The declaration of the disputes is a sign of increased union militancy and raises the possibility of widespread disruption in the metal industry. How are metal employers reacting to the threat?

Seifsa director Sam van Coller says the federation is aware that the disputes have been declared but refuses to make any further comment. A leading Seifsa member, however, was prepared to offer an opinion. "It doesn't seem to me that Mawu members are geared for national strike action. But the union may zero in on individual companies. Multinationals and some large SA-owned companies may be targeted," he says.

One way or the other it seems that the metal industry is in for a torrid time in the coming weeks.

## CONVENTION ALLIANCE

### A cautious start

There were no great expectations from the fledgling Convention Alliance's tentative first meeting, held in the Sandton Sun hotel last Saturday. It was, as the PFP organisers explained from the outset, exploratory; to see if there is a need for such an alliance of the political middle ground and to work out an agenda for it (*Current affairs* September

20).

A formal decision to launch the alliance was duly taken and a provisional steering committee chosen by the 150 or more delegates. The committee, which is to meet early next week, sees as its first priority the need to broaden its base of representation. It will then start formulating a plan of action which is expected to be unveiled shortly.

The 10-member steering committee is made up of its convener Jules Browde, a distinguished lawyer who is also chairman of the Lawyers for Human Rights; the PFP's Colin Eglin and Alex Boraine; Inkatha's Oscar Dhlomo; businessman Raymond Ackerman; the Black Sash's Joyce Harris; the NGK's Professor David Bosch; the Rev Stanley Magoba; Natal University's Professor Denys Schreiner, who was chief author of the Buthelezi Commission report; and Tony Ardington.

The major drawback of the alliance at this stage is obviously the (expected) stayaway of the most important parties to the conflict — government representatives as well as, for example, the UDF from the opposite end of the spectrum. The incarceration of the UDF leadership of course hampers any chances of the organisation participating.

And if the presence of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha might make the UDF hold back, the alliance organisers point out that a start nevertheless has to be made somewhere if the eventual goal, a national convention, is to be realised. There was no significant Afrikaner business presence at the alliance meeting, but enough Afrikaner academics. Bishop Desmond Tutu, who did not attend, at least sent a message of goodwill. Other important clerics, like UDF patrons the Rev Beyers Naude and Allan Boesak, did not attend.

Certainly Browde is aware that it is "very important to try to persuade government and the UDF to take part." He is also aware of the difficulties which lie ahead due to deep suspicions that prevail. But Browde is bullish about the need to develop a "third force" to negotiate fundamental change in SA and says there has been an "extraordinary re-

### Alliance sponsors Buthelezi and Slabbert ... taking a low profile



sponse" in favour of it by the many who oppose both repressive and revolutionary violence.

PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, a prime mover of the convention alliance, opened the proceedings. He explained that the alliance is not a national convention nor a political party prescribing any single policy or strategy. For this reason Slabbert and his alliance co-sponsor Buthelezi are taking a low profile, although the absence of strong leadership figures at the helm may then be a drawback.

The objectives of the alliance, Slabbert explained, are "to bring about by non-violent means and in the shortest time possible the complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation through a national convention of one constitution based on one citizenship in one country."

He suggested the alliance's objectives could be achieved by, among others:

- ☐ Setting up a secretariat to co-ordinate alliance activities;
- ☐ Facilitating communication between members to establish common attitudes and joint strategies on current issues and future events;
- ☐ Structuring constitutional debate to find common ground;
- ☐ Organising rallies and nationwide petitions to either encourage or discourage government on a particular course of action; and
- ☐ Possibly setting up a convention hall in Cape Town to sit when Parliament does and to discuss the same agenda as Parliament.



# Botha tells world: Stop interfering

300A 27/9/83

**NEW YORK.** — President P W Botha yesterday warned United States businessmen that there would be a "backlash" if the international community continued its "unnecessary interference".

In an exclusive interview published yesterday by Business Week, a leading American economic and business publication, Mr Botha said "sanctions cannot wreck us" and warned: "If the international world pushes us too far, and if they don't stop their unnecessary interference, there will be a backlash."

At the same time Mr Botha said South Africa needed foreign investment to develop "to its greatest capacity."

## 'Folly'

Mr Botha was interviewed on September 19 at the Union Buildings in Pretoria by Mr Jonathan Kapstein, Business Week's regional bureau chief in Brussels who formerly was based in Johannesburg.

Asked about current US pressures on South Africa, Mr Botha said: "I know of prominent American business and financial leaders who would like to stay here, and they think this pressure and US sanctions is a march of folly."

On the question of one man, one vote, he said: "One man, one vote will not work in South Africa but the principle of one man, one vote can be applied in a different way and in different structures."

## Influx control

Mr Botha denied any plans to abolish the whole system of influx controls. "We must have controls," he said. "You cannot allow every man just to go and squat where he wants to squat."

However, he said the next session of Parliament would formulate



Mr P W Botha



Dr Chester Crocker

legislation to reform the influx control system. He said he believed economic decentralization would relieve some of the pressure on congested urban areas.

Discussing the prospects for negotiation, Mr Botha once again ruled out dealing with the African National Congress or releasing Nelson Mandela unless violence was renounced.

He justified the recent raid into Botswana and responded to criticism of what the US describes as a South African commando raid on oil installations at Cabinda by saying: "We have our criticism of the US too as far as Cabinda is concerned. I wonder to what extent the Cubans are being financed by way of the income through Cabinda?"

The influential US magazine took a gloomy view of the interview in an accompanying article, which said: "President P W Botha, captive of his ideology and his ruling National Party, has apparently decided to reject a chance to capture the fast-diminishing

common ground for negotiation about South Africa's future."

Mr Kapstein, who interviewed Mr Botha two years ago, said he believed the State President wanted to project an image of strength.

He said Mr Botha had made all his points clearly and forcefully, insisting that his own pace of reform was valid.

Mr Kapstein said he believed Mr Botha had granted an interview to Business Week because he wanted to get the notion of South African self-reliance across to the decision-making community that reads the magazine.

Business Week has 860 000 subscribers and an estimated 5-million weekly readers.

Meanwhile, Austria yesterday announced economic and cultural sanctions against South Africa, including halting investments by State-owned firms, banning imports of Kruger rand coins and suspending sports contacts.

A statement from the office of the Chancellor, Mr Fred Sinowatz, said

Austria was conforming to United Nations Security Council resolutions calling for action against South Africa.

● US Congressional sources yesterday said President Ronald Reagan's administration had formally decided to ban the importation of Kruger rands as part of a package of sanctions against South Africa.

However, the architect of US policy in Southern Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, yesterday ruled out economic sanctions against Pretoria and accused some European countries of substituting moral indignation for diplomacy.

Dr Crocker told reporters in Paris that President Reagan's decision to impose selective sanctions earlier this month was designed as a political signal and marked no change in basic policy.

"The president has no intention of adopting measures that would hurt or damage the South African economy or the prospects for economic growth," he said.

## 'Sanctimonious'

Dr Crocker said the measures represented no move away from the policy of constructive engagement and accused unnamed European countries of criticizing the policy without giving alternatives.

"Should we wash our hands in sanctimonious disgust and walk away from Southern Africa and give speeches in New York the way certain countries in Europe do and do nothing else but feel sanctimonious?" he asked. — Sapa-Reuter-AP



# P.W. fires both STAX barrels at US

NEW YORK — The State President, Mr P.W. Botha, today warned the American business community sanctions could not wreck South Africa and there would be a "backlash" if the international world continued its "unnecessary interference".

In an exclusive interview with *Business Week*, a leading American economic and business publication, Mr Botha fired a double-barreled blast into the American business community, warning "sanctions cannot wreck us" and "if the international world pushes us too far, and if they don't stop their unnecessary interference there will be a backlash".

At the same time the State President said South Africa needed foreign investment to develop to its greatest capacity.

## PRESSURES

The interview with Mr Botha appeared in a lengthy question-and-answer format in today's issue of the American publication.

The State President was interviewed by Jonathan Kapstein, *Business Week*'s regional bureau chief in Brussels who formerly was Africa bureau chief based in Johannesburg.

Among other highlights of the interview were:

- On US pressures on South Africa, Mr Botha said, "I know of prominent American business and financial leaders who ... would like to stay here, and they think this pressure and US sanctions is a march of folly."

- On the question of one man, one vote, he said, "One-man, one-vote will not work in South Africa but the principle of one-man, one-vote can be applied in a different way and in different structures."

## CONFIDENCE

The State President also rejected any suggestion from elsewhere in South Africa that he step down, saying: "I am in the hands of those who elected me."

As long as I have the confidence of people and they call upon me to stay, surely I will stay.

The wide-ranging interview took place on September 19 in Pretoria. Kapstein believed the State President selected *Business Week* from among the 1,000 interview requests on his desk because he wanted to get the notion of South African self-reliance across to the decision-making community that reads the magazine.

*Business Week* has 660,000 subscribers and an estimated five million weekly readers. — Sapa.





Olsen... the information industry is exploding.

alleled only by Vietnam."

He spent 13 years abroad during his 17 years with Sperry, three in SA and 10 in Europe. Prior to his appointment in SA, he was responsible for Sperry's new business development in Latin America and the Pacific Basin. He also spent time in Paris, Rome, Vienna and Stockholm, where he was responsible for computerising the city's car registry system. During a stint in Copenhagen, he was responsible for all Sperry's interests at Scandinavian Airlines, one of its largest clients in the world.

Olsen, who holds a masters degree in information science from Washington State University, believes there is a logical link between the business of credit information and his former field, computers. "The information industry is in the process of exploding," he explains. "To survive, you must be computerised — otherwise you'll die."

"I think D & B wanted to infuse the company with computer expertise so it could make the transition rapidly. Computerisation is like pulling a piece of spaghetti from a kettle. You always think you're near the end and never reach it."

"D & B's business foundation is credit information, but today we think of ourselves as a business information company. The nucleus of our South African business is credit information — an area unique to this country and Australia — but we've become a business information service. The information revolution will have tremendous impact on business life and I expect D & B to play a major role."

In SA alone, D & B deals with 2m-2,5m

consumer credit inquiries a year and probably about 150 000 business inquiries.

At the moment, the consumer credit and business information divisions operate by clients phoning in for information which an operator sitting in front of a terminal supplies.

"We're now installing terminals in our business information clients' offices which will enable them to call up information on their own terminals. Next year, we'll be offering the same service to consumer credit clients," he says.

Last year D & B's worldwide sales were \$3,5 billion with the SA operation contributing R14m. D & B was established in SA in 1901 and has 17 branch offices. It is the seventh largest subsidiary of the international division in terms of turnover.

"Many people think our business thrives on adversity but it doesn't," Olsen says. "Only a part of our business has to do with debt collection, which obviously rises in bad times. But the bulk of our business, about 60%, is concerned with consumer credit and obviously when the economy is bad, people don't buy."

A new area for D & B is small business. Even a local chemist or corner shop can become a client by paying an initial R50 subscription and a nominal sum for every inquiry thereafter. But Olsen adds information is privileged and not available to the general public. Though he admits there has been pressure in the US from the disinvestment movement, Olsen believes the company is in SA to stay and he is certainly bent on enjoying his next three years here. ■

**DRIES OOSTHUIZEN**

27/9/85

## Changing the system

Dr Dries Oosthuizen is chairman of the President's Council Constitutional Affairs Committee, which first met to consider the future of influx control on April 24. Only four months later, they decided by 17 votes to one that there was no way to improve the hated system. Influx control must be scrapped, was the consensus. Only the Conservative Party's Connie Mulder disagreed.

Oosthuizen, a specialist in urban geography and director of the Rand Afrikaans University's Institute of Urban Strategy for more than 10 years, could hardly have been given a more suitable brief. He was seconded to the old President's Council in November 1982 and appointed chairman of the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the new council late last year.

He's extremely pleased with the way his committee approached its task. "We were largely able to rise above party politics and look at the practical problems and consider necessary changes," he says.

Oosthuizen is heartened by the overwhelmingly positive response to his report, but cautions that it is not a "wonder packet" that will solve all the country's problems. "I think we can achieve far more through orderly urbanisation than influx control," he says.

He declines to be drawn on his committee's next major task — consideration of the Group Areas Act and related legislation.

That report is likely to be ready only some time next year. But it is already being widely speculated that if influx control can be thrown out of the window, then Group Areas must follow, not to mention laws governing separate amenities. But Oosthuizen points out that the Group Areas Act is a far more complex question than influx control.

### Expectations

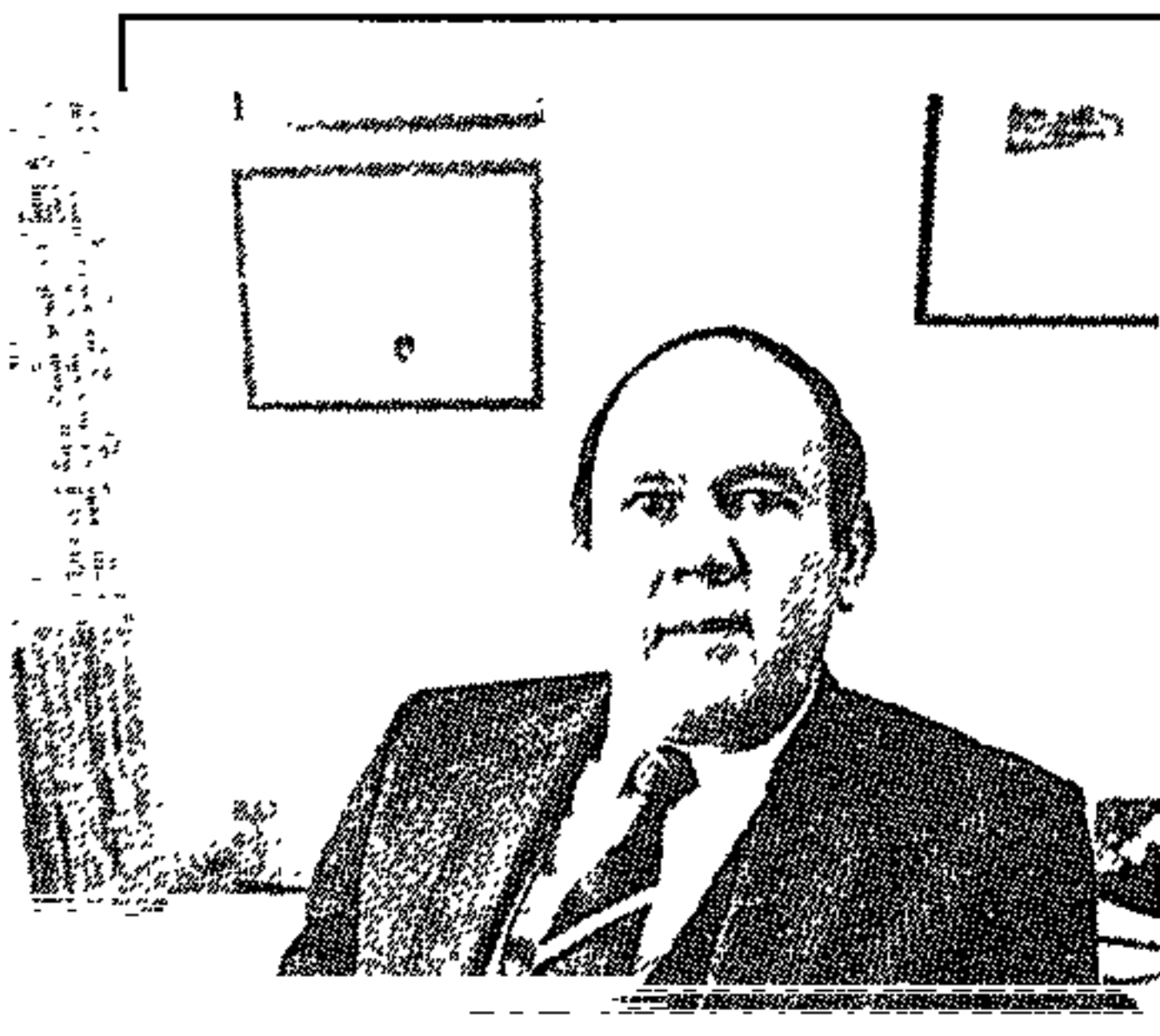
"Obviously expectations are that we'll have to make major adaptations, but I don't think at this stage I can say how, or what they'll be. We'll have to weigh up the positive and negative elements. We'll have to look at the interests of the individual as opposed to the group. Not all our decisions will be popular," he says.

There will have to be some "flexibility" in whatever approach is eventually adopted. But Oosthuizen doesn't see a direct link between influx control and the Group Areas Act. "The one measure has to do with the movement of people and the other with settlement," he says.

He enjoys his work on the council though it means commuting weekly between his home in Johannesburg and Cape Town, where his committee meets. In between council work, he devotes time to Market Research Africa, of which he is a director.

Oosthuizen believes the council's role is relevant to SA's political situation: "I see the President's Council as a real factor in inves-





Town as a trainee. In 1954 he made the decision which put him on course for the rest of his career. He joined Price Forbes in Cape Town.

Moving from Durban to Johannesburg to Cape Town to Johannesburg, he progressed steadily in the world of insurance broking. By 1978, he was PFV's deputy MD; in 1980 he was appointed group MD; and in 1983, chairman. PFV is the main operating company of the PFV group. However, he still manages to avoid his desk for four months of the year. "We have 33 branches in SA. I visit each at least once a year to meet the staff and bigger clients."

#### Diversified market

He also travels overseas regularly. This year he's been to New York, Paris and three times to London, which he says is the most innovative insurance market in the world. "The British market is more diversified, more flexible and they're used to dealing with new problems. They've been doing it for a few hundred years."

It is in the London market that the first signs of recovery will come, he says. But none are visible yet. "Things are getting tougher and tougher." The present upheavals in the short-term insurance industry are a formidable challenge for those who have the ongoing responsibility for finding adequate cover for

clients' risks.

But insurance is always "a dynamic business" and those in it have learnt to adapt to changes in social, economic and legal structures. One of the most successful adaptations is risk management — evaluating clients' risks before counselling them on cover.

"When I started in insurance, few people ever thought of carrying any risk themselves. Now we look at clients' risk patterns to begin with. The result is that many carry part of their own risk, taking out insurance on excess of loss only."

A wealth of data now provides accurate statistical patterns which make this a practical alternative to blanket cover.

For his year as SAIBA's president, Buckland has no single project in mind. "We work on an ongoing basis and I'll be carrying on with the present projects: pressing for registration of brokers; sorting out equivalence of reward between brokers and agents; looking into funding of brokers' professional indemnity and fidelity guarantee cover."

After 31 years in the business of insurance broking, Buckland is happy with his career path. His present job, which consists, he says, "of 20% broking and 80% managing," provides a satisfying mix of creative and organisational opportunities. Buckland may have settled for a desk, but he has never been constrained by routine. ■

#### Oosthuizen . . . scrapping influx control

304A F4  
tigating and even leading reform. I think our standing with central government gives us a certain ear that other organisations might not have." 27/9/85 ■

#### REG BUCKLAND

### Cover counsellor

When Reg Buckland, newly appointed president of the SA Insurance Brokers' Association (SAIBA) and chairman and group MD of Priceforbes Federale Volksskas (PFV), left school, he knew he didn't want an office job. "I was determined never to wear a tie again," he explains. He made plans accordingly. They didn't work out, but Buckland has no cause for regret.

In fact, it took only 18 months to gain a new perspective. Not that he wasn't happy in his work in the trigonometrical survey department of the former Department of Lands. It combined two favourite subjects — mathematics and geography — and at least half his time was spent in the field, working from sunrise to sunset.

"I mapped an area north of Ceres in the Kouebokkeveld, and another at Napier near Cape Agulhas," he recalls with satisfaction. But the problem was prospects. "By that time I had begun to give material interests some consideration and realised I wouldn't make too much money in the Civil Service."

So Buckland looked around and saw an advertisement placed by the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company offering management training. He took the opportunity, working for two years in Cape



Buckland . . . insurance is a dynamic business



# 'PW is greatest ally for reform'

304A STAR 28/9/85  
"Our greatest ally for reform in South Africa is the State President, Mr P W Botha," the National People's Party leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He told the first Transvaal NPP provincial conference: "What the public knows of the State President as a reformist is only 10 percent of what he really is."

Mr Rajbansi, whose party is the majority party in the House of Delegates, said he was aware of criticisms that

the NPP was closely associated with the National Party Government.

"It has been stated that I am part of the Government. But when Mr Botha announced the Cabinet, he said Cabinet Ministers could publicly disagree with Cabinet de-

cisions. We have expressed our disagreements at times," he said.

"We are not going to disagree with the Nats just because they are Nats. And we will not disagree with the Nats just to please a certain white political party."

"We are not going to allow ourselves to be kicked around like a political football."

Mr Rajbansi said he believed in a federal solution to South Africa's political future.

The NPP's Transvaal leader, Mr Ebrahim "Boetie" Abramjee, said he was proud of the NPP's achievements.

"We have been in Parliament for just over a year and I am proud to say that we have achieved much for our community," he said.

● See Page 5.

Cape Times  
28/9/85  
300A

# Ninety business leaders

JOHANNESBURG. — The 90 business leaders — chief executives and chairmen of major South African corporations — who urge negotiation about power-sharing with "acknowledged" black leaders are:

L G Abrahamse, chairman Syfrets Trust.  
R J Abrahamsen, chief executive Nedbank Group.  
R D Ackerman, chairman Pick 'n Pay.  
C S Adcock, managing director Toyota SA.  
G Andrews, director Wits Graduate School of Business.  
P J Badenhorst, chief executive United Building Society.  
C J Ball, managing director Barclays Bank.  
S F Barnett, chairman/MD Sterns Diamond Organization.  
J Beare, chairman Beares.  
A Berman, joint managing director Natal Consolidated.  
A H Bloom, chairman Premier Group Holdings.  
W G Boustred, chairman Anglo American Industrial.  
L Boyd, chairman SA Motor Corporation.  
I D Brittan, chairman Boumat.  
D G S Campbell, chairman Frasers Consolidated.  
P L Campbell, managing director Metal Box SA.  
A Carleo, managing director Putco.  
T N Chapman, chief executive, Southern Life.  
J Clarke, managing director IBM SA.  
R S Cohen, chairman Amalgamated Retail.  
T G Coulson, chairman/MD Blue Circle.  
Z J de Beer, chairman Anglo American Properties.  
C S dos Santos, managing director Score Food Holdings.  
J G Douglas, chairman/MD S A General Electric.  
C Duke, general manager Abbott Laboratories (SA).  
D J English, managing director Rank Xerox.  
A J F Fergusson, chairman Prudential Assurance.  
R Ferris, managing director Kodak SA.  
D T Fletcher, chairman/MD Caltex Oil (SA).  
J A Frankel, joint managing director Tiger Oats.  
M R Furst, managing director Hewlett Packard SA.  
S M Goldstein, chairman S M Goldstein.  
E E Hart, chairman Whitehall Products (SA).  
W Hasselkus, managing director BMW SA.  
H S Herman, joint managing director Pick 'n Pay.  
M Hilkowitz, managing director Liberty Life.  
J B Hodgson, chairman Darling and Hodgson.  
G W Hood, managing director O K Bazaars.  
J R Houston, managing director NCR Corporation SA.  
I J Jacobson, chairman Trade and Industry Acceptance Corp.  
P H Jacobson, chairman Bradlows Stores.

S L Jaff, chairman Delswa.  
A Jaffe, chairman Currie Finance Corporation.  
J K Johnson, managing director Kelloggs.  
N I Jowell, chairman Trencor.  
C B Kaplan, chairman Micor Holdings.  
J King, managing director SA Associated Newspapers.  
M King, managing director Kirsh Trading Group.  
D C Krogh, deputy chairman Legal and General Volkskas Assurance.  
S Lewis, chairman Foschini.  
P Lloyd, managing director Beer Division, SA Breweries.  
S Lurie, joint managing director Natal Consolidated Industrial Investments.  
J Mackenzie, chairman African Finance Corporation.  
J A Mackness, managing director CNA Gallo.  
D M Mahoney, managing director Control Data.  
D B McCartan, chairman Nampak.  
P W Mclean, managing director Argus Group.  
F J Meyer, senior vice president Coca-Cola Export Corporation.  
H W Miller, executive chairman Argus Group.  
P B Moffitt, managing director SA Cyanamid.  
T Moolman, joint managing director Caxton.  
M N Newman, executive chairman SA Bias Holdings.  
G W Nocker, chief executive Colgate-Palmolive.  
J Ogilvie Thompson, chairman De Beers Consolidated.  
H F Oppenheimer.  
A D Ovenstone, executive chairman Ovenstone Investments.  
S R Peimer, joint managing director Natal Consolidated Industrial Investments.  
B P Rabinowitz, chairman the Property Group of SA.  
G P Racine, chairman/managing director Mobil Oil SA.  
G W Relly, chairman Anglo American Corporation.  
M Sachar, chairman Grand Bazaars.  
C J Saunders, chairman Tongaat Group.  
R J Schmitt, managing director Nampak Tissue Division.  
P Searle, managing director Volkswagen of SA.  
A Searll, chairman Seardel Investment.  
M Simchowitz, chairman W and A Investment Corp.  
E J Smale, managing director AECL.  
C A Spalding, managing director Johnson and Johnson.  
A M Spitz, executive chairman M and S Spitz Footwear Holdings.  
J B Sutherland, chairman African Oxygen.  
P R S Thomas, managing director Unisec Group.  
L van der Watt, chairman Associated Furniture Companies.  
J C van Zyl, director Federated Chamber of Industries.  
G H Waddell, chairman Johannesburg Consolidated Investment.  
C N Weil, managing director Checkers Stores.  
A Wessels, chairman Toyota SA.  
P D Wharton-Hood, managing director Prudential Assurance.  
R A White, managing director General Motors of SA.  
N Wiehahn, director Unisa Graduate School of Business.  
C T Wood, managing director Citibank.  
P G Wrighton, deputy chairman Premier Group Holdings.  
W S Yeoward, immediate past president Assocom. — Sapa



IN 1950, as the Nationalist Government was beginning to put flesh on the skeleton of apartheid, 34-year-old Afrikaner industrialist Anton Rupert pleaded for "industrial partnership" and a policy of "co-existence". His advice was spurned.

Today, 35 "wasted" years later, apartheid is dying and much of what he proposed is coming to pass. But he doesn't want to say 'I told you so' because he doesn't believe in looking at the past in this way.

He said in an interview that crisis created problems as well as opportunities. And quoting the words of Swiss soldier-theologian Huldrych Zwingli, he urged leaders of the land: "For God's sake, do something brave!"

# Anton Rupert and the 'wasted years'

by JONATHAN HOBDAV



Mr Anton Rupert

U/E 17/25 28/9/25 30/17  
On the death of apartheid

## On the origins of apartheid

WHERE did this concept get into our vocabulary? Separateness per se was first mooted by Sir Theophilus Shepstone in Natal — maybe that is why places like Zululand, Transkei and the former Protectorates still retain separate entities.

The word "apartheid" was coined by the late Paul Sauer, who was a very effective Parliamentarian and politician, and, to some extent, it was used as a catchphrase to win an election. It meant no more than the existing state of affairs at that time but it developed into a hurtful concept that has done immense damage.

## On racism and apartheid

RACISM came through fear. In the turmoil of the industrial revolution in South Africa, there was the fear of a re-run of the near-rebellion by the miners (in the 1920s) and this ended in job protection. There was fear of over-crowding in the cities, of the slums that grew during World War 2, and out of this the pass system, influx control, was born.

## On Verwoerd and apartheid

VERWOERD gave near-theological and philosophical background to apartheid. He may have been influenced by Professor Eiselen, who was the son of a missionary and believed in protecting the various tribes and nations, but had no knowledge of industrial development. Verwoerd had a genuine fear that whites would exploit the blacks. He was basically a sociologist and sociologists have a leaning towards doing good by the forced distribution of wealth. I cannot fault that but I think the better idea is to build a bigger cake for all to share.

## On his clashes with Verwoerd

IN 1959, Verwoerd and I clashed when I proposed going into business with a group of coloured people in the Western Cape on a 50 percent partnership basis. This was a clear break between apartheid (then called separate development) and co-existence (or industrial partnership). He threatened to close me down if I went ahead. He did not understand that, if it was properly done, it could only have enhanced the well-being of the blacks. Over the years, this absolute 'no' to participation has changed to an agency system, to a tripartite system and now even to allowing whites to operate in the black areas. Twenty-five years have been lost.

In 1960, after Sharpeville, I had my last

personal discussion with Verwoerd. I pleaded with him to grant land ownership to the blacks in the biggest city, Soweto. I said I believed he should sell the land immediately at a 10 percent discount to residents to rid them of the feeling that they were dispossessed, landless and non-belonging. He refused point-blank. I then suggested 99-year lease and even 30-year lease and he said: "Never!" Now we have moved not only to 99-year leasehold but to full property rights. Twenty-five years have been wasted.

## On the beginning of the end of apartheid

THE first clear break came when Professor Tomlinson produced a rational report on the development of the homelands. Not only was it not accepted but Tomlinson was ostracised. But it was a clear break between apartheid and co-existence. Under Mr Vorster and Mr Botha, the industrial facts of life, the concept of inter-dependence, have penetrated.

In the late Fifties and Sixties, it became clear to the Afrikaner intellectual that apartheid was based on fear and, indeed, was a wrong and this was best expressed by the philosopher-poet Van Wyk Louw. His view of the role and obligation of the Afrikaner has now been accepted by the thinking youth.

## On the cause of the current unrest

THE riots are a direct result of unemployment.

## On the economic future

THERE are two scenarios:

One is a long-haul, slow improvement which will be to the good of all of us who have lived in clover but will cause unemployment, hardship and suffering for many others.

The other may appear on the surface to be better to us and that is the collapse of the Western banks due to non-payment of enormous debts by the Third World; the United States, too, which has been the locomotive to pull Europe and the rest of us out of the recession, is spending far more than it earns — soon this could be something like 200-billion dollars. Thus, major crisis could cause a phenomenal increase in the price of gold because it would become the last resort of true value and the same could apply to platinum. But it would be madness to welcome this kind of temporary benefit because one cannot succeed in life if your trading partners fail.

ECONOMIC pressures and the acceptance of change by thinking youth mean only one thing: Apartheid is dead. But the corpse stinks and it must be buried, not embalmed.

## On Chief Buthelezi

I TRUST him as a man of peace. I feel particularly attracted to his brand of politics.

## On Mr P W Botha

I THINK he should take the lead. He has the opportunity in his grasp. He has a great chance to bring about a new order and we should all be helping him. He is the man of the moment. It rests with him.

## On talks with the ANC

I CERTAINLY do not object to businessmen talking to the ANC but I do not want to be forced into making a choice between, for example, Mandela and Buthelezi. The initiatives we have seen could be very helpful but I think they could be counter-productive if they do not acknowledge differences that exist. I have had no personal contact with the ANC as yet. I object against the dogma of violence because violence begets violence.

## On civil disobedience

IT is crazy to keep kids out of school. I understand why this sort of protest is resorted to but it is extremely short-sighted, creating a nation of idle and illiterate people which can only end in a chaos that cannot be put right without a lot of pain.

## On his philosophy for survival

THE only way in which we can make progress is through industrial partnership with the peoples of Southern Africa. We can survive only if we put the black nations in our midst in a position of wanting to preserve what we want to preserve.

The simple reality is that there are not enough whites to do the job — we have got to go into partnership with the other races in this region.

## On his own future

I HAVE no ambition to enter the political arena in South Africa. I am so involved already in international activities like World Wildlife and in the development programmes in Southern Africa that I do not want to go back to parochial matters. But, of course, if there was anything I could do to help in bringing peace and progress in South Africa, I would consider it.



# Nats seek a tougher



Mr P W BOTHA... facing hardline resolutions

## Line

By DIRK VAN ZYL  
Political Correspondent

**A SURPRISING number of hard-line draft resolutions on law and order, justice, black affairs and the retention of the Group Areas Act have been submitted to the Cape National Party congress in Port Elizabeth next week.**

They are among 69 submitted by NP branches from all parts of the Cape Province.

Conspicuous by their absence are any resolutions asking the Government to clarify its stance towards blacks' constitutional development or the negotiation process.

Such resolutions were prominent at last week's Transvaal NP congress.

The State President, Mr P W Botha is, however, expected to deal with these matters in his opening address at the UPE Sports Centre on Monday night.

A resolution sponsored by the Alhwal North, Bonza, Tyger Valley and Potladder branches supports the repeal this year of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, but requests that:

- Their scrapping should not change the "the continued social, educational, and constitutional structuring of own communities".

- The House of Assembly, white residential areas and schools should remain white.

- The Group Areas Act should remain unchanged.

The resolutions are to be discussed on Tuesday and Wednesday, with the congress scheduled to end at 5.30 pm on Wednesday.

President Botha is expected to use the occasion of his opening address on Monday night to make further, perhaps important, reform announcements.

The Cape congress is the last of the NP's four provincial congresses for this year. The others are to be held in the high points of Mr Botha's series of reforming speeches.

The Cape is also Mr Botha's "home territory" and he is Cape NP leader.

He may give more indications as to the progress of the Government's negotiations with black leaders.

The Johannesburg newspaper, The Star, speculated today that the Government had decided to incorporate blacks in a revamped President's Council, making the body more of a "think tank" and a top-level advisory forum.

Most observers expect Mr Botha at least to indicate that his Government is favourably disposed towards the President's Council's recommendations that influx control be replaced by a policy of orderly urbanisation.

In a departure from this line, however, the Brandvlei and Tyger Valley NP branches have submitted a resolution asking that congress discuss in-depth "control measures to bring about orderly urbanisation".

In a number of motions on law and order and the police, resolutions have been submitted:

- Expressing opposition to public commissions of inquiry into SA Police action and requesting that such investigations be held in camera.

- Thanking the SA Police for unrest action it has taken and requesting the Government to ensure that investigations do not place them in a poor light.

- Requesting the congress to discuss the aftermath of the riots in the Eastern Cape in a court inquiry and ascertain why it was not dealt with by a departmental inquiry (Albertina branch).

- Thanking the Government for the way in which the riots were dealt with but expressing concern about rebelliousness among black youth.

The Paarl branch has submitted a resolution asking the Government to devote urgent attention to upgrading black education and training.

Touws River wants spheres to be identified in which South Africa could be hardest hit by disinvestment, new undertakings to be established in those spheres to make South Africa self-sufficient, and a commission of inquiry to be appointed to investigate these problems

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## sunrise focus

Under the surface runs a current

# Israel and SA:

— by —  
Peter Allen-Frost

TEL AVIV — The relationship between the Jewish State of Israel and the white-minority government in South Africa is a classic example of *realpolitik* in action.

Neither side, for different reasons, is particularly fond of the other but their own political and material needs have drawn them into a close, almost symbiotic, relationship.

Most Israelis don't like South Africa nor South Africans — white South Africans, that is. The bulk of Israelis view the Pretoria Government with negative overtones, on the basis of what they read in the popular Press about apartheid policies. Although some of that group feel there are things Israel might learn about how to deal with the Arabs.

The more educated Israelis know more about the details of apartheid and follow the general liberal trend in Europe and especially in the United States.

South Africans, for their part, especially the Afrikaners, are often not particularly fond of Jews. But their support for Israel, as a state, is based on their own deep biblical belief. In some ways they don't view the Israelis as Jews, certainly not as "international Jews", as an Afrikaner in Johannesburg put it.

They view the Israelis, not the "international Jews", as legitimate heirs to the ancient Kingdom of Israel — the fulfillers of

biblical prophecies.

Official statistics here show there's a bilateral trade of some US \$160 million annually. But on both sides, it's a small percentage of the overall foreign trade. South Africa's imports from Israel, for example are about \$70 million a year while Pretoria imported some \$200 million worth of goods last year from Africa alone and about \$10 billion in all.

But it's the facts not included in the dry South African/Israeli trade statistics which forge the bond of pragmatism.

On the material level, the defence aspect is perhaps the most important. South Africa's flourishing arms industry appears to owe much to the Israeli military know-how accumulated over several decades, through six major wars between Israel and the neighbouring Arab states.

From submachine guns and cannon, to missile boats, Israeli military goods have kept up a steady flow to SA pots.

The Israelis say they don't like being in the arms business but it's one way they can help finance their own military needs. That's protection also against the arms embargos which from time to time are levied against the Jewish state.

With the weaponry came blueprints and knowhow. Instructors in how to assemble, use and manufacture.

The South Africans sent scores of experts over to Israel to study Israel's shipyards and defence industries.

The Israelis even set up a spe-

cial school for Afrikaans-speaking children a few years back, according to a reserve naval officer.

Then there's the question of nuclear cooperation. Are the two countries engaged in mutual nuclear research? Do they have nuclear weapons capabilities, as foreign journals report?

Most probably, since between them they have the brains and resources. It would be political folly not to exploit them. And in this sphere, as in others, they both feel when the chips are down they can rely only on themselves.

There are those Israelis who found many white South African viewpoints to their liking, especially the South African view of Soviet plans for infiltration and eventual domination in the Middle East and Africa. Former Chief-of-Staff General Rafel Eitan, for example. He's now a member of the Right-wing "Tehiya" political party. He paid at least one visit to South Africa, spending some time in Namibia as well.

South African support for Israel goes back to the days before Israel's statehood in 1948. South Africa's support for the state of Israel has been consistent — more than can be said for Jerusalem's support for Pretoria. It is the Israelis who low-profiled diplomatic relations and didn't want the South African delegation to be in Jerusalem (it is today in Tel Aviv). The Israelis didn't want any complications in their then blossoming relationship with black African

states flocking to establish embassies in the Israeli capital.

Now, after pressure from the Arab bloc, the Black Africa States with formal diplomatic ties with Israel are very few.

In the gloomy days preceding the 1967 Middle East War and again in 1973, when Israel's survival was seriously threatened, there were mass church services in South Africa for the safety of Israel.

White Afrikaners held collections and obtained Government approval to send the money to Israel. Anybody who knows how difficult it is to get funds out of South Africa will appreciate how unusual that approval was.

The South Africans view the Israeli state in much the same way as they view their own republic. It's sometimes called the "laager" complex. This is often used to describe a mentality which could be applied to both Israel and South Africa: when threatened, dig in your heels, lower your head and be prepared to go down fighting, taking as many of the enemy with you as possible. It takes on a special significance when the nuclear option is considered.

Israel is surrounded by Arab states, most exceptionally hostile. Most would be quite happy if Israel slowly sunk into the sea. Such a move might find support among non-Arab (even Western) states which often lose patience with what they term "Israel's intransigence".

Black African extremists would probably be happy if all the whites (especially Afri-

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t of fears and worries on both sides

# reluctant allies

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kaners) were to suddenly disappear along with Israel — providing they left behind the technical infrastructure the white regime had established.

Israel doesn't like this comparison. Neither does Israel like other comparisons — such as being the "pariah" of international sport. Yet Israel (trying hard to keep from being thrown out of yet more international bodies) tries to be holier than the saints in its sports relationship with South Africa.

The Israeli sports organisers would not even let South African Jewish athletes compete as such in the Jewish Olympics — the Maccabiah — held here in July 1985. The 200 South African sports men and women had to be almost smuggled in, disguised as new immigrants. They didn't like that and their leader told me that if, at the next games in 1989, they can't compete as proud South Africans under their own flag, then they would not compete at all.

Which brings us to the main reason why Israel keeps its relationship with South Africa: the 120 000 Jews in the country, described by diplomats here familiar with it as "the most Jewish pro-Israeli, most vibrant Jewish community in the world — with intermarriage at a minimum".

About 10 000 or 15 000 South African Jews have emigrated to Israel in the past three decades. And more than that number of Israelis have gone to live in South Africa.

Israel is worried that "some-

thing" might happen to that Jewish community unless it treads a careful diplomatic path.

Israel doesn't want to be responsible for any outbreaks of anti-Semitism or wholesale pogroms. It wants the special financial arrangements to continue whereby South African investors can invest in almost any project here. And South African Jews are exceptionally active investors and fundraisers for Israel — although its American Jews usually get the spotlight.

On the issue of anti-Semitism: there was an Afrikaner society in the World War 2 period accused of being anti-Semitic and often pro-Nazi — called the "Broederbond". It was a nationalist Afrikaner Society. Its aims were to preserve the Afrikaner culture.

Today there's another version operating. This one is called the "Rapportryers" which might be loosely translated as an "Afrikaner Paul Revere". Much of this group's activities would appear benign. But within this secret group there's an even more secret Right-wing core, and South African Jews who follow what's happening in such circles, say there is a decided anti-Jewish, anti-Semitic trend in this group which, if unleashed would make the "crystalnacht" of Nazi Germany look like child's play.

An exaggeration? Maybe. But outbreaks of anti-Semitism in South Africa are far from unknown.

A white non-Afrikaner South

African once told me the Afrikaner dislikes the Jews only slightly less than he dislikes Roman Catholics — he views them both as menace or threat.

But the Jews of South Africa are well treated (although some claim advancement in Government circles is hampered by being Jewish) and investment in Israel is given preferred status — allowing many Jews to get money out — in case they should decide to leave.

So in many ways, one could say the Afrikaner views the Israelis as "Honorary Non-Jews", in the same way some visiting blacks are sort of designated "Honorary Whites" and allowed to stay in all-white hotels.

The fact that South African Jews have a "bolt-hole" in the state of Israel is also a fact which doesn't go down too well with the Afrikaner and English-speaking South Africans, who have no such luxury.

A few years back, looking out over the sea at Cape Town, an Afrikaner told me: "You know, I have nowhere to go from here. Would the mighty US come and get me out if the liberal predictions of a bloodbath and mass black uprising do come true? I doubt it. I would have my back to the sea, like the Israelis. So here I sit, come what may."

The non-white South Africans come across Jews only when they go to Jewish-owned shops or when their wives work for Jews, and feelings of resentment about prices, credit or whatever, might be translated

into terms of anti-Semitism.

But Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, leader of the six million-strong Zulu tribe, the largest ethnic group in South Africa, recently praised not only Israel, but also Jewish history, the contribution of Jews to human endeavour throughout the centuries.

On a visit to Israel as a guest of the Foreign Ministry, he told his host at a private dinner: "Jewish suffering throughout the years was far greater than that of blacks."

Buthelezi said that while ideals were "idyllic", pragmatism is the only asset which really got things moving.

So Buthelezi told me, he's a pragmatist, opposed to the popular liberal solutions for South Africa, decidedly opposed to the disinvestment policy which, he said, will cause harm to the blacks in the long run.

He said South Africa and Israel alike suffered from kneejerk liberal reaction, fired too often by simplistic portraits painted by the media where it is all depicted as "Jew versus Arab" and "black versus white".

Many of those outside observers in the US and Europe with seemingly simplistic solutions for both South Africa and Israel are trying to impose their own mores on a situation which, really, is vastly different from their own environment.

So the alliance continues, normal diplomatic relations on the surface. Underneath, a current of fears and worries on both sides.



Big business call for end

# to apartheid

Cape Times

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28/9/85

By MICHAEL ACOTT

**NINETY** of the country's top businessmen last night issued a joint call for the abolition of apartheid and for negotiations with genuine black leaders to share power.

They also called for the restoration and entrenchment of the rule of law, which would mean an end to bannings and detentions.

Their statement reflects growing business disillusion with the pace of reform and an appreciation of the need for action. It is seen as potentially one of the most significant actions by businessmen in the encouragement of urgent political reform.

## Referendum

Many of the signatories advocated a "yes" vote in the 1983 constitutional referendum, but now seem convinced — particularly since President P W Botha's "Rubicon" speech — that the government is not going far or fast enough to implement change.

The statement was signed by 90 chairmen and chief executives of South African companies and the heads of multinational corporations operating here.

They hope it will lead to an urgent meeting with the government to discuss the statement and the implementation of the reforms proposed.

## Sanctions

Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay, said on behalf of the signatories that, if the government would endorse the statement, sanctions imposed by the United States, the EEC and other countries would be lifted immediately.

He hoped the government would welcome the indication of the direction business believed the country should take, business opposition to sanctions and disinvestment and the need for investor confidence.

The statement had the backing of black leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.



Mr Raymond Ackerman... 'There must be a better way'

Mr Ackerman said the statement had almost total backing from the business community, including many who had not signed it.

He conceded that the main Afrikaner businesses were not among the signatories, but said no one the group had approached had disagreed with the statement.

Their reasons for not signing included a reluctance to be associated with a public statement and a belief that they could achieve more through their contacts in government.

The signatories said they were responsible businessmen deeply concerned about the current situation.

"We believe that the reform process should be accelerated by:

- Abolishing statutory race discrimination wherever it exists.

- Negotiating with acknowledged black leaders about power sharing.

- Granting full South African citizenship to all our people.

- Restoring and entrenching the rule of law.

We reject violence as a means of achieving

change and we support the politics of negotiation.

"We believe that there is a better way for South Africa and we support equal opportunity, respect for the individual, freedom of enterprise and freedom of movement.

"We believe in the development of the South African economy for the benefit of all of its people and we are, therefore, committed to pursue a role of corporate social responsibility and to play our part in transforming the structures and systems of the country towards fair participation for all."

The businessmen said that, by putting their collective weight behind an accelerated reform process, they could "give direction and hope to the man in the street" about South Africa's future.

Mr Ackerman said the group had been overwhelmed by the support from businesses and ordinary citizens, black and white.

The business response was so great that the list had been confined to chairmen and chief executives. The group

hoped, however, that smaller businesses would unite behind a similar statement.

Mr Ackerman said the statement had been issued for five reasons:

- To show black, coloured and Indian leaders, trade unions, workers and youths that business was not "part of the system" but was committed to reform.

- To show foreign businessmen with investments in South Africa that the local business community was nailing its colours to the mast, thus countering disinvestment by helping them keep their operations here.

- To show small businesses and ordinary citizens who felt hopeless that business was prepared to give a lead.

- To show the government that South Africans "have had enough of apartheid".

- To show foreign governments "hell-bent on sanctions and disinvestment" that the business community here was asking for the same things as they were.

## 'Group Areas'

"We are asking for help while we are fighting for these things, not disinvestment and boycotts, unemployment and poverty," he said.

"We are not asking for changes such as the opening of hotels. We want the abolition of apartheid — Group Areas, influx control, the lot.

"We are not asking for one man, one vote — we are urging the government to negotiate shared power."

● The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, last night welcomed the move by businessmen and called on other organizations "genuinely committed to the politics of negotiation to co-ordinate their actions and bring about pressure for the complete dismantling of apartheid".

● List of the 90 business leaders, page 2

## BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) \$329,25  
Rand \$0,3960/70  
FT index (close) 989,60



# New political alliance

THERE was no Tutu. No Boesak. No Mandela. Equally obviously, there was no Botha, or Heunis, or Treurnicht.

This was the new political alliance — spearheaded by the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha — being launched at a plush Sandton hotel on Saturday.

The launch was the result of a PFP initiative to draw together those interested in ending apartheid by means of a national convention and was attended by about 150 high-profile delegates, among them PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and members of the country's business, legal and academic circles.

There was another congress held in the Transvaal last week, and from that platform came one of the Government's most desperate pleas yet for blacks to come forward to negotiate their political future.

Problem is there were no blacks present to hear the plea.

This was the Transvaal congress of the National Party and, despite the reform moves, and the jettisoning of the law against Improper Political Interference, the party remains white.

Presumably, the Bothas and the De Klerks and so on, were hoping some black leaders might hear their call on radio or TV afterwards. Or read about it in the papers.

But their pleas in the Pretoria City Hall and the Pretoria Show Grounds, which were the congress venues, fell on white ears.

Leader of the party in the Transvaal, Minister FW de Klerk, said there was one huge stumbling black bar-

304A Herald  
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*Slabbert, Gatsha talk, while Nats call for black leaders to come forward*

ring swift progress to reform: "The hesitancy, and even refusal, of some responsible black leaders at all levels to become involved in the negotiation process."

He added: "Many tell us that they dare not come forward for fear of their lives. This situation must be rectified."

Mr de Klerk admitted this meant the necessary momentum for a breakthrough had not been achieved by the special Cabinet committee examining black political rights — an admission which means the Government is in serious trouble with its black power-sharing proposals.

To which PFP leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, says: "Until they negotiate properly, they will not get anything off the ground."

Dr Slabbert believes proper negotiation means a national convention following a statement of intent to create one constitution, one citizenship and one

vote for all — in other words, what he was busy doing in Johannesburg on Saturday.

So, on the one hand, we wait to see what progress is made by the convention's steering committee headed by Lawyers for Human Rights president Jules Browde. And on the other hand we wait to hear what President PW Botha has to say of any new reforms at his party's congress in Port Elizabeth at the end of the month.





● 1: P W Botha — and the Pope.



● 2: P W Botha — and Kuanda.



● 3: P W Botha — and Mrs Thatcher.



● 4: P W Botha — holding talks on his aircraft.

The irony is that he has probably done more than any other Nationalist leader to bring about reform, at the cost even of splitting his party.

## P W BOTHA'S

# 7

FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Staff.

SEVEN years ago — on September 28, 1978 — Mr P W Botha took over the reins of government in South Africa.

His six years as Prime Minister and one as executive State President have been marked by astonishing political change, but equally by tension and turmoil.

The question now is whether he has reached the end of the reform road. Has he painted himself into a corner? And if so, who will take over when he steps out?

On January 12 next year he will celebrate his 70th birthday and look back on a political career of half a century which saw the rise and decline of apartheid.

He played a key role in erecting the system — and in trying to demolish it.

Few, if any, of his predecessors could have faced problems as formidable and seemingly insurmountable.

His main achievement has been the tri-cameral parliamentary system, to accommodate the Indian and coloured groups. But because of its exclusion of blacks it appears to have brought more trouble than good. From its outset there have been tensions, unrest, mounting world criticism, serious economic problems and increasing racial and political polarisation.

The irony is that Mr Botha has probably done more than

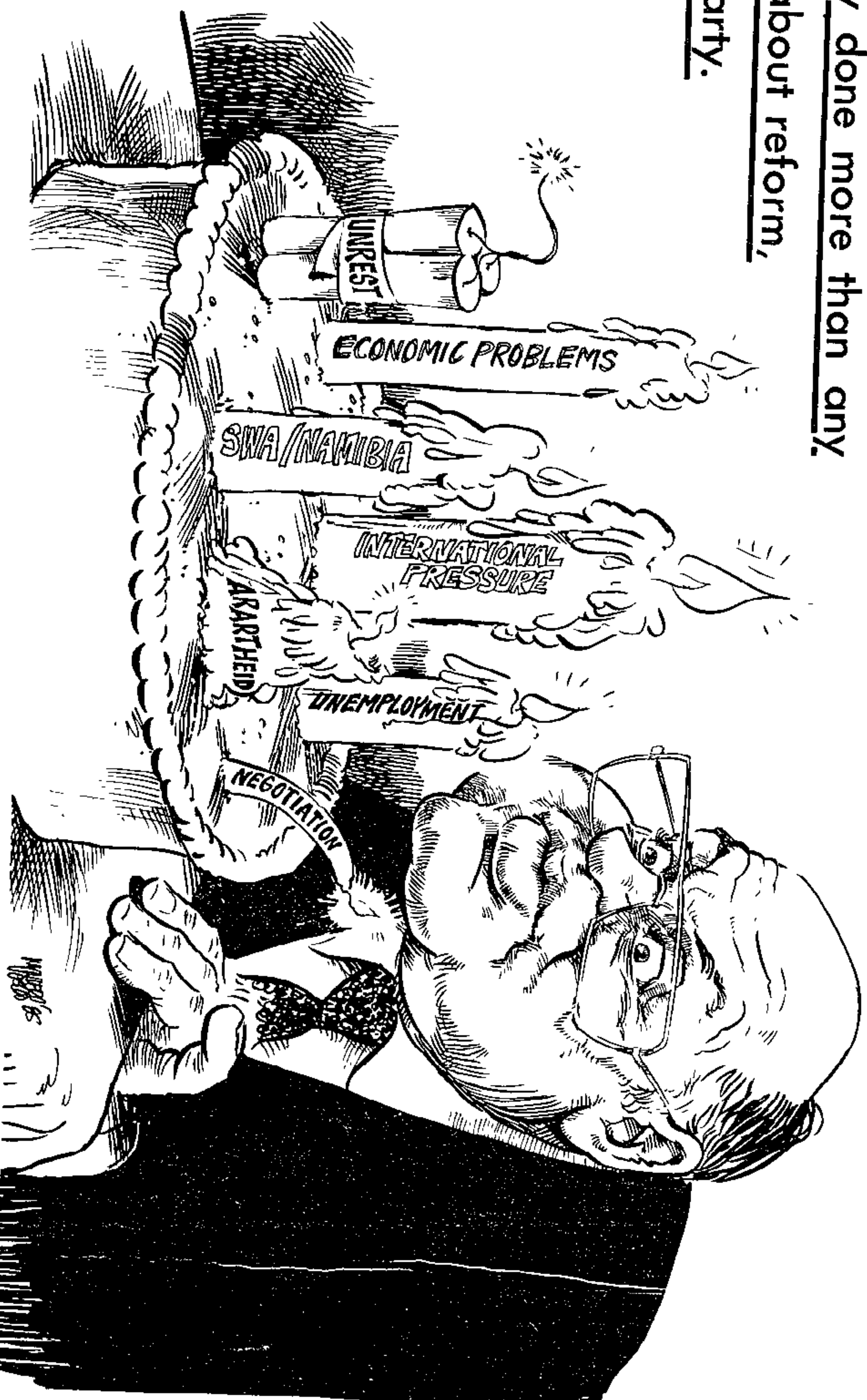
any other Nationalist leader to bring about reform, at the cost even of splitting his party.

### Crucial moments

But his hesitation on key issues at crucial moments, as most pointedly marked by his disappointing Rubicon speech, is a major flaw in his leadership. Much as he has done to bring about reform, more and more people are beginning to wonder whether he is the man to see it through.

For while he hesitates, the problems simply grow bigger and bigger.

Violence and unrest contin-



ue, police and troops remain in troubled townships; the state of emergency in large parts of South Africa remains in force; and a dear price is being exacted in the form of a declining rand and worsening international relations.

While committed to dialogue, there have been no visible signs of the Government succeeding in drawing creditable black leaders to the negotiating table. Rather, Mr Botha's criticism of businessmen for talking to the ANC indicates a hardening of attitudes which is casting a darkening shadow over the prospect of peace.

He is adamant that he will not talk to the ANC unless it is the Free State Nationalist con-

He has failed to get Nobel Peace Prize-winner Bishop Desmond Tutu to the negotiating table despite Bishop Tutu's initial eagerness to talk about peaceful solutions.

And even a moderate leader like Chief Mangosuthu Buthe has found himself at loggerheads with him.

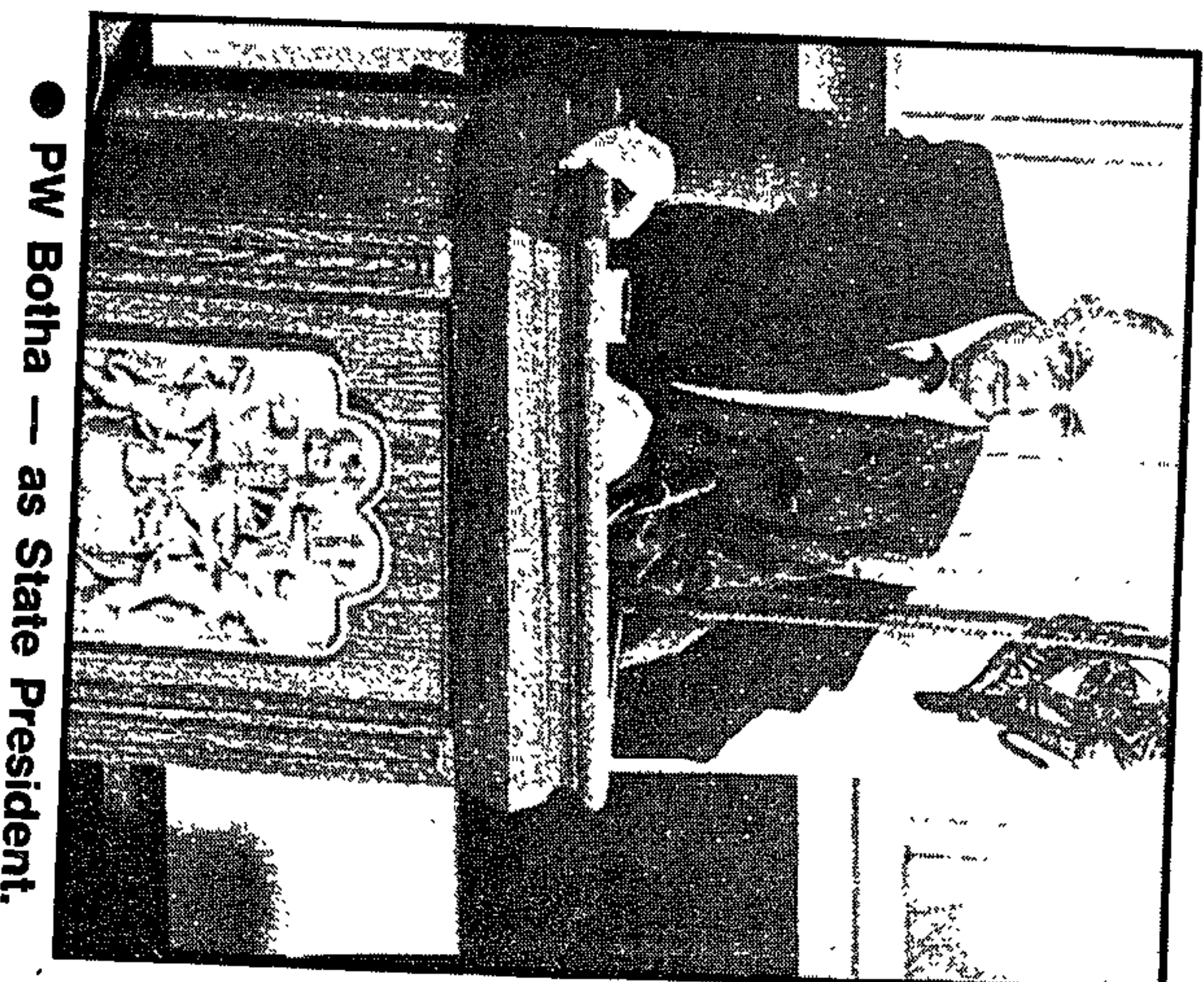
His Durban address, when he had the ear of the world, was a complete miscalculation. No doubt his announcement on black citizenship rights would have carried much more weight had he made it in that speech rather than save it, at most, like an after-thought, for the Free State Nationalist conference.

Whereas Mr Botha showed great purpose earlier, the impression now is of a leadership vacuum at the top, to the extent that businessmen and other politicians, like Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, feel compelled to take the initiative in providing the groundwork for negotiation in the form of a "convention alliance".

At the same time there is growing exasperation at the Government's bizarre moves in Angola and Mozambique.

Could it be that the dilemma has become too big for Mr Botha to handle, or too big for anybody else with roots in the old apartheid school?

The fact is, Mr Botha — one of the main architects



● P W Botha — as State President.

builders of apartheid — is now called upon to demolish his party's own work — the product of blood, sweat and tears of nearly four decades of Nationalist rule.

### Cardinal principles

In a book on his life, published last year under the title "PW", his biographers made it clear just how deeply Mr Botha was committed to aspects of apartheid and how difficult, if not impossible, it would be for him to break away.

"In short, it is impossible for Botha to undo the whole structure of apartheid and he has no intention of doing this," the writers said.

Since he took over the reins of government, however, there have been numerous changes to abolish petty apartheid, to provide for a say in the country's affairs by other race groups and to move away from various forms of official racial discrimination.

The process continues, but whether it came to certain 'cardi-



Little chance for  
SA  
in war  
W/E Argus 28/9/85

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## chance for SA in war

SOUTH AFRICA did not stand "even a whisper of a chance" of solving its internal problems if it became involved in a regional war against countries backed by the Soviet Union, the Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has said.

He said in a statement yesterday that he had observed with "growing disquiet and apprehension" the way in which the Government had responded to the escalation of Soviet interest in Southern Africa, particularly in Angola.

"Obviously Soviet expansion in this part of the world is cause for alarm, and it is extremely important that South Africa does nothing to provoke or increase it," he said.

"Therefore it would be sheer folly to use such expansion as a propaganda ploy to drum up a kind of white unity against some external 'total onslaught' and to draw attention away from our internal instability.

### Soviet interest

"Equally, it would be the grossest delusion of grandeur to create the impression that South Africa can take on the Soviet might in preventing its increasing involvement in Angola."

The PFP had warned repeatedly that nothing was calculated to provoke Soviet interest in this part of the world more than any South African involvement in destabilising its neighbouring countries.

This involvement also made South Africa "totally vulnerable and diplomatically indefensible" in the international community.

"It is pointless for the State President to object to 'unnecessary interference' in our internal affairs if his Government is prepared to interfere militarily in the internal affairs of Angola and Mozambique," he said.

Dr Slabbert asked what the Government hoped to achieve with such 'adventurism'.

"Does it seriously think that the United States will come to its aid in South Africa's open support for Unita? Especially as South Africa gives such support from an internationally highly disputed territory such as Namibia.

"Does it seriously think that by showing how it is fighting communism outside our borders it will gain any sympathy for the manner in which it is trying to do away with



Changes in store at Nat Cape congress

# Blacks on President's Council?

by  
David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

President P W Botha will be back in the limelight when he opens the Cape congress of the National Party in Port Elizabeth on Monday night.

The occasion will be the last of this year's NP provincial congresses and may well be the high point of Mr Botha's series of reform speeches.

Mr Botha has generated interest in this speech himself this time, by telling the Transvaal NP congress last week that he would be using the occasion to make further, perhaps important, reform announcements.

He may give more indications as to the progress of the Government's negotiations with black leaders, and it is believed the Government has decided to incorporate blacks in a revamped President's Council, making the body more of a think-tank and a top-level advisory forum.

However, it is not clear

whether Mr Botha will reveal details on this at next week's congress or later in the year.

Most observers expect Mr Botha to at least give an indication that his Government is favourably disposed towards President's Council recommendations that influx control be replaced by a policy of orderly urbanisation.

Mr Botha told an American magazine this week that influx control could not be entirely scrapped, as there would have to be some controls against squatting.

In spite of intense domestic and international pressure to speed up his reform plans, Mr Botha appears to have stuck serenely to his own schedule.

In Durban last month, at the first of this year's congresses, he consolidated his various policy statements since January and promised that the Government was intent on give-and-take negotiations with all leaders who renounced violence.

He also hinted that influx control was on the way out because it was outdated and too costly.

At the second congress, in Bloemfontein, Mr Botha announced a major policy reversal — the Government accepted

that nationals of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda permanently resident in South Africa were South African citizens, and it was prepared to negotiate the return of South African citizenship to those who lived inside those homelands.

At last week's Transvaal congress, Mr Botha unveiled plans to privatise as much of the public service as possible. This far-reaching step promises to slash South Africa's burdensome bureaucracy, resulting in reduced Government spending and, with certain enterprises transferred to the private sector, an enlarged tax base.

Some resolutions on next week's congress agenda are decidedly right wing.

They call on Government to ensure that the House of Assembly, white residential areas and white schools remain white, and that the Group Areas Act remains unchanged.

The police are praised for their handling of the unrest, and two resolutions express their reservations about public investigations into police activities.

Another resolution calls for the propagation of disinvestment by South African citizens to be a punishable offence.

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STAR

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# Why P W Botha must stay

The State President "blew it" before the only sympathetic global audience his Government is ever likely to get.

His National Party local congress manner, projected on the small screen on every continent, wooed the world about as effectively as a snarling meerkat. The gaffe torpedoed South Africa's economy and tore apart her international relationships.

Ever since, thousands of South Africans have been saying: "Botha must go."

That is history. What are the realities of the present?

Because of the criticism, because new potential power groups are forming, because of looming by-elections, the NP is rallying around its leader as if he had been triumphantly elected to power only yesterday.

P W is intent on staying, and on orchestrating change on his own.

He will do so, despite the fact that *change cannot work unless there is a change in government.*

It's as simple as that, and it's no use anyone wringing his or her hands and blaming black citizens or the Western world for failing to understand or accept what the 38-year-old "apartheid government" is doing. It has to dismantle itself if it is going to dismantle apartheid.

Where does that leave our poor, besieged and over-governed country? In the short term (and that is all-important these days) there is one hope. It is P W Botha — if he stays.

If Botha goes, suddenly and soon, it will mean one of two things:

● South Africa has been overtaken by a military coup or a revolution.

● The State Presidency has been vacated because of illness, death or pique.

The first option is too ghastly to contemplate.

The second will hurt South Africa. This is because the vacuum P W creates by a sudden departure will be filled either by F W de Klerk or Gerrit Viljoen. Either way, the new incumbent will spend up to two years cementing his position and sorting out his own levers of effective power. The nation doesn't have two years... and it doesn't need yet another Nationalist government.

On the other hand, P W has enormous power. (Power beyond the acceptable limit in the usual democratic society.) In wielding that power, he has already shown

## UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS BY HARVEY TYSON

a little pragmatism. He himself could change the Government.

In the real world this does not mean — cannot mean — a change in leadership. Politicians don't abdicate, they adapt. In Italy, for instance, Foreign Minister Andreotti, has been Prime Minister of several governments, and prominent in almost every Cabinet since World War 2.

Here at home, the State President could organise a new kind of government without moving from his presidential chair.

He has already announced his intention not to restrict Cabinet appointments to Nationalist politicians. He has, in fact, given the Labour Party leader a Cabinet post. There is nothing to stop him following this course to its logical conclusion by appointing a "coalition" Cabinet.

A "coalition cabinet" would need to represent far more than the three-chamber Parliament. It would fail if it attempted merely consolidation and improved effi-

ciency with — say — a Harry Schwarz as Minister of Finance. New appointments would have to signal a wide enough representation across political and racial lines to open the way for negotiation with the groups which the Nationalist Cabinet has publicly admitted it cannot reach.

That would be a real step towards meaningful negotiation and change.

\* \* \*

We are all so locked into "the old ways" that it comes as a shock to find that *The Star* is still unconsciously acquiescing in practising apartheid.

We have had several letters in recent weeks in the following vein: "Glancing through your Classified Section, I noticed no less than eight advertisements on one page advertising jobs for whites only."

"The adverts stated: 'Regret whites only/Regret Europeans only'."

"What cynical regret. It brings

into question the morality of those who placed the adverts and the morality of *The Star* for publishing them.

"Your newspaper constantly editorialises about the need for peace, moderation and for 'reform'. It seems that your editorial policy ceases to apply when it comes to earning revenue."

"I wonder if those companies who so blatantly discriminate against blacks when it comes to jobs, apply the same criteria when it comes to taking the money of their black customers?" asks one reader.

We ignored some implicit threats, but found the moral argument irrefutable.

One thing worried us. The practical difficulties caused by forbidding advertisers to state their needs.

An advertiser may tell you: "I want 'an old-school tie type' to sell my upmarket wares to his unspectating school contemporaries. If I don't specify 'European male only', I may be flooded with totally irrelevant applications."

More important, a reader might complain: "I spent half a day and three rands getting to the address to apply for the job advertised — only to be told to leave because I

was black. Why does your newspaper encourage me to spend money in order to be insulted?"

The solution to that problem is for the advertiser to be more specific about the 'old boy'. Race is not the issue, and requires no mention.

But there are other difficulties.

*The Star's* policy has always been: we will accept all advertisements, provided they are legal and in acceptable taste. We publish advertisements from groups which are propagating or opposing almost every cause you can think of. Unlike most other papers in this country, we accept advertisements from all kinds of political parties and from rival newspapers trying to take business from us.

In short, *The Star* tries to offer its readers a free market place.

Why should we now place a restriction on race qualification?

The answer is that the restriction bans something that is no longer acceptable.

But we feel we are doing something positive rather than negative. *The Star's* internal administration policy is one of equal opportunity. We believe we had better reflect it publicly as well. We're not the first, but we certainly don't intend to be the last.

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# Warning of dangers if S A Govt toppled

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~~Mercury~~

Mercury

24/9/65

Mercury  
Correspondent

MELBOURNE—Australia's most authoritative and sole full-time defence correspondent, Peter Young, has warned Canberra of the consequences of the white minority Government being toppled in Pretoria.

'The collapse of the present Government and the installation of a regime favourable to the USSR would not only give them control of the vital Cape route but control of South Africa's wealth and strategic minerals,' Mr Young writes in his weekly column for the national daily, the Australian.

He points out that of the 51 states comprising the OAU, the majority are ruled by a single party or by military dictatorship. 'Their economies are in ruins. Tribalism is rampant and in some cases, such as Uganda, they have reverted to the sort of savagery that prevailed before the arrival of Speke and Stanley.

'The only unifying aim they still have in common is the destruction of South Africa. But they are not the only ones. Beyond, to the baying of the do-gooders, lie the long-term and more sinister aims of the Soviet Union.'

Mr Young likens South Africa's defensive position to a military nightmare, guarding a lengthy border against three frontline states dedicated to marxism and confronted internally with widespread civil unrest.

He says news of the recent combined Cuban-Soviet offensive against Unita in southern Angola represents a threat of significant proportions for world peace.

'While this might provide satisfaction to those who feel the South Africans have brought it on themselves, the end result could be a Soviet-dominated South Africa.'

Mr Young estimates there are 25 000 Cuban troops in Angola backed by 15 000 Soviet military and civilian technicians, as well as North Koreans in the border area.

He correctly identifies the increasingly sophisticated Soviet weaponry being used against the SADF, which he feels is sufficiently well trained and motivated to repulse the enemy.

In warning Canberra not to seek the destabilisation of the Republic, Mr Young said: 'The price could be the biggest and most savagely fought insurgency campaign the world has ever seen, followed by one of the most massive refugee problems in history.'

'No one should doubt for a moment that the Soviets have fully appreciated the opportunity afforded them by South Africa's agony.'

# Nkomati violations 'deliberate' — Maputo

STAR

The Star's Africa  
News Service

MAPUTO — At a Press conference here today, the Mozambican Security Minister lashed South Africa for its "premeditated" refusal to honour the Nkomati Accord and warned that his Government was "piecing together" a pile of documents captured from the MNR rebel movement.

According to a report today from the Mozambique national news agency (AIM), Colonel Sergio Vieira urged the international community to force the South African Government to carry out its responsibilities under the Accord. This is the latest development in a continuing row between the two countries over South Africa's alleged refusal to honour the Accord fully.

## 'AIMED AT RECONCILIATION'

At a meeting in Maputo on Monday, September 16, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was given a list of alleged violations by South Africa of the Nkomati Accord.

A few days later, at Komatipoort, Mr Botha and General Magnus Malan, the South African Minister of Defence, admitted to "technical violations" of the Accord, but explained that the violations had all been aimed at reconciliation between the Maputo Government and the MNR Rebels.

At the Press conference, extracts from three documents captured from the MNR "bandits" were shown to journalists from different parts of the world. The documents — a desk diary and two notebooks — were found in Casa Banana, the headquarters inside Mozambique of the MNR when it was overrun.

Colonel Vieira said that his government was now piecing together "many kilos of documents" some intact, some damaged.



# Much more to 'mean lie' than meets the eye

By David Braum,  
Political Correspondent

Revelations that South Africa "technically violated" the Nkomati Accord and that it now openly backs Unita in Angola have dealt a further blow to the Government's credibility.

South Africa has consistently denied that it destabilises its neighbours.

As far back as January 1983, the then ambassador to London, Mr Marais Steyn, rejected such allegations. Certain African countries were responsible for the destabilisation of their own countries "through repression of internal opposition parties" and "the presence of foreign troops necessary to prop up certain regimes", he said.

On February 1 1983, Mr P W Botha, then Prime Minister, spoke of the "mean lie" published by a South African newspaper about the issue of stabilisation and said he rejected the allegation "with the contempt it deserves".

The facts spoke differently, Mr Botha said. "Who went to meet Dr Kaunda to talk about peace?" he asked. "And who went to Lesotho to negotiate? Who held discussions with Mozambique in spite of deep-seated differences?"

Mr Botha went as far as to say that he believed that certain reports (about destabilisation by South Africa) came close to treason.

He used the same speech in stat-

ing the Government's final word on the Seychelles affair: there had been no Cabinet or State Security Council involvement in the attempted coup and no responsible official had given his approval to the exercise.

Destabilisation and assistance for anti-communist guerrilla forces are, however, apparently completely different concepts.

Just two weeks after his "mean lie" statement in Parliament, Mr Botha told the *New York Times* that South Africa would consider requests for aid from anti-communist guerrilla forces in the region, although it was also ready to enter into non-aggression pacts with any neighbour.

"If fellow Africans are threatened by the evils of communism, we shall assist them when our assistance is requested," he said. "I'm an African and I believe communism is bad for Africa."

Asked if that meant that any insurgent force that believed it was "fighting communism" could turn to South Africa, he replied, "if it is in the interest of South Africa and stability on our borders, we shall certainly consider it".

Such forces were then in existence in neighbouring states, Mr Botha said, but he declined to say whether they might already be getting South African help.

Also in 1983, before Mr Botha had made these statements, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, called on the Minister of De-

fence, General Magnus Malan, to resign because of his "dangerous and irresponsible" attitude towards supporting rebel movements in neighbouring territories.

He was reacting to General Malan's earlier statement that, if necessary, South Africa would support anti-communist movements such as the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MNR) and Unita and allow them to operate from South African soil.

Dr Slabbert warned again in Parliament this year that General Malan and his department were creating for themselves a major crisis of credibility.

"The worst thing that can happen to any government and any country is not that its policies are rejected, that it becomes bankrupt or that its leaders are disliked, but that it enjoys no honour for its word and that its credibility is destroyed."

"When it brings that about by its own hand, it defines itself as a vagabond among nations," he said.

And at his party's federal congress in Durban last month, Dr Slabbert said that the problem of credibility became particularly acute when one looked at the relationship between the SADF and the Minister and Parliament. Two examples which came to mind, were the SADF's role in the Angola war of 1974-75 and its support for the MNR.

"The Angola war was my first experience of how Parliament and the

rest of the country can be victims of systematic deception. What was public and open knowledge internationally was officially denied to be the truth in South Africa and Parliament as well."

Dr Slabbert said that when he cautiously raised the issue of destabilisation in Mozambique and the role of the Defence Force during the 1983 No-confidence debate, quoting strategic experts and Western sources, his party was jolted off with lies and made to look unpatriotic, and as people aiding and abetting the enemies of South Africa.

Having lied about its involvement, Dr Slabbert said, the Government then quite blatantly admitted that the PFP was correct in 1983 and that, if necessary, it would lie again.

"Given our position in the Angolan war, our acknowledged assistance to the MNR, our alleged complicity in the Seychelles coup, where do we stand on opposition movements in, for example, Lesotho and Zimbabwe?" Dr Slabbert asked.

He said that it was impossible to destabilise for a period of time without anybody finding out about it. America did it in Nicaragua and Israel in Lebanon.

In those countries it was a matter of public debate, but in South Africa one had to read and hear about what the Defence Department was doing from foreign sources.

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What is the truth behind destabilisation of neighbouring countries to South Africa, such as Angola and Mozambique? What role does South Africa play, and how far is she prepared to go?

STAR

# P W may detail more reform moves

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

President Botha will round off this year's National Party congress season tonight with what promises to be an important speech at the Cape congress in Port Elizabeth.

The President is expected to review and consolidate this year's reform developments. These include the abolition of certain major apartheid laws, the recognition of the permanence of blacks in white South Africa, citizenship for all the country's blacks and recognition of the principle that every group must share power up to the highest level in a system which guarantees minority rights.

Reforms which await attention include the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of political prisoners and detainees, the abolition of influx control and the pass laws, the easing of the restrictions of the

Group Areas Act, and the execution of plans to extend full political rights to all races.

The President may indicate that the Government is favourably disposed towards the recommendations of the President's Council that the system of influx control and pass laws be replaced by a "more positive" strategy of orderly urbanisation.

He is also expected to deal with the progress of negotiations with black leaders and may make a new appeal to leaders of all communities to come forward for talks.

## POLICE ACTION

He may deal with the state of emergency. There have been indications that the level of unrest has fallen in several of the districts in which the emergency has been declared.

Law and order will also be a major point of discussion and three resolutions question the wisdom of having public judicial inquiries into police action.

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# No black majority in SA — Nats

304A E. Post 30109/85

By DIRK VAN ZYL, Political Correspondent

THE National Party was not prepared to accept a "racist and oversimplified approach" that South Africa consisted of a white minority and a black majority.

This is stated in the current edition of the Cape National Party organ, Pro Nat, in a resume it has compiled of statements by President P W Botha in his opening address to the NP Natal congress in Durban last month.

The address, widely dubbed the "Rubicon" speech after Mr Botha had failed to meet widely-held reformist expectations, was the first of his four to NP provincial congresses this year. The Cape congress, opening in PE tonight, is the last of this year's four.

The magazine, which contains the full agenda and list of resolutions for the Cape congress, says in an editorial that President Botha's Durban speech had been shot down as "meaningless by our country's political enemies".

But it nevertheless was proof, Pro Nat adds, of "realistic far-sightedness in that the State President spelt out in no uncertain terms" (the Evening Post publishes the main points):

- "That we see the constitutional position of the black people in South Africa of such a nature that it will be decided through consultation with all concerned."

- "That we stand for the fair and equal treatment of all parts of the South African population."

- "We accept and respect the multi-cultural and ethnic make-up of the South African population."

- "We hold the viewpoint that the present influx control system is too expensive and does not any more meet the expectations."

- "We do not accept the principle of one-man, one-vote in a unitary state."

- "We do not see the so-called fourth parliamentary chamber (for blacks) as a practical solution."

- "Through the acceptance of the permanence of black communities in the urban areas outside the national states, we confirm that a solution for their legal rights will also have to be found."

# Nats, ANC must shift position, says Harry O

3044 The Star's Foreign News Service  
STAR 30/9/85  
PARIS — Mr Harry Oppenheimer, viewed in France as one of the most powerful men in the world, says negotiations for peace in South Africa are not possible until both the Government and the ANC moderate their views.

"President P W Botha must change his views and ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo must do the same," Mr Oppenheimer told Eric Laurent of *Figaro* magazine.

He said the meeting between the ANC and businessmen should have been undertaken by the Government. "It was a simple contact, a reasonable move," he said.

Asked if he wanted Mr Botha to resign he said: "Oh no. What I want is the resignation of the whole Government."

"The formula proposed by President Botha is impossible. One cannot claim to be searching for a just settlement while at the same time leaving all power in the hands of part of the white tribe."

"There must be a rapid sharing of power. That is the central question and I do not believe one can postpone it much longer. Peace cannot be obtained without dismantling the old system of apartheid."



# Slabbert urges PFP to 'middle option'

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party's new non-racial initiative against apartheid was launched yesterday by the party's leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

"We urgently and desperately need a new initiative," Dr Slabbert told cheering delegates in a two-hour speech at the start of the party congress here.

South Africa was faced with one form of violence against another form of violence, he said.

"Repression versus revolution — those are the options being forced upon us by the present circumstances. I say this is a false choice and we must see to it that it remains a false one.

"I say this is a choice, if it comes to be the only one, which will destroy

both human and physical resources on a scale never imagined before.

"We must show that there is a third option, an option in the middle, away from violence to change the status quo and away from repression to maintain it," Dr Slabbert said.

Dr Slabbert said that for years the government had been told that apartheid was going to kill the future of the land.

"Churches, universities, business leaders, politicians, friendly governments, all of them have repeatedly made this point. And they have not listened. Even now, they do not listen.

"Businesses are going bankrupt, people are leaving the country, the rand is sliding into oblivion, there is unrest in the townships escalat-

ing by the day, and we have yet to hear one cabinet minister get up on television and clearly say: 'We have been wrong. We have to change fundamentally.'

"Instead, we are treated to gobbledy-gook and nonsense which not even they, themselves, can understand. And nobody epitomizes it more clearly and more vividly than the State President himself."

Dr Slabbert said the State President, Mr P W Botha, had had a fantastic opportunity in his Durban speech to change the course of the country. Instead, the speech had been a clear demonstration of the fact that this man is not up to the challenge of the time.

The time had come to transcend differences in a convention "where a new constitution for all South Africa's people, based on a common citizenship in one country, can be negotiated".

Dr Slabbert appealed to everybody who believed there was an alternative to violence, including the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress, to support the convention alliance.

"You in the PFP have an historic responsibility. Not only to shout it out from the rooftops that there will be one country with one constitution and one citizenship, but also to show how it can be done and to encourage others to join us," Dr Slabbert said.

# PFP leadership to decide

Capit Times  
31/8/85 (304A)

From BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday put his political future on the line when he intervened in a lengthy debate at the congress of the Progressive Federal Party on whether the party should contest elections for the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament.

Dr Slabbert said during the 4½-hour debate that as far as he was concerned the party had already accepted the strategy of working within the tricameral system to fight apartheid.

He urged support for a federal council resolution which reaffirmed the commitment of the PFP to "the strategy of using Parliament as a base" to fight for the elimination of race discrimination and the convening of a national convention.

## Van Gend

The congress eventually backed him after a concerted attempt by an anti-participation group, led by the provincial councillor for Constantia, Mr Jannie van Gend, to delay participation in the two Houses of Parliament "unless the party is satisfied it enjoys substantial support from the communities to be served by such house or structure".

In effect, yesterday's

resolution means that the PFP has decided it would in principle contest seats for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates — but is unlikely to do so in the near future.

Dr Slabbert's support of a resolution moved by Mr Colin Eglin, MP, the party's national chairman, clearly swung the congress behind the move to clear the way for the party to contest seats for the other two Houses of Parliament.

At one stage during the debate, in which more than 50 people spoke, it seemed that the amendment moved by Mr Van Gend could win — against the wishes of the party leadership.

## Credibility

During the debate another two Cape MPCs, Mrs Molly Blackburn and Mrs Di Bishop, warned that the party would lose its credibility if it decided to enter the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament.

Mrs Blackburn said: "If we destroy the credibility of the party, we will destroy the credibility of what Helen (Suzman) and others have fought for so long."

She believed the party would commit "political suicide" if went into the two houses.

Mrs Bishop said the two Houses of Parliament were so "tainted" that participation would

reduce the party's credibility.

"We need a resolution that says unambiguously that we will not use these houses now," Mrs Bishop said.

In his speech, Dr Slabbert said the party had decided to participate in the tricameral system in 1983 in its fight to destroy apartheid.

"Let us have no doubt about what we stand for."

## Overwhelming

"We will use every constitutional method to promote our ideals," Dr Slabbert said.

Dr Slabbert also said Mr Van Gend's amendment would cause confusion, as had been reflected in the interpretations given to it during the debate.

The federal council resolution was eventually approved by an overwhelming majority of delegates.

There now seems little doubt that the PFP will gradually contest seats in the two houses, once it has consolidated its support among black, coloured and Indian people — and that it will not seek any alliances with parties already in the two houses.

The PFP wants to establish itself as a moderate, non-racial force and in contrast to the UDF and black consciousness groups it is now prepared to participate in all levels of Parliament to do so.



SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. AND POLITICS

1985

NOV. — DEC.

CAM Times 1/11/85 (3067)

# SA 'whipping boy' for world

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The more South Africa reformed its apartheid policies, the more it was condemned, the State President, Mr P W Botha, told journalists last night at the banquet of the Foreign Correspondents Association.

Speaking in Sandton, Mr Botha said South Africa had become "the number one whipping boy of world politics" and "the number one outlaw in the international community".

He said the purpose of the (media) campaign was to lead the world to believe that in 1948 "a retrogressive and unique system based on a policy and practice of racial separation and discrimination ... was introduced ... and that this policy is unique to South Africa".

Mr Botha had strong criticism for the foreign press in South Africa, saying that "reports in local newspapers ... lead one to believe that certain members of the foreign media in South Africa are more than mere objective onlookers".

He quoted a local press report which alleged that some foreign journalists had paid blacks to burn books and repeat stone-throwing incidents for the purposes of filming.

"Until now we have been bending over backwards to protect the last vestige of press freedom in South Africa, against those who do not value decency ... I express the wish that those who are really interested in press freedom do not drive their animosity towards the South African

people too far," he said.

Mr Botha said the policies of the National Party had been portrayed as "a doctrine of racial superiority, the perpetual denial of all fundamental rights and the oppression and exploitation of the black, coloured and Asian peoples".

He denied this, saying that the party's policies since 1949 had been "instruments intended to uplift people".

## Urgency

Mr Botha said no one appreciated the urgency for reform better than members of the present government of South Africa.

If apartheid meant political domination by any one community over another, any community's exclusion from the decision-making process, injustice or inequality in the opportunities available for any community or racial discrimination, then the government shared in the rejection of the concept, he said.

He asked whether it was only the South African manifestation of apartheid — a universal phenomenon of ethnic differentiation — which was repugnant.

Mr Botha said that despite "giant steps forward on the road of constitutional and socio-economic reform in South Africa, the campaign (against South Africa) is continuing."



Govt is losing  
white support

By BARRY STREEK

THIS week's by-elections have confirmed the trend of decreasing support for the National Party among whites.

Although President P W Botha said the results showed that the National Party still had "positive support" among the public, the Herstigte Nasionale Party's victory marks the first time the NP has been defeated in the Free State since 1953.

In all five seats the

right wing increased its support compared to the 1981 election, and the Progressive Federal Party finished a creditable second in the five-cornered Port Natal seat which it had not fought before.

The PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said the message of the by-elections was that if the government did not reform clearly and systematically but created confusion, it would lose votes to the left and right.

The by-elections could see the end of the declining New Republic Party, which is to consider its future at a federal council meeting today.

Four years ago, the NRP lost Port Natal by only 685 votes but this week it finished a poor last with only 550 votes.

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town said: "It is difficult to imagine a more promising context for major right-wing gains, given the economic crisis, the turbulence and the siege atmosphere."

The results suggested that the right-wing base was "comparatively small".

Mr Botha said the results showed that the support among whites for radical-left political groups had shown itself to be "fundamentally of less importance" in by-elections.

However, despite the fact that the NP held on to four of the five seats, Mr Botha must be disappointed.

The government is not scheduled to face white voters in an election until 1989 — because of the extended term of office of white MPs so that the next general election will be held at the same time for all three Houses.

However, the results showed another move away from the NP, a process that has continued since former prime minister Mr John Vorster led the party to the biggest election victory in South African history in 1977.

● In Lusaka yesterday, a spokesman for the ANC described the NP defeat in Sasolburg as "peripheral".

In a telephone interview with Michael Hartnack, the spokesman said: "We observe such things but really they are not at the core of our problem."

● Detailed election results, page 5

## British media focus on HNP triumph

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — President P W Botha should not look over his right shoulder at the by-election result in Sasolburg. Instead, he should act in a statesmanlike manner and create a genuine democracy.

This was the message to the South African president from Westminster's opposition politicians.

The shock victory of the Herstigte Nasionale Party's Mr Louis Stofberg in Sasolburg was prominently reported in the British media yesterday.

The leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais, was interviewed on radio and television. He hailed the by-election result, saying it was a clear rejection of the Botha government's moves toward reform.

The South African ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall, said President Botha would not shirk from his reform programme.

Commenting on the swing to the right in the by-elections, Mr Donald Anderson, Labour's foreign affairs spokesman, said whites who wanted to "dig themselves into a bunker" would one day regret their action. Mr Botha should now act like a statesman and bring about the much-needed changes.

Monday, November 1, 1985

# Professor warns of backlash by Right wing

African Affairs Correspondent

THE head of the Centre of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, says real turmoil in South Africa will set the stage for a pathological Right-wing counter-reaction which will start a wave of destruction of human life and property.

Writing in the latest issue of Indicator, a project of the centre, Prof Schlemmer says he agrees with the view that the one good thing about violence is that it ensures a hearing for moderation.

Historical precedent suggests, he says, that when the Government has tried everything and failed to contain unrest, and when the economy is crippled and black communities have become exhausted by constant turmoil, real negotiation will start.

This is an unacceptable prospect, he declares.

Not only will it take years for the economy to be rebuilt but possibly tens or hundreds of thousands of lives will have been lost.

'This future is to be avoided at all costs,' he writes.

Catalysts are required to bridge the gaps and to open opportunities for joint participation between the Government and black leaders.

Prof Schlemmer says one such catalyst may well be the convention alliance initiated by the PFP, Inkatha and other interests.

He says that, in the past two years, a dramatic process of radicalisation has taken place in the black communities, partly because of strong competition for popular support between the United Democratic Front, the National Forum grouping of Azapo and Azasm, and Inkatha.

The current fervour is to replace the system, not negotiate with it, he says.



# Economic upturn unlikely 'before political reform'

01/11/85 MERCURY 304A

Property Editor

**GEORGE-**It is highly unlikely that there will be any upturn in the economy before the political reform process has got under way, says the new president of the Building Industries Federation, Bob Zylstra.

In a speech marking his election at the annual congress here yesterday Mr Zylstra said the parlous state of the economy, coupled with political disturbances, township unrest and vast unemployment has had a dis-

ruptive effect on the economy and the building industry.

'Confidence in South Africa must be restored, internally and externally, before investment capital will be available to the building community for the many developments that need to be undertaken,' he said.

He picked out three key issues for the coming Bifsa year:

- The Competition Board investigation into all facets of professional and business activity;

- The structure and op-

eration of the Industrial Council system and the implications this holds for the building industry; and

- The introduction and practical implementation of competency-based training for learners and apprentices indentured into the building sector.

Mr Zylstra said: 'This year is likely to mark a significant turning point for the building industry. We are currently examining every aspect of our operation in an attempt to meet the challenge.'

There was a need for the organised building industry to remain critically aware of the many diverse problems faced by many of its members and non-members.

At some time, for instance, the emerging informal sector must be included.

On training, he said Bifsa was spending R16 million a year on training people of all race groups. This had to be continued if the demand for skills was to be met during the next economic upturn.

CAPE TOWN 1/11/85

# Boycott leader, UDF official redetained

30/11/85

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Consumer boycott organizer Mr Mkhusele Jack was re-detained yesterday morning while holding urgent discussions with the director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, Mr Tony Gilson, who is attempting to find solutions to the prolonged black boycott of white shops in the city.

And in another development yesterday, United Democratic Front vice-president, Mr Henry Fazzie, who was released along with Mr Jack on Wednesday, was also re-detained.

Both men were allowed to walk out of a New Brighton court on Wednesday after charges against them for attending an illegal meeting were withdrawn on the instruction of the Attorney-General.

Police said their release was "inadvertent".

Mr Gilson said last night he was upset and "extremely frustrated" that Mr Jack was again being held under emergency regulations.



# UDF won't be enticed

Political Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party's withdrawal from the convention alliance would not "entice" the United Democratic Front to participate in it, UDF interim organizer Mr Naseegh Jaffer said in a statement yesterday.

He said the PFP's retreat from the alliance is "an acknowledgement of the strength of the UDF on the ground and vindicates our warning to the PFP that they would be tainted by their association with Inkatha".

"Indeed Slabbert's unwarranted attack on the UDF underlies the reason's for our approach.

"We do not tell anyone who they should choose as leaders. Our viewpoint is that a convention alliance is misguided

because it ignores the fact that a large group of our democratically chosen leaders are incarcerated, our meetings are banned and troops and police occupy our townships.

"We are working for conditions in which we may freely consult with our own people.

"This is our priority; not to set ourselves up and make needless claims to appear at a shadowy dialogue table over the heads of the expressed will of the people.

"We have a clear strategy — one of mass struggle. Slabbert must not try to create disunity by suggesting that 'elements of the UDF' make decisions divorced from this mass base," Mr Jaffer said.

CAPL 7-15 1/10/85 (3049)

# Toast to State President ditched

Municipal Reporter

THE City Council has decided to scrap the toast to the State President at official civic functions and to use instead the toast "to the Republic of South Africa — our country".

A statement was issued during the council's monthly meeting yesterday, saying the council considered this the "most appropriate loyal toast for use on civic occasions".

This follows a motion put to the council last month by Mr Arthur J Wienburg, calling for the toast to be drunk to South Africa instead of the President "as this post has been politicized by the government".

Mr Wienburg called for the removal of Mr P W Botha's portrait from the Mayor's office for the same reason. The removal of the portrait caused an outcry in government circles, but was defended in yesterday's official statement.

"Concerning the photograph of the State President, the council again records that the act of removing this from the Mayor's parlour was not intended to be a slight upon, or discourteous to, the office of State President or the person of the present incumbent.

"The council considers that no further action should be taken in this matter and that it should now be regarded as closed," the statement said.



# City says 'enough of bitter harvest'

By HILARY VENABLES

IN AN attempt to restore peace to the Peninsula, the City Council yesterday undertook to summon an urgent peace conference "to draw up a manifesto for non-racial, democratic, local government" in the Cape Town metropolitan area.

A motion by Mr Clive Keegan — calling on the council to invite leaders of all sections of the community to meet with a view to seeking solutions to our crises — was adopted, with only one vote against.

Mr Keegan said that in the space of a few months Cape Town had reaped the bitter harvest of years of apartheid and totalitarianism.

This had destroyed its proud liberal tradition and reduced the City to a restless cauldron of distrust, fear and near-war.

Mr Keegan said it was time for Capetonians to cry "enough" and that it was time for the

government of the Mother City to say 'we have had enough of the official interference in our affairs and the official contempt for the cry of people desperate for change'.

"We must invite representatives from commerce, industry, education, ratepayers' associations, civic associations, churches and other groups to come together to construct a charter for our future."

Mr Norman Osburn said a "de facto state of civil war reigns at present" in Cape Town.

There was a deep divide between the people and officialdom, represented by the security forces, and it was up to

councillors to demonstrate again their commitment to non-racial, democratic government.

Mr John Sonnenburg said "just about every citizen in Cape Town has the impression that this town is being ruled by a military junta".

"If something is not done, the future of the City will be whipped away, stoned away, burned away," he warned.

Mr Tom Walters supported the motion and condemned the action of police in Cape Town.

**Thugs**

He described an incident he witnessed when police tried to disperse a crowd watching a picket at the gutted Corporation Chambers building, as "an unnecessary demonstration of police brutality and stupidity".

A "bully-boy of a major" had driven up in a white police vehicle "with what I can only describe as eight thugs in the back", he said.

Mr Walters told down his anecdote when asked by the Mayor, Mr Léon Markovitz, to moderate his language.

Mr Keegan's motion was carried by 27 votes to one.

Mrs Bronnie Harding left the chamber when a division was called which required everyone to vote individually and verbally.

Former mayor Mr. Kosiwani Zwi was the

**'Nazi tactics'**  
Meanwhile, the Leader of the Opposition in the Cape Provincial Council, Mr Herbert Hirsch, said yesterday the government's continued use of "nazi tactics" to suppress opposition was a cause for very serious concern.  
In a statement, he called on the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, to use his influence to persuade the government "to withdraw all the security forces from the 'black' areas and leave it to the regular police to deal with criminal elements".  
The administrator should also persuade the government to lift the emergency, release all detainees and postpone exams, Mr Hirsch said.

Cap. Tent  
1/11/85

30 KN



# PW and the Press

**Extracts from a speech given by President Botha to the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Sandton last night**

TODAY, the most profound reform in this country's history is taking place. At the same time the state of human rights, freedom and welfare is deteriorating worldwide at an alarming rate.

At this junction, SA has ironically become the number one whipping boy of world politics. We have been declared the number one outlaw in the international community.

What is said and done in SA today almost immediately becomes headlines around the globe. In recent times even what is not said also becomes leading stories throughout the world, often before it is not said.

The more we reform, the more we are condemned. The further we move away from the era of "apartheid," the fiercer the international campaign against us.

Distortions, simplifications and the on-going repetition of plain falsehoods were used to make this word synonymous with the worst form of racial oppression, contrary to the ideals reborn out of the holocaust. Ideals emphasising the worth of the individual, his fundamental human rights, his right to self-determination. Rights written into preambles to the United Nations Charter. Ideals which rejected racial discrimination.

Against this background, the policy

of the National Party was portrayed as being:

□ A doctrine of racial superiority;  
□ The perpetual denial of all fundamental rights;

□ Oppression and exploitation of the black, coloured and Asian peoples.

It is true that in 1948 this policy instrument became official under the name of "apartheid," and afterwards became more formalised than under previous governments prior to 1948.

However, all policy instruments of government must be judged by their results. The policies since 1948 were instruments intended to uplift people.

Today, in the field of education, welfare, training, housing, the development of rural areas, the provision of food and medical care, the creation of a middle class, we see much concrete evidence of the positive results of this instrument.

Anyone can compare SA's record in these fields with the results achieved

by policy instruments in all other former colonial possessions in Africa. Any objective observer will testify to the truth of SA's superior achievements.

Let me state very clearly: there is no one in this country, or anyone anywhere else, who appreciates the need and the urgency for reform better than members of this government.

We fully realise that the people of this country cannot be accommodated in separate, watertight compartments. We must, of necessity, inter-act.

However, there is another historical fact about "apartheid" which is not so well-known. I believe that this fact was very conveniently erased from many political memories.

The truth of the matter is that, shortly after the NP victory in 1948, the late General JC Smuts, in Parliament, claimed "apartheid," racial discrimination and unequal rights as part of United Party policy, as well as part of the historical political culture of SA.

In 1917, only two years before his death, General Louis Botha said the

following in Parliament:  
"Suggestions had been made that the 'Native Operation' be solved on a basis of equality for both races. It would be a great mistake to give Africans that impression. Give the natives the right to vote in their own territories on matters affecting themselves, but that is as far as we will go."

That was Louis Botha. Would the international community vilify Louis Botha like some of them vilify us today? Let us now look at what General Smuts really believed and said.

For the sake of those who are once again going to accuse me of twisting history, I wish to quote Smuts

"It is so far-fetched to think that the United Party, or any party, can be so stupid as that and embark on those policies (of equal rights), that it passes the wit of man. Equal rights never has been our policy..."

"Our policy has been *European paramountcy* in this country... We stand and have always stood for *European supremacy in this country*... We have always stood and we stand for social and residential separation in this country, and for the avoidance of all racial mixture."

He was then asked by Dr Malan, as I wish to ask the world tonight: "Is that your apartheid?"



# 'WHITES WON'T ABDICATE'

SOWETAN

204R

01/11/85

BLACKS generally want an end to white government and its replacement by popular rule, while whites are not prepared to abdicate power.

It is on this "rock" that the idea of negotiating a solution to South Africa's problems founders, says Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal in Durban.

"Possibly the two major protagonists — the present government of the National Party, and the ANC — will have to fight each other to a point of mutual exhaustion before a spirit conducive to compromise will emerge," he told the annual conference of the Federated Chamber of Industries in the city this week.

## Blacks want popular rule...

"This would take South Africa into a full-blown Lebanon-type situation in the process — a situation from which the economy will take decades to recover."

For this reason, the private sector had to take its role as a catalyst for peaceful negotiation and change and compromise more seriously. It would have to work far harder at opening up channels of communication between itself and the Government, at promoting the freedom of association which went with free enterprise and at providing more resources for sophisticated debate about the future.

He told industrialists that their task was made more difficult by a concept of liberation which had developed along the lines of the decolonisation model in the rest of Africa.

"It would appear that the expectation is that negotiations will not be about a share in the 'system,' but its obliteration," said Dr Schlemmer.

"A perception has taken hold that any vestige of white minority safeguards will represent the persistence of apartheid. The image of liberation is one of a white policy and administration entirely replaced by black or popular rule."

The dominant thinking among the perpetrators of black uprisings had evolved since the ANC Defiance Campaign of the 1950s. In 1976/77 it had taken on a "liberal democratic" dimension — not dissimilar to that of white business now.

In 1985, said Dr Schlemmer, the dominant mobilising ideology is anti-capitalist and pro-socialist.

He warned whites

against putting too much faith in any process of negotiation, while totally discounting the alternatives of crushing black resistance and of reaching stability through gradual reform.

"Reform, if it is to succeed in winning blacks across in support of existing South African institutions, will have to be well nigh total in its effect and very swiftly introduced."

It would have to be introduced fast and dramatically enough to transform the lives and

consciousness of the political classes in the townships. This type of reform was impossible in this country where the Government spent so much time persuading a conservative white electorate to accept change that it was disappointing and out of date by the time it was implemented.

At present the Government was looking at a division of power, said Dr Schlemmer. Eventually it would get around to talking of power-sharing.

"To major black participants, with the exception of Inkatha, this will probably be perceived to represent the continuation of undemocratic political privilege."

The Government's latest proposal of a federal system based on race would not work, he said, and at best it should be seen only as an interim measure.

"It might be said that we have to move swiftly towards a society which is open, but fully-integrated, and with full political participation by all, but which at the same time offers whites and their major political formations a guarantee of effective power in regard to policies which affect them."

weekend. The colourful occasion was attended by many well-wishers.

# PFP warns on bitterness

SOWETAN Correspondent

BITTERNESS among alienated black communities caused by "callous and irresponsible" police behaviour would be extremely difficult to eradicate, Mr Ken Andrew, Progressive Federal Party MP has warned. SOWETAN 1/11/85 (304A)

Citing an incident in which three Crossroads children aged between five and eight were allegedly wounded by police birdshot on Monday, Mr Andrew — the PFP's spokesman on black affairs — said it appeared that "uncaring, thoughtless and often vengeful" actions seemed to be taking place on a widespread basis without any determined effort by those in charge to prevent abuses.

SOWETAN Correspondent

The extent to which the behaviour of "certain elements" of the police had alienated black communities was cause for grave concern, he said.

"Many of their actions are seen as indiscriminate, unwarranted and punitive violence against black and so-called coloured people in the townships.

In response to residents' urgent pleas for help, he and Mr Paul Vorwerk, co-ordinator of the PFP's unrest monitoring group, visited Crossroads where a witness described the shootings.

They were told a yellow van drove past their home, then returned and stopped.

A policeman got out and fired two shots down a narrow alley between a cluster of shacks.

"The children were all hit by birdshot. Ayanda (5) was wounded in his back, Nomalanga (6) on the back of her head and Khumbalanai (8) in his calf.

"The police could not possibly have been unaware that children were

there or that they had been hit by the birdshot, yet took no interest in the welfare of the children and drove off," Mr Andrew said.

"This sort of callous and irresponsible behaviour should not be tolerated.

"Unfortunately, it appears as though uncaring, thoughtless and often vengeful actions seem to be taking place on a widespread basis without any determined effort by those in charge to prevent abuses from taking place."

The bitterness caused by actions of this sort was going to be extremely difficult to eradicate in the months and years ahead.

## ARTISTS

All monies raised from Sun City will be





# 100 000 hoped for anti-SA march

304A  
By Peter Mann,  
The Star Bureau

STAR

LONDON — Anti-apartheid demonstrators are hoping to put 100 000 people on the streets today to protest against violence in South Africa and to demand sanctions. 2/11/85

The rally will be addressed by American presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson, African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo, and a host of lesser personages, including Glenys Kinnock, the wife of the Labour Party leader.

The Rev Jackson arrived here yesterday and immediately claimed South Africa had a nuclear bomb. It was, he said, "a state of terror", "Fascist", "anti-democratic" and "a defiance of God".

He added "Hitler smiles on South Africa. They are the descendants of the Nazis. There is daily murder."

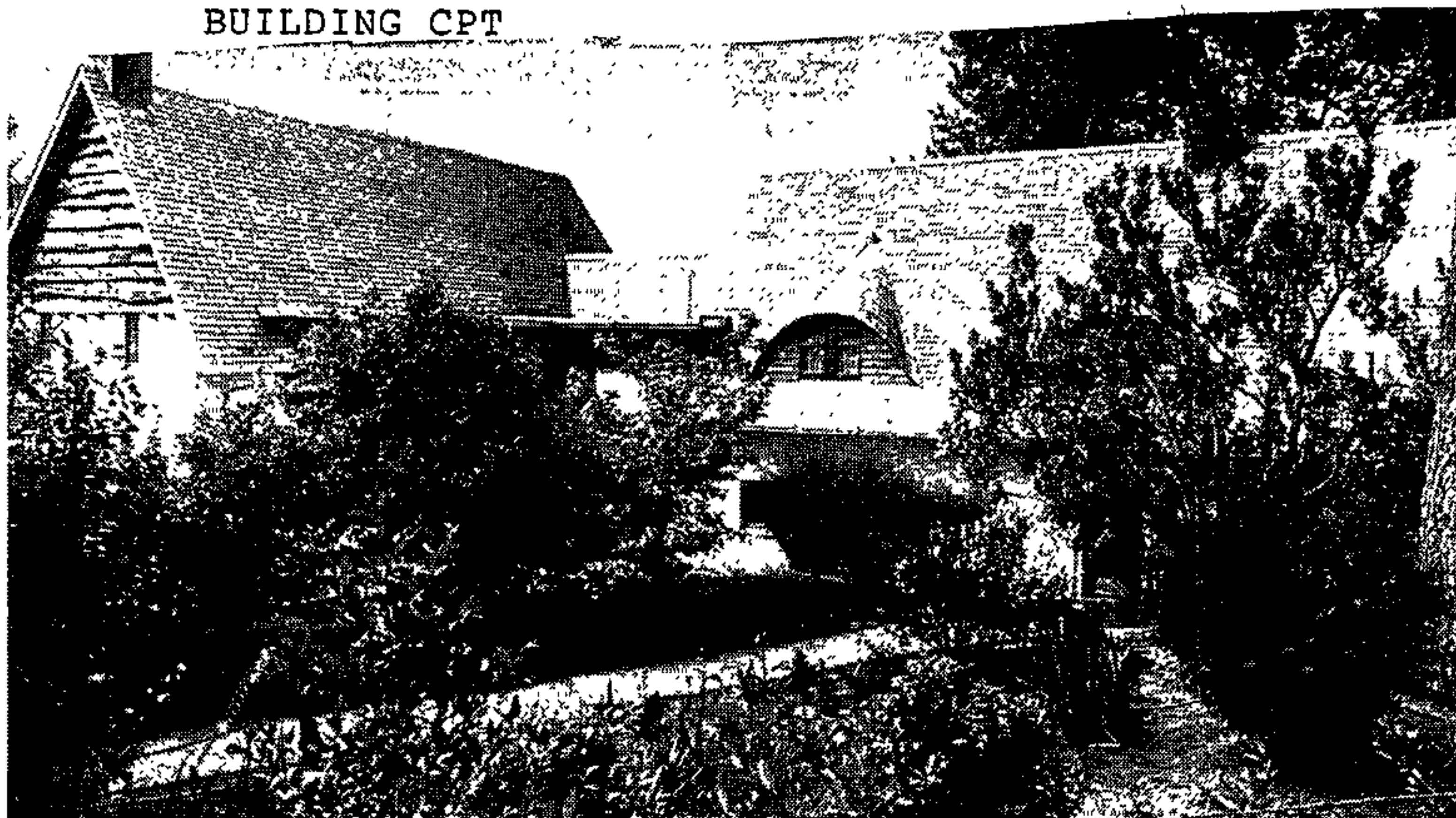
Asked about violence from the ANC, he said "After 50 years of non-violence, they are indulging in selective acts. We need not dwell on that. There is a human limit. How many babies must be gassed. How many schools must be gassed. The limit has been reached."

He said Mrs Margaret Thatcher should "take the lead" and meet Mr Tambo.

Anti-apartheid demonstrators will converge on Trafalgar Square and the South African Embassy from three directions. The main march will pass the American and West German embassies, stopping to drop off letters protesting at their support of South Africa.



# BUILDING CPT



This house in Gloucester Avenue, Bishopscourt, was sold recently for R400 000. The property, on a 8 490 sq m site, has a municipal valuation of R113 660.

## Politics centrepiece at Bifsa, FCI talks

W/E ARGUS 2/4/85

Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

DURBAN. — Politics played a central role at the annual conferences of the Federated Chamber of Industries and the Building Industries Federation this week.

In this the conferences in Durban and George, followed the pattern set by the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Cape Town two weeks ago.

The FCI's first day in open session was devoted more to business, with banking, the state of the economy and the question of urbanisation on the agenda.

Regional and sectoral representatives cast a gloom over proceedings with their tales of woe regarding business conditions. Only the Natal spokesmen — chiefly Sugar Association chairman Dr Kees van der Pol and Mr Roland Freakes, head of the Natal Chamber of Industries — really managed to see any light.

Dr Robin Lee, managing director of the Urban Foundation, said 60 percent of black South Africans would live in cities and towns by the year 2000, and there was a need to manage urban drift to benefit from the development potential and to limit the negative consequences.

Whites and the authorities needed to realise the benefits of urbanisation with one of the key require-

ments for its success being the genuine removal of influx control.

Talks were dominated by the vexed question of the role of business in reform.

The distrust with which most blacks viewed business because of its long alliance with oppressive government was spelled out forthrightly by Dr Nthato Motlana of Johannesburg.

Speaking from his own experience, he recounted chapter and verse of the trials and tribulations of the black in South Africa brought about by exploitative rulers and businessmen.

He said real change would come about only when commerce and industry started deliberately disobeying the "ridiculous" laws of apartheid and matching their pious sentiments with action.

Durban sociologist Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, warned against putting faith in a process of negotiation.

Business should rather commit itself and its resources to a far greater extent to creating conditions conducive to sophisticated debate on the future.

The Bifsa congress was also addressed by Dr Lee who said separatism had failed and apartheid had become a "slogan in reverse". The growing political role of the trade unions and need for privatisation were among other main subjects of debate.

I : All  
C : Yes  
n : Yes



# The 'lunatic right'

W/E Argus

2/11/85

304A



## Out of the wilderness

TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

AFTER more than 16 years in the political wilderness Mr Louis Stofberg, new Herstigte Nasionale Party MP for Sasolburg, had reason to say that he felt "like a feather" after he snatched the seat from the National Party in a by-election.

Mr Stofberg said he had a pleasantly drifting feeling immediately after the result was known — he had turned a Nationalist majority of 2 619 in the 1981 General Election into an HNP majority of 367.

"It showed that we have a good cause. It also showed that if one goes into the political wilderness it can take many weary years before you emerge — and then only if you have that good cause."

Above all he ascribes the dramatic victory — the first time since its formation in 1969 that the party has won a seat in Parliament — to hard work.

"We worked like people possessed, and we showed that we had a good cause."

He also maintains that many ordinary Nationalists have at last realised that the National Party is not standing by its traditional policies and that the HNP in fact now embodies true nationalism.

The abolition of sexual apartheid laws, the opening up of more and more facilities for all race groups, suggestions that influx control and the Group Areas Act will be scrapped — but, above all, suggestions that blacks will be brought into the parliamentary structure drove thousands of Nationalists to the HNP, he claims.

Especially the suggestion that blacks would be brought in at the parliamentary level was anathema to the white voters. "They were prepared to tolerate the coloured and Indians being brought in, but this they will not take."

He points out that the party achieved its success without any newspaper, radio or television support. Support had to be drawn purely through intensive pamphlet campaigning, public meetings and house visits (huisbesoek).

He differs strongly from the statement of the Conservative Party leader, Dr A P Treurnicht, that the victory was a gift from the CP

to the HNP because, in terms of an election agreement, the two parties did not oppose each other in some of the by-elections.

"While not ungrateful for such support we won because we worked hard and because people saw that we are the true national party."

He claims that some of the old "bloedsappe", now New Republic Party supporters and Progressive Federal Party supporters, had voted for the HNP because they were anti-National Party and because of their dissatisfaction about economic conditions.

There are clearly some tensions between the two right-wing parties. Mr Stofberg believes that there may be some more negotiations between the parties with a view to future co-operation but he firmly rules out any possibility of the two parties merging.

He is also resentful of the fact that the HNP is portrayed as being in the lunatic fringe in politics. Thus image, he says, comes from the way the party has consistently been blackened in the Press.

The party's policy was not to chase the blacks or the English-speakers "into the sea". The party stood for equality of nations, not integrated equality on an individual basis.

In Parliamewnt, he says, he will sit as Mrs Helen Suzman used to sit in her years as the only MP of the then Progressive Party.

"I will not be attached to any other party. Sometimes I will agree with the CP, sometimes I might not, but I expect that I will agree with it most of the time".

He confirms that he and President P W Botha have been sworn political enemies for many years, but he promises not to reduce their future political squabbles to a personal level.

He believes that Mr Botha has betrayed every principle the old National Party stood for.

Mr Stofberg was last in Parliament in 1970 when he lost the Worcester seat — which he had won as a Nationalist — when he stood for the HNP for the first time.

# Triumphant HNP comes back in from the cold



Dr Albert Hertzog



Mr Jaap Marais

Frans Esterhuyse,  
Political Staff

THE "political weirdies" of the ultra-rightwing Herstigte Nasionale Party are back in business after capturing the Sasolburg parliamentary seat this week.

They have come in from the cold after more than a decade of fighting a lone battle in the wilderness of fringe politics in South Africa.

## Breakaway

A triumphant Mr Louis Stofberg, former National Party MP for Worcester and one of the original Nationalist rebels who broke away from the NP under former Prime Minister John Vorster to form the HNP, will now be their sole representative in Parliament.

Mr Stofberg, an attorney and general sec-

retary of the HNP, is one of four former Nationalist MPs who broke away from the NP in 1969 after refusing to accept the NP's reformed, "normalised" sport policy which was to make it possible for sportsmen who were not white to play in South Africa as members of overseas teams.

Other members of the group were:

- Dr Albert Hertzog, former Minister of Posts and Telegraphs who for years resisted the introduction of television in South Africa. He denounced TV as "a little black box" which would be harmful to the public.

- Dr Hertzog, the son of former Prime Minister General J B M Hertzog, resigned in 1977 as leader of the HNP. He clashed with other

members of the party about the use of the Pieter Neethling Fund for the party. Dr Hertzog died a few years ago.

- Mr Jaap Marais, former Nationalist MP for Innesdal who succeeded Dr Hertzog as leader of the HNP and battled for many years to get his party back into Parliament. He has been described as a "bittereinder" of the far right.

He has committed his party to restoring South Africa's heritage as a "white man's country".

- Mr Willie Marais, former Nationalist MP for Wonderboom, who once caused an angry row at a public meeting when he claimed that the HNP was the first party in South Africa founded on the Word of God.



**"It seems extraordinary that President Botha can talk about negotiation and while he does so the very people with whom he has to negotiate are being locked up."**

W/E August 2/11/85

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# Slabbert: SA run by a secret think-tank

THE Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, has charged that the country is run by a secret think-tank which makes decisions, defines policies and sets goals with little reference to Parliament or even the Cabinet.

The aims and objectives of this group clash head-on with the Government's avowed intention of reform through negotiation, he has concluded and the result is utter confusion.

This emerges from his book *The Last White Parliament*, which was published this week.

In an interview he defined the two opposing strategies as those of siege and negotiation. Those leaders following a strategy of siege believe in the "total onslaught" argument and others believe in reform through negotiation.

On the basis of recent Government actions and decisions he says one can come to no other conclusion than that the strategists of siege are winning the battle within the Cabinet and that this is costing South Africa dearly.

He posed what he termed the "million dollar question" when asked if President Botha's reform efforts were being scuppered deliberately by a group mandated by him to formulate the long term policies the Government needs to implement if it is to succeed in twin goals of achieving reform and stability.

"There is no relationship between the goals of reform and the efforts towards achieving stability by the security forces," he said.

## Group Areas

"It seems extraordinary that President Botha can talk about negotiation, and while he does so the very people with whom he has to negotiate are being locked up.

"At the same time he says he is prepared to speak on an open agenda, but announces that the Group Areas Act cannot be scrapped.

"It seems to me that the siege option — of those who believe in the total onslaught logic — is becoming ever more real and that the proponents of negotiation are losing the battle."

He emphasised that he had no hard evidence on the "siege group" which he believes is orchestrating the Government's initiatives and responses, but added that the nature of the country's domestic situation was such that various departments — such as Foreign Affairs and Defence — found they overlapped in dealing with the intelligence and security issues caused by regional problems.

JOHN MacLENNAN, Political Staff



**Dr Slabbert ... the strategists of siege are winning the battle**

"Somewhere a common definition of the situation is arrived at and processed for political consumption.

"Somewhere inputs are made into this common definition and it is eventually formulated in, I imagine, the State Security Council, before it informs the Cabinet and Parliament ....

"And so we have the extraordinary situation that two competing, perhaps contradictory, definitions of the situation are generated by the same Government."

Dr Slabbert accused the SADF's top planners and such personalities as the Minister of Law and Order (Mr Louis le Grange), the Minister of Defence (General Magnus Malan) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Mr Pik Botha) of manipulating MPs and treating Parliament with what he termed "strategic disrespect."

He was of the opinion that the security forces may well be working according to their own agenda and timetable of which only top leadership has any knowledge and which functions independently of any public programme to promote the politics of negotiation.

Dr Slabbert made the assertion that South Africa had not yet passed the point of no return in the current spiral of violence and offered a checklist of steps which could make a significant contribution towards promoting the politics of negotiation.

These included scrapping the total onslaught approach and creating an atmosphere in which talks could take place through a commonly accepted Declaration of Intent and the Government's ac-



**Mr Botha ... are his reform efforts being deliberately scuppered?**

ceptance that it will have to negotiate one constitution, based on one citizenship without entrenched racial domination.

Herewith some Thoughts of Opposition leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, as culled from his book *The Last White Parliament*.

● "I am desperately bored by this 'five-minutes-to-midnight-heavy breathing' politics. Time and again I have sat in at dinner parties where some angry black has rolled his eyes at the assembled whites, promising the day of Armageddon and watched them get goosepimples."

● "If it (an ideology) does not engage (the system), it becomes moral masturbation."

● "Nothing blunts the spirit more than those SABC editorials trying to prove that we are right because the whole world is wrong."

● "A Cabinet Minister laughingly told me: 'Come election time all we do is show Eugene Terreblanche (the right-wing jackbooted leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) giving his nazi salute on TV and your voters will flock to our tables in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg.'"

● "Sometimes, after Chris Heunis has been interviewed, one needs a mental panga to hack through the conditional clauses and hyperbolic verbiage in order to establish whether he has said anything."

● *The Last White Parliament*, an autobiography, is jointly published by Hans Strydom Publishers and Jonathan Ball Publishers.

# NATAL MERCURY 304A More objections to mixed beaches 02 || 85

Mercury Reporter

A FURTHER 29 objections to the Durban Management Committee's proposal to open four more white beaches and other amenities to all races were received at City Hall yesterday, technically the closing date for objections.

But any more objections sent in before the special combined meeting of Manco and the Amenities Committee on November 7 would also be considered, said the

Town Clerk, Mr Gordon Haygarth.

Yesterday was merely an 'administrative' closing date, he said.

The total number of objections stood yesterday at 357, including 309 signatures on a single petition.

If, after considering the objections, the combined meeting approves, the beach bylaw changes, the proposal will go before a special full council meeting on November 11.



# Social need seen for foreign investment

By ALEX PETERSEN  
BOTH social and economic issues had to be taken into account in assessing the prospects for profitable investment in South Africa, the development finance director of the Urban Foundation, Mr A J van Ryneveld, said yesterday.

Speaking to the Euromoney conference in Cape Town, Mr Van Ryneveld said a stable environment would undoubtedly contribute to better economic performance, and it was clear that past economic development had contributed to social advancement of all races.

An example of this was the elections taking place for community council in black urban areas.

## New legislation

Under the new legislation, the powers of these councils would be virtually the same as those of white municipalities.

In the area of social issues, the world-wide drift from rural to urban areas had particular impact in South Africa. Estimates suggested that by 1990 that the black population in the urban areas would double that of the total of the other populations.

"The implications for housing, education and

training, job creation, welfare and other areas are enormous. It will create both problems and opportunities."

In the field of housing government and the private sector and communities had embarked on significant new directions. These included:

- 99-year leasehold for blacks,
- The offer for sale of

unions, in which the State had played a leading role.

On foreign investment, Mr Van Ryneveld said that while a body of opinion favoured disinvestment, many black, coloured and Indian people favoured more investment.

"At the most basic level they see that this

## Euromoney conference

500 000 houses to urban blacks which could produce major attitude changes.

- The acceptance of the need to depart from conventional forms of housing.

## Vast task

While education was also a vast task, and there were still grounds for criticism, much progress had been made.

"There are more blacks in standard 10 than all other race groups put together. This also applies at all lower school levels."

Industrial relations had seen one of the most significant reforms of recent years with the opening up of trade

would lead to more economic activity, to more jobs, more income and more social development."

But those blacks who welcomed overseas investment would stipulate that it was through the private sector, and that local operations of overseas companies maintained a high standard of employment practices, and made a contribution to local social needs.

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# “There is a better way”

(3844)

As responsible businessmen committed to South Africa and the welfare of all its people, we are deeply concerned about the current situation.

**We believe that the reform process should be accelerated by:**

- **Abolishing statutory race discrimination wherever it exists;**
- **Negotiating with acknowledged black leaders about power sharing;**
- **Granting full South African citizenship to all our peoples;**
- **Restoring and entrenching the rule of law.**

We reject violence as a means of achieving change and we support the politics of negotiation.

We believe that there is a better way for South Africa and we support equal opportunity, respect for the individual, freedom of enterprise and freedom of movement.

We believe in the development of the South African economy for the benefit of all of its people



and to pay our part in transforming the structures and systems of the country toward fair participation for all.

<b>L.G. ABRAHAMSE</b>	Chairman	SVFRET'S TRUST LIMITED	<b>S.M. GOLDSTEIN</b>	Chairman	S.M. GOLDSTEIN LIMITED	<b>J. OGILVIE THOMPSON</b>	Chairman	DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES LIMITED
<b>R.J. ABRAHAMSEN</b>	Chief Executive	NEDBANK GROUP LIMITED	<b>E.E. HART</b>	Chairman	WHITEHALL PRODUCTS (S.A.) (PTY) LIMITED	<b>H.F. OPPENHEIMER</b>	Executive Chairman	OVENSTONE INVESTMENTS LIMITED
<b>R.D. ACKERMAN</b>	Chairman	PICK 'n PAY STORES LIMITED	<b>DR. W. HASSELKUS</b>	Managing Director	BMW S.A. (PTY) LIMITED	<b>A.D. OVENSTONE</b>	Joint Managing Director	NATAL CONSOLIDATED INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENTS LIMITED (THE FRAME GROUP)
<b>C.S. ADCOCK</b>	Managing Director	TOYOTA S.A. LIMITED	<b>H.S. HERMAN</b>	Joint Managing Director	PICK 'n PAY STORES LIMITED	<b>S.R. PEIMER</b>	Chairman	THE PROPERTY GROUP OF S.A. LIMITED
<b>PROF. C. ANDREWS</b>	Director	GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS WITS UNIVERSITY	<b>M. HILKOWITZ</b>	Managing Director	LIBERTY LIFE ASSOCIATION OF AFRICA LIMITED	<b>B.P. RABINOWITZ</b>	Chairman	MOBIL OIL S.A. (PTY) LIMITED
<b>P.J. BADENHORST</b>	Chief Executive	UNITED BUILDING SOCIETY	<b>J.B. HODGSON</b>	Chairman	DARLING & HODGSON LIMITED	<b>G.P. RACINE</b>	Chairman/Managing Director	ANGLO AMERICAN CORPORATION OF S.A. LIMITED
<b>C.J. BALL</b>	Managing Director	BARCLAY'S NATIONAL BANK LIMITED	<b>G.W. HOOD</b>	Managing Director	OK BAZAARS (1929) LIMITED	<b>G.W. RELLY</b>	Chairman	GRAND BAZAARS LIMITED
<b>S.F. BARNETT</b>	Chairman/Managing Director	STERNS DIAMOND ORGANISATION LIMITED	<b>J.R. HOUSTON</b>	Managing Director	NCR CORPORATION OF S.A. (PTY) LIMITED	<b>M. SACHAR</b>	Chairman	THE TONGAAT GROUP LIMITED
<b>J. BEARE</b>	Chairman	BEARES LIMITED	<b>I.J. JACOBSON</b>	Chairman/Chief Executive	TRADE & INDUSTRY ACCEPTANCE CORPORATION LIMITED	<b>R.J. SCHMITT</b>	Managing Director	NAMPAK TISSUE DIVISION
<b>A. BERMAN</b>	Joint Managing Director	NATAL CONSOLIDATED INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENTS LIMITED (THE FRAME GROUP)	<b>S.L. JAFFE</b>	Chairman	BRADLOWS STORES LIMITED	<b>P. SEARLE</b>	Managing Director	VOLKSWAGEN OF S.A. (PTY) LIMITED
<b>A.H. BLOOM</b>	Chairman	PREMIER GROUP HOLDINGS LIMITED	<b>A. JAFFE</b>	Chairman	DELSWA LIMITED	<b>A. SEARLL</b>	Chairman	SEARDEL INVESTMENT CORPORATION LIMITED
<b>W.G. BOUSTRED</b>	Chairman	ANGLO AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION LIMITED	<b>J.K. JOHNSON</b>	Managing Director	TRENCOR LIMITED	<b>M. SIMCHOWITZ</b>	Chairman	W & A INVESTMENT CORPORATION LIMITED
<b>L. BOYD</b>	Chairman	S.A. MOTOR CORPORATION LIMITED	<b>N.I. JOWELL</b>	Chairman	MICOR HOLDINGS LIMITED	<b>E.J. SMALE</b>	Managing Director	AECI LIMITED
<b>I.D. BRITTAN</b>	Chairman	BOUMAT LIMITED	<b>C.B. KAPLAN</b>	Chairman	S.A. ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS LIMITED	<b>C.A. SPALDING</b>	Managing Director	JOHNSON & JOHNSON (PTY) LIMITED
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<b>T.G. COULSON</b>	Chairman/Managing Director	BLUE CIRCLE LIMITED	<b>J.A. MACKNESS</b>	Managing Director	CNA GALLO LIMITED	<b>DR. A. WESSELS</b>	Chairman	TOYOTA S.A. LIMITED
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<b>C.S. DOS SANTOS</b>	Managing Director	SCORE FOOD HOLDINGS LIMITED	<b>D.B. MCCARTAN</b>	Chairman	NAMPAK LIMITED	<b>R.A. WHITE</b>	Managing Director	GENERAL MOTORS OF S.A. (PTY) LIMITED
<b>J.G. DOUGLAS</b>	Chairman/Managing Director	S.A. GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY (PTY) LIMITED	<b>P.W. MCLEAN</b>	Managing Director	THE ARCUS GROUP	<b>PROF. N. WIEHANN</b>	Director	GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS UNISA
<b>C. DUKE</b>	General Manager	ABBOTT LABORATORIES (S.A.) (PTY) LIMITED	<b>F.J. MEYER</b>	Senior Vice President	THE COCA-COLA EXPORT CORPORATION	<b>C.T. WOOD</b>	Managing Director	CITIBANK LIMITED
<b>D.J. ENGLISH</b>	Managing Director	RANK XEROX (PTY) LIMITED	<b>H.W. MILLER</b>	Executive Chairman	THE ARCUS GROUP	<b>P.G. WRIGHTON</b>	Deputy Chairman	PREMIER GROUP HOLDINGS LIMITED
<b>A.J.F. FERGUSON</b>	Chairman	THE PRUDENTIAL ASSURANCE COMPANY OF S.A. LIMITED	<b>P.B. MOFFITT</b>	Managing Director	S.A. CYANAMID (PTY) LIMITED	<b>W.S. YEOWART</b>	Immediate Past President	ASSOCOM.
<b>R. FERRIS</b>	Managing Director	KODAK S.A. (PTY) LIMITED	<b>T. MOOLMAN</b>	Joint Managing Director	CAXTON LIMITED			
<b>D.T. FLETCHER</b>	Chairman/Managing Director	CALTEX OIL (S.A.) (PTY) LIMITED	<b>M.N. NEWMAN</b>	Executive Chairman	S.A. BIAS HOLDINGS LIMITED			
<b>J.A. FRANKEL</b>	Joint Managing Director	TIGER OATS LIMITED	<b>G.W. NOCKER</b>	Chief Executive Officer	COLGATE-PALMOLIVE LIMITED			
<b>M.R. FÜRST</b>	Managing Director	HEWLETT-PACKARD S.A. (PTY) LIMITED						



# take you there'

THE SA Committee for Higher Education has started a new college, Khanya College, to provide preparatory first-year university level courses.

The courses are run in association with Indiana University in America.

Khanya College offers a first-year university level program integrating study skills, conception and language development.

Students who complete the program satisfactorily will be eligible to enter the University of the Witwatersrand or the University of Cape Town and receive credit and/or exemption for course work completed.

People who have matric or are writing matric this year are invited to apply for entry to the college.

The program is a 35-week full-time year of intensive study beginning in February 1986.

The campuses are in Johannesburg and Cape Town and residential facilities are available.

The deadline for applications has been extended several weeks beyond October 30, the closing date.

Application forms are available from Khanya College, 5th Floor, Union Centre, 31 Pritchard Street, Johannesburg 2000. ☎ (011) 836-9381/2/3.

# Study aid for staff's kids

NATIONAL Newspapers, owners of Drum Publications – the publishers of City Press, Drum and True Love – is offering three bursaries to the children of employees who have completed a year's service in the company.

With the three publications in the Drum group celebrating their first anniversary as a National Newspapers subsidiary this year, staff members of the group become eligible for the bursaries which until now were open to the staff of the other publications and subsidiaries in the group.

The bursaries are for study for a Bachelor's degree at a university of the applicant's choice. One of the bursaries is a merit award for academic achievement, while the financial situation of the applicant is an important factor in the award of the other two.

Applicants must have a university exemption and give details of their exam performance in the last three years at school. They must also give brief details of the reasons for choosing the course they wish to study for.

The bursary covers registration and class fees, accommodation, pocket money of R600 a year and a special "merit allowance" which is paid up to a maximum of R200 a year depending on academic performance.

An important feature is that the bursaries are not subject to a service contract requiring the bursar to take employment with the company for a period.

Applications must reach the Personnel Manager of National Newspapers, PO Box 2271, Cape Town, before November 15.

building of houses in black urban areas has been launched in Mamelodi, near Pretoria.

The development involves the servicing of some 1 300 serviced residential sites and the building of houses on these sites by public and private sector employers, large commercial developers and the local black construction industry.

The development, which is to be undertaken by a private sector consortium of six, is being undertaken on land owned by the Mamelodi council.

The project has the full support of the Mamelodi council and the Central Transvaal Development Board.

Councillor Bennett Ndizi, acting mayor of the Mamelodi council, said: "My council is pleased that the private sector has responded so positively to our invitation to build houses for the people of Mamelodi.

"We are particularly pleased that this scheme will also provide opportunities for local Mamelodi businessmen and contractors to partici-

# Pretoria township

pate and we are sure that more developments of this type will occur in the future."

The consortium consists of Bon-aero Park (Pty) Limited, the housing company for the Armscor group, the Family Housing Association, a housing utility company of the Urban Foundation, Gough Cooper Homes, SA Motor Corporation, SA Transport Services and Schachat Homes.

This is the first major consortium of its kind, bringing together private sector interests who want to build houses in black urban areas.

Alex Rabie of Gough Cooper Homes and chairman of the Consortium stated: "I am extremely pleased about the close working relationship and co-operation that has emerged not only between the members of the consortium but also be-

tween the consortium itself and the Mamelodi council and the Central Transvaal Development Board."

The Family Housing Association will be responsible for seeing that 25% of the sites are sold directly to individual black buyers and to local home builders.

Matthew Nell, general manager of the Family Housing Association, said: "The Mamelodi development represents a breakthrough as it enables the private sector to provide housing at scale on a co-operative basis.

"A major advantage of this approach is that the local authorities can now apply their resources to other urgent priorities."

Servicing of the first 50 sites will start before the end of the year and be complete by March 1986, and construction of the first house will

begin early in 1986.

The high standard of services will include water-borne sewerage, portable water, underground electricity supplies.

Major roads such as bus routes will be tarred.

The development agreement now has Ministerial approval and will be signed by the Consortium members, the Central Transvaal Development Board and the Mamelodi council on October 18.

The Central Transvaal Development Board's acting chief director AF Aab said: "My board is committed to encouraging increased private sector participation in providing housing in black urban areas and we are pleased to have been able to assist in getting this initiative off the ground in Mamelodi."

# HE'S FLYING HIGH FOR THE FUTURE'



**A**fricans are great travellers, but until now they have never worried much about the travel business.

But now a young Natal ex-school teacher, ex-bank teller, and a group of black Natal businessmen have set up the country's first black travel agency.

When Mandla David Msomi was appointed two years ago he was the only black man in African Travel Services, but such has been the demand for the agency's services that there are now six full-time employees.

African Travel Services was set up by a group consisting of Executive Hotel managing director Peter Davidson, businessman J Mhlungu – majority shareholder and chairman – a Soweto businessman, a Mahlabatini businessman and Mr Msomi.

ATS has interests in Ulundi Trading, a supermarket chain in Kwa-Zulu, in the hotel business and in wholesaling, liquor and insurance.

Because of the Group Areas Act ATS could not start until it had found a "white" partner.

"We publicised in a financial publication our intention of forming a black tourist venture and our need for a partner," said Mr Msomi. Micor Holdings, a company with extensive travel, freight agency and insurance interests, responded.

Trek America managing director Morris Fulton and a Micor director negotiated the deal and a partnership was set up with Micor's Wilson Collins Travel.

"Micor had to have the majority shareholding so that we could practice in a white area," said Mr Msomi. "The partnership is very strict. It provides ATS with experienced back-up by a travel company."

The arrangement is a 51-49 percent share with Micor holding the majority.

ATS is the first black company to establish, develop and promote all aspects of travel and tourism in SA.

"At present the expertise in the

tourist industry is exclusively white, so to bring this company into existence we had to marry the white expertise with the potential from the black side so that black could acquire the skills to manage the tourist industry," says Mr Msomi.

We have now have offices in Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and Johannesburg. Micor had the infrastructure to enable us to do that.

African Travel Services has three main objectives:

★ To provide a top class, complete travel service to all sections of the community.

★ To participate in the development of black business.

★ To provide professional training and create job opportunities for black employees.

"I want to emphasise that this corporate mix enables blacks to enter into what has been and is still exclusively a white area," says Mr Msomi.

"We are in this business because we know that at the turn of the century the buying power of the blacks will be enormous compared to what it is today.

"Blacks will be a very important force in the market place.

"If you don't lay the foundations for the future now, you are going to lose it to someone else.

"By the year 2 000 tourism will be second only to mining so it is only economic wisdom to look in the direction that has never been tapped by blacks, and which lays the foundation for us to succeed when we compete with others.

"We now have six black men and women working in this section, with white representation in Cape Town and Durban. But two blacks will be taking over in Durban next year.

"We are building up the infrastructure of a black travel agency but we are not exclusively black.

"We have several important clients – Coca-Cola, the Urban Foundation, Johnson & Johnson, African Bank, Citibank, SA Institute of Race Rela-

tions, Toyota, Hewlett-Packard, Blackchain and so on.

"It has never been in the nature of Africans to venture out to sea. Africans are great travellers, but land travellers. And we are now having to build up the idea of travel in other countries overseas.

"We hope that we will be accepted on merit as soon as the law changes to allow blacks to practice in the CBD.

"We are members of the Association of SA Travel Agents and want to become members of the International Air Transport Association.

"We can join IATA only when we have complied with the stringent rules. Among these are an ability to generate R1.6-million of travel sales within Johannesburg and have a staff composed of trained people with the most senior being a qualified licensee.

"Our staff hope to attain the necessary qualifications in February next year, when they sit for their travel examinations.

"Another requirement is beyond us now because of the law – the legal ability to acquire premises of our own," says Mr Msomi.

"We would like to rub shoulders in the market place with everybody but we cannot because of the restrictions that are imposed on black businessmen.

"It is because of this that the so-called free enterprise system has no substance for us," he said. "These restrictions should be removed soon.

"You can't just fold your hands and say, okay, the law says 'no' so you cannot do anything. You have got to have a strategy, to lay the ground so that when the limitations are taken away you are ready to enter the arena and say: I am here.

"But you cannot unless you have prepared yourself like a heavy boxer to get into the ring. To say black boxers are not allowed in the ring and for you to surrender with your hands up is paving the way to your own doom.

"We don't want sympathy support.

We don't want gifts. We want to earn the right to be in the market place and to deserve our place there. We don't want to be welcomed through the back door.

"I would not be in this job if that was the understanding."

Developing black business has been taken very seriously by ATS. One of the ways in which it is being done is by building up the "fly now, pay later" concept.

The financing of this scheme is being done by the American Bank, which shares in the generation of black business travel.

Where do blacks like to travel to? Mr Msomi says they visit the traditional holiday centres and view the sites like other tourists.

Blacks like to travel to the United States and London. Europe is not so popular because they like to go to mainly English-speaking countries.

If they do go to Europe they go to see the passion plays at Oberrammergau.

They prefer travelling in groups and generally as black groups rather than multiracial parties. Their tours usually last three weeks.

Each traveller has an individual passport but we have trouble with people from Bophuthatswana.

One of the most popular destinations is Israel where blacks like to visit the holy places. Educational tours are also popular.

On long-distance local education tours, ATS contributes a portion of the fares to the school and the teachers' associations.

"It was a huge risk putting up money to buy shares in the business because travel is a very fragile business now, what with sanctions against the country and a poor economic and political climate.

"Any vibration that occurs can kill it," he said, "but I look forward to a bright future."



# Prevent disease before it starts

DO YOU feel you can help people in more ways than just nursing them back to health?

Are you interested in living and working in a community, helping people to learn about the prevention of disease?

Community health nurses work in clinics as district nurses or sometimes in industry. Although they work together with other members of medical teams like doctors, social workers and psychologists, the most important aspect of the work is the prevention rather than the cure of disease and illness.

The World Health Organisation defines the community health nurse as a person trained to provide "comprehensive nursing care to individuals, families and groups, with the major emphasis on the promotion of health and the prevention of disease".

In South Africa, especially in rural areas, there are a number of problems which affect community health.

The problems range from structural issues like poverty and illiteracy to poor water supplies and insufficient food supplies.

The illnesses affecting the people could be, for example, malnutrition, cholera, tuberculosis and trachoma (eye disease), to name a few.

The community health nurse is responsible for investigating the health problems and health facilities of a given area. Only then can a plan of remedial action be developed.

In addition, the community health nurse will work with pregnant women, inoculate babies and children, provide information on family planning and so on. Often basic health measures like sanitation have to be developed in the community.

## ABILITIES AND INTERESTS:

A strong identification with people and their problems, their lifestyle and beliefs is essential if you are to work effectively in a community.

Understanding and patience is essential as there are many problems, especially in rural communities where pov-

erty is rife.

## TRAINING AND ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS:

The diploma course in community health nursing can only be undertaken once one has qualified as a general nurse and midwife (men must have had general training and a post-basic qualification, for example, psychiatric nursing).

A one-year diploma course in community health nursing is offered at universities, among them Edendale Technical College, Technikon Northern Transvaal, Mdantse College, Medunsa.

The major subjects for the course are social sciences, administration, personal and community hygiene, family health, occupational health, district nursing, health education, nutrition and budgeting, preventive dentistry and professional practice.

## WHO TO CONTACT FOR MORE INFORMATION:

- ★ The local Department of Health (the major employer of community health nurses).
- ★ Welfare organisations.
- ★ Universities.
- ★ Technikon.

**CAREER PROSPECTS** takes a further look at nursing careers this week. This feature, part of a series sponsored by the Anglo American and De Beers' Chairman Fund, is written by the Education and Information Centre in Braamfontein, Johannesburg.



YOU can save many people from death

WHAT are the medical care needs of South Africa?

If you are thinking of entering the medical world, what is your role in helping the community?

In the medical world, and especially in Third World countries, the emphasis has shifted from highly specialized and technological medicine practiced by specialists for relatively few people, to what is called "primary health care".

This implies a more preventive approach to disease, and acknowledges the fact that in many communities there is a lack of basic health knowledge.

Many more people in SA are suffering from malnutrition, diseases related to poor water supply, tuberculosis, etc., than those who need highly specialized medical attention.

Medicine and the training of medical staff should relate to the needs of the public.

More people with sound health knowledge who can communicate with the community are needed to advise people on health issues.

In some rural areas of SA there are training programs for village health workers.

People, particularly women, are trained to deal with common problems like gastro-enteritis, malnutrition, eye diseases, and to promote community health.

The trainers are people who have a special role in the medical world. They help people who have not had the benefit of formal education or training to develop skills which will improve their lives.

SA needs people like these. The jobs which can help in promoting community health are:

- ★ Medicine: If you are a doctor you could work in a clinic instead of private practise.
- ★ Nursing: You could investigate the area of community health.
- ★ Dentistry: You can promote oral hygiene.
- ★ Psychology.

## The ever-rushing men of the medical field...

THE ambulanceman is the first link in emergency medical care - at least 50 percent of his work involves emergency calls.

The ambulanceman has two main responsibilities - one, to transport the ill or injured person to hospital as fast as possible and, two, to care for the patient en route.

He has to give details of the patient to the hospital staff on arrival.

As ambulancemen work in pairs, they usually take turns to do these duties.

Ambulancemen are not employed by hospitals - municipalities or provincial administrations have headquarters in most towns which dispatch the ambulance on request.

Advanced first aid training is given to enable the ambulanceman to

cope with a variety of situations.

## WORKING CONDITIONS:

Shift work is a requirement and night shifts will be a regular occurrence. In addition, the ambulanceman must be prepared to go out in all weather conditions.

## ABILITIES AND INTERESTS:

Physical fitness is essential - he must be able to lift people plus have the endurance necessary to cope in a difficult situation.

A good driving ability is essential. In future, the ambulanceman will be required to pass an advanced driving test as part of basic training.

Common sense is also a necessity.

The ambulanceman is dealing with emergency situations, and has to know what to do in any

given situation.

Like any member of the medical world, the ambulanceman must be sensitive to the fact he is dealing with sick or hurt people, and this requires patience and an air of assurance.

## EDUCATION REQUIREMENTS AND TRAINING:

A man must be 18 years old with at least a Std 8 certificate (preferable) will be given to candidates with higher qualifications).

A light vehicle drivers' license (code 8) is also required.

A two-week basic training course has to be completed before final acceptance as a trainee ambulanceman.

Trainees are paid while they are being trained.

After a year there is an eight-week course entailing more sophisticated

medical treatment.

After two years, he can be registered with the provincial authority as an ambulance medical assistant.

It is possible to move from being an ambulanceman to more specialised rescue work, for example mountain and sea rescue.

Then the ambulanceman's title changes to Rescue Medical Assistant. The training involves a five-month paramedical course.

## WHO TO CONTACT FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

★ The ambulance services department of the municipality.

★ In the Johannesburg area contact the Assistant Chief, Johannesburg Fire and Emergency Services, Ambulance Division, PO Box 1496, Johannesburg 2000.

**This page is sponsored by the Anglo American and De Beers' Chairman's Fund.**



CAP TITLES  
4/11/85

306A

89

## Botha motion 'regretted'

Staff Reporter

THE Tygerberg Student Council has withdrawn a motion of confidence in Mr P W Botha in his capacity as Chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch.

The motion of confidence, passed by the council on October 18, was proposed by Mr H van der Merwe and seconded by Mr S de Manielle.

It said the council accepted a motion of full confidence in the Chancellor, Mr P W Botha.

In a new motion the council regretted the political connotations of the first motion and as an apolitical body, withdrew it.

They said the office of the State President, held by Mr Botha, and that of chancellor should be separated and that the new motion did not carry any political connotations.

After the acceptance of the original motion, a group of medical students at Tygerberg Hospital circulated a petition calling for the public withdrawal of the motion of confidence in Mr Botha and the unconditional resignation of the TSC members who supported the motion.

In the new motion proposed by Ms Barbara Thompson and seconded by Mr Jaco Kooy, they said the task of the TSC as a body was administrative and the council was not entitled to make political statements. In the light of recent actions by the chancellor the original motion had political connotations, they said.

The TSC should consult the Tygerberg Student Union if it should find it necessary to make political statements on a controversial issue, the motion said.



# Oppenheimer urges P W to widen his power base

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The President has been warned by Mr Harry Oppenheimer, doyen of South African big business, that his reform policies will fail disastrously unless he widens the National Party power base to include all language and racial groups.

The former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation again encouraged business leaders to press on with demands for radical reform.

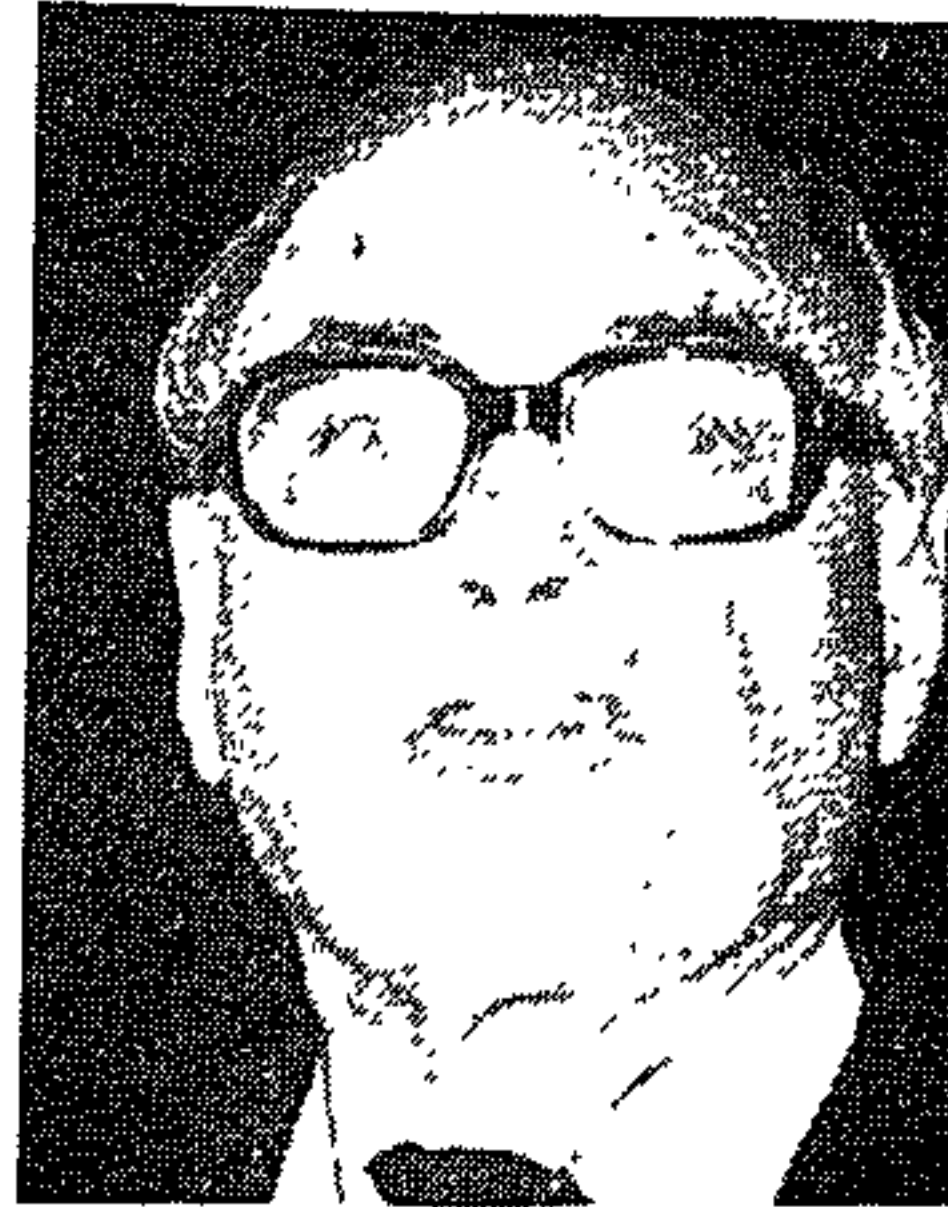
Mr Oppenheimer delivered the warning to Mr P W Botha in Johannesburg last night when he was presented with the 1985 Emeritus Citation Award by The Sunday Star in

recognition of outstanding contributions to business and political life.

A multiracial audience of more than 300 top achievers in both the private and public sectors rose in a standing ovation when the award was made by Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star.

Mr Oppenheimer, who has defended contacts with the ANC in the face of right-wing attacks, warned that though the National Party appeared impregnable it faced problems similar to those which destroyed the old United Party.

"The power base of the National Party has always been Afrikaner unity," he said. It was designed to ensure that South Africa should be governed in Afrikaans — if possi-



Mr Harry Oppenheimer

ble with English-speaking support but if necessary without it.

"But now the State President has embarked on a courageous

new policy of reform. He has done more for change than any other Prime Minister.

"The safety of South Africa depends on this reform policy being carried through to its logical conclusion within a very limited time scale.

"Yet the State President is attempting the impossible task — just as the United Party did — of instituting radical policies without materially changing a power base which was put together a generation ago."

He said he was "very much afraid" that unless Mr Botha could build and trust a power base which not only reached out to English-speaking South Africans but transcended conventional white politics, his "brave reform policy will fail with disastrous results".

# Mr Oppenheimer warns P W Botha

THE State President has been warned by Mr Harry Oppenheimer, doyen of South African big business, that current reform policies will end in disastrous failure unless he widens the National Party power base to bring in all language and racial groups.

**30/11/85**  
The former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation has provided renewed encouragement to business leaders to press ahead with their recent initiatives to demand radical reform.

**SOWETAN**  
Mr Oppenheimer delivered the warning to Mr P W Botha in Johannesburg this week, when he was formally presented with the 1985 Emeritus Citation award by the Sunday Star in recognition of outstanding contributions to the business and political life of South Africa.

A multiracial audience of more than 300 top achievers in both the private and public sectors rose in a standing ovation when the award was made by Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star.



# Political solution needed for economic growth—economist

Out 7/1/85  
6/11/85  
304A

By AUDREY D'ANGELO

A POLITICAL solution to South Africa's present problems which would make it possible to borrow overseas again, is the only way to achieve a higher growth rate and lower taxes in the opinion of the Old Mutual's chief economist Mr R L Lee.

Otherwise he believes the inflation rate will reach between 20 percent and 25 percent by 1987, and he thinks government spending will be too high for any significant tax cuts in the next Budget.

But, he said yesterday there will still be opportunities for people in

this country to make money through import replacement, exports, and investing in companies which do well in inflationary times or have a rand hedge overseas.

## Pressure

At a press conference to launch the latest issue of the Economic Monitor prepared by the Old Mutual's economic research unit, Mr Lee said political pressure was not the major reason why United States banks had cut off further credit to South Africa and demanded immediate repayment of short-term debt.

They had done so partly because, without first hand knowledge of what was actually happening in the country, they had

the impression that the government had lost control and there was a danger that they might not be repaid unless they got their money out quickly.

Another reason for their action was that they perceived that the economy was being mismanaged.

No other country had such a volatile "stop-go" economy, and South Africa's short-term debt was too large in relation to its total exports.

In this situation, several United States banks tried at the same time to be the first to get their money out of this country "hence the resulting fiasco".

Mr Lee said that on the positive side, there was a reasonable prospect that the current negotiations on the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt would produce some kind of agreement.

## Prospect

"But I don't think there is any realistic prospect of obtaining what we really need — a conversion of our short-term debt into long-term loans repayable over 10 years."

He thought the best

that could be hoped for was for repayments to be spread over two or three years, "which will impose constraints on us".

Mr Lee said he expected the inflation rate to rise to between 20 percent and 25 percent at some time in 1987, which meant that the strategy the government was following at present to reflate the economy could only be short-term.

The dollar price for gold would have to rise to between \$600 and \$700 an ounce to solve South Africa's problems.

"Otherwise the political situation will have to change to encourage people to lend us money."

If neither of these things happened the prospects two years ahead were "not very appealing".

A siege economy would develop and more controls would have to be imposed.

Discussing government expenditure, Mr Lee said he estimated that it would be 20 percent higher this year than last.

Mr Lee pointed out that direct and indirect taxation had been growing steadily since 1960.

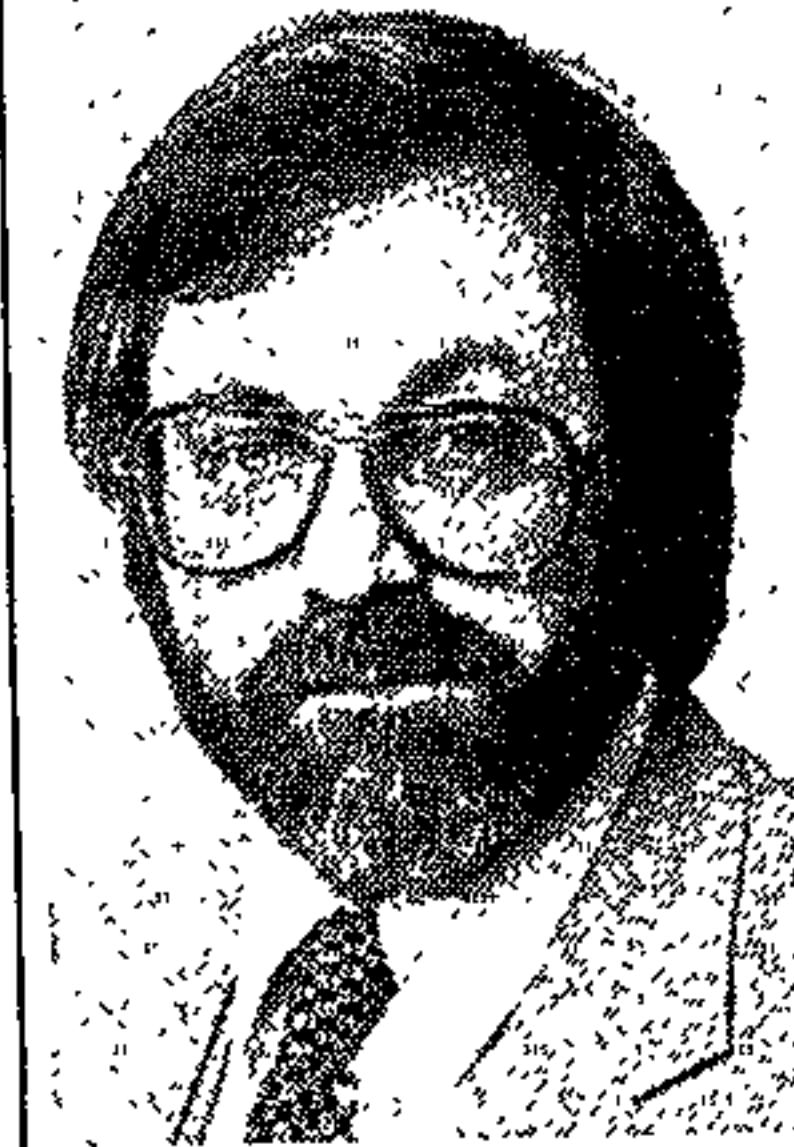
Cap Times 7/11/85 304A

# Mayor refuses to speak at City protest

Municipal Reporter

THE Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Leon Markovitz, has declined an invitation to speak at a mass protest meeting against the state of emergency on Monday night in the City Hall.

Mr Markovitz said in a statement yesterday that his participation in the meeting "would not be appropriate", considering the council's proposed "peace initiative" and its current dialogue with various groups and individuals on the current situation in Cape Town.



Mr Markovitz

"However, as Mayor of the Mother City, I am sure I speak for all its citizens in saying that they will welcome any initiative towards peace objectives," he said.

The City Administrator, Mr Gys Hofmeyr, has stressed that the council's letting of the City Hall to the organizers of the meeting does not mean that the council

"has given authority for the meeting".

"The City Council has no right either to approve or disapprove of the holding of meetings such as this one," he said.

It was council policy to make public facilities "available to all its citizens for any lawful purpose appropriate to the venue", he said.

The meeting, which has been called by 23 progressive organizations, will begin at 8pm.

Mrs Mary Burton, Western Cape chairperson of the Black Sash, said last night that confirmed speakers for the meeting were Mrs Di Bishop, Progressive Federal Party MPC for Gardens, and Dr Ivan Toms of the End Conscription Campaign.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, would let the organizers know today whether he would be available to speak. The other three speakers, representing the United Democratic Front, the legal profession and boycotting school pupils, will be announced on Monday night at the meeting.



ARGUS 2/11/85 (3041)

# Emergency picket in city

Staff Reporter

**PICKETS** protesting against the state of emergency in Cape Town were mounted around the city today.

Twenty-three organisations took part in the picket and handed out 30 000 pamphlets stating their opposition to Government moves.

The pickets stood singly to comply with provisions prohibiting gatherings in terms of the Internal Security Act. They displayed placards stating: "Emergency. Cape Town speaks out."

Pickets stood in Main Road, Sea Point, and on major traffic routes in the southern suburbs.

Members of The Argus chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists and other journalists staged a picket outside the The Argus building protesting about Government restrictions on news coverage of unrest.

The journalists wore gags round their mouths and held placards condemning the clamp on foreign and local journalists.

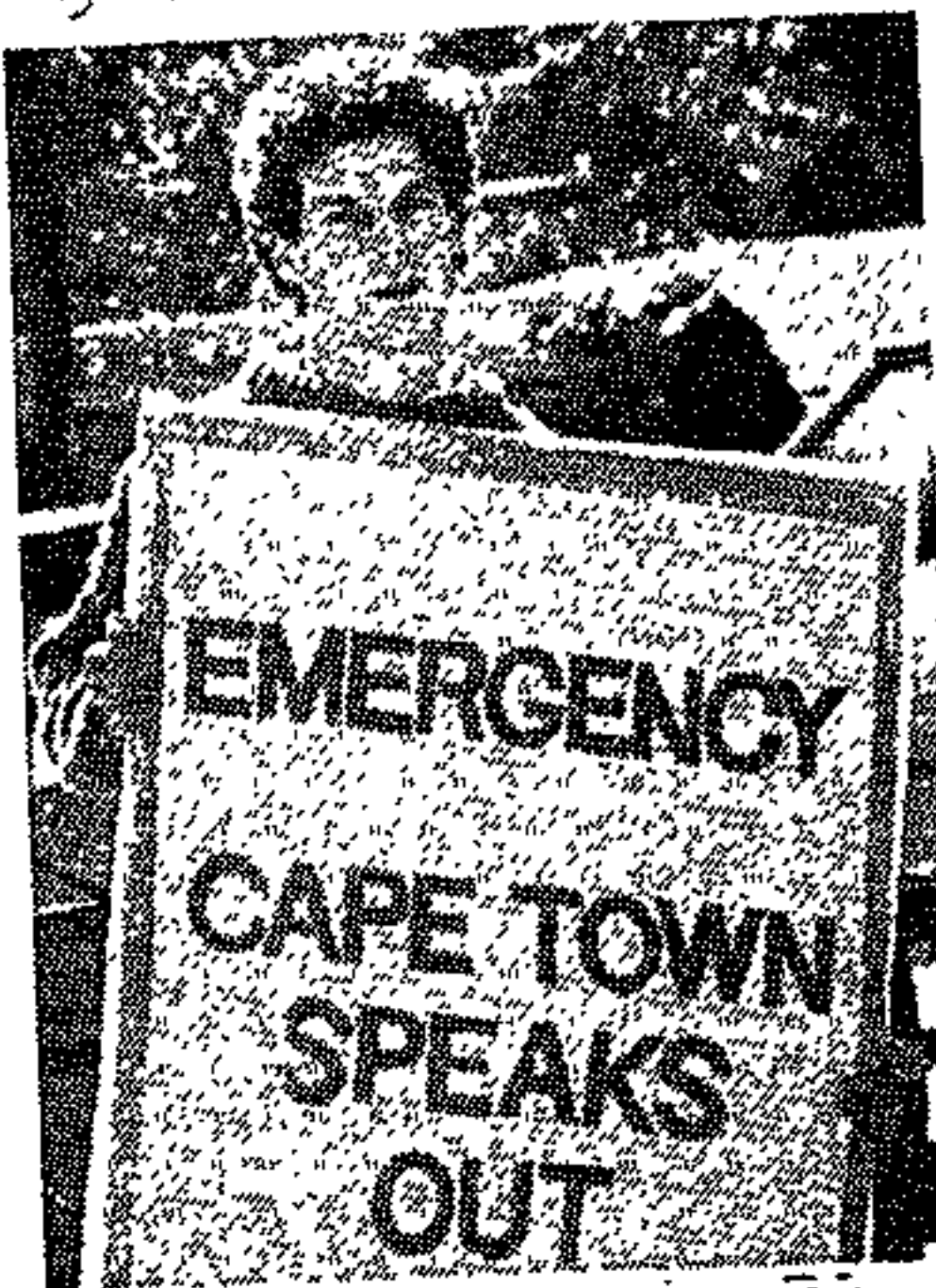
The 23 organisations, which include the Black Sash, the End Conscription Committee, the Civil Rights League, the Western Province Council of Churches and the Young Progressives, are to hold a public meeting in the City Hall on Monday night.

In a statement issued before the picket on behalf of the 23 organisations, Mrs Mary Burton, chairwoman of the Black Sash, said that Cape Town had been placed "under the control of the police and the army and our personal rights have been infringed as the Pressehas been muzzled, townships besieged and universities invaded".

Progressive Federal Party youth chairman Andrew Miller said he had laid a charge of attempted assault against a man who tried to kick and hit fellow picket Mr Ricky Gilchrist in Plumstead.

Mr Miller said the man had grabbed the poster and tried to tie it to a traffic light.

"He also called me a communist but I had my PFP button on."



A picket makes his stand in front of Sea Point Civic Centre.



An Argus reporter in St George's Street protests against the news clamp.

● See Page 7

# Evening Post

Thursday, November 7, 1985

## COMMENT

### Somersault on the beaches

THE remarkable political somersault performed by two Port Elizabeth National Party MPs, Mr Sakkie Louw and Mr James Kleynhans, on the beach issue must be heartily welcomed even though such verbal gymnastics might be difficult to follow.

After years of dogged defence of beach segregation — in spite of the humiliation heaped on people of colour by such blatant racial discrimination — the two politicians have suddenly seen fit to come out publicly in favour of an investigation into the opening of at least one of the city's whites-only beaches to all races. Mr Louw, the MP for Newton Park, even went so far in an interview with the Evening Post municipal reporter yesterday to say he was "against all forms of apartheid". He said he was "for open beaches, provided there is good order". Mr Kleynhans pointed out that it was Government policy that equal facilities should be available for all races, but when this was not possible existing facilities should be shared.

On this basis, the superior southern beaches should have been opened to other race groups years ago. However, the important thing is that Nationalist MPs are at long last giving the kind of lead that the country so desperately needs. The City Council no longer has any excuse to hide behind Government vacillation over apartheid, which may have been the reason for its weak-kneed decision in April to shelve the beach issue without any discussion.

At its next meeting the council will have the opportunity to make redress. It is hoped that there has been a rethink and that a majority of councillors now realise that PE can no longer be seen to lag behind other cities in opening the beaches. It would be appropriate if the Mayor, Mr Ben Olivier, and the councillors who represent beach-front wards were in the forefront of what must be a more realistic approach.



# Mixed areas: new debate?

Dispatch Reporter

**EAST LONDON** — The East London city council may hold a third debate on a request to approach the administrator for a reservation of residential areas for all races.

The Coloured Management Committee is to discuss the issue at a meeting today, and the chairman, Mr Johan Temmers, said a submission would be made to the council if the vote was in favour.

The chairman of the council's action committee, Mr Donald Card, said the matter would have to be debated again if a submission was received from the CMC.

The Indian Management Committee submitted a similar motion to the action committee last month, and it was later re-submitted by a councillor, Mr Errol Spring, for consideration by the full council.

On both occasions the

motion was rejected, while a motion calling for the opening of business areas to all race groups was reaffirmed.

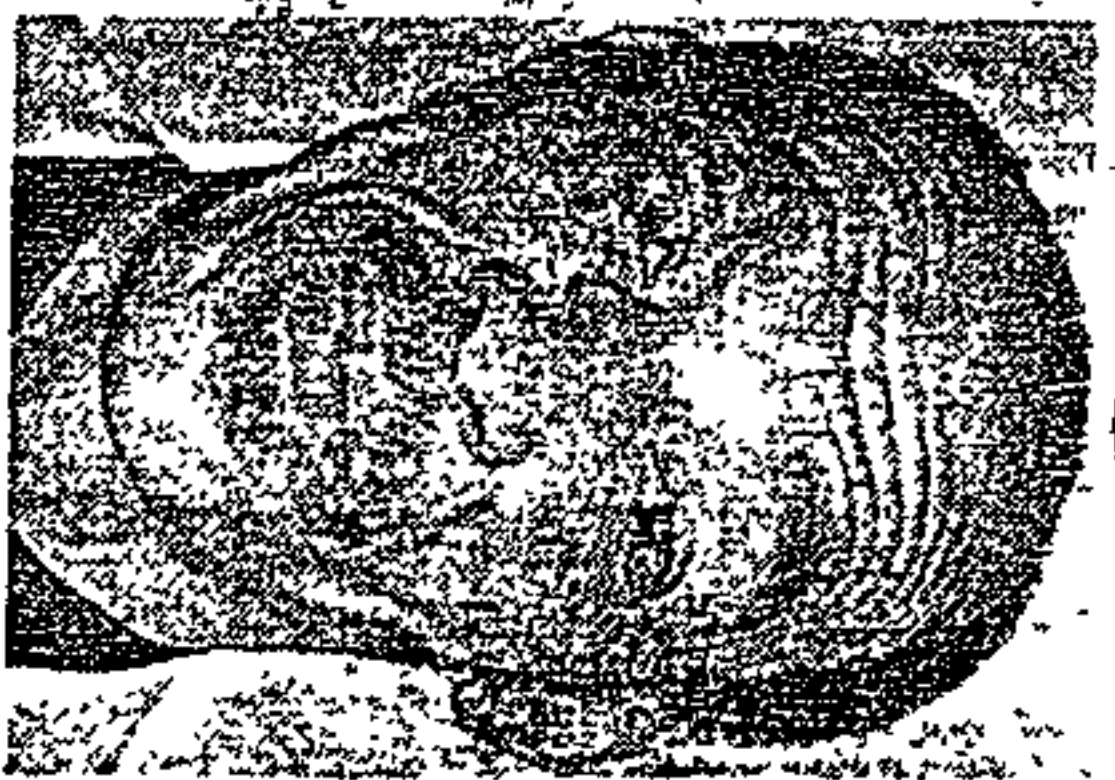
Mr Temmers said yesterday East London already had some mixed residential areas.

Several mixed couples live in various areas, including white areas like Cambridge, Milner Estate, Southernwood and Stoney Drift.

Mr Ken Martensen, confirmed there were mixed couples living in residential areas reserved for other races.

He added that, under the Group Areas Act, a mixed couple could live in an area reserved for the race to which the husband belonged. However, a permit was necessary in the case of a white group area.

Mr Card said he was aware of mixed couples living in some white areas.



MR TEMMERS

DISPATCH 304A

# Nyerere may lead 'wise men'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Former Tanzanian president Dr Julius Nyerere has been chosen to lead the group of Commonwealth elder statesmen who will try to assist the process of internal dialogue in South Africa, according to diplomats in New York.

But the Commonwealth Secretariat in London was unable to confirm Dr Nyerere's appointment.

"We know nothing of this," a senior secretariat spokesman said.

But he confirmed that the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, was due to meet former Canadian prime minister Mr Pierre Trudeau today to invite him to be a member of the "eminent" group.

Independent sources said, however, that an announcement was expected to be made by the secretary-general in London today.

Well-placed diplomatic sources said that the other members of the panel were still being considered. It was for that reason that the announcement of the full team was being delayed.

## Mr Malcolm Fraser chosen

During the recent Commonwealth conference in the Bahamas, it was agreed that a group of "wise men" would be chosen to facilitate an internal dialogue with the South African Government.

This was designed to assist the process of change away from apartheid. In six months time there would be a review of progress, or lack of it.

Former Australian prime minister Mr Malcolm Fraser confirmed that he had been chosen by his Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, to be on the team of "wise men".

United Nations sources said that originally Mrs Thatcher had proposed Mr Brian Urquhart, a UN Under-Secretary-General, who retires at the end of the year after a 40-year career with the world body.

But she later changed her mind in favour of the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe. She again changed her mind and nominated Lord Barber, the chairman of Standard Charter Bank.

Sources close to the South African Embassy indicated that if reports that Dr Nyerere had been appointed to lead the group were correct there would be little chance of Pretoria co-operating with the group.

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tonight

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**W**ITH the results of the crucial by-elections spelling neither resounding endorsement nor crippling rejection, President Botha has the opportunity of looking back on his attempts to modernise the South African system of rule and also the growing black resistance to their continuing subordination.

Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien, ex-editor of the Observer and a recent visitor to our shores, has made the haunting observation that 'power in our time has more intelligence in its service and allows that intelligence more discretion as to its methods than ever before in our history'.

However, Dr O'Brien continued: 'This development is not altogether encouraging since we have moved perceptibly towards the state of society "maimed through the systematic corruption of its intelligence".'

It has been a characteristic of Mr Botha's managerial style of governing that he gathers much more information and intelligence than any of his predecessors.

Leaving aside the issue whether abundant intelligence could ever compensate for the absence of democracy one could ask whether the current deep political crisis has not been brought about by a corruption of intelligence.

Dr O'Brien emphasises that intelligence has been corrupted both by revolutionaries and those engaged in counter-insurgency and counter-revolution.

As counter-revolutionaries the Nationalist leaders, and especially President Botha, have been particularly concerned with the modernisation of three areas: black education, military preparedness and police control of black protests and uprisings in the urban areas.

The modernisation of

black education has been the central thrust behind the reform initiatives of the past 15 years.

As a result of the relative decline in the white labour force and the rapid economic growth of the 1960s whites could fill only a quarter of the new skilled blue-collar jobs that opened up during the 1970s.

To enable the economy to become based on black skilled and semi-skilled labour the Government was prepared to increase

the expenditure on black education by nearly 2 700 percent between 1972 and the current financial year.

### Game plan

In the Government's game plan labour reform and ultimately political reform were to be based on the successful modernisation of black education.

The point to note about the crisis in our black schools is not that the reform of black education has not gone far enough (the quantity of education, not the quality, was improved and segregated education largely remained) but that the Government's thinking about the purpose of education was informed by deeply flawed theories.

The optimistic conviction of the 1960s, held by educationists all over the world, was that improvement in formal education has positive effects on socio-economic and political development. It was believed that it would create a responsible aspirant middle class with a stake in the system and a vested interest in capitalist development and political stability.

The German political scientist Theor Hanf and, locally, Lawrence Schlemmer have shown that this is just about the most serious mistake a government can make.

The evidence from the Third World demonstrates overwhelmingly that education has a stabilising function only when there is a rapid increase in job opportunities and an efficient labour market. When these conditions are not met education can be a major obstacle to development and stability.

These conditions have clearly not been met in South Africa.

# State theories on education deeply flawed

Since 1975 only half the necessary new jobs have been created and influx control has continued to snarl up the black labour market.

Regardless, government continued to step

up spending on black education. It failed to recognise the phenomenon, common to African and Asian countries, that ill-conceived educational reform turns students into the major agents of political opposition and resistance to governments.

This is how Theor Hanf, writing in 1975 in a general (Third World) context, explained it: 'The transitory student life and the related freedom from concrete responsibilities favours the articulation of radical opinions. The concentration of students in one place, the resulting informal though intensive system of communication, and the difficulty in controlling the students because of their constant fluctuation also favour student-type expression of opposition.'

### Explosive

In a colonial, or in the South African-type situation the opposition of black youth can assume explosive qualities.

Summarising recent research on the Mau Mau uprising, the Cambridge scholar John Lonsdale (also a recent visitor) notes that Jomo Kenyatta had nothing to do with popular violence.

What happened was that desperate youths 'seized the initiative from their cautiously constitutional elders; the young were nonetheless reluctant rebels for the most part, responding to the panicky government repression that they themselves had provoked ...

Relative youth is probably a better indicator of Mau Mau recruitment than relative poverty'.

### Major part

In spite of these pointers the South African Government did not anticipate the eruption of disturbances of 1976 and 1984-5 in which black students played such a major part.

Why has the South African State been so unprepared for the revolt of the black youth?

Perhaps the major reason is the effect of the intelligence of the 1970s that the State faced not an internal uprising but a total onslaught from the outside which, so it was thought, could well include a conventional military attack.

In spite of its implausibility the Government acted on this theory. In the first half of the 1970s,

for instance, funds for domestic order and safety increased by only 70 percent as against a 357 percent increase in defence expenditure.

The result has been a tough, efficient army but a hopelessly understaffed police force ... South Africa has barely two policemen for every 1 000 people against the recognised Western standard of seven or eight per thousand.

UCT's Simon Baynham remarks: 'The premature deployment of military units is thus the direct consequence of the Government's irresponsible and myopic failure to provide a police force adequate in size and training attitude to the requirement and aspirations of all South Africans.'

Finally, there is the effect of all intelligence received by the Government that the ANC has

embarked on a strategy of making South Africa 'ungovernable'.

This has prompted the security forces to arrest large numbers of adults suspected of being ANC sympathisers carrying out this strategy.

### Ineffective

On the available evidence these arrests have produced largely counter-productive results. The impression exists that the arrests rarely removed ANC operatives or agents but all too often community leaders who had some ability to influence and discipline their followers.

This has led to many townships coming under the control of wild, and sometimes anarchic, student and criminal elements. They have, indeed, succeeded in making some townships ungovernable but their links with the ANC are extremely tenuous or non-existent.

To make South Africa governable again ways will have to be found to address the crisis at its roots, which is black education. And here it would do well to ponder the fact that South Africa is the only country in the world that has an educational system designed to divide its population, not to unite it, and that we have had a tax system that rewards mechanisation and not job creation.

To curb student opposition through repression will be a well-nigh impossible task. The only hope is to increase their identification with the political and social order.



# Tutu, Boesak get the nod from Miller

## Govt prepared to talk to 'men of influence'

The Government was prepared to sit around a negotiating table with "men of influence" such as Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, said yesterday.

Mr Miller told a seminar at Rand Afrikaans University that it was also his view that "within the supreme command of the African National Congress, we're succeeding in getting significant members to forswear violence".

The Government would definitely speak to the ANC as soon as it renounced violence, but was opposed to negotiating with committed communists.

"A total of 19 out of 31 members of the ANC supreme command are members of the South African Communist Party. We are totally against communism, although we

are not against socialism," Mr Miller said.

The problem with the ANC was that it saw violence "as a means of transferring power rather than sharing power".

Mr Miller said recent visits by delegations to the ANC had caused setbacks in the Government's attempts to get individual members to renounce violence.

### ATTEMPTS

The visits had "proved that violence pays and had enhanced the credibility of those factions within the ANC that support violence".

The Government was still not prepared to release political figures who had been jailed for the use of violence — and that also applied to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

"The Government is prepared to

talk to men of influence like Boesak and Tutu — they have a constituency, although they are not elected leaders. We will not speak to them on a one-to-one basis, but rather around a negotiating table at which various leaders from all communities are represented," Mr Miller said.

He said the Government aimed at encouraging negotiations "between all South Africans who accepted democracy, free enterprise and freedom of religion".

"Our aim is to achieve the support of the majority of all South Africans on this basis," he said.

However, the unrest and "irrelevant and counter-productive" timetables for reform — such as those drafted by the Commonwealth countries — were making it difficult for black leaders to come forward to negotiate.



north of the British Isles, with a vortex over Ireland.

# Tutu amenable to small group talks with Government

3024 A  
Star 7/11/85

By Hannes de Wet

Nobel Peace Prize-winner Bishop Desmond Tutu today indicated he would be willing to negotiate as a member of a group with the Government.

He was reacting to remarks by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, that the Government was prepared to talk to "men of influence" such as the bishop and Dr Allan Boesak.

Speaking at the Rand Afrikaans University yesterday, Mr Miller said: "We will not speak to them on a one-to-one basis but rather around a negotiating table."

Bishop Tutu told *The Star* that he would prefer one-to-one negotiations because discussions between large delegations tend to end up in posturing. "But if the

group is not too large, conditions might be favourable for constructive talks. My mind is certainly not closed to the idea."

Mr Miller said although Bishop Tutu and Dr Boesak were not elected leaders, they did have a constituency. The Government was prepared to speak to them around a negotiating table at which various leaders from all communities were represented.

Mr Miller reiterated that the only non-negotiable was a unitary state and one man, one vote, adding that the Government aimed at encouraging negotiations between all South Africans who accepted democracy, free enterprise and freedom of religion.

Dr Boesak was not available for comment.

● See Page 17.

304 A B. Day

# Convention not the answer, says UDF

8/11/85

GAVIN EVANS

THERE is no prospect of the United Democratic Front joining the Convention Movement despite the withdrawal of the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha from the steering committee of the initiative.

This was said by UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe in an exclusive interview during a secret meeting yesterday.

Morobe said the Convention Movement was essentially an initiative of "top people" in the white community with no real constituency.

It was an "act of desperation" to try and "reduce the price of liberation".

He said that while many of those involved with the initiative had a "deep and genuine commitment" to ending apartheid he did not believe it provided the way forward to peace.

The withdrawal of the PFP and Inkatha from the steering committee did not mean there had been any changes in its character, he said.

"It is simply a sign of recognition of the bad odour of Inkatha

and the compromised position of the PFP."

Accusing Inkatha of resorting to "fascist-type methods" Morobe said their presence at any level of the movement constituted a stumbling block.

"Our main problem with them is that while they adopt a stance of non-violence against apartheid, in relation to the people they have adopted a stance of aggression."

Responding to the accusation of PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert that the UDF was using the tactics of government by choosing who it wanted to negotiate with, Morobe said they were not prepared to "negotiate over the heads of the people".

The UDF believed it was necessary to set preconditions for negotiations and that these could not be conducted with an open agenda because "we want to know what it is we are negotiating".

Preconditions included agreement on one-man, one-vote and that government laid down arms.



Mr Harry Oppenheimer has put forward a plan to rid South Africa of apartheid in a way which he believes will satisfy world opinion.

His plan includes four "immediate" steps — and four delayed ones — which could be implemented when Parliament reconvenes next year.

"But it is not enough to change laws," said Mr Oppenheimer, "one also has to change the hearts of South Africans."

Speaking yesterday to a luncheon organised by the American Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg, Mr Oppenheimer said the elements of apartheid could be divided into those which could be abandoned immediately and those which would take longer.

If one were optimistic and practical, certain things could be done — and ought to be done — tomorrow:

- The Government should carry through a decision already taken to open Central Business Districts to all races.
- Freehold rights for blacks should be implemented "right away" to avoid mistrust building up.
- Forced removals should not just be suspended — a statement was needed to say they were over and there would not be more.
- The pass laws could be separated from influx control laws and, whatever else was done about influx control, "the system where people are arrested and put in jail because they do not have a piece of paper in their pockets must come to an end."

Mr Oppenheimer said that at one stage the Government believed there would be no black South Africans, but having run away from this policy, and having accepted that there are black South Africans, it was "very foolish" to take citizenship away from moderate blacks. The Government should think about putting together a moderate government which represented most people.

He said he thought those who lived in the homelands and had lost their citizenship tended to be conservative people, and would not on the whole support the African National Congress.

Things which should be dealt with as soon as Parliament reconvenes included:

- Giving citizenship to all South Africans.
- Influx control should be dismantled, possibly within a positive urbanisation programme.
- A single education department for all.

Making black education equal to white education is a long-term job and must be tackled extremely energetically. We all know that if you take all the money spent on education and divide it equally among children of school-going age then obviously you destroy (forgive the word, but I don't mind it myself)

● To Page 2, Col 7

P.T.O.

By Peter Sullivan  
Political Editor

# Oppenheimer's plan to end apartheid

Mr Harry Oppenheimer





# It's time to face one man, one vote

Cape Town  
9/11/88  
3041

IT IS high time we addressed seriously the basic political issues of one man, one vote and universal civil rights for all South Africans.

If we want to achieve internal peace and prosperity again, and also international acceptance, we will have to face and resolve these issues now, rather than postpone them.

The present half-hearted reforms and ambiguous promises have led to simmering unrest, to protests and demands from all sides, and to severe economic depression.

Growing numbers of hooligans and anarchists wreck the country under cover of the legitimate protests of the frustrated and deprived. And the prospect of political instability in our country, which the outside world perceives, has damaged the economy more than sanctions ever could.

As long as we cannot clearly set out the main objective of change, namely the abolition of all discrimination in politics and before the law, we are unlikely to achieve the calm atmosphere required for the successful implementation of real political reforms and for the transition period.

## Closed society

The vast majority of decent people of all colours wish for an open South African society in which everyone has equal opportunities and rights under a universal rule of law for all citizens. This is in contrast to the closed society in which we live today, and also in contrast to unrestrained majority rule or so-called black power that could be even more disastrous.

We will not deal here in detail with the need for equality before the law, and equality of opportunity. The need for these equalities is now widely accepted in theoretical, moral and practical terms. Only the power-hungry will deny them. The HSRC report on inter-group relations, the De Lange Report on Education, and the endless protestations about equality in sport are but some examples of their wide acceptance.

But we must face now the one-man, one-vote situation for all 30-odd million South Africans: the universal franchise.

If statements that apartheid must end are to be taken seriously — if discrimination is to end — there is no alternative to one man, one vote; in fact it is desirable to achieve it soon.

## Political system

The crux of the problem lies in the connection between equality before the law, which implies equality of the vote, and the type of political system and effective constitution within which one man, one vote operates.

There are in the world two totally opposed political systems, both incorporating universal franchise. In free and open societies the vote is exercised by free people who elect their government by majority vote; and the people are free because their government's powers, particularly those dealing with the citizens' civil rights, are limited in constitutional terms which the government itself cannot change. Examples are most European countries, Britain and the United States.

In closed societies the universal franchise also leads to the election of majority governments. But these governments, once elected, have practically unrestricted power to pass whatever legisla-



By HANS  
MIDDELMANN

a leading businessman and a member  
of the Council of the University of  
Cape Town.

tion they think is in their interests and those of the majority to whom they owe their election and whom they control.

In those countries constitutions are changed at will by the ruling government's majority vote in parliament. Closed-society governments inevitably set about achieving a one-party state in which "the people shall govern"; sadly, the people are "governed" and have no redress. Russia and all the Iron Curtain countries are examples; so are many African countries, and so, sadly, is present-day SA.

An objective review of the world shows that the more open society the more peaceful, prosperous and creative its citizens. They have access to the ideas and goods of this world and can travel in it freely, unrestricted by their own government. They have a free press, freedom of thought and of expression.

On the other hand, the more closed the society, the more the citizens' freedom is restricted by their own government — their freedom of movement, their freedom to speak, to create and to own property, and their access to information amongst other things.

Today the choice in SA is still ours: whether to be among the open societies of the world, or whether to prolong and possibly aggravate our present position. If the diagnosis here submitted is valid there is no time to lose. All South Africans, black and white, who can see a great future for our country, have but one option, that of the open society with all its implications.

Today it is easy to observe and to demonstrate that none of the needed reforms in SA, taken separately, can work unless they are part of a totally new constitutional structure. Only to remove influx control without dealing with the rest of the discriminatory laws, or to release the detainees while retaining the minister's rights of detention without trial, or to establish universal franchise without establishing basic entrenched civil rights first, is likely to aggravate the present situation rather than remedy it.

The present government, by definition, is unable to do what is necessary to bring about what is needed — a binding, open society constitution, free of imposed ideologies, in terms of which:

- The powers of government are limited and clearly defined.

- All citizens are equal under the law and share a common citizenship, have equal political rights and enjoy universal franchise.

- Subject only to universal rules of conduct necessary to protect the like freedom of others, the law gives to every citizen equal opportunities, and:

- Freedom to apply his or her talents and resources to what he or she perceives to be the best advantage.

- Freedom of movement and the right to own property anywhere in the country, and;

- Freedom of association, of thought and expression.

- Resources are allocated wherever possible by the discipline of the market, with due provision for social welfare services by the state and support programmes for those who have been deprived.

Similar fundamental principles are today firmly enshrined in the best and most effective constitutions of Western world countries. In every instance they have their origin in prolonged and often bloody strife preceding their acceptance.

## Hitler experience

Switzerland and America went through civil wars and bloodshed before the people realized that only the rule of law, secure from changes by rulers, would enable citizens of divergent religions, languages and background, to live peacefully and constructively together in a single country.

Germany had to go through the painful Hitler experience and through World War II before it exchanged the rule of the ruler for the rule of law.

In Britain, more than 400 years ago, after struggles, suppression and rebellions, King John, in Magna Carta, granted "To all free men... for ever, all the liberties written out below...", and guaranteed "no free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights and possessions... except by careful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land".

We, in SA, are today in a historical situation similar to those of Switzerland, America, Germany and Britain before they gave themselves open society constitutions. The acceptance of the principles of such constitutions is the first step towards carrying them into practice. The procedures, details and steps differ from country to country in the light of history and existing law.

## Safeguards

It will not be easy in the light of our history to devise the safeguards and constitutional structures that the situation demands. But it is by no means impossible. And we have the advantage that we can build on the experience and precedents of the solutions of those nations that were successful, and who are still our friends.

There are a number of concerned South Africans at present addressing the problems of an open-society constitution for our country. It is important that the issues at stake be more widely understood and discussed.

Let us start Operation TOSCA — Towards Open Society Constitutional Advance! Everyone who supports the concept should contribute his or her ideas towards the realization of a just and open society by propagating it, and by talking and writing about it until we achieve it.



# Talks 'washing hands in blood'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

GRASSY PARK Management Committee has resolved to end all negotiations with the authorities and has said that to continue with negotiations "would be washing our hands in the blood of our own people".

In a statement issued yesterday, the committee expressed its abhorrence of the "police brutalities and atrocities"

meeted out to school pupils in local communities.

It also resolved to allow its facilities to be used by any organization irrespective of whether such an organization is banned or not.

The defiant stand taken by the committee is a serious blow to the government's local government policies and to the strategies of the Labour Party. If other management committees follow its lead, it could seriously disrupt the government's constitutional policies.

The committee said it wished to state that "it condemns in the strongest terms this latest show of force and brutality that was forced upon defenceless students at Zeekoevlei Senior Secondary School".

The statement, issued by its chairman, Mr S

Ebrahim, also condemned the manner in which the police tried to identify the students who had disrupted classes.

"It is this committee's opinion that the students who have been arrested for the so-called disturbances had earnest intentions in bringing the realities of the situation to the attention of parents.

"It is therefore our contention that such intentions and actions on the part of the students are just. In fact such actions should be required of all students."

As far as the Grassy Park Management Committee was concerned "we wish to state that we have reached the end of the road as far as consultation and dialogue with the authorities is concerned".

## Force

It asked whether people such as Dr Allan Boesak and Bishop Tutu had taken careful consideration of their stated intention to negotiate with the authorities "because those who have up till now been engaged in the present form of negotiations have the experience that the government has no intention to negotiate with anybody but to force their policies on the people".

Three weeks ago at a meeting of the National Co-ordinating Committee, a Labour MP had told the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that the Association of Management Committees congress had resolved that all management committees would resign if direct representation was not achieved by September 1986 but Mr Heunis had said that he would not be intimidated.

## Opinion

Even the Minister of Local Government in the House of Representatives, Mr David Curry, had voted for this resolution.

"So much for negotiation. This committee is of the opinion that meaningful negotiation can only take place in the presence of representatives from foreign governments."



NOW, when the white voters of this 'burg trudged to the polling booths the other day, it brought home to me, and other non-voters of this 'burg, the harsh reality of being without a voice and representation in the decision-making of this country.

I listened to the three main actors in the Afrikaner challenge going through their final motions, addressing meetings of their parties. I must confess, it made very sad television viewing indeed.

I mean, here were all these guys urging the voters to turn up in their thousands to have their say. And what is the issue? You and I, ebony-skinned citizens. We were the issue. We were what the election was all about.

### Pleading

There was old PW, speaking first in an almost pleading tone. Telling the whites that the Afrikaner is used to difficult times. That he has gone through this before. And that now was the time for the Afrikaner to once more show his strength. Telling them that not only local interest will be focussed on them and how they vote, but that the outside world, too, would be watching them.

He was telling them that South Africa is not an island that can survive on its own. What a change from the table-thumping American — French — German — Australian — and everybody else crushing that has been so typical of the State President recently. I could sense he was virtually pleading with those voters sitting there.

He told them he could understand their frustrations if the rains simply did not come. He could understand why they felt wary. But that, he said was

## Joe's Burg



the stuff the Afrikaner was made out of. He knows adversity. He had overcome in the past.

In contrast, his lieutenant, Pik Botha, was trying desperately to put across the philosophy of sharing without domination. In his usual fashion, he had a couple more classics, but some of the things he was saying were simply beyond my comprehension.

Jaap Marais and Andries Treurnicht reminded me of Coleridge's poem about the scaman and the albatross. I can only hope that they know the last line of this poem. And its current meaning.

### Victory

And so it was that the stage was set for this great election. "Experts" suggested that Mr Botha was going to take the result of the by-elections quite seriously. Which suggested to me that they think he did not take the results of other elections seriously.

But that's another story altogether. Others suggested that he would view a victory as support for his reform programme. But, in their usual cautious

could think of one programme that would not only be a job programme, but would also address a major issue in a place like Durban. How about paying people to dig trenches for water-borne sewerage there and other townships like Tsakane?

It could work wonders. Give all that money to the Urban Foundation, and let them work out the details for such projects throughout the country. They, after all, have experience in self-help projects, and would be able to handle this much better than any government agency could.

Ah, well, maybe the CP will be singing: If Springs is here, can Johannesburg be far behind.

(pronounced in Afrikaans).

The point is, whatever the results, the ball is still firmly in Mr Botha's court. There are far more important issues to worry about than by-elections. The country is still on fire, and international pressure is increasing. The value of the rand has sunk so low that we are all virtually very poor indeed. And the price of gold is not looking too good either, although seeing that gold is paid for in dollars, there is still relief in that area.

### Rife

Unemployment is rife, and thousands are starving. The Government keeps announcing "job creation programmes" which are totally ineffective. I

# We were what by-elections were all about

There were possibilities of rain in at least two constituencies.

I am sure that Mr Botha was desperately praying that rain would come down in buckets in Vryheid, so that the farmers in that area, who probably blame the inclusion of coloureds and Indians in Parliament for the drought, could take this sign as a message from above indicating who to vote for. Nat

way, many suggested that the issues were not simply about the political state of the country. There were "bread-and-butter" issues to be taken into consideration, too. Yet another view was that if he did not get a good return, the whole reform programme could simply grind to a halt.

As I am writing this, the white folk is still trickling to the polls.

2047  
10/11/85



CAPE TOWN 12/11/85  
Support reform call,  
Assocom tells business

Staff Reporter

BUSINESSMEN and their employees have been called on to "add strength to the voice of the huge silent and peaceful majority" by backing a process of peaceful reform and the removal of statutory racial discrimination.

The call has been made by Mr Andrew Peile, president of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce in a letter addressed to the executives of all member companies.

In the letter, Mr Peile said the clear message emanating from the Assocom Congress in Cape

Town in October was "that the business community can no longer afford to stand on the sidelines".

The business community "must, in its own self-interest, become actively involved in the facilitation of a process of mediation and negotiation with a view to the promotion of peaceful reform in this country".

"Assocom has committed itself to a positive action programme to accelerate the pace of political reform in South Africa, and each Chamber and each member has a positive role to play in this programme".

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10 The Star Tuesday November 12 1985

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Advertising campaign to be launched

# Convention movement 'alive', says Browde

The National Convention Movement is still very much alive and will soon start a nationwide campaign for support, says the chairman of its management committee, Mr Jules Browde.

"The impression that the Convention Movement has run out of steam is totally wrong. On the contrary, we are very much alive," Mr Browde said.

"At the moment we are printing stationery and devising advertisements. These things take time, but we hope to be ready in about 10 days."

The campaign will be launched nationwide to drum up support for the principle of a negotiated solution for South Africa's problems through a nation-

al convention.

The NCM, which does not represent any particular group, aims to be a vehicle for all.

Mr Browde said objections to the convention from organisations such as the United Democratic Front had not discouraged the NCM management committee from going ahead with its plans.

## LEADERSHIP

"We are going to appeal to the people. Once we get enough grass root support, we hope the leaders will follow."

The UDF refuses to take part in the NCM because of the participation of Inkatha.

But the withdrawal of Inkatha

and Progressive Federal Party members from the management committee has not helped to woo the UDF.

Mr Browde said it was tragic that the opposition spectrum in the current political scene was fragmented while the Government was floundering.

The NCM aimed to bridge the differences between the opposition groups and to create a climate favourable for negotiation so a national convention could be called with acknowledged leaders to agree on a new constitution.

Mr Browde said the NCM campaign would include of advertisements in newspapers and probably on television.



# South Africa not on brink of revolution — Malan

Can Times 12/11/85 3041

~~SECRET~~

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa was not on the brink of a revolution, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

The projected image of South Africa as a country going up in flames was a masterpiece of psychological bending of realities, he told a national security strategy conference in Sandton.

It showed total ignorance, both of conditions in South Africa and historical requirements for

successful revolution.

It was not implied that there was a total absence of a revolutionary conflict potential.

General Malan said the security forces were dealing, on the one hand, with the illusion of a country in a state of revolution.

On the other hand, there were revolutionary forces set to make South Africa ungovernable.

There were four constituents of revolution-

ary warfare — military, economic, political and psychological action.

Of the four, psychological warfare was probably the most important. Military conflict was of very low intensity and confined to the isolated area of northern South-West Africa.

"However, we are concerned about the massive Soviet stockpiling of sophisticated military hardware and particularly conventional weaponry in Angola and Mozambique," General Malan

said.

In the international political arena, the aim of the anti-South African campaign was to isolate South Africa from its natural allies.

Inside South Africa, the aim was to promote discontent, establish an effective revolutionary organization and gain control over, or influence of, institutions that could be manipulated for political gain.

These included trade unions, educational institutions, legitimate po-

litical movements, cultural and religious organizations and the media.

Moscow's chosen tool in the struggle against South Africa was the South African Communist Party. The alliance between the SACP and the ANC was well known.

One of South Africa's weaknesses in defending itself against the campaign from without was the sphere of psychological action.

The aim was to destroy

the will to resist by creating a sense of guilt, a belief that defeat was inevitable, and the illusion that the conflict in Southern Africa was based on a white/black confrontation.

The economic onslaught against South Africa — dominated by disinvestment — implied an intention to isolate the country economically, with all the political implications inherent in such action, General Malan said.

The final outcome of the economic battle could be decided by the combined resolve and energies of businessmen and people of all colours who could see through this hostile movement.

"Ironically, the most significant consequence of the limited embargoes that have previously been applied is tremendous stimulation of strategic industries in South Africa.

"Here I refer to Armscor," General Malan said.



## Corporate social responsibility

# What it means to big business

## Southern Life

*"Any solution of a social impact or of a social problem, except to make it into an opportunity for performance and results, creates social overhead costs. These costs cannot be borne out of profits, no matter what popular rhetoric may say. They are paid for either out of current costs — that is by consumer or taxpayer — or they are paid for out of capital — that is, by fewer and poorer jobs tomorrow and in impaired standards of living. The only way to cover costs and to accumulate capital is through economic performance... in order to 'do good', a business must first 'do well'."*

— Peter Drucker, writer and professor of sociology

IT IS only since the early 1970s that the private sector has seriously set about harnessing its resources in terms of money, time and manpower to address our country's most pressing problems.

The Urban Foundation is perhaps the most significant example of private sector action. In its first five years, commitments of more than R40 million were forthcoming, a like amount was raised in offshore loans and the money has continued to roll in. The objective was the improvement of the quality of life but the foundation has widened its role, and its achievements have been significant and well beyond its published successes.

In addition to such co-operative actions, major companies, speaking through their annual reviews, and their chairmen and chief executives speaking on other occasions have become a growing chorus of insistent and persistent demands for constructive and realistic change.

## Abolish apartheid call by businessmen

IN SEPTEMBER this year 90 of South Africa's top businessmen issued a joint call for the abolition of apartheid and for negotiations with genuine black leaders to share power.

They also called for the restoration and the entrenchment of the rule of law, which would mean an end to bannings and detentions.

Their statement reflected growing disillusionment within the business sector with the pace of reform and an appreciation of the need for action, and was seen as being potentially one of the most significant actions of businessmen in the encouragement of urgent political reform.

This feature highlights the continuing awareness of the business sector, which is still awaiting the requested urgent meeting with the government on the implementation of the reforms proposed.

Perhaps at this stage, one should seek some perspective. It is still the prime objective of a business to make profits. Shareholders still look to management to provide dividends and to build up the financial strength of the company. But today share-

## Pick 'n Pay

PICK 'n Pay calls social responsibility "consumerism".

"I have always said that people are the greatest asset of my business," the chairman of Pick 'n Pay, Mr Raymond Ackerman, said.

Most people regard social responsibility as the giving of money. But Pick 'n Pay believes it is easy to give away money — but not easy to decide when and to whom to give.

We have been taught by a master of consumerism in Pick 'n Pay. His philosophy is: "The community project is important to the person making the request — even if it seems unimportant to you. Listen, with empathy, and help — even if only in small way," is what Mr Ackerman taught me.

Our budget for "giving away" has grown so that it is now not an easy task to track down all the contributions we make.

□ **Urban Foundation:** Pick'n Pay was one of the first signatories to pledge more than a R1 million and gives R125 000 a year.

□ **Liver Transplant Child:** We gave R10 000 towards the costs of the operation.

□ **Drought Relief — Vaal:** We gave R10 000 to the local relief fund R10 000.

□ **Girl Guides:** If the guides could persuade their families to shop at Pick 'n Pay for a year we would give them R10 000 based on accredited purchases of R1 million groceries. They reached their target in less than a year and received R4 000.



Mr T N Chapman, chief executive of The Southern Life Association Limited.



□ **SPCA:** We gave R30 000 for a clinic in Cape Town for the poor.

□ **Education:** We contribute to most universities' development funds and have a bursary trust fund to help educate the children of our staff. The Ackerman Trust Fund gives money to the needy of the community for further study after school.

□ **Housing:** We give cash help towards housing loans for our staff — particularly weekly-paid staff.

□ **Hungry school children:** The company has decided to help feed children of all races who are going to school hungry and to continue helping old people.

A total of almost R750 000 has been spent in major projects alone. Schools, university rags, local churches etc., have been helped.

Pensioners and old people of all races are helped every month by providing free buses to our stores.

Social responsibility is, of course, much broader. It means not discriminating in terms of employees and promotions. In the Western Cape 56 percent of the management staff is not white.

Pick 'n Pay is one of 92 signatories to the business manifesto which has resulted in the formation of a Corporate Council, particularly of the American companies, to further support their stance in South Africa.

International recognition was given to Pick 'n Pay last year when Mr Ackerman received an international social responsibility award in Dallas on behalf of Pick 'n Pay for the "best community/employee relations" company.



Mr  
Raymond  
Ackerman,  
chairman  
of Pick 'n  
Pay.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of Natal University reports that his surveys show that urban blacks, and particularly middle-income blacks, have recognized the success of private sector activity.

The conclusion reached by these groups is that government responds to action (and pressure) by business leaders; hence continued reform and change is a function of the private sector's actions; hence blame for slowness or lack of further reform should be laid at the feet of not the government but the private sector. How ironic! Whether the attitudes disclosed by Professor Schlemmer's findings are fair or not is irrelevant, but the conclusions which have been drawn are none the less sobering.

In 1975, when Mr Harry Oppenheimer outlined his personal philosophy he made a case for public companies making contributions to funds for educational, charitable, welfare and quality of life purposes.

He said that if organizations did not actively respond to the needs of the community in which they worked there would be no alternative but increased regulation of life by government agencies, so that it was not too much to say that a sense of responsibility in such matters on the part of private business was part of the defence of freedom itself.

His address drew a variety of reactions. Mr Manie Bradlow disagreed, saying: "The object of a trading company is to make profits, and no action which does not contribute directly or indirectly to achieving that object is permissible."

I submit that in 1985 it is no longer a debatable issue. The realities of life in South Africa are such that in the long term a business is only as healthy as the community in which it operates.

Multi-national companies operating here have to declare their stances publicly and give details of roles they play in respect of social responsibility, to shareholders, customers and the press on a world-wide basis.

The large South African companies are likewise to an ever-increasing extent making known to the outside world, to the South African public and to employees what they are doing about codes of conduct (be they Sullivan or Urban Foundation or whatever), and what they are doing about equal opportunity inside the business and what they are doing in respect of their social responsibility.

Devoting shareholders' money and management's time to good works has undergone a dramatic change over the years in two respects: "how much" and "how justified".

In the days of Cecil Rhodes and Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, there was much done with little publicity and not much query. In the 1960s business leaders who spoke up on the subject were few and far between and their cries tended to take the form of appeals backed by long justifications. In the 1970s business leaders took action rather than words, and the amounts contributed swelled substantially in comparison with patterns of past giving.

In the 1980s and particularly today, shareholders and customers and staff demand and expect those who run their companies to give an account of how much is being done, and their questions are aimed at satisfying themselves that enough is being done.

holders have a right to know what their company is doing about equal opportunity for employees and the needs of the community.

The government of today, on both formal and informal occasions, generally welcomes the private sector's initiative. It has not seen this initiative as confrontation but as complementing the commitment to change announced by the State President when he opened Parliament this year.

In response to a world-wide and nation-wide depth of feeling that South Africa should become a just and equal society it is surely the duty of business leaders to speak out, to their shareholders and employees: to show that it is no longer tenable to look only to the government to bring about the changes that are so necessary in the interests of racial harmony and a peaceful, stable and prosperous South Africa; and, having looked at their resources, make known how, and the extent to which they have committed resources to these ends.

South Africans have a right to look to the private sector to harness its skills and resources to lead the way. We should loudly and proudly take that lead. "Keeping shareholders happy" would seem therefore to be a function of:

- ☐ Doing something meaningful,
- ☐ Doing the right things and most important of all,
- ☐ Of accounting fully to shareholders on
- ☐ How much is being done,
- ☐ How much is being spent

## The Southern

THE Southern believes that business has a duty to help improve the quality of society, uphold equal opportunity and support activities of a civilized community. The Southern actively contributes towards national welfare, education and several projects aimed at promoting art, culture, sport and nature conservation.

The commitment to social responsibility also includes support of efforts to induce a climate in which constructive changes can take place. As a responsible member of society, therefore, we shall continue to support activities, both materially and by example, that are aimed towards a peaceful, healthy and prosperous community.

## Grand Bazaars

OUR company stands by the statement "There is a better way" which was signed by us and 90 leading companies. We will do everything possible to promote and try to achieve the objectives of that statement.

We believe in equal pay for equal work and our employees share all facilities. Senior positions are open to all.

We contribute to charitable, religious, educational and sporting institutions on an equal basis and have a management contract with a Sowetan entrepreneur whose shop is now managed and staffed by Sowetans trained by us.



CHP 10/12/1985

# Mining magnate's plan for apartheid

Own Correspondent

MINING magnate Mr Harry Oppenheimer has unveiled a four-point plan for ending apartheid.

Mr Oppenheimer, retired chairman of Anglo American, presented his ideas at the Johannesburg branch of the American Chamber of Commerce on Friday.

He said the plan would help SA's image as an outcast.

The four immediate steps are:

- Open commercial districts to businessmen of any race.

- Allow blacks to own land.

- Government should announce it will no longer forcibly move blacks off their land to make way for whites.

- An end to the pass laws.

He said government should then grant citizenship to all South Africans by February, when Parliament convenes, and form a single department of education.

The citizenship issue had arisen in the 1970s when South Africa began stripping blacks of their nationality by declaring them citizens of tribal homelands.

The educational gap was closing but South Africa spent about five times more on educating a white than on a black child.

"Making black education equal to white education is a long-term job and must be tackled extremely energetically," said Mr Oppenheimer.

He said South Africa could not simply jump a system of spending equal amounts on all.



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The Morgenzon dream: white labour only on their farm. Blacks can find employment somewhere else ....

Photograph: VIVIENNE WALT

## White against purer white

THE sleepy Eastern Transvaal village of Morgenzon has become the unlikely setting for a fierce ideological battle among Afrikaners.

On the one side are the Oranjewerkers, striving to create here the hub of a future whites-only state; on the other, the bulk of the townfolk, quite happy, thank you, with a placid status quo.

Leader of the Werkers is Hendrik Verwoerd, former dominee and son of the assassinated Prime Minister. He resigned the cloth, he says, to pursue his ideals. "Of course I was influenced by my father," he adds.

Morgenzon, he insists, is no mere experiment or demonstration. "We do not consider failure. This town is the first growth-point of an Afrikaner state which will eventually be as big as the Free State and Transvaal combined."

Verwoerd's strategy is simple: deny blacks employment and they will leave.

Accordingly, his organisation has not only canvassed support among the locals, but also imported a number of ideologically-committed pioneers.

These true Oranjewerkers meet all

The villagers of Morgenzon in the Eastern Transvaal are no liberals, but they're less than happy with the far-right Oranjewerkers organisation, led by Hendrik Verwoerd's son, which has moved into the neighbourhood. **MORGAN GEORGE reports**

their labour needs themselves: they employ no blacks whatsoever, neither as farmworkers nor as domestic servants.

And when industry finally comes to Morgenzon — Verwoerd claims to be currently negotiating the establishment of a glass-fibre factory — all these workers, too, will be white.

"We will create here a town of whites for whites," promises Verwoerd. "The blacks must go."

In stark contrast to his views are those of the majority of the townfolk and farmers of the district, though some have chosen to be *draadsitters*. Feelings in this *broedertwis* can run high.

Resistance to the Oranjewerkers is considerable, from the mayor downwards. Perhaps Verwoerd's most vocal critic, though, is Mrs Sigrid Roux, dealer in patent medicines and *de facto* pharmacist to Morgenzon's black population of some 2 000.

White Morgenzonners, she explains, prefer to shop in nearby Bethal, where they have access to the chainstores. As a result, it is on black custom that the retailers of the town depend, for some 80 percent of their sales. "If the blacks were to leave," she contends, "we'd all have to close down. There'd be no town left."

In startling simplicity, she illustrates the economic interdependence of black and white, even here on the platteland.

Her objections, though, are not merely financial; warm beats her humanist heart. "The blacks here are very worried about losing their homes," she says. "Where could they go?"

But Verwoerd remains adamant: leave they must. "There's plenty of work for them elsewhere," he says, "in their own areas."

And no, he foresees neither poverty nor starvation as a result of his grand design.

Market forces, he declares, will clear the area of blacks; and, probed on the matter, he admits the possibility, too, of forced removals to achieve his aims.

Nevertheless, for the residents of the neat black township on the other side of the railway tracks, the threat of resettlement currently seems minimal. Verwoerd's Oranjewerkers appear to be more of a media-meal than a meaningful pressure-group; he's able, for instance, to name only a handful of devotees already treading his Great White Way.

But bear in mind the onward march of the Right. If ever a Treurnicht or a Jaap Marais were to come to power, then partitionist politics would be the rage of the day. In such a scenario, Hendrik Verwoerd could very well find himself back in the mainstream.



# Progs, Inkatha step aside — but UDF still won't join

IN spite of the withdrawal of the PFP and Inkatha from the steering committee of the Convention Movement, there is no prospect of the UDF joining the initiative.

This was said by UDF acting publicity officer Murphy Morobe in an interview this week.

Morobe, who has been avoiding the police since the declaration of the State of Emergency, said the fact that Inkatha and the PFP had stepped down made little difference to the character of the movement.

"The point is that the aim appears to be a Muzorewa-Buthelezi type solution of 'power sharing' from the top. Their statements seem to imply that people sit around a table and discuss and debate and in this way work out South Africa's future with an open agenda.

"When we talk about negotiations

By GAVIN EVANS

we need to be a lot more specific than the Convention Movement has been. We can't accept an open agenda because we want to know what it is we are negotiating. Also, we are not a liberation movement, and before we are prepared to negotiate the ANC and other liberation movements must be unbanned.

"What is certainly not negotiable is democracy - and that implies one person, one vote in a united South Africa. What may be negotiable is the pace of the implementation of a democratic state and the approach to ending bloodshed," he said.

Responding to a criticism of PFP leader, Van Zyl Slabbert, that the UDF was using similar tactics to the government by choosing who it wanted to negotiate with, Morobe

dismissed this as a "dishonest and facile" form of attack.

"The government has clearly put up all sorts of pre-conditions for negotiations — which include the renouncing of violence against apartheid.

"Our main pre-condition is that we believe the outcome of any negotiations should be democracy. We are not prepared to negotiate over the heads of the people or to negotiate them out of their birthright," he said.

Morobe also questioned the motive behind the initiative and accused it of being an "act of desperation" on the part of big business and the PFP.

"They are aware of the paralysis of the government and its inability to contain resistance. They know the government can't satisfy the demands of the people or even cope with daily administration.

"So they are trying to find ways of accommodating popular aspirations which will not tamper with the basic framework of the capitalist system."

● Asked to comment yesterday, Joyce Harris, a member of the Convention Movement's steering committee said it was rather sad that the UDF would not join the Movement because it was meant to attract everybody irrespective of political affiliation.

SEFAKO NYAKA reports that she said the aim was to achieve a constitution that was acceptable to everybody.

"And it is to be achieved through negotiation with the acknowledged leaders of all sections of the community. One of the essential pre-conditions, therefore, is the unbanning of all detainees and other people who are in prison because of their political beliefs.

"We believe that a constitutional agenda needs to be open-ended and to have as few non-negotiables as possible.

"The hard bargaining will take place around the convention table and hopefully it will be possible to find a solution that is acceptable to all."

# SA must speed up reform, says banker

ZURICH. — The former head of Switzerland's central bank, appointed to help reschedule South Africa's foreign debt, has said Pretoria must speed up political reform

Mr Fritz Leutwiler said: "There is a great majority, for example in America and in South Africa, who believe reform is better than revolution. This is my opinion as well.

"But the reform should be speeded up, must be speeded up. No one benefits from bringing South Africa into chaos."

Mr Leutwiler was appointed in September to mediate between South Africa and its creditor banks over rescheduling at least some of the country's \$24-billion (about R63-billion) foreign debt.

He described restrictions imposed on foreign journalists' coverage of the unrest as South Africa's "dumbest" move so far, adding that he believed President P W Botha favoured reform but was under political pressure.

In his view outside financial pressure was "more effective" than sanctions.



Mr Fritz Leutwiler

Mr Leutwiler has held one meeting of senior South African officials and Pretoria's 29 main creditor banks.

He said a second would take place on November 26.

The subjects discussed at the first meeting were technical, not political, "but to be sure banks have had thoughts. They have had to, because they have customers who will not give them any more money (if they invest in South Africa). And they are big customers, universities and pension funds"

He said there were steps Pretoria could take immediately, such as releasing political prisoners, relaxing the curbs on journalists, ending controls under which blacks must identify themselves if asked, and stopping forced resettlement. — Sapa-Reuter.

## French ban on imports of SA coal

Argus Foreign Service

The move could be seen as a victory for the French.

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Cape Times 15/11/85  
P W Botha 'fires'  
Delegates Minister

Own Correspondent  
PORT ELIZABETH. —  
The Minister of the Budget and Auxiliary Services in the House of Delegates, Mr Ebrahim Abramjee, was "fired" by the State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday.

Mr Abramjee's dismissal follows a speech he made at the Port Elizabeth City Hall on Wednesday night at a report-back meeting of the National Peoples' Party, in which he disclosed details of South Africa's

proposed gas exploration off Mossel Bay.

In a brief statement yesterday, the State President said he had decided "to terminate Mr E Abramjee's membership of the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates with effect from November 15, 1985, following his failure to honour his undertaking in terms of Section 24 of the Constitution Act of 1983 not to divulge directly or indirectly any matters which have been entrusted to him under secrecy".

Mr Abramjee stated at Wednesday night's meeting that while he did not wish to "pre-empt" the State President's announcement, which he said would be made on Monday, he wished to disclose that it was "a very important announcement" which was of major significance to the Eastern Cape.

Need for further forms of negotiation says PW

# Blacks to join President's Council

Ormande Pollok, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—President Botha yesterday announced plans for the future participation of blacks in a reconstituted President's Council.

He made the announcement in an address to a plenary session of the President's Council when he asked the Council to consider ways in which it could be restructured to incorporate blacks.

Mr Botha first mooted the idea at the Port Elizabeth conference of the National Party at the end of September, but yesterday he added a new dimension to the possible changes.

Speaking on black needs for further forms of negotiation, he said: 'I think the time has come to take a good look at the composition and functions of the President's Council in this regard.'

'If the President's Council would like to submit any

suggestions or advice concerning this possibility to me, I would welcome it.'

The President's Council's major political role in the current constitutional dispensation is settling legislative disputes between the three chambers of Parliament, which it was twice called on to do earlier this year.

Mr Botha said the previous President's Council was the first formal body in which whites, coloureds and Indians consulted over matters of common concern and the current council was continuing this task.

'The question arises now whether the composition and functions of the President's Council still meet the demands of today and tomorrow,' he said.

'Reform means adaptation. This means that new circumstances demand new approaches.'

He recalled that in order to further the reform pro-

cess he had suggested on January 25 that black leaders should be involved in inquiries which concerned their communities.

Various reforms had been envisaged.

'To summarise, it means that the Government is committed to the principle of a united South Africa, joint citizenship and franchise for all within structures chosen for South Africa by South Africans,' he said.

However, stumbling blocks would not be put in the way of self-governing areas becoming independent while still co-operating with South Africa.

This would also not exclude the necessity for regional authorities, provincial structures and jurisdictional territories for local authorities.

Mr Botha said members of black communities were not formally involved in the process of consultation of the President's Council. This was why he had suggest-

ed restructuring it. 'I conceded that the need might exist among leaders of black communities for further forms of negotiation,' he said.

'This can be achieved by participating in inquiries and making recommendations to me as Head of State within the President's Council.'

He was prepared to reconsider the structuring and the functions of the council.

The acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Alex Boraine, said last night the moves to include black people on the President's Council were five years too late and were a classic example of too-little-too-late.

He also warned that it was going to be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find any credible leaders who will agree to serve on the Council.'

Real +61.22 Current Real Weekly Wage: R 21.79  
Current Real Weekly Wage: R 19.85



# PC move 'too late' — Boraine

By BARRY STREEK

THE government's moves to include black people on the President's Council were five years too late and a classic example of "too little, too late," the acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Alex Boraine, said last night.

He also warned that it was "going to be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find any credible leaders who will agree to serve on the council".

Dr Boraine was reacting to the speech yesterday by President P W Botha in the President's Council in which he said he would "welcome" suggestions from the President's Council on the participation of black people in the indirectly elected body.

President Botha said in his speech that the government was "committed to the principle of a united South Africa, joint citizenship, and franchise for all within structures chosen for South Africa by South Africans".

## 'Castigated as boycotters'

Dr Boraine said that when the President's Council was first thought of five years ago, the PFP had urged that black people be included in it, but the government then said no.

"The PFP were castigated as boycotters because we insisted that blacks be part of the President's Council and be part of the process for a new constitution.

"Now we are stuck with a constitution which is totally rejected by blacks and the vast majority of coloureds and Indians.

"There is a growing acceptance among whites that these policies are inadequate," Dr Boraine said.

A spokesman for the United Democratic Front, Mr Naseegh Jaffer, said last night that opening the President's Council to accommodate blacks was "another empty and meaningless reform measure".

## 'Disastrous elections'

"The disastrous elections of last year not only showed our people's rejection of the tricameral system but also their deep-felt misgivings in the proposals put by the President's Council," he said.

"The government must realize that proportional representation on an advisory council does not address the real grievances of our people. We need to move towards the total abolition of the apartheid system."

Assocom welcomed President Botha's statement, saying the President's Council served as an important social and political advisory forum, Sapa reports.

"The association wishes, however, to restate its view that the implementation of significant reform initiatives must be accelerated in the interests of political and economic stability in South Africa."

# Govt plans for blacks in PC

*Cape Times 15/11/85*  
*304A*

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday announced plans for the future participation of blacks in a reconstituted President's Council.

President Botha made the announcement in an extraordinary address to a plenary session of the President's Council, requesting the council to consider ways in which it could be restructured to incorporate blacks.

He told the council that the question arose as to whether the functions of the President's Council still met the demands of the time.

## Reform

"Reform means new adaptations. It means that new circumstances call for a new approach," he said.

In order to further the process of reform he had suggested on January 25 that black communities had to be involved in inquiries concerning their position.

"The government is committed to the principle of a united South Africa, joint citizenship and franchise for all within the structures chosen for South Africans by South Africans," he said.

## Advice

Although the President's Council's advice had included all the people of South Africa and although opportunities existed for members of black communities to make inputs at the highest level, members of black communities were not formally involved in the process of consultation in the President's Council.

"For this reason, I expressed the opinion on September 30 that the President's Council should perhaps be restructured.

"I conceded that the need might exist among leaders of black communities for further forms of negotiation.

"This can be achieved by participating in in-

quiries and making recommendations to me as Head of State within the President's Council," President Botha said.

"I think the time has come to take a good look at the composition and functions of the President's Council in this regard," he said.

"If the President's Council would like to submit any suggestions or advice concerning this possibility to me, I would welcome it."

The State President asked why it was that at the time when the foundations and guidelines for constitutional development were being laid in South Africa, the campaign to destroy orderly reform became most severe.

## 'Threat'

The attacks on South Africa were gaining impetus and it seemed there could be only one answer to the question — that there were people inside and outside the country for whom orderly reform was a thorn in the side and (considered) extremely dangerous.

"It poses a threat to them because an orderly and peaceful community leaves no space or opportunity for power addicts to intimidate people."

Mr Botha said he believed the government's sustained steps of reform over the past few years were exposing the sinister attempts of these people.

## 'Pious'

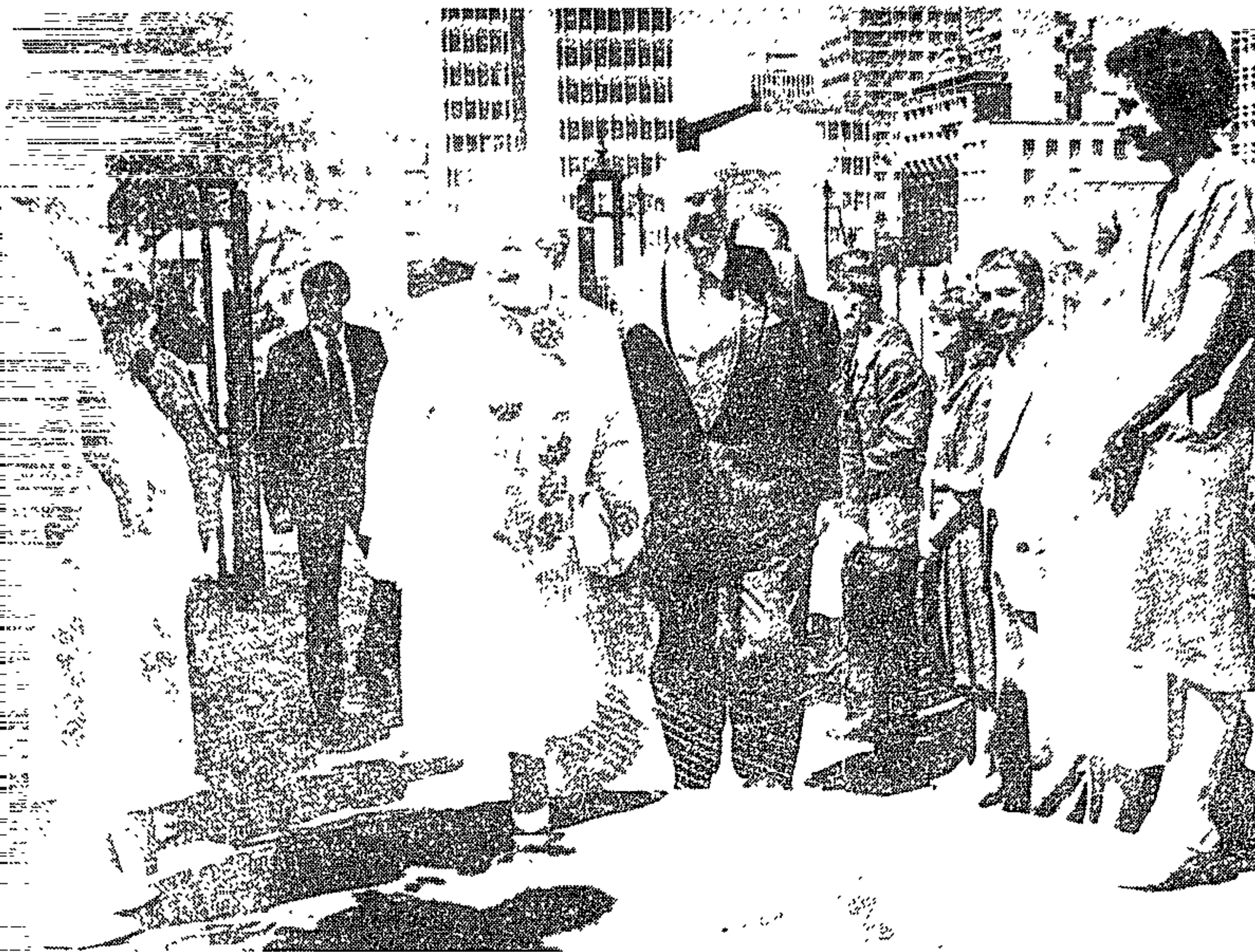
This was revealing the real motives of those people attacking South Africa who were hiding behind a "pious" front of morality.

The lessons of Africa had shown that the way to welfare and peace called for by foreign interests often led downhill to ruin.

"We must not allow the same to happen in this lovely country of ours," President Botha said.

— Sapa





President's Council staff greet President P W Botha and his wife Elize as they arrive at the council chamber yesterday afternoon.



# Evening Post

Friday, November 15, 1985

## COMMENT

### A city council out of step

PORT ELIZABETH and its people are being badly let down by a City Council that is showing itself incapable of facing up to the demands of reform and the realities of 1985. The decision last night not to proceed with an investigation into the opening to all races of a whites-only beach, but to opt for a sterile inquiry into present facilities, smacks of a delaying tactic that demonstrates a complete lack of understanding of the issues involved.

The issue is *not* whether beach facilities for each population group are adequate or inadequate. What is at stake is the removal of restrictions which treat people of colour as second-class citizens by denying them their basic right to utilise whatever beach they choose.

The compromise motion proposed by Professor Les Simpson, who seems overly concerned about the selfish considerations of his beachfront ratepayers, reinforces the traditional Government view that there should be adequate beach facilities for the different races. But it does not address the fundamental need to rid the city of statutory beach apartheid. Nor does it take into account the changing attitudes which have prompted two Port Elizabeth National Party MPs to come out publicly in favour of investigations into desegregating at least one of the beaches reserved for whites.

By stalling on reform, the City Council has shown itself to be not only uncaring of the natural aspirations of PE's black, coloured and Indian inhabitants, but to be out of step even with conservative Nationalist politicians. What an indictment!

# Slabbert fears 'long darkness ahead'

304A

POST 15/11/85

NEW YORK — The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said in an interview with the Wall Street Journal: "Somehow the day will come when blacks govern. The somehow is what white politics are all about."

Predicting increasing violence, he said: "What I find alarming is that the two sides define the conflict as winable on their own terms. I am fearful of the long darkness that may await us all," he said.

"The level of violence of whites hasn't even begun to be explored."

The paper said the politician believed his day would come as more extreme policies failed.

Dr Slabbert was quoted as saying: "In 18 months' time the trendy left will find that liberation hasn't come. The walls of Jericho approach hasn't worked."

The paper said Dr Slabbert did not believe one man, one vote was the simple answer — but that there would have to be a negotiated settlement.

"Whatever the level of violence, it will have to be a negotiated solution, even if most of our natural resources are destroyed."

His aim, the paper says, is to challenge the Government's idea of white racial domination, mediate between whites and blacks and build a non-violent coalition against apartheid.

— Sapa



# Business plan to meet Botha

*CMT Times 16/11/85 (30/11/85)*

## Political Staff

A DELEGATION of leading businessmen hopes to meet the State President, Mr P W Botha, soon to stress the need for urgent political change.

Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay, left yesterday on an overseas visit and said the meeting would be sought soon after he returned.

Mr Ackerman started the process which led to a declaration by 90 top businessmen calling for an end to apartheid and for negotiations on power-sharing with genuine black leaders.

One of the objectives of the declaration was to discuss with government leaders the concern in business circles with South Africa's political direction, particularly after President Botha's "Rubicon" speech.

Mr Ackerman said yesterday the September statement had had important repercussions in South Africa and abroad.

"I am amazed at the amount of interest it has generated and it has given us an enormous amount of ammunition."

Apart from "nailing business colours to the mast" in support of far-reaching domestic



Mr Raymond Ackerman

change, it had resulted in major foreign companies committing themselves to maintaining their investments in South Africa if changes were made.

## Stay in SA

In newspaper advertisements throughout the United States, a group of American company chief executives had committed themselves to supporting the local business initiative

and to fighting to stay in South Africa on that basis.

Mr Harry Oppenheimer, former chairman of Anglo American and one of the signatories of the business declaration, had also had talks in the United States with a number of American business leaders.

Mr Ackerman said he would meet 10 chief executives of British and European companies in France next week, and would explain the business stance in press and TV interviews.

"We want to meet government armed with the response of South African businessmen — it is our future that is involved — and with the response of American and European business leaders."

Soon after his return, the business declaration signatories would select a delegation, including executives from multinational corporations, which would seek an appointment with President Botha.

The September declaration was confined to major local companies. Mr Ackerman said plans were being made for a similar anti-apartheid statement from smaller businesses.

CATG Times  
16/4/85 30x11

# Rajbansi fills in for Abramjee

## Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chief Minister in the House of Delegates, was yesterday appointed acting Minister of the Budget in the House of Delegates following the instant dismissal of Mr Boetie Abramjee by President Botha.

Mr Rajbansi's appointment, which takes immediate effect, was announced by Mr Botha yesterday.

The National Peoples' Party in the House of Delegates — the ruling group in the House of Delegates — will discuss Mr Abramjee's dismissal at its caucus in Chatsworth tomorrow.

## Secrecy

Announcing the dismissal, Mr Botha said Mr Abramjee's ministerial status had been ended because of his failure to honour his undertaking in terms of the constitution not to divulge any matters of secrecy which had been entrusted to him.

Earlier this week, Mr Abramjee told a meeting in Port Elizabeth of government plans to exploit gas fields near Mossel Bay, before Mr Botha's public announcement of the decision.

## Breach

Mr Rajbansi said yesterday the dismissal would be discussed at his party caucus: "Mr Abramjee's action appears to be of a technical nature. It was not a misdemeanour."

Mr J N Reddy, leader of the opposition Solidarity, yesterday called on Mr Abramjee to quit

his Pretoria seat in the House of Delegates.

"I have nothing against Mr Abramjee, but if a member of the cabinet commits a serious breach of etiquette he must face the consequences and honourably quit," he said.

Mr Abramjee, who loses the privileges of a cabinet minister, including a massive drop in his income from R78 000 to an MP's R48 000, said he was shocked by his dismissal.

However, he was heartened by the support he was getting from his fellow ruling NPP caucus members: "The caucus has been a tower of strength for me at this trying time," he said.

Mr S V Naicker, national chairman of the NPP, said the dismissal was "very unfortunate".

## Important

"It would appear that Mr Abramjee made certain statements on the spur of the moment which would appear to be technical. During his term of office he has excelled and I am satisfied that he will remain a loyal member of the NPP," he said.

Mr Naicker said there was no haste to appoint a successor: "Let us take our time. As far as this position is concerned it has to be beyond individualism. It is an important portfolio and we'd rather not act in haste."

Meanwhile, there was growing speculation yesterday about Mr Abramjee's successor with strong suggestions that Mr Reddy was a likely candidate. But the only snag at the moment is that he belongs to the opposition ranks.



INTERNATIONAL

AKCWS 18/11/85 (12) 1306A

# SA, US executives meet over apartheid

Argus Foreign Service

**LONDON** — Executives from leading South African and United States companies have met secretly here to draw up a strategy to challenge apartheid.

The strategy includes paying for a range of black educational, housing and small business projects.

Details of the meeting, held in secrecy last week, have been leaked in Washington.

Michael Holman, writing in the Financial Times, says the talks are being seen in the US as part of "a major effort to present a constructive alternative to the growing move towards disinvestment from South Africa by US companies".

## Reduced links

Coca-Cola, International Harvester and Phibro-Salomon are among 18 companies which have ended or reduced South African business links in the past year, says Mr Holman.

Some 300 US companies operate in South Africa, representing a total investment of more than \$2.5-billion (R6.7-billion).

According to Mr Holman's informant the London talks were attended by the chief executives of four of the largest US corporations. Mr Roger Smith of General Motors, Mr Michael Blumenthal of Burroughs, Mr Raleigh Warner of Mobil and Mr John Reed of Citibank.

## "Positive"

The South African delegation included Mr Gavin Relly of Anglo American and Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand.

Mr Rosholt is reported as saying in Johannesburg that the meeting was part of the efforts by business leaders of both countries to work out a positive business contribution to solving South Africa's problems.

The discussions were organised by the US Corporate Council on South Africa, which was formed in September and consists of executives of companies with interests in South Africa.

All 70 members subscribe to the Sullivan code of business practice.

Officials of the US companies have refused to discuss the London meeting, although General Motors described it as "productive".

The purpose, according to businessmen close to the talks, was to continue efforts to draw up an alternative strategy to economic sanctions and disinvestment, and to discuss a greater business role in efforts to bring about change in South Africa.

Although not directly linked, the initiative coincides with efforts by the Urban Foundation in South Africa to win financial support from US and British companies.

Chief executives of South African, US and British companies are increasingly concerned at the growth of a sanctions and disinvestment lobby in Europe and America.

● In a new indication of hardening attitudes to South Africa, a poll disclosed that nearly half the American people

want Washington to take stronger action to press South Africa to abandon apartheid.

They also want major US companies to stop doing business in South Africa.

The poll, conducted by the New York Times and the TV network CBS, showed that 44 percent of those interviewed felt the Reagan Administration should be doing "more than it is now" to rectify the situation in South Africa, while 37 percent said it should not do more.

Three percent answered it should do less or nothing, and 16 percent had no answer.

## Township unrest

When the same question was asked in a New York Times CBS poll in June, 37 percent said the US should do more, 41 percent said it should not and three percent said it should do less or nothing. Twenty percent had no answer.

In the latest poll, 45 percent said American companies should refuse to do business in South Africa. Thirty-nine percent disagreed, and 16 percent had no answer.

Poll analysts pointed out that the percentage increase over the previous five months was relatively small given the wide TV and newspaper coverage of township unrest.

*Cape Times*  
**Abramjee:  
NPP plan  
to see  
P W Botha**

*30/4/85*  
DURBAN. — A two-man delegation, headed by Mr. Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National Peoples' Party in the House of Delegates, is to seek an interview with President P. W. Botha to discuss the summary dismissal of Mr. Boetie Abramjee as Own Affairs Minister of the Budget.

Mr. V. S. Naicker, national chairman of the party, is the other member of the delegation appointed at the NPP caucus in Chatsworth yesterday.

A statement released after the meeting said: "The caucus of the NPP expresses its deep regret that the State President did not accede to the request by Mr. Abramjee for an interview before deciding to terminate his membership of the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates.

"The caucus has irrefutable evidence that various newspapers in South Africa had detailed knowledge of the oil exploration in the Eastern Cape.

"The NPP is of the view that the manner in which Mr. Abramjee's membership of the Ministers' Council was terminated is a very grave political issue."



# Top businessmen refuse to talk on SA meeting

AA64 19/11/85 3047  
Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Members of the US Corporate Council on South Africa, a newly formed group of top American businessmen wanting to promote racial reform in the Republic, are tight-lipped about their meeting with leading South African businessmen in London last week.

The chief of General Motors and co-chairman of the council, Mr Roger Smith, "felt it was a very productive meeting," a spokesman said. But he would not comment further.

Other influential American businessmen who attended the meeting, aimed ultimately at dismantling apartheid, refused to comment on the talks.

Reportedly at the meeting were Mr Smith, Mr Michael Blumenthal of Burroughs Corporation, Mr Raleigh Warner of Mobil and Mr John Reed of Citibank. The South Africans included Mr Gavin Relly of Anglo American and Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand.

## First meeting

It was apparently the first meeting between the two groups since the businessmen declared efforts to end apartheid, and the formation of the USCCSA, which has as members chief executive officers of large American companies.

Mr Smith said in a newspaper interview last month that South Africa's problems did not necessarily have to be solved by a one-man, one-vote system. "I don't think you have to go that far to get what needs to be done."

"This was one of the matters to be worked out," he said. "We have got to abolish the statutory rules and the discriminatory foundation of apartheid."

## Sensitive

Corporate Council members regard present approaches and activities as highly sensitive, knowing that their actions are being scrutinised in the US by congressmen, pressure groups and lobbyists wanting apartheid smashed.

Members of these well-organised groups watch political and economic transactions between South Africa and the US.

# Executives in secret SA talks

Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — Executives from leading South African and US companies have met in London to draw up a joint strategy to challenge apartheid, the Financial Times reported yesterday.

The meeting was a follow-up to a secret gathering by 18 executives from Britain, South Africa, the United States and Sweden in March this year.

It is understood that the emerging strategy includes paying for a range of black educational, housing and small business projects.

The unpublicized meeting, held last week, is seen as part of a major effort to present a constructive alternative to the growing move towards disinvestment from the republic by US companies.

Coca-Cola, International Harvester and Phibro-Salomon are among 18 companies which have ended or reduced South African business links in the past year.

Some 300 US companies operate in South Africa, representing a total investment of over \$2.5 billion (R6.5-bn).

The London talks were attended by the chief executives of four of the largest US corporations: Mr Roger Smith of

General Motors; Mr Michael Blumenthal of Burroughs; Mr Raleigh Warner of Mobil and Mr John Reed of Citibank. The South African side included Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American and Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of Barlow Rand.

Mr Rosholt said in Johannesburg that the meeting was part of continuing efforts by business leaders of both countries to work out a positive business contribution to solving South Africa's problems.

## Principles

The discussions were organized by the US Corporate Council on South Africa, which was formed in September and consists of executives of companies with South African interests.

All 70 members subscribe to the Sullivan code of business practice, drawn up under the chairmanship of a US clergyman, the Rev Leon Sullivan.

Officials of the US companies have refused to discuss the London

meeting although General Motors described it as "productive".

The broad purpose, according to businessmen close to the talks, was to continue efforts to draw up an alternative strategy to economic sanctions and disinvestment and to discuss a greater business role in efforts to bring about change.

Although not directly linked, the latest initiative coincides with efforts by the Urban Foundation to win financial support from US and British companies.

Chief executives of South African, US and UK companies are increasingly concerned at the growth of a sanctions and disinvestment lobby in Europe and America.

In March this year 18 chief executives from the three countries met in Kent under the chairmanship of former UK prime minister Mr Edward Heath to discuss ways to encourage South African reform.

● Neither Mr Relly nor Mr Rosholt were available for comment.



# Urgent need to act on report

204A  
NINETEEN years after the enactment of the Group Areas Act deprived businessmen of colour of the right to freedom of trade, a Nationalist-dominated body, the President's Council Economics Committee, has recommended that all racial restrictions on business be scrapped. Such are the laboured workings of politics — the tragedy being that untold hardship and humiliation have been caused for all the years that this pernicious law has been in operation.

Of course there is no guarantee that the PC report will be accepted in its entirety — other equally sound reports have bit the dust and the Government's unnecessary stalling over opening trading in CBDs does not inspire confidence. However, the chairman of the committee, Dr F P Jacobz, believes the necessary amendments to the Group Areas Act will be made early in the next parliamentary session, so perhaps the Government is, at last, ready to move, although it shows no inclination to consider modifying the aspects of the Act dealing with residential segregation.

What is striking about the report — welcome though it clearly is — is the fact that all its findings have been so patently obvious to everyone outside government ever since restrictions on the economy were first introduced. The committee found there exists "a veritable jungle" of regulations and laws stifling new business, that "privileged access for white businessmen to economic activity cannot be reconciled with the true nature of the market", that the Group Areas Act is "in direct conflict with the objective of increasing the participation of economically less-developed communities". And so on and so on...

Now that these things have been "scientifically" established, there can be no excuse for retaining the restrictions on the statute book. It is imperative that the Government acts without delay to eliminate the wad of red tape that is binding the economy and discriminating on the basis of race.

21/11/85 E. Rees

# Curbs on Indians' movements lifted

CAPE TOWN—All immigrants, irrespective of race or colour, would in future be able to apply for permanent residence in the Republic while South African Indians would be allowed to enter the Free State and the northern parts of Natal.

In terms of a proposed Bill published in Cape Town, differentiation on the grounds of colour or race is being removed.

Indians who have thus far been denied permanent residence can now apply to the Immigration Selection Board for this privilege.

The proposed Bill also provides that immigrants no longer have to 'identify' themselves with whites 'in a reasonable time' after arrival.

The Matters Concerning Admission To And Residence In The Republic Amendment Bill repeals chapter 33 of the Free State Act and the 1927 Act on Asians in the northern parts of Natal.

This means that the movement of Indians in these areas would no longer be 'arranged'. — (Sapa)



## U'hage couple in court

PORT ELIZABETH  
Uitenhage's first mixed-marriage couple since the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act appeared in the Uitenhage magistrate's court yesterday on charges of contravening the Group Areas Act.

Mr Richard Coates and his wife, Mrs Joan Coates, who was charged under her maiden name, Cloete, were not asked to plead and no evidence was led.

The case was postponed to February 10 next year for further investigation.

Their attorney, Mr Eugene Peffer, told the court that the defence intended approaching the Attorney-General about the charges brought against the accused.

The couple were warned to re-appear on February 10. — DDC.

~~CARE TALK 20/10/88 (30PCA)~~  
**Abramjee issue unresolved**

Political Staff

THE Indian Minister of the Budget, Mr Boetie Abramjee, who was summarily dismissed from the Cabinet Council of the House of Delegates, is unlikely to be reinstated, in spite of discussions yesterday between Mr Amichand Rajbansi and the State President.

It seems that President P W Botha has taken a firm line on Mr Abramjee's dismissal for remarks about the development of the Mossel Bay gas fields shortly before Mr Botha made the government's

official announcement on the issue.

The leader of the National Peoples Party, Mr Rajbansi, had discussions with Mr Botha before yesterday's cabinet meeting on the dismissal and confirmed last night that the President had agreed to see him and Mr S V Naicker about the issue.

Mr Botha has also agreed to meet Mr Abramjee.

However, Mr Rajbansi was not prepared to disclose the outcome of his discussions with Mr Botha.



# Homeland leaders go softly, softly on citizenship

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

Citizenship for nationals of the independent homelands did not feature prominently on the agenda of the summit meeting yesterday between the leaders of South Africa and the TBVC — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

Instead, after an exchange of views on the issue, it was decided it should be discussed on a bilateral basis.

The meeting was held at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

## REFORM PROCESS

The leaders issued a joint statement of their discussions after the meeting.

Such top-level meetings with independent homelands are considered by Pretoria to be of major importance in the current reform and constitutional negotiation process.

According to the official statement, what was discussed was the suggestion by President Botha earlier this year that contact between the five should be extended to give each a say in any action undertaken by one concerning the others.

Attention was also given to future financial relations.

It is understood that these two points indicate a precursor to some form of formal confederation between the five which could eventually see the transfer of some of their individual sovereignty in matters of mutual concern to a joint decision-making council.

The five leaders expressed solidarity against outside interference, threats of violence, and attempts to disrupt regional economic development by means of boycotts and sanctions.

Their declaration also rejected political domination of any community or state by another, and injustice or inequality in the opportunities available for any community.

It reaffirmed their conviction that constitutional systems for Southern Africa must be the product of negotiation and

agreement, and their commitment to co-operate with one another in seeking solutions to common problems.

The leaders further committed themselves to the upliftment of all their peoples on the basis of equality and respect for the dignity of the individual, and to co-operate in the defence of the security of their territories.

The five leaders said their countries were interlinked and interdependent, not only by strong historical ties and extensive common interests, but bound together in a common destiny. They shared not only the progress, but the problems of the region.

The issue of citizenship is one of the most sensitive in the South African Government's reform programme.

President Botha has already conceded that the Government is prepared to return South African nationality to those TBVC nationals permanently resident in South Africa. TBVC nationals resident in their own countries may also get South African nationality, but the question is what form such citizenship will take.

Also discussed at the summit were:

- Financing of agriculture.
- An agreement on water pollution to ensure maximum protection of this resource.
- Ways to improve the use of trust land.

## SMALL BUSINESS

- A new manual on regional industrial development promotion.
- The need for continued evaluation of the scheme of industrial development incentives.
- The development of small businesses.
- A co-ordinated population and community development programme.
- The improvement of the position of TBVC workers in South Africa.
- Guidelines for urban development.
- Promotion of private investment.

CM: Trail

22/11/85

3004

## PFP: 'Admit ANC'

From JOHN  
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — It was vital the African National Congress should be allowed to become a po-

litical party and function normally in the political process, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Progressive Federal Party leader, said yesterday.

Giving evidence to the House of Commons select committee on foreign affairs at Westminster, he said it would not be possible to assess the political strength of the ANC until it was allowed to take part in the political process.

He also called on the South African Government to announce a clear-cut package of reforms to break the escalating "cycle of repression and revolt".

Dr Slabbert called for the unconditional release of Mr Nelson Mandela within the context of negotiating an alternative political system.

He said the ANC argued that its armed struggle was a response to the violence of apartheid.

"There must be a genuine attempt by the government to remove all the obstacles that would make it difficult for peaceful negotiations to take place."



PREL 22/11/85  
**Homelands,  
SA, express  
solidarity** 3048

Political Staff

THE leaders of South Africa and four "independent" homelands yesterday expressed solidarity against outside interference, threats of violence, boycotts and sanctions.

At the meeting in Pretoria between President P W Botha, Prime Minister Mr George Matanzima (Transkei), Acting-President Mr Bennett Motsatsi (Bophuthatswana), President Patrick Mphephu (Venda) and President Lennox Sebe (Ciskei), their conviction that constitutional systems for Southern Africa must be the product of negotiation was reaffirmed.

CITY/NATIONAL

304A

# Clash over businessmen's bid to tidy 'political mess'

## Political Correspondent

MEMBERS of the President's Council have clashed over the question of businessmen making political statements.

While the chairman of the council's economic committee, Dr F P Jacobsz, said some were "climbing on the bandwagon" with only superficial insight, Mr Robin Carlisle, a Progressive Federal Party member of the council, said they were trying to help clean up "the politicians' mess".

In a debate on a report on small business development, Dr Jacobsz said a few businessmen had made very responsi-

ble statements. They were the ones who understood and or had experience of the political process.

Many businessmen were now, however, climbing on the bandwagon, calling for reform "without saying anything that is practical, or demonstrating insight or understanding of the political environment in which the Government operates".

"They spout platitudes and cliches which emphasise their superficial insight and this can easily lead to the business community being discredited.

"Running a country is infinitely more complex and involves considerations which no

businessman has ever had to contend with."

Dr Jacobsz said the business community obviously had a most important contribution to make in creating stability but this had to be done more responsibly than many were doing.

He suggested that businessmen should devote their talents to creating jobs, developing small businesses, training staff and providing services to the community.

Mr Carlisle welcomed the involvement of the business sector in the political field. It was a perfectly normal develop-

ment, unremarkable elsewhere in the West and one that was long overdue.

Businessmen were becoming involved in politics for a very simple reason.

"The rand will not rise, external investment will not resume and we will not be able to freely and openly market our products abroad until we fix our political problems.

"The economy can never improve until the politics do.

"Certainly that is reason enough for the businessmen to try and clean up the appalling mess the politicians have made," Mr Carlisle said.



HARALD PAKENDORF

# The majority will rule



Harald Pakendorf is the editor of *Die Vaderland*. This is a translation of his column last week.

It has been a year in which SA has been analysed, turned upside down and inside out. The unanimous judgment of all, friend and foe, the just and the unjust, is that the country must change ... and fast.

But the question is: how must we change and where must we go? We, and not our critics abroad, must give the answer. Because it is we who remain after all the changes have taken place.

It is clear that, to rule the country with the consent of the majority, there will have to be a constitution which bears the consent of the majority. To get there, there will simply have to be discussions with influential leaders.

It is a pity that so much emotional dust has been kicked up around the ANC that there is not much room for reason. We will have to get rid of our prejudices and preconceived ideas. The question whether there must be

dialogue with the ANC or not must be approached with a cool head and not warm blood.

Another problem is government's refusal until now to publicly indicate its vision of the country's constitutional future. It refuses to assemble an agenda for negotiation or issue a declaration of intent. They want to come to the negotiating table with clean hands to avoid the accusation later on they prescribed to others.

It is important that government should change its mind so that there can be at least something on the negotiating table. One way out of the dilemma is to use the HSRC's report on inter-group relations as a starting point for discussions.

We shall have to accept that reform would be meaningless if it did not result in a totally changed SA. It is no longer feasible to try to survive by crisis management or hold on to mechanisms which amount to nothing less than a concealed white veto of developments in the country.

In the new SA, apartheid enforced by law will disappear. Nothing of it will remain, although we will probably have the Group Areas Act and a version of the Population Registration Act with us in the first years. But these will also become intolerable in the

long term. Freedom of association should, and will, eventually be the only method ruling relationships.

On the economic front we will have to realise that as the voteless get into positions of power, they will increasingly look to the State for financial aid.

It is inevitable and it must be realised now already that the movement to a free market economy will be tempered by voices asking for bigger State interference.

We must also know that even the fast constitutional changes will not necessarily lower the level of violence or restore foreign confidence immediately. Internal violence and foreign opposition have developed their own momentum.

Whatever must be changed in this country, will have to be done by us. We must not expect help from abroad. And while we are trying to push government to move faster, we must ask ourselves: what are our aims with reform — and can we live with it?

The reform can only mean one thing: a total rearrangement of the South African society; an historical agreement between white and black which means that — even though there may be protection for minority rights — the only certainty is that the majority will rule.



CHRIS HEUNIS, the Government's architect of South Africa's constitutional future, makes no apology — in spite of the clamour for a sign of progress in negotiations between white and black — for keeping the country in the dark.

In a recent interview, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning made clear his belief that a new constitution giving political rights to blacks could not be negotiated in public.

I put to him the perception that public confusion and anger over the Government's intentions were partly the result of the lack of clarity as to with whom the Government was negotiating and whom it regarded as "credible leaders".

Mr Heunis countered with the argument that "constitutions are negotiated in an atmosphere in which people are prepared to talk to each other beyond the glare of the television lights and the Press".

"Quite obviously," he said, "the results must be announced, but I do not believe you must judge success or failure by the visibility or invisibility of negotiations. You must test them by the announcements which result."

Mr Heunis said the 1983 tricameral constitution was negotiated in this way. "From 1980, you (meaning we, the public) had no clarity about negotiations with coloured and Indian leaders until the constitution was passed.

"But what had happened? Before the process of negotiation with coloured leaders had started, every opposition party and newspaper had said the Labour Party represented the real leadership in coloured politics. The day they accepted the constitution as the process within which they would work to effect further change, they were denounced as a lot of Uncle Toms."

Mr Heunis claimed that the most recent successes resulting from the strategy of confidential negotiation had been the acceptance by the Government of "everything that people have argued should be included in a statement of intent" — in the speeches of President P W Botha since January 25.

Mr Heunis' claim that the Government has met the demands for a statement of intent is open to serious question. He believes, however, that the principles established by President Botha for the accommodation of black political demands could not have been achieved "if we had discussed these things openly, at an open, visible meeting".

Regarding with whom the Government was negotiating, I put to Mr Heunis that the Government appeared to recognise that the confidential nature of negotiations was problematic for both whites and blacks, and that evidence would have to be produced soon showing which black leaders were involved.

Mr Heunis said: "There are many leaders with whom we negotiate whose participation, if we had to publish their names, would be ended. I don't believe you or I can really appreciate the extent of

# New deal for blacks to be negotiated in secret

22/11/87  
304A  
E. 1087

**THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis (below), is keeping the country in the dark about negotiations for a new constitution giving political rights to blacks. In an interview with a special correspondent, he gives his reasons for the secrecy.**



in black communities.

"I am not prepared to expose leaders who are prepared to negotiate if they don't want to be exposed. I am not even prepared to react to people who say they do not negotiate when, in fact, they do. I am not going to paint myself or these leaders into a corner just for publicity's sake."

Mr Heunis said he had held talks with "people who have radical views in opposition to my Government" and he reiterated the Government's view that it would speak to any leader who rejected violence as a means to achieve political change.

He criticised what he described as "the artificial perception" that the only credible black leaders were those who refused to negotiate with the Government.

And he spoke of his wish to "broaden the base of leadership" to include interest groups, like business and the churches, to draw them into the process of constitutional negotiations.

Discussing the political contribution of business, Mr Heunis indicated that he was more interested in receiving from them proposals on how to structure

happening at the level of so-called confidential negotiations?

He replied: "There is a lot of posturing going on in every community, in every institution. People have constituencies. The Government can only negotiate as far as it believes its own constituency can be persuaded to accept what is being negotiated. But I don't suggest, as far as the Government is concerned, that there is posturing in the sense that there is something we want to hide from the public."

I asked Mr Heunis to explain how the Government could regard the agenda for negotiation as open when it had already established its own preconditions — the so-called non-negotiables, like no fourth chamber of Parliament, no unitary state, separate schools and residential areas and the like.

Mr Heunis replied that most parties accepted the principle that all people must participate in some form of democratic government, but there was disagreement on how to attain this objective. "My party has a philosophy, right or wrong, that this can only be achieved on the basis of the SA population as it is" — a country comprising diverse ethnic minorities, as the Government would have it.

This and the protection of minorities required the Government to state these preconditions as fundamental to its own policy, said Mr Heunis. But he claims these conditions — the non-negotiables — represent merely the Government's view of the best way to achieve the objective of political change.

"The fact that you have a view doesn't detract

from the openness of the agenda. When one party says it wants one man, one vote in a unitary state and others say no, that doesn't close the meeting.

"You've got to get those parties together and see whether you can negotiate common ground among them.

"Parties going to that meeting have specific views of their own, and they would have to discuss and negotiate to what extent there is common ground."

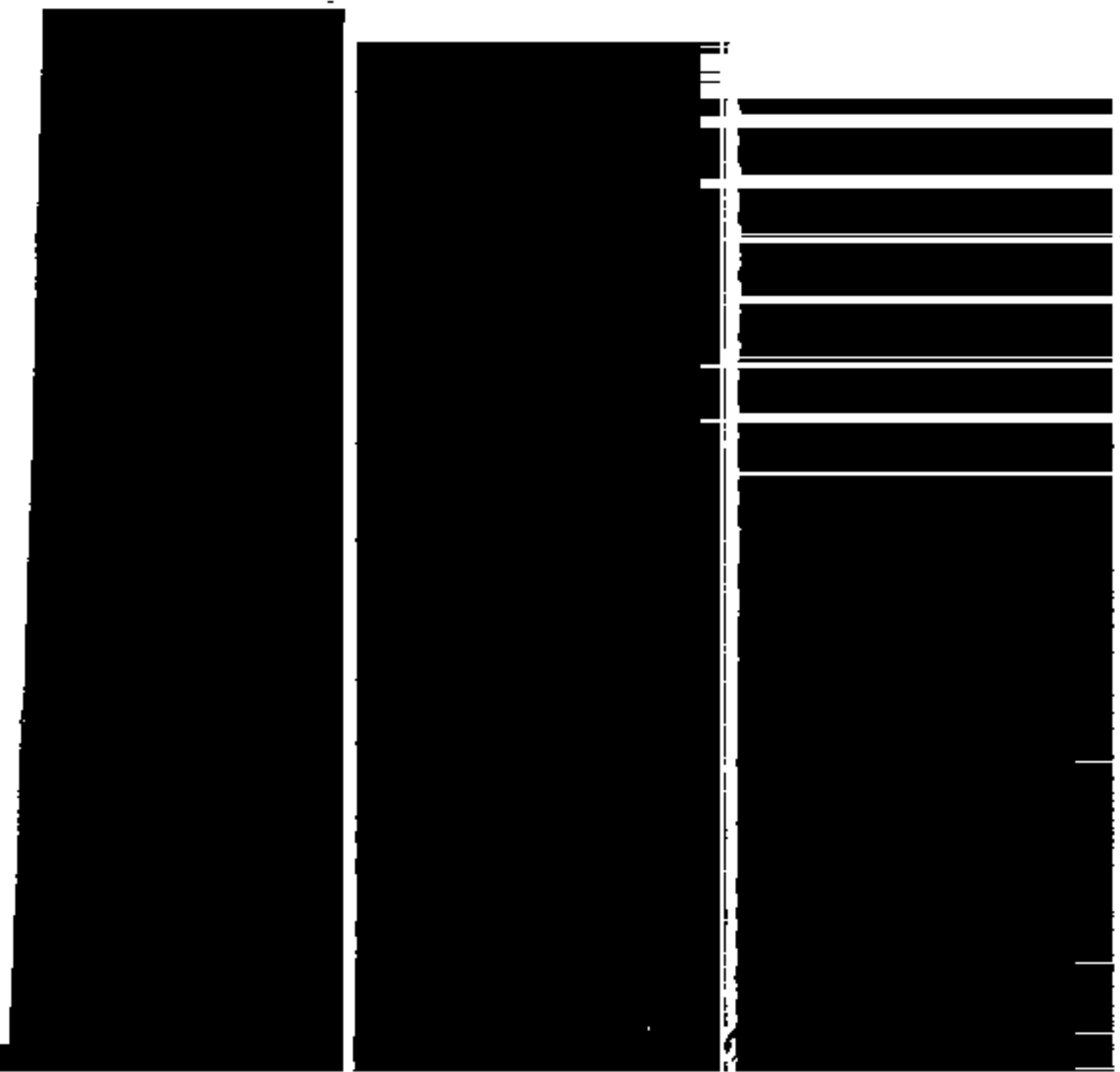
Mr Heunis will not be drawn at all on whatever constitutional structures he may have in mind, other than to repeat his rejection of attempts to define SA's constitutional directions in terms of "known Western models".

Questioned on a timetable for power-sharing with blacks, Mr Heunis said: "This process cannot have a time-clock on it. I believe reform is important, that the process should be expedited, but it would be presumptuous to put a time-tag on it."

But surely the Government would wish to have some new system in place prior to the next General Election within four years?

"You will recall," Mr Heunis replied, "what the President said; that if the reforms in terms of black participation are major ones, he would consult the voters through a referendum or otherwise. It would be wrong for me to say I thought that, within three years, concrete proposals would be there and already institutionalised.

"But, quite obviously, the Government would have to pronounce on its views within three years — we can't leave the country on a limb that long."





## THE WEEKLY MAIL DEBATE



Give peace a chance ... church leader Allan Boesak at a prayer meeting

Picture: GIDEON MENDEL, AFP

in themselves are not bad ideas have been given a bad taste because they have been abused by the government or used to avoid facing realities.

That is always a problem. But for me, the idea of federalism should be tested and if it is accepted by the people in an open referendum, I would be happy.

## NRP

The first step to peaceful coexistence must be to establish the corporate federation for all the communities occupying the common area outside the defined geographic areas of the homelands which already have a form of autonomy through elected legislatures. The tricameral Parliament is a start and must be extended to include non-homeland blacks. Existing homeland autonomy cannot be taken away.

A geographic federation which merely extends majority rule from each of its elements to a central federal parliament, as tried in other countries in Africa, will not work. Power must be devolved — not delegated — to the lowest possible levels of government, where it must then be exercised to control intimate community affairs. Merely to replace white domination with black domination will solve nothing. Joint responsibility must then be exercised by consensus on common affairs at higher levels.

## INKATHA

A unitary state is an essential part of a political solution in South Africa. One of the many reasons why self-governing regions like KwaZulu reject homeland independence is that this independence seeks to do away with the unitary nature of the South African state and create numerous ethnic states out of one state.

I would accept a federation, provided its "units" or "states" were to be geographically and not racially designated. For instance, the combined region of KwaZulu-Natal, which would of necessity be multi-racial, could be one of such units or states in a South African federation.

I would not accept the Nigerian model of a federation because it is substantially based on ethnicity or tribalism. I do not believe that ethnicity and tribalism should be elevated to the status of political principles.

It must further be noted that the Nigerian model has not been a success either. Today Nigeria is ruled by a military dictatorship. Many black political groups, however, are loathe to accept a federal solution for South Africa. This is due either to a lack of understanding of the constitutional meaning of federation, or to fears that whites might use the concept of devolution of power to cling to their exclusive privileges. The latter possibility would, however, be ruled out if the new constitution would outlaw racial discrimination and provide for geographically and not racially determined federal "units" or "states".

## UDF

It is quite obvious that those presently peddling this idea are trying to find an accommodation

## The men behind the replies

**SPECIFIC individuals replied on behalf of the participating organisations.**

The National Party's answers were given by Chris Rencken, MP for Benoni and the party's chief information officer.

The PFP's were given by Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the party and of the Opposition in the House of Assembly.

Answers for the AWB came from Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the

concept, applied to a South Africa that has gone through centuries of repression of the black majority, that has seen the economy, the land — not just any land, but all the fertile and mineral-rich land — being the sole preserve of the white minority, the concept can only serve to entrench the perpetuation of white minority domination. It seeks to obstruct and even subvert the process of nation building which apartheid has undermined through all these years.

Thousands of our people have died for a dream of a unitary South African state where all shall have a home. This factor some people choose to ignore. Whites, who will still be part of a new South Africa, need not fear the establishment of a people's Republic of South Africa.

## AZAPO

The present-day geographical demarcations of our country have their origins in the grand design of the greedy colonisers. The African continent is wrecked by artificial boundaries that were drawn for the convenience of the colonisers/colonialists.

The acceptance of federalism as a political solution by some African countries should be seen in the context of a compromise arrangement: a marriage of convenience among the different regions/states/provinces of any given country.

A unitary state holds the essential ingredients of arriving at a political settlement that precludes the possibility of secession by any one region/state/province under a federal system.

**Q Is there any other country which you see as a model for South Africa? Why?**

## PFP

I believe as far as constitutions are concerned, we can learn a great deal from the Swiss, West German, United States and the Nigerian constitution. Equally as far as the politics of negotiation are concerned, there is a great deal that we can learn from the period in Lebanon between 1946 and 1973.

## NAT

AWB.

UDF's answers came from Murphy Morobe, acting national publicity secretary.

For the NRP, Vause Raw, a former leader of the party, answered.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo answered for Inkatha. Dhlomo is secretary-general of Inkatha and KwaZulu Minister of Education.

Ishmael Mkhabela gave Azapo's answers. Mkhabela is the president of Azapo.

other countries which have constitutional models, elements of which could be applicable to South Africa.

There are very few countries in the world with a population structure as complex as ours, which has 10 fully-fledged black nations, nations in their own right, as well as a coloured, black, Asian and white population.

## AWB

All independent, sovereign, racially homogeneous countries in the world can be seen as models for South Africa. This country is the only one in the world with a dozen fiercely nationalist groups all vying for power inside a single territory. This is the most fail-proof recipe for chaos and bloodshed and at the moment the ingredients are rising most alarmingly. However, whether a model exists or not is a moot point for PW Botha's South Africa too.

I am an Afrikaner, and my first duty is towards my own people. The AWB is an Afrikaner organisation, but its membership is not exclusively so. The white inhabitants of this country can rally around only one identifiable group, namely the Afrikaners. No other white group which can call itself a nation exists in South Africa.

Therefore, the white country, or Boerestaat, I envisage will have to be built around a nucleus of Afrikaners. Our country will comprise the Transvaal (the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek or ZAR), the Orange Free State and Northern Natal territories which are historically, traditionally and legally white man's country.

The blacks and the coloureds have similar claims in other parts of South Africa. But it is not for me to force political solutions on them. They can choose for themselves whatever they see fit. I do, however, want a country of its own for my people.

## BOESAK

Not really. I think we have enough unique features here to say to ourselves, let us look first at what we have and what we want. If the patterns here have analogies around the world, we can certainly learn from that, but I can't see an immediate parallel. I think we have to start from scratch and find something fitting for our situation here.

## NRP

but only a few from which we can take over some ideas.

The best example is Switzerland, with its canton system and a de-politicised, rotating Head of State coming from each of its communities in turn. At the lowest level there is maximum autonomy and self-determination which does not weaken their strong national pride and unity. Other countries such as Cyprus and Lebanon had only two major racial and religious factions respectively — both implacably opposed to each other.

In South Africa there is no such simple bi-party division, but a multitude of divisions and sub-divisions between, and even within, the identifiable communities. We therefore have to create a system specifically designed for this country, and not an adaptation of other experiments which have failed.

The key is a feeling of security for all our minorities, which only consensus government — or consociation as the academics call it — can provide. It has to be an African solution to an African problem, stripped of the traditional winner-take-all system.

## INKATHA

I do not see any country as a model for South Africa. I believe that a viable constitutional solution for South Africa will not be a carbon copy of the constitution of any one country in the world. It will have to include the best from the constitutions of various countries. In some cases, South Africans will have to improvise and come up with original constitutional formulae which have not been applied anywhere else in the world.

## UDF

We must have a truly sovereign state, where the people's dignity cannot be trampled upon and democracy shall be practiced and cherished by all.

Without singling out a particular country as a model, ours being at the same time an anti-imperialist struggle and given our own unique experiences, we shall have to follow the path of all countries that have sought to establish mass democratic participation, that have restored all the freedoms that people are entitled to naturally.

These are those countries that have done away, or are still in the process of doing away progressively, with discrimination on the basis of race, colour or sex and have also, not only by decree, but by deed declared war on the exploitation of person by person.

## AZAPO

At present there is no one country that could serve as a model for South Africa. However, Zimbabwe provides an exemplary country-in-transition that could be emulated because of basic similarities between the then-Rhodesia and present-day South Africa.

Both were colonies of Britain at one time. In Rhodesia you had an intransigent white minority in power that had unilaterally declared independence from Britain, rather than see power transferred to the majority. In South Africa, you have a white minority in power that also decided to break away from the Commonwealth of Nations and declared itself a republic.

In both instances, the white minorities in power went into some form of paroxysm whenever there was talk of black majority rule.

**Q Do you believe a new constitution should offer protection to minorities or individuals (eg, through a Bill of Rights)?**

## NAT

We think that any constitution should protect both minority groups as well as individual rights. But I do not think that in a multinational, multi-cultural society like South Africa a Bill of Rights is sufficient. Somewhat more structural constitutional guarantees are necessary for the protection of minorities. Bills of Rights are very easily torn up, and then minorities are left with no protection.

We do not, however, believe that the interests and rights of the individual should be placed above those of the group in any civilised society. The good of the many has to take





Fasting for peace at a 'troops out' rally in Cape Town

Pictures: TREVOR SAMPSON (AFP) and DAVE HARTMAN (Afrapix)

automatically once the doors to have been closed. This can be through a process of re-education and of the deleterious attitudes spawned regularities of the background of an al's upbringing.

**Would you ban the Communist Party? Or any other political organisation?**

**NAT**

think that we would outlaw any that seeks to come to power by national means, in other words, by the State by violence and any new order by means of or sedition.

**AWB**

how a communist party to operate or within the Boerestaat would defeat the object. The communists are by anti-nationalists, and anti-Christian. yes, a communist party will be Totally.

ver, as regards other "political stance" you must understand that the

such it must, and will, allow political organisations to operate. With the proviso they are not covers for a communist party.

**PFP**

I believe that no party which uses violence or subversion in order to promote its ideals should be allowed to operate. I have always argued that it is pointless to say you will ban "the Communist Party" if a communist party which supports violence and subversion simply re-emerges under another name. The test should be to what extent a political organisation or movement is prepared to participate in constitutional politics or not.

**NRP**

Yes. Any organisation which advocates, encourages or fosters violence and revolution as instruments of political change should be banned. Where there are unsophisticated masses or unsuspecting "do-gooders" who can be manipulated or misused to promote violence or anarchy, those who seek to use them should not be allowed free rein to incite and foster subversion by using them as unwitting or unwilling tools. Homogeneous countries can afford the luxury of allowing the lunatic fringes of society to "do their thing" freely or

Unfortunately SA has not yet reached that stage of sophistication and stability.

**BOESAK**

No. I believe everyone should have the right to express their views. I think it is a question of education, of having values and of holding to those values. But I would want to live in a society where people should be free to express their views. They should not be free to discriminate against anyone, but free to hold on to their ideologies and propagate them. If we can't face that or fight it with confidence, then we lack a lot, in the church, for instance.

**INKATHA**

I would not ban the Communist Party or any other political organisation provided it was involved in non-violent democratic opposition to the government of the day. In other words I am advocating a non-racial, democratic multi-party political system.

**UDF**

We are not going to ban the Communist Party simply because it is the Communist Party. Freedom of Association is a right that we always have been fighting for.

**AZAPO**

No. There would be no banning of any political party or organisation for what they uphold. The courts of law would be there to arbitrate on any punishable and treasonable act committed by any individual or group.

**Q Are you in favour of censorship over the press, literature, cinema and theatre? If so, what form should this take?**

**NAT**

Every society establishes certain moral norms by which it lives and it is customary in most civilised countries to place restrictions on any material that is gravely offensive to those norms, particularly where they are likely to undermine the moral stability of minors. If these restraints on grossly offensive pornographic or seditious and subversive material are considered to be censorship, then certainly a degree of censorship is justified. In South Africa, I do not consider the current degree of publications control to be excessive in any sphere. It goes without saying that the National Party is not in favour of the kind of totally restrictive censorship applied in totalitarian states.

**PFP**

We are not in favour of censorship.

**AWB**

A government needs checks and balances. There must be guards to guard the guards. And who better to perform this function than the media?

Only decency will be the criterion that will regulate an eventual, but note not automatic, censorship. Again I would like to add a proviso: Communist ideas, ideals and principles will not be allowed at all. Otherwise, I believe that freedom of speech and the media should be cherished.

**BOESAK**

No. I don't think one should censor the press. I would like to limit the degree to which violence and destruction has been glorified and therefore I would like to see less of that in films and on public television. But whether this should be done by government decree is debatable. Basically, I believe in a free press and believe one should educate people on values, rather than censor them.

**NRP**

For the same reason as above, hard pornography and revolutionary propaganda cannot be allowed to flourish unchecked. For the rest there should be no censorship of literary or artistic work which does not subvert public morality or law and order. We have outgrown the "Mother Grundy" attitudes to the human body and sexual practices.

accepted by the general public as normal and not repulsive.

**INKATHA**

I am totally against the principle of censorship over the press, literature, cinema and theatre. I think the principle is an insult to the intelligence of adult South Africans who are supposed to know what is good or bad for them to read or watch on screen. I am not, however, totally against age restriction as some form of censorship, but I feel that if it is necessary, it should be imposed by parents on their own children, and not by the State.

**UDF**

We stand by the right to full expression, be it through the press, literature, cinema or theatre. Production in these spheres can never be isolated from the overall national scenario. We have open minds on criticism, especially constructive criticism. In the context of a South Africa devoid of apartheid, one would expect these mediums to play a vital and constructive role towards influencing and shaping people's consciousness for their role in a new and democratic future for all.

Censorship should not be used negatively as in South Africa today, where it's been used largely to sustain an undemocratic form of government.

Whilst of the view that there should be no censorship, we are also reluctant to accept that activities through these mediums calculated to undermine the national effort towards a common South Africanism should be allowed.

**AZAPO**

We would have no censorship whatsoever because we believe it is through the maximum exchange of ideas that we can begin to approximate the open society we are striving for.

**Q What flag and national anthem do you think South Africa should have?**

**NAT**

We can see no reason for any new flag or national anthem.

**PFP**

I have no problem with the existing flag or national anthem, provided all South Africans can commit themselves to it with equal loyalty and dedication.

**AWB**

These are highly emotional matters, and the citizens of the Boerestaat will have to decide, ultimately, what they want. Maybe polls could show us this.

For my part, however, the present South African flag, with its Union Jack to which very few swear allegiance either here or in its home country, is an abomination. The flag the AWB prefers is the "Vierkleur" of the ZAR, symbol of freedom and of a morally unvanquished people.

The Voice of South Africa, suitably altered to reflect the new spirit and idiom, would probably do as an anthem. An altogether new anthem could be created, and competitions could be organised with this in view. But again, it will be for the people to decide what they prefer.

**BOESAK**

I don't worry too much about flags. I am not one for such symbols of nationalism, as long as it is not the present flag. But I am clear that the national anthem should be "Nkosi".

**NRP**

I accept and respect the flag and anthem under and for which I have served my country in war. Changing this will not by itself change attitudes or create loyalty towards SA.

If other changes in politics should develop new attitudes which see our present symbols as a stumbling block to unity or patriotism, we would obviously have to evaluate the genuineness of their demands.

I would certainly not, however, support demands for change from elements committed

Continued overleaf



# THE WEEKLY MAIL DEBATE

to destroying the values which those symbols have grown to represent. I would only support a change if it ensured a broader loyalty and patriotism.

## INKATHA

South Africa is an African country. Therefore its flag should reflect shades of traditional African colours of black, green and gold. The National Anthem should be Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica, also translated into English and Afrikaans.

## UDF

We cannot at this point choose the flag for a new South Africa. We can nevertheless say that these are issues that would be resolved by all South Africans through properly constituted democratic structures that shall not allow the imposition of the minority's will on the majority. I base this on the understanding that it is not always that the national liberation movement's flag becomes a national flag.

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica is presently the people's anthem. Whether it will remain so after liberation will be for an assembly of the people to decide.

## AZAPO

A flag that would reflect the national character of the country and an anthem that will espouse the ideals and aspirations of all the people of the country that have been nurtured in the process of struggle, would be ideal for this country.

**Q** What steps would you immediately take to end township unrest?

## NAT

There is no easy way to end township unrest immediately because it has various components. Firstly, there are legitimate grievances and adverse social conditions aggravated by the present economic depression which in any society aggravate the situation. These kinds of influences, where people believe they are unjustifiably disadvantaged, need to be addressed with concerted social and political developmental action.

There is, however, another component to township unrest. That is the revolutionary element that does not wish to take part in a democratic dispensation or in negotiations to bring about such a dispensation and that element can only be rooted out by stringent measures.

## PFP

The first step we would take would be to talk to the generals in the police and the defence force and to explain to them very clearly and unambiguously what kind of reforms I have in mind.

And part of those reforms must be the complete abolition of apartheid, the restoration of freedom of association, the right to allow people to organise peacefully and to choose their leaders and the removal of all forms of statutory and racial discrimination.

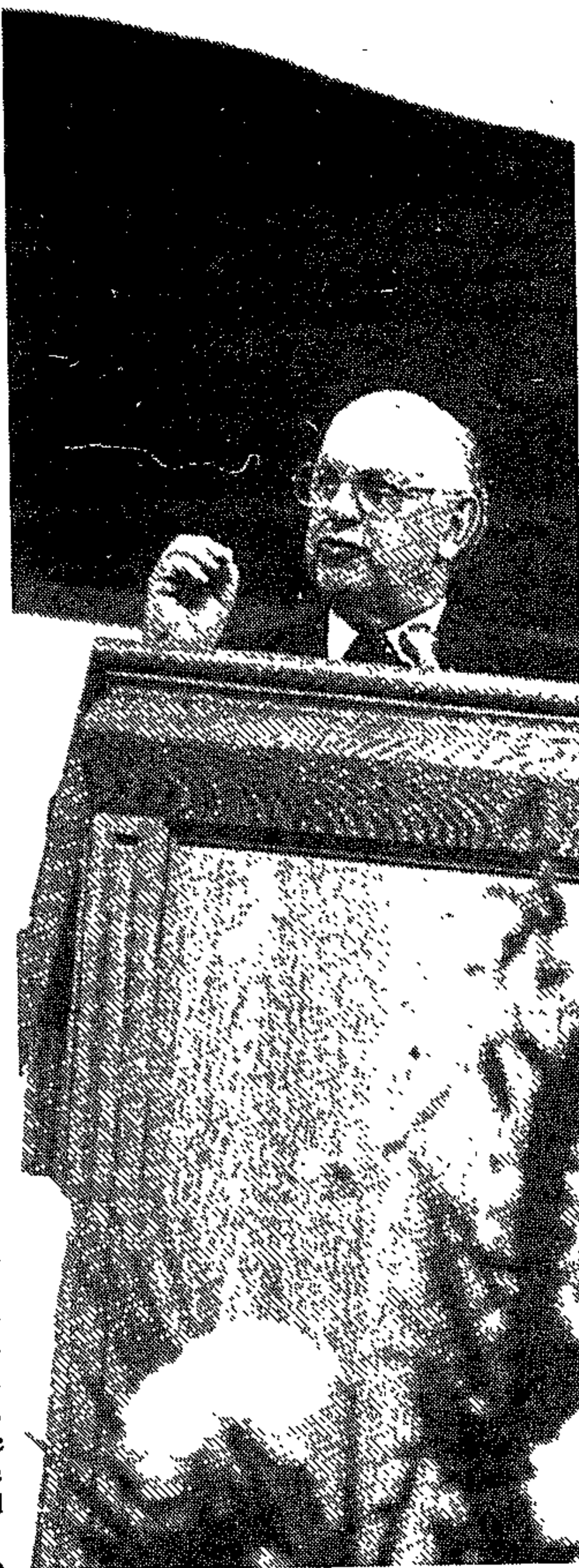
Once these generals have understood what it is all about, they can then approach their task of maintaining stability with a view to achieving these goals far more consistently, rather than allow a situation to develop where stability and its maintenance becomes a goal in itself.

Then I would — still behind the scenes — negotiate and talk to such community leaders and political leaders that are available and explain to them what the goals of reform are.

After this has been done and I have established a certain degree of co-operation from them, I would immediately, publicly state that the State of Emergency is going to be lifted, that political detainees and prisoners are going to be released and that they are going to be allowed to organise peacefully for the purposes of participating in the process of negotiation and in the process of dismantling apartheid.

## AWB

I would invite blacks and coloureds to choose whomever they feel are their natural leaders, not those imposed on them by this government, and explain the impossibility of our present



The flag as symbol of loyalty: Some prefer the Vierkleur, others want black, green and gold

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG

fall back on their numbers for an argument, but they will come to their senses eventually. They can't wish us or our strength away, you know.

The rioting blacks feel they are on to something, that power is almost within their grasp. If only they continue being ungovernable long enough, the government and the security forces will capitulate and topple, and they can take over. I am afraid that this is the pattern of things to come in a unitary South Africa. But they are not an unopposable force, and if they find an immovable object in their way, they will sit down and talk.

Once a just, oppression- and discrimination-free Boerestaat is established, the rioting will end, and we can all spend our precious energy towards a better future for all, whites as well as blacks.

## AZAPO

Immediate steps to be taken would be to address oneself to the causes of the unrest rather than go about with a ham-handed and high-handed militarist approach that says people only express their genuinely-felt grievances because agitators tell them to do so.

## BOESAK

Firstly, I would lift the State of Emergency. Secondly, I would get the army out of the townships as well as those police that are there to provoke and fight against the people rather than protect them.

Then I would release all those detained under the Emergency and release Mandela and all other political prisoners. I would also drop all charges against those on trial for treason.

Then I would announce a programme for the dismantling of apartheid as quickly as possible, starting with specific laws like the Population Registration Act.

lifted but that the causes of the conflict are being dealt with.

## NRP

● Law and order must be restored by our Security Forces. No government can allow mob rule or anarchy.

● Military forces should not perform "police" duties but be confined to "back-up" operations.

● At the earliest possible time, the army should step up its programme of civil action by building sports facilities, clearing up the mess of roadblocks etc., establishing water points or lighting and other services where possible, and generally demonstrating its commitment to improving the quality of life once the threat is ended.

● Township "Law and Order Units" should be formed, equipped, uniformed and trained to protect local residents and prevent violence. Proper discipline and leadership is an essential.

● Elected local government should be restored and protected as a priority.

● Housing and amenities should be built and upgraded as a matter of priority.

● Job opportunities should be created.

## INKATHA

The difficulty with this question is that it assumes that all South Africans are keen to see the end to township unrest.

Unfortunately this is not so. There are black groups and individuals in South Africa who see the present township unrest as a positive manifestation of their strategy to destabilise the country and make it "ungovernable". Such groups and individuals would obviously refuse to co-operate in any efforts to end township unrest without any trade-off from the government. I would therefore suggest the following to end township unrest:

a) The government should call together all influential leaders in the riot-torn areas. No distinction should be drawn between elected and non-elected or self-appointed leaders.

b) These leaders should agree to the drawing up of a Statement of Intent binding themselves to co-operate in ending the unrest and working for non-violent political change. These leaders should also not be scared to speak out against violence wherever it occurs. Cheap popularity and political hypocrisy do not pay in the end.

c) The press should also be even-handed in its approach and condemn black-on-black violence in the townships, in the same strong terms as it condemns police brutality in these areas.

d) The government should then end the State of Emergency, withdraw the Security Forces from the townships and announce in the form of a Statement of Intent its willingness to enter into negotiations with representatives of all groups, including those that are banned, detained, imprisoned or exiled.

## UDF

Ending the unrest in the townships requires a very simple formula. The present government knows it. The only thing is that they are still steeped in efforts to try and rationalise apartheid, rather than take the one bold step of simply abolishing it. Maybe one is asking too much from them.

Our view is that they cannot do it on their own. People have put various demands to the government; that these demands are genuine cannot be disputed.

Therefore, the first step to ending the unrest would be for the government to acknowledge that there are recognised leaders other than those already rejected by the people. Those in detention must be released.

The army must be removed from our townships.

The right of our people to free speech and organisation must be recognised. All people's organisations must be unbanned and allowed to act legally as vehicles for people's political expression.

In short, apartheid and all related repressive measures must be dismantled. This is not an unreasonable demand. The whole world says so.

**Q** Would you maintain detention without trial for certain offences?

## NAT

people are likely to lose their lives as a result of acts of terrorism, political assassination or similar excesses, the State has to make a difficult choice. Should it run the risk of allowing any number of innocent human beings to lose their lives because it is not able to present the courts with a cut-and-dried case against a suspected terrorist or subversive before he commits the deed? Or should the State take preventive action while continuing investigation and run the risk of detaining a single innocent individual for a limited period?

On the basis that the good of the many outweighs the good of the few, preventive detention is a justifiable, necessary evil in times of unrest.

## PFP

No.

## AWB

This government, with its infinite rules, regulations, laws and non-laws, still they are inadequate. So, in its powerlessness to see perfectly valid points of view which it does not agree being flaunted publicly and not having a law exactly fitting its needs, it creates martyrs and more resentment. But things are bound to happen in the society we live in; the different poles are too mutually repulsant, the views too different to hope for a reconciliation.

Detentions, with or without trials, a natural consequence of the present system. Detention without trial in the the Boerestaat will not be necessary, firstly because our laws will suffice to establish and regulate the social contract, and secondly because in will have like-minded people with a will who will not need to commit treasonous acts.

## BOESAK

No. I would hope that our constitution honour the old truth that a person is innocent until found guilty in court. I would hope our constitution would give full honour due process of law. I have always felt that before my own detention, but now I have time to think about it carefully and feel more strongly about it. Detention without trial is one of the first things that should go.

## NRP

Not as presently practised. I accept that certain circumstances when revolutionary subversive operations against SA require abnormal counter-measures. The normal departure from the normal rule of law court procedure which should be permitted should be the following exception of the

● Where open court hearings would endanger the lives of their families, a judicial procedure to avoid this should be permissible.

● Where detention is necessary to prevent violence and disorder, it should not exceed a maximum of one month without judicial review.

● Where the security of the State is threatened, a Judicial Tribunal should be established which may depart from normal court procedures, provided the accused is a full opportunity to refute charges and an independent judge can evaluate the necessity of such exception from the rules.

There is the question that our normal judicial system has been abused to create a platform for propaganda that aid revolutionary objectives and helps objective by obtaining maximum publicity for the alleged "cause".

## INKATHA

I would not tolerate detention without trial for any offence.

## UDF

Offences would be dealt with in properly constituted courts of law. Detention without trial will not be allowed. The law must have necessary safeguards to ensure that no one is detained through the subjective order of government officials.

## AZAPO



## PFP

I believe that a new constitution should offer protection for the civil liberties of individuals through a Bill of Rights and an independent judiciary. And that minorities can have additional protection for their cultural, and I stress, cultural rights, like language and religion, through representation on a Senate, for example.

But I do not believe that you can make constitutional provision for, as it were, compelled or compulsory minorities in a South African constitution. This is a fundamental flaw of the apartheid approach.

## AWB

A homogeneous nation does not need protection of minorities, as there are in it no minorities. By definition, the State is the people, and as such it does not need lengthy and wordy Bills of Rights or other such legal trappings to protect it from itself, and which, when the chips are down, are not worth the paper they are written on.

The State's authority is vested in it by the people it governs, much in the way a father has authority in a household: he doesn't need papers to prove this. Now, of course, a country cannot be run without its legal paraphernalia, but constitutions and bills of whatever kind are no substitutes for will-to-govern and will-to-be-governed.

An ungovernable populace as South Africa is fast becoming could be wrapped up in papers and words, and still it would not help. Only a homogeneous nation can be governed with the minimum of legalities, because the State and its laws reflect the common will.

## BOESAK

I think a new constitution should include a Bill of Rights, but not special protection for minorities. A Bill of Rights that protects every individual is needed because I do not trust any government wherever it comes from, and it is too easy for any government to abuse its power. But it is not acceptable to protect specific minorities.

## NRP

Without cast-iron security for both individuals and communities, no new constitution will have a snowball's chance of success or acceptance.

Any Bill of Rights which only protects the individual and not his community's rights to control own community affairs will not be accepted by any minority group.

Any such Bill which grants to an individual rights which he can then impose on another community in defiance of the corporate will of that community will be violently resisted.

The right to free association, except in economic and personal relations, must be related to acceptance by those with whom he wishes to associate. This can create confrontations and difficulties initially but will sort itself out in practice after the system settles down.

## INKATHA

Ideally the rights of individuals can be adequately protected through a Bill of Rights. But as a pragmatist I realise that minorities are genuinely concerned about their protection, albeit for different reasons and motives. Provided this is not done by the creation of separate racial political structures, I would therefore tolerate a constitution that allows for the protection of minorities, at least during the first five to 10 years of the new regime. This would help create a spirit of mutual trust in the initial phase, until people learn to think of groups in terms of "common interest" and not "skin colour".

There are many constitutional ways in which this protection could be afforded within a single political system, viz: provision for a minority veto on legislation perceived by minorities to be to their detriment, provision for some form of proportional representation, provision for a blocking or a delaying mechanism on legislation or, in the case of a federation, provision for the devolution of certain powers to the "units" or "states".

## UDF

Talk of minorities is in South Africa a concept born of apartheid and meant to deny the right of all to live as South Africans.

small enclaves with myopic cultural, political, religious, etc practices.

We must have a situation where minorities are not seen in racial terms. A new constitution must protect the rights of all citizens and not foster the notion of group/minority privilege. All will be equal before the law. Discrimination on the basis of colour, race, sex, religion shall be a punishable offence.

## AZAPO

Any new constitution that guarantees minority rights would be unpopular and a showpiece in shamocracy. We envisage an anti-racist, socialist society where basic human rights and freedoms will be guaranteed. Things such as freedom of association, worship, speech would be taken as a norm. All individuals shall be equal before the law and be accorded full rights that accrue from living in a democratic society.

**Q** Do you think a new constitution should allow for separate schools, hospitals, group areas or other amenities? On the other hand, do you believe a new constitution should specifically outlaw racial separation?

## NAT

The National Party believes that the protection of the country's many minorities also entails their right to the maximum degree of self-determination possible, as well as their right to their own community life, which naturally includes such things as their own schools, cultural organisations and welfare services.

What should not be permitted in any constitution, however, is that one group or groups dominates the others and furthers its interests at the expense of the interests of others.

The National Party, however, does also make substantial provision for freedom of association in almost every sphere of existence. Tertiary education institutions as well as private schools, which also receive state subsidies, are not rigidly segregated, for example. Nor are many social and recreational amenities.

## PFP

There should be no compulsory segregation of any kind, and whatever kind of separate institutions or facilities develop should be of a purely voluntary nature, as one finds in most countries throughout the world.

## AWB

Racial separation as such cannot be defended on moral grounds. To castigate a man because of the colour of his skin doesn't seem very fair to me, and I don't think the outside world will allow us to continue doing it, even if we wanted to.

In the new Boerstaat racial segregation, or racial integration for that matter, will not be an overriding issue since a people is by definition: "a group of persons living in a given country or locality, having a race, religion, language and traditions of their own and united by these factors in a sentiment of solidarity, with a view to preserving their traditions, maintaining their form of worship, ensuring the instructions and upbringing of their children in accordance with the spirit and traditions of their race and rendering mutual assistance to each other".

Consequently, citizenship will not be based on race or colour only. The same, of course, will apply to all other nations in the new geographical zone called South or Southern Africa, if they so wish. Even those whites who prefer racial integration can have it — outside the Boerstaat, of course.

## NRP

Insofar as schools and similar community amenities are concerned, the NRP is committed to local option. This must ensure the right to any local community to determine the character of its neighbourhood, who will be accepted as a member of the community and how its amenities will be administered.



Poles apart ... young 'commandos' at a Kruger Day rally

remain exclusive for its own group by referendum at the lowest level of authority, then similar open areas and amenities of equal quality must be established for those who wish to associate freely in an open society where this is wanted.

Defined business and industrial areas should be open to all, as should amenities established from general revenue which cannot be duplicated — such as opera houses, museums, libraries and natural features such as beaches, etc, and thus are excluded by the NRP from local option.

## BOESAK

Separate amenities should be outlawed. Anything that smacks of apartheid or has even the faintest, faintest resemblance to what we have had up to now ought to be done away with.

## INKATHA

The constitution should not provide for any separate schools, hospitals, group areas or other amenities. In other words, all social services and facilities provided by the State should be multi-racial.

However, private groups or individuals who wish to establish separate facilities like schools would have to do so with State permission but without State financial assistance.

motives for establishing such separate would have to be explained in detail to government.

Racial discrimination would be out of the constitution, but racial separation tolerated if it had motives other than For instance, Jews, Moslems, Afrikaners and Sothos who wanted their exclusive socio-cultural and clubs would be allowed to do so — as in all democratic countries.

## UDF

Whilst freedom of association guaranteed, racial separation can allowed in any new constitution. In historical past, it is my view the constitution must specifically outlaw separation.

## AZAPO

No. The new constitution should be guide and determine the ordering of unitary state without any homage to of amenities along racial lines. It would preclude any form of racial segregation.

We are loathe to legislate one way or the other — ie, forced racial segregation or integration.



# Towards a happier future

Never before has there been so much talk of the need for change in South Africa. Seldom has there been so much uncertainty about options for the future. We asked political leaders from across the spectrum to spell out their ideas on how South Africa can — and should — change



In search of a safer future: Faces at a Concerned Citizens meeting in Johannesburg ... women at a meeting at Driefontein squatter camp  
Pictures: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

EVERYONE in South Africa is talking about talking. Negotiation and national convention have become the watchwords of our politics.

But so far nobody is *really* talking to the other side. There has been no substantial exchange of views and opinions between the various sides and factions that could lead to real debate and negotiation about our future.

Enter the Weekly Mail Debate.

We have decided to make our own contribution; to try to stimulate an exchange of views.

We drew up 15 questions, all dealing with the kind of society we would like to end up with. We put these questions to a wide range of politicians, church leaders and trade unionists, covering the full spectrum of South African politics, from the

ultra-rightwing Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging to the government to the banned African National Congress.

Apart from the AWB and the ANC, we sent the questions to the National Party, United Democratic Front, Progressive Federal Party, Conservative Party, New Republic Party, Inkatha, Azanian Peoples Organisation, Federation of SA Trade Unions, Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak.

Not everyone replied. But enough did so for us to present to you a significant range of views about the future of our country and to get the ball rolling.

Some of our questions dealt with major issues, such as whether we should opt for federalism or a

unitary state, whether there should be a redistribution of wealth, whether a new constitution should protect minorities.

Others dealt with secondary issues, such as what flag or national anthem we should have, and human rights issues, such as whether we can do away with detention without trial or censorship.

And then we asked the key question of the day: What should be done to stop township unrest?

In the next few pages, we present the answers we have received. We place them side by side, with as little editing as possible, in order to allow them to be compared and debated.

Our next step will be to invite the participants in this debate to respond to each others' answers.

The debate starts overleaf:



## THE JO'BURG JOLLER



Johnny Dilima welcomes the jollers in his shebeen, the Blue Waters, in Soweto.

## Bloody Mary beats the curfew

IT'S Friday night and I am sampling Soweto shebeens — and what is served there.

The first port of call is in Diepkloof at Dutch's Place. The fleet of expensive German cars parked outside gives one an indication of the type of patrons one expects to find here.

This double-storeyed mansion is no ordinary shebeen. In terms of class and status it can put a number of bars in Johannesburg to shame.

It has all the fittings — and maybe more — of any pub in a five-star hotel.

Drinks are served by the tot and patrons — a select few of Soweto's top socialites — down their booze to the accompaniment of top American jazz players.

The medical doctor in my company is obviously taken aback when I suggest we move to Rowena in Rockville. On our way there we make a brief stop at Masojas, also in Rockville. This is a watering hole where the likes of the O'Jays and Millie Jackson enjoyed a little drink.

It is difficult to say which of the two Rockville shebeens is better. One expects fierce competition seeing that they are only a few paces from each other. They both have the same laid-back atmosphere, but it is at Rowena's where political fundis gather to argue about the outcome of Reagan's and Gorbachev's summit in Geneva this week.

At Masoja's the argument usually centres around showbiz.

It is a meeting place for showbiz personalities.

It is getting dangerously close to 11pm and the dreaded curfew. But by this time I had downed a few Bloody Mary's (a mixture of vodka and tomato juice, I am told).

Our next stop is Bnada's in Zone 9, Meadowlands.

We are ushered in by a friendly attendant who takes our order and promptly gives us a cash slip for it. "It is for purposes of tax," he explains. Our order is brought in a shining silver tray and is accompanied by free snacks.

My friend issues an ultimatum: either we go to a "livelier place" or we drive back home.

As we enter Heartbreaker's in Molapo, Brenda Fasi's latest single is blaring from speakers concealed I don't know where.

All the patrons are dressed in white and the psychedelic lights play havoc with them.

Here the cats are really having a go at whatever is left of the weekend. The bouncer goes through your pockets for a knife and if your pair of pants happen to have a turn-up you better move ahead.

This place is strictly for cats and

It's Friday night in Soweto and our guide, SEFAKO NYAKA, has 300 shebeens to visit before curfew at 11pm. He doesn't make it. The fourth in our series on late-night jolls

punks — whatever that is.

Lees place in Orlando East is strictly for gays. We didn't spend much time there.

Lover's Paradise, as the name suggests, really makes you wonder whether the drinking age has been lowered. Young girls in their early teens dance the night away oblivious of the anxiety they may be causing their mothers back at home.

Triple K Tladi is not much different. If you want a wild night, then that is the place for you.

There is Kolokoti's not far from Orlando Stadium and here sportswriters and soccer officials and personalities gather to discuss the latest moves.

Orlando East has its fair share of shebeens. There's the White House, Teresa's, Dubbie's, and Irene's

It would be difficult to rate Soweto shebeens. There are some patrons who would be bored to death at Rowena's, but take them to the Tractor in Moletsane and their faces would light up.

There are more than three hundred shebeens in Soweto and some of them go under the funniest names.

Kampala, Beirut, Lebanon. Your guess of what goes on at these shebeens is as good as mine.

There are those shebeens where one feels safer outside than inside. When somebody splashes a glass of beer in someone's face and it happens to accidentally spill on you, it would be real suicidal to even object. Apologise, but don't object.

Now who likes such a shebeen? But ask anyone in Soweto and he'll tell you that such shebeens usually have more patronage than the serene ones.

Don't ask me why it is like that.

## JUST JO'BURG

## People are so careless with their bus money

JO'BURG must be the only city where you have to pay both day and night to park in the streets.

By day the parking meters extort money: by night the helpful okes who pop up out of nowhere do, after they have alerted you quite unnecessarily to the parking place you saw anyway. Then, standing behind your car and signalling you in with exaggerated hand movements, they distract you so you dent your bumper on the car in front of you.

I always cough up with a tip, not because I am plagued by liberal guilt, but because I've heard of motorists who have refused to pay blackmail returning to their cars to find their tyres slashed.

Still, this obvious incidence of the money-for-nothing mentality Jo'burg seems to engender irritates me intensely, and it's not the only street con in town.

Not for nothing has Jo'burg been called "the university of crime". Specially annoying are the hard-luck stories, especially when the con-artist concerned forgets your face and spins you the same line two days in a row.

People are very careless with their bus money.

And there are no lack of white bums down on their luck and in need of a meal or money for their dying mother's operation.

The best hobo fiction I've heard went something like this: "Excuse me, Sir, I can see you're startled by my appearance, and I don't blame you. I've just hitched up from Durban, but the thing is I was mugged on the way by some young hooligans who left me for dead in the middle of nowhere without a stitch of clothing. Sir, but luckily some Africans living nearby came to my aid and gave me the old clothes you see me wearing now, what wonderful kindness, Sir, if only white people could be so charitable.

"So I made my way here, Sir, and I've been living in an old, dilapidated building which at least has water, and I've tried to get some vegetables from a Portuguese greengrocers' but they refused to give me even a few vegetables, can you believe it, Sir, I wonder if you could spare a bit of cash so that I could buy some food."

I gave him my loose change in appreciation of his creativity.

Usually, I give only to collectors for a registered charity, those obviously in dire straits, or those honest enough to say, "I need money for a dog."

A true con trick that crops up in Jo'burg streets relies on human greed. The rip-off artist approaches his victim furtively outside, say, a photographic shop, offering at ridiculously low prices some of the goods displayed in the window. The victim, taking him for a "delivery boy" selling stolen goods as a sideline, agrees.

The conman, his eyes twitching in all directions like a nervous Peter Lorre, darts down a lane that supposedly leads to a back entrance, or even into the shop. When he reappears after a while he clutches a parcel supposedly containing the stolen goods. This he hastily exchanges for money, and then he vanishes like a conjurer's silk scarf. The victim takes his box of bricks home and is enraged at the dishonesty of the conman.

But the loiterer who conspiratorially flashes a watch or ring at you as you pass, hissing "Boss, you want to buy a watch," actually has a hawker's permit, and what he's selling may be overpriced, but it's not stolen.

No true Jo'burger would fall for street cons. From an early age we began checking rand notes for watermarks — even when they were given to us by our grannies. And we'd suffer the pangs of hell before admitting that we'd ever been conned — even though people in other parts of the country think that by just living here we are thoroughly defrauded.

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# The most lethal Tigers in Sri Lanka's jungles

THE "taxi rank" resembles a graveyard for decrepit Morris Minors — nine or 10 black scrap-heaps trying desperately not to look like motor-cars, standing in a row down a rubble-strewn street.

"It's to ward off the Tigers," explained a Sinhalese "cabbie". He was referring to the Tamil — not the striped — variety of tiger, the separatist guerrillas who inhabit the jungles of northern and eastern Sri Lanka.

"They have a habit of hijacking vehicles," he went on, "so now we only use these clapped-out old cars, which the Tigers wouldn't want anyway."

Expertly trained in guerrilla warfare in camps near Madras, southern India, the Tamil Tigers are as deadly — and as silent — as their feline namesakes. They also keep nocturnal habits, emerging after dark, making their "kill" — usually an attack on a police station or a Sinhalese village — and then disappearing back into the jungle.

The goal of the mainly-Hindu Tamils is clearcut: political autonomy from the Sinhalese (Buddhist) south.

The independent Tamil state would stretch from Jaffna in the north in a crescent shape down to Batticaloa in the east, taking in the strategic harbour at Trincomalee in between.

And they mean business. In little more than two years — they first struck in July 1983, blowing up an army jeep and 13 soldiers with it — the Tigers have gained control of large areas in the north and east of the country.

Even more impressively, they have, in less than six months, reduced the once-bustling tourist town of Trincomalee to little more than a frightened fishing village.

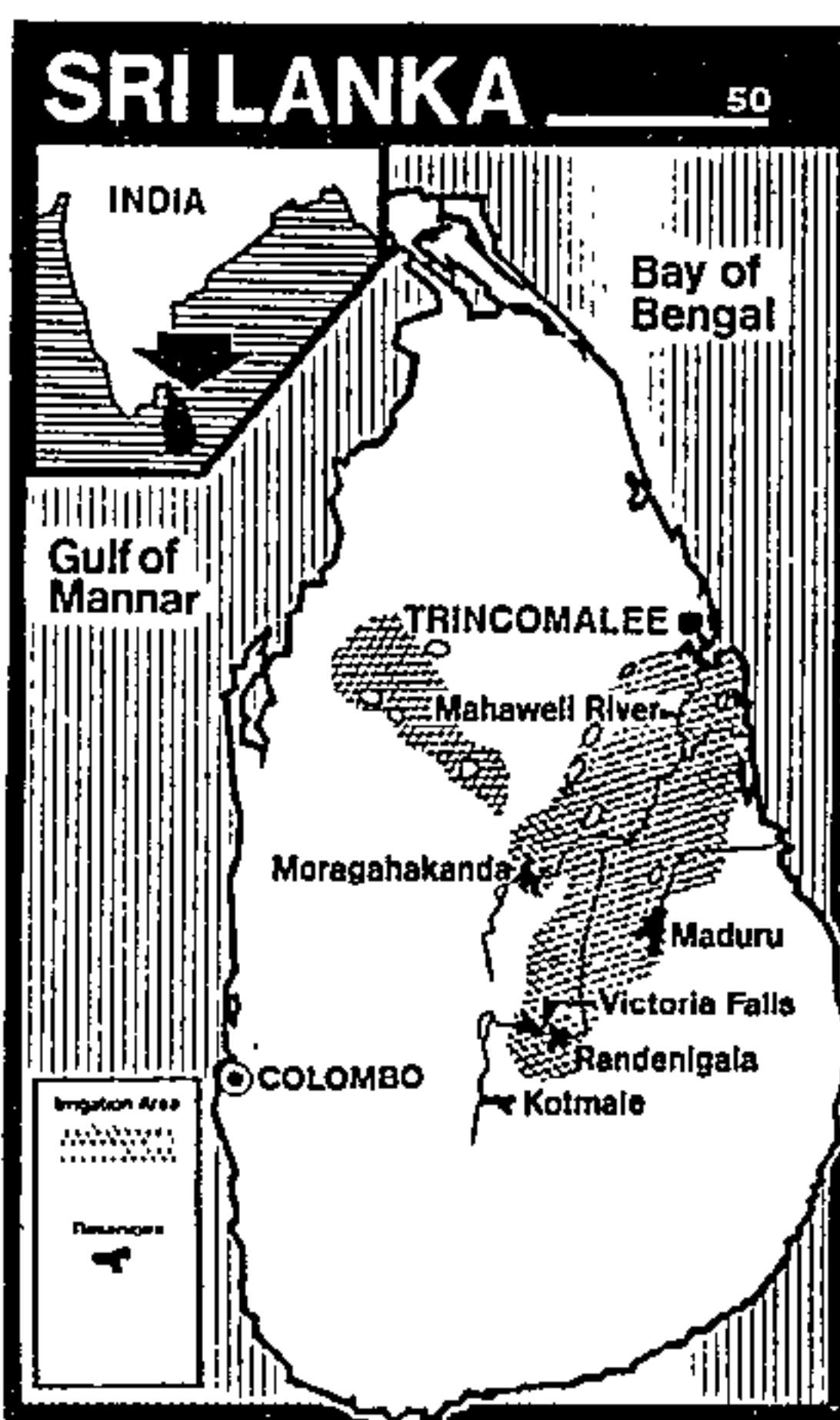
Heaps of rubble mark the spots where luxury tourist hotels flourished, mounds of earth where the mud huts of Sinhalese fishermen stood. Thousands of Sinhalese have fled the town to refugee camps in the south, and as many Tamils to refugee camps in the north; the former to escape the wrath of the Tigers, the latter to elude the Sinhalese revenge squads.

And so Trincomalee is caught up in a spiral of violence — and death. Attacks by the Tigers are followed by attacks on innocent Tamils by Sinhalese mobs, which in turn lead to even more attacks by the Tigers.

In this way hundreds of people have been killed, their houses looted and their shops destroyed. And the security forces seem powerless to stop it.

The whole town — especially those people who own vehicles — lives in

The island of Sri Lanka is caught up in a spiral of violence and death as a separatist guerrilla movement wages bloody — and successful — war in the jungles of the north-east. **BRYAN PEARSON reports from Trincomalee, Sri Lanka**



fear. Like the taxi drivers. They begged me not to take photographs of the "cars". Said one: "The Tigers may catch you, find the photograph, then come and kill me. Please sir, I have a family..."

After much coaxing — and many rupees — one driver agreed to take me on a tour of the area most recently affected by the violence, but only on condition that if we came under attack while I was out of the car taking pictures, he wouldn't stick around for me.

What's the fastest thing on four wheels? A 1960 Morris Minor with a frightened Sinhalese driver at its wheel, heading through a Sri Lankan jungle bristling with guerrillas. Dodging rocks and tree trunks, we lurched and swerved our way down the 10-km track that led to what remained of a Sinhalese village: a few rusting beds and many heaps of rubble.

At a bridge, recently blasted by the separatists, the taxi driver warned if I was not back in the car by the time he had turned it around, he would leave me behind. (In fact he allowed me a little more time — while he smeared mud on his number plate. "You never know who's watching," he explained.) "Why do you stay here if you're so

afraid?" I asked him, back in the "safety" of Trincomalee. His reply summed up the dilemma of all Sinhalese living in the north of the country: "Where else do I go? I have lived here all my life."

The same reply was given by Victor Perera, a retired stenographer who a few years back invested his money in a tourist hotel in Trincomalee. The hotel hasn't seen a paying guest in five months; most of the rooms are now occupied by families whose homes have been destroyed in the violence.

Said Perera: "What else can we do? We own no other property. Where will we live if we leave here? No, we must wait — either for the tourists, or the Tigers. Whoever comes first."

Judging by the fate of other hotels in the area, it seems the Tigers will win that race...

Meanwhile, as Tamil and Sinhalese leaders sit around a table in New Delhi trying to negotiate a ceasefire, life — miraculously — goes on in Trincomalee.

The fishermen still set out before dawn in their hand-carved canoes, farmers bring their produce to market in the back of an ox-cart, children play hop-scotch on their way to school. And, amid the rubble, boys play their never-ending games of cricket — the national past-time since Sri Lanka beat India in a test series last month.

Missing, however, is the usual bustle that marks Asian towns. Trincomalee is strangely silent — due probably to the lack of vehicles (only buses and army jeeps are in evidence, bicycles being now the chief form of transport). Missing, too, are the tourist shops, the tourist hotels, and, of course, the tourists themselves — along with their dollars, pounds and Deutsche marks.

The difference becomes rather eerie after dark. While in the south of Sri Lanka, night time is for walking down the street, chatting to friends, taking a spot of coconut arrack (brandy), in Trincomalee night time is for bolting the door and turning out the lights.

Somewhere tonight the Tigers will attack. That they will is certain, where they will is not. If the explosions are distant, the people can rest more easily. But if the gunfire can be heard, it's as well to be ready to pack the family into the nearest "bomb shelter" — sandbags stacked around half-dug trenches.

● Footnote: on that particular night, the separatists attacked a police station 30km south of Trincomalee. Two policemen were killed, and according to the pro-government press (all the press in Sri Lanka is pro-government), "many terrorists were killed".

**BEN TEMKIN**

## Miss Eastgate unveils a milk and honey future

THE Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis, who is also Top Five Businessmen for 1985 and a clear favourite for the Miss Eastgate title, told us last week that we are now poised for economic recovery.

While many South Africans no doubt scoffed, one Weekly Mail reader took it seriously enough to telephone and ask how realistic this view is.

The answer, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, is that it's not unrealistic, if a bit simplistic. Du Plessis' comments are based on expectations that our exports will be the key to recovery. The question is why we should be exporting more when world opinion is such that some countries would rather hurt themselves financially than trade with us. The French government has, for example, called for non-renewal of our coal contracts.

The reason why the export outlook is not quite bleak is that the dollar is falling against other major currencies, especially the currencies of two of our major trading partners, West Germany and Japan. Both these countries have derived enormous benefit from the strong dollar as their exports to the US have been very competitive. Now, of course, as the dollar weakens, German and Japanese goods will become more expensive. This means that these countries will have to find ways to cut costs. What better way than to buy our bargain-basement-priced raw materials, part of our great liquidation sale?

We will, therefore, continue to earn miniscule sums of foreign currency, which we will then translate into huge piles of rands. Most of these rands, if we're not careful, will be transformed into building society deposits to be used to fuel a recovery in property prices and to pay for the several wars in which we are engaged.

Some of this Monopoly money will stick with the banks, which will make it available to businesses and individuals at much lower rates of interest than we have been used to for some time. Aided by new public sector projects, such as the miraculous feeding of the 5-million unemployed (which figure includes the unemployable and retrenched members of the Cabinet), the economy will indeed grow.

This growth is unlikely to be sustained. This is mainly because we have a huge glut of manufacturing capacity. New consumer demand will encourage manufacturers to use this capacity, but there will not be sufficient demand, nor will they have the confidence, to expand capacity.

Even given some measure of political stability, boycotts will increase so that much of the revival in consumer demand will be from the white sector of the economy. Such increase as there is from the black sector, together with white sector demand will, in any case, be mainly related to non-durable goods (and housing if the building societies can keep their deposit rates high enough to get the lion's share of those wheelbarrows full of rands).

Thus the semi-durable and durable industries (furniture, appliances, motor-cars, TV sets and compact disc players) will not benefit to any marked extent from the recovery, and they will probably end the year with unutilised capacity.

Another problem is that, as long as we're importing goods, prices are going to rise because of the weak rand.

Even if we stop importing or cut right down, the servicing of foreign debts with our funny money puts pressure on those businesses which borrowed abroad.

Inflation could, therefore, be a significant factor in sapping the strength of any recovery.

It is fair, then, to accept that there will be a mild recovery in 1986. If the political situation deteriorates much further, then any economic forecast will be meaningless. Assuming no such deterioration, things could turn out better than many economists are expecting.

For one thing, policy on money supply is more stringent and this is anti-inflationary. Lower interest rates are again a counter to inflation, in that they give manufacturers and retailers more leeway to absorb cost increases.

The critical factor, then, is the rand, since we are simply, through the weak rand, exchanging the wealth we earn in dollars and other foreign currencies into more and more rands. That is what inflation is about: increasing the supply of money without increasing real wealth.

The answer to the problem of the rand would seem to be to do nothing about it. Let it sink. At some point or another, foreign investors will either start reinvesting because it's so cheap, or they will begin to sell their South African assets to us at bargain-basement prices which we can pay with our funny money. As these assets pass into the hands of stronger holders, the rand will rise again and this will help to slow down inflation.

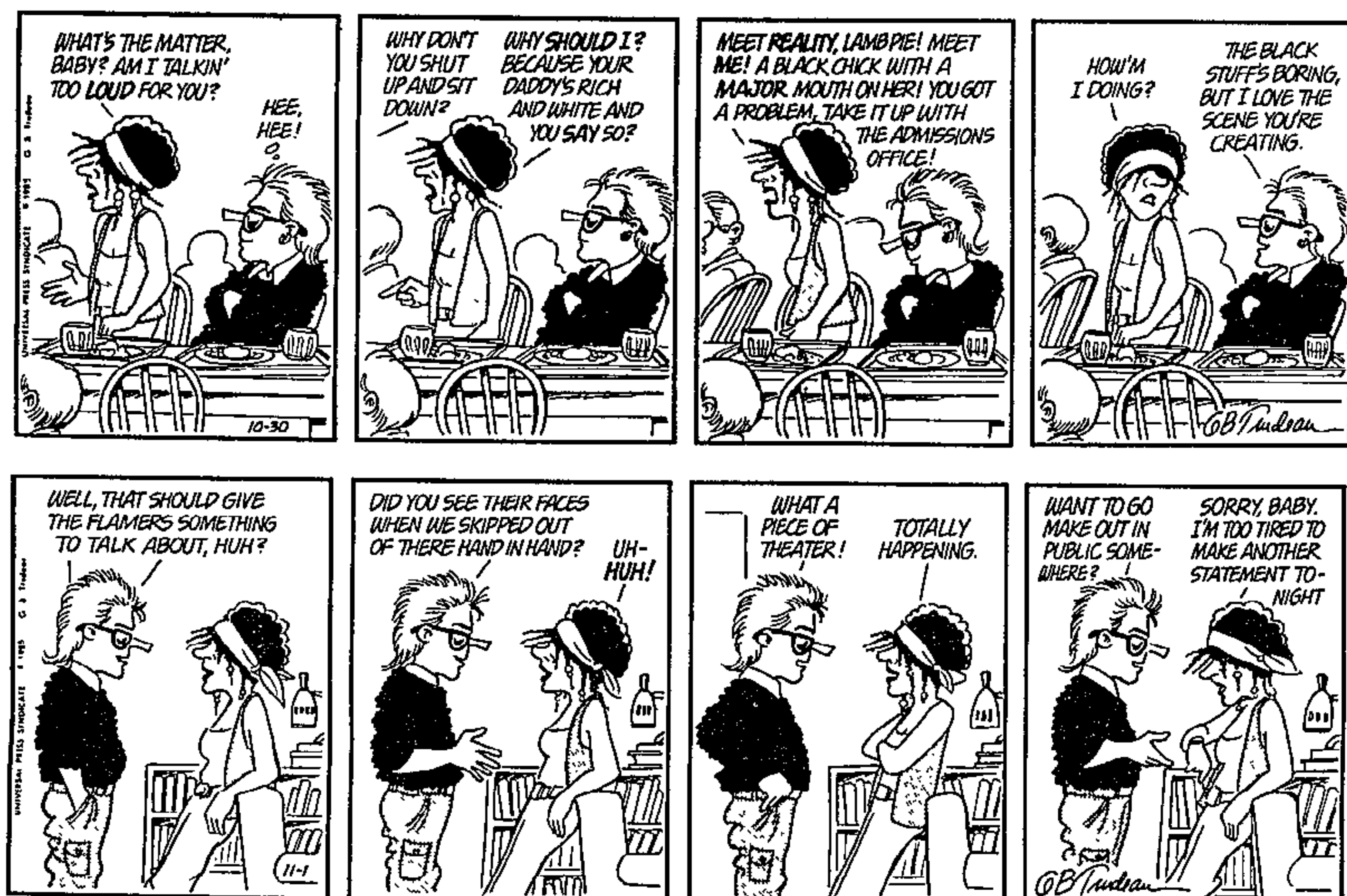
Additionally, a rand which rises on its own merits will again encourage investment, both from foreign and domestic sources. This will help to sustain the recovery.

There are enough favourable factors for the economy to move into a sustained recovery, provided that government continues to manage money supply and does not interfere overmuch with the foreign exchange market once it gets its foreign debt act right.

If, however, economic policy continues to be ad hoc and government does not have the courage to pursue its economic goals, then we can all look forward to driving R30 000 motor-cars by the end of next year — Toyota Corollas.

### Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU





**Q** Do you believe it is possible to find an accommodation in South Africa without having one-man, one-vote? Why?

**NAT**

No, we do not think it is possible to find an accommodation in South Africa without every person having a vote. The question is not about whether people should have a vote.

What we do think would make it difficult, if not impossible, to find a reasonable accommodation which will give everybody equality of opportunity is one-person, one-vote in the same voters' roll.

We think that different voters' rolls for different population groups, and on which every person has a vote of equal value, is what is required in this country, together with other structures which accommodate the various population groups.

**PFP**

There is no way in which a constitution can be negotiated in which any member of any population group has to accept that his or her manner of participating in the government can be inferior to any other person's, purely on the grounds of race or ethnicity.

However, accepting the principle of one-man-one-vote in this fashion, of the principle of the universal franchise, does not mean that one accepts simple majoritarianism, or the tyranny of the majority. There are a whole range of constitutional mechanisms which can be used in which the decision-making process prevents the domination of any particular group of any particular majority over the rest.

**AWB**

No. Some people would call it political instigation, and some will like the word progress, but whatever the reason, the black man has his heart set on what he believes to be the panacea of the 20th century: democracy and the vote. And who can blame him?

I welcome it, in fact, as autonomy will inevitably bring responsibilities with it, and the blacks will at last realise that opportunities did not rain upon the white man like manna from heaven.

There is no way the blacks can be appeased without political power. One-person, one-vote has to come to South Africa — but *not* in a unitary, hotch potch South African State, as you obviously have in mind. To each national grouping its own territory, where it can rule itself according to its nature and its wish, without interference from and domination by others. There are two logical and realistic alternatives to this: race war, on the one hand, and the oblivion of the melting pot, on the other.

**BOESAK**

I don't think it is possible any more to have a solution without one-person, one-vote because of the political consciousness and therefore the corresponding expectations of black people in South Africa.

The struggle in this for political freedom and human dignity and human rights has been a very long struggle that has gone through many phases. In some of these phases, some of the solutions being thought of now could have been accepted.

But we have come to the phase now when full political participation for every single citizen is the only acceptable solution.



Voting against reform ... Conservative Party election table

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG

One must not forget that black people's political consciousness has been shaped not by normal factors, such as a normal education or by participating in a normal democratic process. Our consciousness, and our expectations, were shaped by a long drawn-out struggle against white domination, by facing armed Security Forces in the streets, by seeing the army in the townships, by being detained and shot, by the blood in the streets.

With this background, to come to black people now and argue that some people should not be allowed to vote would, to say the least, be unacceptable.

**NRP**

Yes. Historic, ethnic or cultural differences between most of our heterogeneous peoples have led to a natural self-identification with their own communities. The tragedy of SA was that this natural process was converted into rigid statutory race classification linked to discrimination based solely on colour in most fields of our national life — with inferior rights and opportunities for peoples of colour.

As soon as these disadvantages can be totally eliminated from our society, community identification will cease to be the hated hallmark of inferiority and can become the instrument of co-operation and joint responsibility between self-identified groups with equal citizenship, rights, opportunities and a common objective

and loyalty.

However, fears or ambitions of either majority or minority domination of any community by another group or a combination of groups will continue to bedevil inter-group relations unless each group has its own political power-base from which it can control its own intimate community affairs.

This can be achieved by a corporate federation of groups as one element in a confederation, with independent and/or autonomous black homelands. The NRP is pioneering the way in Natal/KwaZulu.

**INKATHA**

I do not believe that it is possible to find an accommodation in South Africa without having one-person, one-vote.

The reason for this is that all black political groups, in spite of their differences, agree that a viable political solution in South Africa would have to be based on the principle of one-person, one-vote. Secondly, I believe that it is constitutionally possible to address the fears of the minority groups within the principle of one-person, one-vote.

**UDF**

I do not think that any solution other than one based on one-person, one-vote would be acceptable in SA. One-person, one-vote is indeed the

very basis for democratic participation by all persons.

Every South African, regardless of race, sex, creed must have the right opportunity to exercise his or her right of deciding who he or she would like to see in government. This is the only way that would ensure that we move away from the petrified notion of groups or group rights as promoted by the National Party and its supporters.

**AZAPO**

There can be no way in which any meaningful resolution of the political conflict can be achieved without the universal franchise. One-person, one-vote is the *sine qua non* for any meaningful political solution and must be understood to be a non-negotiable issue.

To us, the granting of the universal franchise can only take place within the meaningful context of the repossession of the land — that can only be realised in the process of struggle for national self-determination.

**Q** Would you accept a form of federalism (as in Nigeria, for example), or do you believe a unitary state is an essential part of a political solution?

**NAT**

We do not think that a unitary state is an essential part of a political solution. There is a difference between a unitary state and a single state. South Africa, by and large, is for all intents and purposes a single state, but not a unitary state.

The ultimate solution would not take any existing constitutional model from anywhere else in the world as a basis. South Africa's situation is rather unique, and a model tailored specifically for the country's poly-ethnic nature may very well include elements of federalism, confederalism, consociationalism, proportionalism and even elements of the Swiss canton system. This is a matter that has to be negotiated between the various population groups.

A simple geographic federation, as in Nigeria, is hardly feasible in South Africa because the population in South Africa is in certain areas very intertwined and not as geographically distributed as in a country like Nigeria.

**PFP**

A federal structure of government happens to be a unitary state as well, in the sense that the federal government in a federation takes binding decisions on all the subjects of that particular state. I therefore do not draw a distinction between a federal and a unitary state.

I do draw a distinction, however, between a Westminster-type unitary state, where you have simple majority decision-making on a first-past-the-post principle, and a federal unitary state in which you can have a multiplication of sites of decision-making.

I personally favour a federal structure of government for South Africa, but a geographic federation, not a racial federation, or a communal kind of federation.

**AWB**

A unitary state is quite out of the question; about this no debate will be entered into. Federalism is also unacceptable, just because it allows mutual political interference among the states or cantons or entities, or whatever you care to call them, making up the federation.

Our new South Africa will be a geographical expression only, not a country as such. It will consist of completely sovereign countries, at least in the political sense. Regarding trade, work opportunities, matters of customs and a hundred other things, co-operation across borders should and must exist to everyone's benefit.

You may think this Verwoerdian ideology, but it isn't; Verwoerd gave everyone a homeland, except to his own people. And that is the telling difference. We want an Afrikaner homeland where any assimilable individual who feels he has a part to play in the building of a nation is welcome.

**BOESAK**

Much of my answer to the previous question would apply to this one too. So many ideas that

## THOSE WHO TOOK PART

EIGHT organisations and individuals have participated in the Weekly Mail Debate.

They are:

**The National Party (NP)**, which, as the vehicle of apartheid, has held power in South Africa since 1948.

**The Progressive Federal Party (PFP)**, the official Opposition in the white house of parliament. For many years a lone liberal voice in parliament, it now has 27 seats. It is a prime mover in the National Convention Movement.

**The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)**, a militantly ultra-rightwing organisation which advocates the formation of a separate white Boerestaat and uses a modified swastika for its emblem.

**The United Democratic Front**

(UDF), a non-racial umbrella body with about 600 affiliate organisations around the country. It was formed in 1983 to oppose the new constitution and the black local authorities; many of its leaders are currently on trial or in detention.

**The New Republic Party (NRP)**, a white parliamentary party made up mainly of remnants of the old United Party. It holds eight seats in parliament.

**Inkatha**, a 10-year old organisation, based in KwaZulu and claiming the support of one million people. Under the strong leadership of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, it is the ruling party in KwaZulu, has accepted self-government, but refused independence. It is linked to the PFP in the Convention Movement.

**Dr Allan Boesak**, president of the

World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a long-standing anti-apartheid campaigner from his Western Cape pulpit. His detention was a key factor in sparking the recent Western Cape unrest.

**The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo)**, the premier black consciousness organisation which picked up the mantle after the banning of organisations in 1977. It is a member of the National Forum, an umbrella body of black organisations, and a signatory to the Azanian People's Manifesto, a socialist document.

Other organisations and individuals that were invited to participate, but did not do so, were the African National Congress, the Federation of SA Trade Unions, the Conservative Party and Bishop Desmond Tutu.



# Top medical men condemn proposed Hospital race

FRANS ESTERHUYSE,  
Political Staff

THREE of South Africa's leading medical educationists have condemned the proposed racial division of hospitals and health services under the new constitution.

They warned that such a fragmented health administration would be illogical, uneconomic, in conflict with accepted medical ethics and could lead to a decline in health standards.

The warning has come from Professor George Dall, dean of the medical faculty at the University of Cape Town; Professor J P de V van Niekerk, deputy dean; and Dr Stuart Saunders, principal and vice-chancellor of UCT.

They have called on all doctors who share their views to use their influence "to ensure that South Africa has a single, unified health service not dominated by consideration of race".

## Fundamentally wrong

"If politicians ignore the opportunity to bring this about it will be to the detriment of the entire nation," they said. In the latest issue of the Medical Journal, the three doctors wrote: "It is fundamentally wrong to allocate patients to beds or clinics on the basis of colour."

"Furthermore, all hospitals are staffed by a varying mix of races and many hospitals treat all races. Where is the logic in a proposed division which takes no account of this, let alone the impossibility of identifying a rational dividing line between the races?"

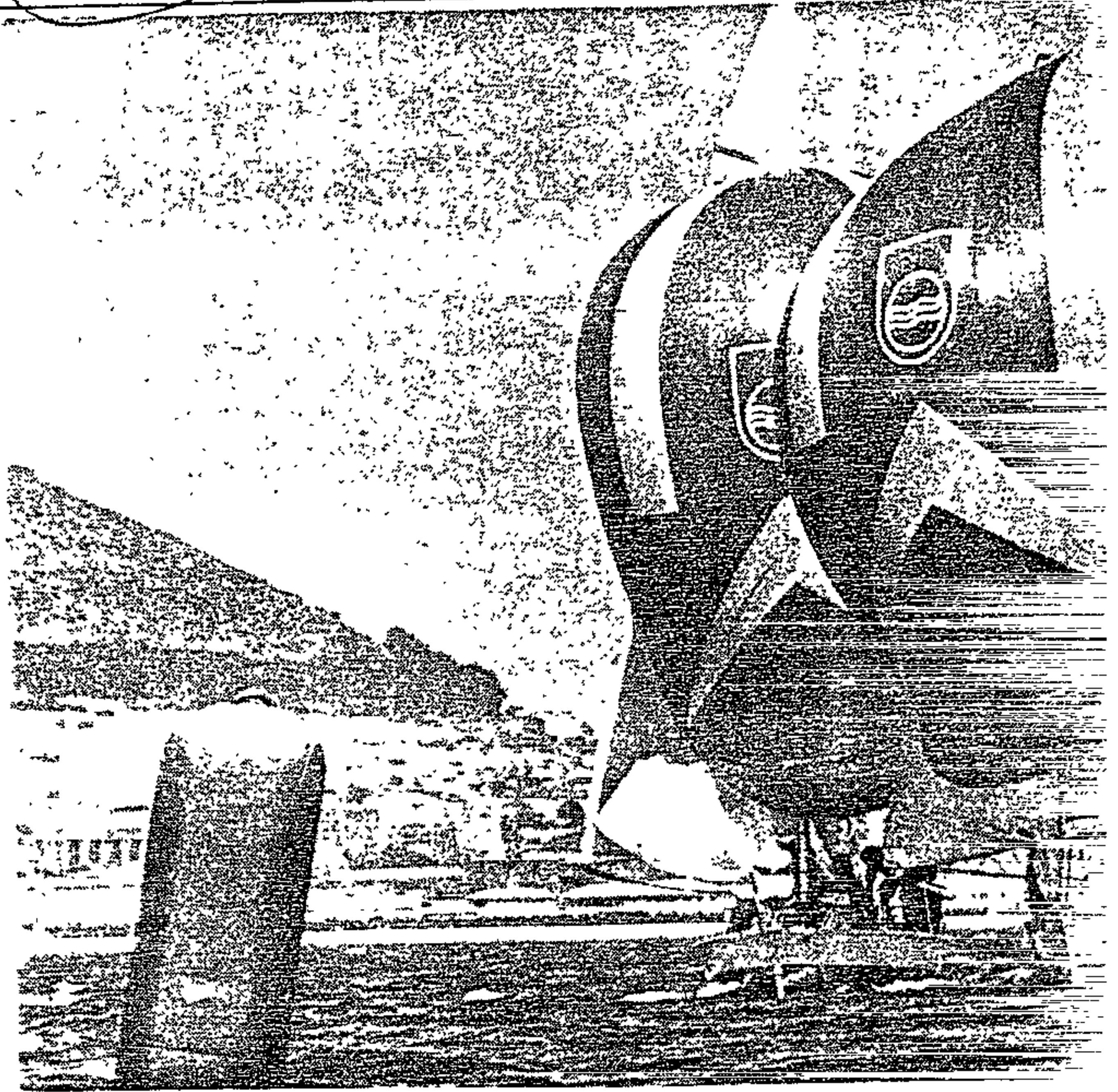
"Even those who misguidedly believe in 'separate development' will acknowledge that if health services are divided between State 'general' and various 'own affairs' administrations, the implications will be serious."

## "Increasingly frustrated"

"The health services will be more fragmented, more costly, more inefficient, and health care personnel will be increasingly frustrated by burgeoning red tape and bureaucracy."

The medical educationists said they understood that hospitals' now the responsibility of the second tier of government (provincial) were to be allocated to different Houses of Parliament for administrative purposes.

"This decision has been taken in spite of repeated representations for a unitary health system, and we wish to express our grave disquiet."



It's Cape Town versus the world in Table Bay today. In a race around skippers — including Geoff Meek, who won the world quarter-ton six Whitbread skippers will face each other on a knock-out basis. The series is to be sailed today and tomorrow.

## 'King of Tongaland' all

Weekend Argus Correspondent  
DURBAN. — Ingwavuma's Chief Mzimba Charles Tembe, self-proclaimed king of Tongaland, is leading his people in a bizarre campaign to found a republic.

He believes the time is right for Tonga emancipation and he is now trying to sweep away Kwazulu's control over his subjects.

And if his dream is realised Tongaland, a rustic area which forms the greater part of Ingwavuma in Northern Natal — including the St Lucia missile testing range — will

be his. In a recent petition to the Government for independence he said the Tonga people had remained backward and economically behind all other black ethnic groups because of governmental "error and oversight". The land, about 215 900 hectares, was ceded to the Tonga nation by Queen Victoria in an 1884 Treaty of Amity, he claims.

Should he achieve independence, self-reliance would be possible because of "your sympathetic Government's kind assistance".

He believes the land is afloat on the harbor and Kosi.

Appointed in 1952, the 12 counts of the Tonga Government.

Chief Tembe was unfairly treated.

In an interview.



1985

★

CAPE TIMES 23/11/85

304A (21) (23)

# SAP conduct a 'problem'

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — President P W Botha should hold a "Camp David" with top police and military generals to bring them in line with reformist moves, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

The Progressive Federal Party leader was addressing the Royal Institute of International Affairs on South Africa.

He said the relationship between President Botha and the security forces had now become crucial but he dismissed reports of an imminent military coup as "non-sense".

## 'Creeping coup'

There had already been a "creeping coup" and the influence of the military in government was "remarkable".

Dr Slabbert described the conduct of the police as a "major problem".

"There is a feeling at the moment that the police are running a bit out of control in the

Cape — that is a bit of a euphemism."

He said the danger of the right-wing threat was not an electoral one but in the effect that it had on discipline in the security forces.

Dr Slabbert said it was vital for the government to restore freedom of choice in the political, social and economic spheres as a prelude to meaningful dialogue with black leaders.

## 'Siege'

This was the only way to break the cycle of repression and revolt. If this could not be achieved the country would drift into a state of siege and escalating conflict.

Dr Slabbert said that a clear-cut reform package would first have to be sold to the police, the military, churches and businessmen.

Then it would have to be sold to representative black leaders including

the UDF, ANC, Azapo and Inkatha

"Only then can you go public with the plan."

He said he would not be forced into making a choice between Inkatha and the ANC as he was coming under increasing pressure to do

Dr Slabbert said he condemned violence but could understand why some young blacks in South Africa regarded it as the only alternative to the status quo

He said that President Botha had moved further than any other Nationalist prime minister.

"He has opened the door. The question now is: can he move through the door that he has opened?"

## 'Despair'

"I vacillate between despair and hope as to whether he will walk through that door," Dr Slabbert said.

He said that if President Botha was to go tomorrow his successor would most probably be Mr F W de Klerk, the Transvaal leader of the National Party.

Dr Slabbert and Mr Colin Eglin, the PFP chairman, are taking part in an international think-tank on South Africa at Ditchley Park in the English countryside this weekend.



# Apartheid and the economy

ONE of the most crucial debates among scholars has concerned the relationship between capitalism and segregation/apartheid/separate development.

The two poles of the debate are:

(a) The argument that capitalism and apartheid are antagonistic and, indeed, that the logic of capitalist development erodes apartheid structures;

(b) The argument that capitalism either generated segregation or, at least, has been its willing accomplice.

In between these polar positions come a variety of more nuanced stances.

Merle Lipton's book "Capitalism and Apartheid"\* is a major contribution to this debate. With the unprecedented entry of business into the political arena in recent times it should evoke more than mere academic interest.

The strategy of the book is to comb the historical evidence regarding each economic segment of the white oligarchy's attitude to apartheid. The detailed analysis that follows is much the strongest part of the book.

The evidence shows quite wide inter-sectoral variations: (white) agriculture and mining historically supported major components of apartheid, especially those concerning labour.

Lipton shows, however, the neo-Marxist arguments which seek to blame the mining industry for the job colour bar are contradicted by the historical evidence. Thus, in 1893 the Chamber of Mines opposed the first statutory colour bar.

Manufacturing and commerce have a less equivocal record: neither needed most apartheid policies and accord-

By  
**DAVID  
WELSH**

Professor of  
Southern African  
Studies at UCT



ingly opposed them. Lipton is careful to say that this opposition was not because these employers were liberals (although some were); rather it stemmed from the rigidities of apartheid labour policies which conflicted with their interests.

Lipton's conclusions about white labour's support for apartheid are bound to provoke debate. Some recent "revisionist" history has sought to exculpate white labour from direct complicity in racism and instead to suggest that this was contrived by capital.

The evidence, however, compellingly suggests that the racism of white labour had its own, independent roots that could not be attributed to the machinations of capital.

Another critical issue raised by the book is the relationship between apartheid and economic growth. Mrs Lipton's evidence suggests that it had been a significant constraint but her conclusion is cautious:

"Apartheid had both costs and benefits and the net effect on economic growth is not clear. The argument that apartheid restrictions 'had depressed living standards and limited economic opportunities' was heard repeatedly this

century. At the least, it is likely that apartheid was neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for South Africa's impressive growth record."

The chapters concerned with politics are solid, informative and provocative. A central theme of these sections is the argument that political power cannot be reduced to, or conflated with capital or capitalist interests.

Much of the book is devoted to demonstrating how little political clout has actually been wielded by mining, manufacturing and commerce, while white agriculture and labour have, historically at any rate, possessed a solid electoral base that gave them until recent times substantial political influence.

While this book is essential reading for anyone seriously concerned with South African issues it is not without its flaws. There are some straightforward errors of fact: Sanlam has never owned Nasionale Pers; Vorster was not a Grey-shirt; and the Cottesloe conference was not organized by the Dutch Reformed Churches, as Mrs Lipton seems to imply.

More serious is her failure to analyse in detail business's behaviour during the 1983 consti-

tutional referendum. Much of "big business" ignored the arguments that the new constitution was a recipe for confrontation and voted "yes". No doubt their intentions were genuinely reformist, but in with hindsight it seems to have been a colossal miscalculation.

Also debatable are some of the conclusions on the relationship between ethnicity and class among Afrikaners. These will no doubt be extensively debated in the academic journals, but I would note here that her (apparent) attempt to explain splits in the National Party in the 1930s and in the 1970s in terms of class is insufficient. In both cases the fault-lines in the Afrikaner alliance were far more complex than that.

\*Capitalism and Apartheid. South Africa 1910-1984. By Merle Lipton. (Gower).

## NPP becomes multiracial

25/11/85

DURBAN 25/11/85 — The National People's Party, majority group in the House of Delegates, yesterday amended its constitution at its national congress to make the party multiracial.

It also unanimously elected sacked House of Delegates Budget Minister, Mr Boetie Abramjee, as national deputy leader of the party.

Mr Abramjee was dismissed by President P W. Botha about 10 days ago over an alleged information leak. He said he would be meeting Mr Botha possibly today about his sacking — Sapa



## SA Govt putting out feelers to the ANC — claim

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The South African Government has sent clear, direct signals to the African National Congress during the past fortnight that it cannot solve the serious crisis confronting the country alone, Frontline state sources said here.

They said the government had also decided to release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners but was unable to work out the mechanics because of the continuing crisis.

The government feelers to the ANC came as its friends in the West, foreign creditors, local businessmen and a small though significant segment of National Party supporters continued to pressure it to hold direct talks with the ANC.

The sources outlined certain details of the government signals to the ANC but refused to release them for publication at this stage.

The signals coincided with last week's rumours, which were backed up by hard evidence from government sources in the Frontline states, that the South African Government was planning to release Mandela from prison and fly him into exile.

● To Page 3, Col 1

## SA puts out feelers to ANC — claim

● From Page 1

Many observers exiles and people here feel it dithered away a favourable opportunity last week to release Mandela on humanitarian grounds without first having to require his renunciation of violence.

The sources said the government recognised the problem confronting it was a larger one — how to implement its decision to release not only Mandela but all political prisoners.

Meanwhile the signals from Mandela and his colleagues in prison were that they were not prepared to be drawn into negotiations outside the framework of the ANC and the broad democratic movement as a whole.

An ANC spokesman here declined to comment on the details of the government's signals.

But top ANC sources said unofficially the banned movement insisted on concrete action from the government signifying it was prepared to negotiate towards "a united, democratic and non-racial country".

Oblique signals would not be sufficient to convince the ANC of the government's seriousness.

A top ANC source said the movement was waiting for the government to create "a climate conducive to talks about talks".

In order to do so, it should release all political prisoners, lift the state of emergency, withdraw troops from the townships, release all emergency detainees and terminate all treason trials.

He said the ANC insisted on those points because it was a matter of principle for it to be able to consult with those now in prison and the "legal democratic movement like the political groups and the trade unions" before it could negotiate.

● See Page 19.

# World hostility threat to upturn — Sanlam

CAPL Times 25/11/86 304A

HOSTILE world opinion could limit and shorten the expected upswing in the South African economy, says Sanlam in its latest economic survey.

"At this stage it is difficult to predict the extent to which South Africa's imports and exports will be affected by hostile action from abroad.

"For purposes of forecasting, we have assumed there will be no large-scale interference with our foreign goods traffic in 1986.

"It is nevertheless becoming increasingly apparent that South African importers and exporters will have to be more imaginative in future if we are to keep our overseas trading channels open."

The report says it accepts that the process of political reform will be maintained and may even be stepped up, but that social and political tension will nevertheless continue.

"The lack of business and consumer confidence is strengthened by the fact that labour remuneration will rise only slightly next year, that the inflation rate will remain high and that the consumer's spending power will be curtailed further by the higher tax burden."

In the light of these factors, the recently-announced tax relief package, even though limited in extent, is "most welcome."

The report says it foresees only a small rise in consumer spending after the sharp decline in 1985, a moderate increase in the current expenses of the general government, a further drop in total fixed capital spending and a steady depletion in inventories during the first half of 1986, followed by a small rise in the last few months of the year.

"All in all we expect real gross domestic expenditure to rise by approximately three percent in 1986 as against an estimated decrease of almost eight percent this year."

The report estimates that the average remuneration per worker in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy will rise by about 10 percent in 1986 compared with increases of about 12 percent in 1985 and 15,8 percent in 1984.

"Economic considerations will simply force businesses and institutions to continue placing drastic limitations on salary adjustments."

This together with an anticipated rise in the consumer price index of about 14,5 percent and the heavy demands of the exchequer would re-

sult in a considerable drop in the consumer's real disposable income.

The anticipated strengthening in the external value of the rand following the temporary freezing of South Africa's foreign debt had not materialized, and in 1986 the weaker rand would have a "substantial" influence on the inflation rate.

Factors that would help check inflation would be a slow growth trend in the national economy, lower interest rates, moderate wage and salary increases, controlled adjustments in the prices of administered goods and services, only mildly expansionary fiscal and monetary policy measures and an expected

good agricultural season.

The report says it seems that the current account of the balance of payments could still show a considerable surplus — of the order of R4 700m — next year.

Further import restrictions could not be ruled out.

Commercial and industrial companies could not expect markedly more favourable business conditions before the second half of 1986, and then only limited improvements were foreseen.

Undertakings in certain sectors of the economy would have to do "all they possibly can in their struggle to keep going." — *Sapa*



CMC

7/11/85

3047

28/11/85

## Power-sharing in SA 'inevitable' — survey

### Political Staff

A SURVEY published yesterday has found that two-thirds of white people believe that power-sharing with black people is inevitable — and that 37 percent believe the government is moving too slowly with its reform policies.

The survey, the results of which were disclosed in yesterday's Rapport, also found that 80 percent of white Afrikaners believe South Africa has

moved away from apartheid, but only 35,4 percent of English-speaking people agreed with this.

Conducted by Mark-en Meningopnames, the survey found that 67,3 percent of whites, including 59,1 percent of Afrikaans-speaking whites, believed power-sharing was inevitable.

It also found that 81,6 percent of English-speaking whites, and 95 percent of PFP supporters, believed power-sharing was inevitable.

However, 70 percent of Nationalist supporters also regarded power-sharing as inevitable, but only 41 percent of Conservative Party supporters and 44 percent of Herstigte Nasionale Party supporters agreed.

Those interviewed were asked what they understood by the concept of power-sharing: 24 percent said it meant the admission of blacks to Parliament, 19 percent said it meant a fourth House of Parliament and a say over own affairs and a joint say over general affairs, 17 percent said it meant equal rights with the same political rights, 10 percent said it meant one-man, one-vote, six percent said it meant limited power to blacks and six percent said it meant federation.

The survey found 26,4 percent of whites thought the government was moving too quickly with its reform policies, 32,7 percent thought the current pace of reform was just right and 37,1 percent thought it was too slow. It also found 54 percent thought the government should negotiate directly with black leaders, while 25 percent believed a special body should be established for this purpose.

CAPE TIMES 26/11/85 (11) 302A

# Nel denies ANC approach reports

PRETORIA — Reports yesterday which claimed the government was putting out feelers on negotiations to the exiled African National Congress were dismissed as "devoid of all truth" last night by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel.

The reports could not be other than "part of an ongoing disinformation campaign which is being planned and executed against South Africa by ruthless propaganda experts from behind the Iron Curtain who support the ANC", he said in a statement in Pretoria.

According to yesterday's reports, Pretoria has sent clear, direct signals to the ANC during the past fortnight that it could not solve the serious crisis alone.

It was also claimed the government had decided to release imprisoned

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners but was unable to work out the mechanics because of the continuing crisis.

"The government has not put out any feelers whatsoever to the ANC and has not changed its policy on the release of Nelson Mandela," Mr Nel said.

He said the claims were being made to "create a continuing international climate" against South Africa.

"The ANC is committed to violence and conducts a reign of terror against moderate black South African citizens in order to make South Africa supposedly ungovernable."

The reports were "a transparent attempt to create the impression this situation has been reached, which is of course laughable". Mr Nel said — Sapa



A COMMONWEALTH delegation has informed the South African Government of the composition of a group of eminent people to consider peaceful solutions in the country and indications today were that they may be allowed to come to the Republic.

There appeared to be a softening of South Africa's initial attitude to the plan which was adopted at the recent Commonwealth conference in Nassau.

The Canadian ambassador, Mr E G Lee, accompanied by officials from the Australian and British embassies, met the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in Pretoria yesterday.

### Text of accord

They handed him the composition of the proposed group as well as the text of the Commonwealth accord on South Africa.

Mr Botha said the Government's reaction would be made known as soon as the matter had been properly studied.

Before South Africa had been formally told of the plan there were indications that it would be unacceptable, but a Foreign Affairs spokesman pointed out today that President P W Botha had only firmly rejected the idea of a six-months moratorium on sanctions on condition that changes were brought about in South Africa in the meantime.

### Could get cool reception

He said there was the distinct possibility that a group would be allowed to come here, provided they had a genuine interest in the country and its problems — a condition similar to the one set when EEC Foreign Ministers were here earlier in the year. If they were allowed to come it did not mean that they could not get a cool reception, the spokesman said.

The Argus correspondent in London reports that the composition of the panel was finally decided after weeks of delays.

Two new names have been added to the list already announced: John Malecela, a former Foreign Minister of Tanzania and Archbishop Edward Stott, head of the Anglican Church in Canada.

Mr Malecela and Mr Stott will meet for talks in December with the other members.

They are former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, former British Chancellor of the Exchequer Anthony Barber, former Nigerian head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo, former Indian Government Minister Sardar Swaran Singh and World Council of Churches president Dame Rita Barrow.

The co-chairmen of the group will be Mr Fraser and General Obasanjo.

The announcement was made late yesterday by the Commonwealth Secretariat who seemed for some weeks to have been struggling to produce a well-rounded team.

### Thatcher

It is understood that Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, had wanted her Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to join the other delegates, but other Commonwealth leaders blocked the appointment, fearing the panel would not be seen to be independent of any government.

Finally, the leaders agreed to Archbishop Stott, proposed by Canada, and Mr Malecela, jointly recommended by Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The delegates will decide their strategy during their first meeting next month.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr F van Zyl SLabbert, who has just returned from a visit to Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Britain and the United States, warned that Commonwealth countries regarded the group as a serious and sincere attempt at exploring the possibility of dialogue inside South Africa and that it should not be seen as a purely punitive mission.

In discussions he and Mr Colin Eglin had with Prime Ministers, leaders of the opposition and foreign affairs spokesmen in these countries it was pointed out that, whereas the recent Commonwealth conference started off on a strong pro-sanctions note, it was particularly through the intervention of Mrs Thatcher that this new initiative came about. The emphasis then moved away from sanctions.

TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

# SA has peace mission names

Argus 26/11/85

3044

17663 26/11/65  
**NRP not for whites only!** 304A

**Argus Correspondent**

PRETORIA. — The New Republic Party does not limit its membership to whites, the Natal NRP leader, Mr Derick Watterson, told the party's Transvaal congress at the weekend.

Replying to a question from a delegate, Mr Watterson said the party in Natal had non-white members.

Anybody, regardless of race, could become a member of the party if he so wished and if he was accepted by a branch of the party.

Mr Watterson also warned that the NRP's effectiveness would be limited if it did not occupy seats in Parliament.

Referring to the party's poor performance in the recent Port Natal by-election, he said the Natal NRP was "not taking it lying down."

He denied having told a reporter the party "had served its time" in reaction to the Port Natal by-election.

What he in fact had said, according to Mr Watterson, was that the party had served its time "in its present form."

He could see no possibility of the party becoming the alternative government in the foreseeable future.

The NRP therefore had to become a more powerful pressure group and exercise more influence on the people, he said.

Mr Martin Stephens was re-elected Transvaal leader of the NRP.



AK605 26/11/85

## NRP call for new 60-member house

Argus Correspondent 3064

PRETORIA.— The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, has called for the establishment of a 60-member House of Deputies through which urban blacks could gain parliamentary representation.

Addressing the Transvaal NRP congress this weekend, he said urban black leaders should also be taken into the Cabinet.

"They should be brought into the corridors of power where the whole world wants to see them and where we want to see them, so that we can normalise this society of ours", he said.

Mr Sutton also called for the homeland governments to be linked to the South African Government through a Brussels-type convention.

He proposed that two homeland leaders immediately be appointed to the Cabinet "to give us the benefit of their wisdom and experience in solving our problems."

Mr Sutton said the KwaZulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, should be one of the two.

He said the NRP's proposals also included a voters' roll for urban blacks and a choice of political participation in South Africa or in their homelands.

The NRP also proposed a policy of local option to normalise the residential pattern of the urban areas.

The Group Areas Act was a blot on the statute book, Mr Sutton said, and, he claimed, would in any event be repealed shortly.

The two policies currently before South Africa, Mr Sutton said, were the ANC and the NRP.

By denying the blacks participation in the new tricameral system, the government left blacks no option except that of the ANC, the back-to-Westminster, one-man, one-vote party system that the new parliament sought to avoid.

The alternative to the ANC was the policy of the NRP, a structured federal parliament with each group guaranteed control over its own affairs in its own chamber by taxation provisions entrenched in the constitution, Mr Sutton said.

304A Star 26/11/85

## Govt has not put out feelers to ANC — Nel

Reports yesterday which claimed the South African Government was putting out feelers on negotiations to the exiled African National Congress were dismissed as "devoid of all truth" last night by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel.

The reports could not be other than "part of an ongoing disinformation campaign which is being planned and executed against South Africa by ruthless propaganda experts from behind the Iron Curtain who support the ANC," he said in a statement in Pretoria.

According to the reports yesterday, quoting Frontline state sources, the South African Government had sent clear, direct signals to the ANC during the past fortnight that it could not solve the serious crisis confronting the country alone.

It was also claimed the Government had decided to release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners but was unable to work out the mechanics because of the continuing crisis.

"The Government has not put out any feelers whatsoever to the ANC and has not changed its policy on the release of Nelson Mandela," he said.

"The ANC is completely committed to violence and conducts a reign of terror against moderate black South African citizens in order to make South Africa supposedly ungovernable."

The reports were "a transparent attempt to create the impression this situation has been reached, which is of course laughable," he said — Sapa.

● See Page 13.



Dispatch Reporter

# PFP condemns town food aid

DISPATCH

26/11/85



304A

**EAST LONDON —** The Border regional executive of the PFP yesterday condemned "in the strongest possible terms" a statement attributed to the town clerk of Queenstown, Mr Peter Gerber, calling on government to withhold emergency food aid from the city's black community.

In a statement signed by the Border regional chairman, Mr Sandy Stretton, the PFP also rejected Mr Gerber's "claim" that he spoke on behalf of the "entire Queenstown rate-paying community".

Mr Gerber's statement last week to a Port Elizabeth newspaper came in the wake of violence which erupted in Mlungisi township and left at least 14 people dead. The consumer boycott, which has been effective in Queenstown for several months, is also still in force.

The PFP statement said: "Mr Gerber's statement which he makes in his official capacity will not only have the effect of further antagonising and polarising all communities in the city, but it will also be widely reported by the international media.

"This will provide further ammunition for those calling for sanctions against South Africa and fuel the fires of revolution. As such, it is irresponsible in the extreme, and all concerned South Africans will wish to dissociate themselves from it."

"Furthermore, any ac-

tion of this nature will only serve to strengthen the resolve to continue the boycott by aggravating the hardships which caused the boycott in the first place.

"The PFP further condemns all those who have been guilty of violence not only in Queenstown, but throughout the country. It makes an appeal for restraint from all quarters, while calling on government to address itself to grievances which are jeopardising the peace and prosperity of South Africa."

Mr Gerber, contacted at his office, said he had no comment on the PFP statement.

Meanwhile, a crisis centre run by the Dependents' Conference in Queenstown to aid unrest victims who would not go to hospital for fear of arrest, was allegedly raided by police last Thursday.

A Daily Dispatch correspondent reports that a field worker, Mr Mncedisi Mbilini, said he had been picked up at the centre at about 8.30 am and detained for several hours. He said policemen accused the conference of running

an illegal hospital. He had receipts for items they had removed from the centre.

Asked to comment on the allegations, the SA Police public relations division in Pretoria replied: "The police have a duty to investigate any crime or suspected crime. No law-abiding person going about his business, however, needs fear arrest by the SA Police, whether such a person is seeking medical attention or otherwise.

"Where a person in need of medical attention is taken into custody, the police will ensure that he receives all such necessary attention."

The division indicated that Mr Mbilini's allegations would be "forwarded to the Divisional Commissioner concerned for his information."

There was no reference in the division's statement to the alleged raid or Mr Mbilini's detention. A spokesman for the division subsequently refused further comment.

Mr Mbilini said yesterday that the raid had not put an end to the activities of the centre and victims were still coming in for aid from qualified medical personnel who had volunteered their services.

South possible

# Peaceful change in SA 'no longer

NEW YORK — Asserting his preparedness to die for the "liberation" of South Africa, the Rev Beyers Naude has said he could not condemn those who believed violence to be the only way to bring about majority rule.

Mr Naude, who travelled to the United States last week to accept the Robert F Kennedy memorial human rights award, said he had always hoped change in South Africa would come peacefully, but now realized that this was no longer possible.

"Not because blacks don't want peaceful change, but simply because of the violent actions on the part of the government especially the police

and the army," he said. "This has angered the black community to such a degree that the younger generations have come to the point where they are no longer willing to apply peaceful measures to bring about change."

"I believe the first and foremost responsibility is to challenge the government to terminate its actions of violence by the police and army and violation of human rights."

However, he warned, should the government fail to institute reform and continued its policies then Pretoria had no right to call on those who used violence to be peaceful.

Dr Naude said that if the Pretoria

regime really wished to see peace return to the country, then Mr Nelson Mandela must be freed.

"He is seen by the vast majority of the people of the country to be the authentic leader of the liberation movement," he said. "There is no doubt in my mind that only his release will lead to the end of violence in South Africa."

Dr Naude told Americans he supported the ANC because the majority of South Africans supported it and its call for a non-racial democratic government.

"The ANC is not calling for black majority rule, but democratic rule for

all. That's important," he said.

Dr Naude also claimed the day of "liberation" was near, but would not allow himself to be fooled by false optimism. He said the government was tremendously strong economically and militarily, and that as long as it continued to receive the support of the US, Britain and other Western countries, it would feel secure.

However, "resistance of people continues to grow and I see that as a sign of hope."

Dr Naude said the daily conflicts were now beginning to spread into white areas, though on a comparative minor scale, but nevertheless he

bounded an ominous warning when he noted: "If you move into the black community you will immediately realize there is a civil war taking place. Inevitably, it has to spill over into the white parts of the cities and suburbs."

The 70-year-old secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches said the US should press the Botha government for change also to maintain its world standing.

"Never in the history of South Africa have the feelings of anger and bitterness against your government been so deep and so strong," he said.

"I am afraid the day may come when the US will discover to its horror that the anger and bitterness on the part of the black community have created such enmity that it will take decades for that to be resolved."

He claimed Mr Botha had no intentions of making fundamental changes to the apartheid system, despite the realization that it had failed miserably.

"He realizes he has to make some kind of accommodations (but) he wants to ensure that white control, white power, white privileges are maintained at all costs" — Sapa

Dr Beyers Naude





# Botha must announce the end of apartheid

CAPE TIMES 27/11/85

304A

NEAL CHAPMAN, chief executive officer of the Southern, yesterday received the Cape Times Businessman of the Year award. His acceptance speech had pointed messages for both business and government. This is the text of his address.

THIS honour belongs to a team, and the privilege was being part of that team.

In responding to Mr Tony Heard's words, may I salute a newspaperman of great courage. Leaders in this country, and in others, call constantly upon the media to take a responsible line, to report accurately and to keep before them the needs of the community. How ironic that those very qualities should bring Mr Heard into a conflict. One can but hope that wisdom, perception and perspective will characterize what follows. Some 200 years ago Edmund Burke wrote: "Bad laws are the worst sort of tyranny."

Just 12 months ago, Mr Raymond Ackerman called upon South African businessmen to be ambassadors in the campaign against disinvestment. In the intervening months, we have witnessed a cataclysm. South Africa's business community, after decades of being on the outer fringes — if that — of the political arena has responded by ways of demands, visits to the north, advertisements and impassioned speeches. There are quarters that have reacted by calling on business leaders to stick to business and leave politics to politicians.

## Anger

"There is a limit", however, "at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue".

"Man is by nature a political animal" and business leaders today verge on the animal in the extent of their fury, such is their dismay, anger and frustration at the events and non-events of the past few months.

South Africa's current liabilities exceed current assets. A definition of insolvency. We have declared a moratorium. Our unit of currency is still under pressure in spite of its dizzying fall and billions have been lost forever as a direct consequence.

The international banking community is blamed for our parlous state of affairs. I think it is important to remember that the banks began to call in their loans long before the state of emergency, before scenes of unrest filled foreign television screens and whilst our economy was showing signs of returning to a sounder platform. Political instability and credit risk were not at that time the cause of their actions.

## Aggression

What was happening was that anti-apartheid and disinvestment lobbies were gaining momentum to the extent that banner-waving demonstrators were disturbing their depositors, shareholders and

major corporate clients. For the sake of less than one percent of one's balance sheet, it is simply not worth the hassle and embarrassment of trying to explain or defend being in business with a country legislating that colour of skin, race, determined:

- Where you may live
- Where you may buy property
- With whom you may not cohabit
- Where you may trade

and all the many indefensible manifestations of our ideology. Our agony lies in the havoc that accelerated the pace of banking withdrawal. Unrest is too mild a word altogether for the naked aggression, the sadistic violence, the beatings and the deaths that appalled millions upon millions of viewers throughout the world hour after hour, day after day, month after month.

We alone were not part of that audience. We alone, therefore, might believe that the material was contrived, mischievous. That some was, no one would dispute. The rest of it was only too frightfully not. As we all know, it is characteristic of the TV media anywhere that the camera focuses upon what is dramatic and shocking. It ignores such uninteresting scenes as people going to work in the morning or sitting peacefully on park benches. It therefore gives the impression that violence and rebellion are far more widespread than is actually the case. This was not persecution of South Africa as such. It would have happened anywhere else in the more or less free world, and we should not become paranoid about it. Nevertheless, "instability" had been added to "social unacceptability" and the brutality of it all had come into the homes of all the world.

## Turn us away

The moratorium completed the circle; our credit was withdrawn, and we had been sent to Coventry for unacceptable behaviour.

Let us not imagine that worse could not befall us. In the queue of things to come, could well be refusal to unload our exports, or consume them. And could the day dawn when holders of South African passports find a lengthening list of countries that will turn us away?

Robert Browning wrote "oppression makes the wise man mad". Wise men who would stay our friends, who have been friends of South Africa and South Africans all their lives, are mad at us, unable to comprehend why we do not seem to comprehend the overwhelming escalation of

feeling. They simply cannot understand the delay in response, the party political posturing when the world sat before its television set, and since. They know of the progress to date, even if the man in the street doesn't, they also know how much has still to be done, and so does the man in the street. One is reminded of Mathew Arnold's little rhyme:

*We do not what we ought,*

*What we ought not we do.*

*And lean upon the thought*

*— That chance will bring us through.*

We have every right to complain about double standards, about hypocrisy. It is just that it is irrelevant to do so. We are not as we are, we are as we are seen to be. Let us for God's sake and South Africa's accept that we need to find the road back from Coventry instead of protesting how unfair that some others are not also there?

## Relationships

We seem, at once, to be sliding towards a siege economy while stumbling towards a shared society.

Could we accept two assumptions: that the government's end objective is indeed the removal of all discriminatory legislation and that international bankers and traders cannot and will not resume normal relationships until it is removed.

I would like to believe the first, and do believe the second.

Pre-1985 the ideology of apartheid cost South Africa dearly in misery, money and censure. 1985 has probably cost us more than the aggregate to date. Let us accept that President Botha's government seeks reform, and sincerely applaud the progress that has been made. And recognize that the architects of apartheid can be found way back in South Africa's history.

To quote Edmund Burke again — "A state without the means to change is without the means of its conservation."

Both the means and, more importantly still, the will to change.

There comes a moment in the development of a crisis that calls for a stroke of greatness, and that usually means boldness and courage.

## Declaration

There is an old saying that to give swiftly is to give twice, to give late is not to give at all.

This is that moment. A moment to put country before party, our people before vote and seat counts. It is time to remove discriminatory legislation at a stroke, in a sentence. It is time



Mr Neal Chapman, chief executive of the Southern

for a dramatic declaration to confound our enemies and restore our friends.

As a businessman, as a South African, I implore the only man who can do it:

Do it now, Mr Botha!

Tell the world, tell the peoples of South Africa, tell the bankers, the West's leaders, the anti-apartheid societies that each and every item in our law that is discriminatory as to colour, race or group will be scrapped. You will have removed every weapon from the arsenals of our enemies and every obstacle from our friends bar one — and tell the world that that one, shared power, is next on the agenda.

## Capitalism

Give us back our pride in being South African, give us back an opportunity to regain goodwill, give our country a clear run at regaining the international banking support so vital to our prosperity. Do it now.

We talk of capitalism and free enterprise as an option superior to Marxism or socialism. Capitalism implies a freedom to earn and a freedom to spend within the bounds of the law. The laws do not allow these freedoms. Until all South Africans are able to enjoy the fruits of their enterprise equally, success cannot bring them the suburb or the school of their choice and the options remain circumscribed. Such circumscription is unacceptable and the free world censures it and calls for its abolition.

Do it now before we are driven to still greater isolation and national poverty.

"Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants. Men have a right that these wants should be provided by this wisdom."

## From the Bible

"As a heart longs for flowing streams, so longs my soul for thee, O God." (Psalm 41:1)

Book reviews will appear tomorrow.

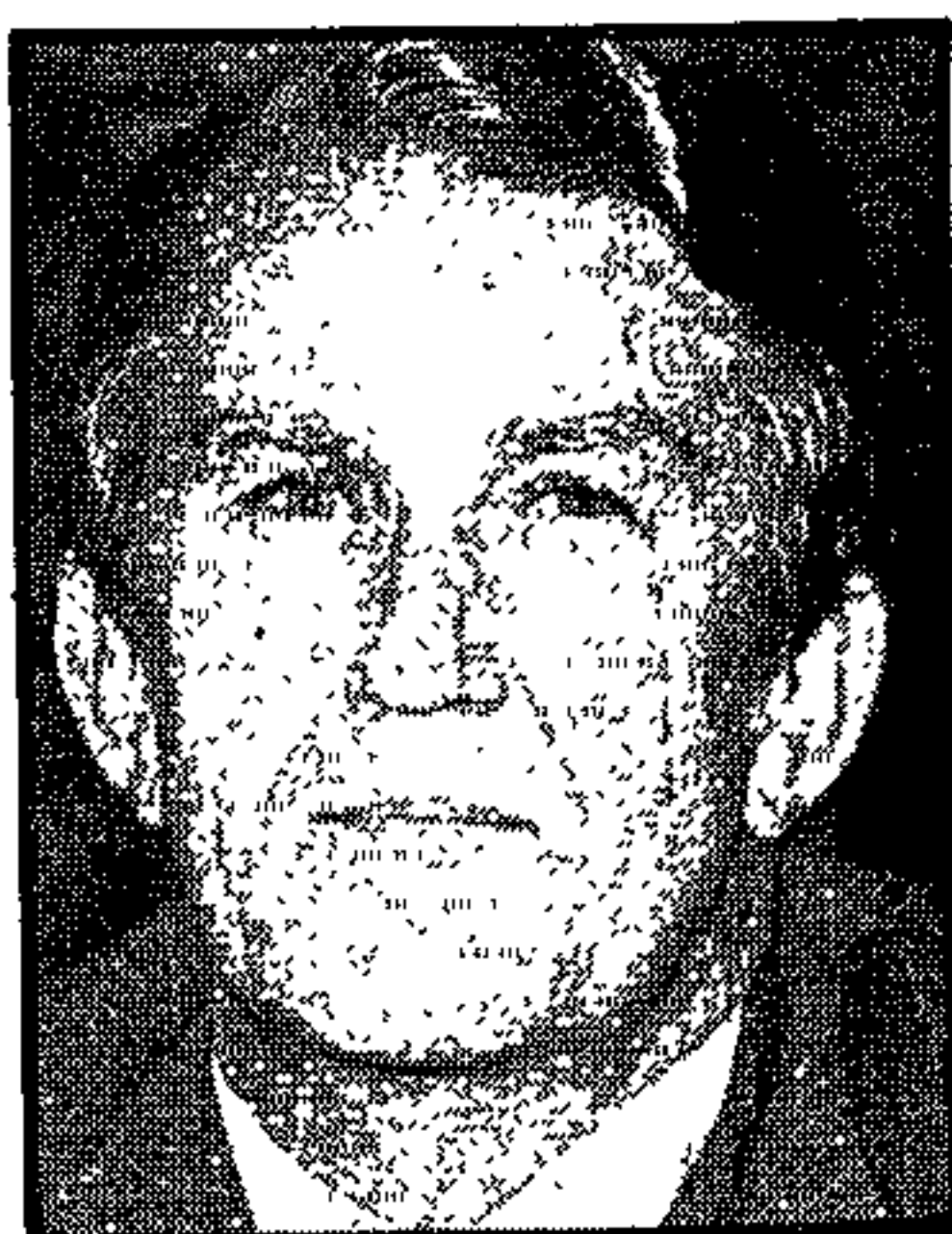


# Commonwealth group to 'find peace for South Africa'

The Commonwealth group to study ways of finding peace for South Africa were named yesterday. The Argus Foreign Service, London, has compiled pen-pictures of the seven members of the group.

THE group of "eminent persons" which the Commonwealth conference recently decided should be appointed to seek peace and end apartheid in South Africa were named yesterday.

They are the former Australian Prime Minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, the former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Anthony Barber, the former Nigerian head of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo, a former Indian Minister, Mr Sardar Singh, the President of the World Council of Churches, Dame Nita Barrow, the former Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr John Malecela, and the head of the Anglican Church in Canada, Archbishop Edward Stott.



Mr Malcolm Fraser

**MALCOLM FRASER** - Former Liberal Prime Minister of Australia. Born in 1930 and educated in Australia and, from 1948, at Oxford.

He returned home in 1952, entering politics three years later.

From the mid-1960s he occupied various posts, including Minister of the Army and Minister of Energy and Science.

He served in the Opposition after a 1972 Labour Party victory, then became Prime Minister in 1975.

He won three elections in a row, but was defeated by Mr Robert Hawke in 1983.



Lord Barber

**LORD ANTHONY BARBER** - Former Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was born in 1920 and educated at Oxford. He served as a pilot during World War 2. After capture, he completed a law degree with honours as a POW. He entered politics in 1951 and became Minister of Health in 1963.

He was chairman of the Conservative Party from 1967 to 1970 and became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Edward Heath's government between 1970 and 1974.

He is chairman of the Standard Chartered Bank, which has a 36 percent stake in the Standard Bank of South Africa.

**SARDAR SINGH** - President of the Indian Council of World Affairs. He was born in 1907 and educated at the Lahore Law College.

He was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1946 and then appointed to the government.

Between the late 1940s and early 1960s, he headed various ministries, including Food and Agriculture, Steel, Mines and Industry, Works and Housing and External Affairs.

He became Minister of Defence in 1966 (and again, for a year, in 1974) and Foreign Minister in 1970.

He has led numerous delegations to the United Nations, foreign countries and international conferences.

**JOHN MALECELA** - Former Tanzanian Foreign Minister.

Educated at the universities of Bombay and Cambridge, his political career began in the Tanzanian diplomatic corps.

Between 1964 and 1968, he was the permanent Tanzanian representative at the United Nations and, during this period, was chairman of the UN committee on decolonisation.

He was Tanzania's first Foreign Minister from 1972 to 1975 and has occupied various cabinet posts since then.

**ARCHBISHOP EDWARD STOTT** - head of the Anglican Church in Canada.

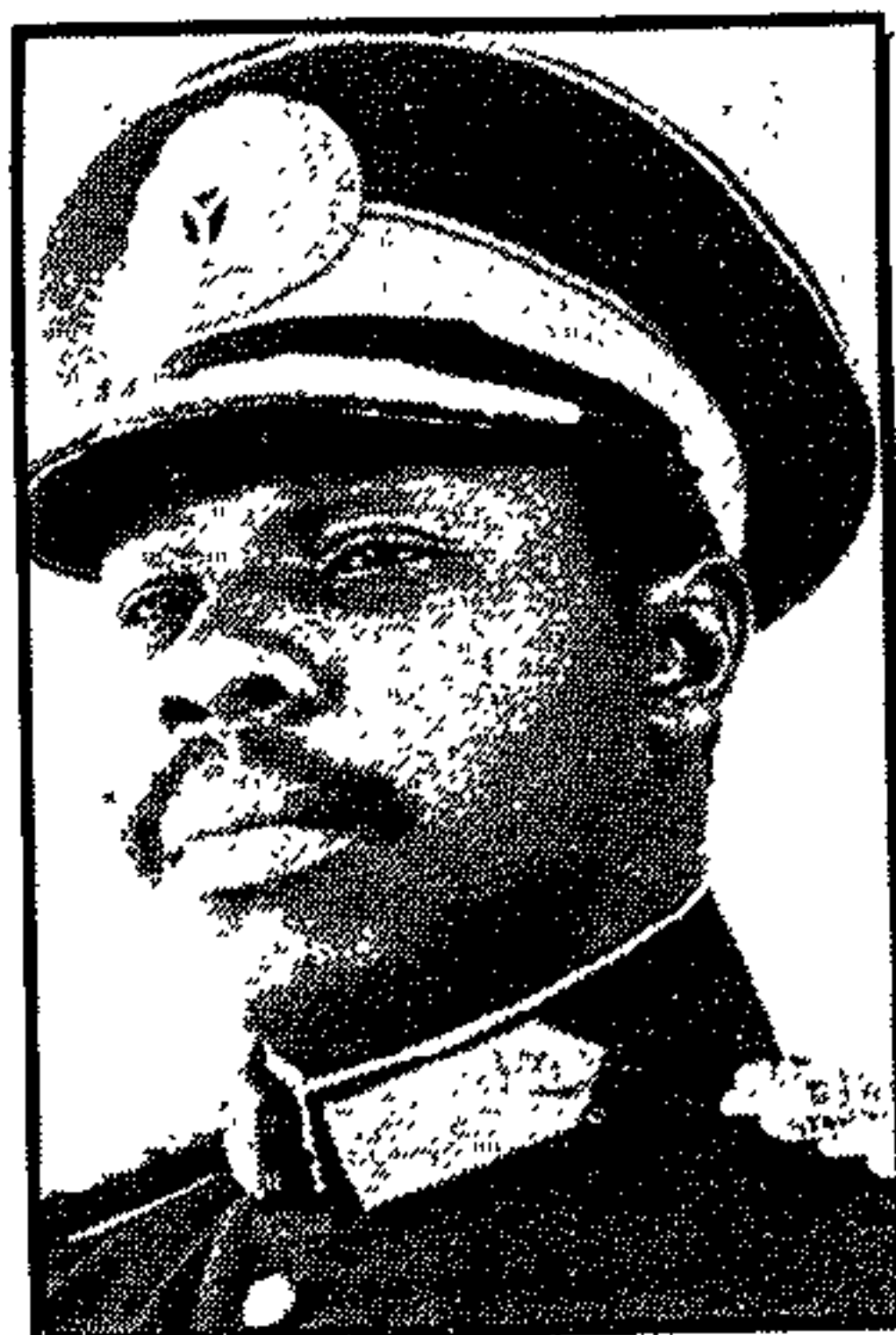
He was educated at the University of British Columbia and the British Columbian theological college and was ordained in 1942.

In the 1960s he was appointed director of social services and priest in charge of Indian work.

He became associate secretary of the council for social services of the Anglican Church in 1964.

He was elected Bishop of Kootenay in 1966 and then Archbishop in 1971.

He is a member of the executive and central committees of the World Council of Churches.



General Obasanjo

**GENERAL OLUSEGUN OBASANJO** - former Nigerian Head of State.

He joined the Nigerian Army in 1958 and was trained in Britain. He served with United Nations forces in the Congo in 1960.

He rose through the commissioned ranks, becoming Lieutenant General in the early 1970s. He was Head of State from 1976 until the formation of a civilian government in 1979.

General Obasanjo served on the commission for disarmament and security in 1979 and is a member of the International Council, a group of 30 former Heads of State.



Dame Nita Barrow

**DAME NITA BARROW** - President of the World Council of Churches. Born in Barbados, she was principal nursing officer in Jamaica in the late 1950s and became nursing adviser to the Pan American Health Organisation in 1960. She joined the World Council of Churches, serving as an associate director of the Christian Health Commission between 1972 and 1975 and then director until 1981. She became president of the World Council of Churches in 1983.

Dame Nita played a leading role in the World Women's Conference in Nairobi this year.

She was made a Dame of St Andrews in 1980.

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# Call for 'dramatic' statement of intent

Cape Times 27/11/85

By ROGER WILLIAMS  
Chief Reporter

304A

**MR NEAL CHAPMAN**, chief executive of The Southern, appealed yesterday to the State President to make "a dramatic declaration" of intent before the country suffered greater isolation and poverty.

At a lunch attended by more than 100 top South African businessmen, at which he was declared Cape Times Businessman of the Year, Mr Chapman implored Mr Botha to "give us back our pride in being South African".

In his acceptance speech, he said South Africa appeared to be "sliding towards a siege economy while stumbling towards a shared society."

"Our credit has been withdrawn and we have been sent to Coventry for unacceptable behaviour. We have been turfed out of the club."

## Dismayed

South Africa's business leaders were dismayed, angered and frustrated at the events and non-events of the past few months, and the time had come for a dramatic declaration "to confound our enemies and restore our friends".

South Africa's agony, said Mr Chapman, lay in the havoc that had accelerated the pace of banking withdrawal.

"Unrest is too mild a word altogether for the naked aggression, the sadistic violence, the beatings and the deaths that appalled millions upon millions of viewers throughout the world hour by hour, day by day, month after month."

The moment had come to put country before party, and it was time to



The Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard (left), congratulates Mr Neal Chapman, chief executive of The Southern, on being declared the Cape Times Businessman of the Year, 1985, at a lunch attended by more than 100 of South Africa's business leaders in Cape Town yesterday.

Picture: Pierre Schoeman

remove discriminatory legislation, at a stroke.

"As a businessman, as a South African, I implore the only man who can do it:

"Do it now, Mr Botha!"

The Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, announcing the Businessman of the Year award, said Mr Chapman had "cobbled" the merger between Southern Life and Anglo American Life, producing The Southern, with assets of R5-billion.

"This remarkable man, at 51, has emerged in the slipstream of the Clive Corders and Frank Robbs as one of the most gifted business barons

in Cape Town," he added.

Mr Heard also said he wished to venture a "powerful view" that the Cape Times had no intention of being swallowed up in any rationalization process within the newspaper industry.

The Cape Times was "a South African institution" and would turn 110 in 1986. Those present would be invited to celebrate.

● Text of Mr Chapman's speech, page 16

● Mr Heard on the future of the Cape Times, page 17

● Page of colour pictures, page 21

# SA 'will co-operate with Commonwealth group'

TOS WENTZEL,  
Political Correspondent

THE Government is willing to co-operate with a Commonwealth group of eminent men, but this does not mean that the group will actually visit South Africa.

This was made clear today by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

In an interview from Pretoria he said that the accord at the Nassau Commonwealth conference did not state that the group would visit South Africa.

Two of the main objectives of the group are to encourage dialogue in South Africa and help end violence. They have to report back within six months.

There appear to be several possibilities for contact with the group — through an envoy coming here, or individual members of the group, through discussions overseas or by the Government submitting information on developments, including reform plans.

The Government it has clearly not rejected the idea of contact.

Mr Pik Botha said the Government was prepared to consider "ways and means" for the group to acquaint itself with circumstances in South Africa and the region, the progress made by the Government and the reforms still envisaged.

## Progress

"Should the Commonwealth group be generally interested in acquainting itself with the prevailing circumstances in this country and the Southern African region, the progress already made in South Africa, as well as the further reform programme envisaged, the Government is prepared to consider ways and means of making that possible without conceding the right of intervention in national affairs," Mr Botha said.

He said South Africa was

committed to peace and stability. The outside world was not properly informed about reform.

● Mr Colin Eglin, foreign affairs spokesman of the Progressive Federal Party, today welcomed Mr Botha's response.

He said it was clear from discussions the leader of the PFP Dr F van Zyl Slabbert and he had had in New Zealand, Australia and Britain that these countries hoped very much that the group would help to produce positive results.

"Mrs Thatcher, who argued against sanctions in Nassau, has a considerable political investment in the group. Success will show that her 'no sanctions' approach has achieved positive results.

"Failure will mean that the Commonwealth countries will consider applying much stricter sanctions in six months' time," Mr Eglin said.

● Pen pictures — Page 29.



# Row over discount petrol

CHE TIMES  
27/11/85

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

THE managing director of Pick 'n Pay, Mr Raymond Ackerman, is to defy a government order prohibiting the sale of petrol at discount prices which starts in Brackenfell today.

Under the self-service scheme, motorists will be charged 4c less on every litre of petrol bought at the hypermarket's filling station.

The Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Danie Steyn, said the prohibition was a necessary "intermediate" measure pending a thorough investigation on fuel price controls early next year.

The scheme will be prohibited from today in terms of a notice published in a special Government Gazette.

Yesterday Mr Ackerman said: "We are absolutely appalled and angered that the minister has taken the decision without offering us a courtesy meeting which had been scheduled for today.

"We are not discounting at all. They forced us to sell at pump price. The consumer of this country needs a square deal."

He said that legally there was nothing wrong with the scheme and that a team of lawyers were conducting further investigations.

## 'A kick in the teeth'

"We are selling tomorrow," he said

He described the government's move as a "kick in the teeth" after he had battled all of last week to persuade overseas investors and manufacturers to maintain business links with South Africa.

This is the "surest way towards a Marxist state", he said.

Mr Allan Gardener, Pick 'n Pay executive director, will today have a meeting in Pretoria with the minister and the director of the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Dr Louw Alberts.

Fears were expressed that if the scheme spread, some 45 000 pump attendants could lose their jobs.

Mr Steyn said that if the practice of paying motorists who served themselves with petrol was widely adopted, it might lead to further unemployment and congestion at service stations.

He identified unemployment as a "most important factor in the present unrest situation".

The minister said his department followed a policy whereby the establishment of service stations was not only coupled with the supply of petrol, but that maintenance facilities also had to be made available to the public.

● Pick 'n Pay beer sales stopped, page 19

# Govt <sup>27/11/8</sup> says yes to 'wise men' <sup>30KA</sup>

## Political Staff

THE government has given the go-ahead for a team of Commonwealth investigators to visit South Africa.

The findings of the team, known as the Eminent Persons Group, could influence future Commonwealth decisions to impose harsher sanctions against South Africa and includes tough critics of the government, such as Mr Malcom Fraser, a former Australian prime minister.

However, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said last night South Africa had nothing to hide and would co-operate on the visit without conceding the team's right to interfere in the country's internal affairs.

It is clear from his statement that the government is adopting the same approach to the Commonwealth group as it did to the team sent here recently by the European Common Market.

He said, however, "it is obvious that the great majority of Commonwealth members is ill-informed or not informed at all of the South African Government's reform programme and of the current situation in South and Southern Africa".

The composition of the proposed group as well as the text of the Commonwealth accord was handed to the government on Monday.

Tammy Harrison, 4, American cocker spaniel. Their breeder.

Road, rail

A colour wrap-around on the



# Botha urged to scrap race laws in a bold stroke

264A

Mercury 27/11/85

CAPE TOWN—President Botha should remove all discriminatory legislation before South Africa was driven to still greater isolation and national poverty, Mr Neal Chapman, Southern Life chief executive and Cape Times Businessman of the Year, said here yesterday.

Mr Chapman was given the Cape Times award in recognition of his role as one of the architects of the merger between Southern Life and Anglo American Life.

Speaking at the luncheon at which the presentation was made, he said there was a moment in the development of a crisis that called for a 'stroke of greatness' which invariably meant boldness and courage.

'This is that moment. A moment to put country before party, our people before vote and seat counts. It is time to remove discrimination at a stroke, in a sentence. It is time for a dramatic declaration to confound our enemies and restore our friends.'

## Removed

'As a businessman, as a South African, I implore the only man who can do it. Do it now Mr Botha.'

'Tell the world, tell the peoples of South Africa, tell the bankers, the West's leaders, the anti-apartheid, disinvestment and sanctions campaigners that each and every item in our law that is discriminatory as to colour, race or group, will be scrapped.'

'By doing so we will have removed every weapon from the arsenal of our enemies and every obstacle from our friends bar one — and tell the world that that one, shared power, is next on the agenda.'

Mr Chapman said people talked of capitalism and free enterprise as an option superior to marxism or socialism. Capitalism implied a freedom to earn and to spend within the bounds of the law.

## Stumbling

'The laws do not allow these freedoms. Until all South Africans are able to enjoy the fruits of their enterprise equally, success cannot bring them the suburb or whatever of their choice and the op-

tions remain circumscribed. Such circumscription is unacceptable.'

Mr Chapman said it was important to remember that the international banking community began calling in loans long before the state of emergency. Political instability and credit-risk were not at that time the cause of their actions.

For the sake of a minimal amount on their balance sheets, it was 'simply not worth the hassle and embarrassment' of trying to defend being in business with a country that practised legislated racial discrimination.

'We are sliding towards a siege economy while stumbling towards a shared society.' — (Sapa)

# 'A National Convention could solve SA's problems'

RECEIVED 28/11/81

304A

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's problems could be solved at a National Convention, Chief Minister of Gazankulu Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi said on his return from West Germany this week.

Professor Ntsanwisi told Pressmen at Jan Smuts Airport that at such a summit meeting, "people of different political persuasions would sit down and hammer out a system of government that will be acceptable to most South Africans."

"I would propose that such a National Convention work out the details of a federal government at the top and a system of unit governments below. The unit governments could be arranged on a regional basis and can include the self-governing national states."

## "Only solution"

"Federation is the only solution which will see to it that each and every one of us has a say. It will also see to it that no group will dominate the others. South Africa belongs to both black and white and we should learn to live together."

Professor Ntsanwisi, who was in Munich to attend the "Sixth International Symposium on Policy and Strategy", said he was asked to speak on South Africa.

"I made it clear to them that the struggle in South Africa was not between black and white. It is between apartheid and capitalism and the two cannot go hand-in-hand."

"Apartheid is being broken down in a slow process. Some countries want to speed up the process by fighting the South African economy, but this will benefit the Soviet Union."

## "Sanctions"

"If we look at mineral production, South Africa and the Soviet Union have the bulk of platinum, magnesium, chrome and gold. If the mining industry here falls down because of sanctions, it will be to the benefit of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, if political changes take place that put the mining industry into hands that are controlled by the Soviet Union, the West will face the music."

Professor Ntsanwisi said the Government's clampdown on media coverage of events in the country had knocked South Africa off the front pages of European newspapers.

"Stories on South Africa are now on Page three or four. Some newspapers carry nothing now. The Daily Telegraph had nothing when I read it two days ago. The exclusion of television from unrest areas has cut down exposure of South Africa."

"I am not saying the clampdown is a good or bad thing, I am noting a phenomenon without any comment."



## Institute member heads new deal

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— A key member of the Christian Institute, which was banned by the government in 1976, has been appointed first full-time official of the National Convention Movement.

He is Mr Roelf Meyer, 48, who was a minister in the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk before he joined Dr Beyers Naude's Christian Institute in 1971. Mr Meyer was the editor of the institute's magazine, Pro Veritate.

Mr Meyer's formal function is to act as liaison officer for the NCM but in practice his task boils down to more than that.

He is also assisting in setting up the NCM's offices in Johannesburg to get the organisation's wheels in motion.

Mr Meyer has been addressing groups throughout the country to explain the aims of the NCM.

After the Christian Institute and Pro Veritate were closed down, Mr Meyer went to Europe to study for a doctorate in political philosophy and theology in West-Germany, England, Italy and Holland.

On his return to South Africa, he started a black magazine, Afrika, in which he published research into black conditions in South Africa. He stopped publishing the magazine after a few issues were banned.

Mr Meyer then spent three years as a specialist in labour relations at a car manufacturing company in South Africa.

He resumed his doctoral studies at the University of Stellenbosch this year.

When asked to become the first full-time official of the NCM, Mr Meyer did not hesitate for a moment. "It was an opportunity to do something concrete again towards solving the country's political deadlock. My conviction is that the Christian principles of justice offer the only real solution," he said.

LAY-BYES  
SEBAA AND  
ALL CREDIT



Argus 28/11/85

304A

# My solution to violence, — Naude, Buthelezi

RAMSAY MILNE, Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Two South African political figures, the Rev Beyers Naude and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have presented to Americans their own prescriptions for a solution to South Africa's "bloody violence" — and both shared the view that the violence would continue until the government made a meaningful "declaration of intent" concerning the political future of blacks and released all political prisoners, including Mr Nelson Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi and Dr Naude were responding to US News and World Report, which had asked them what they considered to be a solution to South Africa's problems.

Chief Buthelezi said he did not believe township violence was spreading, pointing to the fact that a state of emergency had been declared in only 36 out of more than 200 magisterial districts.

"But if you look at (US) television, you would think that the whole country is burning," he said.

He added that he believed the violence was caused not only by political factors. The situation, he said, had been worsened by the downturn in the economy, which had placed large numbers of blacks in "dire straits."

He believed the violence could be stopped, or "it would subside a bit," if the state of emergency were lifted and if some political prisoners, including Mr Nelson Mandela, were released.

Thirdly, it was essential for President Botha to "declare an intent" about power sharing by all the people of South Africa.

Dr Naude, in a much stronger line, said that although he prayed for a basic change of policy by the government, he simply could not see it occurring.

"The government can only go in its reforms as far as its own white electorate will allow it to go. And that white electorate will not allow P W Botha to take any steps they believe will jeopardise their dominance of political and economic power. The black community rightly demands a full sharing in political rights and in the economic wealth of the country. So you have these two immutable forces, the one against the other."

Dr Naude said one of the very least factors blacks would be prepared to accept would be the release of political prisoners so they can participate in the future decision-making process.

Secondly, the security forces had to be withdrawn from the townships so that peace could return to the community.

Thirdly, the entire pass laws system had to be abolished and, fourthly, the government should make a clear statement of intent about the political future of the black community.

Asked whether communists were involved in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, Dr Naude said the ANC was in alliance with the South African Communist party and added: "but to say there is a massive communist conspiracy against South Africa is simply, to my mind, talking nonsense."

Because anyone actively opposing apartheid had in the past been labelled a communist, blacks had drawn the logical conclusion: "If every person who identifies himself with us in our struggle for liberation is termed a communist, then communism must be a very good thing."

AAAS

PRICES





EMBER 28, 1985

# Slabbert warning on state of siege

Dispatch Correspondent  
PORT ELIZABETH — The choice facing South Africans was either to dismantle all apartheid laws and negotiate, or "drift into a state of siege," the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, told an audience of more than 700 last night.

A bomb scare at the Hellenic Hall halted the PFP meeting while Dr Slabbert was answering questions.

The packed hall was immediately evacuated and searched by police using dogs after the regional organiser of the PFP in Port Elizabeth, Mr Bobby Stevenson, had been informed at about 9.15 pm by police of an anonymous telephone call received by the Albany Fire Station.

The SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, said last night that the police search had revealed no trace of a bomb.

Both Dr Slabbert and the MPC for Walmer, Mrs Molly Blackburn, had already addressed the meeting when the hall was evacuated.

Commenting on the scare afterwards, Dr Slabbert said it had to be taken seriously. He said "water-tight" security precautions would be taken in future and the public had no need to be afraid of attending PFP meetings.

Assessing the current situation in South Africa, Dr Slabbert said that if whites refused to negotiate, a state of siege would result re-

miniscent of Lebanon and Northern Ireland.

Such a state did not mean revolution, he said, but "inconclusive violence," one of the results of which was the systematic destruction of the economy.

Dr Slabbert, who received a standing ovation from the large crowd, said the time had come to be specific when one talked about dismantling apartheid.

He said that when one talked about dismantling apartheid one was talking about fundamental human rights — the denial of freedom of choice.

By repealing Section 16 of the Immorality Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, the government had "restored freedom of choice" in these areas.



DR SLABBERT

At the same time, he added, this restoration of the freedom of choice highlighted other areas where such freedom did not exist.

The time had come to decide, he said, and if one was going to get rid of apartheid then "all apartheid legislation has to go."

One could not go "half-way down the track," he said.

## Court told of Zwelitsha pupils' plea

Dispatch Reporter  
ZWELITSHA — Pupils pleaded with a minister of religion to allow them the use of his church to discuss going back to classes because examination time was near, the magistrate's court here heard yesterday.

This came out in a letter written to the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Zwelitsha at the end of September. The letter was read to court by the station commander of the Zwelitsha police station, Lieutenant

Mzuyanda Vuso, when he was giving evidence in the trial of 421 pupils charged with attending an illegal gathering on October 1 at Zwelitsha.

Under cross-examination by defence counsel Lieut Vuso agreed that the pupils were pleading and saying that they wanted to go back to school because examination time was near.

Mr Lala Tali was on the bench. Mr Ayanda Mnyande was the prosecutor. Mr T. L. Skweyiya, Mr Deva Pillay and Mr L. Pije, instructed by Smith, Tabata and Van Heerden, appeared for the pupils.

CAP Times  
28/11/85 (304A)

# UK Govt welcomes green light

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British Government has welcomed Pretoria's green light for the special Commonwealth mission to South Africa.

And a British Foreign Office spokesman was quick to respond to the statement by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, that South Africa was not conceding the right of foreign interference by signalling co-operation with the dialogue mission.

"The Commonwealth accord made it clear that the terms of any political settlement in South Africa are for South Africans to decide," the British spokesman said.

The Commonwealth mission is seen as the dialogue component of the accord which also imposed limited economic sanctions on South Africa, made specific political demands and threatened tougher sanctions within six months if adequate progress was not made.

The demands include the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC), the renouncing of apartheid, the lifting of the state of emergency and the initiation of a process of dialogue "within the context of a suspension of violence on all sides".

## Ramphal 'encouraged'

Foreign Office sources indicated yesterday that Pretoria's swift and positive response to the formation of the Commonwealth's "eminent-persons group" was seen as an important gesture which could help restore some warmth to the Anglo-South Africa relationship and give a boost to the process of reform and dialogue within the country.

Commonwealth sources indicated that the secretary-general, Sir Sonny Ramphal, was encouraged by Pretoria's response.

The group meets in London for the first time on December 12 and its work was likely to get under way in January, the sources said.

It is understood the seven members of the mission will be working full-time during the initial six-month period.

Sir Sonny said it was likely at least some of the mission's members would seek to visit South Africa before the middle of next year.

## Turning-point on ANC

The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, has given her personal backing to the Commonwealth initiative and worked hard at the Nassau summit to achieve a united Commonwealth stand on South Africa.

Mrs Thatcher's support for the accord indicated a turning-point in Britain's position on the ANC insofar as its presence at the negotiating table is now considered crucial to a negotiated settlement.

In the House of Commons last week the British Foreign Secretary took an unusually conciliatory line towards the ANC recognizing it as "one important focus of black South African opinion and aspirations".

Associating himself with Commonwealth calls for the lifting of the ban on the ANC and the unconditional release of Mr Mandela, Sir Geoffrey Howe urged the ANC to comply with the Commonwealth call for a "suspension of violence on all sides".

But he conceded that there would have to be movement in this direction on the part of the South African Government as well.



Cape Times

November 28, 1985 13

## All races flock to join PFP

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Progressive Federal Party has recruited more black, coloured and Indian members in the past three months than were members of the PFP before it was forced to become a "whites only" party in 1961, according to a party spokesman who said "we are measuring the influx in thousands".

The PFP recently started about seven new branches in Kimberley, Pretoria, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. New members were also being absorbed into existing branches.

It was impossible to say how many people of each race group had joined because the party did not distinguish between races in its register. The PFP would not disclose its total membership.

Natal leader Mr Ray Swart said hundreds of people had joined.

Just on R1 000 000 had already been raised for the Van Zyl Slabbert Trust in Natal, out of a Natal target of R1 200 000.

The money, in the form of cash and pledges of donations over the next three years, was additional to that raised by the party's normal fund-raising activities.

The money would be used to expand the PFP's activities around the country as well as for initiatives such as the Convention Alliance.

# Slabbert: if apartheid ends ANC will talk

302A  
S/aw  
29/11/87

EAST LONDON — The ANC would be prepared to negotiate and consider compromises once apartheid had been removed, the leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said here yesterday.

Responding to a question at a business luncheon in the city, Dr Slabbert said he had gained this impression on his recent meeting with the ANC in Lusaka.

But, he said, the public should be in a position to judge for itself. "Official news" had left many uninformed on important issues.

A democratic system would have to be devised because "simplistic majoritarianism," would not work.

The Government would have to take a "big step to get ahead in the game", and this would make irrational violence unacceptable in the light of clearly stated reform goals.

Dr Slabbert repeated his warning, given in Port Elizabeth yesterday, that South Africa was on the threshold of becoming a siege society.

"People can survive as they have done in Northern Ireland and Lebanon but the economy cannot operate normally under such conditions."

A further negative factor in a society under siege was that "inconclusive violence" could last for a long time.

One of his aims as leader of the Opposition was to seek ways of moving out of siege to undercut violence and to promote negotiation.

He warned that the strength of opposition to apartheid outside the country should not be underestimated.

## DOMESTIC

On his recent trip abroad, which included visits to Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Britain, Dr. Slabbert was apparent that apartheid had become a domestic political issue in those countries.

It had also become apparent that the sanctions debate overseas had its own momentum.

"Businessmen are assessing the situation in South Africa because they don't see their investments as safe any more."

A positive development was that a distinction was being drawn between getting rid of apartheid and what it would be replaced with.

The Government had essentially restored freedom of choice of the individual to participate in certain activities by repealing the Mixed Marriages Act, section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act but at the same time it had highlighted the absence of choice in other spheres.

The Government could scrap laws, such as the Population Registration Act, without having to commit itself to an alternative political system.

## INITIATIVE

"It has to say clearly that apartheid will not work and it wants to end it. Only then can it say it wants to negotiate. This could get a domestic initiative going."

The heads of the police and defence force would have to be told what reform package the Government had in mind.

"They have to understand the package and back it," he said — Sapa



# Commonwealth group has a vital role to play in SA

CHAT TCHS 29/1/88 306A

LONDON. — The Thatcher plan for bringing South Africans to the negotiating table took an important step forward this week.

For the next six months, at least, the Commonwealth will play a pivotal role in the Anglo-South African relationship.

Pretoria's swift — if slightly disguised — approval of the Commonwealth's motley "eminent persons group" (EPG) and Britain's immediate acknowledgement thereof was the only outward manifestation of weeks of intense behind-the-scenes diplomacy.

South Africa's reluctant recognition that the EPG could have a role to play is considered of the utmost importance in Whitehall and Downing Street.

There was genuine surprise in political and diplomatic circles at the swiftness of Pretoria's green light for the Commonwealth initiative.

The EPG's mandate is to create the atmosphere for dialogue in South Africa by opening channels of communication between the key actors on the negotiating stage — particularly between Pretoria and the African National Congress (ANC).

At another level, the tireless Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, has been hard at work assembling the most unlikely group to have been brought together for a long time.

A retired Australian prime minister, a former military ruler of Nigeria — to head the mission — the Anglican primate of Canada, a president of the World Council of Churches who is a feminist to boot, a former Tanzanian foreign minister, a former Indian foreign minister and the chairman of Standard Charter Bank.

The mind boggles — never mind Pretoria's.

But, as South Africa's swift reaction shows, it is not the composition of the group that

matters but the fact that it is Britain's formula for keeping the flame of dialogue and engagement burning and the threat of sanctions and boycott at bay.

The Commonwealth game plan is to give Pretoria time to create the climate for dialogue by:

- A declaration committing the government to the dismantling of all apartheid laws and visible progress to that end.

- The unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

- The lifting of the ban on the ANC and other outlawed political parties.

- The lifting of the state of emergency.

Having achieved that, Pretoria is then called on to initiate a process of dialogue with black leaders "within the context of a suspension of violence on all sides".

It must surely go down as one of Mrs Thatcher's most remarkable diplomatic achievements to have emerged from potentially the most divisive Commonwealth summit in history with an agreed position on suspending violence.

A major problem for Mrs Thatcher was how to cajole the Pretoria government and the ANC to the negotiating table without being seen to go soft on terrorism and her policy of no-contact with the advocates of violence.

The business and PFP contacts with the ANC broke the ice. Mr Oliver Tambo's visit to the Commons select committee on foreign affairs bestowed a new respectability on the ANC. And last week Tories arguing for British government contact with the ANC were

given free reign in a question-and-answer session with the Foreign Secretary across the floor of Parliament.

Sir Geoffrey's replies edged the Thatcher government closer to a position of dialogue with the ANC — preferably though "within the context of a suspension of violence on all sides".

This week Britain commended Pretoria for its "willingness to find ways and means of assisting" the EPG and stressed — as did the Commonwealth's Sir Sonny Ramphal — that it was for South Africans themselves to work out the actual structures for a new society.

But, before the Commonwealth initiative has even begun its work, Pretoria is having to respond to more urgent external pressures.

I refer, of course, to Dr Fritz Leutwiler, the Swiss mediator, and the 300 increasingly impatient foreign creditor banks he represents.

The message from the creditors is blunt and political — but no different from the demands of the Commonwealth.

It is not far removed either from the message of South Africa's Reserve Bank Governor, Dr Gerhard de Kock, who broke a long political silence in a watershed speech this week which received front-page treatment in London's authoritative Financial Times.

Dr De Kock said the capital drain would continue until tangible evidence of reform changed widely held perceptions abroad that South Africa was in an Iranian-type pre-revolutionary situation.

Dr De Kock's remarkable speech clarified the choice — if there is one — facing Presi-

dent Botha as he drafts his January speech to the opening of Parliament — already known here as Rubicon II.

The memory of Rubicon I — and the disastrous chain of events it set in motion — must have been uppermost in Dr De Kock's mind when he crossed swords with the isolationists and those advocating a siege economy.

The moratorium — or standstill — on debt repayments has now been extended to beyond Rubicon II in anticipation of some new reforms.

If President Botha heeds the advice of Dr De Kock and the majority of the business community he will follow the path towards an open society by:

- Declaring his commitment to dismantling all restrictive legislation.

- Committing his government to the principle of freedom of association on the political, economic and social spheres.

- Declare his intention to release political prisoners and allow free political activity.

In exchange, of course, President Botha would want a guarantee of individual property rights, a mixed economy and recognition of the right to self-determination of the Afrikaner minority.

If he heeds the advice of the Law and Order Minister, Mr Louis le Grange, and some of the more hawkish generals in Military Intelligence, he will resort to harsher law-enforcement methods — like those used in Mamelodi — step up financial restrictions and direct controls and batten the hatches for a siege economy.

The De Kock way could draw back foreign investors and bankers and restore the vital economic base for President Botha's faltering reformist initiatives.

It is here that the Commonwealth mission could play an important role in bringing the parties together.



## London Dateline

JOHN BATTERSBY reports



Official  
news  
'spins'  
cocoon'

Political Staff

EAST LONDON. — The ANC would be prepared to negotiate and consider compromises once apartheid had been removed, the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

He was replying to a question at a business lunch here on his recent meeting with the African National Congress in Lusaka.

He said the public should be in a position to judge for itself and be able to form an informed opinion. "Official news" had spun a cocoon of ignorance which left many people in the dark about important issues.

Democratic

A democratic system — without forced association — would have to be devised because "simplistic majoritarianism" where the winner takes all, would not work.

He repeated his warning given in Port Elizabeth the previous day, that South Africa was on the threshold of becoming a siege society.

"People can survive as they have done in Northern Ireland and Lebanon but the economy cannot operate normally under such conditions."

He also said that in a society under siege "inconclusive violence" could last for a long time.

One of his aims as Leader of the Opposition was to seek ways of moving out of siege, to undercut violence, and to promote negotiation.

'Choice'

The government had restored freedom of choice by repealing the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, but at the same time it had highlighted the absence of choice in other spheres.

"The government has to say clearly that apartheid will not work and that it wanted to end it. Only then can it say it wants to negotiate. This could have the effect of getting a domestic initiative going," Dr Slabbert

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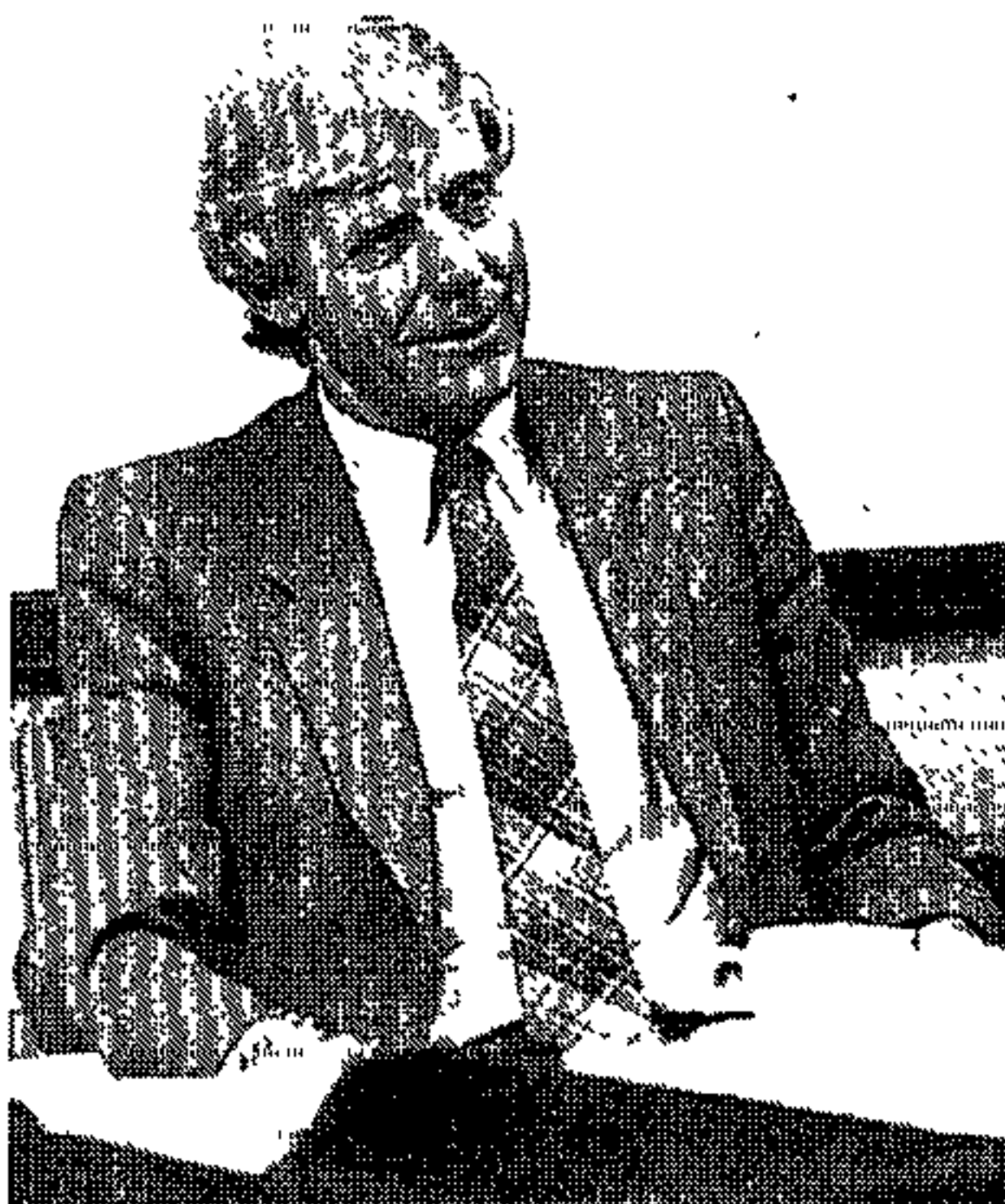


29/11/85 (PFP) (304A)  
PFP-UDF CO-OPERATION FM

## Narrowing the gap

The differences are still considerable, but the gap between the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the western Cape appears to be narrowing. Moves towards closer co-operation between the two groups have become increasingly evident as the crisis in the region deepens.

Earlier this month, after government banned a protest meeting organised by 23 mainly UDF-affiliated organisations in the Cape Town city hall, the PFP quickly ar-



**PFP's Boraine . . . urgent appeal**

ranged another meeting with a similar theme and invited speakers from many of the 23 organisations whose own rally was prohibited. The move was seen as both a challenge to the authorities and a determined effort to ensure that the right to peaceful protest was maintained at least at some level.

As it turned out, there was no official UDF speaker at the PFP meeting and relatively few UDF supporters in the audience. UDF patron, Allan Boesak, was invited to speak, but declined, although his close friend and confidant, UCT religious studies professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, spoke, as did Western Province Council of Churches leader Lionel Louw. Most of the 11 organisations and individuals represented on the PFP platform were probably closer to the UDF than the PFP.

Out of the limelight, co-operation is also growing. The PFP unrest monitoring group is winning acceptance in coloured and black communities and the relatively radical stance of the PFP youth wing in the western Cape has ensured acceptance in UDF cir-

cles. The PFP youth group was one of the 23 organisations whose meeting was banned. PFP MPCs Molly Blackburn and Di Bishop have for years been accepted in UDF-linked communities.

So far the overt moves for co-operation have all come from the PFP.

At the PFP protest meeting, federal executive chairman Alex Boraine (who at the time was acting leader of the party) made an "urgent and passionate appeal" for unity among apartheid's opponents. Boraine said he did not see the UDF as an opponent of the PFP and would welcome closer ties.

Villa-Vicencio, on the other hand, was critical of PFP perceptions of the dynamics of South African politics and warned that the party risked being absorbed into white capitalist power politics.

The significance of the meeting, however, was that the PFP and UDF-orientated speakers were sharing a platform and that the bickering between them was relatively innocuous.

Boraine later told the *FM* that Boesak's initial response to the invitation to speak at the meeting had been positive, but he turned it down after further consideration.

It is clear that ties with the PFP is an explosive issue in the UDF. It is a problem that Boraine acknowledges. He believes that because of the diversity of views among UDF affiliates, it is far more difficult for leaders of the organisation to publicly favour positions which are unpopular in certain UDF circles. He says he has had encouraging approaches behind the scenes from UDF supporters and officials.

"I wish to place on record that we are determined to try to work towards closer co-operation, a deeper understanding of positions, goals and strategies and will continue to work for these things all the time in whatever we do," Boraine says.

The PFP does not believe its strategy of participation in Parliament puts it in competition with extra-parliamentary opposition groups. The party is also aware that the UDF has borne the brunt of government's strong-arm tactics while the PFP has escaped lightly, says Boraine.

"For this reason it is perhaps understandable that we are more positive in our overtures to the UDF," says Boraine. He says he is aware of the feeling in some UDF circles that the PFP is trying to "take over," but this is not so. "We acknowledge that we are just a small part of the overall opposition to apartheid in South Africa," he says. ■



## POLITICAL COMMENTARY

By DAVID BRAUN

# Leaning on the homelands plan

The flurry of high-level contacts between South Africa and the various homelands in recent weeks has given rise to some interesting pointers.

It is now apparent just how much value Pretoria is still placing on the homelands as an essential part of the solution to the question of accommodating black political aspirations, and how much of the Government's negotiations for a new constitution have been pitched in this direction.

Secondly, it is becoming clear that Pretoria is leaning closer and closer to the concepts of confederation and federation as a means to entrench minority, and especially white, sovereignty.

President Botha's diary has of late been heavily taken up with these matters.

### \* PRETORIA 'SUMMIT'

This week he met the leaders of the self-governing homelands in Pretoria at a "summit" to discuss constitutional and other matters.

Last week there was the summit between President Botha and the leaders of the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei).

A statement released afterwards hinted at moves towards what could ultimately become President Botha's long-cherished dream — a formal confederation of South African states.

In recent months, Mr Botha has been visiting the various homelands for various reasons.

The latest was the visit to the Transkei on Tuesday to officially say farewell to President Kaiser Matanzima, who retires next year.

Shortly after he became Prime Minister, Mr Botha began promoting the development of a confederation of Southern African states that would "co-operate in all matters of common concern and share responsibility for the development of the subcontinent". The preliminary structures for such a dispensation have since been created.

By the end of this year 50 multilateral and regional bodies had been established to establish regional co-operation between South Africa and the TBVC countries.

So far in 1985, there have been 94 multilateral, 21 regional and 63 bilateral get-togethers, making on average one meeting every two days of the year.

These consultations sometimes include the private sector and several are held formally on a ministerial basis.

A total of 38 Cabinet Ministers serve on the Multilateral Development Council of Ministers, the principal multilateral body.

The nine multilateral technical committees deal with virtually every

area of socio-economic development, including agriculture and environment affairs, industries, tourism, transport, telecommunications, health, and welfare, manpower, education, urban development and housing, judicial matters and financial relations.

The main thrust of multilateral co-operation, according to a recent statement by SA and the TBVC countries is an informal joint approach to addressing mutual issues, the creation of personal bonds, and a new, non-bureaucratic way of solving problems.

President Botha appeared to move even closer towards confederation when he opened Parliament in January.

A decision had been taken, he said to extend co-operation with the independent states within the multilateral dispensation at a level in which the governments concerned are given a say regarding actions by South Africa and vice versa.

With regard to self-governing states, Mr Botha said that while independence would not be forced upon anyone, there would be increased co-operation within collective structures.

In August, in his Rubicon speech, Mr Botha squashed speculation that the Government was to scrap the homelands policy.

He said he still believed in the participation of all the South African communities on matters of common concern, that there should be structures to reach this goal.

"I firmly believe that the granting and acceptance of independence by various black peoples within the context of their own statehood, represents a material part of the solution."

The recent summits and Mr Botha's homelands tour clearly indicate that the President is working hard to show progress on this.

No exact blueprint is known, and, as the nuts and bolts of a confederation still have to be negotiated with all the units involved, there may not be one.

However, sources close to the Government believe the end result may involve a form of confederation of the independent homelands, the self-governing states, the white coloured and Indian own affairs administrations, urban black "city states", and possibly even regional units such as an integrated kwaZulu/Natal.

The system is intended to work on the twin principles of maximum sovereignty for each unit, with multilateral co-operation through various structures and possibly some form of overall supreme council.

The matters of mutual concern would include not only those already handled by the current multilateral dispensation, but would include regional defence and foreign policy.



Krige

Botha



# Govt rethinks

# constitution

CAT Times 30/11/85

3044

**PRETORIA. — A series of constitutional options are to be drawn up as a matter of urgency by the Government to be presented to all leaders in favour of negotiation and peaceful change in South Africa.**

This was confirmed in Pretoria last night by a senior spokesman for the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, said earlier he had asked the Minister, Mr Chris Heunis, to launch an investigation into "concrete possible options for further negotiation with all leaders seeking a peaceful solution for South Africa".

## Pretoria meeting

Mr Botha was speaking after a meeting with five of the Republic's six self-governing homelands at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, which focused on constitutional reform.

Last week, the State President presided at a summit meeting of the leaders of South Africa and its four independent homelands, at which a range of important constitutional matters were also discussed.

After yesterday's meeting, at which only the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, was absent, Mr Botha said: "Consensus on basic elements to underline future negotiated structures ordering South African society was reached."

Approached for further details on the department's Presidential brief, Mr Heunis's spokesman, Mr Neville Krige, said it could correctly be assumed that a range of "embryo" constitutional options would be drawn up by officials.

The options, which would be formulated as a matter of urgency, included a form of federation, among others, and would be presented for comment to, and hopefully, subsequent negotiation, by "all leaders" in South Africa.

Mr Krige said the term "leaders"

included politicians across the spectrum, independent and non-independent homeland leaders, leading businessmen, clergymen, and representatives of all other interested parties.

He pointed out, however, that the government's standpoint was that it was prepared to talk only to those in favour of peaceful negotiations and non-violent change.

He emphasised that the envisaged negotiations on the "constitutional options" should not be seen as a national convention.

The objective was to work towards a "just, equitable and agreeable" system for South Africa.

The South African Government has repeatedly stated that the constitution, introduced in 1983 and in terms of which coloured people and Indians have decision-making input at the highest level, although with white domination, is not a final solution.

## Common citizenship

Attempts to find a constitutional solution for urban blacks in "white" South Africa, initiated with the appointment of a special Cabinet committee in February 1983 to negotiate with black leaders, has become a priority for the Government.

Independent and non-independent homelands are now being officially included in the spectrum of negotiation, along the lines of a common South African citizenship.

The State President has obliquely referred in public speeches recently to a federal solution for South Africa's political problems although he has shied away from actually using the term. — Sapa

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He emphasised that the envisaged negotiations on the "constitutional options" should not be seen as a national convention:

### **"Just" system**

Mr Krige said the department would be drawing up a number of possible future structures of government for South Africa for presentation to the interested parties. Their comment would be awaited and the next step was "negotiation".

The objective was to work towards a "just, equitable and agreeable" system for South Africa.

The Government has repeatedly stated that the "new" constitution, introduced in 1983 and in terms of which coloured people and Asians have decision-making power at the highest level — although with white domination — is not a final solution.

Attempts to find a constitutional solution for urban blacks in "white" South Africa have become a priority for the Government, with independent and non-independent homelands now being officially included in the spectrum of negotiation, along the lines of a common South African citizenship.

Mr Botha has obliquely referred in public speeches recently to a federal solution for South Africa's political problems, although he has shied away from using the term.

With emphasis on the geographic boundaries separating South Africa's various population and cultural groups, Mr Botha has committed himself to citizenship for all in an undivided country. — Sapa.

# **Urgent' reform**

**Options on constitutional change to be given**

**to SA leaders**

**plan**

30/11/85

30/11/85

4/11/85



# Why revolution is not around the corner

CAPE TIMES  
30/11/85  
304A

IT IS rare that a year graduates to the status of "crisis" year or "watershed year" before it is over. 1985 seems to be such a year.

In the just published prospectus of the 1986 Summer School of the University of Cape Town the following course is listed: "Understanding 1985: A Crisis Examined". It will be taught by an outstanding historian, Prof Colin Bundy, co-author of a forthcoming work "Hidden Struggles" on black political resistance.

Compared with previous crisis years — 1899, 1915, 1960 and 1976 — 1985 ranks in a class of its own. It is no longer a Boer-Brit struggle with blacks as passive onlookers. And it is no longer blacks rising up against some elements of white domination. The fight today is against the government and the entire system of rule. "Apartheid must go before we go back to school," is the common cry among those who boycott schools.

With rebellion sweeping the townships, many people are assuming that the South African state is confronted with a massive political crisis, that its breakdown is imminent and ultimate downfall not far away.

## Misconception

This is an assumption which has been reinforced both concretely and theoretically. On the one hand there is the impact of television and life in the townships. Because the state wanted to demonstrate that it was a democracy of sorts and not ungovernable it allowed a degree of media coverage of the unrest that would make any authoritarian regime shudder. Watching the images of revolution leap from the television screen every night people easily fell into the trap of believing that images add up to real revolution.

Participants in or close observers of the unrest within the townships have also been imbued with a sense of imminent revolution. A top coloured educationalist writing a regular column in *Rapport*, recently explained that the whole world of black schoolchildren was to a large extent that of the township in which they lived. Consequently, it is easy for them to believe that the entire country is ungovernable once unrest has broken out in their particular township. Behind many a school or university boycott lay the tragic misconception that the sacrifice will not be all that great — that the state was close to collapsing.

It was easy to believe that "No Education before Liberation" was a reliable, short-term goal.

Scholars and journalists alike have also come under the illusion of imminent revolution. They are influenced by a common political wisdom which finds its theoretical foundation in the studies of revolution by scholars such as Chalmers Johnson, Charles



## Pattern of politics

By HERMANN GILIOME



The Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee  
... not cruel but weak governments fall.

Tilly and Ted Gurr published in the 1960s and early 1970s.

In a recent major study which has been generally hailed as a new departure, Theda Skocpol summarizes the major misconception shared by those scholars. They believe that revolution starts when the majority gets more and more disgruntled. Once an existing government lost its legitimacy — general support based on consent and/or the sense of the population that the state is supplying an essential service — a turning point is reached. The state cannot effectively repress for long disapproving or disconcerted majorities.

Skocpol convincingly argues that these views are naïve. She comments in "States and Social Revolution": "They are belied in the most obvious fashion by the prolonged survival of such blatantly repressive and domestically illegitimate regimes as the South African."

She concludes that even after a great loss of legitimacy the state can remain quite stable — if the police and the army remain coherent and effective in controlling the population and the state continues to collect taxes and police and military recruits. The state must also be autonomous in the sense that it cannot be brought down by a colonial power (Algeria) or a neighbouring patron (as Rhodesia was by South Africa).

How does the South African state rate on these scores?

When the state of emergency was declared, General Johan Coetzee declared that it is not

cruel but weak governments which fall. We may be offended by such a statement but as a historical rule of thumb it is probably correct. And we may be repelled by the conduct on some occasions of the security forces but no one can deny that they are controlling the black population or that the situation has never once looked like getting out of hand in the sense of the police being forced to flee.

The state is experiencing no difficulty in finding police and military recruits. In the past year attacks on the lives and property of black policemen have received much attention; hardly noticed is the fact that the police have succeeded without any effort in attracting the required 600 new black recruits this year.

The same is true of the standing army — applications, both white and black, are several times higher than vacancies. Much has been made of the 8 000 conscripts which this year have failed to show up, but this figure is open to doubt and the Defence Force is in any case confident that it can ease out conscription in the foreseeable future.

With similar media images of angry crowds and turbulent priests the Western world tends to consider South Africa as yet another Iran. However, the revolution in Iran was not brought about by the ayatollahs and their fanatical followers, but by the fact that the army and the police refused to take action against the crowds.

In this respect, it is well to remember Alan Paton's observation, expressed 15 years ago, that "as long as the police

force continues to be able to recruit African policemen, a strata that would be the first object of hate from the general population, there can be no hope of revolution".

Furthermore, the state is experiencing no problem in collecting sufficient revenue. Revenue gathered so far this year is considerably higher than for the same period last year. Over the last seven years the rate of growth in state expenditure is at least twice as high in South Africa as that in the US. This may be bad for the economy but is hardly an indication of a state under serious pressure to find funds.

What we have in South Africa is not a revolutionary crisis but some other crises. We obviously have instability. But does it go beyond what someone once called "violent equilibrium"?

There is a diplomatic crisis — South Africa is much further along the road of international isolation.

There is an economic crisis of profitability and lack of investment resulting in spiralling black unemployment.

## Moral crisis

There is a constitutional crisis — with the government's initiatives (tri-cameral Parliament, regional services council and confederation) increasingly blocked and thwarted.

And whites face a moral crisis in that it is ever more difficult to live with clean hands and easy conscience. But these are not the crises that bring a state down.

For blacks there is a different crisis — that of living with dashed hopes and shattered illusions. After a year of turmoil they have to face up to the cruel but wise words of John Kenneth Galbraith in his "Anatomy of Power": "Nothing so serves the military or corporate power as the belief of its opponents that they have accomplished something by holding a meeting, giving a speech, or issuing a manifesto."

Skocpol ends her book with a note of hope for those who cannot live with the idea of a durable yet unreformed South African state. She writes: "A modern social revolution would probably have to flow gradually, not cataclysmically, out of a long series of non-reformist reforms, accomplished by mass-based political movements struggling to democratize every major institution from the economy to the political parties, army and civil bureaucracy."

This is a struggle in which all — white and black — can participate.

This road has been pioneered in the last decade by brave workers and white students in building up the highly democratic new trade union movement. But the very reason for their success was their realization that toppling the state is not on the agenda at this stage of South African history.

(Hermann Giliomee is a professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town).



# 'Wise men's' visit catalyst for change?

FRANS ESTERHUYSE,  
Political Staff

THE new Commonwealth initiative could lead to a major breakthrough for South Africa in international relations and in its battle to avert tougher sanctions.

But much would depend on the Government's response to the work of the Commonwealth group of "eminent persons" which is to study ways of finding peace for the Republic.

This is the impression of the Progressive Federal Party's national chairman, Mr Colin Eglin, after he and PFP leader Dr F van Zyl

Slabbert visited Britain, Australia and New Zealand.

Mr Eglin told Weekend Argus in an interview this week that the Commonwealth group could become a catalyst for starting effective negotiation between conflicting groups in South Africa and for helping the country to come to grips with some of its crucial problems.

If the Commonwealth group succeeded in its task South Africa could be let off the hook to some extent and the threat of tougher sanctions could fall away.

"It may just be that they can help to get groups closer together and that they, as an

outside agency, can act as a catalyst. I believe their work could be helpful to South Africa," Mr Eglin said.

The South African Government had been correct in adopting an "open-door approach" to the Commonwealth group.

His impression in New Zealand, Australia and Britain was that the governments of all three countries hoped that the situation in South Africa would change to the point where in six months' time they would not be called on to consider tougher sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Eglin said the sanctions debate overseas had now developed its own momentum.

"For a while at least one must anticipate that sanctions will be applied with increasing severity, irrespective of the results that sanctions produce."

The two main issues now were that apartheid had to go and that negotiations for constructing a post-apartheid South Africa had to start. The debate on South Africa had shifted away from a simplistic condemnation of apartheid.

In his visits abroad Mr Eglin had found a rejection of apartheid but a tendency towards a pragmatic approach to the question of what system should replace South Africa's present system once apartheid goes.

"There is a broad-based recognition that South Africa has social, economic and political problems which will not melt away when apartheid goes," Mr Eglin

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304A



Govt drafting constitution

# Is this the new deal for SA?

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30/11/85

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

The Government is drafting a new constitution which shares power with blacks in a geographical confederation. The constitution is being negotiated with elected black leaders, with the Botha administration finally deciding not to wait for other moderate black leaders to come forward.

But the door, say Government sources, is still open for others to table up offers to be part of the negotiations — and these include the likes of Nelson Mandela, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African National Congress (ANC).

After a meeting yesterday with homeland leaders, President Botha announced "consensus on basic elements to underline future negotiated structures ordering South African society" had been reached.

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning was requested at yesterday's meeting to investigate "concrete possible options for further negotiations with all leaders seeking a peaceful future".

A meeting with the leaders of the independent former homelands was held in Pretoria last week and these mechanisms were discussed.

## Consensus reached

Opening yesterday's meeting, Mr Botha said that, as a result of the work of the Cabinet Committee investigating black political aspirations, consensus had already been reached on many important issues.

"I believe it is possible at this stage to draft common principles that could form the basis for further negotiations on South Africa's constitutional road to the future," he said.

Elsewhere in his speech Mr Botha said he was convinced the universally acceptable principles embodied in the preamble to the





# new deal for SA?

5 Jan 30/11/85

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"I believe it is possible at this stage to draft common principles that could form the basis for further negotiations on South Africa's constitutional road to the future," he said.

Elsewhere in his speech Mr Botha said he was convinced the universally acceptable principles embodied in the preamble to the existing constitution and his announcements on black political rights since January 25 "form an excellent foundation on which to start building a negotiated future of co-operative co-existence".

He said decisions taken during 1985 regarding the political rights of blacks had been clear and far-reaching. Some of the principles involved could be summarised as:

- An undivided South Africa, subject to the right to secession given to any national state wishing to exercise it, and the autonomy of the national states.
- One collective South African citizenship for all who formed part of the Republic.
- Universal franchise for all within demo-

● To Page 2, Col 8 ●





# UCT convocation expresses concern

*CAPE TIMES 30/11/85*  
*30/11/85*  
Education Reporter

THE University of Cape Town's convocation has voted overwhelmingly in favour of a motion endorsing a statement of deep concern over the national crisis and calling for several reforms, including a "new and just constitution".

Only seven members of the convocation voted against the motion on Thursday.

The motion, expressing support for a statement released on October 14, was signed by UCT's chancellor, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of council Mr L Abrahams, vice-chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders, chairman of staff association Professor L Nassimbeni and SRC president Mr Glen Goosen.

Mr Justice P Tebbutt, president of the convocation, said yesterday the impression may have been gained that those members who attended the meeting and voted against a motion — which condemned "the instigation of all acts of violence, indoctrination or intimidation which may prevent students, school pupils and members of staff at teaching institutions from continuing with educational programmes" — were expressing approval of "violence, indoctrination and intimidation".

"This is not the case. It was clear from the debate that acts of this kind were condemned by those present. The clause expressing condemnation of violence, indoctrination and intimidation was part of a wider motion which several speakers felt was vague in its terms.

"The motion was defeated after an earlier motion expressing support for the statement issued on October 14 ... was adopted by the overwhelming majority of those present at the meeting."

Dr Saunders said yesterday that reports in some newspapers and on the SABC may have given the impression that those present at the meeting supported violence, indoctrination and intimidation. The reverse is the case."

CART TINKS 2/12/85 306A

# Big Business link-up in reform move

JOHANNESBURG. — In a determined effort to end the political and economic crises in South Africa, the two Big Business establishments — Afrikaans and English — have combined to demand a speeding-up of reform, the Sunday Star reported.

Mr P W Botha is understood to have received a delegation last week which included Mr Harry Oppenheimer, Anglo American's Mr Gavin Relly, Dr Fred du Plessis

of Sanlam, former head of Gencor Dr Wim de Villiers and Dr Anton Rupert, who runs the Rembrandt empire.

The group was led by members of the SA Foundation.

Speaking on their behalf, Mr Relly delivered a blunt "adapt or die" message: Speed up reform and abolish apartheid or South Africa will face sanctions and disinvestment.

Giving backing to his words was a powerful co-

alition of major public corporations in America, Europe and South Africa who have set themselves the task of abolishing apartheid.

The common approach by both English and Afrikaner businessmen to demand change was a unique move.

Afrikaner businessmen have always been solidly behind the government and until recently not even members of the English business establishment were will-

ing to step out of line.

Both groups have previously attended business summits called by the government. English-speaking businessmen have since gone as far as expressing their concern at the government's policies by meeting the ANC.

On the surface, Afrikaner business support was implicit until Dr Rupert recently said mistakes had been made in the past, that a "man of vision" was needed and that all should join

forces to build a new South Africa.

Official sources will not admit it, but the pressure exerted by the business community and overseas critics is seen to have had swift practical results with last week's announcement that the government is taking urgent steps to draw up a series of embryo constitutional options which will be discussed by the authorities and all "legitimate" leaders who eschew violence. — Sapa



# Sabrita calls for dialogue

2/12/85

Business Day Reporter

THE SA government should initiate a dialogue with political leaders of all races and persuasions in an effort to further a peaceful solution to this country's political, economic and social problems, says the South Africa Britain Trade Association (Sabrita).

This message was contained in the Commonwealth's Nassau agreement. But, it adds, British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe has said in Parliament that nothing could be less constructive than disengagement in the present situation in SA.

Sabrita intends to renew its efforts in 1986 to develop the commercial and economic relations between the two countries.

"We believe that by doing so we shall be contributing constructively to improving SA's own situation and the prospect for peaceful change," says Colin Brant, Consul General and Director of Trade Promotions, in Sabrita's Christmas bulletin.

- Despite the Nassau agreement, the association means to continue its official activities for the development of trade.

# Blacks in govt. Law changes set for 1987

PAUL BELL  
Political Correspondent

THE Cabinet is unlikely to introduce constitutional legislation before 1987 on the inclusion of blacks at central government level, but some form of co-option could be negotiated as an intermediary step.

Sources close to government disclosed this yesterday after President P.W. Botha had met five homeland leaders for talks on Friday.

Botha announced after the meeting that he had asked Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis to investigate "concrete possible options for further negotiation with all leaders seeking a peaceful solution for South Africa".

Yesterday, departmental spokesman Neville Krige confirmed that a number of possible future structures of government — "embryo constitutional options" — for SA would be drawn up for presentation to black leaders.

Their comment would be awaited and the next step was "negotiation".

Another source said government realised, however, that the situation was urgent and had the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning working on proposals for consideration by the Cabinet.

"There is no specific deadline, but we would hope to have legislation — or at least certain guidelines or principles we could put into law — ready, possibly by the middle of next year.

"But we don't see such legislation actually available for introduction to Parliament next year.

"The principles have to be cleared with black leaders before legislation is introduced, we would hope, by early 1987. It is possible that blacks could be co-opted before then if government so decides."



Hope for faster growth in future

# Cement men push on in lean times

WINNIE GRAHAM

SA's cement producers were bringing new plants on stream when demand had dropped by 16%, capacity utilisation was down to between 60% and 65% and the industry was heavily borrowed, according to Blue Circle financial director Peter Kett.

But, he said, the industry expected to grow "even faster" once solutions to the country's problems had been found.

Addressing the Construction Writers Club in Johannesburg, he said the industry had "just about bottomed out" but could not look for a recovery in 1986.

"A series of disastrous political developments this year has kept confidence down," he said. "But the cement industry still has total confidence in the country.

"We don't see the end of the world round the corner and I believe that whatever the political colour of the next government, the country's need for cement will grow."

He blamed the untimely development of additional cement production capacity on the industry's lack of foresight. To break even the industry had to operate at a capacity utilisation of 70%. When the figure rose above that, producers showed profits. When it dropped be-

low, the industry lost money.

SA had a cement production capacity of 11-million tons of cement, he said. Last year the country used 8-million tons.

The growth of the cement industry could be linked to the gross domestic fixed investment. In 1981 it had grown by an unprecedented 40% and it had held steady for two or three years.

Discussing the industry's recent battle with cement importers, he said SA producers were not afraid of competition, but what had alarmed them was the degree to which foreign exporters were prepared to undercut prices to buy a share of the market.

Japan, for instance, sold cement at \$54,45 a ton domestically, yet it was prepared to cut the price to \$20 a ton in its drive to capture the SA market.

He said: "Japan has a cement capacity of 140-million tons, and a domestic market for 70-million tons. Its 70-million ton surplus is for export."

Had SA not had a local cement industry, he added, the price of cement on the Reef would be R150 a ton instead of the R80 being paid now.

2/12/85  
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## Blacks 'not ready' for talks

Carl T. Mills 2/12/68 Staff Reporter 30644

IF blacks did not soon "take courage" and begin publicly to debate the future of South Africa, the government "would probably be forced to go ahead on its own", the National Party MP for Heldekruin, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in an article in yesterday's edition of the Afrikaans newspaper Rapport.

Dr Van der Merwe said the government had declared itself willing to negotiate with black leaders who rejected violence and that it had cleared many stumbling-blocks on the path to negotiation.

"But time and again new problems are created by blacks," he said. "Eventually, one is practically forced to conclude that blacks are not yet ready for negotiation."



# 'True black leaders won't talk until apartheid ends'

## Political Correspondent

THE Government was warned today that no credible black leadership would negotiate with it on constitutional development within the apartheid structure.

The warning came from Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

He clashed sharply with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, who challenged him on an earlier statement that any efforts to have a new constitutional system must not exclude "vital political actors with credibility".

This followed the announcement at the weekend that a series of "embryo" constitutional options were being drawn up to be presented to all leaders in

favour of negotiation and peaceful change.

There are growing indications of Government impatience because many black leaders have so far not been willing to negotiate on constitutional change.

The Government has now decided to go ahead and negotiate with elected leaders who are prepared to do so on the possibilities for a race-geographic confederation.

The clash between Dr Slabbert and Mr Heunis took place shortly before they were due to meet in Pretoria today to discuss constitutional matters.

Mr Heunis claimed South Africa had in the past five years been involved in a dynamic process of confidential negotiation and the public implementa-

tion of an impressive list of policy adaptations.

He challenged Dr Slabbert to furnish him with details of the people he proposed should take part in the constitutional negotiations.

Dr Slabbert said today that Mr Heunis was being facetious.

"By now he, and the Government, should realise that no credible black leadership is going to come forward and negotiate with the Government until freedom of association has been restored in South Africa.

"In other words, circumstances must be created in which people can freely support organisations and choose leaders they want to represent their interests.

"The Government must repeal legislation preventing this.

"Until it does this it is pointless to declare piously that it wants to negotiate.

"Only under these circumstances will it be possible for the Government to identify the leaders and to enter into negotiation with them.

"From my experience of talking across a wide spectrum this year I know that no black leader of any standing will come forward to negotiate a new position in the old apartheid structure."

Dr Slabbert said he was happy to provide Mr Heunis with the names of people who said they were prepared to talk under new circumstances and the Government could then decide if it was prepared to do something about it.

Cape Times 3/12/85

306A

# Whitbread: City may lose stop-over status

By ROGER WILLIAMS  
Chief Reporter

MR Samuel Whitbread, chairman of the company sponsoring the 1985/6 Round-the-World Race, implied in an interview yesterday that Cape Town may have to be dropped as a stop-over port in any further global race — if South Africa's internal situation deteriorates.

"It's for South Africa to decide whether or not we call here again," he said.

"We have always been well received in Cape Town and we would like to continue calling here. But we will obviously have to look at the situation in South Africa when a decision is taken on the next race, and on whether we will continue as sponsor of this unique event with which we have been proud to be associated."

Mr Whitbread, the fourth-generation chairman of his company, founded by Samuel Whitbread in 1742, has arrived in Cape Town to see the start in Table Bay at 11am tomorrow of the second leg of the race, to Auckland.

If the south-easter prevails it could be a spectacular start — particularly if the six maxi racers get away under their massive spinnakers.

The fleet will head along the Peninsula coast towards Cape Point.

The race organizers appealed to spectator craft to keep well clear of the competing boats and to keep out of the "no-go" area of more than four cables square, around the start-line near Table Bay breakwater.

● Skipper "Padda" Kuttel of the American-registered maxi Portatan,

which retired from the first leg after being dismantled, announced yesterday the boat would revert to private entry status under its former name, Atlantic Privateer.

As the former New York sponsors had "not complied with the agreed conditions of sponsorship" the agreement had been cancelled, he said.

The Belgian maxi Cote d'Or, skippered by French ace Eric Tabarly, is likely to start the next leg on the same basis as Portatan, faced with retirement from the first leg because a new and lighter keel has been fitted in Cape Town — with consequent change of the yacht's original handicap rating for the race.

● An Australian-based company with South African interests has announced it will sponsor the veteran Springbok yachtsman Bertie Reed in the 1986 Mariner's Wharf Challenge Singlehanded South Atlantic Race, starting in Hout Bay in February.

The race, the first of its kind, is for yachts of the Miura class and the sponsorship name given to the yacht to be sailed by Reed is Seaboard Energy.

The sponsors are an international company specializing in energy-conservation equipment. In its announcement the company said it was proud to be backing "the best singlehanded yachtsman in the world".

The course for the Mariner's Wharf Challenge has not been finally decided. Originally the finishing-point was to have been Punta del Este in Uruguay, but problems have arisen and a new course, round the island of St Helena and back, is being considered.



# ANC says Afrikaans will stay

C-7  
3/12/85

304A

THE surprise of the week for readers of the Afrikaans press was an assurance from a senior spokesman of the ANC in London that under a black majority government, Afrikaans would remain one of South Africa's official languages.

What is more, the spokesman apparently told Chris Louw of the Vaderland's London staff that Afrikaans language rights would be "protected in all respects". The ANC's viewpoint, he said, was that Afrikaans and English would remain the official languages, but people would be encouraged to learn to speak at least one black language.

Mr Louw found the Pan Africanist Congress less sympathetic towards Afrikaans. "Azania," said the PAC spokesman, "is one country, and its people must grow into one Azanian nation."

In a cautious editorial, the Vaderland said the ANC spokesman's views seemed "almost too reasonable to be true". Although it did not doubt that the spokesman and others in the ANC felt that way, it was improbable that this reflected the unanimous sentiments of the ANC.

Even with that reservation, the Vaderland considered the statement important, because it showed that in the ANC, as elsewhere, the "walls of implacability" were crumbling. Once such a process began, it developed a momentum of its own.



**James  
McClurg**

reviews the  
**Afrikaans Press**

Nothing will change, says new super-union

# Cosatu rejects federal plan as fraudulent

THE 450 000-strong Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) has rejected the proposed federal system of government as "fraudulent" and undemocratic.

The general secretary of the newly-launched body, Jay Naidoo, told a Press conference yesterday that member unions would continue to demand a unitary, non-racial and democratic state.

In its resolutions, the congress said the intention of the proposed federal system was to maintain power and control in the hands of the present minority and perpetuate the present system.

Cosatu resolutions also criticised homeland administrations for thwarting establishment of a unitary state and for oppressive practices against trade unions.

Cosatu has warned that its

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

unions will organise in plants in the homelands, despite measures prohibiting this.

It rejects lower wages and poorer working conditions for workers in the homelands and says it plans to initiate a national campaign — in alliance with other progressive organisations and trade unions in SA — for a legally enforced national minimum wage for all SA workers.

This will be done by fighting in every industry — through worker action and negotiation — for a minimum living wage, to be determined by the central executive.

Other resolutions include initiation of a "relentless campaign" for the removal of security legislation which denies workers rights to freedom of association, assembly and picketing for strike action.

It also plans to campaign against police and state intervention in strikes or industrial disputes.

Another demand is the right of trade unions to establish strike funds and to fight for the removal of the designation of essential services so all workers can enjoy equal rights.

Cosatu has repeated its call for the scrapping of the migrant labour system by ending pass laws and influx control. Workers and their families should be allowed to live where they wish, the Cosatu statement says.

Cosatu also plans to boycott all Johannesburg's centenary celebrations and organise an alternative programme to "highlight 100 years of exploitation and oppression in Johannesburg and in particular in the mining industry".

● See page 6

## Federation 'will fuel pressure on apartheid'

THE Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) would increase pressure on government to dismantle apartheid and negotiate a new constitution, PFP manpower spokesman Alex Boraine said yesterday.

Boraine said it should come as

no surprise that there were militant political overtones in Cosatu's declarations.

● See Page 6

If government denied political rights to blacks, it was inevitable other avenues would be used to

give expression to both political and economic demands, he said.

Federated Chamber of Industries chief executive Johan van Zyl said the FCI was committed to reinforcing the integrity of industrial-relations bargaining and had invited the new federation to talks.



## Homeland leaders still in the dark

HOMELAND leaders are as much in the dark as other black political figures and the white electorate over government's constitutional intentions, despite the rounds of talks between them and President P.W. Botha in recent weeks.

Sources close to those who attended last Friday's meeting between Botha and five non-independent homeland leaders said Botha underlined to the leaders his commitment to reform, and offered a

PAUL BELL  
Political Correspondent

glimpse into the future, but confined actual undertakings to promises already made public.

Botha's statement after the meeting said: "Consensus on basic elements to underline future negotiated structures."

● To Page 2

## No new promises from P.W.

ordering South African society was reached".

Homeland sources said these elements included legislation on black citizenship and influx control. Black inclusion on the President's Council was also discussed.

But, the sources said, specific principles and structures for constitutional development did not come under discussion.

This has been borne out in statements since Friday that government has only now embarked on drawing up proposals for a range of "embryo constitutions".

"Nothing new was put to the leaders on Friday," said one source. "Obviously, Botha doesn't want to propose something which could lead to a stalemate."

There are also splits among the homeland leaders on the type of constitution which should be adopted. Some will opt for a federation, others will insist on a unitary state.

But they have clearly been given the impression that blacks outside the independent homelands will be drawn into

some form of federal structure, while the independent homelands can decide on whether to take part through a complementary confederal structure.

It is also clear that, before these leaders examine the constitutional options which Botha has promised to lay before them for comment, he will have to assure them that a broad range of other black leaders have also been extended the same privilege.

The homeland leaders are apparently keen not to be sucked into a situation in which government consults them alone, leaving them isolated, responsible for, and acquiescent in a new constitution which could be rejected by urban blacks.

Nor can Friday's session be regarded as one of negotiation. It is understood that at least one chief minister raised the matter of whether the session was a negotiating one or not, seeking the assurance — which he was given — that it was not.

## SA Perm lashes out at new Act

to comment on the issue and the other major societies have responded cautiously to the attack, saying they would act on legal opinion.

Kemney refers to British and Australian building societies where a similar

vote to convert it to a stockmarket listed public company and seize ownership of its reserves".

● From Page 1

## 'Adapt or die' talks denied

304A BUSDAY 3/12/85  
DR Wim de Villiers, leader of a group of influential businessmen alleged to have given State President P W Botha an "adapt or die" message last week, today denied that this was the case.

Reacting to a Johannesburg Sunday newspaper report, De Villiers said:

"As a member of the party of South African businessmen who recently held talks in London with a group of American businessmen to discuss ways and means in which they could assist initiatives

by SA businessmen ... my attention has been drawn to a report which claimed the delegation visited the State President to deliver an 'adapt or die' message.

"As leader of the group ... I must state emphatically ... this was not the case at all; our cordial meeting with the State President involved no confrontation ...

"We discussed useful initiatives which might be taken in a spirit of co-operation in the interests of South Africa." -- Sapa.



3/16/85  
Federalism not  
only option  
says official

PAUL BELL  
Political Correspondent

IT WOULD be wrong to single out a federal structure as the only possible model for constitutional development, a spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning said yesterday.

Liaison services chief Neville Krige was referring to a statement made by him after President P W Botha's meeting with the leaders of the non-independent homelands last Friday.

Krige said he had been "approached for an exposition of what the brief to our department entailed, namely to undertake investigations into concrete possible constitutional options".

"I explained that this in fact meant that this department could not bind itself to one constitutional model but that investigations were being conducted into aspects and elements of various constitutional models and structures, with the aim of developing options for SA which were compatible with the Republic's unique problems...

"To single out one specific option... as the only possibility is wrong," he said.

# Wise men plan visit for 'early next year'

Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The Commonwealth's "eminent persons" group, formed to promote peaceful negotiation in South Africa, could visit the country next month.

All seven members of the team will be meeting in London from December 12 to 14 to discuss what they hope to achieve.

They are expected to have detailed discussions with Britain's Commonwealth officials and Foreign Office experts on Southern Africa and with South African ambassador Dr Denis Worrall.

## "SA willing"

The Archbishop of Canada, the Most Reverend Edward Scott, a member of the group, said the visit "could be in late January or early February next year".

"The indications are that the South African Government will be willing to allow the group to visit South Africa."

Archbishop Scott spoke about the Commonwealth group at a briefing in London on this week's church leaders' meeting in Harare.

"I believe it is important to find any possible way of opening doors for dialogue. I also believe that the economic infrastructure must be preserved as far as possible."

Archbishop Scott said he hoped to glean much about the present situation in the country from South African church leaders at this week's meeting in Harare.

## Other members

Other members of the Commonwealth Group are Lord Anthony Barber, Mr Malcolm Fraser, Dame Nita Barrow, Mr Sardar Singh, General Olusegun Obasanjo and Mr John Maledela.

The Argus political correspondent reports that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Pretoria today that the Government's attitude to the group would depend largely on its terms of reference.

He pointed out that the group had not yet met and had therefore not taken any decisions.



# The businessman's role in present-day SA

3041A

BU > DAY 4/12/85

SOUTH AFRICA'S unique situation requires a concentrated and a co-ordinated effort by the politicians, the Christian churches and the private sector to resolve our problems in a meaningful way and on a long-term basis.

These three groups are vitally important to each other in this country. Not one of them can solve our real problems without the co-operation of the other two. All three of these groups have exactly the same objectives for our country — namely, peace, prosperity and fairness. There is obviously more than enough common ground for them to co-oper-

Excerpts from an address given to the SA-German Chamber of Trade and Industry by  
Finansbank's PIET LIEBENBERG



ate in the various processes of negotiation that are taking place at present.

What role, then, must we, as businessmen — as the private sector — play in the current situation in SA? May I suggest the following:

We must mind our own businesses. It is our primary function to continuously improve our management performance, reduce unnecessary waste, elevate our ethical business standards, create wealth and increase job opportunities.

We must co-ordinate and co-operate. The private sector must find a better way to co-ordinate its views, analyses and constructive criticisms on the financial and economic management of the country.

## Lacking

This suggestion must never be looked at in a political context but only in a managerial context. There is also no need to create a new organisation. The basic infrastructure is very well in place, but the proper co-ordination of proposals on macro-economic issues is lacking.

The business world, generally speaking, was quick in the past to criticise but not often so quick to co-operate with the public sector on matters of economic importance.

There are, however, clear signs of a positive change of attitude in many areas. This is to be welcomed. Both sectors need each other and there is a still greater need for even closer co-operation. We simply cannot afford an "Us versus Them" attitude in SA.

There are some SA businessmen who, by being only negative in their criticism of our country, run the risk of losing some of their credibility.

Negativism as such serves no purpose — it only aggravates the situation and should be discontinued. On the other hand, constructive, well-presented criticism always has a better chance to succeed.

The business community is probably the best agent to serve as a catalyst between the various negotiating parties, both locally and internationally. The private sector has a vast wealth of experience in this area.

In a more lighthearted vein, I thought it would be appropriate for me to point out a few home truths about negotiations.

To the best of my knowledge, not a single negotiation has ever succeeded where any one or any combination of the following applied:

- ☐ The parties to the deal did not actually talk to each other;
- ☐ Instead of direct talking the parties "negotiated" on an ad hoc basis through the media;
- ☐ Parties did not agree beforehand in very broad principle that they have enough common ground to justify serious negotiations;
- ☐ The parties started their dis-

cussions on the points of difference instead of the points of agreement;

☐ The parties did not establish beforehand each other's ability to deliver their side of any agreement that may be entered into;

☐ The real power base of each negotiating party is not involved;

☐ The individuals involved in the negotiations consider their personal positions more important than the principles that are being negotiated (the "ego" syndrome);

Business must become really active in the process of privatisation. We need a much smaller public service. Government has taken the initiative. We must aggressively follow this up.

## Encourage visits

The international image of SA can and must be improved. Again, business locally and internationally can play a major role.

At present there is a big question-mark about the credibility of the media, particularly international television crews.

Business must therefore encourage many more visits by influential foreigners to SA. My long experience in this field has been very favourable and fruitful.

Business must also consider new political structures. Traditional political party lines are disappearing quite fast. It is therefore possible to imagine some interesting political combinations to replace the all-too-familiar traditional thinking where the winner takes all.

A quote from Margaret Thatcher's statement last month is relevant: "What would be the

satisfaction for blacks in SA if they were to recover their dignity and achieve full political rights only to inherit an economic wasteland?"

Businessmen, politicians and church leaders must set an example to improve personal relationships amongst all races.

We can have ten new constitutions, but if we don't develop a style, and eventually a culture that will also change our attitudes towards one another, then our new constitutions will be worthless.

In brief summary, this is how I see our situation:

☐ The present government must be given full credit for starting a process of political reform a few years back;

☐ These reforms raised political expectations amongst the black, coloured and Asian population groups;

☐ Higher political expectations, coupled with saturation and inspired media coverage worldwide, created unrest (modern history repeating itself?);

## Bad image

☐ The situation is further complicated by temporary economic setbacks, a bad image and no clear political dispensation for (urban) blacks;

☐ SA is a country with enormous economic potential in a region that cries out for further development;

☐ SA businessmen are known for their initiative, expertise and drive, and we can play a major, positive role in turning the present negative situation into a positive future. Let's do it!

# Change urged to 'dampen violence'

4/12/85  
304A  
BUS DAY  
11:45

**RADICAL** movements such as the African National Congress, the Pan-African Congress and the United Democratic Front would dampen their violence if government made positive moves to dismantle apartheid, PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

He was addressing the South Africa Britain Trade Association (Sabrita) at a lunch in Cape Town.



Dismantling apartheid meant giving people freedom of choice to live, work, and be educated where they wanted to, he said. ● **SLABBERT**

Slabbert said foreign politicians found it difficult to define apartheid when discussing conditions for negotiation with movements such as the UDF, the ANC,

the Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo).

He was referring to his recent visits to Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Britain.

"South African apartheid has become a part of domestic politics overseas. It has now become a part of British electoral politics, for instance.

"And because of this, sanctions have developed their own momentum. If you are for sanctions, you are against apartheid. If you are against sanctions, you are for apartheid," he said.

But there was no thought of a replacement for apartheid.

"Only South Africa can supply that answer. What we need is a workable definition. It is not simply a question of domination or racism, although racism is undoubtedly a part." — Sapa.



By DIRK VAN ZYL  
Political  
Correspondent

# Embryos for a new SA constitution

FAR from the triracial, tricameral constitution implemented last year having brought finality in the constitutional sphere, South Africa is today probably undergoing its greatest period of constitutional ferment since the years immediately prior to Union in 1910.

The accent is now firmly on finding ways of bringing blacks into the constitution, as their exclusion from the present one is generally acknowledged as a patent flaw.

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning has been given a presidential instruction to look into a number of "embryo options," while a host of political, business, trade union, academic and church interest groups have expressed their preference for some or other constitutional model.

The terms being bandied about most commonly are "federation" and "confederation," with a number of academics and politicians also opting for the term "consociation."

Indications are strong that the final Government proposal will consist largely of confederal/federal elements, with a dose of consociational binding added to the mixture, and, if it could have its way, racial "groups" forming important constitutional pillars.

The Government is also increasingly leaning towards a "negotiation" stance, and says that whatever model it comes up with — and this, it says will be tailored to South Africa's "unique" circumstances — will be up for negotiation with black leaders who forswear violence as a political strategy.

It is clear, however, that such important black/non-racial interest groups as the UDF, the banned ANC, and big trade unions, such as the recently-formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), are unlikely to accept the "establishment's" probable offer of a confederal/federal mixture.

They remain firmly committed to the retention of South Africa's unitary state, with majority rule based on a non-racial "one man, one vote" universal franchise.

Their only concession, it would appear at this stage, would be towards some form of protection for "minority rights" (à la the Zimbabwean constitution?).

It is in any case clear that a lot of negotiation between the Government and these groups — vitally important because of their credibility in the black communities — lies in store before any final compromise is reached, presuming, of course, that the resolution of South Africa's constitutional "problems" can be achieved after a relatively peaceful run-up.

Parties and groups which support a federation for South Africa — either non-racial, geographic, or containing elements of "group politics" — include the Progressive Federal Party, the Labour

Party, Assocom, Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha (as one of the options it is prepared to consider) and a Human Sciences Research Council-sponsored publication released last week-end.

The concept is also gaining increasing currency in influential Afrikaner academic and Press circles, and has, of course, for years been embraced in important English-speaking academic spheres.

Elements within the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning are also talking increasingly openly about federation, although, as said earlier, there is a strong respect within the department for a confederal/federal mix.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has said the Government rejects the idea of a "classical" federation, but, now of course, the whole matter has largely been re-opened with his department briefed to look at various "embryo options."

It is therefore opportune to look at what constitutes classical federation, confederation and consociation concepts — possible "base elements" of any constitution achieved by compromise (the scenario of a straight take-over by, for instance the ANC after an intensified, protracted armed struggle will, of course, probably lead to the retention of a unitary constitution, with an extended franchise.)

**FEDERATION:** In this system state authority is shared by the central federal government and the provincial or state governments. The division of

functions is precisely defined and can only be altered with the agreement of all or most of the "governments" concerned.

The essential features of federalism have been defined as:

- 1) The supremacy of the constitution.
- 2) A distribution of the powers of government among federal states with limited and co-ordinate authority, who then send representatives to the central government.
- 3) The authority of the Court to act as the interpreter of the constitution.

Leading examples of federations are the USA, Australia, Canada, and West Germany.

Although South Africa is not, of course, considered a federation, the original SA Constitution Act contained certain federal elements, such as the provinces with their provincial councils (to be abolished in the middle of next year).

With the growth of central Government, largely at the expense of the provinces, South Africa moved into the realm of a unitary state (now being re-examined)

**CONFEDERATION:** This is a coming together of a number of states with each one retaining its own state character. Sovereignty resides with the member states, which delegate limited authority to the central government.

A confederation is therefore a looser arrangement than a federation, with the individual states retaining a greater measure of autonomy and being near-independent.

Their aim in coming together under a confederal umbrella is usually to

carry out a common foreign policy, with the "central government," as in a federation, also handling such matters as defence.

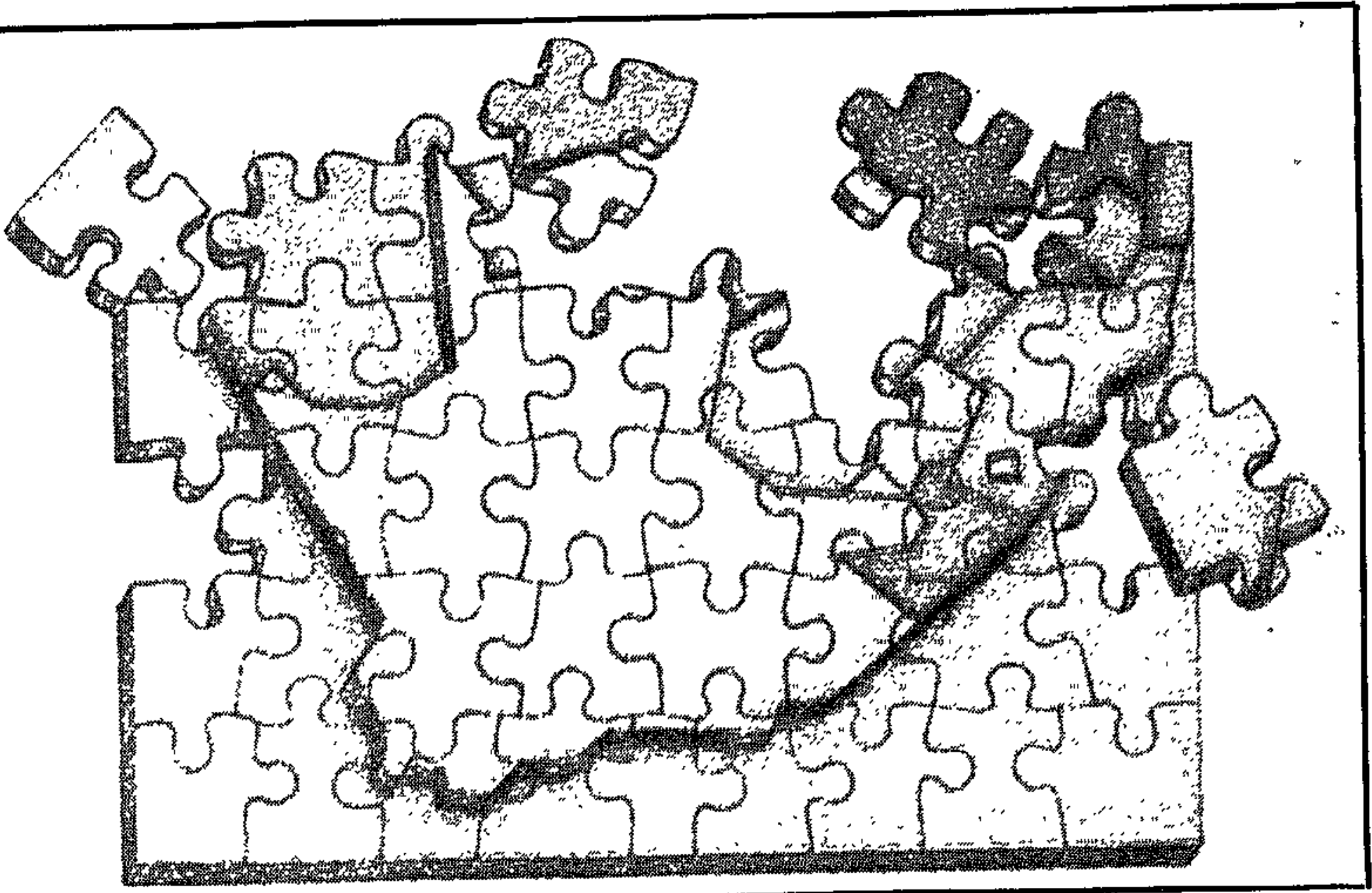
Confederations tend either to dissolve or to integrate into federations.

The United States was a confederation before the 1861/65 Civil War and the European community, through the EEC, is moving in this direction

**CONSOCIATION:** A consociation is based on groups rather than territories, and these groups are proportionately represented in a central government. The civil service and the army could be among groups represented.

The various representatives are not elected but are selected as belonging to the elite — ie, the acknowledged leaders and experts from the group. Decisions are taken on the basis of consensus and minorities, by implication, have a veto.

Fitting together the South African constitutional puzzle to the satisfaction of most is certain to involve protracted negotiation.



304A  
4/12/85



Cape Times 4/12/85  
**Crisis  
rule  
lifted in  
8 towns**

Own Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG.

The state of emergency has been lifted in eight small towns in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape with effect from yesterday leaving 30 districts still under emergency regulations.

This was confirmed in a statement by the State President, Mr P W Botha, who said that the revolutionary climate in South Africa's townships was "fast losing momentum". The emergency regulations which have applied for the past four months are no longer effective in Bedford, Delmas, Heidelberg, Janse van Rensburg, Pearston, Sasolburg, according to a proclamation made in the Special Government Gazette yesterday.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Law and Order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said she would be happier when the state of emergency was lifted in all areas. "The state of emergency has done nothing to curb unrest in any way and it undermines confidence in the country," Mrs Suzman said.

**'Defeated'**

Mr Botha said that the government believed elements that are ideologically opposed to orderly reform, and that went out of their way this year to drive communities in South Africa towards a violent confrontation with each other, are being defeated.

The state of emergency was lifted in six magisterial districts on October 24.

The other twenty-two districts which have been under the emergency regulations since July 21, are: Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Kirkwood, Brakpan, Alberton, Nigel, Randburg, Roodepoort, Albany, Cradock, Somerset East, Fort Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet, Benoni, Kempton Park, Boksburg, Springs, Germiston, Johannesburg, Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging. The emergency was extended to Bellville, Odendaal, Kuils River, Simon's Town, Worcester and Wynberg on October 25.



## Quit call 'ridiculous'

Capt. 4/12/85 257/3044  
Education Reporter

THE Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim, last night said a call by the Progressive Federal Party for his resignation was "ridiculous".

The call was made in a statement on Monday by the chairman of the PFP Federal Council and MP for Pinelands, Dr Alex Boraine, who described Mr Ebrahim's action during the current education crisis as "highly provocative".

Mr Ebrahim said last night that if Dr Boraine "wants to play the Queen in 'Alice in Wonderland' who is continually shouting 'Off with his head' that is his business . . . as for the call for my resignation, this is ridiculous".

Asked if he had any comment on the educational crisis and alleged irregularities on the part of the department, Mr Ebrahim said a policy statement would be made "in the near future".

Dr Boraine said last night: "I leave the judgement of whether the call for his resignation is ridiculous to the teachers and children who have been affected by his provocative action."



MR PHILIP MYBURGH

358 - LIQUOR MANUFACTURE

Superceding w.d. no

AREA A: Bellville,

AREA B: Bloemfontein  
and WelkomAREA C: Paarl, Port  
River; Durban, In  
Boksburg, Brakpan,  
Krugerdom, Nigel,  
Springs, Vanderbij

# Powers to SADF: PFP wants House recalled

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party's defence spokesman, Mr Philip Myburgh, MP for Wynberg, has called for Parliament to be recalled for an explanation on new extraordinary powers of detention and unrest control given to members of the SADF.

The regulations, which give powers to soldiers previously held only by the police in emergency areas, were promulgated last week in the Government Gazette.

There was no accompanying announcement or explanation by the Minister of Law and Order or the Minister of Defence.

Reacting to the measures, Mr Myburgh said that Parliament should be called and an explanation given.

"If the situation has now become so critical that the State President finds it necessary to extend policing functions to members of the SADF, then the country is in crisis," he said.

The measures apply in any part of South Africa where soldiers are "quelling unrest, suppressing terrorism or maintaining law and order."

The regulations provide that:

- Under the provisions of the Internal Security Act, SADF personnel with the rank of warrant-officer or higher can prevent a prohibited gathering, disperse an unlawful gathering and order the detention of any person for 48 hours — a period which can be extended.

- SADF personnel be given powers of arrest — previously held only by the police.

- SADF personnel be empowered to search buildings and cars and be authorised to man roadblocks without the assistance of the police.

Asked to explain the reason for the new measures, a SADF spokesman said he had nothing to add to a previous statement on the matter when the SADF said: "This is no

more than an amplification of Article 3 (2) (b) of the Defence Act."

The Witwatersrand chairman of the Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Barry Jammy, said the move gave "awesome powers" to members of the SADF and were a "manifestation of panic rather than reason".

"It is in effect an acknowledgement of a situation beyond control by accepted law enforcement methods and agencies."

"Soldiers have become policemen and policemen soldiers — their traditional functions have lost all definition," he said.

The National President of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, said the measures were an indication that the Government had no intention of addressing "the legitimate demands of the people of South Africa."



CAPL Times 5/12/85

# SA faces catastrophe, Tutu tells churchmen

Argus Africa News Service  
HARARE. — Christian leaders from all over the world were told South Africa was on the verge of catastrophe and that the churches were facing a crisis in their efforts to find a peaceful solution.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, told a special meeting of the World Council of Churches: "We who are trying to advocate reasonably peaceful solutions are becoming irrelevant."

"Our credibility is being eroded and the young are saying 'what have you got to show?'"

"If I were young I would have rejected Tutu by now," said the bishop.

He was speaking as one of nearly 40 South African churchmen who have gathered in Harare for a meeting with church leaders from Europe, North America, Australia and other parts of Africa.

## "DIFFICULT"

The president of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, said churches in South Africa were finding it difficult to preach the gospel of love.

"We are being challenged to interpret what reconciliation means in the face of forces that make it unworkable," he said.

Bishop Tutu said the system in South Africa was "mad, crazy".



Bishop Tutu

Children, mothers and grandmothers were being killed to the extent that they were becoming statistics.

The authorities were trying to enforce order at the end of a gun barrel.

"We speak peace," he said, "they speak bullets, dogs, detention and death."

At a news conference, Bishop Tutu was asked if the churches would come out in support of the armed struggle.

He replied: "The church, as church, at no point in its history could ever advocate force."

"What the church has done is to say it is faced with two evils, in this case the evil of the oppressive system, apartheid, and the evil of the other kind of violence of the force that seeks to overthrow this oppressive system."

"The church says to Christians: 'We want to say to you

that there may come a set of circumstances which would make it justifiable for individual Christians to decide the time had come for them to overthrow the system by force.'

"We use the criteria of the just war. But the church as an institution can never say it espouses force and violence."

Bishop Tutu gave as the "base line" for a solution in South Africa the following requirements:

- The Government must recognise all South Africans as citizens.

- It must declare firmly, precisely and without ambiguity its intention to dismantle apartheid.

- It must lift the state of emergency immediately.

- It must release all detainees and political prisoners.

- It must allow exiles to return.

- It must drop the charges in the two treason trials.

- It must engage in serious negotiation with leaders freely chosen by the people.

During his stay in Harare, Bishop Tutu said he would meet the representatives of liberation movements.

"I make a point to meet the leaders of the liberation movements when I go out of the country," he said.

"I am not going to let the South African Government choose my friends for me."

BVS DAY 5/10/85  
3-4A

# ANC rejects Inkatha peace-talks overtures

THE ANC has rejected an Inkatha offer of peace talks to heal the swelling conflict between the two organisations.

In an interview with *Business Day*, the banned movement also delivered a scathing attack on Inkatha and its leader, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is understood the ANC does not intend replying to a telegram it received in Lusaka from Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo four weeks ago.

In the telegram Dhlomo protested against the bombing of Inkatha's Amsterdam office, allegedly by the "Benjamin Moloise Commando", and of repeated ANC propaganda attacks against Buthelezi.

He proposed "consultations with you or your nominee which would hopefully culminate in restoration of pre-1979 relations between the two organisations".

Animosity between the ANC and In-

PETER HONEY

katha has deepened since 1979, when the two groups met in London in an unsuccessful attempt to develop a low-key working relationship.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said yesterday: "The ANC does not see the possibility or the likelihood of sitting down to talk to Buthelezi or Inkatha at any time in the future."

He accused the KwaZulu leader and his movement of being "squarely on the side of the government" and of endangering the lives of UDF and affiliated leaders by branding them as fronts for the ANC.

He indicated one of the principal reasons against talking to Inkatha was its actions against UDF members, particularly in Natal — "which are unacceptable to the ANC and to our people generally".



APR 11 1981  
304A 122 108 0334

# Heunis promises change next year

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — All South African citizens will, as from next year, carry one identity document as the first move to phase out the present passbook carried by blacks.

Property rights in the form of freehold would also be accorded to those communities who qualify for residential rights.

These announcements were made by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, when he and other senior officials of his department made a goodwill visit to Soweto and the various local authorities yesterday.

Mr Heunis said he hoped the government would by early next year announce the granting of freehold rights to all South African residents and those with permission to live in the country.

All South African citizens would carry the new identity document as from July next year.

In his announcement Mr Heunis said:

● Property rights would automati-

cally be accorded to all people who are South African citizens who qualify under the 99-year-leasehold title.

● Property rights would also be accorded to all who lost their citizenship to independent homelands but are legal occupants of South Africa.

● Negotiations would be held with others who did not qualify.

"Any man who qualifies under the 99-year-leasehold scheme will also qualify for freehold titles," Mr Heunis said.

"This move is being taken because I believe that we can co-exist in this South Africa and all can contribute towards the development and welfare of this country."

While on his "goodwill" tour of the townships the minister made a courtesy call at the home of the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, in Beverley Hills, near Orlando West, but was told that the bishop was believed to be visiting Zimbabwe.

The minister also drove past the Orlando West home of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

(30411) (221) (5)  
**Angola must eject  
Swapo, says Malan**

BUSINESS DAY REPORTER 6/12/85

SOUTH AFRICA was not looking for trouble with Angola, although its sympathies lay with the country's pro-Western forces, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said in Pretoria yesterday.

Responding to the recent visit to Angola by a United Nations investigating commission, Malan said: "If Angola is seeking peace in the sub-continent, all it has to do is stop Swapo terrorists using its territory."

He said it was unlikely Angola would do this, because it wanted to blame SA for the country's war damage.

If you are  
a Renault owner





● HEUNIS ... meaningful

# Government ends tug-o'-war between homelands

30414

BUY DAY 6/12/85

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THE government has decided to end the consolidation tug-o'-war between two homelands over the Moutse district, north-east of Pretoria. It will be transferred to KwaNdebele from the beginning of next year.

Announcing this in Pretoria yesterday, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis said provision had been made for those in-

habitants of Moutse who did not want to stay on under the KwaNdebele government to be resettled on other land.

No forced relocations would take place, he said, but those families who wanted to move voluntarily would receive compensation for their property and be transported free of charge.

The constitutional fate of the 99 000 people living in the 66 000ha area has

been the subject of a dispute between the self-governing homelands of KwaNdebele and neighbouring Lebowa for 11 years.

It was originally scheduled as part of Lebowa, but was excised in November 1980 and returned to the jurisdiction of SA, as development trust land, after a decision in 1975 to incorporate it into KwaNdebele.

In his consolidation proposals for KwaNdebele, released in September this year, Heunis included the Moutse district.

This decision, he said yesterday, was "for the purposes of meaningful consolidation and orderly government, as well as in the interests of the inhabitants and the further development of the Moutse district". — Sapa.

## SABC attacks new federation

# Govt playing it cool over the launch of Cosatu

BUS DAY 6/12/85

304A



● BOSHOF

GOVERNMENT will adopt a wait-and-see attitude to the newly-launched giant trade union federation, the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

A senior government spokesman said yesterday Cosatu was newly-born and there was still uncertainty about what it stood for and what its aims were.

"Knowledge about Cosatu's intentions is still based on speculation rather than on definite guidelines," the spokesman said.

Despite the collision course Cosatu has adopted towards government, government spokesmen would not comment on-the-record yesterday about government's attitude towards Cosatu.

Speculation about government's response was fuelled yesterday by the tone of the SABC radio programme *Comment*, widely-regarded as an indicator of government thinking.

The programme asked whether Cosatu should be allowed to continue in view of the fact that it would be "furthering the aims of the ANC".

The programme said: "This organisation, with its declared aim of standing in for the ANC is, under the guise of a trade union movement, intent on furthering the aims of a banned organisation, namely to make the country ungovernable. The question is whether it should be allowed to do so."

Responding to the programme yesterday, Cosatu's president-elect Elijah Barayi, said Cosatu was not linked to the ANC.

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

"People are making premature statements about Cosatu. They should allow it to continue working and then assess the situation."

Statements concerning Cosatu's intention to link labour and community struggles, made at Sunday's rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium, were elaborated on by Cosatu executive members at a Press conference on Monday.

They said at the conference that it would be premature to name the political organisations with which Cosatu would co-operate. It was also made clear that Cosatu saw itself as contributing to the establishment of a democratic government, rather than being the dominant party in a new ruling body.

Some analysts see the exiled SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) as the forerunner of Cosatu, pointing out that both organisations are committed to playing a forceful political role in advancing worker interests.

Industrial relations lecturer at the Wits Business School Geoff Verschoor said Sactu had about 53 000 members from 35 unions at its height in 1961, whereas Cosatu already has 450 000 paid-up members.

He said Sactu was aligned with the ANC and, although it was never banned, it went underground after government action against its leaders.



6/12/83 BUS DAY 3-4/11

## Media ban 'a success'

Own Correspondent

LONDON — From the SA government's point of view, the ban on television cameras filming township unrest has been a success, as it has stopped coverage of the less acceptable and more worrying incidents.

That is the view expressed by BBC television representative Michael Buerk in the latest issue of *The Listener*, the official journal of the BBC.

The article says new ways of presenting SA news events will have to be found by foreign television correspondents.

Editor of BBC TV News Ron Neil says in the same article: "It is terribly important that we continue to report as best we can."

But, he says: "We all agree that we must not break the law; that would endanger the safety of our correspondents, and that has to be paramount."

Independent Television News (ITN) spokesmen and National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) representatives in New York are quoted as saying: "We are determined not to be defeated that easily."

SA's London ambassador Denis Worrall told *The Listener* that SA had lived with a negative world Press for the past 40 or 50 years.

He added: "SA has been accessible to foreign media on a scale that very few countries have in fact been accessible."

# Revamped homeland plan <sup>Bus Day</sup> seen <sup>6/12/85</sup> as <sup>304 H</sup> answer

NEW YORK — A solution to SA's problems has been proposed by Pretoria University Professor Carel Boshoff.

He says in an American newspaper article his idea encompasses a choice between a common society and a commonwealth of nations.

The first, he says, is attractive, but doesn't take into account the realities of the situation.

"The reality is that SA is not a homogeneous community — and it isn't just a matter of colour. Colour is a minor problem. It is much more a question of the

diversity of nations.

"We (the whites) have power, but you cannot maintain that. It's impossible to maintain power as a minority group."

His solution is a version of the homeland policy.

Boshoff says the notion of a homeland as a poor, under-developed and scattered area is not his idea of a homeland.

"I mean, rather, partition and development of growth points. As far back as 1976, I called for a Marshall Plan with the support of the international community."

"If we divide the country in such a way that different nations can develop together, then we could have a commonwealth structure."

Boshoff proposes his plan because, in his words, the status quo is untenable, philosophically or religiously.

He agrees black leaders have rejected his commonwealth of nations proposal, but says it is because they see open-ended talks as a ruse.

"They ask for a plan so they can prepare themselves for negotiations, and I think we need a plan. At this moment I'm still optimistic." — Sapa.



Suzman's guide to 'wise men' BUS DAY

# Call for talks, not sanctions

6/12/85 30414



● SUZMAN

LONDON — Helen Suzman yesterday issued her personal guidelines for the Commonwealth group — the so-called "wise men" — when it visits South Africa.

Addressing the Young Conservatives in London — junior branch of the Tory Party — Suzman spoke of her desire for a peaceful solution to the South African dilemma.

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton also expressed her hope that the Commonwealth group could persuade the SA government to create the climate for negotiation by announcing its intention to repeal those laws which most oppress blacks.

This would mean a giant step towards creating a forum for negotiation concerning the crucial issue of participation in the political power structure in South Africa, Suzman said.

Elaborating on the guidelines to the Commonwealth group, she mentioned:

- ☐ Persuasion to repeal such laws as the Group Areas Act and pass laws.
- ☐ Free Nelson Mandela and his fellow long-term prisoners.
- ☐ Unban the African National Congress and other black political organisations and bring "black politics in from the cold".

In the end, the problem of South Africa would have to be solved by the people of SA themselves, and that included all its peoples, Suzman said.

If the outside world, through its diplomatic skills, network of influences, its good offices generally, could help to draw all South African groups together for purposes of discussion, then a deeply divided society could perhaps be rebuilt.

Giving the case against sanctions, Suzman emphasised that all meaningful changes had been initiated by economic

pressures within the country and the expansion of the economy.

This in turn had resulted in blacks moving up the economic ladder, acquiring the economic muscle which enabled them to make demands to redress imbalances in wealth and privilege and ultimately, power.

Under sanctions, unemployment would increase. Sanctions would also harm the economies of neighbouring black states, Suzman said.

Suzman said it was ironic that the rising tide of international censure of South Africa coincided with a process of socio-political reform and an amelioration of traditional attitudes within SA.

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*'That punitive economic sanctions will adversely affect white South Africa cannot be denied — so too of course will they affect black South Africans.'*

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She said changes for the better were taking place in many different aspects of life.

But if change was implemented hesitantly, clumsily, reluctantly and without the necessary generosity of spirit, its effect was minimal, Suzman said.

Not all reforms had been cosmetic.

Apart from the desegregation of hotels, theatres and restaurants and in many branches of sport, there had been major changes such as the recognition of black trade unions, the repeal of job reservation and the acceptance of the permanency of blacks in urban areas.

LONDON BUREAU and Sapa

## Race absurdity

NOTHING illustrates the absurdity of this country's race laws more graphically than the plight in which mixed race couples find themselves following the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act.

Take the case of Mr Pierre Ackermann, a white senior storeman with the Department of Water Affairs in Villiersdorp, and his young wife, Mirinda, who is classified coloured. Quite naturally, Mr Ackermann brought his new bride back to his home, which is situated in a white suburb. Now the couple have been given three months to find alternative accommodation in a coloured area. A Government spokesman explained that the Group Areas Act specifies that the white partner in a mixed marriage is always reclassified the colour of the "non-white" partner. But in marriages between "non-whites" of different races, the couple are classified according to the husband's race. "Not only whites are protected by the legislation," the spokesman said.

So what many feared would happen when the Mixed Marriages Act was scrapped is now coming to pass: people who thought they would be able to live as normal married couples are running foul of other apartheid laws. There might well be moves soon to amend the Group Areas Act to make exceptions of mixed marriage couples and to stop the arbitrary reclassification of one partner. But this won't be enough. Clearly the whole ugly business of race classification and compartmentalisation must go.

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6/12/85





# Suzman's guidelines to peace group

6/12/85  
Cape Times  
304A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mrs Helen Suzman yesterday issued her personal guidelines for the Commonwealth Group when it visits South Africa.

Speaking here to the Young Conservatives, the junior branch of the Tory Party, she spoke of her desire for a peaceful solution to the South African dilemma.

Mrs Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, also expressed her hope that the Commonwealth Group would persuade the South African Government to create the climate for negotiation by announcing its intention to repeal those laws which most oppress blacks.

This would mean a giant step towards creating a forum for negotiation concerning the crucial issue of black participation in the political power structure in South Africa.

## Pass laws

In her guidelines she advises the Commonwealth Group to urge Pretoria to:

- Repeal such laws as the Group Areas Act and the pass laws.

- Free Nelson Mandela and his fellow long-term prisoners.

- Unban the ANC and other black political organizations and bring "black politics in from the cold".

Ultimately, she said, the problem of South Africa would have to be solved by South Africans

themselves and this included all the people of South Africa.

If the outside world, through its diplomatic skills, network of influences and its good offices generally, could help to draw all South African groups together for purposes of discussion, then a deeply divided society could perhaps be rebuilt.

## Potential

South Africa was a country of tremendous human and economic potential. The saying of it was well worth a tremendous effort.

Giving the case against sanctions, Mrs Suzman emphasized that all meaningful changes had been initiated by economic pressures within the country and the expansion of the economy.

This in turn had resulted in blacks moving up the economic ladder, acquiring the economic muscle which enabled them to make demands to redress imbalances in wealth and privilege and ultimately, power.

Speaking of the two possible courses facing South Africa — semi-peaceful change and violent upheaval — Mrs Suzman stressed that there should be no doubt which the outside world should support.

In this context she mentioned Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who rejected violence and in doing so also showed a vital element of national self interest for Britain.

## GOVERNMENT

## A constitutional cocktail

Although boycotted and assailed from many sides, government is groping towards a new constitutional arrangement that includes blacks. Details are not available except that the end product promises to be a unique SA *melange* of federal, confederal and consociational elements.

This is the closest indication yet of government thinking on SA's most vexed and fundamental question — constitutional reform — it emerged from State President P W Botha's meeting with the five non-independent homeland chief ministers last Friday.

KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whom many regard as a pivotal figure in any successful new deal, was painfully absent — as he has tended to be from similar meetings

in the past. Said Buthelezi, "I politely declined to attend because I do not believe that any simulation of dialogue becomes dialogue, particularly when some black leaders are in jail for political reasons."

Buthelezi said, though, that he is "willing and will be involved in negotiations" with Botha when no one can argue that they are excluded for "whatever" reason. Buthelezi's absence probably doesn't matter much since, as part of the variegated (federal) model of the future, in which regional autonomy is a large facet, any KwaZulu-Natal arrangement could be made to fit the constitutional hotch-potch.

Botha declared in a statement after the meeting that "Consensus on basic elements to underpin future negotiated structures ordering South African society was reached."

Heunis's department was then charged with launching an investigation into "concrete possible options for further negotiation with all leaders seeking a peaceful solution for SA." This looks like a tactical switch.

It now seems that the department will work out and proffer various models to determine the takers for each prior to convening those long-mooted negotiations.

According to the *FM*'s information, no constitutional details or basic principles were discussed as Botha and Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis appeared reluctant to commit themselves to a specific constitutional formula.

This may be because they do not wish to be seen to be prescribing an outcome. They did, however, reiterate government's commitment to constitutional and apartheid reform and to talking to a wide spectrum of black leaders — provided they forswear violence.

The names of who those black leaders might be are not known. The homeland leaders still feel "in the dark" about exactly where government is headed on the constitutional train.

However, one of the homeland chief ministers detects a government attitude of greater "openness, of not wanting to tie itself to a particular formula." Of the five homeland chiefs, Lebowa's Cedric Phatudi and Gazankulu's Hudson Ntsanwisi tend to favour a federal formula. QwaQwa's Kenneth Mopeli seems open to a federal-confederal arrangement. KaNgwane's Enos Mabuza is known to support one-man one-vote in a single state. KwaNdebele's Simon Skosana is not suspected of having strong ideas on grand constitution building, and Buthelezi is not averse to the federal option.

## Constitutional cauldron

If, indeed, the outcome is to be a constitutional "concoction," says Stellenbosch University's Professor Willie Breytenbach (a former constitutional planner in Heunis's department) then the confederal side of it is likely to cover the nexus between the RSA and the four "independent" homelands. (Confederalism is a very loose, voluntary arrangement between sovereign states.) The federal elements would apply to the relationship between SA and the six self-governing

national states. The concept of black "city states" does not, however, appear to be a feasible option, although, some suspect that these communities could be accommodated through greater devolution on a regional basis.

Of course, the question of accommodating so-called urban blacks remains problematical from Pretoria's point of view. The PFP's Nic Olivier wonders "how government is going to structure the concept of self-determination in own affairs in

respect of blacks living outside national states" especially since a fourth (black) chamber has been ruled out.

Olivier says government's constitutional thinking is still "utterly vague" and hampered by its insistence on racial group representation.

Nor have certain essentials, like the question of black citizenship, been clearly worked

out despite Botha's commitment to "common" citizenship for all.

Political scientists, Breytenbach has said, might well call what is emerging a sham. "But if it works and if it enjoys the support of the majority of South Africans, what is then wrong with our own contribution to political theory, namely the theory of *shamocracy*?" But will it work?

## MAMELODI FUNERAL

## Low police profile

A massive funeral service for 12 of the 14 Mamelodi people killed when police broke up a 50 000-strong protest march on November 21, was held at the Pitje Stadium in the township as the *FM* went to press.

Foreign embassies — among them the US, Britain and West Germany — were represented at the service. Johannesburg North Progressive Federal Party (PFP) MP Peter Soal, who has criticised police action in Mamelodi and repeatedly called for a permanent judicial inquiry, was among dignitaries in attendance.

Police maintained a low profile during the mass funeral — which was attended by thousands of inhabitants and mourners from areas outside Mamelodi. A four-man delegation, which included Pretoria Council of Churches chairman Dominee Nico Smith, had asked the police to stay away for fear that their presence might provoke another riot.

Conflicting arguments over events in Mamelodi on November 21 are still very much in the air. Government has given no indication yet of whether or not it will accede to repeated public demands for a judicial commission of inquiry.

Police authorities have, however, allowed legal representatives of families whose members have been missing since the shootings which claimed 13 lives, to identify some of the dead at the mortuary.

Lawyers have identified one of the missing persons, Sam Nkonyane (54), who was among three unidentified bodies. This brought the official death toll to 14.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange has flatly denied Soal's claims that police used live ammunition and fired teargas from a helicopter in breaking up the Mamelodi protest. Soal went into Mamelodi a day after the shootings to take affidavits from eye-witnesses and the injured. Le Grange denies that police were not adequately equipped to deal with the crowd.

As for Boraine, chairman of the Federal



Botha



Buthelezi



# P W urged, as a start, simply to say 'sorry'

Mercury 6/12/85 (304A)

**THE IDEA that President P W Botha should 'say sorry' to blacks for the indignities and iniquities of apartheid to help create an atmosphere conducive to dialogue is gaining ground.**

The disarmingly simple idea was first floated by Sir Laurens van der Post in a public address to the South African Institute of International Affairs in August.

Sir Laurens, who turns 80 this month, said that President Botha must be prepared to apologise to blacks for the long years of oppression and injustice inflicted on them by

Kentridge, one of South Africa's most distinguished senior counsel, in a rare article in the current issue of *Leadership SA*.

Mr Kentridge expressed the view that Sir Laurens's address had been 'inexplicably neglected' by the (South African) media.

The Van der Post proposal is the kind that one

sumption.

The statement reflected the irritation of the disastrous Rubicon-gone-wrong speech of mid-August and said the SA Government wanted to 'finally' state its commitment to common citizenship, universal franchise and a united geographic South Africa.

The statement also said that the South African Government shared the world's rejection of apartheid, if by that concept was meant, *inter alia*, injustice, inequality of opportunity, racial discrimination and impairment of human dignity.

The main point of Mr Kentridge's article in *Leadership SA* was to point out the humbug of such claims.

'I have described the statement not merely as untrue, but as remarkable,' he said. Pointing out that humbug has its uses Mr Kentridge observed that it is easier for a government to distance itself from — and even disown — policies that were once central to its approach than to say:

'We have been wrong all along: our policies have been wicked and disastrous and we are going to change them.'

Writing in *The Times*, Bernard Levin took up the same theme and referred to Mr Kentridge's article. Levin portrayed the same government statement as a symptom of lunacy and eccentricity which comes from repeat-

edly justifying the indefensible with unsubstantial arguments until all link with reality is lost.

Surely, then, Sir Laurens's simple words of apology would be a far better investment in the future — both in terms of preparing whites for change and establishing a relationship of trust with the black leaders President Botha is nominally committed to negotiate with?

How can there be negotiation when the people who should be at the negotiating table are incarcerated in jails throughout the country, banned or facing trial on treason charges?

Surely the time has come to release detainees.

Yes, there is so much to apologise for.

President Botha has come a long way in 32 years and he deserves more credit for it. But rather than waste his energy on verbal gymnastics, sophisticated packaging, and clamp-downs on the world Press he should consider a few simple words of humility.

Sorry for the indignities of pass-arrests, the indignity of forced removals, the wanton destruction of family life, the physical torture and abuse, the unfairness and inequality of racial discrimination.

One five-letter word could transform the political atmosphere.

## John Battersby LONDON BUREAU

successive white governments including his own.

He was urging the holding of a national convention and suggested that an essential gesture for creating the appropriate atmosphere for dialogue was for President Botha to 'say sorry' to blacks.

Sir Laurens also urged President Botha to thank the black people of South Africa for their 'extraordinary patience'.

Sir Laurens is largely discredited in anti-apartheid circles here — partly because of his close ties with the royal family and Downing Street, and partly because his utterances on South Africa show an impatience with outspoken black critics who advocate sanctions.

He is also highly critical of the British media's coverage of South Africa which, he insists, is one-sided and oversimplifies a highly complex web of interaction into a straight black-white confrontation.

Be all that as it may, Sir Laurens is internationally acknowledged as one of the most original and perceptive thinkers of our time. He is also a most sensitive and caring man and his concern for all the people of South Africa cannot be questioned.

His 'say sorry' theme was taken up and commended by Mr Sydney

could easily dismiss as a variation on the wouldn't-it-be-nice-if theme. But why should such a gesture not be within the realm of practical politics?

Imagine the impact that such an admission would have on black South Africans. Imagine the potential for reconciliation that such a statesman-like gesture would have.

It would do more to create an atmosphere conducive to genuine dialogue and negotiation than all the rhetoric of the past year rolled into one.

Of course, it would not be a substitute for the dismantling of apartheid, the release of Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress, and the lifting of the state of emergency.

But it would go a long way to create the atmosphere of trust and good intention that is necessary even for dramatic gestures such as those listed above to have any real meaning.

Some of the reformist rhetoric emerging from Pretoria in recent months stretches the imagination beyond normal limits. Following the visit of a troika of Common Market foreign ministers the Government issued a statement which was clearly worded for foreign con-

# Call for (30 4/7) 'Cabinet of excellence'

W/L ARB 45  
2/12/85

## Political Staff

A "Cabinet of National Excellence" needs to be urgently appointed if South Africa is to overcome its crisis. It is the country's top reform priority.

This is the view of Professor Robert Tusinius, former director of the University of Stellenbosch's Business School who has worked for about 10 years in the field of conflict resolution.

His suggestion is that four to six outstanding people from the academic and business sectors be appointed to the Cabinet as Ministers without portfolio.

There should also be a reallocation of crucial and sensitive portfolios such as constitutional reform, police and defence, as the personalities, styles and credibility of these Ministers will make or break the reform efforts of the Cabinet as a whole.

## Too many mistakes

In a pamphlet entitled Constructive Change in South Africa, to be distributed to political and business leaders in South Africa and elsewhere, he says the Cabinet, as the country's top decision-making body, makes too many avoidable mistakes and loses too many opportunities.

The problem is not lack of expert advice. It is that the Cabinet does not listen to the advice, as happened to, among others, the Tomlinson, Erika Theron and De Lange commissions.

The Cabinet's present mix of knowledge and experience is impressive. But it has too few people with real business experience and it is too dominated by defence and security thinking, resulting in decisions dominated by potential security risks without sufficient consideration of likely political implications.

Partly due to lack of imagination and partly because top politicians are out of touch with grassroots facts and realities, the Cabinet misses opportunities for peaceful change.

## "Ambiguous talk"

Too often Government politicians use clever or ambiguous talk in an attempt to pacify the right and the left.

And when it comes to public relations, the Cabinet is its own worst enemy. The answer is not the creation of yet another information department, but inclusion in the Cabinet of at least one person with public relations flair, knowledge and experience.

The Minister of Constitutional Reform should have credibility with those with whom he has to negotiate. The Minister of Police should be sensitive and able to exercise full control over the forces under his command.

And the Minister of Defence should have a deep military understanding to know that in the final instance military considerations must be seen in a political perspective and not vice versa.



POLITICAL and commercial groups in Natal will again stay away from government meetings in January to hear evidence on consolidation proposals for KwaZulu.



Organised commerce and industry, Inkatha and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) did not give evidence when the Commission for Co-operation and Development sat in October and signs are their stance has not changed.

Commission chairman Hendrik Tempel said last week the

## Natalians dig in heels over consolidation proposals

PETER WALLINGTON

commission would re-convene in January "to hear further evidence and representations from persons affected by the most recently announced consolidation proposals for KwaZulu".

However the PFP leader in Natal, Ray Swart, described the proposals as unrealistic and irresponsible and said the PFP

would not give evidence.

He said it was not realistic to talk about consolidation in Natal.

The executive director of the Natal Chamber of Industries (NCI), Roland Freakes, said commerce and industry had made it clear some years ago they regarded the Natal/KwaZulu area as one economic unit and were opposed to any further

geographical consolidation.

When the commission took evidence in October, the NCI, the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, the Sugar Association and the Durbanse Afrikaanse Sakekamer slammed the proposals and said they would have nothing to do with the hearing.

They said the proposals, involving the transfer of huge tracts of land, the clearing of black spots and the removal of 42 000 people, would be inimical to a political structure providing for joint decision-making among all races.

9/12/85

## NEWS FOCUS

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BUS DAY

~~18/10/85~~



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30 CA 200

# Nusas 'no' to PFP's Alliance

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Nusas has turned down an invitation to join the PFP-initiated Convention Alliance.

The decision was made at Nusas's annual congress which ended here at the weekend.

In declining to join the Convention Alliance, Nusas president Mr Brendan Barry said the movement was not "mass-based" and prescribed to South Africans, "who should themselves determine the process towards a future democratic South Africa".

Nusas reaffirmed its support for the End Conscription Campaign and the UDF, and pledged itself to mobilizing mass support for the UDF on white campuses.

In another motion Nusas said it would use "creative and innovative" methods to publicize and expose repressive government actions. It called for the immediate lifting of the emergency and the removal of the SADF and police from the townships.

Nusas also expressed wholehearted support for initiatives by white organizations to meet the ANC. No solution to the political conflict in South Africa could be found without the participation of the ANC, Nusas said.

The congress re-elected 1985 Nusas president Mr Brendan Barry, Rhodes student Ms Janet

Small was elected projects officer, Ms Vivien McMenamin of the University of Cape Town was made general secretary and Ms Stefanie Sycholt of Maritzburg media officer.

South African Council of Churches secretary-general Dr Beyers Naude was re-elected honorary president.

Le Grange yet  
to respond to  
Mamelodi call

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(248)  
30414

PETER WALLINGTON

LAW and Order Minister Louis le Grange has not responded to a Progressive Federal Party call for a judicial commission of inquiry into the killing of 13 people by police in Mamelodi last month.

The shootings occurred when 50 000 demonstrators marched to the administration offices to present demands to the township's mayor.

PFP MP for Johannesburg North Peter Soal said yesterday he had sent Le Grange a copy of his report on the incident some time ago, but had not received a reply nor had the minister acknowledged receipt of the report.

Soal visited Mamelodi the day after the shooting and obtained affidavits from several eye-witnesses.

In his report Soal said the police were not adequately equipped to deal with the crowd and that there was no excuse for this because they had 36 hours' notice of the protest march.

A spokesman for Le Grange yesterday said the minister was on leave and he did not know whether Le Grange would comment on the report.



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GERALD REILLY

## PFP slams tax bite

GOVERNMENT was the prime beneficiary of inflation, PFP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said in Pretoria yesterday.

This was clear, he said, from the huge increase in income tax collections in the first eight months of the financial year compared with the same period last year.

According to the Department of Finance, collections for the eight months to October amounted to R9,147bn. This was R2,533bn greater than for the same period last year.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis estimated total collections for the 1985-86 financial year at

R15,531bn.

GST collections also showed a sharp rise compared with last year, from R3,255bn to R4,599bn. Estimated collections for the whole of the financial year amount to R8,32bn.

Schwarz said that, because of inflation and bracket creep, the State was taking ever larger amounts of pre-tax incomes.

That inflation was "government's best friend" was also borne out by the fact that "good" money borrowed by government was being paid back in inflation-eroded "Barend du Plessis money."

BUS DAY 10/12/85

# Invasion threat tension

SOUTHERN African tension edged up a notch yesterday when SA Defence Minister Magnus Malan threatened to strike at insurgents, even in countries where "they think they are safe".

The threat followed Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's claim at the weekend — immediately denied by Malan — that SADF troops were massing on the border for an invasion.

A cross-border raid at this time is, however, considered unlikely.

South Africa also drew fire yesterday from Lesotho Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan who blamed SA — and its alleged support of the rebel Lesotho Liberation Army — for the murder by the

PAUL BELL and Sapa

● To Page 2 ➡

BUS DAY 10/12/85

# Tension after SADF strike threat

LLA last Friday of seven Basotho in the southern border area of Qacha's Nek.

The SA-Zimbabwe war of words erupted two weeks ago when, according to government, a band of African National Congress insurgents crossed the Limpopo from Zimbabwe into the north-western Transvaal district of Welpe and planted landmines.

Those that exploded killed one man and injured seven others.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha immediately warned Zimbabwe that it would "follow the tracks" of insurgents into Zimbabwe, should there be similar incidents. Zimbabwe replied that it did not permit its territory to be used as a base for armed attacks in SA.

Despite Malan's tough reply to Mugabe yesterday, diplomatic sources in Pretoria and Harare said they had understood that both sides had accepted each other's assurances and that the possibility of any SADF cross-border strike was remote.

Zimbabwe, with its 40 000-strong British-trained army, would prove a somewhat tougher military nut to crack than Mozambique, Lesotho or Botswana.

Zimbabwe's daily newspapers and state-run television and radio highlight-

ed Mugabe's comment that Zimbabwe took the threat seriously.

But Western diplomats were sceptical: "One understands the anxieties of government but ... reality is that Pretoria has enough problems on its plate."

Malan said SA dared not give in to the ANC. He said the SADF would "reach the terrorists wherever they are hiding — also in those neighbouring countries where they think they are safe".

Referring to internal unrest, Malan said: "Those who walk around with ideas to throw bombs, commit murder, arson and intimidation, should take note of the fact they have not even experienced a tiny fraction of our firepower."

If anything, Lesotho has more reason to fear a strike. Pretoria remains convinced that Maseru is still harbouring ANC elements, while Maseru continues to accuse Pretoria of allowing the LLA to operate from SA against Lesotho.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said it had no knowledge of the LLA incident and the Lesotho government had not informed SA of it.

➡ From Page 1



PETER HONEY  
and LINDA ENSON

IT WOULD be naive to suggest that the dropping of charges against 12 of the 16 treason trialists in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday is the end of one of the more bizarre political-legal sagas of SA's history.

PFP Justice spokesman Dave Dalling yesterday welcomed the release of the 12 but questioned the State's motives for charging them in the first place.

"Was this merely a case of vindictive harassment?"

"If so, and the State continues to use court proceedings as a form of harassment, it will serve only to diminish the whole administration of justice in the eyes of South Africans who are not white," he said.

While court proceedings began only in May

# Questions as treason 12 go free

their origins are to be found in Indian and coloured elections for the tricameral Parliament in August, 1984.

Seven UDF leaders were detained because of their opposition to the elections, but the Supreme Court ruled that their detention had been unlawful.

The released men went into hiding, anti-raping law and Order Minister Louis le Grange's redecoration orders a week later.

When five of the former detainees and a Natal Indian Congress member surfaced on September 13, it was as political fugitives in the British Consulate in Durban.

Three left the consulate within a month and were immediately arrested. When Archie Guquede, Paul David and Billy Nair

emerged on December 12, only Nair was allowed to go free. Guquede and David were arrested to face treason charges with their former consulate companions.

Nine weeks later, in a countrywide swoop, more UDF and members of the SA Allied Workers Union (Sawu) were arrested.

All 16 were finally granted bail, totalling R170 000, in May.

The case was adjourned until July 11, to allow the State to respond to a defence request for further particulars.

After a further delay the proceedings began in earnest in August.

Then instructing attorney Victoria Mkenge was gunned down at her Umlazi,

Durban, home — four years after the unsolved murder of her attorney husband, Griefs.

Defence counsel Ismail Mahomed, SC, entered into a wide-ranging attack on the 587-page indictment, saying pamphlets distributed by the accused could not stand up to the charge they were guilty of a conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence.

On September 2 the presiding judge, Judge President of Natal Mr Justice John Mlule, ordered that the defence be given further particulars on some of the charges. However, he found that the charge of high treason and alternative charges were in the main competent.

The trial began in earnest on October 21. Isaac de Vries, a political science lecturer, was the first witness.

De Vries later admitted having made "fundamental mistakes" in his evidence that could have misled the court.

It was after an adjournment during De Vries' evidence that the case was withdrawn against 12 of the accused.

The four who remain on trial are Sapeer members accused of shooting for the banned SA Congress of Trade Unions (Thutha's Congress), Sile Mphahlele, Sam Khune and Isaac Ngobela.

The 12 freed UDF members, accused of trying to further the aims of the ANC or the SA Communist Party and further provision, are Archie Guquede, Abubakar Steyn, Graham Selous, Frank Chikwa, Ismail Makhomed, Essop Jaseer, George Beppert, Nwasa Nwagwu, Aubrey Makhema, Curtis Mthembu, Monaghan Madoo and Paul David.

December 10, 1985

**T**HE Government wants to share power with blacks, but does not want to be specific about it for fear of upsetting its right wing, according to Professor Robert Tusenius, former director of the University of Stellenbosch Business School.

In a booklet "Constructive Change in South Africa" in which he analyses South Africa's problems and offers suggestions for effective reform, Prof Tusenius says the Government is hesitantly and reluctantly moving away from statutory discrimination and towards the granting of more political rights to "non-whites".

He says methods of doing this were handicapped by an absence of clarity of purpose and the failure to effectively involve elected "anti-violence" leaders of other population groups in the process of change.

Prof Tusenius says the Government's offer to negotiate with blacks on "joint decision-making at the highest level with an open agenda" meant power-sharing. But the Government was vague in expressing this intention because it feared upsetting its right wing.

He accuses Government officials of using "clever" or ambiguous words in an attempt to pacify the right and the left. New reform labels were being stuck on old apartheid bottles, he says.

Such practices, Prof Tusenius states, create insecurity, doubt and anger. He

# Govt afraid of upsetting the apple cart

**FOCUS**  
By SAM MABE

suggests that the State President should make "a Statement of Hope and Reconciliation," to be followed by negotiations with recognised black leaders.

He also suggests the co-option of six individuals from the business and academic sectors as Ministers Without Portfolio to supplement the skills of elected Cabinet Ministers.

Prof Tusenius further highlights the ineffectiveness of the Government's use of consultation and unilateral decisions in trying to effect change.

He suggests negotiations with moderate leaders and pro-violence leaders as the only effective way of bringing about a peaceful solution.

Prof Tusenius' analysis of the country's problems and the thinking of the leftwing radicals, the frustrated, the moderates, the insecure and the rightwing radicals is well thought out and objective.

The weakness of his argument is in overemphasising the need for Government negotiation with "anti-violence" leaders, which seems to reflect his own bias in their favour.

A point he misses is that such leaders have no credibility and negotiations with them will not reflect any serious Government intention to bring about change.

He also says the insistence on pre-conditions such as the release of political pris-

oners and the withdrawal of security forces from the townships before negotiations can be held is counter-productive.

## Negotiations

He suggests that rather than trying to achieve these results prior to negotiations, they should be achieved through negotiations.

This view can make sense to outsiders, but not to South African blacks. It is only the participation of exiled and imprisoned leaders in negotiations with Government that can win the support of the majority of blacks and create a climate of hope.

What has to be borne in mind is that even the so-called "anti-violence" leaders were to discuss the same issues as would be discussed by the now imprisoned leaders, the lack of confidence in such leaders could easily lead to a

subjective judgment of the outcome of such negotiations.

## Trust

Prof Tusenius acknowledges this fact when addressing the credentials of a man who should hold the defence portfolio. He says such a man should be a politician rather than being a professional soldier himself.

As a soldier he might not fully appreciate that the best defence against the "communist revolutionary onslaught" is not guns and oppression but the removal of justified grievances.

He says that trust, respect and credibility are the prerequisites for success in negotiations and that reform portfolios should be allocated to individuals perceived by blacks as possessing such qualities.

Many of the so-called anti-violence leaders do not possess such qualities.

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SOWETAN



CAPE TIMES 10/11/85

## Award for Allan Boesak

Staff Reporter

304A THE leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, will be presented with the Human Relations Centre Man of the Year Award at a City hotel on Monday, December 16.

Proceeds from the event will go to the Cape Flats Hunger Project.

It is the first year that this award has been presented by the centre, a non-political organization involved in community self-help.

Awards were made in the following categories:

- Academic achievement: Professor Jakes Gerwel, Rector-designate of the University of the Western Cape.

- Business excellence: M Faraah Ebrahim, businessman.

- Contribution in striving for human liberties: Mr Brian and Mrs Di Bishop.

- Eloquent leadership: Dr Boesak.

# Acquitted UDF 12 might sue Le Grange

THE 12 UDF leaders acquitted of high treason in Maritzburg Supreme Court on Monday are considering bringing substantial claims for damages against Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange.

Instructing attorney for the group Norman Manoim confirmed this yesterday.

He said the claims would be for loss of earnings and liberty. He declined to speculate on the possible amounts involved.

Most of the acquitted trialists are professional people — doctors and lawyers — whose defence since the trial began in May is thought to have cost about R100 000 a month.

The case against the 12 crumbled this week because of flimsy evidence, legal experts said yesterday.

PETER HONEY and LINDA ENSOR

However, the trial of four co-accused trade unionists is scheduled to continue — possibly in Durban — on February 3.

Clive Thomson, senior partner in one of the firms of instructing attorneys, said he believed the decision to withdraw charges against the 12 was an "independent" one taken by the Attorney-General of Natal after evaluating the State's case.

UDF treasurer and former trialist Cassim Saloojee said yesterday the trial had not stemmed from a genuine belief on government's part that the accused

● To Page 2

## UDF men might sue State

had committed treason.

Addressing an International Human Rights Day gathering in Johannesburg yesterday, Saloojee said the charges against them "had to do with the resurgence of real opposition to the injustices of the apartheid system; it had to do with the emergence of the UDF; it had to do with the resistance that we are seeing all over the country."

"Instead of confronting the real problems they wanted to lay blame for the troubles in our country at the doors of so-

called agitators," he said.

Government had begun to act irrationally out of desperation because it sensed the majority wanted to be free, Saloojee said.

Albertina Sisulu, UDF joint president, called for the release of "authentic leaders", the withdrawal of troops from the townships and the lifting of the state of emergency.

— which produces 40% of the crop in an

ment of water



# SA debt repayment freeze extended

CAP T1015

11/12/85

304A

From WINNIE GRAHAM

**JOHANNESBURG —** The freeze on the repayment of South Africa's foreign debt has been extended for a further three months to March 31 next year.

The measures introduced by the government on September 1 to stop the run on the rand are to continue to "to allow sufficient time for the parties involved to come to an acceptable arrangement for the gradual withdrawal of restrictions".

Announcing this in Pretoria yesterday, Dr Chris Stals, director-general of finance and chairman of the Standstill Co-ordinating Committee (SCC), said the present standstill restrictions would be "more or less" retained for the extended period.

## Foreign creditors

Special attention, however, was being given to accommodating "at least some" of the requests for concessions submitted recently by various parties.

Dr Fritz Leutwiler, the international Swiss banker appointed to mediate in negotiations with South Africa's foreign creditors, had agreed to circulate a proposal for a "longer-term arrangement" for the debt repayment.

"South Africa believes the proposal provides a realistic basis for further constructive discussion with its foreign creditors, and it is hoped that all the creditor banks now approached by Dr Leutwiler will react positively to his request."

In Geneva and European financial capitals it was speculated yesterday that Dr Leutwiler would travel to South Africa soon to deliver a blunt political message.

This follows the leaking of the confidential rescheduling proposals in terms of which South Africa will delay paying \$14-billion (R35-bn) of its frozen debts until 1990.

## Invitation

Dr Leutwiler is expected to tell the South African Government that he requires "positive and concrete signals" that South Africa was prepared to move away from apartheid before he would be prepared to discuss a basis for rescheduling foreign debts.

However, Dr Leutwiler's spokesman said he would visit South Africa only at the invitation of President P W Botha and his government.

Well-placed financial sources indicated that if President Botha did not find a formula to meet the banker's political demands by March next year,

Dr Leutwiler was almost certain to resign his mediator role.

It was unlikely that any other banker of similar stature would be prepared to take on the role.

The Financial Times reported yesterday that South Africa would not start repaying some of its R35-bn debt until 1990, which proposal it said was contained in the confidential rescheduling proposals circulated to the 29 biggest creditors at the end of last week.

At their core is a suggestion that South Africa needs a period of four years and four months' leeway from the moment the standstill took effect on September 1. Only after that would phased repayment begin.

Bankers who have seen the proposals say that many aspects of them are likely to prove unpalatable to creditors. They regard them as an initial shot in a lengthy negotiating process.

Many bankers had been hoping that South Africa's current account balance of payments surplus would allow repayments to begin much sooner.

However, the continuing weakness of the rand and worries about the effect of anti-apartheid opinion on South Africa's export performance have apparently prompted the SCC to seek to conserve as much foreign exchange as possible.

## Refusal

As details of the proposals began to emerge yesterday, the speed with which the debt would be repaid after 1990 was still unclear, as was the interest rate South Africa will pay.

The South African Government's refusal to respond to demands for reform, as spelled out by the creditors, is causing concern in Geneva.

The creditors had been expecting confirmation of rumours that President Botha would announce a new reform plan at the opening of Parliament in January.

The spokesman added that the date for the next round of talks between South Africa and its creditors, scheduled for the end of January or early February, largely depended on what President Botha would announce.

● Standstill extension until end of March, page 15





"THE Prime Minister smiled and licked his lips in that familiar way of his. I could see he knew I was in for a beating. It was the kind of political contest he relished."

The writer is Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert in his just-published book "The Last White Parliament". At issue was the phrasing of the question for the November 1983 referendum on the constitution.

Government had outmanoeuvred efforts by the PFP and the Conservative Party to gauge support for more or less reform than the National Party was proposing with the tricameral Parliament.

The beating was comprehensive, almost devastating. Business and a highly influential sector of the English Press persuaded a substantial slice of PFP support to vote yes despite the party's plea for a no. Only a third voted no, half of them CP members.

It's been a long road back for the PFP. But they are back, clinging stubbornly and unashamedly to a political middle ground which constantly shifts, crumbles and solidifies beneath their feet under pressure to Right and Left.

Last year, the party was in disarray — recovering from the referendum setback, debating the nature of its participation in an institution it had rejected and subject to a mood of white political hiatus between the death of Westminster and the birth of the Tricameral.



This year it made a comeback, despite moving into new and difficult terrain.

As the session wore on and the novelty value of the Houses of Representatives and Delegates wore off, it became clear that these houses were mere constitutional adjuncts to the main debate.

The PFP, however, reinvigorated its Parliamentary role. In doing so, it demolished claims by government's new allies — the majority parties in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, and particularly the coloured Labour Party — that they would assume the PFP's mantle of opposition leadership.

As 1985 progressed through violence, the emergency, Rubicon and economic upheaval, it was also clear that the PFP could still have a political role.

Now the latest poll shows party support among the white electorate at 19.8% and growing — a swing of perhaps 5%, despite government reform efforts, since the referendum. Nevertheless, the CP factor has opened up a new range of problems for the PFP.

Beyond Parliament, the party went to bat against the police over Uitenhage and was vindicated, despite scathing attacks by government, by

# PFP: back on the road?

The first of two articles by Political Correspondent PAUL BELL on the PFP

the findings of the Kannemeyer Commission.

Uitenhage typified a general deepening of the party's involvement in the type of activity for which Cape MPCs Di Bishop and Molly Blackburn had already earned growing respect in the black townships — and the disapproval of most whites.

The process comprises a two-edged thrust into the black communities, spurred partly by increasing political violence and the emergency, partly by the scrapping of the Political Interference Act. One edge is exemplified by the party's unrest monitoring committees, the other by the drive for black membership.

Through the monitoring committees, through its calls for security forces to withdraw from the townships and its dismissal of government claims that unrest is the work of agitators and intimidation alone, the PFP is raising its profile within black communities.

In doing so, it is also seeking credibility for its strategy towards a negotiated solution, in political markets once the exclusive preserve of, primarily, the UDF.

The PFP knows it must involve itself at grassroots level in the life of these communities — as the UDF has done — if it is to compete successfully for political support.



The principle of translating that support into broader electoral support in the coloured and Indian communities was the cause of tough, and sometimes bitter, internal debate which reached its height in August at the PFP's Federal Congress in Durban.

One side argued that to extend the party's participation into the coloured and Indian houses of the Tricameral was to lend additional legitimacy to an institution the party rejected, and would alienate black support for the PFP.

The other argued that the party was already in, and that not to extend its participation and reach for power was simply ineffectual, moral grandstanding and inimical to its principle of pursuing change through constitutional means.

This latter view won the day, but it

carries the proviso that the party will take into account the mood of these communities before putting up candidates in elections for the Delegates and the Representatives.

As matters stand now, although the membership drive in coloured and Indian communities is picking up steam, there is no way that the PFP will fight by-elections in those Houses.



All told, the PFP has disabused itself of any notion that, under present circumstances, it could conceivably — or even should — strike towards power in one or both of the two minor Houses and, in conjunction with an erosion of Nationalist support to the white Right, hold a balance of power in the Tricameral.

And it will face a particularly tricky issue this session. There are eight or nine MPs in both minor Houses — mostly Delegates drawn from the opposition Solidarity Party and some Representatives — who wish to sit as members of the PFP. The party will be under pressure to give them an answer.

But it has also to deal with the problem that these MPs do not have sufficient legitimacy within their communities. It is the same principle which dictates the PFP's extreme caution in making its own political approach to the communities involved.

It has to be said: the PFP, for purely practical political considerations, will probably not want these MPs as members of the party parliamentary caucus.

In general, the PFP has experienced a dichotomy in black — and particularly UDF — attitudes towards Parliament.

Blacks know any change will come through the white House, regardless of the lip-service paid to consensus by government and its majority-party partners in the other two Houses.

So the PFP is encouraged to fight the good fight in the Assembly, because this House retains some basic legitimacy. But the other Houses are regarded as puppet creations of the apartheid government, and the PFP is advised to stay out.

There is a further dichotomy in black attitudes to the PFP itself. Azapo will have no truck with the PFP. The UDF remains deeply suspicious of the PFP and maintains a publicly distant stance.

On public occasions, however, and in apparent recognition of the PFP's role, members of the party have been welcomed at, for example, the mass funerals. And privately, UDF-PFP contacts are encouraging.

Slabbert's visit to Lusaka for talks with Oliver Tambo was really only a visible highpoint in the bridge-building exercise which the party is conducting at all levels of the political process.

Party strategy relies strongly on its efforts to dispel the mythology created by the apartheid society, and to encourage people to talk across the divides of ideology, colour, the enervating means-end debate and in spite of the dramatically heightened propensity to violence which has pervaded SA society in the past 15 months.

Poised like a seismograph on SA's political fault-line, it has developed an accurate sensitivity to the activity on either side of it — a sensitivity which imposes a sense of reality about the conflicting socio-political forces apparently lacking on Left and Right.

In action, PFP members have acted as go-betweens for boycott leaders and local businessmen, interposed themselves between black activists and the police, staved off planned black action against whites, received standing ovations at mass funerals and fought to keep open lines of communication through negotiation.



Their leaders have submitted proposals to government, gone abroad to campaign against disinvestment, demonstrated that white Nationalism is not a monolith.

They have handed to the Minister of Law and Order sheaves of affidavits concerning police brutality in the townships, asking him to investigate and warning that the harming of a hair on the head of a single complainant will end for ever their ability to "go between".

In a small town, a medical doctor has met local white leaders over drinks at a local hotel, warned them against provocative action in the townships and been visited the following night by a black delegation which tells him it has a full report of the meeting.

They thank him. They say, thanks to him, that they may tone down a planned strike. Shades of Kenya as the waiters wait.

All told, the party's journey this year into extra-parliamentary realms — successful against the odds — will serve it well in the 1986 session. But it will also cause the PFP to undergo some rigorous scrutiny by the white electorate.

BUS DAY  
12/12/85

304A



Policies aren't working — Stuart

# Govt blamed for low business confidence

12/12/85 BUS DAY

3041A

## Business Day Reporter

GOVERNMENT behaviour on both the political and economic fronts must be blamed for much of the uncertainty and deterioration of business confidence in SA, says Ockie Stuart, of Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research.

And he criticises claims by fiscal and monetary authorities that the balance of payment surplus is proof of the success of their August 1984 policy package.

"This is, in my opinion, an extremely one-sided evaluation," he says.

Reviewing the confidence factor and its impact on economic growth, Stuart notes that the severe economic recession first impacted on import volumes.

At the same time, a lack of foreign confidence and other factors led to a substantial decline in the value of the rand, thus pushing up the rand-price of exports.

"Surely the authorities cannot regard the fall in the rand's value as a success story?" says Stuart.

He notes that South Africans,

while being told by government officials that policies are working, have experienced:

- ☐ Rising inflation and unemployment;
- ☐ More firms dissolving;
- ☐ Soaring prices of imported goods; and
- ☐ Over-spending by the State.

What people are perceiving is a very different message from that being put out by some government and quasi-government officials, he says.

"This must have led to distrust, confused expectations and a deterioration in confidence."

Stuart also blames obfuscation by politicians for adding to the confusion, unrest and irritation he says usually characterise periods of reform.

"By not spelling out the path of reform clearly, the scene was set for speculation and rising expectations — the one feeding the other."

"When expectations were shattered a part of the population lost

their patience and organised violence became a way of life."

Stuart says he believes it is not too late to put matters to rights.

"All that is needed is clear guidance as to what the ultimate goals are, and how they are to be reached."

"By doing this, confidence will probably improve — overseas in particular — and the economy will get a fair chance to recover."

Stuart says economic ills can be traced to low confidence levels and shattered expectations.

"Clear signs exist of dissatisfaction with the government's political and economic performance."

One need look no further than to the extent of overseas dissatisfaction, as reflected by the low exchange rate of the rand, he says.

Internally, the fact that most South Africans live in a partial state of emergency speaks for itself.

"It is up to the politicians and economic policy-makers to rectify matters, in particular to boost confidence both here and abroad."

94 Main Street, Johannesburg  
2001.

Date: 12 December 1985

# EPG 'to ask to see Mandela'

CAPE TOWN 12/12/85  
30C4A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) is expected to ask the South African Government for permission to interview the jailed leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Nelson Mandela.

This is the view of sources close to the initiative who indicated that its success could stand or fall according to whether permission was granted.

Whitehall sources indicated, however, that the British Government would be prepared to talk to Mr Mandela only once he had renounced violence or the ANC called a truce in its armed struggle.

## Expectations

The sources suggested that the EPG could play an important mediating role with Mr Mandela, paving the way for his release and the lifting of the ban on the ANC.

Expectations of Pretoria's co-operation have been raised by Mr Pik Botha's statement last month that the SA Government would seek "ways and means of assisting the Commonwealth group".

Members of the EPG gathered in London yesterday for three days of talks amid a mixed atmosphere of expectancy and scepticism.

As the group prepared for its first meeting today, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, pledged Britain's "strongest possible support" for the initiative.

But Sir Geoffrey warned that the mission had an "enormously difficult task" and would need to be handled with "considerable skill".

Britain has welcomed the South African response to the initiative and is hoping that the EPG can play a role in bringing conflicting

groups in South Africa to the negotiating table.

Britain can be expected to step up its involvement in a negotiated settlement once a process of dialogue gets underway.

The EPG has been established in terms of the Commonwealth accord on South Africa signed by members of the 50-nation Commonwealth at its summit in the Bahamas in October.

Its mandate is to promote the climate for a dialogue between the South African Government and representative black leaders "within the context of a suspension of violence".

## Demands

The group will also be responsible for monitoring progress towards a list of Commonwealth demands which includes Mr Mandela's release and a lifting of the ban on the ANC, the lifting of the state of emergency and a declaration renouncing apartheid.

The group will advise the Commonwealth on whether a tougher sanctions package should be imposed by June.

The group is made up of the former Australian prime minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, a former British chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Anthony Barber, the Primate of Canada, Archbishop Edward Scott, a former Indian foreign minister, Mr Swaran Singh, a former military ruler of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo (representing Zambia and Zimbabwe), a former Tanzanian foreign minister, Mr John Malecela (Zambia and Zimbabwe), and a president of the World Council of Churches, Dame Nita Barrow (The Bahamas).

The group is expected to begin an intensive programme of contacts and shuttle diplomacy early in the New Year.





Mr Eugene Terre 'Blanche of the AWB.

# On the <sup>306A</sup> warpath <sup>ARGUS</sup> again <sup>12/12/85</sup>

**PRETORIA.**— The leader of the Afrikaner-weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre 'Blanche, is on the warpath again.

This time against the controversial Mamelodi Ned Geref minister, the Rev Nico Smith, who recently called for a multiracial Day of the Vow march down Church Street.

The march, as Dr Smith envisaged it, would culminate in a ceremony in front of the State President's gate, where a new covenant with God would be pledged to replace the one that preceded the Battle of Blood River during the last century.

Newspapers last week carried reports saying that Dr Smith's march had been postponed until next year, because there was not enough time to organise it properly.

But the AWB leader is still incensed by what he regards as "sacrilege".

These are the words contained in a statement issued yesterday, in which Mr Terre 'Blanche warned that the AWB would see to it that the procession did not take place.

The AWB leader also warned that Dr Smith would "suffer the consequences" of tampering with a day regarded as "sacred" by the "volk".

Mr Terre 'Blanche did not reveal what he had in mind for Dr Smith.

He did, however, earn himself the nick-name "Groot Karwats" (big whip) a few years ago when he and some of his followers tarred and feathered the University of Pretoria's Professor Floors van Jaarsveld.

The Professor also publicly expressed sentiments about the Day of the Covenant that deviated from Mr Terre 'Blanche's traditional views.





Dr Wynand Mouton, son of the rector of the University of the Free State, Professor Wynand Mouton, is awarded his PhD by University of Stellenbosch rector Professor Mike de Vries.



The University of Stellenbosch's 1985 Student Representative Council chairman, Mr Johannes Verster, is awarded his electrical engineering degree by Professor De Vries.

## De Vries: Fight lapse of confidence

Staff Reporter

THE rector and vice-chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Mike de Vries, yesterday urged graduands to oppose the "brain drain" from South Africa.

He was addressing the first of two graduation ceremonies at the university, where some 1900 students received degrees and diplomas.

Professor De Vries

said these graduands were going to practise professions that were of "cardinal importance to the technological development, economic growth and the physical welfare of society."

"It is therefore with regret that one learns of the growing tendency of highly-trained South Africans — with the same qualifications that you have achieved — that have sought a haven

elsewhere and, in so doing, have withdrawn their knowledge and expertise from a community that could scarcely afford that loss."

While this "brain drain", in some cases, was attributed to the absence of economic opportunities, it was mostly due to a "a loss of confidence in the future of our country and community", Professor De Vries said.

"My plea to you this morning is that you shall fight this lapse of confidence. We shall not be able to nurture this confidence if we allow ourselves to be deterred by problems and flee the country."

During the afternoon's ceremony, Professor De Vries said differences among peoples did not necessarily amount to "negativism that needed to be swept aside".

"It is a completely different story when differences lead to rifts and eventually to alienation and estrangement," he said.

"Estrangement is the cause of suspicion and mistrust, and suspicion and mistrust in turn bring about conflict and confrontation."

About 800 graduands are to receive their degrees and diplomas at a third ceremony today.



ARGUS 12/12/85

NATIONAL/CITY

# 'South Africans must talk to one another'

Staff Reporter

THERE was never a time in the history of South Africa when communication was more important, graduates at the University of Cape Town have been told.

In a graduation address last night Mr Ian Simms, chairman of BP Southern Africa, said there was a great need for South Africans of goodwill to communicate, search for solutions and share experiences.

Mr Simms said South Africans had to talk to one another, be ready to listen, smile, enjoy the goodwill which still existed and work together to find the answers to the country's problems.

## "Divided house"

The Government was beset by doubts and was uncertain of its support or opposition in reform.

South Africans were living in a divided house, plagued by discord, misunderstanding and antagonism — and a divided house could never be strong.

"We need a national making-up of lost ground. We cannot meet the powerful challenge of the future divided from each other by a wall of silence. We must explore what unites us, instead of belabouring the problems which divide us," he said.

## "Man of many parts"

The chancellor of UCT, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, received an honorary doctor of literature degree at the ceremony.

Paying tribute to Mr Oppenheimer, Professor J V O Reid, UCT deputy-principal, said he was a man of many parts, each substantial.

"For this alone it is proper for him to be the only recipient at a graduation ceremony of an honorary degree, where otherwise there would be perhaps four other honorary graduates," he said.

● More pictures, Page 29.



Picture: PETER STANFORD, The Argus.

Mr Harry Oppenheimer, former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation and chancellor of the University of Cape Town, receives the degree of doctor of literature honoris causa from UCT's vice-chancellor, Dr Stuart Saunders.



12/12/85 BUS DAY 3041A

# Taxpayers lose out on levy — Goodall



● GOODALL

GOVERNMENT had borrowed dirt-cheap money from taxpayers and repaid it seven years later with a third of its buying power destroyed by inflation, PFP finance spokesman Brian Goodall said in Pretoria yesterday.

Referring to the repayment of the 1979 loan levy, he said the amount involved, with the addition of 5% simple interest a year, amounted to about R630m — R420m to companies and R210m to individuals.

If the money had been invested in tax-free Post Office or building-society shares, it would have earned more than twice as much, Goodall estimated.

Companies earned R106,6m in interest and individuals about R56m; so individual taxpayers had been deprived of at least R80m over the seven years, while government had enjoyed the use of bargain money.

GERALD REILLY

Goodall added that if government planned to impose further levies, taxpayers were entitled to a market-related rate.

There is speculation that the 1980 levy, which falls due for repayment in February 1987, could be paid out before then as part of government strategy to stimulate the economy in an attempt to contain unemployment.

In 1980, individuals paid R157 107 505 and companies R64 781 068. Interest was at 5% non-compound.

In 1983, government borrowed another R214 160 252, paying 8% a year interest — less than half the ruling rate at the time.

About 1,1-million cheques are being posted to taxpayers this week



# PFP's dilemma: losing votes to Nats

(304A) BUS DAY 13/2/85



**DESPITE** the Pro-ressive Federal Party's growing credibility in the black community, it faces a difficult marketing problem among whites as government adopts the party's political language and whips up fears among marginal PFP supporters that some urban

seats may end up with the Conservative Party. Political facts are often obscured by ideas and perceptions. The PFP's job next year will be to dispel a few myths — like the CP threat and the success of government's reform strategy. This year's Parliamentary by-elections produced a mixed re-

## Second of two articles by Political Correspondent PAUL BELL on the PFP

Two, it has shown the party that when it takes its policies into NP territory in future, it will need a strong local candidate with local roots.

Three, politics — as one senior member of the PFP put it — is about ideas, and the presentation of a positive alternative. In Springs, the campaign attacked the NP's political and economic failures but failed to project the PFP's own policies.

Four, the PFP is in danger of becoming irrelevant as the NP reform programme grinds on. The PFP is perceived as a one-issue party — that of black inclusion in the constitutional process. Worse, the alternative it is seen to offer is one not just of reform but of transition to a black majority government.

For that reason alone, the PFP is not trusted by the white electorate at large, even though its constitutional policy is quite clearly one of federalism, a Bill of Rights, the protection of minorities and an independent judiciary, and its leading figures have said that they have no intention of replacing one bad government with another.

Perhaps most dangerous of all, the NP is now gradually starting to talk the language of long-held PFP policy. Federalism, one citizenship and the protection of minorities have become common political currency as a result of

government pronouncements. Although government's definitions of these concepts are generally markedly different, its new language poses a real threat that the strengthening grip the PFP has on its white support — lent by national crises — could be prised loose again by the illusion that it is the NP that has gained, or regained, the ideological initiative.

These perceptions are compounded by the PFP's perceived one-stop anti-apartheid stance. People know what the PFP is against — but not what it stands for. You can't motivate with a negative, only with a positive — and the PFP is linked with negativism.

All of which give an indication of the shape of government's likely attack on the PFP during the coming session. A senior NP source, commenting on the PFP's role in opposition, says his party is not threatened by the PFP. The real threat is from the CP.



The NP are convinced that the PFP is becoming increasingly irrelevant, particularly in white politics, and that this was demonstrated in the recent by-elections. Two reasons are cited. First, "the greatest majority of white South Africans are now reform-minded but want implementation to take place over a reasonable space of time". Since the PFP poses no electoral threat to the NP, its style of reform has no chance of implementation, because only the NP is capable of bringing about reform through peaceful constitutional means.

Second, white South Africans are finding the unrest and violence in black communities increasingly abhorrent, and the PFP is seen — through its unrelenting monitoring committees in particular — as "on the side of violence".

The extent of CP support, and the limitations on its growth, will have to be clearly illustrated to voters in areas where the NP is likely to play off both ends in an effort to gain support to its left.

The problem is most serious in the Transvaal, the CP's base. At the beginning of December, the federal executive met to discuss the lessons of Springs. They have decided to devise a strategy by early in the New Year to counter this type of campaign.

While the NP may pursue its own brand of reform through the adoption of new concepts, it will continue to grasp ideas, talk them up without negotiation with credible black leaders, then push them through despite rejection.

The PFP believes this style of reform only exacerbates tension, and that it will remain a serious flaw in government strategy — one at which the PFP will continue to hammer in Parliament. Beyond Parliament, the PFP will also try to show that it is gaining the confidence of those communities which have got white SA worried. Here it will be critically important for the party to produce results for the white electorate which — despite its almost 20% support for the PFP — has still itself to be fickle.

## General Investment Trust Limited

(Reg. No. 570295600)

## ANNOUNCEMENT

Year 1985

Note	Year ending 31 December 1985 (Estimated)	Year ending 31 December 1984 (Restated)	Year ending 31 December 1984 (Actual)
1	R20 000 000	R17 715 000	R17 715 000
2	80 807 000	81 972 000	74 520 000
2	24,75 cents	21,61 cents	23,77 cents
2	6,8 cents	6,4 cents	7,0 cents
2	12,5 cents	10,9 cents	12,0 cents
4	19,3 cents	17,3 cents	19,0 cents
	521 cents	415 cents	457 cents

divisible, reserve in terms of the

## TAX/Questions and answers

Govt moves towards free market

# Plans to revise 21 control boards



● WENTZEL

GOVERNMENT is set to introduce far-reaching changes to its agricultural control policies.

In an end-of-year statement to farmers today, Agriculture Minister Greyling Wentzel will say a new marketing strategy, combining "orderly" marketing and free market principles, must be introduced.

This is likely to lead to major changes in the entire control board system.

According to Roelf Kotze, chairman of Wentzel's advisory committee, National Marketing Council (NMC) recommendations include abolition of the single-channel, fixed-price marketing system in the dairy industry.

Investigations into the operation of the system in the maize industry would be undertaken, he told *Business Day*.

In his statement, Wentzel says some controls must be retained in certain agricultural industries.

"Those measures which we will retain, however, will have to be applied in such a manner that agriculture will move closer to the free market system."

LINDA ENSOR

Kotze said the NMC had investigated each of the 21 agricultural control boards since January with a view to rationalisation.

He said a major principle on which the NMC was basing investigations was maintenance of a "reasonable degree" of price stability for farmers. Another was provision of "a regular supply of food-stuffs at reasonable prices" to the consumer.

He said the dairy industry — one of the most strictly controlled — had been the subject of most discussion. The NMC recommended the abolition of the restrictive registration of fresh milk distributors and industrial milk factories and the elimination of the single-channel prohibition of sales of butter and cheese to any body other than the Dairy Board.

Retail price fixing was abolished in June this year and the abolition of wholesale price fixing would come into force within 18 months, said Kotze, adding that

the Dairy Board had accepted this.

Kotze said the NMC wanted to see less government involvement in fixing producer prices. He added that elimination of the one-channel, fixed-price marketing system for barley, rye and oats, which fall under the Wheat Board's ambit, was also under consideration.

Regarding cotton, the council has recommended the abolition of the restrictive registration on ginners and the maintenance of the remainder of the cotton scheme "already strongly oriented to free market principles".

Industry sources said last night that Wentzel and Kotze's comments signalled a significant move in the right direction.

Leon Louw, executive director of the Free Market Foundation and chairman of the SA Meat Forum, welcomed the statement. "It is a long overdue shift in policy," he said.

Mike Tarr, one of the Progressive Federal Party's agricultural spokesman, said, however: "It's a complete non-statement consisting of vague generalities."



Cape Times 13/12/85 304A

## 'Growing support' for 'Cape Option'

Staff Reporter

THERE is growing support for the idea of a "Cape Option", in which the Greater Cape Town area — and possibly towns further afield in the province — will set up a breakaway, democratic and non-racial form of local government, according to the latest edition of the Financial Mail.

The Financial Mail article says Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, has had "informal discussions" with a City Council sub-committee investigating a "local option" for the Western Cape.

The Financial Mail story likens the "Cape Option" to proposals made by the Buthelezi Commission, which recommended the establishment of a local, federal system of government incorporating KwaZulu and Natal.

### Financial, political clout

Although the Cape Town or Western Cape region does not have the financial and political clout of the "KwaNatal" area, "there is nothing in federal constitutional theory to say larger metropolitan regions are too small to receive a devolution of powers", Professor Schlemmer is quoted as saying. Professor Schlemmer emphasized

that a conference or convention of recognized community leaders was "absolutely necessary" and that it needed to be emphasized that a "local option" did not mean a separation from the "mother State" nor "any less need for blacks to be represented in Parliament".

The Financial Mail article, which was run as a major feature across two pages with a front-cover cross-reference, quotes the chairman of the City Council's constitutional sub-committee, Mr Clive Keegan, as saying "unless something is done soon, the chances of lasting peace may be lost forever."

### Non-racial society

Washington Post syndicated columnist William Raspberry is quoted as saying after a recent visit to Cape Town: "I feel there's a much greater chance of achieving a non-racial society here in the Cape than there is in the Transvaal right now."

Pick 'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman told the Financial Mail: "I think the principle is extremely sound, on condition that it is not prescribed by anyone."

"Any option will only work if we get together with acknowledged black leaders first."

Al  
R

ITEM

PANEL  
Ideal for kitchen  
boards, Avall  
Oak, Imbulu  
White Melam  
Melamine, So  
plywood and

• Pine Lo  
— 32 m  
range of

CALL TIME 13/12/1985

306A

Car

By FIONA CHISHOLM

AFTER being refused the rights of two major productions last week — "West Side Story" and "Man of la Mancha" — Professor Murray Dickie, artistic director for opera at Capab, described culture in South Africa as "being in a state of artistic siege".

Speaking yesterday at the President 100 Club in Sea Point, Professor Dickie said that several artists had cancelled existing contracts because of the political situation.

"Last week I was refused the rights to perform 'West Side Story' and 'Man of la Mancha' by the American publishers — in spite of the fact that I had a long conversation with Leonard Bernstein, the composer of 'West Side Story', and convinced him that our theatre is completely integrated. However the co-author Jerome Robbins refused.

"A similar situation happened with 'Man of la Mancha'. The author, Dale Wasserman, agreed but others involved refused."

Professor Dickie said Capab was facing "enormous difficulties" to replace from abroad those artists who had cancelled.

"If we can convince them that blood is not

flowing down Adderley Street, we have the problem of fees. The amounts we are able to pay because of the rate of exchange becomes laughable in overseas currencies. We can only hope that the state of the rand will improve soon.

"I am trying hard with personal contacts, to counteract the problem of artists' cancellations. I hope to attend the

meeting of the British Actors' Equity Union in London in February next year and put South Africa's case, so that musicians and singers may be subjected to less political pressure when they come here."

He intended to do the same thing in February at an international conference of artistic directors of opera houses. Professor Dickie an-

nounced the founding of a South African Opera Centre to provide a supply of adequately trained young singers. The centre will be directed by Angelo Gobbato, and staffed by members of UCT's College of Music.

"Here young, carefully selected South African resident soloists who have completed their vocal and musical studies will be prepared to take their place as fully fledged opera singers in resident ensembles in South Africa."



## REGIONAL AUTONOMY

# Cape of storms and hope

The concepts of federalism and the KwaNatal joint government option (*FM* August 9) are gaining currency by the day. It was therefore inevitable that polemicists and concerned people alike in the Cape would begin to make their own proposals for the region. And so we have the "Cape Option".

At this stage thinking on the concept of greater autonomy within SA for an as-yet undefined area of the western Cape is not so much a case of the proverbial idea to suit the times, as it is a recognition that now is the time for ideas. Political theorists in the Cape do not, of course, have the benefit of a Buthelezi Commission to build from, although a study is under way.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, has had informal discussions with a Cape Town City Council sub-committee investigating a local option for the region. What is emerging reads like a case study on the possible evolutionary direction of political power-sharing in SA.

Schlemmer is convinced that the Cape initiative — and those elsewhere in the country for that matter — will stand or fall by the fate of the KwaNatal proposals. Government's response to those would set a pattern for other areas to follow.

"The KwaNatal option," he notes, "has massive support from the KwaZulu government, Inkatha, the provincial council, and local authorities, plus the backing of a high-profile Chief Buthelezi. If it doesn't work then nothing else will."

KwaNatal has a further advantage over the Cape. It has two major components (the KwaZulu government and the provincial council) embodying and wielding considerable authority. The metropolitan area of Cape Town, or an ever larger region encompassing the western Cape, lacks such powerful constituencies.

But, as Schlemmer points out: "There is nothing in federal constitutional theory to say larger metropolitan regions are too small to receive a devolution of powers. I think this is a way in which

Increasingly there is talk of a "Cape Option" — a local dispensation which would draw in members of all groups, perhaps leading on to a system similar to that being set up in Natal-KwaZulu. But so far no-one has come forward with a major, credible blueprint like that of the Buthelezi Commission, though one is being worked on.

government can move away from the present constitutional pattern of race group representation without directly confronting its own constituency."

involves and implies neither separation from the mother State, nor any less need for blacks to be represented in Parliament.

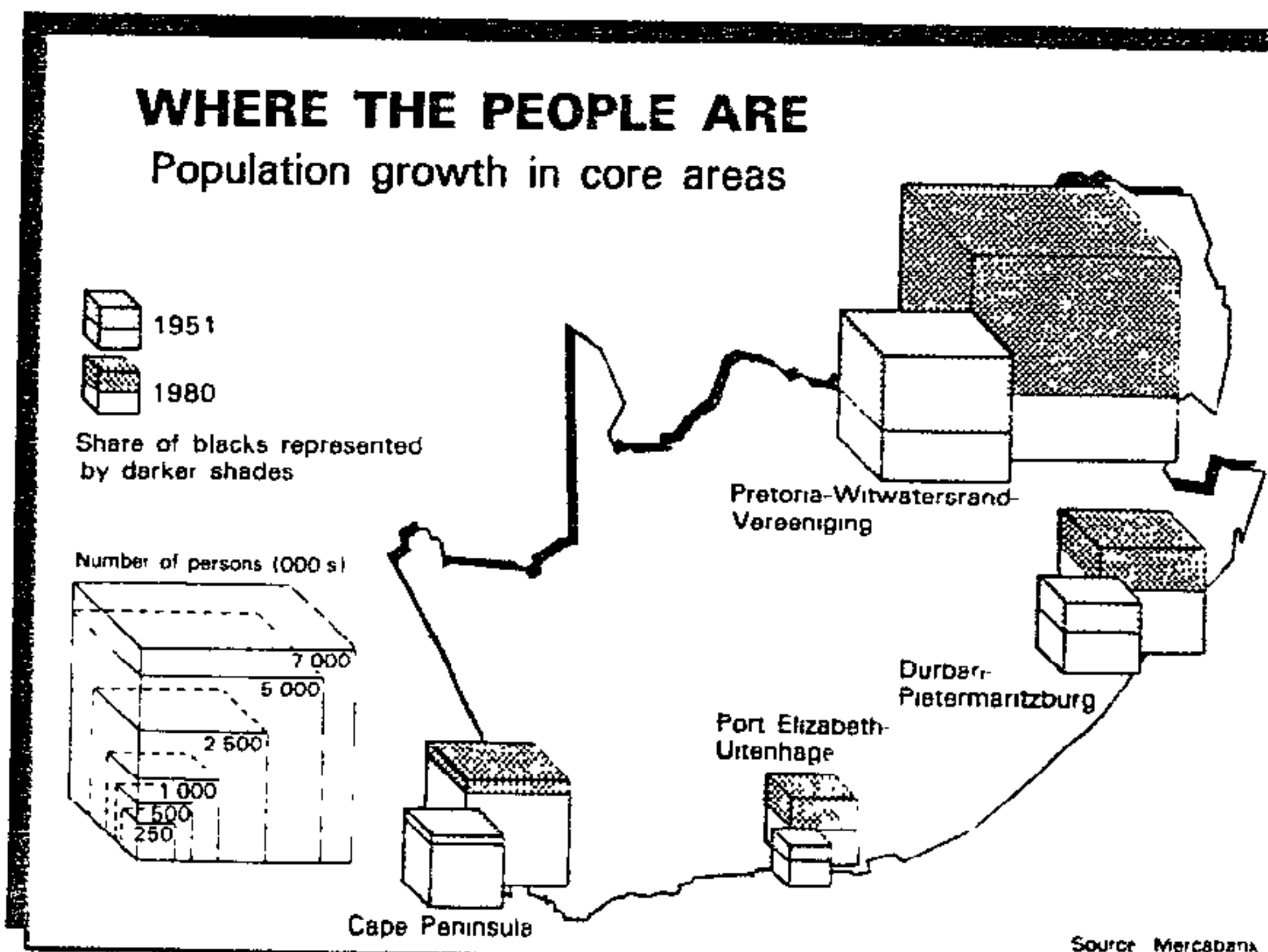
While a new dispensation for the Cape undoubtedly is dependent on, and probably complementary to what happens in Natal, the need for a local option is arguably as great.

As Clive Keegan, chairman of Cape Town City Council's constitutional committee and exco member, observes, "Unless something is done soon, the chances of lasting peace may be lost forever."

Also, Natal is not alone in the strong sense of identity and uniqueness which prompted its own initiative. The outgoing chairman of Colonial Mutual, Hans Middelmann, who

has made a hobby of constitutional innovation, remarks that SA's existing provincial areas have been as illogically drawn as the historical accidents which created colonial boundaries elsewhere in Africa. He thinks the eight regions proposed in the latest Mercabank focus on key economic issues (see map) are a reasonable starting point. Numbers are not the key, although Middelmann thinks there should be more, rather than less, components to any federal system in SA. Boundaries can be worked out.

In fact, a great deal can be worked out; many people have been making constructive suggestions



A conference or convention of some form, or another between community leaders (à la the Buthelezi Commission) is seen by Schlemmer as "absolutely necessary" to mobilise support and counter fears from both Left and Right. Accordingly, he believes a local initiative needs to emphasise that it

for some time

For example, Anton Rupert's suggestion several years ago of a canton system (including city-states perhaps) could readily be accommodated somewhere in the option. Rupert tells the *FM* now that he does not want to get involved in the issue, but sources close to the industrialist believe he has doubts on government's will to go the federal route.

Historically, there is a sound reason binding the various groups' destinies to each other. This is regardless of the attitude in Pretoria, and in spite of the unrest wracking the townships. Cape Town and its hinterland take great pride in a liberal tradition.

Says Keegan: "We've always thought of ourselves as a more tolerant region than the rest of the country."

The municipality was mixed, with a non-racial voters' roll until 1972, and numerous coloured and Asian members have served on the council.



Natal's Schlemmer ... carrying the message



3044 (107)

Keegan has appealed for a cessation of violence so that Cape Town can negotiate its own regional government. He deeply fears the future without such a development, and believes time is running out. Within two years, in his opinion, the whole regional services council system will self-destruct because of its apartheid base, and Cape Town must have a plan for regional government ready by then. Keegan possibly overstates the case — but his views are indicative of mounting concern for the future at grass-roots level. Scratch any local authority in SA and there is probably a rudimentary local option under the surface.

That the Cape does appear to have a distinctive character which has instilled a sense of affinity among those who live there has been borne out by at least one significant outside observer. *Washington Post* syndicated columnist, William Raspberry, remarked after a visit last week: "I feel there's a much greater chance of achieving a non-racial society here in the Cape — the Cape of Good Hope — than there is up in the Transvaal right now."

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There is a need, though, to establish some kind of popular initiative to undertake the relevant studies and report back to various constituencies.

Although the prospects of success in an area like Cape Town may now seem limited, it has to be remembered that in the early days of the Buthelezi Commission, it, too, was widely rejected by many of the interest groups now involved in or paying attention to the progression towards KwaNatal.

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investigating an alternative democratic model, Gerwel says.

The State President has referred obliquely to the possibility of geographical as well as cultural units in a future dispensation, but government is playing its federal cards very close to its chest.

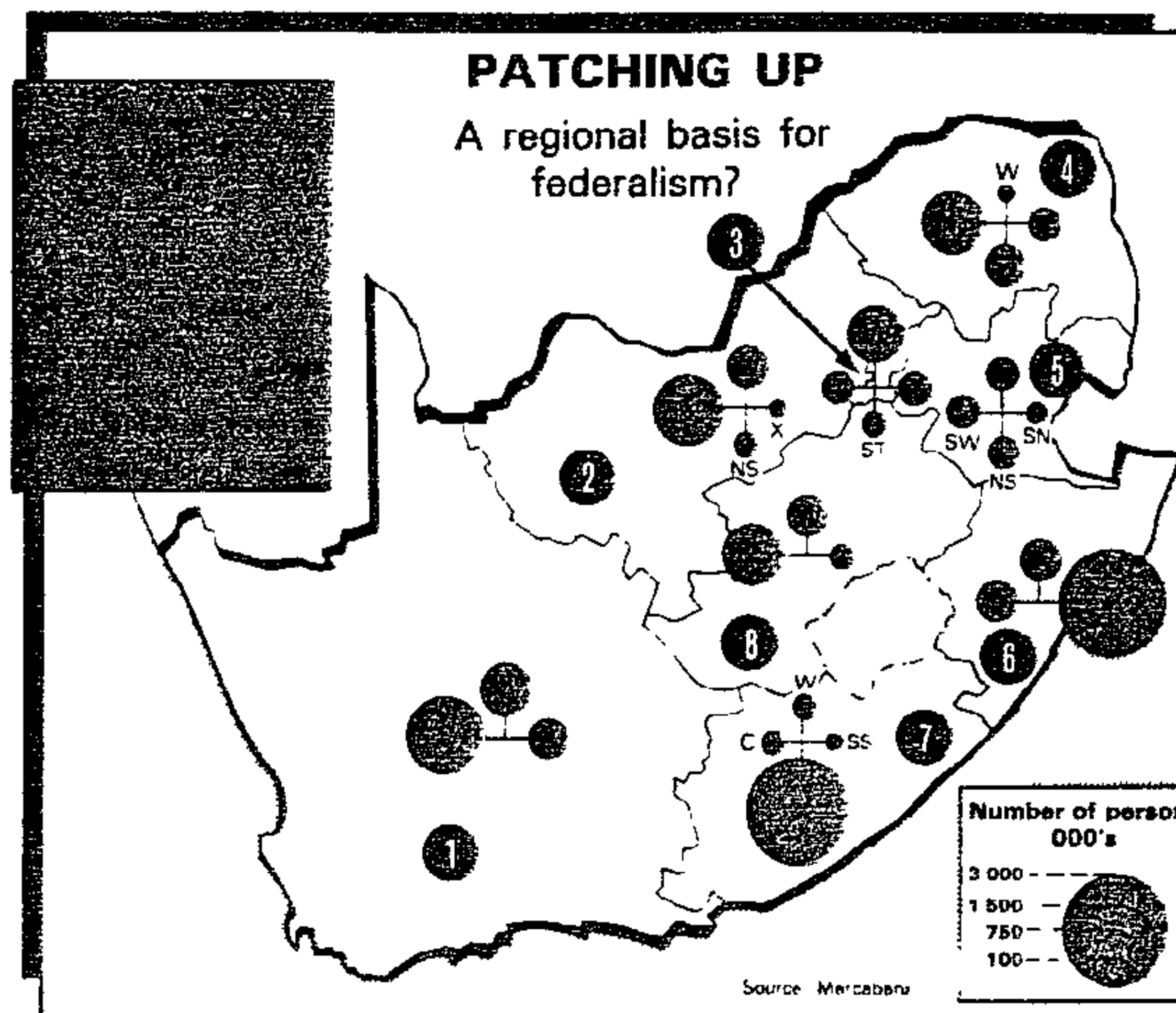
Pretoria probably cannot be expected to lead the march to the federalism required for the implementation

Nonetheless he thinks the western Cape, or some other region, should give it a bash.

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In the end, federalism — with or without the options being evolved in Natal and the Cape — comes down to the question of who controls the creation and distribution of the combined wealth of the nation. That issue must be more equitably resolved in the future, and there is obviously no harm in flying kites in the process.



Middelmann ... provinces are illogical



## REGIONAL AUTONOMY

# Cape of storms and hope

The concepts of federalism and the KwaNatal joint government option (*FM* August 9) are gaining currency by the day. It was therefore inevitable that polemicists and concerned people alike in the Cape would begin to make their own proposals for the region. And so we have the "Cape Option."

At this stage thinking on the concept of greater autonomy within SA for an as-yet undefined area of the western Cape is not so much a case of the proverbial idea to suit the times, as it is a recognition that now is the time for ideas. Political theorists in the Cape do not, of course, have the benefit of a Buthelezi Commission to build from, although a study is under way.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, has had informal discussions with a Cape Town City Council sub-committee investigating a local option for the region. What is emerging reads like a case study on the possible evolutionary direction of political power-sharing in SA.

Schlemmer is convinced that the Cape initiative — and those elsewhere in the country for that matter — will stand or fall by the fate of the KwaNatal proposals. Government's response to those would set a pattern for other areas to follow.

"The KwaNatal option," he notes, "has massive support from the KwaZulu government, Inkatha, the provincial council, and local authorities, plus the backing of a high-profile Chief Buthelezi. If it doesn't work then nothing else will."

KwaNatal has a further advantage over the Cape. It has two major components (the KwaZulu government and the provincial council) embodying and wielding considerable authority. The metropolitan area of Cape Town, or an even larger region encompassing the western Cape, lacks such powerful constituencies.

But, as Schlemmer points out: "There is nothing in federal constitutional theory to say larger metropolitan regions are too small to receive a devolution of powers. I think this is a way in which

Increasingly there is talk of a "Cape Option" — a local dispensation which would draw in members of all groups, perhaps leading on to a system similar to that being set up in Natal-KwaZulu. But so far no-one has come forward with a major, credible blueprint like that of the Buthelezi Commission, though one is being worked on.

government can move away from the present constitutional pattern of race group representation without directly confronting its own constituency."

involves and implies neither separation from the mother State, nor any less need for blacks to be represented in Parliament.

While a new dispensation for the Cape undoubtedly is dependent on, and probably complementary to what happens in Natal, the need for a local option is arguably as great.

As Clive Keegan, chairman of Cape Town City Council's constitutional committee and exco member, observes: "Unless something is done soon, the chances of lasting peace may be lost forever."

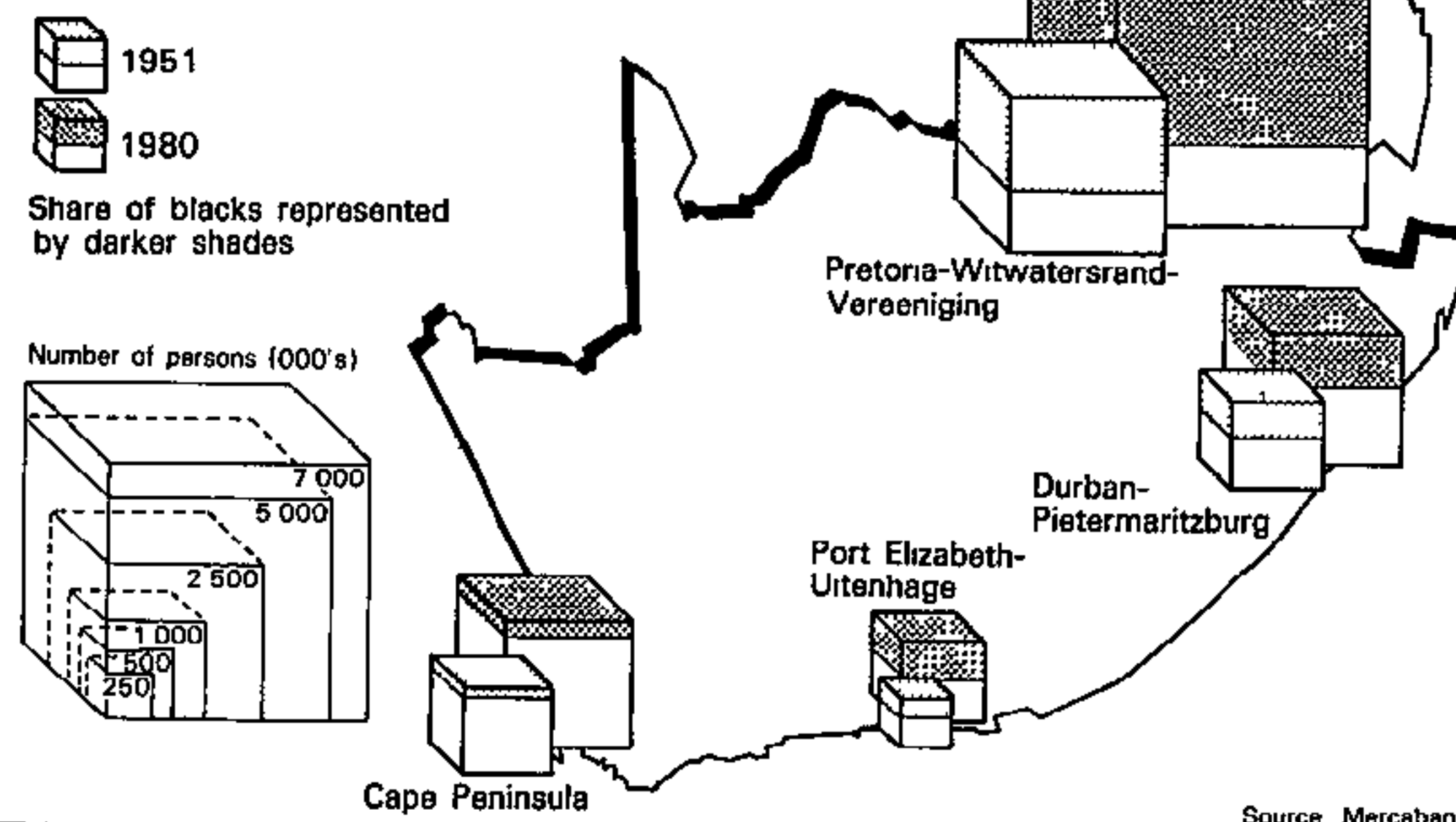
Also, Natal is not alone in the strong sense of identity and uniqueness which prompted its own initiative. The outgoing chairman of Colonial Mutual, Hans Middelmann, who

has made a hobby of constitutional innovation, remarks that SA's existing provincial areas have been as illogically drawn as the historical accidents which created colonial boundaries elsewhere in Africa. He thinks the eight regions proposed in the latest Mercabank focus on key economic issues (see map) are a reasonable starting point. Numbers are not the key, although Middelmann thinks there should be more, rather than less, components to any federal system in SA. Boundaries can be worked out.

In fact, a great deal can be worked out: many people have been making constructive suggestions

### WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE

Population growth in core areas



A conference or convention of some form or another between community leaders (à la the Buthelezi Commission) is seen by Schlemmer as "absolutely necessary" to mobilise support and counter fears from both Left and Right. Accordingly, he believes a local initiative needs to emphasise that it

for some time.

For example, Anton Rupert's suggestion several years ago of a canton system (including city-states perhaps) could readily be accommodated somewhere in the option. Rupert tells the *FM* now that he does not want to get involved in the issue; but sources close to the industrialist believe he has doubts on government's will to go the federal route.

Historically, there is a sound reason binding the various groups' destinies to each other. This is regardless of the attitude in Pretoria, and in spite of the unrest wracking the townships. Cape Town and its hinterland take great pride in a liberal tradition.

Says Keegan: "We've always thought of ourselves as a more tolerant region than the rest of the country."

The municipality was mixed, with a non-racial voters' roll until 1972, and numerous coloured and Asian members have served on the council.



Natal's Schlemmer ... carrying the message



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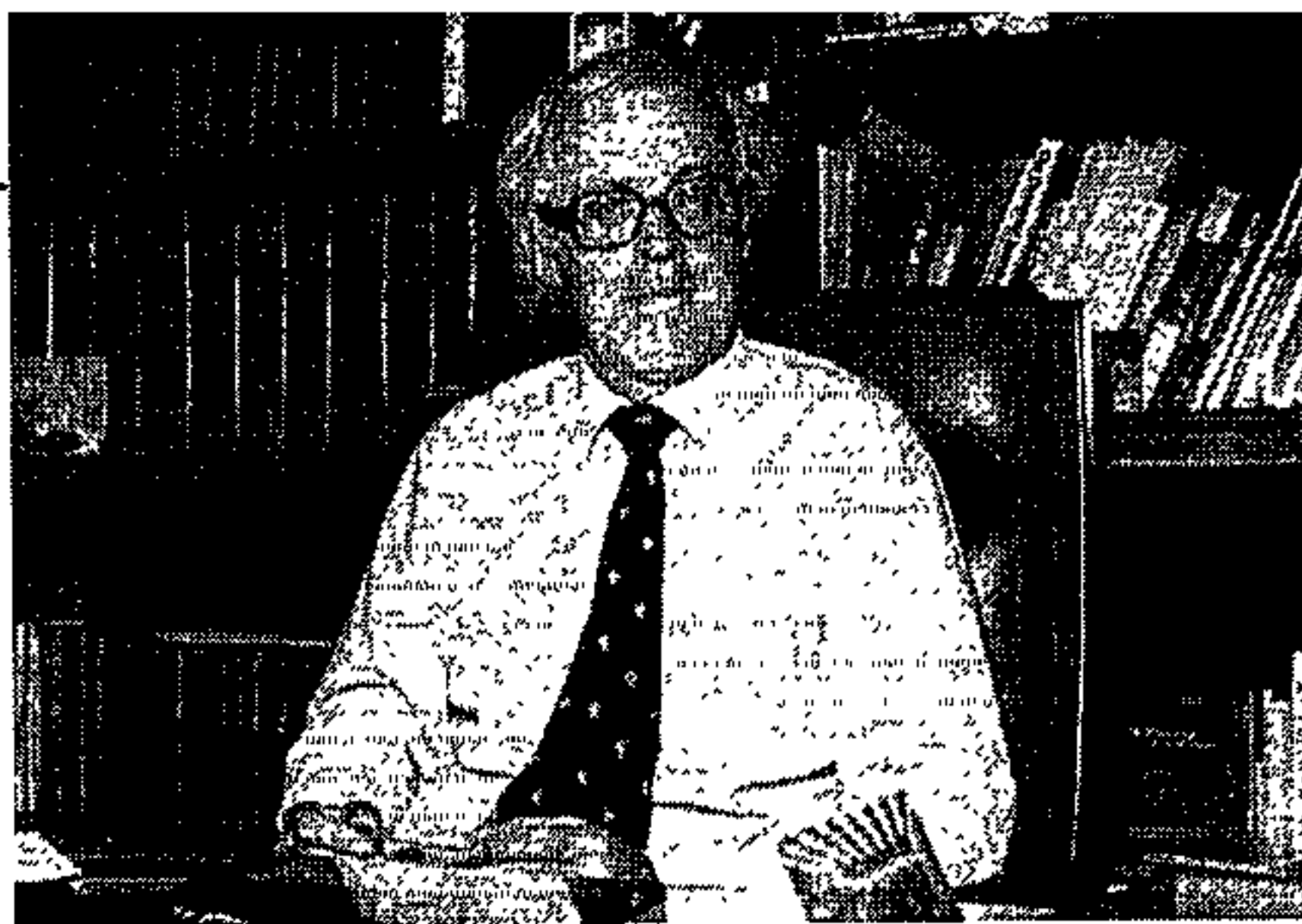
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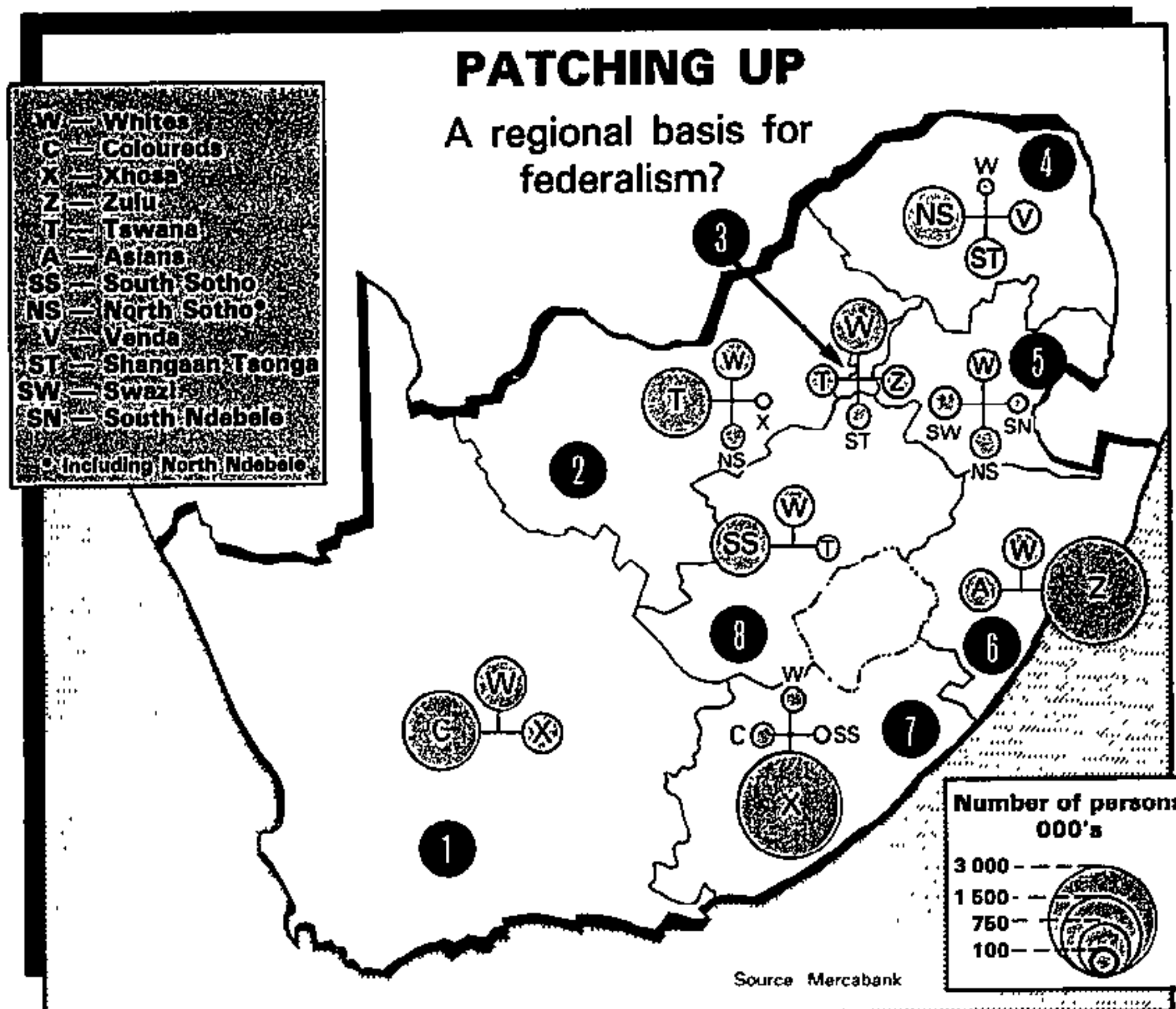
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Middelmann ... provinces are illogical



CAT 7/12/85 13/12/85  
3061

# Mission to promote SA dialogue 'quietly'

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG) has drawn a curtain of secrecy over its plans for promoting interracial dialogue in South Africa.

After a two-hour meeting at the Commonwealth headquarters here yesterday the co-chairman of the EPG, former prime minister of Australia Mr Malcolm Fraser, said the group wanted to avoid publicity and would work in "quiet ways".

Mr Fraser said the mission would require "a good deal of patience and tact" and conceded that the South African problem was "the most difficult facing any country in the world".

The seven-person group is holding three days of talks on how to promote dialogue in South Africa in terms of the Commonwealth accord signed in The Bahamas in October.

Heading the list of Commonwealth demands is the release of the jailed leader of the

African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela.

But Mr Fraser would not confirm yesterday whether the group would seek an early meeting with Mr Mandela.

He said the group had had a "useful and productive" initial meeting but he was not prepared to disclose or discuss any decisions it had reached.

He said the group was treating its charter "very seriously" and hoped to win the confidence of the various groups in South Africa.

"Our charter is to encourage people to talk to each other who are not talking at all or who are not talking enough.

"This will require a great deal of patience and hopefully a good deal of tact on our part.

"We would all regard this as one of the most difficult problem facing any country in the world.

"I am quite certain we are all united in wanting to get a proper, just and peaceful solution in that country."

Mr Fraser emerged as the chief spokesman for the group although he is officially its co-chairman with General Olesgun Obasanjo, a former military ruler of Nigeria.

The EPG has been established in terms of the Commonwealth accord on South Africa signed by members of the 50-nation Commonwealth at its summit in The Bahamas in October.

Its mandate is to promote the climate for a dialogue between the South African Government and representative black leaders "within the context of a suspension of violence on all sides".

The group will also be responsible for monitoring progress towards a list of Commonwealth demands which includes the release of Mr Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency, a declaration renouncing apartheid and the unbanning of the ANC.

The group will advise the Commonwealth on whether a tougher sanctions package should be imposed on Pretoria by June next year.

The group is made up of Mr Fraser, a former British chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Anthony Barber, the Primate of Canada, Archbishop Edward Scott, a former Indian foreign minister, Mr Swaran Singh, General Obasanjo, a former Tanzanian foreign minister, Mr John Malecela, and a president of the World Council of Churches, Dame Nita Barrow.

The group is expected to begin an intensive programme of contacts and shuttle diplomacy early in 1986.

CPC Tm 13/12/85

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Sir Sonny Raaphal, Commonwealth general secretary, with members of the Eminent Persons Group (from left) the Primate of Canada, Archbishop Edward Scott, president of the World Council of Churches, Dame Nita Barrow, former prime minister of Australia, Mr Malcolm Fraser, former military ruler of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo, a former British chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Anthony Barber, a former Indian foreign minister, Mr Swaran Singh, and a former Tanzanian foreign minister, Mr John Malecela.



# End SA race laws, Wits urges

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Council of the University of the Witwatersrand has issued a statement calling for an end to all apartheid legislation and South Africa's security laws and for the negotiation of a new "just" constitution.

The statement, which will now become university policy, has been circulated to all members of staff at the university.

The backbone of the new policy comes from a confidential document compiled by the faculties of arts, education and science at a meeting in October.

The two-page statement issued by Wits Council said South Africa was witnessing the consequences of apartheid — a policy which had brought about the forced removal of people, the banning of books, organisations and people, detention without trial and the denial of political liberties.

## "Current tragedy"

"The outcome (of apartheid) is the current tragedy — burnings and lynchings, intimidation, looting, the boycott and destruction of schools and the consequences of the cry 'liberation before education', the shooting of men, women and even children, the use of excessive force by those seeking to maintain order, indemnity for agents of the State who do wrong and further restrictions on rights and liberties," the statement said.

There was a need for "rapid and sweeping change". Wits University was morally obliged to protest at the "gross injustices" in South Africa.

Aims of a university, which included the pursuit of truth and academic advancement, could not be attained where discriminatory practices prevailed, the policy document said.

The statement said Wits University rejected racism and racial segregation and was committed to non-discrimination in the selection and promotion of its staff and in its administration.

The policy document pointed out that black education was a symbol and a cause of the present national crisis.

"There is a need for the reconstruction of the entire education system. Particular attention will have to be paid to those whose education over the years has been neglected or disrupted."

CAPE TIMES  
13/12/85

## Time to unban ~~ANC~~ ANC advocate

Education Reporter

THE time had come to unban the African National Congress so that its exiled members could return home to campaign openly, advocate Mr E M Wentzel, SC, executive chairman of the Institute of Race Relations, said at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing an afternoon graduation ceremony in the education, social science and humanities faculties, Mr Wentzel, who is also chairman of the Johannesburg Bar Council, said there were "two ANCs".

"One is an ideal of national liberation in the hearts and minds of millions of South Africans, black and white.

"That ANC founded in 1912 has a noble history of forbearance in the face of insult and a steadfastness for non-racialism.

"The other is the ANC in exile, with its sadness and longing to be home, and its hardening policy of violence and even terror, and a hardline political programme forged in the alliance with the South African Communist Party and the undue representation of communists on its council.

"Those are the wages of exile."

CAPE TIMES  
13/12/85 (304A)

## SA 'destined to be truly multiracial'

Education Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA, like all other African countries formerly under white rule, is destined eventually to become a truly multiracial country with a preponderately black central government, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, executive president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, said yesterday.

Addressing a morning graduation ceremony in the commerce and engineering faculties in the University of Cape Town's Jameson Hall, Dr Motsuenyane said: "How long it will take and by what means this transition is to be effected, whether peacefully or violently, these considerations must be left to history.

"What of course is very important for the present rulers of South Africa to comprehend is that it will be totally unwise to try to stand in the way of this transition or by devious means to endeavour to put a stop to it, for it is inevitable.

### Radical reforms

"Our best choice in the interests of securing the long-term peace and stability of the country will be to facilitate desirable changes and not to prevent them from taking

place at the appropriate time."

The introduction of radical reforms was the only effective way the country could be assured of internal peace, prosperity and solidarity among the various racial and ethnic groups.

Dr Motsuenyane said recent political changes in South Africa fell "lamentably short" of satisfying existing black aspirations and had largely tended to generate increasing resistance against and scepticism about the policy of separate development.

The only reasonable choice left was for the government to move rapidly away from its present race-orientated policies, towards alternative policies that would give black people their rightful share in the political life of the country.

"Events in Zimbabwe, and I hope later in Namibia, will show that basic rights can never be denied to a people who are determined to have them.

"At this stage everything should be negotiable, everything — including the release of Nelson Mandela and the very many issues which are seen as taboo in this country by government."



# EPG clamp on public criticism of SA

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14/12/85

From JOHN  
BATTERSBY

LONDON — The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) has put a clamp on public criticism of South Africa by members of the seven-person mission.

This emerged after the second day of discussions which took place behind a blanket of secrecy at the Commonwealth headquarters at Marlborough House.

The co-chairman of the EPG, Mr Malcolm Fraser, a former prime minister of Australia, has described the group's task as "non-political and non-partisan".

Mr Fraser has himself refrained from all public criticism of the Pretoria government and is clearly at pains to rectify the hostility created by comments he made during a visit to South Africa three months ago.

## Consensus

Meanwhile, Whitehall sources were yesterday claiming credit for Pretoria's positive response to the Commonwealth mission and it is understood that Britain's representative on the EPG, Lord Anthony Barber, has insisted on the group maintaining a conciliatory and low-key approach.

It is also believed that a consensus is emerging within the EPG that they should travel to South Africa as a group rather than individually.

Sources close to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said that she was keen that all the members should have first-hand experience of the situation inside the country.

The group have agreed to write to the South African Government

asking to be received early in the New Year.

The letter will almost certainly include a specific request to see the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The logistics of a visit to Mr Mandela has emerged as one of the most controversial issues facing the EPG.

While all agree it is essential to visit Mr Mandela, a minority of members are not in favour of making a visit to South Africa conditional on permission being granted to see him.

The outspoken president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, has let it be known that he strongly opposes the principle of the group meeting Mr Mandela in jail as this would serve to bestow legitimacy on the system.

## EEC troika

Whitehall sources said yesterday that Britain could be expected to play a more high-profile role on South Africa in 1986 — particularly during the second half of the year when Britain assumes the EEC presidency.

Britain will form part of an EEC troika with Holland and Luxembourg (the present and immediate past-presidents) which will visit the frontline states — but not South Africa — early next year.

The sources suggested that as EEC president Britain could play a bolder role in trying to break the ice between Pretoria and the ANC because it would then be acting in its capacity as EEC president rather than on behalf of the British Government.

CAPT Tm KS 14/12/85  
3004

# Matie protests against Botha

By MALCOLM FRIED

AN Afrikaner academic, the son of a former high-ranking official in the NG Church, has refused to accept a degree from the State President, Mr P W Botha, "as most of the troubles in this country are a result of his political decisions".

Dr Willem Landman, a lecturer at the University of the Western Cape, declined to attend a graduation ceremony on Thursday at the University of Stellenbosch, of which Mr Botha is chancellor, and to accept a D Phil from Mr Botha.

Dr Landman said yesterday that he had written to the State President two weeks ago and had told him that most of South Africa's troubles resulted from his party political decisions.

He wrote that Mr Botha, as a party political figure, should not also be the chancellor of the university, and he was therefore refusing to attend the graduation ceremony while Mr

Botha was chancellor.

"I suggested to the State President that the honourable course for him would be to resign as chancellor," said Dr Landman. "I did not want to receive a degree from him."

"My problem was whether to stay away from the ceremony and say nothing, or whether to stay away and write the letter. I wrote it, but have received no reply from Mr Botha or any indication that he has received it."

"My wife and colleagues supported my decision, but my father was against it. He was secretary of the synod and director of information of the NG Church before he retired, and was keen for me to be at the ceremony."

"I actually explained to Mr Botha that this should have been a joyful occasion for my family and that for their sake I'd have preferred to have attended. But I had to make this sacrifice."



# IS IT STILL POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE CHANGES NECESSARY FOR THE NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY THE PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL PARTY BELIEVES IN?

15/12/85

This is the fundamental question that people who shun the disastrous policy of Apartheid must stop and ask themselves. It is the question that Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the PFP, asked the delegates to the recent PFP Congress. THE TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT MUST GO!

The PFP has the vision to bring about an undivided, peaceful South Africa. THE PFP HAS THE SUPPORT AND WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT

## THE PFP HAS A CLEAR VIEW ABOUT ITS ROLE AS A POLITICAL PARTY

The PFP is in the present Tricameral Parliament to make it clear that the existing constitution is unacceptable and has to be replaced by a new dispensation. This must be negotiated by all the people of this country.

## THE PFP'S ANSWER LIES IN THE CREATION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION

The PFP is not a movement. It is not an alliance. It is not a pressure group. Nor is it a protest organisation. It is a political party campaigning for electoral support with the goal of using its support and powerbase to call a National Convention so that a new constitution for ALL South Africans can be negotiated free of racism and racial domination.

We believe that constitutional reform is possible, and is more urgent than ever before. The ideas that the PFP has always stood for: freedom of association; one constitution; one citizenship; negotiation for power sharing, are all becoming more possible, not less possible.

## THE PFP IS COMMITTED TO FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

We reject the spurious Nationalist argument that the existence of ethnic groups has to be catered for in the statute books.

We reject forced group separation. No government has the right to decide that because of ethnicity one group is less free than another to look for work, shelter or education.

The Group Areas Act must go. The Population Registration Act must go. The Separate Amenities Act must go. All of them must go finally and completely. We must bring down the barriers that divide South Africans.

## THE PFP HAS THE VISION

We are one country. We are one people. The PFP policy is based on this fundamental fact — all South Africans have the equal right to say how they wish to be governed, and have the equal right to participate in the government of our country. This is the only way to a life without hate.

## THE PFP HAS THE LEADERSHIP

*"South Africa's future can be peaceful and prosperous if we all get together to form a truly democratic, non-racial PFP. A party which can mend the deep divisions in our society and become a genuine force for change."*

Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, PFP Leader.

## WE PLAN AND CONSULT WITH OUR MEMBERS

South Africa has a legacy of resentment which has been generated by Apartheid structures and institutions. We will not ignore your feelings. We work with our members. All points of view are given fair hearing.

Join us in a strong, non-racial party, and together we will find the solution to South Africa's inherited problems.

Together we must demonstrate that there is an option away from violence, away from repression and towards a peaceful future for ALL South Africans. Let us come together now and show what we can achieve in a spirit of unity, to work out our future together, and build together.

## JOIN THE PARTY THAT IS TAKING THE INITIATIVE

The PFP, under the leadership of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, has already set the wheels in motion in important areas of initiative: it has spearheaded the formation of a Convention Alliance which has set out to unite all South Africans who believe in a negotiated settlement based on ONE country.

ONE constitution and ONE citizenship. By having held a meeting with the ANC in Lusaka, the PFP has demonstrated that it is committed to sounding out the options of ALL leaders who have a deep desire to find a solution to the present parlous state the country finds itself in.

## LET US COME TOGETHER

South Africa needs more than protests against Apartheid. We are beyond protest. The time is at hand to act. We need something tangible and constructive to show that there is another way. The days when politics are played out in an arena of division and repression on the right, and frustrated violence on the left, must end.

The PFP has the vision, the policy and the leadership to bring South Africans together, to build bridges and to mediate and negotiate a peaceful future for us all.



*"We have fought Apartheid and the new Tricameral Constitution. Now we are mobilising South Africans of all races into the largest and most broadly based political party in the history of South Africa, to demonstrate that there is a middle ground of non-violent reform."*

Helen Suzman, MP.

I wish to demonstrate my opposition to Apartheid, and my willingness to find a new solution for ALL the people of South Africa:

- I would like more information about the PFP and its policy ☐
- I would like to meet a PFP public representative ☐
- I would like to attend a PFP meeting ☐
- I would like to join the PFP ☐

Tick which of the above you would like us to respond to and return this coupon to:

PFP Southern Transvaal Regional Office,  
P.O. Box 8825,  
Johannesburg  
2000

JOIN THE PFP NOW

## SIX STEPS THAT MUST BE TAKEN

- 1) End all race discrimination by abandoning the Group Areas Act and tearing up the Influx Control Laws.
- 2) Lift the State of Emergency everywhere.
- 3) Remove all Security Forces and the SADF from the townships and start talking to rather than arresting recognised leaders. More jaw-jaw, less War-War.
- 4) Release all political prisoners immediately and unconditionally.
- 5) Invite recognised leaders in exile to return.
- 6) Institute a single educational policy based on equality for all

Your name: .....  
Address: .....  
Tel. No.: ..... (work) ..... (home) .....

Issued by G. Cooney, 3rd Floor, Plain Centre, Plain Street, Jhb.

# Oppenheimer defends Botha reform moves

CARE Tnts 16/12/85  
309A

Political Staff

THE chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, has strongly defended President P W Botha against "the very people for whose benefit he has put his political future at risk".

In a graduation speech on Friday that will have wide repercussions in the coming session of Parliament and which is certain to be quoted with approbation by government members during debates, Mr Oppenheimer praised Mr Botha for doing more to advance reform in a liberal direction than any prime minister before him — this in the face of right-wing pressures in his party and "in his own heart".

## 'Credit'

"For all this he surely deserves some credit. But he certainly does not get it. No past leader in South Africa has been subjected to such sustained, virulent, orchestrated attacks."

At the same time Mr Oppenheimer rejected the present tricameral constitution as a political solution, adding that he was inclined to believe Mr Botha's promise to arrive at a new constitution which allowed for genuine power-sharing

and the elimination of racial discrimination.

Mr Oppenheimer, who is former chairman of Anglo American, said: "It is plain that the government, like the rest of us, knows that apartheid is dead; but politicians more than most other people find it difficult ever to say that they were wrong and have changed their minds. And so the death certificate of apartheid is unsigned and the corpse is still unburied."

## 'Courage'

"Meanwhile, a very important reform programme has been initiated by the government. It is not an exaggeration to say that the present president has done more to advance reform in a liberal direction than any South African prime minister of the past. He has had the courage and determination to stand up to right-wing pressures in his party."

"And, even more difficult, he has, I suspect, had to stand up to some right-wing pressures in his own heart. For all this he surely deserves some credit. But he certainly does not get it. No past leader in South Africa has been subjected to such sustained, vir-

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Zimbabwe warned after landmine kills six

# Control terrorists or else, says Malan

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BUS DAY 18/12/85

PETER WALLINGTON, MICHAEL HARTNACK  
JOHN BATTERSBY and Sapa

SA-ZIMBABWE relations could deteriorate into cross-border conflict, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said yesterday.

His warning came in the wake of Sunday's landmine explosion which killed six people — four of them small children — and injured five others near Messina, raising the number of landmine deaths in the area to seven over the past three weeks.

The ANC has claimed responsibility but denies its operatives came from Zimbabwe. Spokesman Tom Sebina said the mines were planted by an ANC cell operating inside SA.

Malan was adamant the action originated in Zimbabwe. He warned neighbouring states, especially Zimbabwe, "to get their territories under control and to prevent the ANC from using them as launching pads for terror actions against South Africa".

President P W Botha said yesterday the nation was shocked by the manner in which innocent citizens were killed by terrorists launching their attacks from other countries where they took shelter.

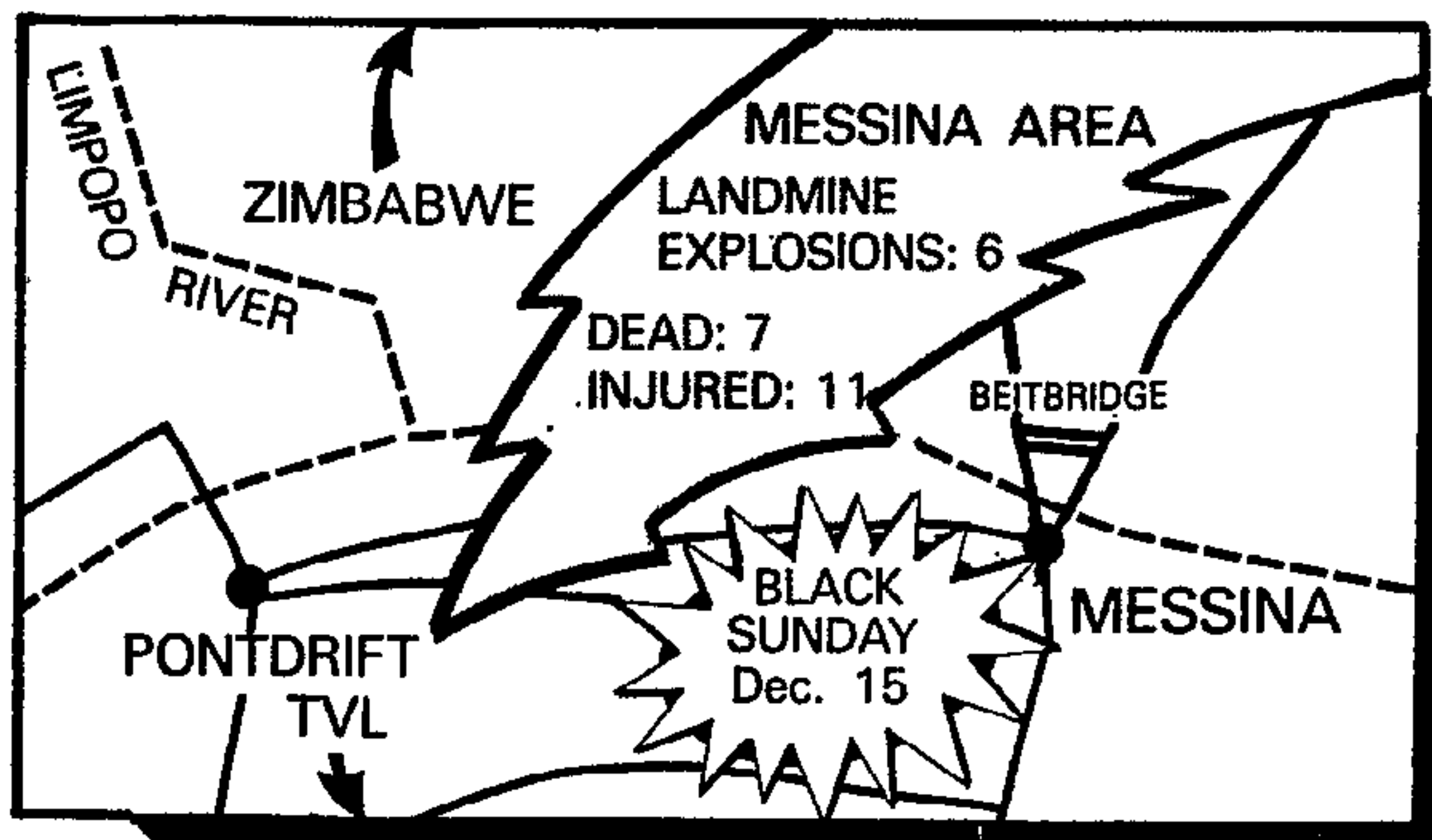
He said the incident proved once again that talk about peace negotiations with terrorists was inappropriate.

Malan and senior SADF officers yesterday visited Chatsworth game farm — scene of Sunday's atrocity — and warned that continued ANC action along the Transvaal border could lead to a situation "similar to that of Swapo in Angola".

SA troops have repeatedly crossed into southern Angola to attack Swapo bases in retaliation for insurgent attacks in South West Africa.

Malan would not elaborate on his warning, saying that even if SA were considering retaliation, "I wouldn't tell you, anyway."

He said it was clear the ANC was going out of its way to force conflict between SA and its neighbours.



Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who has already warned Zimbabwe of possible cross-border hot pursuit operations, said yesterday SA was "urgently approaching the Zimbabwean authorities in connection with the incident and with a view to finding ways and means of removing the threat of violence and terror of this nature".

The Zimbabwean government yesterday

declined to comment on Botha's initiative.

However, sources in Harare saw restraint in Botha's statement — an absence of terminology which might spark renewed hysteria of an impending South African invasion.

Last month's threat of cross-border

● To Page 2 ➡

## Middle East tension mounts

TEL AVIV — Tension in the Middle East has increased with the disclosure of Syrian missile redeployment.

But Israeli leaders said yesterday they did not want to trigger a conflict.

"There is no political reason now to justify an Israeli initiative to go to war," Defence Minister Mr Yitzhak Rabin said in a speech in Jerusalem, without referring directly to the missiles.

Former Foreign Minister Abba Eban, chairman of Parliament's foreign affairs and security committee, said there was no justification for a retaliatory strike.

Western and Israeli military experts said, however, risk of conflict had clearly

increased after Sunday's Israeli revelation that Syria had moved anti-aircraft missiles closer to the Lebanese border.

The missiles, with a range of 50km, now pose a threat to routine Israeli intelligence-gathering flights over Syrian-controlled East Lebanon.

Eban said the Syrian challenge to Israel's freedom to patrol Lebanese skies was clearly a response to an incident last month when Israeli planes on a reconnaissance mission shot down two Syrian MIG fighters.

He said the shooting was an error. Western diplomats and Israeli experts described it as a blunder. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Malan warning on cross-border conflict

BUS DAY 17/12/85

From Page 1

raids triggered an outcry in Harare and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said military precautions were being taken because of a build-up of South African forces on the border.

The SA trade mission in Harare was closed yesterday to mark the Day of the Vow so it was not possible to obtain confirmation that its officials had passed on a formal request from Botha.

Mugabe has in the past been adamant that he will not allow any discussion at ministerial level, but it is understood contacts have been continuing between officials and senior security-force officers.

Britain yesterday condemned the landmine blast and deplored the loss of life.

"The British government has always condemned violence, from whichever side it may come, as a means of achieving political objectives," a Foreign Office spokesman said.

Although he did not refer directly to the ANC, the speed with which it was issued reflects the serious concern within Whitehall that attacks against whites could intensify the level of violence and destroy initiatives towards dialogue and negotiation.

There is a widely-held view in diplomatic and intelligence circles in London that ANC members responsible for recent landmine explosions have been given access by the Mozambique government in retaliation for gross violations of

the Nkomati accord by South Africa.

Zimbabwe's denials that it is allowing its territory to be used as a conduit for insurgents are generally accepted in diplomatic circles.

It is being said, however, that Pretoria's threatening attitude towards Harare could persuade Mugabe to lean on President Samora Machel of Mozambique to block further access for ANC members infiltrating into South Africa.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said it was unfortunate that civilians were killed in the Sunday explosion. He said landmines were aimed at the military presence in the area.

However, he said the security system in the region included farmers, and so had become a "grey area".

Those killed in the landmine explosion were Mrs Kobie van Eck, 34, Ignatius van Eck, 2, Nellmarie van Eck, 3, Karna Denyschen, 9, Kobus Denyschen, 3, and Mrs Marie Denyschen, 59.

Those injured were K Denyschen, 36, the owner of the farm, Mrs T Denyschen, 35, D van Eck, 36, E van Eck, 1, and G Denyschen, 6. They were treated at Messina Hospital before being moved to Pietersburg Hospital.

The hospital superintendent, Dr E du Plessis, said yesterday the five patients were in satisfactory condition. Both families are from Tzaneen.



# Buthelezi/ANC drift further apart

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PAUL BELL/Political Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he is being attacked by the African National Congress because he has not supported its armed struggle, and that his recent statements on the ANC have been in response to its attacks on him.

The rift between Buthelezi and the ANC, which apparently has its origins in failed talks between him and Oliver Tambo in 1979, has been considerably widened this year — virtually into open war.

Buthelezi says the ANC cannot win the liberation struggle without Zulu support, blames the ANC for black disunity and black-on-black violence, and describes the UDF and Cosatu (the recently-formed black super-union) as ANC fronts.

The ANC refers to Buthelezi as an apartheid stooge and an apologist for the system who uses his rejection of violence as a smokescreen to continue to serve Pretoria.

Buthelezi has now written to newspaper editors, asking them to judge who is attacking whom. He has also



● Buthelezi... believes in "political decency, democracy, and... rightfully striving to normalise SA as an open, race-free society"

sent them a dossier of supporting material which includes a year-old copy of the ANC's official organ, *Sechaba*, and a host of transcripts of ANC radio broadcasts.

He says he appreciates that editors walk a difficult tightrope in deciding what and what not to publish, but that newspapers have played a very important role in SA's political development.

He appeals to editors to "do as much as you humanly can to ensure that reports in your newspaper are not biased and do not distort the black political situation in such a way that internecine black strife is deepened".

Newspapers, he claims, are "ever-increasingly beginning to talk about me as one who has taken to being divisive when I respond to attacks by

the ANC mission in exile and the UDF".

Buthelezi quotes a reference to him as "denouncing the ANC with increasing vituperation", that the ANC "prefers to ignore" him, and that his "offensive would appear to be a bid to claw back what some see as Inkatha's diminishing support as events overtake moderates and seem to favour the ANC".

## Offensive

He says the public is given to believe by these references that it is he who is on the offensive, and that this offensive is backgrounded by his bid for power.

But, he says, the ANC does not

choose to ignore him, and he refers editors to the dossier, the statements in which reflect "a bitter antagonism to me on the part of the ANC".

"Businessmen and FFP members who visited the ANC mission in exile in Lusaka will confirm that the mission in exile is bitterly antagonistic to me.

"My recent statements about the mission in exile are in response to their attacks on me. My statements about the mission are necessitated by the fact that some Inkatha members have been killed, and a great many more have had their homes and property destroyed, or have been beaten up, because they adopt attitudes which are not subservient to the ANC."

He says most people, particularly whites, do not know the ANC has declared war on him and that it will ban Inkatha if it comes to power.

## Hideous

His crime in the eyes of the ANC is, he says, to have not supported the armed struggle because he believes it wastes black lives for no gain, and to have not stepped down as leader of the KwaZulu homeland government.

He says every success that Inkatha, the legislative assembly and he achieve in moving SA towards the politics of negotiation, deeply threatens the ANC, which is why they attack him.

Believing in "political decency, democracy, and that I am rightfully striving to normalise SA as an open, race-free society", Buthelezi says it would be "hideously irresponsible" of him to allow the ANC to destroy Inkatha in "poisonous propaganda campaigns" against him.



FOREIGN DEBT

# The politics of debt

Local bankers have expressed surprise and concern at the increasingly political stance adopted by mediator Fritz Leutwiler. So far, the Standstill Co-ordinating Committee (SCC) has tried its utmost to keep political issues in the background. But, says a local banker: "Judging by the noises that Leutwiler and foreign banks are making they are determined to bring political issues to the forefront."

Says another: "We are getting conflicting views on Leutwiler. Initially, it was thought he was the right man but there is a growing view that he is making emotional statements, which he should not in his position."

"Frankly, my view is that Leutwiler is now playing a game of politics. If he has a list of political demands he should convey them privately to the SCC or government rather than state them publicly. Perhaps he is trying to play up to his audience in the US," says yet another.

What is certain, however, is that all eyes will be on P W Botha to announce further substantial reform early in next year's parliamentary session. "If no political statements are forthcoming there will be a stand-up fight," says a banker.

Possibly Leutwiler is feeling the heat from foreign creditors determined to use the threat of political demands as a stick with which to beat the Standstill Committee. "Foreign banks will not put forward any proposals unless they can use them to obtain political mileage," says a dealer.

Their present stance suggests that agreement will be subject to scrutiny and revision until all debt has been repaid. "If a rescheduling agreement is reached it will probably be reviewed every six months depending on what progress is made on the political front," says a banker.

Whatever the outcome, there is a lot of posturing from both sides. Little surprise has been shown at the extension of the standstill till the end of March.

"We all knew that was going to happen. US banks will not be seen to agree to anything unless there are political strings attached," says a forex dealer. In fact, there have been strong indications that US banks suggested that SA extend the moratorium unilaterally to take the heat off themselves.

"If US banks were seen giving in to SA, other debtors would put pressure on them for similar deals," says one banker.

That rescheduling is proving a powerful lever for political reform is undeniable. SA has neither the reserves nor a sufficiently healthy trade balance to start repaying large amounts of debts immediately, particularly with government's recent attempts to stimulate the economy. And with delay there is the prospect that demands for political reform

could escalate. Any amicable agreement implies an increase in margins on foreign loans, especially if they are effectively extended from short- into long-term loans.

Prior to the standstill loans were contracted for 12 months or less at rates ranging from one-eighth to five-eighths per cent above Libor. Since the standstill, however, foreign banks have increased short-term margins by about a quarter per cent.

"But foreign banks will now expect margins related to five-year money. I would not be surprised if they start negotiating around 2,5% above Libor," says a banker.

The feeling is SA debtors would pitch their initial figure at 0,75% above Libor. Roughly 1,5% could be a compromise. "The interest payable is open to negotiation," says Japie Jacobs, Senior Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank.

Complicating the issue is the feeling of US banks that they have been unfairly prejudiced because debt that falls outside the moratorium — mainly credit for capital goods for parastatals — is mostly owned to European banks.

## Many issues

Meanwhile, many issues remain unresolved. "Every measure introduced by the Standstill Committee raises a thousand questions," says a banker.

For example, recent measures require that exporters cover forward. But if an export order falls through because of a trade boycott who will carry the loss due to forward cover? "Will companies be forced to absorb a loss not of their own making or will they have access to other parties?" asks a dealer.

The possibility of an early resolution of SA's foreign debt crisis seems to be receding as both parties ready themselves for yet another round of negotiation.

Says Jacobs: "The Standstill Committee has sent documents to the major creditor banks. They will respond officially to Price Waterhouse in London." The deadline is

December 22. "Once this has occurred we will revise our proposals and make them available for further negotiation."

## BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

### Services gremlin?

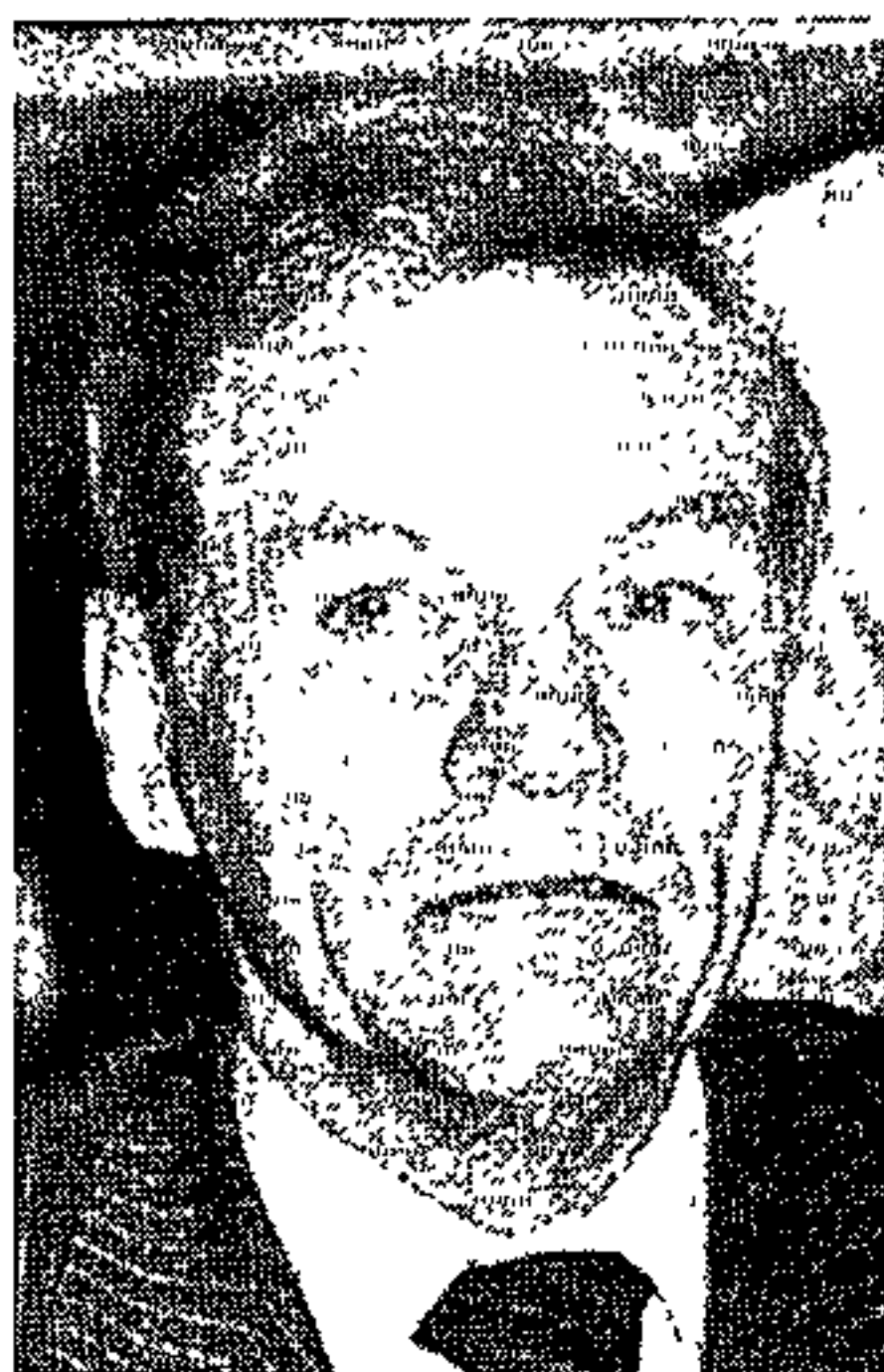
Serious doubts have been expressed over the actual size of the current account surplus. Officially, SA is expected to realise a R5,5 billion surplus for 1985.

But Cees Bruggemans, chief economist at Barclays, says part of the surplus may be "illusory". He feels that service items, which include interest payments on foreign debt, are grossly underestimated.

"The private and public sector, after having borrowed extensively abroad in 1984, now faces a considerable interest burden. The extent of these interest payments is questionable."

He attributes a discrepancy to lack of knowledge on the part of the authorities about private sector transactions, specifically those of an inter-company nature and between companies and overseas banks. He estimates interest understatements this year will amount to R2 billion, thus suggesting the current account surplus may only be R3,5 billion.

Rudolf Gouws, Nedbank's chief economist, shares Bruggemans' sentiments. "Unrecorded transactions not reflected in official statistics could very well tell a different story. If one thinks of the interest burden it would seem service payments are underesti-



Leutwiler



Barclays' Bruggemans ... doubting figures



## STATE OF EMERGENCY

### Prospects unclear

The State of Emergency, introduced five months ago, looks like continuing into the new year. Although Emergency provisions have been lifted in some areas (and imposed on others), a pattern of wildcat rioting in SA's black townships appears to have developed, with scant sign of it abating. Some observers question, however, whether the young people at the helm can keep up the 15-month-old pressure of protest. They suspect that disillusionment could set in, and think it could peter out.

Originally slapped on 36 magisterial districts — 14% of the country's total, but covering the most densely populated areas — the Emergency now applies in 30 districts.

#### Heightened conflict

The State President introduced the Emergency in an attempt to "normalise" the situation in a country being torn apart by political violence. Yet there is evidence to suggest that it may have politicised more people in the townships and led to heightened conflict, resulting in consumer and school boycotts and the threat of a mass burning of pass books. Police methods of riot control appeared to have fuelled antagonism between the authorities and blacks but, since the Mamelodi funerals recently, their methods seem to have become more sensitive.

Despite the fact that the Emergency has proved to be one of the most controversial and damaging government moves at a time of increased anti-SA sentiment, continual

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THE African National Congress was warned yesterday, after the funeral at Tzaneen of three of the weekend's land-mine victims, "not to awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner".

The warning was issued by a grim-faced Dirk van Eck after the funeral of his wife Cobie, daughter, 8, Nelmarie and son Ignatius, 2.

The three other victims of the land-mine blast — all of the De Nysschen family — will be buried today from the town's Dutch Reformed church.

Speaking in Afrikaans to a strong contingent of local and foreign newsmen and TV crews, Van Eck said he was shocked at his loss, and that he could only hope "that these murderers will realise that if they tangle with the Afrikaners, they are tangling with people who will hurt them".

Referring to the ANC and recent discussions by various South Africans with the banned organisation, he said that as he stood at the open graveside it sounded incomprehensible that people still wanted to talk to the ANC.

Most of the mourners at the funeral

## ANC warned at land-mine funeral 20/12/85

Bus DAY.  
were grim-faced and some made it clear to newsmen they were not welcome.

The Press were allowed inside the church to record the proceedings as the local DRC minister, the Rev Evert de Kock, called for the words of God and His message of hope to stand above the "mixed feelings" of those gathered.

After the 40-minute service, traffic police brought traffic in the town to a standstill as the funeral cortege wound its way to the cemetery on the outskirts of the town.

The six victims of Sunday's blast were among 11 people from the two families who were watching game on an unoccupied farm 3km from the Zimbabwe border when their pick-up truck detonated a powerful land-mine — Sapa.

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# ANC activities SA warns border states

By MICHAEL ACOTT

THE State Security Council has issued a forthright warning to neighbouring countries that "all appropriate means" will be taken to counter African National Congress activities within their borders.

The rare statement from the country's top security organization is a forceful reiteration of previous South African threats to take action against ANC bases if these countries would not curtail ANC activities on their soil.

It is seen as a warning to Zimbabwe in particular, following South African allegations that the people who planted the killer landmines in the Northern Transvaal had come from, and returned to, Zimbabwe.

The council said it had irrefutable evidence of the presence and activity of "terrorist elements" in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland. Repeated representations had been made to these governments, but the attitude of some of these states was "unsatisfactory".

It warned these governments that, unless they acted against the ANC, "all the peoples of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price".

The council said yesterday's meeting was chaired by President P W Botha at Tuynhuys in Cape Town.

The meeting considered a report by intelligence and security authorities on "the



Mr P W Botha

increased acts of violence and terror planned and executed from neighbouring states", particularly the Northern Transvaal landmine incidents which killed civilians, including women and children.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Rik Botha, reported on the reaction of some neighbouring governments to South African requests for them to eliminate the activities of the "Soviet-supported" ANC in their countries.

"The State Security Council considered the attitude adopted by these governments as

unsatisfactory," the statement said.

"It is clear that terrorist elements continue to operate *inter alia* from within Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland, despite repeated representations based on irrefutable evidence concerning the presence and activity of terrorist elements in these countries, and despite the abhorrence recently expressed by the United Nations in its unanimous repudiation of terrorism.

"The State Security Council is convinced that all South Africans consider these criminal and cowardly attacks on civilians of our country in a serious light and are unanimous in their condemnation of these acts of violence, particularly at a time when the most far-reaching reform is taking place in the country's political, social and economic life."

## 'Duty'

"It was decided that the governments of these countries must again be informed of the South African Government's grave concern at the increased terrorist activities from their territory, and that they be urged to realize that if this menace is allowed to continue, all the peoples of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price.

"The South African Government has a duty

## PFP appeal to



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"The South African Government has a duty to protect the country's boundaries and the security of its citizens by all appropriate means," the statement concluded.

### Composition

● The State Security Council is one of four cabinet committees, and the only one whose composition is laid down by law. It is chaired by the President and includes the ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Police and Justice.

Also on the council are the Chief of Security Intelligence, the Chief of the Defence Force, the Commissioner of Police and such additional ministers or civil servants as it may wish to co-opt.

The government has strongly denied that the State Security Council acts as a "cabinet within a cabinet" or that it has a predominant role in determining government policy.

## PFP appeal to 'reduce tension'

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday appealed to the government and to South Africa's neighbours to work together to reduce tensions in the region.

The PFP foreign-affairs spokesman, Mr. Colin Eglin, said the unprecedented statement by the State Security Council yesterday on behalf of the government underlined the "serious deterioration of relations between South Africa and its neighbours."

"The fact that the State Security Council statement names all of South Africa's internationally recognized neighbours shows that the Southern African regional accord which looked so promising last year is on the brink of collapse."

Mr. Eglin said a tense and potentially explosive situation was developing which would best be resolved by mutual respect resulting from government-to-government discussions, not by rhetoric or threats from either side of the border.

"I trust that all governments will take note of the serious situation that is developing and that they will take steps within their own countries to eliminate the causes of tension."

### Territorial integrity

"At the same time I trust that the South African Government is also taking into account the serious consequences of pre-emptive action, and will do nothing to add to the violence or the threats to the security of the region," Mr. Eglin said.

South Africa was entitled to require that its neighbours respect its territorial integrity.



CAPE TIMES 24/12/85

# New plea to Botha on reform

JOHANNESBURG. — Big business yesterday renewed its appeals to the State President, Mr P W Botha, to draw black leaders into the dialogue on reform and ignore right-wing extremists in Afrikanerdom and the National Party.

The latest call came from Sir Albert Robinson, 70, executive director of the Anglo American Corporation and former chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, who will retire at the end of the year.

He said the English-speaking business community was totally disillusioned by the failure of Mr Botha to fulfil the promises of real reform and an inter-racial sharing of power that were raised by the Carlton and Good Hope conferences.

## Veteran

Sir Albert is a veteran of black African as well as South African politics. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for his work as a main architect of the old Central African Federation and was MP for Langlaagte from 1947 to 1953.

He said big business was dismayed by signs that NP leaders were prepared to introduce changes only on condition that they continued to hold total domination

in the political arena.

But government action had now become vital in pressing ahead with a precise timetable for the elimination of institutionalized discrimination — such as that in the Group Areas Act and the pass laws — to prepare a better climate in which to negotiate a new constitution.

Sir Albert said: "The NP cannot transform the political atmosphere in isolation. Mr Botha should invite business leaders and a number of homeland and urban black leaders to help form a new non-racial coalition government committed to reform."

## Resistance

"The NP can no longer be the sole arbiter of South Africa's affairs and, if it refuses to recognize this fact, there is bound to be an escalation of internal resistance and external pressure."

"South Africa solved its crises in the 1930s by burying political hatchets and forming a coalition government — when General J B M Hertzog and General Jan Smuts made a peace pact, with enormous benefits for the whole country."

"Today, the nature of the crisis is different, — but the route to solutions may be almost identical." — Sapa

than R3 000 a year. By Meyer's own admission, the increases "are not very substantial."

There has been speculation that the increases were granted as a result of the recent strike at Baragwanath Hospital. Meyer, however, rejects this notion. "This occupational group was identified as being in line for increases in the last financial year when the budget was prepared. It is purely coincidental that the increase was announced at

more or less the same time," he says.

Teachers and nurses are other categories of state workers, besides general assistants, whose remuneration packages have been increased this year. But the vast majority of the civil servants have been affected by the wage freeze which has been in operation since January last year. Strong pressure is now building up for increases in 1986. The Public Servants' Association has called for a

double digit increase for its 50 000 members next April and for the full reinstatement of the 13th cheque, which government announced earlier this year would be slashed by a third.

Meyer does not know whether other civil service groups have submitted demands, although he concedes this may be the case. It will be for the Cabinet to decide whether funds are to be made available. ■

## POLITICS

# Oppenheimer on PW

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FEATURE

Is there a genuine fear that the State President feels himself so alienated from the vast majority of moderate South Africans that he may do something rash in the face of relentless criticism? Is all the flak driving P W Botha to react along the lines of "if you can't join them, beat them?" And if so, would it be in SA's best interests to turn down the volume on dissent?

Those were the thoughts being tossed around in business circles before Harry Oppenheimer spoke at the University of Cape Town graduation ceremony last week. His speech has reinforced those theories, and there can be little doubt that it was essentially a defence of what many consider to be a beleaguered man. Its graciousness is worth study.

*Die Burger* ran excerpts as its Saturday front page lead, headed: "Oppenheimer praise for President Botha." Much lesser coverage was provided by Cape Town's English dailies.

Oppenheimer, who is chancellor of the university, opened his address with a brief description of the absurdities inherent in apartheid. He then went on to express the view that "it is plain that government, like the rest of us, know that apartheid is dead; but politicians more than most other people find it difficult ever to say that they were wrong and have changed their minds. And so the death certificate for apartheid is unsigned and the corpse is still unburied."

"Meanwhile," said Oppenheimer, "a very important reform programme has been initiated by government." This, of course, included the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act and the offensive section of the Immorality Act. Similarly, much had been achieved in the fields of housing, local government, trade unionism, and the encouragement of independent black businesses.

Much more, he noted, has been promised including: South African citizenship is to be restored to those who lost it through the homelands policy; the influx control system and the pass laws are on the way out; the standard of non-white education is to be stepped up rapidly under the aegis of a single national Department of State.

Not only had Botha done more to advance reform in a liberal direction than any prime

minister of the past, he also had the courage and conviction to stand up to rightwing pressures in his party.

"And, even more difficult, he has, I suspect had to stand up to some rightwing pressures in his own heart. For all this he surely deserves some credit. But he certainly does not get it. No past leader in South Africa has been subjected to such virulent orchestrated attacks both inside and outside the country. And what is more, it must have



Harry O . . . understanding the State President

seemed to him that these attacks were being mounted by the very people for whose benefit he put his political future at risk."

Oppenheimer said this certainly seemed a paradox and he believed the president may well feel hurt and aggrieved.

It was not social and economic grievances, however serious, which inspired the unique abhorrence and universal denunciation of the South African system as immoral and unacceptable to civilised men. These grievances should be removed but, as most people saw it, they did not go to the root of the matter.

"Injustice, oppression and poverty are with us everywhere and often in forms more severe and from a material point of view

more objectionable than in South Africa. But no-one at the United Nations lifts a finger about that. No-one insists that "one man one vote" freely cast in a unitary constitution is the only just form of government — except of course in the case of South Africa. No-one denounces the special protection of group, in addition to individual, rights as a form of racism — except of course in the case of South Africa. But then there is no country except South Africa which legally discriminates against people in regard to their political rights for no other reason than their skin colour or the race to which they belong. And this as the world understands the matter is what apartheid is really about."

Such was the spirit of the age that this form of injustice was felt to be uniquely intolerable. It was regarded as something that must be rejected at almost any cost, analogous to the way the human body refuses to accept and attempts desperately to reject a foreign body within its system, again at any cost.

Oppenheimer believes it is only possible to speculate why racial discrimination is regarded so uniquely objectionable.

Possibly it is because the nature of society is determined in many ways by the effects of the last world war and it might be that a special hatred of racialism flows in some way from the world's horror at the holocaust of the Jews in Nazi Germany.

*Die Burger* did not mention Oppenheimer's views on the tricameral constitution, but there he departed from his message of support. He believes it embodies an honest attempt at power-sharing and consensus politics, but hopes Botha understands and means what he says about the need for a new constitution based on genuine power sharing and the elimination of racial discrimination.

Other key points of the speech concerned UN and OAU arguments that SA's policies are a danger to world peace. Nonsense, says Oppenheimer. (On the other hand, he maintains elsewhere in the text that apartheid is not only a social, economic and political moral evil in SA, but also a geopolitical problem of the first order.) On Marxist, or so-called "African Socialist" forms of economic organisation in southern Africa, his view remains: "disastrous." ■



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# 'Let fate of nazi Austria be a warning'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE fate of Austria, where the nazis came to power in the 1930s, was being recreated in South Africa, a "land of hope and glory", according to Mr S J H Zweigenthal, whose daughter, Virginia, has been detained under the emergency regulations for more than two months.

"When men and women of goodwill and integrity are being suspected of subversion, watch out South Africa!", he said.

Mr Zweigenthal, who left Austria in disgust in 1934 and settled in South Africa, said the situation in his former homeland in the 1930s should be "a warning to the South Africa of the 1980s".

## Student

His daughter, Virginia, a first-year medical student at the University of Cape Town, was detained on October 25.

She and another detainee, Ms Lyn Garwen, a teacher at the Crestway Senior Secondary School, who has also been in detention for more than two months, are the only two white women still in detention in the Western Cape. They are both being held in Pollsmoor Prison.

Mr Zweigenthal said in an open letter that he came to South Africa with the intention of

making it his home and becoming a loyal citizen.

"In becoming a citizen of South Africa I assumed to enter into a relationship of obligation and rights.

"Because my country of birth grievously violated these rights, I considered my obligations to the Austrian fatherland terminated.

"I left Austria in disgust. I did not even look back to the shores of Europe when the ship pulled out of the port...

## 'Goodwill'

"I lived in South Africa under seven different administrations. I soon realized that my country of adoption was beset with serious problems, but that these were to be accepted as challenges by a determined, hardworking citizenry of goodwill."

His wife is a granddaughter of E H V Mellvill, a Rand pioneer, and his son, a civil engineer, was an officer in the South African Defence Force, while his daughter has a BSc degree from Wits and a BSc (Hons) degree from UCT.

"The purpose of her studies is to dedicate her life to community medicine among the poorer people of this country, irrespective of race, colour or creed," Mr Zweigenthal said.

# Buthelezi warns whites, blacks

ULUNDI — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi yesterday warned whites that South Africa's desperate economic plight would become endemic and violence would increase unless they prevailed on the government to take bold forward steps during the coming parliamentary session.

And he warned fellow blacks that, if they dehumanized themselves in the way in which they conducted the struggle for liberation, apartheid would have gained its final victory.

The 1986 session of Parliament could be a make-or-break affair — possibly the last whites would have in which to do something meaningful, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said in an end-of-year message.

He called on the State President, the government and white South Africans to recognize that only bold moves towards establishing a just society would salvage the country from the terrible effects which the "upward spiralling of violence for political purposes" was having.

Chief Buthelezi said violence was at its most hideous when used for party political purposes, and this was the kind of violence used by the State to enforce apartheid.

Tragically, a great deal of violence by blacks was also used for party political purposes. The good of the State and the good of the people had been sacrificed by those who wielded violence to maim, kill and destroy — whether they were black or white.

It was wreaking havoc with all decency and was reducing the prospects



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

of a just, democratic solution to the country's problems.

Talk of reform was no substitute for the real thing, and South Africans and the world were disillusioned. The great democratic nations were at one with black South Africa in demanding an end to political verbosity and the beginning of real political action which would normalize the country as an industrialized, democratic state.

Chief Buthelezi said black South Africa must combine its vast reserves of decency with its enormous power in order to reinforce every step in the direction of creating a just, open and democratic society.

"I call on every black South African to deny apartheid its final victory of dehumanizing blacks," he said. "If we dehumanize ourselves in the way in which we conduct our struggle for liberation, apartheid will have had its final victory." — Sapa



# Talks with ANC one of the *ARGUS 31/12/85 (144) (30419)* 'encouraging signs' from SA

Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock has singled out the talks leading South African businessmen had with the African National Congress as one of the "encouraging signs" from South Africa during the year.

"From the reports I get from both sides, they were extremely serious in the way in which they approached the efforts to secure, not the reform, but the removal of apartheid," he said in a BBC radio interview at the weekend.

"They recognise it to be a permanent source of disaster for South Africa."

## Bring pressure

Another "encouraging sign" was the movement which had taken place in international opinion to bring pressures on the apartheid system, said Mr Kinnock.

But in spite of the encouraging signs, he felt that South Africa's "agony" would be prolonged in 1986.

This was because of the "recent spate of horrors and the way in which the South African Government, with complete clumsiness and callousness, is responding to them."

## "Weak link"

Asked what would happen if the Commonwealth's Group of Eminent Persons, after visiting South Africa, recommended the full application of economic sanctions, he said: "I think there's a weak link in that chain, and the weak link is the attitude of the British Prime Minister."

"That attitude has drawn ignominy upon us in international councils in the course of 1985, and eventually, of course, the Prime Minister herself had to make a shamefaced concession in Nassau at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference."